

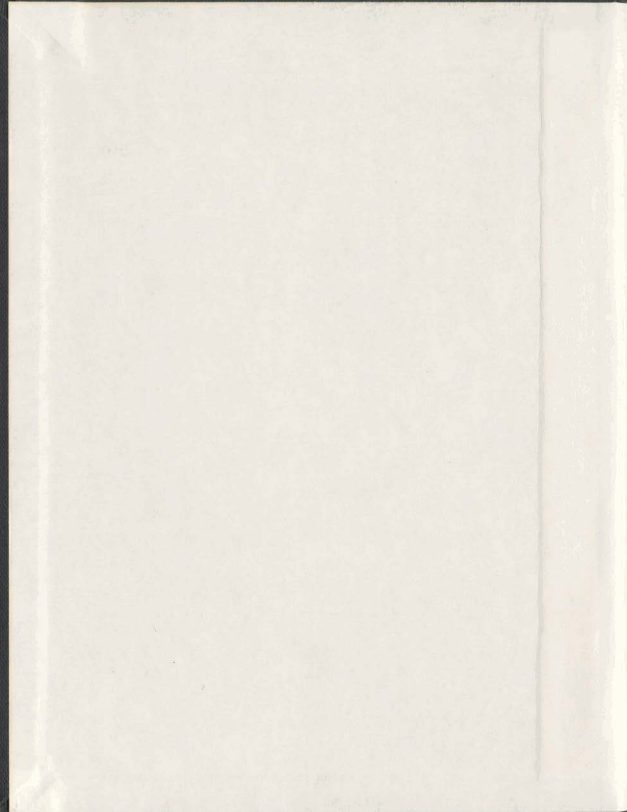
THE LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF SISUUMBWA,
KISUKUMA AND KINYAMWEEZI IN BANTU ZONE F

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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BALLA F.Y.P. MASELE



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**THE LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF SISUUMBWA, KISUKUMA
AND KINYAMWEEZI IN BANTU ZONE F**

By

Balla F.Y.P. Masele

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Memorial University of Newfoundland

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ABSTRACT

This research describes the linguistic history of SiSúumbwá (F23), KíSúkúamá (F21) and KĩNyámwéézi (F22) (henceforth SSN). Two areas are investigated, phonology and vocabulary. In phonology, the comparative method is used, focussing on five processes: Bantu Spirantization (BS), seven to five vowel system reduction (7 > 5); Dahl's Law (DL); glottalization; and voiceless nasal formation. Vocabulary is used to examine quantitative and qualitative evidence. Quantitative evidence uses lexicostatistics to determine lexical retention and sub-grouping. The comparative method is employed in analysing shared lexical innovation as a measure of qualitative evidence, and hence genetic relationship.

In SSN, the varieties investigated are ten: SiSúumbwá (F23); SiSiloómbó (F23a), SiYóombé (F23b), and KiLóóngó (F23c); KíSúkúamá (F21): KímúnáSúkúamá (F21a), GĩnáNtúzá (F21b), JináKĩyá (F21c); and KĩNyámwéézi (F22): KĩNyányéémbé (F22a), KĩDakáma (F22b), SiGáláagáanzá (F22d) and KĩKónóóngó (F22e). SSN is part of Guthrie's (1967-1971) Bantu Zone F. The rest of Zone F languages are also discussed for comparison: KĩTóóngwè/ KiBééndé (F10), KĩKĩmbò (F24), ìCìWòòngò (F25), KĩńLáamba (F31), KĩRĩmi (F32), KĩRáangi (F33) and KééMbúwé (F34).

The contact models of language development after Thomason and Kaufman (1988) are used, while the family tree model illustrates the results of lexicostatistics.

The analysis of the data and historical interpretation of the linguistic patterns suggest that Zone F is a result of linguistic convergence by geographical adjacency. Guthrie (1948:73) asserts that the zones are mainly geographical entities. But using linguistic criteria to group them implies that they are also linguistic and hence genetically valid (Guthrie 1948:23, 1967:46-47). For instance, BS is found in F10 and F23 only; DL in F21 and F22b only, and not in the rest of Zone F, including the core of KĩNyámwéézi (F22a, F22d, F22e). Glottalization is found mainly in F23. In the rest, especially F21 and F22, borrowing is suggested, by evidence of double reflexes: Proto Bantu *p → /p/ and /h/. Voiceless nasalization is also found in the DL languages only, F21 and F22b. Most of the lexical innovations are not unique to Zone F. They are areal, shared by other zones. Combined with the phonological facts, this suggests the death of linguistic Zone F.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS AND DEFINITIONS

(i) Abbreviations and symbols

| | | | |
|----------------|---|-----|--------------------------|
| <kɪɪya> | = grapheme | < > | graphic representation |
| [kɪɪya] | = phone | [] | phonetic representation |
| /kɪɪya/ | = phoneme | // | phonemic representation |
| {kɪɪya} | = morpheme | { } | morphemic representation |
| > | = becomes, goes to (diachronic process/derivation) | | |
| < | = comes from, derives from (diachronic change) | | |
| - | = is realized as (synchronic derivation) | | |
| PB *x | = Proto Bantu reconstruction, mainly by Guthrie (x = any word) | | |
| ? | = unconfirmed, uncertain or doubtful case | | |
| σ | = syllable | | |
| σ _n | = any number of syllables | | |
| C | = any consonant | | |
| V | = any vowel | | |
| + | = syllable boundary | | |
| : | = separating different forms of a lexeme or concepts in different languages (Chapter 4) | | |
| cf | = compare with these forms, which may be related or not (Chapter 4) | | |
| [] | = enclosing languages which do not form the complete set (Chapter 4) | | |
| () | = enclosing related languages being compared to the rest (Chapter 4) | | |
| : | = explanation follows, especially type of innovation (Chapter 4) | | |
| vi | intransitive verb | | |
| vt | transitive verb | | |
| p.c. | = personal communication | | |
| Si | = SiSiloombo, SiSiloombó (F23a) | | |
| Yo | = SiYoombe, SiYóombé (F23b) | | |
| Lo | = KiLoongo, KiLóongó (F23c) | | |
| Su | = KiMunaSukuma, KímunáSúkumá (F21a) | | |
| Nt | = GiNaNtuzu, GínaNtúzi (also GímunáNtúzi) (F21b) | | |
| Ki | = JiNaKɪɪya, JínáKɪɪyá (also JímúnáKɪɪyá) (F21c) | | |
| Da | = KiDakama, KíDákámá (F22b) | | |
| Ny | = KiNyanyembe, KínyàNyéembé (F22a) | | |
| Ko | = KiKonoongo, KíKónóongó (F22e) | | |
| Ga | = SiGalagaanza, SiGálágáanza (F22d) | | |
| Be | = KiBende/KiTongwe, KiTóngwé/KiBéndé (F10) | | |

| | |
|----|---|
| Us | = KɪnaUshoola, KɪnaŪshòolà (F31a) |
| La | = KɪnɪLaamba (Central), KɪnɪLàambà (F31b) |
| Ha | = KɪnɪHaanzu, KɪnɪHàanzú (F31c) |
| Ah | = GiAhi, GiÁhi (F32b) |
| Rw | = GɪRwana, GɪRwáaná (F32a) |
| Mu | = ɣɪnyaMunɪyɪnanyi, ɣɪnyàMúnɪyɪnányi (GhɪnyàMúnɪyɪnányi) (F32c) |
| Kn | = KɪKɪɪmbɔ North (F24a) |
| Ks | = KɪKɪɪmbɔ South (F24b) |
| Wu | = rɪWɔɔŋgɔ, iɪWòòŋgò (F25) |
| Ra | = KiiRangi, KiiRàngi (KiiLàngi) (F33) |
| Mb | = KeeMbuwe (KiMbugwe), KeeMbúwé (F34) |
| Sk | = KɪSukuma, KɪSúkúamá |
| Nz | = KɪNyamweezi, KɪNámwéézi |
| Km | = KɪKɪɪmbɔ, KɪKíímbò |
| Lm | = KɪnɪLaamba language (not the dialect) |
| Rɪ | = KɪRɪmi (or KɪNyatɔɔ) |

Nk = GɪnaNtuzu + JinaKɪɪya

Sk = Nk (GɪnaNtuzu + JinaKɪɪya) + KɪmunaSukuma (KɪSukuma)

Sd = Sk (Nk (GɪnaNtuzu + JinaKɪɪya) + KɪmunaSukuma) + KɪDakama

Nz = KɪNyanyeembe + KɪKonoŋgɔ + SiGalagaanza (KɪNyamweezi)

Sy = SiSiloombo + SiYoombe = (SiSuumbwa, SiSúúmbwà)

Ul = KɪnaUshoola + KɪnɪLaamba C (Central)

Km = KɪKɪɪmbɔ North + KɪKɪɪmbɔ South (KɪKɪɪmbɔ), KɪKíímbò

SN = Sd + Nz

Ar = GiAhi + GɪRwana

NM = SN + Km

Lm = Ul + KɪnɪHaanzu

Rɪ = Ar + ɣɪnyaMunɪyɪnanyi, KɪRɪmi

NL = NM + Lm

NR = NL + Rɪ

The following groupings are adapted from the inspirations of Nurse (1979b), Nurse and Philippson (1980a), Nurse (1988), Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993), Schoenbrun (1997), Muzale (1998), Ehret (1999), Schadeberg (2000) and Maho, Nurse and Philippson (2000) with slight modifications where relevant. They are open for better modification because information is not yet complete, sometimes it is inaccurate, or it is both.

Western Highlands (DJ60) = KinyaRwanda (DJ61), KiRundi (DJ62), iKiFuliuru (DJ63), KiShuβi (DJ64), KiHangaza (DJ65), iGiHa (DJ66), KiVinza (DJ67)

North Rutara (EJ11-14) = Runyoro (EJ11), RuTooro (EJ12), oLuNyankole (EJ13).

oLuCiga (EJ14)

South Rutara = oRuNyambo (EJ21), oRuHaya (EJ22 (RuZiba (EJ22a), RuHamba (EJ22b), Runyathangiro (EJ22c), RuHyoza (EJ22e)), RuZinza (EJ23), RuKereŕe (EJ24)

Suguti (EJ25) = KiJita (EJ25a), KiKwaaya (EJ25b), KiRegi (EJ25c), CiRuri (EJ25d)

North Nyanza (EJ15-EJ17) = LuGanda (EJ15), oLuSoga (EJ16), oLuGwere (EJ17)

Luhya (EJ30 and EJ41) = LuMasaaŕa (EJ31) = LuGisu/LuKisu (EJ31a/b), LuŔukusu (EJ31c1), oLuSyau (EJ31d), oLuTachon (EJ31e), oLuDadiri (EJ31f), LuBuya (EJ31g), LuWanga (EJ32a), oLutsotso (EJ32b), LuMarama (EJ32c), LuKisa (EJ32d), LuKabarasi (EJ32e), LuNyala (EJ32f), LuNyore (EJ33), oLuSaamia (EJ34) = LuXaayo (EJ34a), LuMarachi (EJ34b), oLuSonga (EJ34c), LuNyuli (EJ35), LuLogooli/LuRagooli (EJ41), LwIdaxo (EJ41a), LwIsuxa (EJ41b), oLuTiriki (EJ41c)

East Nyanza (EJ42-EJ45) = KiNgurimi (EJ401), KiKuria (EJ43), iKiZanaki (EJ44) including varieties like iKilsenyi (EJ44b), KiNdali (EJ44c), KiSiora (EJ44d), KiSweta (EJ44e), KiRoba (EJ44f), KiIkizu (EJ44g) GiRango (EJ44h), KiSimbiti (EJ44k), KiShaashi (EJ44l), KiHacha (EJ44m), KiNata/KiIkoma (EJ45), (eKiGusi (EJ42))

Thagicu/Central Kenya (E50) = GiKoyot (E51), KiEmbu (E52), KiMeru (E53), KiTharaka (E54a), KiCuka (E54b), KiKamba (E55) and KiSonjo (E46)

Chaga/Kilimanjaro-Taita (E60, with or without E74) KiRwo/KiMeru (E61), KiSiha (E611), KiChaga (E62), KiMachame (E62a), KiWunjo (E62b), KiRombo (E62c), KiWoso (KiBosho) (E62d), KiSeri (E62e), KiKeni (E62f), KiArusha (E63), KiKahe (E64), KiGweno (E65), KiTaita (E74) = KiDaŔida (E74a), KiSagala (E74b)

Seuta (some G20), (some G30) = KiShambala (G23), KiBondei (G24), KiZigula (G31), KiŔigulu (G34)

West Ruvu (G10, G39) = CiGogo (G11), KiKagulu (G12), KiSagala (G39)

East Ruvu (G30) = KiŔhwewe (G32), KiDoe (G321), KiZalamo (G33), iKiLugulu (G35), KiKami (G36), KiKutu (G37), G38 CiVidunda

Sabaki (G40 and E71, E72, E73) = KiMwani (G401), KiMakwe (G402), CiFundi/KiShirazi (G403), KiTikulu (G41) = (Kitikulu (G41a), KiMbalazi (G41b)), KiSwahili (G42) = (KiAmu (G42a), KiMvita (G42b), KiMrima (G42c), KiUnguja (G42d)), KiPemba (G43) = (KiP^hemba (G43a), KiTumbatu (G43b), KiHadimu/ KiMakunduchi (G43c)), KiKomoro (G44) = (KiŔgazija (G44a), KiNjuani (G44b)), KiŔokomo (E71), KiDhaiso/KiSegeju (E56), MijiKenda = (KiGiryama (E72a), KiKauma (E72b), KiConyi (E72c), KiDuruma (E72d), KiRabai (E72e), KiRibe (E72f), KiJibana (E72g), KiKambe (G72h)), KiDigo (E73))

KiLombero (G50) = KiPogolo (G51), KiNdamba (G52)

Southern Highlands (G60) = eSiSangu (G61), eKiHehe (G62), eKiBena (G63), KiPangwa (G64), KiKinga (G65), KiWanji (G66), KiKisi (G67)

Corridor (M10 = Corridor-Fipa, M20 = Corridor-Nyiha) = iCiPimbwe (M11), KiLugwa (M12), CiFipa (M13), CiLugwu (M14), iCiMambwe (M15), iCiWanda (M21), CinaMwanga (M22), ifiNyiha (23), ifiMalila (M24), ifiSafwa (M25), Iwa (M26), Tambo (M27), iCrWooŕg (F25))

Nyakyusa (M30) = iKriNyakyusa (M31), CiNdali (M32)

Tanzanian CiŶgɔni (N10) = KiNdendeule (N101), KiNindi (N102), CiManda (N11), CiŶgɔni (N12), CiMatengo (N13), CiMpoto (N14)
Rufiji (P10) = KiNdengeleko (P11), KiRuihi (KiRufiji) (P12), KiMatumbi (P13), KiŶgindo (P14)
Ruvuma (P20) = CiYao (P21), CiMwera (P22), CiMakonde (P23), CiMacinga (M231), CiMaβiha (P25)
Northeast Coast Bantu (NEC) = Sabaki (G40 and E71, E72, E73); Seuta (G23, G24, G31, G34); Ruvu (West and east as shown above); and Pare (G21, G22) (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993)

The following symbols can be used and/or interpreted interchangeably as follows, when they occur:

| | |
|---------|---|
| y | = IPA [j] (palatal semi-vowel) |
| j | = IPA [ɟ] (voiced palatal stop) |
| c, ch | = IPA [ç] (voiceless palatal stop) |
| sh | = IPA [ʃ] (voiceless palatal fricative) |
| ny | = IPA [ɲ] (voiced palatal nasal) |
| ng | = IPA [ŋɡ] (prenasalized [ɡ]) |
| ng' | = IPA [ŋ] (voiced velar nasal) |
| mh | = IPA [m̥] (voiceless bilabial nasal /m/) |
| nh | = IPA [n̥] (voiceless alveolar nasal /n/) |
| nyh | = IPA [ɲ̥] (voiceless palatal nasal /ɲ/) |
| ŋh, ŋgh | = IPA [ŋ̥] (voiceless velar nasal /ŋ/) |
| gh | = IPA [ɣ] (voiced velar fricative) |
| tl | = IPA [ʈ] |
| th | = IPA [θ] |

| | |
|-------|------------------------|
| BS | = Bantu Spirantization |
| DL | = Dahl's Law |
| Glott | = Glottalization |
| PAL | = Palatalization |

(ii) Definitions

Conservative language or variety: a language which has remained stable across time as to closely resemble its ancestor. **KiKiiĩmbũ** is sometimes called 'a walking Proto Bantu of modern times' because of maintaining many features of its ancestor.

Core or basic vocabulary: lexical items in a language for concepts which are not context-dependent, for example, head, leg, water, eat, cry, you, I, mother, two, expected to be found

in all languages of the world as universal givens.

Cultural vocabulary: words in the lexicon of a language expressing concepts which dependent on place of domicile, human activity, need for detail, innovation, invention, often influenced by geographical, technological or economic context, in a continuum between the universal and the cultural, for example, horse, ship, aadvark, snow, cow, lake/sea/ocean, shoe, shield, most non-primary colours (outside red, white, black), freeze, etc

Dialect: a linguistic variety in a continuum of several varieties belonging to a larger unit, the language. Close mutual inter-comprehensibility enables the speakers of each variety to use their individual varieties without the need for an interpreter.

Genetic language relationship: a connection of languages descended directly from an immediate proto language, depending on the level of analysis. For example, oRuHaya and iCiGogo, or KntLaamba (F31) and KiSukuma (F21) are not genetically related because they do not branch from an immediate ancestor, although they are both Bantu, classified in Zone F.

Glottalization: change of CPlace feature of a sound to the glottal stop [ʔ] or [h]. In our context, it refers to change of PB *p to /h/. It suggests that the quality of the plosive was [p^h], and it involved loss of occlusion and retention of the aspiration, as in SiSuumbwa, which is a regular diachronic phonological process.

Glottochronology: the next step in the use of Lexicostatistics for absolute dating of languages. Lexicostatistics uses the same formula and therefore assumptions about the nature of language.

Language: a speech variety linguistically distinct from other varieties whereby inter-comprehension is severely limited, requiring an interpreter for meaningful communication to occur. Within the same language family or group like two Bantu languages, the boundaries between languages may be fuzzy, and therefore it is a relative term, while across other linguistic families and groups, like KiSwahili and Iraqw, it is an absolute term because the differences of the languages are sharply defined. In this study, 'language' is sometimes used in this distinctive sense, while in others it is synonymous with 'dialect'.

Lenition: weakening of sounds in the strength hierarchy continuum from voiceless stops to complete sound loss as an inverse of the sonority hierarchy: voiceless obstruents → voiced obstruents → nasals → liquids → glides → vowels → total loss, or stop → affricate → fricative → approximant → zero (or stop → affricate → fricative → approximant → zero)

Lexicostatistics: a statistical analysis of vocabulary for relative chronology and grouping.

Loan, Loanword or borrowed word: a lexical item which is not native to a language but is adopted and/or adapted from other languages or dialects to become part of its own lexicon, never to be returned to the source language, contrary to the sense of terms 'loan' and 'borrow' which suggest returning or refunding the word after use.

Names of languages: while the traditional writing conventions have been maintained faithfully wherever it was feasible, some customary representations of the names were simply not correct. For instance, the name "Takama" 'south' was not used because in KiSukuma and KiNyamwezi, the phonemes /d/, /t/ and /l/ exist independently from each other while in some cases they may derive from each other as a result of processes like Dahl's Law where plosives become voiced as in /t/ → /d/, l → d/N __. In "dakama", the phoneme is /d/ rather than a process of Dahl's Law from "takama". Phoneme /d/, as in *dakama*, exists in words like *madaaso* 'rags', *jidivi* 'jackal', *laxomi* 'testicular hydrocele'

Narrow Bantu: languages of Zones A to S according to Guthrie (1967-1967) and the justification of doing so, including the split of Zones D/E into D, E, J. Those languages which are unambiguously D or E, where applicable, are represented with one letter only, while those in-between use the two-letter convention of either DJ or EJ. These language varieties are like D28a (West Holoholo DRC), D28b (East Holoholo (Tanzania), D43 Nyanga, DJ41 oLuKoonzo, DJ42 oLuNande, DJ51 KiHuunde, DJ52 KiHaavu, DJ531 KiTembo, D54 KiBembe, DJ56 KaBwari, DJ60 KiRundi-KinyaRwanda (DJ61 KinyaRwanda, DJ62 KiRundi, DJ63 iKiFuliru, DJ64 KiShuβi, JD65 KiHangaza, DJ66 iGiHa, DJ67 KiVinza); Zone EJ ((EJ10 RuNyoro-LuGaanda Group: EJ11 RuNyoro, EJ12 RuTooro, EJ13 oLuNyankole (GiHima), EJ14 RuCiga, EJ20 (RuNyambo, oRuHaya, RuZinza and RuKereβe), EJ30 Luhya, EJ40 East Nyanza, E46 KiSonjo; E50 Thagicu, E60 Chaga, etc

Orthography and phonological representation: There are some standardized forms, mainly following the IPA system. But many pronunciations have been affected by writing conventions where it is difficult to trace a sound as originating from a regular sound change or from the writing system. For instance, the orthographies for ɾ, σ, γ, φ, β, and η were simplified to accommodate the simple typescripts and printers in use in Europe then. These simplified and sometimes distorted sounds became i/e for ɾ; u/o for σ; gh for γ; f for φ; b/v/w for β and mw for ηw. This can be illustrated by the case of KiRtmi whose dialects have a high frequency of /f/ instead of the expected /φ/. Other examples include the case of country names like "Malawi" which should be *Malaafi*, or the famous Tanzanian towns located in βōSukuma like Mwanza (*Ŧwaanzá*), Mwadui (*Ŧwaaduβi*).

Palatalization: effect of front or high vowels as a secondary articulatory addition to other sounds, mainly on stops, making their place of articulation more palatal. This is contrasted with Bantu Spirantization which deletes the CPlace features of stops by replacing them with the [+consonantal] features of the superclose vowels PB *i and *u, making the fricatives (See

Zoll 1995:542). In KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi, the conditioning vowels for palatalization are the superclose *i and *u (or *i and *u, as represented by Guthrie (1967-71)). The end results of palatalization and Bantu Spirantization may be identical.

Place names in SSN, like *βσSukuma* simply mean 'the land of KiSukuma speakers' or 'Sukumaland'. *βσ-* is the prefix signifying 'land of'

Prefixes in the names of languages and their varieties: The short forms commonly used in Bantu languages can be compared to the two figures for the dates when the computers started. Like the 2yk bug scare-cum-hoax, the fewest characters possible were used for economy of memory. In this study, the names are written in full with their prefixes. The use of the prefix *Ki-*, and its varieties *Kee*, *Kɪ*, *Ci-(Chi-)*, *Shi-*, *Si-*, or *Ji-*, to designate a language in the Bantu group of languages has always been ignored as redundant by earlier researchers (mostly European) of Bantu languages and linguistics who assumed and some still assume that the prefixes serve no purpose when rendered into languages like English. Some of the researchers who followed maintained that tradition of prefix omission. Because of this, proper phonological and orthographic records of languages and their varieties was not adhered to because of the limitations experienced by earlier researchers who imposed their perceptions and preferences. For example, they normally approximated most of the words, proper- and place- names to the closest alphabet they knew, normally the Roman alphabet adopted in KiSwahili writings. Thus, most of the language names were written in the KiSwahili format, with uniform prefixes even when they were not used. For instance, a language like SiSuumbwa is sometimes referred to as KiSuumbwa. One undertaking in subsequent research should be to correct such generalizations and refer to the languages by means of their proper Bantu names. The language varieties investigated therefore follow as far as possible, the phonological or orthographic format closest to how the native speakers pronounce them, unless space is not available, especially in tables.

Proto Bantu: reconstructed, hypothetical language thought to be the ancestor of all modern Bantu languages and their dialects.

Tone marks in words are avoided in most cases unless it is necessary for making a point related to tone. Tone marks are indicated mainly when introducing the names of the language varieties under investigation. Subsequently, the tones are not marked on those languages.

Traditional: accepted from earlier analyses without significant modification. Eg, *traditional language labels and their boundaries:* these are also synonymous with 'tribes' and the boundaries which were drawn more or less following the limits of each 'tribe' (See *Map 1.3* from which *Map 1.1* and *1.2* are based). Real life speech communities have no borders and hence languages have fluid boundaries which continuously interact with other languages.

Variety: any speech form, either a language or dialect. In the study the term is used to refer to either language or dialect or both.

Voiceless nasals: there are four, as counterparts of the voiced nasals, /m, n, ŋ, ŋ/ namely /m̥, n̥, ŋ̥, ŋ̥/, also represented orthographically as mh, nh, nyh or ph, ngh or nh, where ny and ng represent ŋ and ŋ respectively. They are mainly found in KiSukuma (F21) and KiDakama (F22b).

Vowels from other sources use the 7-vowel system of the cardinal vowels of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), which Guthrie (1967-1971) used: /i, ī, i, ii, e, ee, a, aa, o, oo, u, uu, y, yu/. We are using the convention /i, ii, I, II, e, ee, a, aa, o, oo, U, UU, u, uu/, like Nurse (1979a) for West Tanzania, Maganga and Schadeberg (1992) for KiNyamwezi who represent the sounds as (i, ii, I, II, e, ee, a, aa, o, oo, U, UU, u, uu), and Schadeberg (1995), with i, ii, I, II, e, ee, a, aa, o, oo, U, UU, u, uu/, with the requisite tones placed where relevant, possible or necessary. The recommended transcription by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures for the seven vowels was /i, e, ε, a, o, u/

Vowels (double): represent vowel length, equivalent to /:/ or /:/ as in /a:/ or /ā/ whether as contrastive or phonetically determined

Vowel reduction from 7 to 5 (7 > 5): Process of loss or merger in Bantu languages where the Proto Bantu vowel system of seven vowels, for instance, /i, e, ε, a, o, u/ is reduced to five, /i, ε, a, o, u/ or /i, e, a, o, u/. The process is associated with Bantu Spirantization, as explained in Chapter 3.

Dedication

For Masele Liindege [halaangtli Poondejo, my father; Daudi Nyolooḽi; Saayi [wanaJimenye Masele; ḽḽḽḽḽḽ; Taambaalḽ Mshaḽḽḽḽḽḽ [wanāGabaādi Taambilḽja Kulwa; Dooto [wanaMasele; Naapala [wanā[huungūlūmé; Gḽgwā [wanlḽóóndéjo; George Mattao; Saffari Sanka; Averil Ralph Pye; Mileme Masele; Hajjat Hawa Mwanaidi Mufuruki. You departed quickly before us, and we followed. A microcosm of humanity and eternity.

The tribes. For their tenacity to survive in the jungles. Hopefully they will maintain their languages a little longer while the notes are still being taken with this faded ink, slowly.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

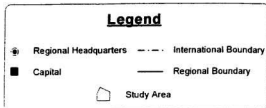
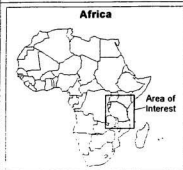
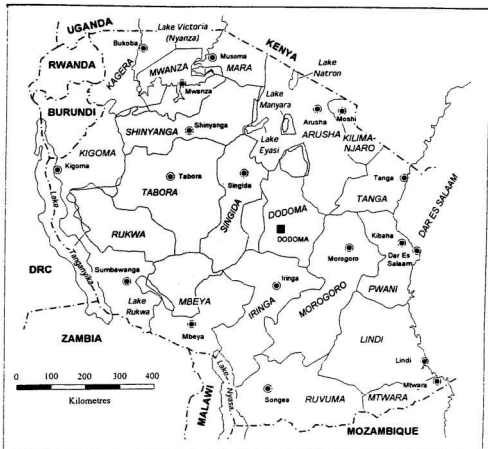
1.0 INTRODUCTION

This research describes the linguistic history of SiSúumbwá¹, KĩSúkumá² and KĩNyamwéézi (henceforth SSN). The three languages are part of what Guthrie (1967-1971) calls Bantu Zone F³ (also known as West Tanzania) (See *Map 1 and 2*). The varieties investigated are ten. These include the following three from SiSúumbwá (F23): SiSilóombó (F23a), SiYóombé (F23b), and KiLóongó (F23c); three from KĩSúkumá (F21): KĩmúnáSúkumá (F21a), GĩmúnáNtúzü (also GĩnáNtúzü) (F21b), JínáKĩiyá (also JimúnáKĩiyá) (F21c); and four from KĩNyamwéézi(F22): KĩNyányéembé (F22a), KĩDakámá (F22b), SiGálágáanzá (F22d) and KĩKónóongó (F22e). Hitherto, SSN has been considered a valid genetic grouping by Guthrie (1967-1971), Nurse (1979a, 1999), Kahigi (1988), Ehret (1999) and

¹ The forms of the language names with long vowels have been adopted in order to record the names phonetically, rather than phonemically. The aim is to avoid ambiguities. For instance, KĩNyamwéézi and JinaKĩiyá have long /e/ and /i/ both phonologically and phonetically, although they are erroneously written with a short /e/ and /i/ respectively.

² Another name is KĩGwe, presumably, the original core of the KĩSúkumá language around which speakers from other speech communities amalgamated and later became known as KĩSúkumá speakers. KĩSúkumá is a recent name originally used by outsiders. It is paradoxical though, that the original name, KĩGwe, is not used now, except as a cross-reference in archives, and many speakers do not even know of its existence. Its reference is also restricted to one location near Lake Vĩctoria rather than the whole KĩSúkumá speaking area (See Guthrie 1967-71).

³ Guthrie's work on classification is a classic in Bantu linguistics. His system of classification is also the most popular, and hence he forms a point of departure for this study.



Map 1.1 Study Area: SSN in Zone F

others. But there are reasons now to doubt this. Thus, the relationship of F23 to SSN will be investigated in detail. The labels "SSN" and "Zone F" are therefore only referential at this point.

Furthermore, Zone F contains not only SSN, but also has other languages and their varieties, the total list under our investigation of which is 22, as shown in *Table 1.1*. For comparative purposes all those varieties' data are included in order to put SSN in proper perspective. Where appropriate, these other varieties outside SSN are discussed at some length.

In this study, a comparison is made between the SSN within Zone F to trace its phonological and lexical evolution observed across time, from as far back in history as we can go for each variety, to the present. As the variety's written forms are quite recent, or virtually non-existent, and since most of the varieties are still essentially oral, going back in time is only possible by examining the varieties by means of available synchronic data. In unwritten languages, it is usually necessary to obtain maximally accurate synchronic data for all known varieties and variations within varieties so as to make the projections into the past as valid as possible.

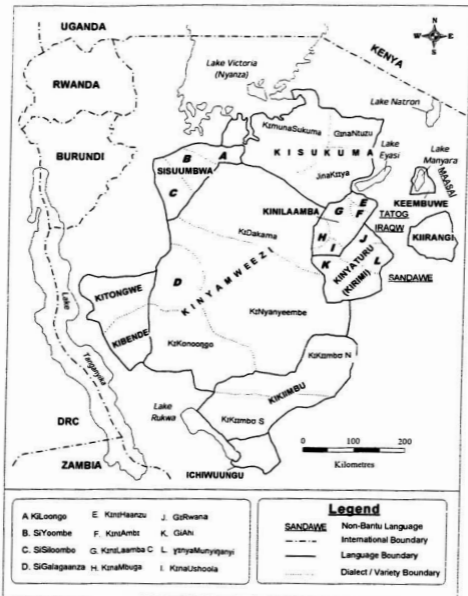
Table 1.1. Language varieties of Zone F (SSN is shaded)

| "Language" ⁴ | "Dialect" | "Language" | "Dialect" |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| F10 KiTóongwè/ KiBééndé | F10 KiBééndé ⁵ | F24 KiKíimbò | F24a KiKíimbò North |
| F21 KiSúkumá | F21a KiMúnáSúkumá | | F25 iCiWóóngó |
| | F21b GináNtúú | F31 KiriLáambá ⁶ | |
| | F21c JinaKíiyá | | F31b KiriLáambá (Central) |
| F22 KiNyámwéézi | F22a KiNyányéémbe | | F31c KiriHáanzú |
| | KiDákámá | F32 KiRími | F32a GiRwáná |
| | F22d SiGálagáanzá | | F32b GiÁhi |
| F23 SiSúumbwá | F22e KiKónóóngó | F33 KiriRangi | F32c yinyáMúnyinyáyi |
| | F23a SiSílóómbó | | F34 KééMbúwé |
| | F23b SiYóómbé | | |
| | F23c KiLóóngó | | |

⁴ "Language" and "dialect" are used in their imprecise form to mean both linguistic and socio-political entities, "dialects" being subordinate to the superordinate, "language". As shown in Map 1.2 below, the language varieties written in italics are dialects. Where space was not sufficient, a key using arbitrary letters from A to I was used to represent them.

⁵ The group label of F10 was taken rather than F11 KiTóongwè and F12 KiBééndé. Only one language was used with the assumption that the two are in fact one language, as explained below.

⁶ KiriNdaágó, KiriMbuúgá, Kiri'íambí are not discussed



Map 1.2. Study Area, SSN and Zone F.

The geographical locations of the varieties under investigation are contiguous, found mainly in Mwanza, Shinyanga, Tabora and Rukwa Regions (See *Map 1, 2 and 3*). The primary data were first collected in Tanzania in the 1970s. The informants wrote their responses in the questionnaires given to them. In order to improve their quality, the data were revised by audio recordings in 1999 with the aim of including as accurately as possible not only the segmental tier comprising of consonants and vowels, but also the tonal tier showing all the surface tones heard for each variety. The tonal tier was especially included in this revision of the data as a resource for future use by other researchers who might be interested in tonology. In this study, however, the tonal aspect is only mentioned in passing where relevant because it is a vast research area in its own right.

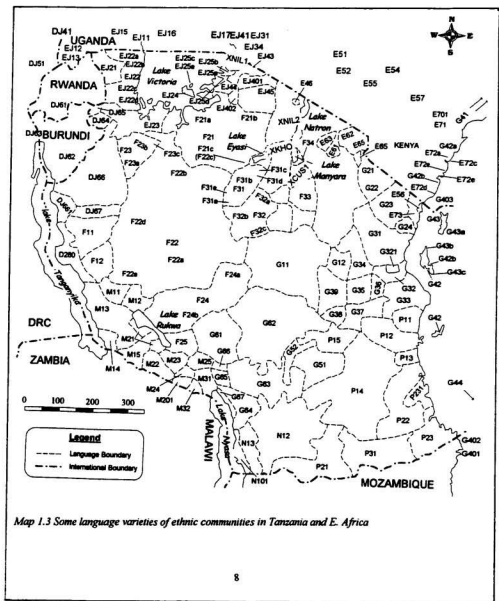
1.1 THE PROBLEM

1.1.1 Background of the problem

Dead languages as linguistic artefacts are often viewed as cultural resources only with insignificant practical utility. However, the importance of all languages without exception remains multidimensional when they are extant. For instance, the internal dynamics of language change like the effect of Tanzania's language policy on ethnic community languages is well known (Rugemalira 1994:2-6, Rubagumya 1997, Mekacha 1997, Mkude 1999) and ceases to be an academic question only. Many of the more than 120 ethnic community languages and dialects in Tanzania are going to disappear without trace if a concerted effort is not undertaken now to record what data are currently available, not only in languages *per*

se, but also in other fields where indigenous-based knowledge is accessible through language only. Nishida and Uehara (1981:109) observe this with regard to KiTòòngwè plant names, that such a culture was vanishing rapidly and a record of indigenous-based knowledge like ethnobotany was urgently required. Some dialects are going to have very few speakers, while a few may have none left not far in the foreseeable future. The language varieties under such real threat include some in SSN. For example, KiLoongo's status is not known, because only occasional mention is made in non-linguistic literature, without any clear idea of how many speakers are there now, and where they live. Others in this category include F31c and F34, with only a few hundreds speakers remaining, while the environment for ethnic languages thriving is so hostile.

In addition, the impact of globalization as a powerful external influence south of Lake Victoria in the long run is likely to further shrink the languages of ethnic communities, both geographically and functionally, while making others extinct. This phenomenon is not confined to SSN alone. As a political, economic as well as a cultural resource for disseminating knowledge and information, these ethnic community languages and their varieties play a central role in the preservation and transmission of culture at grassroots level. Before this language attrition and/or extinction happens while we are still at the threshold of major changes in the area, it is imperative to start studying and recording these languages before it is too late.



Map 1.3 Some language varieties of ethnic communities in Tanzania and E. Africa

Key to Map 1.3. Codes and their languages (after Guthrie's scheme)

| Code | Language | Code | Language | Code | Language |
|--------|-------------------|-------|--------------|------|------------------|
| D25 | KiLega | EJ31g | LuBuya | E54b | KiCuka (E57?) |
| D28 | KiHoloholo | EJ32a | LuWanga | E61 | KiRwo/KiMeru |
| D28b | KiHoloholo - East | EJ32b | oLutsotso | E611 | KiSiha |
| D41 | oLuKoonzo | EJ32c | LuMarama | E62 | KiChaga |
| DJ51 | KiHuunde | EJ32d | LuKisa | E62a | KiMachame |
| DJ61 | KinyaRwanda | EJ32e | LuKabarasi | E62b | KiWunjo |
| DJ62 | KiRundi | EJ32f | LuNyala | E62c | KiRombo |
| DJ63 | iKiFuliiru | EJ33 | LuNyore | E62d | KiWoso (KiBosho) |
| DJ64 | KiShuβi | EJ34 | oLuSaamia | E62e | KiSeri |
| DJ65 | KiHangaza | EJ34a | LuXaayo | E62f | KiKeni |
| DJ66 | iGiHa | EJ34b | LuMarachi | E63 | KiArusha |
| DJ661 | KiUjiji | EJ34c | oLuSonga | E64 | KiKahe |
| DJ67 | KiVinza | EJ35 | LuNyuli | E65 | KiGweno |
| EJ11 | RuNyoro | EJ41 | LuLogooli | E701 | KiIwana/Malako |
| EJ12 | RuTooro | EJ41a | Lwidaxo | E71 | KiDokomo |
| EJ13 | oLuNyanjole | EJ41b | Lwisuxa | E72 | KiNyika |
| EJ14 | oLuCiga | EJ41c | oLuTiriki | E72a | KiGiryama |
| EJ15 | LuGanda | EJ401 | GiNgoreme | E72b | KiKauma |
| EJ16 | oLuSoga | EJ403 | KiSuba | E72c | KiConyi |
| EJ17 | oLuGwere | EJ404 | SiZaki | E72d | KiDuruma |
| EJ21 | oRuNyambo | EJ42 | eKiGusii | E72e | KiRabai |
| EJ22 | oRuHaya | EJ43 | GiKunia | E72f | KiRibe |
| EJ22a | RuZiba | EJ44 | iKeZanaki | E72g | KiJibana |
| EJ22b | RuHamba | EJ44b | Ikitsenyi | E72h | KiKambe |
| EJ22c | RunyaIhangiro | EJ44c | KiNdali | E73 | KiDigo |
| EJ22e | RuHyozza | EJ44d | KiSiora | E74 | KiTaita |
| EJ23 | RuZinza | EJ44e | KiSweta | E74a | KiDaβida |
| EJ24 | RuKereβe | EJ44f | KiRoba | E74b | KiSagala |
| EJ25a | CiJita | EJ44g | Kelkizu | F11 | KiTongwe |
| EJ25b | KiKwaaya | EJ44h | GiRango | F12 | KiBende |
| EJ25c | KiReki (KiRegi) | EJ44k | KiSimiti | F21 | KiSukuma |
| EJ25d | CiRuri | EJ44i | KiShaashi | F21a | KimunaSukuma |
| EJ25e | KiKara | EJ44m | KiHacha | F21b | GinaNtuzu |
| EJ30 | Luhya Masaafβa | EJ45 | KeNata/Ikoma | F21c | JinaKiTya (F22c) |
| EJ31ab | LuGisu/LuKisu | E46 | KiSonjo | F22 | KiNyamweezi |
| EJ31c | Luβukusu | E51 | Gikoyo | F22a | KiNyanyeembe |
| EJ31d | oLuSyan | E52 | KiEmbu | F22b | KiDakama |
| EJ31e | oLuTachon | E53 | KiMeru | F22d | SiGalagaanza |
| EJ31f | oLuDadiri | E54a | KiTharaka | F22e | KiKonoongo |

| Code | Language | Code | Language | Code | Language |
|------|--------------------|------|--------------------|-------|-------------------|
| F23 | SiSuumbwa | G40 | KiSwahili | M15 | iCiMambwe |
| F23a | SISiloombo | G41 | KiTikulu | M201 | iCiLambya |
| F23b | SiYoombe | G41a | KiTikulu (Socotra) | M21 | iCiWanda |
| F23c | KiLoongo (EJ10/20) | G41b | KiMbalazi | M22 | CinaMwanga |
| F24 | KiKĩmbu | G42a | KiAmu | M23 | iJiNyaha |
| F24a | KiKĩmbu N | G42b | KiMvita | M24 | iJiMalila |
| F24b | KiKĩmbu S | G42c | KiMrima | M25 | iJiSafwa |
| F25 | iCiWoorogo | G42d | KiUnguja | M31 | iKiNyakyusa |
| F31 | KiNiLaamba | G42e | KiMalindi | M32 | CiNdali |
| F31a | KiNaUshoola | G42f | CiFundu | M41 | CiTaabwa |
| F31b | KiNiLaamba C | G42g | Cwaka | N101 | KiNdendeule |
| F31c | KiNiHaanzu | G42h | CiVumba | N102 | KiNindi |
| F31d | KiNlambi | G42i | Nosse Be | N11 | CiManda |
| F31e | KiNaMboga | G43 | KiPemba | N12 | CiNgoni |
| F32 | KiRzmi | G43a | KiPhemba | N13 | CiMatengo |
| F32a | GiRwana | G43b | KiTumbatu | N14 | CiMpotu |
| F32b | GiAhi | G43c | KiMakunduchi | N15 | CiTonga /CiSiska) |
| F32c | iTnyarunyunyanyi | G43d | KiMafia | P11 | KiNdengereko |
| F33 | KiiRangi | G44 | KiKomoro | P12 | KiRuihi/Rufiji |
| F34 | KeeMbuwe | G44a | iJiNgazija | P13 | KiMatumbi |
| G11 | CiGogo | G44b | KiNjuani | P14 | KiNgindo |
| G12 | CiKagulu | G44c | KiMwani | P15 | KiMbunga |
| G21 | KiTubeta/Taveta | G44d | KiMaore | P21 | CiYao |
| G22 | CiAsu/Casu/KiPare | G51 | KiPogolo | P22 | CiMwera |
| G23 | KiShambala | G52 | KiNdamba | P23 | CiMakonde |
| G24 | KiBondei | G61 | eSiSangu | P231 | CiMacinga |
| G31 | KiZigula | G62 | eKiHehe | P24 | CiNdonde |
| G32 | KiNghwele | G63 | eKiBena | P25 | CiMaŋiha |
| G321 | KiDoe | G64 | KiPangwa | P31 | iMakua |
| G33 | KiZalamo | G65 | KiKinga | X | Non-Bantu |
| G34 | KiNgulu | G66 | KiWanji | XCUS1 | Iraqw |
| G35 | iKiLugulu | G67 | KiKisi | XCUS2 | Mbugu |
| G36 | KiKami | M11 | iCiPimbwe | XKHO | Hadza |
| G37 | KiKutu | M12 | KiRungwa | XNIL1 | Dholuo |
| G38 | CiVidunda | M13 | CiFipa | XNIL2 | Ii-Maasai |
| G39 | KiSagala | M14 | CiLungu | XNIL3 | Datog* |

XCUS = Cushitic, non-Bantu

XNIL = Nilo-Saharan, non-Bantu

*Not all dialects, languages, or language groups have been included, because of either lack of space or fragmentary information, although most languages are represented.

1.1.2. Statement of the problem

Most Bantu linguistic varieties are still undescribed and information about them is lacking (Polomé 1980:5; Kahigi 1988:6, 7; Brenzinger, Heine, & Sommer 1991:24, Nurse 1995b:467; 1999:10, 11). Uncovering their historical roots in a more systematic way using a technique like the Comparative Method, described below, will contribute towards a better understanding of the larger groups which they form.

1.1.3. Research Objectives

The study has one aim: tracing the linguistic history of SSN using phonological and lexical data, and relating that history to that of neighbouring languages. This involves using the two assumptions of comparative reconstruction: *the relatedness* and *the regularity hypotheses*. The *relatedness hypothesis* assumes that close similarity between two or more varieties can be best explained by assuming their historical relatedness and derivation from a single protoform. It also assumes that their linguistic histories can be explained by examining the phonological, lexical or morphosyntactic differences between them. The *regularity hypothesis* states that it is possible to reconstruct a protolanguage on the assumption that sound changes in languages are regular and predictable, and any irregularity caused by internal or external factors like contact with other languages or varieties can be accounted for.

While it is possible to arrange the varieties in relative chronology as their vocabularies depart in form and meaning from the protolanguage, it is difficult, if not impossible to determine a

precise unit of absolute chronology, e.g. of years, decades, centuries, or millennia to such classified members of a category if no other supporting external evidence like specimens of material culture is available to corroborate those dates (Worsley and Rumberger 1949:46; Nurse 1997:366).

Thus, the objective of this research can be summarized as the description of the evolution of the phonological and lexical aspects of SSN. From the results, a possible classification of the varieties is made based on the historical interpretation of the observed patterns and their implications for Zone F in general, and for SSN in particular.

1.1.4. Significance of the problem

As a single unit, Zone F or West Tanzania in general, and SSN in particular has not been investigated systematically enough apart from a few studies, mainly by Nurse (1979a, 1999), Ehret (1984, 1994, 1999) and the seminal but general work by Guthrie (1967-71) on the whole of Bantu. This study is therefore significant in three ways. First, it is the first of its kind to compare features of these 22 varieties at once. The study provides linguistic data for use by others in genetic classification and/or any other purposes. For instance, F21 is traditionally formed by the F21a, F21b, and F21c varieties while F22a, F22b, F22d and F22e belong to F22. On the other hand, F21 and F22 are highly intercomprehensible, implying that they might have undergone more or less the same innovations from a common ancestor not far back in the past. The data highlight the questions of whether it is valid to view F21 and F22

as discrete groups instead of one, and whether it is therefore necessary to adjust the internal sub-groups according to the patterns revealed by the data.

Secondly, the research is needed as a contribution to closing the gaps between the lower and higher levels of linguistic analysis in Bantu, namely, from today's varieties (dialects and languages) to Proto-Bantu. In the hierarchy of the Bantu linguistic tree, Proto-Bantu is at the highest level and is much discussed, whereas most intermediate proto-nodes have not been reconstructed and these levels are numerous⁷. The lower varieties are the only existing forms of a language, as a bridge to higher branches in the linguistic trees. Indeed, intermediate levels of well-studied languages, like those of the Indo-European phylum, still have gaps (Nurse 1995a:71). The challenge to do even more work in Bantu is greater.

Lastly, the study of the Bantu languages at the beginning of the 20th century was utilitarian rather than merely academic, as summed up by one of the earliest and greatest scholars of Bantu, Meinhof (1932: Preface), that Bantu was playing "such a great part in colonisation, trade and missionary work in the continent of Africa." Instead of being externally oriented along the lines mentioned by Meinhof, this study aims at contributing a further understanding for the benefit not only of outside scholars and other interested parties, but particularly, as a tool for the speakers of those languages themselves to understand their past, examine their

⁷ Although there is still no consensus on the organization of the hierarchies from Proto-Bantu to today's varieties, one common version is: Proto-Bantu → eastern Bantu → Proto-Zone F → Proto-KiSukuma → JinaKIIya

present and think about their future in a different light.

1.1.5. Limitations of the study.

Five limitations characterize the current study. Firstly, only ten varieties from SSN are investigated; namely, SiSilóombò (F23a), SiYóóombé (F23b), KiLóóngó (F23c), KímúnáSúkúma (F21a), GímúnáNtúzú (also GínáNtúzú) (F21b), JináKíyá (F21c), KíDákámá (F22b), KiNyányéembé (F22a), KiKónóóngó (F22e), and SiGalááanzá (F22d). The rest of Zone F languages and varieties are not discussed in great detail except where relevant.

Secondly, only eight proto sounds are used to illustrate the history of SSN rather than the entire phonological system of Zone F. These sounds are PB *p, *b, *t, *d, *c, *j, *k, *g. The Proto-Bantu phonological inventory is composed of the reconstructed consonant phonemes shown in *Table 1.2*, after Guthrie (1967-71)^{*}. The vowel phonemes are *j, *i, *e, *a, *o, *u, *y, long and short. The eight target sounds show more clearly five phonological developments addressed in the thesis: Bantu Spirantization, 7 > 5, Dahl's Law, glottalization and voiceless nasal formation. Sound changes are best shown by plosive sounds rather than by others like vowels, or nasals since the latter have changed very little, if at all. This aspect

^{*} Adjustments have been made in the representation of some phonemes, especially vowels. Instead of Guthrie's *j, *u, *e, *a, *o, *u, *y we adopted the following convention for them, which is also used by Maganga and Schadeberg (1992) and Batibo (2000) and in their other publications: *i, *ɿ, *e, *a, *o, *ɔ, *u

and the next are addressed in detail in Chapter 3.

Table 1.2 Proto Bantu consonant phonological inventory

| | Bilabial | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar |
|--------------|----------|----------|-------------|----------|
| Plosive | *p, *b | *t, *d | *c, *j [tʃ] | *k, *g |
| Nasal | *m | *n | *ny [ɲ] | *ŋ |
| Prenasalized | *mp, *mb | *nt, *nd | *ɲj, *ɲc | *ŋk, *ŋg |
| Semivowel | | | *y | |

Thirdly, another closely related limitation concerns the area of phonology where only three major aspects are covered: vowel systems, especially 7 vowel to 5 vowel reduction (7 > 5); Bantu Spirantization (BS), especially as related to 7 > 5; and Dahl's Law (DL). Other processes such as glottalization and voiceless nasal formation are added as secondary aspects.

Fourthly, the discussions are based on an original list of 1036 lexical items rather than on an unlimited number of linguistic data from the grammar, or entire vocabulary of Proto Bantu or Zone F (See *Appendix 1*). The list used contains both common core and cultural vocabulary. While every care was taken to transcribe the data as accurately as possible, some items were not usable for several reasons, including inaccurate transcription due to mishearing; repetition of concepts or words in the original list which resulted in deletions that in turn reduced the final total of the words used; misinterpretation of some questions asked

in the questionnaire by both the researcher and informant resulting in giving unexpected, and therefore irrelevant responses. These shortcomings were however few.

And finally, only the segmental level is fully treated, while the tonological systems of the varieties are not part of this study, since such an inclusion would make the work overly ambitious.

1.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following questions guided this research. They take into account some of the questions raised by Nurse (1999:32) as a direction for future research in the area. While some are empirical research questions, others are social in nature:

- (1). What are the concrete criteria for the classification of Bantu languages into zones? Are they historical, areal or typological?
- (2). How many of the criteria mentioned in number (1) above should a language or variety possess in order to qualify for membership into a zone?
- (3). What rigorous features define Zone F, excluding all other zones?
- (4). Within Zone F, what features distinguish one group of languages from others in exclusion of all others, justifying the isolation of those groups?

1.3. METHODOLOGY

Two methods are employed. Firstly, primary lexical data from field research was used as collected by Nurse and Philippson in the 1970s and which I revised in 1999, as explained below. The procedure is divided into three components. The first component is a general overview of the sound systems and vocabularies of Zone F languages as described in the above. The features that distinguish Zone F from the rest of Eastern Bantu, modelled after Nurse (1979b) are identified. The second component identifies the phonological and lexical differences and similarities between Zone F and SSN as a subgrouping within Zone F, while the last analyses the phonological as well as the lexical differences and similarities inside the SSN varieties. The last part forms the major focus of the study. The phonological and lexical parts form chapters of their own, chapter three and four respectively.

Secondly, secondary data is obtained by documentary review of other linguistic sources. Oral and recorded folklore and folk histories are also examined when available, and their merit appraised as legitimate sources of history and knowledge. In addition, archaeological and historical sources are also consulted as they relate to (historical) linguistics.

1.3. 1 Data collection

From an original list of 1036 words, I omitted 40 or so words in discussions for various reasons. These are shown with an asterisk in Appendix 1. This list of words was originally used by Guthrie (1967-71) and modified by Polomé (1980). It was further modified again by

Nurse and Philipsson in the 1970s when they compiled a general list of 1036 words for the Bantu languages of East Africa (Nurse: personal communication). Where there were no apparent cognates or there was an obvious error in the datum, the lexical item was not used in comparisons. This reduced considerably the total number of usable words. The shortcomings in the data were similar to those experienced by Guthrie (1948 (1967): 5, 8). While in Guthrie's case the lexical items were collected, recorded and copied/recopied by others, using orthographies familiar to the research assistants rather than accurate phonological or phonetic versions of what exists in the varieties in question. I recorded all the data myself using mainly one informant for each variety. Whenever an informant got stuck, it affected the quality of the data significantly, especially because some informants found the questionnaire rather long, with many unfamiliar words and concepts. On the other hand, while I speak one of the SSN varieties, JinaKIIya, I was not conversant at all with some of the dialects. The informants' responses were relied upon in this case, some of which would qualify to be called second-hand. The use of data which is second- or third-hand, and therefore of indeterminate reliability, leads to conclusions which are essentially tentative.

1.3.1.1 Fieldwork

Fieldwork involved having one tape recorder with two microphones for the researcher and the informant. The taping took four months, from March 1999 to July 1999. The questionnaire was 28 pages long, taking an average of three hours and 14 minutes, with a range of 2 to 6 hours per informant.

1.3.1.2 The informants

The informants were aged between 25 and 55 years, largely trilingual in their ethnic community language, KiSwahili and English so that there was no need for interpreters. A few were bilingual in KiSwahili and their ethnic community language. Occupational groups included University of Dar Es Salaam students and professors, employees in the government and private sector and peasants. Each informant answered the questionnaire alone except for F24b, F21c, F24a, and F32a dialects where two of them helped each other. Where there were two informants working together, any disagreements were useful and significant, for they helped clarify fuzzy areas and hence improved the data. In addition, out of the total 26 informants, only three females volunteered for the interview. One significant observation of this gender difference occurred with a few items which reflected a division of labour and therefore experience. Terms for hunting, wild animals and foods, for instance, drew confident answers more readily with people who interacted more with the named environment. Such items were few and their significance minimal, since knowledge of items in one area was compensated by ignorance over another item.

1.3.2 Research instruments

The list of 1036 words was printed, starting with English glosses arranged in alphabetical order, followed by the KiSwahili ones as illustrated in *Table 1.3*. Guthrie's original list was rearranged where an item for a word was available, to match the English glosses. The serial numbers found in Guthrie (1967-71:118-145, Part 1, Volume 2) were retained for easy

reference, just as Nurse and Philippon's list retained its serial numbers for the same reason, as shown in *Table 1.3*.

Table 1.3. Sample data used to elicit responses

| Serial No | English | KiSwahili | Zone F Variety |
|------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 133 ⁹ | abdomen, stomach, belly | tumbo | |
| 495 | abscess, boil | jipu (pl. majipu) | |
| 786 | abundant | tele | |
| 786a | abundant/abound | tele | |
| 571 | abuse, insult | (ku)tukana | |
| 252 | abuse | (ku)jamba | |
| 809 | accustomed (get) | (ku)zoea | |
| 274 | act (vt) | (ku)tenda | |
| 229 | add up | (ku)jumlisha | |
| 927 | adjacent (be); border (vi) | (ku)pakana | |
| 662 | adze, carpenter's | tezo | |

A copy of the questionnaire was given to each informant. During the interview, the researcher had his own copy, and he read out the list to the informant who responded orally through a microphone s/he held in her/his hands. The researcher held another for his own, and they recorded their turns as they spoke, without having to share one microphone. The lists were read in either language, although the majority of the informants preferred them read in KiSwahili. Many of the informants had demanded that they take the questionnaires home to familiarize themselves with the content for some time before the actual interview. During the time of familiarization, some even volunteered to write their responses in the blanks, and

⁹ These serial numbers refer to Nurse and Philippon's list

that subsequently speeded up the interviews, because they just read out the responses, stopping only when an ambiguous word, an unknown item, an inappropriate or unacceptable response was heard.

In the final version of the word-list after the interviews were completed, the KiSwahili column was removed and the English glosses simplified reference to items.

1.3.3 Data analysis

When the tapes were ready, 69 in all, the work of transcription started. A Sanyo TRC9010 transcriber was used. First, the data was transferred from the audio tapes by listening and writing them onto paper using IPA symbols for each of the 22 language varieties for every 28-page questionnaire. That made a total of 616 pages of A4 paper, comprising a total of approximately 22,792 words. The transcribed data were then entered into a word processor with the surface tone markings for every word.

Comparisons of the reflexes of the 8 target sounds, namely PB *p, *b, *t, *d, *c, *j, *k, *g, were then made. The reflexes of each sound in each language variety was observed and recorded. The totals of these reflexes for each sound were then added to see their frequency and distribution in each of the 22 varieties. Exceptions to the regular patterns were noted as irregular requiring an explanation. The regular reflexes formed the basis for finer internal organization of the dialects in SSN and in Zone F. Patterns were noted and conclusions

drawn.

These phonological patterns were examined to evaluate three major and two minor phonological processes. First, the 7V and 5V distinction in SSN and Zone F was done by identifying all relevant words with the target vowels. These vowels are mainly /ɪ/ and /ʊ/, which usually merge with /i/ and /u/ respectively in all 5V languages. The cases were counted and then tabulated. Secondly, Bantu Spirantization (BS) involving the superclose PB *j and *ɥ vowels isolated BS and non-BS languages in SSN and Zone F. BS languages had spirants in that superclose vowel context, while non-BS ones did not show any change of reflex from the non-superclose vowels. Thirdly, Dahl's Law involving two adjacent syllables with voiceless obstruent onsets was examined. If the first obstruent was voiced, DL was confirmed, and the DL and non-DL languages identified.

Glottalization as a secondary focus area treated PB *p and its /h/ reflex. The distribution of glottalization cases was noted and the language varieties involved identified. And finally, voiceless nasal formation involved prenasalized voiceless consonants. In languages displaying this pattern, the prenasalized consonants changed into homorganic voiceless nasals when the CPlace feature was deleted from the consonants while retaining the laryngeal feature [-voice]. The results in each of the five areas appear in Chapter 3.

The second part involving lexical data to derive quantitative and qualitative evidence for the

validity of SSN and Zone F appears in Chapter 4. Quantitatively, lexicostatistics was used. A list of 100 words was taken from Nurse (1979a) the majority of which were in the 1036 word list. Twenty eight language varieties in all were used, the target 22 and 6 more outside Zone F as control cases. Cognates were identified for each pair of languages, the number shared between them noted and their percentages tabulated. Finally, a tree was constructed from those percentages. These percentages formed the nodes where linguistic branches diverged or converged. Conclusions were drawn based on which varieties qualified for entry into the tree. Some of these varieties were excluded from the tree because a cut off percentage had to be made.

Qualitatively, the vocabulary from the 1036 word list was examined for cases of shared lexical innovation by unique invention, borrowing or areal influence. Innovation is a measure of genetic relationship.

The overall patterns from all areas of the analysis were finally evaluated for making conclusions about SSN and Zone F generally.

1.3.4 Problems in data collection

While the data collection exercise was expected to be smooth and straightforward, as it was a revision of an existing, ready-made list, the following major observations might prove useful in avoiding similar pitfalls in future data collection:

1.3.4.1 Ambiguous words used in the English and KiSwahili glosses.

Sometimes it was difficult to ask or elicit the expected words:

(a) because the informants had several words at their fingertips and they were not sure which one(s) the researcher wanted. For instance, an entry like 'to harvest' and *kuvuna* in KiSwahili was extremely ambiguous when a farming community member was asked. The natural question was usually 'To harvest what?'. With such single-meaning words in either English or KiSwahili and their several senses in the other varieties, a general term of 'harvesting' in many of Zone F languages was not available. A choice of a lexical item by an informant in such ambiguous concepts would tend to automatically skew the results because a uniform lexeme would depend only on chance where as many as ten possibilities were available. This situation is illustrated clearly by JináKĩyá, just as it would be in the other varieties where farming is the mainstay of their subsistence:

- (1) "to harvest" *kuvuna*
- (a) 'maize' gð-búkúŕŕlâ
 - (b) 'groundnuts-peanuts' gð-kulâ, gð-tônã
 - (c) 'cotton', 'tamarind fruit' gð-yóβã
 - (d) 'groundnuts', 'hardnuts' gð-kulâ
 - (e) 'millet' gð-gèsã
 - (f) 'sweet potatoes' gð-sĩĩmbã,
 - (g) 'beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*)' gð-sòlã.

- (h) 'vegetables to store for the dry season' gò-hòòlā
- (i) 'second harvests after major harvests, gleaning' gò-pòòmbā
- (j) 'baobab fruit' gò-sáanzá
- (k) 'simsim or sesame' gò-témā
- (l) 'lentil' gò-dúbòlā

(b) when an informant chose one context in which a word could be used, leaving out all the other contexts. To casual observers of the data, a non-cognate word appearing in a column might suggest that the variety in question had innovated or no cognates like the other varieties in the group could be found, and hence that variety or the word had a different history. For instance, an item like 'to be quiet', *ku-nyamaza* in Kiswahili, may be ambiguous to a speech community which distinguishes between the quietness of humans versus that of non-humans. In JinaKĩĩyá, 'to be quiet' can be *gò-hiimòlā* (for people who were talking, then stop), *gò-leembeela* (for winds or animals, which were previously making noise), *gò-fulíkā* (for a person who was crying), *gò-chiléélā* (for a noisy, heavy rain).

(c) when a choice was required between formal versus informal words, the question was 'which style was required to use for research purposes especially with oral languages with no established canons for standard usage'? To an informant, any word would be produced here.

1.3.4.2 Informant's expected linguistic competence

Perhaps due to Tanzania's multilingual setting where KiSwahili tends to be dominant, some informants tended to forget some words more readily than others. How would one treat such cases of frequent and long silences? Would one engage other competent speakers or would one just continue with many blank spaces left in the questionnaires as a consequence? Blank spaces therefore sometimes imply that no item was found in the language, while it might in fact only mean that the informant forgot it and there was no time to go back to record the recalled word.

1.3.4.3 An informant refusing to answer some questions

For cultural reasons, understandably, some informants refused to tell a word because it was a taboo and embarrassing. For words like 'testicle, sperm, sexual intercourse, and penis', euphemisms were used instead of the referential ones expected. Respectively, the euphemisms favoured included equivalent metaphors like 'bells' (testicles), 'water of males' (sperm), 'sleeping' (sexual intercourse).

1.3.4.4 Desirability of trilingual speakers

This requirement was the most desirable since some words were only clearer even to the researcher if they were explained in both KiSwahili and English so as to be translated by the informant in his/her third language. For instance, some of the palm trees mentioned in the questionnaire were not known to the researcher himself in all the languages he knew. In other

cases the KiSwahili word was different in meaning from the English gloss. For instance, while the entry for KiSwahili was *ndezi* as particular kind of rat, for English it was only 'kind of rat'. On its own, that English noun phrase was almost meaningless because any type of rat fitted. When asked by the informants to be specific, the researcher himself did not know which rat was being talked about. Another example had *chungu* in KiSwahili and 'small ant' in English. The English gloss was again almost meaningless because there are many types of small ants. In addition, *chungu* also means 'bitter', or 'heap' in KiSwahili. So informants reading one gloss only would respond differently from both those who preferred the other language, or who used both.

Sometimes words could not have equivalents in both the ethnic variety and KiSwahili, although it might be clear in English, and vice versa. For instance 'number' is *mwongo*, or *mulongo* in KiSwahili. But that word is no longer used in KiSwahili, and many languages have no such word. A monolingual informant would not grasp what the researcher was talking about in such cases.

With the names of mammals and birds especially, most informants were not sure which animal or bird was being referred to, because most of the informants had never physically seen the animals, while others have seen them, but were not sure which name to attach to which animal. To save face and to appear committed to the interview, some informants did not like to admit that they did not know. They said something, sometimes so obviously unacceptable

even to the researcher who spoke a different language because of having some understanding of some of the common names, that it was almost funny. This reflects what Whybrow (1948:56) observed when he was compiling a list of bird names in ß̄sukúma (Sukumaland):

There is rather a tendency for Sukuma, and doubtless other tribesmen, to invent names on the spur of the moment for the sake of pleasing the enquirer. A regular informant is soon cured of this, but one must be on guard with the casual.

1.3.4.5 Rejection of some words during data revision.

The original data used in this study were taken from 12 language varieties. The second version included ten more which were obtained by differentiating the varieties within groups originally represented with fewer members or viewed as mono-dialectal as in KĩnĩLáambà (two additional dialects), KĩKĩmbũ (one additional variety), SiSúumbwà (two more varieties), and KĩNyámwézi (three more varieties). While KĩRĩmi had originally two varieties, another was added. On the other hand one variety was completely new to the list, and this was ìCìWùòṅgò.

The major problem in this revision and update exercise was that some words found in the original list were rejected as alien in the informant's language. In other cases, some new words were added, while in other instances the words expected were not known in the language (at least to the informant). Since the original data did not include tones, the whole original list was not incorporated into the new one apart from its use during elicitation and confirmation of whether a word was available for the concept being asked, or whether the earlier words supplied were acceptable. Surprisingly, some of the words were rejected as

improper, either because they did not belong to the language, or their meanings were simply wrong. But this alone did not guarantee that all the new words were acceptable in the contexts given. Thus, caution is to be exercised while analysing the words, for errors of choice by informant, perception and recording by the researcher might show up in the data and skew or taint the results.

1.3.5 The methods

The comparative method was employed in Chapter 3 in analysing the phonological development of SSN and Zone F generally. Part of Chapter 4 employed lexicostatistics in establishing the internal relationships within SSN and Zone F as a quantitative measure, while the remaining part used the comparative method again to trace the qualitative similarities and differences in the target varieties and surrounding languages of eastern Africa.

1.3.5.1 The comparative method

1.3.5.1.1 The procedures of the comparative method

The comparative method in Bantu was first applied consistently and to a large scale by Bleek, Meinhof, Dempwolf, Bourquin and Greenberg. Guthrie (1962a, 1967-71, 1970) acknowledges those predecessors generally for their inspiration in his own work in Bantu (Guthrie 1962a:2). Others who followed the pioneers elaborated and continued to refine and apply the method, for example, Lestrade (1948), Meeussen (1973); Bynon and Mann (1973); Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993), Nurse 1999), among others. As Meinhof himself had

said when utilizing the method, it is applied as it had worked in Indo-European languages (Meinhof 1932:21, Guthrie 1962a:2)

Guthrie (1962a:4-23) characterizes his version of the procedure as involving two stages. as Meeussen (1973:16-18) also elaborates:

- (a) Every rule formulated is to be free from exceptions.
 - (i) comparative series: setting up completely regular sound correspondences.
 - (ii) starred forms: symbolizing the proto-phonemes to represent the sound correspondences obtained in (i) as underlying forms. (although strictly speaking, protoforms are not underlying forms, although they are often identical).

This can be illustrated from Zone F, thus:

(1) ashes *-bu

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------------|
| F21a i-βú/mâ-βú | F23a mâ-vú | F31a mâ-ú | F34 yú-ú |
| F21b-βú/mâ-βú | F23b i-vú/mâ-vú | F31b mâ-ú | F33 ï-vú |
| F21c ï-βú/mâ-βú | F23c i-zú/mâ-zú | F31c mâ-ú | |
| F22b i-βú/mâ-βú | 24b mâ-ú | F32a mâ-ú | F10 (i/ma-füündú) |
| F22d i-vú/mâ-vú | 24a mâ-ú | F32b mâ-ú | F22a (mâ-tüündè) |
| F22e i-wú/mâ-wú | | F32c mâ-ú | F25 (i-twiitwi) |

(b) from the cognates obtained in (a) by the sound correspondences, it is possible to assign phonetic values to the proto-phonemes and classify the comparative series into well-defined categories of reconstructions, although this assignment is not easy.

1.3.5.1.2 The aims of the comparative method

As can be observed from the brief description of the comparative method, the aims of the procedure are to establish genetic relationships between languages claimed to descend from a single ancestor. This assumes that languages are monogenetic. Guthrie (1970:23) himself was aware of this monogenetic assumption of the method as he aptly points out:

It is the total collection of material of this kind that gives rise to the presumption of some kind of genealogical relationship among the various Bantu languages, but it would be an oversimplification of the problem to decide outright that therefore all the Bantu languages should be treated as direct descendants of a single ancestor language. It may not be out of place here to consider for a moment the significance of a family tree as a representation of the inferred prehistorical development of various languages from a common ancestor. Sometimes several languages are shown as all being genealogically related to a single parent language, but this could in fact be a considerable oversimplification. [Emphasis added].

With this caution sounded by Guthrie in mind, it is only becoming to look at the limitations of the comparative method, albeit very briefly.

1.3.5.1.3 Limitations of comparative reconstruction

Like all methods in both natural and social sciences, the comparative method does not represent a panacea in historical and comparative linguistics, able to handle all questions of application and interpretation arising theoretically or in the field in relation to Bantu, and

indeed, to linguistics in general. While the method is practical and useful, criticisms relate to both the method itself and the interpretation of the results obtained through it. With regard to method, its application depends to a large extent on earlier data of a language in order to ascertain the validity of the reconstructions. In oral cultures like most of Bantu, such earlier, written forms of language are absent, and therefore applying the method is relatively more difficult and challenging. In addition, for the method to succeed, it requires quality data of enough quantity in order to obtain reliable and valid results. But this could be said of any method.

Secondly, interpretation of the results obtained through the method may be difficult because an accurate, historical interpretation requires, as a precondition, sound assumptions about the nature of language, language change, historical processes and human agency, including all the factors affecting that combination of phenomena.

Thirdly, there is considerable debate which has continued for years about the relative role of inheritance versus language contact/convergence in explaining current situations in languages. The comparative method cannot address language contact because it favours monogenetic treatment of data. The method only handles some type of data, and leaves the rest. If one allows for the existence of dialects in languages, then proto languages should not be an exception. This implies that, it is one method among several rather than being *the* method. It is useful without being perfect, like lexicostatistics, its efficiency in application being only

relative.

1.3.5.2 Lexicostatistics/Glottochronology¹⁰

1.3.5.2.1 Overview of lexicostatistics

This overview considers the criticisms against lexicostatistics and the reasons why it has been used despite those criticisms, and hence warranting this lengthy treatment. Some excellent literature exists in the field of lexicostatistics (and glottochronology) dealing with both its theory and practice, either in its support, neutral application or criticism as in all scientific endeavors. Among these are Swadesh (1950, 1955) who first popularized the method, Fairbanks (1955), Gudschinsky (1955, 1956), Kroeber (1955), Taylor and Rouse (1955), Hymes (1960a, 1960b, 1964); Amstrong (1962), Bergsland and Vogt (1962), Grace (1964), Dyen (1965, 1975), Henrici (1970), McElhanon (1970), Hinnebusch (1976, 1999), Nurse and Philippon (1980a), Schadeberg (1986), Embleton (1986), Dyen, Kruskal and Black (1992), Ross (1998), Ehret (2000), among others.

In the earliest stages of the method, lexicostatistics and glottochronology were used interchangeably. While lexicostatistics is the statistical study of a restricted vocabulary in two or more languages for historical inference and/or relative chronology, glottochronology is the same thing, but only estimates exact time depths between a pair of languages or groups

¹⁰ When lexicostatistics is mentioned, glottochronology is excluded, unless explicitly stated.

as a measure of absolute chronology, for historical inference (Hymes 1960a:4, Hinnebusch 1999:174). The focus in this study is lexicostatistics, while the application of glottochronology is also attempted to test the lexicostatistical results, since lexicostatistics is a process which gives output to be used by glottochronology as its input. That is, glottochronology is a technique of dating the nodes of shared vocabulary generated by lexicostatistics. As can be seen, the connection between the two is inevitable and important in many ways.

In its evolution, glottochronology (at the time) or lexicostatistics as it became to be known later, was inspired by Carbon 14 (C^{14}) dating technology (Gudschinsky 1956:1, Embleton 1986:43, Hock and Joseph 1996:531). The method uses a formula which has been refined over the years, as shown in (2), where t , expressed in millennia, is elapsed time since 2 languages that are compared separated, C is the percentage of the shared cognates between the compared languages, and r is the standard rate of core vocabulary retention per 1,000 years, or the index, recommended at 86% in a 100-word list and 81% (80.5%) in a 200-word list (Swadesh 1950:158, Embleton 1986:49).

(2)

$$t = \frac{\log C}{2 \log r}$$

Since many of the support of and/or objections to the reliability and validity of the results of glottochronology and hence lexicostatistics are based on the assumptions of C^{14} and the above formula, it is essential to provide four assumptions here as aptly summarized by Gudschinsky (1956:177-8):

- (a) Basic core vocabulary is assumed to be less subject to change than other types;
- (b) The rate of retention in basic core vocabulary is constant through time, (although no evidence was provided to substantiate that claim (Kroeber 1955:91));
- (c) The rate of loss of basic vocabulary is approximately the same in all languages (11 Indo European and 2 other language family test languages were used to arrive at that generalization);
- (d) A known percentage of shared vocabulary between two languages can yield the length of time that has elapsed since their divergence from their common ancestor, provided that there was no interference through migrations, conquests, or other social contacts with other speech communities which would slow or speed up the divergence.

With that scenario, it makes sense now to examine some of the comments which have been made concerning the application and interpretation of the results of lexicostatistics and glottochronology. This helps in appreciating the merits and shortcomings of the method by avoiding exaggerating its shortcomings or undermining its usefulness.

On the one hand, lexicostatistics has been adequately applied to SSN and Zone F languages by Nurse (1979a, 1979b), Nurse and Philippson (1980a). In those studies, one finds patterns of linguistic groupings which do not depart very much from the results of other, more traditional methods. Such corroboration indicates that lexicostatistics does indeed work and is useful in internal classification where relatedness is shown clearly among members of a subgroup (Nurse 1997:364). To put this in perspective, the criticisms put forward against lexicostatistics are discussed first. There then follows a justification for using this method in this study despite such strong criticisms, indicating that we are aware of the problems.

1.3.5.2.2 Arguments against lexicostatistics

Many scholars see both sides of the coin in judging the method by giving credit where it is due, without failing to point out any weaknesses. Some take one stand only, for or against the method. For instance, while recognizing the usefulness of the method, Nurse (1997:364-6) directs some specific criticisms against lexicostatistics, and four are more serious because they concern the method itself rather than how it is applied:

- (a) the method does not clearly distinguish true cognates from mere resemblances, but depends on how an individual researcher recognizes and excludes non-cognates.
- (b) it forces binary splits even when a three split might be more appropriate.
- (c) it allows geographically proximate languages to behave lexicostatistically similar as if they are genetic relatives even when they are not (Henrici 1970:89-91) and

(d) there is no agreed upon cut-off percentage for languages to be classified as daughters of a proto language.

Apart from those specific problems, more general shortcomings of lexicostatistics were recognized early by Swadesh himself and many others when they were dealing with linguistic dating (Swadesh 1950, 1955; Taylor and Rouse 1955). The problems relate to both the quality of the data and the mathematical derivation and hence mechanism of the method itself

Both the data and method undermine the basic assumptions of lexicostatistics in significant ways, which in C¹⁴ terms, introduce contamination in the linguistic samples. Among these weaknesses include inaccurate transcription of the phonetics of the vocabulary collected; errors in translations which result in unexpected meanings; the absence of worked out phonological systems as a check for errors; and over-or -underestimation of time depths, etc. For some linguists, such shortcomings are unwelcome, justifying a rejection of the whole enterprise as unredeemably hopeless. In this scenario, the method is dismissed as unfit of serious attention because of its many misleading errors.

For instance, Bergsland and Vogt (1960:125-9) represent the skeptical school which views the reliance on the method to calculate time depths as premature due to the vagueness of the procedure. To prove their point, they point out that basic vocabulary does not change at a constant rate; a few vocabulary items in a few languages cannot be generalized to human language as a whole; and a study of vocabulary was more complex than glottochronology

could handle. The controversy is summarized well by Embleton (1986). Dixon (1997:4, and footnote), gives a verdict that lexicostatistics was a short cut which failed and was discredited because it was based on illicit assumptions like uniform replacement of vocabulary, or that core and non-core lexemes behaved differently. Dixon concludes that the method has already been discarded by serious linguists. Similarly, Hock and Joseph (1996:530-31) dismiss the method as unreliable because it depends on interpretation rather than facts alone. In addition, its findings are often disconfirmed by empirical evidence.

Another criticism is the argument of forcing statistical or mathematical precision in a social science like linguistics in an attempt to make it a respectable discipline deserving attention like those in the natural sciences.

While the twin methods are different in their aims, the attack on glottochronology was especially encouraged by its association with lexicostatistics. The terms were sometimes used synonymously, although a distinction between them is clear, namely that glottochronology deals with an absolute measure between points A and B of language development while lexicostatistics' value is relative. It was that absolute measure that drew the most criticism because in known cases, the margin of error was so vast that many linguists doubted it, while others rejected the method as flawed in its mathematical assumptions (Bergsland and Vogt (1962); Grace (1964:64-5), Herbert and Huffman (1993:64). For instance, Armstrong (1962:284-5) shares the same sentiments about glottochronology in its tendency to

underestimate the time depths being considered. Armstrong argues that it is difficult and controversial to determine the rate of change of basic vocabulary and prove empirically that it is the same for all languages. In addition, it is tricky to assume that because a few languages with written records changed at a certain pace in a certain number of centuries, therefore their rate of change was the same during their past unwritten period. Rather, it is the case that such a rate cannot be uniform for all other languages in all places in the world in all millennia. While appreciating the merits of the method for its immense value, he also acknowledges that glottochronology is a speculative and hazardous intellectual venture whose results and methods are not satisfactory.

Overall, most of the criticisms which dismiss lexicostatistics completely fail to appreciate the fact that almost all scientific methodologies, while proven to be practical, have their drawbacks. Instead of rejecting lexicostatistics out of hand, some latitude can be usefully allowed as better ways are searched to perfect the method, as a core of the evolution of science. Fair criticism, therefore, implies not only the recognition of the weaknesses of a method, but it also involves an appreciation of its practical utility, since, as in the case of lexicostatistics, there is ample room for improvement. That benefit of doubt has not been granted fully by trying the method on many languages, as the following school of thought suggests.

1.3.5.2.3 Merits of lexicostatistics

From earlier on, such usefulness of lexicostatistics was appreciated by many linguists (Swadesh (1955), Gudschinsky (1956), Hymes (1960a, 1960b,1964); Henrici (1970), Hinnebusch (1976, 1999), Schadeberg (1986), Embleton (1986), Renfrew (1997), Nurse (1999) and Ehret (2000)) who view the enterprise as practical enough since no method is perfect and cannot be used alone as a panacea for providing all the solutions to all problems. For instance, Hymes (1960a,b) recognizes and discusses many problems, starting with the test list itself which had mainly Indo European words at first, some of which were found irrelevant in some non-Indo European languages; the control cases were not satisfactory since most had no earlier documentation; the retention rate was doubtful, since the lists used are normally not identical in terms of vocabulary items and length, with the 100 and 200 word-lists giving different retention rates; the statistics and mathematics are based on assumptions which are only hypotheses, giving even more hypothetical results since the rates of lexical change, for instance, are not known in the majority of world languages. He concludes that there is room for improvement.

Although Ross (1998:142) points out that glottochronology as a direct application of lexicostatistical output is unreliable in many languages, in the rare cases of languages like those of Polynesia, the twin methods work quite well because the languages were almost isolated from contact with other languages outside their family.

Hinnebusch (1999:177) commends another advantage of the method, that of providing evidence for contact, apart from determining levels of retention alone. Similarity between language varieties cannot be by genetic affiliation from a proto-language alone. It can also be due to borrowing through contact and lexicostatistics can show that.

In most of Africa where the dating of prehistorical events is difficult, the questions raised against glottochronology become important. Many dates have been suggested for the ages of artefacts and events in Africa, but the major contention revolves around the methods of dating them and the assumptions inherent in those methods. The methodological problems of dating archaeological artefacts and establishing time periods and sequences for them is a major problem where there is no evidence of written records of dates attached to them. Hence, in this study, absolute chronologies in linguistics, history and archaeology are approached cautiously since the dating techniques are not reliable.

1.3.5.2.4 Merits of lexicostatistics: a summary

All methods are essentially hypotheses trying to account for something which is unknown. Their chances of success are only matters of degree and preference rather than absolute dichotomies of right and wrong. They only aim at as objective truth and as reasonable success in providing answers as possible.

For instance, the comparative method as a practical enterprise has its own serious problems,

although it has been used for years. Because languages do not exist in a vacuum, its monogenetic implication is definitely flawed. In real life, languages are spoken by people and speech communities in constant interaction, and total isolation is an exception than the rule. For instance, Indo European is only one intermediate node in the linguistic tree of its ancestors, Nostratic. Even Nostratic did not exist alone. There were other languages influencing it. Although this might sound speculative, the scenario of language contact in prehistory is not handled well by the comparative method.

In addition, lexicostatistics suffers from lack of engaged evaluation from most of the linguists themselves. The mathematics involved in the lexicostatistics formula deals with advanced probability theory which for many linguists is not their area of competence. The result is continued reliance on the judgement of others, which is not always accurate either. For instance, Embleton (1986:62) points out that the criticisms by Chrétien (1962) were known by statisticians and mathematicians to be flawed, but those statisticians and mathematicians could not contribute to the debate because they were not certain what linguistic arguments were involved in that formula. A team of individuals each trained as a linguist, programmer, statistician and mathematician could do a better job by researching the area over a period of time.

The bottom-line with lexicostatistics is that some particular methodologies like the comparative method tend to be privileged even when they have their limitations, while equally

promising ones tend to be dismissed because they remain 'new' for lack of wider application and continual improvement.

1.3.5.3. Other methods

As hinted earlier, a method like mass comparison is not used in this study. One reason is that mass comparison, for instance, best suits analyses at macro-, rather than at micro-level where dialects are compared, as in this study. By using mass comparison whereby the vocabulary and morphology of many languages are compared to determine similarities, Greenberg (1963) succeeded in drawing up a convincing taxonomy of the four language phyla then predominant in Africa, namely, Khoisan, Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Congo.

The methods used in archaeology and which furnish evidence of chronology, pose a special challenge in many societies in Africa. The evolution of human societies in the past relied on harmony with nature where the environment was rarely altered. In such cases, no traces could be found of any artefact. This implies that dating has a long way to go in prehistoric studies, but especially in societies which left no objects to fall back on when all else failed. But also, the age of human existence tends to be underestimated and linguists and historians alike talk of Bantu migrations and expansion in terms of a few hundred years ago based on material objects found on the ground. Such objects depend on human agency, and when they are not made, then any dating relying on them fails. The absence of such finds tells us nothing

of the history of the people living there except that they did not alter nature or leave their implements. Gathering societies which depend solely on plants and insects for their livelihood may leave no trace of their activities. Many Bantu societies might have lived in such an environment of abundant natural resources for an unknown number of centuries.

1.4 CHAPTER PREVIEW

The rest of the chapters in this study are arranged with the following content. Chapter 2 contains the literature survey, including overviews, that of the linguistic research undertaken in the area and the theoretical framework. The linguistic component surveys three areas: phonology, lexical analysis and classification in SSN and Zone F. The major theoretical framework adopted is the contact models of language development as suggested by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), along with the family tree model.

Chapter 3 maps the phonological development of Zone F generally, and SSN in particular, and finally, attempts a historical interpretation of the linguistic patterns, especially the chronology of the phonological processes defining the linguistic groups in the target languages. Chapter 4 maps the development of lexis, looking into quantitative and qualitative evidence for Zone F and SSN, while Chapter 5 concludes the study by synthesizing the foregoing. It also makes final observations, recommendations, and points out avenues for further research, looking briefly at language as a tool of history in the area.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This survey of the literature reviews what has been written about SSN. Zone F and where relevant, Bantu in general. In particular, it focuses on what has been done in phonology and lexis. In phonology, it reviews work done on BS, 7 > 5, DL as major areas, and glottalization and voiceless nasal formation as minor processes, especially within SSN. With respect to the lexicon, lexicostatistics and its classificatory results are discussed in relation to the role of the method as an ordering tool where there is still taxonomic chaos due to the sometimes enormous knowledge gaps in Bantu studies. Finally, classification in SSN and Zone F generally is examined as it relates both to our phonological and lexical focus, as well as to other criteria used by other scholars. The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to see what is known about the area with regard to what has been done and its merit; what criticisms can be levelled against that knowledge; where the contribution of this thesis fits in; and therefore why the work is worth doing.

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.1 Bantu, Zone F and SSN linguistic descriptions

From the pioneers of Bantu linguistics like Bleek (1862-9) and Meinhof (1932), the major work on Bantu comparison and classification is represented by two undertakings, the seminal work of Guthrie (1967-71), on which Nurse (1979b:43) states supersedes all previous work, and Meeussen (1980). Guthrie makes a referential classification of the majority of the Bantu

languages based on phonological, grammatical, and lexical criteria by listing all known Bantu languages and their dialects. He goes on to reconstruct about 2300 Bantu roots (Guthrie 1962b:274, 1962c:13). Meeussen, on his part, reconstructs about 1200 Bantu roots. Following in the footsteps of these two, many historical linguists have compared several languages and language groups, mainly using vocabulary, verbal morphemes and phonological systems, although they have not attempted any work of reconstruction of the magnitude of Guthrie and Meeussen. For an overview of the evolution of Bantu scholarship, especially on classification, see Nurse (1995) who summarizes the achievements attained so far, especially by Henrici (1973), Heine (1973), Möhlig (1981), Bastin (1983), Coupez, Mann and Vansina (was in progress¹), and Ehret (1994). He gives a critique of each work, and then identifies the work required to be done in the future to fill the gaps observed in those works, pointing out five areas, four of which are relevant here (Nurse 1995:71-3).

First, Nurse says, linguists should obtain good quality data of sufficient quantity rather than continuing with the prevailing practice of using incomplete and inadequate information to make global generalizations. This aim has not been realized yet in full, since the data used are still mainly second-hand, often collected many years ago when transcription was not yet fully standardized and knowledge of Bantu was still generally poor. This fact is illustrated by the case of Bantu Spirantization or Dahl's Law, in which some languages are said to have those processes, when in fact they do not. This is addressed fully in Chapter 3.

¹ Work was in progress then (1995), involving many Bantu languages/dialects (450+) based on lexicostatistics, interpreted historically. Published and became Bastin, Coupez and Mann (1999).

Secondly, new approaches not based on lexicostatistics were needed to tackle intermediate levels of Bantu instead of concentrating on the lowest and highest, at dialect and Proto-Bantu stages respectively. These new approaches would then be compared with the results of other methods like lexicostatistics. This recommendation has not been realized too. One problem here is that the majority of the lower level dialects have not been subjected to lexicostatistics to establish their internal relationships so as to move to the intermediate levels with solid lower level linguistic cohesion and grouping. Normally, one dialect was taken to represent two or more dialects, as in the case of KɪNyamweezi or SiSuumbwa. Without proper analysis of all dialects, it is impossible to have accurate information on the intermediate levels. This study tries to address precisely that, using lexicostatistics.

Thirdly, linguists and other scholars working in different areas of Bantu needed to cooperate so as to simplify such a daunting task as Bantu research. Working in isolation led to duplication and dissipation of effort and slowing of new knowledge generation. This recommendation has seen a lot of activity, one example being the revision of Guthrie's coding system with a view to improving it by incorporating excluded languages and their varieties².

And finally, Nurse also recommends that those interested in Bantu linguistics be multi-disciplinary in their approach in order to be informed of how other related fields view and use their disciplines. As we have observed in 1.3.5.2.4, a multi-disciplinary approach in linguistics will go a long way in areas like evaluating effectively methods like lexicostatistics

² D. Nurse and J. Maho, p.c. (2001)

which are not linguistic in nature but which linguists find quite useful.

With that scenario in mind, a survey of some relevant work is in order here. The earliest classification of Bantu as a big, unified group was most likely the work started by Dr Peters who collected some vocabularies and gave them to Dr Bleek in 1852. For his part, Bleek, who was trained in Indo-European philology, studied these manuscripts, translated, edited and published them (Meinhof 1932:21, Doke 1959:26). That was the beginning of the term “Bantu” and the study of the language group using purely linguistic criteria. Bleek had isolated 18 noun classes of Bantu nouns, spurring other linguists to classify the various members of the group into patterns of similar sub-groups, including Zone F and SSN.

Most of the work done in the Zone F languages has been mainly synchronic, that is, as they are spoken at a given single point in time. The work has been general, describing the grammar, vocabulary and sound systems of individual languages or their individual varieties rather than analysing all varieties comparatively. For some of these varieties, the lack of linguistic scholarship in this regard still continues since they are only mentioned, and in many cases some are not even mentioned³.

³ These include F21b, F22a, F22d, and F23c from SSN. From the rest of Zone F the following are only mentioned without any description whatsoever, while some are not even included, as far as this author is aware: F10, F31a, F31c. For instance, the bibliographies of Bantu language materials in general held by individuals and public libraries are seriously lacking, as shown by Downing (1989). Without specifying dialects, Downing shows for instance that only two general works mention SiSúumbwà (F23) since 1880; seventeen sources appear for KiSúkumà (F21); thirteen documents for KiNyámwéézi (F22); two mention KiKífmbù (F24) and nothing appears for the other varieties of Zone F. Polomé (continued...)

In all the languages studied, most of the word lists were compiled by missionaries and adventurers who were language enthusiasts keen on obtaining quick, practical results rather than elaborately accurate phonological descriptions of trained philologists. Hence they cut corners, approximating what they saw and heard to what they already knew, without any rigorous method of systematic categorization. Doke (1959:1-2) also points out that few of these travellers had any real ability in correct observation and recording, and most of their records were only interesting relics of no philological value. With such compilations, one would normally only find some bits and pieces of linguistic description, reconstruction, classification and historical interpretation done amateurishly. Among others, this linguistic work has included the following, shown in *Table 2.1*.

Table 2.1 Work done in Zone F languages

| <i>Language</i> | <i>Author</i> | <i>Area</i> | <i>Focus</i> |
|-----------------|----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| F21 | Richardson (1959) | phonology-tone | JinàKityá |
| | Richardson and Mann (1967) | vocabulary list | JinàKityá |
| | Masesa (1978) | verbal morphology | Kimúnadákamá ⁴ |

F21

(...continued)

(1980) lists fourteen sources for KĪSúkúamá since 1945, six of which are typewritten manuscripts. Most of these manuscripts are not dated, do not show place of composition and are written anonymously. Reviewing publications in F23, Kahigi (1988:6,7) comments that, like all Bantu languages, F23 does not have a long written tradition as a starting point, as is the case with other language groups like Proto Indo-European and its daughter languages. The earliest published record for F23 is that of Last (1885), a collection of several Bantu language vocabularies, including that of F23, with a 250 word list.

⁴ Masesa does not indicate the exact location of this dialect, although by the examples
(continued...)

| Language | Author | Area | Focus |
|----------|-------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| | Goldsmith (1985) | phonology, tone | KimúnáSúkúmá? |
| | Batibo (1985) | morphology and phonology | KimúnáSúkúmá |
| | Yukawa (1989) | tonological | General F21 ⁵ |
| | Maddieson (1991) | voiceless nasals ('aspirated' nasals) | KimúnáSúkúmá |
| | Batibo (1991a, 1991b) | phonology, tone | KimúnáSúkúmá |
| | Masele (1993) | phonetics, voiceless nasals | JinàKĩiyá |
| | Masele (1996) | phonology, homorganic voiceless nasals | JinàKĩiyá |
| | Masele (2000) | phonology, tone | JinàKĩiyá |
| F22 | Maganga and Schadeberg (1992) | grammar, vocabulary and phonology | KiNiyámwéézi or KiDákámá? |
| | Silanda (1978) | phonology | KiKónòngó |
| | Schadeberg (1991 1994) | phonology, high tone | KiNiyámwéézi general? |
| F23 | Kahigi (1977, 1988) | phonology | Lunzewe (F23a) |
| F32 | Olson (1964) | phonology, morphology | GiRwáná |
| | Schadeberg (1979) | phonology, nominal tones | KIRĩmi general? |
| Zone F | Nurse (1979a) | syntax, morphology, phonology | F21, F22, F23, F31, F32 |
| | Nurse and Philippson (1980a) | lexicostatistical | F21, F22, F23, F24, F31, F32, F33 |
| Bantu | Meinhof (1899/1932) | phonology, lexis | Sample Bantu |

⁴(...continued)

he gives, his Kimúnádákámá is our JinàKĩiyá which adjoins our Kimúnádákámá, and his JinàKĩiyá our Gĩnántúú. This is the problem of directional names which only indicate position relative to speaker's/writer's location.

⁵ General F21 or any other language refers to a situation where an author did not explicitly say what dialect s/he was analyzing, or when we are not sure which dialect.

2.1.2 Phonological studies

2.1.2.1 Bantu Spirantization (BS) and 7 > 5⁶

Bantu Spirantization is a weakening process in some Bantu languages whereby plosive consonants change into spirants before the superclose PB *j and *y vowels, making their reflexes different from reflexes of plosives in other vowel environments [-superclose]. Hinnebusch, Nurse and Mould (1981:17), Nurse (1988:29) suggest that BS was only beginning in F21 and F22 because of the evidence of both complete and incomplete forms of BS being attested in words, in addition to the strong 7 vowel system, indicative of an ongoing process. But Nurse (1999:21), while sure about the absence of BS in F24, F31, F32, states that the evidence is ambiguous in F21/F22. This observation of indeterminate BS in F21/F22 is also made by Batibo (2000:25-26) who suggests that BS has become inactive, although it operated in the past. Since the observations made so far are based on general data from these languages, this study examines the details in the individual dialects to determine to what extent these observations are true, whether there is ongoing BS, inactive BS, or ambiguous BS in F21/F22, for example. Some of these statements are confusing and contradictory since they refer to the same phenomenon in the same languages. What do such differing observations mean historically, especially when innovations like BS co-exist with 7V systems?

Using Guthrie's inventory, Schadeberg (1995:83) surveyed representative languages from all Bantu zones. In Zone F, 4 languages were selected: F10, F21, F31, and F33. His results

⁶ A full treatment of BS and 7 > 5 is found in Chapter 3. They are treated together because of their close causal relationship.

indicate that F31 has neither BS nor $7 > 5$, while F10 has both. On the other hand, F21 and F33 do not show $7 > 5$, but they have BS. Since Schadeberg's concern was a summary of a general area, he did not go into the details of each individual language to examine how the twin processes worked. In addition, only a few Zone F languages were used, and only one of the three from SSN. The work therefore offers a challenge to explore BS details in all Zone F languages to determine how the results of the 4 languages used by Schadeberg can be generalized for Zone F or SSN.

On her part, Labroussi (1999) mentions the case of F25 which shows clear BS with some words in the same environment failing to undergo BS. This casts doubts on whether F25 has real BS or some other process mimicking BS. Another doubt cast is the status of the vowel inventory: while the young informant shows a 5-vowel system, the older informant indicates clear 7V. Labroussi (1999:370) then concludes that, F25 has a conservative 7V system, adding that it is an abnormal pattern of BS in an innovative language needing an explanation. This might possibly be a result of contact with BS languages. Such uncertainty of BS in F25, as elsewhere in Zone F is a good reason to re-examine Labroussi's conclusions, which may cast crucial light on BS in the rest of Zone F vis-à-vis the observations made by the studies mentioned above.

2.1.2.2 Dahl's Law (DL)

Dahl's Law is a dissimilation process of two adjacent syllables with voiceless obstruent onsets in a root, found in some eastern Bantu languages, whereby, the first obstruent, usually a

plosive, becomes voiced, as in PB *-kopa → F21c /-gopa/ 'borrow'. It is realized differently by different languages, as explored fully in Chapter 3. According to Nurse (1999:20-21), DL is found in six groups in eastern Bantu. The codes in brackets indicate the rough individual groups involved according to Guthrie's zones: Proto Central Kenya (E46, E50), Proto Kilimanjaro-Taita (E60, E74), Proto Great Lakes (D40, DJ50, DJ60, EJ10, EJ20, EJ30, EJ40), Proto Northeast coast (NEC) (G10, G20, G30, G40, parts of E70), Proto West Tanzania (Zone F), and Proto Southern Tanzania Highlands (G60, N11). In Zone F, some languages have DL, others have none. For instance, in F24, F31, F32, F33, there are no traces; in F23, there are limited traces; while in F21/F22 there are many traces (Nurse 1979b:422). Those with no DL pose no immediate problem. It is F21/F22 and F23 which form SSN that are interesting. In our preliminary data, most of F22 shows doubtful DL or none at all, except in loans. However, Maganga and Schadeberg (1992:23) suggest that DL in F22 (KɪNyamweezi) is almost exceptionless. On the other hand, our data suggest that F23 does not have DL except in a few loanwords (See *Appendix 3*). In light of these inconsistent reports, the examination of all dialects within Zone F, but especially in SSN hopes to clarify the fuzzy picture of DL in the area and aid in a more robust fashion the classification of the language varieties.

2.1.2.3 Glottalization

Glottalization as a change of PB *p to /h/ in many Bantu languages is not significant on its own. Its importance lies with regard to SSN when one finds reflexes of PB *p being both /p/ and /h/, which is a marked situation. Addressing this situation, Batibo (2000:27-8) observes

that glottalization has ceased to be active in F21/22, with /p/ becoming more widely distributed than /h/. Like BS and DL, the inactivity of glottalization suggests two scenarios: on-going process or the presence of loans (Batibo:ibid). Such indeterminacy needs clarification by examination of the various dialects as proposed by this study.

2.1.2.4 Voiceless nasal formation

Within Zone F, only F21 and F22 display this feature. Voiceless nasals /ɱ, ŋ, ɲ, ŋ̊/ are in opposition with their voiced nasal counterparts /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/. The evolution of these voiceless nasals seems to have first started as pre-nasalized consonants /mɱ, nt, ɲc, ŋk/ respectively. With time, they were phonologized so that they are now phonemes which can be contrasted with both the plosives and voiced nasals. The voiceless nasals from KImunaSukuma are discussed in Maddieson 1991 and from JinaKItiya in Masele (1993, 1996). Some examples are shown in Table 2.2, with contrastive minimal pairs or similar words with voiced nasals where available. The tones given are underlying for each word, low where tones are not marked.

Table 2.2 Voiceless nasals in F21c

| ɱ | ŋ | ɲ | ŋ̊ |
|--|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| naamalā 'old man' | muuŋɔ 'person' | muuɲā 'maiden' | Igooŋo 'etched log' |
| ɱelā 'rhinoceros' -melā <i>vt</i> 'tease' | ŋIga 'giraffe' -niga 'strangle' | βaaɲā 'female proper name' | ŋ̊IIndā 'bell' ŋ̊iindā <i>adj</i> 'half full' |
| -Iguuɱā <i>vi</i> 'trip' | -daaŋa 'climb & creep' | -nuuɲa <i>vt</i> 'smell' | -nuuŋa <i>vi</i> 'smell' |

Our preliminary results suggest that it is only F21 and F22b which have voiceless nasals, while the core dialects of F22 and F23 do not. This distribution within F21/F22 prompts a closer look, since DL also seems to follow the same pattern, where only F21/F22b are involved fully. Maganga and Schadeberg (1992:16-7) do not say whether these voiceless nasals are also found in all the KiNyamweezi dialects. This study makes that distinction clear by noting the behaviour of each individual variety.

By combining these phonological processes: BS, 7 > 5, DL, glottalization and voiceless nasal formation in SSN and Zone F from the dialects, it is hoped that some concrete classification can be suggested, especially if it departs from the current affiliations.

2.1.3. Lexical studies

In this area, it is the seminal work by Nurse (1979a, 1979) and Nurse and Philippson (1980a, 1980b) which feature prominently. These studies employed lexicostatistics to analyse broader coverage of eastern Bantu languages, including Zone F and SSN.

Among these, Nurse and Philippson (1980a) is the most relevant. In this study, a 400 word-list was used, and 76 languages/dialects were compared for both internal and external relationships. Inter- and intra-zone comparisons were made, and the results for Zone F were as follows: Zone F without KiiRangi was a strong unit, although when KiiRangi⁷ was added,

⁷ The long vowel [ii] in KiiRangi is a result of two short vowels from two syllables ki- as a marker of language, and the initial [i] in i-Ra-ŋgi, the root. In SiSuumbwa, as in many
(continued...)

it became weak because of the distant relationship. The zone (which they called West Tanzania) divided into two: F21, F22, and F23 on the one hand, and F24, F31 and F32 on the other. Of these, F21/F22 formed the strongest unity, prompting Nurse and Philippson (1980a:48) to state confidently that they were 'dialects' of one language. In the other group, F24 displayed interference from West Ruvu (G10 and G39), while F31 and F32 were closer, forming another unit.

On the other hand, there were some problems of internal cohesion. For instance, F23 (SiSuumbwa) did not fit quite well within F21/F22, since its shared vocabulary percentage was higher with both DJ60 and EJ20 than it was with any of the Zone F languages to which F23 was purported to belong. The interpretation given by Nurse and Philippson (1980a:40) was that F23 was heavily influenced by both DJ60 (Western Highlands) and EJ20 (Southern Rutara). A second problem was that F10, F25, and F34 were not included in their study because there were no data for the languages. And finally, only one language variety/dialect was picked for each language, as if these languages are strictly mono-dialectal. These three problems justify our study in which we reexamine the claims made utilizing all members of Zone F, by including the majority of their dialects.

2.1.4 Earlier Zone F and SSN classification

The evolution of Zone F language classification generally, and SSN in particular can be

⁷(...continued)
other such environments it is the following [m] which triggers vowel length.

illustrated in *Tables 2.3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10* below. *Table 2.3* shows attempts represented by two periods in the work of Doke, that of 1943 and 1945 (Doke 1961:77, Cole (1961:85-6)). Others who followed him include Bryan (1959), Guthrie (1959, 1967), Nurse and Philippson (1980a) and Nurse (1999). In all these studies, the orthographic conventions of the authors have been adopted as far as possible, since the writing system has not been uniform among them, especially in representing language/dialect names. They are quoted verbatim.

2.1.4.1 Doke

The works of Guthrie and Doke are contemporary, and they might have influenced each other in significant ways, since their maps of the Bantu area seem identical except for a few details (Herbert & Huffman 1993:56-7). The following are the main features of Doke's work, as aptly summarized by Herbert & Huffman (1993):

- (a) Doke did not confuse genetic and referential classification in his scheme. Genetic classifications mirror history, whereas referential ones do not.
- (b) He distinguished between *group* and *zone*, whereby *group* refers to linguistic affinity, and *zone* more to geographical proximity than to linguistic phenomena.
- (c) Doke's aim was not to provide an exhaustive list of all Bantu languages, but rather a list of the more important ones in a continuous work of improvement as information became available (Cole 1959:197).

Because of those features, Doke's work as one of the pioneers in the area was mainly tentative in an emerging Bantu specialization, without any rigid prescriptions, showing

difference in detail from what we know today, as indicated in *Table 2.3*. Much of the information known today was not available in his time. Doke's scheme is also used in other scholars' classifications for consistency's sake.

In Doke's 1943 work, Nyamwezi and Iramba are both in the Eastern Zone, forming two separate language clusters, while the rest of Zone F languages are not mentioned. The 1945 classification has Zone 50 or Eastern, with 11 groups. Nyamwezi forms a major grouping, 50/1, with two language clusters, Nyamwezi (50/1/1) and Iramba (Ilamba) (50/2/1). Sukuma, Sumbwa, Nyaturu, Galaganza, Konongo, Nyanyembe and Kimbu make up the dialects of Nyamwezi, and no dialects are indicated for Iramba. The other member, Irangi (50/7/4), belongs to 50/7 which is the East Central group, with members in that cluster including Zaramo, Sagara, Gogo and Irangi itself. The other Zone F languages like ĩCiwõõngõ, KiToõngwe/KiBeendé and KeeMbúwé do not appear.

Table 2.3. Evolution of linguistic classification in Zone F: Doke (1943-1945)

| Major Classification | Language or cluster | Dialects |
|---|--|---|
| 1943 (V) EASTERN ZONE | (a) Nyamwezi, etc (c) Iramba | - - |
| 1945 ZONE 50 (EASTERN) 50/1 NYAMWEZI | 50/1/1 Nyamwezi | 50/1/1a Sukuma 50/1/1b Sumbwa 50/1/1c Nyaturu 50/1/1d Galaganza 50/1/1e Konongo 50/1/1f Nyanyembe 50/1/1g Kimbu |
| 50/2 - 50/7 EAST-CENTRAL | 50/2/1 Iramba(Ilamba) 50/7/4 Irangi | - - |

2.1.4.2 Bryan

The classification by Bryan (1959) does not aim at genetic relationship, but rather groups are presented as autonomous divisions and single units (Herbert and Huffman (1993:55), as shown in *Table 2.4*. Dialects are shown where relevant, as is the case with Nyamwezi with 4 dialects, including Sumbwa (also shown as KInaMweri), which other linguists regarded as a separate language. Sukuma has only one dialect, Kiya. The major problem here was lack of information. For instance, it is not clear why some languages were shown with dialects, while others were not. The method used is not explicit as to whether those languages without any dialects were designated so by field research nor whether they were recorded as informants reported them. It is also not clear whether the criteria for sub-grouping are linguistic or geographical, since geographically, these languages are adjacent.

Table 2.4. Evolution of linguistic classification in Zone F: Bryan (1959)

| Major Classification | Language or cluster | Dialects |
|----------------------|--|---|
| SUKUMA GROUP | Sukuma Nyamwezi (ki-) | Kiya Nyanyembe (ki-) Takama (Garaganza) Mweri (ki-na-) (or Sumbwa) Konongo |
| | Kimbo Bongo Nilyamba Rimi (ki-rimi) Langi (ki-) ?Mbugwe | - - - - - |

2.1.4.3 Guthrie I

Guthrie (1967:5, 6) was careful enough in advancing his caveat from the outset that the aim of his monograph was two-fold, (a) to establish some framework for future reference in identifying and classifying Bantu languages, (b) to throw into prominence the places where knowledge of a language is fragmentary or even non-existent. In addition, he stated categorically that his work was essentially tentative, and that some well-informed person might find some groupings quite unjustified (Guthrie:ibid).

Borrowing from Doke, Guthrie (1948:73) made a distinction between language *groups* and language *zones* whereby a *group* was a unit with a purely linguistic significance, whereas the *zone* was mainly geographical. This implies that *zones* refer to language taxonomy based on geographical contiguity or proximity rather than on genetic affiliation. That is a very important distinction to make especially in Bantu languages which are essentially all similar, except when distance and other factors like contact with other *groups* make them less similar. The work of Guthrie forms the major point of departure and will be quoted at some length to provide the background of the concept of Zone F which permeates this study. The following are the methods he used to arrive at his conclusions.

In grouping the Bantu languages, Guthrie suggested two methods of classification, the historical and the empirical. He dismissed the historical as impossible to apply in the African context because there was 'no historical records', so we may hypothesize that by 'historical' perhaps he only meant 'written' records, thus assuming that history and the writing tradition

are synonymous, and that without writing, history is impossible (Guthrie:ibid), something which is unfortunately not true.

His empirical method included drawing isoglosses on a map to show the distribution of linguistic features. These are lexical, grammatical, phonological, phonetic and tonal (Guthrie, ibid). He identified the criteria for isolating languages as Bantu, dividing them into two groups, one based on principal criteria, which he said were straightforward to apply, and a second based on subsidiary criteria, which were less easy to apply because a language's forms change so much by contraction and attrition. For the principal criteria, he isolated two, grammatical and lexical. The subsidiary criteria included firstly, roots, 'invariable cores' or 'radicals' from which most of the words are formed by agglutination, and secondly, a balanced vowel system in the radicals (roots) consisting of one open vowel /a/ with an equal number of back and front vowels.

The relevant criteria for this study are lexical and phonological. However, the lexical part is less relevant for the purposes of this study since Guthrie's concern was retention in the daughter languages rather than innovation. Retention would be handled by lexicostatistics, a method which was used by others, as described in 2.2.4.6 and 2.2.4.7 below in the discussion of Nurse and Philippson (1980a) and Nurse (1999).

In classifying Zone F, Guthrie (1967:46) admits that it is not a unique zone, because many of the features are not peculiar to it. He goes on to enumerate the distribution of some 17

characteristics which he views as the most important when they are taken together, although they are neither unique to nor distributed evenly in all Zone F languages, some not found in some languages. The list of these differentia contains mainly grammatical features, an area beyond the scope of this work.

The relevant phonological differentia include the following, as set out in *Table 2.5* (Guthrie 1948:23, 1967:46-47). Some are either common to other Bantu languages, are not found in Zone F or are simply obscure. For example, the alternations of *le* and *o* in suffixes are not distinctive in some languages, while they are different phonemes in other languages.

Table 2.5 Phonological differentia defining Zone F?

| <i>Feature</i> | <i>In Zone F, found in</i> |
|---|---------------------------------|
| Distinction between <i>i</i> and <i>ɪ</i> , and <i>u</i> and <i>ʊ</i> | All except F10, F23, F34 |
| Long/short vowels | All |
| Every language is 7V | All except F10, F23, F34 |
| Unusual alternance <i>l/ɾ</i> | F32 |
| <i>k/c</i> , <i>l/r</i> , <i>d/ɸ</i> alternations | Mixed picture, like other zones |

To classify these Bantu languages into finer groups of similar featured languages, Guthrie (1967:27, 28) suggests two possibilities:

(a) Classification by fragmentation, starting with the whole of Bantu and then subdividing it into sections of closely related regions until the smallest indivisible, useful unit is reached.

This however was the technique attempted earlier and did not yield good results.

(b) Classification by taking one individual language as a core, starting point, then grouping

all those languages adjacent to the core language displaying similar characteristics. According to Guthrie, these characteristics are selected for practical reasons rather than taking all possible features to be shared by the languages in one zone. A wider selection of features will imply the inclusion of fewer languages, while a few shared features will admit more languages into a zone. This means that in some members of the group an important feature may be missing. This method modifies his empirical method involving use of what he calls the practical method. The arbitrariness of the features selected is an essential modifying technique to his empirical method, a method that he used to classify all the Bantu languages into 16 zones: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, K, L, M, N, P, R, and S. where D and E were later reconfigured by other scholars to obtain Zone J distributed into DJ and EJ. By zone, Guthrie (1967:28) therefore meant, 'primarily a set of groups which have a certain geographical contiguity and which display a number of common linguistic features as well'.

Such a process is contradictory in one sense. At the beginning, Guthrie said zones are not linguistic. When he implemented the procedure, zones became geographical and linguistic entities at the same time because zoning was based on linguistic criteria rather than defining areas arbitrarily for purely geographical convenience. And it is for this change of procedure for which Guthrie is criticized, because he did not follow through his excellent caveat quoted above. To avoid this error, Guthrie would surely have admitted that some geographical overlap in the distribution of speech communities is a regular and sometimes necessary correlation between people and territory.

As a major linguistically based classification then, Guthrie's attempt marked the beginning of well-grounded work, since some of these zones are linguistically valid. The members of Zone F in this scheme were those shown in *Table 2.6*. This early classification did not include any F31, F32, F33 and F34. In the SSN group, all the dialects belonged to F22, while F21 stood alone as a mono-dialectal entity.

Table 2.6. Evolution of linguistic classification in Zone F: Guthrie I (1948)

| Major Classification | Language or cluster | Dialects |
|----------------------|----------------------------|--|
| Zone F | Tongwe F.10 | Tongwe F.11 Bende F.12 |
| | Sukuma (kɪ-) F.21 | - |
| | Nyamwesi (kɪ-) F.22 | Nyanyembe F.22 Takama F.22 Mweri F.22 (Sombwa) Kɪya |
| | Sombwa (kɪ-) F.23 | - |
| | Kɪmbɔ (kɪ-) F.24 | - |
| | βɔngɔ (tkɪ-) F.25 | - |

A major criticism of questionable classification can be levelled against Guthrie's finer classification in SSN. If "Sukuma", "Takama", "Kɪya", and "Mweri" all refer to the four cardinal points, North, South, East and West respectively, how can Guthrie's Nyamwesi include all the cardinal points as its dialects and exclude one, Sukuma 'north' as a separate language?

In addition, how can Mweri (or (kɪ-) Sombwa (in F22)) be different from (kɪ-) Sombwa F23?

This might have been a problem of relying on informants' responses without cross-checking to be certain what they meant by the labels they used. To say that "so-and-so is eastern, western, northern, or southern", does not automatically mean that they belong to the same genetic language. It may simply mean "people living there, the others", regardless of linguistic, ethnic, cultural or biological affiliations. For instance, it is common for F21b speech communities to call all those on their west "βānāḡwēēli" which simply means, "people who are on our west". These western people include every speech community to their west, including some F21a, F23 and EJ23 (RuZinza) speakers. The F21 speakers regard all people to their south as βāDākāmā, without any specific reference to linguistic affiliations. It is such situations of self-reporting by the informants which might have swelled the number of languages and made the distinction between "language" and "dialect" even more difficult when these artificially created identities, the 'tribes' took root. As many have commented, some languages appear to be dialects of one language linguistically, although regarded as separate languages when broader social identities are referred to, especially when outsiders had to label communities, as happened in colonial situations or when African societies named their neighbours according to their perceptions and points of view rather than according to the facts at hand.

2.1.4.4 Guthrie II

The classification shown in *Table 2.7* is a revised version of Guthrie's 1948 scheme, and it shows some alterations, like the introduction of F31, F32, F33 and F34.

However, the dialects of F21 and F22 remain the same, while the status of Mweri (F22d) and Sumbwa (ki-) (F23) continues to be ambiguous as to whether Mweri was the same as in the 1948 classification, belonging to both F22 and F23, or it was different. As many others have observed, the subsequent researchers have not taken Guthrie's caveat into account and they have continued to regard Mweri (F22d) and Sumbwa (F23) as separate and the same entity at the same time, hence being caught in a dilemma of whether to view F23 as a dialect of F22, of F21 or as an autonomous language. Part of the problem is Guthrie's violation of his own caveat by promising to use geographical criteria and ending up employing linguistic ones. Kahigi (1988:2,3) traces this ambiguity of classification to Dahl (1915:xii) and Bryan (1959:119). However, it is the case that Bryan (1959:119) does not mention Sumbwa at all, but rather she foot-notes her source of information that it was supplied by Chief Lugusha of Tabora who mentioned to her that (ki)Nyamwezi had 4 dialects, (ki)Nyanyembé, Takama, (ki-na-)Mweri, and Kōnōngō. Where she does mention Sumbwa, it is in connection with the classification by Guthrie in which she was only a compiler, and which she labels MG3. Quoting Guthrie, she records one dialect of (ki)Nyamwezi as "*Mweri F.22 0, other names Sumbwa*" where "*MG3*" refers to Guthrie's revised classified list of Bantu languages manuscript, then (1959), while the "*0*" refers to a language about which Guthrie did not have first-hand knowledge. Such languages of which he had second hand knowledge include Mweri (Sumbwa, the dialect), Takama (also called Garaganza) and Kiya (Bryan 1959:ix (acknowledgements and explanatory notes), 119).

This revised list of languages included dialects for which Guthrie himself had only second-

hand information, supplied by some speakers of SSN who gave their native speaker intuitions with all their other socio-cultural perceptions, biases, attitudes of and affiliations to the other surrounding speech communities, etc. Such attitudes and perceptions dividing F22 dialects did not necessarily coincide with purely linguistic classification within SSN.

The SSN classification, therefore, while trying to be as linguistically based as possible, was also largely areal. It took into account the possible geographical spread and proximity of the Bantu languages, just as Guthrie (1962b:5) himself notes, and Dalby (1970:162) and Nurse (1979:43) observe about the role of proximity. The members of Zone F were thus more or less fixed at 11 major language groups, as shown in *Tables 2.7* and *2.8*, although that was not meant to be the final classification by Guthrie.

Table 2.7. Evolution of linguistic classification in Zone F: Guthrie II (1967)

| Major Classification | Language or cluster | Dialects |
|----------------------|--|---|
| Zone F | Group 10 F.10 Tongwe | F.11 Tongwe, kɪ- F.12 Bende |
| | Group 20 F.21 Sukuma, kɪ- F.22 Nyamwesi, kɪ- | - F.22a Nyanyembe kɪ- F.22b Takama F.22c Kɪya F.22d Mweri |
| | F.23 Sombwa, kɪ- | - |
| | F.24 Kɪmbɔ, kɪ- | - |
| | F.25 βɔngɔ, ɪkɪ- | - |
| | Group 30 F.31 Nilamba, ɪkɪ- (Ilamba) F.32 Rɪɪmi, kɪ- (Nyatoro) | - - - |

2.1.4.5 Guthrie III

The final stage in the classification of Bantu languages, and Zone F and SSN in particular by Guthrie saw some discernible stages of development in Bantu classification (*Table 2.8*)

Modifications are introduced as perceptions change significantly, while other alterations undertaken are only minor where the linguistic groups remain essentially the same. This implies that the eleven members of the Zone spring from the same node of the tree, using the tree-model metaphor, because of the linguistic criteria used.

2.1.4.6 Nurse and Philippson

Among others, Nurse and Philippson (1980a, 1980b) are sceptical about the unity of Zone F, as introduced in 2.2.3 above. Using the lexicostatistical method, they divide the Zone into two parts, West Tanzania and Langi. In their scheme, Langi is composed of Langi itself and Mbugwe. They separate Langi and Mbugwe from the rest of West Tanzania because the connection is mainly lexical, whereas syntactically, Langi/Mbugwe resemble the Ruvu languages. West Tanzania is further sub-divided into two, SSN and Niyamba/Nyaturu/Kimbu, as illustrated in *Table 2.9*. below.

Table 2.8. Evolution of linguistic classification in Zone F: Guthrie III (1970)

| Major Classification | Language or cluster | Dialects |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------|
| Zone F | Group 10 | |
| | F.11 Tongwe | - |
| | F.12 Bende | - |
| | Group 20 | |
| | F.21 Sukuma, kɪ- | - |
| | F.22 Nyamwesi, kɪ- | - |
| | F.23 Sombwa, kɪ- | - |
| | F.24 Kimbɔ, kɪ- | - |
| | F.25 βɔngɔ, ɪkɪ- | - |
| | Group 30 | |
| | F.31 Nilamba, ɪkɪ- (Ilamba) | - |
| | F.32 Rimi, kɪ- (Nyatoro) | - |
| | F.33 Langi, kɪ- (Irangi) | - |
| | F.34 Mbugwe | - |

Table 2.9. Evolution of linguistic classification in Zone F: Nurse & Philippson (1980a)

| Major Classification | Language or cluster | Dialects |
|----------------------|-------------------------|--|
| WEST TANZANIA/LANGI | A. West Tanzania | |
| | 1. SSN | Sumbwa Sukuma Nyamwezi |
| | 2a. NNK | Nyaturu Niyamba Isanzu Nyambi |
| | 2b Kimbu | Kimbu |
| | B. Langi | Langi Mbugwe |

Furthermore, Kimbu is separated from Nilyamba/Nyaturu because of having some influences from West Ruvu languages.

The major criticism regarding this division is that Sumbwa and Kimbu, and indeed Langi and Mbugwe, cannot be set apart from the rest of Zone F simply because they have been influenced by their neighbours. Another more important point of contention with this division is that the authors did not have enough data for some of the members, notably Mbugwe and Kimbu (Nurse & Philippson 1980a:47-8), in addition to the fact that they did not include Tongwe, Bende and ßungu without any strong justification apart from the fact that they did not have data for those languages*. A third objection is the raised status of Isanzu and Nyambi as coordinate with Nilyamba and Nyaturu. *Table 2.9* gives the impression that all the possibilities were explored and that the languages shown represent the complete and accurate configuration of Zone F, including their internal hierarchies.

2.1.4.7 Nurse

The classification of Zone F by Nurse (1999) while not significantly different from that of Nurse and Philippson (1980a), differs substantially in that Nurse suggests not only that Tongwe, Bende, ßungu and Sumbwa be excised from Zone F, but also that Langi and Mbugwe be excluded as well (Nurse 1999:10-1). Labroussi (1999:360) shares Nurse's reservations about ßungu (Wungu). She describes the language as belonging peripherally to

* More data are available now and the situation of 1980 was noted by Nurse (1999) himself almost two decades latter, by including more languages/dialects, thus helping make more concrete statements.

all its neighbours, but differing from them in significant ways so much so that it cannot be grouped with them. She prefers to place it lexicostatistically with the macro Mwika-Nyika group (Zone M) .

The status of SiSuumbwa is questioned because, like KiBende, it has BS and $7 > 5$, while the rest have neither. Nurse bases his arguments on a survey of the lexical, phonological and lexicostatistical literature. No definite answer is also given as to where these excised languages/dialects should belong. Since assigning membership of those languages was not the aim of his paper, an answer was not expected, just as it is not our central aim to trace the roots of any group which does not fit in Zone F and place it where it belongs.

What remains of Zone F therefore, is what Nurse (1999:10) calls 'core group of West Tanzania', namely F21/F22 (KiSukuma/KiNyamweezi), which he calls 'dialects of one language'; F24 (KiKiimbɔ), F31 (KiInLaamba); and F32 (KiRimi, or KiNyaturu, properly known as KiNyarɔɔ by the native speakers).

One main reason why these other language varieties are excluded by Nurse is that they still lack sufficient information (Nurse and Philippson 1980a:47, Nurse 1999:11).

Table 2.10. Evolution of linguistic classification in Zone F: Nurse (1999)

| Major Classification | Language or cluster | Dialects |
|---|---|-------------|
| WEST TANZANIA or TAKAMA or Zone F | Sukuma/Nyamwezi ? Sumbwa Kimbu Nilyamba Nyaturu | - - - |
| ? Tongwe/Bende ? Langi/Mbugwe ? Bungu | | - - - |

The reason is not strong enough since what is needed is more research first before conclusions are made, although Nurse (1999: 10-1) correctly calls for a reexamination of such unknown languages. It is the aim of this study to redress that shortcoming by including all members of Zone F as presented by Guthrie (1967-71), using data to test the suggestions of excision given.

2.1.4.8 Classification in SSN and Zone F: a synthesis

From the foregoing, it is evident that the reexamination and possible reclassification in SSN and Zone F is quite in order. While the work of the pioneers cannot be faulted, this study endeavours to reexamine SSN and Zone F, given the unsatisfactory manner in which the subject has so far been treated, especially in the area of research in undescribed dialects. The earlier studies laid a solid foundation for future scholars and students of Bantu. But the majority have also continued using the schemes of Bantu classification without questioning whether those languages were indeed mono-dialectal or not, and whether adding undescribed dialect(s) would make any significant difference. This issue of unquestioning acceptance of

Guthrie's contribution is also raised by Nurse (1999:10) in reference to Zone F having historical validity. With this inquiry it is felt that some languages are not members of Zone F and should be removed. However, data for some of them were totally missing and reconciling the different observations made is possible only by using the comparative method and lexicostatistics in addition to phonological criteria based on comparable data for all dialects.

A minor issue concerns orthography. Each author writes the names of the varieties according to his/her perception and competence in phonology and graphemics rather than how the natives of that community understand the names. These names which depart from the conventions used in this study are quoted as they appear in those works. This unsystematic representation is unfortunate. For instance, as an extreme case, most of the Zone F languages have no 'r' in their phonological inventories, but it appears in *Cisaraganza*. Most Zone F languages have a 7-vowel system with a short-long vowel contrast, but many of the scholars do not show vowel length in their writings nor the 7 vowels. All the languages in the zone are also tonal, but the tones are not always shown partly because of the excuse that it is difficult to mark them and the context can always disambiguate words. It is this problem of misrepresentation which creates some of the problems of phonological analysis. In addition, the received nomenclature from the earlier times has not been modified to match the expansion of knowledge. This contributes to the indeterminate number of Bantu languages, since what some of the names refer to are non-existent entities while others are simply misleading. Take for instance the concepts of directional names such as *dikamā*,

'south', also written as *Tukama* to refer to entities which are not linguistic. It is one of the lesser aims of this study to clarify such issues where possible.

2.1.5. Historical interpretation in SSN and Zone F

The role of linguistic studies in understanding history and culture cannot be overemphasized, as Dickens (1995:32-3) correctly observes and Wilmsen (1995) and Barnard (1995) agree when referring to the same subject:

It is perhaps unfortunate, but it is certainly true, that a good knowledge of the target language cannot be achieved without at least the ability to perceive (and articulate) its phonological contrasts and the ability to classify its morphemes grammatically. Of course, if one is to make historical inferences about a culture from its language, then a background of how languages change over time is also necessary.

For instance, Abrahams (1967b:1) comments that, although F23 is located within F22 administratively and is treated in the literature as if it belonged there, it had a cultural affinity with western neighbours like the βaha (DJ66). In the map of Unyamwezi, Abrahams excludes the βaSuumbwa. By 'cultural affinity' he might have meant 'linguistic affinity' as well, which is attested by our preliminary findings.

Historical interpretation in SSN and Zone F therefore suggests taking into account all pieces and bits of information like that anthropological work by Abrahams. Such works go a long way in filling the gaps or resolving contradictions which linguistics alone might not handle. For instance, there are few words within Zone F which are also found in N10, Tanzanian Ciŋgoni. The Waŋgoni's migratory history from southern Africa is recent in areas like Lake

Nyasa where the WaTjgoni entered.

But significantly, the Lake Nyasa (Malawi) area into which the WaTjgoni entered, was also famous as a source of slaves by slaving expeditions to and from the Indian Ocean coast during the 1860s to the 1880s. Slave narratives are normally common with people who have first hand experience of slavery within their clans, even after many generations have passed. During a recent survey in the area, many people did not remember anything about the slave trade. They remembered the WaTjgoni warriors only (Mihanjo, Mapunda and Luanda 1999). Such communal loss of memory seems to suggest two things (a) oral history of such places would not reveal the past if the first inhabitants emigrated and completely new ones occupied their areas, with no one to tell any story. This is an unlikely explanation, because some people survived and remained within the area (Mihanjo, Mapunda and Luanda 1999:3); (b) because the experiences of slavery are associated with the shame of defeat and humiliation, the people would conceal that part of history, although archival sources confirm the presence of slavery up to 1895 (Mihanjo, Mapunda and Luanda 1999:3). The absence of story tellers does not mean the absence of events, and hence absence of history in the area.

When there are knowledge gaps like this slave trade case, especially in relation to Bantu, Zone F and SSN, any source might shed new light. Works in ethnobotany, folk history, oral traditions, or myths should not be dismissed. For example, the contributions by Musso (1968), Chubwa (1979), Mabala (1988), Kairanya (1990), Mdachi (1991), Mkirya (1991), Abdallah (1991), among others, are welcome. They deal with records of oral traditions

elicited from communities the authors know well, supplemented by a few external sources. Such contributions should be complementary rather than be dismissed out of hand before complete evidence is gathered and compared with them. The usefulness of myths, oral traditions and folk histories is corroborated by Schmidt (1978:273), who, working in Buhaya, Kagera Region, excavated prehistoric artefacts from sites mentioned in oral traditions only. The correlation between oral tradition and archaeological find were one-to-one. Such inclusion also takes care of the pitfalls of interpretation, which are normally influenced greatly by the theoretical framework one chooses to use to formulate a research problem, gather data, analyse it and integrate the results with known knowledge.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This study analyses both quantitative and qualitative evidence in tracing the linguistic history of SSN within Zone F. The evidence comes from phonological and lexical features shared by the target languages. Because of this scope, the family tree model fits the comparative method and lexicostatistics as methods of subgrouping, while the contact models of language development are reflected well by qualitative analyses of vocabulary, especially areal features and loanwords. The comparative method is essentially qualitative and lexicostatistics is quantitative. Indo-European philology gave birth to the comparative method, especially with the work of Schleicher and Grimm (Meinhof 1932:19-21). The method or its close version was later introduced in Bantu studies. Later, lexicostatistics was added to deal with matters of statistical measures and chronology, in addition to the role of sub-grouping. These two methods or reactions against them and their evolution gave rise to all the major models

of language development, namely, the tree, wave, and contact approaches. In this study the family tree and contact models are used.

The wave model is not used, although it handles overlapping features in cases of mixed languages, pidgins or creoles. The model was meant to address the questions raised by the tree model. It views innovations as originating from one source, in one language or dialect, and then they radiate in all directions like a pebble thrown into a pond of water, creating ripples which travel afar, but weaken as they move away from the source. Different innovations may start from different sources and criss-cross at language and dialect boundaries, making some varieties share features with others, which can be traced as isoglosses. A tree model would not show that overlap (Anttila 1972).

The wave model, while it accounts for convergence in language development, is not compatible with the comparative method. Its power rests in accounting for contact.

Significantly, the two models, family tree and contact, correlate well with shifts of paradigm⁹ in archaeology and history over the decades as the perceptions of phenomena shifted due to improved horizons in the development of knowledge generally. The major paradigms have been migrationist, processual, and contextual, in that order, although not in a one-to-one relationship with the models (for a full discussion of these paradigms, see

⁹ Paradigm in this sense is borrowed from Kuhn (1970) from his seminal work in the philosophy of science. It refers to a set of models, concepts, theories, methodologies and methods used by a scientific community in describing and explaining phenomena.

Chami 1994, Trigger 1994, Renfrew and Bahn 1996, Härke 1998). It is worth mentioning here that paradigm shift does not mean complete rejection of earlier paradigms. It only means that new approaches emerge to challenge the old, with each approach having adherents because of its merits, so that parallel paradigms can co-exist and compete, creating different schools of thought in the larger scientific community.

Since these approaches in archaeology and history have had a great impact on linguistics, a brief description is in order because they influence greatly the way our data is described and interpreted historically.

Some scholars working or having an interest in linguistics have also been working or interested in archaeology, history, anthropology, philosophy, and ethnology, among many disciplines, and the methods from those other disciplines have found their way into and influenced linguistic thinking in important ways. The approaches are not mutually exclusive nor monolithic, but rather they complement each other as they attempt to explain historical events from different angles. In addition, each paradigm or model best handles one type of data than another. For instance, the family tree model works well with lexicostatistics and the comparative method because these two assume monogeny.

The contact models which emerged with the development of sociolinguistics are suited for analysing qualitative data in phonology, syntax, semantics, morphology or lexis, in examining areal features and/or loans. In the contact models, lexical distribution is explained in terms

of the interaction of contiguous speech communities and the potential for one-way or mutual influence. The situation that obtains in SSN and Zone F is that captured by Thomason and Kaufman (1988:35-95) about changes occurring in languages without any shift. Since changes are relative, depending on many dependent variables, they may include borrowing vocabulary, new sounds, derivational affixes, phonological features, inflectional affixes followed by major structural features. The cases of BS and DL processes within SSN and Zone F generally, for instance, can be explained in these terms where some core members appear to originate the process, and other adjacent languages borrow words. By borrowing lexical items, they introduce BS- or DL-like processes in their systems. These processes tend to be unproductive in their new environment because they are difficult to adapt fully. The tendency of borrowing is greater when the power relations between languages in contact are asymmetrical; the period of contact is long; their numerical strengths differ; and the typological fit is closer. In the case of Bantu speakers, asymmetrical power, for instance, may be medicine related to the supernatural, specialized knowledge in animal husbandry, as in the case of borrowing colour terms of cattle from Southern Cushitic by Zone F communities.

The migration and diffusion paradigm, though heavily criticized for its ethnomorphic¹⁰ leaning, especially in the past, has some important relevance in our study, since synchronic movements of some KtSukuma (F21) speakers supports that possibility. Starting from the

¹⁰ The fallacy of ethnomorphism refers to the conceptualization of the attributes of other groups in terms of one's own (Fischer 1972:224-226), which differs from ethnocentrism which refers to the exaggeration of the role of one's group in the interaction with other groups (Fischer 1972:226-230).

early 1970s, when there was a great drought in the region, some communities of β aSukuma moved and settled in Morogoro, Mbeya, Iringa and Rukwa regions¹¹. They were refused the permission to cross into Zambia with their herds of cattle because of the new political boundaries, which the β aSukuma did not recognize. Wherever they settled, these migrant communities were large enough to continue using KISukuma amongst themselves, as they continued to keep in touch with the larger KISukuma communities they had left behind. Three decades on, they began to intermarry with the communities they had found, resulting in mutual borrowing of some lexical items. Contrary to the military and conquest model of migration explained below, these KISukuma migrants have tended to blend well in their new settlements, with only minor skirmishes between them and the predominantly agricultural communities they found. Since they both keep cattle and cultivate cash and food crops, they solve their problems without resorting to war. This state of affairs might have existed even in the past where the resources were likely to be even more abundant.

Migrationist (also known as traditional, evolutionary or diffusionist) archaeology is an approach with a tendency to explain cultural change, different phenomenon or similarity of material culture of one society as an adoption from foreigners, neighbours or trading partners¹². For instance, where “Hamitic” languages were not spoken, it was argued that the “Hamitic” overlords had adopted the languages of the conquered Bantu and that their own

¹¹ For some more discussion on β aSukuma recent migrations, see Masele (1996).

¹² For a comprehensive summary and review of these paradigms in archaeology, see Chami (1994), Fagan et al (1996), Renfrew and Bahn (1996), Härke (1998).

speech had disappeared without trace (Trigger 1994:328)¹³. In archaeology, the ruins of Zimbabwe were thought to have been the work of civilized foreigners from the north, the Phoenicians of the Middle East, rather than the work of the Shona themselves because of the spectacular structures found there (Renfrew and Bahn 1996:443-4). The migrationist paradigm was an approach common to archaeologists who were trained in classics and history. While diffusion does not necessarily imply movement or replacement of peoples, migration implies precisely that. Migrations have indeed existed from time immemorial. Even in Bantu studies, it is often assumed that the Bantu migrated from parts of western Africa and expanded to central and southern Africa because of iron technology and the superiority it conferred on them to conquer other communities.

For instance, Hock (1991:467-70), gives an account of migrations, taking some Indo European languages as his point of departure, elaborating on the theory by Dyen (1956). According to this idea, migrations as massive movements of people from one place to another are a common phenomenon throughout human history. Speech communities migrate to new territories where they find native people with their own different languages, resulting in at least four effects.

¹³ The case of ethnicity in Rwanda and Burundi is intriguing. The Batuutsi are thought to be Nilotic or Afro-Asiatic from the north, possibly Ethiopia, although there is no evidence whatsoever so far because they speak KiNyarwanda, iGiHa or KiRundi, which are Bantu languages. In these languages, there are also no known traces of foreign linguistic or cultural influences, Nilotic or Afroasiatic. This would only suggest that there was ethnocide which left no trace (see Kimenyi 1979:1 who suggests that the Batuutsi and Batwa lost their languages and adopted that of the Bahutu, a Bantu majority group).

First, if a migrating speech community finds no native linguistic competitor in the new area, the possibilities of dialect/language expansion are limitless as the native dialects/languages are replaced by those of the immigrants. With time, variation emerges as speakers spread in their new territory. Where there is no prehistoric evidence, such dialectal spread is suggestive of migration from an original homeland. In the area under study, linguists and historians alike suggest that the Bantu groups migrated and spread into the area and became dominant both culturally and economically (Batibo 1992b:47).

Secondly, migrating speech communities tend to have smaller linguistic diversity than those left behind as the speakers in the new environment are forced to forget their differences in order to survive. For instance, English in the Americas or Australia shows less heterogeneity than English in Great Britain where the dialectal variations are enormous. In this regard, homogeneity of several Bantu varieties in one location is suggestive of immigration. This hypothesis is difficult to accept as universally true since homogeneity is brought about by factors other than immigration alone. For instance, in societies like the United States, class distinction is based on property, colour, race, or geographical origin of immigrants. In this situation, regular contact between speakers of one variety of a language like English is discouraged. As a result, each class of people evolves or maintains their own peculiar form of English, as is the case of Ebonics for the majority of Americans of African origin.

Thirdly, decreased contact between the homeland and the emigrants in their new home results in innovations in the homeland which fail to reach the emigrants in their entirety, or fail to

reach them completely.

Lastly, a complete separation with the homeland may ultimately result in the appearance of new, different languages. In the absence of written documents, only traces of linguistic features may constitute proof that the migrant groups did indeed originate in a certain area. Schmidt (1978:287-97) and Chami (1999), among others, doubt the migratory explanation for Bantu extension, since archaeological studies find no evidence. The migration explanation is also highly speculative because it is treated as a fact instead of being a hypothesis only. Chami (1999:205-9) points out that the trade explanation linking East Africa and the Graeco-Roman world in antiquity might explain some of the rapid spread of material culture in East Africa rather than migrations of people. The spread of iron, for example, started in the Lacustrine region of East Africa rather than West Africa where the Bantu are thought to have originated. In Africa, as elsewhere, military superiority in prehistoric times might have been irrelevant, because it is only one source of power.

As a challenge to traditional archaeology, processual (or new, behavioural) archaeology refers to the dynamic relationship between socio-economic aspects of culture and the environment as determinants of cultural processes and change. It was a reaction against conceptions of the world based on culture history as practised by historians trained in classics and history. This alternative paradigm aimed at placing credit where it was due, rather than attributing change and innovation predominantly to invaders or conquerors (Itandala 1979:148; 1983:43-4; Chami 1994:19). In the case of the Bahutu and Batuutsi cited above,

the “Hamitic/Cushitic myth” remains a myth, since there is no evidence to substantiate that the Batuutsi who are thought to be probably Nilotic or Afro-Asian indeed lost their language without trace¹⁴.

It was from the backdrop of such paradigms that the family tree model of language development evolved. It was an analogy from the evolutionary nature of biological organisms which start from one source and expand into new territories. Because the migratory paradigm is not dead, and sometimes migrations do indeed take place as explained by Hock (1992), it is important to mention the models used in this study since they are inevitably influenced by the migrationist paradigm.

2.2.1 The Models of language development

2.2.1.1 Family Tree model

As the name suggests, the family tree model, spurred by the theory of biological evolution of various species from one source, compares languages starting from a parent who gives birth to daughters who in turn give birth to children, in an endless cycle of change (See Vansina 1995 and Nurse 1997 for an overview of this model and others). Related dialects are considered to be co-ordinate, at the base of an inverted tree, from where their ancestor is

¹⁴ The role of blood type and DNA analyses are unlikely to solve this problem since it is difficult to know if there exists any correlation between blood or DNA and language in the first place, although an open mind to entertain that possibility is better than out of hand dismissal.

posited as uniting them into a single node, forming their proto-language. That proto-language is itself considered to have had relatives at another co-ordinate level who were united to form another node higher up the hierarchy, forming yet another proto-language. The process is repeated until one super-ancestor is reached from which all the language varieties descended. The form of the tree resembles a tree trunk, with the dialects forming its finer branches.

The model, and hence the comparative method and lexicostatistics, assumes monogeny, with an inherent tendency to exclude all other words from a comparative series, because the aim is cognation only. The linguistic tree is assumed to have only one root which gives rise to many daughter languages. Existing speech communities however show that a language may arise out of many sources, as in the extreme cases of pidgins, creoles, and mixed languages like Tok Pisin, Ma'a (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). This indicates that proto languages should be thought of as having dialects, as in Proto Indo-European (PIE) 'warm' from *g_werm- ~ Θermós 'warm, hot' in Greek and PIE *g_worm- ~ fornus 'oven' in Latin.

On the other hand, the criticisms are not fully justified because the aim of the tree model and its parent source, the comparative method, is the tracing of genetic relationships between languages rather than to find all the sources from which languages drew their resources. It is against this background of unexaggerated function that the model is used in our study. It is not an absolute or perfect model for a one-to-one relationship between historical event and its representation. Rather, it is only one way of representing reality in a simplified way, needing other tools and external sources to arrive at a historical interpretation.

2.2.1.2 *The Contact models*

The contact models are explained in detail by Thomason and Kaufman (1988). They view similarity between languages as a range of possibilities, one being genetic affiliation, and the other contact. Languages can be similar because the speakers have been adjacent for a long time, interacting and borrowing from each other.

In the area under investigation, groups like the Sandawe and Hata (also Hadza) of the Khoisan family are found, and they have been living there for an unknown number of centuries. As Ehret (1984:489) suggests with regard to the SSN speakers, the Hata and the Sandawe might have been earlier settlers in the area. They have remained without being assimilated by the immigrants by maintaining their way of life for the most part. However, who settled there first is a matter of relative chronology since Proto-KiSukuma-KiNyamweezi seems to have originated within the general area of βSukuma (Ehret:ibid). Posnansky (1981:533) also comments on this problem of dating, that, although the dates obtained by the Carbon 14 (C¹⁴) method are relatively accurate, "the variability for the period under review may range over several centuries". Linguistic evidence gives some clues to the interactions between Bantu groups and others, as the following JinaKriya words compare with those from Sandawe, taken from Newman (1970).

(3)

| JinaKriya (Bantu) | Sandawe (Khoisan) | Gloss |
|-------------------|-------------------|---|
| <i>mbùushi</i> | <i>bús'</i> | (Wildebeest) gnu |
| <i>ndòdò</i> | <i>dóró</i> | Burchell's zebra |
| <i>móógá</i> | <i>mógá</i> | <i>Amaranthus graecizans</i> (plant, green vegetable) |

From such shared vocabulary, more hypotheses can be advanced. As the lexical items show, either group might have borrowed from the other, that is, Khoisan Sandawe borrowing from Bantu JinaKɪɪya, and vice versa, showing a contact situation. The direction of borrowing can only be ascertained by comparing a large corpus of lexical items from the pair of languages in relation to the vocabulary of the other members of the varieties in contact. Vocabulary items representing tangible objects like working tools, utensils and ornaments are one of the easiest to borrow and diffuse from culture to culture (Anttila 1972:155). Within one group of languages, lexical diffusion from external sources results in lexical variation, double or irregular reflexes. It also results in dialect mixing. Dialect mixing is common in SSN.

When dialect mixing (or 'koineization') is between related languages, detection of loans is almost impossible without the help of marked features from one of the dialects in contact. It is also impossible to detect loans if the source language ceases to use a word, while the recipients continue using it. In (3), it may be the case that the Sandawe were assimilated, although they retained some words which then spread to the rest of the JinaKɪɪya immigrants. On the other hand, the Sandawe speakers might have borrowed from JinaKɪɪya some of the names for animals and plants. The evidence of this would come from other KɪSukuma or Bantu dialects. If they had the same words, then Sandawe would have borrowed them.

2.2.1.3 Theories and models: Dynamism in SSN and Zone F

SSN and Zone F communities in general have been very dynamic, with many movements of people characterizing the area. There have been internecine wars, famines, search for agricultural and pasture land, and slave raids. In prehistoric times, such movements might have been numerous. Recent history around the Great Lakes area calls to mind the movements of people from various places to sheltered enclaves either in mountainous areas or in plains where enemies could be seen from a distance. SSN speech communities could have taken shelter in those areas which were not slave routes nor reservoirs of slaves. That may partly explain the extent of SSN's mixed status, as people from diverse groups who have entered the area and conformed with the people they found in order to survive¹⁵.

Current research in historical linguistics promises and professes dynamism in intent, but fails to reach that dynamism in practice. Language communities continue to be cast in rigid geographical areas as shown in *Map 1.3* which draws boundaries as if they are immutable enclaves enclosing ethnic communities. While locating linguistic communities without borders seems to promise capturing the identity of the fluid nature of speech communities and languages, the analyses lag behind and continue locating language varieties as rigid, isolated entities. Cases in point are the SiSuumbwa, KeeMbuwe, KiiRangi, IC1W00ng0 and

¹⁵ Mihanjo, Mapunda and Luanda (1999) discuss such a scenario of areas of refuge where the Waŋgani marauders are remembered more for their invasions than the slave raids, suggesting that those people might not have witnessed the slave raids because they ran away northward into the area currently occupied by the SSN speech communities. These came from different speech communities. The result was mixed features in the SSN languages.

KiBende/KiTogwe varieties which display that dynamism in their phonology and vocabulary as they interact and are influenced, so much so that many scholars treat them with suspicion when they are grouped in Zone F. It is within the aims of this study to examine their status in Zone F and SSN vis-à-vis their dynamism, and whether their exclusion is indicative of separate paths of historical development or contact only. While the family tree model shows relationships between languages/dialects, it is the contact model which promises a better interpretation in Bantu scholarship. The model treats languages as entities in perpetual motion, their dynamism shown by their maintenance, shift, or death, while others 'commit suicide or are murdered' (McMahon 1994:284-305)

2.3. CONCLUSION

This literature review surveyed what has been done in description, classification, and historical interpretation in SSN and Zone F. The weaknesses identified include gaps in the description, classification and interpretation of the available linguistic data. Thus, the following are areas of focus in this study: description of the historical development of SSN and Zone F with reference to BS, 7 > 5, DL, glottalization, voiceless nasal formation and vocabulary in order to give a new interpretation and improved classification.

CHAPTER THREE

PHONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The Proto-Bantu phonological inventory is composed of the following reconstructed consonant phonemes: / *p, *b, *t, *d, *c, *j, *k, *g, *m, *n, *ny¹, *ŋ, *y /. It also includes the pre-nasalized consonants /*mp, *mb, *nt, *nd, *ŋj, *ŋc, *ŋk, ɲɲ/. The focus of this study is the eight non-nasal phonemes /*p, *t, *k, *b, *d *g, *c, *j/ in relation to three major phenomena: vowel systems, especially reduction of 7 vowel system to 5 vowels (7 > 5); Bantu Spirantization (BS), especially as related to 7 > 5; and Dahl's Law, one the one hand, and glottalization and voiceless nasal formation on the other. The study of the eight target sounds shows those phonological developments more clearly than others like nasals.

One issue which needs elucidation is the status of *d and the /d/ and /l/ reflexes in synchronic Bantu phonological inventories. Dealing with the stops versus continuants controversy, Kahigi (1987, 1988, 1995) also addresses the choice between /d/ and /l/ in reconstructions².

¹ The representation given by Guthrie (1967-71) *ny, is IPA *ɲ. Some of the other conventions used by Guthrie are *y, which is IPA *j. The plosive *j which is also adopted in this study, is IPA *ɟ.

² For a full discussion of this, see Kahigi (1988) who offers good arguments for both sides of *d and *l preferences. Kahigi favours the diachronic development of stop weakening by Homburger and Guthrie's PB *d > l rather than Meinhof's strengthening rule of *l > d (Kahigi 1988:31, 150). Guthrie's solution is acceptable to Kahigi because it is phonetically and typologically sound, and it is simpler. In contrast, Meinhof's strengthening solution gives
(continued...)

In the reconstructions by Guthrie, /l/ is absent. This assumed absence of *l in Proto Bantu is odd taking into account the synchronic distribution of laterals across Bantu, especially with regard to languages like KIKIMBU, which are still like Proto Bantu in their phonological systems. The reflex of *d being /l/ in many languages, including KIKIMBU (F24) and KINILAAMBA (F31) indicates that the Proto Bantu form might have been *l rather than *d. The reconstruction with *d might be relevant in the parent of Proto Bantu. It is odd for KIKIMBU and KINILAAMBA to have almost identical consonants with Proto Bantu, except for one or two phonemes like *d. This /l/ solution in part supports the proposal of positing PB *l by Meinhof (1932) as one important pointer to something amiss with the *d reconstruction. The findings of the UPSID³ sample of liquids in world languages also lends some solid support for PB *l. Out of a sample of 317 world languages in the UPSID, almost all (95.9%) had at least one liquid, while 72.6% had more than one liquid (Maddieson 1984:73). If this Proto Bantu *l and *d hypothesis is correct, then KISUKUMA's /d, l/ and KINYAMWEEZI's /l/ are actually inherited reflexes from Proto Bantu. They did not change, just as the sounds like /k/, /p/, /t/, /g/ did not change from Proto Bantu. However, scholars posit PB *d or PB *l, but not both (See the discussion with some data in 3.1.2.10, 3.1.2.11, 3.1.2.12, 3.2.1.1.7, 3.2.1.1.8 and Table 3.28).

²(...continued)

reflexes which violate both phonetic and typological plausibility.

³ UPSID is an abbreviation for the UCLA Phonological Segment Inventory Database.

Since the nasals and vowels are relatively stable in Zone F and have not changed much from Proto-Bantu, only a limited discussion of them is undertaken in the general overview of Zone F in the first part. SiSuumbwa, KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi are described in detail in the second part while the third is the conclusion.

3.1. GENERAL OVERVIEW OF PHONOLOGICAL CHANGE FROM PB TO THE TARGET ZONE F LANGUAGES

3.1.1. Vowel systems in Zone F : 7V and 7 > 5

All 7 of the reconstructed PB vowels correspond quite well with Zone F vowel inventories (See Appendix 2). The PB vowel system can be represented as:

(4)

| FRONT | MID | BACK | |
|-------|------|------|--------------------|
| i/ii | | u/uu | Super Close |
| ɪ/II | | ʊ/ʊʊ | High |
| e/ee | | o/oo | Middle |
| | a/aa | | Low |

Guthrie (1967-71) represents the vowels as follows: i/\bar{i} (i/ii), i/\bar{i} (ɪ/II), e/ee (e/ee), a/aa (a/aa), o/oo (o/oo), u/uu (ʊ/ʊʊ), u/uu (u/uu). The convention used in this thesis is in brackets, also shown in (4). The phoneme /e/ is the IPA [ɛ], and /o/ is the IPA [ɔ]. For ease of representation, the convention adopted by Nurse (1979a), Maganga and Schadeberg (1992) and Batibo (2000), among others is followed.

In Zone F, the languages which have retained the 7LS vowels are KɪSukuma, KɪNyamweezi, KɪRtmi, KɪntLaamba, KɪKɪmbɔ, KɪRangi, ɪCɪWɔɔɔɔ and their varieties. Those which have merged or seem to be in the process of merging *i/ii* and *ɪ/II* into *i/ii* are mainly SiSuumbwa, KiBende, KeeMbuwe and their varieties. SiSuumbwa, KiBende, KeeMbuwe and their varieties have mainly merged superclose *i/* and *u/* with the high *ɪ/* and *ʊ/* vowels respectively into one quality of high *i/* and *u/*, and retained the rest. On the other hand, in KeeMbuwe, *ɪ/* merged with *e/* and *ʊ/* with *o/*, giving *e/* and *o/* respectively, as shown in (5)⁴.

The reduction from 7 vowels is rather surprising, especially taking into account Dempwolff's (1912:15) observation that, KeeMbuwe had 9 vowels, represented as $\underset{.}{i}$ (y), $\underset{.}{i}$ (y), $\underset{.}{e}$, $\underset{.}{e}$, a, $\underset{.}{o}$, $\underset{.}{u}$ (w), and $\underset{.}{u}$. This may be explained by the fact that Dempwolff analyzed his data phonetically, not phonologically.

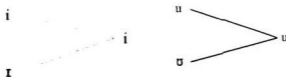
⁴ Although our data as shown in *Tables 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4* and *3.5* demonstrate that KeeMbuwe is 5V, Mous (p.c.) and Nurse (p.c.) think the language has 7 contrastive vowels, while Dempwolff (1912) shows 9. These tables address F10, F23, F25 and F34, since the vowels in F21, F22, F24, F31, F32 and F33 are not controversial.

(5) KeeMbuwe



In SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, KiLoonggo, and KiBende, /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ were lost phonologically when the superclose and the high vowels merged, as shown in (6), although the high /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ appeared occasionally phonetically. Of the five varieties which have changed from 7V to 5V languages, KiBende and KiLoonggo are the most consistent. The others like SiSuumbwa borrow words with /ɪ/ and /ʊ/, and appear to be 7V.

(6) SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, KiLoonggo, and KiBende



This merging of the /i/ and /ɪ/ vowels to remain with 5LS is normally associated with a process known as Bantu Spirantization (BS) in some eastern Bantu languages. The process is a weakening of a stop whereby it became a fricative in front of the super close vowels /i/ and /u/. On the other hand, a few spirantizing languages do not merge the two qualities. Because of that, it is not clear how and why an association is posited when there are such exceptions. The two processes may in fact be unrelated, co-occurring only fortuitously.

According to our data, the 7V/5V distinction divides Zone F in two groups, although this is not a unique Zone F feature. Many other zones have members with different vowel inventories in their membership (Nurse 1979), as is the case with the Southern Highlands group where the languages are predominantly 7V, although KiBena, KiPangwa and KiHehe are 5LS; in M30, CiNdali is 5LS, while iKiNyakyusa is 7V; P20 is divided equally into 5LS and 5S; in North Nyanza, LuGanda and LuSoga are 5LS, while LuGwere is 6LS with /i/ and /ɪ/, but only /ɔ/.

On the other hand, SiSuumbwa, KiBende and KeeMbuwe are 5(L)S resembling language groups like some G50, G40, G20, G30, EJ30, EJ20, EJ25 and DJ60, among others (Nurse

⁵ As shown in (5) and (6), the merging process in *ɪ/*e > e, *o/ɔ > o in F34, and *i/*ɪ > /i/, *u/ɔ > /u/ in F10 and F23, follow the more widespread pattern of Bantu language 7V vowel systems and their mergers described by Schadeberg (1994/5:73-75). For Zone F, that system is /i, ɪ, e, a, ɔ, u/. /e/ and /o/ represent /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ respectively.

1979, 1988). In eastern Bantu the 7V languages are fewer, and these include the majority of Zone F, E50, P10, and some G60.

The presence of similar vowel systems in other zones makes the 5LS feature a poor candidate for a good diagnostic tool of classification, unless it is taken together with BS.

KiBende and SiSiLoombo, SiYoombe and KiLoonjo have merged their super close /i/ and /u/ and high /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ vowels to /i/ and /u/ respectively, while KeeMbuwe has merged the high vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ with the mid /e/ and /o/ vowels respectively, resulting in /e/ and /o/.

The following procedure was used to obtain the results:

- (i) From the list of the 1036 words used in the study, all words with /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ were counted.
- (ii) It was found that /ɪ/ occurred in 184 words and /ʊ/ in 279.
- (iii) Out of the 184 words with /ɪ/, 34 or 18.5% were chosen, while for /ʊ/, 39 words or 14.0% out of the 279 words were selected.
- (iv) The justifications for choosing those words as a representative sample were that:
 - (a) they were likely to be represented in all 22 varieties;
 - (b) they were mainly from core vocabulary based on the assumption that its occurrence is expected in any language;
 - (c) the target vowels were not followed by other vowels so that no gliding would occur, so as to avoid the assimilatory influence of other adjacent vowels.

The total number of the selected words in each category was judged to be representative because each group contained more than 10% of the 184 and 279 word sample respectively. The conclusions were therefore expected to be reliable, at least for Zone F.

Based on the data, the following conclusions were drawn, as shown in *Table 3.1* and *3.2*, and in the following rule of thumb based on three conditions: (a) if all words with /t/ or /ʊ/ are counted from a list of at least 1000 words from PB; (b) if at least 200 words are extracted for each phoneme; and (c) if from those 200 words at least 40 words are carefully chosen so that they represent equitably all the varieties, then the following will be true in Zone F where 200 on average were used and 35 selected and actually used:

- (i) 10 or less words consistently showing vowel/phoneme variation will indicate a stable 7V language;
- (ii) 11-14 words will indicate a possibly changing language from 7V to 5V;
- (iii) 15-35 words will indicate a clear 5V language.

From (i) to (iii), if half the phonemes change consistently away from the values of the proto-language, then it indicates a 5V language. On the other hand, the cut-off point of how many words should be used may not be so precisely determined because it involves judgement based on the data being used.

A shortcut method to determine whether a vowel system was 7V or 5V in other Bantu languages deriving from PB would be to take 30 common core items, do the counting and then test to see how many changes have taken place in that language or group of languages. A modified chart as represented by *Table 3.1* and *3.2* could be used to tally the results.

Table 3.1. 7V' and 5V' varieties in Zone F: /ɪ/ test

| <i>Number of Vowel changes out of 34 words</i> | <i>Type and number of languages (varieties)</i> | <i>Examples with number of changes in brackets</i> |
|--|---|--|
| 0 - 6 (less than 18%) | 7V (17) | F31a (1), F31b (1), F21a (2), F21c (2), F22a (2), F22b (3), F24a (3), F22d (3), F31c (3), F32a (4), F32b (4), F32c (4), F22e (4), F24b (4), F33 (4), F21b (4), F25 (6) |
| 7 - 20 (less than 59%) | 7V/5V (0) | - |
| 21 + (more than 62%) | 5V (5) | F10 (28), F23a (26), F34 (23), F23b (21), F23c (21) |

Table 3.2. 7V' and 5V' varieties in Zone F: /ɔ/ test

| <i>Number of Vowel changes out of 39 words</i> | <i>Type and number of languages (varieties)</i> | <i>Examples with number of changes in brackets</i> |
|--|---|--|
| 0 - 8 | 7V (17) | F31a (1), F31b (2), F22b (2), F21b (3), F22a (3), F32b (3), F21a (4), F21c (4), F31c (4), F32a (4), F24a (5), F22d (6), F25 (6), F24b (6), F33 (7), F32c (8), F22e (8) |
| 11 - 14 (21-50%) | 7V/5V (0) | - |
| 15+ , (more than 51%) | 5V (5) | F23b (26), F34 (21), F10 (21), F23a (21), F23c (20) |

According to *Table 3.1 and 3.2*, on average, a consistent maximum of 8 phonemic changes would mean retention of clear 7V. A minimum 50% change pattern is required to qualify a language for a stable 5V. Such a formula can also be illustrated by KeeMbuwe's merging of the high with mid vowels. According to this formula as applied in *Tables 3.1 and 3.2*, and summarized in *Table 3.3* for /ɪ/, from a total of 31 words used, 7 or less phonemes retaining their Proto Bantu quality are not significant to make a language 7V. Conversely, 23 phonemes out of those 31 words changing from their original Proto Bantu quality *ɪ to /e/ is indicative of a clear 5V language, with a permanent shift to that status. Hence, because of the high figures of 71.9% and 65.6% scales of change in KeeMbuwe from i/ɪ to /e/ and from u/ʊ to /o/ respectively, such a change is regular.

Table 3.3 ɪ and ʊ change in KeeMbuwe

| # of Words with /ɪ/ (31 out of 34 or 91%) | | | # of Words with /o/ (32 out of 39 or 82%) | | |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|---|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>ɪ > ɪ</i> | <i>ɪ > i</i> | <i>ɪ > e</i> | <i>ʊ > ʊ</i> | <i>ʊ > u</i> | <i>ʊ > o</i> |
| 7 (23.6%) | 1 (3.2%) | 23 (71.9%) | 9 (28.1%) | 2 (6.2%) | 21 (65.6%) |

Table 3.4. Evolution of *ɾ in Zone F and 7V-5V

| PB Word and Gloss | Varieties with word | Varieties retaining /ɾ/ | Languages with a vowel other than /ɿ/ | Varieties with a different form |
|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|---|--|
| *-br 'bad' | 21 | 8 | F23a, F23b, F23c, F21a, F21c, F21b, F22b, F22a, F22e, F22d, F10, F25, F34 all have /i/ (13) | F33 (Used as a verbal) (1) |
| *(n)yokɿ 'honey' | 22 | 16 | F23a /i/, F23b /i/, F23c /i/, F22e /i/, F10 /i/, F34 /e/ (6) | (0) |
| *bɿdɿ 'body' | 21 | 17 | F23a /i/, F23b /i/, F23c /i/, F34 /e/ (4) | F10 (1) |
| *-yamɿ 'chief' | 3 | 0 | F23a /i/, F23b /i/, F10 /i/ (3) | The rest (19) |
| *-cɿ 'country' | 22 | 18 | F23a /i/, F23b /i/, F10 /i/, F32c /e/ (4) | (0) |
| *-dɿm- 'cultivate' | 22 | 17 | F23a /i/, F23b /i/, F23c /i/, F10 /i/, F34 /e/ (5) | (0) |
| *-dɿd- 'cry, wail' | 22 | 18 | F23c /i/, F10 /i/, F32a /Ø/, F34 /e/ (4) | (0) |
| *-yantɿk- 'dry, vt' | 21 | 9 | F23a /i/, F23b /i/, F23c /i/, F21a /i/, F21b /i/, F22a /i/, F22e /i/, F10 /i/, F32b /i/, F24ba /i/, F25 /i/, F34 /e/ (12) | F31b (1) |
| *-gr 'egg' | 20 | 17 | F23a /i/, F23b /i/, F31c /e/ (3) | F23c, F32c (2) |
| *-dɿdo 'fire' | 6 | 1 | F23a /i/, F23b /i/, F23c /i/, F22d /i/, F10 /i/ (5) | F21a, F21c, F21b, F22b, F22a, F22e, F31a, F31b, F31c, F32a, F32b, F32c, F24ba, F24a, F33, F34 (16) |
| *-yɿb(tɿd)- 'forget' | 14 | 10 | F23c /e/, F22b/i/, F31a /i/, F34 /e/ (4) | F23a, F23b, F22a, F22e, F22d, F10, F33, F32b (8) |

| <i>PB Word and Gloss</i> | <i>Varieties with word</i> | <i>Varieties retaining /ɹ/</i> | <i>Languages with a vowel other than /ɹ/</i> | <i>Varieties with a different form</i> |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---|---|
| *-ptni 'handle, haft' | 22 | 17 | F23a /i/, F23b /i/, F23c /i/, F10 /i/, F34 /e/ (5) | (0) |
| *-cɔbr 'leopard' | 17 | 15 | F24a /i/, F24ba /i/ (2) | F23a, F23b, F23c, F10, F25 (5) |
| *-tɹma 'liver' | 22 | 14 | F23a /i/, F23b /i/, F23c /i/, F21b /e/, F10 /i/, F32b /i/, F24a /e/, F24ba/e/ (8) | (0) |
| *-yings 'many' | 20 | 15 | F23a /i/, F23b /i/, F23c /i/, F10 /i/, F25 /i/ (5) | F33, F31c (2) |
| *-jɹda 'path' | 21 | 14 | F23a /i/, F23b /i/, F32a /i/, F32b /i/, F32c /i/, F10 /i/, F34 /e/ (7) | F23c (1) |
| *-dɹp- 'pay' | 22 | 17 | F23a /i/, F23b /i/, F23c /i/, F10 /i/, F34 /e/ (5) | (0) |
| *-gadɹ 'stiff porridge' | 21 | 14 | F23a /i/, F23b /i/, F32b /i/, F32a /e/, F32c /e/, F10 /i/, F34 /e/ (7) | F23c (1) |
| *-bɹɹk- 'put, place' | 13 | 10 | F23c /i/, F10 /i/, F34 /e/ (3) | F23a, F21a, F21b, F22b, F22a, F22e, F22d, F24a, F24ba (9) |
| *-yɹm- 'pull up' | 22 | 18 | F23b /i/, F23c /e/, F10 /i/, F34 /e/ (4) | (0) |
| *-kupɹ 'short' | 20 | 17 | F25 /i/, F33 /i/, F34 /e/ (3) | F23c, F10 (2) |
| *-yɹmbo 'song' | 21 | 17 | F23a /i/, F10 /i/, F33 /i/, F34 /e/ (4) | F23c (1) |
| *-yɹm(ɹɹdɹd)- 'stand' | 21 | 17 | F23a /i/, F23c /i/, F10 /i/, F34 /e/ (4) | F32a (1) |
| *-kɹda 'tail' | 19 | 15 | F23b /i/, F23c /i/, F10 /i/, F34 /e/ (4) | F32a, F32b, F32c (3) |
| *-gɹn- 'thick, fat' | 17 | 12 | F23a /i/, F23b /i/, F23c /i/, F32a /e/, F32c /e/ (5) | F10, F31c, F25, F33, F34 (5) |
| *-dɹmi 'tongue' | 22 | 18 | F23a /i/, F23c /i/, F10 /i/, F34 /e/ (4) | (0) |

| <i>PB Word and Gloss</i> | <i>Varieties with word</i> | <i>Varieties retaining /ɹ/</i> | <i>Languages with a vowel other than /ɹ/</i> | <i>Varieties with a different form</i> |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--|--|
| *-tɪ 'tree' | 18 | 13 | F23a /i/, F23c /i/, F10 /i/, F32c /e/, F34 /e/ (5) | F31a, F31b, F24ba, F25 (4) |
| *-brɪd 'two' | 22 | 17 | F23a /i/, F23c /i/, F22d /i/, F10 /i/, F34 /e/ (5) | (0) |
| *-brɪc 'unripe' | 21 | 16 | F23a /i/, F23b /i/, F23c /i/, F10 /i/, F34 /e/ (5) | F32a (1) |
| *-yɪm- 'upright' | 21 | 16 | F23a /i/, F32c /e/, F25 /i/, F10 /i/, F34 /e/ (5) | F31c (1) |
| *-gɪdɪ 'warthog' | 22 | 19 | F23a /i/, F23c /i/, F10 /i/ (3) | (0) |
| *-kɪ 'what' | 15 | 10 | F23b /i/? , F23c /i/? , F22d /i/, F10 /i/, F33 /e/ (5) | F23a, F31a, F31b, F31c, F32a, F32b, F32c (7) |
| *-dɪmɔ 'work' | 22 | 16 | F23a /i/, F23b /i/, F23c /i/, F10 /i/, F31c /i/, F34 /e/ (7) | (0) |

Table 3.5. Evolution of *σ in Zone F and 7V5V

| <i>PB Word and Gloss</i> | <i>Varieties with word</i> | <i>Varieties retaining /a/</i> | <i>Languages with a vowel other than /a/</i> | <i>Varieties with a different form</i> |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--|--|
| *-pote 'abscess' | 12 | 0 | F23a, F23b, F23c, F21a, F21c, F21b, F22e, F10, F31c, F32c, F24a, F24ba All /u/ (12) | F22b, F22a, F22d, F31a, F31b, F32a, F32b, F25, F33, F34 (10) |
| *-dom- 'bite' | 21 | 0 | All have /u/ (21) | F10 (1) |
| *-tok- 'abuse, insult' | 21 | 18 | F23b /u/, F10 /u/, F34 /a/ (3) | F23c (1) |
| *-doga 'brother, relative' | 13 | 11 | F23c /u/, F23b /u/ (2) | F25, F34, F23c, F10, F31a, F31b, F31c, F32b, F33 (9) |
| *-kɔŋgɔdɔ 'crow' | 17 | 15 | F22e /u/, F23b /u/ (2) | F22d, F23a, F23b, F23c, F10 (Blank) (5) |

| <i>PB Word and Gloss</i> | <i>Varieties with word</i> | <i>Varieties retaining /a/</i> | <i>Languages with a vowel other than /a/</i> | <i>Varieties with a different form</i> |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---|--|
| *-cika/*-tiko 'day' | 18 | 13 | F23a /u/, F23b /u/, F22e /u/ F33 /u/, F34 /o/ (5) | F10, F23c, F31a, F31b (4) |
| *-god- 'buy' | 21 | 16 | F23a /u/, F23b /u/, F23c /u/, F22e /u/, F10 /u/ (5) | F25 (1) |
| *-yijod- 'become full' | 11 | 10 | F23c /u/ (1) | F22b, F22a, F22e, F22d, F10, F33, F23b, F23a, F21a, F21c, F21b (11) |
| *-bodi 'goat' | 22 | 20 | F10 /u/, F34 /o/ (2) | (0) |
| *-kod- 'grow' | 22 | 18 | F23b /u/, F23c /u/, F10 /u/, F34 /o/ (4) | (0) |
| *-koda 'great, big' | 16 | 14 | F23b /u/, F10 /u/ (2) | F23c, F21b, F34, F22b, F22a, F21a (6) |
| *-yanga 'haste' | 20 | 15 | F23a /u/, F23b /u/, F23c /u/, F10 /o/, F31b /o/ (5) | F31c, F25 (Blank) (2) |
| *-danda 'heap' | 16 | 11 | F32a /u/, F32b /u/, F23b /u/, F23c /u/, F24ba /u/ (5) | F22d, F10, F31b, F23a, F21a, F34 (6) |
| *-yakt 'honey' | 22 | 17 | F23a /o/, F23b /o/, F23c /o/, F10 /u/, F34 /o/ (5) | (0) |
| *-dome 'husband' | 6 | 1 (F25) | F23a /u/, F23b /u/, F22d /u/, F33 /u/, F34 /o/ (5) | F23c, F21a, F21c, F21b, F22b, F22a, F22e, F31a, F31b, F31c, F32a, F32b, F32c, F24a, F24ba, F10 (16) |
| *-bad(ag)- 'kill' | 17 | 16 | F34 /o/ (1) | F10, F23a, F23b, F23c, F25 (5) |
| *-cabi 'leopard' | 16 | 15 | F31c /u/ (1) | F10, F32b, F25, F23a, F23b, F23c (6) |
| *-goda 'leg, foot' | 21 | 17 | F23a /u/, F23b /u/, F23c /u/, F10 /u/ (4) | F25 (1) |

| <i>PB Word and Gloss</i> | <i>Varieties with word</i> | <i>Varieties retaining /a/</i> | <i>Languages with a vowel other than /a/</i> | <i>Varieties with a different form</i> |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---|--|
| *-pəpə 'lung' | 16 | 15 | F33 /u/ (1) | F22a (Blank), F10, F23a, F23b, F23c, F21b (6) |
| *-bə 'mosquito' | 20 | 15 | F23a /u/, F23b /u/, F22e /u/, F24ba /u/, F34 /a/ (5) | F33, F10 (2) |
| *-bəɔmb- 'mould' | 21 | 16 | F23a /u/, F23b /u/, F23c /u/, F10 /u/, F34 /a/ (5) | F25 (1) |
| *-tikə 'night' | 19 | 15 | F22d /u/, F10 /u/, F24a /u/, F34 /u/ (4) | F23a, F23b, F23c (3) |
| *-pədə 'nose' | 11 | 9 | F33 /u/, F34 /a/ (2) | F22b, F22e, F22e, F22d, F23a, F23b, F23c, F21a, F21c, F21b, F10 (11) |
| *-dugəd- 'open' | 18 | 3 | F32a /u/, F23b /u/, F32c /u/, F10 /u/, F34 /a/ (5) | F23c, F22d, F25, F33 (4) |
| *-ntə 'person' | 22 | 16 | F23a /u/, F23b /u/, F23c /u/, F22d /u/, F10 /u/, F34 /a/ (6) | (0) |
| *-kəɔnda 'pigeon' | 17 | 6 | F23c /u/, F23c /u/, F21a /u/, F21c /u/, F22b /u/, F22e /u/, F22d /u/ F22a /u/, F10 /u/, F32b /u/, F32c /u/ (11) | F23b (Blank), F33 (Blank), F21b, F24ba, F34 (5) |
| *-nəŋgə 'porcupine' | 17 | 15 | F10 /u/, F32a /u/ (2) | F31c, F22a (Blank), F23a, F23b, F23c (50) |
| *-nəŋgə/ nyəŋgə 'pot' | 21 | 16 | F23a /u/, F23b /u/, F23c /u/, F33 /a/, F34 /a/ (5) | F10 (1) |
| *-nyə 'salt' | 17 | 0 | 13 have /u/, except F23c, F22d, F32c, F34 with /a/ (4) | F10, F31a, F31b, F24ba, F33 (5) |
| *-yikət- 'be satiated' | 21 | 17 | F23a /u/, F23b /u/, F10 /u/, F34 /a/ (4) | F23c (1) |

| <i>PB Word and Gloss</i> | <i>Varieties with word</i> | <i>Varieties retaining /a/</i> | <i>Languages with a vowel other than /a/</i> | <i>Varieties with a different form</i> |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---|--|
| *-beya 'seed' | 17 | 17 | (0) | F23a, F23b, F23c, F22d, F10 (5) |
| *-tom- 'send' | 20 | 15 | F23a /u/, F23b /u/, F23c /u/, F10 /u/, F34 /a/ (5) | F22a, F31b (2) |
| *-dombo 'sister' | 17 | 14 | F23a /u/, F23b /u/, F10 /u/ (3) | F23c, F31b, F32b, F32c, F34 (5) |
| *-tantato 'six' | 11 | 10 | F34 /a/ (1) | F23a, F23b, F23c, F22b, F22e, F22d, F10, F24a, F24ba, F25 (Blank) (11) |
| *-todo 'sleep' (n) | 17 | 12 | F23a /u/, F23c /u/, F32c /o/, F10 /u/, F34 /a/ (5) | F31a, F31b, F32a, F24a, F24ba (5) |
| *-gomba 'sterile person' | 20 | 16 | F23b /u/, F23c /u/, F10 /u/, F34 /o (4) | F32c, F32b (2) |
| *-nto 'thing' | 21 | 15 | F23a /u/, F23b /u/, F23c /u/, F22e /u/, F10 /u/, F32a /u/ (6) | F34 (1) |
| *-tato 'three' | 22 | 13 | F23a /u/, F23b /u/, F23c /u/, F32a /u/, F32c /u/, F10 /u/, F24a /u/, F24ba /u/, F34 /a/ (9) | (0) |
| *-yedo 'white' | 14 | 8 | F22d /u/, F32c /u/, F24a /u/, F24ba /u/, F33 /u/ F34 /a/ (5) | F23a, F23b, F23c, F10, F21a, F21b, F22b, F22a (8) |

3.1.2. Bantu Spirantization (BS)

Bantu Spirantization is a phonological lenition rule whereby Proto Bantu (PB) consonants, represented as plosives, weaken to become fricatives in front of the Proto Bantu superclose (SC) vowels *i and *u. This process occurs in many of the Bantu languages and their

varieties. As a rule of thumb, in most of Bantu, the plosives *p, *t, *c, *k, *b, *d, *j, and *g followed by superclose *i and *u weaken, change to fricatives and become different from those followed by lower vowels *ɪ, *e, *a, *o, *ɔ and their long counterparts. In other words, in languages with BS, the reflexes of stops before PB [+superclose] must be different from those before PB [-superclose], otherwise, it is not Bantu Spirantization. While both are assimilatory processes, Bantu Spirantization differs from palatalization in that while BS refers specifically to the two superclose vowels /i/ and /u/ modifying Proto Bantu plosives to be fricatives; palatalization involves front vowels generally which assimilate consonants towards the hard palate, and hence acquiring the place features of the hard palate.

Bantu Spirantization is also known by the general name of (consonant) mutation (Hyman 1994:85, Zoll 1995). Hinnebusch and Nurse (1981:51) define it as 'that shift, or series of shifts wherein the Proto Bantu (PB) segment *p, *t, *k, *B, *l and *G when followed by the Proto Bantu close vowels *j and *y, become fricatives (spirants) or affricates...' This process is realized differently by the different Zone F varieties as shown in the examples below. The patterns of this variation may be a diagnostic criterion in classification, especially if a distinction is made between regular BS and the associated 7V to 5V reduction and palatalization. The examples below show the superclose and other lower vowels indicating the effects on the plosives for each group of vowels. In the examples, the regular reflexes of PB *p, *b, *t, *d, *c, *j, *k, and *g are indicated for Zone F, with the members in each group compared with similar varieties from other zones. The aim of including examples from areas

outside Zone F tests whether Zone F has any uniqueness in relation to BS. The data for those other language groups or varieties are mainly taken from Nurse (1979:413-463). The reflexes in other zones, language groups or varieties are provided, unless they were not found in the data. The non-high vowels are also shown since they normally indicate the unmarked, regular reflexes as permanent sound changes from Proto Bantu, contrasting with the results of superclose vowels in the languages in which they have an effect.

3.1.2.1 Reflexes of *p /_ V [-superclose]

- (a) [p] KɪɪɪLaamba, Kɪɪɪmbɔ, ɪCɪWɔɔŋɔ [G40, G50, G60]
 (b) [f] GɪRwana/GɪAhi, GɪAhi, KeeMbuwe
 (c) [h] SɪSuumbwa, KɪSukuma, KɪBende [EJ10, EJ20, some EJ30, Some E60, G22, E74b, E72, G30, some E50]
 (d) [ɸ/f] ɣɪɲyaMunɪɲanyi ⁶ [E71]
 (e) [h/p] KɪDakama, KɪNyanyeembe, KɪKonoŋɔ, SɪGalagaanza

⁶The other KɪRɪmi varieties with /f/ may only be displaying a spelling-pronunciation tradition whereby the earlier writers of the language did not write the /ɸ/ sound appropriately because of several reasons. These reasons may include technological problems where the typewriters and printing presses of the time had no such fonts; improper sound perception because the recorder had no experience with such sounds in his/her language; or simple carelessness on the part of the earlier writers who had assumed that such details do not count even in the long run. The native speakers in such a situation develop a tendency of hypercorrecting in favour of the privileged, even though misleading and incorrect representation. This is also common in KɪSukuma (as elsewhere) where proper names with the rounded velar nasal /ŋw/, as voiced or voiceless, are written and pronounced by many native speakers of KɪSukuma by the bilabial nasal /mw/. The /mw/ is the nearest sound which the dominant writing traditions in Tanzania (Kiswahili and English) could use. On their part, Kiswahili and English acquired their alphabet from the Roman script which has no such sound, and they passed it on without modification to KɪSukuma. Examples, with the appropriate sounds in brackets, include common place and personal names like Mwanza (ŋjwaanza), Mwadui (ŋjwaaduβi), Mwandu (ŋjwaandɔ), Mwashɪ (ŋjwaashi), Mabukɪ (sɪc) (ŋjwaabɔɔkɪ), Mwani (ŋjhwani (or ŋjwaani), with the diacritic /, / underneath or above the nasal showing voicelessness). Muundani (ŋjhuundani). Kɪɸokomo (E71), as an example, seems to have been transcribed correctly.

(f) [h/f] KiiRangi

A significant classificatory observation refers to KIRImi (GiAhi, GiRWana and YInyaMunyiganyi), the only language with [f] as the reflex of *p in non-high, unmarked environments. This in part accounts for the fact that KIRImi might have evolved from a different path from the rest of the eastern Bantu languages. In addition the current data differ from Nurse's (1979) in one instance where he shows that F33 has only one reflex, [h], while in our survey [f] was seen as another active and productive reflex. This may partly be explained by at least three reasons: difference of informant idiolect; a language in the process of being influenced by its neighbour, probably KIRImi; or the inclusion of borrowed words in the count of our survey which could not be detected and removed.

Another significant feature is the widespread distribution of [h] around the contiguous EJ and G zones. This may suggest common ancestry before dispersal, although absolute dating of such splits may not be ascertained reliably. Acquisition of the feature due to contact may not be a satisfactory explanation unless such widespread distribution implies also long contact for the transfers to take place.

On the other hand KINyamweezi (KIDakama, KINyanyeembe, KIKonooggo and SiGalagaanza) displays an innovation which sets it apart from all of Zone F and North East Bantu in this phonetic environment. It retains both [p] and [h] as regular reflexes before non-

high vowels. This needs an explanation. It is a similar case with F33 [h/f] where two forms co-exist. Why this partial change? This question is answered in 3.2.5 on the interpretation of glottalization and chronology.

As can be observed in the unmarked environment of *p, each reflex is represented by one, two or three languages with its dialects, as in the example of KɪNɪyámwéezɪ with all its varieties showing *p > p/h.

3.1.2.2 Reflexes of *p _ i [+superclose]

- (a) [p] KɪNɪLámbá, KɪKɪɪmbɔ [*Mainly non-spirantizing languages belong here, because *i tests spirantization in Bantu*]
- (b) [h] SiSuumbwá
- (c) [ʃ] KɪSúkumá, KɪDákumá [*E50, E62c, G12, EJ23, some DJ60*]
- (d) [f] KɪNɪyáneembé/SiGalágáanzá, KɪBendé, GɪRwáná/GɪÁhɪ, KɪiRánjɪ, KéMbuwé [*G22, E74b, G40 E70, G30, EJ25, some DJ60, G50, G60*]
- (e) [s] KɪKónóonjɔ [*E62a, some G40, some EJ10, some EJ30, EJ25, parts of EJ20, G65*]
- (f) [s/f] ɪCɪWɔɔŋgɔ
- (g) [ʈʃ] KɪRɪmɪ

The reflexes in a language like ɪCɪWɔɔŋgɔ show an inconsistency, suggesting a mixture of sources, as shown in (7). Five languages (seven varieties) in Zone F have [f] as the reflex of *p/_i, and two languages each retain [p] and shift to [ʃ] respectively. It is interesting, however, to note that, among those with [ʃ], one of the variety comes from KɪNɪyámwéezɪ while the other three come from KɪSúkumá. It is SiSuumbwá alone which shifts to [h] in all its varieties, while ɪCɪWɔɔŋgɔ shifts to either [s] or [f], although Labrousse (1999:360-1) observes only [f]. While the data were limited in our case, the [s] alternation is especially

convincing since it occurs in words which are quite widespread in Bantu languages in general, unless ɪCɪWʊʊŋɔ got them through borrowing from another language, as shown in (7). The words for 'arrive' *-vɔk-* and 'knife' *cisu* appear suspect because of their radically changed forms, although *sina*, 'pinch' is plausible. That word with [s] may not be the only one in the ɪCɪWʊʊŋɔ lexicon, although it is obvious that the evidence for [f] is quite solid even with these few words, as Labroussi found out. On the other hand, a mixture of reflexes points to something else, as discussed in Chapter 5.

(7) Reflexes of PB *pi in ɪCɪWʊʊŋɔ

| | |
|----------------------|--------|
| *-pik- 'arrive' | -sɔka |
| *-piga 'hearthstone' | ifiya |
| *-piɔ 'knife' | cisu |
| *-kapi 'oar' | ɪŋgɔfi |
| *-pin(i)- 'pinch' | -sina |

3.1.2.3 Reflexes of *p_u [+superclose]

(a) [p] KɪɪLaamba, KɪKɪmbɔ?

(b) [f] The rest of Zone F varieties [*Many others, except E/25 [s] and G/60 [h]*]

Most of the languages in Zone F have [f] as the reflex of *p/_u. Two languages, KɪɪLaamba and KɪKɪmbɔ, retain [p], although due to a mixture of languages, KɪKɪmbɔ's status is not clear because of having [f] in some words. In words like **-pum-* 'go out', the likelihood is borrowing, since it is *-fuma*, an unlikely native form in KɪKɪmbɔ.

Sections 3.1.2.1 to 3.1.2.3 suggest the following based on PB *p. KɪɪLaamba, KɪKɪmbɔ

KeeMbuwe and most of KiRImi have not spirantized because in them, the reflexes of PB *p are identical before all vowels. For the others, SiSuumbwa shows mainly glottalization, and KiBende displays BS. The rest present a mixed picture.

3.1.2.4 Reflexes of *b _ V [-superclose]

- (a) [β] SiSiloombo/SiYoombe, KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi, KiRImi [E60, E74b, G11, G60, E110 20, some E50]
- (b) [β/b] KiLoongo, KiBende, KiKiimbɔ
- (c) [β/∅] GiRwana/GiAhi
- (d) [b/∅] KiNiHaanzu
- (e) [∅] KiNaUshoola/KiNiLaamba C [some E60, E74b, G40 E70, G30]
- (f) [v] KeeMbuwe [G22, J32, E43, G50, G41]
- (g) [v/∅] KiRangi
- (h) [w] iCrWɔɔŋɔ [Some E60, E74b, G40 E70, G30, some G60, G50]

The reflex [b] on its own without any other alternation was not found in Zone F. It seems to occur, most probably, in complementary distribution with another fricative or zero⁷. This suggests that at initial position it is retained in some languages, while intervocally it is weakened to the fricative /β/ and lost altogether in others. This made *b one of the most unstable sounds in Zone F, since it has changed in all varieties, including in KiKiimbɔ and KiNiLaamba, languages which are relatively more conservative, closer to PB than any others in the zone.

⁷ In this context, a 'zero' sound or reflex, also represented as [∅], signifies that the sound was lost in that environment. When observations were not made, then no data are recorded, represented by a dash (-). Both 'zero' and 'dash' refer more to observation than to absolute presence or absence of a sound in a language.

3.1.2.5 Reflexes of *b _ i [+superclose]

- (a) [v] SiSiloombo/SiYoombe ɪCɪWʊʊŋɔ̃, KiiRangi, KeeMbuwe [E74, G22, G40 E70, J15-7, G50, DJ60]
- (b) [β] KɪSukuma
- (c) [β/v] KɪNyanyeembe/SiGalagaan̄za/KɪKonoŋgo
- (d) [β/ɾ] KɪDakama
- (e) [ɾ] KɪBende [E60, G12, J30, EJ25, G52, G60]
- (f) [Ø] KɪɪLaamba C
- (g) [[Ø/b] KɪnaUshoola/KɪɪHaanzu, KɪRɪmi
- (h) [β/b] KɪKɪmbʊ
- (i) [z] KɪLoŋgo [some G43, Rutara]

In the *b sound, it is mainly KɪDakama which shows a significant alternation in the reflex between [β/ɾ], a situation likely to be due to having two sources of the reflexes. Others like KɪKɪmbʊ [β/b] suggest only allophonic variation or borrowing, the later being more probable given the high fidelity of KɪKɪmbʊ to Proto Bantu. The KɪNyamweezi dialects (KɪNyanyeembe/SiGalagaan̄za/KɪKonoŋgo), excluding KɪDakama, have [β/v], partly suggesting orthographic influences and partly because of the sounds originating from two sources. In the former case, the bilabial fricative /β/ in many Bantu languages is represented as <v> where it is confused with the regular labiodental <v>. It is later hyper-corrected both in writing and speech and adopted in the system. KɪɪLaamba and KɪRɪmi usually lose *b.

3.1.2.6 Reflexes of *b / _ u [+superclose]

- (a) [β] KɪSukuma, KɪDakama
- (b) [Ø] KɪɪLaamba, KɪRɪmi, KɪKɪmbʊ?
- (c) [v] SiSiloombo/SiYoombe, SiGalagaan̄za, ɪCɪWʊʊŋɔ̃
- (d) [ɾ] KɪBende
- (e) [z] KɪLoŋgo
- (f) [w] KɪKonoŋgo?

- (g) [Ø/v] KiiRangi
- (h) [y?/Ø] Keembuwe

Using *b/_u and its reflexes in Eastern African languages alone, Zone F seems unique in having [β] among the reflexes. According to Nurse's (1979:458) survey of the Eastern African languages, it is the only zone with [β] in that environment. Such a pattern is suggestive of a shared history between its members, although close proximity might have played a role. The only varieties in Zone F without any trace of [β] are 4: KINLaamba, KiiRangi, KeeMbuwe and ICiWUŋgŋ. It is easier to explain KINLaamba, since it is a conservative language phonologically, retaining traces of [b]. On the other hand, KiiRangi, KeeMbuwe and ICiWUŋgŋ are isolated because of their reflexes of *b and this gives more weight to the skepticism in grouping these varieties within Zone F. Normally, the usual process of *b loss is common, in Sabaki, but also in many other Bantu languages (Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993:89-98):

(8) *b loss

*b → /β/ ~ /v/ → /w/ → /Ø/

Another candidate for that skepticism, KiBende, has some traces of [β], indicating that it has some affiliation with the other Zone F varieties. However, that affiliation may be only geographical too, among others, because it is closest to KIKonoŋgo, a likely source of borrowing

The evidence for BS based on PB *b is as follows. KIKIIMBŪ, KINILAAMBA, KISUKUMA, some parts of KINNYAMWEEZI, KIRIMI and maybe KEEMBUWE and KIRANGI do not spirantize because they have identical reflexes of PB *b before all vowels. On the other hand, SISIUMBWA, KIBENDE and ICITWŪŪŪŪ show BS because the superclose vowel environment is different from the low vowel PB *a.

3.1.2.7 Reflexes of *t / _ V [-superclose]

- (a) [t] All except KIRIMI*
- (b) [R] GIRWANA/GI AHI
- (c) [R/t] YINYAMUNIYANYI

KIRIMI has the voiceless flap [R] as an allophone of /t/. It becomes [t] when it is prenasalized (Olson 1964:13). On the other hand, YINYAMUNIYANYI (F32c) has double reflex indicating that the allophones seem to be in free variation. For the rest, there is no change from Proto Bantu, just as it is in the majority of other Bantu languages surveyed by Nurse (1979).

3.1.2.8 Reflexes of *t / _ i [+superclose]

- (a) [t] KINILAAMBA, KIKIIMBŪ [E65, E62a]
- (b) [R] GIRWANA/GI AHI
- (c) [t/s] (SISILOOMBO/SIYOOMBE, KILONGGO, GINA NTUZU, KINYANYEEMBE/SIGALAGAANZA /KIKONONOONGO, KIBENDE, ICITWŪŪŪŪ, KEEMBUWE)⁹ [These have only /s/]: E62c, G40 E70.

* For comparison, outside of Zone F, all have [t], except E60, some G40, some EJ30 have [r]; some E60 [d]; E611 [h]; some G41 [c] (Nurse (1979)).

⁹ The word *-tindIk- 'push' may be a wrong indicator, since in KeeMbuwe, it is the only irregular one, suggesting borrowing than internal sound change. In this case, it displays (continued...)

G30, E1, G50, G60]

(d) [tʃ] KɪmunaSukuma, JinaKɪɪya, KɪDakama [These have only [ʃ]: G22, E74b, G23]

(e) [R/t] ʧɪnyaMunɪɪɲanyi

(f) [c/t] KɪiRangi

In Zone F, KɪKɪɪmbɔ (F24) and KɪɪɪLaamba (F31) continue to show that they are stable phonologically, while the rest show divergence from Proto Bantu. The others like KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi indicate double reflexes: the inherited form and a mutated one. Where two reflexes co-exist, one or the other is likely to be the native, regular sound change in that language, while the other may be from a different source. This difference of source is interpreted in Chapter 5. ɪCɪWɔɔŋɔ, KɪBende and KɪLoongo display the double reflex pattern of the majority of Zone F languages with [t/s] indicating external influence over their phonological processes.

3.1.2.9 Reflexes of *t/_u [+superclose]

(a) [t] KɪɪɪLaamba, KɪKɪɪmbɔ, ɪCɪWɔɔŋɔ, KeeMbuwe

(b) [t/s] SiSiloombo, KɪSukuma, KɪDakama, KɪNyanyeembe, KɪKonoongo, KɪBende

(c) [s] SiYoombe [G23 24 31 34, E117, G65]

(d) [s/c] KɪLoongo

(e) [R] GɪRwana/GɪAhi

(f) [R/t] ʧɪnyaMunɪɪɲanyi

(g) [c] KɪiRangi[G22, E74b, E120 E111-4]

(h) [ʃ/t/s] SiGalagaanza

The evidence of PB *t/_u suggests that SiSuumbwa and KɪBende have BS, although they

⁹(...continued)

the phonological stability in this phoneme like KɪKɪɪmbɔ and KɪɪɪLaamba, as indicated in *t/_u.

have traces of some non-spirantizing *t. KiKiImbɔ (F24), and KiInLaamba (F31), KiRImi (F32) do not show any traces of BS while the rest display a mixed picture like in PB *p. A feature to note in Zone F is the absence of [f] as a reflex of *t which is found in KiChaga (E60), Sabaki (G40/E70), Ruvu (G30), much of Lacustrine (EJ), Kilombero (G50) and Southern Highlands (G60). It is one argument for the validity of Zone F, although as negative evidence it is not as strong as presence of a feature. One of the most interesting case here is that of KiiRangi with its reflex /c/. For many years, if not decades or centuries, it was adjacent to non-Bantu languages like Maasai and Sandawe but seems to have received no influence from them. Instead, KiiRangi shares some features with Bantu languages which are geographically distant, today¹⁰⁰. It is not clear whether such similarity is chance or genetic.

3.1.2.10 Reflexes of *d / _ V[-superclose]

- (a) [l] All, except KiRImi, KiiRangi, KeeMbuwe
- (b) [l/r] KiiRangi, KeeMbuwe
- (c) [Ø/l/r] KiRImi

3.1.2.11 Reflexes of *d / _ i[+superclose]

- (a) [l] KiInLaamba, GiRwana/GiAhi, KiKiImbɔ
- (b) [r] ɣInyaMunyianyi, KiiRangi, KeeMbuwe [E60]
- (c) [z] iCiWɔŋŋo [E74b, G40 E70, G30, some EJ, DJ60, G50]
- (d) [s] KiBende [G12, some EJ30, EJ25, G52, some G60]
- (e) [z/l] SiSiloombo/SiYoombe, KiLoongo, GiNaNtuzu, KiNyamweezi
- (f) [j/l] KiMunaSukuma/JinaKiɪya [With [j] only: G22, G40/E70]

¹⁰⁰ KiiRangi has [c] which is also found in neighbouring KiPare (G22) and Saghala (E74b), and in Rutara (EJ20/EJ11-4).

3.1.2.12 Reflexes of *d/_u/[+superclose]

- (a) [l] KɪnɪLaamba, KɪKɪmbɔ
- (b) [l/d/r] KeeMbuwe
- (c) [r/d] KiiRangi
- (d) [v/l] SiSiloombo/SiYoombe, SiGalagaanza
- (e) [z/l] KiLoongo, GiNaNtuzu, KiNyanyeembe/KɪDakama/KɪKonoongo [*These have [z] only: G23 23 31 34, parts of E.120*]
- (f) [z/l/d] KɪmunaSukuma/JinaKɪɪya
- (g) [ʃ/l] KiBende
- (h) [ʃ/l/r] KɪRɪmi
- (i) [v] ɪCɪWɔɔŋgɔ [*G40 E70, G30, E.115-7, D.160, G50*]

One of the significant features of *d/_u reflexes is the isogloss joining SiSuumbwa and SiGalagaanza, both of which have [v/l]. On the other hand, KiBende also shares some significant features with SiSuumbwa, although the major difference is in its devoicing of the labio-dental [v], and hence the reflex becomes [ʃ/l], a fact observed by Nurse (1988:58). This sharing of phonological features between SiSuumbwa and SiGalagaanza is not found in this context only. Further phonological contexts might cast light on the assumption that SiGalagaanza may be closer to SiSuumbwa linguistically than it is to KɪNyamweezi, although one can also argue that it is close proximity that makes SiGalagaanza share features with SiSuumbwa. The *d/_u [+superclose] context also strengthens the notion that as individual varieties, KɪKɪmbɔ, KɪnɪLaamba and KɪRɪmi are solid entities, while KɪSukuma, KɪNyamweezi and SiSuumbwa each have each some internal coherence. If they have any unity, then it is riddled with unresolved anomalies as displayed by the reflexes. ɪCɪWɔɔŋgɔ, KiiRangi and KeeMbuwe seem autonomous in their own right, each displaying occasionally unique features not found in the rest of Zone F members, as with the unique case of

ICIWUŋgŋ with [v] as the reflex of *d.

Evidence for BS is solid in KiBende and ICIWUŋgŋ, while its absence is clear in KiInLaamba, KiRimi, KiKiImbŋ, KeeMbuwe and KiiRangi. The situation is mixed in SiSuumbwa, KiNyamweezi and KiSukuma with double reflexes, indicative of interference.

3.1.2.13. *k/_V [-superclose]

- (a) [k] All, except KiRimi, KiKiImbŋ
- (b) [k (x)] GiRwana, ųInyaMunyinyani
- (c) [x (k)] GiAhi, KiKiImbŋ

The sound *k shares some features with non-high vowels in that the [-high] or [-superclose] feature of the vowels does not have a conflict with the [+back] feature of /k/ which makes /k/ low. It may be this similar feature specification which makes the distribution of /k/ relatively uniform in all of Zone F, except for KiRimi and KiKiImbŋ, with [x] as an allophonic alternation occurring in complementary distribution with [k]. In KiRimi and KiKiImbŋ [x] occurs only before vowels with the [+back, -high] features, that is /a/ and /o/, and not the front and high ones like /e/, /ɛ/, /i/ or /u/ because they modify the [+back] feature of /k/ by pulling the place of articulation away from regular velar position. Thus, [x] is only phonetic rather than phonological.

3.1.2.14. *k/_i [+superclose]

- (a) [k] KIntLaamba, GtRwana, YInyaMunyiganyi, KIKIImbO-North
- (b) [x] GiAhi?
- (c) [f] KiLoonggo
- (d) [c] KImunaSukuma
- (e) [f (k)] SiSilombo, SiYoombe
- (f) [f/k] KiDakama, KiNyanyeembe, SiGalagaanza
- (g) [c/k] GInaNtuzu, JinaKIrya, KIKIImbO South, KiiRangi
- (h) [f/s] KiBende
- (i) [fʃ] ICiWuUngU
- (j) [k/y] KeeMbuwe

The [k] reflex is expected in KIntLaamba, KIRImi, KIKIImbO, KiiRangi and KeeMbuwe as non-spirantizing varieties. But in KIRImi, two varieties meet the expectation, while GiAhi has [x]¹¹. This can be regarded as an allophone of [k], as pointed out above for the low vowels. Here, it has been generalized to the [+high] context as well. In addition, the fricative [x] may be due to the palatalizing effect of *i. Likewise, KIKIImbO South has an alternation [c/k]. The [c] is also a likely palatal effect of the verb itself for 'die' *-ki-, rather than spirantization. As well, it may be a transfer from linguistic neighbours like KISukuma whose speakers have immigrated into the Rukwa area in large numbers since the early 1970s. Their numerical strength might have had an immediate impact on KIKIImbO-South. As a strongly conservative variety, KIKIImbO's innovation might be a recent and limited one in words like [ca] 'die' <*-ki-¹². Such an innovation causing double reflexes is mainly idiolectal due to

¹¹ The reliability of [x] as a sole reflex of *k in this phonetic environment is not solid in GiAhi since the set of words for comparison in *k/_i [+superclose] were 7 in all, 2 of which were questionable, 3 were not filled, while 1 appeared to be borrowed.

¹² Such an environment can be best described as kiV - ciV - cV as a first step in
(continued...)

contact rather than dialectal.

The double reflex phenomenon is explained further in 3.1.3. in discussions about KiSukuma, KiNyamwezi and SiSuumbwa where the phenomenon is more widespread. As a rule of thumb, where one of the reflexes in a suspected Bantu Spirantization case includes a stop, then Bantu Spirantization is doubtful. Of the spirantizing varieties in Zone F, only KiLoongo, KiBende and iCɪWɔ̃ŋɔ̃ display a true fricativization without traces of stops in the *k/_i [+superclose] environment. The rest show only traces of Bantu Spirantization, which suggests a contact situation resulting in a transfer of some features.

On the other hand, *k/_i [+superclose] shows the most variation of double reflexes where [k] alternates with another sound, a fricative or another stop, the [c]. This is a strong argument for limited Bantu Spirantization in Zone F, since, as Nurse (1979:462) shows, spirantizing languages have [s] as a regular reflex before *i. Only KiBende has [s]. KiBende can thus be regarded as a spirantizing language, with a five vowel system. On the other hand, both Schadeberg (1995:83) and Guthrie (1967-1971:47)¹³ regard KiTongwe, another name for KiBende/KiTongwe¹⁴ as 7V. Schadeberg (1995:83) shows that although KiTongwe

¹²(...continued)
palatalization before consonants, i.e. kiC as it becomes a regular process (where V and C are any vowels and consonants respectively).

¹³*Comparative Bantu*. 1971. *Part I, Vol. 2*.

¹⁴Kapepwa K. Taambilá (p.c. 15th April 2000), a speaker of KiBende/KiTongwe and
(continued...)

(F11) is 7V it has full BS, a position which supports our data on superclose vowels. However, our data do not only show clear BS, but also show a clearly 5V variety.

3.1.2.15. *k/_u [+superclose]

- (a) [k] KiMunaSukuma, GiNaNtuzu, KiNtLaamba, GiRwana, YInyaMunyinyanyi, KiKiimbw South, KeeMbuwe
 (b) [f] SiSuumbwa, SiGalagaanza, KiBende
 (c) [k (f)] JinaKiya, KiDakama, KiNyanyeembe
 (d) [k/f]¹⁵ KiKonoongo, KiKiimbw-North, iCiwuungu, KiiRangi
 (e) [x/(f)] GiAhi

Apart from the varieties with alternations, it is only SiSuumbwa and KiBende which display a consistently Bantu Spirantization system. SiGalagaanza behaves like these two, most probably as an areal influence, since such an affiliation to both KiBende and SiSuumbwa does not end at phonological level alone, but is illustrated by the vocabulary as well. Predictably *k = [k] is found in KiNtLaamba, KeeMbuwe, and parts of KiKiimbw and KiRimi, and KiSukuma.

¹⁴(...continued)

professor of history at the University of Dar Es Salaam, says that the distinction between KiBende and KiTongwe is not linguistic. It is only geographical since the KiBende speakers reside along the Lake Tanganyika shores while the so-called KiTongwe speakers live in the mountains. The language is one. With the advent of “tribal” labels for the linguistic communities of Africa, the division only helped create two identities which were formerly one entity. Such an argument is not an illegitimate appeal to authority by invoking Täambilä’s knowledge of history. It is fairly plausible, since in some literature there are such cases of pseudo-languages and dialects. For instance, KiKonoongo is regarded as a language apart from KiNyamweezi, just as many dialects and some languages like KiLoongo are not even mentioned, mainly because there is no information about them.

¹⁵ An occurrence of [k/f] shows almost equal frequency of distribution, hence a reversed order [f/k] refers to the same equation of the form: ‘if *a* and *b* have the same values, then the sequences *a · b* and *b/a* are equal’. Order is therefore not important in such a case.

Clear indications of BS include ɪCɪWɔ̃ɔ̃ŋgɔ̃ and KiBende . SiSuumbwa also shows some consistency, despite the interference with non-spirantizing elements. KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi continue to show the double reflex mixture of spirantizing and non-spirantizing forms and others which do not. KiiRangi also shows double reflexes indicating interference. On the other hand, KɪɪLaamba , KɪKɪɪmbɔ̃ , KɪRɪmi and KeeMbuwe do not show BS.

3.1.2.16. **g/_V [-superclose]*

- (a) [g] SiSuumbwa , KɪSukuma , KɪNyamweezi , KɪɪLaamba , KɪKɪɪmbɔ̃
- (b) [ɣ] KiBende , KɪRɪmi
- (c) [g/Ø] ɪCɪWɔ̃ɔ̃ŋgɔ̃
- (d) [Ø/v] KeeMbuwe , KiiRangi

Prominent features with the reflexes of *g are the alternations [v] and [Ø] in KeeMbuwe and KiiRangi , and [g] and [[Ø] in ɪCɪWɔ̃ɔ̃ŋgɔ̃ . This is explored further in 3.1.4.1 below. Otherwise, the other varieties display regular occurrences before [-superclose] vowels. This feature in KiiRangi and KeeMbuwe is an important classificatory cue, since it is only they which display such a pattern. It is one feature among several which suggests they descended from a common ancestor or had contact. On the other hand, [ɣ] as a voiced counterpart of [x] seems to result from the non-superclose vowel environment where the [+back] feature causes a friction in the velum, deleting the [+stop] feature of the *g. This seems a phonetic rather than a phonological reflex, since it was possible to substitute [g] for [ɣ] without any loss of meaning in KiBende and KɪRɪmi .

3.1.2.17. *g/_i [+superclose]

- (a) [g] KiLoongo, KiSukuma, KiDakama, KiKonoongo, KiInLaamba, KiKiimbɔ
- (b) [ɣ] KiRɪmi
- (c) [z] SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, KiNyanyembe, iCɪWɔɔŋɔ
- (d) [s] KiBende

Due to limited data with *g/_i [+superclose], SiGalagaanza, KeeMbuwe and KiRangji are not represented. The other members display a consistent pattern of either favouring Bantu Spirantization or not. SiSiloombo and SiYoombe become isolated from KiLoongo in that the later has [g] while they show [z], like KiNyanyembe and iCɪWɔɔŋɔ. While iCɪWɔɔŋɔ is a regular Bantu Spirantization candidate, KiNyanyembe may be due to areal influence from SiSiloombo/SiYoombe and not from KiBende since KiBende has [s] and devotes spirants regularly (Nurse 1988:59). Within Zone F, the patterns displayed here are good typological clues. Some affiliation is indeed displayed, and if iCɪWɔɔŋɔ is removed as geographically distant, the four remaining ones suggest some areal-based distribution.

North Nyanza (EJ30), Western Highlands (DJ60) and Rutara (EJ10) have [z] too, hence pointing to SiSuumbwa as either a member or has been influenced heavily by them as neighbours.

3.1.2.18. *g/_u [+superclose]

- (a) [g] GiNaNtuzu, JinaKiɪya, KiKonoongo, KiInLaamba, KiKiimbɔ
- (b) [v] SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, SiGalagaanza, iCɪWɔɔŋɔ
- (c) [ʃ] KiBende
- (d) [Ø] KiRɪmi, KeeMbuwe
- (e) [v/g] KiNyanyembe

- (f) [Ø/v] KiiRangi
(g) [z] KiLoongo

The conclusions reached here may not be as valid as required since only two words were found in the *g/_u [+superclose] environment, *-jogu 'elephant' and *-gund- 'be high (rot (of meat))'. Some varieties like KiSukuma and KiDakama do not use *-jogu for 'elephant', and so only one word remained. The informants in KiMunaSukuma and KiDakama did not respond to the word for 'be high', and so both slots became empty for these two varieties. For those who answered, however, the responses were consistent with the expected patterns observed in other cases of *g. For instance, KiBende [f], SiSiloombo [v], SiYoombe [v] and rɪtʷɔɔŋɔ [v] showed consistent Bantu Spirantization, while SiGalagaanza [v] followed SiSiloombo and SiYoombe. On the other hand, KiLoongo [z] became more like Rutara, and unlike SiSiloombo/SiYoombe with [v], which was more like Western Highlands like KiRundi, GiHa and KiHangaaza (DJ60), which are immediate neighbours of SiSuumbwa to its west.

A conspicuous case of double reflexes was displayed by KiNyanyeembe [v/g], showing that Bantu Spirantization is not well-established, as indicated in 3.2.1.1.14. In fact, the SiSuumbwa influence may be posited here, whereby [v] is from SiSuumbwa, and [g] from KiNyamweezi. KiiRangi's [Ø/v] alternation points to the same feature of absent or weak Bantu Spirantization since the default seems to be [Ø] rather than [v]. Section 3.2. illustrates in some detail such cases of alternation and the type of words in which such processes occur.

Despite insufficient data, BS is indicated clearly in KiBende, SiSuumbwa and IC1W00ŋg0. The rest show none. KiRImi, KeeMbuwe and KiiRangi show loss of PB *g in the superclose vowel environment, although no solid conclusions can be drawn because of limited data.

3.1.2.19. *c/_V [-superclose]

- (a) [s] All, except KiInLaamba-Central, KiInHaanzu, KiRImi
- (b) [h] KiRImi, KiInHaanzu
- (c) [s/f] KiInLaamba-Central

One important generalization which can be drawn from PB*c/_V [-superclose] is the status of KiInHaanzu, a dialect of KiInLaamba, in relation to KiRImi. They both have [h] as the reflex of PB *c with non-high vowels. There are several cases where KiInHaanzu is more similar to KiRImi than it is to KiInLaamba. This may have something to do with historical genetic affiliation since it is only KiInLaamba and KiRImi which do not have a regular alternation pattern [s] in non-high environments of PB *c, like the rest of Zone F.

On the other hand, it is difficult to explain the alternation in KiInLaamba-Central [s/f]¹⁶. It may be a generational question, or simply unknown rules at the moment leading to inconsistent alternations, as in IC1W00ŋg0 where some younger informants had different qualities of sounds from the elders, who showed more conservative vowel productions

¹⁶ This case is similar to the four Seuta languages (G23, G24, G31 and G34), where the three have /s/, while one, G23 (KiShambala), has /f/ (Nurse, p.c. May 2000).

(Labroussi (1999:360-361)).

3.1.2.20. *c/ i [+superclose]

- (a) [s] All, *except* GInaNtuzu, JinaKIItya, KiDakama, KiNyanyeembe, KInaʊshoola, KInIHaanzu
- (b) [ʃ] KiMunaSukuma, JinaKIItya, KiDakama, KInaʊshoola
- (c) [h] KInIHaanzu
- (d) [s (ʃ)] GInaNtuzu, KiNyanyeembe

3.1.2.21. *c/ u [+superclose]

- (a) [s] All, *except* KInaʊshoola, KInIHaanzu, KiRIimi
- (b) [h] KInIHaanzu, KiRIimi
- (c) [ʃ] KInaʊshoola

Evidence for BS in the PB *c environment is not clear, first because of the limited data, and secondly, because of the overall distribution of the reflexes which favours /s/ generally before all vowels. This indicates that *c was not inherited from Proto Bantu by the Zone F languages because it is not attested in the group. Rather, /s/ is inherited from an intermediate, common proto language which is not Proto Bantu. The examples of KiMunaSukuma, JinaKIItya, KiDakama, KInaʊshoola show /ʃ/ before superclose vowels. These are cases of probable recent palatalization, as a contrast to the [-superclose] vowel influence. However, the importance of palatalization seems marginal, since KInaʊshoola, for example, shows traces of /ʃ/ in all phonetic contexts. KiSukuma has /s/ before PB *u, indicating a mixed situation with a likely non-BS status. A partial numerical distribution of the reflexes of PB *c is shown in 3.2.1.1.14 below when discussing SSN.

3.1.2.22. *j/_V [-superclose]

- (a) [j] KiRImi, KiKiImbu, KiiRangi, KeeMbuwe
- (b) [z] KiLoongo, KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi, KiIntHaanzu, iCrWuŋŋu
- (c) [j/z] KiNaŋshoola, KiInLaamba-Central
- (d) [z/zy] SiSiloombo, SiYoombe
- (e) [s/sy] KiBende

The striking feature here is the isolation of KiBende by spirant devoicing as noted above.

This feature is not shared by any other Zone F language.

3.1.2.23. *j/_i [+superclose] and *j/_u [+superclose] [y] (All)

Data were inadequate in these environments. Out of the more than 1000 words used, only 26 contained *j, and out of those, none had *i, and only 2 had *u. Conclusions based on this sound would therefore be significantly misleading.

3.1.2.24. *Explanation and interpretation of Bantu Spirantization in Zone F*

The analysis of BS in Zone F can be approached in two ways (a) either as a phonetic or phonological process whereby articulatory and perceptual factors play a role in sound change (b) contact situation where one variety transfers features to another variety. During the process of adopting and adapting the new features, the phonetic/phonological processes interact simultaneously with the contact situation or any other factor(s) as one complex whole. The separation of the results of interacting processes is done only for the sake of analysis since the two, contact and phonological change, can and do occur simultaneously.

3.1.2.24.1. *Phonetic Phonological Explanation and interpretation of Bantu Spirantization in Zone F.*

The feature geometry approach can be used to account for BS. Feature geometry treats Bantu Spirantization as a Consonant/Consonant (C/C) interaction where the superclose vowels are phonologically specified for the [+consonantal] feature which then spreads over other neighbouring segments in a patterned way and completely replaces the CPlace features of preceding stops (Zoll 1995:539). The process is largely governed by the phonotactics of a language. She states:

...the narrow stricture of the superclosed (*sic*) segments is directly responsible for these properties of mutation as well - in particular, that the superclosed segments have CPlace rather than VPlace features, in line with their narrow stricture, and thus are classified phonologically as [+consonantal]...Once Bantu mutation is properly understood as an interaction between consonantal segments, it is no longer surprising that the set of triggers has never broadened to include the other vowels.

(9) k → s

| | |
|-------------|-------------|
| k | i |
| CPlace | CPlace |
| = | = |
| Dorsal | Coronal |
| | |
| -Continuant | +Continuant |

(10) k → f

| | |
|-------------|-------------|
| k | u |
| CPlace | CPlace |
| = | = |
| Dorsal | Labial |
| | |
| -Continuant | +Continuant |

(11) $d \rightarrow z$

| | |
|-------------|-------------|
| d | i |
| CPlace | CPlace |
| Coronal | Coronal |
| = | = |
| -Continuant | +Continuant |

Represented graphically in (9), the /k/ loses its [+dorsal] features by being deleted by the CPlace feature of the superclose *i which spreads its [+coronal] and [+continuant] features, and changes /k/ to /s/, as in SiSuumbwa /lyoonsi/ < *-yoki 'smoke', or as in KiBende /-sisi/ < *-kidi- 'soot'. In

KiBende, two prominent processes in the language occur in that word. BS which transforms *k into /s/ and spirant devoicing which changes *di > /zi/ into *di > /si/.

(12) $d \rightarrow d$

| | |
|-------------|-------------|
| d | i |
| CPlace | CPlace |
| Coronal | Coronal |
| -Continuant | +Continuant |

The BS rule is powerful enough to account for the changes observed in spirantizing languages. For instance, with *u, the change of *k > f can be explained as the spreading of the [+Labial] and [+Consonantal] features of the *u to the *k. The two

features then delete the CPlace node of the *k, resulting in /f/ as an assimilatory process. This can be represented as in (10), above.

On the other hand, such a rule assumes that the process will apply without exception in a given language like KiSukuma. For instance, what is the interpretation of the in cases where there are double reflexes of *-dɔdi 'whistling' where KiMunaSukuma has /shiloʒi/, JinaKiIya /nɔli/ and SiGalagaanza has /multɔzi/, respectively? The rule does not explain such

exceptions. However, one way of defending the feature geometry rule as a relevant and plausible explanation is the fact that in each language the rule applies differently in terms of which features are specified or not before the superclose vowels. The selective rule application also specifies which features are replaced in the adjacent stop, as illustrated in (11) as in *KɪNyamweezi* -gazi 'blood' < *-gadi 'blood'; in (12), as in *KɪSukuma* -dito 'heavy' < *-dito 'heavy'; in (13) as in *JinaKɪɪya* -biti 'hyena' < *-piti 'hyena'.

Due to these individual language differences, some phonotactic rules may apply in each case, either allowing or blocking some of the operations of the expected rule and its results.

On closer examination, the phonotactic explanation is not good enough for violating the BS rule, since, as in examples (12) and (13), any exception to the feature geometry account is likely to be a result of a vowel other than the superclose. Any violation or compliance with BS can also be due to a word borrowed into a language which has no BS, resulting in some

words being affected by BS while others do not change.

(13) $t \rightarrow t$

| | |
|-------------|-------------|
| t | i |
| CPlace | CPlace |
| Coronal | Coronal |
| -Continuant | +Continuant |

The enigma of double reflexes in some of the Zone F languages like *SiSuumbwa*, *KɪSukuma*, *KɪNyamweezi* and *ɪCɪWɔʊŋgɔ* can be accounted for

by the feature geometry account when borrowed words or sounds are involved. As noted in

3.1.1. *Tables 3.1 and 3.2* above on 7 vs 5 vowel systems, there is dominance of 7V and 5V in F25 and F34 respectively without definite BS. On the one hand, F34 did not undergo BS, although it shows a 5V system, as illustrated in 3.1.1 regarding vowel systems in Zone F¹⁷. The state of affairs where there is a reduction of vowels in descendant languages like KeeMbuwe and KiBende can be interpreted in two ways, among others. First, it can be a result of true BS, and secondly it may be due to vowel reduction not related to BS. The behaviour of KeeMbuwe and KiBende can shed some light in the patterns of double reflexes in SiSuumbwa, KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi and iCrW00ng0. At the beginning of Chapter 3 on vowel quality frequencies, F25 showed that it is a 7V language without any doubt, although other studies have also found that speaker variation was pronounced, with some speakers showing 7V, while others, especially from the young generation, had 5V (Labroussi 1999). One explanation given by Labroussi (1999) is BS in progress.

However, ongoing BS in F25 is an unlikely explanation because the mechanism does not suggest that it is internally motivated or adapted through adoption by borrowing. The major factor is likely bilingualism of the speakers, who are made conscious of using two codes

¹⁷ However, Dempwolff (1912:15) records 9 vowels for KeeMbuwe rather than 5, as noted in 3.1.1 above. As a reminder, these 9 are i (y), i (y), e, e, a, o, o, u (w), u. In addition, Guthrie (1967-71) does not give any vowel details for either KiiRangi (F33) or KeeMbuwe (F34), although he records 7 vowels for KiTongwe ((F11), from his Tongwe Group which includes KiBende (F12)). These 7 are the regular vowels found in 7V Bantu languages like KiSukuma or KiKiimb0, from Proto Bantu*_i i, e, a, o, u, y, the first and last being the superclose. These superclose vowels show clear BS even in KiTongwe (Guthrie (1971:47, vol.2)

and/or two phonological systems, F25 and KiSwahili, the national language. If the process were internal to the language, there would be no widespread exceptions for the superclose /i/ and /u/ being only occasionally specified for [+consonantal, +continuant]. This can be accounted for by the F25-KiSwahili bilingual situation the younger generation are exposed to, compared to their elders, who are likely to be less bilingual. Because of bilingualism, a much more plausible account is imitation borrowing without any progression to adaptation. Imitation borrowing occurs when the linguistic rules of the loan words from the source language are not learnt properly by the recipient language speakers, and therefore reproduction is not perfect. Adaptation borrowing in speakers occurs when assimilation into the recipient language follows the rules of the source language, resulting in a perfect blend of loan words so that the origin of the word in the source or recipient language is blurred (Coetsem (1988:7)). By imitation or adaptation, it is possible to store in language a faithful transmission of loan words and culture in general as non-material artefacts of a speech community. By their behaviour, these loans can then be distinguished from inherited vocabulary or other phonological processes like BS.

When there are double reflexes therefore, a language is either BS, or it is not. If it is not, then it has been heavily influenced by a BS language. This semblance of BS in a language is a result of a natural phonological process of assimilation helped by borrowing due to proximity to or being dominated by a full BS language. In the case of IC1W00ηgσ, such a dominant language is likely to be KiSwahili, which is a national language and a medium of

instruction in all schools. With the policy of universal education in the 1970s and 1980s in Tanzania, all young speakers in all speech communities in the whole country who had the chance of going to school were exposed to the prestigious BS language, KiSwahili. These included iC1W00gg0's neighbours like M11, M25, and M31 which show traces of BS, but with 7V, a pattern obtaining in F21 and F22 as well. In addition, all Zone G languages have BS¹⁸. This indicates that the pressure of KiSwahili, a Zone G language, is enormous, although its influence is only recent, especially when young informants give data. Other BS languages exert their influence in other contexts, as in DJ60 or EJ10/20/30 on their neighbours. Since BS occurs in the same words because the languages affected are all Bantu, then it is easy to borrow such words when the source language is perceived to be of higher status at that time. But since there is no internal motivation to maintain the momentum towards full adaptation, the 7V also remains as a separate system. This becomes consonant with the F21, F22 and F25 situation where the languages appear to have undergone partial BS because of retaining some words without BS, and having a 7V system, although in fact this is only imitation which is not internalized by and generalized into the system. For instance, M32 (CiNdali) shows patterns of heavy interference by other languages like KiSwahili, resulting in partial BS but full-fledged 5V, although its nearest relative, M31, displays the same partial BS but with full 7V. Labroussi (1999) offers a good explanation of this inconsistency for the Corridor languages and which is relevant to Zone F generally. In

¹⁸ In fact, Nurse estimates that all Zone G languages have had BS for 1000-2000 years, long before KiSwahili influence (p.c. 13th February 2001)

both of the Zone M30 cases, it is likely but not proved by any study, that only imitation borrowing occurs rather than BS adaptation. As Labrousse (1999:374) aptly points out, 7 > 5 occurs independently of BS, although on the other hand, BS is necessarily followed by 5V. In other words, F34 has 7 > 5 as an independent vowel reduction process not associated with BS, whereas F10 and F23 have 5V because of BS.

On the other end of the spectrum F24, F31 and F32 have neither 7 > 5, BS nor any significant loan words with BS from their neighbours, indicating that, apart from being distant from F23, and to some extent from F10, they did not share any immediate historical path to make such influences possible.

For its part, KeeMbuwe (F34) has no BS, but shows strongly that it has 5V, as revealed in *Tables 3.1.* and *3.2.* Such vowel reduction may be due to heavy recent borrowing, probably from Iraqw or KiSwahili, rather than internal change, since there are few [ɪ] and [ʊ] remnants which reveal some underlying 7V heritage¹⁹. F34 is a language surrounded by non-Bantu languages which are 5V. Borrowing heavily from them is expected, facilitating the adaptation of new features into its own phonological system. KiiRangi (F33), a close relative

¹⁹ The rate of change from the 9 or 7 vowels observed by Dempwolff (1912) to 5 vowels in 1999 may be unusually speedy, unless they are phonetic or are due to the impact of a dominant language like KiSwahili which has been playing a major role in schools in recent years. In schools, the crop of young informants is likely to be even more susceptible to conforming to a language of wider communication in a multilingual context, especially in speech communities whose speakers number only a few thousands or less.

of F34, shows neither BS nor 5V although neighbouring languages like CiGogo or Seuta (and Ruvu in general) are BS and 5V.

This further implies that any traces of BS in Zone F outside F10 and F23 are either borrowed, or that they are not even BS. Rather, the traces which appear to be BS may in fact be regular palatalization, which tends to occur whenever a high front vowel is adjacent to a plosive, as a general assimilatory process of language. BS as a specific assimilatory process in Bantu does not allow for exceptions if it is present in a language. In KISukuma and KINyamweezi, for instance, some words do sometimes undergo BS, while others do not. Taking off from Labroussi's (1999) analysis and conclusions, the situation in KISukuma and KINyamweezi suggests strongly that there is a mix of two assimilatory processes: Bantu specific palatalization (BS) and general palatalization. This is the type of mix that occurs occasionally in KISukuma/KINyamweezi and other 7V languages. BS as a specific form of palatalization is associated with strict $7 > 5$, while general palatalization does not affect 7V systems. These palatalization patterns are described by Labroussi (1999) as partial spirantization since there are many exceptions, as in the case of CiNdali and Ciŋgonge, among others. Such palatalization is not Bantu Spirantization²⁰ (BS) because BS is unlikely to accommodate such exceptions. The cases described by Labroussi are very similar with

²⁰ Sometimes, 'spirantization' is used to mean 'palatalization' or 'affrication', and sometimes restricted to BS only. In the case of Labroussi (1999), she refers specifically to BS, although the processes in the languages she describes suggest general palatalization, a process which is supported by the many exceptions in the same contexts.

the Zone F situation where there are fully-fledged BS with 5V languages like KiBende and SiSuumbwa. On the other hand, there is a group of languages like KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi and iCɪWɔɔŋgɔ which behave anomalously because of mixing features from different phonological processes. Labroussi (1999:375) offers an insightful explanation on this anomalous situation by advancing this idea of structural mixing. She describes the anomaly as abnormal, indicating that the source may lie in the examination of the sociolinguistic and historical networks between different linguistic groups. Such networks might have resulted in 'structural mixing' of two or more languages within one recipient language, as in the case of F21, F22 and F25. Such a situation of BS with 7V is also found in G65 (KiKinga), M11 (iCiPimbwe), M25 (iɸiSafwa), N11 (CiManda), P13 (KiMatumbi). Schadeberg (1995) analyzes this situation in detail, selecting languages which represent all Bantu zones. See also Kahigi (1987, 1988, 1995) on the processes of Proto Bantu stop weakening.

Zoll's feature geometry approach is powerful and elegant enough to capture what goes on in Bantu Spirantization. Zoll's approach also supports Labroussi (1999:363-365) who views BS as the natural effect of tense high vowels on preceding consonants which become phonological, and then the changes are morphologized in inflections, later regularized in derivations as a permanent change.

Based on the phonetic/phonological approach, BS and its traces in Zone F can be interpreted in the following ways. First, those languages with traces of BS with 7V retention might be

considered cases of historical palatalization only as an internal innovation. In this category can be grouped varieties of KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi. Secondly, there are those languages in which the Proto Bantu plosives underwent lenition generally, starting in an intervocalic environment and then by analogy regularized to all the occurrences. In this group are languages like KɪRɪmi and KiiRangi where there was a systematic change of plosives with 7V retention without Bantu Spirantization. Thirdly, in some languages, the plosives changed into corresponding fricatives without Bantu Spirantization, but then 7V became 5V by processes other than phonetic, as explained below under contact situations. This is the case of KeeMbuwe. Fourthly, it is unlikely that a language underwent the regular processes of weakening, with Bantu Spirantization, but then retained the 7V quite firmly, like ɪCɪWɔ̃θ̃ŋ̃ɔ̃. With regard to 7V vs 5V in ɪCɪWɔ̃θ̃ŋ̃ɔ̃, Labroussi (1999:375) is quite clear that it is 7V, although some young speakers have 5V. However, such a system of spirantization with 7V she calls abnormal, a situation found in ɪCɪWɔ̃θ̃ŋ̃ɔ̃ and Fipa-Sukuma as an instance of structural mixing referred to above (Labroussi: ibid). Fifthly, the change resulted in Bantu Spirantization and a 5V system, as in the case of SiSuumbwa and KiBende. And lastly, there are those languages which changed little from Proto Bantu, like KɪKɪmbɔ̃ and KɪnɪLaamba, showing neither traces of BS nor 5V. These linguistic groupings in Zone F can be summarized in (14) as one way of classifying these varieties based on Bantu Spirantization:

(14) Plosives, 7 > 5 and BS in Zone F

| Process ← Languages . | 7V | 5V | BS | PAL ²¹ | Other lenition |
|--------------------------|----|----|----|-------------------|-------------------|
| KiKizimbo, KintLaamba | + | - | - | - | - |
| KiRzmi, KiiRangi | + | - | - | - | + |
| iCiWooŋŋo | + | - | +? | - | - |
| KiSukuma, KiNyamwezi | + | - | - | + | - |
| KeeMbuwe | - | + | - | - | + |
| SiSuumbwa, KiBende | - | + | + | - | + |

Due to contact, the features of these various groupings can diffuse to their neighbours and cause such phenomena as double reflexes. For instance, words with BS from SiSuumbwa or KiBende can spread to other languages, while the non-BS languages can also donate those non-BS words to SiSuumbwa and KiBende. A few such words are found in SiSuumbwa, as shown in 3.2 below.

3.1.2.24.2 The Contact Model Explanation and interpretation of Bantu Spirantization in Zone F.

Apart from the purely phonetic and phonological explanation of Bantu Spirantization, the process can also be interpreted in sociolinguistic terms. This refers to language contact as a social dimension of language where people of one language adopt and adapt aspects of another language into their own. The natural phonetic and phonological environment becomes only one conditioning factor. After borrowing a few words with BS, the same

²¹ PAL = palatalization, as separate from BS

phonetic environment begins to behave in two ways, BS and non-BS. Double reflexes result with time. Multilingualism due to areal contiguity in many of the Bantu languages plays a big role here where BS can spread even further (Schadeberg 1995:82; Nurse 1999:26). Some of these languages therefore acquire BS partially, resulting in double reflexes when the process fails to be adapted; if acquired in full, there is resulting language shift, from a 7V language to a 5V with BS. The mechanism of this causal relationship between BS and 7 > 5 has not yet been fully explored as far I am aware. But, based on observation, BS is followed by 7 > 5 generally because of the phonological instability created by BS (Schadeberg 1995:78). This causal connection Labroussi (1999:367) calls phonological enrichment in which BS introduces new phonemes (fricatives) in a language whereby the vowel system is restructured by vowel reduction as a counterbalancing process. This explanation is adequate, although a systematic study can be undertaken to study the causal relationship in more detail.

The contact model approach is preferable since it simultaneously includes both the phonetic/phonological and sociolinguistic perspectives. Two observations can be made of this sociolinguistic approach: behaviour of loanwords and the capacity of various speech communities to absorb speakers from other languages.

3.1.2.24.2.1. The Contact Models: Loan words.

Loanwords with BS features, especially in KiNyamweezi and KiSukuma where Proto Bantu consonants show two reflexes, are suspected as major sources of apparent BS. The situation

is similar to that of KiPare (Casu) where extraneous sounds which go against expected patterns in the language are found, creating a messy picture²². A few cases of BS are found in KiKiimbũ North in words like *kũ-fuma* 'to go out' < *-pum- 'go out'. This word displays BS, a process which is generally absent in that language. A feasible explanation lies in contact with neighbouring KiNyamweezi which has some Bantu Spirantization, also not native in the language. It is mainly due to contact with other Bantu Spirantization languages that KiKiimbũ North would have a word with such a form. The prime suspect is likely to be SiSuumbwa or KiBende because it is synchronically the nearest (although modern language contiguity says nothing about ancient affiliations and neighbourliness between languages). Irregularities due to contact are a common occurrence, and in this case, we might ask ourselves: Is SiSuumbwa a real candidate for influencing KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi, which in turn might have influenced KiKiimbũ? What about other languages which we do not know about now because they are at present geographically distant from KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi or KiKiimbũ speech communities? Regularity in language is normal, and any irregularities as marked features should be explained. For instance, in cases of double reflexes, should ongoing change be posited? If such a position is suggested, then one word should allow two different ways of pronunciation to mean the same thing. But that is not the case in the double reflexes found in KiNyamweezi and KiSukuma. There is definitely no evidence of ongoing change. In southern KiSwahili, for example, *mwivi* and *mweufi* on the one hand, and northern KiSwahili *mwizi* and *mweusi* 'thief' and 'black' respectively, on the

²² Nurse, personal communication, March 2000

other, are dialectal and they do not coexist in one dialect. In their conversations, Bryan revealed to Nurse that in the 1930s *mwivi* and *mwizi* were in fact both common in Dar Es Salaam²³.

3.1.2.24.2.2. The Contact Models: capacity for absorbing newcomers and demographics

In the not so distant past, both KISukuma and KINyamweezi speech communities showed a tendency to absorb speakers of other languages and swell their numbers (Masele 1997). That also can have a disturbing/modifying influence on the host languages. If that fact is acknowledged, then the following questions may have definite answers if the evidence is collected: Why are some of the reflexes irregular in some varieties while other varieties are relatively stable? Why do some members of Zone F languages show consistency of pattern while the others do not?

Demographic changes is one of the best scenarios. According to the preceding sections, SiSuumbwa underwent Bantu Spirantization. KISukuma and KINyamweezi did not, except that they borrowed lexical items which had BS. This explains the inconsistent reflexes. For instance, in the *d reflexes, one would expect only /l/, but there are /j/ (in KISukuma) and /zy/ (KINyamweezi) in causatives. This can be said of /k/ with the /f/ and /k/ reflexes. There is also a mixed situation with regard to *b. Where do these unexpected reflexes come from? One answer might be the languages coming in contact with the affected languages. Which

²³ Nurse, p.c. May 2000.

ones, is a perennial question if the current neighbours are excluded.

3.1.2.24.3. *Synthesis: Bantu Spirantization in Zone F*

In phonetic and phonological terms, a more than ternary division of tongue height allows for Zoll's proposal for a feature [\pm cons] for /i/ and /u/ (i.e. Guthrie's /j/ and /ɥ/). The ternary characterization of vowels as being only high, mid and low excludes finer vowel heights, at least in analysis. A four-part division allows for more flexibility: superclose (*i, *u (or *j and *ɥ), close or close-mid (*ɪ, *ʊ), open-mid (*e, *o) and low (*a), as suggested in (15). In normal circumstances the /i/ and /u/ are underspecified for features [+superclose] and [+consonantal] where /i/ and /u/ are not high enough to trigger spirantization. In other words, in languages without BS, the superclose vowels are not specified for [+consonantal], although the division is quaternary (four-part). In SiSuumbwa and KiBende the superclose vowels had the [+cons] feature specified, and they triggered Bantu Spirantization.

(15) Four-part height of Proto Bantu vowels

| Front | _____ | Back |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|
| Superclose | i _____ u | |
| Close-Mid | ɪ _____ ʊ | |
| Open-Mid | e _____ ɔ | |
| Open-Low | _____ a _____ | |

BS due to contact applies only in those few loan words with BS, or those regularized due to the contact environment. The mechanism of why in some languages the [+cons] feature is present, with the potential of triggering BS, and in others it is not, is a matter for further investigation.

On the other hand, the contact model also accounts for those double reflexes which Harris and Lindsay (1995:69) see as an arrested process. Historical progression through various stages on a particular path is sometimes arrested at some point, with the result that two or more stages on a particular trajectory are retained within the same phonological system as stable alternations or distributional variants. Although this explanation is good at first sight, its major shortcoming is its inability to provide evidence for the arrest of a certain change in progress and the reasons for that. For instance, in the case of ɪCɪWʊŋɔ, BS operates only in some words but not in others. The major question remains: why some stages are arrested

in some words but not in others? This model appears incorrect, since the arrested stages are most likely loanwords which appear as irregular or double reflexes in a language, as in SSN. In such occurrences then, no full Bantu Spirantization can be found. The case of KiBende is instructive: most of the reflexes are complete, which is suggestive of non-interference from other languages because of being isolated physically (in the past) from the non-BS languages. Where there are double reflexes, the influence of neighbouring BS varieties causes mixed forms to appear. This can be said of SiSuumbwa in relation to KiNyamweezi and KiSukuma, and to some extent KiKiImbũ North. Due to the impact of KiNyamweezi on KiKiImbũ North, the borrowed BS words might have spread even farther, since KiNyamweezi was numerically stronger, and was also until very recently perceived as socially and culturally prestigious²⁴.

To summarize, Bantu Spirantization in Zone F can be viewed as a three stage process. The first stage refers to languages which did not undergo BS. The second stage involved the adoption of words with Bantu Spirantization. However, the adoption and adaption process

²⁴ In many speech communities in Tanzania, and indeed, in those of the whole world, there may be groups perceived to possess "superior" attributes at a certain point in their historico-cultural contact with others. Because of that, they command special respect so much so that other groups feel relatively inferior to those groups and reject their own assets and attributes and glorify others'. This was common especially during pre-independence days when ethnic or "tribal" consciousness was created. The post-independence period, starting from the mid-1960s with the policies of socialism, levelled out most of the ethnically-based differences, and respect for everybody was restored, and different sets of attributes not based on ethnic identity emerged. Examples for certain groups in society being overly privileged and protected can be multiplied in any culture.

was not complete since the native words were already well formed phonotactically, and it was not necessary to influence them. Some fricatives replaced stops. This is explored in more detail in section 3.2 and represented in (16).

(16) BS and 7 > 5

| Stage | Vowel status | Consonants | 'arrive, measure' | Example languages |
|-------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|---|
| I | 7 (incl. ɪ & ɔ) | stops | -pika/-pɪma | All Zone F |
| II | 7 (incl. ɪ & ɔ) | stops, fricatives | -pika/-pɪma | All Zone F, except F10, F23 ²⁵ |
| III | 5 (no ɪ & ɔ) | stops, fricatives | -fika/pima | F10, F23, G42 ²⁶ , with BS |

The third stage occurred in languages like SiSuumbwa and KiBende. This stage of BS maps a one-to-one relation between superclose vowels and Bantu Spirantization. With such a rule, no exceptions are expected, unless the languages acquire loanwords. As neighbours, languages like SiSuumbwa (F23) had an impact on languages like KiNyamweezi and KiSukuma to some varying degrees, while the more distant ones received little or no influence. This is illustrated in (16).

As a classificatory tool, Bantu Spirantization only succeeds in isolating SiSuumbwa as a once powerful and influential language which interacted with and was reciprocally influenced by

²⁵ Keembuwe and iCɪWʊʊŋgʊ are borderline, with 5V without BS (F34), and 7V with some BS acquired through borrowing (F25). KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi are in this category too, since they mix features from borrowed items, having 7V, with BS in loans.

²⁶ F10 (KiBende), F23 (SiSuumbwa), G42 (KiSwahili)

KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi. In Zone F, SiSuumbwa and KiBende are the only languages with true BS with 5V. Based on BS alone, Zone F's unity is questioned.

3.1.3. Dahl's Law

"When two successive syllables [in KɪNyamweezi] each begin with an aspirate, the first of these loses its aspiration and becomes voiced", Meinhof (1932:181), had said, quoting Dahl (1915) who had observed KɪNyamweezi lexemes and after whom the law is named. as in (17):

- (17) -gati < PB *-kati 'in the middle'
 -datɔ < PB *-tatɔ 'three'
 -βita < PB *-piti- 'pass, surpass'
 -sagɔla < PB *-cakɔ- 'comb (hair)' (JinaKɪɪya)²⁷.

The rule can be restated in the form shown in (18).

(18) Original Dahl's Law: C_[-stop, -voice] V → C_[-voice] V / _____[-stop, -voice] VC_[-stop, -voice]

In KɪNyamweezi, the rule applies within a single di- or poly-syllabic morpheme. Other languages innovate the law differently.

²⁷ While the original Dahl's Law in KɪNyamweezi might have worked by voicing the first voiceless stop of the first syllable when two such stops are consecutive, its mechanism is realized differently in different language varieties, as in JinaKɪɪya.

Davy and Nurse (1982:157) indicate that the phenomenon shows traces in many languages of East Africa, and is not found outside the area, based on present evidence (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993:215). Davy and Nurse (op. cit) isolate four possibilities of the process, implying that, although it is Dahl's Law, its implementation may depend largely on the phonotactics of a language. They go on to provide example languages and their dissimilation patterns, where possible²⁸: (a) petrified in some, leaving only traces in stems (as in E74, E55, E56, G22, and EJ30, with traces in one or more of *p, *t, *k); (b) affecting consonants of prefixes and stems actively; (c) affecting several obstruents (as in E51, E52, E53 and EJ40); and (d) affecting only stops, predominantly /k/.

For instance, Dahl's Law in KinyaRwanda, as a geographically close neighbour to Zone F languages, particularly KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi, dissimilates the voiceless consonant of the prefix morphemes by voicing when the first consonant of the following root in a stem is voiceless, as illustrated in (19) (from Kimenyi 1979:65-71). The consonant may or may not be a stop. Because the rule in KinyaRwanda applies only across morpheme boundaries rather than within a single morpheme, the following affixes are examples of such morphemes that trigger the process: -ku- 'infinitive 'to'', 'you (singular)'; -ka- 'diminutive (class 12)', 'narrative or consecutive tense'; -ki- 'not yet' aspect', 'class 7 marker'; -tu- 'we, us'; -ta- 'negative marker':

²⁸ For an in-depth analysis and examples, see Bennett (1967), Davy and Nurse (1982:157-195).

(19) Dahl's Law in KinyaRwanda (data from Kimenyi 1979)

| | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>ku-βona</i> 'to see' | <i>a-ka-gaβo</i> 'a small man' | <i>i-ki-gori</i> 'maize' |
| <i>ku-mira</i> 'to swallow' | <i>a-ka-zu</i> 'a small house' | <i>tu-ki-rya</i> 'we eat it' |
| <i>gu-soma</i> 'to read' | <i>a-ga-seka</i> 'and then he smiles' | <i>tu-gi-soma</i> 'we read it' |
| <i>gu-kina</i> 'to dance' | <i>a-ga-fima</i> 'and then he thanks' | <i>i-gi-seβe</i> 'wound' |
| <i>u-tu-mesa</i> 'who doesn't wash' | <i>tu-bura</i> 'we miss' | |
| <i>u-ta-gona</i> 'who doesn't snore' | <i>a-tu-rinda</i> 'he protects us' | |
| <i>u-da-saβa</i> 'who doesn't ask' | <i>du-teka</i> 'we cook' | |
| <i>u-da-hinga</i> 'who doesn't cultivate' | <i>a-du-tuma</i> 'he sends us' | |

In Zone F generally, the data show that Dahl's Law is active today in KɪNyamweezi and KɪSukuma only. In the other languages, it does not exist except in loanwords, in those of unknown origin or in sporadic processes with a semblance of the law (See *Appendix 3*). In extensive cases of borrowing due to contact or ambiguous status of Dahl's Law as in KɪNyanyembe, KɪKonoŋgo and SiGalagaanza, a general explanation is given to account for the unexpected skewing of the results. In these three varieties, Dahl's Law is found in less than 50% of the sampled items. A figure of at least 78% words with Dahl's Law suggests that a language variety has active Dahl's Law, while a count of less than 48% raises some doubts, sometimes serious, about its linguistic group membership. The results are shown in

Table 3.6

Table 3.6. Status of Dahl's Law in Zone F individual varieties

| Language variety | Total number of words | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----|------|-----|-------|
| | All used | +DL | % DL | -DL | % -DL |
| SiSloombo | 38 | 4 | 11 | 34 | 89 |
| SiYoombe | 41 | 5 | 12 | 36 | 88 |
| KiLoongo | 34 | 10 | 29 | 24 | 71 |
| KimunaSukuma | 44 | 38 | 86 | 6 | 14 |
| GitnaNtuzu | 45 | 39 | 87 | 6 | 13 |
| JinaKitya | 51 | 49 | 96 | 2 | 4 |
| KiDakama | 41 | 32 | 78 | 9 | 22 |
| KiNyanyeembe | 41 | 18 | 44 | 23 | 56 |
| KiKonoongo | 44 | 21 | 48 | 23 | 52 |
| SiGalagaanza | 42 | 12 | 29 | 30 | 71 |
| KiBende | 33 | 0 | 0 | 33 | 100 |
| KinaUshoola | 37 | 0 | 0 | 37 | 100 |
| KinLaamba C | 33 | 0 | 0 | 33 | 100 |
| KinHaanzu | 38 | 0 | 0 | 38 | 100 |
| GiRwaana | 36 | 0 | 0 | 36 | 100 |
| GiAhi | 42 | 1 | 2 | 41 | 98 |
| YInyaMunyinyanyi | 43 | 1 | 2 | 42 | 98 |
| KiKitimb North | 47 | 4 | 9 | 43 | 91 |
| KiKitimb South | 43 | 1 | 2 | 42 | 98 |
| iCtWctngct | 41 | 0 | 0 | 41 | 100 |
| KiiRangi | 41 | 1 | 2 | 40 | 98 |
| KeeMbuwe | 40 | 2 | 5 | 38 | 95 |

Based on the different numerical patterns of the law displayed by the various language varieties, some linguistic groups can be suggested. In order to obtain these groupings based on Dahl's Law, five steps were followed. First, all words containing a consecutive sequence of syllables with voiceless stop consonants were identified by examining the Proto Bantu list

of 1036 items, word by word. The aim was to include all DL words to see how they behaved in the various varieties. However, a few were not usable for various reasons. For instance, it was discovered that some were not directly inherited from Proto Bantu, while the others were formed exclusively by syllables with PB *c instead of those words having at least one voiceless stop from /p, t, k/. In many Bantu languages PB *c is realized as /s/. In all language varieties, except JinaKIIya, /s/ does not trigger Dahl's Law. Such excluded words, included *-cɔpa 'calabash bottle' (cf KiSwahili *cupa*, JinaKIIya *nsɔha* 'calabash', *jɔba* 'bottle'); *-cace/cact 'spark'. The second step involved the assembly of a unified list of the cognate words for each variety. Fifty eight (58) were found usable, constituting 6% of the whole list. Thirdly, the frequencies of either Dahl's Law or its absence were made, and their totals computed. Fourthly, the words which were not cognates or where the informant did not supply a word, were sorted out and excluded from the sample for each variety so that only words with responses were counted to see Dahl's Law words. And finally, a percentage for each language was computed from the final selected words that remained in each variety. The results of *Table 3.6* indicating these groups are summarized in *Table 3.7*.

Table 3.7. *Dahl's Law in Zone F and linguistic grouping*

| Items with Dahl's Law, out of 58 words | Number (=) and names Language varieties | | Dahl's Law Status |
|--|---|---|-------------------|
| | # | Examples | |
| 0% -12% | 14 | SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, GiRwana, GiAhi, GhInyamunyinyani, KiNaUshoola, KiNiLaamba, KiInIhaanzu, KiRangi, KiKiImbũ North, KiKiImbũ South, KiBende, KeeMbuwe, iCiWũŋũ | - |
| 29% | 2 | SiGalagaanza, KiLoongo | ? |
| 44 - 48% | 2 | KiNyanyeembe, KiKonoŋũ | ? |
| More than 78% | 4 | KiMunaSukuma, GiNaNtuzu, JinaKiIya, KiDakama, | + |

As Table 3.7 shows, four divisions can be observed in Zone F with regard to Dahl's Law. Firstly, out of the 22 varieties, 14 of them show no or very few traces of Dahl's Law. (zero to 5 out of the 58 words). Most Zone F languages fall into this category. Secondly, two varieties have Dahl's Law in 10 and 12 words respectively, out of the 58. Thirdly, two others show 18 and 21 words with Dahl's Law respectively. And lastly, 4 dialects have more than 30 words undergoing Dahl's Law.

From the list, it is apparent that languages or their varieties without Dahl's Law include the two varieties of SiSuumbwa, KiBende, KiRimi, KiNiLaamba, KiKiImbũ, KiRangi, iCiWũŋũ, and KeeMbuwe, while the Dahl's Law languages are KiSukuma and some

dialects of KiNyamweezi. For KiNyamweezi however, there are reservations with regard to KiNyanyeembe and KiKonoongo on the one hand, and SiGalagaanza on the other. The frequencies of Dahl's Law and non-Dahl's Law items in these varieties do not give a conclusive picture, unless other criteria of classification are used. KiNyanyeembe has 18 words or only 44% out of 41 while KiKonoongo has 21 out of 44, or only 48%. These two figures show that more than half of the words do not undergo Dahl's Law as they should. For SiGalagaanza, Dahl's Law words are even less, at 12 only from 42 words, or 29% only. That figure for SiGalagaanza matches closely with that for KiLoongo, at 10 words out of 34, or 29%.

While KiNyanyeembe and KiKonoongo may be regarded as heavily influenced by languages without Dahl's Law, SiGalagaanza and KiLoongo have close figures suggesting something more than only influence from another language. This suggests membership in languages other than those they are purported to belong. In other words, SiGalagaanza may not be a part of KiNyamweezi, just as KiLoongo seems to belong elsewhere than with SiSuumbwa. This is further explored in 3.2.2 below.

Using Dahl's Law alone, the classification of the Zone F languages emphasizes the following three points with regard to groupings. Firstly, SiSiloombo and SiYoombe exclude KiLoongo, establishing them as the centre of SiSuumbwa. KiLoongo, while it has some affinities with SiSuumbwa, creates a class of its own independent of SiSuumbwa, suggesting the possibility

of a separate history punctuated by another period of long contact with SiSuumbwa. Some possible close affinity with SiGalagaanza is also suggested.

Secondly, the core of KiNyamweezi is composed of two dialects: KiNyanyembe and KiKonoongo, since KiDakama shows a closer affinity to KiSukuma than to the KiNyamweezi group, while SiGalagaanza displays an affinity to other peripheral languages. This behaviour seems to be the situation of the “centre” and “periphery” of an entity. The periphery ‘protects’ the centre from foreign influence by acting as a shell. The periphery is influenced because of its protective role by absorbing the foreign influences due to its location at the fringes of the core. This especially applies to languages or varieties which have geographically and socially porous borders allowing other linguistic groups to come in easily. SiGalagaanza borders other languages of Zone DJ and EJ with easy access both ways, while KiLoongo is surrounded by both EJ and F. The KiSukuma varieties on the other hand are protected in the east by the swampy Wembere area, by Lake Victoria in the north, and in the west, in the not recent past by dense forests, and hence their closer affinity in terms of Dahl’s Law with 86% for KiMunaSukuma, 87% for GiNaNtuzu and 96% for JinaKiIya. Their buffer to the south, KiDakama, at 78%, has the second highest frequency of Dahl’s Law after the KiSukuma varieties. KiSukuma’s status suggests relatively undisturbed, linguistically impervious borders, especially in the past. The three varieties of KiSukuma constitute a core group of Dahl’s Law, although finer details isolate JinaKiIya as a variety developing along a separate route from some distance in the past.

Thirdly, the rest of the Zone F languages constitute another negative grouping. But since this larger grouping is not homogeneous by other criteria, the separate sub-groups in it suggest independent development, as explored in the conclusion to this chapter.

Since Dahl's Law is largely confined to the target languages only of Zone F, namely, KɪSukuma, parts of KɪNyamweezi and SiSuumbwa, a discussion of the mechanism of this law is detailed in 3.2.2. below.

Table 3.8 Dahl's Law outside KɪSukuma, KɪNyamweezi and SiSuumbwa

| <i>Word</i> | <i>Found in</i> | <i>Possible source</i> | <i>Explanation (lexeme) in source</i> |
|--|-----------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| i-yufa < *-kupa 'bone' | GIAhi | Zone EJ? | -gufa ²⁹ |
| ɔ-btha < *-pic- 'hide' | ɣɪɪnyaMunɪjanyi | ? | ? |
| -visa < *-pic- 'hide' | KiiRangi, KeeMbuwe | CiGogo? KiDaβida? | -visa? |
| kɔ-βisa < *-pic- 'hide' | KɪKɪmbɔ North | KɪNyamweezi < KɪSukuma | < kɔ-βisa |
| i-dooke < *-looke 'banana' | KɪKɪmbɔ, North and South | KɪNyamweezi < KɪSukuma | < i-dooke |
| -bɔɔhu < *-paɔp- 'light (in weight) | KɪKɪmbɔ North | KɪNyamweezi < KɪmunaSukuma < SiSuumbwa | < -bɔɔhu |
| i-gɔba < *-kɔpa 'tick' | KɪKɪmbɔ North | ? | ? |
| ma-basa < -paca 'twin' | KeeMbuwe | ? | ? |

²⁹ In Zone EJ languages like oRuHaya, oLuNyanjokore, RuKereβe and LuGanda, the reflex of *-kupa 'bone' is either -gufwa or -gufa, and some KɪRɪmi speakers are said to have come from around those areas, like Ukerewe Island in Lake Victoria (Jellicoe 1969:3, *Tanzania Notes and Records*).

For the few frequencies obtained in other varieties, an explanation is given in *Table 3.8*. As can be observed, the words are either loans, or the origin of the reflex is not clear.

3.1.4 Other processes

For classification purposes, the preceding three features, 7 > 5, Bantu Spirantization and Dahl's Law are the most important, as a focus for this study. Other phonological processes like Meinhof's Law are not central in Zone F as a whole and therefore they are not discussed. In addition, not enough data are available for their fair treatment. The following processes are also not significant enough for diagnostic classification since they are isolated in a few individual languages only. However, they deserve some mention because they can shed crucial light in the finer sub-classification within the zone.

3.1.4.1 Lenition of PB *g

The process of lenition of *g is observed in KIRimi where it becomes /y/. In this language, all PB stops (except partly /k/), weaken as part of a general process. In ICWOTŋŋŋŋ, Keembuwe and KiiRangi, it becomes a fricative or glide like /y/ or /w/¹⁰ respectively. In Keembuwe and KiiRangi especially, it is lost altogether in the majority of cases, as illustrated in (20)

¹⁰ /w/ and /y/ may only be spelling devices rather than being phonemic, indicating that they represent no or zero phoneme /Ø/.

(20)

| <i>Variety</i> ⁴⁶ <i>Proto-Bantu</i> ⁴⁷ | <i>KiRimi</i> | <i>KiiRangi</i> | <i>KeeMbuwe</i> | <i>ɿCɿWɿɿŋɿ</i> |
|--|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| *-gɿŋgɿ 'back' | mɿŋɿoŋgɿ | mwoŋgɿ | moŋxɿ | mugɿoŋgɿ |
| *-dog- 'bewitch' | -roɿa, -loɿa | -lowa | -lova | -lowa |
| *-jɿgɿ 'elephant' | ɿŋɿo (ɿŋɿoɿu) | ɿŋɿo | ɿŋɿo | ɿnzɿvɿ |
| *-tɿŋa 'giraffe' | ntɿ(ɿ)ɿa | ntwɿɿya | ntooya | ndwɿɿya |
| *-teg- 'set trap' | -Reeɿa (-tega) | -tea | -teya | -teeya |
| *-bogo 'buffalo' | mbo(o)ɿo | mboo | mboo | ɿmbogo |

In ɿCɿWɿɿŋɿ, the mutation of *g to a fricative appears to be blocked mainly by /o/ or /u/. Otherwise, it regularly becomes /θ/ in all three languages, except KiRimi where it is {ɿ}. Because of that exception in ɿCɿWɿɿŋɿ and KiRimi, different histories are suggested for KiRimi, ɿCɿWɿɿŋɿ and KeeMbuwe/KiiRangi³¹. This might be explained as a diffused feature or as a feature inherited by the four from a common ancestor. The suggestion of a common ancestor needs additional support.

3.1.4.2. Lenition of *k (*k → x)

This is a phonetic process which occurs mainly in KiKiimbɿ and KiRimi. The change is more consistent in KiKiimbɿ than it is in KiRimi. As a phonetic phenomenon, lenition of *k to [x] may not be a significant classificatory criterion, although the question is, why not

³¹ For *g loss in other Bantu languages, especially KiSwahili, see Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993)

in the other languages? Such a shared articulation habit in two related and adjacent speech communities suggests either a feature inherited from a common ancestor, areal diffusion or contact with an earlier, perhaps non-Bantu community.

(21)

| Variety ²⁸ | KIKimbũ | KIRImi |
|--------------------------|---------|------------------------------|
| Proto Bantu [↓] | | |
| *-teek- 'cook' | -teexa | -Reexa ³² |
| *-kada 'embers' | -xala | -xa(l)a |
| *-kanga 'guinea fowl' | -xanga | -kanga (xanga) ³³ |

3.1.4.3. Split of *d into /l/ and /r/

All the Zone F languages have *d/*l > /l/ of some form or another, without exception. Again this shows how the lateral sound is important in any sound inventory. For instance, out of a sample of 317 languages in the UPSID³⁴, almost all had at least one liquid: 95.9% had at least one, while 72.6% had more than one liquid (Maddieson 1984:73). If all the languages descended from Proto Bantu have at least a liquid, mainly /l/, the likelihood is that Proto Bantu had at least one liquid. It is highly doubtful that this sound was not in Proto Bantu. To

³² Only GiAhi has this word with /x/ in this context, (although that does not mean that it is not used in other contexts).

³³ The two varieties of the three show /k/.

³⁴ UPSID is an abbreviation for the UCLA Phonological Segment Inventory Database.

have a liquid (/l/ or /r/) as a reflex of PB *d is the majority situation in most Bantu languages. In Zone F, the two liquids, /l/ and /r/, occurring in one language is limited to the eastern parts only, in KIRImi, KiiRangi and KeemBuwe.

In these three /r/ varieties, the distribution of /l/ and /r/ is sometimes environmentally conditioned, and at other times, dialectal. For instance, γInyaMunyijanyi tends to have more r's than l's, while in KiiRangi and KeemBuwe, the distribution is consistently conditioned by environment.

(22) *-d > l, r, Ø

| Variety ** Proto Bantu ↓ | KIRImi | KiiRangi | KeemBuwe. |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|-----------|
| *-goda 'ant-hill' | gi-γoo, gi-goo+ | ky-ooo | c-oolo |
| *-bidi | m-wiri, m-wiri++ | mo-viri | mo-vere |
| *-dom- 'bite' | o-ruma | ko-luma | o-loma |
| *deet- 'bring' | -eRa, -leeta+ | -reta | -reeta |
| *-ded- 'bring up' | o-rea, o-ria+++ | kur-era | o-rera |
| *-digo 'burden, load' | m-wiyo+, m-wiyo++, mo- ltyo+++ | mu-ruwa? | mo-rigo |
| *-dedu 'chin' | gi-deu | ki-dedu | ki-dedu |
| *-didi- 'cry, wail' | -wira+, o-ita++, ko-ra+++ | ko-riira | o-rera |
| *-dango 'door' | ginyam-waango | mu-lyaango | mo-reengo |
| *-doot- 'dream (vt)' | g-oolea+, o-oR-ea++, -goRea+++ | ku-loot-era | o-lot-era |

Key:

+ in γInyaMunyijanyi only

++ in GIahi only

+++ in G1Rwana only

Olson (1967:23) points out that in KIRImi, the voiced alveolar flap /r/ (from PB *t), is articulated by one quick flap, and occurs with all the seven vowels. In KiiRangi and KeeMbuwe this flap from PB *d occurs in complementary distribution with /l/ as explained below. Two processes can be observed in these alternations:

Firstly, KIRImi differs from KiiRangi and KeeMbuwe in its tendency to lose /l/ when another alveolar sound is in any of the following four environments of consecutive adjacency. The picture is also muddled by apparent inter-dialectal borrowing: (a) adjacent to another lateral syllable, as in *-ded- > -rera > -rea 'rear a child'; (b) adjacent to a homorganic consonant like /t/ as in *-doot- > -otea or -oRea 'dream'; (c) adjacent /d/ as in *-dedu > -deu 'chin'; or (d) when intervocally where both vowels in the root have the same quality, as in *-gɔɔɔ > *-gɔɔ/γɔɔ 'ant-hill'

Secondly, the rule of /r/ alternation in KeeMbuwe and KiiRangi can be stated in two environments: /l/ became /r/ (a) when adjacent to front vowels /e/, /i/, (and /ɪ/ for KiiRangi), or (b) intervocally, if and only if one of the vowels flanking /l/ is /e/, /i/ or /ɪ/³⁵. The rule can be represented as in (23). This rule-sharing places KeeMbuwe and KiiRangi in one

³⁵ This environment has also been called 'before tense vowels' by Nurse (1999:25), although 'tense vowels' are difficult to define or isolate clearly (Katamba 1988:48), since the feature [+tense] is only relevant if the language has vocalic oppositions like [i-ɪ], [y-ɻ], [u-ʊ], and it is commonly used in Germanic languages, which have contrasts like English [su:t] 'suit' - [sʊt] 'soot' and German [m:'tʰ] 'rental fee' - [mɪtʰ] 'middle' (Gussenhoven and Jacobs 1998:76-7). KeeMbuwe at least has no such opposition.

historical route of development at some point in the past.

(23) $l \rightarrow r / (V[-\text{low}, -\text{back}]) \text{ ___ } V [-\text{low}, -\text{back}]$

However, to see whether features in KeeMbuwe and KiiRangi, and indeed, in Zone F are unique, it is important to compare the three major phonological processes with other languages from other Bantu languages. These processes are BS, DL and $7 > 5$.

3.1.5. Similarities and differences with other zones

Because of common ancestry, Zone F is expected to be similar to other zones in many respects. Guthrie (1948) notes this with regard to the difficulty of isolating unique differentia for each zone.

According to Nurse (1999:20-25), the occurrence of processes like Dahl's Law, Bantu Spirantization and $7 > 5$ strongly suggests a shared historical development from a common, earlier ancestor. *Table 3.9* illustrates how the three processes are distributed across some sample Bantu languages. In order for a zone to be separate from other zones linguistically, it must have features unique to it. If there are no unique features to identify the zones beyond any reasonable doubt, then little is achieved in classifying them into zones in the first place.

Table 3.9 BS, 7 > 5 and DL in Zone F and other zones

| Feature ** Language or Zone † | BS | 7 > 5 | Dahl's Law | Neither BS, 7 > 5 nor Dahl's Law |
|-------------------------------------|--|--|--|---|
| Zone F | SiSuumbwa, KiBende, ICiWoongo? | SiSuumbwa, KiBende, KeeMbuwe | KiSukuma, (Part of KiNyamwezi) | KiLaamba, KiRimi, KiKumbo, KiRangi |
| Other Zones | ŋgumba (A), Yaka (B), Tetela (C) LuGanda (E,J), KiSwahili ³⁶ (G), KiMbundu (H) Lwena (K) CiLuba (L) KiPimbwe (M) CiTumbuka (N) KiMatumbi (P) Kwanyama (R) Xhosa (S) | ŋgumba (A), Yaka (B), KinyaRwanda (D) Bangubangu (DJ) LuGanda (E,J) KiSwahili (G), KiMbundu (H) Lwena (K) Luba (L) CiTumbuka (N) Kwanyama (R) Xhosa (S) | KinyaRwanda (DJ) Gtayo (E) KiKurya (EJ) KiKiriga (G) | Yambasa (A) Teke (B) Bobangi (C) Mbole (D) |

Compared with other zones, the Zone F members are not unique, since the three features are not confined to them alone. Dahl's Law, for example, is found across eastern Bantu in other zones like DJ, EJ, E and G. The crucial point may be in the small details of those processes. What the processes say is that some eastern Bantu languages might have evolved from a common ancestor which had Dahl's Law. Table 3.9 also suggests that many other languages evolved from other ancestors which did not have DL. In other words, eastern Bantu is not a linguistic label, but rather a geographical one, containing several languages from different parents. Other zones therefore help only to highlight much earlier linguistic affiliation, but not

³⁶ The information with regard to Bantu Spirantization and 7 > 5 in other zones is from Schadeberg (1995), while that for Dahl's Law is from Nurse (1979b, 1993, 1999), Davy and Nurse (1982), Bennett (1986).

the uniqueness of F. That individuality can therefore be examined within Zone F itself for the details of the three processes' role in uniting or subdividing the zone.

3.1.6 BS, 7 > 5, DL in Zone F: Uniting or dividing criteria?

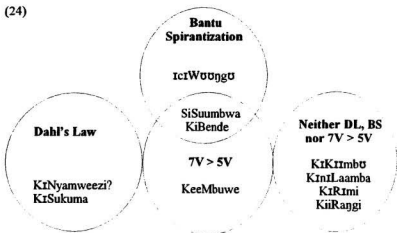
From *Table 3.9*, some groups based on individual languages in Zone F can be identified. These groups are significant linguistically in that they either unite the zone if they are internally unified themselves, or they divide it if their similarities are not immediately genetic. These groups can be represented in *Table 3.10*, 3.11, and graphically in (24).

Table 3.10 BS, 7 > 5 and DL in Zone F: Summary of significant classificatory criteria

| Feature $\neq \emptyset$ Language $\neq \emptyset$ | Bantu Spirantization | 7 > 5 | Dahl's Law |
|---|-------------------------|-------|------------|
| SiSuumbwa | + | + | - |
| KiSukuma | - | - | + |
| KiDakama | - | - | + |
| KiNyamweezi ³⁷ | - | - | +? |
| KiBende | + | + | - |
| KiNiLaamba | - | - | - |
| KiRimi | - | - | - |
| KiKiambu | - | - | - |
| IciWooŋŋo | + | -/+? | - |
| KiiRangi | - | - | - |
| KeeMbuwe | - | + | - |

³⁷ Although KiDakama (F22b) is traditionally part of KiNyamweezi, the evidence so far suggests that core KiNyamweezi is composed of F22a, F22d and F22e

(24)



Combined with the individual scenarios observed across the varieties surveyed so far, Bantu Spirantization, $7 > 5$ and Dahl's Law converge to have a greater impact of linguistically segmenting Zone F into some five groups. In *Table 3.10*, similar groups are similarly shaded based on broad similarities. The members in these small groups, however, may not belong together if analyzed further, since, for example, the unity of KɪKɪɪmbɔ, KɪɪLaamba, KɪRɪɪmi and KɪɪRangi is based on negative evidence, the absence of BS, $7 > 5$ and DL. In other words, the number of groups is not fixed since it depends on the details observed. Without the details, the resulting five general groups are shown in (24)

The languages enclosed within one circle share one or more of the three named linguistically diagnostic features. The languages which are not in one circle and do not overlap anywhere

suggest mainly geographically, rather than genetically, derived similarity. For instance, 7 > 5 in isolation, without Bantu Spirantization, loses its diagnostic meaning. Vowel reduction alone as in KeeMbuwe suggests a different process, since the two, BS and 7 > 5 tend to be strongly interrelated causally. Because of that, KeeMbuwe sharing the 5V feature with SiSuumbwa and KiBende is not significant linguistically, since 5V is not the result of BS. Other features, as noted above, remove ɪCɪWɔ̃ɔ̃ŋɔ̃ from the SiSuumbwa and KiBende group, since, though ɪCɪWɔ̃ɔ̃ŋɔ̃ is reported to have 5V for some speakers, it is mainly a 7V language (Labroussi 1999:375). The groups therefore need some tighter criteria for sub-grouping so as to base the classification on genetically relevant features only. This fine tuning results in eight groups as shown in *Table 3.11*. Where there is more than one member, the closely related ones and isolates in each sub-group are put in brackets.

Table 3.11 BS, 7 > 5, DL: Phonologically-based linguistic groups of Zone F?

| | | |
|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| (SiSiloombo, SiYoombe), (KiLoonggo) | (KImunaSukuma, GiNaNtuzu, JinaKiIya), (KiDakama) | (KiRangi, KeeMbuwe) |
| (KiKonoongo) (KiNyanyeembe, SiGalagaanza) | (KiKiImbɔ̃, North and south), (KInLaamba, KInaɔ̃shoola, KInHaanzu) | (GiRwana, GiAhi) (ɣInyaMunyiŋanyi) |
| KiBende | | ɪCɪWɔ̃ɔ̃ŋɔ̃ |

With so many sub-groups, the representation in *Table 3.11* questions Zone F as a genetically valid group. Guthrie (1967:5, 6) himself does not claim that zones are based on linguistic

criteria or cohesion. He makes it clear that the differentia he identified and which are summarized in Chapter 2, are not unique for each zone but overlap and are shared by other zones as well. His classification of the Bantu languages into zones is mainly referential. The only major problem with Guthrie's zones is his definition and treatment of units he calls zones and groups. He says that while the zones are mainly geographical, based on proximity, the groups are linguistic (Guthrie 1948). The problem lies in the fact that Guthrie first sought geographical unity and then looked for common linguistic features.

3.1.7 Unity of Zone F: Synthesis

The linguistic evidence for Zone F cohesion is not robust, since, for instance, Dahl's Law in SiSuumbwa or some traces of Bantu Spirantization in KtSukuma/KtNyamweezi are a result of loans. This appearance of possessing traces of a feature like Dahl's Law in a language brings in the significant role of non-linguistic factors in borrowing and language change, which are of a sociolinguistic nature.

Sociolinguistic explanations are unavoidable facts since they forcefully impinge on and determine the route of the linguistic processes. Linguistic change due to contact is not brought about by purely linguistic factors, but by (mainly) social conditions as well. (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). For instance, it is rare for two linguistic communities to be symmetrical in terms of the control of equal power centres like social prestige or economic advantage. This common asymmetry in prestige due to economic, cultural, technological,

military, demographic or political advantage encourages bilingualism among the less prestigious group members, and pronounced borrowing ensues in such situations. This non-linguistic aspect of borrowing is explored more in 3.2 and in Chapter 5, where historical interpretations are also given.

3.2. SISUUMBWA-KISUKUMA-KINYAMWEEZI PHONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

The main diagnostic changes in SiSuumbwa, KiSukuma and KiNyamwezi are three: the shift of 7 > 5 because vowels feature prominently in BS; Bantu Spirantization; and Dahl's Law, as discussed in this section. BS and 7 > 5 are discussed together because they are related. SiSuumbwa, having undergone 7 > 5, is 5V, while KiSukuma and KiNyamwezi are 7V, the original Proto Bantu vocalism. Although there are cases where members of the same group display different phonological inventories, some disparities in vowel quality are a pointer to some fundamental difference, either because of different paces and sources of innovation, isolation, or because of contact with different groups at different times and places.

On the other hand, BS offers another support for the hypothesis of fundamental difference between SiSuumbwa, KiSukuma and KiNyamwezi. Briefly, it is mainly SiSuumbwa which behaves differently from the two, showing BS, while KiSukuma and KiNyamwezi do not have the process, except in loanwords. BS is therefore explored in some detail below, followed by DL.

3.2.1. BS and 7 > 5 in SiSuumbwa, KiSukuma and KiNyamwezi

In this section, example words in two target environments are presented, *C/_j and *C/_u, where *C is any of the eight Proto Bantu consonant phonemes examined in the study. The *C/_a environment as the unmarked form has been shown in the general section on Zone F. The tables in each phonetic environment are also supplied with this unmarked form as an indicator of whether the BS forms from *C/_j and *C/_u are consistently different from the products of *C/_a. Phonological mutation due to BS is best observed if the *C/_a environment is also presented because it is most unmarked in Bantu. PB *C/_a shows the regular reflex of a sound more clearly without the effect of conditioned assimilation.

3.2.1.1 Analysis of Bantu Spirantization in SiSuumbwa, KiSukuma and KiNyamwezi

The following examples illustrate the various sounds from Proto Bantu in the context of both internal innovation and external contact, as summarized after each data set.

3.2.1.1.1 PB *pi

(25) PB *-pik- 'arrive'

/-hika/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, KiLoongo

/-fika/ KiMunaSukuma, KiDakama

/-sika/ GiNaNtuzu, KiKonoongo

/-jiga/ JinaKiIya

/-fika/ KiNyanyeembe, SiGalagaanza

(26) PB *-koopi 'flat of hand'

/-koofi/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, KiLoonggo, KiNyanyembe, KiKonoonggo
- KiMunaSukuma, GiNaNtuzu, JinaKiIya, KiDakama, SiGalagaanza

(27) PB *-piga 'hearthstone'

/i-higa/ SiSuumbwa, KiMunaSukuma
/i-siga/ GiNaNtuzu
/ɪ-figa/ JinaKiIya
/i-figa/ KiNyamweezi

(28) PB *-pic- 'hide'

/-bisa/ SiSiloombo
/βisa/ SiYoombe, KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi
- KiLoonggo

(29) *-piɔ 'knife'

/mu-syo/ KiLoonggo
/lɔ-ʃɔ/ KiSukuma, KiDakama
/ki-syɔ/ KiNyanyembe
/lɔ-syɔ/ KiKonoonggo
- SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, SiGalagaanza

(30) PB *-pin- 'pinch, scratch'

/-sina/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, GiNaNtuzu, KiNyanyembe, KiKonoonggo, SiGalagaanza
/-suna/ KiLoonggo
/-fina/ KiMunaSukuma, JinaKiIya, KiDakama

Table 3.12 Reflexes, innovations, extraneous sounds and their possible sources, PB *-p/ _i

| Variety and unmarked form | Sound/Innovation (6) ³⁸ | | Possible source/comment |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| | Regular | Irregular | |
| SiSiloombo /h/ | h(2) ³⁹ | f(1), s(1), b(1) | KiNyamweezi?, KiSwahili |
| SiYoombe /h/ | h(2) | f(1), s(1), β(1) | DL, KiNyamweezi?, KiSwahili |
| KiLoongo /h/ | h(2) | f(1), s(2) | F21b, F22d? |
| KiMunaSukuma /p/ | f(3) | h(1), β(1) | DL, minor innovation |
| GinaNtuzu /p/ | s(3) | f(1), β(1) | DL, minor innovation, F21a/c? |
| JinaKitya /p/ | f(4) | β(1) | Dahl's Law |
| KiDakama /p/ | f(3) | f(1), β(1) | Dahl's Law, KiSwahili? |
| KiNyanyeembe /p/ | s(2) | f(3), β(1) | DL, KiSwahili? |
| KiKonoongo /p/ | s(3) | f(2), β(1) | DL, KiSwahili? |
| SiGalagaanza /p/ | s(1) | f(1), f(1), β(1) | DL, SiSuumbwa?, KiSwahili? |

Two regular reflexes are evident in this set of languages, summarized in two phonological processes in Table 3.12 as glottalization in SiSuumbwa: *-pi > /h/, and palatalization in KiSukuma: *-pi > /f/ and KiNyamweezi: *-p > /s/ (See also Table 3.36). The original reflex of *-pi in KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi points to /s/, which was retained by GinaNtuzu and the rest of KiNyamweezi, except KiDakama. With the *-pi reflexes, KiDakama joins the two dialects of KiSukuma as one unit characterized by the further palatalization of /s/ to /f/.

³⁸ The total number of words for each environment, e.g PB *-p_ i, is put in brackets in each table.

³⁹ The numbers in brackets after a reflex are total frequencies of a reflex in each dialect out of the total in the list used.

Glottalization in SiSuumbwa sheds some important light on the chronology of BS, 7 > 5 and Dahl's Law in the area. One would have expected the reflexes of PB *pi in SiSuumbwa to be homorganic spirants to the stops they replace rather than to the glottal fricative /h/. This suggests that glottalization preceded BS, thus blocking any chance of its occurrence. One interpretation is that BS was acquired later by SiSuumbwa.

On the other hand, each dialect is characterized by irregular reflexes which are extraneous, suggesting borrowing or an operation of other phonological rules. For instance the reflex /b/ in SiSuumbwa, like /β/ in the other dialects, is a result of Dahl's Law, which, once it operates initially in a sequence, blocks BS. In SiSuumbwa, Dahl's Law is absent except in a few words as shown in 3.2.2. For instance, in the word for 'oil', PB *makuta, is /mafuta/ rather than /mavuta/ if SiSuumbwa had Dahl's Law. The status of /β/ in SiSuumbwa is also not clear, since it seems to be in free variation with /b/, a situation which does not obtain in KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi

Another extraneous sound in the PB *pi context is /f/. KiNyamweezi, including KiDakama has a shared innovation of /f/, possibly from borrowing. This is not found in KiSukuma generally. The presence of /f/ in /-koofi/ 'flat of hand' in SiSuumbwa, KiNyanyeembe and SiGalagaanza is a good illustration of possible borrowing, possibly from KiSwahili. For SiSuumbwa, it is the only /f/ out of the six words with *-pi in the examples given above. The expected reflex in SiSuumbwa would have been /ikoohi/ and in KiNyamweezi /-koosi/ into

which the majority of the reflexes mutate. Since historically some β aSuumbwa, together with the β aNyamweezi, were renowned traders and adventurers plying the hinterland as far as Katanga in the DRC and later the East African coast in the late nineteenth century⁴⁰, the source of this word might be along the coast, probably from KiSwahili, /kofi/. The other members of Zone F which have such a reflex are KeeMbuwe and KiiRangi, which, like KiNyanyeembe and SiGalagaanza are located along the once busy trade routes in ivory and slaves, within their neighbourhoods and into the DRC and Zambia, and back to the East African coast (Roberts 1968, Shorter 1968b Kimambo 1993). KiKonoongo in the south and KiSukuma and KiDakama in the north were outside the immediate trade route, and the word is not found, highlighting the importance of contact and some type of dominance in the transfer of words. This also suggests that the word is quite recent, since the coastal-hinterland trade was prevalent mainly from the 18th century (Kimambo 1993). On the other hand, one anomalous word in a language cannot rule out other possibilities on the source of the /t/ in this environment, as in *pik- in KiNyanyeembe and SiGalagaanza. Three possibilities can be suggested for the source of /t/:

- (a) since the speakers of SiGalagaanza and KiNyanyeembe have been living along a main trade route, they were also active participants in the long distance trade in their own right during the same period, and they independently acquired the sound from the coast;
- (b) it is the influence of some BS language like SiSuumbwa whose speakers popularized the

⁴⁰ Kahigi (1988:5)

word through trade;

(c) it is an internal innovation in KɪNyanyembe, SiGalagaanza

The last explanation is not strong enough since some plosives apart from /p/ do not change to spirants in the same environment, as shown below, suggesting an external source.

Another case of borrowing is KɪmunaSukuma /h/ as a reflex of *pi as in ihiga < PB *-piga 'hearthstone', which is likely to have been acquired from SiSuumbwa. In the PB *pi context, /h/ is not found in the other dialects of both KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi.

The appearance of /ʃ/ in GɪnaNtuzu and SiGalagaanza may be a case of inter-dialectal borrowing, possibly from JinaKɪɪya or KɪmunaSukuma. In the PB *pi context, the regular reflex is /s/ for both, since /f/ or /ʃ/ are questionable in both.

In the KɪSukuma/KɪNyamweezi expected reflex, only GɪnaNtuzu and JinaKɪɪya behave as expected, with /s/ and /ʃ/ respectively.

From the above, two things can be said. First, glottalization in SiSuumbwa started before BS. This is indicated by the reflex of PB *pi being /h/ rather than /f/ or any other fricative. Secondly, speakers of languages are not static in space and time, but they interact with different speech environments and speakers of other languages. This has the impact of

introducing new sounds in their languages. This is revealed by both the regular and irregular reflexes of Proto Bantu sounds even within related dialects.

3.2.1.1.2 PB *pu

(31) PB *-pud- 'blow on, blow up'

/-fuula/ SiSiloombo, KiSukuma, KiDakama
/-puula/ KiNyanyeembe
/-fuliɪzya/ KiKonoongo
- SiYoombe, KiLoongo, SiGalagaanza

(32) PB *-pukud- 'dig up, dig out'

/-fukudɪla/ SiSiloombo, KiNyamweezi
/-sukudɪla/ GiNaNtuzu
/-fugudɪla/ JinaKiɪya
- SiYoombe, KiLoongo, KiMunaSukuma

(33) PB *-pudo 'foam'

/-fulo/ SiSuumbwa, KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi

(34) PB *-deepu 'long'

/n-diihu/ KiMunaSukuma
/n-dɪpu, nɪpu/ GiNaNtuzu
/ -lihu/ JinaKiɪya
/ -lihu/ KiDakama, KiKonoongo
/n-diihu/ KiNyanyeembe
- SiGalagaanza, SiSuumbwa

(35) PB *-pum- 'go out'

/-fuma/ SiYoombe, JinaKɪɪya, KɪNyanyeembe, KɪKonoŋgo, SiGalagaanza
- SiSiloombo, KiLoongo, KɪmunaSukuma, GɪnaNtuzu, KɪDakama

(36) PB *-pum- 'produce, put forth, display'

/-funya/ SiYoombe, KɪNyamweezi
/-funya/ KɪmunaSukuma, JinaKɪɪya
/-sunya/ GɪnaNtuzu
- SiSiloombo, KiLoongo

Table 3.13 Reflexes, innovations, extraneous sounds and their possible sources, PB *pu

| Variety and unmarked form | Sound/Innovation (6) | | Possible source/comment |
|---------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | Regular | Irregular | |
| SiSiloombo /h/ | f(3) | - | - |
| SiYoombe /h/ | f(3) | - | - |
| KiLoongo /h/ | f(1) | - | Insufficient data? ⁴¹ |
| KɪmunaSukuma /p/ | f(3) | h(1) | SiSuumbwa? |
| GɪnaNtuzu /p/ | s(2) | p(1)? ⁴² , f(1) | KɪSukuma dialects, internal |
| JinaKɪɪya /p/ | f(5) | h(1) | KɪmunaSukuma < SiSuumbwa? |
| KɪDakama /p/ | f(4) | h(1) | SiSuumbwa? |
| KɪNyanyeembe /p/ | f(4) | p(1)?, h(1) | SiSuumbwa? |
| KɪKonoŋgo /p/ | f(5) | h(1) | SiSuumbwa? |
| SiGalagaanza /p/ | f(4) | - | - |

⁴¹ Only one word out of six was filled, so the adequacy of the reflex as representative can be questioned.

⁴² /p/ as a retention from Proto Bantu suggests a regular feature, while the BS forms suggest markedness although they are the majority and seem more regular.

In the majority of languages, PB *pu yields /f/ as a regular change (see Nurse 1979). Most languages surrounding KɪNɪyamweezi and KɪSukuma have /f/. For example, within Zone F, KɪntɪLaamba and KɪKɪɪmbɔ retain /p/, unless they have borrowed heavily like KɪKɪɪmbɔ North. KɪRɪmi, KeeMbuwe and KiiRangi have /f/ as a regular reflex of PB *p regardless of phonetic context. SiSuumbwa displays /f/ without exception. For the rest of the SSN dialects, each indicates more than one reflex.

An interesting feature of double reflexes is displayed in the KɪNɪyamweezi and KɪSukuma dialects. All except SiGalagaanza have double reflexes, mainly regular /f/ and /h/. Within the SSN group, only SiSuumbwa has consistent glottalization, that is, with /h/, especially in the [-superclose] position. Languages outside Zone F with /h/ in the [-superclose] environment include E60, some E50, EJ10/20 and G30. In the PB *pu context, only G60 has /h/ (Nurse 1979:458). If KɪSukuma and KɪNɪyamweezi did not glottalize, then the source of /h/ in the PB *pu context can be G60 which has /h/. Otherwise, the source may be EJ10/20 and SiSuumbwa (F23), as nearest neighbours (assuming that such neighbourliness is ancient). This may explain the presence of irregular reflexes like /h/ and /f/ as a result of mixing vocabulary stock from different languages (Labrousse 1999, Batibo 2000). For instance, the following JinaKɪya words (which were not included in the list used in the thesis), indicate that there are cases which do not become spirants. These words may not be confined to JinaKɪya alone, although this was not checked. The majority are not in Proto Bantu either.

(37)

gw-Ipuuna 'rise very early in the morning'

βu-puuna 'type of wild, creeping, seasonal plant, its leaves resembling those of sweet potatoes, with brightly coloured flowers'

gU-pula 'to elope (for a man, as a verb (vt))' < PB *-pud- 'blow (with mouth)'

gU-puuga 'to chase away troublesome beings like insects, chickens, or children'

gU-puluguna 'to try to wriggle free from a very confining place, usually by small animals and insects, like a tick in the inner ear'

I-pu/ma-pu 'stomach of ruminous animals like cows, resembling a towel' < PB *-pu 'stomach'

All these words have superclose vowels in them, but they do not undergo spirantization. This existence of BS and non-BS forms in the same environment in JinaKɪɪya or in KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi in general suggests two things. It may either mean minor local innovation or borrowing. Local innovation implies that the /ʃ/ from PB *pu is a result of a process which is not BS, but rather it is due to another assimilatory process like palatalization, which results in /s/ in GɪnaNtuzu and /ʃ/ in the other dialects.

On the other hand, borrowing cannot be discounted either, since the spirants may be a result of loan words which had spirants, and were added to the non-spirantizing stock found in the language. Because of borrowing without adapting the system of the source language, the native forms continue to be used with the loans, resulting in inconsistent reflexes. The loan hypothesis is more consistent, since internal innovation implies regular change across the board in a phonetic context. In this interpretation, any form with a spirant in KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi can be viewed as a loan which might have triggered palatalization in some words, appearing like BS, while retaining the old non-BS forms in other words.

Another sub-type of borrowing is the case where all forms with /pu/ are borrowed. This depends on the following scenario: there is regular change in KɪSukuma or KɪNyamweezi of the form PB *pu → /fu/, and then when later words were borrowed with /pu/, they were not affected by the weakening process to /fu/.

If the loan hypothesis is correct, then both borrowing and minor innovation explain the occurrence of the double or ternary reflexes in KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi. For instance the presence of /h/ and BS in SiSuumbwa makes it a good source of influence over KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi. Another way of looking at it is that some SiSuumbwa speakers were absorbed into the KɪSukuma/KɪNyamweezi speech communities in the past and brought their words with them. Some also remained independent, though lived adjacently, and interacted with KɪSukuma/KɪNyamweezi speakers, while maintaining their linguistic and cultural identity generally. In turn, this shows that SiSuumbwa culture might have been very influential in the area for a considerable period of time for such widespread loans to occur so pervasively. However, the powerful and higher status of SiSuumbwa of the past has not been documented.

Another interesting point to note for the PB *pu reflexes is the length of the vowels in the roots of PB and some daughter languages. For instance, Proto Bantu has a short /u/, in *pud- 'blow up' while the majority of the reflexes have the long /uu/, except KɪKonongo which has /-fulɪɪsya/ 'blow up'. Two hypotheses can be advanced to explain this

phenomenon of vowel lengthening. Firstly, it might be a rule in SSN which states that penultimate syllables tend to lengthen their vowels in some verbs. This can be illustrated by JinaKɪɪya whose data is readily available:

(38)

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|---|
| -fùulá | < PB *-pud- | 'blow' |
| -fùulíilá | | 'blow, especially by mouth, in order to soothe' |
| -fúlá | | 'drink water and be satisfied' |
| -fúlá | | 'wash clothes' |
| -púlá | | 'snatch, as the wind would do' |
| -púlíilá | | 'snatch for (someone)' |

(39)

| | | |
|-------------|---------------|---|
| -fùgùólá | < PB *-pukùd- | 'dig up' |
| -fùgólá | | 'snatch from the grip of someone, by force' |
| -búkùólá | | 'harvest maize' |
| cf -ifùgólá | | 'refuse because of anger, disgust' |

From (38) and (39), it seems true that in JinaKɪɪya, vowel length is first and foremost phonological. secondly, it is used to differentiate between shades of meaning between related concepts. In (38) for example, the reflex of *p is both /f/ and /p/ as a semantic strategy. Thirdly, vowel length is also influenced lastly by phonetic context. Hence, penultimate position may be true in some dialects, although not only that in JinaKɪɪya. because -fùulíilá 'blow in order to soothe' and -púlíilá 'snatch for (someone)' violate that rule. In Table 3.12, GɪNantuzu and KɪNyanyeembe have /p/ as reflexes of PB *p, indicating that the /p/ is a retention from PB. This would then suggest that all the other reflexes, /f/ and /b/, are actually loans, or innovations triggered by loans. This is especially true of /f/.

3.2.1.1.3 PB *-bi

(40) PB *-bin- 'dance'

/-βina/ KɪDakama, KɪSukuma

- SiSuumbwa, KɪNyanyembe, KɪKonoongo, SiGalagaanza

(41) PB *-bi 'excrement, dung'

/maamvi/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe

/mazi/ KiLoongo

/maafi/ KɪSukuma

/maafi/ KɪDakama

/maavi/ KɪNyanyembe, KɪKonoongo, SiGalagaanza

(42) PB *-bido 'spread, smear'

/-βila/ KɪSukuma, KɪDakama, KɪNyanyembe, KɪKonoongo,

- SiSuumbwa, SiGalagaanza

(43) PB *-bimb- 'swell'

/-viimba/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe

/-ziimba/ KiLoongo

/-βiimba/ KɪSukuma, KɪNyamweezi

(44) PB *-yibi 'thief'

/mwivi/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe

/mwiiβi/ KiLoongo, KɪKonoongo

/ŋwiiβi/ KɪmunaSukuma, KɪDakama

/ŋuβi/ GɪnaNtuzu

/ŋwtβi/ JinaKɪɪya

/mwiiβi/ KɪNyanyembe

/mwiizi/ SiGalagaanza

(45) PB *-bita 'war'

/βita/ SiSiloombo

/vita/ SiGalagaanza

- SiYoombe, KiLoongo, KiSukuma, KiDakama, KiNyanyeembe, KiKonoongo

The reflexes for each of these languages are KiSukuma /β/, KiNyamweezi /β/ and SiSuumbwa /v/. In SiSuumbwa, the data suggest removing KiLoongo (F23c), leaving only SiSiloombo (F23a) and SiYoombe (F23b). KiLoongo has consistent /z/ as a reflex of PB *bi.

Table 3.14 Reflexes, innovations, extraneous sounds and their possible sources, PB *b/_i

| Variety and unmarked form | Sound/Innovation (6) | | Possible source/ comment |
|---------------------------|----------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| | Regular | Irregular | |
| SiSiloombo /β/ | v(3) | β(1) | F21, F22 |
| SiYoombe /β/ | v(3) | - | - |
| KiLoongo /β/ | z(2) | β(1) | F21, F22 |
| KimunaSukuma /β/ | β(4) | f(1) | ? |
| GnaNtuzu /β/ | β(4) | f(1) | ? |
| JinaKizya /β/ | β(4) | f(1) | ? |
| KiDakama /β/ | β(4) | f(1) | F23 and devoice? |
| KiNyanyeembe /β/ | β(3) | v(1) | F23 |
| KiKonoongo /β/ | β(3) | v(1) | F23 |
| SiGalagaanza /β/ | β(1) | z(1), v(1) | F23 |

The possible influence of SiSuumbwa is revealed in the irregular innovation to /vi/ as a reflex of *bi in KiNyanyeembe, KiKonoongo and SiGalagaanza. KiDakama has /fi/, devoicing /vi/. KiSukuma also has an irregular /f/, suggesting a second innovation, in addition to the regular /β/ reflex. This supports the hypothesis of loanwords from a BS language suggested above

which triggered palatalization before superclose vowels⁴³.

KiLoonggo is consistent in being different from SiSiloombo and SiYoombe, although both have an irregular /β/ reflex, suggesting the same source, possibly F21 and F22. In addition, /mwizi/ in SiGalagaanza seems a borrowed word, probably from KiSwahili. This borrowing is also manifested in example (46) in SiSiloombo and SiGalagaanza. The word for 'war' in the area is not PB *-bita. The extraneous sound /β/ in SiSiloombo in this slot suggests borrowing too, since the expected form would be /vita/ rather than /βita/. SiGalagaanza's reflex /vita/, although identical to the KiSwahili form, might have been acquired through SiSuumbwa and regularized to fit the SiSuumbwa forms.

3.2.1.1.1 PB *-bu

(46) PB *-bu 'ashes'

/mavu/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, SiGalagaanza

/mazu/ KiLoonggo

/maβu/ KiSukuma, KiDakama

/mawu/ KiKonoongo

- KiNyanyeeembe

(47) PB *-bunj- 'break, snap'

/-vuna/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, SiGalagaanza

- KiLoonggo, KiSukuma, KiDakama, KiNyanyeeembe, KiKonoongo

⁴³ KiBende, which has a devoicing rule, has /f/ without exception from /v/ in this PB *-bi context (See Nurse 1988:58, also noted above)

(48) PB *-buda 'rain'

/mvula/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, KtNyanyeembe, SiGalagaanza

/eenzula/ KiLoongo

/mbula/ KtSukuma, KtDakama, KtKonoongo

Table 3.15 Reflexes, innovations, extraneous sounds and their possible sources, PB *bu

| Variety and unmarked form | Sound/Innovation (3) | | Possible source/ comment |
|---------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| | Regular | Irregular | |
| SiSiloombo /β/ | v(3) | - | - |
| SiYoombe /β/ | v(3) | - | - |
| KiLoongo /β/ | z(2) | - | - |
| KtMunaSukuma /β/ | β(2) ⁴⁴ | - | - |
| GinaNtuzu /β/ | β(2) | - | - |
| JinaKtɪya /β/ | β(2) | - | - |
| KtDakama /β/ | β(2) | - | - |
| KtNyanyeembe /β/ | - | v(1) | F23 |
| KtKonoongo /β/ | β(1) | w(1) ⁴⁵ | Phonetic strategy |
| SiGalagaanza /β/ | - | v(3) ⁴⁶ | F23 |

Although only three words were found in the PB *bu context, their value is priceless in showing consistent regularity. SiSuumbwa (F23a, b) have /v/. KiLoongo /z/, and KtSukuma

⁴⁴ When PB *b is intervocalic, it regularly changes to /β/, a process which might have helped later to have /β/ and /b/ as separate phonemes. When *b is prenasalized or is underlyingly /b/ as opposed to phonemic /β/, then it remains /b/, as in JinaKtɪya /mábõ/ 'mosquitoes' in contrast to /mábũ/ 'ashes', /mábũ/ 'grey (colour)' or /määβõ/ 'forests'

⁴⁵ The change may be a phonetic strategy for /O/.

⁴⁶ Although no /b/ or /β/ is shown in the three words used, /v/ is still irregular.

and KiNyamweezi /β/.

The disadvantage of having only a few words is also revealed in the data by SiGalagaanza. Although its regular reflex in that context is /β/, the influence of a BS language is telling. All the examples show /v/ consistently. KiKonoongo shows less influence from a BS language, and the reflex of pre-nasalized PB *bu is /b/. By inference, a bilabial fricative regular reflex is implied in all the KiNyamweezi dialects by this KiKonoongo example.

Another important aspect in the data is the role of pre-nasalized forms. The form for 'rain' PB *mbuda or *mbula, belongs to *b/N_, which is not a purely *bu context. However, it is revealing in the way the /b/ is consistent even in this pre-nasal context. SiSuumbwa (F23a, b) shows a consistent /v/ reflex, while KiLoongo is also consistent in displaying /z/. KiNyanyembe and SiGalagaanza also show a consistent /v/, suggesting the likely former influence of SiSuumbwa in linguistic terms. The only drawback in KiNyanyembe is that only one word was filled, whereas all three are present in SiGalagaanza.

3.2.1.1.5 PB *-ti

(49) PB *-kIti 'darkness'

/giiti/ SiYoombe, KiSukuma, KiDakama, KiNyanyembe, KiKonoongo
- SiSiloombo, KiLoongo, SiGalagaanza

(50) PB *-tingid- 'be sleepy, doze'

/-tiindila/ SiYoombe, KiLoongo
/-tiindila/ KiSukuma, KiDakama
/-tiindila/ KiNyanyembe, KiKonoongo
/-tiindila/ SiGalagaanza
- SiSiloombo

(51) PB *-tina 'base of tree trunk'

/i-tina/ KiMunaSukuma, GiNaNtuzu, KiNyamweezi
/t-tina/ JinaKiIya
- SiSuumbwa

(52) PB *-tinga 'long hair, of animals'

/βt-tiinga/ GiNaNtuzu
/wt-tiinga/ JinaKiIya
KiDakama -
/t-siinga/ KiNyanyembe
/u-siinga/ KiKonoongo
/t-siinga/ SiGalagaanza
- SiSuumbwa, KiMunaSukuma

(53) PB *-piti 'hyena'

/m-fisi/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, SiGalagaanza
/em-pisi/ KiLoongo
/m-bitil/ KiSukuma, KiDakama, KiNyanyembe, KiKonoongo

(54) PB *-koti 'nape'

/βu-kosi/ SiSiloombo
/βt-kosi/ KiMunaSukuma, SiGalagaanza
/βt-gosi/ GiNaNtuzu
/u-kosi/ KiKonoongo
- SiYoombe, KiLoongo, JinaKiIya, KiDakama, KiNyanyembe

(55) PB *-tikɔ 'night'

| | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|
| /βɔ-jikɔ/ | KɪmunaSukuma, JinaKɪɪya |
| /βɔ-zikɔ/ | GɪnaNtuzu, KɪDakama, KɪKonoŋgo |
| /u-zikɔ/ | KɪNyanyeembe |
| /βɔ-fuku/ | SiGalagaanza |
| - | SiSuumbwa |

(56) PB *-tindɪk- 'push'

| | |
|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| /-siindika/ | SiYoombe, KiLoongo |
| /-fiindika/ | KɪmunaSukuma, JinaKɪɪya, KɪDakama |
| /-siindɪka/ | GɪnaNtuzu, |
| /-siindɪka/ | KɪNyanyeembe, SiGalagaanza |
| - | KɪKonoŋgo, SiSiloombo |

(57) PB *-tikɔ 'rainy season'

| | |
|-----------|---|
| /ki-dikɔ/ | KɪmunaSukuma, KɪDakama, KɪNyanyeembe, KɪKonoŋgo |
| /gi-dikɔ/ | GɪnaNtuzu |
| /ji-dikɔ/ | JinaKɪɪya |
| /si-dikɔ/ | SiGalagaanza |
| - | SiSuumbwa |

(58) PB *-timɔ 'spear'

| | |
|----------|------------------------------------|
| /i-sumu/ | SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, SiGalagaanza |
| /i-cumu/ | KiLoongo |
| /i-cimu/ | KɪSukuma, KɪDakama |
| /i-kimu/ | KɪNyanyeembe |
| /i-timu/ | KɪKonoŋgo |

(59) PB *-tim- 'strike with a spear'

| | |
|---------|---------------------------------------|
| /-cima/ | KɪSukuma, KɪDakama |
| /-kima/ | KɪKonoŋgo |
| - | SiSuumbwa, KɪNyanyeembe, SiGalagaanza |

In F23, the PB *ti reflex is /si/ while in F21 and F22, it is /ti/. All three (SiSuumbwa, KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi) have irregular reflexes, reflecting external sources which also suggest some externally driven innovation. Words with spirants for PB *ti, are not as frequent as those from PB *pi or *pu.

Table 3.16 Reflexes, innovations, extraneous sounds and their possible sources, PB *ti

| Variety and unmarked form | Sound/Innovation(11) | | Possible source/comment |
|---------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| | Regular | Irregular | |
| SiSiloombo /t/ | s(3) | - | - |
| SiYoombe /t/ | s(3) | t(2) | F21, F22 |
| KiLoongo /t/ | s(2) | l(1), c(1) | F21 |
| KimunaSukuma /t/ | t(3) ⁴⁷ | d(1), j(1), f(1), s(2), c(2) | F23 |
| GiNaNtuzu /t/ | t(5) | z(1), s(2), c(2) | F23 |
| JinaKiIya /t/ | t(5) | d(1), j(1), f(1), c(2) | F23 |
| KiDakama /t/ | t(4) | d(1), z(1), f(1), c(2) | F23 |
| KiNyanyeembe /t/ | t(4) | d(1), z(1), s(1), k(1) | F23, internal |
| KiKonoongo /t/ | t(5) | z(1), s(1), k(1) | F23, internal |
| SiGalagaanza /t/ | l(2) | d(1), f(1), s(5) | F23 |

As to the sources of the irregular sound changes, the major one is through borrowing. These are revealed by the regular patterns which are displayed against violations of those expectations. For instance, /giiti/ 'darkness' in SiYoombe suggests borrowing, since the

⁴⁷ The presence of the reflex /d/ for PB *t in KiSukuma, and to some extent KiNyamweezi emphasises the original underlying sound /t/ which is voiced by Dahl's Law, as in *-tikɔ > /-dikɔ/ 'rainy season'. This can be compared to second syllable position /t/ in *-kiti > /-giiti/ 'darkness', *-piti > /-biti/ 'hyena'.

regular reflex observed is /s/, while /t/ is regular in KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi. Another observation in the same word is the operation of Dahl's Law in SiYoombe. SiSuumbwa's Dahl's Law status is synchronically minimal generally, as indicated in 3.1 above, suggesting that the word is a loan. Such external influence or later entry into the language can also be observed with regard to KiNyamweezi and GiNaNtuzu's cases of /s/ and KiMunaSukuma and JinaKiIya's /f/. They are cases of palatalization which are only few, occurring in some words like *-tindik- 'push'. KiLoongo's continued dissimilarity with SiSuumbwa in general with the /z/ reflex emphasizes a probable different historical origin.

Borrowing from KiSwahili is also suggested in PB *-koti 'nape' in the reflexes in F21 and F22 other than /t/. The word refers to collars of shirts rather than 'nape'. The expected form in KiSukuma would be [βσgoti], without any weakening of *t. It is quite unlikely to be [βσkodi] or [βσgosi], since, by Dahl's Law, it is only the first voiceless segment of the stem which is normally dissimilated in order to simplify the pronunciation when two voiceless plosive consonant sounds are adjacent. All words borrowed into KiSukuma are normally subject to Dahl's Law, modified depending on the operation of the law in each dialect⁴⁸. The transition from [βσkoti] to [βσkodi] or [βσkosi] does not simplify pronunciation since voice is followed by two voiceless segments as in the original with /t/, a situation which is normally

⁴⁸ Borrowed words from KiSwahili illustrating DL in JinaKiIya: *tatizo* → *datiizo* 'problem'; *kupe* → *gupe* 'tick'; *kutu* → *gutu* 'rust'; *katibu* → *gatiβσ* < Arabic [katiβ] 'writer, secretary, clerk'; *katani* → *gatani* < Arabic [katta:n] 'sisal, flax'; *mapato* → *mabato* 'income, receipts'

avoided. In addition GtNaNtuzu does not voice a stop when the following segment is /s/.

For JinaKɪya, for instance 'nape' is ɣhɔɔni [ɣɔɔni] < -kɔɔni. But one might also argue that this word comes from PB *-koti by a route so complicated, it may be unlikely to be the source⁴⁹.

Another suspicious case is from PB *tikɔ 'night' in both KɪSukuma and KɪNyamwezi. SiGalagaanza has /βɔfuku/, like KiBende's /bufuku/. In KɪSukuma and KɪNyamwezi, the form seems suspect because it violates the expected rules for *t in that environment. The expected form would be /βɔdikɔ/ by Dahl's Law, unless that was disfavoured by the presence of /-dikɔ/ 'rainy season' and it had to be spirantized to /z/ and /j/ like a reflex of /d/. But that semantic explanation is not adequate since 'rainy season' *bɔ-tikɔ (Class 14 -bɔ) and 'night' *kɪ-tikɔ (Class 7 kɪ/kj) do not belong in the same noun class in all varieties. A noun class as a category is a sufficient distinguisher. Otherwise there is no motivation for /z/ and /j/ as reflexes of *t. Another explanation for this may be that, the proper word deriving those forms is actually not PB *-tikɔ, but rather PB *-cikɔ 'day of 24 hours'. This is also not accurate because, in JinaKɪya the expected form would then be /-figɔ/ rather than /-jikɔ/.

⁴⁹ *ɣkoti Proto Bantu 'nape'
ɣkodi By Dahl's Law
ɣkoni Prefix nasality spread
ɣhoni Loss of /k/ occlusion
ɣhooni vowel lengthening before nasal
ɣhɔɔni Vowel raising (height anticipatory assimilation)

There are also some likely idiosyncratic innovations, or cases when the origin of words is not known. For instance, the word /isumu/ is suspect in SiSuumbwa, just as it is in SiGalagaanza, unless the final /u/ just spreads to the /i/ by deleting the feature [+front] in /i/ in anticipatory assimilation. But this is not a productive process. The word might also come from PB *-tumɔ 'spear' or PB *-tumo 'spear' instead of PB *-timɔ 'spear'. Even in KtSukuma and KtNyamweezi, the word is suspect because the reflex of *t as /c/ is not regular, although it is in KiiRangi. The expected reflex is /t/ as it occurs in KtKonoongo.

Apart from these few exceptions PB *ti offers quite regular reflexes, despite the small sample in some languages. For example, the words in Sisuumbwa are limited to only a few out of the eleven in the sample. Only three words are recorded for SiSiloombo, four for SiYoombe and five for KiLoongo, compared to a minimum of nine and a maximum of all eleven in the KtSukuma and KtNyamweezi group. This is a general difficulty in the data where not all words appear in all languages.

3.2.1.1.6 PB *-tu

(60) PB *-tung- 'pack (luggage)'

/-tuŋgɪa/ KimunaSukuma

/-tuŋga/ GInaNtuzu, KtDakama, KtNyanyeembe, SiGalagaanza

/-tuŋganya/ JinaKtɪya

/-tuŋgaania/ KtKonoongo

- SiSuumbwa

(61) PB *-tumbɪ 'stool'

/i-suumbɪ/ KImunaSukuma, GInaNtuzu, KiDakama, KiNyanyembe, KiKonoŋgo
/ɪ-suumbɪ/ JinaKiIya
/i-fuumbɪ/ SiGalagaanza
- SiSuumbwa

(62) PB *-tum- 'sew'

/i-suma/ SiYoombe, KiLoongo, KImunaSukuma, JinaKiIya, KiNyanyembe
- SiSiloombo, GInaNtuzu, KiDakama, KiKonoŋgo, SiGalagaanza

Although the data in this set were severely limited, the pattern is similar to the situation where there are ample data, as in 3.2.1.1.5 with PB *ti. The reflexes for PB *tu are /s/ for both SiSuumbwa and KiLoongo on the one hand, and /t/ for KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi. The extraneous sound /s/ in KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi can be presumed to be from SiSuumbwa, although other sources cannot be ruled out.

For instance, the reflex of PB *tu in *-tumbɪ 'stool' (62), is /s/ in all dialects represented, except SiGalagaanza, which has /t/. In Zone F, it is ɥɪnyaMunyiŋanyi and Keembuwe only which have a reflex of /t/, while GiAhi and GiRwana have /R/. The rest have a different lexeme altogether, except North KiKiImbɔ, which has unexpected /kɪsuumbɪ/ for a non-spirantizing language, while KiiRangi has /icuumbɪ/. This hints at an external source since a stable language like KiKiImbɔ is not expected to have such a form, unless it has borrowed it from other languages quite recently.

Table 3.17 Reflexes, innovations, extraneous sounds and their possible sources, PB *-tu

| Variety and unmarked form | Sound/Innovation (3) | | Possible source/comment |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| | Regular | Irregular | |
| SiSiloombo /t/ | .. ⁵⁰ | - | - |
| SiYoombe /t/ | s(1) | - | - |
| KiLoongo /t/ | s(1) | - | - |
| KɪmunaSukuma /t/ | t(1) | s(1) | F23? |
| GɪnaNtuzu /t/ | t(1) | s(1) | F23? |
| JinaKɪya /t/ | t(1) | s(2) | F23? |
| KɪDakama /t/ | t(1) | s(1) | F23? |
| KɪNyanyeembe /t/ | t(1) | s(2) | F23? |
| KɪKonoongo /t/ | t(1) | s(1) | F23? |
| SiGalagaanza /t/ | t(1) | f(1) | F23? |

For KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi, a reflex with /s/ instead of /t/ seems extraneous, since the reflex should be /t/ according to the majority of the reflexes, which have been taken as more regular. A similar word is that for 'flour', PB *-tu. The word also suggests an external source not far in the past, since it is βʊsu or βʊfu in KɪSukuma. The history of the word implies that cultivating cereals like millet and maize and extracting flour from them might have come somewhat later, perhaps brought into the area by migrants whose languages were already spirantizing. The histories of both KɪSukuma and SiSuumbwa speakers have legendary exploits of hunting, indicating that even SiSuumbwa might have got the word from another farming community speaking a different Bantu language relatively recently. It is

⁵⁰ Data were limited in this word: only three words were relevant for the PB *-tu environment, and out of these, all were absent in SiSiloombo. Only SiGalagaanza had /f/.

especially important to note here that, when dealing with *t > /s/ in the word for 'sew', PB *-tum-, Kahigi (1988:250) suggests that the word might have entered SiSuumbwa from KiSukuma, because he found it extraneous, just as it is in KiSukuma. However, he does not question BS. On the other hand, Kahigi (ibid:228) says unreservedly that KiSukuma does not generally spirantize, as exemplified in 3.2.1.2.

Since -suma 'sew' is assumed to be a recent borrowing into both languages, then this can also point to other source languages outside Zone F, and indeed, outside Tanzania, in the DRC or Zambia and beyond. For instance, KiHoloholo (D28) of the DRC has some features which are quite similar to many KiSukuma ones⁵¹. This weakens the assumption that any BS-like change in KiSukuma or KiNyamwezi is necessarily a result of borrowing from a nearby language or dialect. The nearest choice is only a synchronic convenience. For the past, any source is possible, given the mobility of people and the potential for language contact and borrowing/lending⁵² words.

The irregularity of /s/ in KiSukuma can be illustrated from the following JinaKiya words in (63), since /t/ exists widely before [u]. Some of these words are in Guthrie's Proto Bantu list,

⁵¹ The KiHoloholo features were pointed out to me by Nurse when he said some of the tense/aspects looked quite similar to those of KiSukuma from Coupez (1955)

⁵² The terms 'borrowing' or 'loan', though established, are not precise. Borrowing implies lending, and both words suggest a loan which is normally refunded or returned. Such a situation does not apply in language, just as 'transfer' is not as precise because it implies a one-way conduit. Words like 'adoption' (imperfect assimilation) and 'adaption' (total assimilation) are preferable.

while the majority are not, suggesting that they were omitted, or they are KISukuma innovations, which can be inventions or borrowing:

(63)

| | |
|--|--|
| -tulumeenha 'slide, normally away from the (bed) headrest during sleep' | I-tuundulu 'evergreen tropical shrub of the <i>mimosoideae</i> subfamily' |
| -tuundaga 'urinate' (PB *-tʊnd- 'urinate') | -tuja 'kneel' (cf tʊja 'pass and feed domestic animals in a farm, accidentally or deliberately') |
| I-tuunji 'urinary bladder' (-tʊnd- 'urinate') | -tuuβa 'get hungry' |
| -tuga 'catch in the act' | -tuungo < nhuungo 'civet cat' PB |
| ɟwiituungga 'zombie' | mitugo ⁵³ 'cattle, domestic animals' |
| -tuuma 'extend something, usually buttocks in order to block somebody' | -tula 'drive cows from one place to another' |
| ntuumba/mituumba '(round) container, usually of calabash, especially for storing medicine' | lʊ-dutu/n-dutu 'erect breasts of adolescents and young, unmarried women' |
| -tuna 'kneel, or bend the knees to senior people, not necessarily old, usually as a sign of deference, by women' | -dutuma 'grow and become luxuriously greener than previously' |
| -tunʊla 'lean forward and raise the buttocks while exposing them' | -tuumʊla puncture (PB *-tuub- 'pierce?') |
| Ituumbagɬja 'muscle tightener for taming an unruly cow or ox' | I-dutuβɬja 'light darkness due to heavy clouds' |
| lʊ-tuumbz/nuumbi 'division of maize, millet, sugar cane, etc stalks' | ji-tuundulu 'abdomen of grasshoppers' |

An interesting word is 'become blunt', PB *-tuup-, which in JinaKIItya is -duuha, although

⁵³ Although this word is widespread in east African Bantu languages, it is not found in Guthrie's nor Meeussen's reconstructions of Proto Bantu.

because of the limited amount and type of words in our data, it was not included. The path of change of this word might have been the following:

(64)

PB *-tuup- > -duupa > -duuha or -duuh-tla 'become blunt'

→ DL → Glott

This word is significant in telling us that Dahl's Law⁵⁴ in KɪSukuma occurred first, and then glottalization followed later. Contact with a source for glottalization like SiSuumbwa is later since an earlier contact would result in *p becoming /h/, thus blocking most of Dahl's Law in those words inherited from Proto Bantu.

From the above discussion, the regular reflexes suggested in Table 3.15 have validity, namely, SiSuumbwa /s/, KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi /t/.

3.2.1.1.7 PB *-di

(65) PB *-gadi 'blood'

/ma-gazi/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe

/mu-gazi/ KɪNyamweezi

- KiLoong'o, KɪSukuma

⁵⁴ The chronology of four phonological processes in SSN is put together in the conclusion to this chapter (section 3.3). These processes are glottalization (Glott), Bantu Spirantization (BS), 7 > 5 and Dahl's Law (DL).

(66) PB *-cʊdi 'broth'

/n-sʊji/ KɪmunaSukuma, JinaKɪɪya

/n-sʊzi/ GɪnaNtuzu

/m-sʊzi/ KɪDakama, KɪNyanyeembe, KɪKonoŋgo

- SiGalagaanza, SiSuumbwa

(67) PB *-jʊʊdi 'day after tomorrow'

/ma-zʊʊli/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, KɪSukuma, KɪNyamweezi

/i-zweeli/? KɪLoonggo

(68) PB *-bʊdi 'goat'

/m-buzi/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe

/em-buzi/ KɪLoonggo

/m-bʊli/ KɪSukuma, KɪDakama, KɪKonoŋgo

/m-bʊzi/ KɪNyanyeembe, SiGalagaanza

(69) PB *-di 'string'

/bu-zi/ SiSiloombo

/βu-zi/ SiYoombe, KɪLoonggo

/βʊ-ji/ KɪmunaSukuma, GɪnaNtuzu

/u-zi/ KɪDakama, KɪNyanyeembe, SiGalagaanza

/βʊ-zi/ KɪKonoŋgo

- JinaKɪɪya

(70) PB *-yedi 'moon'

/kw-eezi/ SiSuumbwa

/ŋw-eeji/ KɪmunaSukuma, JinaKɪɪya

/ŋw-eezi/ GɪnaNtuzu, KɪDakama

/mw-eezi/ KɪNyanyeembe, KɪKonoŋgo, SiGalagaanza

(71) PB *-codi 'tears'

/mii-sozi/ SiSiloombo, GtinaNtuzu, KiDakama, KiKonoongo

/miin-sozi/ SiYoombe, SiGalagaanza

/shii-soji/ KiMunaSukuma

/ji-isoji/ JinaKiIya

- KiLoongo, KiNyanyembe

(72) PB *-dito 'weight'

/-dito/ KiSukuma

- SiSuumbwa, KiNyamweezi

(73) PB *-dɔdi 'whistling'

KiMunaSukuma/shi-lɔji, nɔji/

/nɔli/ GtinaNtuzu, JinaKiIya

/mu-lɔli/ KiDakama

/mu-lɔɔnzi/ KiNyanyembe

/mu-lɔzi/ KiKonoongo, SiGalagaanza

- SiSuumbwa

(74) PB *-kadi 'wife'

/mu-kazi/ SiYoombe, KiLoongo

- SiSiloombo, KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi

Three patterns of regular reflexes are revealed in this PB *di environment, making three groups out of the three language groups. The decision to classify them as regular or irregular is based first and foremost on frequency of phoneme occurrence. These regular reflexes are: SiSuumbwa /z/, KiNyamweezi /z, l/, and KiSukuma /l, z(j)/ (or (GtinaNtuzu /z/ on the one hand, and KiMunaSukuma and JinaKiIya /j/, on the other).

Table 3.18 Reflexes, innovations, extraneous sounds and their possible sources. PB *di

| Variety and unmarked form | Sound/Innovation (10) | | Possible source/comment |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| | Regular | Irregular | |
| SiSiloombo // | z (5) ⁵⁵ | l (1) | KiSukuma/KiNyamweezi? |
| SiYoombe // | z (6) | l (1) | KiSukuma/KiNyamweezi? |
| KiLoongo // | z (4) | l (1) | KiSukuma/KiNyamweezi? |
| KimunaSukuma // | j (5)?, l (2) | d (1)? | internal innovation? |
| GinaNtuzu // | z (3)?, l (3) | d (1)? | internal innovation? |
| JinaKɪya // | j(3)?, l (3) | d (l)? | internal innovation? |
| KiDakama // | z (5)?, l (3) | - | SiSuumbwa? |
| KiNyanyeembe // | z (6)?, l (1) | - | SiSuumbwa? |
| KiKonoongo // | z (6)?, l (2) | - | SiSuumbwa? |
| SiGalagaanza // | z (6)?, l (1) | - | SiSuumbwa? |

KiNyamweezi and KiSukuma have similar regular reflexes, except for the irregular forms which separate them. The irregular reflexes are SiSuumbwa // and KiSukuma /d/. KiNyamweezi, including KiDakama, does not show any irregular forms.

Within the regular reflex list, there is one problem. The regular reflexes for both KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi are two, /z/ and /l/. Their derivation is based on the frequency principle, that the more frequently a sound occurs, the more likely it belonged to the proto language. In this case, both /z/ and /l/ have an almost equal frequency of occurrence, indicating that they have equal chances of being the regular proto sounds of the proto languages in question.

⁵⁵ Total number of cases out of 10 words used, out of which some have no responses for reasons such as the presence of a different lexeme.

However, it is unlikely that the proto sound had two phones in the proto language, each with a status of an independent phoneme. And that is the problem which has been pointed out in 3.0 above.

The presence of /j/ or /z/ as a reflex of /d/ then becomes a process of palatalization rather than Bantu Spirantization, as observed above. Hence, these reflexes are based on a mixture of two sounds, /d/ and /l/, as illustrated below.

Although only one word was available where the reflex for PB *d was also /d/, as in /-dito/ 'heavy' in KɪSukuma, an important insight can be gained. The example seems to illustrate the fact that, without external influence, KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi's reflexes for /d/ may remain /d/ or change to /l/ regularly in certain contexts, if a Proto Bantu *l and *d are posited as separate phonemes. There are many cases in synchronic JinaKɪya with /di/ suggesting the scenario suggested above: they may be examples of the inherited forms from Proto Bantu or innovation by invention or borrowing. However a more plausible explanation is that the words are from some intermediate ancestors, reflecting the reflexes of the protoforms of the immediate ancestor language, Proto KɪSukuma. Such synchronic lexemes with /d/ indicate a diachronic path, even if /d/ has been lost by many languages. Borrowing is an unlikely explanation, since /-dito/ for example, is not attested in the immediate vicinity languages⁵⁶.

⁵⁶ Lack of attested examples is not necessarily a sufficient argument, although as a provisional hypothesis, it is useful.

Some of the words with /d/ and /l/ respectively in JinaKɪɪya include the following:

(75)

- diiŋho [diiŋo] 'sheep's accumulated dung, especially in sheep house'
- diiŋjimɪla 'rumble deeply, creating a low deafening din, mainly of big drums'
- diima 'hold, catch'
- diindiβɔka 'become shallow'
- βɔdidiga, -diidi 'person who is arrogant in a foolish way'
- didoha 'become heavy' < PB *-dito 'heavy'
- diimu 'hard, of physical objects'
- gulumaadi 'tortoise'
- Saajɔɔdi 'male, proper name'
- diba 'accidentally poke into somebody's eye' (cf PB *-dib- shut (eyes))'

(76)

- βaliga 'throw a long stick, aiming to hit something'
- βiliŋga 'collect into a heap, heap'
- lilimɔka '(of many birds) take off at once, noisily, flying in all directions'
- dugali 'tarantula'
- liinda 'guard'
- liinha [liiŋa] 'climb'
- liga 'leave one's straight path during a walk, journey, travel; duck'
- liimbe 'cucumbers'
- jilili 'wild animals which eat and destroy crops'
- jilimɪla 'internally feel vibrations because of tremors caused by extreme cold'

From the above contrast between /d/ and /l/ in JinaKɪɪya, and by extension, in KɪSukuma, it is plausible to posit that /-dito/ is an inherited form from Proto Bantu. It is not from DL, since there is no attested form to suggest that it is from PB *-tito, just as /-dakama/ 'south' is well formed as an inherited form without DL in a dialect like KɪDakama 'southern speech'. It is not from *takama. The lexeme {takama} seems to occur only because of likely back-formation. From the list of PB *di words above, the irregular forms based on the *d, *l

assumption display the following patterns in each language, suggesting their lack of native phonotactics.

The case for innovation by inventions or borrowing is supported by a few words like *gulumaadi* 'tortoise' < *Barbaig gumald* 'tortoise'. Since such loans from Nilotic members are not widespread except in restricted areas like animal husbandry, it is unlikely that *Barbaig* is the source of /di/.

The word for 'day after tomorrow', PB *-jɔɔdi, reveals some discrepancies in SiSuumbwa. With /l/ as a reflex, it is a regular, inherited form in KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi. In SiSuumbwa, the expected reflex is /ma-zuuzi/, instead of /ma-zɔɔli/. This form with /l/ shows two problems. First, the phonetic /ɔɔ/ is marked in SiSuumbwa, indicating a possible loan, probably from KɪSukuma or KɪNyamweezi. Secondly, in SiSuumbwa, it is the only /l/ out of the total 10 in the sample, as shown in *Table 3.18*, and it is not well-formed within the SiSuumbwa phonological system, especially vocalic, which is presumably 5V. The /ɔ/ suggests a 7V language like KɪSukuma. The phonetic realization of the word violates two important SiSuumbwa rules, 5V-violation, which shows up here as 7V; and *d > l___i, instead of *d > z/___i.

Another word is PB *-di 'string'. The word might have entered SSN probably by way of trade to and from the coast, since it resembles the KiSwahili form /uzi/. The reflex is also

suspect in both KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi, since one would expect /βɔli/ or /βɔdi/ rather than /βɔzi/ or /uzi/.

With PB *yedi ‘moon’, SiSuumbwa suggests a different historical path indicated by the different prefix, a non-nasal kw-⁵⁷ instead of the mu- in KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi. The word can be explained as a dissimilation strategy. KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi used the choice of z/j as a strategy to avoid the homophone /ŋweeli/ (KɪSukuma) and /mweeli/ (KɪNyamweezi) ‘west’. There are several cases where this strategy is used, exemplified by JinaKɪIya. This strategy involves either borrowing, palatalization, syllable reduplication, vowel lengthening, tonal change, or other process that is employed to avoid homophony and polysemy as PB *-dim- and PB *-tɔtɔm-, shown in (77) and (78):

(77)

PB 617 *-dim- ‘become extinguished’

PB 618 *-dim(ɪd)- ‘get lost’

-jimā ‘become extinguished, faint’ (of fire or life of animate entity)

-jimɪlā ‘get lost (become extinguished physically or metaphorically, in the mind)’

-lilimā ‘close one’s eyes’

-limālimā ‘twinkle, as if in the process of disappearing or being extinguished; fade’

It is unlikely that /-jima/ < PB 617 *-dim- ‘become extinguished’ and /-jimɪla/ < PB 618 *-

⁵⁷ The prefix kw-eezi is used in Western Highlands (DJ60), parts of Rutara (EJ10/20) and Suguti (EJ25).

dim(ɪd)- ‘get lost’ are two independent lexemes, since *-dim(ɪd)- appears to be only an extension of or derivation from *-dim-, both having the reference of ‘disappearing’. Although the original *d does not feature, the various strategies of derivation indicate that, the evolution of *d to /l/, /z/ or /j/ is an internal innovation unrelated to BS, although with external influence from BS languages, the process was accommodated in loan words, though not productively in other lexemes.

(78) PB 1854 *-t̥t̥ōm- ‘boil up, boil over’

-dúdúmá ‘boil over, bubble’

-dútúmá ‘become bigger, greener and more luxurious (of leaves)’ (Dahl’s Law)

-lúlúmá ‘flow noisily (of rivers)’

-húlúmá ‘sprout luxuriously after being trimmed (of sweet potato leaves and similar creeping vegetation)’

-dúúlúmá ‘accelerate even faster, as if to hit a target (of stones and other throwable material)’

-húúlúmá ‘move swiftly in a flowing motion like an eagle’

Most of the words in (78) seem to have been derived from one lexeme with a sense of accelerating from an initial point of slower motion to a faster rate. The original Proto Bantu form is *-t̥t̥ōm-, so the /-tutuma/ form in JinaKɪya is not inherited from PB, since [-dutuma] as a DL form may be a recent adoption from a BS language which has lost /u/ (superclose) and /ɔ/ (high) distinction. The word was then adapted in the language by following phonological adjustments, like DL, a dissimilation rule of consecutive voiceless syllables containing plosives.

The word for ‘wife’ PB *-kadí is found in SiSuumbwa, (74) above, but not in KɪSukuma

and KiNyamweezi. However, the word for 'wife' or 'woman' found in KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi, /-ki(t)ma/, is also found in SiSiloombo, as /mukITma/ with the same phonological shape, instead of being /mukiima/. Such a form makes it suspicious. Its value, however, lies in uniting SSN's lexemes until their linguistic memberships are mixed and confused. This mixture leads to the view that, KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi and SiSuumbwa share an immediate node in the hierarchy of genetic affiliation. This inter-mixing of each others' vocabulary may be one of the triggers of and reason for the entry of /z/ or /j/ as a reflex of *d and *l in KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi. This makes the distinction between *d and *l reflexes difficult to isolate in cases where such a distinction is absent⁵⁸. Comparing the words with *d or *l in other languages makes things a bit clearer. For instance, while it is not clear whether Proto KiSukuma had /d/ or /l/ in PB *yedi 'moon' because of inter-dialectal mixing, languages like KiKiImbu, a Zone F sister language which has changed little from Proto Bantu, has /mweeli/, while KiiRangi and KeeMbuwe have /mweeri/.

A revised picture for regular sound change in PB *di, with the irregular reflexes in brackets can thus be: SiSuumbwa /z/ (/l/); KiNyamweezi /l/ (/z/); KiSukuma /l, d/ (j/z). Such a division between /d/ and /l/ words suggests one thing: /l/ and /d/ are both inherited phonemes. The reconstruction of Meinhof's PB *l and Guthrie's PB *d do not constitute an either/or situation. Rather, it is *l and *d, with some languages treating them as allophones in

⁵⁸ There are some minor problems with *l and *d in Indo-European too where a name like Odysseus is also Ulysses (John Hewson, p.c.)

complementary distribution, while in others like KiSukuma, they are separate phonemes, a situation analogous to that of voiceless nasals. In some languages/dialects like KiSukuma and KiDakama, the voiceless nasals are both phonemic and allophonic, whether appearing as morphologized forms in some words, and hence phonemic, or in homorganic contexts as allophonic realizations of stops after nasal prefixes.

3.2.1.1.8 PB *du

(79) -dedu 'beard'

/n-dezu/ KiSukuma, KiDakama, KiNyanyeembe, KiKonoongo
 /ka-levu/ SiGalagaanza
 - SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, KiLoongo

(80) -dugut- 'blow bellows'

/-vuguta/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe
 /-zuguta/ KiLoongo
 /-fukuta/ KiNyanyeembe
 /-tuguta/ KiKonoongo
 /-vukuta/ SiGalagaanza
 - KimunaSukuma, GtinaNtuzu, JinaKiya, KiDakama

(81) -dedu 'chin'

/ci-lezu/ KiLoongo
 /fi-lezu/ KimunaSukuma
 /gɪ-lezu/ GtinaNtuzu
 /ji-lezu/ JinaKiya
 /ki-lezu/ KiDakama
 /ki-lezu/ KiNyanyeembe, KiKonoongo
 /ka-levu/ SiGalagaanza (cf kasaku in F23a,b, class marker 12 ka- instead of Class 7 ki-)
 - SiSiloombo, SiYoombe

(82) -dug- 'cook'

/-zuga/ KɪSukuma, KɪDakama

- SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, KiLoongo, KɪNyanyeembe, KɪKonoongo, SiGalagaanza

(83) -dub- 'fish, vt'

/-zuβa/ KɪSukuma, KɪDakama, KɪNyanyeembe, KɪKonoongo

- SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, KiLoongo, SiGalagaanza

(84) -du/-dui/-dui 'knee'

/si-vi/ SiSiloombo

/si-vwi/ SiYoombe

/ci-zwi/ KiLoongo

/i-zwi/ KɪmunaSukuma, GɪnaNtuzu, KɪDakama

/ɪ-zwi/ JinaKɪɪya

- KɪNyanyeembe, KɪKonoongo, SiGalagaanza

(85) -dugɔd- 'open, vt'

/-lugɔla/ KɪSukuma, KɪDakama, KɪNyanyeembe, KɪKonoongo

- SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, KiLoongo, SiGalagaanza

(86) -gudube 'pig'

/ŋ-guluβe/ SiSiloombo, JinaKɪɪya, KɪNyamweezi, KɪmunaSukuma, GɪnaNtuzu

- SiYoombe, KiLoongo,

(87) -dut- 'pull'

/-duta/ KɪmunaSukuma, JinaKɪɪya

/-luta/ KɪDakama

- SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, KiLoongo, GɪnaNtuzu, KɪNyanyeembe, KɪKonoongo,
SiGalagaanza

(88) -badu 'rib'

/u-βavu/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, SiGalagaanza

/u-βazu/ KiLoongo

/u-βazu/ KiSukuma, KiDakama, KiNyanyembe, KiKonoongo

(89) -gudu 'strength, power, effort'

/ŋ-guzu/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, KiSukuma, KiDakama, KiNyanyembe, KiKonoongo

- KiLoongo, SiGalagaanza

From *Table 3.19*, the regular reflexes are the following: SiSuumbwa /v/; KiSukuma /d, l/; and KiNyamweezi /l/. The results for KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi however, seem contradictory, since in both cases, the majority are regularly /z/, except for SiGalagaanza, whose regular reflex is /v/, like SiSuumbwa (F23a,b).

*Table 3.19 Reflexes, innovations, extraneous sounds and their possible sources, PB *du*

| Variety and unmarked form | Sound/Innovation (11) | | Possible source/comment |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------|----------------------------|
| | Regular | Irregular | |
| SiSiloombo // | v(3) | l(1), z(1) | Loan F21/F22, F42? |
| SiYoombe // | v(3) | z(1) | F21/F22 |
| KiLoongo // | z(4) | - | - |
| KimunaSukuma // | l(1), d(1) | z(7) | recent internal innovation |
| GinaNtuzu // | l(1) | z(7) | recent internal innovation |
| JinaKizya // | l(2), d(1) | z(7) | recent internal innovation |
| KiDakama // | l(3) | z(7) | recent internal innovation |
| KiNyanyembe // | l(2) | z(5), f(1) | recent internal innovation |
| KiKonoongo // | l(2) | z(5), l(1) | recent internal innovation |
| SiGalagaanza // | v(4)? | l(1)? | // from G42, /v/ from F23? |

The reasoning around this apparent contradiction is the same as for PB *-di above, especially with regard to -dito 'heavy' and -duta 'pull'. These words are both d-t or l-t, suggesting Dahl's Law. In fact, Dahl's Law did not apply to them to yield /-dito/ or /-duta/ because /-dito/ and /-duta/ were already well-formed. These words are also not attested in languages without DL. For instance, KiSwahili has /-zito/ by BS: PB *d →z / __*i. Since KiSwahili does not undergo DL, the original sound is *d rather than *t.

To begin with, irregular SiSuumbwa's /l/ occurs in η-guluβe 'pig' < PB *-gudube 'pig', a likely loan from KiSwahili, just as it is in KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi. Another likely loan is η-guzu 'strength' found in F21/F22. In F23a and F23b, it violates the regular change to /v/, showing that it is not native. Kahigi (1988:267-8) also lends support to this notion of regular /v/.

An argument for pervasive appearance of regular reflexes as /z/ in KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi is the strategy of homophony and polysemy avoidance mentioned above. This strategy seems to have been encouraged especially by borrowed BS features from loan words which proved useful in distinguishing meanings. Such a strategy is illustrated from the JinaKiIya example again where the presence of /d/ and /l/ is not in doubt. The phoneme /z/ appears mainly when it is necessary to disambiguate homophonous words, especially when those words are in the same lexical class. For instance, in (90), the two words/-dùmà/ as a verb to 'declare open enmity or opposition with someone' and as an adjective, 'big, huge,

large' are left alone without any modification because the chances of being ambiguous are reduced. They cannot co-occur in the same slot. When they are both verbs, as in /-dúúsá/ 'dig deeply' cf /lúúsá/ 'kick', the /d/ is dissimilated in the second word. There are few exceptions like /-lùmá/ 'leave abruptly with a great noise, like birds and cattle', and /-lùmá/ 'roar like a bull or thunder' < PB *-dum- 'roar, rumble', which are identical in everything, except meaning. The strategy of using a fricative instead of a stop is demonstrated in /-dúúmá/ 'fail' and /-zúúmá/ 'give a low, pleasant din, like that of a KĩSukuma single-stringed guitar, *ndono* (KĩSwahili *zexe*) used in $\beta\sigma z\omicron li$ (also known as $\beta\sigma y\sigma\theta li$) dance'

(90)

/-dúmá/ 'declare open enmity or opposition with someone'
 /-dùmá/ 'big, huge, large'
 /-dúúmá/ 'fail' cf /-zúúmá/ 'give a low, pleasant din, like that of a KĩSukuma single-stringed guitar, *ndono*'
 /-dúb θ lá/ 'uproot' (See Batibo 1992b:65) cf /-zú β lá/ 'fish out from water' < PB *-dub- 'fish'
 /-dúdúmá/ 'swell' /-lúlúmá/ 'roar, like a waterfall, or a big, boiling pot full of food'
 /-dúúsá/ 'dig deeply (a hole or metaphorically, pain)' cf /lúúsá/ 'kick',
 /-dúút(y)á/ 'make string, especially from cotton' cf /-lúútá/ 'throw something, especially at someone or something',
 /-dútá/ 'pull' < PB *-dút- 'pull' (no opposition, so word remains like PB)

(91)

/-lùmá/ 'leave abruptly with great a noise, like birds and cattle'
 /-lùmá/ 'roar, rumble like thunder, or a bull' < PB *-dum- 'roar, rumble'
 /-lùmá/ 'bite' < PB *-dóm- 'bite', cf /-zùmá/ 'curse' < PB *-dum- 'curse'

The irregular /z/ in KĩSukuma and KĩNyamweezi therefore is encouraged by many factors, including the internal motivation of dissimilating sounds in order to differentiate meaning, and

also palatalization. Loan words with BS encourage these internal processes even further, by regularizing most phonemes in that environment by analogy, even when there is no semantic motivation. This can be illustrated by causatives in F21 and F22 (KɪSukuma and KɪNyamwezi) which use $l \rightarrow z$ or $l \rightarrow j$ /_ɪ (i). Maybe, in F21/F22, PB * $l \rightarrow l$, but then, words from F23 (SiSuumbwa) arrived with PB * $l \rightarrow zj$. The F21/F22 speakers recognized the connection between zj and l as reflexes of PB * l , so they started to exploit it in pairs of words and in morphological derivations where it maybe joined with incipient palatalization. Only KiLoongo remains consistent with the /z/ reflexes, without borrowing /v/ from SiSuumbwa, as SiGalagaanza likely does. SiGalagaanza sometimes gives the impression that it belongs to SiSuumbwa with its /v/ reflexes of PB *-du, although the relatively consistent 7V system discounts that possibility.

3.2.1.1.9 -*ci

(92) PB *-cid- 'cease, be finished'

/-jila/ KɪmunaSukuma, JinaKɪɪya, KɪDakama

/-sila/ GɪnaNtuzu

- SiSuumbwa, KɪNyanyembe, KɪKonoongo, SiGalagaanza

(93) PB *-cikɔ 'day'

/lɔ-siku/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe

/lɔ-fikɔ/ KɪmunaSukuma, KɪDakama

/lɔ-sikɔ/ GɪnaNtuzu, KɪNyanyembe, KɪKonoongo

/lɔ-figɔ/ JinaKɪɪya

/n-sikɔ/ SiGalagaanza

- KiLoongo

(94) PB *-ciŋga 'long, straight hair, like those of animals or Europeans'

/ʊ-siŋga/ KɪNyanyeembe
/u-siŋga/ KɪKonoŋgo
/lʊ-siŋga/ SiGalagaanza
- SiSuumbwa, KɪSukuma, KɪDakama

(95) PB *-koci 'husband'

-
/ŋ-gooshi / KɪmunaSukuma, JinaKɪɪya
/ŋ-goosi/ GɪnaNtuzu
/mu-goosha/ KɪDakama
/mu-gooshi / KɪNyanyeembe
/mu-goosi / KɪKonoŋgo
- SiSuumbwa, SiGalagaanza

(96) PB *-ciŋg- 'rub'

/-fiŋg-/ JinaKɪɪya
- SiSuumbwa, KɪmunaSukuma, GɪnaNtuzu, KɪNyamweezi

The regular reflex of PB *ci in the majority of dialects is /si/, except for three dialects: KɪmunaSukuma, JinaKɪɪya and KɪDakama which go one step further by palatalizing /s/ to /ʃ/. Among this group of three, two, KɪmunaSukuma and JinaKɪɪya are consistent in a similar way with regard to the most frequent reflex of PB *di which is /j/, instead of the majority, including GɪnaNtuzu, /z/, which is similar to the SiSuumbwa and KɪNyamweezi reflexes, as compared in *Table 3.21*.

Table 3.20 Reflexes, innovations, extraneous sounds and their possible sources, PB *ci

| Variety and unmarked form | Sound/Innovation (5) | | Possible source/comment |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| | Regular | Irregular | |
| SiSiloombo /s/ | s (1) | - | - |
| SiYoombe /s/ | s(1) | - | - |
| KiLoongo /s/ | - | - | - |
| KImunaSukuma /s/ | ʃ(3) | - | - |
| GinaNtuzu /s/ | s(3) | - | - |
| JinaKiɪya /s/ | ʃ(4) | - | - |
| KiDakama /s/ | ʃ(3) | - | - |
| KiNyanyeembe /s/ | s(2) | ʃ(1) | F21 |
| KiKonoongo /s/ | s(3) | - | - |
| SiGalagaanza /s/ | s(2) | - | - |

From Table 3.21, KImunaSukuma and JinaKiɪya are palatal dialects, as is KiDakama to some extent in this context: PB *ci →/si/ →/ʃi/.

Table 3.21. Similarity of most frequent reflexes in SSN from PB *di and PB *ci

| Language/Dialect | Most frequent reflex of PB *di | Most frequent reflex of PB *ci |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| F21b, F22, F23 | z | s |
| F21a, F21c, F22b ⁵⁹ | ʃ | ʃ |

⁵⁹ KiDakama (F22b) looks more like KImunaSukuma (F21a) and JinaKiɪya (F21c) in the context of PB *ci only, indicating some pervasive influence, which can be areal or genetic. The picture in the reflexes of PB *di is like the rest F22 generally, being /z/, instead of /j/.

The irregular reflexes may have their origin from an outside dialect, as is the case of /f/ in KɪNyanyembe which is a likely inter-dialectal loan from F21a or F21c. The most difficult type of loan to detect is one which is well-formed, as if it is inherited directly from PB. For instance, /-siinga/ 'long hair', is confined to KɪNyamweezi only, excluding KɪDakama.

It is unlikely to be a native KɪNyamweezi word, especially when it is missing in KɪDakama, KɪSukuma and SiSuumbwa. In addition, its prefix /ʊ-/ or /u-/ is suspicious, since its class marker is supposed to be /ʈʊ-/ (singular) or /βʊ-/ (plural or mass), and the loss of [β] is marked in KɪNyamweezi. Its likely source may be KiSwahili /u-singa/ 'long hair'. On the other hand, the word suggests that KɪDakama is a possible member of KɪSukuma rather than KɪNyamweezi. This is true with regard to the division of socio-political entities during the colonial period in Tanzania⁶⁰.

⁶⁰ The 'tribal' boundaries which were also regarded as 'linguistic', often coincided with administrative borders like provinces, districts and wards, so that it was common to regard certain 'tribes' as occupying certain locations as if speech communities were as rigid and as relatively unchanging as physical features like mountains and valleys. For instance, many maps show that Tabora and Shinyanga Regions are occupied by the KɪNyamweezi and KɪSukuma speakers respectively, divided by the seasonal Manoonga River. But Manoonga River or any physical boundary anywhere in the world cannot be regarded strictly as a language boundary because of its porousness, as indicated by the common shared features between KɪSukuma and KɪDakama, the later being grouped as KɪNyamweezi. Because such labels carry immense socio-cultural and legal complications like ethnic identity and political territoriality, changing such perceptions is very difficult given the short period of 40 years since flag independence in 1961.

3.2.1.1.10 PB *-cu

(97) PB *-cuk 'pour'

/-fuka/ SiSiloombo

/-fuuka/ SiGalagaan

- SiYoombe, KiLoonggo, KiSukuma, KiDakama, KiNyanyeembe, KiKonoonggo

(98) PB *-cub 'urinate'

/-suβaala/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, KiMunaSukuma, JinaKiIya, KiNyamweezi

- KiLoonggo, GiNaNtuzu

The limited data in this word only emphasizes the affinity between SiGalagaan and SiSuumbwa, on the one hand, and the relatively regular reflex /s/ on the other. However, the lengthened form in SiGalagaan may imply something important, that the source of the word, and hence the phoneme, is external. It may be the lengthening found in KiSukuma, as a semantic strategy, indicating that the word itself is a loan from a BS language.

The almost uniform reflex of /-suβaala/ 'urinate' < PB *-cub- 'urinate' across the three languages is interesting in relation to SiSuumbwa. If that one word above is any indication, then, the expected morpheme would be -fubaala, rather than -suβaala, since /s/ is extraneous in SiSuumbwa in this context. Kahigi (1988:197) suggests that /t/ (and /v/) may be from Proto SiSuumbwa, because they cannot be traced back to any other segment since derived /t/ is from PB *pu, or some PB *tu and PB *ku. It can also be a loan from Cushitic -fug- 'to drain out' (Ehret, p.c.). What this means is that, /t/ may be a loan from other languages. All

in all, it would be unwise to draw conclusions based on two words. This also applies to PB *ju, with one word, and PB *ji with none.

3.2.1.1.11 PB *ki

(99) PB*ki- 'die'

/-ca/ KɪSukuma
- SiSuumbwa, KɪNyamweezi

(100) PB *-kind 'overcome'

/-kiinda/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, GɪnaNtuzu, JinaKɪɪya, KɪDakama, KɪNyanyeembe,
KɪKonooggo
(/-tiinda/) KɪmunaSukuma
/-kiinda, -siinda/ SiGalagaanza
- KɪLooggo

(101) PB *-yoki 'smoke'

/lyoonsi/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, SiGalagaanza
/lyoochi/ KɪSukuma, KɪDakama
/lyoŋki/ KɪNyanyeembe
/lyoki/ KɪKonooggo
- KɪLooggo

(102) PB *-kidi 'soot'

/ma-kili/ JinaKɪɪya, KɪNyamweezi
- SiSuumbwa, KɪmunaSukuma, GɪnaNtuzu

The regular reflexes are SiSuumbwa /s/, KɪSukuma /k/, and KɪNyamweezi /k/. The irregular reflexes in SiSuumbwa suggest borrowing from neighbours, possibly from KɪSukuma or

KtNyamweezi. On the other hand, KtSukuma gets its irregular reflexes by regular palatalization as an assimilatory process from the superclose /i/ to a vowel (or semi-vowel), as with /a/ in PB *-kia →-cia →cā 'die'. This assimilatory behaviour in KtSukuma suggests that, on its own, *i does not palatalize when it is followed by [-superclose] vowels, illustrated in (103).

Table 3.22 Reflexes, innovations, extraneous sounds and their possible sources, PB *ki

| Variety and unmarked form | Sound/Innovation (4) | | Possible source/comment |
|---------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| | Regular | Irregular | |
| SiSiloombo /k/ | /s/(1) | /k/(1) | F21/F22? |
| SiYoombe /k/ | /s/(1) | /k/(1) | F21/F22? |
| KiLoongo /k/ | - | - | - |
| KɪmunaSukuma /k/ | /k/(0) | /c/(2) | internal innovation? |
| GtɪnaNtuzu /k/ | /k/(1) | /c/(2) | internal innovation? |
| JinaKɪɪya /k/ | /k/(2) | /c/(2) | internal innovation? |
| KɪDakama /k/ | /k/(2) | /c/(1) | internal innovation? |
| KɪNyanyembe /k/ | /k/(3) | - | - |
| KɪKonoongo /k/ | /k/(3) | - | - |
| SiGalagaanza /k/ | /k/(2) | /s/(2) ⁶¹ | F23? |

Such a process is not BS. More examples are shown in (103) and (104), from JinaKɪɪya. (In JinaKɪɪya, the prefix {ki-} is regularly changed to {ji-}, regardless of phonetic context, as

⁶¹ Ambivalence of SiGalagaanza is shown by displaying both /kɪ/ and /sɪ/ in PB *-kind- 'overcome' /-kiinda, -siinda/, indicating an existence of two phonological systems because of having two lexical sources.

in the name of the dialect itself. JinaKIIya < GInaKIIya < KInaKIIya).

(103)

ki-alo → caalo 'village, country, land' < PB *-yado 'land'
ki-enjge → ceenje 'lamp'
ki-yoŋga → cŋŋga 'hoof'
ki-aŋjo → caaŋjo 'nest', < -anza < PB *-yaŋja 'spread something (vt)'
ki-yoβe → cooβe 'funnel'

(104)

-kiŋgilima 'at dawn'
-kilima 'erect poles on the sides of a house as walls' makilimo (noun) 'screening poles at sides of house used as wall'
-kiindagIla 'press something, like soil or grain to make it fit space properly'
-kiliifa 'smear, rub'
Nyaanŋgaki 'proper name, male'

SiSuumbwa does not spirantize when a loan is suggested, as in /-kiinda/ 'overcome'.

KINyamweezi is generally consistent by its regular /k/ reflexes, except SiGalagaanza which suggests great external influence, possibly by loans. Even the name of the language itself shows this in the prefix, which is changed from {ki} to {si}. The likely source of this influence is SiSuumbwa due to their synchronic proximity.

Another significant word which suggests the powerful former influence of SiSuumbwa on its neighbours is /ma-kili/ 'soot' < PB *-kidi 'soot', even if useful by negative evidence only. The word is not in SiSuumbwa usage. Significantly, the reflex /makili/ is retained even in varieties like SiGalagaanza and KINyanyeembe which display a flair for replacing the

KiNyamweezi forms with a SiSuumbwa lexeme when it is available in SiSuumbwa. The word for 'soot' in the 3 SiSuumbwa varieties is /muviila/ for SiSiloombo, /muvwiila/ for SiYoombe and /maviila/ for KiLoongo. What this suggests is that, when a word was found in SiSuumbwa, it easily replaced a similar lexeme in SiGalagaanza. If a word was not replaced in SiGalagaanza, then it was likely that that word was not in SiSuumbwa.

In KiMunaSukuma, /-tiinda/ 'overcome' suggests a regressive assimilatory gesture of the coronal /d/ which spreads its place feature to /k/, thus deleting it. It is not a productive process, since it occurs only in a few words.

A comparison can be made between PB *d/l, *c and *k reflexes in F21/F22b. The irregular reflexes show a pattern which indicates regular palatalization, shown in (105):

(105)

*l → z → j
*c → s → ʃ
*k → c

3.2.1.1.12 PB *-ku

(106) PB *-poku 'blind (person)'

/mu-hofu/ SiSuumbwa, KiDakama, KiKonoongo
/m-oku/ KiMunaSukuma, GiNaNtuzu
/m-boku/ JinaKiIya
/m-pofu/ KiNyanyeembe, SiGalagaanza

(107) PB *-kupa 'bone'

/i-gufwa/ SiSuumbwa

/i-guha/ KiMunaSukuma

/i-guha/ GiNaNtuzu, KiDakama, KiNyanyeembe, KiKonoongo

/i-guha/ JinaKiIya/

/i-fupa/ SiGalagaanza

(108) PB *-kuba 'chest'

/si-fuβa/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, SiGalagaanza

/ci-fuβa/ KiLoongo

/fi-kuβa/ KiMunaSukuma

/gi-kuβa/ GiNaNtuzu

/ji-kuβa/ JinaKiIya

/ki-kuβa/ KiDakama, KiNyanyeembe

/ki-kuβa/ KiKonoongo

(109) PB *-kundo 'knot'

/i-guundo/ SiYoombe, KiDakama, KiMunaSukuma, KiNyanyeembe

/i-fuundo/ KiLoongo, SiGalagaanza

/i-guundo/ GiNaNtuzu, JinaKiIya

- SiSiloombo, KiKonoongo

(110) PB *-kuta 'oil'

/ma-futa/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, KiNyanyeembe, SiGalagaanza

/ma-zuta/ KiLoongo

/ma-guta/ KiSukuma, KiDakama, KiKonoongo

(111) PB *-kun(d)ɔd- 'uncover'

/-fuundukula/ SiSiloombo

/-fuundɔkɔla/ SiYoombe

/-kuundɔla/ KiMunaSukuma, JinaKiIya, KiDakama

/-kundɔla/ GiNaNtuzu

/-kundɔkɔla/ KiNyanyeembe, KiKonoongo

Table 3.23 Reflexes, innovations, extraneous sounds and their possible sources, PB *ku

| Variety and unmarked form | Sound/Innovation (6) | | Possible source/comment |
|---------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| | Regular | Irregular | |
| SiSiloombo /k/ | /f/ (4) | /g/ (1) | F21/F22? (DL) |
| SiYoombe /k/ | /f/(4) | /g/(2) | F21/F22? (DL) |
| KiLoongo /k/ | /f/(3) | /z/(1), /g/(1) | F21/F22? (DL) |
| KɪmunaSukuma /k/ | /k/(3) | /g/(3) | DL |
| GɪnaNtuzu /k/ | /k/(3) | /g/(3) | DL |
| JinaKɪɪya /k/ | /k/(3) | /g/(3) | DL |
| KɪDakama /k/ | /k/(3) | /g/(3) | DL |
| KɪNyanyeembe /k/ | /k/(2) | /f/(2), /g/(2) | F23? |
| KɪKonoongo /k/ | /k/(2) | /f/(1), /l/(1), /g/(2) | DL, F23? |
| SiGalagaanza /k/ | /k/(0) | /f/(5), /v/(1) | F23? |

From Table 3.23, the reflexes are F23 /f/; F21 and F22 /k/. This environment is one clear indication that Ktsukuma does not spirantize, unless a loan word is involved. When there is an irregular form, it is a voiced counterpart of /ku/, the /gu/, which is a result of Dahl's Law (DL). It is this form which makes /ma-zuta/ in KiLoongo, from PB *-kuta 'oil'⁶².

On the other hand, KɪNyamweezi sometimes shows the effects of Dahl's Law. The absence of the process in a word like PB *-poku, which is realized as /-pofu/ or /-hofu/, suggests two

⁶² PB *gu > zu is treated in more detail while dealing with PB *gu in 3.2.1.1.1-4

things. First, the two forms suggest a loan word from a language without Dahl's Law, which makes the form unlike that in KiSukuma. Secondly, DL may not be part of KiNyamweezi⁶⁴. In this case, the word for 'blind' in KiNyamweezi has two phonological features which are extraneous: absence of Dahl's Law as in SiSuumbwa, and spirantization of /k/ in front of *u to /tʃ/, which is also a regular SiSuumbwa feature (Nurse 1979b:462, Kahigi 1988:257). The presence of /tʃ/ in KiNyamweezi suggests SiSuumbwa's influence which is observed even in KiKiambu, possibly through KiNyamweezi, where the word is /mpofu/.

Another interesting word is PB *-kupa 'bone'. Two processes are interesting in this word: SiSuumbwa shows extraneous Dahl's Law which seems to have operated first and blocked any regular spirantization to /tʃ/ when /k/ became voiced. Neighbouring SiGalagaanza, regularizes /k/ before *u to /tʃ/ under presumably SiSuumbwa influence, but retains /p/ instead of changing it to /h/ as in the other varieties. The *p > h process (glottalization) is regular in SiSuumbwa, and it might have been blocked in the word, since it might be a loan from elsewhere where PB *pa > fa. SiGalagaanza might have obtained the morpheme {ifupa} 'bone' from elsewhere too, possibly from KiSwahili /mfupa/. Such a form is found neither in KiNyamweezi nor in SiSuumbwa. For both SiGalagaanza and SiSuumbwa, the word seems to be a loan. However, not every word with DL in SiSuumbwa (F23a/b) and KiLoongo (F23c) is automatically a loan, since most J languages have traces of DL, as in PB

⁶⁴ A discussion of DL is found in section 3.2.2. Mention here is made because of the contrast between F21 and F22 in the way they show their irregular reflexes.

*-kut- 'be satiated' → /-gut-/ or PB *-kuta 'oil' → /mazuta/, /majuta/, /mavuta/.

In PB *-kuba/ 'chest', only SiGalagaanza has a form which is identical to that of SiSuumbwa, /si-fuβa/. But as pointed out above, the SiGalagaanza vowel system is 7V, and this makes any genetic affiliation suspect, despite the similarity. In addition, the data show a one-way influence, SiSuumbwa affecting SiGalagaanza more, indicating that, either some SiGalagaanza speakers have SiSuumbwa origins, or the SiSuumbwa influence on SiGalagaanza is simply more far-reaching.

Some of the irregularities in the reflexes are not clear. For instance, it is difficult to know why in SSN it is *k → g, in PB *-kundo → /-gundo/ 'knot', except in KiLoongo and SiGalagaanza (-fuundo). It appears nevertheless to be an SSN innovation. With these caveats, it is clear enough that SiYoombe's form is a likely loan from KiSukuma or KiNyamweezi, while SiGalagaanza's /-fuundo/ form suggests a SiSuumbwa origin.

3.2.1.1.13 PB *-gi

(112) PB *-dogi 'magic', 'sorcerer', 'witchcraft'

/bu-lozi/, /mu-lozi/, /βσ-lozi/ SiSiloombo, SiYoombe
/βu-logi/, /mu-logi/, /βσ-logi/ KiLoongo
/βσ-logi/, /nogi/, /βσ-logi/ KiSukuma
/βσ-logi/, /mu-logi/, /βσ-logi/ KiDakama
/σ-lozi/, /mu-lozi/, /wσ-lozi/ KiNyanyeembe
/u-logi/, /mu-logi/, /σ-logi/ KiKonoongo
/βσ-logi/, /mu-lozi/, /βσ-lozi/ SiGalagaanza

Although only one word was available here, the regular reflex of KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi remains /g/, supporting earlier patterns. This reflex includes KiLoonḡo, which departs from its usual BS forms, implying a loan from KɪSukuma or other non-BS languages. SiSuumbwa's F23a and F23b are consistently regular with /z^{h4}. Only SiGalagaan̄a and KɪNyanyeembe show an affinity with SiSuumbwa, the former being identical with SiSuumbwa, while the ambiguity of SiGalagaan̄a's linguistic membership shows in /βɔlogi/ 'magic'.

3.2.1.1.14 PB *-gu

(113) PB *-jogu 'elephant'

| | |
|-----------|--|
| /n-zovu/ | SiSiloombo, SiYoombe, KɪNyanyeembe, SiGalagaan̄a |
| /en-zozu/ | KiLoonḡo |
| /n-zoβu/ | KɪKonoonḡo |
| - | KɪSukuma, KɪDakama |

(114) PB *-gund- 'be high (of meat), rot'

| | |
|-----------|--|
| /-vuunda/ | SiSiloombo, SiYoombe |
| /-zuunda/ | KiLoonḡo |
| /-guunda/ | GɪnaNtuzu, JinaKɪɪya, KɪNyanyeembe, KɪKonoonḡo |
| - | KɪmunaSukuma, KɪDakama, SiGalagaan̄a |

Like the examples with PB *-gi above, the reflexes of PB *-gu show the clear divide between SiSuumbwa on the one hand, and KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi on the other, despite the lack

⁶⁴ The case of regular voiceless JinaKɪɪya prefixes voicing is unique in F21/F22, as in the name of the dialect itself: kɪ → gɪ → gi → ji

of sufficient data. SiSuumbwa (F23a, b) shows PB *gu > /vu/, KiLoongo /zu/ and KiSukuma/KiNyamweezi /gu/. This assumption of regular reflexes fits the general pattern of BS in F23 shown in other phonemes, or the lack thereof in F21/F22.

*Table 3.24 Reflexes, innovations, extraneous sounds and their possible sources, PB *gu*

| Variety and unmarked form | Sound/Innovation (2) | | Possible source/comment |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| | Regular | Irregular | |
| SiSiloombo /g/ | /v/(2) | - | - |
| SiYoombe /g/ | /v/(2) | - | - |
| KiLoongo /g/ | /z/(2) | - | - |
| KimunaSukuma /g/ | /g/(0) | - | - |
| GinaNtuzu /g/ | /g/(1) | - | - |
| JinaKitya /g/ | /g/(1) | - | - |
| KiDakama /g/ | /g/(0) | - | - |
| KiNyanyeembe /g/ | /g/(1) | /v/(1) | F23 |
| KiKonoongo /g/ | /g/(1) | /β/(1) | F23? |
| SiGalagaanza /g/ | /g/(0) | /v/(1) | F23 |

Kahigi (1988) gives data which support the above regular patterns, as shown in (115):

(115)

| <i>PB and gloss</i> | <i>SiSuumbwa</i> | <i>KΣSukuma</i> |
|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| *-gubɔ 'hippopotamus' | -vuβu | -guβɔ |
| *-gido 'taboo' | -zilo | -gilo |
| *-bido 'soot' | -viila | -βilo |
| *-takun- 'chew' | -tafunā | -dakuna |

From the general patterns observed above, the following groups can be regarded as related, genetically or areally. The sometimes ambiguous status of SiGalagaanā is indicated by two entries in both the SiSuumbwa and KɪNyamweezi traditional groups, illustrated in (116). SiSiloombo, SiYoombe and KiLoongo are core BS dialects in SSN, forming a group of their own. However, KiLoongo departs from SiSiloombo and SiYoombe in a consistent way making it a different entity. The BS features in the rest of SSN appear to be from SiSiloombo, SiYoombe and KiLoongo as nearest neighbours, and therefore as likely sources, rather than as a given fact.

(116)

| | | | |
|--|--|----------|---|
| KɪNyanyeembe KɪKonoorngo SiGalagaanā? ←? → | SiSiloombo SiYoombe SiGalagaanā? | KiLoongo | KɪmunaSukuma GinaNtuzu JinaKɪtiya KɪDakama |
|--|--|----------|---|

In addition, the data continue to support the contention that SiGalagaanā may either be part of SiSuumbwa, or is part of KɪNyamweezi, but is heavily influenced by SiSuumbwa because

of the irregularity of PB *gu > /vu/, instead of KiNyamweezi's PB *gu > /gu/. A similar question can be asked: does KiLoongo really belong with SiSuumbwa if it is so consistently different? Or, how many maximal differences can be allowed to qualify two or more varieties to belong to one genetic linguistic group? These questions are attempted in section 3.2.1.2 by tabulating the general reflexes of SSN in the Ca, Ci and Cu environments, where C is any of the 8 target stops dealt with above.

3.2.1.2. BS in SiSuumbwa, KzSukuma and KzNyamweezi: Summary.

The tables below examine the reflexes in the various SSN dialects. What is noted is that, the greater frequency of reflexes does not automatically suggest regular change in language. Compared to majority counts, regular changes may be minority cases for many reasons. These regular reflexes can be recovered only by comparing the data in the other phonemes. In some cases, the native reflexes are lost, and without careful examination in other environments, inaccurate conclusions may be drawn.

Where a process like Dahl's Law is in operation, a reflex of a phoneme like PB *p being /β/ or /b/ in SSN is counted as /p/, since this change is regular and predictable, presupposing a dissimilated /p/. Hence the /βa/ or /ba/ proves the active presence of /p/ in that context at the same time. This applies to the PB *Ci and *Cu contexts as well in other phonemes where DL is relevant. In addition, most of the tables are self-explanatory because of the descriptions in one table applying to the others as well. The aim is to display patterns which have already

been discussed in the previous section in specific examples of PB reflexes in context. Due to limited cases per phoneme per environment, the tables have included all irregular and idiosyncratic instances. A rigorous sifting was not done from the beginning, although higher frequencies indicate probable regular reflexes, highlighting the dubiousness of the irregular occurrences.

Table 3.25 Bantu Spirantization in SiSuumbwa, KɪSukuma and KɪNyamwezi *p

| Environment Dialect | PB *pa (60 cases) | PB *pi (6 cases) | PB *pu (9 cases) |
|---|---|--|--|
| SiSiloombo SiYoombe KiLoongo | h(16), p(9), f(2) h(20), p(9), f(2) h(20), p(6), f(1) | h(2), p(1), f(1) h(2), p(1), f(1) h(3), s(1), f(1) | f(3) f(3) f(1), h(1) |
| KɪmunaSukuma GɪnaNtuzu JinaKɪɪya | h(19), p(9) h(16), p(11) h(19), p(15) | f(2), h(2), p(1) s(2), p(1), f(1) f(3), p(1) | f(3), h(1) f(3), s(1), p(1) f(6), h(1) |
| KɪDakama KɪNyanyeembe KɪKonoongo SiGalagaan̄za | h(16), p(9) h(12), p(12) h(12), p(13) h(13), p(15) | f(2), p(1), f(1) f(3), p(1), s(1) s(2), p(1), f(1) f(3), p(1) | f(4), h(1) f(4), h(1), p(1) f(5), h(1), s(1) f(4) |

An important aspect to note in Table 3.25 is the absence of homorganic fricatives in some of SiSuumbwa's reflexes in superclose contexts if it is claimed that the language has BS. For instance, some PB *pi change to /hi/. A plausible explanation here is the effect of chronology in phonological processes. Glottalization seems to have occurred before BS in SiSuumbwa,

resulting in blocking BS due to the bleeding effect of glottalization⁶⁵. Those words with /t/ might have been borrowed later. In KɪSukuma and KɪNyamwezi the picture is that of mixed reflexes, just as it is in SiSuumbwa, reflecting a possible multiplicity of vocabulary sources (Batibo 2000:25).

Table 3.26 Bantu Spirantization in SiSuumbwa, KɪSukuma and KɪNyamwezi PB *b

| <i>Environment</i> → <i>Dialect 1</i> | <i>PB *ba</i> (52 cases) | <i>PB *bi</i> (7 cases) | <i>PB *bu</i> (2 cases) |
|--|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| SiSiloombo | β(13), b(8) | v(3), β(1) | v(2) |
| SiYoombe | β(21), b(3) | v(3) | v(2) |
| KiLoongo | β(19) | z(2), β(1) | z(1) |
| KɪmunaSukuma | β(25) | β(5), f(1) | β(1) |
| GɪnaNtuzu | β(23) | β(5), f(1) | β(1) |
| JinaKɪɪya | β(31), b(2) | β(4), f(1) | β(1) |
| KɪDakama | β(24) | β(4), f̄(1) | β(1) |
| KɪNyanyembe | β(25), b(1) | β(3), v(1) | - |
| KɪKonoongo | β(26) | β(3), v(1) | w(1) |
| SiGalagaanza | β(27) | v(2), β(1), z(1) | v(2) |

Because PB *b is not affected by glottalization, the difference between /Ca/ on the one hand, and /Ci/ and /Cu/ on the other is apparent in SiSuumbwa, and to some extent in SiGalagaanza. Any double reflex suggests interference from other phonological systems. Like the reflexes in PB *p, the reflexes of *b as /b/ or /β/ can be treated as a realization of the same quality,

⁶⁵ See Batibo (2000:24-25) for a discussion of glottalization in SSN.

and the count is made accordingly. Ambiguous reflexes of PB *b include /w/ and /y/ which can be interpreted as phonological strategies of PB *b (weakening /β/ or loss /Ø/), rather than being different phonemes. In this context therefore, /b/ and /β/ are treated separately, especially because in JinaKItiya they are phonemic, whereas the /β/ in PB *p is often determined by phonetic context, and therefore a diachronic reflex of PB *p.

*Table 3.27 Bantu Spirantization in SiSumbwa, KɔSukuma and KɔNyumvezi PB *t*

| Environment ➔ Dialect ↓ | PB *ta (65 cases) | PB *ti (16 cases) | PB *tu (16 cases) |
|--|----------------------------------|--|--|
| SiSiloombo SiYoombe KiLoongo | t(25) t(29) t(23) | s(5), t(1) s(6), t(3) s(3), t(3) | s(1), t(1) s(2) s(1), c(1) |
| KɔmunaSukuma GɔnaNtuzu JinaKItiya | t(26) t(22) t(33) | t(7), f(2), c(2) t(8), s(4) t(8), f(2), c(2), s(1) | t(6), s(3) t(9), s(1) t(9), s(3) |
| KɔDakama KɔNyanyeembe KɔKonoongo SiGalagaanza | t(26) t(27) t(26) t(36) | t(5), f(4), c(2) t(7), s(5) t(7), s(5) s(6), t(4) | t(5), s(3) t(5), s(3) t(6), t(3) t(4), s(2), f(1) |

Table 3.28 Bantu Spirantization in SiSuumbwa, KɛSukuma and KɛNyamwezi PB *d

| <i>Environment</i> ➔ <i>Dialect</i> : | <i>PB *da</i> (171 cases) | <i>PB *di</i> (35 cases) | <i>PB *du</i> (20 cases) |
|---|--|--|--|
| SiSiloombo SiYoombe KiLoongo | l(75), t(1) l(75) l(63), t(1) | z(12), l(2) z(11), l(2) z(11), l(2) | v(3), l(2), z(2) v(3), z(2), l(1) z(5), l(1) |
| KɪmunaSukuma GɪnaNtuzu JinaKɪɪya | l(86) l(84) l(123) | j(10), l(6), d(1) z(6), l(6), j(2), d(1) l(12), j(8), d(1) | z(7), l(3), d(1) z(8), l(2) z(11), l(4), d(1) |
| KɪDakama KɪNyanyembe KɪKonoongo SiGalagaanza | l(78), d(1) l(71), d(1), t(1) l(90), d(1), t(1) l(79), d(1), t(1) | z(10), l(5) z(10), l(3) z(10), l(4) z(14), l(3) | z(8), l(5) z(5), l(4) z(6), l(4) v(4), l(3) |

Table 3.29 Bantu Spirantization in SiSuumbwa, KɛSukuma and KɛNyamwezi PB *c

| <i>Environment</i> ➔ <i>Dialect</i> : | <i>PB ca*</i> (35 cases) | <i>PB *ci</i> (9 cases) | <i>PB *cu</i> (8 cases) |
|---|---|--|------------------------------------|
| SiSiloombo SiYoombe KiLoongo | s(9), c(1) s(10), c(1) s(8) | s(4) s(3) - | s(1), f(1) s(1) - |
| KɪmunaSukuma GɪnaNtuzu JinaKɪɪya | s(16), c(1) s(12) s(21), c(1) | f(4), j(1) s(3), f(2), z(1) f(5), j(1) | s(1) - s(1) |
| KɪDakama KɪNyanyembe KɪKonoongo SiGalagaanza | s(12), c(1) s(11) s(11) s(9), c(1) | f(4), z(1) f(2), s(2), z(1) s(4), z(1) s(3) | s(1) s(1) s(1) s(1), f(1) |

Table 3.30 Bantu Spirantization in SiSuumbwa, KɪSukuma and KɪNyamwezi PB *j

| <i>Environment</i> ➡ <i>Dialect 1</i> | <i>PB *jV</i> (24 cases) | <i>PB *i</i> (0 cases) | <i>PB *ii</i> (0 cases) |
|---|--|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| SiSiloombo SiYoombe KiLoonggo | z(10) z (9) z (7) | - | - |
| KɪmunaSukuma GɪnaNtuzu JinaKɪɪya | z (9), ly(1), j(1) z (8), ly(2) z(11), ly(3), j(1) | - | - |
| KɪDakama KɪNyanyeembe KɪKonoonggo SiGalagaanza | z(8), j(1) z(8), ly(1) z(9), ly(2) z(9), ly(2) | - | - |

Table 3.31 Bantu Spirantization in SiSuumbwa, KɪSukuma and KɪNyamwezi PB *k

| <i>Environment</i> ➡ <i>Dialect 1</i> | <i>PB *ka</i> (94 cases) | <i>PB *ki</i> (5 cases) | <i>PB *ku</i> (11 cases) |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|--|
| SiSiloombo SiYoombe KiLoonggo | k(41) k(44), h(1) k(41), h(1) | s(1), k(1) s(1), k(1) s(1) | f(3), k(1) f(3), k(2) f(3), k(3) |
| KɪmunaSukuma GɪnaNtuzu JinaKɪɪya | k(39) k(39) k(60) | c(2), k(1) c(2), k(2) k(3), c(2) | k(8) k(7) k(7) |
| KɪDakama KɪNyanyeembe KɪKonoonggo SiGalagaanza | k(38) k(41) k(46) k(50) | k(2), c(1) k(3) k(3) k(2), s(2) ⁶⁶ | k(6), f(1) k(3), f(2) k(3), f(2) f(5) |

⁶⁶ In SiGalagaanza, PB *-kind- 'overcome' is both /-kɪnda/ and /-sɪnda/

Table 3.32 Bantu Spirantization in SiSuumbwa, KZSukuma and KtNyamwezi PB *g

| <i>Environment Dialect 1</i> | <i>PB * (43 cases)</i> | <i>PB *i (1 or 3 cases?)</i> | <i>PB *u (2 cases)</i> |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| SiSiloombo | g(17) | z(3) ⁶⁷ | v(2) |
| SiYoombe | g(18) | z(3) | v(2) |
| KiLoongo | g(15) | g(3) | z(2) |
| KImunaSukuma | g(26) | g(3) | - |
| GinaNtuzu | g(19) | g(3) | g(1) |
| JinaKitya | g(31) | g(3) | g(1) |
| KiDakama | g(16) | g(3) | - |
| KiNyanyeembe | g(22) | g(3) | g(1), v(1) |
| KiKonoongo | g(23) | g(3) | g(1), β(1) |
| SiGalagaanza | g(21) | z(2), g(1) | v(1) |

The above tables include all the eligible cases, and they confirm the divisions of SSN reached in (116). While KiLoongo continues to be unique within F23, especially by having /z/ where F23a,b have /v/, SiGalagaanza displays a difference within F22 by resembling F23 in many reflexes. But as Kahigi (op.cit) points out, frequency of occurrence on its own is not a measure of genetic cohesion. The double reflexes in this group especially make even the small amount of data count. Although sometimes absent or even contradictory in some cases, as in the case of SiGalagaanza displaying more BS examples than non-BS, these bits of data fit the general pattern as part of the bigger picture. One of the major reason of such extraneous similarity is contact, facilitated by other factors in which speech communities of those

⁶⁷ The words used here were 'magic', 'witchcraft' and 'witch', which in Proto Bantu are expressed by one concept, *-dogi. It may be taken as one word or three depending on whether form or content is central. For the sake of SiGalagaanza, three words are preferable for capturing the double reflexes.

languages operate, such as the sociolinguistic. On the other hand, BS is only one measure. Dahl's Law in SSN may present yet another picture before the combined effect of 7 > 5, BS and DL are assessed.

3.2.2. Dahl's Law in KɪSukuma, KɪNyamweezi and SiSuumbwa

As pointed out above, in the general section, Dahl's Law is a dissimilatory process in some eastern Bantu languages whereby a sequence of two voiceless obstruents, usually stops, in consecutive syllables in a word, voices the first. The process is active only in KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi, while in SiSuumbwa it does not occur except in loanwords or in residual words, as is the case of DJ and EJ languages with whom SiSuumbwa possesses a close relationship.

3.2.2.1. Dahl's Law in KɪSukuma

The process of Dahl's Law in KɪmunaSukuma follows the classic pattern of voicing the first of two consecutive voiceless stop segments. While JinaKɪɪya behaves classically to a point, it dissimilates differently when other non-stop voiceless segments are involved, mainly fricatives like /s/ and /ʃ/. On the other hand, GɪnaNtuzu behaves sometimes like KɪmunaSukuma, and at other times like JinaKɪɪya, as shown in (117) and (118) for KɪmunaSukuma, GɪnaNtuzu and JinaKɪɪya respectively, while all three show their individual differences as well:

(117)

| <i>KimunaSukuma</i> | <i>GinaNtuzu</i> | <i>JinaKitya</i> | <i>Proto Bantu</i> |
|---------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| ki-dikɔ | gi-dikɔ | ji-dikɔ | < *-tikɔ 'rainy season' |
| ma-dete, | ma-dete | ma-dete | < *-tete 'reeds' |
| kɔ-βɪta | gɔ-βɪta | gɔ-βɪta | < *-pɪt- 'pass' |
| βɔ-jikɔ | βɔ-zikɔ | βɔ-jikɔ | < *-tikɔ 'night' ? |
| kɔ-geeha | gɔ-geeha | gɔ-geeha | < *-keep- 'diminish, grow less' |

The examples in (117) display the classic dissimilation of Dahl's Law. The only difference is the regular infinitive *kɔ- change to /gɔ-/ in *GinaNtuzu* and *JinaKitya* on the one hand, and the /j/ vs /z/, or /ʃ/ and /s/ on the other, displayed by *KimunaSukuma* and *JinaKitya* together, and *GinaNtuzu* alone, shown also in (118).

(118)

| <i>KimunaSukuma</i> | <i>GinaNtuzu</i> | <i>JinaKitya</i> | <i>Proto Bantu</i> |
|---------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| kɔ-fika | gɔ-sika | gɔ-ʃga | < *-pik- 'arrive' |
| ɪɔ-fikɔ | ɪɔ-sikɔ | ɪɔ-ʃgɔ | < *-tikɔ 'day' |
| kɔ-seka | gɔ-seka | gɔ-sega | < *-cek- 'laugh' |
| kɔ-gesa | gɔ-gesa | gɔ-gesa | < *-kec- 'harvest, reap' |
| sato | sato | sado | < *-cato 'python' |
| i-saka | i-saka | ɪ-saga | < *-caka 'thicket, bush' |

3.2.2.1.1 Dahl's Law in KɪmunaSukuma

In KɪmunaSukuma, the process does not need much comment since it has the default mechanism of voicing the first of the two consecutive voiceless stops. If the first syllable contains no stop, then DL becomes unnecessary. Out of the 44 words shown in *Table 3.6*, only 6 or 14% do not undergo Dahl's Law. These words are indicated in (119), and they have one thing in common: the initial syllable is a fricative synchronically, while only one voiceless stop consonant occupies the second syllable slot. The phoneme /h/ in haṅṅ 'place' <*-pantʉ, also shows its true membership, since it is this phoneme only which does not undergo Dahl's Law even in JinaKɪya, as shown in (119) below, indicating that it does not have stop qualities necessitating dissimilation:

- (119) kʉ-jika 'arrive' <*-pik-; lʉ-jikʉ <*-tikʉ 'day'; kʉ-seka <*-cek- 'laugh'; haṅṅ 'place' <*-pantʉ; sato 'python' <*-cato; i-saka 'thicket, bush' <*-caka.

While KɪmunaSukuma shows the unmarked form of Dahl's Law, JinaKɪya is located on the extreme end of the law's spectrum. The scenario in KɪmunaSukuma in which DL does not operate when a fricative is syllable-initial indicates that the change of *p → f, h and *c → s is a total deletion of the CPlace and manner features of *p and *c respectively. The resulting fricatives found synchronically in KɪmunaSukuma are treated as new phonemes rather than stop derivatives when they occupy the first syllable slot. Another, more plausible and simpler explanation indicates that KɪmunaSukuma requires an initial stop only in order to trigger DL. When a stop is root-initial, the synchronic fricatives in second syllable position trigger DL,

as shown in (120). When /s/ or /ʃ/ are initial, as in (119), then no DL occurs because there is no target /p, t, k/ as default triggers.

(120)

/-gesa/ < PB *-kec- 'harvest'

/-guusa/ < PB *-kuc- 'rub'

(121)

/-βisa/ (Lenition) < *-bisa (DL) < PB *-pic 'hide'

/-βasa/ (Lenition) < *-basa (DL) < PB *paca 'twin'

When (119) only is used, the words seem to indicate that when Dahl's Law started the /ʃ/ and /s/ were already established as independent phonemes in KImunaSukuma. If Dahl's Law had applied much earlier, the fricatives would not show up in those words, and regular DL would operate. For instance, PB *-caka would be /i-jaga/ in KImunaSukuma rather than /i-saka/. The earlier occurrence of palatalization or *b and *c lenition is not convincing, since it is contradicted when (120) and (121) are compared with (119). A better explanation is that the words failing to undergo DL like those in (119) are affected by the bleeding effect of a preceding process like palatalization. When the dialects diverged, DL began to operate differently. This difference of DL operation suggests a long period of separation between KImunaSukuma and JinaKIya for the two to treat the same words differently with regard to Dahl's Law.

In (121), chronology indicates that Dahl's Law started, and then PB *c and *b lenition

followed as a regular reflex: PB *p → b → β. The process is not *p → β because /b/ remains unaccounted for. Because of this chronology, it is important to distinguish the operation of Dahl's Law and lenition in /-βisa/ and /-βasa/. The /β/ is from /b/ rather than directly from /p/.

3.2.2.1.2 Dahl's Law in JinaKIIya

Of the 51 words, 49 undergo Dahl's Law in JinaKIIya. Because of this high number of cases undergoing the process, there are two things to note. Firstly, JinaKIIya dissimilates classically like KImunaSukuma. But in JinaKIIya, if one of the voiceless segments is not a stop, then the stop is voiced, regardless of its second position. Secondly, JinaKIIya also consistently voices all prefixes with voiceless stops as a morphologized feature, like the infinitive marker *ku-*.

(122)

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|--------|---------|--------|---|----|-----|--------|---------|--------|
| na | to | ko | pep | a | → | na | do | go | bep | a |
| 1s | neg | 2s | mislead | suffix | | 1s | neg | 2s | mislead | suffix |
| to | ti | naa | kop | a | → | do | di | naa | gop | a |
| 1p | neg | pres | borrow | suffix | | 1p | neg | pres | borrow | suffix |
| βa | ta | laa | laal | a | → | βa | da | laa | laal | a |
| 3p | neg | futfar | sleep | suffix | | 3p | neg | futfar | sleep | suffix |

nato_{ku}pepa → nadogobepa 'I will not mislead you'
 tot_{ku}naakopa → dod_{ku}naagopa 'We have not borrowed'
 βata_{ku}laalaala → βada_{ku}laalaala 'They will never sleep'

Other morphemes which have been morphologized are the second person $t\sigma$ - which becomes $d\sigma$ - and negative marker $-ta$ - or $-t\iota$ -, which become $-da$ - or $-d\iota$ -as permanent features. This point is illustrated well with the examples in (118) and (122).

The exceptions to Dahl's Law in *JinaKɪɪya* are two out of 51 words, the percentage of occurrence of Dahl's Law being 96%. These two exceptional words are:

(123)

haaŋɔ 'place' < *-pantɔ
sɔha 'calabash' < *-cɔpa

These two words raise one question: why only these two out of 51? The answer strongly suggests a semantic strategy where homophonous words are dissimilated phonologically to avoid polysemy.

(124)

PB *cɔpá 'jar, calabash bottle'

jɔbá 'bottle' < KiSwahili cupa 'bottle'
sɔhá 'calabash'

-sɔbá 'worry, hesitate'

-jɔbá 'walk or run in rain, soaked in water'

-sɔbɪlá 'dip a bolus of food in (meat) soup'

PB *-pantɔ 'place'

haaŋɔ 'place'

βaaŋɔ 'people'

The dissimilated words can be minimal pairs except for one element, in this case, the change of a stop to /h/. Other devices are used, including tonal distinction and borrowing. Speech context is also used where the strategies are exhausted and two words remain identical. The words in (124, 126) are all extant in JinaKIIya, indicating that the semantic strategy is aided greatly by borrowing. In this sense, glottalization offers a rich source of new vocabulary. These words are not purely minimal pairs, but they suggest the parallel presence of /h/ and /p/ or /b/ as an indication of interference from another phonological system. Although /h/ is a fricative, like /s/ or /ʃ/, it does not trigger DL even in JinaKIIya. This explains why there is no DL in PB *pantʊ 'place'. In JinaKIIya, the word for 'place', haʌŋʊ, is also haleβe. DL applying to PB *pantʊ would have given /bantʊ/ where βaʌŋʊ 'place' would be homophonous with βaʌŋʊ 'people'. Where there is homophony, there is almost always a way of avoiding it, including the failure of a law like DL to operate, or borrowing.

3.2.2.1.3 Dahl's Law in GɪnaNtuzu

GɪnaNtuzu occupies a middle position in that it behaves like KɪmunaSukuma in some respects and like JinaKIIya in others, while a third pattern is established by its own unique features. It undergoes the process by 39 out of 45 words, or 87%, while KɪmunaSukuma is 86% or 38 out of 44 words. This places them on the same node for Dahl's Law, since even the 6 divergent words in GɪnaNtuzu are exactly the same as in (119) above. For instance, GɪnaNtuzu's Dahl's Law does not respond to fricative sounds like /s/, as in /isaka/ 'thicket, bush', which is like KɪmunaSukuma /isaka/. On the other hand, GɪnaNtuzu has generally

morphologized the infinitive marker *kØ-* to *gØ-* like JinaKIIya as illustrated in (122). Can this have been a borrowed feature from Southern Nilotic, where in that language group, *k > g (Ehret 1971:100)? This strengthens the notion of centre and periphery since in this case the populations speaking JinaKIIya and KImunaSukuma are bigger than those speaking GInaNtuzu. These big populations create around themselves larger protective peripheries or shells⁶⁸ which ensure that the core remains relatively intact during contact with other varieties, including inter-dialectal contact.

Using the linguistic tree metaphor for the three dialects of KISukuma, JinaKIIya would be farthest from the root of proto KISukuma, because of the more far-reaching changes of Dahl's Law from the version of the law that affects /p, t, k/ only. GInaNtuzu would follow as a more conservative version, while KImunaSukuma is the most conservative of the three.

3.2.2.2. Dahl's Law in KINyamweezi

In KINyamweezi the rule is described as an almost exceptionless root structure condition in which, when two adjacent syllables in a stem both start with a voiceless plosive, the first one becomes voiced (Maganga and Schadeberg 1992:23). The syllable structure of a root with two adjacent voiceless consonants is not found synchronically in KINyamweezi because of this root structure condition. When either two of the following are in adjacent syllables, the

⁶⁸ This metaphor of 'shells' protecting the inner centre was brought to my attention and illustrated by Nurse as an appropriate inference (p.c)

first must be voiced: /p, t, k, f, h, mh (m), nh (n), ŋh (ŋ)/ where either one occupies C₁ or C₂, with the following structure: C₁V(V)C₂(V).

A few exceptions to this condition are the following, which are attributed to inter-dialectal borrowing (Maganga and Schadeberg (ibid:24):

(125)

-heha 'winnow' vs -beha 'smoke (tobacco) (genuine exception)
-hofu 'blind' vs -boku 'blind' (Kisukuma)
teetele 'indeed' vs teletele (original form of teetele)
mpaka 'until' vs mpaka 'until' (Kiswahili)

The second and fourth examples -hofu 'blind' and mpaka 'until' clearly suggest borrowed words from languages without Dahl's Law. The third, teetele 'indeed' indicates that one /t/ was lost, although the syllable was not, and therefore Dahl's Law does not apply because the root structure is well-formed.

Of these, -heha 'winnow' and -beha 'smoke (tobacco)' are more interesting. The alternation suggests the possibility of a lexical technique of semantic distinction so as to avoid homophony, as observed for Kisukuma. This JinaKitya case illustrates the technique:

(126)

PB *-pep- 'blow, winnow'

-bēpā 'seduce and mislead a close friend/or follower, by deception (blow mentally)'

-bēhā 'smoke (tobacco, medicinal leaves, marijuana, etc)'

-hēhā 'winnow' (would expect -beha < PB *-pep-)

-hēéhā '(of the sun), be on the western horizon and be less burning, with gentle breezes'

pēéhā* (the word does not occur, and therefore -hēéhā is regular)

PB *-pod- 'cool down, get cured'

-pōlā 'cool, be calm'

-hōlā 'be peaceful, without disease or war'

If these cases of homophony avoidance are taken into account, it becomes true that KINyamweezi (in fact this refers to KIDakama only), like KISukuma, especially KImunaSukuma, makes no exceptions to classical Dahl's Law where it occurs.

On another note, the KINyamweezi referred to by Maganga and Schadeberg (1992) is the KIDakama variety which agrees with that analysis. The other varieties, notably SiGalagaanza, KIKonoongo and KINyanyeembe display more exceptions than regularities, as shown in *Table 3.6* above. These dominant exceptions can be interpreted as internal linguistic dynamics, or external loans. The questions to be asked include: (a) Did SiGalagaanza, KIKonoongo and KINyanyeembe once have DL, but replaced many words with DL by loans which did not have DL? (b) Were SiGalagaanza, KIKonoongo and KINyanyeembe once without DL but borrowed many words with it? The first explanation is possible, but unlikely because there is no motivation, while the second is more plausible.

3.2.2.2.1 Dahl's Law in KɪDakama

Dahl's Law in KɪDakama is very similar to that in Kɪmunasukuma because both follow essentially the same rules of classical Dahl's Law, unless they are interfered with by loans, dialect-specific innovations or homophones. A few examples illustrate this in (127):

(127)

| <i>KɪDakama</i> | <i>Kɪmunasukuma</i> | <i>Gloss</i> |
|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| kɔ-daha | kɔ-daha | 'draw water' < *-tapa |
| i-datɔ | i-datɔ | 'three' < *-tatɔ |
| lɔ-fikɔ | lɔ-fikɔ | 'day' < *-tikɔ |
| i-saka | i-saka | 'thicket, bush' < *-caka |
| i-dako | i-dako | 'buttock' < *-tako |
| mu-hofu | moku | 'blind person' < *-poku |
| mu-gaate | ŋ-gaatɪ | 'bread' < *-kaate |

3.2.2.2.2 Dahl's Law in KɪKonoongo and KɪNyanyembe

Of the 44 Dahl's Law sample words, only 21 or 48% undergo the process in KɪKonoongo, and 18 words or 44% in KɪNyanyembe. The majority of the words at 52% and 56% respectively do not undergo Dahl's Law. As dialects of a language which are "expected to have" Dahl's Law, such a low percentage of expected behaviour and a conversely high percentage of irregular features represents a marked situation. For a full list of these exceptional words, see *Appendix 6*. Examples of words which do not undergo Dahl's Law, include the following common predictable ones. They are also compared with those from

KɪNyanyeembe and SiGalagaan̄a, within the KɪNyamweezi group, and then with SiSiloombo, from SiSuumbwa. KɪSukuma and KɪDakama follow the classical pattern:

(128)

| Gloss | Konooŋgo | Nyanyeembe | Galagaan̄a | Siloombo | Proto Bantu |
|-----------------|--------------|------------|------------|----------------------|-------------|
| 'three' | ɪdato, itato | i-dato | i-tato | i-satu ⁶⁹ | < *-tato |
| 'be satiated' | -ikota | -ikota | -ikota | -ikuta | < *-yikot- |
| 'abscess, boil' | i-pute | - | - | i-hute | < *-pute |
| 'headpad' | ŋ-kata | - | ŋ-gata | ŋ-kata | < *-kata |
| 'chicken' | ŋ-koko | ŋ-koko | ŋ-koko | ŋ-koko | < *-koko |
| 'shiver' | kɔ-tetema | kɔ-tetema | kɔ-tetema | - | < *-tetɾm- |

The picture in (128) suggests that, KɪKonooŋgo and KɪNyanyeembe had a different historical development from that of KɪDakama, a variety grouped in KɪNyamweezi. The KɪKonooŋgo and KɪNyanyeembe picture is actually very similar to that of SiSiloombo, although where they differ, the difference is significant too. For instance, the words for 'three' and 'abscess, boil', which are /i-satu/ and /i-hute/ in SiSiloombo suggest that KɪKonooŋgo might not have been in contact with SiSiloombo, since its reflexes are /ɪtatɔ̄/ and /ɪpute/ respectively. In other words, the interpretation of the data from KɪKonooŋgo and KɪNyanyeembe may be viewed in terms of an independent development.

⁶⁹ This word may be from PB *-catɔ̄ rather than from PB *tatɔ̄, and therefore they are not cognate.

The existence of two forms for 'three' in KIKonoongo also suggests that Dahl's Law and non-Dahl's Law phonetic realizations may be in free variation so that intra-informant variations might make such a phenomenon more noticeable if informant samples were larger. Internally, it might be a case of innovation by strengthening the once voiced stops, although the motivation may be difficult to establish. Otherwise, the weak presence of DL indicates that KIKonoongo and KINyanyeembe have borrowed massively from languages without Dahl's Law surrounding them like KIKIImbũ, KiBende, ICrWũũgũ and possibly SiSuumbwa.

Such an ambivalent status in KIKonoongo and KINyanyeembe may also be explained in terms of sociolinguistic factors (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). These speech communities might have been KIKIImbũ speakers in the past but were absorbed by F22 and adopted KINyamweezi. Although this is a plausible scenario, it needs some more evidence to validate it. For instance, Brock (1968:58) talks of the naming tradition of languages which is only a recent phenomenon. Modern Bantu languages became frozen and petrified when they began to be named, located and confined in prescribed spaces. For instance, the histories of KIKIImbũ and KINLaamba by Shorter (1968a), and Kidamala (1961) respectively say that the speakers came from different places. Some KIKIImbũ speakers came from Usumbwa (SiSuumbwa country) and Usagara in Morogoro. This is a great possibility since the movements in the past were much easier and more regular because they were not restricted by political boundaries or ethnicity. Such ethnic or political boundaries were not important

enough to restrict movements and mixing with speakers of different languages or dialects. What we try to capture now is only a fraction of what was happening only a short while ago with that volatile situation of free-mixing speech communities. The origins of the various Bantu clans, groups, and peoples are only recalled when they are recent enough to be fresh in the communities' collective memory from their most recent journeys, events and their great people. Such narratives are normally presented as if there were no great people or history before them.

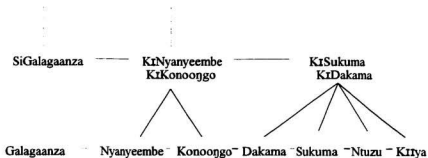
3.2.2.2.3 Dahl's Law in SiGalagaanza

As (128) and *Table 3.6* show, SiGalagaanza has more exceptions than regular Dahl's Law forms. Out of 42 words, only 12 or 29% undergo Dahl's Law. This number of exceptions is the same as in KiLoongo, which has 29% of its sample undergoing the process. Due to geographical proximity and probable linguistic closeness, KiLoongo was assumed to belong to SiSuumbwa in this study, a language which has no Dahl's Law. The reason for assigning KiLoongo to SiSuumbwa was partly because it was not yet classified.

The arguments for more exceptions here are similar to those advanced for KiKonoongo and KiNyanyembe, but the difference may be the numbers. SiGalagaanza behaves more like a language without Dahl's Law, as if those few words were acquired only through borrowing from mainly DL languages like KiDakama or KiSukuma.

On the other hand, if the 71% non-Dahl's Law words are interpreted as possibly acquired by contact, then it can be explained as the intensive model of contact-induced borrowing (Thomason and Kaufman (1988:50). In this kind of borrowing, intensive contact with bilingualism is expected among the speakers of the borrowing language or variety, extended over a long period of time. Here, there is heavy lexical borrowing and moderate to heavy structural borrowing as well. If the candidate for that donation is SiSuumbwa, KiBende or another language, an examination of that language is essential, although the structural part of borrowing is outside the scope of this work. In Chapter 4, there are some indications that SiGalagaanza shares a few significant vocabulary items with both SiSuumbwa and KiBende. And since they are all Bantu languages, a phonological process such as Dahl's Law could be applied to lexical loans. Dahl's Law used as a classification tool results in the dialects of KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi grouped as in (129).

(129)



3.2.2.3 Dahl's Law in SiSuumbwa

As the data in *Table 3.6* show, Dahl's Law in SiSuumbwa is distributed as follows: 10 words out of 58 in KiLoongo; SiSiloombo 4; and SiYoombe 5 words. The fewer number of words undergoing the process raises questions of how can such a skewed exception be explained in a language which had supposedly undergone Dahl's Law.

On closer examination, the words undergoing Dahl's Law are limited to a set of loanwords which can be counted and accounted for. Most are from either KiSukuma or KiNyamweezi, while two are from Zone EJ. All DJ and EJ languages have at least a few items with DL, for example 'oil' is either /majuta/, /mazuta/ (EJ) or /mavuta/ (DJ). So, these few items in SiSuumbwa and KiLoongo are inherited from DJ/EJ. Since genetic affiliation is either present or absent, SiSuumbwa belongs within SSN or it does not.

Table 3.33 Dahl's Law in SiSuumbwa

| Word | Found in | Possible source | Explanatory notes and expected lexeme in brackets |
|---|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| -gufwa <*-kupa 'bone' | SiSiloombo SiYoombe KiLoongo | KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi Zone EJ? | -guha (why not -kuha?) -gul(w)a (Zone EJ, e.g. RuKereβe, Runyahlhangiro) |
| -zuta <kuta 'oil' | KiLoongo | Zone EJ | -juta (kuta) |
| -syaabo, -saabo, - saaβo <*-capo 'calabash' | SiSiloombo SiYoombe | JinaKɪɪya | the only variety which dissimilates non-initial stops, instead of being -saho |
| giiti < *-kɪti 'darkness' | SiYoombe | KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi | giiti (kiti) |
| eeŋ-kogoto < *-koko 'crust' | KiLoongo | ? | It is doubtful if this word is cognate with *-koko |
| gɔsɔkɔ < *-kɔsɔkɔ 'grandfather' | SiSiloombo | KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi | gɔsɔkɔ (kuuku) |
| guuku | SiYoombe, KiLoongo | KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi | gɔsɔkɔ (kuuku) |
| engata ⁷⁰ <*-kata 'headpad' | KiLoongo | KiSukuma | ŋgata (ŋkata) |
| -bisa, -βisa < *-pic- 'hide' | SiSiloombo, SiYoombe | KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi | -βisa (-fisa/hisa) |
| ku-gesa < *-kɛc- 'reap' | KiLoongo | KɪmunaSukuma | kogesa (kukesa) |
| madete < *-tete 'reed' | KiLoongo | KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi | madete (matete) |
| mubeho | KiLoongo | KiSukuma | -βeho, mbeho (mpeho) |
| -gufu <*-kupt 'short' | KiLoongo | KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi | -guhi (-kuhi) |

⁷⁰ Muzale (1998:93-4) mentions that Dahl's Law in Rutara is not productive, because it occurs in a few words only. It is informative to note that he also mentions two words engata 'headpad' and -gufi/-gufu 'short' as examples of the few traces of this Law. These words appear only in KiLoongo.

Because the facts of SiSuumbwa suggest strongly that it has disproportionately few cases of Dahl's Law in the same words, it is also implied that it does not share any immediate ancestry with all the KiSukuma varieties and KiDakama. From this, Dahl's Law is essentially a process that affects all KiSukuma dialects plus KiDakama. The evidence suggests it has

(130)

SiSuumbwa KiLoonggo SiGalagaanza KiNyamweezi KiSukuma

F23a F23b F23c F22d F22a F22e F22b F21a F21b F21c

diffused via loanwords into adjacent languages. Graphically, a family tree for these three languages would show branches which are not joined by a common stem, as in (130). In other words, such a tree has hanging branches without any roots.

3.2.3 Other processes in SiSuumbwa, KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi

One prominent process distinguishing these languages is the appearance and evolution of voiceless nasals. In KiSukuma⁷¹, and KiDakama this process entails a mechanism whereby some prenasalized voiceless stop consonants lose their place features, leaving only their voicelessness, resulting in voiceless nasals which spread to become homorganic with the lost

⁷¹ In KiSukuma, particularly in JinaKiiya, the nature of voiceless nasals is not explored fully, since it is not immediately relevant. A survey of some initial voiceless nasals and their description in JinaKiiya is attempted in Masele (1996).

stop, as in *Table 3.34* below from KImunaSukuma, JinaKItya, GInantuzu and KiDakama examples, compared with KiNyanyeembe, KiKonoongo, and SiGalagaanza.

As the table suggests, the voiceless nasals are found only in four varieties, KImunaSukuma, JinaKItya, GInantuzu and KiDakama. As a significant process for this group for diagnostic purposes, voiceless nasals reconfigure the group into the same three divisions, but with adjusted membership. Combined with other features, such a reconfiguration suggests linguistic validity.

Table 3.34 Voiceless nasals and linguistic sub-grouping in SiSuumbwa, KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi

| Proto Bantu ↔ Variety † | *N-pamba 'provision' | *N-tɔiga 'giraffe' | *mu-Ntu 'person' | *N-kanga 'guinea fowl' |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| SiSiloombo | mpaamba | ntwiiga | muuntu | ɲkaanga |
| SiYoombe | mpaamba | ntwiiga | muuntu | ɲkaanga |
| KiLoongo | mpaamba | entwiiga | muuntu | eɲkaanga |
| KImunaSukuma | ɲaamba | ɲwiiga | muuŋɔ | ɲaanga |
| GInantuzu | ɲaamba | ɲiga | muuŋɔ | ɲaanga |
| JinaKItya | ɲaamba | ɲiga | muuŋɔ | ɲaanga |
| KiDakama | ɲaamba | ɲwiiga | muuŋɔ | ɲaanga |
| KiNyanyeembe | mpaamba | ntwiiga | moɔntɔ | ɲkaanga |
| KiKonoongo | - | nwiiga | muuntɔ | ɲkaanga |
| SiGalagaanza | mpaamba | ntwiiga | muuntu | ɲkaanga |

3.2.4. Homogeneity between SiSuumbwa, KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi

With regard to the four phonological processes used to trace the divisions within SSN, only traditional KiSukuma remains undisturbed, although a dialect is added to it, making it incomplete as well. This new KiSukuma (or KiSukuma2) is supported favourably by DL. DL isolates KiNyanyembe, KiKonoongo and SiGalagaan as the core KiNyamweezi group, and BS isolates SiSuumbwa away from SSN. Such affiliations support the suggestion in (116) and (130), although the memberships of SiGalagaan and KiLoongo are not clear. Each of the three reconfigurations has its own internal sub-divisions.

To refine the sub-divisions within SSN, the following test targets SiSuumbwa and KiLoongo to see if they can fit in within the surrounding linguistic groups in DJ, EJ or F. This is illustrated in *Table 3.35*.

Table 3.35 Comparison of Zone D DJ, and EJ languages with KiLoongo, SiSuumbwa and JinaKinya (Some data from Guthrie 1967-71, Nurse 1979, Schoenbrun 1997, mutatis mutandis)

| Feature or Process | F23a,F 23b Suum | F23c Looŋ | EJ/14 Ciga | D41 Koon | DJ51 Huum | DJ61 Rwan | DJ63 Fuli | EJ25 Jita | F21c Suk |
|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| pa/e/o/ɔ | h | h | h | h | h | h | h | ∅ | p |
| pi | h | h | h | h | h | f | h | ∅/s | p |
| pu | f | ? | f | ? | ? | f | ? | s? | p |
| mp | mp | mp | mp | mp | ? | mp | mb | mb? | ɱ/mh |
| ba/e/o/ɔ | b-β | b-β | β | β | b | β | b-β | β | β |
| bi | v | z | z | ? | ? | b | ? | b | β |
| bu | v | z | z | β | f/pf | v | v | f | β |

| Feature or Process | F23a,F 23b Suum | F23c Loorj | EJ14 Ciga | D41 Koon | DJ51 Huun | DJ61 Rwan | DJ63 Fuli | EJ25 Jita | F21c Suk |
|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| mbu | mv | nz | nz | mb | mf | mv | mv | f | mb |
| ta/e/o/u/o | t | t | t | t | t | t | t | t | t |
| ti | s | s | s | ? | ? | s | ? | s | t |
| tu | t/s | s/c | c | ? | ? | pf | ? | s | t |
| nt | nt | nt | nt | nd | nd | nt | nd | n | ɲ/nh |
| da/e/o/t/a | l | l | l | l | l | l | l | l | l/d |
| di | z | z | z | l | ts | z | z | s | l/d? |
| du | v/l | z/l | j-z | r | pf | v | d? | f | l/z? |
| ca/e/o/t/a | s | s | s | s | s | s | ʃ | s | s |
| ci | s | ? | s | ? | ʃ | s/ʃ | ʃ | s | s |
| cu | s | s? | ʃ | ? | ? | s | ? | s? | s |
| nc | ns | ns | ns | ns | ɲʃ | ns | ns | ns | ns |
| ja/e/o/t/a | z | z | z | z | c | z | z | j | j? |
| ɲj | nz | nz | ɲj | nz? | ɲc? | nz | | ɲj | ɲj? |
| ka/e/o/t/a | k | k | k | k | k | k | k | k | k |
| ki | s | s? | s | c | ts | ts | c | s | k |
| ku | f | f | j | k | pf | pf | f | f | k |
| ɲk | ɲk | ɲk | ɲk | ɲk | ? | ɲk/ɲ | ɲk/ɲ | ɲ | ɲ |
| ga/e/o/z/a | g | g | g | ɣ | g | g | g | g | g |
| gi | z | g? | g | ? | ? | z | ? | s | g |
| gu | v | z | j | ? | ? | v | ? | f | g |
| Vowels | 5LS | 5LS | 5LS | 7LS | 7LS | 5LS | 5LS | 5LS | 7LS |
| Dahf's Law | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| BS | + | + | + | - | ? | + | ? | + | - |

F23a,b = SiSuumbwa, F23c = KiLoongo, EJ14 = RuCiga, D41 = RuKoonzo, DJ51 = KiHuunde, DJ61 KinyaRwanda, DJ63 = iKiFuliri, EJ25 = eCiJita, F21 KiSukuma (JinaKzaya (F21c)), 5LS/7LS = five or seven vowels, of both long and short quality, ? = insufficient data/information.

In *Table 3.35* above, the double reflexes in JinaKɪɪya (F21c) suggest mixture of phonological systems due to contact as reciprocal borrowing with interacting speakers of different languages. For instance, this explains the presence of traces of Dahl's Law or Bantu Spirantization in languages like KɪKɪɪmbɔ which did not undergo such processes. But since their neighbours did, they borrowed some words, and one finds words like /idooke/ 'banana' < KɪDakama /idooke/ < PB *-tooke. The same can be said of Dahl's Law in SiSuumbwa and Bantu Spirantization in JinaKɪɪya. Glottalization is not native in KimunaSukuma for words like /-hya/ 'new', /-hyaagɔla/ 'sweep'. They appear as /-pya/ and /-pyaagɔla/ respectively in JinaKɪɪya, KɪDakama, KɪNyanyeembe, KɪKonoŋgo and SiGalagaanza, strongly suggesting that they are loans in KimunaSukuma and in F21/F22 generally rather than frozen processes. Similar phonological processes which appear to have operated in the past and then stopped can be explained this way, just as Batibo (2000:25) observes. For SiSuumbwa (F23a, F23b), borrowing from Zone DJ60 (Western Highlands) or EJ10/20 (Rutara) languages is not plausible enough, since the evidence is overwhelming. The most probable explanation is genetic affiliation, especially with DJ60. Although DJ60 has DL, within it, some like one variety of GiHa (DJ66) do not show it (Muzale 1998). Internally, therefore, SiSuumbwa may not necessarily be immediately affiliated with DJ60 (like KinyaRwanda or KiRundi). It may be closely related to another unknown DJ language, since not all DJ languages are well known. With the available data, SiSuumbwa fits well with DJ60.

On the other hand, KiLoongo shows a stronger phonological affinity with the Rutara group than with SiSuumbwa. This is illustrated well with KiLoongo words like /enzozu/ 'elephant', /izu/ 'ashes' from *-jogu and *-bu respectively, which are /njovu/ and /ivu/ in SiSuumbwa. Respectively, these are /enjojo/ and /eizu/ in RuCiga, indicating genetic relationship which is not contradicted by other data. Non-native reflexes in KiLoongo can be easily traced and explained.

After examining the examples and patterns above, two conclusions can be drawn. First, the inherited Proto Bantu words in KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi show regular reflexes in many cases. Although sometimes native reflexes are completely missing, the general pattern discounts 7>5 and BS. Only loan words show BS in both KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi. Secondly, within SSN, the chronology of glottalization, 7>5/BS, DL and voiceless nasalization support the idea of historically, and therefore genetically, different routes taken by the SiSuumbwa, KiNyamweezi and KiSukuma dialects as their speech communities evolved differently, though sometimes concurrently. The two conclusions above suggest that any large sample of informants or words from SSN would support this hypothesis. In this study, for instance, the three informants for SiSilombo and SiYoombe on the one hand, and KiLoongo, on the other, were less than 30 years old, although older than 20. Much older informants would show less interference from other languages to support consistently Kahigi's (1988:267-8) diachronic prehistory of SiSuumbwa:

(131)

PB *p, t, k > ʔ/_u; PB *b > v/_i

PB *g, d, g > v/_u; PB *p > ʔ/_i

3.2.5 Relative Chronology in SiSumbwa, KiSukuma and KiNyamwezi

Chronology of phonological processes in SSN suggests that these languages might have started as separate entities and then converged in adjacent areas at some point. In the convergence, some features from each were diffused to the others depending on their geographical location and direction of physical and social movement of the speakers.

| Time | → \ → | | | | | 2000 AD → |
|---------------|---|---------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| Process | DL | LENIT | GLOTT | BS | 7 > 5 | N[-voice] |
| Group 1 | F21, F22b | F21, F22 | - | - | - | F21, F22b |
| Group 2 | ? | F22a, F22d, F22e | | - | - | - |
| Group 3 | - | - | EJ20, F23 | EJ20, F23 | EJ20, F23 | - |
| Some examples | *-tatə > -datə *-kec- > - gesa *-piti > -biti | *ci > s/ʃ *b > β | *p > h | *gu > vu - *piti > -fisi | -satu | *mp > m̃ *nt > ñ *ŋk > ḥ |

[DL = Dahl's Law; LENIT = Lenition; GLOTT = Glottalization; BS = Bantu Spirantization; 7 > 5 = Vowel reduction from 7 to 5; N[-voice] = Voiceless nasal formation]. The sequence of processes is DL-LENIT/GLOTT-BS/7 > 5-N[-voice]

Figure 3.1 Relative chronology of phonological processes in SSN

The evidence for this chronology can be observed by looking into some features in each individual language, since the languages appear to have developed differently. In SiSuumbwa, for example, PB *pi does not change into the expected spirant like /t/ because of the chronology of the events. Glottalization occurred first in most of the PB *pi words and /h/ blocked the effect of BS in them. This blocking process of /h/ can be possible only if glottalization first appeared in the *pi environment, and while it was in progress in the rest of the superclose vowel environments, BS began. This explains the total absence of BS in that environment, except in later borrowings⁷². In non-*pi contexts, BS is present. Why BS did not start in PB *pi but elsewhere like in PB *ti, *tu, *ki, *ku is partly a phonetic question. In the articulation of PB *pi, the front part of the tongue is lowest in the buccal cavity, touching the lower teeth, making the PB *i in *pi less [+consonantal] because it is farthest from the hard palate. The tongue height is highest elsewhere, almost touching the hard palate, causing friction. In addition, glottalization does not occur in other environments. In SiSuumbwa, glottalization is a regular phonological change which is parallel to PB *c and *b in KtSukuma or KtNyamweezi. In KtSukuma and KtNyamweezi palatalization was probably triggered by contact with BS languages, since some words in an identical environment do not palatalize.

On the other hand, Dahl's Law in KtSukuma predated all other changes in the language. This

⁷² In forms like PB *-kopi 'flat of hand', SiSuumbwa has /-kofi/ in contrast to forms like PB *-pik- 'arrive' which is /-hika/. The former is a likely loan from KiSwahili, while /-hika/ is inherited from PB.

can be tested by words like PB *-paca 'twin', *-pIt- 'pass', *-pic- 'hide' as shown in (132), which is compared to SiSuumbwa. Any deviation from DL as a first rule to apply in a word in F21/F22b is likely to be an external influence.

(132) PB *-pantɔ, *-paca 'twin', *-pIt- 'pass', *-pic- 'hide', *-piga 'hearthstone', *-pik- 'arrive'

| PB → Process | | *-pantɔ 'place' | *-paca 'twin' | *-pIt- 'pass' | *-pic- 'hide' | *-piga 'hearth stone' | *-pik- 'arrive' |
|---------------------------------------|-----|---------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. | F21 | - | -basa | -bita | -bica | -? | -? |
| DAHL'S LAW | F22 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | F23 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 2. LENITION *c>s, *b>β, *p>h | F21 | haŋu? ⁷³ | -βasa | -βita | -βisa | -higa? ⁷⁴ | -? |
| | F22 | pantɔ | - | -βita? | -βisa? | - | - |
| | F23 | hantu | -hasa | -hita | -βisa? | -higa | -hika |
| 3 PALATAL | F21 | - | - | - | - | -figa? ⁷⁵ , -siga? | -fik/ga? -sika |
| | F22 | - | - | - | - | -figa? | -f/sika |
| | F23 | - | - | - | - | - | - |

For example, when Dahl's Law fails to operate in KiSukuma and palatalization takes precedence, it indicates a borrowed word or a change triggered by contact. The voiced

⁷³ KiDakama (F22b) has a form here.

⁷⁴ KiMunaSukuma

⁷⁵ JinaKiIya/KiMunaSukuma have /ʃ/, GiNantuzu /s/ and KiNyamweezi, including KiDakama /t/. In PB *-pik 'arrive', KiDakama has /ʃ/, KiKonoongo /s/.

counterpart of /p/ is /b/ not /β/ as is the case with PB *-paca > -βasa. A stage. DL is skipped when lenition is posited as the first process to have occurred. According to the evidence, DL was the first, followed by the lenition of PB *c and *b: *-paca > -/basa/ (DL) > -/βasa/ (Lenition). In SiSuumbwa, that lenition was glottalization.

It is clear from the above examples that palatalization in KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi is a later development which was not complete because it was not native. It came after DL. Forms like PB *-pic- 'hide', *-piti 'hyena' being /-βisa/ and /-βiti/ suggest the normal lenition route, especially in KɪSukuma, by the DL > LENITION > PAL path, rather than PB *-pik- > /-fika/ or /-sika/ which skips DL completely without any justification⁷⁶. The lenition of PB *b to /β/ in KɪSukuma, for example, is regular, expected when there is phonemic contrast between /b/ and /β/. If /-fika/, /-sika/ or /-fika/ are not marked in KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi, then PB *-piti and similar words would have a fricative which would effectively block DL in KɪmunaSukuma, Gɪnantuzu and KɪDakama, except in JinaKɪɪya. With palatalization taking precedence over DL, PB *-pic- 'hide', *-piti 'hyena' for example, would be /fisa/, /-sisa/ or /-fisa/ 'hide' and /fiti/, /-siti/ or /-fiti/ respectively, which they are not. This anomaly of fricatives in both KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi indicates that each language developed separately, with separate rules in operation. In fact, the SSN languages hardly share any of those important processes. Each behaves individually and differently as summarized in (133). While F21/F22b has regular lenition of PB *c and *b across the board, KɪNyamweezi shares only that aspect with F21/F22b. The rest of SSN are different, for

⁷⁶ Only in JinaKɪɪya is DL not skipped since PB *-pik- 'arrive' is /-fija/

instance in DL and voiceless nasal formation, which are in F21/F22b but not in F22a, F22d, and F22e. SiSuumbwa has glottalization and BS with $7 > 5$, while both F21 and F22 have none of these.

(133)

| | <i>Process</i> | <i>F21/F22b</i> | <i>F22a/F22d/F22e</i> | <i>F23a,b,c</i> |
|---|---|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | Dahl's Law ($C_{[1-4]}VC_{[2-4]}V > C_{[1-4]}VC_{[2-4]}V$) | Yes | Traces? | Traces? |
| 2 | Regular reflex e.g. lenition *b > β, *c > s, *p > h | *b > β, *c > s | *b > β, *c > s | *p > h, *b > β, *c > s, |
| 3 | Voiceless nasal formation $N \rightarrow \text{N}' / _ C_{[1-4]}$ | Yes | No | No |
| 4 | BS and $7 > 5$ | No | No | Yes |

Chronologically, BS in SiSuumbwa is not a process which is as old as glottalization, since PB *pi does not produce a spirant. This only points to earlier glottalization which blocked BS in that environment. This suggests BS either diffused from elsewhere as well or it started in F23 only later. If it was acquired through borrowed words, then it affected the whole phonological system because it was adapted. This is illustrated in *Table 3.36* where only loanwords in SiSuumbwa seem to show BS, although with far-reaching consequences, leading to $7 > 5$. If SiSuumbwa is assumed to have split from DJ, then the source might have been EJ20 or DJ60. Such sources suggest that when SiSuumbwa diverged, DJ60 and EJ20 were one language and had undergone glottalization first, followed by BS later.

Table 3.36 Status of Glottalization and BS in SiSuumbwa, KɛSukuma and KɛNyamweezi

| Language | F23 | F21a | F21b | F21c | F22b | F22a, F22d, F22e* |
|-----------------------|---------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|---------|-------------------------|
| Proto Bantu | | | | | | |
| *-pod- 'cool' | -hola | -pola | -pola | -pola, -hola | -pola | -pola |
| *-ptni 'handle, haft' | -hini | -ptni | -ptni | -ptni | -ptni | -ptni |
| *-pembe 'horn, ivory' | -heembe | -peembe | -peembe | -peembe | -peembe | -peembe |
| *-pt- 'ripen' | -hya | -hya | -pya | -pya | -pya | -pya |
| *-pic- 'hide' | -bisa | -βisa | -βisa | -βisa | -βisa | -βisa |
| *-pote 'abscess' | -hute | -βute | -βute | -βute | - | -pute |
| *-paca 'twins' | -hasa | -βasa | -βasa | -βasa | -βasa | -pasa |
| *-piga 'hearthstone' | -higa | -higa | -siga | -figa | -figa | -figa |
| *-tap- 'draw water' | -taha | -daha | -daha | -daha | -daha | -daha |
| *-pigo 'kidney' | -figo | -ptgo (ŋ) | -ptgo (ŋ) | -ptgo (ŋ) | -figo | -figo |

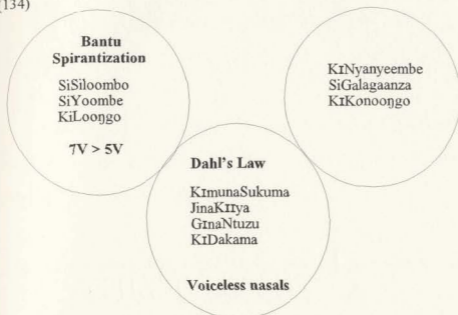
Since F23 can be viewed as part of EJ20/DJ60 historically, it was easy to borrow words, adopt them easily, and then adapt them as well after the split. For the words inherited directly from Proto Bantu like 'arrive' -hika PB < *-pik-, glottalization takes precedence because it had already occurred when BS set in with loan words like -koofi < *-kopi 'flat of hand'; -fisi < *-piti 'hyena', -figo < *-pigo 'kidney'. These, though they are Proto Bantu, appear to have been borrowed from elsewhere, since the native words appear to be affected by glottalization, which blocks BS in PB *pi because the trigger *pi is removed by becoming /hi/ (See Batibo 2000 on this bleeding effect between BS and glottalization).

3.2.6. Conclusion: SSN phonological change and grouping

SiSuumbwa, KiSukuma and KiNyamwezi stand alone individually within a relationship which cannot be described satisfactorily as genetic. Their differences are linguistically significant, making their current similarity only areal at best. Reconstructing proto-forms from the three languages as if they belonged to the same immediate ancestor is also not feasible, since they diverge diachronically. Reconstruction and grouping should ideally start with the smallest levels in each sub-grouping, and proceed to the top nodes of genetic affiliation. Within the scope of this work, this is not possible due to the new discovery that SiSuumbwa on the one hand and KiNyamwezi and KiSukuma on the other, are not as close as originally thought, summarized by the phonological processes noted in (134).

Of the four tests used (BS, 7 > 5, DL, and voiceless nasals), all are absent in KiNyamweezi (F22a, F22d, F22e) as native features. Any traces suggest borrowing. KiSukuma is characterized by DL and voiceless nasals which are absent in the other two: SiSuumbwa has BS and 7 > 5, and the others have not.

(134)



3.3. CONCLUSIONS

From the discussions in this chapter, it appears that what most of the Zone F varieties share is geographical proximity rather than phonological innovation. In the whole of Zone F, BS and $7 > 5$ is found in F10 and F23 only, while the situation in F25 is mixed, just as it is in F21 and F22. F34 is alone in being 5V without BS, although the number of vowels varies with researchers. The evidence in this study supports 5V without question. DL is confined to F21/F22b only, while in the rest, any traces are from loan words. And finally, voiceless nasals within Zone F are confined to the DL languages: F21/F22b. The rest of the languages show some individual innovations which do not help in unifying the zone.

Although SiSuumbwa is no longer a member of Zone F, the phonological evidence suggests that, one dialect, KiLoongo (F23c), originally belonged to EJ10/EJ20 and the rest of F23 derived probably from DJ60. Both SiSuumbwa (F23a/F23b) and KiLoongo (F23c) share BS and 7 > 5 with DJ and EJ languages.

KiSukuma/KiDakama (F21/F22b) and the rest of KiNyamweezi (KiNyanyeembe (F22a), SiGalagaanza (F22d) and KiKonoongo (F22e) share little, apart from their phonological conservatism and geographical adjacency.

F10 and F25 are outside our focus, and without considering other languages outside this study, we cannot say anything about their evolution; only general comments were made.

F33 and F34 (KeeMbuwe and KiiRangi) have some commonalities such as PB *g loss, and *l → r before front vowels.

F24 (KiKiImbo) and F31 (KiNiLaamba) share one of the most conservative phonological systems in Zone F and beyond, but there are no sets of shared innovation to support their common history. On the other hand, while F32 (KiRimi) is equally conservative, some of the striking features are PB *t > R and *p > φ. They do not share much with F24 or F31, indicating that any similarity may be areal rather than genetic.

For classification therefore, the innovations like Bantu Spirantization with the 7V versus 5V sequel and Dahl's Law as major criteria for subgrouping only succeed in isolating the various Zone F languages into smaller independently evolved languages rather than one unit with a common intermediate node in a genetic tree. This phonological picture suggests that the classification of these languages into geographical zones was mainly iconic: assuming genetic relationship because of adjacency. This justifies this study as a contribution towards filling out the gaps identified in Chapter 2. The inclusion of as many dialects as possible has demonstrated that BS, 7 > 5, DL, glottalization and voiceless nasal formation are significant criteria which are able to isolate languages or dialects which followed a common historical path from those which did not, despite their current geographical adjacency or similarity due to that adjacency.

The bottom line from the phonological picture is that there is no linguistic Zone F if other diagnostic tests outside phonology are not considered. Vocabulary and morpho-syntactic evidence might shed a different light by reviving Zone F into a linguistic unit. On a more optimistic note, the phonological features surveyed do not tell us much about classification because they are shared by other groups as well. To find more evidence for Zone F, the analysis of lexical development is the subject of Chapter 4. Otherwise, by the phonology hypothesis alone within the zone, linguistic Zone F or SSN can no longer be maintained.

CHAPTER FOUR LEXICAL DEVELOPMENT

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the development of vocabulary in Zone F. It is divided into three sections. The first part is a lexicostatistical survey as a quantitative analysis for relatedness, while the second establishes the genetic relationship between the varieties using qualitative evidence as diagnostic criteria. The last part summarizes the findings of lexical relatedness in Zone F.

Quantitative evidence refers to shared, and hence inherited vocabulary from a common proto language. Although we may assume various protos/nodes in the development of Zone F languages, at this point we are concerned with lexical items inherited from PB. When there are shared lexical items between two or more language varieties, the first assumption is that they are from the same ancestor language. Unless they are loans, chance similarities, universal symbolisms or a result of diffusion because of contiguous locations, shared lexis among sister languages is expected. In terms of weight, it is traditionally held that inherited words do not help much diagnostically since it is a given fact that all languages descending from the same ancestor have the same basic features of the parent, unless something drastic happened to change that. Diminished diagnostic utility of retention, however, may only be a matter of degree, since, as is shown below, retention can help much in grouping languages genetically. On the other hand, qualitative evidence as a stronger diagnostic measure of genetic

relationship refers to shared innovation which is a creative departure from the original by any or all of the following three major processes: borrowing; changing the phonological and/or semantic value of inherited words; and unique creations. In this study, purely phonological innovation is excluded because it refers essentially to inherited vocabulary which is only modified. In addition, it is not lexical innovation. The reliability of qualitative evidence, like that of retention, depends on careful analysis: without care, it is difficult to know if similarity between languages is due to genetic ancestry or contact (for a fuller treatment of genetic vs contact similarity, see Hinnebusch, 1976, 1999).

4.1 QUANTITATIVE EVIDENCE: SHARED VOCABULARY AND COMMON ANCESTRY

With the exception of a few languages like KeeMbuwe, KiBende, KiLooŋgo and IctWooŋgɔ, in many of the Zone F members, shared vocabulary has been dealt with quite adequately using lexicostatistics by Nurse (1979), Nurse and Philippson (1982) and to a limited extent Kahindi (1988) who compared only SiSuumbwa, KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi and iGiHa. Although lexicostatistics as a method is controversial, it is used here as a contribution to the clarification of that controversy, as presented in the overview of the method in 1.3.5.2 above. Any good method, in linguistics or any field, tends to yield reliable and consistent results which are not significantly different from previous classificatory findings based on other, more popular methods. The following are the results of the application of lexicostatistics to Zone F. They are based on the comparison of a pair of

languages in a horizontal relationship, that is, how two language varieties compare synchronically.

4.1.1 Method used

The method is that explained by Swadesh (1950:157), Lees (1953:115), Fairbanks (1955), Swadesh (1955:122), McElhanon (1970:216) and Embleton (1986), among others. In this method, cognation is treated as an 'either/or' possibility. Words are either descended from one common source or not, rather than a series of phonologically graded departures from the proto-forms. This approach slightly departs from the graded treatment of retention used by Nurse and Philippson (1980). Although their method is complicated, it does not significantly alter the overall configuration of relationships between languages derived by simpler ones (Nurse and Philippson, *ibid.*:27). The 'either/or' method therefore involved the following steps:

(i) 28 language varieties were selected. These included all Zone F varieties and some controls from Zone DJ, EJ, G and M, as follows: SiSuumbwa F23: (SiSiloombo (Si), SiYoombe (Yo), KiLoongo (Lo)); KiSukuma F21: (KiMunaSukuma (Su), GiNaNtuzu (Nt) JinaKiIya (Ki)); KiNyamweezi F22: (KiDakama (Da), KiNyanyeembe (Ny), KiKonoongo (Ko), SiGalagaanza (Ga)); KiBende/KiTongwe F10: (Be); KiInLaamba F31: (KiInaUshoola (Us), KiInLaamba Central (La), KiInHaanzu (Ha)); KiRimi F32: (GiAhi (Ah), GiRwana (Rw), GiNyaMunyinyani (Mu)); KiKiImbu F24: (KiKiImbu North (Kn), KiKiImbu South (Ks)); KiRwusu F25: (Wu); KiRangi F33: (Ra); KeeMbuwe F34: (Mb); oRuHaya

EJ22: (Zone EJ) (RuHyzoa (Hy)); iGiHa DJ66: (Zone DJ) (Hh); CiGogo G11: (CiNyambwa (Go)); eKiHehe G62: (He); IKrNyakyusa M31: (Ky); and KiSwahili G42d: (KiSanifu (Sw), from KiUnguja).

(ii) A 100-word list modified by Nurse (1979) from that by Swadesh (1950, 1955) was used, as shown in (135), in alphabetical order, with assumed Proto Bantu etyma. It has been generally found that the shortest 100-word list used to-date is reliable and useful to a large extent (Hymes 1960:12).

(135)

abdomen, stomach, belly *-da; all *(-n)ce, *-yona; arm, hand *-kono, *-boko; ashes *-bu; back (n) *-gorogo; bad *-bi; bark *-koba; bird, *-nyoni, *-dege; bite *-dɔm-; blood *-gadi, *(-n)yinga; bone *-kupa; breast *-beede; child, infant *-yana; cloud *-dunde; cold *-pepo; come *-yij-; cook (vt) *-dug-, *-teek-; dark, black *-yidɔ; daytime *-ci, *-jɔba; die *-ki-, *-ku-; dog *-bɔa; drink (vt) *-nu-; ear *tɔi, *-kɔtɔ; eat *-di-; egg *-gi; eye *-yico; feather *-yoya; fingernail *-jada; fire *-yoto, *-diɔ; fish *-comba, *-cuɪ; *-ci fly (vi) *-pap-, *-gɔdɔk-; give *-pa, *-yirɔk; go *-gi-, *-yend-; good *-yija; great, big, large, powerful *-kɔdɔ; hair *-yuidɪ, *-yuede; he, she *-kɔe, *-ye(e); head *-tɔe; hear *-yigu-, *-teg-, *-pɔd-; heart *-kodo, *-tɪma, *-yoyo; horn, ivory *-pembe; I *-ne; kill *-yit-, *-bɔd(ag)-; knee *-du(i); know *-man(i)-; leaf *-yani; leg, foot *-gɔdɔ; liver *-tɪma; long/tall *-depu, *-tadi, *-de; louse *-da; male, man, husband *-koci; *-dume; many *-yingɪ; meat *(-n)yama; milk *-beede; moon *-yedi; mountain *-gɔdɔ, *-dɔndɔ; mouth *-domo, *-nu; name *-yina; neck *-ki(i)ɔgo, *-koti; new *-pta; night *-tikɔ; nose *-pɔda, *-jɔdɔ, *-yidɔ; oil, fat *-kuta; old *-kɔdɔ; one *-mo; path, way *-jida; person *-ntɔ; rain (n) *-buda; root *-di; sand *-canga; say *-bɔd-; see *-bon-; seed *-beyɔ, *-bɔtɔ; short *-kupɪ; sing *-yimb-; sit *-yikad-; skin *-koba, *-kanda, *-didɪ?; sleep (vi) *-daad-, *-gon-; small *-niini, *-ke; smoke *-yoki; soil *-dɔɔgo; stand *-yim(dɪdɪ)-; star *-tondua, *-yo(n)ti; stone *-bɔe; sun *-jɔba; tail *-kida; that *-da/e, *-dia, VCVo; they *-bo; tongue *-dɪmi; tooth *-yino; tree *-ti, *-pɪɪ; two *-bidɪ; water *-ji; we *-cue, *-yitue; what *-ki; white *-yedɔ; who *-nani; woman, female *-ke, *-kadi; you (sg) (thou) *-be; you (pl) (ye) *-mɔe, *-nue

(iii) Where there were two or more words in the English gloss, they were retained if they all referred to a polysemous word in Proto Bantu or its daughter languages. Gudschinsky (1956:179) suggests using only one word as an equivalent where two words compete equally, by choosing one randomly, preferably by tossing a coin. This advice was not followed in both the English gloss and Proto Bantu forms in some of the words.

(iv) The selection of Proto Bantu forms was not always straightforward. Two, sometimes three, and even more reconstructions were available for one word in Proto Bantu, as in 'all' *-*(n)ce*, *-*yona*; 'arm, hand' *-*kono*, *-*boko*; blood *-*gadi*, *(n)yiŋga*; 'cook (vt)' *-*dug-*, *-*teek-*; 'die' *-*ki-*, *-*ku-*; 'fire' *-*yoto*, *-*diɔ*; and 'seed' *-*beyɔ*, *-*bɔto*.

To accommodate such a situation, the following approach was adopted: the comparisons were done using all protoforms, each language according to the words it had in its lexical inventory. It was this list which was adopted as representative of simultaneous lexicostatistical (cognation) computation and similarity subgrouping. It will be noted here that, while the method adhered to strict cognation, it also simultaneously measured similarity, just as Fairbanks (1955:120) notes that a consistent relationship between cognation and similarity counts is normally displayed. Using this method yields consistently higher figures of inherited words across the board, compared to relatively lower figures if a strictly monogenetic approach was adopted. For instance, if the lexemes {-*kolo*} and {-*ɪtma*} were both listed in English as 'heart', in Proto Bantu they are two words. Languages sharing



either word had a cognate score, while those not sharing it got a zero.

4.1.2 Lexicostatistics of language pairs

This is the standard procedure, and each of the 28 language varieties was compared to the rest to determine shared vocabulary between each pair. The following procedure was adopted:

(i) Each language variety was compared lexeme by lexeme with each of the other 27 varieties in turn to measure cognation against Proto Bantu, as sample (136) shows. Only the 'zeroes' were entered, and any blank space indicated cognation. Any other system representing cognation/non-cognation would have been adopted, since this was chosen for convenience only. In (136), S/N is the serial number of each word in the list compiled by Nurse and Philippon. The two-letter codes are iconic representations of the language varieties used for convenience. The first two letters of each language variety are from the root of each name in the Roman alphabet, which excludes any phonetic symbol that would take more space. These symbols are also indicated in the list of abbreviations.

(136).

| <i>Language variety</i>  <i>PB and Gloss</i>  | <i>S N</i> | <i>Si</i> <i>Yo</i> | <i>Si</i> <i>Lo</i> | <i>Si</i> <i>Su</i> | <i>Si</i> <i>Nr</i> | <i>Si</i> <i>Ki</i> | <i>Si</i> <i>Da</i> | <i>Si</i> <i>Ny</i> |
|--|------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| abdomen, stomach *-da | 133 | | | | | | | |
| all *-(n)ce,* -yona | 926 | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| arm, hand *-kono, *-boko | 55 | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |

Languages from other zones were included as a control to determine if the method can really differentiate between languages assumed to belong to other zones. They were selected because some are also adjacent to one or more of the Zone F languages, although rKiNyakyusa M31: (Ky) is not adjacent to any Zone F language, only nearer to tɪrWɔɔŋɔ F25: (Wu).

(ii) The scale was binary, 1 for cognation, and 0 for non-cognation. Cognation was defined as any regularity of morpheme realization in any lexeme believed to be derived from a common proto language and which is manifested in descendant languages and their dialects as regular, but not necessarily, by identical shapes, as illustrated in (137) (The full list is shown in Appendix 11). In this case, a word was either cognate or it was not. Thus, mā-βu, mā-wú, and mā-vú are cognate to Proto Bantu *-bu, 'ash', awarded 1, while mā-túúndé and mā-fúúndú both 'ash' are not, and therefore are coded 0.

(137)

| SN | Gloss | Da | Ny | Ko | Ga | Be |
|-----|-------|----------|----------|------|----------|------------------|
| 337 | ashes | iβú/máβú | mátúúndé | máwú | ivú/mávú | ifúúndú/máfúúndú |

(iii) Doubtful cases were ignored and awarded a 0, while probable ones were given a full 1, so that any bias in awarding 1 or 0 cancelled each other between the two scenarios. For instance, in SiSilombo and SiYoombe, {ilunde} 'cloud' was not recognized as cognate to Proto Bantu *-dunde 'cloud', although it was so recognized in KiMunaSukuma as {ilunde} because, SiSilombo and SiYoombe do not allow *d /_u > l due to Bantu Spirantization obtaining in them. So, {ilunde} was judged as a loan, probably from KiMunaSukuma, since the form from an inherited lexeme would have been {ivunde}. Likewise, KiKiimbũ North {liihu} 'long' was judged to be a loan, probably from KiKonoongo or KiNyanyeembe {liihu}, from Proto Bantu *-depu 'long', since the regular correspondence of *p in KiKiimbũ is /p/ without exception.

On the other hand, KeeMbuwe {mbuuye} 'stone' or KiiRangi, KinyaRwanda, KiHangaaza, and KiVinza {ibuye} were treated as cognates of Proto Bantu *-bũe 'stone' where the inserted /y/ was regarded as an articulatory strategy only, similar to other reproductions like {mabwe} in KiKiimbũ and iKiFuliiru, {mawe} in KiSwahili or KiSukuma.

Another consideration involved words which in Proto Bantu were given many forms, as reconstructed by Guthrie (1967-1971). These different but cognate forms were not sifted and

solidified by Guthrie to obtain only one or two reconstructions. One extreme case is that for 'all'. It has thirteen morphemes, although on closer examination, they can be reduced to only two, *-ce and *-ona. The rest are reflexes in the different languages. These morphemes for 'all' are *-ce, *-co, *-yence, *-yoce, *-yonce, *-yonco, *-yonca, *-yoci, *-yoci, *-yote, *-yoti, *-yonti, and *-yona. Likewise, {iwe}(KiSwahili), {iβuye}(iGiHa), {ibwe}(tKtNyakyusa), {livue}(KiWanjī), {libuhi}(KiPogolo) and {igwe}(KInLaamba) 'stone' are all cognate forms of *-b0e 'stone'.

(iv) After the 100-word list for each pair was compared, the 0s were counted, representing the percentage of non-cognition, which was proto form loss through replacement by borrowing or other forms of innovation. The remaining count was shared cognation. Since it was a 100-word list, the figures so obtained were the final percentages, needing no conversion. Conversely therefore, the 0s could also be represented as the only marked forms, and their count out of the 100 total would constitute the rate or extent of innovation or loss in each language variety.

4.1.2.1 Lexicostatistical subgrouping: procedure and results

The results shown in *Tables 4.1 to 4.12* represent the relationship between the Zone F language varieties to each other. In addition, the languages external to Zone F are also compared. On the other hand, *Tables 4.13 to 4.15* illustrate the difficulty of inclusion and exclusion in grouping, based on statistics. Some languages like CiGogo which are outside

Zone F show more affinity than languages supposed to be members of Zone F. Based on the percentages, the following master table was made, as shown in *Table 4. 1.*

Table 4.1. Lexicostatistical relationships between Zone F and some adjacent languages

| |
|---|
| Bc |
| 52 Lo |
| 64 57 Su |
| 62 57 87 Nt |
| 66 59 90 90 Ki |
| 64 58 86 84 87 Da |
| 70 57 78 76 80 81 Ny |
| 72 60 79 77 81 81 84 Ga |
| 68 58 81 80 84 84 84 84 Ko |
| 63 56 77 78 80 78 79 79 84 Kn |
| 62 55 76 75 77 76 74 75 78 82 Ks |
| 67 64 68 70 71 70 72 78 73 67 68 Si |
| 67 66 70 72 73 72 74 82 75 71 68 84 Yo |
| 55 50 75 75 76 75 69 70 74 75 74 66 65 Us |
| 56 51 74 74 76 74 69 70 75 75 73 67 66 83 La |
| 56 52 78 79 82 77 73 73 77 76 72 69 69 79 77 Ha |
| 58 58 75 71 76 75 71 72 74 74 71 68 68 71 70 74 Ah |
| 57 56 76 73 76 76 70 71 74 74 72 66 71 73 71 76 80 Rw |
| 55 53 71 69 72 72 66 68 69 70 67 63 64 69 68 71 79 77 Mu |
| 56 53 70 66 71 71 70 67 73 72 70 60 61 66 67 66 71 69 69 Mb |
| 51 42 65 61 64 65 61 61 66 67 64 53 55 59 58 60 62 62 61 64 Ra |
| 61 53 64 64 64 66 69 69 70 71 70 53 64 62 64 64 64 62 60 63 56 Wu |
| 50 57 55 55 57 56 53 60 56 52 52 57 58 50 51 52 53 54 51 49 42 48 Hy |
| 59 54 58 59 61 56 61 65 61 57 56 64 64 54 52 54 59 65 55 54 57 58 52 Hh |
| 54 47 59 58 61 63 64 66 64 64 64 57 66 57 59 60 61 59 60 63 60 63 49 54 Go |
| 43 40 44 43 46 47 51 52 48 49 52 46 46 43 45 45 48 45 45 47 43 49 42 41 57 He |
| 52 46 55 54 57 55 57 58 68 58 59 52 53 53 54 54 55 54 52 56 45 57 48 56 60 49 Ky |
| 53 49 62 61 65 65 63 67 69 65 61 55 57 60 62 62 65 66 64 65 61 61 49 53 61 48 55 Sw |

For convenience, the shared percentages on the right-most edge on the diagonal line were arranged so that the pairs with the lowest percentages were placed at the end of the Zone F spectrum, either to the top or bottom of the diagonal. Assumed linguistic relatedness and known geographical proximity were also considered where it was feasible. Then, the highest figure on that diagonal was identified and the pair merged as one unit.

Table 4.2. Collapsing highest percentage of Table 4.1 (90%)

| | |
|--|---------|
| Be | |
| 52 Lo | |
| 64 58 89 Nk | |
| 64 58 86 86 Da | Nk = 90 |
| 70 57 78 78 81 Ny | |
| 72 60 79 79 81 84 Ga | |
| 68 58 81 82 84 84 84 Ko | |
| 63 56 77 79 78 79 79 84 Kn | |
| 62 55 76 76 76 74 75 78 82 Ks | |
| 67 64 68 71 70 72 78 73 67 68 Si | |
| 67 66 70 73 72 74 82 75 71 68 84 Yo | |
| 55 50 75 76 75 69 70 74 75 74 66 65 Us | |
| 56 51 74 75 74 69 70 75 75 73 67 66 83 La | |
| 56 52 78 81 77 73 73 77 76 72 69 69 79 77 Ha | |
| 58 58 75 74 75 71 72 74 74 71 68 68 71 70 74 Ah | |
| 57 56 76 75 76 70 71 74 74 72 66 71 73 71 76 80 Rw | |
| 55 53 71 71 72 66 68 69 70 67 63 64 69 68 71 79 77 Mu | |
| 56 53 70 69 71 70 67 73 72 70 60 61 66 67 66 71 69 69 Mb | |
| 51 42 65 63 65 61 61 66 67 64 53 55 59 58 60 62 62 61 64 Ra | |
| 61 53 64 64 66 69 69 70 71 70 53 64 62 64 64 64 62 60 63 56 Wu | |
| 50 57 55 56 56 53 60 56 52 52 57 58 50 51 52 53 54 51 49 42 48 Hy | |
| 59 54 58 60 56 61 65 61 57 56 64 64 54 52 54 59 65 55 54 57 58 52 Hh | |
| 54 47 59 60 63 64 66 64 64 64 57 66 57 59 60 61 59 60 63 60 63 49 54 Go | |
| 43 40 44 45 47 51 52 48 49 52 46 46 43 45 45 48 45 45 47 43 49 42 41 57 He | |
| 52 46 55 56 55 57 58 68 58 59 52 53 53 54 54 55 54 52 56 45 57 48 56 60 49 Ky | |
| 53 49 62 63 65 63 67 69 65 61 55 57 60 62 62 65 66 64 65 61 61 49 53 61 48 55 Sw | |

To determine the affinity between the varieties, the highest figure for each preceding table was collapsed, and the resulting new configuration became the subsequent table. In *Table 4.2*, the highest figure of *Table 4.1* was taken as 90% (Nt/Ki) = GtnaNtuzu + JinaKtzya. The two language varieties were combined to be one entity, Nk, with the shared retention rate of 90%. Since Nk became one language, all the other languages associated with it as a single entity were adjusted accordingly.

To treat Nk as a single language, their two rows and columns associated with the other languages were collapsed into one row and column respectively. For instance, with KImunaSukuma, the shared vocabulary percentage in *Table 4.1* is 87% with GInaNtuzu and 90% with JinaKIIya. To obtain a single shared figure, the two were added, and then divided by two: (a) $87 + 90 = 177$, (b) $177 \div 2 = 88.5$, or approximately 89%. This became the shared percentage between Nk and Su (KImunaSukuma), appearing in *Table 4.2*.

Likewise, the shared figures of KiLoongo (Lo) with GInaNtuzu and JinaKIIya (Nk) in *Table 4.1* are 57% and 58% respectively. These are collapsed by adding, and then dividing them by two, to obtain 58%. This figure appears in *Table 4.2* as a percentage between Nk and Lo. The figures collapsed in these rows are combined vertically, taking the top row figure (57%), then adding it to the bottom row figure (58%). The procedure is repeated to the end of the rows until all language figures are collapsed to the utmost limit so that the languages cannot be combined any more.

On the other hand, the columns of figures which associate the combined language pairs are added horizontally, taking one language on the left and then combining it with its paired counterpart on its right. For instance, in *Table 4.1*, GInaNtuzu and JinaKIIya share with KiDakama 84% and 89% respectively. These two figures are horizontally placed, and by combining them, then adding and dividing by two, the result is 86%, a percentage shown in

Table 4.2. To aid reference of originally shared percentages, the numbers at the right margin of the tables refer to those original shared figures for that combination.

Table 4.3. Collapsing highest percentage of Table 4.2 (89%)

| | | | |
|---|--|---------|---------|
| Be | | | |
| 52 Lo | | | |
| 64 58 Sk | | Sk = 89 | Nk = 90 |
| 64 58 86 Da | | | |
| 70 57 78 81 Ny | | | |
| 72 60 79 81 84 Ga | | | |
| 68 58 82 84 84 84 Ko | | | |
| 63 56 78 78 79 79 84 Kn | | | |
| 62 55 76 76 74 75 78 82 Ks | | | |
| 67 64 70 70 72 78 73 67 68 Si | | | |
| 67 66 72 72 74 82 75 71 68 84 Yo | | | |
| 55 50 76 75 69 70 74 75 74 66 65 Us | | | |
| 56 51 75 74 69 70 75 75 73 67 66 83 La | | | |
| 56 52 80 77 73 73 77 76 72 69 69 79 77 Ha | | | |
| 58 58 75 75 71 72 74 74 71 68 68 71 70 74 Ah | | | |
| 57 56 76 76 70 71 74 74 72 66 71 73 71 76 80 Rw | | | |
| 55 53 71 72 66 68 69 70 67 63 64 69 68 71 79 77 Mu | | | |
| 56 53 70 71 70 67 73 72 70 60 61 66 67 66 71 69 69 Mb | | | |
| 51 42 64 65 61 61 66 67 64 53 55 59 58 60 62 62 61 64 Ra | | | |
| 61 53 64 66 69 69 70 71 70 53 64 62 64 64 64 62 60 63 56 Wu | | | |
| 50 57 56 56 53 60 56 52 52 57 58 50 51 52 53 54 51 49 42 48 Hy | | | |
| 59 54 59 56 61 65 61 57 56 64 64 54 52 54 59 65 55 54 57 58 52 Hh | | | |
| 54 47 60 63 64 66 64 64 64 57 66 57 59 60 61 59 60 63 60 63 49 54 Go | | | |
| 43 40 45 47 51 52 48 49 52 46 46 43 45 45 48 45 45 47 43 49 42 41 57 He | | | |
| 52 46 56 55 57 58 68 58 59 52 53 53 54 54 55 54 52 56 45 57 48 56 60 49 Ky | | | |
| 53 49 63 65 63 67 69 65 61 55 57 60 62 62 65 66 64 65 61 61 49 53 61 48 55 Sw | | | |

$$89\% = Sk ((Nt/Ki) (GtnaNtuzu + JinaKIIya) + Su (KImunaSukuma))$$

Percentage at right margin of table = Original shared % for combination

Table 4.4. Collapsing highest percentage of Table 4.3 (86%)

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Be | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 52 | Lo | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 64 | 58 | Sd | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 70 | 57 | 80 | Ny | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 72 | 60 | 80 | 84 | Ga | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 68 | 58 | 83 | 84 | 84 | Ko | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 63 | 56 | 78 | 79 | 79 | 84 | Kn | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 62 | 55 | 76 | 74 | 75 | 78 | 82 | Ks | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 67 | 64 | 70 | 72 | 78 | 73 | 67 | 68 | Si | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 67 | 66 | 72 | 74 | 82 | 75 | 71 | 68 | 84 | Yo | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 55 | 50 | 76 | 69 | 70 | 74 | 75 | 74 | 66 | 65 | Us | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 56 | 51 | 75 | 69 | 70 | 75 | 75 | 73 | 67 | 66 | 83 | La | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 56 | 52 | 79 | 73 | 73 | 77 | 76 | 72 | 69 | 69 | 79 | 77 | Ha | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 58 | 58 | 75 | 71 | 72 | 74 | 74 | 71 | 68 | 68 | 71 | 70 | 74 | Ah | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 57 | 56 | 76 | 70 | 71 | 74 | 74 | 72 | 66 | 71 | 73 | 71 | 76 | 80 | Rw | | | | | | | | | | |
| 55 | 53 | 72 | 66 | 68 | 69 | 70 | 67 | 63 | 64 | 69 | 68 | 71 | 79 | 77 | Mu | | | | | | | | | |
| 56 | 53 | 71 | 70 | 67 | 73 | 72 | 70 | 60 | 61 | 66 | 67 | 66 | 71 | 69 | 69 | Mb | | | | | | | | |
| 51 | 42 | 65 | 61 | 61 | 66 | 67 | 64 | 53 | 55 | 59 | 58 | 60 | 62 | 62 | 61 | 64 | Ra | | | | | | | |
| 61 | 53 | 65 | 69 | 69 | 70 | 71 | 70 | 53 | 64 | 62 | 64 | 64 | 64 | 62 | 60 | 63 | 56 | Wu | | | | | | |
| 50 | 57 | 56 | 53 | 60 | 56 | 52 | 52 | 57 | 58 | 50 | 51 | 52 | 53 | 54 | 51 | 49 | 42 | 48 | Hy | | | | | |
| 59 | 54 | 58 | 61 | 65 | 61 | 57 | 56 | 64 | 64 | 54 | 52 | 54 | 59 | 65 | 55 | 54 | 57 | 58 | 52 | Hh | | | | |
| 54 | 47 | 62 | 64 | 66 | 64 | 64 | 64 | 57 | 66 | 57 | 59 | 60 | 61 | 59 | 60 | 63 | 60 | 63 | 49 | 54 | Go | | | |
| 43 | 40 | 46 | 51 | 52 | 48 | 49 | 52 | 46 | 46 | 43 | 45 | 45 | 48 | 45 | 45 | 47 | 43 | 49 | 42 | 41 | 57 | He | | |
| 52 | 46 | 56 | 57 | 58 | 68 | 58 | 59 | 52 | 53 | 53 | 54 | 54 | 55 | 54 | 52 | 56 | 45 | 57 | 48 | 56 | 60 | 49 | Ky | |
| 53 | 49 | 64 | 63 | 67 | 69 | 65 | 61 | 55 | 57 | 60 | 62 | 62 | 65 | 66 | 64 | 65 | 61 | 61 | 49 | 53 | 61 | 48 | 55 | Sw |

86% = Sd = (Nt/Ki (GinaNtuzu + JinaKitya) + Su (KirmunaSukuma) + Da (KtDakama)

Sd = Original KtSukuma group (Su,Nt,Ki) + KtDakama (Da)

Percentage at right margin of table = Original shared % for combination

In Table 4.4, two sets of languages share 84% (a) KtNyanyeembe (Ny), SiGalagaanza (Ga) and KtKonoongo (Ko), and (b) SiSiloombo (Si) and SiYoombe (Yo). They are both iconically labelled Nz, for core KtNyamweezi and Sy for core SiSuumbwa. Although it appears that KtKtmbu North (Kn) would ideally be collapsed with the Nz group

Table 4.5. Collapsing highest percentage of Table 4.4 (84%)

| | | | | |
|---|---------|---------|---------|--|
| Be | | | | |
| 52 Lo | | | | |
| 64 58 Sd | Sd = 86 | Sk = 89 | Nk = 90 | |
| 70 58 81 Nz | Nz = 84 | | | |
| 63 56 78 81 Kn | | | | |
| 62 55 76 76 82 Ks | | | | |
| 67 65 71 76 69 68 Sy | Sy = 84 | | | |
| 55 50 76 71 75 74 66 Us | | | | |
| 56 51 75 71 75 73 67 83 La | | | | |
| 56 52 79 74 76 72 69 79 77 Ha | | | | |
| 58 58 75 72 74 71 68 71 70 74 Ah | | | | |
| 57 56 76 72 74 72 69 73 71 76 80 Rw | | | | |
| 55 53 72 67 70 67 64 69 68 71 79 77 Mu | | | | |
| 56 53 71 70 72 70 61 66 67 66 71 69 69 Mb | | | | |
| 51 42 65 63 67 64 54 59 58 60 62 62 61 64 Ra | | | | |
| 61 53 65 69 71 70 59 62 64 64 64 62 60 63 56 Wu | | | | |
| 50 57 56 56 52 52 58 50 51 52 53 54 51 49 42 48 Hy | | | | |
| 59 54 58 62 57 56 64 54 52 54 59 65 55 54 57 58 52 Hh | | | | |
| 54 47 62 65 64 64 62 57 59 60 61 59 60 63 60 63 49 54 Go | | | | |
| 43 40 46 50 49 52 46 43 45 45 48 45 45 47 43 49 42 41 57 He | | | | |
| 52 46 56 61 58 59 53 53 54 54 55 54 52 56 45 57 48 56 60 49 Ky | | | | |
| 53 49 64 66 65 61 56 60 62 62 65 66 64 65 61 61 49 53 61 48 55 Sw | | | | |

84% = Nz (KiNyanyeembe (Ny), SiGalagaanza (Ga), KiKonoongo (Ko); Sy = 84% (SiSiloombo (Si), SiYoombe (Yo)).

Percentage at right margin of table = Original shared % for combination

because it shares an 84% rate with KiKonoongo (Ko), its shared rate with the other two, KiNyanyeembe (Ny) and SiGalagaanza (Ga) are consistently lower at 79%, suggesting that KiKiImbu North (Kn) does not have such an immediate genetic relationship with Nz as a group. Most probably, the bond is with individual varieties facilitated by proximity and borrowing.

Table 4.6. Collapsing highest percentage of Table 4.5 (83%)

| | | | | |
|--|---------|---------|---------|--|
| Be | | | | |
| 52 Lo | | | | |
| 64 58 Sd | Sd = 86 | Sk = 89 | Nk = 90 | |
| 70 58 81 Nz | Nz = 84 | | | |
| 63 56 78 81 Kn | | | | |
| 62 55 76 76 82 Ks | | | | |
| 67 65 71 76 69 68 Sy | Sy = 84 | | | |
| 56 51 76 71 75 74 67 Ul | Ul = 83 | | | |
| 56 52 79 74 76 72 69 78 Ha | | | | |
| 58 58 75 72 74 71 68 71 74 Ah | | | | |
| 57 56 76 72 74 72 69 72 76 80 Rw | | | | |
| 55 53 72 67 70 67 64 69 71 79 77 Mu | | | | |
| 56 53 71 70 72 70 61 67 66 71 69 69 Mb | | | | |
| 51 42 65 63 67 64 54 59 60 62 62 61 64 Ra | | | | |
| 61 53 65 69 71 70 59 63 64 64 62 60 63 56 Wu | | | | |
| 50 57 56 56 52 52 58 51 52 53 54 51 49 42 48 Hy | | | | |
| 59 54 58 62 57 56 64 53 54 59 65 55 54 57 58 52 Hh | | | | |
| 54 47 62 65 64 64 62 58 60 61 59 60 63 60 63 49 54 Go | | | | |
| 43 40 46 50 49 52 46 44 45 48 45 45 47 43 49 42 41 57 He | | | | |
| 52 46 56 61 58 59 53 54 54 55 54 52 56 45 57 48 56 60 49 Ky | | | | |
| 53 49 64 66 65 61 56 61 62 65 66 64 65 61 61 49 53 61 48 55 Sw | | | | |

89% = Sk ((Nt/Ki) (GInaNtuzu + JinaKIIya) + Su (KImunaSukuma)

86% = Sd = (Nt/Ki) (GInaNtuzu + JinaKIIya) + Su (KImunaSukuma) + Da (KiDakama)

84% = Nz (KiNyanyeembe (Ny), SiGalagaanza (Ga), KiKonoongo (Ko))

84% = Sy (SiSiloombo (Si), SiYoombe (Yo)).

83% = Ul (KInaUshoola (Us) + KInLaamba Central (La)

Percentage at right margin of table = Original shared % for combination

Table 4.7. Collapsing highest percentage of Table 4.6 (82%)

| | | | | |
|---|---------|---------|---------|--|
| Be | | | | |
| 52 Lo | | | | |
| 64 58 Sk | Sd = 86 | Sk = 89 | Nk = 90 | |
| 70 58 81 Nz | Nz = 84 | | | |
| 63 56 77 79 Km | Km = 82 | | | |
| 67 65 71 76 69 Sy | Sy = 84 | | | |
| 56 51 76 71 75 67 Ul | Ul = 83 | | | |
| 56 52 79 74 74 69 78 Ha | | | | |
| 58 58 75 72 73 68 71 74 Ah | | | | |
| 57 56 76 72 73 69 72 76 80 Rw | | | | |
| 55 53 72 67 69 64 69 71 79 77 Mu | | | | |
| 56 53 71 70 71 61 67 66 71 69 69 Mb | | | | |
| 51 42 65 63 66 54 59 60 62 62 61 64 Ra | | | | |
| 61 53 65 69 71 59 63 64 64 62 60 63 56 Wu | | | | |
| 50 57 56 56 52 58 51 52 53 54 51 49 42 48 Hy | | | | |
| 59 54 58 62 57 64 53 54 59 65 55 54 57 58 52 Hh | | | | |
| 54 47 62 65 64 62 58 60 61 59 60 63 60 63 49 54 Go | | | | |
| 43 40 46 50 51 46 44 45 48 45 45 47 43 49 42 41 57 He | | | | |
| 52 46 56 61 59 53 54 54 55 54 52 56 45 57 48 56 60 49 Ky | | | | |
| 53 49 64 66 63 56 61 62 65 66 64 65 61 61 49 53 61 48 55 Sw | | | | |

82% = Km (KIKIMB North (Kn) + KIKIMB North (Kn))

Table 4.8. Collapsing highest percentage of Table 4.7 (81%)

| | | |
|--|---------|---------|
| Be | SN = 81 | Nk = 90 |
| 52 Lo | | Sk = 89 |
| 67 58 SN | | Sd = 86 |
| 63 56 78 Km | Km = 82 | Nz = 84 |
| 67 65 74 69 Sy | Sy = 84 | |
| 56 51 74 75 67 Ul | Ul = 83 | |
| 56 52 77 74 69 78 Ha | | |
| 58 58 74 73 68 71 74 Ah | | |
| 57 56 74 73 69 72 76 80 Rw | | |
| 55 53 70 69 64 69 71 79 77 Mu | | |
| 56 53 71 71 61 67 66 71 69 69 Mb | | |
| 51 42 64 66 54 59 60 62 62 61 64 Ra | | |
| 61 53 67 71 59 63 64 64 62 60 63 56 Wu | | |
| 50 57 56 52 58 51 52 53 54 51 49 42 48 Hy | | |
| 59 54 60 57 64 53 54 59 65 55 54 57 58 52 Hh | | |
| 54 47 64 64 62 58 60 61 59 60 63 60 63 49 54 Go | | |
| 43 40 48 51 46 44 45 48 45 45 47 43 49 42 41 57 He | | |
| 52 46 59 59 53 54 54 55 54 52 56 45 57 48 56 60 49 Ky | | |
| 53 49 65 63 56 61 62 65 66 64 65 61 61 49 53 61 48 55 Sw | | |

Table 4.9. Collapsing highest percentage of Table 4.8 (80%)

| | | |
|---|---------|---------|
| Be | Sk = 89 | Nk = 90 |
| 52 Lo | Sy = 84 | Ul = 83 |
| 67 58 SN | SN = 81 | Sd = 86 |
| 63 56 78 Km | | |
| 67 65 74 69 Sy | | Nz = 84 |
| 56 51 74 75 67 Ul | | Km = 82 |
| 56 52 77 74 69 78 Ha | | |
| 58 57 74 73 69 72 75 Ar | | Ar = 80 |
| 55 53 70 69 64 69 71 78 Mu | | |
| 56 53 71 71 61 67 66 70 69 Mb | | |
| 51 42 64 66 54 59 60 62 61 64 Ra | | |
| 61 53 67 71 59 63 64 63 60 63 56 Wu | | |
| 50 57 56 52 58 51 52 54 51 49 42 48 Hy | | |
| 59 54 60 57 64 53 54 62 55 54 57 58 52 Hh | | |
| 54 47 64 64 62 58 60 60 60 63 60 63 49 54 Go | | |
| 43 40 48 51 46 44 45 47 45 47 43 49 42 41 57 He | | |
| 52 46 57 59 53 54 54 55 52 56 45 57 48 56 60 49 Ky | | |
| 53 49 65 63 56 61 62 66 64 65 61 61 49 53 61 48 55 Sw | | |

81% = SN (Sk ((Nk (GInaNtuzu (Nt), JinaKIya (Ki)) + Su (KImunaSukuma) + Nz (KINyanyeembe (Ny), SiGalagaanza (Ga), KiKonoongo (Ko))

80% = Ar (GiAhi (Ah), GiRwana (Rw))

Percentage at right margin of table = Original shared % for combination

Nk = GInaNtuzu + JinaKIya

Sk = Nk (GInaNtuzu + JinaKIya) + KImunaSukuma

Sd = Sk (Nk (GInaNtuzu + JinaKIya) + KImunaSukuma) + KiDakama

Nz = KINyanyeembe + KiKonoongo + SiGalagaanza

Sy = SiSiloombo + SiYoombe

Ul = KInaUshoola + KInaLaamba Central

Km = KiKiImbu North + KiKiImbu South

SN = Sd + Nz

Ar = GiAhi + GiRwana

Table 4.10 Collapsing highest percentage of Table 4.9 (78% -SN · Km)

| | | |
|--|---------|---------|
| Be | Sk = 89 | Nk = 90 |
| 52 Lo | Sy = 84 | Ul = 83 |
| 65 57 NM | SN = 81 | Sd = 86 |
| 67 65 72 Sy | | Nz = 84 |
| 56 51 75 67 Ul | | Km = 82 |
| 56 52 76 69 78 Ha | | |
| 58 57 74 69 72 75 Ar | | Ar = 80 |
| 55 53 70 64 69 71 78 Mu | | NM = 78 |
| 56 53 71 61 67 66 70 69 Mb | | |
| 51 42 65 54 59 60 62 61 64 Ra | | |
| 61 53 69 59 63 64 63 60 63 56 Wu | | |
| 50 57 54 58 51 52 54 51 49 42 48 Hy | | |
| 59 54 59 64 53 54 62 55 54 57 58 52 Hh | | |
| 54 47 64 62 58 60 60 60 63 60 63 49 54 Go | | |
| 43 40 50 46 44 45 47 45 47 43 49 42 41 57 He | | |
| 52 46 58 53 54 54 55 52 56 45 57 48 56 60 49 Ky | | |
| 53 49 64 56 61 62 66 64 65 61 61 49 53 61 48 55 Sw | | |

78% = NM (SN + Km); Lm (Ul + Ha); Rr (Ar + Mu)

Percentage at right margin of table = Original shared % for combination

Nk = GInaNtuzu + JinaKIIya

Sk = Nk (GInaNtuzu + JinaKIIya) + KImunaSukuma

Sd = Sk (Nk (GInaNtuzu + JinaKIIya) + KImunaSukuma) + KIDakama

Nz = KINyanyeembe + KIKonoongo + SiGalagaanza

Sy = SiSiloombo + SiYoombe

Ul = KInaUshoola + KInrLaamba

Km = KIKIImbŭ North + KIKIImbŭ South

SN = Sd + Nz

Ar = GiAhi + GtRwana

NM = SN + Km

Table 4.11 Collapsing highest percentage of Table 4.10 (78%-Ul - Ha)

| | | |
|---|---------|---------|
| Be | Sk = 89 | Nk = 90 |
| 52 Lo | Sy = 84 | Ul = 83 |
| 65 57 NM | SN = 81 | Sd = 86 |
| 67 65 72 Sy | | Nz = 84 |
| 56 52 76 68 Lm | | Km = 82 |
| 58 57 74 69 74 Ar | | Ar = 80 |
| 55 53 70 64 70 78 Mu | | |
| 56 53 71 61 67 70 69 Mb | | NM = 78 |
| 51 42 65 54 60 62 61 64 Ra | | Lm = 78 |
| 61 53 69 59 64 63 60 63 56 Wu | | |
| 50 57 54 58 52 54 51 49 42 48 Hy | | |
| 59 54 59 64 54 62 55 54 57 58 52 Hh | | |
| 54 47 64 62 59 60 60 63 60 63 49 54 Go | | |
| 43 40 50 46 45 47 45 47 43 49 42 41 57 He | | |
| 52 46 58 53 54 55 52 56 45 57 48 56 60 49 Ky | | |
| 53 49 64 56 62 66 64 65 61 61 49 53 61 48 55 Sw | | |

Percentage at right margin of table = Original shared % for combination

Nk = GiNaNtuzu + JinaKiiya

Sk = Nk (GiNaNtuzu + JinaKiiya) + KiMunaSukuma

Sd = Sk (Nk (GiNaNtuzu + JinaKiiya) + KiMunaSukuma) + KiDakama

Nz = KiNyanyeembe + KiKonoongo + SiGalagaanza

Sy = SiSiloombo + SiYoombe

Ul = KiNaUshoola + KiInLaamba Central

Km = KiKiimbø North + KiKiimbø South

SN = Sd + Nz

Ar = GiAhi + GiRwana

NM = SN + Km

Lm = Ul + KiInHaanzu

Table 4.12 Collapsing highest percentage of Table 4.11 (78%-Ar - Mu)

| | | |
|--|---------|---------|
| Be | Sk = 89 | Nk = 90 |
| 52 Lo | Sy = 84 | Ul = 83 |
| 65 57 NM | SN = 81 | Sd = 86 |
| 67 65 72 Sy | | Nz = 84 |
| 56 52 76 68 Lm | | Km = 82 |
| 57 55 72 67 72 Rt | | Ar = 80 |
| 56 53 71 61 67 70 Mb | | NM = 78 |
| 51 42 65 54 60 62 64 Ra | | Lm = 78 |
| 61 53 69 59 64 62 63 56 Wu | | Rt = 78 |
| 50 57 54 58 52 53 49 42 48 Hy | | |
| 59 54 59 64 54 59 54 57 58 52 Hh | | |
| 54 47 64 62 59 60 63 60 63 49 54 Go | | |
| 43 40 50 46 45 46 47 43 49 42 41 57 He | | |
| 52 46 58 53 54 54 56 45 57 48 56 60 49 Ky | | |
| 53 49 64 56 62 65 65 61 61 49 53 61 48 55 Sw | | |

Percentage at right margin of table = Original shared % for combination

$Nk = GiNaNtuzu + JinaKiIya$

$Sk = Nk (GiNaNtuzu + JinaKiIya) + KiMunaSukuma$

$Sd = Sk (Nk (GiNaNtuzu + JinaKiIya) + KiMunaSukuma) + KiDakama$

$Nz = KiNyanyeembe + KiKonoongo + SiGalagaan$

$Sy = SiSiloombo + SiYoombe$

$Ul = KiNaUshoola + KiInILaamba Central$

$Km = KiKiIimbO North + KiKiIimbO South$

$SN = Sd + Nz$

$Ar = GiAhi + GiRwana$

$NM = SN + Km$

$Lm = Ul + KiInIHaanzu$

$Rt = Ar + \gamma InyaMunyinyani$

Table 4.12 indicates that 76% is the highest percentage. However, it is not at the edge. In order to facilitate collapsing the pair which shares it, it is essential to shift it to the diagonal, doing all the necessary adjustments in the rows and columns of relationships. The rearranged configuration is indicated in Table 4.13 by shifting Sy to the top of NM.

Table 4.13 Collapsing highest percentage of Table 4.12 (76%): Rearranging MN Lm

| | | |
|--|---------|---------|
| Be | Sk = 89 | Nk = 90 |
| 52 Lo | Sy = 84 | Ul = 83 |
| 67 65 Sy | SN = 81 | Sd = 86 |
| 65 57 72 NM | | Nz = 84 |
| 56 52 68 76 Lm | | Km = 82 |
| 57 55 67 72 72 Rt | | Ar = 80 |
| 56 53 61 71 67 70 Mb | | NM = 78 |
| 51 42 54 65 60 62 64 Ra | | Lm = 78 |
| 61 53 59 69 64 62 63 56 Wu | | Rt = 78 |
| 50 57 58 54 52 53 49 42 48 Hy | | |
| 59 54 64 59 54 59 54 57 58 52 Hh | | |
| 54 47 62 64 59 60 63 60 63 49 54 Go | | |
| 43 40 46 50 45 46 47 43 49 42 41 57 He | | |
| 52 46 53 58 54 54 56 45 57 48 56 60 49 Ky | | |
| 53 49 56 64 62 65 65 61 61 49 53 61 48 55 Sw | | |

Percentage at right margin of table = Original shared % for combination

Table 4.14 Collapsing highest percentage of Table 4.13 (76%)

| | | |
|---|---------|---------|
| Be | Sk = 89 | Nk = 90 |
| 52 Lo | Sy = 84 | Ul = 83 |
| 67 65 Sy | SN = 81 | Sd = 86 |
| 61 55 70 NL | Km = 82 | Nz = 84 |
| 57 55 67 72 Rt | | Ar = 80 |
| 56 53 61 69 70 Mb | | NM = 78 |
| 51 42 54 63 62 64 Ra | | Lm = 78 |
| 61 53 59 67 62 63 56 Wu | | Rt = 78 |
| 50 57 58 53 53 49 42 48 Hy | | |
| 59 54 64 57 59 54 57 58 52 Hh | | |
| 54 47 62 62 60 63 60 63 49 54 Go | | |
| 43 40 46 48 46 47 43 49 42 41 57 He | | |
| 52 46 53 56 54 56 45 57 48 56 60 49 Ky | | |
| 53 49 56 63 65 65 61 61 49 53 61 48 55 Sw | | |

Percentage at right margin of table = Original shared % for combination]

Nk = GInaNtuzu + JinaKIIya

Sk = Nk (GInaNtuzu + JinaKIIya) + KImunaSukuma

Sd = Sk (Nk (GInaNtuzu + JinaKIIya) + KImunaSukuma) + KIDakama

$Nz = K_{INyanyembe} + K_{IKonoongo} + SiGalagaan$
 $Sy = SiSiloombo + SiYoombe$
 $Ul = K_{InaUshoola} + K_{InLaamba Central}$
 $Km = K_{IKImb North} + K_{IKImb South}$
 $SN = Sd + Nz$
 $Ar = GiAhi + GiRwana$
 $NM = SN + Km$
 $Lm = Ul + K_{InHaanzu}$
 $Rt = Ar + \gamma InyaMunyiganyi$
 $NL = NM + Lm$

Table 4.15 Collapsing highest percentage of Table 4.14 (72%)

| | | |
|--|---------|---------|
| Be | Sk = 89 | Nk = 90 |
| 52 Lo | Sy = 84 | Ul = 83 |
| 67 65 Sy | SN = 81 | Sd = 86 |
| 59 55 69 NR | Km = 82 | Nz = 84 |
| 56 53 61 70 Mb | Ar = 80 | NM = 78 |
| 51 42 54 63 64 Ra | | Lm = 78 |
| 61 53 59 65 63 56 Wu | | Rt = 78 |
| 50 57 58 53 49 42 48 Hy | | |
| 59 54 64 58 54 57 58 52 Hh | | |
| 54 47 62 61 63 60 63 49 54 Go | | |
| 43 40 46 47 47 43 49 42 41 57 He | | |
| 52 46 53 55 56 45 57 48 56 60 49 Ky | | |
| 53 49 56 64 65 61 61 49 53 61 48 55 Sw | | |

| | | |
|---------|---------|---------|
| Nk = 90 | Ul = 83 | Lm = 78 |
| Sk = 89 | Km = 82 | Rt = 78 |
| Sd = 86 | SN = 81 | NL = 76 |
| Nz = 84 | Ar = 80 | NR = 72 |
| Sy = 84 | NM = 78 | |

Percentage at right margin of table = Original shared % for combination

$Nk = GiNaNtuzu + JinaKiIya$
 $Sk = Nk (GiNaNtuzu + JinaKiIya) + KiMunaSukuma$
 $Sd = Sk (GiNaNtuzu + JinaKiIya) + KiMunaSukuma + KiDakama$
 $Nz = KiNyanyembe + KiKonoongo + SiGalagaan$
 $Sy = SiSiloombo + SiYoombe$

Ul = KInaUshoola + KInILaamba Central
 Km = KIkIImbU North + KIkIImbU South
 SN = Sd + Nz
 Ar = GiAhi + GtRwana
 NM = SN + Km
 Lm = Ul + KInIHaanzu
 Rr = Ar + YInyaMunyinyani
 NL = NM + Lm
 NR = NL + Rr

For practical purposes, *Table 4.15* can be the final stage in combining the languages, although this raises the question of cut-off points in sub-grouping. When dealing with the classification of related languages using lexicostatistics, where should sub-grouping stop in collapsing percentages and combining them into nodes of related languages/dialects? According to glottochronology, the method from which all the assumptions in lexicostatistics are based, the interval from NR to KeeMbuwe is 1182 years¹ (or the split occurred in 817 AD), given the 70% shared vocabulary, recorded in 1999. With SiSuumbwa, the shared vocabulary with NR is 69% or 1230 years ago, in 769 AD. This span is suspect because it does not change much even when compared to lower levels like dialects. With KISukuma, SiSuumbwa shares 71% or they split 1135 years ago in 864 AD; with KINyamweezi, excluding KIDakama they share 76% or the split occurred 910 years ago in 1089 AD. Since most of the languages forming NR share vocabularies in the 80%, then SiSuumbwa in the 70% is unlikely to be joined to them, and hence the cut-off point is justified.

¹ A table of all percentages and the years they represent is presented and discussed in 4.1.2.3. *Tables 4.16-18* when absolute chronology is compared to relative chronology discussed in Chapter 3.

But the difficulty of determining a limit remains real when the lower percentages after 72% are separated by short intervals only, such as 70%, followed by 69%, etc. Since the rates of shared retention are relative distances, the higher than 70% rate within the NR node is suggestive of a minimum, which can be observed even in *Table 4.1*. Addressing this question of a cut-off limit, Hymes (1960:26-7) points out that it is a difficult matter to decide, partly because of inadequate studies on procedure, but also partly because of the many factors involved in differentiating related languages. When speakers of languages separate, distance from each other over time increases linguistically and spacially. With more quantity of distance and time of separation, communication eventually fails because the languages spoken by the two separated speech communities change in quality from the earlier, common form. On the other hand, when speakers of two languages are adjacent, with communication between them constant, their languages, even if they are different, will tend to converge because time or space bridges, rather than increases, the gap of communication. For instance, if in the NR node the percentage is generally higher, then any slight variation draws attention. This is clearly shown by SiSumbwa, which, though its speakers have been adjacent with the NR languages for a long time, maintains a visible difference in shared retention, in the 70s, while the neighbouring NR languages are consistently in the mid- 80s or higher (See *Table 4.1*).

4.1.2.2 Lexicostatistical subgrouping: Analysis and discussion of results

Lexically, the statistics show that Zone F excludes five original members, namely ἸῆϞῆῆῆῆῆ, KiBende, KiiRangi, KeeMbuwe and KiLoongo. Of these, KiLoongo was normally ignored in the past and therefore it did not feature in any zone, except for mentions in anthropological or archaeological studies (Abrahams 1967, Soper and Golden 1969). On the other hand, the other four are the same languages which have been a focus of affiliation scepticism for some time, from being not known well enough (Nurse (1979a:28-9), Nurse and Philippon 1980:47-8), to that of being reasonably known enough to warrant some conclusions, although a systematic study had not been conducted (Nurse 1999:10-1). SiSuumbwa is borderline between known and unknown, for some time now characterized by uncertain statements of affiliation and history.

Those included in Zone F are not that homogeneous either since there are clear subdivisions based on the different shared retention rates as shown in *Figure 4.1*. The shared retention rates among different levels are summarized in *Table 4.15*, and reproduced below for convenience.

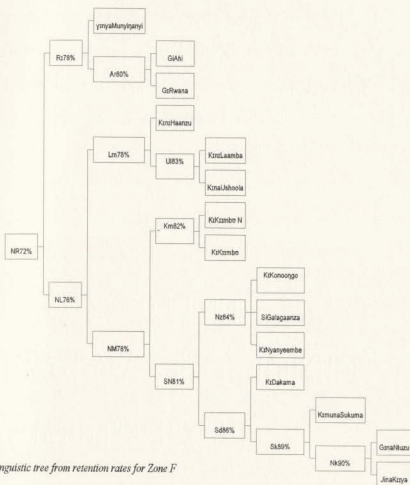


Figure 4.1 Linguistic tree from retention rates for Zone F

(138)

| | | |
|---------|---------|---------|
| Nk = 90 | UI = 83 | Lm = 78 |
| Sk = 89 | Km = 82 | Rr = 78 |
| Sd = 86 | SN = 81 | NL = 76 |
| Nz = 84 | Ar = 80 | NR = 72 |
| Sy = 84 | NM = 78 | |

From the shared percentages in (138), a linguistic tree of 14 nodes can be constructed (*Figure 4.1*). It is encouraging to note that the traditional groupings within Zone F are more or less the same, except that their internal relationships show the hierarchy in which the different dialects are associated. The traditional Zone F listings, as in other zones, did not suggest any hierarchies between the dialects identified, as though assuming that all dialects/languages were coordinate partners.

An important point noted by Nurse and Philippson (1980:38-9) with regard to the 76 languages they investigated concerns influence due to closeness, regardless of genetic affiliation, whereby higher similarities are registered with closer neighbours as higher percentages of shared retention, and consistently lower with distant ones. This proximity hypothesis in raising or lowering retention rates is informative with regard to cut-off points. In our data, the shared percentages depended on whether the neighbour had a higher or lower percentage rate of retention, suggesting that a language with a higher figure on its own would have an even higher one if its neighbour had an equal or higher rate, and vice versa. For instance, KeeMbuwe would show higher shared rates if it were surrounded by equally Bantu languages with higher retention rates, while KiLoongo would show a lower rate than is currently shown, because it is surrounded by KiSukuma, with higher retention rates. In other words, if a language which had lost much of its inherited vocabulary came in contact with, and borrowed from, languages which had a higher retention rate, it would itself seem to have retained a higher retention rate. The converse is true with regard to the lowering effects of

neighbouring languages. KiKiImbu is phonologically conservative and stable, but it is surprising that the retention rate is lower than expected. The likely explanation is contact with KiNyamweezi which lowered the count by replacing the original words. It may be the case that KiBende would have a lower retention rate if it were not adjacent to KiKonoongo or SiGalagaanza.

Because of this scenario, the KiSukuma (89%), KiNyamweezi (84%), SiSuumbwa (84%), KiKiImbu (82%), KiInLaamba (78%) and KiRimi (78%) groups' internal rates would be different if they were not surrounded by languages which tend to lower or raise their shared percentages. And since this larger group of 6 subgroups is characterized by high retention rates, its rate would be even higher than the current 83% average between them if they did not hypothetically experience that contact. With this high average figure for the 6 groups, the exclusion of IctW00ng0, KiBende, KiiRangi, KeeMbuwe and KiLoongo at 70% or less, is justified. Otherwise, many languages including those outside the zone would behave like the immediate sister languages of Zone F.

This also raises the question of the role of mutual borrowing in contact situations. For instance, KiInHaanzu's proximity with JinaKiIya makes its overall figures closer to those of KiSukuma-KiNyamweezi than to some of the members of its KiInLaamba group, as shown in *Table 4.1*. This supports and explains the similarity of some phonological features described in Chapter 3, illustrating the case pointed out by Hinnebusch (1999:176-8) about

similarity due to language contact. When speakers of different languages interact often, the relationship leads to the diffusion of vocabulary and its phonological features from and into those languages. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:53) actually suggest that features can be borrowed from one language into another even when they do not fit the typological nature of the other language. They may later become significant innovations in the recipient language. When the languages in question are typologically the same, and the speakers have been adjacent and interacting for a long time, detecting borrowing between them is a challenge, so that any slight difference is significant.

4.1.2.3 Lexicostatistics, absolute chronology and linguistic grouping in Zone F

While the results closely resemble the traditional classification of the obvious individual groups like SiSuumbwa, KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi, KiRimi, KiKimbw, iCiwotungu, KiiRangi, KeeMbuwe and KiBende, to a great extent expected zonal unity is undermined. In the linguistic tree, some languages are excluded because of retaining lower vocabulary percentages than expected. The variation should be small if languages really belong to the same group. Because language relationships can be graded in a continuum of closeness rather than viewed as discrete entities, including or excluding any member like SiSuumbwa and KeeMbuwe from Zone F is a difficult decision, as they have relatively higher percentages than the rest of the excluded varieties. This indeterminate division into discrete units between one language or dialect and another needs an interpretation of the patterns observed in a historical perspective based on what really happened.

The relationships between languages shown in the tables above so far suggest that the prospects for Zone F maintenance are improved. Chapter 3 greatly undermined the unity of the zone by showing how irregularly the major phonological processes are distributed in Zone F, indicating a doubtful genetic relationship. The vocabulary in this chapter presents a better picture by showing that, although the lexicostatistical application excludes some members, the remaining ones show some cohesion. But as pointed out above, lexical unity may also have been mainly facilitated by the lengthy proximity of the speech communities. The effect is seen in how the rates of shared vocabulary are modified when languages are adjacent, as observed by Nurse and Philippson (1980a).

For instance, while some traditional classifications group **KINLaamba**, **KIRImi** and **KIKIImbɔ** as one unit, on the one hand, and **SISuumbwa**, **KISukuma** and **KINyamweezi** on the other as core units of Zone F, our study displays different hierarchies as shown in *Figure 4.1* (Cf Nurse 1979a:28). The levels in this lexicostatistically based pattern indicate that, **SISuumbwa** is out of the picture, a situation which Nurse (1979a) notes as an influence to **SISuumbwa**, as an F member, by the **GiHa** and **KIZinza** group. The remaining ones, **KISukuma**, **KINyamweezi**, **KINLaamba**, **KIRImi** and **KIKIImbɔ** branch in a complicated way. The following are the results of the patterns in *Figure 4.1*. The first split removed

KIRImi from the larger group 1089 years ago, in 910 AD, indicated by 72% of shared vocabulary, illustrated in *Table 4.16* for all the possible split times in our study².

Table 4.16 Time estimates of language separation using index of .86 for 1000 years expressed as a percentage rate of retention (Ret) of shared vocabulary.

| Ret % | Years | Ret % | Years | Ret % | Years | Ret % | Years | Ret % | Years |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 90 | 349 | 80 | 740 | 70 | 1182 | 60 | 1693 | 50 | 2298 |
| 89 | 386 | 79 | 781 | 69 | 1230 | 59 | 1749 | 49 | 2365 |
| 88 | 428 | 78 | 824 | 68 | 1279 | 58 | 1806 | 48 | 2433 |
| 87 | 462 | 77 | 866 | 67 | 1328 | 57 | 1864 | 47 | 2503 |
| 86 | 500 | 76 | 910 | 66 | 1377 | 56 | 1922 | 46 | 2574 |
| 85 | 539 | 75 | 954 | 65 | 1428 | 55 | 1982 | 45 | 2647 |
| 84 | 578 | 74 | 998 | 64 | 1480 | 54 | 2043 | 44 | 2722 |
| 83 | 618 | 73 | 1043 | 63 | 1532 | 53 | 2105 | 43 | 2798 |
| 82 | 658 | 72 | 1089 | 62 | 1585 | 52 | 2168 | 42 | 2876 |
| 81 | 699 | 71 | 1135 | 61 | 1639 | 51 | 2232 | 41 | 2956 |
| | | | | | | | | 40 | 3038 |

(139)

| | | |
|---------|---------|---------|
| Nk = 90 | Ul = 83 | Lm = 78 |
| Sk = 89 | Km = 82 | Rr = 78 |
| Sd = 86 | SN = 81 | NL = 76 |
| Nz = 84 | Ar = 80 | NR = 72 |
| Sy = 84 | NM = 78 | |

² The years in this table use the formula $t = \log C' / 2 \log r$ introduced in Chapter 1, where t is the time of separation in years, obtained by calculating C' , a percentage of the retained words from a list of 100 words, and r is a given constant .86, which is assumed to be a ratio of 86 words retained out of 100 after the initial 1000 years have passed.

The percentages in (139) are those calculated from *Tables 4.1 to 4.15*, as shared vocabulary between the nodes identified. They are repeated here for ease of reference. From the tree, after KIRimi split, the remaining group split into two again, 910 years ago, in 1089 AD, when KINLaamba diverged, as shown by the shared vocabulary of 76% at that level. In 1175 AD, KIKIImbθ diverged from the remaining group, shown as a retention rate of 78%. It was at that same period that KINHaanzu splintered from the larger KINLaamba group which had split earlier. When KIKIImbθ split from the remaining larger group, it was the KINyamweezi and KISukuma groups that still remained together. In 1300 AD, or 699 years ago, they split, KINyanyeembe, KIKonoongo and SiGalagaanza as one group, and KISukuma and KIDakama another, shown with a shared retention of 81%. KIDakama split from the rest of the KISukuma dialects later, in 1499, or 500 years ago, with a shared retention of 86%. Modern KISukuma dialects began to be differentiated in 1613 when KImunaSukuma split from the others, some 386 years ago, indicated as 89% of shared vocabulary. And in 1650, or 349 years ago, JinaKIya and GINtuzu separated (90%).

How historically true are these years of splits? This is a different matter which the method itself can only be credited for proposing. The rest may depend on two things: availability of corroborating external evidence and the interpretation of the results, especially of any unexpected deviations from the facts of known history.

To begin with, dates by other researchers concerning Zone F or its members can put these lexicostatistically based calculations in perspective, although these are not many. Neither are they reliable, since they are also only hypotheses of the events. For instance, Ehret (1984:489) gives some dates for part of Zone F. Although he does not state how he got those approximate years, their similarity with ours is striking and interesting, as compared in (140):

(140)

Ehret's estimates (1984:489)

By 500 AD: Division of Proto Takama into 3 groups: F21/F22, F24 and F31/F32

1100-1600 AD Divisions of KiWembere speakers (KiNiLaamba and KiRimi)

This study's lexicostatistical figures

By 1300 AD: F32, F31, F24 and F21/F22 divided, though F32 split in 910 AD

910: Split of KiRimi from the rest of Zone F core group

The margins of error of the dates in (140) depend on the method used and the assumptions of the beginnings of humanity. From the years by Ehret indicated above, lexicostatistics is not that bad for giving rough estimates of linguistic relationship, just as it works to some reasonable degree when the lexicostatistical results are subjected to glottochronology, as a measure of absolute dating applied to the nodes. Even Carbon 14 depends on ideal conditions for the accuracy of its results. If the historical facts of an area are known by other means, then the figures of lexicostatistics begin to make sense. This is consonant with the metaphor of Carbon 14: if it is contaminated, the years obtained may not match the actual chronology. In linguistic terms, when a speech community remains in relative isolation, maintaining

constant communication between its members, the language is unlikely to change in an irregular way. This will be reflected by high retention rates. This is an ideal situation which rarely obtains in reality, except in a few rare cases (Ross 1998:142). On the other hand, when movements and interactions of people are numerous, especially when there are social, political and economic changes and upheavals like wars, pestilence, conquests, plunder, invasions and repression, linguistic change over time is likely to be greatest, reflected by lower retention rates in the intermingling speakers of different languages. Any figures given therefore, whether as retention percentages or glottochronological years, depend on all factors impinging on the ideal situation. This makes lexicostatistics and glottochronology similar with other methods which impose conditions for their reasonable accuracy. Failure to observe those conditions does not make the methods worse than others.

When those conditions are observed, the following ideal divisions are used to rank linguistic levels from dialect to macrophylum. The only problem here is that the system of assigning retention rates and linguistic levels is not uniform, suggesting that linguistic science in the area of dating is still in its infancy. For example, Crowley (1997:184) ascribes the different assignment of retention rates and linguistic levels to idiosyncratic choices by practicing linguists. In *Table 4.17*, two systems have been used for classifying and dating Pacific languages.

Table 4.17 Language, dialect, time of separation and shared percentage (After Crowley 1997:182, 184)

| System A | | | System B | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Approximate years of separation | Level of subgrouping | % shared cognate core vocabulary | Level of subgrouping | % shared cognate core vocabulary |
| 0 - 500 | Dialects of one language | 81-100 | Dialects of a language | 81 - 100 |
| 500 - 2500 | Languages of a family | 36-81 | Languages of a sub-family | 55 - 81 |
| 2500 - 5000 | Families of a stock | 12-36 | Subfamilies of a family | 28 - 55 |
| 5000 - 7500 | stocks of a microphylum | 4-12 | Families of a stock | 13 - 28 |
| 7500 - 10000 | microphyia of mesophylum | 1-4 | Stocks of a phylum | 5 - 13 |
| 10000 - ∞ | mesophyla of a macrophylum | 0-1 | | |

Table 4.18 Median rating and retention dates between languages (After Ehret 2000:288)

| Approximate median dating in BP (Before the Present) | Retention rate between languages % | Approximate median dating in BP (Before the Present) | Retention rate between languages % |
|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| 1000 | 74 | 6000 | 16 |
| 2000 | 55 | 7000 | 12 |
| 3000 | 40 | 8000 | 9 |
| 4000 | 30 | 9000 | 7 |
| 5000 | 22 | 10000 | 5 |

But sometimes these systems differ significantly. It is indeed disturbing to note that the same labels like 'language', 'language family' or 'linguistic stocks' are used to refer to different retention rates and different linguistic levels. Ehret (2000) provides another scale as a ratio of retention to time, shown in *Table 4.18*. Compared to the rates in *Table 4.17*, the numbers are not identical, although they should be, where the same concept is used to mean the same thing.

This inconsistency in the value of units, labelling and therefore criteria for subgrouping may be one of the reasons why some linguists regard the twin methods as a waste of time. Practically, it remains true that sloppy application of method should not be confused with the method itself, which is quite good, as good as the regularly used comparative method. The comparative method has its weaknesses. For instance, in dealing with genetically related languages it uses only regular correspondences. If material does not correspond regularly, then it is left unaccounted for, or is simply labelled 'borrowed' as Ross (1996:180) puts it.

While in Chapter 3 the phonological picture suggested similarity due to convergence of adjacent languages, this part of quantitative evidence using lexicostatistics and glottochronology suggests divergence of a once unitary language. Ehret (1984:497) interprets the situation in the same way: from Proto Takama to the various groupings which later gave rise to F21, F22, F24, F31 and F32. Nurse (1999:3), on the other hand, uses the metaphor of a limited version kaleidoscope, a tube of mirrors reflecting constantly changing

patterns of colour. In this metaphor, the languages are in constant flux, diverging and converging, splitting and merging as circumstances surrounding the speakers change through time and space, with individual speakers, in small or big groups, criss-crossing familiar paths rather than blocks of languages moving uni-directionally, replacing other languages as they pass. Qualitative evidence based on lexical innovation sheds yet more light on the linguistic history of Zone F, particularly SSN, as various speakers of different linguistic groups interact in an endless process of human survival.

4.2 QUALITATIVE EVIDENCE IN LEXICAL INNOVATION

This section focuses on lexical innovation as a linguistic mechanism which serves to isolate one language from another, as evidence of independent historical evolution. If such innovation is shared by a set of languages, then it is assumed that those varieties share a common history from the past and therefore a genetic relation between them can be justified. Such innovation is evaluated in terms of three aspects: borrowed items confined within a single group only; shared and consistent morphological similarity among language varieties with no other reason for that resemblance except evolution from the same path from a common ancestor language; unique lexical creations which cannot be attributed to chance between any two or more languages/dialects except to a common historical path, even when an existing source is present, but is not known. Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993:285), Batibo (1992, 1996), Schoenbrun (1997), Ehret (1999) among others, utilize this technique in tracing the history of a group of languages.

The minimal unit of analysis used is the dialect, while the maximal grouping is Zone F. In-between, the intermediate levels are examined, each one indicating its unique innovations that purport to join a number of member linguistic sub-units. By definition, the dialect is expected to be unique by having a feature or set of features which are not found in the other sister dialects belonging to the same higher level that unites them, a language, as their parent. On the other hand, Zone F may be identified by the isolation of some key innovations displaying two essential characteristics. Firstly, those features peculiar to Zone F must run throughout the members of the group without exception so that affiliation, existence or validity as a Zone is displayed without any reasonable doubt, and secondly, those features should not be found in other zones which form Bantu. To accomplish the task of comparison, the following method was employed in the identification, selection, and use of lexical items.

From the basic list of the 1036 words, not all could be utilized for comparison. Only about 400 or so were actually selected as useful. 200 or so were judged to be inherited from Proto Bantu and therefore they were excluded, unless some special interest emerged. Inherited words as common items across a number of languages are normally realized differently in matters of detail from one language to another due to their different paths of historical development. Such common vocabulary appeared in almost all 22 language varieties, and it was easily recognizable in form and meaning in other Bantu languages beyond Zone F as well. As inherited items, they could not be used because they do not show any uniqueness which would help isolate Zone F from the rest of the other zones.

From that list of 1036 words, an additional 400 or so words could not be used at all because of some inconsistencies, which can be categorized into at least five groups. Firstly, verbs of motion in many languages, such as those referring to 'run', 'lift', 'jump' seem too amenable to inconsistent innovation, so that each language variety in extreme cases had its own word, depending on the shade of meaning an informant happened to remember readily. Difference of item in this case was not necessarily an indication of different origin.

Secondly, some words were simply ambiguous, and one response was as acceptable as the other depending on which item an informant picked from the range of several possibilities available to him/her at the moment. Hence, a difference of morpheme meant two things: different origin or different concept. For instance, a word like 'cut' in JinaKItya would be gɔ-tema, gɔ-βuta, gɔ-cheemba, or gɔ-tIna, gɔ-jega, depending on what object or how that object was cut, or both. Another interesting word was 'unripe, half-grown'. In JinaKItya, as in other speech communities specializing in a particular activity like farming, to be 'unripe' is not enough. It depends on what object is unripe. For instance, it can be -nagana (for vegetables and other fruit eaten raw like cucumbers and their families); -tIndI (millet and maize stalks); ji-deema (baobab young tree only); ma-noga (groundnuts/peanuts only); and -βIsI (fruit, wild and cultivated, like water melons, oranges). A concept like 'to teach' also caused problems of choice among possibilities, although it did not seem ambiguous at first. The response to that one depended on what was taught and/or for how long, as the following illustration from JinaKItya shows: gɔ-laanga (general instruction, short or long term); gɔ-

toonga (specific to one occasion only, normally for a short duration); gɔ-heembeka (used in medicine only as long term instruction which can take many years, although it can be extended to other types of specialized or exclusive instruction as well); gɔ-fuunda (used for girls only in relation to teachings of family life and its preservation); gɔ-hana (used for the instruction of secret subjects).

Thirdly, taboo and sacred words like those referring to private parts and fluids emanating from them commanded a high innovation rate which was inconsistent with the straightforward referential meanings. For instance, in some languages, 'sperm, semen' was often not translated, and when a response was provided, its root was the same as either for water or urine. Other words in this category included 'copulate', 'testicle', 'dead person', 'god', and 'spirit'. With such concepts, euphemisms are more common than the conceptual ones, which, for many, are unknown or too embarrassing to mention to strangers.

Fourthly, onomatopoeic words like that referring to 'cat' as nyau, or nyaaβu were ignored since they could be found in other areas beyond Zone F as well.

Finally, some of the concepts or objects were simply not known to either the informants, the researcher himself, or to both. These were not translated very well, not because the word did not exist, but simply because the participants had no clue what the word was talking about.

Among others, these included the names of some animals, trees, or birds which were either not known, have been forgotten, or have not been seen.

With this scenario in mind, it becomes obvious that the critical list of words can be quite small and yet significant enough for isolating a linguistic group. In some cases therefore, one word may be useful in a set of languages and not in others, while some words can cut across linguistic sub-groupings displaying clear sub-divisions by difference of reflex form.

On the other hand, when lexical innovations in one group are totally absent or their status questionable, serious doubts of validity and reliability of classification are raised. A historically valid linguistic grouping is expected to be open to observation and scrutiny, based on accessible evidence like innovation. This does not mean, however, that absence of evidence or clues is indicative of absence of historical connection in a contested case. The cases of doubtful historical connection are illustrated in some words below by question marks. Doubt only emphasizes the point that a word must withstand rigorous tests to qualify as a useable item in classification.

For comparative purposes, Nurse and Philippson's 1972 list is used where 100 language varieties were extracted from CBOLD³. In addition, Nurse's unpublished field notes have

³ Comparative Bantu On-Line Dictionary under the direction of Larry Hyman, University of California at Berkeley, with contributions by participants from all over the (continued...)

been used in many cases, especially with regard to those languages which are not included in CBOLD, like CiGogo (G11). One limitation encountered in using the CBOLD list and which readers should be aware of is the use of an orthography limited to symbols for 5 vowels only, excluding the common lower high /ɪ/ and /ʊ/, especially for the 7V languages. In addition, the consonant inventory is limited, based on the KiSwahili orthography of 24 letters (a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k,l,m,n,o,p,r,s,t,u,v,w,y,z), from the Roman alphabet which was acquired through English, but without the 'x' and 'q'. Vowel length is also not indicated consistently in the CBOLD list, phonologically or phonetically. The justification for such inaccurate recording is understandably a historical one, because most of the informants who prepared the lists themselves had the 5-vowel and 19-consonant KiSwahili writing system in mind when they transcribed their results from their mother tongues. KiSwahili does not show vowel length in its writing system⁴ either. Linguistically, showing short vowels only as if there is no length contrast is unfortunately unacceptable because it misrepresents both phonological and phonetic facts. For instance, the consonant inventory used in the orthographies of all the transcriptions does not include some other common phonemes like /β φ ʧ ʁ/, which are quite widely distributed outside KiSwahili and English. The status of /l/

³(...continued)
world and found at <http://www.linguistics.berkeley.edu/CBOLD> (in 2000)

⁴ There is disagreement on long vowels in KiSwahili, although there are indications that the distinction is there (Batibo 1990, Batibo and Rottland 1994, Mpiranya 1995). For instance, baba, dada and papa for 'father', 'sister' and 'shark' respectively are appropriately baaba, daada and paapa. Whether these words are borrowed, onomatopoeic or that minimal pairs in the language cannot be found for them to solidify the contrast, is entirely another matter.

and /r/ is also problematic in some Bantu languages, where the two are sometimes used in free variation, often in a haphazard way. The most frequent liquid from PB *d in most of the Bantu languages of eastern Africa is /l/. This inconsistent representation of liquids is illustrated by some members of EJ and DJ groups. In these languages, the use of l/r is not uniform, even within one language variety, calling for a systematic study of their status in order to isolate the phonological from the phonetic and orthographic. For instance, Muzale (1998:xviii) chooses “r” as a generic symbol to represent both phonemic and orthographic examples for the whole of Rutara (some part of EJ). The only reason given to justify that choice is convenience. At times, this inconsistency of representation can cause serious and misleading interpretations as wrong vowel and consonant phonemes are used and assumed to stand for historical facts. And finally, some of the languages were recorded as if they were mono-dialectal. For instance, F22, oRuHaya, as it appears in comparisons only means that any one of the 4 dialects mentioned in this study or another was used.

4.2.1 Survey of qualitative evidence in Zone F

4.2.1.1 Dialects: ‘buds’ in the linguistic tree

As concrete linguistic realities, the 22 dialects investigated more or less fit the pattern of the discrete divisions known by the native speakers of those languages. Where a language has already been investigated and recorded by others, the divisions are also corroborated to a large extent, except for a few adjustments which are shown below. For instance, in addition to native speaker intuition and experience, KiRImi has three dialects (Olson 1964); KiiRangi

and KeeMbuwe, though similar, have significant differences. On the other hand, the majority of the dialects of Zone F languages were only mentioned by previous scholars without being rigorously investigated and their similarities and/or differences identified and recorded in confirmation or rejection of the common wisdom taken for granted. Native speaker intuition can also be questioned if it is influenced by factors other than linguistic.

The languages which are fairly homogeneous include SiSuumbwa, which is formed by SiSiloombo and SiYoombe, although this does not mean that they are the only dialects in SiSuumbwa. The difference between KIKIIMBU North and KIKIIMBU South is also minimal. Such minimal variation is often brought about by surrounding languages impinging differently on them, depending on their locations and other sociolinguistic variables in an area. With this unequal exposure to different external forces which might also accelerate or trigger internal processes, each dialect becomes marked by either consistent lexical, morphological, tonal, or phonological differences on the one hand, or some combination of those markers, on the other.

This shows that each variety innovated differently as it took a different historical path. Some of these distinguishing features are unique to the individual dialects, while the others are shared by neighbouring dialects of other groups as well. Since the existence of the majority of these dialects is not in dispute, just a few cases to illustrate their independent histories will suffice.

One point to note however is that only one variety was used for KiiRangi, KeeMbuwe, IctWtṣṣṣṣ and KiBende. One justification for using only one form was the assumption that they have minimal variations internally, due to their speakers' expected dense social networks facilitated by their confined geographical locations, compared to languages like KiSukuma or iGiHa, whose speakers occupy areas large enough to cause complete isolation and much easier separate linguistic developments. This generalization is, however, not always accurate, since there are other factors which make homogeneity difficult even when those languages or dialects are geographically adjacent. For the other languages, examples of dialectal difference are important to highlight, since such variation at the lowest levels forms the foundation for grouping and isolating the upper nodes of proto languages.

For instance, JinaKiIya is unique in having Dahl's Law dissimilation operating to the right if the usual left-hand target consists of a voiceless fricative, rather than the canonical Dahl's Law case of dissimilating the first of any consecutive voiceless stop syllables, as in Idatṣ < *-tatṣ 'three'. GiNaNtuzu and KiMunaSukuma adhere to the standard rule, while JinaKiIya takes a step further, as in Isaga < isaka < *-caka 'bush', or Iṣfigṣ < Iṣfikṣ < *-cikṣ 'day'. This is one important distinguishing marker for JinaKiIya.

On the other hand, it is only GiNantuzu which does not allow the infinitive marker kṣ- (regularly changing to ḡṣ-) to be followed by a verb with an initial or short /i/ or /ɪ/. to form a glide. The initial vowel of that verb, /i/ or /ɪ/, as the case may be, is deleted, and the vowel

/ɔ/ of the infinitive also replaced by the higher /u/, as illustrated in *Table 4.19*. Apart from the glide-forming environment of the infinitive, other words with a potential glide are also affected.

JinaKizya uniformly forms a glide with the initial /i/ or /ɪ/ of a verb and /k/ voices to /g/ consistently, as in GZnaNtuzu, while KZmunaSukuma also forms the glide consistently, but additionally and uniquely for this group, maintains /k/.

*Table 4.19 Infinitive *kɔ- as an important dialect morphological marker in KZSukuma*

| Dialect Proto Bantu : | GZnaNtuzu | JinaKizya | KZmunaSukuma |
|-----------------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|
| *-yɪtɪk- 'answer a call' | gudɪkɪ | gwɪdɪkɪ | kwiɪdɪkɪ |
| *-deg- 'avoid, dodge' | gulɪgɪ | gwɪlɪgɪ | - |
| *-yɪt- 'call' | gulɪnɪ | gwɪlɪnɪ | kwiɪlɪnɪ |
| *-tɔɪk- 'carry on to head' | gudɪkɪ | gwɪdɪkɪ | kwiɪdɪkɪ |
| *-yɪj- 'come' | guzɪ | gwɪzɪ | kwiɪzɪ |
| *-yɪŋk- 'give' | guŋɪ | gwɪŋɪ | kwiɪŋɪ |
| *-yɪgu- 'hear' | gugwɪ | gwɪgwɪ | kwiɪgwɪ |
| *-yɪt- 'pour away' | gulɪ | gwɪlɪ | kwiɪlɪ |
| *- 'squat' | gulɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ | gwɪlɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ | kwiɪlɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ |
| *-yɪb- 'to steal' | guβɪ | gwɪβɪ | kwiɪβɪ |
| *-yɪb- 'to forget' | gwɪβɪ | gwɪβɪ | kwiɪβɪ |
| *-yɪŋgɪd- 'to go in, enter' | gwiŋgɪlɪ | gwɪŋgɪlɪ | kwiɪŋgɪlɪ |
| *-yɪm- 'to stand' | gwɪmɪlɪ | gwɪmɪlɪ | kwiɪmɪlɪ |
| *-gɔɪnɪ 'crocodile' | ŋɪnɪ | ŋwɪnɪ | ŋwɪnɪ |
| *-yɪbɪ 'thief' | ŋɪβɪ | ŋwɪβɪ | ŋwɪβɪ |

The rest of the language varieties are treated in the main section using lexical innovation to show that they developed together or differently, and hence they are the same language or they are independent dialects of a language. For others like SiSiloombo and SiYoombe on the one hand, and KiLoongo on the other, the lexical and phonological differences indicate that they might actually belong to different languages, rather than dialects of one language, as shown below. The shared percentages in the nodes obtained in section 4.1.1 above and displayed as tables as well as showing a linguistic tree, are used to examine the justification of the results against known historical facts about Zone F. Such a test also validates the lexicostatistical groupings as historically significant as well.

The classification of linguistic levels based on shared innovation in vocabulary which purports to define identified clusters is tested against words from other languages. Such words outside a given group are examined to find if there is any indication of relation, especially in cases of borrowing and genetic relation. In other types of innovation other possible sources are suggested. The final part in each linguistic node summarizes the observations as a whole and comments on the historical validity of such qualitative measures.

4.2.1.2 Dialect clusters: hierarchical nodes of historic languages

In the process of lexical analysis below, the vocabulary which is identified stands out as peculiar only to that group under discussion. The vocabulary can be unique in two ways: belonging exclusively to that cohesive group as inventions or having words which are not

found in its larger group's lexicon, but are shared by outside languages because of areal influence, borrowing or genetic affiliation peculiar to it. In each language or language group analyzed, the unique creations (inventions) precede shared vocabulary. Unique creations are those words which are not inherited from Proto Bantu and are not found elsewhere except in that language or dialect. The only drawback with the 'uniqueness' label is that a unique word may not appear in other dialects, not because it is absent in those languages, but because those languages which might show the same unique word are not included in the sample of languages being used in the comparisons. This limitation in access to all data makes any conclusion reached here only tentative rather than an absolute fact.

On the other hand, shared innovation may refer to semantic or peculiar morphological innovations of inherited words, or loans from one language to another. As pointed out above, phonological innovations are not counted, although they may be listed to display an interesting pattern. Where appropriate, some comments are supplied to add more context to the words.

To facilitate actual frequency in shared vocabulary, the dialects are not counted in the final tallies. The whole group is listed, unless only one dialect displays the word. For instance, if one word occurs in F21 in all three dialects, then one observation is counted rather than three, since we are dealing with larger patterns. In other words, the total number of frequencies will equal or be less than the total number of groups observed in a linguistic grouping like Sk

(GinaNtuzu (F21b) and JinaKiiya (F21c) which form a node of 90% of shared vocabulary in the lexicostatistical table of section 4.1.2.1 above.

The method used here, therefore, involves three stages: first, it lists all the dialects in which a lexeme occurs, groups those occurrences into their respective linguistic groups which are judged to be genetically valid⁵ and then represents the results in a graph as frequencies. Those graphs are a rough and relative display which shows how the target group compares to each of the external dialect or group used. An absolute display would include all dialects from all Bantu languages. The graph only gives an approximate visual picture of how much the various linguistic subgroups share vocabulary.

Secondly, those dialects sharing the innovation are grouped together into dialect or language clusters in the Guthrie numbering system where necessary. Full names like Rutara, East Ruvu (ERuvu), Seuta are used as conveniently short labels especially in groups which span different digits. For instance, Seuta includes G23, G24, G31, and G34, making a simple alpha-numerical representation cumbersome. Kilombero is G50, and therefore it is easy to represent it as G50 rather than by the long name because all its members are included. The names of these groups are given in the list of abbreviations. For convenience, these names and the

⁵ The linguistic groups of eastern African languages which are fairly genetic can be found in the proposals of Nurse (1982, 1988, 1994/5, 1999), Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993), Muzale (1998), among others. These groupings are often changing as better analyses and understanding become available. Their major function is therefore mainly referential and tentative until definitive answers are finally assembled.

languages they represent are given in (141). They are used interchangeably with their alpha-numerical representations.

(141)

Western Highlands (DJ60) = Kinyarwanda (DJ61), KiRundi (DJ62), iKiFuliuru (DJ63), KiShuŋi (DJ64), KiHangaza (DJ65), iGiHa (DJ66), KiVinza (DJ67)

North Rutara (EJ11-14) = Runyoro (EJ11), RuTooro (EJ12), oLuNyankole (EJ13), oLuCiga/oRuCiga/RuCiga (EJ14)

South Rutara = oRuNyambo (EJ21), oRuHaya (EJ22 (RuZiba (EJ22a), RuHamba (EJ22b), Runyalhangiro (EJ22c), RuHyozza (EJ22e)), RuZinza (EJ23), RuKereβe (EJ24)

Suguti (EJ25) = KiJita (EJ25a), KiKwaya (EJ25b), KiRegi (EJ25c), CiRuri (EJ25d)

North Nyanza (EJ15-EJ17) = LuGanda (EJ15), oLuSoga (EJ16), oLuGwere (EJ17)

Luhya (EJ30 and EJ41) = LuMasaaβa (EJ31) = LuGisu/LuKisu (EJ31a/b), Luβukusu (EJ31c1), oLuSyan (EJ31d), oLuTachon (EJ31e), oLuDadini (EJ31f), LuBuya (EJ31g), LuWanga (EJ32a), oLutsotso (EJ32b), LuMarama (EJ32c), LuKisa (EJ32d), LuKabarasi (EJ32e), LuNyala (EJ32f), LuNyore (EJ33), oLuSaamia (EJ34), LuXaayo (EJ34a), LuMarachi (EJ34b), oLuSonga (EJ34c), LuNyuli (EJ35), LuLogooli/LuRagooli (EJ41), Lwldaxo (EJ41a), Lwisuxa (EJ41b), oLuTiriki (EJ41c)

East Nyanza (EJ42-EJ45) = KiNguniri (EJ401), Kilkizu (EJ402), KiKurua (EJ43), iKiZanaki (EJ44) including varieties like iKisenyi (EJ44b), KiNdali (EJ44c), KiSiora (EJ44d), KiSweta (EJ44e), KiRoba (EJ44f), GiRango (EJ44h), KiSimbiti (EJ44k), KiShaashi (EJ44l), KiHacha (EJ44m), KiNata/KiIkoma (EJ45), (eKiGusii (EJ42))

Thagicu/Central Kenya (E50) = Gikayo (E51), KiEmbu (E52), KiMeru (E53), KiTharaka (E54a), KiCuka (E54b), KiKamba (E55) and KiSonjo (E46)

Chaga/Kilimanjaro-Taita (E60, with or without E74) KiRwo/KiMeru (E61), KiSiha (E611), KiChaga (E62), KiMachame (E62a), KiWunjo (E62b), KiRombo (E62c), KiWoso (KiBosho) (E62d), KiSeri (E62e), KiKeni (E62f), KiArusha (E63), KiKahe (E64), KiGweno (E65), KiTaita (E74) = KiDaβida (E74a), KiSagala (E74b)

Seuta (G20), (G30) = KiShambala (G23), KiBondei (G24), KiZigula (G31), Kiŋgulu (G34)

West Ruvu (G10, G39) = CiGogo (G11), KiKagulu (G12), KiSagala (G39)

East Ruvu (G30) = Kiŋhwele (G32), KiDoe (G321), KiZalamo (G33), iKiLugulu (G35), KiKami (G36), KiKutu (G37), G38 CiViDunda

Sabaki (G40 and E71, E72, E73) = KiMwani (G401), KiMakwe (G402), CiFundi/KiShirazi (G403), KiTitulu (G41) = (KiTitulu (G41a), KiMbalazi (G41b)), KiSwahili (G42) = (KiAmu (G42a), KiMvita (G42b), KiMrima (G42c), KiUnjua (G42d)), KiPemba (G43) = (KiP'emba (G43a), KiTumbatu (G43b), KiHadimu/ KiMakunduchi (G43c)), KiKomoro (G44) = (Kiŋgajzia (G44a), KiNjuani (G44b)), Kiŋokomo (E71), KiDhaiso/KiSegeju (E56), MijiKenda = (KiGiryama (E72a), KiKauma (E72b), KiConyi (E72c), KiDuruma (E72d), KiRabai (E72e), KiRibe (E72f), KiJibana (E72g), KiKambe (G72h)), KiDigo (E73))

KiLombero (G50) = KiPogolo (G51), KiNdamba (G52)

Southern Highlands (G60) = eSiSangu (G61), eKiHehe (G62), eKiBena (G63), KiPangwa (G64), KiKinga (G65), KiWanji (G66), KiKisi (G67)

Corridor (M10 = Corridor-Fipa, M20 = Corridor Nyiha) = iCiPimbwe (M11), KiLungwa (M12), CiFipa (M13), CiLungu (M14), iCiMambwe (M15), iCiWanda (M21), CinaMwanga (M22), iŋiNyiha (23), iŋiMailia (M24), iŋiSafwa (M25), Iwa (M26), Tambo (M27), (tCtWooŋo (F25))

Nyakusa (M30) = iKiNyakyusa (M31), CiNdali (M32)

Tanzanian CiNgoni (N10) = KiNdendeule (N101), KiNindi (N102), CiManda (N11), CiNgoni (N12), CiMatengo (N13), CiMpoti (N14)
Rufiji (P10) = KiNdengeleko (P11), KiRuihi (KiRufiji) (P12), KiMatumbi (P13), KiNgindo (P14)
Ruvuma (P20) = CiYao (P21), CiMwera (P22), CiMakonde (P23), CiMacinga (M231), CiMaŷiha (P25)

Where only a few members of a group show a lexeme, and others do not for whatever reason, then that group is represented in brackets, indicating that only some members displayed that word.

Thirdly, the list of all innovations is divided into two: unique creations and areal. "Areal" is a cover term for areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing, as indicated in the examples, and shortened to "areal vocabulary" in the text. A percentage is computed in each case to show the proportion of each. That percentage is another rough and relative indicator of how much a language innovated, and how much of its vocabulary is shared with other languages outside its zone. The measure is rough and relative because only limited vocabulary and language sample size outside zone F were used, rather than exhaustive lists of all possibilities. Where possible, the words are segmented to show basic morphemes, the roots, around which other morphemes are optionally attached.

4.2.1.2.1 Ntuzu Kiŷya (Nk) (90%) (GɔnaNtuzu (F21b) - JinaKiŷya (F21c))

The unique count is 4 out of 14, or 29%. The remaining 71% is composed of words which are shared by other Bantu languages, both adjacent and far-flung ones.

(142) Unique vocabulary (4 words)

cure, (cool), heal **gU-piija** (vt), **gU-piila** (vi): unique creation? ⁶

pronounce **gU-haya**:

slander, accuse falsely (often secretly) **gU-βoŋla**:

slap (with front of open hand) vi/vt **gU-paala (I-PI)**: unique innovation? (same root as in M32⁷, ku-pata?)

(143) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing (10 words)

apply by stretching **gU-koma** (F31, F32) -koma < Nk and spread, or vice versa?

he **-βiija** G60 ku-vedza; Luhya -wica; E60 -iva?

bladder **ituunji** (F21c), **ituunzi** (F21b): < *-tʊnd- 'urinate' by derivation

bowstring **lʊge** F23a/b lʊge; EJ40, o-ruge; E74a luga; Thagicu rugaa; Rutara oruga; Borrowing. < F23a/F23b < F21b/F21c < Zone EJ

hate **gU-kolwa** < *-kodʊ- 'become intoxicated': extension of meaning

iron F21c **jisiiŋza** F21b **gtsiiŋza** 'the one which slaughters'? < *-cɪŋ- 'butcher'?; unique, by derivation

mud, mire **teembe** EJ40 -tembe: borrowing one from the other, or from same origin?

sell **gU-jiinja** any relation with Thagicu ku-enda?

store, snort (vi) **gU-ŋoola** (onomatopoeic?) (Thagicu -ŋora, -ŋorota; Luhya xujorela; EJ25 -ŋoroota; South Rutara ku-ŋorota; F24 uxu-ŋota⁸; Corridor uku-ŋoota; <*-gona: phonological innovation? Or is it a loan from Nilo-Saharan *ŋuur?

⁶ The following abbreviations and symbols, explained in the abbreviations section, are repeated here as a reminder:

- ;
 - cf
 - []
 - ()
 - :
 - ?
- = separating different forms of a lexeme or concept in different languages
= compare with these forms, which may be related or not
= enclosing languages which do not form the complete set
= enclosing related languages being compared to the rest
= explanation follows, especially type of innovation
= unconfirmed, uncertain or doubtful case

⁷ M32 is a code for CiNdali, suggested by Swilla (1981, 2000), a native speaker of the language and a linguist, a suggestion which is a good addition, since Guthrie (1967-1971) did not include all languages/dialects. This code is adopted in this study.

⁸ This word was found in the KIKIIMBŪ list collected by Nurse and Philippson in 1972, although in the list of 1999, the informants of both north and south did not mention it. It also suggests borrowing from M11 or M12 since they share borders.

tortoise F21c **gulumaadi**, F21b **guumaadi** < Barbaig gumald: borrowing (cf PB *-kudu 'tortoise')

The connection of JinaKIIya with Luhya, East Nyanza (EJ40) and Thagicu languages raises serious questions of genetic affiliation. How much should a language share features with another for them to be regarded as genetically close, if first hand evidence is lacking? How can borrowing and genetic relationship be isolated if a pair belong to the same group typologically? The answer here lies in the employment of a multiplicity of evidence rather than relying on one form of evidence alone and elevating it to a final answer. For example, *seed (especially edible, not for planting)* F21c **ndete** E46 **ndetele**; EJ25a **entetele** (also occurs in Zambia as -tetele: accident or common origin? (Ehret, p.c.); EJ45 **chantetere**: EJ401, EJ42, EJ43, EJ45 **entetere** points to zones EJ and E origins because of the more elaborate forms there whereas in F21c the form is reduced. This is one indicator of source and origin.

4.2.1.2.2 KISukuma - (Sk) (89%) (Gɔɔaɔtuzɔ - JinaKIIya - KɔɔɔɔɔaɔSukuma)

This grouping can be termed 'traditional KISukuma' since, when that name is used, it is those dialects which are featured (although it by no means suggests that they are the only dialects forming KISukuma). Out of the 13 words, 4 are unique, or 31%. The rest, or 69%, are areal, shared with other languages and language groups.

(144) Unique vocabulary (4 words)

abdomen, belly, stomach ŋuumbz:

follow -kɔɔβɪja

pit, hole F21a, F21b icoonggo, F21c icoonggo

spoil (a child by pampering) -gegela

(145) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing (9 words)

breast (of a woman) F21a, F21b ɪɔ-noono, F21c ɪɔ-noono (North Nyanza) ŋondo; Thagicu ŋoonto; (Chaga) ŋodo: borrowing < E (credibility of the βaKaamba and other clans in βɔSukuma (Itandala 1979)? Common origin in the past since ŋondo/ŋondo is a Thagicu word? (Nurse 1979b:553)? Or is it a loan from non-Bantu languages: < Kamdang-tono (sg), ano (pl) 'breast'? (Stevenson 1991:351)

great, big, powerful -taale unique creation or semantic shift < Rutara -tale 'lion'?

hard -diimu (EJ40) ki-diŋu

in front of βu-toonggi F23c (Seuta) nongge, N10 ku-longgi?, P10 nonggi

kneel -tuja Thagicu -tura ndu/maru, (EJ40) -furya makoti

mourning ŋɔɔŋgɔ (any relation with Corridor impungo, 'mourning'?)

pig ŋɔɔmba (any relation with (G50) mtumbi, 'pig'?): unique creation or areal vocabulary?

*pipe (tobacco)*⁹ ɪɔ-seke/ɪɔ-sege :unique creation, or < *-cege 'horn', or borrowing: < Proto East Victoria Bantu (EJ40) *-sɛkɛ 'beer straw' < Proto Kalenjin *sɛk- 'beer straw' (Ehret 1971:98, 130)?

tomorrow ntoondo (why not nhoondo?) EJ25 mtondo; (Seuta) momtondo; Corridor mutondo: borrowing from M? Or inheritance from a common ancestor, but not Bantu? The formation of a prenasalized stop after the prefix mu- in KɪSukuma follows a regular pattern which distinguishes the N prefix. But here the rule does not apply, perhaps to distinguish the word from three words of the same shape which are tonally the same as well, with low tones: -toondo 'type of wasp; locusts at hopper stage; flesh wound' with a dictionary form of **noondo**¹⁰

⁹ KɪDakama has that word as isekeé/maseké in Maganga and Schadeberg (1992), although the informant for this study gave nteemba which Maganga and Schadeberg mention in the vocabulary section as common in Tabora, presumably referring to SiGalagaanza, KɪNyanyembe, and KɪKonoonggo

¹⁰ The topic of base words in JinaKɪIya and in other Bantu languages is explored in Masele (1996). For instance, -toondo is a root which is not a dictionary form, because such a form is marked in the sense that it is not recognized by a native speaker's mental lexicon. (continued...)

trunk (of elephant) **ḡkoondo** (Sabaki), (Corridor) umkondo (these might be the only ones with an unambiguous lexeme¹¹ like that in KiSukuma).

urine F21a, F21b **miine**, F21c **mīne** (North Nyanza) ma-ḡe, (Luhya) ama-ḡi: Speakers from the same group, or some speakers from the EJ group entered F21 and spread the word? Borrowing? This word is the only one where 'urine' and 'sperm' match with EJ16, while 'urinate' in EJ is different from 'urine'. To show the distance from EJ16/17 and EJ34 from each other, and EJ34 from F21 in this word, EJ34 behaves differently in terms of the vowel ending in 'urine', and the word for 'urine' and 'sperm' being radically different. On the other hand, EJ17 displays a different word for 'sperm' bujula perhaps because it might be a euphemism. For the majority of the languages compared, 'urine' is derived from 'urinate'. For instance, 'urine' derived from ku-ḡala is -ḡali, while that derived from -suḡala is -su. Another common word here for 'urinate' is ku-tunda, with 'urine' being -tundi, -tusi, -tunzi, -tuzi. Table 4.20 illustrates this pattern in EJ16/17 and F21.

Table 4.20 'Urine' and 'sperm' in F21 and EJ16, EJ17, and EJ34

| Word | F21ab/c | EJ16 | EJ17 | EJ34 |
|-------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------|--------|
| urine | m-iine/m-tne < ma-ine/ ma-tne | ma-iḡe | ma-ḡe | ama-ḡi |
| sperm | w-iine/w-tne < ḡa-ine/ ḡa- tne | ama-iḡe agazala 'bearing urine' | bujula | oḡwehe |

walk (take a) -yeela F23a,b -yeela; Thagicu ḡu-cera?, (Chaga) ku-sela?; E65-ira ira? is it < PB *-pit- 'pass'?

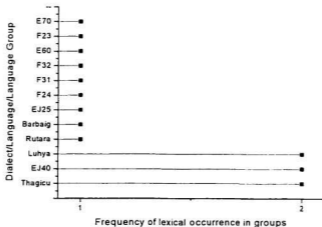
wall **ndugu** (EJ25) i-ndugu

¹⁰(...continued)

Rather, such a form is obtained as a dependent morpheme when number, the diminutive or other process is involved: **ḡoondo** (generic, base): **ḡa-toondo** 'small wasp'; **ma-toondo** 'many, big wasps'.

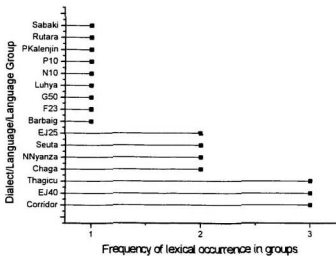
¹¹ EJ41 (Maragoli/LuLogooli?) and M12 (CiMpot), though do not undergo the homorganic nasal and stop process, do show the word as it is found in KiSukuma. It is not clear whether EJ403 KiSuba displayed a misspelling in omokonondo or not. On the other hand, though N13, P13 and P14 do not use that word, the one they use undergoes the same process: ḡkoḡga 'trunk (of elephant)' < mu-kongga.

From the foregoing, it can be observed that KɪSukuma shares more words with some members of Corridor, East Nyanza (EJ40) and Thagicu than with other groups. Such shared vocabulary in the unique set of lexemes with KɪSukuma is striking, given their present geographical distances, especially Thagicu. Four interpretations can be posited here. Firstly, it might be borrowing from them (Corridor, East Nyanza and Thagicu) (most unlikely for current geographical reasons). Secondly, some speakers might have originated from them and the newcomers were influential enough to spread some words in KɪSukuma. This is a likely explanation, for recent historical reasons, especially with regard to Corridor, as explored in Chapter 5.



■ Figure 4.2 Areal frequencies between F21b/c and other languages

Thirdly, the languages, although they are different, might have borrowed from a common source. This is another possibility if, for example, a powerful invader occupying a large area subjugated them together. Lastly, the possibility of a single origin, as proposed by Nurse (1999:20-1), that there was once a grouping Thagicu/F20/EJ, etc. which then split up is strengthened by Dahl's Law distribution among them, especially between Thagicu and F21. Thagicu like Gikɔyɔ and KɪSukuma share some important features linguistically which make them closer than KɪSukuma is to F22. In both F21 and Thagicu, 'return' is -fooka, -fooga, -syooka, or in F21c, -kiliifa 'rub' and -ogosa 'twist', nooŋo 'breast' is -kiiθa, nondo and -okoθa respectively in E55.



■ Figure 4.3 Areal frequencies between F21 and other languages

Nurse (1982:221, 1988:34) alludes to that close connection. Because of that similarity it suggests that they have at least two things in common, namely that their ancestors have been long separated from other East African Bantu languages and their routes of immigration patterns were separate.

Other important contributing sources are North Nyanza, Suguti (EJ25), Seuta and Chaga as shown in Figure 4.4 below. What do they suggest: loans, or common history?

4.2.1.2.3 KɪSukuma - KɪDakama - Sd (86%) (GɔnaNtuzu - JinaKɪɔa - KɔmunaSukuma - KɪDakama) - KɪSukuma2

As a readjustment, the 'new KɪSukuma' or KɪSukuma2 should include KɪDakama, while the plain KɪSukuma term excludes KɪDakama in subsequent references. This inclusion of KɪDakama is also supported strong by phonological evidence presented in Chapter 3. In this group, 3 words are unique (21%), and the rest, 79%, are shared, as shown below.

(146) Unique vocabulary (3 words)

elephant **ɪmɔlɪ**¹²

give light to -**twiima**, (F21c -**tɪma**) (F21b, from PB different morpheme)

leave, go away -**ɪɪŋga**

(147) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing (11 words)

heads **βɔ-salɔ** (F23a βɔsalɔ, F23b βusalɔ): EJ40, EJ25 uβu-saru; (DJ60) -saro; (Seuta), East Ruvu, (N10) usalu; < East Ruvu? Distribution concentrated along the central part of Tanzania as if the word is coastal, acquired during coast-hinterland long distance trading, then, just spread to EJ25 and EJ40, probably via the KɪSukuma speakers.

deny, refuse, say no -**lema** Seuta, (East Ruvu) -lem(ɛ)la

fly (vi) -**lala** (North Nyanza) -papala?, (Rutara) -halala? Probably loanword from Cushitic?

hand, left **ɪɔmoso** (only one sub-group with class 11 marker ɪɔ- in F)

increase (vi) -**kwɪɪla** (Luhya) xu-xila?, (EJ40) kukera? semantic innovation < PB *-kɔɪd- 'go up' as in Kiswahili -kwea < PB *-kɔɛd- 'go up' ?

lend, borrow -**laanda** (EJ40) -randa

¹² Although Batibo (1992b:70) suggests that probably -puli 'elephant' is from *peel* 'elephant' from Proto Southern Nilotic, it is unlikely, because only the consonants match. In addition, /ee/ changing to /ɔ/ in KɪSukuma2 is not phonologically or phonetically motivated. If it is not a KɪSukuma2 innovation, then the source is not known because Hadza and Sandawe speakers do not use such a word for elephant, as one would expect from people who are synchronically more proximal to the KɪSukuma2 speakers and might have been better hunters at that time than the Proto Southern Nilotic speakers. Bubenik (p.c) suggests the same source of the Afro-Asiatic form as Arabic fi:l 'elephant'.

medicine, remedy βσ-gota G50 m-gota, Corridor mu-kota, G60 (u)mu-goda, u-goda, (N10) goda (name for 'tree'), -kota in F31a/F31b kyota/ma-kota; F33 mooda; Barbaig geta (sg), gedig (pl) with DL: widespread Bantu word.

sick -saatu, -saadu (F21c), < -saata 'be sick' EJ24 ku-saaswa 'be sick' < -saata/saada < F21? < Barbaig miyand 'be sick'?

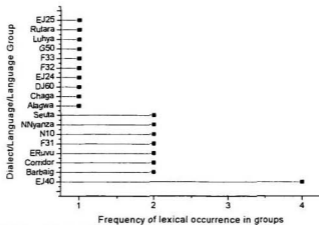
squat -itσσnda, -itσσnda (F21c), (North Nyanza), (EJ40) -sundala?

sun, sunlight, daytime IImi (Chaga) idime? < Alagwa †ehemi < Proto West Rift -liimi (cf Western Lakes (D40, DJ50, DJ60) -lemi 'creator, maker'?) (Schoenbrun 1997)¹³ EJ45 omwi?, E611 mwi?, P14 lumu?) (See Nurse 1979b:518)

take in from rain -σσβα, F31 kw-iyσσwa; F32b -oova; Corridor u-kuuwa

East Nyanza (EJ40) is the single most important group at this level. Four words out of the 12 areal vocabulary, or 29%, are found in that group. This count exceeds the unique innovations within F21/F22b, suggesting that areal vocabulary is the norm rather than an exception. Such areal influence highlights the fact that the tree model alone is not appropriate in accounting for lexical inheritance. The non-Bantu languages are represented by Alagwa (Cushitic) and Barbaig (Southern Nilotic) of the Datoog subgroup. The words from these non-Bantu languages suggest that some of the unaccounted for words like -pσII (ησII) might

¹³ A Zone D and DJ source, from Proto Savanna *-lemi 'creator, maker', as in D53 (Tembo) -rema 'create'; DJ61 rurema 'Creator; manifestation or type of imaana who has created what which exists'; DJ62 iremezo 'base, fundamental principle; ideal; army chief'. Schoenbrun (1997:212; 252-253) provides another plausible alternative to Proto West Rift †emi (Batibo 1992b:64) because of D and DJ's typological proximity and the nature of the universality of the object, 'sun' as a least candidate for borrowing. The sun is also associated with the gods, and as a euphemism, lyσσβα is justified in remaining in K1Sukuma rituals and use the loan IImi instead. The plausibility of the D and DJ alternative is strengthened by the meaning 'creator, maker' while 'day' from Cushitic is weaker in semantic motivation. In addition, there is a strong ritual connection of ritual between K1Sukuma and Barbaig, and less so with any modern Cushitic group. In K1Sukuma IIsIIda (IIsIIta) 'god' < Barbaig aseta 'sun' is also common. In addition, †emi is 'day' rather than 'sun' which can be closer to a higher concept like 'creator'.



■ Figure 4.4 Areal frequencies between F21/F22b and other languages

come from languages like Hadza or Sandawe which seem to have been borrowers only, a situation which is not convincing.

The area is characterized by a convergence of various speech communities, contributing their vocabulary in turn to each other. Hadza and Sandawe should not be any different, unless there is a special reason why not.

4.2.1.2.4 *KɪNyamweezi proper (Nz)* (8.4%) (*KɪNyanweembe - KɪKonooggo - SiGalaganza*)

These three dialects appear to form 'KɪNyamweezi proper', since KɪDakama does not behave as closely to these three as expected. In addition, KɪNyamweezi proper is not

homogeneous. It has its internal sub-divisions too. When KiNyamweezi is mentioned subsequently, only these three varieties are meant. The unique creations are three words, representing 12.5%, while the areal vocabulary accounts for 87.5%, or 21 words.

(148) Unique vocabulary (3 words)

dance vi -**saapa**

walk (take a) -**yũũmba** (F22b), not indicated in F22d) (cf F21c ŋwiyũũmba 'shifting abscess, usually in gums, perhaps due to periodontitis':

weight (β) **ũ-ti(i)mbu**, **βũ-timbe**, (F22b βũtiimbu) (cf F21c -tuunga matiimba 'fasten the tendons of an unruly cow or castrated bull by adding some weights like short logs in order to slow down its wild nature' < F22?)

(149) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing (21 words)

beads **waambo** F24 waambo; G60 -yambo; M20 uwaambo; M30 ijambo, amambo; Rufiji lwambo

beat -**guma** Corridor ku-kuuma? borrowing, because the voicing of /g/ and change of PB *o to /u/ in F22 is surprising if the word is from PB *-kom- 'hit with a hammer'. No motivation is justified and this word cannot be inherited from Proto Bantu.

carry, convey -**soomba** F22b, F24a, F25 -soomba; Luhya xu-soomba; EJ24 ku-somba

elephant **n-zovu** (F22e **n-zoβu**) (F23a/b) DJ60, M10/M20 -nzovu: loan from either DJ60 or M10/M20, because PB *gu → /vu/ is not regular in KiNyamweezi.

forget F22a, F22e -**laβitiŋa**, F22d -**laβitiŋa** (F23a, F23b kulaβitiŋa; F10 kulaβiitiŋa): unique creation, and then spread to those Zone F neighbours?

great -**hanya** (F22b; not in F22e): (cf G67 *mhaja* in ndombo mhaja 'elder brother') unique creation and a loan from F22 in G67?

hippopotamus -**tomoombo** (F22b, F10), (F22e -tomombo; F33 -toromondo (Ehret (p.c.)) (F22a not sure) i-tonoombo (F24a), n-tomoombo (F24b): [M10] -ntomombo: unique creation by F22, and F24, and M10 seem to have borrowed from F22. Rufiji-Ruvuma -tomondo, F24a displays an 'imperfect' transfer where an alveolar nasal has been used instead of the bilabial.

kidney **m-figo** (F22b, F10, F23a, F23b) M20, EJ24 -mfigo: < F23 or M20? (PB *p → f)

knee F22a **i-yũŋgo**, F22e **i-yũŋgo** (not F22d), F24a i-yũŋgo, F10 i-juũŋgo: DJ67 i-yuũŋgo (P21 lilũŋgo) < PB*-dũŋgo. This is borrowed from elsewhere, like F10, since in F22 *dũ > /ũ/.

kneel -**sukaamba** (F22b, F22a), -**sukamba** (F22e), *tōlaamba* (F22d): M10 ukusukama: borrowing, with modifications: < M10? < PB *-kukam-? (cf G60 -fugamilo 'knee'. PB *ku → su as in KiKINGA)

lean (become), grow thin -**gaanda** (F22b) M30, G52, G60, N10, P10, P20 -*ganda*
lie on one's back -**laala kansaga** (not shown in F22d), F10 -*laala kansaga*, F24 -*gona kansaga*: Borrowing the second portion < F24?

return -**suβa** F22d -**sβa** (F23a, F23b, F23c kusuβa; F25 kʊsʊwɑ; F24b kʊtuuβa) EJ24, EJ25, F25 -*suba*; D25 *subya*: borrowing, < F24 kʊtuuβa, spread to F22, then to F23 because limited distribution apart from Rukereβe, CiJita, KiKwaaya and KiLega, which might have borrowed from SiSuumbwa?

scorpion **ka-miina**, F22e (also F10, F23a, F23b) **ka-mina**: EJ23, EJ24. M10 *ka-miina*: [DJ60], F24 *i-mina*: < M10, and then through F22, spread to others?

six **mukaaga** (F22b, F24, F23a,b,c, F10): [DJ60], Rutara, North Nyanza, [EJ30], *mukaaga*: borrowing: < F23? < Rutara

spoil a child, pamper -**seneka** (not indicated in F22d): [M10] *ukuseneka*

squat -**sʊʊnzʊβala** (not given in F22d), F24 kʊsʊʊnzʊβala: Thagicu -*sʊʊnzʊβala*: G62 *ukusuunzumala*?; M10, M22, *ukusunsumala*; G33 *kusunumala*?

stutter vi -**gugumɪla** (F25, F23b) EJ23, G321, G37, G52, P21, *kugugumila*; E66 *ukugugumila*; E74a *kugugumia*; EJ17 *kuguguma*?; E64 -*yuɣuma*; DJ65, EJ16, *kugugumiza*; G23 *kuɣumiza*; DJ67 *ukugugumiza*; G31 *cigugumo*?; G32 *cigugumiza*?; G64 *kigugumizi*: < KiSwahili?

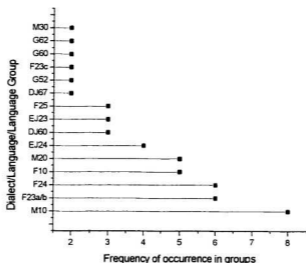
sun, sunlight **lyʊʊβa** The absence of *liɪmi* 'sun, sunlight', as in F21 suggests that these two related languages did not travel the same path if such a central object as the 'sun' is different, and they are so adjacent

sweet, pleasant -**seemu**, F22d -**seeme** F23a,b -*seeme* (cf F21c -*seemu* 'sour') < F23?

walk -**ya** < -*ya* 'go' < *-*gi-* 'go' (other languages with -*ya* 'go': F24 *kɔya*; M10, M22, EJ43 *ukuya*): loan: < Zone M.

wall **igelele** F24a *i-gelele*, [F24] *lʊ-gelele*, M10 *ulu-jelele* < F24, especially F24b? If this is a loan from KiKIMBʊ south (F24b), then F24 is interesting, because it has lost (or some speakers have), and re-acquired it from F22: *i-gelele* F22 < F24

The other groups, languages or dialects which share one word with F22 are D25, DJ65, Rutara, North Nyanza, EJ16, E17, EJ30, EJ25, EJ34, EJ43, Thagicu, E64, E66, E74a, G23, G31, G32, G321, G33, G34, G37, G64, G67, N10, P10, P201, and P21. Although EJ16 and EJ17 belong to North Nyanza, they display those words as individual languages in which the word was not found in the group as a whole.



■ Figure 4.5 Areal frequencies between F22 (-F22b) and other languages

When KɪSukuma2 (F21 + F22b) and KɪNyamweezi (F22a/d/e) are compared, the sources of their defining vocabulary become strikingly different as *Table 4.21* shows. However, this difference is a matter of degree since it is measured by the total number of shared lexical innovations found in the sample used.

Table 4.21 Difference of unique vocabulary source between F21 and F22

| Language group | Majority sources of areal vocabulary |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| F21 (KISukuma2 (with F22b)) | (1) EJ40 |
| F22 (KINyamweezi (without F22b)) | (1) M10; (2) F23a/b, F24; 3 F10, M20 |

One factor which seems to play strongly here is geographical proximity. The majority of the sources tend to be adjacent or close enough, as in the case of KINyamweezi and the M10 languages such as iCiPimbwe (M11), KiLungwa (M12), and CiFipa (M13), while EJ40 languages like iKiZanaki (EJ44) and its varieties like KiShaashi (EJ44I) are close enough to KISukuma.

4.2.1.2.5 SiSuumbwa (Sy) (84%) (SiSiloombo - SiYoombe)

Lexicostatistically, the shared vocabulary percentage between SiSiloombo and SiYoombe (SiSuumbwa) on the one hand, and those two with KiLoongo, on the other, is 65%, a rate which is not high enough for combining the two as one entity. The items shared are therefore entered separately as if F23c (KiLoongo) is not part of F23 (SiSuumbwa). Another important point to note here is that, while the JinaKIya and GInaNtuzu node has only 14 unique vocabulary items, KISukuma (13 words), KISukuma2 (14 words), and KINyamweezi (24 words), SiSuumbwa, made up of SiSiloombo and SiYoombe among other dialects, has 74 words which need attention. These lexemes are different in significant ways from those in F21 and F22, as shown below. But their sheer quantity is also indicative of the fact that such

significant quantity as a marker of difference in vocabulary is a pointer to a different origin altogether.

(150) Unique vocabulary (11 words)

heard **ka-saku, lu-saku**:
crow n **m-baga** (F23a), **-βaaga** (F23b, F23c)
do **ku-gema**
door **mu-zigo** (F22d m(u)zigo) unique innovation?
embrace **ku-buumbilila** (F23c kubumbila):
hippopotamus **η-guguma** (F23c enguguma):
hunger **bu-tamo** (F23a), **βu-tamo** (F23b):
jaw bone **mi-laambo**:
out (go), go away **ku-puuna**
walk **ku-tuumbagzla**: innovation, < PB *-tambɔk-
what **biinde**

The unique words in F23a,b above are 11 out of the 74, or 15%, and the shared ones account for 85%. Such a small percentage of unique vocabulary in such closely-knit dialects as SiSilombo and SiYoombe, compared to GnaNtuzu and JinaKɪɪya (29%), suggests an affiliation outside its own group to another, outside one where a relatively longer history with that group is indicated. Massive interference is also suggested.

(151) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing (63 words)

afraid (be) **kw-ooβaha** (F10 ku-γoβaha) EJ40 -oβaha: derivation < PB *-yoba 'fear'
arrow **m-wambi** (F23a), **m-wambi** (F23b): DJ60, M10, Rutara, omwambi; (G61 uwudambi?)
ask for **ku-saba** (F23a), **ku-saβa** (F23b, F23c):Rutara, EJ16, EJ25, EJ30, EJ40, -saba; -saβa; (EJ22 ku-faba)

baboon, ape **η-kobe** (F23a), **η-koβe** (F23b), **eη-koβe** (F23c); [Rutara] -η-kobe; DJ60 , iη-kobe/iηkoβe (RuTooro eηkerebe 'baboon': is it the name of the RuKereβe language (EJ24) and its people (related to their (βaKereβe) totem? cf WaaMbuwe from mbuwe 'partridge/francolin', as a name given to KeeMbuwe (F34) by the KiiRanggi (F33) speakers because of the likelihood of descending from the same group before splitting?).

base of tree trunk **i-ziingga** (F23c i-ziingga) E54a, [M20] iβi-siηko; ici-siηko; E62e itiηko
beer, liquor **bu-sele** (F21c ma-sele, F22d βu-sele) EJ31 bu-sela; G32, G321, u-pele?: M20 i-pele? (cf EJ13 kaabwanjare '...marijuana?', the connotation focusing on the effect of the liquor, 'like marijuana')

bladder **lu-hago** Rutara oru-hago/olu-hago; E16 aka-hago; DJ60, ulu-hago, uru-hago, aga-hago

branch of a tree **i-tabazi** (F23a), **i-taβazi** (F23b, F23c); (< EJ23 i-tabagi; (cf EJ13, EJ22, ei-taagi; EJ12, EJ21, DJ65 i-tagi; EJ11 ei-tagi; EJ14 ei-taji (loss of [b]?) (but Rutara normally has *gi >zi (Nurse 1979b): is it a loan from a common source which occurred when the languages with the word were still one, or is it a remnant of a proto Rutara word which was either borrowed by F23 (if F23 was not a member of Rutara), or was it retained in F23 as a member of Rutara because of an earlier split which was followed by relative isolation, suggesting that EJ11-EJ14 and EJ21-EJ22 lost the /g/ and then re-borrowed it from a common source before they split, the fact indicated by the failure of the expected process undergoing *gi>zi? That EJ23 became isolated again from the rest of EJ20 much earlier and retained the full form as it was borrowed? also cf *pole (thin)* **i-βazi/ma-βazi** (F23c lu-βazi) (cf 'branch' i-tabazi (F23a), i-taβazi (F23b, F23c): (cf EJ25a olubasi, E23 o-rubazi, M22 u-lwanzi, M14, M21 lu-wanzi))

broth, soup **mu-fwa** (F23c mu-fwa); EJ23 umufwa; DJ60 umufa

build (a house) **kw-oombeka** (F23c kw-oombeka) Rutara, E55 -kw-ombeka; EJ31 xuxw-ombeka; EJ31c -yombixa/-xwombaxa (cf EJ44 -yomboka; EJ441 okw-omboka; EJ402 kw-ombaka; EJ41 kw-umbaka; EJ25a -yumbaka?; EJ25b ok-umbaka?; EJ32 x-umbaka; EJ34 -yombaxa; and E46 -oboka; EJ45 ku-oβoka)

buttock(s) **i-heende** (cf EJ22 lu-hende [luende] 'anus', but enio/binio 'buttock(s)', and F21 βo 'vagina'¹⁴, < PB *-nio 'anus'): borrowing? F23 adopting and adapting the word from

¹⁴ Private parts and other taboo phenomena elicit all types of euphemisms and associations, favouring indirect references. For instance, while 'vagina' in most of Rutara is -mana, the same word except for vowel length in Western Highlands like KiRundi and KiHangaza is -mana 'god, creator'. In Rutara, by association, god = creator = vagina. Is it < PB *-man- 'know'?, > "The knower", 'God', or is it from a different source? In Rutara -nio 'buttocks' suggests that, the regular word for 'vagina' PB *-yo was replaced by borrowing a word which associates 'vagina' with the creative powers of a god, and therefore became 'god', emana, although with time, even euphemisms become taboo. On the other hand, PB *-nio 'anus', < PB*-ni- 'defecate' seems more plausible, by derivation. In languages (continued...)

EJ22 as an opaque euphemism in the recipient language?). Also cf D25 mwende ‘calf of leg’, suggesting that –heende is ‘a protrusion’)

calf of leg **m-fuundo** (F23c em-fuundo): DJ67, Rutara em-fuundo; M31 ama-kundo: semantic innovation: < PB *-kundo ‘knot’?

chin **ka-saku** DJ60 aka-sakusaku; uru-sakusaku; aga-sagusagu: This may be one of the important keys to understanding the affiliation of F23a,b. Iconically, more complex is older, while less and simpler is younger, implying that the SiSuumbwa ka-saku is a reduction, indicating some earlier split from DJ60.

climb, ascend **ku-gegela** DJ67 uku-gegela (remnant from DJ60, or innovation in DJ67 or F23a,b and spread to F23?)

count **kupeeta** (F23c ku-peeta) East Ruvu ku-peta [Corridor] uku-penda (borrowing: why not ku-heeta?)

crawl, creep **kw-aavuula**. (cf F23c kw-aazuula, F21c gw-aagula) (gu>vu vs gu > zu): M20, G51 ukw-avula; (cf EJ kw-azula, EJ23 kw-azura; EJ14 okw-ajura, EJ21 kw-ajula)

crocodile **n-saambi** (F23c en-saambi, F21a informant not sure): [Rutara] ensambi, ensaambi/efjambi

crown of head **lu-totoo** (F23a), **βw-oototoo** (F23b), (F23c lw-ototoo): EJ40 orw-oototi; N14 lu-totoo; (F24 loo-looti?)

dribble **lu-naanagala**, (F23b) **ma-naanagala**, (F23c lu-naanagala, F10 ku-naŋala (vi): M10 -mvula ya ku-naŋala (cf M31 aka-naŋala < nia -fula ‘rain defecating’) (haplology in F10 and M11/12?): borrowing, or genetic affiliation?

elephant **n-zovu**: DJ60, Corridor (cf F23c, EJ23, EJ24 en-zovu, < en-zogu < *-jogu) Morphological innovation when viewed from F21/F22 angle: gu > vu

forget **ku-laβila** (F10 ku-laβilila): [North Nyanza] kwerabira; EJ25 oku-labilwa, ku-rabirwa; N14 kulibalila?

fork, bifurcation **n-saaga, n-saga** (F23b); (F23c en-saga): EJ41 in-zago. In most of the comparative lists, the item was one of the least answered, showing its obscurity to most of the informants.

grain (of cereal) **ka-zumo** (F23a), **n-zuma, luz-uma** (F23b); (F23c lu-zuma): Rutara luzuma/oru-zuma, efj-juma, aka-juma

grandfather **gʊʊkʊ** (F23a), **guuku** (F23b): EJ23 guuku; EJ24 guku; E51 guuka; [EJ30] guka; [EJ40] ŋuka/guga; Borrowing? < F21 gʊʊkʊ because given away by the vowels?

hair **mu-sasi** (F23a), **mu-sasi** (F23b): [DJ62] umufatsi;

¹⁴(...continued)

like KɪSukuma, PB*-nio ‘anus’ and PB*-yo ‘female genitals’ are difficult to distinguish because of their phonetic similarity. It is not clear whether *-nio and *-yo were indeed separate words, given the potential for semantic shift. In JinaKIIya ‘anus’ is ɪʃiindo, the origin of which seems obscure. Also compare Luβukusu kumsi (sg), kimisi (pl) ‘vagina’ vs oRuHaya omusino ‘clitoris’

hare nakami (F23c *ɲakami*): Rutara *ɲakami*, *akami*; DJ61 *bakame*; (cf EJ13 *orumi* ('a huge hare'? <-*kami*?)
hate, detest ku-gaya (F23c *ku-gaya*): M12 *uku-gaya*
hide -bisa (F23a), *-βisa* (F23b): EJ17, EJ40, EJ25, D25, E46, P22, EJ31 *-ku-bisa/-ku-βisa*; *-ko-βisa*; EJ17, P22 *kubisa*; EJ31 *xuβiisa*: borrowing from any of these languages which have both Dahl's Law and no glottalization. The expected form would be *ku-hisa* rather than *ku-bisa* or *ku-βisa*, just as 'to pass' is *ku-hita* rather than *ku-bitā*.
hoe m-fuka (F23c *emf-uka*) Rutara *em-fuka*; EJ32 *efuka*
hump (of cow) i-baango (F23a), *i-βaango* (F23b): Rutara, EJ16, EJ17, *i-bango*, *ei-bango* in front of *butoonzi* (F23a), *ku-βutoonzi* (F23b) (*gi > zi*) (cf F23c *βutoongji*)
jealous i-buuba (F23a), *i-βuβa* (F23b): EJ31 *li-buba*; DJ64, [Rutara] *ei-buba*; M10 *i-βuβa*; DJ65 *i-fuha?*; M20 *uwu-zuwa?*
king mwaami (F10 *mwaami*; F24 *u-mwami*¹⁵): DJ60 *u-mwami*; Luhya *o-mwami*
kneel ku-sika sivi (F23a), *ku-sika sivi* (F23b): G31 *ku-fika?*; (cf EJ21 *ku-teka*; EJ22 *ku-teeka*): unique creation or areal vocabulary?
knife mwaambi (F10 *kaambi/twaambi*): EJ16 *a-kambe*; M11 *i-caambi*; DJ66 *in-tambi?*
leak, ooze out ku-vwa (cf F23c *ku-zwa*): *-dua > -vwa*: DJ60 *uku-va*
lend borrow ku-tiiza (not used in F23a); F23c *ku-tiiza*): Rutara *ku-tiiza*; DJ60 *gu-tiiza* 'lend'/*gu-tiira* 'borrow' (cf DJ67 *uku-liza*; EJ22 *ku-tiila* 'borrow'; EJ25a *oku-lisya*)
leopard η-gwe: E62f *η-gwe*; North Rutara, [Luhya], DJ60, *-η-gwe*. Although this lexeme is listed in Guthrie (1967/1971) as a Proto Bantu form, the presence of two proto-forms **cɔɪ* and **gɔe* for the same entity 'leopard' suggests that the origin of languages after the first one (if ever there was one), is essentially multigenetic, on the one hand, or, it is an innovation after Proto Bantu spread over a wide area, on the other. But one lexeme may also mean only one type of leopard among the many species of the animal, and therefore the two items may not be referring to the same thing.
lost (get) ku-βula (F23c *ku-bula*): Rutara, EJ25, DJ61, EJ16, *-ku-bula/-ku-bura*; [EJ40] *-bura/-βora*; Thagicu *kɔ-ɔra/ku-ura*: semantic innovation, < PB **-bɔd-* 'lack' (cf PB **-bud-* 'become plentiful or numerous')
love, want ku-siima (F23c *ku-siima*): EJ31c *-siima*; DJ66 *ugu-ŷima*
lung ma-haha (F23a), *ma-haha* (F23b, F23c): DJ60 *iri-haha/ama-haha*; EJ43, Rutara *-haha* (*ki-haa*); EJ42 *amaa*: (<*-papa* as in N11 *li-papa*; N12 *ma-papa*; M24 *i-papa*) (cf G62, G63 *ili-hafwa*; G35 *-hafwa*; M23 *ama-pafwa*; G64 *ma-pafwa*; M201 *u-pafwa*; M22 *e-pafwe/wa-pafwe*, M21 *-pafwe/ma-pafwe*; M14 *-pafwe*; P21 *li-pawa*; G65 *ama-haswa?*)
migrate ku-fuluuka (F23a), *ku-fuluka* (F23b, F23c): Rutara *ku-fuluka/ku-furuka* (cf EJ17 *kubuliika*)
monkey η-keende (F23c *eη-keende*) Rutara *eη-keende*; DJ64 *η-keende*
moon kw-eezi (F23c *kw-eezi*) (*ku-* prefix): DJ60, Rutara *-kw-eezi*; EJ25 *o-kw-esi*
mountain mu-gala: G65 *ikidu-gala*

¹⁵ From Nurse and Philippson's list, while our list had *mutemi*

mourning naku: EJ23 e-naku
night bw-ile (F23a), *w-ile* (F23b): [North Nyanza] o-bw-ire: (cf kilo < *-yid- 'get dark', from same root?): extension of meaning by derivation.
old -laala/n-daala: G23 m-daa 'old person', G321, G67, N11 -lala
parent mu-βusi: (BS ti > si): G63 mu-busi/ba-busi; EJ25, EJ34 omwi-busi < *-būt- 'bear (child, fruit)'
pig m-punu (not F23a) (F23c eem-punu): Rutara em-punu
porcupine li-ɲogote (F23a), *i-nogote* (F23b), e-ɲogote (F23c): [Rutara] eki-ɲogote, e-nogote; DJ60 iki-ɲogoto)
potato (sweet) i-ziizi/ma-ziizi: < Barbaig kasisa?
pour away ku-seesa (F23c ku-seesa): DJ60 ku-seesa/gu-seesa; Rutara ku-seesa; ku-feeja)
quarrel vi ku-soola: F10, F22d ku-soola; EJ16 ku-sola or < F10?)
refuse, say no, deny ku-kema: G321 ku-kema
return ku-suβa (F23c ku-suβa): EJ24 ku-suba; EJ25 oku-suba; D25 -subya
river mwiiga: North Nyanza (EJ15 mugga (LuGanda: iC →CC); EJ16, 17 mwiga); [Rutara] o-mwiiga
salt mwiinu EJ31c -yinu¹⁶: [G60], P10 u-mwino/u-mwiɲo; G67, N10. mwiɲu
satiated (be), have enough to eat (or drink) ku-haga (not given in F23b), (F23c ku-haaga): [Rutara] oku-haaga; [DJ60] ukuhaga; gu-haga/gu-haaga
seven musamvu: North Nyanza, EJ34 musamvu¹⁷ (Cf F23c musaanzu; Rutara EJ24 musanzu; musaɲju; EJ22, [DJ60] mujaaɲju) (cf EJ31 musafu) (An interesting case is M32 sebeni¹⁸ < English 'seven')
sharp (be) ku-ugiha (F21a, F21c, F22a, F22b, F22c -ʊʊgiha): EJ41 kw-ugiha; [EJ40] ok-ogeha/-oʊgeha; E46 -ogeha; E51 -ʊhɪga, E53 ku-gia (cf E54b ku-giba, F24a kʊ-ʊgɪpa)

¹⁶ While de Blois (1975) mentions that word, native speaker Evelyne Namaemba KiSembe (p.c. 17 September 2000) is not aware of such a word in the Luβukusu she speaks. It might be a dialectal variation or a loan, since table salt processed by modern methods is *cumbe* KiSwahili *cumvi*, while that made traditionally by extracting from plants is called *xumɲu*. She also says that Luβukusu is changing rapidly.

¹⁷ LuSaamia seems to use two forms, *musamvu* and *citanu na ciβili*. This suggests borrowing, which can be of either one, or even both.

¹⁸ It is not clear what were the original CiNdali (M32) numerals and what happened to them after such a short contact with English, since Swilla (2000:304) does not explain, although she clearly says they were loans from the CiNdali spoken in Malawi (Malaaβi) where English was prestigious enough to replace even those morphemes considered relatively resistant to change by borrowing, although they are occasionally replaced (Swadesh 1950:157).

shiver **ku-zuguma** (F23c ku-zuguma, F21a kʊ-zuguma): [Rutara] ku-zuguma, kuzugumira; DJ66, DJ67 ukuzuguma; (any connection with DJ62 kugugumiza < -guguma?) (cf also EJ15 kujugumera (EJ12 kutukumira? (tu >zu? or gu >zu? Why not gu >vu as a regular reflex in F23?))

snail **mu-fweelo**: DJ60 iki-fwelo/igi-fweera/gifyeelo

spittle **ma-swaante**: Rutara ama-cwante/ebi-cwanta/ama-cwanta

spread, smear on **ku-siiga** (F23c ku-siiga, F21c gʊʃiiga): Rutara, EJ15, oku-siiga; DJ60 uku-siiga/ugu-siiga

squat **ku-sukumala** (F23c ku-sukumala): EJ23 ku-sukumala (cf EJ34 oxu-socomala)(cf 'squat in (149) above).

stick **ŋ-koni** (F23c eej-koni): DJ60 iŋ-koni; Rutara eŋ-koni

stone **i-βaale** (F23c i-βaale): Rutara, [North Nyanza] ibaale; ei-baale/ ei-baare;; EJ31 c-baale; EJ34 li-bale

take clothes off **kwaambola**: [DJ60] ukw-ambula/kw-iyambura; EJ16 okw-eyambula; EJ43b ok-ombora; [Seuta] ku-hambua; (EJ31 xu-xwiyabuula; EJ17 keeyambalya?)

thicket **i-sala**: EJ43 egesarara; EJ42 egesasara?

thigh of an animal **si-taambo** (F22b kʊ-taambo, F10 i-taamba/ma-taamba? F31a kʰ-taambo 'thigh of human being'): E55 ʊ-tambɾ?

today **βu-leelo** (prefix) innovation?

tortoise **fulwe** (F23a), fuulwe (F23b): DJ67 fulwe; DJ66 fugwe? innovation, <*-kudu

wean child **ku-syuusya** (F23a), ku-sʊʊsya (F23b): G61 uku-tusya?. [M20] uku-tuzya? G62 uku-suufya

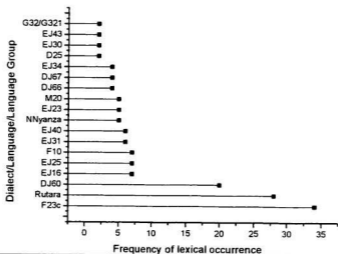
which **ye tyaani**: M14 -cani.(cf M15, M22 icani 'what'); G33 ya kwahi? G36, G37 con?

whistling **lu-guunzu** (F23a), lʊ-gʊʊnzo (F23b): D25 ka-gonzo

who **ende**:DJ60 inde (cf biinde 'what' in (150) and KiSwahili nani 'who' and nini 'what')

In Figure 4.6, not all languages are included. There are dialects, languages and language groups of one word shared with F23a/b, namely, Barbaig, E54a, E62E, P22, E62f, North Rutara, Luhya, Thagicu, G65, M14, G60, P10, N10, F22, E53, F21a, EJ15, Seuta, F22b, F31, G62, M31, G51, E74a, DJ62, M12, EJ32, DJ65, G31, M11, G23, N11, and G63.

From the qualitative results of SiSuumbwa in relation with other languages, some scenarios can be proposed in the determination of its origins and evolution, as a function of contact with



■ Figure 4.6 Areal frequencies between F23a/b and other languages

other speech communities. Some proposals are necessary because the results obtained from analyzing the vocabulary cannot reveal the “truth” embedded in them unless they are interpreted correctly.

While the historical events creating languages remain the same, with the enormous gaps in knowledge that we have, only flexible interpretations of what is available can approximate what really happened. With this caveat in mind, some three scenarios are considered.

Firstly, the monogenetic approach can be taken by assuming that the affiliation of SiSuumbwa to some of its neighbours sharing its vocabulary is genetic. To weed out the non-immediate contenders, a process of elimination can be applied using the numbers obtained in the results. EJ25 features as prominently as F10 and EJ16, indicating distant affiliation. The major dilemma here is the cut-off point and the criteria for judging whether a higher number of shared lexis necessarily means close genetic affiliation especially where all candidates are based on innovations.

The answer is a qualified affirmative because deep time depths may be shown by lower counts as more words are lost and replaced, while higher numbers may either indicate common history or only a more recent relationship based on heavy borrowing. Swadesh (1955:129) recognized the problem of such modifying factors in lexicostatistics. For instance, there may be heavy borrowing without any immediate genetic relationship, as in the case of English where the vocabulary from French is about 70%. Because all counts are based on innovations, all counts of similar innovations are supposed to be important, either as indicators of genetic relationship or borrowing. To isolate genetic affinity from similarity due to borrowing, the second scenario below can be invoked, so that loans remain loans only. When regular phonological, morphological and semantic overlaps occur between two or more languages, they normally point to a common history between them. Since lexical innovations alone are not an absolute measure of affiliation when no other facts are known, the higher numbers are reasonable predictors of genetic affinity when other criteria are considered to

support those numbers. In terms of numbers alone then, the best contenders as the genesis of SiSuumbwa remain Rutara and Western Highlands. As a hypothesis, only Rutara and Western Highlands (DJ60) can remain as possible origins of F23. With monogenesis, other approaches can be used to eliminate one of them so that only the most consistent group remains. Innovations on their own cannot do that. The phonology can help by picking the most salient and diagnostic innovation(s), as shown in *Table 4.22* below. One of the single most important pointers is the reflex *gu > vu in SiSuumbwa and *gu > zu / ju in Rutara, and which eliminates Rutara convincingly as a tree from which SiSuumbwa branched. This also helps classify KiLoonggo with Rutara.

Table 4.22 Phonological affinity between Rutara, Suguti, Western Highlands, KiLoonggo and SiSuumbwa from qualitative evidence

| Innovation based on | Rutara (EJ21/22) | Rutara (EJ10, EJ23/24) | KiLoonggo (F23c) | Suguti (EJ25) | Western Highlands (DJ60) | SiSuumbwa (F23a, F23b) |
|---------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------------|---------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| *tu | c | c | c | fu | pf | s |
| *du | ju | zu | zu | fu | vu | vu |
| *gu | ju | zu | zu | fu | vu | vu |

In this first scenario, similarity and difference within one large group is displayed, depending on individual language history. The effect of contact with other languages might have resulted in heavy or light borrowing from them depending on the nature of the interaction with each group. Borrowing from other languages as a marker of linguistic interaction is a

phenomenon which is the norm than an exception, as Andersen (1989:11) comments with regard to the non-linguistic factors in linguistic descriptions. He notes that what are normally called non-linguistic factors to innovation are actually part of the linguistic process. Divorcing contact from regular linguistic realities can only be unfortunate. Many lexical or phonological sources in SiSuumbwa, for example, simply show how dense the interaction networks were as a linguistic fact.

The second scenario suggests that there was a core of F23 speakers, as a J language or dialect. Later, other speakers from other languages or dialects, especially from the vicinity (DJ, EJ, some F20, M10, M20), among other groups, contributed some items depending on the nature of their contact with F23. This means the other groups joined SiSuumbwa as semi-autonomous, co-ordinate groups which maintained their identity, but at the same time identified with their host, resulting in mixed codes. What the original status of F23 was remains the question, because it can be one of F21, F22, EJ10/20, DJ50/60, M10/20, or none. This scenario is plausible given the fact that speech communities are not normally hostile to each other, so that it is possible to acquire vocabulary from languages in contact. Between them, one contributes more dominantly than the others as a matter of degree only. The influence in such a situation becomes mutual, hence the shared features of innovation.

This scenario implies multigenesis in which a language is composed of several independent languages from the same family (Bantu) brought about by the cooperation of different people

speaking different languages and whose identity can only be revealed by a qualitative lexical analysis. It is the nature of a melting pot like North American French and English: sailor's English and français maritime. This is a situation which creates a unique mixed language characterized by co-ordinate linguistic features drawn from the contributors, the prominent features of one being a function of the perceived relative importance of the contributing language. With this interpretation, simple monogenesis is discounted in SiSuumbwa. Languages are spoken by people with particular histories, values and attitudes which impinge on their other social institutions like language. The more open their cultural systems, the more mixed their languages, and vice versa. SiSuumbwa illustrates that two or more speech communities can merge not in an automatic adversarial superior-inferior, conqueror-conquered relation, but as coordinate contributors to a whole. It is a language created by convergence rather than one with diverging dialects from a single proto language.

The third and final scenario is that of a common ancestor between F23 and the others so that DJ60, EJ10/20, EJ25, EJ40, M10 and M20, among others, are descended from the same proto language, the shared innovations being earlier forms in the proto language before they split, as a case of divergence.

These three scenarios are not impossible. As has been pointed out in Chapter 2, much is still unknown in these languages. But as a working hypothesis, SiSuumbwa is affiliated to DJ60 as the high frequencies and limited phonological facts show.

4.2.1.2.6 *Qualitative evidence and patterns in KɪSukuma, KɪNyamweezi and SiSuumbwa*

The linguistic picture from the shared innovations between F21, F22 and F23 indicates that, not only do F21 and F22 share different innovations between them, but also that they show the same difference from F23, as shown in *Table 4.23*. This supports the notion that they do not come from an immediate linguistic node, with similarity of high retention rates between F21 and F22 accelerated by inter-borrowing. This explains why only F23 has BS and consistent glottalization, only F21+F22b have DL and voiceless nasals, while F22 has neither, although traces of those processes are found in all 3 groups because of inter-borrowing.

Table 4.23 Difference of unique vocabulary sources between F21, F22 and F23

| Language group | Majority sources of areal vocabulary |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| F21 (KɪSukuma) | (1) EJ40 |
| F21 + F22b (KɪSukuma2, with F22b) | (1)M10/M20, Thagicu, EJ40 |
| F22 (KɪNyamweezi, without F22b) | (1) M10; (2) F23a/b, F24, (3) F10, M20 |
| F23 (SiSuumbwa, without F23c) | (1) F23c, (2) DJ60, (3) Rutara |

To illustrate this question of inter-borrowing, *Table 4.23* shows that the source of M10/M20 vocabulary might be F22 through F22b, while the source of Rutara lexis in F23 might be F23c (KiLoonggo), a Rutara language whose speakers have been adjacent to SiSuumbwa speech communities for an unknown number of years. The influence of KiLoonggo on SiSuumbwa is indicated by the highest number of shared words (33 words) out of the total 76. The presence of E50 (Thagicu (Central Kenya)) vocabulary in F21+F22b indicates a genetic

affiliation which is also supported by the presence of DL and 7V in Thagicu, as in F21+F22b. This possibility is taken up again in 4.3.

4.2.1.2.7 UI (83%) (*Kɔ̃ɔUshoola* – *Kɔ̃ɔLuamba C*)

According to the vocabulary items available to the author, the 13 lexemes shown in (152) are unique to F31a/b at a percentage of 42%. This suggests a long common history since the unique count is one of the highest, if not the highest, in all cases of unique creations within dialects. The rest are shared by other groups, representing 58%. Such shared items suggest interaction of either F31a/b speakers moving to other places and then coming back to F31, or those of other languages coming into contact with F31 speech communities. Another scenario is bidirectional movement of speakers as a sign of mutual linguistic contribution and enrichment.

(152) Unique vocabulary (13 words)

axe **m-poopo**

beer **n-tɔtɔ** (cf F24 ntɪɪ)

day **ɪɔ-toondo** (cf F21c ntoondo ‘tomorrow’)

drink **kɔ-kɔpa**

hair **ɪɔ-tuumbɪ**

press out (oil, seeds, sugar cane) **kɔ-kasima**

push **kɔ-gɔma**

salt **mɔ-leenje**, F31b **mul-eenje** (F24b mu-leenje) (cf G35 m-kere): where F24b suggests borrowing from F31a/b because of the occurrence in one dialect only, while the vowel /u/ in the prefix of F24b is also suspect, given F24's high rate of accurate reflexes from Proto-Bantu
shiver **kɔ-ktkɪma** iconic creation as a group's way of perceiving shivering like animal sounds in various cultures, which, though come from the same animals, are perceived differently by different people)

sister **mu-gɔli**, F31b **mu-guli** (cf G42d ki-goli ‘young girl’)

stutter **kū-jekema**, F3 1b **kū-sekema**

today **na n-teende** (cf G52 *na-lelo*, with prefix *na-* 'with, of' as in F3 1a, F3 1b: any relation?)

woman **mū-sūŋgū/ a-sūŋgū**

(153) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing (18 words)

brother, relative **mōntōwa**, by derivation < PB -ntū 'person'?

hand (left) **ŋ-kigt**, F3 1b **kūŋ-kigt** (F24 *mu-kigi*¹⁹): N11 *kumaŋ-gigi*; G60 *ku-ŋigi/-ŋigi/-ŋigi/-ŋigi*; [G50] *ku-ŋigi/m-kii*; P21 *kuŋ-ciji*; (cf [P10] *kuŋ-kɪya/-kiya*)

jaw (bone) **n-zagasa**, F3 1b **n-zakasa** (F34 *ŋ-kaasa*)

prominent (be), put out **kū-punŋa** dissimilation of two consecutive syllables with bilabial onsets: < *pum- 'come/go out or away'

puff adder **kt-sūpa**, F3 1b **kīn-sūpa** E53 *ki-ua*? (In Meru Imenti, *p > Ø, but not s > Ø (Nurse 1979b), making the word a possible match).

quench, extinguish **kū-dibya** (< -dimya < *-dim- 'extinguish', (but why in KīnLamba should this be: *m → b and *di → di)? Is it morphological innovation?)

sharp (be) **kw-iyōpika**, F3 1b **kū-yōpika** E51 -ōhiga (< -yōkɪpa, metathesis)

sit **kū-kikalaansa**, F3 1b **kū-kɪkalaansa** EJ42 *go-ikaransa* (cf E54b *gu-ikaranθi*; E54a *gukaranθi*; E52 *gw-ikara nθi*; E55 *kw-ikala nθi*; E51 *i-karaθi*, E53 *ku-kara nθi*; M25 *a-xale pansi*; G23 *ku-ikaa fi*; G36 *kukala hasi*; G52 *kw-ikala pasi*; G66 *ku-kala pasi*; M22 *ukw-ikala pansi*; M24 *ku-hala pasi* (< *-yikala 'stay' + *pa 'at' + *-ci 'earth/land') (note: Standard KiSwahili (G42d) -keti < Northern KiSwahili -keŋi < -kala iŋi 'sit here (on earth)')

sore **ŋ-koŋko** F24 *ŋ-xoŋxo*²⁰; G60 *iki-koŋo/-ŋoŋo/ŋoŋo/-koŋo* (cf EJ3 1c -goŋjo?: EJ34 *e-koŋjo*)

spoil **kūyōnoona** (F24 -noona²¹): [J60] -kw-onoonekala/-kw-onoona; EJ17 *kw-onona*; M10 *uko-onona*;

¹⁹ This word appears in Nurse and Philippon's 1972 list, suggesting idiolect variation, depending most probably on the bilingualism of the informant, his/her area of residence and the probability of borrowing.

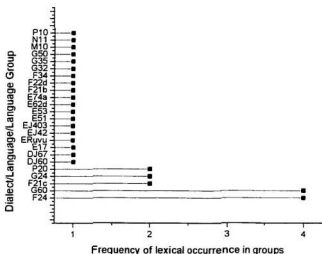
²⁰ Recorded in Nurse and Philippon's CBOLD list, and the speaker from KIKIMBŪ North (F24a) responded by giving *kiloonda* and *ixoxoxo*, while two of the F24b respondents gave *kiloonda* only.

²¹ From Nurse and Philippon's list, while our list was *kōpokulya* according to the translation in KiSwahili, which was *kupofua* 'to blind' from 'spoil, blind' in which the KiSwahili rendering does not include 'spoiling' as such because it is general, while 'blind' is a specific form of spoiling.

spot, speckle **-dyoa/ma-doa** (focus on the singular form especially where palatalization is common²²) (cf languages with non-palatalized forms: G24 -doa; G32 doa/ma-doa; E62d -dowa/ma-dowa; EJ403 ri-dowa
stranger, visitor, guest **mu-geenda** [G60] umu-geenzi; (< PB *-geend- 'go' 'the one who goes (or passes, does not stay)') (cf EJ34 omulu-kendwa; G35 u-menza?))
suffer, bear patiently **ku-gigimɪɪya**, F31b **kɔ-kɪgimɪɪya** (cf F21c gw-gimɪɪja 'endure')
sweat (n) **-yɪla** (cf F21c ɠɔɔyɪla 'to sweat')
thigh (human animal) **kɪɪga** G24a kiga 'human thigh'; [P20] ciiga/ ciya/sija 'human/animal thigh'
tomato **n-tole** (F21b i-tole/ma-tole; F22d mu-tole/ma-tole) DJ67 iβi-tole (vya mbwibwi)
tree **kyota/ma-kota** (widespread in east Africa, see Nurse 1979b) (ikota (Class 5) → kyota (regular palatalization in KɪɪɪLaamba)) (cf βɔ-gota 'medicine' in (147) in KɪSukuma/KɪDakama as an areal feature which can also be observed in *Table 4.9*).
up, above **kyaaɲa**, F31b **kyaaɲa** (F24 kɔ-caaɲa) G60 ku-kyaaɲa/ku-caaɲa/ ku-ʃaaɲa; E74a ku-caɲa; [East Ruvu] ucaɲa/ucaɲa/ucana? (cf M20, M30 ku-mwaaɲa/pa-mwaaɲa.

From Figure 4.7, F24 and G60 sharing 4 words each with F31a/b suggests a certain historical relationship, of either contact and mutual borrowing only, or genetic affiliation. On the other hand, as in other cases above, the presence of F24, G60 and all the other languages' vocabulary in F31a,b might also suggest cross-immigration into and from F31 by speakers of other languages and their continued use of some items from their language. This is often the case, especially at the edges of different speech communities.

²² Palatalization in KɪɪɪLaamba occurs before class 5 (di/di or li/li) and 8 (bi/bi); in many tense markers like -i- present, -ki- future, -ile perfect (Nurse 1979b:31).



■ Figure 4.7 Areal frequencies between F31a/b and other languages

4.2.1.2.8 *KɪKɪɲɲɔ* (*Km*) (82%) (*KɪKɪɲɲɔ* North and *KɪKɪɲɲɔ* South)

(154) Unique vocabulary (13 words)

blood **caaji** (F24b) unique creation as a definer of F24.

door **ɲ-kiɪɪ** (F24b) (cf Proto-Kalenjin *kɪrk* 'door?'): unique creation or borrowing?

grass **ma-saajje** (F24a), **i-saajji** (F24b)

gruel, light porridge **m-paapɔ**

hoe **i-siɪɪ** (F24a), **i-siɪɪ** (F24b)

hunt **kɔ-guɔβa** (F24b) (**kɔ-βeenda** (F22a, F22e -βeenda, found in F24a as inherited from PB as in E62e -binda, G37 -winda, G42d -winda, G52, P15 ku-vinda)

leaf (of tree) **i-titi/ma-titi** (isaajji/masaanji F24b)

navel **i-wuumbu** (F24a), piwuumbu (F24b) (cf F21c *jiβuumbu* 'pubic area')

pregnancy **mii-tunggo** (F24b) unique creation, as a euphemism, literally meaning 'something which is wrapped, and therefore fastened safely inside', < *-tung- 'tie up'

search for **kɔ-pɔɔga** (F24a), **kɔ-puuga** (F24b)

sound, cry **idoolo** (F24b) unique creation, or from specific sound rather than generic.
spit **kɔ-tya matye**
stutter **kɔ-tamaantama**

The 13 words above, or 33%, are unique to KIKIImbɔ, a high percentage which indicates that F24 and its dialects has a long history of internal cohesion. The areal vocabulary, at 67%, shows the effect of neighbouring languages. The influence of Kinyamweezi is obvious from Figure 4.8 below.

(155) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing (26 words)

banana -dooke (F21, F22 -dooke) P15 ndoki < F22 < 21 (because of DL) < EJ? due to proximity

bark of a tree **i-pata** (cf F32 i-bada/ma-bada (F32a, c), I-baada F32b) < Barbaig badacanda geta (geta 'tree') < Proto-Southern Nilotic *pɛɾtɛt 'bark (of tree)' (Rottland 1989:221)? or did Barbaig get the word from F24, and F32 got it from Barbaig?

blood **mu-gazi** (F24a) F22a,b,d,e mu-gazi; F23a,b ma-gazi; N12 ŋ-gazi: borrowing < F23a,b because F22 has no inherited BS where *d > /l/: (cf **caaji** (F24b))

howstring **ŋ-gɔsa** (cf ŋgɔsa, a proper name in F21): M21 lu-kusa lwa wulapwa; M24 aha-kusa (spelling error from ama-kusa?); EJ23 omu-guha gubuta: s > h?

climb **kɔ-taanta** (cf F22d, F25 kɔ-taanda; F10 ku-taanda): unique creation, or is it only one type or way of climbing, an innovation which is common in all verbs of motion?

dance (vi) kw-iigeya (cf F32a i-ɣeya; F32b w-ɪyeya; F32c g-iyeyeya 'imitate': borrowing: < F32?

deny **kɔ-siita** (F33 kɔ-siita; F34 o-siita)M31 ku-sita; (cf G61 usiiti'denial') (cf P25 kw-ita?) < Proto-Southern Nilotic *ɾɛɛt²³ 'deny, refuse'

grind coarsely **kɔ-balaaga** (F24a), **kɔ-balaga** (F24b) EJ25a oku-baraga; EJ41 ku-baraga; G61 ku-balaŋga; EJ22 ku-baranga; G62 uku-balaasa; G63 ku-baladzula; G34 ku-balaza; E54b ku-bararita; P14 ku-balahya; (cf E61 i-barangata < PB *-pad 'scrape', e.g. as in M21 uku-palala? (cf G42d ku-paaza): borrowing: < G60?

grow (of plants) **vi kɔ-leemba** (F25 kɔl-eemba): unique innovation by metathesis, as an idiosyncratic development: < kɔlemba < kɔlema < kɔmela < PB *-med- 'grow, sprout'?

²³ 'ɾ' is a consonant which stands for an approximation without full feature specifications, and therefore can be flexible (See Rottland 1989:220)

hide **kɔ-sweexa** (F24b), **kɔ-βisa** (F24a). The two words in the two dialects might be from two different sources, or from one source because of their irregular shape in **KIKIMBU** where there is no /l/ deletion nor *p > β as observed in the respective words: North Nyanza ku-kweka (cf DJ66 ugu-seleka; DJ67 uku-seleka; Rutara ku-seleka/ ku-sereka; ku-feleka/oku-jereka; and **kɔ-βisa**: D25, E46, EJ31, EJ40, EJ25, F21, F22 -βisa/-bisa; F23 -ibisa (reflexive): borrowing: < Rutara and F21/22 for the two words respectively?

in front of **kɔβɔ-loongolo** (F24a), **kɔ-loongolo** (F24b) G60 kuwu-longolo, pawuloongolo; East Ruvu, N10 ku-longolo, ku ulongozo, palongolo; [M20] kwi-longolela; Seuta ku-longole. See also G50, P15 kuu-longolu) (cf βɔ-toongi 'in front of' in (145) **KISUKUMA**)

jawhane **ma-zakola** (F24a) (F22e i-zakula/ma-zakula): [M10] i-zagula/ama-zagula: unique creation, and a loan in F22e and M10 because of that phonological giveaway /u/ in F22e instead of /ɔ/?

journey **mu-siŋjo** (24a lɔgeendo) (F31a, F31b mu-siInzo; F31c lɔ-siInzo/n-siInzo; F32 mɔ-heŋjo/mu-hiŋjo): unique creation, and borrowing in F31 and F32 < F24?

maize **i-gaagwe/ma-gaagwe** M20 in-gagu, aman-gagu/amagagu:

mother **maayi** (F25 ɔ-maayi) E62d, [EJ40], G35, G61, M10, M20, [M30] EJ25, u-mayi/maji; EJ31 mayii;

mushroom **wiipwa** (F24a), **wiipwa** (F24b) [G60] u-wiipa

out (go), go away **kɔ-fuma** borrowing: < F22?

potato **-kafu** (F24a) (F22 -kaFu) borrowing: < F22?

sew **kɔ-suma** F22, [F21] [F23] [Seuta], G321. Corridor -suma: borrowing: < Zone M and spread to F21/F22, <PB *-tum-, as in F31 -tuma? (cf KiKinga: PB tu → su (Nurse 1979b:459; also Seuta: KiKinga as nearest source?))

sniff, smell out **kɔ-tuca** (F24a), **kɔ-tuucca** (F24b) : borrowing: < Alagwa tsuʔut- 'to sniff' (See Ehret 1980:199)

spider **n-suma/i-suma βɔ-taanta** literally 'weaver of webs' (cf DJ67 tanda; G35 tandabui; M21 etandawulwe): borrowing, from a language with BS, because **KIKIMBU** is expected to have -tuma instead of -suma < PB *-tum- 'sew'. Name is derived from the spider's activity.

take leave of **kɔ-daahya** (F24a), **kɔ-daaya** (F24b) (F22 -daahya): borrowing: < F22, with DL. The regular reflex of F24 is like in F23 or F10 ku-taahya. In all the more than 100 varieties available for that word, only F22 has that word, and it is not well-formed in F24. In F21 it has connotations of 'bidding farewell' to a medical apprentice after graduation so as to practise on her/his own.

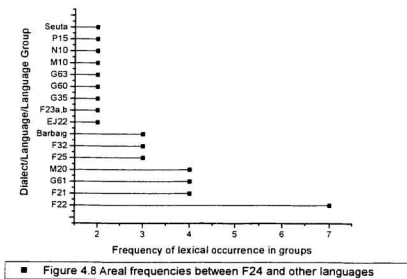
walk **kɔ-ya** (F22a, F22d, F22e): M11 kuya ulwa mulu; EJ43b ukuya magoro: borrowing < F22, by M11, and perhaps EJ43b? < PB *-gi- 'go' (cf -ya 'go' in (149) in **KINyamweezi** proper (F22a, F22d, F22e)).

wet (get) **kɔ-saapa** EJ22 ku-faaba, Barabaig Jaba

word, affair **mpola** [M10] impola unique creation, then loan to M11/12? (cf **KISUKUMA** (F21) greetings: ɔlɪ mola 'Are you well?' Literally 'Are you a word?' that is, 'Do you have any word?' = 'Are you well?')

zebra n-seengele G63 i-seengele, G61 n-sejjele, M24 in-sejjele: borrowing: < Barbaig singiyed 'zebra')

The role of geographical proximity in lexical similarity is displayed well in this case of



KɪKɪmbɔ and its neighbours like KɪNyamweezi, Corridor-Nyiha languages (M20) on the one hand, and by the Southern Highlands languages like eSiSaangu (G61), and others, on the other. The farther away a language, the more unlikely the occurrence of shared items, and if such occur, then it suggests contact in the past or genetic affiliation. The F22 items are presumed to be mainly borrowed, because they skew the regular KɪKɪmbɔ reflexes. So far there is no known pressure of G60 over F24. The similarity therefore points to possible

contact in the past and present, involving constant interaction over a long period of time. This is especially true because many languages share vocabulary with F24, including the following dialects and groups, which share one word each with KɪKɪmbɔ: N12, EJ23, G34, E54b, Rutara, East Ruvu, F22e, F31, EJ25, EJ31, Corridor, F22d, F10, F33, F34, M31, EJ25a, EJ41, P14, G50, EJ40, E62d, M30, G321, and Alagwa.

4.2.1.2.9 SN (81%) (KɪSukuma2 - KɪNyamweezi)

Out of the 21 words 5, or 24%, are unique to KɪSukuma2 and KɪNyamweezi. This indicates a closeness which is significant historically, suggesting a genetic affiliation. The remaining 16, or 76% of the total, occur in other languages as well, although their forms may not be necessarily identical with those found in KɪSukuma2 and KɪNyamweezi (SN).

(156) Unique vocabulary (5 words)

affair, word **ñayo** (F21) (< mu-hayo) , **mu-hayo** (F22)

chase away **-peeja** (F21); **-peezya** (F22) < -peela 'run', -peeja/-peezya 'make run' (*run* - **peela** (F23 kupela²⁴, not given in F22d)

escape **-pɪla** (not given in F22d)

search for **-kooβa** (F23a, F23b -kooβa), a loan in F23.

tick **ñuundya** (F21), **η-kuundya** (F22) (F22d Iη-kupa (not related)

(157) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing (16 words)

baboon **η-gɔkɔ**; **ηg-uku** (F22e); **η-kɔkɔ** (F22d) (F22a not sure) M11 ama-kuku; [EJ30] in-guke; DJ62, [EJ25] in-guge; EJ40 eη-goge/eη-yuye E46 η-goge (cf EJ32 in-guci)

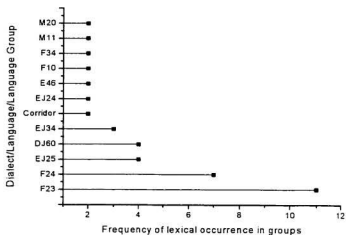
²⁴ Only in Nurse and Philippson's list, our list has kw-iiluka/kw-iilɔka 'run'

bark of tree **i-gŋla**; **i-gŋŋla** (F21a); **i-gŋla** (F21c); **i-gula** (F23) (F21b word not mentioned) (F23 < SN because in F23a,b gu > vu and F23c gu > zu); [DJ60] **iki-gula**; Corridor **-gula/-cūla/ifi-zula/ivi-zula**; G64 **i-cula**; E124 **e-cula/el-yula** (cf N14, P14 **li-jola/ma-jola**)
brother-in-law, sister-in-law **ŋ-kweela** (F21) **mu-kweela** (F22): innovation by derivation <*-kŋed 'marry, copulate' Literally, 'the one who was married,' or 'the one who copulates' to contrast *-kŋe 'relative by marriage' restricted to in-laws
dust, cloud of dust **lŋ-βuuβu**, (**lŋ-βoβoβ** F22a) (F23a **lu-buubu**; F23b, F24a **lŋ-βuuβu**; F23c **lŋ-βuuβu**) EJ34 **o-lufu**; North Nyanza **em-fufu?**: Derivation PB *-bu 'ashes'
full (become) **-okala** (F23a, F23b -okala) loan to F23 because it is limited to F23 only.
get, obtain **-paandika** (F23 -paandika, F22a not certain) derivation from PB *-pat- 'hold', loan to F23 because regular process in F23 is *pa > ha
hump of cow **lŋ-guku** (not mentioned in F22a, F22b) (F31c **lŋ-kuku**; F32, F34 -kuku; Thagicu -guku/-θuku; E74a **i-fufu**; DJ60 **i-pfupfu/φuφu**) borrowing: < Barbaig hukta < Proto Kalenjin *yŋθk (Rottland 1989), or < Ehret (1971:96) claims the source is Proto Southern Nilotic *yuk (*yu:k) 'cow's hump'?
listen **-degeleka** (F23b -degeleka; not mentioned in F22d) M11 **uku-tegeleka**; EJ25 -tegeresya; EJ40 -tegerera; E46 -tegerya; (cf M20 **uku-teyelezya**; EJ31c -regidididia 'listen to' (de Blois (1975); DJ66 **ugu-tega amatwi** 'to snare with the ears'; DJ67 **ukukutegeleza?**; East Ruvu **ku-tegeleza**; G23 **ku-teyeeza/ku-geeza**; EJ34 -tekeresa; F24a -tekelezya, F24b -tegelely; F33 **kŋ-teerera**; F34 **o-teerera** < PB *-teg- 'trap'? innovation by extension of meaning
resemble very closely **-ikola** (F23a, F23b **kw-iikola**; F24a,b **kw-iixola**) Corridor **uku-kolana** (cf F32a **gw-iixwere**; F32b **g-iixwa**; F32c **g-iixwa**, where *d or *l is sometimes lost)
seize **-diima** (F24a -diima) (cf F25, Corridor **ku-lemā**; (EJ22 **ku-zimatila?** P12 **ku-limba?**) EJ34 **oxu-dira** (misspelling?)
speak **-yoomba** (not shown in F21b) (F23a, F23b **ku-yoomba**) EJ16, EJ24 **ku-yomba**; EJ25 -yomba; EJ34 **oxu-yomba** (cf EJ17 **kw-omba** 'quarrel'; G52 **ku-womba**; <-gomba as in, Seuta, [East Ruvu] -gomba?; (-gomba-na (reciprocal as in G24, G31, G52 -gombana) (cf mbegu > mbIyŋ: is it the same process of PB *g loss which in SN is irregular, found in a few words like these two? *g-loss in non-high contexts is regular in E60/E74, some Sabaki, F33, F32, some Thagicu (see Nurse 1979b:462). Source of -yoomba therefore may be one of these languages/groups)
squeeze (milk), milk **-jeema** (F21), **-syema** (F22a, F22e), (F22d has -kama - not related) (F24a -jeema, -syema²⁵); F31a -jeema (cf EJ32 **xufela** (misspelling?)
tomcat (half-wild) **kIImbŋŋ** (F22d **ŋImbŋŋ**) (not indicated in F21b, F22b and F22a)(F23a **siimbuulu**; F23b **siimbŋŋ**; F24 **kIImbŋŋ**) EJ441 **kembulu**
war **βŋ-lŋgŋ** (F22a, F22e **wŋ-lŋgŋ**, not shown in F22d) (F24 **wŋ-lŋgŋ**) G61 **uwu-lugu**; M20 -ugu; G66 **lilugu**; (Proto Kalenjin *luk 'war, raid' (Rottland 1989; or < Proto Southern Nilotic *luk 'raid', Ehret 1971).

²⁵ In Nurse and Philippon's list

white -aape (not given in F22d) (F10, F24a -aape; F23a, F23b -epe) Innovation using the intensifier instead of the lexeme: < *-yelu pe, where *pe* is an intensifier. KiSwahili (G42d retained both, with regular loss of *l: -eupe. (See Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993:290, 583-4) *wind lo-yaga, ŋaga* (< mu-yaga as in F22, F23) (F10 mu-saya) Rutara, EJ25 omu-yaga; DJ60 umu-yaga: Borrowing: < DJ/EJ mu-yaga?

Compared to the unique creations, shared vocabulary due to borrowing or contact generally



■ Figure 4.9 Areal frequencies between SN and other languages

predominates at 16 words out of the 22 total. Such skewed results in favour of external sources of vocabulary support in part the idea that the sources of KiSukuma2/ KiNyamweezi are many and varied, as Batibo (1992b) points out for KiSukuma. The other languages or groups sharing one word each with SN are EJ30, DJ62, EJ40, G64, EJ16, G61, G66, N14, P14, F31c, G32, Thagicu, E74a, EJ17, F31a, Proto Southern Nilotic (PSN), Barbaig, DJ66,

DJ67, East Ruvu, G23, F33, F25, EJ22, P12, G52, EJ441 and Rutara. Those sharing two or more words are represented in Figure 4.9.

4.2.1.2.10 Ar (80%) (GiAhi – GzRwana)

Only 7 words are shared by these two dialects, indicating that their history as separate dialects has not been a long one. Out of those, 3 (43%) are unique, supporting the idea of a short period of separation. On the other hand, it is difficult to predict whether a longer list of words would make a difference in the percentage of unique vocabulary. As it stands, the distribution between unique and areal vocabulary is almost equal, 3 by 4 words respectively.

(158) Unique vocabulary (3 words)

arrow **i-Ruumbo** (cf F21c Ikuumbo ‘arrow shaft’)

listen **-Raaya** (F32a), **-taraya** (F32b)

mushroom **mpoRa/ma-mpora**

(159) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing (4 words)

branch (tree) **i-saapja** M14 lu-sansa (cf EJ31c -sagia; EJ34 esaga) < PB *-canj- ‘spread’: derivation and extension of meaning (not from PB *-canju ‘branch’)

chase (away) **-jɔŋca** (F32a), **-juŋca** (F32b) (cfG64 xu-ŋica; EJ11 kw-iruca; E51 -ŋukia; E54a ku-rungia; E55 kɔ-lɔŋgya)

climb, ascend **-nantta** (cf F24 -nanta²⁶ ‘climb’)

hunt **ɔsempa** (cf G33, G35, P11 ku-pelemba)

²⁶ From Nurse and Philippson’s list.

4.2.1.2.11 *KɔɪLaamba Lm (78%) (Kɔɪ/shoola - KɔɪLaamba ' - KɔɪHaanzu)*

Of the 25 words, 10 or 40%, are unique to **KɪɪLaamba** (F31). The rest occur in other neighbouring languages, although there are few cases like M30 languages which are not adjacent. A high number of unique words from the total number of innovations indicates a historically valid and close-knit linguistic group, especially when it is larger than a language, incorporating several dialects. When the majority of the innovations is composed of shared words, the claim of historically based grouping becomes less certain.

(160) Unique vocabulary (10 words)

he, become **kɔ-tula** (F31a, F31b), **kɔ-tola** (F31c)(cf G23 ku-ituka?. G51, G54b gɔ-tuɪka?)

get, obtain **kw-iligia** (F31a), **kɔ-ligya** (F31b), **kɔ-lija** (F31c)

leaf (of tree) **lɔka** (not shown in F31c)

lean, bend (down) **kɔ-tuna** (cf F21 c -tuna 'bend the knees and lower body vertically, especially for women, as a sign of respect')

maize **m-pɔkɪle** (F31a) **-pɔkɪle** (F31b), **kim-pɔkɪle** (F31c)

mourning **sɔka** (not mentioned in F31c)

search for **kɔ-duuma** (F31a, F31b), **kɔ-duma** (F31c)

spear **n-dilima**

twin **miintɔɪ** (F31a, F31c), **mɪntɔɪ** (F31b)

wife **mɔ-sɔɔŋgɔ** (F31a, F31b), **mu-sɔɔŋgɔ** (F31c) (cf P23 m-jangu/n-jangu?)

The following 15 words, though they occur in other zones outside Zone F, are peculiar to **KɪɪLaamba** only within Zone F, representing 60% of the 25 words identified. Where a Zone F language or dialect uses or shares such a word, then it is likely to be either a loan from **KɪɪLaamba**, or the language borrowed it from the same source.

(161) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing (15 words)

carry, convey **kɔ-keɛŋka** (F32 -keɛŋka) M31 u-kwega? G65, EJ25, EJ40 -yɛya; N12-gega?

climb **kɔ-naaŋkɪla** (F31a, F31b), **kɔ-naaŋɪla** (F31c) EJ41 -yanigira?

dust, cloud of dust **ɪɔ-ŋkɔɔndɪ** (F24b ɪɔ-ŋkɔɔndɪ, F25 ɪɔ-ŋgɔɔndɪ [G60] -ŋkundi; M25 i-kundi

louse **m-pani** F22a, F22e, F24 m-pani; M20 m-pumi; [East Ruvu] mani/māni

milk **ma-sɔɔnsɔ** (F32, F33, F24 ma-sɔɔ(n)sɔ) E65, G22, G50 ma-susu²⁷; DJ64, M22 ama-fyufyu (cf EJ13 ama-fununu? EJ15 ki-sununu?) Widely distributed generally.

penis **ki-lɔga/mi-lɔga** (F31a), **ki-dɔga/mi-dɔga** (F31b), **i-lɔga** (F31c) (F32c i-rɔya; F22e, F24 -lɔga; F25 i-lɔwa) (cf [EJ40] uru-zungga? E46 ke-ɽungga? Cf also [Rutara] ku-cuga 'copulate (with')'): extension of meaning, as euphemism meaning 'paddling tool', < PB *-dug-paddle vt vi

quarrel (vi) **kɔ-kɪleɛa** (F31a, F31b), **-kileɛa** (F31c) G51 ku-lirewa

rest, take a holiday **kɔ-ɽɔɔpya** (F31a), **kɔ-sɔɔpya** (F31b), **kɔ-sɔpya** (F31c) (F22a, F22e -suuha; F22b -isuuha; F24 kɔ-suupa; F25 kɔ-supa) [G60] -suupa

rooster, cock **mɔɔmbɪ** (F31a, F31b), **mɔmbɪ** (F31c) restriction of meaning (< PB *-cɔmbɪ 'chicken' or < PB *-bɔɔmb- 'mould pottery, create'?)

set (of the sun) **kɔ-jaalɪla** (F31a), **kɔ-salɪla** (F31b), **kɔ-halɪla** (F31c) F21c -salalɪla; E46 -jala, -syala; [EJ40] -jara?

spider **tyati** (F31a, F31b), **itati** (F31c): derivation and extension of meaning, < PB *-tat- 'tie up'

stem (of maize, millet) **ɪɔ-peleli** (F31a, F31b), **i-peeli** (F31c) (F10 i-helele; F25 ma-pelele; F21, F22, F23c ma-belele) M10 im-pelele; M20, i-pelele/ama-pelele; [M30] imi-pelele; EJ402 liβerere; [P10] -pelele; N12 lipehe; semantic shift? < PB *-bede millet, eleusine, sorghum'

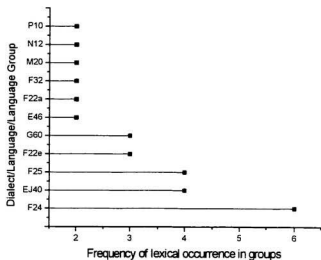
tomorrow **mu-daaɔ** (F31a, F31b), **mu-daɔ** (F31c) [G60] ki-lawu/ki-lavu; [N10] ci-lawu; G50 ci-lau; [P10] malabu/malabo Difference of prefix only, and F31 is unique

wind **n-zega** (F31a, F31b), **ŋw-ɛɛga** (F31c) (F24 iŋ-jega²⁸, F25 ɔm-weya) G51 I-yega; P15 li-yeya;

word **ɪɔ-kaani/ŋ-kaani** (F31a, F31b), **ɪɔ-kani/ŋkani** (F31c) (cf EJ40, [EJ25] e-ŋana/ama-ŋana: semantic shift: < PB *-kaani- 'to contradict', and in EJ40: ŋk > ŋ < ŋ-kaani (See Nurse 1979b:433 on ŋk > ŋ)?)

²⁷ From Nurse (1979b:542)

²⁸ From Nurse and Philippson's list



■ Figure 4.10 Areal frequencies between F31 and other languages

4.2.1.2.12 *KiRimi (Ri)* (78%) (*GiAhi - GiRwana - YnyuMunyiganyi*)

The 10 words (20%) out of the total 49 as unique inventions in *KiRimi* suggest group cohesion. On the other hand, the group is heavily mixed as the speakers have interacted with others from adjacent languages. Shared vocabulary indicating that mixed nature of lexical stock is 80%.

(162) Unique vocabulary (10 words)

axe gi-heendo (cf P25 *imbendo*)
clothes, material i-saa/ma-saa

crown of head -bũũsa
hoe i-kũũjo
medicine, remedy ma-hũka
pronounce ō-haŋa
tail i-φũũmbũ
thicket -Rũŋko
try -sooya
up, above gũ-ũnto

(163) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing (39 words)

birth (give), to a child ō-φaaφa M20, M30 ku-paapa; G64 xu-baba; N12 ku-baba
parent, s/he who begets mu-φaφi G66, [M20] m-pafi; M30, P13 -papi
blood -sayami (F3 1c, F33 -sakami) [G30] -sakame; Thagicu, E65 -θakame; E46 n-daxame; [Rutara], DJ65 -ŋagama/-sagama; [E60] -samu? (in some E60 languages: g > Ø, e.g. -waa 'kill' < PB * -bũũdag- 'kill'. For -samu see Nurse 1979b:108, West Kilimanjaro (Masama - E62a), Rombo (Mashati-E62c): *i > u, *u > i as in KiWunjo (E62b), KiRombo (E62c) mburu 'goat' < PB * -budi; -eri 'chin' < PB * -dedu, and therefore, -samu: Proto Southern Cushitic *sak 'blood'²⁹ → -sagami → -sagamu → -samu?: borrowing from Proto Southern Cushitic.
breathe, rest gũ-hea [G60] kwe-chela; [Luha] oxu-hera; [EJ40] -hecera (cf P23 ku-yewelega)
brother (older) mu-una (F3 1b mu-nuna) Northern Dialects of KiSwahili innovation *m-nuna 'younger sibling' as in G4 1b, G42d mu-ŋa (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993:300) (cf EJ13 omurumuna; E52 mũ-rũa ŋina; E54a mu-rua ŋia; EJ42 mo-mura)
day after tomorrow φiŋ-kĩo EJ42 eŋ-kio ende; G24a -kioi; EJ11 -kio
far kw-eengĩ cf Barbaig ŋagi 'far'
fly (vi) ō-ruma (cf P15 ku-jumba; P22 ku-lumpa; G36 ku-zũma; E74a ku-zumba, ku-zump^ha)
follow -hoongga G65, G66, M30 -kongga; [M10], M20 -koŋga (*k > x where it is phonetically easy to change to /h/ before low vowel /a/ or back /o/ in KiRĩmi, although elsewhere, *k > k)
get, obtain ō-haangga G51 kw-aŋk^ha
hate, detest ō-hũra [Thagicu (i.e. [Thagicu] ku-θura and E46 -soola)]; Luha oxu-syula; [E62] -sua;

²⁹ Compare explanation given by Nurse 1979b:513 on the status of -samu 'blood' as an unlikely loan from KiSwahili damu 'blood', which is a loan from Arabic *dam*, a word which may not be used now in Arabic, and whose original meaning in Arabic is obscure (Bosha 1993)

lean, become: grow thin **o-xoxoa** EJ14 oku-koha? M24 ku-hoha? (G65 uku-sokoka?, G35 ku-soka)

look around **-iheenga** [Luhya] oxu-henzahenza?

lost (get) **-yaŷa** G60, [N10] ku-yaga; Seuta, East Ruvu kw-aga, E55 kŷ-a, kw-aa; P23 ku-yahika; E74a ku-lagaya;

love, want **o-yaŷija** [EJ40] -haŷica; [Luhya] xu-yanza

marriage **-ilooyoa** (cf F31a -loogwa 'love, want') E74a ku-lowoa; DJ65 ku-longora

milk (n) **ma-aya** (cf [E62] ma-lla < ma-nla < ma-lela (as in E62d); borrowing . Proto Southern Nilotic *Pe:F- 'white' (Ehret 1971:138).

milk (fresh) **ma-hoŷŷga** (F21b, F21c ma-sŷŷga; F23b ma-suungga; F23a ma-suka)

mother **iyŷŷ** (F33 iyo; F31c iyaa, F21b iya) EJ441 yiya; borrowing: < Barbaig yiya, Proto Southern Nilotic *iyo

old times, the past **ka-enge** G35 u-hengga

pipe (tobacco) **i-fuunde** (F33 -puunde; F34 ke-buunde) EJ45 eke-βonde; G35 mu-nde; EJ24 eki-bunda? (cf Barbaig kaponded)

pit, hole **i-koombo** (F31c i-koombo) G36 -kombo; P15 li-γumba? [Cf DJ60] ik-yoβo?: EJ25b er-yobo?; EJ31 li-lowoo?; EJ31c -dopoo?; [EJ40] mw-oβo?)

pour away **-hunŷa** (F31c -hunŷa) G61 -kunula

push **o-suntŷiya** EJ43 uku-hunia; G65, M21 uku-suficilizya; (cf EJ42 ko-sukia?; G32 ku-sufizja?)

quiet (be) **o-kila** EJ40, [Thagicu] -kira

return **-sŷka** (F31c kŷ-sŷka, F24 -syuxa³⁰; F33 kŷ-fyŷŷka) Thagicu -cioka (cf F21. F22b, F31a/F31b, -fooka/-fooga) 'return vt', -foofa 'return vt, reply'

rooster, cock **ŷ-jololo** (F24 ŷ-jogolo; F25 i-jogolo)

search for **-ŷeeŷja** (F32c) (F10 ku-heensa; [F22] kŷ-pestla/kŷ-pesa) EJ31 -peeŷja; EJ25a oku-yeŷja; (cf EJ41 kw-efja; E62e -seŷgeta; M25 -hwanza)

shame **mijaŷa** (F31c mijala; F21 minala; [East Ruvu] mijala

shiver **ŷaxaRa**³¹ (F31c kŷ-kagata) (cf EJ43 oko-gaŷkana)

small **ŷŷŷŷ** (F32c) P14 -cuku (cf EJ 40 -suhu)

spear (n) **mŷ-koha**; [P10] [West Ruvu], G50, [G60], m-koha; Seuta, [East Ruvu] -guha; [N10], ŷ-oha (cf F21c ŷ-guha < mu-guha 'small, spear-shaped, functionally double-ended, big needle either used for sewing hard materials like leather or in KɪSukuma medical operations, and it resembles ŷ-gela, which is such a big needle used exclusively for medical purposes')

³⁰ From Nurse and Philippson's list.

³¹ In KɪRɪmi, the voiceless flap represented as [R] is a regular reflex of PB *t in many words, although it often occurs in free variation with /t/ (See Olson (1964:13) on the allophonic nature of [R]).

sweat (n) **mu-RuRu** (F21c li-duutu) North Rutara e-tutu (cf P10 li-usu): derivation and extension of meaning < *PB -tu 'spit'

sweet, pleasant **-loombe** M14 -lyompe; ([EJ40] -omereru?)

thigh (of human animal) **gi-nama** (F31c ki-nama) E60 ki-nama; [EJ40] eke-nama; [Luhya] esi-nama; (also G61 iŋki-ŋamana)

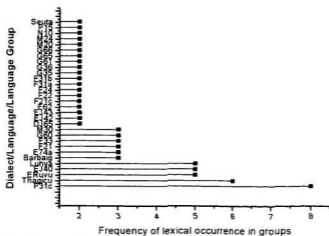
tomorrow **ɸadiɔ** (F32c) EJ16 iɔo or idiho - possible misspelling as given: *idho?*

wash clothes **-hombaa** [Thagicu] kɔ-θambya ŋgɔa? (cf E46 -sabya?)

what **ntɔɔni** (F31c ntɔɔni) M24 honi? [East Ruvu], M32 coní?, M23 foni?

word **i-haŋo** (cf F21/F22 muhayo)

Apart from those groups in Figure 4.11, other dialects, languages or groups which share one word with F32 include G64, N12, P13, E65, Southern Cushitic, G51, EJ441, F34, EJ45, EJ24, M21, F25, EJ31, G40, G24, P22, Corridor, E55, P23, F23, F21b, F10, P14, G50, West Ruvu, North Rutara, P10, M14, E60, EJ16, M32 and M23.



■ Figure 4.11 Areal frequencies between F32 and other languages

4.2.1.2.13 NM (78%) (KɪKɪmbɔ - KɪSukuma - KɪNyamwezi)

Only four words join these three language groups, KɪSukuma (F21), KɪNyamwezi (F22) and KɪKɪmbɔ (F24). The four words can be accounted for in terms of diffusion from a common source, either from among them or from a common ancestor. This account is plausible because all 4 words are not unique to these 3 members alone. They are also found in zones DJ, EJ and G, among others, as areal words.

(164) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing (4 words)
bush, forest -poolu (F23a i-poolu; F25 i-pooli) [DJ60] i-polo; East Ruvu P12 -poli /-hulo?

calf of leg -saluta/saluda/n-saluta (not mentioned in F21a, F22a, and in F22d n-salula) EJ44 e-saruta; EJ43b i-sutwa; (Cf Gisamjanga, Barbaiga¹² hāw-da 'thigh', Proto Southern Nilotic *aR (Rottland (1982:296))

thigh (especially human) i-taango [EJ40] ri-tango; [Luhya] -rango; DJ65, DJ66 i-tako; G23 -tako (cf DJ62 i-tako 'female thigh');

try -gema (F23a, F23b -gemezya, F23c -gemeza) EJ402 -gema; (cf E54a -gena)

Of these languages and languages groups, only SiSiloombo (F23a) shares two words with NM (KɪSukuma (F21), KɪNyamweezi (F22) and KɪKɪmbɔ (F24)). The rest share with this grouping only one word. These are F23b, F23c, F25, DJ60, DJ65, DJ66, East Ruvu, P12, EJ44, EJ43b, EJ40, Southern Nilotic, Luhya (EJ30 and EJ41), G23 and EJ402. Such a distribution does not tell definitively about genetic affiliation since even the areal vocabulary is widely distributed.

4.2.1.2.14 NL (76%) (KɪKɪmbɔ - KɪSukuma + KɪNyamweezi - KɪnɪLaamba)

The small number of shared innovations in this lexicostatistical node makes it doubtful as a historically valid grouping, as in the NM (KɪKɪmbɔ + KɪSukuma + KɪNyamweezi) case above. The unity of the node supports a retention-based explanation, which is a weak classification criterion. Three words out of the four can be said to be uniquely NL (KɪKɪmbɔ + KɪSukuma + KɪNyamweezi + KɪnɪLaamba). But the major drawback is that, one of the major members of the group, F24b KɪKɪmbɔ South, does not have all three words in our sample. The absence of these three words in F24b suggests a later diffusion

¹² There are two ways of representing this name, Barabaig and Barbaig (Rottland (1982:27))

from one language rather than innovation within an earlier group (NL) before a split. This areal account is supported by the relatively heavier influence on F24a by F22 dialects because of F24a's closer proximity to F22 compared to F24b. In addition, the last word 'remember' is shared by Rutara (EJ11-4, EJ21-24) and Corridor-Nyiha (M20) languages exclusively, indicating a possible source from them as neighbours.

(165) Unique vocabulary (3 words)

face downwards (lie on one's stomach) -**bundaala**³³ (not indicated in F22a, F24b) (F23c -*βuundaala*) (cf [EJ40] -*βumara*?)
pot, vessel **ki-seme** (F23 -*seme*) (not indicated in F24b)
stick **mu-laanga** (F21b,c *naaŋa* (< *mu-laaŋa*); F32 *mw-aanga*) (not indicated in F3 1a,b and F24) (cf N11 *n-denga*; N12 *n-donga*?)

(166) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing (1 word)

remember F24 -**ijɔkɪla**; F22 **kw-izɔkɪla**; F3 1a,b **kɔ-kɪjɔka**; F21 -**izɔka**), (F23a - *izɔkɪla*, F10 *kw-isukila*) (cf F23b -*ijɔkɪla*; F23c -*ijɔkɪla*), Rutara -*ijuk(il)a*; [M20] -*izuk(il)a*; M11 *ukw-idukila*; [EJ25] -*icuka*

³³ In the majority of dialects, the initial phoneme in the root is /β/. In others, it is /w/ or /u/. /b/ is used as a proto-phoneme

4.2.1.2.15 NR (72%) (*KiKitimbũ* - *KiSukuma*²⁴ - *KiNyamwezi* - *KiZiLumba* - *KiRimi*)

In the linguistic tree constructed for Zone F in section 4.1.1 above, this is the final stage in which the languages appear to be closely connected lexically. But even this connection is not necessarily genetic, because areal features can spread quite quickly if there are favourable conditions for adjacent social networks to be established. There is no strictly unique lexical item joining this lexicostatistical group. Only one word (14%) partly appears to be a unique innovation, *-dautle* 'pack, flock'. However, since it is also reported in M12 (KiLungwa), a F22 neighbour, it suggests innovation in one area only and with later spread to other languages through contact. Since *-dautle* is associated with an animal flock, it is likely that F24 might have borrowed it from F21 or F32 where animal husbandry is more entrenched. The occurrence in non-pastoral speech communities suggests borrowing, and since animal herds and their herders can be mobile over long distances through trade or emigration, cattle-related words can spread quite easily. The linguistic and the socio-economic cannot be separated, since the socio-economic activities and interaction directly influence people's experiences and how those experiences are expressed in their languages. Because the words in this group are areal or occur in other zones as well, the implication is that they are inherited or borrowed from a common source. With such a distribution therefore, the genetic status of the group is doubtful and inconclusive.

²⁴ KiSukuma2 is equivalent to (KiMunaSukuma, GiNaNtuzu, JinaKiIya) + KiDakama while plain KiSukuma refers to KiMunaSukuma, GiNaNtuzu, JinaKiIya only. This has been pointed out above (section 4.2.1.2.3).

(167) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing (7 words)

pack, flock, group **i-daale/ma-daale** F3 1a, b dyale/ma-dale; F32b dae/ma-dae; F32c i-de; (not mentioned in F21b, F22a, F32a) F23, M12 i-daale/ma-daale. Also in East Ruvu like KiZalamo: loanword from Cushitic (Ehret, p.c.)

boundary **lɔ-bɪɪmbɪ** F25 ɔlɔ-wɪɪmbɪɪ (not mentioned in F32a⁵⁵) South Rutara, EJ25b oru-bibi; F10 i-βiβi; DJ60 uru-βiβi; [EJ40] oro-βeβe (cf F22d lɔ-βɔɔmba; [F23], lu-vuumba; EJ45 oru-βuβa)

love, want **-togwa** cf F31 a kulyoogwa; F3 1b kɔloogwa; F3 1c kɔlowa; (F23¹⁶, F25 togwa) (not mentioned in F32) cf G65 kunogwa; G35, G37 kunogela (F21c -toga 'object O please subject S')

pole (thin) **-kito/-gito** (not mentioned in F21a) (cf F32b fiRo; F24b -sito) cf also [G60], M31 ulu-sito; [M10], M32, [Seuta], P13, P22 -fito; G52 u-fitu; DJ66 i-fyito; P14 -hito; EJ14 umu-sito. Also wider distribution in East Africa generally as in KiSwahili (G42d); [Thagicu] ru-bito?

sharp (be) **-yokɪpa/-yogɪpa** (F3 1a, F3 1b -yɔpɪka; F23a, F23b -ugiha; F3 1c ɲ-ɪɲɪ 'sharp') (not mentioned in F21b, F22d, F24b) [*Luhya*] -ogɪha; [EJ40] -ogɪha; EJ24, -uhiga; [Thagicu] -ɔɪɪpa; cf: E61 -yoi-ya; and EJ25b, M32 -ugi 'sharp'

sheep **-kolo**⁵⁷ (F21, F22b, F22e ɲolo; (ɲ-kolo (F22a), (not mentioned in F22d) G11¹⁸, [East Ruvu] -kolo; [G60], i-ɲolo/-koondolo⁵⁹; < -kolo < PB *-kodo 'sheep'

well (n) **-jiɪzɪ** (F23a lw-inzɪ) (not mentioned in F22d), EJ15 luz-zɪ; P13 lose; Derivation < PB *-yɪɪɪ 'water'

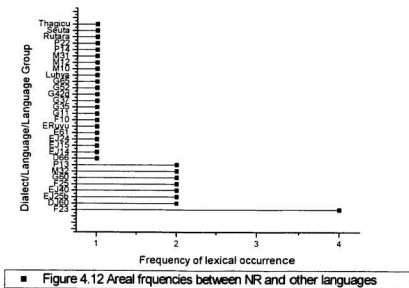
⁵⁵ The informant was not sure.

⁵⁶ From Nurse and Philippson's list.

⁵⁷ Although this word is part of Guthrie's (1967-1971, Vol.3:291) reconstructions for Proto Bantu, as a recent acquisition in Eastern Bantu, there is uncertainty about its origin. For instance, it was not clear whether the word was actually borrowed from outside Bantu or not (Ehret 1968b:217), although later, Ehret (2001, p.c.) affirms that -kondolo is a Bantu derivation while -kolo is a loan from Eastern Sahelian *kwar.

⁵⁸ The languages in this category are from Nurse's field notes prepared in the 1970s. Some of the languages like G11 iCiGogo are not in CBOLD at the time of writing this line. In comparative examples, G11 has not featured because of that reason.

⁵⁹ On the other hand, Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993:669) assert that ɲ-kondolo 'sheep' in some Sabaki, Ruvu and Seuta languages is of non-Bantu origin.



One major problem in this set of words is that some of these words are not found in certain languages/dialects, making their unity even more doubtful.

4.2.1.2.16 Zone F

(169) Unique vocabulary (1 word?)

old person (male) **mu-nampala** (not mentioned in 7 out of 22 varieties: F10, F22a, F22d, F24, F25, F33, F34). The one word is found nowhere else with one major problem: F24 as a prominent member of Zone F does not show the word, even F24a which is relatively proximate to F22. But also, two dialects which form the cores of Zone F, F22, do not show the word, F22a and F22d, indicating that, the word may have originated from F21, F31 or

F32, from mu-na-m-pala 'the one with the bald head'⁴⁰. From one source, it spread to the rest, especially given the absence of serious physical barriers between the speech communities.

Rather than define Zone F as one unit, the one word or (6%) out of the total 16 in (169) only happens to be in the zone in most, but not in all, of the language varieties. This word is **munampala** 'old male person'. The speech communities being relatively adjacent to each other, but then sharing only one unique word as a marker of their genetic affiliation casts serious doubts on the claim. In addition adjacency also disturbs the core of Zone F by introducing the possibility of a word spreading easily from one source, so that a few shared words confined to Zone F alone can be only accidental. Furthermore, most of the intermediate lexicostatistical nodes forming Zone F are not as genetically cohesive as shown by the qualitative analysis of the vocabulary. Since reliance of unique innovation for the validity of Zone F is placed on one word only, the qualitative evidence is not hard. This word is likely to have originated from only one of the languages and simply spread, due to the often friendly relations which have existed between these core Zone F community members, with frequent intermarriages and cross-migration sustained over a long period of time. If smaller populations in the earlier constituent F languages are assumed, living relatively even more closely than is currently the case, then the spread of words might have been much easier and faster, all conditions being equal, and hence, this word does not isolate Zone F as one historically cohesive group. The word excludes an important member of the traditional Zone F core, KɪKɪmbɔ (F24), both northern and southern. The other varieties in which the

⁴⁰ Suggestion by and discussion with Nurse, personal communication, 2000

word is not mentioned are F10, F25, F33 and F34. The distribution of this one word not only weakens the core of Zone F significantly, but also it goes on to support what Nurse (1979a, 1995a, 1999) and Ehret (1999) have maintained over a period of time about the doubtful status of F10, F25, F33 and F34 within Zone F.

It is tempting to even suggest that this word is actually borrowed from Proto Kalenjin-Omoti, a word given as *pʌʎʌʎʌn 'elder' (Rottland 1989:223). The form, meaning and distribution offer a strong argument. The path might have been pʌʎʌʎʌn → payan → palan → pala → mu-pala → muna/muɲa-m-pala. The loan might have started in one language and simply spread to the rest. This source may be F32 (KIRImi) with a fuller form muɲampaa, although the /l/ is normally lost. In SSN, it was reduced to munampala, then to nampala and napala in F21/F22b. This argument adds to that by Nurse (p. c.) as being from '(person) with the bald head' < PB *mu (class 9 marker, which includes people) + *-pada 'bald'. Both hypotheses do not seem to have any strong justification as to why should 'old man' in this group of languages and not 'old woman' use a euphemism like 'the one with the bald head' or borrow from Southern Nilotic. One suggestion would be the higher status and esteem which the Southern Nilotic elders seemed to have been enjoying in the eyes of outsiders, and it might have acted as an incentive in the speech communities in contact with them to adopt and adapt the term⁴¹. In fact, there were intermarriages between them, especially in eastern

⁴¹ In most of Rutara like in oRuHaya (EJ22), the idea of using a euphemism, a loanword or a grandiose term is also observed (as in F20/F30) where 'old woman' is the (continued...)

βσSukuma where contact was maintained as the Datog continued to move in and out of the area they once lived (Itandala 1983:189). In this contact, some Datog were absorbed into KISukuma society, by the βαβiinza clan, and with this absorption, many cultural aspects were also acquired, especially in livestock keeping which made the predominantly agriculturalist βαβiinza into pastoralists as well, being selective of those aspects which were only beneficial for them (Itandala:ibid). This fact is borne out by the Datog proper names for both females and males, place names, some rituals, name for the Datog god Asita, etc. indicating that the contact between Southern Nilotic groups like the Datog was harmonious and mutually beneficial rather than the adversarial nature implied in contact situations and/or replacement of one speech community in an area with another. They might have moved out of the way because their exclusively pastoral way of life became incompatible with the now mixed farmers βαSukuma, who continued with their farming tradition after adding cattle keeping.

The term for 'old female person' in many Bantu languages is composed of two morphemes, PB *-ka, *-ke or *kI 'woman, female' and PB *-kσdσ 'big, or old', forming mu-ka-kσIσ, mu-ke -kσIσ, or mu-kI-kσIσ respectively, or other such words with 'person' and 'old' in

⁴¹(...continued)

regular o-mu-ka-i-kuru and 'old man' is either o-mu-gurusi (sg)/a-ba-gurusi (pl) 'founder or patriarch', or omu-karuka < Proto Southern Nilotic *kσ:rk 'married adult (Ehret 1971:136). Abagurusi, as those clan founders who constitute oRuHaya society, just as the KISukuma case and their clans: η-gI-kσIσ 'old woman', naηala/βanaηala 'old man' indicate absence of classless society as is often implied in earlier Bantu prehistory (See Cory and Hartnoll 1945 [1971]) and Itandala (1983) for a discussion of clans and their founders in the respective speech communities).

either order. The term for 'old male person' from PB is normally derived from two words from which many other variations are possible: *mɔ-ntɔ* 'person' *mɔ-kɔtɔ* 'big, or old' as in KiWoso (E62d) *ndu ŋku* < *muntu mukulu* or as in Gikɔyɔ (E51) *mɔndɔ mɔkɔrɔ*, or in Maragoli (LuLogooli) (EJ41) *mukurundu* < *mu-kuru mu-ntu*; and *mɔ-lɔme -kɔtɔ* 'big or old male'; as in KiSeri (E62e) *mmeku* < *mulumekulu*.

The remaining 15 words, or 94%, do not define Zone F either. They occur widely across neighbouring zones also. With inter-dialectal borrowing, this is not surprising. The most telling feature of these words is that they are borrowed, mainly from Southern Cushitic (cattle terms), Southern Nilotic (some cultural items like terms for animal hides/skins) or KiSwahili (trade terms like metal pots and tins), indicating the lexical impact from one source facilitated by movement inherent in pastoralism and trade, and therefore the 'movement' of these words from a recent past.

(170) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing (15 words)

bull -yagamba (not mentioned⁴² in F10, F22d, F24b, F25, F33). This word occurs in two shapes *-yagamba*, as in most of Zone F and *-kambakol-kambaku* as in [G60] *-kamba-ko*: M20, M30, N10, P21 *-kamba-ku*; borrowing < Iraqw *yaqaamba* (sg), *yaqaambee* (pl) 'bull, big male animal'. Where it occurs in Zone F, the word comes directly from Iraqw.
calf -dama (not mentioned in F10, F31c, F32a) Seuta, East Ruvu, G52, [M10], M32, P11 *n-dama*; G61, M22 *in-dama*; Burunge, Sandawe *dama*: borrowing < Iraqw *dama*

⁴² Lack of mention may reflect more than one fact: absence of such a word, informant forgetting a word or being unaware of its existence, even when it does and confusing between similar concepts and mentioning the wrong one.

cattle mi-tugo (not mentioned in F10, F23b, F22e, F33, F34). Occurs in three shapes, with stem-initial /t/, with stem-initial /t/ by process of Bantu Spirantization and with regular /t/ followed by prenasalized /g/ [ŋg] instead of /g/as in [EJ40]-tugo; E74a, [Seuta], [East Ruvu], G52 mi-fugo; [Rutara] i-tungo ly'ente; [DJ60] iβi-tungwa; (cf EJ32 mi-rugu; N13 mi-pugo?) Innovation by a proto language from which some Zone F members descended (cf Eastern African Bantu and Ruvu languages in Hinnebusch and Nurse 1993:585).

goat (he) ŋ-gulaati ([F22], F23a,b, F24, [F31]); *ŋ-gulyaati* (F21), *ŋ-gulaata* ([F32], F33, F34) (not mentioned in F10, F22a, F23c, F25, F31b, F32a). G35 vulati; Seuta -vulata, -vuata; Barbaig qwarayda, Iraqw gurta (sg), gurtaa-wee (pl) (see Maghway (1995); Burunge gwerati; Kw'adza gulata < Proto Southern Cushitic *-ʔogur- (Ehret 1980:293). The word, though from the same source, displays two major areal phonological features which define three different geographical groups and phonological influences: -gulaati, -gulyaati and -gulaata with an -i/-a divide, most probably depending on the route the word took to reach them. The -a word suggests a direct route from the source, and it is in Seuta only (G23, G24, G31 and G34), while the -i is not based on direct transmission, or the plural form, gurtaa-wee, was taken instead of the singular gurta. This is found in iKiLuguru (G35) and some members of Zone F only, resembling the Burunge gwerati.

lime, whitewash -swaakala (not mentioned in F21b, F31a, F31b, F32c, F34). [G60], P10, P20. Corridor -swakala/-cokala; EJ25; [EJ40] -swakara/-cokala; N10, cwakara/-sokala; DJ66 i-ʃwaŋkala; [East Ruvu], Barbaig, [Thagicu], [Seuta], [Rutara], [G50], [Luha], [Chaga], [North Nyanza]-cokaa: borrowing: from G42d, through English 'chalk'? This wide distribution of the word suggests that it is a recent loan from the same source, most probably English, especially if it is associated with house decoration on sealed walls. It is unlikely that completely plastered walls were common in such hot and humid climates where mosquitoes, the heat and darkness would discourage such house construction. The word is also unlikely to be found in languages which did not have any strong English impact. The need for *swaakala* is hence highly dubious as a native concept in hot climates apart from borrowing from a culture which needs sealed houses because of weather conditions like extreme cold. In cold climates like the vicinity of Mount Kilimanjaro and the Upare ranges (E60), Bukoba (EJ20), Mbeya (M30) and Iringa (G60) a native word is likely to have been in place already, making borrowing unnecessary. This fact is corroborated by the absence of *swaakala* in dialects/languages either located in relatively cold climates or those in isolation like G62 (ŋgeesi), G63 (ŋgedzi), E65 (mlaci), [EJ20] (-noni), M30 -paŋa; E46 mbarimbari

look after grazing cattle -diima (not mentioned in F10, F25, F31b, F33, F34). M13, [East Ruvu], G52, G60, M20, [N10] ku-diima; M31 uku-tima (cf N14, P13 ku-lima) borrowing: < Iraqw/Alagwa de7em- 'to herd' < Southern Cushitic, from Proto West Rift (see Ehret 1980:190; Nurse 1988:64-79; Batibo 1992b:63)

monkey (small, lightish-coloured) n-tũmbili (not mentioned in F10, F23, F25, F32a) East Ruvu, [G60], N10, P20 -tumbili; [P10] -tombele; Seuta, [Corridor] -tumbii; EJ32 in-duvili; (M32 ŋ-gambili?) Innovation by a proto language from which some Zone F members descended. Also widely distributed in East African languages like KiSwahili *tumbili*.

one-eyed (being) **-soongo** (not mentioned in F22d, F31, F33, F34). EJ25, [Luhya], [EJ40] -soongo; N13 -songu; Thagicu -θonggo; Seuta, East Ruvu, G51, P13 -conggo; DJ61. [Rutara] -jonggo; (cf EJ402 eke-tonngo?; EJ43b ege-tonngo?; EJ403 eke-tongo?; EJ42 ege-tongo; [Corridor] -tonko (mbali?)) semantic innovation: < PB *-conggo 'point'?

pool, pond **-laambo** (not mentioned in F10, F25, F33, F34). EJ41, G32, P14 -lambo; [EJ25] -rambo; G37, G60, M10 -laamba. Innovation from a core then the word spread to others. This is another telling word where the four languages are effectively excluded. This however does not necessarily prove that the remaining members are genetically unified because the distribution of the word extends beyond Zone F.

pot (metal), cup **-kopo** (not mentioned in F10). DJ60, Rutara, EJ25, Seuta, East Ruvu, G50, G60, Corridor, M30, N10, P10, P20 -kopo; EJ40 -koβo; [E60] -kobo; Barbaig kop-ajanda (sg) /kop-ajega (pl): borrowing, < KiSwahili -kopo 'small tin' < Portuguese copo 'cup' (Tucker 1946:857). This is an illustration of late borrowing from a common source like KiSwahili (G42d) in which unrelated languages seem descended from a common, immediate ancestor where even Iraqw, a Southern Cushitic language, has *koopoo* (Mous 1993:42). With this word, all the 8 Bantu zones occurring in Tanzania are represented (DJ, EJ, E, F, G, M, N, P). The word is significant in highlighting the potential for misleading conclusions when languages share a word. Sharing a word is not enough. The source of that sharing should ideally be ascertained beyond any reasonable doubt.

pot, mug **mu-kebe** (not mentioned in F10, F24b, F25). [DJ60], Rutara, EJ25, Luhya, EJ40, [Chaga], Ruvu, [G60], [Corridor], P10, P20 -kebe; [Thagicu] mθ-keve. All zones except N display this word. It is a widespread word the source of which is obscure.

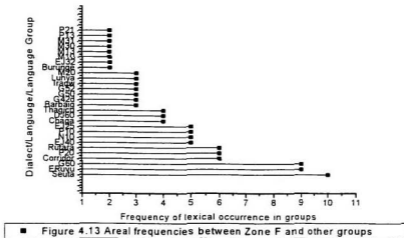
shin (bone) **-lθondi** (not mentioned in F31c). [G60] -luundi; [Corridor] mu-lundi, omnundi wa lylulu; DJ60, [Rutara], M31 -lundi; [Seuta] muundi/-lundi; M13 uundundi; E65 mwindi (cf EJ42 omgorondo 'small leg?') Innovation by a proto language from which some Zone F members descended, probably East African Bantu (see Hinnebusch and Nurse 1993:288)

skin (of person) **-diti** (F23a n-dili; F23b n-diti; F33 n-diti; F24 n-tiila) (not mentioned in 6 of the 22 varieties: F10, F23c, F25, F31b, F32c, F34): Borrowing from Southern Nilotic as in Kalenjin *irir 'skin' (Ehret 1971:143)

sky **-luunde** (not mentioned in F10, F23c, F31b, F25, F33, F34). P13 lyunde; P21 kwiunde semantic extension < PB *-dunde 'cloud'

woman **mu-kiama** (not mentioned in F23c, F31a, F31b, F33, F34). G62 u-muki-mama; (cf G63 umu-kidala). These words are probably segmentable as *u-mu-ki-mama* and *u-mu-ki-dala* respectively. *mukiama* or something similar is found in two G60 languages, and the morphology of the word there shows more antiquity than those found in Zone F: Derivation. PB *-ke 'wife' + *-ma 'mother', to suggest 'woman who acts both as wife and mother'

Table 4.24 makes some important statements with regard to contact affirming both Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Labrousse's (1999) observations on the role of proximity and the contact of different speech communities. First, F10, F25, F33 and F34 behave radically differently from the rest suggesting separate development with minimal contact with any of the other Zone F members. Secondly, the cohesion of the remaining members suggests areal



influences rather than genetic affiliation, as demonstrated by F31 which is KInLaamba, showing less shared vocabulary, presumably because it is shielded from the direct impact of surrounding Zone F members. The other F31 members show higher shared vocabulary precisely because they are at the edges of contact with adjacent languages, with a higher possibility of mutual influence (See Maps 1, 2, 3 in Chapter 1 for the relative adjacency of the speech communities).

Table 4.24 Variety and frequency of occurrence of the 16 words shared in Zone F (in brackets) (1 word 'old male person' as unique to Zone F)

| Variety | Freq | Variety | Freq | Variety | Freq | Variety | Freq | Variety | Freq |
|---------|---------------------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|-------|
| F10 | 0 ⁴³ (6) | F22a | 0(15) | F23a | 1(14) | F25 | 0(7) | F32a | 1(12) |
| F21a | 1(15) | F22b | 1(15) | F23b | 1(12) | F31a | 1(12) | F32b | 1(15) |
| F21b | 1(14) | F22d | 0(13) | F23c | 1(9) | F31b | 1 (8) | F32c | 1(13) |
| F21c | 1(15) | F22e | 1(14) | F24a | 0(15) | F31c | 1(12) | F33 | 0(9) |
| | | | | F24b | 0(13) | | | F34 | 0(6) |

In order to determine further whether these 16 words are relevant in the genetic argument for Zone F, a semantic analysis is in order. Normally, there is a tendency for cultural vocabulary to be borrowed as contacts bring in new concepts and objects which require naming. With a majority of shared cultural vocabulary rather than core vocabulary, non-genetic affiliation is suggested, and vice versa. Table 4.25 shows that out of the 16 words identified in (169) and (170) as defining Zone F, 6 are core, and 10 are cultural. Cultural vocabulary is subdivided into four groups: related to technology (Tech), Animal husbandry (Animal), Farming (Farm) and Geographical location (Geog). Possible sources of the words are suggested where feasible. All these words are shared by most of the other 7 Bantu zones in eastern Africa (Zone F being the 8th), indicating that the cohesion of Zone F is due to

⁴³ The numbers outside the brackets indicate the presence of mu-pampala 'old male person', which is the only unique innovation of Zone F, although it is only a partial uniqueness as explained in the text, since it may be a loanword from Kalenjin or a derivation from Proto Bantu.

convergence of different languages which drew their shared vocabulary from the same sources. In eastern Africa, 8 zones are represented: DJ, EJ, E, F, G, M, N and P (See *Map 1.3, Chapter 1*).

Table 4.25 Lexical analysis of Zone F shared vocabulary

| Word in Zone F | Other zones in eastern Africa | Vocabulary | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|------------|----------|--------|------|------|-----------------|
| | | Core | Cultural | | | | Possible Source |
| | | | Tech | Animal | Farm | Geog | |
| bull | GMNP | - | - | + | - | + | S Cushitic |
| calf | GMP | - | - | + | - | + | S Cushitic |
| cattle | DJ/EJ/EG | - | - | + | - | + | S Nilotic? |
| goat (he) | Seuta, G35 | - | - | + | - | + | S Cushitic |
| lime | DJ/EJ/EGMNP | - | + | - | - | - | KiSwahili |
| look after grazing cattle | GMNP | - | + | + | - | + | S Cushitic |
| monkey | GMNP | - | - | - | - | + | NECB |
| old man | - | + | - | - | - | - | Kalenjin |
| one-eyed | DJ/EJ/E50GMNP | + | - | - | - | - | NECB |
| pool, pond | EJ/GMP | +? | - | - | - | +? | NECB |
| pot (metal) | DJ/EJ/E/GMNP | - | + | - | - | - | KiSwahili |
| pot (mug) | DJ/EJ/E/GMP | - | + | - | - | - | KiSwahili |
| shin bone | DJ/EJ/E60/GM | + | - | - | - | - | NECB |
| sky | P | + | - | - | - | - | PB |
| woman | G60 | + | - | - | - | - | PB |

4.2.1.2.17 Other groups: *KInLaamba and KiRimi*

Three words (20%) out of the 15 are unique to F31 and F32, and the remaining 10 or 80% are shared with other languages. While geographical proximity and lexical inter-dialectal borrowing cannot be discounted, the unique creation vocabulary count attracts attention. This points strongly to some close relationship, although the lexicostatistically based tree used above does not show this closeness. For example, Nurse (1979a:28) points out that in West Tanzania (roughly Zone F, without a few members), F31 and F32 stand out as the only ones without Class 13 tɔ- (diminutive, plural) which normally forms the plural of Class 12 ka- (diminutive, singular). Instead, they form that plural using Class 19 pɪ-, normally a locative morpheme 'at'. Two interpretations can be advanced here: first, KInLaamba and KiRimi are genetically related, although they might have split a long time ago in the past. The second interpretation is similarity in unique vocabulary as an areal feature. The other languages in the vicinity could not have exerted any stronger influence because of their geographical locations, and therefore only these two influenced each other with regard to those words which were invented by one language and spread to the other.

One supporting piece of evidence of the historical validity of F31/F32 is the grammatical aspect of Class 13 sharing. In addition, Nurse (1979a:28) notes the division of West Tanzania into two halves, the KiSukuma, KiNyamweezi and SiSuumbwa division, on the one hand, and the KInLaamba, KiRimi and KiKiimbɔ belt, on the other, while the other

members assigned to this group have an unclear status. For the former group, he sees some relative homogeneity, while in the **KInLaamba**, **KIRImi** and **KIKImbU** group, their unity is less homogeneous. Within this group, **KInLaamba** and **KIRImi** display this historical unity, although internally, the group as a whole which includes **KIKImbU**, might be explained better by the second account, in part explaining the weak cohesion of the group.

(171) Unique vocabulary (3 words)

foam -**poombolu**
gather (flowers, fruit) -**kala**
rum -**maapka**

(172) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing (12 words)

adze (carpenters') -**seeso** G24 seezo; (cf [P20] -teeso; G52 -tesu; [E60] -teso; M25 fi-teso; E54a, [East Ruvu] -tezo/pezo; M14 n-tezo; [EJ25] -tesyo; P13 n-deso; and elsewhere in East Africa, as in Sabaki)
cobra (spitting) -**ilo**⁴⁴ (F34 n-joka ŋj-irU) F24⁴⁵, G62 iŋamw-ilu; E46 egaŋ-jiro: cf EJ41 ri-rubi
donkey **n-dogwe** [some M20] in-dokwe; F33 n-dakwi, F34 n-daako (cf DJ60 in-dogobe; South Rutara en-dogobe (EJ24 n-dogove⁴⁶); [some M20] in-dogobi; G61, 66 -dogovi; [North Rutara], EJ34 in-dogoya, en-dogoya, n-dogoyi; also cf E46 n-dikele; EJ40 -tekere, -tikere, -tikiri; E53, E54a n-tigiri; [EJ25] -sikili; EJ31c -sigiria borrowing; < Barbaig diged and < Proto Kalenjin sikir

⁴⁴ The forms in the individual dialects vary between /i/ and /ɪ/, /u/ and /ʊ/ and /l/ and /r/, the proto-form likely to be -ɪʊ, < PB *-yidʊ 'black'. In subsequent forms, such a reconstructed lexeme is posited as the most unmarked and expected with regard to regular reflexes from Proto Bantu. Where relevant, **KInLaamba** acts as a reference point because of its least number of changes from Proto Bantu compared to **KIRImi**.

⁴⁵ From Nurse and Philippson's list.

⁴⁶ From Nurse and Philippson's list.

finger nail -**kuukulu** by derivation and extension of meaning: < PB *-kudu 'tortoise'?

frog -**tuundɔ** (is it a species of frog rather than a generic term? (cf F21c -**tuundɔ** /**tuundɔ** 'toad' vs -**daangga** 'frog').

intoxicated (get) -**gaala** [G60] ku-gaala; M32, [N10] ku-gala; M25 a-gale (subjunctive)?

itch -**yaaga** EJ441 okw-iyaga

monkey (small, dark-coloured) -**puuma** (Not mentioned in F31a, F32b, F32c) (cf F25 -**im-buuma**) unique creation in F31 and spread to F32? What about F25? (cf *baboon, ape* -**puuma** (F24, F25 **im-buuma**) G61, G62 ili-puuma).

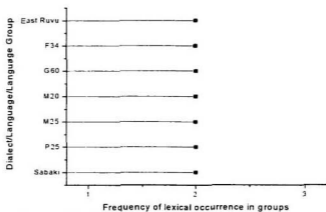
pig **ɲ-guluma** cf EJ32 **ɲ-gulume**

potato (sweet) -**doolo** F21 maan-doolo; D25, [M20] kan-dolo; [P10] kin-dolo; G34 n-dolo, and elsewhere in east Africa.

rhinoceros -**peembele** N12 ci-pembele cf DJ61 ru-hembe; [North Rutara] **ɛɲ-kura uyaruhembe/ekuraru-hembe** 'rhino with the horn'; M31 ki-pembe-kimo 'the one with one horn' P25 si-pambele?; extension of meaning < PB *-peembe 'horn'

testicle -**tuumbɔ** cf [G60], P21 li-pumbu; Sabaki, M22 -pumbu; East Ruvu -pumbu/ɲumbu; Seuta; P25 mumbu; E62c, P12 m-bumbu

The other groups which share one word with F31/F32 are DJ61, G24, G34, P20, E60, E62c, G52, E54a, M14, EJ25, P10, P12, P13, P21, F33, F34, F24, G62, E46, F21c, M22, M31, M32, N10, N12, EJ441, F25, EJ32, F21, D25, North Rutara and Seuta.



■ Figure 4.14 Areal frequencies between F31/F32 and other languages

4.2.1.2.18 Other groups: *Kɔɪɪɔamha*, *Kɪɪɪmi*, *KɪKɪɪmbɔ*

The results in this sub-group are startling. Only one word seems to unite them, although even this one is shared by other groups. The most disturbing fact is that the word is not mentioned in F24b, the southern variety of *KɪKɪɪmbɔ* which shows less influence from languages of the north like F22.

(173) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing: (1 word)
shield-gɔla (F24a) G11, G12⁴⁷, G61, G66 η-gula Borrowing (cf F21, F22b ɪɔ-ηɔɔda)

⁴⁷ G11 and G12 are from Nurse's unpublished field notes.

This grouping is a good case which demonstrates the problem of lumping together languages when they are simply adjacent or because they show a high rate of lexical retention. This uneasiness is also mentioned by Nurse (1979a:28) who observes the loose unity between these languages. While they may be closer by retention, lexical innovation reveals more disunity. The cases of shared innovation like this one include mainly areal vocabulary which suggests there is normally a centre of innovation in one language and an area of spread to adjacent languages. Because of this weak lexical support, these languages may not be one entity historically, apart from the fact of being geographically adjacent.

4.2.1.2.19 Other groups: KiiRangi and KeeMhivve

Three words or 18% out of 17 words are unique to F33/F34, while the remaining 14 or 82% are shared by others, as indicated in Figure 4.15.

(174) Unique vocabulary (3 words)

beer **i-rᵛsᵛ** (F33), **-rusu** (F34)
pass, surpass **kᵛ-looka** (F33), **ho-looka** (F34)
udder **ki-miIra** (F33), **ki-mire** (F34)

(175) Areal vocabulary, derivation, morphological innovation and borrowing (14 words)

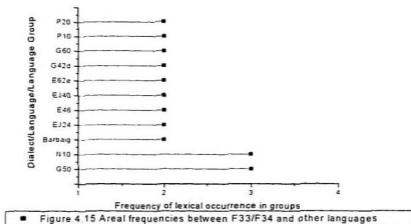
brother-in-law **maange** (F33), **maangke** (F34) cf [Rutara] mu-ramu waange/ mu-ramu-kazi waange 'my brother/siter-in-law': compounding and reduction, < PB *damᵛ 'brother/sister-in-law' + *-ŋge 'me'
follow **kᵛ-tuba** (F33), **o-tumba** (F34) E46 -tubagera; EJ24 ku-tubilila; cf EJ25 -ruba; E62e -idubisa; Barbaig dubagesht < Proto Omotic-Datooga *rᵛp 'follow' (Rottland 1989)

grass, leaf **-saambe** D25 -samba cf EJ32 -sambu?; G35, [G50], [G60], [N10], P15, [P20] -samba/-hamba
marriage **i-loola** (F33), **-loola** (F34) (F25 iloole); G42d -oa < -lola < -loola
mushroom **i-rino** (F33), **ma-rino** (F34) cf DJ64, DJ65 iki-zinu?
pipe (tobacco) **-puunde** (F33), **ke-buunde** (F34) (F32 -fuunde) EJ45 eke-βonde; G35 munde; EJ24 ekibunda? (cf Barbaig kaponded)
potato (sweet) **ki-rasi** (F33) **ke-rasi** (F34) G42d kiazi/viazi. Widespread in East Africa
pronounce **ku-lusa** (F33), **o-losa** (F34) cf EJ31 xu-rwaasa
spoil **ku-saambola** (F33), **o-saambola** (F34) cf F21c -saambola 'demolish, especially a house or structure'
sweet, pleasant **mw-erere** (F33), **m-orere** (F34) EJ40 -comereru/-zomereru; Seuta -mw-ile; -mw-iiye; [East Ruvu] mu-lile cf DJ66 -βeleye, E46 -jamiroy
take, carry **ku-toola** (F33), **o-toola** (F34) G50, [G60], M10, [N10], P10 kutola; [Seuta] -toa/-doa
taste (vt) **ku-saera** (F33), **o-seera** (F34) EJ44g ko-sagasera
yesterday **niijo** (F33), **meejo** (F34) [North Rutara] ijo; [North Nyanza] jjo/izzo; DJ60 ejo/nijoro; EJ40 ico/izo; P20 liiso/liido; P10 liso; [N10], G50, liisu; cf E62e hiyo; E55 iyoo;
youth **mu-tavana** (male), **mu-hiinja** (female) (F33); **mo-tava**, **mw-aana-mo-ka** (F34) G66 mijja; E46, E74 mo-taana

The other language groups which share one word with KiiRangji (F33) and KeeMbuwe (F34) are Rutara, EJ25, D25, EJ32, G35, East Ruvu, EJ44g, North Rutara, DJ60, P15, F25, DJ64, DJ65, F32, EJ45, EJ31, E74, F21c, Seuta, M10, P10, North Nyanza, E55 and G66.

Although there is a lower count of shared uniquely created vocabulary between F33 and F34, there is reason to believe that these two are related genetically, supported by native speaker intuition⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ Personal communication: Michael Kimolo (1994), Florian Kimolo (1999) and Flourine Francis (1999) on the relationship between KiiRangji and KeeMbuwe with regard to KiiRangji folklore's epic branching of the earlier ancestors in search of francolins (of the (continued...))



The following five languages (or dialects) of Zone F, as individual languages (KeeMbuwe, KiiRangi, KiLoongo, ICɪWɔɔŋɔ, and KiBeende) display one specific lexical feature in common. Their lists of unique vocabulary which isolate them from the general stock of the Zone F group, whether invented or areal, are unusually long compared to the others. This may point to some significant difference in their historical development based on the assumption that, if languages belong in one genetically derived zone, then the difference in their individually unique vocabulary is minimal, since their ancestor would be expected to

^{4K}(...continued)

Francofinis genus, related to and resembling the quails and partridges found in the Old World), *mbuwe* or *kwale* in KiSwahili. For example, Michael Kimolo characterized the two languages as dialects which differed in speed and length of some syllables only: KiiRangi faster, and KeemBuwe slower tempo.

have innovated and borrowed the same items before a split into smaller units. After they split, only a limited amount of different vocabulary is expected. A full display of lexical behaviour for the Zone F languages is summarized in *Table 4.26*.

Table 4.26 Total number of language-specific vocabulary in Zone F linguistic groups

| <i>Language (group)</i> | <i>Identifying lexemes</i> | <i>Language (group)</i> | <i>Identifying lexemes</i> |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| F21b.c (-Ntuzu, -KIya) | 13 | NL (F21, F22, F24, F31) | 4 |
| F21a,b,c (KI Sukuma) ⁴⁹ | 20 | NR (F21, F22, F24, F31, F32) | 8 |
| F21 + F22b (KI Sukuma2) | 16 | Zone F (F10, F21, F22, F23, F24, F25, F31, F32, F33, F34) | 16 |
| F22a,d,e (KI Nyamweezi) | 19 | F31/F32 | 15 |
| F23a,b (-Siloombo, -Yoombe) | 74 | F24/F31/F32 | 1 |
| F31a,b (-Ushoola, -Ilaamba C) | 39 | F33/F34 (-Mbuwe, -iRangi) | 18 |
| F24 (KI Iimbo) | 39 | F34 (KeeMbuwe) | 53 |
| SN ((KI Sukuma2 + KI Nyamweezi) | 21 | F33 KI Rangi) | 42 |
| Ar (GI Ahi, GI Rwana) | 7 | F23c (KI Loongo) | 73 |
| F31a,b,c (KI niLaamba) | 27 | F25 (iCi Waaŋgo) | 79 |
| F32 (KI Rimi) | 53 | F10 (KI Beende) | 91 |
| NM (F21, F22, F24) | 4 | | |

⁴⁹ F22c in Guthrie is KIya which does not belong in F22. It was shifted to F21 as F21c JinaKIya. In addition F22b KI Dakama joined the F21 group because of its linguistic affinity, leaving F22a, F22d and F22e as the core KI Nyamweezi dialects.

Any isolation of dialects from their sister languages increases their distance as they innovate and borrow differently, resulting in the emergence of new, different languages with an obviously different linguistic evolution, and a heritage from a different proto language. And it is this subtle difference of innovation and contact with other languages which divides the Bantu languages into zones (geographical), languages and dialects (linguistic).

If only the highest figures of unique vocabulary are taken as a first step, then these are 91 (F10 - KiBeende), 79 (F25 - iCɪWɔɔŋgɔ), 74 (F23a,b - shared between SiSiloombo and SiYoombe), and 73 (F23c KiLoonggo). Incidentally, these are the same languages which did not fit properly in the lexicostatistically based linguistic tree for Zone F because of their relatively lower percentages of shared vocabulary with the rest of Zone F languages. As a second step, other high figures of interest are 53 (F34 - KeeMbuwe), 53 (F32 - KiRɪmi) and 42 (F33 - KiiRangi). As a rule of thumb, it seems true that, if a language belongs to a group, its higher count of unique vocabulary implies questionable membership in that group. In this case, the membership of KiBeende, SiSiloombo and SiYoombe, KiLoonggo, iCɪWɔɔŋgɔ, KeeMbuwe and KiiRangi is questionable or simply not genetic because of their higher unique stock. However, of these, KeeMbuwe and KiiRangi are closest to the remaining members of Zone F because they have fewer exceptions.

On the other hand, higher counts of shared uniquely created vocabulary among two or more languages or dialects is indicative of a common history between them. In other words, when

linguistically viable groups share fewer unique innovations (whether as creations or areal words), then they are unlikely to belong to one immediate genetic tree. Their similarity may be only areal. This is best illustrated by the counts of least shared vocabulary in KIKIMBO, KINILAAMBA and KIRIMI as one group, sharing only one word. That word is also found in neighbouring languages, therefore making any similarity between these three languages only areal. Another illustrative figure is 7 words shared between GiAhi and GiRWANA. Since these two dialects do not form a final node in their group, then their genetic position within Zone F is not the issue here, because they are part of larger KIRIMI. What the 7 words tell us is the existence of a significant relationship between the two of them as members of a larger group. When they combine with γἤναΜυῖσιγἄρι to form KIRIMI, the number of shared vocabulary between them is 53 unique words. This is one of the highest figures indicating genetic cohesion without question.

Because of the first scenario of high numbers of unique vocabulary in single languages indicating non-membership, the following languages are not discussed. Only their vocabulary is given, as members of geographical Zone F rather than genetic Zone F.

4.2.1.2.20 Other groups: KeeMbuwe

(176) KeeMbuwe unique vocabulary (53 words)

beard **mbulo**

cattle **vi-maka**

chief **mo-suungaati**

day after tomorrow **o-keeye**

dog **diyɔ**
doze **o-ɲaaɲa**
duck **ki-dako/vi-dako**
grandfather **maame**
ground (cultivated), farm **waala**
hate, detest **o-sooca**
hunt **o-loomba**
increase, make greater **o-duuma**
increase **o-swaanina**
jaw (bone) **ɲ-kaasa**
jealousy **ki-feeya, ki-feya**
kidney **ɲ-kosaanɲkosa**
leave, go away **o-ferenɲka**
lend, borrow **o-taaɲca**
milk **masii**
mountain **mw-eembi**
navel **mo-ɲoku** (F22b i-noku; F31a, F31b ɲoku; F22a i-noonɲku; F32a ɲeku; F32c ɲeku)
new **ki-feɛ**
penis **kiɪva**
pig **ɲ-kamba**
pigeon (kind of) **ke-rukwa**
pinch, make narrow **o-dida**
pit, hole **-siimbo** derivation: < PB *-cɪmb- 'dig'
pool, pond **ki-tenge ɲeri**
pregnancy **mo-kova**
pull, drag **oo-kurya**
return **o-taaloka**
river **mo-fulo**
rooster, cock **n-sesero**
run **o-feenɲa**
sell **o-ta**
sheep **o-risa**
shield **gaamboda**: borrowing Iraqw gaamboot
shiver **o-siingisa**
sting **o-reerya**
slaughter **-kera**
snail **ɲ-kalava**
sniff, smell out **o-nduɲa**
speak **o-loseka**
stick **mo-resa**
sweat **biro**

termite **mekese**
tomorrow **loovi**
try **weseererya**
urinate **o-sumaa** < PB *-cub- 'urinate'? (cf E55 ku-maa)
urine **ma-suma** < PB *-cuba 'urine'? (cf E55 ma-umao)
well (n) **soola**
work as a mason **o-jija**
zebra **n-dako ya i-sake** 'donkey of the bush, i.e. wild donkey'

4.2.1.2.21 Other groups: *KiiRangi*

(177) *KiiRangi* unique vocabulary (42 words)

armpit **ki-pesu**
day after tomorrow **lovirirya**
dog **kōri** also found in Seuta, Arusha (Ehret p.c.): loan Maasai ol-kurii
dust, cloud of dust **i-ruri** cf Iraqw/Burunge *teri* 'dust, earth' (Nurse 1979b:515)
embrace **kō-kwatirira**
feathers, fur **baaera** < G60 ama-gala?
finger **i-maamba**
give **kō-toola** cf G42d *kutoa* 'give, produce, remove'
grandfather **baaba** semantic shift: < PB *-baaba 'father'
hate, detest **kō-sōōla**
hunt **kō-sakaata** < Barbaig *ḡagata* 'search for, hunt' cf PB *-cak- 'search for, chase'
increase **kō-mema**
jealousy **i-yisi**
knee **i-coomero** cf G60 -*fugamilo*?
kneel **kō-cwaama** < -*cugama* < -*tugama* (cf G60 -*fugama* 'kneel')
know **kō-taanga**
leave, go away **kō-roka** < G40 *kutoka* 'leave'
mosquito **uno**
navel **mu-kōfo**
outside **weerwi**
pit, hole **i-duundu** (also used for 'well')
river **i-ḡote**
salt **saangasa**
sell **kō-colōca** (cf F21c *ḡō-sōlōja* 'to trade')
sharp (be) **kō-kola**
shave **ku-kerā** extension of meaning, < PB *-ked- 'cut'
sheep **muundi**

sift **kɔ-cekesa** (cf gɔsegeesa 'to separate butter from milk by shaking, especially in a calabash')

snail **i-tambaala** Seuta term (Ehret p.c.)

sneeze **ku-va maafa**

sniff, smell out **kɔ-tahya**

spear **ŋ-koongo**

thigh (human) **ra-awa/ma-awa**

thigh (animal) **ki-jɔmbɔɔ**

tomcat (half-wild) **i-hulumi**

tortoise **ki-simantohe**

try **kɔ-yeva**

walk **kɔ-doma**

word **i-saare** appears in Sabaki (Ehret, p.c.)

yawn **kw-aasama** ('gape')

zebra **ŋ-jae** E46 ŋ-jage; EJ40 -ŋ-jaɣe/-ŋ-cage/n-zage/n-zagi/ŋ-jagi; EJ25, E52, E54b ŋ-jagi (cf Iraqw dakeet (Sg), daket (Pl))

4.2.1.2.22 Other groups: KiLoongo

(178) KiLoongo unique vocabulary (73 words)

axe **n-seeŋa**

banana (fruit) **i-hiise**

bark of a tree **i-βaangwa**

beat **ku-teela** Rutara

blood **βwaamba** Rutara

borrow **ku-tiiza**

brother, relative **mu-zaale** cf PB *-biada 'cousin'

bush **i-luungu**

buttocks **i-buunu**

cease, finish **ku-hwa**

chief, king **mu-kama** [Rutara], DJ64, EJ25, [EJ40] mu-kama

climb, ascend **ku-hanama**

cow **e-n-te** Rutara cf Proto Eastern Nilotic *-kittɛŋ 'cow'? (Ehret 1971)

coward **mu-tiini** derivation PB *-tɪIn- 'fear, run away'

crocodile **e-nsaambi** (F23b nsaambi)

darkness **e-n-ziimbazi**

daytime **i-haaggwe**

deny **kw-aangga** Rutara

do **ku-zila**

finger **lu-kumu** General Great Lakes term

fly (house) **e-n-sohela** cf F21c sohela 'small, blood-sucking flies which pester cows'

grandmother **kaaka** Restriction of meaning, < PB *-kaaka 'grandparent'

great, powerful, big **-haango** found in Rutara

ground (cultivated) **e-n-saambo**

hair **i-soke** appears in Rutara

hide **ku-seleka** Rutara

husband **iβa** (F10 iβa)

intoxicated (get) **ku-tamiila**

jaw (bone) **eemba**

lamp **e-η-kaanzi**

lean (become): grow thin **kw-aanuka**

leopard **e-n-zumula**

lie down **ku-lyaama** Rutara

lion **e-η-gaanza** Rutara

maize **i-po**

male **i-seeza/ma-seeza** Great Lakes

medicine, remedy **mu-βazi**

mother **maaha**

neck **bica** Rutara

night **cilo** Rutara -kilo/-cilo

path **mhaanda** Rutara

pig **ee-m-punu** Rutara

porridge (stiff) **o-βulo**

press out (oil seed, sugar cane) **ku-kaanza** cf F21c -kaanza 'extract, usually seeds, from a plant/fruit like a cucumber'

quarrel **kwi-izumagula**

rat **mu-dolo**

rhinoceros **ee-η-kula** Rutara

river **mu-nona** (cf F21c nnona 'ravine, especially with fast flowing water')

seed **mbiβo** cf F21c -βiβa 'plant seeds by throwing and scattering'

sister, (his/her) **mu-ηaafa**

slander, accuse falsely, often secretly **ku-beehela**

slaughter **ku-βaaga** (F23b ku-βaaga; F21c gβ-βaaga 'to flay an animal')

sleep **ku-lyama** Rutara

smoke **mu-hiliŋka**

snail **e-ηoonga**

strength, power **maani** (cf G42d manii 'sperm?')

stutter **ku-titihaza**

sweat **e-mpiita** (F10 kafiita)

tears **ma-lila** derivation< PB *-dtd- 'cry'
think, imagine **ku-teekuza**
thirst **i-liho**
tick (of cattle or dog) **ee-m-balaβala**
tomcat (half-wild) **mu-goomba**
tomorrow **ɲeɲɲa** Rutara
urine **ee-ŋkali** Rutara
vomit **ku-tanaka** Rutara
walk (take a) **ku-tuumbagila**
wash (hands) **ku-naaβa** cf G42d -nawa 'wash hands'
whistling **lu-culizo**
who **oha**
yawn **kw-iyayamula**
young man **mu-sigazi** Rutara
zebra **ee-n-tulege**

4.2.1.2.23 Other groups: *ɕʷtWtʷtʷgʷ*

(179) *ɕʷtWtʷtʷgʷ* (79 words)

ashes **i-twiitwi**
ask for **kʷ-leenga**
arrow **tʷ-n-dʷtʷnda**
banana **-dizi** cf G42d n-dizi 'banana'
bathe **kʷ-cɪɪnda**
beautiful **i-noonu** extension of meaning, PB *-non- 'became fat', cf F21 -nonu 'sweet'
bite **kʷ-wawa**
blood **tʷ-laanda**
charm (especially to ensure wife's fidelity) (n) **i-numbo**
chief, king **mweene**
cloud **i-kʷtʷmbɪ**
cohra **ɪ-hoogo**
courtyard **i-saala**
crawl, creep **kʷ-sala**
crocodile **ɪ-n-doolo**
day after tomorrow **isikwɪɪŋje**

defecate **kɔ-kɔ-ŋa** (kɔ- insertion and double infinitive⁵⁰: why?)
do **kɔ-loonga**
 dwell **kɔ-kw-iikala** (double infinitive?)
face downwards **kɔ-kw-ɪnama** (double infinitive?)
father-in-law mother-in-law **kayeemba**
fence, enclosure **ɪɔ-waya**
finger **kaa-ŋ-kono** derivation using diminutive ka-: < PB *-kono 'hand, arm'
 fingernail **i-nɪŋgwa**
fly (house) **i-sanggaazi**
foam **i-povu** (of soap): borrowing to enrich language, since **ifuulo** < PB *-pudo is for the rest of other types of foams.
food supply for a journey **ɪ-n-sɔɔma** (cf F21c -fuma/-suma 'obtain/buy food, usually from a distant place after a shortage or famine in one's house')
fully developed (be) **kɔ-kw-eeŋjɔka** (double infinitive?)
go **kɔ-waala**
grass, reeds **i-sote/ma-sote**
grind coarsely **kɔ-sigina** (cf F21c -ŋgina 'grind finely and thoroughly')
ground (cultivated) **caalo** (cf F21c caalo 'village, land, district country')
heavy, serious, dull **i-kopaavu**
hundred **ɪ-mya** (F24b, F33, G42d mia 'hundred')
ill (be), groan **kɔ-wɪna**
itch **kɔ-ŋegela** (cf F24b kuŋegela; F33 kɔŋeera; F34, E74 and some others oŋeera)
kill **kɔ-komaŋga** extension of meaning, < PB *-kom- 'hit with a hammer'
knave **kɔ-laamba**
knife **ɔ-m-pyaano** 'knife used by men only' (cisu 'knife for women')
lake, pool, pond **ɔ-ɪɔ-kɔwa**
lean (become); grow thin **kɔ-topa**
leg, foot **ɪ-cɪnama** < PB *-yama 'meat'? Corridor
lick (vt) **kɔ-myaanda**
lie on one's back **kɔ-kw-anzika** (double infinitive?)
light, sky **ɪ-kɔɔmbɪ**
lion **ɪ-saama** Corridor
listen **kɔ-kw-ɪɪɪkɪfa** (double infinitive?)
look around **kɔ-vwaamba**
louse **ɪ-sɔɔmɪ**
maize **i-saka/a-ma-saka** (F10 sisaka/fisaka)

⁵⁰ The addition of kɔ- is counted as one innovation only, and the cases mentioned only illustrate the phenomenon in the language. Most of the words are inherited from Proto Bantu. F31 and F32 do that to a limited degree (Nurse, p.c).

medicine **I-kwi** (cf tree **I-kwi**, < PB *-kwi 'firewood')
monkey **I-m-bwaaji**
mould pottery **kɔ-maata**, (also elsewhere in east Africa)
navel **ki-pwawaambwe**
open mouth wide, yawn **kɔ-kw-asama** (double infinitive?)
pot, vessel **I-ci-Indɔ/ I-vi-indɔ**
protect by charm (medicine) **kɔ-tema**
quarrel **kɔ-ku-dwa** (double infinitive?)
quiet (be) **kɔ-kw-iinala** (double infinitive?)
river **ɔ-m-baana**
root **i-kwaazo**
scorpion **I-ŋ-gɔŋa**
search for **kɔ-vwaamba**
seize **kɔ-lemā**
sell **kɔ-kaja**
set (of the sun) **kw-iila** /g/ loss, (cf F24b kɔ-gw-ɪla; F31a w-eela; F31b -iila; F33 kw-iira; F34 o-w-era, F21c gw-ɪlā; (cf F21, F22a -gwa < PB -gu- 'fall')
shame, disgrace **yaazi**
shave **kɔ-seeŋa**
sick **mbɪɪnu**
skin (of person) **I-ŋ-gweembe**
soot **a-ma-twiitwi** (cf itwiiti 'ashes')
speak **kɔ-tela**
spear **ɔ-n-dɔɔnda**
spread **kɔ-kw-aala** (double infinitive?)
spread abroad (be), become generally known **kɔ-kw-eeŋela** (double infinitive?)
stick **soomi**
take, carry **kɔ-seenda**
taste **kɔ-myaanda**
thigh (human animal) **ɪɔ-paamba/I-m-baamba**
tie, fasten **kɔ-ŋepa**
tomcat (half-wild) **i-waka**
tree **i-kwi**
try **kɔ-paaja**
walk **kɔ-wala**
wall **ɔ-ɪ-wɔɔmba**
wash, take a bath **kɔ-ciinda**
wet (get) **kɔ-kolowa** (double infinitive?)
wind **ɔ-mweya** (cf F21 ŋaga (< mu-yaga), Rutara mu-yaga 'wind' and *g loss in F25
withhold from **kɔ-kw-iima** (double infinitive?)

F25 has some affinity with F33 and F34 in losing *g unless it is pre-nasalized as in -lova (F25/F33), -lova (F34) < *-dog- 'bewitch' and Ingaanga (F25), nkaanga (F33, F34) < *-kanga 'guinea fowl'

4.2.1.2.24 Other groups: KiBende

(180) KiBende unique vocabulary (91 words)

accustomed (get) **ku-beelela**

animal **i-ŋweele**

ashes **i-fuundu/ma-fuundu** (F22a matuunde)

ask for **ku-seeya**

baboon, monkey **i-jaanda/ma-jaanda**

base of tree-trunk **i-siindo**

bathe, wash hands **ku-ŋaaya**

beads **βu-kasi** (< PB *-kadi 'female'?)

bite **ku-teta**

blood **malaso** < PB *-lac 'to shoot with arrow'

body **si-taambo/ŋi-taambo**

brother, relative **wa muɣana**

build **ku-juβaka** cf PB *-bak- 'build'

bush **i-siyo**

calabash **lu-siingi/n-siingi**

chest **i-tuundu**

cloud **i-kuusi/ma-kuusi**

count **ku-paanda**

cover **ku-fimbila**

day **lwiisye** (F21c lwɪsɪ used mainly in lwɪsɪ lweene 'that day') (< *-yɪɪɪ 'day, daylight, found mainly in Zones A, B, C?)

day after tomorrow *before yesterday* **lwiisye luundi**

deny, refuse, say no **ku-tuna**

dig **ku-saβa**

district, province, country **si-huyo**

dry (vt), set out to dry **ku-ɣ-anika** (morphological innovation or retention of earlier PB form, like in F25, by adding a syllable in verbs, the infinitive kɔ-?)

dust, cloud of dust **lu-fuundu/ma-fuundu** (cf ifuundu/mafuundu 'ashes', difference of class marker to show difference)

feathers **ma-fuumbu**

fill **ku-buumba**

fish **i-seembe/ma-seembe**

frog **ka-saβa**

goat (he) **li-kaβooloβoolo** ('the strutter of its testicles/penis'): lexical extension < PB *-bodo 'penis'

grass **ma-βano**

ground (cultivated) **i-βala**

gruel, light porridge **m-pana**

hair (white, grey) **η-kote**

hand (right) **kweene**

heart **mweeyo**

heavy, serious, dull **i-ɲwaamu**

hill, mountain **mu-sosi/mi-sosi** Common Great Lakes, loan from Nilo-Saharan, diagnostic term of Great Lakes subgroup (Schoenbrun 1997; Ehret p.c.)

hold, arrest **ku-niya**

hyena **i-tawa**

kill **kw-ihaaɣa** (D28 -ihaga)

king **mw-aami** cf DJ60 mw-aami 'chief, king'

leak, ooze **ku-sooβa**

lend borrow **ku-tiila**

look after grazing cattle **ku-kema**

love, want **ku-ɲomwa**

lung **i-poombo/ma-poombo** (<PB *-pʊpʊ 'wind'?)

maize **si-saka/ti-saka** (nsaka/masaka 'millet' < PB *-caka 'bush'?) (D28 -saka, F25 isaka/masaka 'maize')

migrate **ko-tʊtʊka** (7V?)

mosquito **ka-laamba/tu-laamba**

navel **mu-ɲoɲo/mi-ɲoɲo**

pack, flock, group **mu-leya**

pipe **i-kuŋka/mi-kuŋka**

pot, vessel; earthen cooking pot **η-kono**

pour away **ku-ɣona**

protect by charm (medicine) **ku-liisiimpa, ku-siimpa**

pull **ku-bwiita**

quarrel **ku-soola** (F22d -soola; EJ16 kusola)

rest, take a holiday **ku-tamuka**

return **ku-heleela**

run **ku-kilima**

seize **ku-ŋiŋa**
seven **dwi**
sew **ku-laanda**
sharpen **ku-tyasya**
short **-tofu**
skin rind (of fruit) **i-papa**
sneeze **ku-tisila**
speak **ku-teenda**
spit **ku-tema**
spoil **ku-ŋonona**
spread **ku-ganika, ku-ŋaansa** innovation or retention of -ŋa-?
star **lu-taangwa/n-taangwa** < PB *-taŋŋwa 'sun' (Zones H, L, K, R)
stick **i-ntuβa**
strength, power **manaya**
stumble **ku-kuuntuka**
sweat **kafita** (F23c)
sweet **-lyoohile**
thicket **i-huumpu**
thigh (human animal) **i-taamba/ma-taamba**
thirst **ŋ-kaangu** (cf F21c jilaŋŋɔ 'desire (thirst) for things one does not deserve')
tie, fasten **ku-haamba, ku-haambilila**
tomorrow yesterday **isoneka**
try **ku-liingisya**
walk (take a) **ku-lyaata**
wall **lu-mato** (cf F21c -mata 'plaster by throwing from a distance, usually watery mud')
war **masoola**
wet (get) **ku-ŋaŋŋa**
wind **musaya**
work (n) **musika**

4.2.1.3 Contribution of non-Bantu languages to Zone F

In the following examples of shared vocabulary, there are clear-cut cases of borrowing from and to either direction, on the one hand, and the obscure ones on the other (for a fuller treatment of Cushitic and Nilotic loans in Bantu languages, see Ehret 1971, 1980; Nurse 1979b; for Arabic loans, see Bosha 1993)

4.2.1.3.1 Contributions of non-Bantu languages: Iraqw

The three words below are from Bantu without any doubt, and their significance lies in the obvious fact that speakers of different languages have always interacted with their neighbours, borrowing words from each other in the process. The number of words borrowed depend on the perceived gaps and reasons for borrowing by the recipient languages' speakers. When only oral history is available, in cases like Bantu where speakers of different languages from language families have interacted for millennia, tracing the sources of those words becomes difficult.

(181)

bed **ki-taara** loan, PB *-tada 'platform'
bottle **-cupa**, loan, KiSwahili -cupa
sword **-panga**, loan, KiSwahili -panga

It is difficult to decide whether the following words are native to Iraqw, loans from the languages listed after them, or from sources other than those shown:

(182)

grass for cattle **manongi** (f) **manonga** (f) F21c *ma-uoogga* 'name of river, meaning 'shells''. The river divides Tabora and Shinyanga regions and its valley empties its water in the Wembere swamp. Cattle graze in the valley and drink from the river.
hare **kwa?angw** (m), **kwa?eeri** (n) F21c *gwana-kaajwa* 'hare, mainly used in personifications in folklore'; also a female proper name *kaajwa*, with the whole name for the 'hare' meaning 'son of Kaajwa'. Is it a loan from Iraqw?

The following group of words are borrowed by the Bantu languages. However, for some like 'maternal uncle', 'pестle' the direction of borrowing is indeterminate, since Southern Cushitic might have borrowed from Bantu. Many of the examples from JinaKItiya are compared mainly with Iraqw vocabulary by Mous (1993) and Maghway (1995):

(183)

beans **loosito**ʋo (f) **loosi** (f) F34 loosi

bull, biggest in herd **sidiimé** NSgfi **sidiimedu?** Pln F21c Jadiimá 'biggest bull in herd'
darkness **giwti** NCfi F21 giiti, F24 kiiti 'darkness' (cf PB *-kiit- 'screen')

kid, lamb **deel(a)moo** NSgfi⁵¹, **deeláy** Plm F21c ndílaaṛa 'infant calf'

maternal uncle **maamay** (m) **maami**ʋi (n) F21 maami 'uncle (who is by definition, maternal)'. This word in KtSukuma can be posited to have come from two Proto Bantu words *maa(ma)* 'mother' and *-lɔni* 'male, man' to form the compound *maa(ma)-lɔni* 'male mother' or 'brother of my mother'. In oRuHaya, the second stage before a portmanteau stage is reached is relevant: *marumi* 'maternal uncle'. This word is very similar in context and meaning to 'aunt', which in Bantu refers to father's sister only. In KtSukuma, as in many of the Bantu languages surveyed, it is composed of two words: *seeḡgi* < *-ce 'his father' and *-ke*⁵² 'wife (female)', becoming 'female father' or 'female person born of same parents as my father'. The other zones in Eastern Africa indicate that the concept is widely distributed, since many members in E, EJ, G, M, N, and P also use a two-word compound to represent 'aunt', as in oLuNyanjokole which better represents this concept of referring exclusively to father's sister: *ife* 'his father' and *ḡ-kazi* 'female', becoming *ifeḡkazi* 'paternal aunt' (cf KtSwahili *shagazi* 'aunt'). Because of this likelihood of Bantu origin, both the JinaKItiya *maami* and *seeḡgi* are suspicious as original Nilotic words. Since JinaKItiya does not have *-lumi* for 'male, and instead has *-lume*, it might be a loan from EJ20 or EJ40 where that shape is found. For instance, as an analogy from *maamay*, it is unlikely that the following reconstruction for Proto Southern Nilotic is correct: *sɛ(ɛ)ḡkɛ* 'paternal aunt' (Rottland

⁵¹ Abbreviations used by Maghway (1995:211) in describing Iraqw. Some like N 'noun' are universal, while others like *fi* or *fii* are language-specific: N = noun; Sg = Singular; fi = first feminine subcategory; fii = second feminine subcategory; Pl = plural; m = masculine; NC = non-count noun; n = neuter

⁵² *seeḡgi* can also be posited in KtSukuma as *-ce 'his father' and **-ḡgi* 'other', to mean 'another kind of father'.

1989:221), or even Iraqw *eggā* 'father's sister' < Proto Southern Cushitic *ʔag- 'father's sister' (Ehret 1980:288).

pestle, mortar stick **musa** (m), **muse** (f) cf PB *-yɪnct 'pestle', F21c ɲwɪɪɪ

piece of soil with grass **kinti** (f), **kinta** (f) F21c ɪkiindo 'dry clod of earth'

pole (for shutting cattle enclosure) **kaangarmo** (m), **kaangara** (f) F21c βɔ-kaangala 'short poles cut to fit the width of a bed used as a mesh onto which a cow skin or other skins can be spread, for sleeping purposes'

leather bag (on donkey) **mayfoodu** F21c ʃɔɔda/mi-ʃɔɔda 'leather bag'

male animal **yaqaamba** Zone F and some other central Tanzania Bantu languages 'bull'

seat, chair, place to sit **kitaangw** NSgm **kiteeri?** Pln F31 and some other Bantu languages **kiteengɔ** 'seat, chair'

side dish **naanu** F21c nani 'relish, which can be from plants (all kinds of vegetables) or animals (all types of meat) as a regular, complementary accompaniment to a main food made from grain'

sunset, evening **tsiindi** NSgf **tsiindoo** Pln F21 ɲɪɪndɪ 'evening'

sweet potatoes **kasiitoŋo** (f) **kasiis** (f) F23 -ziizi 'sweet potato' (cf KiSwahili *kiazi*).

4.2.1.3.2 Contributions of non-Bantu languages: Barbaig⁵³

The loan words in Bantu languages from the list below are Barbaig, and some Bantu language varieties like JinaKɪɪya have borrowed them. Those from Cushitic in Barbaig might have been borrowed by the Bantu languages either directly from Cushitic, or indirectly from Barbaig, as in the case of *losi* 'beans', from Cushitic, which might have been borrowed by KiiRangi from Barbaig because of its shape, rather than the Iraqw *loositoŋo* (f) or *loosi* (f). Most of these loan words retain their morphology without being assigned to the Bantu noun class system, as most of the examples below show.

(184)

calf of leg **hawda** cf *saluta/saluda* in KɪKɪɪmbɔ, KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi?

⁵³ From Nurse's 1972 unpublished field notes collection.

calf of cow **mayd** (sg), **muhog** (pl) F21c mʊʊga 'heifer'
cow **ded**(sg), **dug** (pl) F21c dɪɪda 'old female cow'
dust **binjand** F21c guʃaanda 'powder, mainly medicinal'
horse **diged Ulay** 'European donkey', *Ulay* from KiSwahili, *Ulaya* 'Europe'
hump **hukta** KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi lɔguku < Proto Southern Nilotic *yuuk (*yu:k)
 (Ehret 1971:96) 'cow's hump'
hunt **ɟagata** E46, E62d (and E60 generally), F33, Hadza, loan from Cushitic, as in Iraqw tagaadu; Alagwa ʔakaat; Burunge ʔaakat
look after grazing cattle **adabiw** F21c gɔ-labiila 'look after grazing cattle for another for a short period before the substantive herder takes over'
migrate, move away **balag** F21c lɔ-baga 'temporal, grazing camp obtained after migrating from the usual place of domicile'
mother **iya** F21b iya 'mother'
pot, vessel **dahuda** F21c -dahɔla 'scoop and serve, mainly relish, from a cooking pot to a smaller, serving bowl/vessel'
shield **igambod** F34 **gamboda**: borrowing < Barbaig (Iraqw gamboot also borrowed from Datoog)
tail **ɟumɟand** F21c sɪŋɟwaanda 'bushy, bull's tail-end used for dances and ritual'
tortoise **gumald** F21c gulumaadi 'tortoise'

Because of their shape, the words below are borrowed from Bantu, with Barbaig affixes attached to the Bantu roots:

(185)

hoe **magemɟand** (sg), **magembojig** (pl) PB *-gembe 'hoe'
spoon **matɪngod** PB *-yiko 'spoon'
bed **bulalida** PB *-daad- 'sleep' cf -dɪɪ 'bed'

On the other hand, the following words are most likely borrowed through KiSwahili generally. Some of them are from other Bantu languages other than KiSwahili, with their origin in Proto Bantu:

(186) Possible Bantu loans in Barbaig

bottle **cupajand** (sg), **cupajeg** (pl) G42d cupa 'bottle'
bread **mkat** G42d mkate 'loaf of bread'

chief **mtamid** F21, F22, F24, G42d m-temi 'chief'
examine **apima** G42d -pima 'measure'
fish **samak** G42 samaki 'fish' < Arabic samak 'fish'
highway **balbala** G42d barabara 'road'
hook (for fishing) **ndoan** G42 ndoana 'hook'
hunger **jalod** PB *-jada 'hunger'
lime, whitewash **cokaa** G42d cokaa 'lime, whitewash' < English 'chalk'
pay **alipana, gilipanda** G42 -lipa < PB *-dɪp- 'pay'
pot (metal) **kopajanda** (sg), **kopajega** (pl) G42 kopo 'small tin' < Portuguese copo 'cup'
pump **bomba** G42 bomba 'pump, water tap' < English 'pump'
razor **wemb** G42d wembe 'razor blade'
read **kisomand** G42d -soma 'read'
salt **muṅod** PB *-muṅu
size, measure **gipim** G42d kipimo 'size, measure'
spring, machine **majineda haw** G42 mashine < English 'machine'
sword **paṅga** G42d paṅga 'matchet'
teach, instruct **go-fundif** G42d ku-fundisha < (cf F21c regular infinitive gɔ-)
tomato **paṅ** G42d paṅa
town **muji** G42d mji
whiteman **msungajanda** G42d mzungu 'European'

While some of the above words were relatively easy to trace, the following show some close affinity to Bantu morphologically, although they show up as Barbaig.

(187) Possible loans in Barbaig from Bantu and other obscure/unknown sources

he, become **huwa** cf PB *-ba
boat, canoe **malambod** cf F21/F22/F24/F31/F32 -lambo; EJ25b -rambo 'pool, pond'
cat **nyawud** onomatopoeic, as in most Bantu languages
fierce, sharp **ṅanipa** cf PB *-kadɪp- 'be sharp'
filth **madakalgajega** cf F22e, F23a,b ma-takala; F23c bi-takala; F24 n-taxalala; cf F31a ma-lagala; G65 a-ma-kakala; G61 a-ma-xaxala PB *-taka 'soil'
grate, scrape **far, fara** cf PB *-pad- 'scrape'
gun **mundischand** cf F22 F24 mudɔji; F25 ɪ-mɔdɔɔsi; F10 munduusi; F22e mundɔɔzi; F31a mudɔɔzi
mourning **joka** cf F31 sɔka 'mourning'
old times, the past **garrai** cf PB *-kale

pestle **mosida** cf PB *-yInci
seven **isba** < Proto Southern Nilotic *tisap, a loan from Eastern Cushitic *tizzb- (Ehret 1971)
(cf Arabic sabaa(t) 'seven').
sound, cry **fokjand** cf F31 sɔka 'mourning'

From the foregoing lists, the vocabulary from Iraqw and Barbaig indicates that some words can be traced quite easily, while for others it is difficult to know whether their origin is Bantu or non-Bantu because they are claimed by both as native, as in the case of 'sheep' which is Proto Bantu *-kodo and may have some bearing with the Central Sudanic *-(k)ondri, although *-kolo had not been traced to any non-Bantu source (Ehret 1968:217). With the passage of time and collection of more data however, some of the words can be ascertained, as is the case with *kodo and *-kondri (Ehret 2001, p.c.). For some, tracing their origins remains illusive. This goes to show that proto languages can be multi-genetic (for a discussion of the impact of the nature and length of contact on loan words, see Thomason and Kaufman (1988))

4.2.2 Conclusions: Lexical status of Zone F members from qualitative evidence

The data and discussions of qualitative evidence in KɪSukuma, KɪNyamweezi and SiSuumbwa, on the one hand, and other Zone F languages on the other, reveal the following general, tentative conclusions:

(1) The dialects as concrete linguistic units smaller than languages are true historical representations of differentiation due to linguistic splits. If they are dialects, they normally

share the highest number of words within a language and they can be represented in a linguistic tree as one node. They can thus be posited as genetically related at that micro level to form the languages we know. Beyond that, uncertainties abound. This is true of the **KISukuma** group, where **KImunaSukuma**, **GInaNtuzu** and **JinaKIItya** form a coherent group as one would expect. For **KINyamweezi**, **KIDakama** behaves more like a dialect of **KISukuma** in significant ways, leaving only **KINyanyeembe**, **KIKonoongo** and **SiGalagaan** in the **KINyamweezi** group. In **SiSuumbwa**, **SiSiloombo** and **SiYoombe** unite genetically, while **KiLoongo** departs from the two in important ways. Lexically, the historical affiliation of **F23a,b** (**SiSiloombo** and **SiYoombe**) with neighbouring languages is difficult to ascertain precisely, especially between **DJ60** and **EJ20**, as the above graphs show, while **F23c**'s (**KiLoongo**'s) affiliation is clear: it does not belong in **Zone DJ60**. It is a member of **EJ20** or **Rutara** generally. Internal dialectal unity is also solid in the separate **KINLaamba**, **KIRimi** and **KIKImbũ** groups.

On the other hand, **iCtWũũngũ**, **KiiRangi**, **KeeMbuwe** and **KiBende** each form a group of its own because their innovations are quite different from the rest of **Zone F** languages, indicated also by the relatively lower shared lexical percentages. Because of forming their own groups, analysis does not proceed any farther as an indication that they do not immediately belong to the larger group, and therefore their analysis deserves a different project altogether.

For the remaining languages in Zone F, namely F21, F22, F24, F31 and F32, it is true that as one goes higher up in the linguistic tree, incorporating more dialects and then languages, the internal relationship of the expanding groups begins to be clearly due to geographical proximity since unity becomes progressively weaker and essentially areal.

For instance, F21/F22/F23 is not a historically valid group because F23 does not belong there lexically. F23 belongs to either EJ20 or DJ60. On the other hand, F21 and F22 share many lexical innovations, both unique creations and areal, making it a better group historically, although it is difficult to say whether they are dialects of one language as Nurse (1999:10) suggests, most probably quoting conventional wisdom. Some significant differences exist language-internally, as shown by their unique creations and areal vocabulary configurations, as elaborated below. Such configurational differences between F23 and F21/F22 suggest a different genesis, since geographical proximity or distance of related languages does not significantly erode genetic affiliation. This is strongly supported by the case of F23c (KiLoongo) which has maintained its genetic affiliation with EJ20 despite being engulfed by F21. Physical separation of dialects or languages does not therefore significantly affect their former historical path even at their lexical level, although the evolutionary path is normally clearer phonologically.

As to genetic similarity between F21 and F22, two possibilities can be advanced: first, either the languages were one initially, and an earlier divergence differentiated them as separate

languages, although the speakers maintained contact by being resident in contiguous spaces: second, though descended from the same Proto Bantu, they might have been different languages which, by convergence, were made more similar by contact. Nurse and Philippson (1980:38-9) describe both the long and short range mutual influence between speakers of neighbouring languages where even languages from different families display some lexical similarities.

(2) There is fuzziness of affiliation at higher levels in the linguistic tree (See *Figure 4.16* below). Three nodes shed some important light on the lexical status of Zone F, the highest node in our discussion. These three nodes are NM formed by three languages (F21 (KɪSukuma), F22 (KɪNyamweezi) and F24 (KɪKɪmbɔ)); node NL, composed of F21, F22, F24, with the addition of F31 (KɪnɪLaamba)); and node NR, which includes the preceding group, NL, (F21, F22, F24, F31) with the addition of F32 (KɪRɪmi).

The members of node NM, that is, F21 (KɪSukuma), and, F22 (KɪNyamweezi), F24 (KɪKɪmbɔ) do not share a single unique lexical creation as a diagnostic innovation out of the 4 possibilities identified, indicating that their unity is not necessarily genetic. The linguistic tree in *Figure 4.16* implies that they descended from only one node up the tree, an assumption which is not supported by lexical innovation. Likewise, the members of node NL (F21, F22, F24, F31) do not share any unique lexical innovation apart from areal vocabulary. On the other hand, Zone F displays three shared innovations only out of the 17 identified.

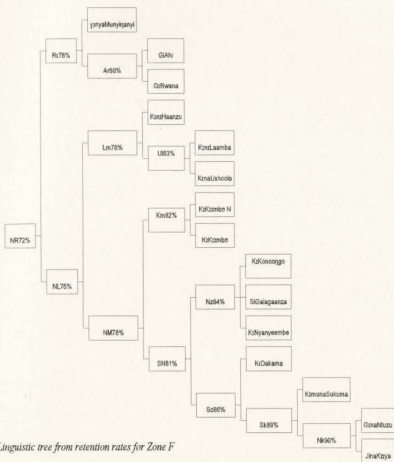


Figure 4.16 Linguistic tree from retention rates for Zone F

although even with these three, only one seems to be properly unique. Unfortunately, even this one word has a problem: an important member, F24b does not share that word, suggesting that the innovation might have started at one point and simply spread to the rest.

This is illustrated in *Table 4.27*. In this table, unique lexical inventions and areal vocabulary counts are compared. Within any one group, fewer or zero shared innovations imply an

automatic weak or absent genetic relationship with a larger group (e.g. Zone F) into which they purport to belong.

Table 4.27 Lexical innovation in Zone F and genetic affiliation

| Linguistic node and % of shared vocabulary | Words innovated in Zone F | | | | |
|--|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| | Total # of words | # of Unique creations | % of Unique creations | # of Areal vocabulary | % of areal vocabulary |
| F21b,c 90% | 14 | 4 | 29 | 10 | 71 |
| F21 89% | 13 | 4 | 31 | 9 | 69 |
| F21/F22b 86% | 14 | 3 | 21 | 13 | 79 |
| F22a,d,e 84% | 24 | 3 | 12.5 | 16 | 87.5 |
| F23a,b 84% | 74 | 11 | 15 | 63 | 85 |
| F31a,b 83% | 31 | 13 | 42 | 18 | 58 |
| F24 82% | 39 | 13 | 33 | 26 | 67 |
| SN (F21/F22) 81% | 21 | 5 | 24 | 16 | 76 |
| Ar (F32a,b) 80% | 7 | 3 | 43 | 4 | 57 |
| F31a,b,c 78% | 25 | 10 | 40 | 15 | 60 |
| F32 78% | 49 | 10 | 20 | 39 | 80 |
| NM (F21/22/24) 78% | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 100* |
| NL (F21/22/24/31) 76% | 4 | 3? | 75? | 1 | 25?* |
| NR (F21/22/24/31/32) 72% | 7 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 100* |
| Zone F | 16 | 1? | 6? | 18 | 94 |

Two interpretations can be advanced here: firstly, such high percentages may indicate dialects or languages which are internally less cohesive genetically because of dominant external

lexical interference or because of unrelated dialects or languages converging into one unit, as in the case of NM (F21 (KiSukuma), F22 (KiNyamweezi) and F24 (KiKiimbō); NL (F21, F22, F24, and F31 (KiLaamba)); NR, (F21, F22, F24, F31 and F32 (KiRimi); or Zone F.

Secondly, the group may be genetically valid and cohesive internally but with heavy interference from other languages in the past as the cases of F22a/F22d/F22e, F23a/F23b and F33/F34⁵⁴ seem to suggest. F24 also shows this interference by having more shared than unique vocabulary.

This high percentage of shared areal vocabulary is best illustrated by KiNyamweezi (F22a, F22d, F22e) (87.5%), SiSuumbwa (F23a,b) (85%), KiRimi (80%) and KiSukuma2 (F21, F22b) (79%) as examples of heavy interference, where the sources of that interference make tracing their history extremely difficult. The four examples, especially SiSuumbwa, are relevant because of the relatively large sample of Zone F-unique words identified, at a total of 76 words, where only 12 or 16% of them are unique creations. At level NR (F21, F22, F24, F31, F32), unique creation is 0%, suggesting weak or dubious genetic affiliation by this predominance of areal vocabulary, rendering the historicity of Zone F itself highly questionable, as it has an areal count of 15 words (or 94%) against 1 (6%) of unique inventions. On the other hand, NL (F21, F22, F24, F31) with a unique vocabulary count of

⁵⁴ The shared areal vocabulary of these two is 83% as shown in *Table 4.29*, which is less than 87%, indicating reasonable internal cohesion, although the languages are also significantly different because of heavy interference.

3 out of 4, and 1 areal word suggests borrowing, since such an inconsistent display may be due to the small sample of words found (4 of them), where chance can play a bigger role than in a larger sample.

(3). The Zone F languages show more lexical affinity to outside groups than among themselves. This externally favourable relation is extracted from the highest cases of shared vocabulary appearing in the different groups in the graphs above. For instance, as summarized in *Table 4.28*, individually, traditional KISukuma (F21) and KINyamweezi proper (F22a, F22d, F22e) do not seem to be immediately related to each other because KINyamweezi does not share significant vocabulary with Thagicu, while KISukuma does. When KIDakama extends a bridge between KISukuma and KINyamweezi to form one group, then Thagicu (Thagicu - Central Kenya languages like KiKamba and Gikũyũ) disappears. But also, Thagicu shares vocabulary to a large extent with only F32, and not with F23, F24, or F31. This suggests strongly that the development of these languages before the speakers settled in their current geographical locations was not from one parent. Where only a few Thagicu traces are found, it is likely that it is the effect of inter-dialectal borrowing, which tends to spread the words from one source to surrounding neighbours. There is also a suggestion that the lexical connection between F21 and E50 (Thagicu) is historically valid, given the possibility that the area currently occupied by non-Bantu speakers like Maasai was once occupied by the Bantu. The intervention by the non-Bantu cut off the geographical continuity, leaving linguistic islands, as Nurse (1999:4) muses about the connection.

On the other hand, three groups of languages show a widespread pattern of interaction with Zone F languages. These are Ruvu (G30), East Nyanza (EJ40) and Corridor (M10/20). Vocabulary which was not inherited from Proto Bantu and which was unique for a group within Zone F suggested mainly two processes: unique creation or areal occurrence. Widespread G30 or Ruvu vocabulary was shared by the following clusters: KISukuma2, KIRimi (F32), core KINLaamba (F31a and F31b which excludes F31c (KINHaanzu)). Those not well represented were KINyamweezi proper (F22a,d,e), SiSuumbwa, as well as the SN (F21/F22), NM (F21/F22/F24) and NR (F21/F22/F24/F31/F32) combinations. Since these combinations are subsets of Zone F, two important points are suggested. First, the NM and NR groupings are not historically valid, since their individual languages have G30 vocabulary. If the speakers of those proto groups acquired those words as a single group before splintering into speakers of several languages, then the words would show up even in the larger, earlier groupings. Second, Ruvu (G30) vocabulary was acquired by the speakers of each individual language after the earlier groups had already split. Scenario two is unlikely, since it would require a larger agent for spreading those words. The first point suggests a plausible possibility that some of the G30 and F20/30 languages emerged from the same ancestor before they split, like the "Kati" suggested by Ehret (1994).

Such a scenario may well apply to EJ40 which shares vocabulary with all levels of KISukuma, F21/F22, F31, F32, F21/F22/F24 (NM), F21/F22/F24/F31/F32 (NR) and Zone F generally. The interesting part however is that EJ40 is not shared with F24, F22 and core F31, indicating that the larger units beyond the language acquired the words through inter-dialectal

borrowing rather than from immediate genetic heritage. Likewise, M10/20 words are found in F21, F22, F21/F22, F24, F31 and F32. On the other hand, as larger units, NM (F21/F22/F24) and NR (F21/F22/F24/F31/F32) as groups do not feature M10/20, indicating that the vocabulary is areal rather than genetic.

Table 4.28 Shared vocabulary between Zone F members and other languages

| Linguistic node and % of shared vocabulary | Largest areal vocabulary shared with | Linguistic node and % of shared vocabulary | Largest areal vocabulary shared with |
|--|---|--|---|
| F21b.c 90% | Thagicu (E50), East Nyanza (EJ40), Luhya (EJ30/EJ41) | SN (F21/F22) 81% | F23, F24, (EJ25), DJ60 |
| F21 89% | Thagicu (E50), Corridor (M10/M20), East Nyanza (EJ40) | F31a,b,c 78% | F24, EJ40, F25, F22e, G60 |
| F21/F22b 86% | East Nyanza (EJ40) | F32 78% | F31c, Thagicu (50), East Ruvu (G30), EJ40, Luhya |
| F22a/F22d/F22e 84% | M10, F23a,b ⁵⁵ , F24, M20, F10 | NM (F21/22/24) 78% | * |
| F23a,b 84% | F23c, Rutara (EJ11-EJ14, EJ21-24), DJ60 | NL ((F21, F22, F24, F31) | * |
| F31a,b 83% | F24, G60 | NR (F21/22/24/31/32) 72% | F23a,b, DJ60, EJ25b, F25, EJ40, G60, M32, P13* |
| F24 82% | F22, F21, G61, M20 | Zone F | All Bantu zones found in East Africa: DJ, EJ, E, G, M, N, P |

* Only four, four and seven words respectively were used, and the results are only tentative in NM (78%), NL (76%), NR (72%) because of the small number of words in areal vocabulary which makes the statistical pedantry of using a graph unnecessary, although a graph was drawn for NR, 7 words.

⁵⁵ F23a,b is strictly SiSuumbwa, while F23c, KiLoonjo is treated separately.

(4). While the linguistic tree for Zone F admitted some members and rejected others, patterns observed in the past or those emerging from the current data deserve some mention. For instance, the linguistic trees in Figures 4.1 and 4.16 suggest how the branching of the different Zone F languages took place. Its configuration could be altered depending on the order in which the shared retention percentages are collapsed. In the current tree, KInLaamba and KIRmi are not coordinate anywhere. They join further up the tree, due to KIRmi's drastic change away from the phonologically conservative KInLaamba, and therefore indicating a much earlier split and different history, if it is assumed that they formed one language in the past. The shared vocabulary between KInLaamba and KIRmi which is not represented in the tree is indicated in *Table 4.29*, showing a unique invented vocabulary figure of 20%. As advanced above, such a figure qualifies them to share a coordinate node, suggesting immediate historical branching, shown in *Table 4.13* with a shared retention rate of 72%. However, such unity is open to question given the effect of proximity and subsequent borrowing.

Table 4.29 Lexical innovation in nodes outside the Zone F tree and genetic affiliation

| Linguistic node and % of shared vocabulary | Words innovated in Zone F | | | | |
|--|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| | Total # of words | # of Unique creations | % of Unique creations | # of Areal vocabulary | % of areal vocabulary |
| F31/F32 | 15 | 3 | 20 | 12 | 80 |
| F24/F31/F32 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 100* |
| F33/F34 | 18 | 3 | 17 | 15 | 83 |

* Only one word is indicated, illustrating the possibility that the languages are not immediately genetically related.

The proper interpretation of such a figure, which is also supported by shared unique created vocabulary, depends on whether such innovation is really genetically or areally based. Mere proximity even of languages from different language families can do a lot to change the surface configuration of created vocabulary, an element which Nurse (1988: 43) correctly characterizes as the least important form of borrowing, when a hierarchy of determinants of language similarity are considered. If such unique lexical creations are genetically based, then, some drastic interference can be posited for the difference in phonological inventory and phonetic realization, like the presence of and interaction with several non-Bantu languages in the area. Both scenarios are plausible, and a preference for one over the other depends on how much evidence is available and used to justify it.

On the hand, KiiRangi and KeeMbuwe display a lower percentage of shared unique creations, although they are claimed to be very similar in the literature, including strong assertions of historical affinity by the native speakers of the two languages themselves. One explanation which is likely to be correct is contact with different non-Bantu languages at different periods with varying degrees of intensity, contributing to a different set of new vocabulary.

The assumption that F24/F31/F32 (KɪKɪmbɔ, KɪnɪLaamba and KɪRɪmi) are immediately connected historically is not borne out by both the lexicostatistical and lexical figures. In fact, only one areal word joins them, indicating an unlikely genetic relationship, apart from similarity of Proto Bantu vocabulary retention and areal shared vocabulary. A genetic

connection would be shown by a higher number of shared unique lexical creations enhanced even more by the close proximity obtaining between the speakers.

4.3 CONCLUSION: QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE EVIDENCE IN GENETIC AFFILIATION

4.3.1 The lexical unity of KɪSukuma, KɪNyamweezi and SiSuumbwa

From the preceding sections, it is apparent that KɪSukuma, KɪNyamweezi and SiSuumbwa do not form a unified linguistic group. SiSuumbwa, referring mainly to SiSiloombo and SiYoombe, is shown to belong elsewhere since its overall shared retention rate to KɪSukuma/KɪNyamweezi is 74%, while the figure between KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi is 81%, a margin which is high in this context. The 74% rate seems high because of contact, since the number of unique vocabulary proves that. KiLoongo, while geographically occupying an area between RuZinza, SiYoombe and KɪSukuma, with many of its speakers mixed across the whole area, does not fit in well with SiSiloombo or SiYoombe nor with KɪSukuma/KɪNyamweezi. It shares with them some words, and departs from them in significant ways, with a shared retention rate of 65% to SiSiloombo/SiYoombe, and 58% to KɪSukuma/KɪNyamweezi..

Qualitatively, SiSuumbwa is similar to both Rutara (EJ11-EJ14 and EJ21-EJ24) and Western Highlands (DJ60), although a definite taxonomy can only be confirmed when other criteria like phonology or morpho-syntax are considered. Combining lexis and phonology places

SiSuumbwa (F23a/F23b) in DJ60, the affinity to Rutara being a result of contact. On the other hand, KiLoonngo (F23c) is shown to belong to Rutara exclusively. A paradox might be the low shared retention rate with oRuhaya, at 57%, roughly the same rate obtaining between KiLoonngo and KiSukuma/KiNyamweezi at 58%. Isolation from Rutara for a long time accounts for such low shared rates with Rutara members as a function of contact with many other languages.

On the other hand, KiSukuma and KiNyamweezi have internal divisions which question the essence of their similarity as a pointer to genetic relationship. For instance, quantitatively, they share a retention rate of 81% of Proto Bantu vocabulary, a high figure warranting genetic affiliation. But the KiNyamweezi internal configuration excludes KiDakama whose lexical retention figure gravitates towards KiSukuma, a picture supported by the qualitative evidence as well. Phonologically, KiDakama is also isolated from core KiNyamweezi (F22a, F22d, F22e). The 81% figure therefore is raw, emphasizing convergence.

4.3.2 Does Zone F exist lexically?

Lexically, each major group: F10, F21, F22, F23, F24, F25, F31, F32, F33 and F34 stands on its own, related to the others only by either the high retention rates from Proto Bantu words in some of them or because of inter-dialectal borrowing facilitated by many years of contact. Because most of the words in the innovations within the Zone F languages are areal, it implies therefore that the small uniquely invented vocabulary is the most important aspect

of evidence for classification. This apparent autonomous status of each group is supported by the absence of solid shared lexical innovations among them, except a few groups at lower levels like KɪSukuma/KɪNyamweezi. This Zone F fuzziness is illustrated well by the extreme members of the zone which are not only clearly autonomous, but also do not belong there entirely as immediate sister languages to the core group. These non-members are F10 (KiBende/KiTongwe), F23 (SiSuumbwa), F25 (ɪɔWɔɔŋɔ), F33 (KiiRangi) and F34 (KeeMbuwe). Two common attributes are shared by this group of languages: first, a long list of unique innovations, either as loans or lexical creations not found in the rest of Zone F members, and secondly, being at the edges of the zone, although F33 and F34 are closer than the others.

It is also interesting to note that if 5 out of the 10 members of Zone F do not tally with the other 5 lexically, indicating a weak grouping, then it follows that the zone cannot be called by the same name when half its membership from the original is missing.

Within the remaining 5 members, namely F21 (KɪSukuma), F22 (KɪNyamweezi), F24 (KɪKɪmbɔ), F31 (KɪnɪLaamba) and F32 (KɪRɪmi) and their dialects, only one word can be called a unique innovation of the 7 words which isolate them (example 167). In the Zone F node, one word appears to unite them. But even this one word *mu-nampala* 'old male' is doubtful, because it suggests borrowing from Southern Nilotic in one of them, then spreading to the rest, shown in (169) and in the footnote in that section. In addition, the validity of

Zone F as a linguistic unit is further challenged because *mu-nampala* is not mentioned in 6 out of the 10 traditional Zone F members, namely F10, F22a, F22d, F24, F25, F33, F34. This indicates that the speakers of those languages did not originate from one proto-community. The multi-genetic character of the Zone F speech communities is mentioned by Itandala (1979, 1983) and Batibo (1992b) when they discuss the origins of the current KɪSukuma speakers. Nurse (1999) also doubts the membership in Zone F of F10, F23, F25, F33, F34, as reviewed in Chapter 2. Such multi-genesis as reflected by the different sources of vocabulary parallels the notion of Zone F as a geographical *Abflussloses Gebiet*⁵⁶, an area into which various linguistic ‘rivers’ emptied their vocabulary, never to come out again. It is an area where rivers flow in and the water has no outlet to flow out because it is blocked, probably because of the safety the area offered in the past. This makes Zone F a real *Abflussloses Gebiet* calling for a proper grasp and interpretation of both its history and the phonological and lexical data yielded in this study, a theme treated in Chapter 5.

⁵⁶ A German term meaning a linguistic situation in an area whereby features are shared across genetic language boundaries (Kiessling, unpublished manuscript, 2000).

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION: LANGUAGE AS A TOOL OF HISTORY

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter closes our study by synthesizing the results of Chapter 3 and 4 in relation to the aims spelt out in Chapter 1, given the gaps identified in the literature review, Chapter 2. The reference point involves phonological and lexical innovation focusing on Bantu Spirantization (BS), seven to five vowel reduction ($7 > 5$), Dahl's Law (DL), glottalization and voiceless nasal formation, covering the area shown in Chapter 1 *Maps 1.2* and *1.2*. Comparison to a number of eastern African languages shown in *Map 1.3* was also attempted with the aim of outlining the linguistic history of SSN and Zone F from the last millennium BC to the present.

As Ehret (2000:273) correctly observes, change of society and its culture is mirrored in the histories of words in the languages spoken by people who express the various aspects of their lives. These words and their behaviour become historical artefacts especially when they show up as reflexes in several languages, indicated by some regular sound changes. The evidence from the phonology and lexis in both SSN and Zone F suggests that they are not unified linguistic entities internally, although the individual languages have been adjacent for a long time. The evidence also suggests that the intermediate nodes in the Zone F hierarchy are not historically valid because the smaller units forming those higher levels are not historically supported by the phonology or vocabulary (See *Figure 4.1* and *4.16*, Chapter 4 in relation to the lexical evidence). The interpretation of the evidence to determine whether the facts

available suffice to justify such historical statements about the languages and their speakers permeates all sections. Without their proper interpretation, the graphs, statistics or patterns as representations of raw data may not be tools of history, since many factors operate in the generation of such raw data, rendering any direct interpretation of those representations difficult and misleading. Normally, there are interpretations which are not valid either linguistically or historically because the conclusions are based on the misuse, misunderstanding, or over-stretching of the limits of the data or models; or when the conclusions are based on false premises, assumptions, arguments, or mere hypotheses.

As objective events in space and time, languages reflect changes in peoples' material conditions, although languages may lag behind in some respects. Such changes are discernible in sounds and words. When a speech community, its language and environment change or disappear altogether, the languages or words are left as traces of that temporary distant series of events.

In oral cultures, the only linguistic evidence of that past is obtained through the synchronic study of languages. On the one hand, if isolated evidence from the phonological, lexical or any other linguistic component is used alone, yielding some results, it does not necessarily mean that such evidence furnishes necessary and sufficient proof giving an accurate interpretation of a complete historical event which was not under our direct observation. The contribution of components such as phonology alone, may not have the same explanatory

impact as the overall effect of the language taken in its totality.

5.1 LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE: THE RESULTS

5.1.1 Evidence from Phonology

5.1.1.1 BS and 7 > 5

Bantu Spirantization is an important phonological process because it takes advantage of a particular context: superclose vowels /i/ and /u/. There are particular, general and universal changes in languages, three metaphors used by Andersen (1988:8). BS is a particular process which has both phonetic and historical significance. Only historically related languages will have this process in Bantu, and when the process is anomalous in a specific language, then some historical explanation can be posited, either in terms of imitation or adaptation. BS could not take place independently in different languages for one reason. BS requires that features of a plosive consonant be deleted by consonantal features of a vowel, the superclose PB *i or *u. In regular assimilatory processes like palatalization, front vowels generally can also spread their features to neighbouring consonants, although the results of BS and palatalization may be identical. Zoll (1995:542) differentiates between BS (which she calls 'Bantu mutation') and palatalization and the distinction highlights the uniqueness of BS as a process which could only occur in related Bantu languages. An independent occurrence would suggest that BS could be found in Indo European, Algonkian, Afro-Asiatic or indeed in all language families of the world.

3.1.1.1.1 BS and 7V 5V in KtSukuma2, KtNyamweezi and SiSuumbwa

In these three linguistic groupings, only SiSuumbwa underwent Bantu Spirantization. To strengthen this argument, in this group, only SiSuumbwa is also 5V, like the J languages. Due to an implied lengthy contact between SiSuumbwa and KtSukuma2/KtNyamweezi speakers, facilitated by constant interaction because of geographical proximity, any traces of BS in KtSukuma2 and KtNyamweezi are a result of words borrowed from SiSuumbwa. This is further strengthened by the continued 7V presence in F21 and F22, with the occurrence of words which appear to have undergone BS under the same phonetic context in SiSuumbwa, and others which did not in the same context. Such an anomalous exception to the general rule of BS within Bantu languages, and in KtSukuma2/KtNyamweezi in particular, can only be explained in terms of borrowing by imitation rather than a result of an inherited process from a common parent language. Neither is it plausible to posit a process in progress or a frozen one which ceased to operate at one point in the past, implying an adaptation was in progress and then stopped. The presence of double reflexes in KtSukuma2/KtNyamweezi as shown in Chapter 3 can be explained quite adequately by imitation borrowing, as a process of imperfect reproduction. Since not all words in a language can be borrowed, a process like BS does not spread to all words which fulfil the conditions of the occurrence of BS, because those loan words are only imitated poorly without being adapted into the whole system of the recipient language. In SSN F21, F22 and F23, only F23 shows complete BS with 5V, except in a few borrowed words, while F21 and F22 show an anomalous pattern of BS and non-BS within the same contexts, with solid 7V.

Thus, BS within KɪSukuma2, KɪNyamweezi and SiSuumbwa is a good classificatory criterion which manages to isolate SiSuumbwa from KɪSukuma2/KɪNyamweezi as languages which have different histories.

5.1.1.1.2 BS and 7V 5V in Zone F

Within the wider Zone F area, full BS is found in F10 and F23 only, part of the same group of languages whose vocabulary does not fit well with the other Zone F languages. Of these, F10 and F23 have also 5V, while F25 shows only traces of BS, with the retention of 7V (Labrousse 1999). This is indicative of separate histories within the zone.

5.1.1.2 Dahl's Law (DL)

Dahl's Law, the dissimilation of voiceless stops when two occur in consecutive syllables, is realized slightly differently in each language where it occurs. In Chapter 3, it was shown that only KɪSukuma (F21) and KɪNyamweezi in the whole of the 10 Zone F language groups had consistent and active occurrence of DL. The rest showed traces only likely to have been inherited from their proto-language or borrowed from outside. As a marked feature, DL is unlikely to be inherited from Proto Bantu by KɪSukuma and KɪNyamweezi, or from intermediate nodes by others, for three main reasons. Firstly, it would not be confined to eastern African languages only, showing up in Proto-Thagicu/Central Kenya (E50), Proto-Chaga (Kilimanjaro)-Taita (E60/E74), Proto-J (also called Great Lakes) (DJ60, EJ10, EJ20, EJ30, EJ40), Proto-NEC (Sabaki (G40 and E71, E72, E73); Seuta (G23, G24, G31, G34); Ruvu (West and East as shown in (141) and elsewhere); Pare (G21, G22); Proto-West

Tanzania (Zone F, including F33 and F34) and Southern Tanzania Highlands (G60) (Nurse (1980, 1999), Davy and Nurse (1982), Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993). Secondly, it could not occur in F21/F22, EJ40, E50, E60, etc by spreading because they are not adjacent today nor, as far as we know, in the recent past. So, these languages with DL are likely to have split up from a once unitary community because of the restricted distribution of the process. Independent innovation is suspect when pockets of languages with DL in distant zones are not attested. The languages without DL were not part of that speech community. Thirdly, any highly retentive language which retains Proto-Bantu consonants very faithfully as does F24, but does not show significant traces of DL, makes DL inheritance from its immediate proto-language unlikely. If it were a feature of Proto-Bantu or any other proto-language of Zone F, it would show up with some consistency in phonologically and lexically conservative languages such as KIKIIMbU (F24) and KINtLaamba (F31), just as the feature would be distributed more widely and evenly within Zone F if one linguistic node joining them was responsible. Because of this anomaly, the likely possibility is inheritance by only a few languages from an intermediate node, a proto-language from which all languages with DL in eastern Africa descended, as Nurse (1999:21) observes. This intermediate node source explanation of DL is better than any other so far, because it is unlikely that an inherited feature from PB in languages like F24 or F31 can be lost without a trace, while much earlier phonological features from Proto-Bantu continue to exist. What that absence of DL in KiBende (F10), KIKIIMbU (F24), ɪɪWɔŋgɔ (F24), KINtLaamba (F31), KIRimi (F32), KiiRangi (F33) and KeeMbuwe (F34) suggests is that some of those languages with DL

inherited it from one ancestor, while the others might have acquired the appearance through borrowing some words with DL. Since it was only imitation borrowing, few words showed up with DL. In Zone F, DL distribution is an essentially KɪSukuma2 (F21/F22b) phenomenon, excluding core KɪNyamweezi (F22a, F22d, F22e). Due to contact, intermarriage and geographical proximity, KɪNyamweezi speakers might have adopted DL in some borrowed words, while in the majority of the vocabulary, DL does not operate because it was not adapted.

5.1.1.2.1 DL in KɪSukuma2, KɪNyamweezi and SiSuumbwa

DL exists in SiSuumbwa¹ only in a few words, as pointed out in Chapter 3. The most telling aspect of the process is in KɪNyamweezi, where DL does not show up in more than 50% of the words it is expected to occur. This DL status in SSN is recapitulated in *Table 5.1*

Table 5.1 Percentage of DL candidate words which do NOT undergo DL (From 58 words used)

| F21a | F21b | F21c | F22b | F22a | F22d | F22e | F23a | F23b | F23c |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 13 | 13 | 4 | 22 | 56 | 71 | 52 | 89 | 87 | 71 |

¹ Although there are many traces of DL in Rutara (EJ11-14/EJ21-24 and in J in general), their status is debatable considering the spirit of our study. Most of DJ60 has DL, and if SiSuumbwa (F23a/F23b) belongs there, then it suggests an earlier split.

From *Table 3.1*, it is apparent that the lower the number of exceptions, the more natural is DL in that language or dialect. The higher the number of violations leading towards a 100% rate of exceptions, the more unlikely DL is native in that language or dialect. F21 and F22b have the lowest exceptions, implying that most native words, including all loan words, undergo DL productively, whereas F22a and F22e show only half of the words with DL. Interestingly, F22d behaves as though DL is actually absent in the phonological system, because most of the words are not dissimilated. DL is unlikely to be a graded process, it is either present or absent. Anything less than full DL implies two things: loans of words with full DL or the resultant intermingling of speakers from different speech communities, some of whom originally spoke or had adopted a language with DL but failed to adapt DL words properly and ended up imitating incorrectly. The phonotactics in the recipient languages might not have allowed complete DL, and the speakers then passed on the 'poorly imitated' words to the next generation. Of these two explanations, loan words with DL is the most reasonable account for partial DL in KiNyamweezi.

On the other hand, when a DL language like F21 has words which violate the DL principle, then, the most likely explanation is that such words are loans. With this in mind, it is only F21 and F22b which are DL, 4 dialects or languages out of 22 from the whole of Zone F. In KiNyamweezi (F22a, F22d and F22e), DL is probably a result of close contact with F21, among other DL languages. This is strengthened by the SiGalagaanza case (F22d) which is currently geographically farthest from both F21 and F22b. The effect of DL fades in F22d

as the DL violations expand to 71%, suggesting less borrowing from F21/F22b as the distance from the centre of DL increases.

5.1.1.2.2 DL in Zone F

Zone F is not characterized by DL, since the dissimilation rule as a consistent process is confined to F21a, F21b, F21c and F22b only, that is, in KɪSukuma2. Out of the 18 remaining dialects surveyed in the study, 12 show more than 90% exceptions to DL, while the other 6, which are adjacent to KɪSukuma2, show more than 50% exceptions. This is shown in *Table 5.2*.

In other words, DL is a good diagnostic tool which isolates KɪSukuma2 from the rest of Zone F as a historically different group. The remaining languages are not necessarily related because of that negative feature, since many languages have the same negative attribute, and they are not Zone F members.

Table 5.2 Percentage of words violating DL in Zone F (From 58 words used)

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----|
| F21a | F21b | F21c | F22b | F22a | F22d | F22e | F23a | F23b | F23c | F10 |
| 13 | 13 | 4 | 22 | 56 | 52 | 71 | 89 | 87 | 71 | 100 |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| F24a | F24b | F25 | F31a | F31b | F31c | F32a | F32b | F32c | F33 | F34 |
| 91 | 98 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 98 | 100 | 98 | 98 | 95 |

In historical terms, two groups constitute Zone F: those whose ancestor had DL, and those from a proto-language without DL, suggesting strongly that Zone F is a group created by a convergency of different speech communities rather than by linguistic affiliation from common ancestry. By combining DL with BS, what is obtained is a highly fragmented K1Sukuma2, K1Nyamweezi and SiSuumbwa, a group which is traditionally assumed to be cohesive linguistically. The group is actually composed of three independent languages whose genetic closeness is highly questionable, although K1Sukuma2 and K1Nyamweezi share the absence of BS, with SiSuumbwa standing alone because of it. At Zone F level, after F10 is removed because of having complete BS, the remaining ones are not touched by either BS or DL, making such an absence of a feature a linguistically poor unifying criterion.

5 1.1.3 Glottalization and Voiceless nasal formation

While glottalization is widespread in other languages, in SSN only SiSuumbwa glottalizes consistently, as shown in *Table 3.36*. In Zone F, KiBende (F10) and KiRangi (F33) show consistent glottalization, while the rest show none.

Another important phonological process is the presence of voiceless nasals in Zone F in a limited number of languages, namely F21 and F22b. The configuration of these nasals in the zone is further evidence for the genetic unity of K1Sukuma2 (F21 + F22b), a unit which further excludes core K1Nyamweezi as an immediately valid sister language. Voiceless nasal formation in E71, G24, G30, G60, parts of G50 and Kisukuma2 shows a restricted process

not found in other Zone F languages, nor widely distributed in other Bantu languages, suggesting that such an areal distribution may be a sign of some genetic affiliation rather than a purely phonetic accident. It is not a productive process in KiNyamweezi or SiSuumbwa. In fact, in these two, it is found only in loans or in imitations of KiSukuma². These nasals are illustrated in (188).

(188)

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>abdomen, belly, stomach</i> | ḡuumbɪ < N-kuumbɪ |
| <i>grasshopper</i> | ḡʊʊmbɪ < N-kʊʊmbɪ |
| <i>that which scoops (non-human)²</i> | ḡuumbɪ < N-kuumbɪ < -kuumba 'scoop, dig' |
| <i>kidney</i> | ḡɪgō < N-pigo |
| <i>polygamy</i> | ḡalɪ < N-palɪ < PB *-padɪ 'polygamy' |
| <i>apprenticeship or medical fee</i> | ḡeela < -peela 'pay apprentice or medical fees' |
| <i>running</i> | ḡeela -peela < -peela 'run' (cf meela 'chaff') |
| <i>pig (wild)</i> | ḡʊʊmbá < N-tʊʊmbá |
| <i>ball of food</i> | ḡoongē < -toongē |

The common characteristics of the above words are two: first they are composed of word initial voiceless nasals which are homorganic with the initial voiceless stops of the underlying roots³ of those words, and secondly, they are unique morphophonological creations or innovations not found elsewhere in eastern African Bantu languages and possibly in the whole of Bantu in such a regular way, as a phonetically motivated, but idiosyncratic feature.

² If the scooper is human, then it becomes **ḡ-kuumbɪ** < mu-kuumbɪ

³ For a discussion of these alternations in KiSukuma, see Masesa (1978).

When the nasal prefix is /mu/ and is followed by a voiced stop in the root, then, the /u/ is deleted, and the /m/ becomes homorganic with the initial stop of the root, without forming a voiceless nasal, because there is no voiceless feature in the word, as shown in (189). This pattern is also found in KiMateŋgo⁴ and other Rufiji-Ruvuma languages (N10, P10, P20) in general.

(189)

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| <i>back</i> | ŋ-goŋŋo < *mu-gŋŋo |
| <i>ground (cultivated)</i> | ŋ-gŋŋda < *-mu-gŋŋda |
| <i>stranger, visitor, guest</i> | ŋ-geŋi < *mu-geŋi |
| <i>trunk (of elephant)</i> | ŋ-koondo < mu-koondo ⁵ |

Another important pattern connected with nasals occurs when the prefix /mu/ is followed by a semivowel or liquid sound. The /u/ is first deleted, and the /m/ assimilated to the place features of the semivowel or liquid, as in (190).

(190)

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>burden load,</i> | nigo < mu-ligo < PB *mu-digo |
| <i>mouth</i> | nomo < mu-lomo < PB* mu-domo |
| <i>work, activity</i> | nimo < mu-limo < PB* mu-dimo |
| <i>young man</i> | ŋaanda < mu-yaanda |

⁴ Joseph Mbele, p.c.

⁵ The pattern of this word violates the KiSukuma2 nasalization principle, suggesting that it is a loan word because the expected form is ŋoondo because of /k/. The word is also not found in Proto-Bantu, indicating that it might be a non-Bantu word, probably originating from languages like Hadza or Sandawe.

5.1.1.4 Phonological evidence for SSN and Zone F: concluding remarks

The violation of the phonological principles of relatedness and regularity illustrated in Chapter 3 and 4 in the phonology and lexis of KɪSukuma2, KɪNyamweezi and SiSuumbwa (SSN) suggest that they are not closely related for the following reasons.

(1) As sister languages in such close proximity, it is genetically suspicious for them to differ in the important phonological processes of DL, BS, 7 > 5, glottalization and voiceless nasal formation. This points to a significant assumption, for instance that when a language shows only some traces of BS, then it is not BS in its strictest sense. The traces are likely to be from borrowed words from a BS language. The evidence against BS in such a language can be explained in two ways. First, the continued existence of the 7V system weakens any claims of BS, since as Zoll (1995) notes, the close vowels triggering BS must have as their essential feature [+syllabic, +consantal] in order to make Bantu Spirantization possible. Secondly, 7 > 5 is not a result of BS alone since there are two sources: BS and non-BS 7 > 5⁶.

(2) The phonological differences of KɪSukuma2/KɪNyamweezi cannot be explained only in terms of the continuum hypothesis either, since DL and voiceless nasalization divide them significantly. They are both suspicious in KɪNyamweezi (F22a, F22d, F22e).

⁶ In Zone F, 7 > 5 without BS refers to KeeMbuwe alone, a situation which calls for more empirical research involving many speakers of the language. Otherwise, non-BS 7 > 5 is unusual, and Nurse (p. c.) is sceptical about its truth. Our analysis in Tables 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5, Chapter 3 showed clearly that KeeMbuwe shifted to 5V

By extension, if the smaller units like F21, F22 and F23 do not cohere internally, since F10 with its BS and 7 > 5; F25, F33 and F34 do not fit well within the remaining Zone F languages, then what remains is also open to doubt, at least phonologically. The lexical aspect was expected to shed some more light on whether SSN and Zone F could stand as valid linguistically genetic groups. It did, but not in favour of SSN or Zone F.

5.1.2 Evidence from vocabulary

As shown in Chapter 4, two aspects of vocabulary were analyzed, namely, quantitative evidence using lexicostatistics and qualitative evidence by examining lexical innovations. The aim in lexicostatistics is to approximate numerically the extent of relatedness between a pair of languages or group of languages using lexical retention from a proto-language, in percentages. It is assumed that the higher the quantity is shared, the higher the level of relatedness between the languages is suggested, and vice versa. On the other hand, qualitative measures examine the type of similar lexical values or traits shared by a pair or group of languages to determine whether those traits are genetic or not. In this study lexical innovations in any one group are divided into two: unique inventions and areal innovated vocabulary as borrowing or creation (which can also be inherited in some special cases).

5.1.2.1 Quantitative evidence: Lexicostatistics

As a quantitative measure, lexicostatistics tells a story of relatedness, even if it is fragmented, since all second-hand stories cannot match the completeness of first hand experience before,

during or after languages split. For a fuller treatment of a larger geographical area covering more languages using lexicostatistics, see Nurse and Philippson (1980). In both Chapters 3 and 4, it has been observed that Zone F as a linguistic entity is not supported by the phonology and vocabulary. Only smaller units form coherent patterns, corroborated by the intuitions of native speakers of those languages.

5.1.2.1.1 KɪSukuma2, KɪNyamweezi, SiSuumbwa and Lexicostatistics

The lexicostatistical figures for this group of three languages cast doubts on SiSuumbwa's membership. For instance, whereas the shared retention rate between KɪSukuma2 (F21/F22b) and core KɪNyamweezi (F22a, F22d, F22e) is 81%, SiSuumbwa shares 71% and 76% with them respectively, as shown in *Table 5.3*.

Table 5.3 KɪSukuma2, KɪNyamweezi, SiSuumbwa and other Zone F' languages' retention rates

| | | | | |
|--|---------|---------|---------|--|
| Bc | | | | |
| 52 Lc | | | | |
| 64 58 Sd | Sd = 86 | Sk = 89 | Nk = 90 | |
| 70 58 81 Nz | Nz = 84 | | | |
| 63 56 78 81 Kn | | | | |
| 62 55 76 76 82 Ks | | | | |
| 67 65 71 76 69 68 Sy | Sy = 84 | | | |
| 56 51 76 71 75 74 67 Uj | Uj = 83 | | | |
| 56 52 79 74 76 72 69 78 Ha | | | | |
| 58 58 75 72 74 71 68 71 74 Ah | | | | |
| 57 56 76 72 74 72 69 72 76 80 Rw | | | | |
| 55 53 72 67 70 67 64 69 71 79 77 Mu | | | | |
| 56 53 71 70 72 70 61 67 66 71 69 69 Mb | | | | |
| 51 42 65 63 67 64 54 59 60 62 62 61 64 Ra | | | | |
| 61 53 65 69 71 70 59 63 64 64 62 60 63 56 Wu | | | | |

Abbreviations used in *Table 5.3*:

Be = KiBende; Lo = KiLoongo; Kn = KiKiImbu North; Ks = KiKiImbu South;
Ha = KiInHaanzu; Ah = GiAhi; Rw = GiRwana; Mu = YInyaMunyijanyi, Mb = KeeMbuwe;
Ra = KiiRangi; Wu = iCiwuŋgŋ; Nk = GInaNtuzu + JinaKiIya
Sk = Nk (GInaNtuzu + JinaKiIya) + KiMunaSukuma
Sd = Sk (Nk (GInaNtuzu + JinaKiIya) + KiMunaSukuma) + KiDakama
Nz = KiNyanyeembe + KiKonoongo + SiGalagaanza
Sy = SiSiloombo + SiYoombe
Ul = KiInaUshoola + KiInLaamba
Km = KiKiImbu North + KiKiImbu South
SN = Sd + Nz
Ar = GiAhi + GiRwana
NM = SN + Km
Lm = Ul + KiInHaanzu
Rr = Ar + YInyaMunyijanyi
NL = NM + Lm
NR = NL + Rr

This is a difference of almost 10%. KiSukuma2 shares the same percentage with KeeMbuwe, although there has been no claim that KeeMbuwe forms part of the KiSukuma2 and KiNyamweezi group. On the other hand, shared vocabulary with KiSukuma2 is higher in the following varieties than it is with SiSuumbwa (F23): KiInHaanzu (F31c) (79%), KiKiImbu North (F24a) (78%); KiKiImbu South (F24b), KiInaUshoola (F31a), GiRwana (F32a) (all 76%); GiAhi (F32b) (75%); and YInyaMunyijanyi (F32c) (72%). The only figures with lower percentages are from four languages, namely, iCiwuŋgŋ and KiiRangi (both 65%); KiBende (64%) and KiLoongo (58%). The use of lexicostatistics to detect the effect of contact as noted by Hinnebusch (1999:177) in *1.3.5.2.3* provides a useful explanation.

The doubts of the validity of SSN are strengthened by other reasons, among them, the naming tradition of the dialects/languages themselves in the first place, since, as words, language

names reveal the history of groups (see *Chapter 2, 2.1.4.8*). The use of directional names is misleading when used to suggest that any languages so named from the point of view of one language are automatically genetically related. In the KtSukuma² and KINyamweezi context, the four cardinal points of the compass refer to the following dialects/languages in the literature: *sukuma* 'north' (F21 and F21a), *dakama* 'south' (F22b), *nyweeli* (F23 and/or F22d) 'west' and *kizya* (F21c/F22c) 'east'. Abrahams (1967:11-2) gives an excellent summary of this naming problem with plenty of bibliographical details which support the observations from GtinaNtuzu in this study.

In GtinaNtuzu, for instance, 'north' is not *sukuma* but *shaashi*. The name *shaashi* refers to KiShaashi (EJ441), a language spoken north of the GtinaNtuzu speakers. For any groups of people living west of them, the GtinaNtuzu speakers call them *fananyweeli* 'westerners', who include some KtSukuma, SiSuumbwa, KiLoongo and other speakers of other languages or dialects who simply happen to reside on that side, using a different language from theirs, however slightly. They only mention particular names if a group has special characteristics like the KiLoongo speakers who were famous hoe manufacturers and itinerant sellers in the past (Odner 1971). Likewise, for people living in the south, they also include speakers of any language, although they are mostly those speaking some form of KtSukuma with some slight difference, because no other people using different languages lived there as their immediate neighbour.

The same insight on the misleading connotations of language names is made by Brock (1968:59-61), dealing with *ijiNyih*, that common names which group a number of people often do not imply homogeneity of language and culture. The problem lies in the fact that other people who did not know those cultures well named them in the past. The *ijiNyih* case is not isolated, since it is convenient and easy practice to classify and name entities by the easiest way of reference possible where no other details are available or relevant to the person giving a name.

For other groups, the same naming tradition applies, indicating a non-linguistic reference. For example, in the eyes of the *KiSukuma* speakers who live on the west, eastern speakers, *βanaKiɔya*, include any group or language variety that is known to be different from theirs. These include *JinaKiɔya*, *GinaNtuzu* and *KinLaamba* speakers. The major problem with these dialectal names is that they are not precise linguistically nor old in usage. For example, Kasele (p.c.) is quite convinced that in reality there is no such language as 'KiNyamweezi'. In the present day Tabora Region (See *Map 1.1*, Chapter 1), there are people who are known to speak specific languages or dialects rather than the abstract 'KiNyamweezi' which is a socio-political, rather than linguistic entity. These concrete dialects include *KiNyanyembe* (from *Igalɔla*⁷ in the east to *Ndono* in the west, as well as in the South to *Ipoole*, *Sikoonge*); *KiKonoongo* (from *Ipoole* southwards); *KiYuumbu* (the speakers of which moved from

⁷ Most of these place names are located within the shaded areas of *Map 1.1*, mainly in the area where the speakers of those dialects or languages mentioned are concentrated, shown in *Map 1.2*.

Ndono and βσsooke in present day Tabora to the south, in Mpanda, Rukwa Region, in order to avoid sleeping sickness); SiGalagaanza (of Mabama, Ndono and βσsooke); KiSaagθzi (of Kaliua), and KiSiisya (west of βσsooke). KiNyamweezi is essentially a political or social group identity. It is 'a language' which no one speaks. According to Kasele (p.c.), the name 'KiNyamweezi' therefore, was only a label given by the SiSuumbwa speakers to refer to their neighbours. But those SiSuumbwa speakers did not clearly know them either, and they coined the name βaNyamweezi. 'people who come where the moon sets' or simply, 'people of the moon'. Other scholars have offered various ideas on this naming tradition. It was during the slave trade in the 1860s where the slaves normally stayed together in their respective families or clans in the slave markets in Bagamoyo and Zanzibar before being sold to customers. The SiSuumbwa speakers could communicate well due to their better experience in long distance trade, and they were the ones asked about their neighbours.

Lexicostatistically therefore, KiSukuma2 and KiNyamweezi form a possible linguistic group based on genetic heritage, whereas it is unlikely that SiSuumbwa belongs there. On the other hand, even this apparent KiSukuma2 and KiNyamweezi genetic affinity can be questioned, since it is based on retention only where groups like KiKiImbθ share with KiSukuma2 and KiNyamweezi a rate of 78%, which is a difference of only 3%, at the rate of 81% between KiSukuma2 and KiNyamweezi, as indicated in *Table 5.4*. This doubt is also indicated by the qualitative analysis of the vocabulary. The areal vocabulary is not shared exclusively by SSN as a single genetic group as indicated in *Table 4.23* (Chapter 4) and (192).

Table 5.4. Percentages of retention rates of KɪSukuma2/KɪNyamweezi (SN) in relation to other Zone F languages

| | | |
|--|---------|---------|
| Bc | SN = 81 | Nk = 90 |
| 52 Lo | | Sk = 89 |
| 67 58 SN | | Sd = 86 |
| 63 58 78 Km | Km = 82 | Nz = 84 |
| 67 65 74 69 Sy | Sy = 84 | |
| 56 51 74 75 67 Uj | Uj = 83 | |
| 56 52 77 74 69 78 Ha | | |
| 58 58 74 73 68 71 74 Ah | | |
| 57 56 74 73 69 72 76 80 Rw | | |
| 55 53 70 69 64 69 71 79 77 Mu | | |
| 56 53 71 71 61 67 66 71 69 69 Mb | | |
| 51 42 64 66 54 59 60 62 62 61 64 Ra | | |
| 61 53 67 71 59 63 64 64 62 60 63 56 Wu | | |

(192) Affinities in areal vocabulary for F21/F22b and F22a/F22d/F22e

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| KɪSukuma2 (F21, with F22b) | (1)M10/M20, E50, EJ40 |
| KɪNyamweezi (F22, without F22b) | (1) M10; (2) F23a/b, F24, (3) F10, M20 |

5.1.2.1.2 Zone F languages and Lexicostatistics

Languages which have evolved from a common history are expected to behave in as similar a way as possible. Any slight divergence is an indication of a different path, and therefore a different history. Within Zone F, the languages tend to be conservative phonologically and to some extent, lexically, with only slight variations obtaining in each individual language (Nurse 1980:47; 1999:10). Lexically, the retention of Proto-Bantu words is relatively high, with many words appearing as they do in Proto-Bantu. With such a scenario, all Zone F languages are expected to behave that way if they indeed belong in that group.

From the lexicostatistics, it is apparent that most of the traditional language groups retain their status as autonomous entities, with a few adjustments, as summarized in *Table 5.6*.

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|------|----|------|
| Be | SK | = 89 | NK | = 90 |
| S2 Lo | Sy | = 84 | LI | = 83 |
| 67 65 Sy | SN | = 81 | SD | = 86 |
| 59 55 69 NR | Km | = 82 | Nz | = 84 |
| 56 53 61 70 Mb | Ar | = 80 | NM | = 78 |
| 51 42 54 63 64 Ra | | | Lm | = 78 |
| 61 53 59 65 63 56 Wa | | | Rt | = 78 |

Table 5.5. Percentages of retention rates of Zone F

According to the data, some languages retain fewer words than the typically conservative languages of the zone, as indicated in *Table 5.5*. Those with lower retention percentages in relation to the NR node (72%) (Kisukuma2, core KiNyamwezi, KiKiTimbu, KiNlamba and KiRimi) obtained in Chapter 4, *Table 4.15*, are the remainder of the ten Zone F group members (F11 to F34): KiLoongo (55%), KiBende (59%), KiRangi (63%), IctWongu (65%), SiSumbwa (69%), and Keembuwe (70%). Since KiLoongo and SiSumbwa are grouped together, what remains as NR is only half the languages of Zone F. The remaining 5 (NR) raise similar suspicions of lack of unity because their affinity is lexicostatistical only, while phonologically and lexically in qualitative terms they do not belong together.

Table 5.6. Results of lexicostatistical groupings in Zone F

| <i>Guthrie's scheme</i> | | <i>This study</i> | |
|-------------------------|---|--|---|
| Code/Group ⁸ | Languages/Dialects | Code/Group | Languages/Dialects |
| F10 KiTongwe | F11 KiTongwe F12 KiBende | F10 | F10 KiBende/KiTongwe F21a KiMunaSukuma F21b GtinaNtuzu F21c JinaKiziya [F22c ⁹] F22b KiDakama |
| F21 KiSukuma | F21 KiSukuma F22a KiNyanyeembe F22d Mweri | F21 KiSukuma2 | F22a KiNyanyeembe F22d SiGalagaanza |
| F22 KiNyamweezi | F22c Kiya F22b Takama | F22 KiNyamweezi | F22e KiKonoonggo |
| F23 SiSumbwa | F23 SiSumbwa | F23 SiSumbwa F23c KiLoonggo ¹⁰ (Rutara) | F23a SiSiloombo F23b SiYoorombe F23c KiLoonggo F24a KiKizumbo North F24b KiKizumbo South |
| F24 KiKizumbo | F24 KiKizumbo | F24 KiKizumbo | |
| F25 ictWooŋgo | F25 ictWooŋgo | F25 ictWooŋgo | F25 ictWooŋgo |

⁸ All the language names in Guthrie are written in their long forms with the prefixes indicating 'language/speech', although Guthrie himself does not show the prefixes in all languages.

⁹ As classified by Guthrie (1948), making our scheme skip F22c within F22 because it does not belong there, and therefore transferred to F21 as F21c.

¹⁰ Although KiLoonggo appears under SiSumbwa, the data shows that it does not belong there. It belongs in Rutara (EJ10/EJ20, especially EJ10).

| <i>Guthrie's scheme</i> | | <i>This study</i> | |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|--|
| | | | F31a KɪnaUshoola |
| F31 KɪnɪLamba | F31 KɪnɪLamba | F31 KɪnɪLamba ¹¹ | F31b KɪnɪLaamba C F31c KɪnɪHaanzu F32a GɪRwana |
| F32 KɪRɪmi | F32 KɪRɪmi | F32 KɪRɪmi | F32b GɪAhi F32c ɣɪnyaMunɪŋɪnyɪ |
| F33 KɪiRangi | F33 KɪiRangi | F33 KɪiRangi | F33 KɪiRangi |
| F34 KeeMbugwe | F34 KeeMbugwe | F34 KeeMbuwe | F34 KeeMbuwe |

The other schemes for SSN and Zone F by Bryan (1959), Doke (1961) Cole (1961), Guthrie (1959, 1967), Nurse and Philippson (1980a) and Nurse (1999) are reviewed in Chapter 2.

2.1.4. Those works were produced when gaps in knowledge in both SSN and Zone F generally were more numerous. This study therefore represents a step forward.

5.2 RESULTS: DIVERGENCE SINCE PB AND GROUPINGS

5.2.1 Areal influences

Areal vocabulary normally implies either descent from the same origins, contact and spread or borrowing from a common source at the same or different time and place. In our study, this is illustrated well by both phonology and lexis.

¹¹ The other two dialects are not shown in the table because they were not included in this study for lack of data. These are KɪnɪAmbɪ (F31d) and KɪnaMbɔga (F31e).

Areal phonological features being recycled within Bantu languages make it difficult to detect whether a word is a result of later contact or inheritance from the same proto-source. This is more so if the word is cognate and it has not undergone any significant phonological change. One such case is Dahl's Law. In Zone F, the process is clear in F21/F22b. In F22a/F22d/F22e the picture is very confusing because the majority of the words do not undergo DL. A strong areal influence is suggested where intermingling, intermarriage and cross-migrations are common. The words with DL suggest borrowing through speakers from F21/F22b speech communities who intermingled with F22 speakers as adults with established speech patterns.

This also applies for BS-like features in F21, F22, F24, F25 for borrowed words. The process of BS seems partial because of the same reason of diffusion from centres of BS like F10 and F23 within Zone F, and other surrounding and outlying languages in DJ60, EJ40, E60 G30 and G60 (Hinnebusch and Nurse 1981).

While glottalization is widespread in many areas outside Zone F, within F, only F10 and F23 show consistent glottalization, whereas the widespread occurrence of PB *p → /h/ is a result of outside influence in F21, F22 and F24. Glottalization is absent in F31, F32 and F34, as illustrated in 3.1.2.1, 3.1.2.2 and 3.1.2.3. In 3.2.1.2, Table 3.25, the example refers to SSN. The mixed picture of the reflexes where PB *p is both /h/ and /p/ shows the effect of contact, borrowing and areal spread of words. In some contexts in F21 and F22 the reflexes are all

/h/, emphasizing the great impact in the past of languages like SiSuumbwa (F23). Such a mixed picture of glottalization in F21 and F22 is very similar to the partial operation of BS in these languages and Chaga noted by Hinnebusch and Nurse (1981:59, 72-73). It is a situation which can be explained in terms of heavy borrowing argued by Thomason and Kaufman (1988:53) where features are transferred from speakers of languages in contact regardless of the typological fit with the features of the borrowing language. Such borrowing results in apparent anomalies in the recipient languages' phonological or lexical structure, as demonstrated by anomalous BS and glottalization in F21 and F22, and DL in F22 from F21.

In lexis, areal influence from one source to others is exemplified by a word like -gulaati/-gulaata 'he-goat', from Southern Cushitic, as in Iraqw *gurta* (sg), *gurtaawee* (pl) (Maghway (1995); Burunge *gwerati*; Kw'adza *gulata* < Proto-Southern Cushitic *-ʔogur- (Ehret 1980:293) (See (170)). While F21, [F22], F23a,b, F24, [F31] have -gulaati or -gulyaati and G35 *vulati* on the one hand, and ([F32], F33, F34) -gulaata and Seuta -*vulata*, -*vuata*, on the other, it seems that the borrowing and adaptation process of this word depended on the particular route the word traveled, as indicated by the differences in Southern Cushitic between the singular and the plural forms, for example. When borrowing is outside Bantu, detection becomes relatively easier. For instance Nurse (1979b:350-51) posits that the Southern Cushitic speech communities were all over East Africa from Lake Victoria to the Southern Highlands, Ruwv to Central Kenya. The loans in all those areas, especially related to domestic animals attest to that. Batibo (1992b) and Ehret (1971, 1980) examine

vocabulary and its distribution in related and/or surrounding areas across time. In their surveys, lexical diffusion points to some form of contact, although the historical correlation with genetic classifications need more work and water-tight evidence of the sources and direction of borrowing.

5.2.2 Classification by areal vocabulary

In this study, areal vocabulary joining groups is more numerous than unique lexical creations, indicating that the central words most relevant for genetic classification are the shared unique creations as a more reliable type of innovation. Areal vocabulary points to a past connection which may not necessarily be genetic, but only be the result of contact and borrowing, either directly or through second- or third-hand sources.

One hint suggested by the areal shared vocabulary is that the languages involved were closer linguistically and geographically in the past (See *Table 4.23*). This is true of the connection between Corridor languages (M10/M20), East Nyanza (EJ40) and Thagicu (E50) in relation to KISukuma2, or Corridor, SiSuumbwa (F23a/b), KIKIImbu (F24) and KiBende (F10) for KINyamweezi. On closer examination, all such areal influences are mainly contact induced due to proximity rather than being strictly genetic. The only possibility of affiliation occurs between KISukuma2 (F21/F22b) and Thagicu (E50) for two main reasons: presence of DL as an innovated phonological feature in both and some significant shared vocabulary. KINyamweezi shows only shared vocabulary without any other phonological connection.

The comparative method shows clearly the extent of divergence from PB. Languages which share a common history also show the regular phonological changes uniting them, proving their close relatedness. In SSN and Zone F, the principles of relatedness and regularity are violated significantly. These principles were introduced in 1.1.3 as pillars of the comparative method. If these languages were really related, bound by their regular sound correspondences, they would not be so different in salient and diagnostic innovations like DL, BS, 7 > 5, glottalization and voiceless nasal formation, in addition to having lexical stocks from different sources. Diagnostic innovations for groups and subgroups are indeed not always based on regular sound changes as Ross and Durie (1996:6-7) point out. Other peculiar innovations can be examined. In our case, the dialects as low-level units of language groups and families necessitate strict application of analyses to avoid similarities due to contact and subsequent borrowing.

5.3 RESULTS: INDIVIDUAL LANGUAGES AND DIVERGENCE FROM AND SINCE PB

5.3.1 Areal influences

Although the Zone F languages are known for being phonologically and lexically conservative, processes like DL and BS have made some of them diverge from PB, affecting even the most conservative and stable languages such as F24. Another influence is witnessed in F32 with the regular change of PB *p to /ɸ/. F24 and F31 for example have departed very little from PB, especially phonologically. Others like F21 and F22 departed a bit because of the massive interference from many contacts with different languages, both Bantu and non-

Bantu. This can also be said of F25, F33 and F34 which retain reflexes more or less close to PB. Apart from 7 > 5 and other interferences from other Bantu and non-Bantu languages, F34 is not very far from PB.

On the other hand, many of the divergencies in these languages can be traced more to adjacent languages than to internal innovation, especially for those languages spoken by smaller speech communities and surrounded by other, relatively bigger speech communities speaking other languages. This can be said of F10, F23, and again F34.

5.3.2 Classification

After minor adjustments, it is the traditional, individual groupings which are confirmed: **F10**; **F21** (F21a, F21b, F21c (also labelled F22c by Guthrie), F22b); **F22** (F22a, F22d, F22e), **F23** (F23a, F23b); F23c, **F24** (F24a, F24b), **F25**, **F31** (F31a, F31b, F31c), **F32** (F32a, F32b, F32c), **F33**, **F34**. The divergence from PB in each individual language or language group is not significant, especially because of the generally conservative nature of the languages. This relative conservatism does not make them automatically genetically related.

5.4 RESULTS: CONVERGENCE AND CONTACT MODELS

While the elements of divergence in Zone F are mainly a result of contact with other languages which influence them through borrowing some items which trigger some changes, convergence in the group is even more pronounced. However, this is mainly confined to

languages such as F21, F22 and F24 in the area of vocabulary. Their individual phonologies remain distinct.

This lexical convergence can be said to have contributed to the attribution of Zone F as a valid grouping, not only referentially, but also linguistically, validating the contact model by Thomason and Kaufman (1988:51), especially that characterized by casual contact with little bilingualism on both sides. The lexicostatistical effect of contact on retention counts as noted by Hinnebusch (1999) is also valid as an explanation here. Lexicostatistically, there is a reflection of this convergence, indicated by the family tree (*Figure 4.1*), which seems to imply various epochs of separation at different levels from a common ancestor.

Closer examination reveals however that the ancestor of these languages is not immediate although there are some substantial lexical similarities between the Zone F languages as shown in the sample vocabulary in *4.2.1.2.16*. The words they share, though innovations, are not unique to Zone F in the first place. The phonology supports the lack of unity of the zone by indicating that each had a different history, exemplified by F23, parts of which belong to DJ60 (F23a/F23b) and other parts to EJ10 (F23c). In addition, F22b does not belong genetically to F22. F24 does not share the same history with F31 and F32 because only one doubtful word joins them. The histories of F10, F25, F33 and F34 are also separate. The evidence is furnished by the phonology of each language which displays either retention of the PB system, or separate innovations in terms of BS, $7 > 5$, DL, glottalization and

voiceless nasal formation. Since the evidence from lexis and phonology does not match, phonological evidence tends to take precedence as older, and lexical similarity more recent. This analysis of non-genetic similarity is also supported by the shared innovations in lexis. Apart from the individual languages known traditionally, the other traditional groupings in Zone F, SSN, F24/F31/F32, F21/F22/F24/F31/F32 are suspect, because the evidence is shaky, based predominantly on areal features.

5.5 LANGUAGE, ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

What do these phonological and lexical details tell us about history in the area? The following historical and archaeological works are surveyed briefly in order to compare their results with the linguistic ones, especially in relation to the methods used. The linguistic contributions were dealt with in Chapter 2, 2.1.1 a summary of which is not necessary here. But as a rule of thumb, the interpretation of objective historical events is normally determined in large measure by the methods used and type of facts available to inquirers, among other things. This is due to the fact, for example, that artefacts whether material or linguistic (words) do not necessarily overlap or correlate with biological, genetic, racial, linguistic, historical, cultural, ethnic or other institutional grouping (David 1980:612, Lwanga-Lunyiigo and Vansina 1988:146). In short language and culture do not always correspond. Facts and their interpretations are therefore as good as the methods employed in obtaining the data in the first place. With this in mind, our brief overview takes into account the insights of language contact and the consequent evolution of those languages (Thomason 1983, Thomason and

Kaufman 1988, Nurse 1997, Hinnebusch 1999, Mesthrie and Leap 2000). In addition, most of these works did not have Zone F or SSN as their primary focus, and hence they may address only small sections of the zone.

5.5.1 Soper and Golden (1969), Odner (1971)

Most of the archaeological sites Soper and Golden (1969:53) examined south of Lake Victoria did not show evidence for Early Iron Age occupation. Archaeological evidence in the area is therefore inconclusive with regard to human activity during that era because there is none. But absence of such evidence says nothing of human occupation since iron-making is a cultural innovation, not a precondition of life.

On the other hand, Soper and Golden (1969:76) contribute some understanding of KiLoongo (F23c) speakers whom they hypothesize as originating in Buha, Rwanda or Burundi because of their cultural and linguistic affinity to KiLoongo. This information was obtained from informants as oral traditions rather than a result of archaeological finds. According to the informants, the Rongo¹² or Longo were smiths who were also first called Kamba, then Geji and finally Rongo (Soper and Golden, 59). Taylor (1969:144), like the rest, mentions the Rongo as a tribe distinct from the Sumbwa (F23) and Zinza (EJ23). Commenting further, he quotes a legend, saying that the Rongo occupied the forests while the Zinza lived on the

¹² The language names written in this section are according to the sources' conventions.

shores of Lake Victoria. Chronologically, the Rongo are said to have been the first to occupy the area. The Rongo or Longo are mentioned also in the F31 area and they predated the KINLaamba speakers. When the KINLaamba speech communities settled in the area they now occupy, the Alongo left peacefully and went to Usukuma (Odner 1971:154).

Although the picture is not clear, some affinity to DJ or J languages generally was observed earlier on, although no formal linguistic research was conducted. This study supports in part the general gist of the hypothesis of SiSuumbwa and KiLoongo belonging to J languages.

5.5.2 Itandala (1979, 1983)

Using oral sources gathered by the interview method and written original documents from museums and libraries, Itandala (1983:16) emphasizes the multi-clan nature of βaSukuma, using the βaβiinza clan history. The βaβiinza themselves arrived between 1200 AD and 1600 AD, the exact dates are unknown since various sources using genealogies differ, but falling within that range. They found other clans and Bantu speaking people in the area whose arrival is also not known, although some dates have been suggested, ranging from 500 BC to 1000 AD (Itandala 1983:33-35). These earlier inhabitants spoke proto-KiSukuma (KiNyamwezi) which formed a base language for incoming groups. Other immigrants such as the βaβiinza were absorbed and adopted proto-KiSukuma (KiNyamwezi) (Itandala: *ibid*).

From the examples of recent history (shortly before or after 1700 AD) when the βaβiinza met the Datog, Itandala (*ibid*:188) mentions that later interactions between them became

more intense. This intensity of social networks was facilitated by the intermarriage of various ethnic groups interacting in the area, evidenced by the example of the Datog proper and place names still in use, especially in eastern βSukuma, among other remnants (Itandala 1983:189), as mentioned in 4.2.1.2.16. Such an interaction of many Bantu and non-Bantu cultures suggests a complex multi-genesis of KɪSukuma as a base around which substrata clustered (Itandala 1983:34).

5.5.3 Ehret (1994¹³, 1999)

The basis of analysis in Ehret (1994:6-8) is linguistic testimony, specifically vocabulary based. The testimony also goes on to establish some groupings among which is Mashariki, comprising the languages in zones DJ, EJ, F, G, M, N, P and S located within eastern Africa, hence the name *mashariki* 'east'. This larger grouping is a combination and modification of both Guthrie (1967-71) and Bastin, Coupez and de Halleux (1983) who do not agree with the idea of a division of Bantu between Western and Eastern Bantu (Ehret *ibid*:9-11). Within Mashariki there is Kaskazi (north(ern)) from which Proto-Takama emerged. Proto-Takama was the ancestor of present day F21, F22, F23, F24, F31 and F32. Excellent lexical data is provided in terms of unique innovation or loanwords. However, we do not use the vocabulary fully in our study because, first, Ehret's work covers several zones, including Zone F (Takama), and therefore only a few words are given as examples. Secondly, the basis

¹³ Ehret, Christopher. 1994. Eastern Africa in the early iron age: explorations in history, 1000 B.C. to A.D. 300, Prepublication manuscript, published 1998 as *An African Classical Age*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

for obtaining both the years and linguistic affiliations and hierarchies of relationship is not explained explicitly, although it is stated clearly that Mashariki and its subdivisions are not based on genetic linguistic divisions but rather they are geographical distributions of people (Ehret *ibid*:10). It is difficult to draw linguistic conclusions from a geographical distribution of languages, although some linguistic statements like those of contact and mutual borrowing can be made. Thirdly, the reliance on vocabulary to draw historical correlations is a drawback which is mentioned elsewhere. Words normally spread easily, and their significance is weakened especially when they are not unique to one group. And finally, the distribution of the vocabulary is not analyzed to see the extent of sharing between the different levels of relationship. Without such a breakdown, it is difficult to reach conclusions of genetic affiliation, which is our main focus. For instance the following words are claimed to be Proto-Bantu by Guthrie (1967-71), although Ehret (1994) suggests that they are loans from eastern Sudanic: Proto-Lakes -tebe 'stool' from *tē:b 'to stay, dwell, sit' (cf PB *-tebe 'stool'); Kati *-kolo 'sheep' from *kol 'goat wether' (cf PB *-kodo 'sheep'). It would be more comparable with this work if it were clarified and justified why a certain choice of word origin was preferred over another. That would be possible if the exact distribution and extent of lexical spread was shown, enhancing the great potential of the work in combining history and linguistics

5.5.4 Other sources: ethnography, oral history and linguistic history

Apart from written linguistic, archaeological or historical sources there are other documents which are based on oral accounts recorded from the speakers of some Zone F languages. These explain mainly the origin of people according to collective memory. Some are confirmed by other well-known academic disciplines while others await more evidence for confirmation or refutation. Where knowledge gaps are common, it is not a good idea to privilege some sources of information by inclusion and leaving out others without rigorous academic scrutiny simply because they were not written by professional linguists, archaeologists or historians. Important insights can be gained in examining them with an open mind. However, these sources are few, as shown in 2.1.1

5.5.4.1 History of SiSumbwa

According to Abrahams (1967a:25) the origin of F23 speakers is not certain, although he quotes earlier writers as saying that Usumbwa might have been controlled from Karagwe, by Tusi rulers, although he found no evidence to support that claim of imported rulers. Sutton and Roberts (1968:64) quote oral sources as saying that the history of western Tanzania communities is the history of their chiefs, and that some of the Sumbwa chiefs trace their origins in Rwanda. Who the aboriginal inhabitants were, Sutton and Roberts do not say, although the connection with Rwanda is borne out by both the phonological and lexical evidence.

5.5.4.2 History of Kikimbũ

Shorter (1972:xix) introduces his research findings about the Kimbu in the following way:

'I have received no specific linguistic training. However, during my fieldwork in Ukimbu I was obliged to work out an orthography for the Kimbu language which I was recording. Since virtually no language recording had been done in Ukimbu before I went there, there were no existing orthographies to follow; and literate Kimbu vary considerably from each other in the way they write the sounds.'

Shorter's observation was true then, as it continues to be so even today for many of the language varieties in Tanzania. Statements and informal observations not based on research continue to be made. For instance, Shorter (1972:33) compares the opinions of various scholars who mostly relied on informants without any analysis of linguistic data as a backup mechanism, and get confused results, such as Kimbu and Bungu being almost identical, both dialects of Nyamwezi; Kimbu related to another language of Zone G, (G62), the Hehe; or Kimbu as a distinct language but closely related to Nyamwezi, which is contradictory.

5.5.5 Conclusions from the various sources

The works on the linguistic and general history of Zone F and SSN surveyed above share one important thing: they are all hypotheses trying to account for the phenomena, using synchronic data and facts. Guthrie (1967-71) also used synchronic data to draw conclusions in relation to linguistic affiliations in Bantu languages.

The survey of the folk history of some of the Zone F languages shows that some of these folk

histories do actually have historical validity. This study shows traces of evidence to substantiate these mythologies of contact, although the constant movements suggested cannot be handled by the vocabulary since the spread of words does not imply movement of people. On the other hand, lack of evidence only means more research, possibly with a multi-disciplinary approach, involving all branches of linguistics as well as evidence from other areas. This will help unearth more interconnectedness or lack thereof of the Zone F languages.

5.6 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Several improvements could make studies such as this in the future even better. These are in the areas of method, researcher attributes and source of information.

(1a) Improving method: The lists of words used were not pretested to determine if they were suitable. The problems encountered in 1.3.4 would be reduced or eliminated if this were done. Some items were unusable because they were ambiguous, polysemous, or irrelevant because the list was not given in a trial to a preliminary small target group where the word-list would have been tested and edited to improve its quality before given to the final informants.

(1b) In analyzing the relationship between languages, the focus should not be just on the phonology and lexicon as in the present study. Evidence of morpho-syntax (tense/aspect, noun class (nominal) and tonal systems) would go a great way to supplement lexical and phonological studies as noted by Nurse (1995:72)

(1c) A multiplicity of methods should be employed in these complex historical problems rather than sanctifying a few and ignoring the potential contributions of other approaches. This calls for changes in the training of linguists, historians, archaeologists, and others in related disciplines. This weakness has been observed when scholars adhere to various schools of thought, and they are not interested in employing the approaches of other schools by assuming that their school's approach is the best or the only one worth of attention. A similar point was raised by Nurse (1995:72). This is illustrated by archaeological approaches where German, British, American, continental Europe generally, and Russian historians and archaeologists have had their own schools of thought (Härke 1998). The rest of the scholars and researchers have followed any one of those, depending on who was influencing them at that moment. East African archaeology has been a testing ground for various approaches, although the processualist paradigm of the 1960s and 1970s moulded those East African archaeologists of the 1980s and 1990s (Robertshaw 1990:93) (also see 2.2). As a balance in the search for truth and facts, wherever they led the scholars, a multi-disciplinary or multi-approach focus would imply taking optional courses like historical linguistics for palaeontologists, historians; or statistics, especially probability theory for linguists for application in lexicostatistics. Many scholars assume incorrectly that scholarship is bias-free, not influenced by ideology, self-interest or the politics of the day (Bunge 1983; Härke 1998:23). It is important to recognize this fact rather than suppress it or pretend it does not exist.

(1d) Equal emphasis should be placed on the intermediate levels of reconstructed languages from which the daughter languages are postulated to have emerged. Many of these levels are only hypothesized without being subjected to rigorous scrutiny. Historical linguistics is not only about reconstruction of ever distant proto(-proto-proto) systems (upstream), but also about historical trajectories (downstream).

(2) Native speakers of these languages should be encouraged even more to do research in their languages so as to inject their intuition and insights.

(3) Other sources of knowledge, especially in oral cultures should be included. For instance rituals like *matambiko* (ancestral offering customs) make it possible to know a people's roots by observing what artifacts are used in the *tambiko* (singular), eg, bamboos, canoes for β aHa which indicate how they earned their living, built their houses, etc (Chubwa 1979:8, 9), Elias Manandi Songooyi¹⁴. In turn, such sources could be compared with others describing the history of a people in oral traditions, written records, archaeology, history and linguistics.

(4) The stakeholders in the knowledge process, including researchers, funding bodies and society at large should encourage and scrutinize all alternative views, approaches and explanations of phenomena so that enquiry or funding do not prescribe and proscribe areas in which they are only interested. Such approaches of biased interest thwart genuine progress

¹⁴ Personal communication, October 1999, with regard to research in β oSukuma.

of knowledge in a situation described by Harke (1998) in which what happens is not necessarily what is told because of interests tied in reporting history. In Bantu studies for instance, some languages have not been described because nobody is interested in funding the research there.

(5) Future phases of research in Zone F should concentrate on F10, F25, F33 and F34 to clarify their histories, especially to look for more evidence for Musso's (1968) claims of the connection he makes between KiiRangi and ICtW00gg0 . F23 is clearer than previously known, although some more work is needed to ascertain its linguistic history even more precisely. Other languages with questionable histories can be handled in the same way to resolve any fuzzy areas

5.7 CONCLUSION

5.7.1 Answering the research questions

Four questions were posed in Chapter 1 as research questions.

(1). *What are the concrete criteria for the classification of Bantu languages into zones? Do we need linguistic zones in the first place? Are they historical, areal or typological? Only unique linguistic criteria should define linguistic zones. Purely linguistic criteria do not support the idea of a Zone F. they either fragment the zone and destroy it, or they are shared by other zones, making them trivial for classification.*

(2). *How many of the criteria mentioned in number (1) above should a language or variety possess in order to qualify for membership into a zone?* If an entity is claimed to be historical, then all the defining criteria should match. Within Zone F, the languages hardly share anything. In SSN, F21, F22 and F23 are separate, unless those features: BS, 7 > 5, DL, glottalization and voiceless nasal formation are not significant and can be ignored. If they are ignored, which features make SSN, or even F21/F22 one entity?

(3). *What rigorous features define Zone F, excluding all other zones?* This study has found none, apart from vocabulary, innovations which are easily spread and shared, making Zone F only a referential one without any historical validity, except that of convergence by long contact.

4. *Within Zone F, what features distinguish one group of languages from others in exclusion of all others, justifying the isolation of those groups?* For assumed sister languages, unique innovations are the only relevant criteria for classification. The distinct status of each traditional language group is the defining character of Zone F. In combination or isolation, BS, 7 > 5, DL, glottalization and voiceless nasal formation effectively fragment the zone. In addition the behaviour of PB *d in F33 and F34 isolates them from Zone F, while PB *g takes F25 away. Vocabulary and how it is shared are also peculiar to each group.

5.7.2 Concluding remarks

The following are general methodological and theoretical observations based on the analysis of SSN and Zone F in this study:

(1) Cultural and core vocabulary reveal different things if the time of separation from a proto-language is long. Cultural vocabulary reveals either both custom and geographical distance, or only one of them, whereas core vocabulary maintains the genetic relations even when both the cultural and geographical distances are large. For instance, KiLoongo or SiSuumbwa do not belong to F20 genetically, although they are adjacent to F20. The closeness to F20 is revealed in cultural vocabulary, which is easily acquired. Similarly, genetic and cultural affiliations do not always overlap, as in the case of F23 in relation to F21/F22 and DJ60/EJ20. Cultural vocabulary explains contact, technological acquisitions and their sources, cultural influence and domination. Core vocabulary reveals genetic heritage. For instance, F23 is predominantly F20 culturally, but DJ60 genetically, as shown by the phonology and vocabulary.

(2) The rates of lexical retention, high or low, are relative rather than absolute, depending on whether the word-lists used are 100, 200, 400 or more. It also depends on the reference group. If one language is compared to languages with high retention rates, its individual high rates may be low with such languages, as in the case of KeeMbuwe (70%) or SiSuumbwa (69%) with NR (F21, F22, F24, F31, F32), since the retention rates there are even higher,

and a cut-off point has to be made. In some contexts, taboo words in social relations lead to vocabulary loss.

(3) In adjacent languages, inter-comprehension depends largely on shared culture, facilitated only by cultural vocabulary where the rules of communication and the changes in material culture are encoded. This can be demonstrated by the Bantu languages, which belong to one family, but where speakers may not communicate if their cultures are different. When cultural distance is great because of geographical separation, communication begins to be difficult or impossible, although the core vocabulary retention rates may be high between any pair of languages. This applies in continua where distance between the furthest dialects of a language makes communication difficult. In other words, inter-comprehension between dialects tends to diminish as distance increases with a concomitant or proportional increase in cultural divergence. Both the distant and adjacent languages or dialects normally share the same core vocabulary. Inter-comprehension therefore cannot be a measure or proof of genetic affiliation between speakers of two languages from the same family since genetic affiliation is a fixed fact, whereas cultural acquisition is not¹⁵.

(4) Linguistic trees (*Figure 4.1* and *Figure 4.16* in Chapter 4), frequency graphs and shared retention percentages are all simplifications and generalizations. They are meant to be

¹⁵ Communication becomes possible only when facilitated by KiSwahili in bi-or multi-lingual speakers. But many people in Tanzania, especially in βŪSukuma, are still functionally monolingual, unless they went to school where they learnt KiSwahili.

descriptive. Their interpretation can be historical even when the methods of deriving a certain set of conclusions are different.

(5) The oral history of iron workers in Buzinza refers to Longo as specialist ironsmiths living there and who came from different clans related to the βuKereβe clans (Hartwig 1971). Buzinza is the south-western part of southern Lake Victoria. This oral version of history is corroborated by our data since linguistically, KiLoongo fits well within Rutara, both phonologically and lexically.

(6) The statements made about similarities or differences about languages in the zones, especially as suggested by Guthrie (1948, 1967-71), have often been taken for granted. Only anecdotal accounts are sometimes given without any rigorous evidence to ascertain the status of entities sufficiently and necessarily. For instance, the cohesion of core Zone F (F21, F22, F24, F31, F32) or SSN (F21, F22, F23) was based on evidence which was not sufficient.

(7) It is important to recognize the advantages and limits of disciplines and their methods, as Vansina (1995b:396) observes with regard to their theory and/or practice. For instance, in archaeology he notes the advantage of producing concrete evidence. But its limitations include the tendency to adhere to particular paradigms or to have a free range of the imagination (Vansina 1995b:396). In history, one problem in both written and oral testimonies is the privileging of some sources, especially favouring the testimony given by leaders and ignoring the versions of common people (Nurse 1979b:384). One advantage with

such testimony is the limitation on the free range of the imagination because the events are narrated by others, minimizing the subjectivity of the historian.

(8) Guthrie's (1967-71) classification was mainly synchronic. It did not include the historical dimension when classifying the languages into zones, although the consonantal reconstructions and the vocabulary were historically grounded. The effect of language contact and the resulting areal influences were not considered. The phonological and lexical analysis in this study has shown that SSN and Zone F are not valid linguistically.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Zone F word-list: F-23 and F-10

| No | English | SI-Súúmbwá Sijibómbó | SISúúmbwá SIYóómbé | KILóorjgó | KIBéndé/KITóorjgwé |
|------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 133 | abdomen, stomach, belly | ndá | ndá | lujúúndá | inndá |
| 495 | abscess, boil | ihuté | ihuté | ihuté/mahuté | ihuté |
| 786a | abundant/abound | kwóókáilá | nirjki | páá | -ingl, pá |
| 786 | abundant | kwóókáilá | nirjki | páá | -ingl, pá |
| 571 | abuse, insult | kòtòkà | kútúkà | kúzúrmà | kútúkà |
| 252 | abuse, reproach | kòtòkà | kútúkà | kúzúrmà | kúkaihilá, kúgáámhá |
| 809 | accustomed (get) | kòrmanitihá | kòrmanitihá | kumányíllá | kúbéféllá |
| 274 | act (vt) | kógemà, kójléézyá | kúgémá | kúkóllá | kwíllá |
| 229 | add up | kwóorjézyá | kwóorjézyá | kwóorjézyá | kúgúngjitsyá |
| 927 | adjacent (be); border (vi) | kwóorjézyá | kújji há lúvúumbá | kuvóorjézyá | kúftirjkáhá |
| 662 | adze, carpenter's | mbilzó | mbilzó | mbilzó | kábáásó |
| 254 | affair | igáámbó | igáámbó | igáámbó/jigáámbó | iyáámbó/mayáámbó |
| 1002 | afraid (be) | kwóófááhá | kwóófááhá | kúllimá | kuyófááhá |
| 168 | agriculture | ilimá | ilimá | ilimá | búllimí |
| 926 | all | -óóná | -óóná | -óóná | -óónsè |
| 248 | alter, change | kúplilúá | kúplilúá | kúplilúá | kúhíindúúá |
| 595 | animal | ndimú | ndimú | ndimú | inywééle |
| 617 | answer a call | kúzúrmá | kúzúrmá | kwíllikizá | kwíllápíllá |
| 782 | answer, reply | kójitò ? | kwíllikilá | kwíllikizá | - |
| 664 | ant (reddish-brown biting) | mpázi | mpázi | bússisi | máansúnswá |
| 122 | ant-hill | makényi | siginá, sigitò | chiswá'viswá | siy'ulú |
| 663 | ant (small) | mákézi, jòsílinsi | ninágwé | inyáángó | lunyééleté |
| 586 | anvil | ibáámfízyó | - | itèététó | - |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwà SiSiitòombò | SiSúumbwà SiYòombè | KiLòongó | KiBëndé/KiTóongwè |
|------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| 989 | apply by stretching, spread over | kòtiindilá | kòþáámbà | kùþáámbà | kùbáámbà |
| 976 | appoint, set up | kùcháágùlá | kùcháágùlá | - | kwimiká |
| 55 | arm, hand | kùþòkó | kòþòkó | múkónó | kùþòkó |
| 771 | armpit | kwááhá | kwááhá | kwááhá | ñkwááhá |
| 203 | arrange, put in order | kùþáángá | kùþéézyá | kùtúumbiká | kùþáángá, kúlyóhélesyá |
| 204 | arrange, put right, repair | kùþéézyá | kùþéézyá | kúkólá | kúlyóhélesyá |
| 478 | arrive | kùhiká | kùhiká | kùhiká | kùfiká |
| 665 | arrow | mwaáambi gwè bútà | mwaáambi | ijánó | mwaáambi/myáambi |
| 666 | arrow (head of); spear head | mútwe | mwaáambi | mwaáambi | mwaáambi, isúmó |
| 337 | ashes | mávú | ivú/mávú | izú/mázú | ifúúndú/máfúúndú |
| 199 | ask for | kúsábá | kúsáþá | kúsáþá | kúséeyá |
| 89 | assemble, collect (vt) | kòlòndiká hámwí | kúlúúndiká | kúsóózà | kúlyóhélesyá, kwisá hámwí |
| 789 | aunt (father's sister) | sééngi | sééngi | sééngi | sééngé |
| 148 | avoid, dodge | kwibáánzyá | - | kwififúúndá | - |
| 688 | awe, fear of God | þòòhá | kwòòþááhá | - | þòòþá |
| 667 | axe | mpásá | mpásá | nséényá | mpásá |
| 364 | baboon, ape | ñkòbè | ñkòþé | èèñkòþé | ijáándá |
| 634 | back of (at the) | númá | númá | nyúmá | kúnyúmá |
| 297 | back | múgòóngó | múgòóngó | múgòóngó | múyòóngó |
| 297a | backbone | igúfá lyá múgòóngó | igúfwa lyá múgòóngó | múgòóngó | múyòóngó |
| 27 | bad | ibí | ijí | -ijí | ibi |
| 37 | bad (become), rotten (vi) | kùþólá | kùþólá | kùþólá | kùþólá |
| 87 | bait | syáámbó | syáámbó | wáámbó/vyáámbó | fyáámbó/syáámbó |
| 398 | banana (plant) | ntóókè | lótóókè | lúgèrà | ikóóndé |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSilóombó | SiSúumbwá SiYóombé | KiLóongó | KiBëndè/KiToóngwé |
|------|--|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 397 | banana (fruit) | itòoké | itòoké | itòoké, ihísé | ikóóndé |
| 399 | banana (for cooking) | itòoké lyé kútééká | itòoké | itòoké | - |
| 1005 | baobab | - | - | - | - |
| 1022 | bark (of tree) | igúlá | igúlá | igúlá, ipáángwá | - |
| 313 | barren (of living being) | múgúumbá | múgúumbá | múgúumbá | - |
| 314 | barren (of land) | nsí yè bó | βwóómé | chikámó | insí jikámilé |
| 376 | base of tree-trunk | iziingá | iziingá | iziingá | isiindó |
| 650 | bask (in the sun), warm oneself | kwiikóontá | kwiikóontá | kwóótá | kúgóntéla |
| 576 | basket of open wicker-work | sikáámpú | isáanzó | isáanzó | m(ù)séyè |
| 577 | basket (plaited) | sikáámpú | sikápó | chikápó | sikápó |
| 643 | bathe | kwóógá | kwóógá | kwóógá | kúnyááyá |
| 498 | be fitting, behove | kúfwááyá ? | -sógá | kúhiká | kúlyóohá |
| 1 | be, become | kóbá | kúβá | kúβá | kúβá |
| 955 | beach, coast, shore | mpwááni | mpwááni | mwáálo | mpwáányi |
| 827 | bead(s) | βúsálo | βúsálo | búkwaánzi | βúkási |
| 416 | bean, kind of bean (from <i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i>) | mféèli | ηkúúndé | lúkóólé/ηkóóolé | múnyéyá |
| 417 | bean, small (from bean plant) | máhálágé | máhálágé | máhálágé | múnyéyá |
| 844 | bean (runner) | mféèli | mfwèèli, ηkúúndé, mákúúkú | lúkóóolé | kábálámá |
| 1037 | bear child | kúbútá | kúβútá | kúzáála | kúfyáála |
| 147 | beard | kásákú, nsákú | kásákú | blézu | káifú/túléfú |
| 768 | beat | kóhódíá | kúhúúta | kutééla | kúhúúla |
| 759 | beautiful | -sógá | -sógá | izimá | -sógá, lyóóhilé |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSilóombó | SiSúumbwá SiYóombé | KiLóongó | KiBëndé/KiTóongwé |
|-----|--------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| 162 | bed | búllíli, sitáándá | sitáándá | chitáándá | βúllíli, sitáá |
| 161 | bedstead | βókaàngagá | - | inchiinzi | βúllíli |
| 653 | bee | nzóki | nzóki | énzóchi | nsúsi |
| 775 | beer | búsélé | búsélé | máálwá | máálwá |
| 497 | befit, suit | kúbéézyá, kúbéégézyá | kóβéélá | kúsémézá | kúlyóohéla |
| 101 | below, underneath | múnsi | háansi | háansi | hééfó |
| 186 | bend, twist (vi) | kwiigóondá | kúgóondá | kúgóondá | - |
| 468 | bend (vt) | kwhiná | kúgóondá | kúgóondá | - |
| 193 | bewitch | kúlógá | kúlógá | kúlógá | kúlóyá |
| 930 | bifurcation, cross-roads | mázilá saängwé | - | ndekáaniitó | máháándá nsiá |
| 222 | bile | ndúlwé | ndúlwé | ndúlu | nyóongó |
| 262 | bind up, splice | kúlagúla | kúlagúla | kúlagúla | kúháambá |
| 658 | bird-lime | bwiléembó | - | wiléembwá | búllímbó |
| 811 | bird | nóni | nóni | nyonyi | inyonyi, kanyonyi |
| 46 | birth (give), to a child | kúβútá | kúβútá | kúzáálá | kúfyáálá |
| 125 | bite | kúlúamá | kúlúamá | kúlúamá | kutéhá |
| 221 | bitter | -kálf, bilúlu | -kálf | kúsááfilá | sikálí |
| 223 | bladder | lúhágó | lúhágó | énsákó | - |
| 482 | blind person | múhófú | múhófú | múhófú | múhófú |
| 669 | blood | mágázi | mágázi | βwáambá | málásó |
| 496 | blow on, blow up | kúfúulá | kúpúugá | kúhúhà | kúpúúsyá |
| 238 | blow bellows | kúvúgútá | kúvúgútá | kúzúgútá | kúfúkútá múfúβá |
| 463 | blow away | kóhéhá | kúhéhá | kúhéhéézá | kúhéhémúsyá, kúhéhémúlá |
| 776 | boast, brag, praise oneself | kwiibóná | - | kútaámhá | kwitéhá |
| 676 | boat | βwáátó | βwáátó | bwáátó | βwáátó |

| No | English | Si-Súúmbwá SiSilòòmbó | SiSúúmbwá SiYoombé | KiLóongó | KiBëndé/KiToóngwé |
|------|---------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 670 | body | múbili | múbili | múbilii/miþili | sitaámbo/fitaámbo |
| 581 | boil up | kúséþá | kúséþá | kúþilá | kútókótá |
| 30 | boil (vt) | kúsévyá | kúsévyá | kúséþyá | kutéeká |
| 433 | bone | igúfwá | igúfwá | igúfwá | ifúhá/máfúhá |
| 564 | bore a hole | kúdúlá | kúdúlá | kúfúmúta | kútúþulá |
| 1008 | born (be) | kúbútwá, kúzyáálwá | kúþútwá | kúzáálwá | kúfyáálwá |
| 910 | borrow | kúkópá | kúkópá | kútiizá | kúkópá |
| 872 | bottle | nsúpá | nchúpá | éenchúpá | insúpá |
| 928 | boundary | mpáká ? | lúvúúmbá/mvúúmbá | lúvúúmbá/mvúúmbá | múpáká, iþiþi |
| 671 | bow, bending | kwiihiná | þútá | þútá | kwináamá |
| 508 | bow | þútá | þútá | þútá | þútá |
| 953 | bowstring | lúgé | lógé | lúgóhi | kájé ká þútá |
| 58 | brain | þwóonjó | þwóonjó | þwóonjó | - |
| 509 | branch | itábázi | itáþázi | itáþázi | itáþi |
| 375 | bread | ŋkááté | múkááté | múkááté | múkáté ? |
| 831 | break wind* | kúniá múfúzi | kúniá múfúzi | kúnyáámpá | kúniá ipúsi |
| 77 | break, snap | kúvúná | kúvúná | kúhééndá | kúfúnáyá |
| 1036 | break wind | kúniá múfúzi | kúniá múfúzi | kúnyáámpá | kúniá ipúsi |
| 17 | breast (of a woman) | máþééle | máþééle | máþééle, itútu/mátútu | máþééle |
| 489 | breath, breathing | múhéémó | múhéémó, kúhéémá | múhéémó | - |
| 490 | breathe, rest | kúhéémá | kúhéémá | kúhéémúká | kúhéémelá |
| 138 | bridge | idálázyá | idálájá ? | lútiindé | dálájá |
| 139 | bridge (wooden) | búlàálé | - | lútiindé | búláló |
| 885 | bring, fetch | kúléétá | kúléétá | kúléétá | kúléétá |
| 171 | bring to light | kútóóliá héépé | kúmáníitsyá | kúmányiitsá | kúlaángiisyyá |
| 882 | bring up (a child) | kóletá | kúletá | kúletá | kúletá |
| 660 | brook, stream | mwiigá | ihóólá | múgélá | móonjá |
| 942 | broom | lòhyáágizyó | lúhyáágló | lòhyáágizó | syéésó |

| No | English | Si-Suumbwá Sisifoombó | Sisúumbwá Siyóombé | Kilóorngó | Kibëndé/KITóorngwé |
|-----|---|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 113 | broth | mufwá | mufwá | mufwá | músuni |
| 381 | brother-in-law, sister-in-law | mulámú | mulámú | mulámú, mulámukazí | mulámú |
| 341 | brother (older) | múkúli(uyó) | múkúli | múkúli | múkúli |
| 673 | brother, relative, fellow-fibesman | íadígú | múdogú | múzaale | wá múyána |
| 874 | bruise badly, take the skin off | kwiñáa lúdíli | kuriñóla | kukúñúla | kufúma ikoba, kufúliika |
| 71 | buffalo | mbógó | mbógó | émbógó | mbóyó |
| 807 | build | kwóombéká | kwóombéká | kwóombéká | kujéeriga, kujúfáka |
| 674 | bull | nzagaámabá | nzagaámabá | nzagaámabá | inbómbe |
| 80 | bunch (of hair) | úmbúasí | múligó | - | manyywété |
| 890 | burden, load | kwááká, kwóosyá | kwááká | kwááká | kúbáká |
| 645 | burn (vt & vi) | kúhyá | kúhyá, kuzígá | kúhyá | kúhyá |
| 231 | burnt (become) | kuzífíká | kuzyífíká | kuziiká | kúsiiká |
| 179 | bury | isáá, ipóbiu | ikuungú | liicungú | isáá, isiyó |
| 555 | bush | múlibótó | - | mbojoto | mabéle |
| 21 | buttermilk | ihéndé | ihéndé, itákó | ifúsunú/mááúsunú | itákó/malákó |
| 514 | buttocks | kugúla | kugúla | kugúla | kúyúla |
| 301 | buy | sisyaábó | sisyaáño | chisaáño/íisaáño | lusing/insíngi |
| 873 | calabash | múundó | múundó | émfúundó | kasafú |
| 857 | call of the leg | ndamá | ndamá | éndamá | - |
| 877 | call | kólaangá | ndama | étaná | kwilítá |
| 31 | call | íwááto | kúlaangá | íwááto | bwááto |
| 675 | canoe (dug-out) | íwááto | íwááto | íwááto | bwááto |
| 602 | canoe | íwááto | íwááto | íwááto | bwááto |
| 993 | carry a child on the back (in a blanket) | kúhéká | kúhéká, kútegúla | kúhéká | kúhéká |

| No | English | S:-Súumbwá SISifloombó | SISúumbwá SIYobombé | KILóongó | KIBëndé/KITóongwé |
|------|--|---------------------------|------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| 567 | carry/lift on to head (take up) a heavy load | kwiitwíiká | kwiitwíiká | kwiitwééká | kúwááilá muiiyó, kwiitwíiká |
| 97 | carry astride on the hip | kuténgóliá | kutégúulá | kweóilééká | kuféilá |
| 560 | carry, take | kúpóósýá | kutégúulá | kutégúulá | kúwááilá |
| 578 | carry, convey | kufilá | kúpóósýá, kutégúulá | kúwááilá | kuféilá |
| 104 | cat | nyáábú | nyáámú | ényáámú | kányáú |
| 286 | cattle | mitógó | - | mitógó | fitóungwá, ipóombé |
| 486 | cease, finish | kumálá | kumálá | kúhwá | kúhwá |
| 528 | centipede | lúubí | nzumááit | lúpúli | - |
| 247 | change, turn round | kupilísyá | kupilíká | kupilúká | kúhindúká |
| 334 | charcoal | mákálá | mákálá | ikálá/makálá | ikálá/makálá |
| 963 | charm (esp. to ensure wife's fidelity) (n) | kúpóongbóká (v) | - | - | púyáangá |
| 32 | chase (away) | kubirngá | kújirngá | kúllindá | kupirngá |
| 515 | cheek | ilámá | ilámá | ilámá | ilámá |
| 92 | cheerful (become) | kuyegá | kóstimá | kúwénúká | kusáangafáilá |
| 106 | cheetah | imóndó | - | - | - |
| 565 | chest | sifubá | sifufá | chifufá | ilúundú |
| 672 | chest (of animals and birds) | sídáilí | sídáilí | chidáilí | ilúundú |
| 431 | chief, headman | múkúli | mwááná/gwá | múkúli | mwáámi, mutwáále |
| 431a | chief | mwáámi | mwáámi | múkámá | mwáámi |
| 679 | child, infant | múkákó, mwááná | mwááná | mukéké, mwááná | mwááná |
| 597 | child, offspring | mwááná | mwááná | mwaná | mwaná |
| 866 | chin | kasákú | kasákú | chilézu | kaléfú |
| 83 | choose | kúcháagúulá | kúcháagúulá | kutóolá | kúsáayúulá |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá Sisióombó | Si-Súumbwá Siyóombé | Kil-óongó | KiBendé/KITóongwé |
|-----|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| 109 | civet cat | ntúungó | iwóókó | ééntúungó | ilikéjé |
| 255 | clan | iwókó ? | kugéglá | iwóókó | múy'aná |
| 841 | climb, ascend | kugéglá | itodó | kuhánámá | kulaánda |
| 550 | clod, lump | itónkó/mátónkó | kúvígá milinsó, | ikóóté | bulóóngó |
| 851 | close (the eyes, mouth, etc.) | kúhámilizyá, kú梓ibilá | kúúumbá mólómó | kúhámilizá ménsó, | kwilyálá |
| 299 | cloth | sitaámbaálá | sitaámbaálá | kúúumbá múnwá | sitaámbaálá, mwééndá |
| 235 | clothe | kwáambiká | kwáambiká | chitaámbaálá | kúfwiká |
| 300 | clothes, material | mwééndá | mwééndá | kuzwééká | mwééndá/myééndá |
| 300 | cloud | mááúundé | itúundé | mwééndá/myééndá | ikúusi/rmákuúsi |
| 305 | cloud | kúgáánda | itúundé | itúundé | kúy'áánda |
| 817 | coagulate | mfwilá | mfwilá | kúgáánda | swilá |
| 941 | cobra (spitting) | kwiláálá | kwilgémá | lwilááúzú | kwiláálá hármwi, |
| 906 | cohabit | | | - | kúúumbáákáá |
| 465 | cold | mpéhó, pállili | mpéhó | pállili, mbéhó | mpéhó |
| 624 | come | kwizá | kwizá | kwizá | kwisá |
| 505 | come on suddenly, take in the act | kúbaáá búsyihyá | kúúáánpilizyá | kúúáánpilizá | kúnyiyá búsilhá |
| 230 | construct, put together | kubéézyá | kújbéézyá | kúhólá | kúúóombá milóóndé, |
| 471 | cook | kutééka | kutééka | kutééka | kújbáká |
| 557 | cook in water or fat | kúpóonyá | - | kutééka | kutééka |
| 43 | cooking pan, small | sikáángó | - | kújizá | kutééka, kutókósyá |
| 385 | cool (become); get well | kúhólá | kúhólá | nyúúngú | - |
| 265 | copper, brass | nshabá | - | kúhólá | kúhólá |
| 283 | copy a pattern | kúúingúsyá | kúgémééézyá | - | - |
| 894 | cork, stopper | kizibisyó | sizibó | - | kúújijingányá m(ú)úndlilo |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSiIóómbó | SiSúumbwá SiYóómbé | KiLöongó | KiBëndé/KiToóngwé |
|------|------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 52 | corpse, carcass | múúumbáangá | múúumbi | mitúumbi | múlaámbó |
| 1001 | corpse (human) | imáiti ? | múúumbi | múúumbi | múlaámbó |
| 383 | cough (vi) | kúkólóla | kúkólóla | kúkólóla | kúkósóla |
| 4 | count | kúpéétá | kúpéétá | kúpéétá | kúpáandá |
| 100 | country (our) | insi y(i)ú | nsi yttá | éénsi yeétú | insi |
| 14 | courtyard | lúúúgá | sijáanzá | lúúúgá | ibaánjá, sibaánjá |
| 852 | cover (up) | kúfúndikilá | kúfúndikilá | kúfúndikilá | kúfúmbilá |
| 285 | cow | ñóómbé | ñóómbé | éènté | inóómbé |
| 1003 | coward | mwóóβá | mwóóβá | múútiini | mwóóβá |
| 335 | crab | - | - | - | - |
| 520 | crawl, creep | kwáávúúla | kwáávúúla | kwáázúúla | kúsyéèlèká |
| 612 | cricket | sifúúla/bisifúúla | nàanzéféfé | nyéènzé | nyéénsé |
| 153 | cripple | múléamá | múléamá | múléamá | múléamá |
| 803 | crocodile | máámbá ? | nsáámí | énsáámí | ngwééná |
| 319 | cross (a river) | kútaámbóká | kútaámbúká | kútaámbúká | kúyámbúká mwóóngá |
| 846 | crow (n) | mbágá | βáágá | βáágá/βáágá | - |
| 308 | crown of the head | lótóótó | βwóótóótó | lwóótóótó | lútóósi |
| 79 | crumple | kúhinááhiná | - | - | kúbúúngányá |
| 370 | crush by pounding, pulverize | kúsékúla | - | kúsiginá | kútwá |
| 393 | crust | ñkókótwá | ñkókótwá | éèngkógótó | - |
| 160 | cry, wail | kúúllá | kúúllá | kúúllá | kúúllá |
| 966 | cucumber, small | mááliimbé | máhiiti | máliimbé, βòliimbé | mútáná |
| 736 | cudgel | βúhili | βúhili | βúhili | iyóóngó |
| 165 | cultivate | kúúlimá | kóúlimá | kúúlimá | kúúlimá |
| 950 | cure, cool, heal | kúúsiinsyá | kóhózyá | kúhózá | kúúsiinsyá <kúúsilá |
| 355 | cut | kúkátá ? | kúútemá | kúúnogólá, kúútemá | kúúpútá, kúúpútúla |
| 98 | cut, lop | kúúpúúngúsyá | - | kúúúúúúla | kúúpútúla |

| No | English | Si-Suumbwá Sisilóombó | Si-Suumbwá siyóombe | KiLoongó | KiBendé/KiToongwé |
|------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| 117 | cut to shape, sharpen | kubéhiya | kusóongóla | kutúutiúúla ? | kújiáásá |
| 365 | dance (of men, to show courage) | kwigjáámhá | - | kwifjúgá | kukiná |
| 53 | dance | kwisinyiniá ngómá | kútiúrmá ngómá | kunégúla | kukiná |
| 622 | dark, black | -pi, ðwiliábule | lyéepi | kwiláagúla | -filité, -filité <kúfilitá |
| 481 | darkness | tizimá | gittí | énzimbaázi | buókó wápi, bufilité |
| 824 | dawn (vt) | kusyá | ikéési | kuchá | kusyá |
| 359 | dawn, daybreak | kusyá | ikéési | kuchá | hámwisá kusyá |
| 744 | day after tomorrow | mázótil | mázótil | izwétil | hwisyé luundi |
| 130 | day | lósikú | lósikú | chilo | hwisyé |
| 682 | day-time | mwizyóóhá | mwizyóóhá | iháangwé | isóófá |
| 869 | day (all) | lósikú lwoóná | lzyoofá ówí | chiló chóóná | hwisyé lóoné |
| 751 | day before yesterday | mázótil | mázótil | izwétil | hwisyé luundi |
| 423 | dead person | mfilé | máhwilé | mútiúmbi | miuntú áhwilé, múláámbó |
| 424 | death | lòfú | lòfú | lòfú | sifó |
| 931 | decorate | kupáámhá ? | - | kúlingámizá | kupáámhá ? |
| 446a | defecate | kuníá | kuníá | kuníá | kuníá |
| 631 | denial | kukémá | mukémú | kwáángá | kutómá |
| 821 | deny | kukémá | kukémá | kwáángá | kutómá |
| 648 | destroy, spoil | kwalisá | kwalisá, kúfilihyá | kúfilihyá | kuyónbóná |
| 437 | dew | lúmé | lúmé | lómé | lumaánde ? |
| 219 | die (cause to); put to death* | kwiflá | kwiflá | kwiflá | kwiháyá |
| 1027 | die * | kwíwá | kwíwá | kwíwá | kwíwá |
| 425 | die | kwíwá | kwíwá | kwíwá | kwíwá |
| 504 | dig up, dig out | kusilmbóóhá, kófúkóóla | kuzyoóla | kuzikúúla | kufúúúla |
| 503 | dig | kusilmbá | kusilmbá | kúshimba | kusajá |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSilóombò | SiSúumbwá SiYóombè | KiLòongó | KiBendé/KiToóngwè |
|------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| 466 | diminish, grow less | kwòòndá | kùpúúngótlá | kúkèhá | kùpúúngúká |
| 635 | dip | kúsófyá | kúsóómvyá | kúkozá | kùtwéésyá |
| 49 | dirt | mátákálá, búcháfú ? | mátákátá, búcháfú ? | úkó/makò, bitakalá | búchááfú ? |
| 680 | district, province, country | nsí (yíftú) | nsí | èénsi | sihùýó |
| 245 | divide | kúgááanùtá | kúgáþá | kúgáþá | kúyáþáanyá |
| 512 | divorce | kúbiiingá, tátáká ? | kúbiiingá | kùlèkàáná | kùlèkàná |
| 367 | do, complete, finish | kúmáíá | kúmáíá | kúmáíá | kúhwá |
| 366 | do | kúgèmə | kúgèmə | kúzilá | kwilá |
| 60 | dog | mbwá | mbwá | éémbwá | iimbwá |
| 292a | donkey | ndógóbé | nzòþé, mpúúndá | ééndógóþé | - |
| 685 | door | múzigó | múzigó | múlyáàngó | lwiiþi, múlyáàngó |
| 415 | dove (red-eyed) | ŋkúúndyá | ŋkúúndyá | èŋkúúndyá | ŋkúúndá |
| 188 | doze | kúgóná | kúgóná, kùtiindilá | kùtiindilá | kúsiinsilá |
| 529 | draw water (from well) | kútáhá (miinzi) | kútáhá (miinzi) | kútáhá miinzi | kútáhá máánsi |
| 215 | dream (vt, vi) | kùlòótélá | kùlòótélá | kùlòótá | kùlòótá |
| 328 | dream (n) | kùlòótá, múlòótéló | mùlòótéló | chilóótó | - |
| 448 | drink | kòŋwá | kòŋwá | kúnywá | kúnywá |
| 196 | drizzle | lònáánágálá | mánaánágálá | lúnyáányágálá | kúnyáyátá |
| 780 | drop, throw down | kógwilsyá | kúháàngóótá | kútáþútá, kúháàngúútá, kwááhá | kúgwilsyá |
| 284 | drum | ŋgómá | ŋgómá | éèngómá | iingómá |
| 598 | dry (vt), set out to dry | kwáánikilá | kwáánikilá | kwáánikilá | kúyániká |
| 346 | dry | nòómú | lyòómú | bwòómé | -gúmilé <kúgumá |
| 954 | dry up, ebb | kwòómá | kwòómá | - | kúhwá |
| 345 | dry up, become dry | kwòómá | kwòómá | kwòómá | kúhwá |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSilóombò | SiSúumbwá SiYóombè | KiLòongò | KiBèndè/KiTóongwè |
|------|---|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 289 | duck | mbàátá | mbàátá | èmbàátá | ijàátá/màjàátá |
| 243 | dust, cloud of dust | lòbùùbù | lòbùùbù | lùbùùbù | lùfùùndù/màfùùndù |
| 628 | dwel | kwikálá | kwikálá | kwikálísá | kwikálá |
| 492 | eagerness, zeal | bwáàngùbwáàngù | βwáàngùβwáàngù | mèélù, kùhùlùgùtá | bwáàngùbwáàngù |
| 491 | eagle, bird of prey | mbéésì | mbéésì | ηkóóná | ìpùúrgù, lísáánsá |
| 563 | ear | kùtwi | kùtwi | kùtwi | itwi |
| 70 | earth, land | nsi | nsi | ènsi | bùlòóngò |
| 44 | earthenware vessel for serving up food | lòlààngàhè | - | chisèmè/visèmè, ènyùúngù | sililò |
| 156 | eat | kùlyá | kùlyá | kùlyá | kùlyá |
| 900 | effort, exertion | ηgùzù | ηgùzù | kùhátiká | kùkáláàmbáná |
| 273 | egg | igi/màgi | igi/màgi | iyááyi/máyááyi | iji/màjí |
| 443 | eight | múnáánè | múnáánè | múnáánè | múnáánè |
| 705a | elbow | ikókókólá | lùkókókólá | lùkókókólá | kásùkùúmpà ? |
| 329 | elephant | nzòvù | nzòvù | ènzòzù | insófù |
| 336 | embers | ikálá lyé mùlilò | ikálá lyé mùlilò | ikálá lyó mùlilò | ikálá lyá mùlilò |
| 842 | embrace | kùbùùmbililá | kùbùùmbililá | kùbùùmbilá | kùkùkùlilá |
| 394 | end (come to an), cease | kùhíká mwíisyò | kùmálá, kùléká | kùlékèá | kùhwá |
| 952 | escape, recover | kùsilá | kùsilá | kùchilá, kùpùlùgùká | kùsilá |
| 899 | examine, measure, test | kùpiimá | kùgèrà, kùpiimá | kùpiimá | kùpiimá ? |
| 45 | excrement, dung | máámvi | máámvi | mázi | ifi/màfi |
| 958 | exorcise, drive out a devil | kùkùúngùùtá | kùβiingá, kùkùúngùùtá | kùkùúngùùtá | kùpùúngá |
| 784 | explain | kwíiyèlèézyá ? | kùtèèmbùúsyá | kùtèèmbùùchá | kùlààngisiyá, kùlàánsyá |
| 620 | eye | liinsó/máásyò | liinsó/miinsó | liinsó/méènsó | liinsó/méènsó |
| 828 | eyebrow | ηkòhé | - | màsìgá | - |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSiIóombó | SiSúumbwá SiYóombé | KiLóongó | KiBëndé/KiTóongwé |
|------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 838 | eyelash | ɲkòhé | ɲkòhé | ɛɲkòhé | ɲkòhé |
| 587 | face downwards | kávumá | lámábaláta | kúpúundáátá | kúíáálá |
| 686 | face | βósyó | βúsyó | βúsyó | búsyú |
| 940 | fade, disappear | kwéélókíwá | - | kúhwééjéla | - |
| 891 | faint, lose consciousness | kúhólá | - | - | - |
| 298 | fall | kúgwá | kúgwá | kúgwá | kúyvá |
| 549 | fall short | kúpóóngulá | kúleβá | kúleβá | kúpóóngóká |
| 462 | fan, wave | kúpépééla | kúpépééla | kúhúúhíla | kúhéhémulá |
| 764 | far | hále | hále | hále | kújé |
| 921 | fat (be) (of animals) | kúginá | kúginá, kúnólá | kúnulá | kúháma, kúnóná |
| 922 | fat (of animals) | inóné | -nolé | -ánúzilé | inónilé, -hámu |
| 531a | father | βááβá | βááβá, dáádá | taátá | taátá, taátá búsyá, taátá |
| 382 | father-in-law, mother-in-law | báá-/máá búkwé | taátá-/máá βókwé | sínyizála, máházála | taátá/máámá búkwé |
| 531 | father (my) | βááβá | βááβá, dáádá | taátá | taátá, taátá |
| 687 | fear | kwóobáhá, βóóβá | βóóβá | βútíni | bóóbá |
| 652 | feathers, fur | mázózá | mázózázá | βwóoyá | máfuúmbú, ingyélé |
| 848 | fence, enclosure | lógó | lógó | lúúβá | lúúβá |
| 858 | ferment, turn sour | kúgáásá | kúgáásá | kúgágá | kúsásá |
| 762 | few (a), not much | túdó | nódó | biché, biké | -sé |
| 757 | fierce, sharp | múláámbé | βúsóóngóké | βwóógi | -káli |
| 421 | fig-tree | - | - | - | - |
| 422 | fig-mulberry tree | múkúyú | - | múkúyú | - |
| 216 | fight | kúsóólá, kwíihúúla | kúsóólá | kúwááná | kúsóólá |
| 804 | fill | kúkázýá | kwóókázýá | kwízúzázá | kúbúúmbá |
| 176 | fill a hole, stop up | kúziβilá | kúziβilá | kúziβilá | kwíiyála |
| 583 | filter, strain | kúswilázá | kúswilázá | kúswilázá | kúsúsásá |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSiilóombó | SiSúumbwá SiYóombé | KiLóongó | KiBëndé/KiToóngwé |
|------|------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 50 | filth | mátákálá | mátákálá | bitákálá | búchááfú ? |
| 516 | final, decisive | kúlaámúlá | - | - | -á há mwisiyo ? |
| 760 | fine, excellent | -sógá | -sógá | kúzimá | sóyá |
| 447 | finger | múnwé | múnwé | lúkúúm | kákúúmó/túkúúmó |
| 323 | finger nail | lyáálá | lyáálá | lyááilá/mááilá | lúsáilá/nsáilá |
| 474 | fire | múlliló | múlliló | múlliló | múlliló/milliló |
| 280 | fireplace, hearth, kitchen | iziikó | iziikó | ihigá | ifiyá/máfiyá |
| 970a | firewood (collect, cut) (vt) | kúsééná | kúsééná | kúséényá | kútémá nkwi |
| 413 | firewood | nkwi | nkwi | éénkwi | nkwi |
| 191 | fish up, pull out | kúlóβóólá | kwiihúlá | kúzómóólá | kúsááβúlá |
| 126 | fish (old Swahili nswi) | mfwi, nsámaáki ? | mfwi | éémfwi | iséémbé/máséémbé |
| 190 | fish (vt), trap fish | kútégá | kútégá mfwi | kúlóβá, kútégá | kúlóβá |
| 400 | fit | ngúúmi | ngúúmi | ééngúúmi | ngúúmi ? |
| 525 | five | itáánó | itáánó | itáánó | itáánó |
| 493 | flap wings wildly, flutter | kúpépéélá | kúpápámilá | kúpápámilá | kúpúpúmuká |
| 832 | flatulence | kúvimbéélwá | kúvimbéélwá | kúziimbéélwá, kúhihá | kúziimbéélwá |
| 384 | flavoured (be properly) | kúkwáátá | kúkóléélá | kúhiká | kújóyá |
| 907 | flower | iúá ? | iúá ? | iláβó/máláβó | iúá/máúá ? |
| 278 | fly (house) | nsáazi | nsáazi | énsóhélá | lúsáasi/nsáasi |
| 1028 | fly (vi) | kúgúlúká | kúgúlúká | kúgúlúká | kúyúlúká |
| 1032 | foam * | ifúló | ifúló | ifúló | ifúló/máfúló |
| 502 | foam | ifúló | ifúló | ifúló | ifúló/máfúló |
| 143 | follow (in order) | kwilóóndézyá | kúlóóndá | kúkúlaáttilá | kúlóóndétá, kúhétékétá, kúhélékésyá |

| No | English | SI-Súumbwá SISilóombó | SISúumbwá SISyóombé | KILOóngó | KIBéndéKITóongwé |
|-----|------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 142 | follow | kúlonndélézyá | kúlonndézyá | kúkúlaáritá | kúlonndá, kúlonndéla |
| 823 | food supply for a journey | mpáambá | mpáambá | émpáambá | mpáambá |
| 566 | forest | ipóolu | ikuúngú | iliungú | isáá |
| 584 | forge | kúhéésá | kuvúguta | kúhéésá | kúsiá |
| 889 | forget | kúlaáfitá | kúlaáfitá | kwééfwá | kúlaáfitá |
| 458 | fork, bifurcation | nsáágá | nságá, ipáandá | énságá | jháandá |
| 442 | four | iné | iné | iné | iné |
| 295 | frog | lyóóla | lyóóla | ikétyé | kasája |
| 574 | fruit | nsúumó | - | isumó, písumó | jyáálo/máyáálo |
| 349 | fry | kúkúlaángá | kúkúlaángá | kúkúlaángá | kúkúlaángá |
| 936 | fully developed, be | kúkúla | kúhá, kúkómeéla | kúkómeéla | kúkúla |
| 625 | ful (become) | kwóókála | kwóókála | kwilinzúla | kúbúumbiká |
| 316 | garden | búsitáani ? | - | púsitáani ? | búsitáani ? |
| 419 | gather (flowers, fruit) | kúyáha | kúyáha | kwááhá | kúsésá ? |
| 91 | gathered (be), assembled (be) | kwilíundiká | - | kúkójetá | kwilísá hámwí |
| 368 | gazelle (Grant's) | kásyá | nsyá | éénsá | mbaílaia ? |
| 454 | gazelle, small (impala) | múkósé | mpaláhála | émpaláhála | kásyá |
| 108 | genet (kind of speckled civet cat) | ntúungó | ntúungó | éntúungó | ilikéje, ifitúungó |
| 408 | get, obtain | kúpáandiká | kúpáandiká | kúpáandiká, kúfóná | kúpáta |
| 684 | ghost, sudden apparition | isáambwá | músáambwá? mizuúuká ? | - | isyúuká, músyúuká |
| 568 | giraffe | ntwiigá | ntwiigá | éntwiigá | ntwiigá |
| 246 | give away (present) | kúfúuhá | kóhá | kúsáambá | kufumyá, kúhá |
| 449 | give | kúhá | kúhá, kufumyá | kúhá | kúhá |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSilóombò | SiSúumbwá SiYóombè | KiLóongò | KiBëndé/KiToóngwè |
|-----|---|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 916 | give light to | kúmwoólèkà | kúmólèkà | kúmólèkà | kúmúnikà |
| 815 | glide, trickie | kúsélémá | - | kúgèlá | kúsóóβá |
| 269 | go | kúzyá | kúzyá | kúgèèndá | kújá |
| 639 | go in, come in, enter | kwiingílá | kwiingílá | kwiingílá | kwiingílá |
| 63 | goat | mbúzi | mbózi | émbúzi | mbúsi, imbúsi |
| 694 | goat, (he-) | ngúlááti | ngúlááti | éntúlágé | likáβóólóβóòtó |
| 695 | god | misáámbwá | misáámbwá, múúngú | nyámúháàngá, múúngú | liβwéèléèlé |
| 758 | good | mfúlá | nsógá | mázimá | nsógá |
| 388 | goshawk (East African) (<i>Astur fachiro</i>) | súngúséétyá | máléélé | ináándá | lisáánsá |
| 68 | grain (of cereal) | kázúmó | nzúmá, lúzúmá | lúzúmá | sisáká, mbútó |
| 696 | grandfather | gòókò | gúúkú | gúúkú | kúúkú, só/taátákújú |
| 697 | grandmother | máámá | máámá | kááká | kúúkú, nyókókújú |
| 432 | grasp, hold in arm | kókwáitíitá | kókwáitíitá | kúβúumbítá | kúfúumbátá |
| 698 | grass, reeds | mánáánsi | mánáánsi | mányáánsi | máβánó, bwáási |
| 406 | grate | kókwáátótá | kúkwáátúlá | kúkwáálúlá | - |
| 409 | great, powerful, big | múkótó | ŋkújú | iháàngó | -kújú |
| 164 | grief, sorrow | - | - | kúhóólóóká | ŋkúumbú, nyúumbú |
| 371 | grind (grain with a millstone) | kósyá | kúsyá | kúsyá | kúsyá |
| 372 | grind coarsely | kúsiginá | kúhálálá | kúhálágá | kúhálátá |
| 212 | groove, furrow | ihisyó | ŋkóólóómbilwá | - | - |
| 801 | ground, cultivated | múgúúndá | múgúúndá, iláálé | énsáámbo | ipálá |
| 405 | grow up, get large, become great | kókkótá | kúkúlá | kúkúlá | kúkúlá |
| 913 | grow (of plants) | kómélá | kúmélá | kúmélá | kúmélá |
| 461 | grown (be fully) | kúkóméélá | kúkóméélá | kúkóméélá | kúkúlá |

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|-----|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------|---------------------------------|
| 373 | gruel, light porridge | ɲkóómbá | ɲkóómbá | ɛɲkóómbá | mpáná |
| 358 | grunt, grumble | kógúúná | kúkúúná | kúkúúmá | kúkíimá |
| 205 | guide aright | kúláanzhá | - | kúháná | kúlómbótá |
| 351 | guinea-fowl | ɲkáàngá | ɲkáàngá | ɛɲkáàngá | ikáàngá |
| 701 | gun | ɲgóóhó | ɲgóóhó | ɛɲgóóhó | múndúusi |
| 702 | hair | músásí | músási | isóké | nyélé |
| 977 | hair (long straight- of animals and Europeans) | músásí m(ú)léélé | músási m(ú)léélé | émбуúsi | βújáámhá, nyélé, βóósá, βúsiɲgá |
| 75 | hair (white, grey) | mví | mví | éènzwi | ɲkóté |
| 703 | hand (flat of) | ikóófi | ikóófi | ikóófi | kúβóko |
| 157 | hand, right | kúlyó | kúlyó | kúlyó | kwééné |
| 439 | hand (left) | kúmasó | kúmaánsó | kúmasó | lòónsó |
| 476 | handle, haft | múhíni | múhíni | múhíni | múhíni |
| 779 | hang in mid-air | kwíllíngá | kúsúɲgééná | kúléléémhá | kulélá |
| 655 | hard | ɲgúmé | igúmé | kúgúamá | ikáká |
| 377 | hardship, distress | mákóyé | mákóyé | ɛɲkúúlé | - |
| 294 | hare | nákámi | nákámi | nyákámi | súɲgúá ? |
| 781 | haste | βwáàngúβwáàngú | βwáàngúβwáàngú | βwáàngú | βwáàngú |
| 795 | hate, detest | kúgáyá | kúgáyá | kúgáyá | kúyájá |
| 700 | hay | mánaánsi mòómú | mánaánsi mòómú | βúnyáási | - |
| 678 | head, chief person | múkúló | múkúló | múkúló | múkúló |
| 356 | head | mútwe | mútwe | mútwe | mútwe/mitwe |
| 352 | head-pad | ɲkátá | ɲkátá | ɛɲgátá | ɲkátá |
| 561 | heap | kúliindiká (v) | itúúmbi, ilúúndó | ilúúndó | músiɲkú, isyáátá |
| 391 | heap up, ready/set on fire | kúhéémhá múliló | kúhéémhá múliló, kwáásyá | kúhéémhá | kúúúndiká |
| 623 | hear | kwíimvá | kwóómvwá | kúhúlitá | kúhúlitá |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSilóombó | SiSúumbwá SiYóombé | KiLóongó | KiBendé/KiToongwé |
|-----|--|--------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| 543 | heart | mwizó | mwizó | múgányá | mwééyó/myéyó |
| 944 | hearthstone for putting pots on | ihigá/máhigá | ihigá/máhigá | ihigá/máhigá | ifiyá/máfíyá |
| 893 | heavy, serious, dull | itiimbé | itiimbé | -itiimbá, itiimbé | inywáámú |
| 705 | heel (of foot) | nsiinsiiló | siisiinziló, lúgété | chisiinsiiló | kásiinsiilá/túsiinsiilá |
| 681 | heifer | ndógóosyá | - | ndógóosá | - |
| 418 | hem, make a border | kúhiná | kúhiná | kúgòondá | kúlaándá |
| 690 | hen, fowl, chicken | ɲkókó | ɲkókó | ɲkókó | ɲkókó/ɲkókó |
| 766 | here | áhànó, éyònó | áhó, éyó | áhá, úkú | ááhá, úkó |
| 863 | hiccup | kúsèéfúúlwá | kúsiifúúlwá | énsikinyá | ɲkwíɲkwí |
| 800 | hide (vt) | kúbisá | kúβisá | kúséléká | kúfisá |
| 38 | high, be (of meat) | kúvúundá | kúvúundá | kúzúundá | kúfúundá |
| 326 | highway | nztlá | ibátábálá ? | ikwéési, ikúúlwá | nsilá |
| 309 | hill | lúgúlu | lúgúlu | káβáangá | músósi/misósi |
| 925 | hip | múkíɲgíftí | - | - | - |
| 317 | hippopotamus | ɲgúgúmá | ɲgúgúmá | ɲgúgúmá | ntómóómbó |
| 396 | hit with a hammer | kúkómáangilá | kúkómáangilá | kútééla | kúsulá |
| 706 | hoe | mfúká | mfúká, igéèmbé | émfúká | mfúká |
| 990 | hold, arrest | kúkwáátá | kúkwáátá | kúkwáátá | kúntiyá |
| 575 | hole, nest | idóiló | idúilú | chááfi | siísá/fiísá |
| 836 | hollow out | kúkóómbá | kútéézá ? | kúkógótá | kúsáβá |
| 816 | home | kááyá | kááyá, wíttú | wéétú, múká | kúlúyó, kú mwéétú |
| 654 | honey | bwóosi | βwóosi | βwóóchi | búúsi |
| 150 | honour | kúhiisimá ? | - | kúkúzá | kúkóóɲká |
| 797 | hook (for pulling down branches in plucking fruit) | inánúúziló | inánúúziló | ndóβánó ? | - |
| 189 | hook (fish) | ndóbánó | ndóβánó | ndóβánó | ndóβáánó ? |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwà SiSióombò | SiSúumbwà SiYóombè | KiLóongó | KiBëndè/KiToóngwè |
|------|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| 707 | horn, ivory, tusk | ihéembè | ihéembè | ihéembè | ihéembè iyá nsófu |
| 288 | horse * | mfáláási ? | - | - | |
| 708 | house | núumbà | núumbà | éénzú | inyúumbà |
| 263 | how many? | ní zíingá | zíingá | ziingá | fiingáá |
| 572 | hump (of hunchback) | - | - | lútuúmbi | - |
| 573 | hump (of cow) | ibáàngó | ibáàngó | ibáàngó | |
| 756 | hundred | igánà | igánà | igánà | imya ? |
| 320 | hunger | nzálà, bùtámò | nzálà, bùtámò | énzálà | nsálà |
| 33 | hunt | kóhigá | kúhigá | kúhigá | kúhíyá |
| 34 | hunter (professional) | múhiizi | múhiizi | múhiigi | múhiiyi, fúundi hà nyamá |
| 35 | hunting | búhiizi | kúhigá, múhifó | búhiigi | kúhíyá |
| 227 | husband | múlúmé | múlúmé | ibá | ibá, ibané, iβálo |
| 808 | hut | núumbà | siβáándá | káβáánzá | nyúumbá, múyáandá |
| 709 | hyena | mfisi | mfisi | émpisi | itaná |
| 1016 | I | óné | óné | inyé | úuné |
| 1013 | idleness, sloth | búzóbé | búzòβé | βògósé | búfilá |
| 901 | ill (be); groan | kòtwaáálá | kúlwaáálá | kúlwaáálá | kúlwaáálá |
| 902 | illness, (crippling) | búlwéété | βúlwéété | βúwéété | βúlwéété |
| 275 | imitate | kwiibilá | kwiigéméékézyá | kútódlélá | kújjilingányá |
| 16 | in front of | bútoónzi | kúβótóónzi | βótóongí | kúumbéte |
| 353 | in the middle of | hákátí | hákátí | hágátí | hákátí |
| 118 | incite | kúgángódsyá | kúsámilitikizyá | kúsámilizá | kúsóónsyá |
| 206 | increase, make greater | kúkúzyá | kwóongézyá | kwóongézá | kúgúngilisyá |
| 155 | increase | kókitá | kúkilá | kúchiláaná | kúkúumbiká, kúkúlá |
| 426 | inheritance | isáálo | - | - | kúhyáaná, visáánsó |
| 542 | inside, in | múkátí, múnúumbi | múkátí | múgátí, múúnzú | múkátí |
| 353a | inside, middle | múkátí | hákátí | hágátí | hákátí |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá Sisióombó | SISúumbwá SIYóombé | Kil-óongó | KiBendé/KITóongwé |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 132 | intestines | bulá | bulá | bulá | málá |
| 389 | intoxicated (get) | kúkóhwá | kúkóhwá | kufámilá, kúkólwá | kúkólwá |
| 513 | iron ore | mabáalé sé syótómá | - | májjáalé | - |
| 264 | iron | syótómá | syótómá | chóomá | ijeláimajelá |
| 710 | island | iziringá | - | izingá | máandá (KIFíoa) |
| 2 | itch | kújáábá | - | kujááflá | kúbabá |
| 460 | jammed (become) | kúhátá | kúhágá | kúhágá | kúhágámá |
| 853 | jaw (bone) | miláambó | miláambó | éembá | - |
| 960 | jealousy | ibúubá | ibúubá | ibúubá | ibúubá |
| 271 | journey | lugeéndó | lugeéndó | lugeéndó | lweéndó/myeéndó |
| 606 | judge (vt) | kulámulá | kulámulá | kulámulá | kujáangulá |
| 810 | jump, leap | kugulúká | kugulúká | kugulúká | kugulúká |
| 477 | kidney | mfigó | mfigó | eénsigo | mfigó ? |
| 218 | kill | kwilá | kwilá | kwilá | kwiláayá |
| 677 | king | mwaámi | mwaámi | mwaámi | mwaámi |
| 787 | kite | maléelé | maléelé | maléelé | lisáansa |
| 347 | knead | kukáandíká | kukáandíká | imáandá | - |
| 348 | knee | sivi | sivi | kukáandá | ijúungó |
| 427 | kneel | kusiká sivi | kusiká sivi | chizwi/mázwi | kusúkámá, kusikámá |
| 607 | knife | mwaámbi | mwaámbi | kúteelá bízwi | kaámbi/hwáámbi |
| 402 | knife, thin, curved, broad-bladed | ngóbóngó | lwilthyó | musyó | nykolámi |
| 704 | knot | kibalíisyó | iguúndó | ifuúndó | iguúndó |
| 626 | know | kumánhá | kumánhá | kumánhá | kumánhá |
| 178 | lake | nyáanzá | nyáanzá | enyáanzá | isíflá |
| 151 | lame (be) | kúsúuntá | kúsúuntá | kuchúuntá | kúsúuntá |
| 511 | lamp | talá | talá | eenkáanzá | mweéngé, kámúni |
| 99 | land (dry) | nsi nyótómú | nsi nóómú | eénsi | insi |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSiioómbó | SiSúumbwá SiYóómbé | KiLóongó | KiBëndé/KiTóongwé |
|------|------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 761 | large, great, big * | ɲkóló | úkúlú | iháangó | ikóló |
| 94 | laugh | kúséká | kúséká | kúséká | kúséká |
| 792 | lay over on one side | kwäänikilá | kúsééndámiká | kúhéngéká | kwiinámisyá |
| 1000 | lazy | múzóbé | múzóbé | múgósé | mfilá |
| 699 | leaf, blade of grass | mátúútú | ítúútú | íḃáḃi/máḃáḃi | lyáányi/máányi |
| 1025 | leaf (tree) | mátúútú | ítúútú | íḃáḃi/máḃáḃi | lyáányi/máányi |
| 911 | leak, ooze out | kúvwá | kúvwá | kúzwá | kúsóóḃá |
| 96 | lean, bend down, slope | kwiinámá | kwiinámá | kúgòongómálá | kwiinámá |
| 536 | lean on, rely on | kwiizigizyá | kwiizigizyá | - | - |
| 796 | lean, become; grow thin | kwóóndá | kwóóndá | kwáánúká | kúyóóndá |
| 535 | leaning (be) | kwéégámfilá | kúsééndámá | kúsééndámá | - |
| 613 | learn | kwililáanzýá | kwililáanzýá | kúégésá | kwiiifúúndiisýá |
| 546 | leave, permission | lúhúsá ? | - | kúlágá | lúhúsá |
| 1011 | leave over | kúsáázyá | kúsáázyá | kúsáágyá | kúlékétá |
| 547 | leave, go away | kúzyá | kúzyá, kúḃúúká | kúgèéndá | kúbúúká |
| 544 | leave (off) | kutéká | kutéká | kúléká | kúléká |
| 975 | left over, (be); remain over | kwiikálá, kòsiigálá | kúsiigálá | kúsáágyá | kúsiijá |
| 310 | leg, foot | kúgúúlú/mágúúlú | kúgúúlú/mágúúlú | kúgúúlú/mágúúlú | kúyúúlú/máyúúlú |
| 774 | lend, borrow | kúkópá | kútilizýá | kútilizá | kútililá |
| 107 | leopard | ɲgwé | ɲgwé | énzúmúlá | iingwé |
| 878 | lick (vt) | kúlaámbá | kúlaámbá | kúlaámbá | kúlaámbá |
| 134 | lie down | kúgóná, kúláálá | kúgóná | kútyáámá | kúláálá |
| 250 | lie on one's back | kúsáàngálálá | kúsáàngálálá | kúgátámá | kúláálá kánságá |
| 791 | lift up, pick up | kúbúúsyá | kúḃúúsyá, kwiinúlá | kwimúchá | kúbúúsyá |
| 467 | light in weight | mpúúpé | ipòòpé | -púúpé | ilélé |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SISILOOMBÓ | Si-Súumbwá SIYÓOMBÉ | KILÓONGÓ | Kibéndé/KITÓONGWÉ |
|------|---|--------------------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| 304 | light, sky | ilúundé | ilúundé | igilú | iyúú |
| 805 | lightning | bumémé ? | bumémé ? | éengkuftá | ngjúá |
| 657 | lime, whitewash | chókáá ? | nyáankálá ? | chókáá ? | chókáá ? |
| 213 | lime, row | mústitáálí ? | mústitáálí ? | mústitáálí | mústitáálí ? |
| 659 | lime, fishing | msúúpi ? | igóé | múhuúzó/mihúzó | kajé, moyíla |
| 103 | lion | ntáálé | nsilmbá | ééngáanzá | insilmbá |
| 198 | lip | múómó | múómó | múnwá | múómó/milómó |
| 956 | listen | kuwóktíizyá | kuúgéjéleka | kuúhúkwizá | kuhúktíizyá |
| 972 | listless (be) | búúlé | - | kuúlémbúúká | kuúlépéá |
| 1024 | liver | ilímá | ilímá | itímá | itímá |
| 429 | livestock (keep) | kuúúúngá | kuúúúngá | kuúúúngá | kuúúyá |
| 819 | lobster | - | - | - | - |
| 819 | locust | nzigé | nzigé | éénzigé | - |
| 794 | locust | kuúbóléé | kuúbóléé | kuúbóléé | kuúbóléé, kúúúúá, kúúúúmbá |
| 155a | long (become) | búúléé | ilééle | ilééle | ilééé |
| 144 | long | kuúléá | kuúléá, kuúúúngá | kuúlééjía | kuúúúnyá, kuúúúngá |
| 131 | look after, care for | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá |
| 871 | look after, grazing cattle, help a sick man on the road | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá |
| 354 | look at, examine | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá |
| 354a | look around | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá |
| 200 | look for, hang around (to get something). | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá |
| 973 | loose (be); faint, weak | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá |
| 181 | lost, get | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá | kuúúúmbá |
| 1023 | louse | ndá | ndá/rdá | ééndá | índá |

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|------|--|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 769 | love, want | kúsiimá | kúsiimá | kúsiimá | kúnyómwá |
| 934 | lung | máhááhá | iháhá/máháhá | iháhá/máháhá | ipóómbó/mápóómbó |
| 713 | magic * | búlózi | búlózi | βólógi | βúlósi |
| 714 | maize | múhiindi | múhiindi | ipó | sisáká/fisáká |
| 521 | make offerings to the dead | kúláβúulúlá | kútaámbiká | kútaámbiiká | kúpééla |
| 226 | male | igóósyá | igóósyá, múgóósyá | iséézá/máséézá | ngóósi |
| 10 | mamba, green (kind of poisonous snake) | nyáilútútú | - | éérkóβókó | ñkóβógó |
| 793 | many | -iĩŋki | -iĩŋki | nyiiŋgi | -iĩŋgi |
| 1019 | many * | -iĩŋki | -iĩŋki | nyiiŋgi | -iĩŋgi |
| 897 | marriage | kúswééla, kútóóla | βúswéézi | βwééŋgá | bútóósi |
| 895 | marry (of man) | kúswééla | kúswééla | kúswééla | kútóóla |
| 896 | marry (give in marriage-of parents, priests) | kúswéézyá | kúswéézyá | kúsiigá ? | kútóósyá |
| 814 | master | mwaámi ? | - | - | mújááŋgó |
| 888 | match, harmonise (vi) | kwiiŋánzilá | kwiiŋáná, kwiiŋániilá | kwiiŋáná | kúliiŋáná |
| 935 | mature | kúkómééla | ikómééle | -kóméézié | ñkúú, inyhé |
| 596 | meat | námá | námá | éényámá | inyámá |
| 259 | medicine, remedy | búgááŋgá | βúgááŋgá | múβázi | búyááŋgá |
| 260 | medicine (art of medicine man) | búfúmú, kúlágúlá | βúfúmú | βúlagúzi | βúfúmú |
| 261 | medicine-man | múfúmú, múlagúzi | múfúmú | múfúmú | múfúmú/báfúmú |
| 90 | meet | kúsaániá | kúsaáŋgá | kúsaáŋgá, kúβúgáná | kúsaáŋgá |
| 861 | melt | kúyeyúká ? | - | kúhwéélelèla | - |
| 845 | midwife | - | - | múfúmú | - |
| 859 | migrate, move away | kúfúlúká | kúfúlúká | kúfúlúká | kótótóká |

| No | English | Si-Suùmbwà SiSilòòmbo | SiSùmbwà SiYòombè | KiLòòngó | KiBèndè/KiTòòngwè |
|------|--|--------------------------|----------------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| 1030 | milk (n) | màbèélé | máǎléélé | ámátè | máǎléélé |
| 20 | milk (curdled), curds | mùlibótò, mùlimbóótò | - | mbóǎótò | - |
| 19 | milk, (fresh) (n) | màbèélé, másúkà | màsúúngá | ámátè | máǎléélé |
| 903 | millet (bullrush) | búsìgá | ǎúsìgá ? | lúǎéélé | nsáká/másáká |
| 290 | millipede | igóòngólwá | igóòngólwá | igótóòngólýó | - |
| 73 | mix (ingredients, 'season food') | kúlúúngá | kúlúúngá | kútúláánizá | kúsáansyá |
| 72 | mix, put together | kúsáanzýá | - | kútúláánizá | kúsáansikányá, kúsáansyá |
| 363 | monkey (small lightish-coloured) | ǎkééndé | ǎkééndé | éèǎkééndé | ijáándá/májáándá |
| 362 | monkey (colobus- (with long black silk hair, white on shoulders) | ǎkééndé | - | - | - |
| 361 | monkey (small, dark-coloured) | ǎkééndé | ǎkééndé | éèǎkééndé | - |
| 716 | moon | kwéézi | kwéézi | kwéézi | mweénsí |
| 609 | moonlight | kwéézi | kwéézi | kwéézi | kúmwéénsí |
| 59 | mosquito | múǎú/miǎú | múǎú/miǎú | múǎú/miǎú | káláámbá/túláámbá |
| 436 | mother | yááyò/mááyò | yááyò/mááyò | mááhá | máájò/bámáájò, máámá |
| 65 | mould (pottery) | kúbúúmbá | kúbúúmbá | kúbúúmbá | kúbúúmbá mílòòndé |
| 717 | mountain | mùgálá | mùgálá, lùgúlú | ijáángá | músósi/misósi |
| 163 | mourning | ǎkú | ǎkú | lúfú | sílilò/fílilò |
| 1026 | mouth | múlómó | múlómó | múnwá | múlómó/miíómó |
| 272 | movement | káziiíó | lùgééndó | lùgééndó | kájiiíó |
| 979 | mud, mire | málóló | málóló | éntómé | ntópé/mátópé |
| 642 | mushroom | ǎwóòǎ | ǎwóòǎ | ǎwóòǎ | bóóbá |
| 152 | mutilated (be) | kuléamáálá | kuléamáálá | kuléamáálá | kuléamáálá |
| 281 | name | iziiná | iziiná | iziiná | isiiná |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSilóombó | SiSúumbwá SiYóombé | KiLóongó | KiBëndé/KiToóngwé |
|-----|------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| 539 | namely | óti | óti | βíírmwá | ókutééndá |
| 403 | nape (of neck) | βúkósi | - | éérnkómó | ikósi/mákósi |
| 256 | navel | ikóndó | ŋkúndwi | múkúndi | múnyónyó/minyónyó |
| 765 | near | híihí | híihí | híihí | hèehí |
| 379 | neck | ŋkiíngó | ŋkiíngó | bichá | ikósi/mákósi |
| 843 | need, request | shiidá ? | - | βwéénzi | - |
| 962 | new | nyhááhyá | nyhááhyá, íhyááhyá | ényhyáhyá | nyhyá |
| 718 | night | bwilé | wilé | chiló | búfúkú |
| 755 | nine | syééndá | syééndá | mwééndá | kééndá |
| 484 | nose | niindó | niindó | ényiindó | inyiindó |
| 211 | number | múlóongó | - | - | - |
| 237 | oar | - | - | éèngáhi | ŋkáhi |
| 939 | obstruct | kúkémá | kúkémá | - | kúplingá, kúplingámá |
| 48 | offspring | mwááná/βááná | mwááná/βááná | lúzáálo | búfyáási, mwááná |
| 66 | oil (from plants) | másáná | - | mázútá | bútó, máfútá |
| 435 | oil | máfútá | máfútá | mázútá | máfútá |
| 818 | old times, the past | ná kálé | kálé | hálé | kálé |
| 411 | old person | múnáámpálá, múkéékúlu | múnáámpálá, múkiikúlu | múnyáámpálá, múkéékúlu | múkéékúlu/bákéékúlu |
| 410 | old | ndááá | ilááá | -áá kálé | lyá kálé |
| 214 | one-eyed (being) | nsóóŋgó | nsóóŋgó | énsóóŋgó | chóóŋgó |
| 440 | one | imwi | imwi | imwé, kámwé | imwi |
| 590 | open mouth wide | kwáásámá | kwáásámá | kwásámá | kúgásámá |
| 984 | open | kwiigólá | kwiigúlá | kúchiingúlá | kwilyúlá |
| 829 | open (set ajar) a door | kwiigólá | - | kúchiingúlá, kúhégá | kwilyúlá, lyaáŋgó βwiyyúté |
| 876 | order, direct | kútúmá | kútúmá | kútúmá, kúlagiitá | kúlagisyá |
| 961 | ostrich | mbúuni, binyónyi byáá hèelá | nóómvwi | ényoónzó | - |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá Sifitóombó | Sisúumbwá Siyóombé | KILóorngó | KIBéndé/KITóorngwé |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 640 | our(s) pl. 1st person) | yíttó | yíttó | yéétú | iyéétú |
| 506 | out (go), go away | kúzyá, kúpúúná | kúfúmá, kúpúúná | kúúgághó | kujá, kúfúmá, kúbúúká |
| 324 | outside | heélú | heélú | heélú | kúúnsé |
| 217 | overcome; win, vanquish | kúúíndá | kúúíndá | kúúíngá | kuyóla |
| 995 | owed by, be | kúúááiwá ? | kúúóorngwá, kúúááiwá ? | - | kúúá né dééni |
| 835 | oyster | - | -- | - | - |
| 207 | pack (luggage) | kúúíngá hámwí | kúúíngá hámwí | kúúíngiká | kábáámhá |
| 208 | pack, press together | kúúílingá | kúúíndíllíá | kúúíndíllíá | kúúíllíká |
| 456 | pack, flock, group | idáálé | idáálé | bitúúta, idáálé, bitúúndó | múúléyá |
| 457 | pack, bale, bundle (n) | múúligó, káámúúligó | múúligó | - | múútuúmbá |
| 236 | paddle (n) * | - | - | ééngáhi | rkáhi |
| 342 | palate | múúkááńká | - | - | múúómó múúkáńi, hééguúú |
| 9 | palm (date) | ńténdé ? | - | - | múúééndé ? |
| 719 | palm-wine | ńóşéle | - | - | mááíwá |
| 257 | palm (of hand) | şigááńzyá | şigááńzá | chigááńzá | kúúfókó |
| 6 | palm (raphia) | - | - | - | - |
| 7 | palm (borassus) | múúháńá | - | múúháńá/míhámá | múúháńá/míhámá |
| 8 | palm (oil) | - | - | - | máńşéşó |
| 459 | palpitate, flutter, tremble | kúúúgúńá | kúúúgúńá | kúúúgúńá | mńwégo kúpáńáńá |
| 47 | parent, s/he who begets | múúńşí | múúńşí/ńáńşí | múúşéle | múúńyááşí |
| 720 | parrot | káşúkú | káşúkú | - | - |
| 232 | pass, surpass | kúhítá | kúhítá | kúhítíngúńá | kúhítá |
| 325 | path | ńzílá | ńzílá | múúháńdá | ńşílá |
| 159 | pay | kúhítá | kúhítá | kúhítá | kúhítá |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwa SiSihoombó | SiSúumbwa SiYóombé | KiLóongó | KiBëndé/KiToóngwé |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------------------|
| 600 | pay attention, take care | kwámvúlikizyá | kúlélá, kútúungá | kwitóondá | kúyángállá |
| 820 | peel, shell | kúpáálá, kúsóondóólá | kúsééná, kúsóondóólá | kútóondóólá | kúkóongá |
| 12 | peg | lúmaaámbo/máámbo | - | èembágó | - |
| 11 | pegs (tent) | lúmaaámbo/máámbo | lúmaaámbo/máámbo | lúmaaámbo | imáámbo/máámbo |
| 494 | penetrate | kúhitilizyá | kwiingilá | kúsyéépá | kwiingilá, kútúfúnkányá |
| 721 | penis | mbóló | lóbóló/mbóló | mbóló | ijbóló/mábóló |
| 884 | penknife, lancet | kákúumbi | mwaámbi | kásyó, káhyó | káambi/twáambi |
| 558 | person | múúntú | múúntú | múúntú | múúntú |
| 638 | pestle | mwiisi | mwiisi | mwiinsi | múúnsi/miinsi |
| 312 | pig | ngúlúpé | mpúnú | èempúnú | ngútúpé |
| 414 | pigeon, kind of | nkúúndyá | - | èéjnkúúndyá | nkúúndá |
| 579 | pile up, pile loads on head | kútwiiká, kútlíká | kwitwiiká | kúhlingiká | kútwiiká |
| 479 | pinch, make narrow | kúsiná | kúsiná | kúsúná | kúsiná |
| 357 | pipe (tobacco) | kánúungú | - | iséké | ikúúrjká/mikúúrjká, mútéembá |
| 552 | pit, hole | liiná | liiná | liiná | liiná/meená |
| 974 | place, put (vt) | kútúúlá | kútúúlá | kú táhó | kúbilíká |
| 722 | place (n) | háántú | háántú | háántú | háántú |
| 892 | place of the dead | kúzímú | - | kúzímú ? | kúsímú |
| 225 | plait | kúsúká | kúsúká | kúsúká | kúsúká |
| 932 | plant, sow | kúháámhá | kúháámhá | kúháámhá | kúbyáálá mbútó |
| 510 | platform | lôteéjéézyó | lwáanzá | lúfálázá | hégútú |
| 834 | please, satisfy (vt) | kútóósyá | kútóósyá | kúhichá | kúlyóóhyá |
| 93 | pleased (be) | kúsiilmá | kúsiilmá | kúnúúlwá | kúnýórmwá |
| 13 | plot of ground | lóbóógá | lóbóógá | lúfúgá, lúfáanzá | - |
| 647 | plunder (a town) | kúbádá ? | - | - | kútéká ? |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSilóombó | SiSúumbwá SiYóombé | KiLóongó | KiBëndé/KiTóongwé |
|------|--|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1014 | plunge into, cause to sink | kúdúumbúkizyá | kúdúumbúkizyá | kútóβétá | - |
| 114 | poke | kúkúungáaniá | kúkúungáaniá | kweéndégezá | kúsóonká |
| 737 | pole, thin | iβázi/máβázi | iβázi/máβázi | lúβázi | - |
| 111 | polish, clean by rubbing | kúsiigá | kúsiigá | kúhálagútá | - |
| 177 | pool, pond | iláambó | iláambó | iláambó | kásiβá |
| 923 | porcupine | lijógóté | inógóté | ényógóté | núungúli |
| 374 | porridge (stiff) | βúgáli | βúgáli | óβuló | βúyáli |
| 42 | pot (metal) | ikópó | ikópó | ikópó | ifúllá/máfúllá ? |
| 41 | pot, vessel | sisémè/visémè | sisémè/visémè | chisémè/visémè | ɣkónó |
| 39 | pot, mug | múkébé | múkébé | múkébé | - |
| 40 | pot, cooking (earthen) | núungú | núungú | ényúungú | ɣkónó |
| 749 | potato (sweet) | máziizi | iziizi/máziizi | énúumbú, lúnúumbú | siłóombó |
| 646 | potter's kiln | - | -- | - | - |
| 369 | pound (grain in a mortar to get off the husks) | kúséékúá | kúkúúzúúá | kúsekúá | kútwá |
| 441 | pour away | kúséésá | kúséésá | kúséésá | kúyóná |
| 641 | pour | kúfúká | kúkénená | kúlóongétá | kúyóná βúsééβúsé |
| 748 | pregnancy | ndá | ndá | ééndá | indá/ndá |
| 636 | pregnant, be | kútwááá ndá | kútúungá ndá | kúβá nééndá, kútéélwá ééndá | kúβá nè ndá, kúnywaamá |
| 599 | prepare | kútáyáálišyá ? | - | kúliingánizá | kúlyóohélésyá |
| 553 | press out (oil seed, sugar cane) | - | kúhámúúá | kúkáanzá | kúkámá |
| 986 | produce, put forth, display | kúpúuniá | kúfúmyá | kwiíháhó | kúfúmyá |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSiilóombó | SiSúumbwá SiYóombé | KiLóongó | KiBëndé/KiTóongwé |
|------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| 909 | prominent (be); put out | kúpúúná | - | kútúlúká | kúmányíká |
| 518 | pronounce | kútétá | kútétá, kúyóómbá | - | kutééndá |
| 340 | protect by charm (medicine) | kúgúúngúúlá | kúkágá | kúkágá | kúllisiimpá, kúsiimpá |
| 947 | protect by charms (target) | kúgúúngúúlá | kúkágá | kúkágá | kúllisiimpá, kúsiimpá |
| 475 | puff-adder | kipíli | íḽáámbáhíli | íḽáámbáhíli | impili/mpili |
| 244 | pull | kúkwéésá | kúkwéésá | kúkwéésá | kúbwiitá |
| 173 | pull up, come to a halt | kwíimilííá | kwíimilííá | kwéémététá | kwíimilííá |
| 172 | pull up, root up | kósiimbóótá | kúdúbúlá, kúsiimbúúlá ? | kúnyúkútá | kúmóólá |
| 833 | pull, drag | kúbwéégá | kúkwéésá | kúkwéésá | kúbwiitá |
| 57 | pump | íbóómbá | íḽóómbá | íḽóómbá | - |
| 548 | push | kúsúkúká ? | kúsiindiká ? | kúsiindiká | kutéeríká |
| 992 | put, place, set | kútúúlá | kútúúlá, kóḽííká | kúḽííká | kúḽííká |
| 887 | put together for comparison | kúliingánisyá | kúliingánisyá | kwíingánisyá | kúliingáányá |
| 969 | put a pot on the fire | kwáálikítá | kútéléká | kútéléká | kútéléká nkónó |
| 981 | put together, compose | kúliingá | - | kúliingá | kútúúngá |
| 862 | python | nsátó | nsátó | éénsátó | nsátó |
| 656 | quarrel (vi) | kúsóólá | kúsóólá | kwíizúmágúúlá | kúsóólá |
| 180 | quench, extinguish | kúzimá | kúzimá | kúzimá | kúsiipyá, kúhwá |
| 485 | quiet (be) | kúléémbéélá | kúléémbéélá | kutékáaná | kúhúumbúlá |
| 76 | rain | mvúlá | mvúlá | éénzúlá | (i)mfúlá |
| 917 | rain (vi) | kútólá (mvúlá) | kúgwá (mvúlá) | kúgwá nzúlá | kúgwá émfúlá, kútóónyá |
| 1006 | rains, the lesser | káswáálázi | - | - | mútúsyó ? |
| 197 | rainy season | syáándá | ítúumbá | ítúumbá | kúsóyó |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSiilóombó | SiSúumbwá SiYóombé | KiLóongó | KiBëndé/KiToórgwé |
|------|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 580 | rumble | kútútúmá | kwáaná, kúhííndá | kúziimbá | kújóβóólá |
| 26 | rat, kind of | ηkési | ηkési | éérηkési | nséénsi |
| 488 | rat (field) | ηkósó múdóló | - | éembéβá | ikósó/mákósó |
| 24 | rat | ηkósó | ηkósó | múdóló | ikósó/mákósó |
| 25 | rat- (very large, long-tailed) | ηkési | - | múdóló | túúnkó |
| 883 | razor | lúgéembé | lúgéembé | wéembé | káyéembé |
| 949 | read | kúsómá | kúsómá | kúsómá | kúsómá ? |
| 1007 | reap, harvest | kwiimbúlá, kúsótá | kwiimbólá, kúkésá | kúsúúndúlá, kúgésá, kútóná | kúsúúyúlá |
| 523 | receive | kúpókéélá | kwáánúkúlá | kwáánúkúlá | kúpókéélá |
| 537 | reed | lúbiingóbiingó | itété/mátété | idété/mádété | itété/mátété, iswé |
| 632 | refuse, say no | kúkémá | kúkémá | kwáángá | kútúná |
| 633 | reject, refuse, dislike | kúkémá, kúkááná | kúkémá | kwáángá | kútúná |
| 545 | remain, stay behind * | kwiikalá númá | kwiikalá | kwiikalá | kúsiíβá |
| 1035 | remain, stay | kúsáágá | kúsiilgálá | kwiikalá | kúsiíβá |
| 840 | remember | kwiizókííá | kwiíβókííá | kwiíúúkiíá | kwisúkííá |
| 499 | resemble * | kwiikólá | kwiikólá | kúsúúsáná | kúliingááná |
| 879 | resemble (very closely) | kwiikólá | kwiikólá | kúsúsá | kúliingááná |
| 1031 | resemble * | kwiikólá | kwiikólá | kúsúsá | kúliingááná |
| 149 | rest heavily on, be burdensome | kúβúná | kúlémeélá | kútiimbilwá | kúβáándá, kúβáándikíísyá |
| 964 | rest the cheek on the hand (in brooding mood) | kwiikwáátá kátámá | kúkwaátá itámá | kúhólólókélwá | kúnyigá itámá [kúnyig' étámá] |
| 957 | rest, take a holiday | kwiifúúlá | kwiifúúlá | kúhúmúlá | kútámúká |
| 249 | return, go back | kúsúβá | kúsúβá | kúsúβá | kúhéléélá |
| 1004 | return | kúsúβá | kúsúβá | kúsúβá | kúhéléélá |

| No | English | Si-Suumbwa SiSitoombó | Si-Suumbwa SiYoombé | KiLóongó | KiBendé/KiToongwé |
|------|--|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 500 | revive | kúzóokólá | kúhéembúusá | kúhiimbúulá | kúhéembúuká |
| 318 | rhinoceros | mpelá | - | éeykúlá | mpelá/impelá |
| 988 | rib | luǂáwú | luǂáwú/mbáwú | luǂáwú/éembázu | luǂáwú/mbafú |
| 473 | ripe | yá ǂuhyé | ihililé | -ihililé | -hililé |
| 996 | ripen (vi) * | kúhyá | kúhyá | kúhyá | kúhyá |
| 472 | ripen (vi) | kúhyá | mwiligá | kúhyá | kúhyá |
| 209 | river | mwiligá | kúhúumá | munoná | móongá/myóongá |
| 239 | roar, rumble | kúhúumá | kúkálá | kúkáláangá | kúllilá |
| 644 | roast | kúkaanzá | kúkálá | kúkáláangá | kútúumbá |
| 350 | roast (in/by fire) | kwóosá | kwóosá | kwóochá | kuyáániká |
| 806 | rock | mwéambá gwí ǂáalé | - | iláalé | lbwé/mábwé |
| 291 | rooster (cock) | nkúungutómé | nkúungutómé | éeykúungutómí | (ǂ)kajéenyé/(má)kajéenyé |
| 169 | root | múzi | múzi | múzi | musisi/misisi |
| 29 | rotten | kúǂolá | ǂǂi, ǂǂolé | -ǂǂi | ibolé, ibósilé |
| 1012 | round (be) | mbitlingé | kúvilingisá | kúzingililá | kúbúlungúká |
| 183 | round (go), turn round | kúǂilimá | kúǂilimá | kúzingililá | kúyúungutúká |
| 999 | round, become | kúvilingisá | kúvilingisá | kúzingilá | kúba ibóluungú |
| 110 | rub | kúkúusá | kúkúusá | kúkúusá | - |
| 50a | rubbish, garbage | matákalá | matákalá | ǂitákalá, mwága | buchafú ? |
| 321 | rubbish heap | izyáalá | izyáalá | iláǂá/matáǂá | izyáalá |
| 826 | run | kwilitóká | kwilitóká | kwilitóká | kúkúlima, kwilitóká |
| 522 | sacrifice | mutébulólo, sitáambó | - | - | mpeló < kúpeléá |
| 723 | salt | mwiinú | mwiinú | mwóonyó | múkélé |
| 95 | sand | muséengá | muséengá | muséengá | musifinsí/misifinsi |
| 630 | satiated (be), have enough to eat or drink | kwilikútá, kúhága | kwilikútá | kúháaga | kwilikúta |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSilóombó | SiSúumbwá SiYóombé | KiLóongó | KiBëndé/KiTóongwé |
|------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| 788 | satisfy | kútóósyá | kútóósyá | kúhichá | kwíikúsyá ? |
| 251 | say to, tell to | kúbwíflá | kúwíflá | kúgaámbilá | kúbállilá |
| 783 | scorpion | ngé | kámiiná | kámiiná | káaminá/túuminá |
| 453 | scrape | kúkwaálótlá | kúpálá | kúpálá | - |
| 855 | scrape, grate | kúkwaálotlá | kúkwaálotá | kúkwaálotá | kúpálá |
| 856 | scratch, grate * | kwíiyáágólá | kúsináágúlá | kúkwaálotá | kúpálá |
| 668 | scythe, sickle | lwíihyó | múhóóló | múhóóló | mpúpó <kúpúpá |
| 84 | search for | kúkóóβá | kúkóóβá | kúlóondá | kúhéénsá |
| 85 | search diligently | kúkúlá | kúkúlá | kúkúlá | kúhéénsá |
| 738 | seat, stool, chair | itéβé | itéβé | itéβé | sitéβé/fitéβé |
| 770 | see | kúβóná | kúβóná | kúlèèβá | kúlólá |
| 67 | seed | mbútó, mbègú | mbútó, βótúungá | mbíβó | mbútó |
| 404 | seize | kúkwaátá | kúkwaátá | kúkwaátá | kúnyiyá |
| 611 | self | -ènekíllí | -ènkíllí | yóónyéné | mweéné (-èné) |
| 302 | sell | kúgúzyá | kúgúzyá | kúgúzà | kúyúlá, kúgúsyá |
| 570 | send | kútúmá | kútúmá | kútúmá, kúlágizá | kútúmá |
| 451 | separate, set apart | kúlèkääníá | kúlèkäänisyá | kúlèkäänísá | kúbíká háájéháájé |
| 450 | separate, leave each other | kútáängáná, kúlèkääná | kútáängáná, kúlèkääná, kwílléká | kúlèkääná | kúlèkáná |
| 534 | set a trap | kútègá | kútègá | kútègá | kútéyá |
| 868 | set (of the sun) | kúlóká | kúlóká | kúlóká | kúsyáámá |
| 971 | settled (be); be in good order | kúlèèmbéèlá | kúlèèmbéèlá | kúséméíá | kúlyóóhá |
| 754 | seven | músáámvú | músáámvú | músáanzú | mpúungátlí, ndwí |
| 1033 | sew * | kúsóná | kúsúmá | kúsóná, kúsúmá | kúláándá |
| 589 | sew | kúsóná | kúsúmá | kúsóná, kúsúmá | kúláándá |
| 135 | sexual intercourse with (have) | kúswífká | kúgèrná | kúchúgáná | kútóómbá, kúswääná |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSiioombo | SiSúumbwá SiYóombé | KiLóongó | KiBëndé/KiToongwé |
|------|------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| 691 | shadow, shade | mútáká | mútáká | mwiinzlizi, múþéhó | bùléló, siinsimwi |
| 867 | shame, disgrace | nsóni | nsóni | éènsóni | nsónyi |
| 116 | shame | nsóni | nsóni | éènsóni | nsónyi |
| 724 | shame, modesty | nsóni | nsóni | éènsóni | nsónyi |
| 386 | sharp (be) | kúúgihá | kúúgihá | kúkáiá | kúkáiinhá |
| 920 | sharpen | kúnòólá | kúnòólá | kúhyóólá | kútyásyá |
| 915 | shave | kúsónzódíá | kúsúnzúúlá, kúmóógá | kúsósótá | kúbéyá |
| 603 | she, he | áwéné | áwé | wényéné | úyó, yóyóli |
| 287 | sheep | ntáámá | ntáámá | éntáámá | ñkóndólo ? |
| 1009 | shell, cowrie | nsiimbi | nóórgá | énsiimbi | mpási, maámabá |
| 822 | shell | - | nóórgá | énsiingó | ñkómbétélé |
| 725 | shield | ngáþó ? | - | - | - |
| 712 | shin (bone) | múlúundí | múlúundí | - | múlúndi |
| 968 | shiver, shudder * | kúzúgumá | kúzúgumá | kúzúgumá | kútétémá |
| 528 | shiver | kúzúgumá | kúzúgumá | kúzúgumá | kútétémá |
| 434 | short | níihí | níihí | -gúfú | ntófú |
| 430 | shoulder, tip of | íþégá | - | - | - |
| 588 | shoulder | íþégá | íþégá | íþégá/máþégá | íþéyá/máþéyá |
| 839 | shout | kúyógá | kúyógá | kútélá yóombó | kútáangíilá, kwiilá búlaangá |
| 946 | shrivelled (be); wrinkled | - | - | kwiisuná | - |
| 763 | sick | kúlwáálá | ilwééle | þúlwééle | lwééle |
| 870 | sift | kúyóórgá | kóyóórgá | kúyúúrgá | kúsáágúlá |
| 615 | sing | kwíimbá | kwíimbá | kúzíná | kwiimbá |
| 3 | singe | kúbábúlá | kúbábótá | kwóóchéélá | kúbábúlá, kúgósýá |
| 980 | sink, be drowned | kúnúbisá | kútúþíá | kútótá | kúsýáámá, kúnyáányá |
| 170 | sink | kúnwibílá | kútúþíá | kútúþíá | kúsýáámá |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SISilóombó | SiSúumbwá SIYóombé | KILóorigó | KIBéndé/KITóorigwé |
|------|--|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| 726 | sister (his)/ (her) brother | káliuumbú | iliuumbú | mnyúányá | iliuumbú |
| 627 | sit | kwiikáisiyá | kwiikáisiyá | kwiikáisiyá | kwiikáisiyá |
| 753 | six | múkaágá | múkaágá | múkaágá | múkaáya |
| 785 | size, measure | fiúkúú, fiúdáázi | - | fiwimó, cheémó | sipirimó ? |
| 123 | skin (of person) | ndili | ndili | ikópa | ikóba/makóba |
| 124 | skin/find (of fruit) | igulá | isúswá | isúswá/másiuswá | ipápa |
| 303 | sky | iliúndé | iliúndé | igulú | iyútu |
| 865 | slander, accuse falsely, often secretly | kúchóongélelá | - | kúfóhélelá | kúsoongélelá |
| 470 | slap | kúhuúú ikóofi | kúhuúú ikóofi | kutéelá ikóofi | kúhuúú é kóofi (kúhuúú) |
| 970 | slash | kutéemá | kutéemá | kutéemá | kúpa |
| 220 | slaughter | kúsiká | kúsiinza, kúfáaga | kúfáaga | kúsiinsá |
| 727 | slave, bond servant | múzyáaná | múzyáaná | múzáaná | m(ú)usyá |
| 728 | slave (female) | múzyáaná | múzyáaná | múzáaná | m(ú)usyá |
| 729 | slave, (male) | múzyáaná | múzyáaná | múzáaná | m(ú)usyá |
| 136 | sleep (vi) | kúgóná | kútiindilá | kúyamá | kúyóna, kúlaála túlo |
| 731 | sleep (n) | túlo | túlo | túlo | túlo |
| 730 | sleeping-place, accommodation | betaáló, há sigónó | betaáló | betaáló | betaáli, há kúlaála |
| 967 | slip, be slippery | kúnélelá | kúnélelá | kutélelá | kutélesyá ? |
| 1021 | small | ndó | ndó | iké | -nsé, -sé |
| 332 | smallpox | ndúbi | ndúfi | - | ndúfi ? |
| 241 | smell (sweet) (vi) | kúmuótá | kunúurkíla | kúmuótá, kumóoteelá | kunúurkíla |
| 242 | smell (bad, of fish) (n) | kúhugutá | minúurkó | kunúurká | kunúurká |
| 240 | smell (bad) (vi) | kunúurká | kunúurká | kunúurká | kunúurká |
| 629 | smoke (n) | iyóonsi | iyóonsi | múhtinjá | iyóonsi |

| No | English | Si-Suumbwá SISiloombó | SiéSuumbwá SIYoombé | Kilóongó | KIBéndé/KITóongwé |
|------|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 428 | smoke (give out) (vt) | kófuújítá | kúziúká | kúziúká | kufumyá iyóonsi |
| 387 | snail, slug | mufwéeló | mufwéeló | ényóongá | - |
| 837 | snail | mufwéeló | mufwéeló | ényóongá | - |
| 145 | snake, serpent | mufwéeló | nzóká | éénzóká | nsóká |
| 158 | snare, trap (n) | mufwéeló | mufwéeló | mufwéeló | - |
| 864 | sneeze | kwityáámwá | kwityáámwá | kúyáámuzá | kúlisilá |
| 924 | sniff, smell out | kuntúnsyá | kuntúnsyá | kuntúnycthá | kuntúnsyá |
| 296 | snore, snort | kúgóná, ihilisi (n) | kúgólómá, kuholótá | igónó (n) | kúgólómá |
| 69 | soil | juuborjókó | juuborjókó | itáká | kwirimbó |
| 732 | song | niimbó | kwirimbó | luziná/éenzíná | kwirimbó |
| 616 | songs * | niimbó | mizimbó | éénzíná | nyitimbó |
| 36 | soot | muvilá | muvilá | ivililá/mávililá | másiji |
| 195 | sorcerer | múlozi | múlozi | múlogi | múlozi |
| 201 | sore | ilóondá | ilóondá | ilóondá | silóondar/ilóondá |
| 734 | soul, spirit | mwhizó, mútimá | mwhizó | mugányá | mweéyó |
| 331 | sound, cry | kúllá | múzwí | iláká | - |
| 64 | space (open) | bwéblú, libúungá | libúungá | fwéelá | mbuyá |
| 82 | spark | nsásé/mísásé | nsásé/mísásé | éénsásé | nsésé |
| 253 | speak | kuyóombá | kuyóombá, kútétá | kugáámhá | kútéendá |
| 733 | spear (n) | isumu | isumu | ichumú | isímó |
| 137 | spend time | kwifúulá | - | kúóméelá | kwilisyá |
| 1038 | sperm, semen | juúáangá | juúáalá | juúnyáalá | - |
| 62 | spider | libúubi | libúubi | libúubi | - |
| 182 | spirit (of dead person) | musaámwá | muzimú ? | muzimú | iswá, iseyá |
| 464 | spirit (disembodied) | misaámwá | - | muzimú | iswá |
| 683 | spirit (evil) | - | - | mútuungé | iswá |
| 582 | spit | kútiungá | kútiungá | kúchwéelá máchwáánté | kútemá |

| No | English | SI-Súumbwá SISIŋóombó | SI-Súumbwá SIYóóombé | KILóongó | KIBendé/KITóongwé |
|------|---|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| 533 | spittle | máswáánté | máswáánté | máchwáánté | máté |
| 601 | spill, crack (vt) | kúfajabáá | kúfajabóó | kúfajabúú | kúpútá, kúpútúú |
| 951 | spoil, blind (vt) | kúhófúzyá | kúhófúzyá | kúhófúlá | kúpófusyá ? |
| 649 | spoil (a child) | kúdekézyá | kúlemáazyá | - | - |
| 998 | spoil | kúbihá | kúpiihyá | kúpiihyá | kúyónoná |
| 813 | spoon | mwiinjó | mwiinjó | mwiinjó | mwiikó |
| 5 | spot, speckle | ítláá | ítláá/máátláá | ítláá/máátláá | ítláá/máátláá |
| 959a | sprain an ankle | kúténgúkú | kúmyóóá | kúfajúú | kúfeyúká |
| 141 | spread out (be) | kúsáambáazyá | kúsáambáazyá | kúsáambáálá, kwáálá | kúsáambáálá |
| 527 | spread | kwáanzá | kwáanzá | kwáálá | kogániká, kúyáansá |
| 908 | spread abroad, be; become generally known | kúmáninjkaná | kúmáninjkaná | kúkúumúnyká | kúmányika |
| 582 | spread, smear on | kúsiligá | kúsiligá | kúsiligá | kúpáká ? |
| 591 | spread, scatter (vt) | kúsáambáálá | kúsáambáálá | kúsáambáálá | kúsáambáálá |
| 880 | spring (of water) | lúviió | - | éénsókó | sisimsá ? |
| 965 | spring, machine | máslíné ? | - | máslíné | - |
| 866 | spy out | kúpelelézyá ? | kúpelelézyá ? | kúfúúlitizá | kúúunsá |
| 849 | squat (on the haunches) | kúsúkumálá | kúsúkumálá | kúsúkumálá | kúsúunsámálá |
| 991 | squeeze oneself up against a wall (e.g. to allow another to pass) | kwiihishyá | kúhishyá | kwiihigá | kúhishyá |
| 914 | squeeze out | kúvigá | kúkámóóá, kúvigá | kúvigá | kúkámá |
| 343 | squeeze, milk | kúsyéemá | kúkámóóá, kúsyéemá | kúkámá | kúkámá |
| 102 | squirrel | - | kúsóozyá | kúsóozá | - |
| 562 | stack, pile up | kúkúúnditká | kúfúúlitizá | kúfúúlitizá | kúúhíká, kúpáángá |
| 1029 | stand (vt) | kwiihililá | kwiihililá | kwieemélelá | kwiihililá |

| No | English | Si-Suumbwá SISilbómbo | SISuumbwá SIYoombé | KILoongó | KIBendé/KIToongwé |
|-----|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 735 | star | nsóondá | nsóondá | énsóondé | kúáángwá/miángwá |
| 390 | stare, glare | kúyyóolá miínsó | kúyyóolá miínsó | kukóompóla | kúúumbúla méénsó |
| 202 | start off, send away | kwiíháló, kwiíhákó | kúfurnyá | kwiíháho | kúfurnyá |
| 799 | startle, catch | kúsiítúá | kúúáángíltzyá | kúúúumbúla | kúgúndúumúla |
| | unaware | kúsiítúá ? | kósiítúá ? | kúúinisá | kúsiísuká |
| 830 | stare, jerk | kwiíjá | kwiíjá | kwiíjá | kwiíjá |
| 618 | steal | syóumá | syóómá | chóómá | íjéla |
| 266 | steel | - | - | íjééle/máíjééle | íhetele/manetele |
| 554 | stem (of maize, millet, etc.) | kúúáámbóolá | kúúáámbúka, kúgúúuká | kugúúuká | kúúáájúla |
| 825 | step over | múgúómmbá | múgúúumbá | múgúúumbá | muyúumba |
| 315 | sterile man (or woman) | ńkóni | ńkóni | éńkóni | intúla |
| 541 | stick | kútojá | kúúágámá | kúpámilizákú | kúsiísá |
| 74 | stir, mix by stirring | kútojá | kútojá | kúwwoógá | kúsiísá |
| 850 | stir | - | - | - | - |
| 78 | stir up | íjéáalé | íjéáalé | íjéáalé/máíjéáalé | íjwé/mábwé |
| 61 | stone | kúúúndiká | kúúúúyá | kúúúúyá | kúúúúúúúúyá |
| 228 | store up, collect | kúgúúolá | kúgúúolá | kúgúúolá | kúgúúolá |
| 154 | straight (make) | múgúeni | múgúeni | múgúenyi | múnyenyi/psányenyi |
| 268 | stranger, guest | - | - | múgúelá | móóngá |
| 661 | stream, current | ngúzú | ngúzú | mááni | máanýá |
| 798 | strength, power | kwiigúolá | kwiigúolá | kwiigúolá | kwiigúolá |
| 140 | stretch oneself | kúúáámizyá | kúúáámizyá | kúúúumpá | kúúúúúá |
| 395 | strike, knock | kúúásá | kúúúómá | kúúúúmitá | kúúúúúá |
| 962 | strike with a spear | buzi | íjuzi | íjuzi | kúúúúúé |
| 282 | string (n) | - | - | - | - |

| No | English | Si-Sümbwá SISitöombö | SISümbwá SIYöombé | Kil-öörjö | Kibéndé/KITöörngwé |
|-----|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| 487 | strip off (e.g. grains of corn) | küküüzölá | küküüzölá, köhöbiölá | küküüzölá | küküörngá |
| 519 | strut proudly | kwiñjóná | kwiñjóná | kutáábá ? | kwiñhá |
| 407 | stumble | kwiüküümpá | kwiüküümpá | küküümpá | küküüñtúká |
| 997 | stunted (to); be spoilt | kúsisá | küdúumáálá | kukómá | kütóná |
| 948 | stutter | kúña ná kálini | kügügumitá ? | kütíhazá | - |
| 594 | suck (the breast) | kwoónká | kwoónká | kwoónká | küyöónká |
| 480 | suck (vt) | - | -kúmitimá | künyüüná | kumimá |
| 912 | suffer, bear patiently | kwiigümilizyá | - | kutindá ümugányá | - |
| 802 | sugar cane | igujá | igujá | igujá | igujá/máiyujá |
| 333 | sun, light | izyóofá | izyóobá | izóofá | izyóofá/másyóofá |
| 184 | surround | kupilimá | kupilimá | küzöngóoká | kusyüüngukúká |
| 438 | swallow | kümlá | kümlá | kümlá | kümlá |
| 777 | swear | kuláhlá | kuláhlá | kuláhlá | kuláhlá |
| 905 | sweat | mpitá | lobyitlo | émpitá | káfítá |
| 392 | sweep up, collect in a heap (rubbish) | mpitá | - | küzóolá | kühýááhítá, kütöörnkáányá |
| 943 | sweep | kühýááglá | kühýááglá | kühýááglá | kühýááhlá |
| 517 | sweet, pleasant | neéémé | iséémé | ñunuzi | -lyóóhté |
| 51 | swell | kúvirimá | kúvirimá | kuzilimbá | kufirimá |
| 608 | sword (short) | üpáangá | üpáangá | - | lyáámpé |
| 933 | sword | üpáangá | üpáangá | üpáangá | lupáangá |
| 360 | tail | mústlá | mústlá | múchilá | mústlá/mústlá |
| 875 | take leave of | kutáahýá | kutáahýá | kutáahýá | kutáahýá |
| 778 | take in (from rain, etc.) | kühisýá | kwiigémá | kwiigémá ééenzúla | kükilimá mfulá |
| 565 | take, carry | koñódsýá | kúsbólá | kúwáálá | kúwáálá |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSióómbó | SiSúumbwá SiYóómbé | KiLóongó | KiBëndé/KiToóngwé |
|------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 233 | take off (clothes), undress | kwáámbòlá | kwáámbòlá | kúzúulá myéendá | kúfúulá |
| 530 | tangle | - | - | kúβúlagizá | kújòbáányá |
| 898 | taste (v) | kòláβòzyá | kòláβòzyá, kúβòonzyá | kúβòonzá | kúbòonjá ?, kúfiingisyá |
| 985 | teach, instruct | kúlaánzyá | kúlaangá | kwéégésá | kúfúundisyá ?, kúlaánsyá, kúlaangisyá |
| 621 | tears | miisózi | miinsózi | máililá | ndililó |
| 412 | ten | ikúmi | ikòmi | ikúmi | ikúmi |
| 121 | termite | itèmi | itini | itèmi | múswá/miswá |
| 739 | testicle | ivyá | ivyá/mávyá | igósi/màgòsi | itùlù/mátùlù |
| 1020 | that | ébyó, éyó | tyó | éyó | -lyétéli |
| 455 | thatched roof | kánó | - | mpátátó | - |
| 767 | there | áhà, éyèné | áhályá, iyilyá | áhó, òkú | kókòli, úukó |
| 54 | they | áβé | áβé | βònyené | βééné |
| 444 | thick, fat | múginé | -iginé | liginilé | ihámú |
| 86 | thicket * | isálá/másalá | isálá/másalá | isáká/másáká | ihúumpú/máhúumpú |
| 854 | thicket | isálá, ipòólú | isálá, sisáká | isáká/másáká | ihúumpú/máhúumpú, isigó |
| 619 | thief | mwiivi | mwiivi | mwiivi | mwiifi/bééfi |
| 23 | thigh (of human) | siβétó | - | ijèlò/màβétó | itàámbá/màtáámbá |
| 22 | thigh (of animal) | sitàámbó | sitàámbó | chilúumbú/βilúumbú | itàámbá/màtáámbá |
| 559 | thing | siintú | siintú | chiintú | siintú/fiintú |
| 987 | think, imagine | kwiligániká | kwiligániká | kutéékúzá | kúlaangáányá |
| 651 | thirst | nóótá, nkèlò | nóótá | ilihó | nkáárgú |
| 740 | thorn | liigwá | liigwá | iihwá/máhwá | liimfwá/méémfwá |
| 689 | threaten | kútiisyá | kútiisyá, kwóóβáhyá | kútiinisá | kúyóβáhyá, kúkáyá |
| 532 | three | isátú | isátú | isátú | itátú |
| 115 | thrust into | kúsómá | kúsómá | kúchúmitá | kúsómá |
| 420 | tick (cattle or dog) | nkúhá | nkúhá | éèmbátáβiátá | - |

| No | English | Si-Súumbwá SiSilóombó | SiSúumbwá SiYóombé | KiLóongó | KiBëndè/KiTóongwé |
|------|--|--------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1034 | tie (fasten) (vt) | kúβóhá | kúβóhá, kúdálígá | kúβóhá | kúháámbá, kúháámbilíá |
| 258 | tie up | kúβóhá | kúβóhá | kúβóhá | kúháámbá né nkúsá |
| 978 | tingle with excitement | kwiyoóliá | - | kwiimúká | kújilimúká |
| 119 | tip, point | há wòǒgí | βúsòǒngóké | múhéló | kánsòǒngéleté |
| 741 | tobacco | itááβé | itááβé | itááβé | nsúurkó |
| 146 | today | βúlééló | βúlééló | lééló | bwáátéíó |
| 742 | toe | múnwé | inóónó | lúkúmú | kákúmó |
| 445 | tomato | nyáányá | nyáányá | ényáányá | inyáányá ? |
| 105 | tomcat (half-wild) | siimbúúú | simbòóúú | múgòómbá | - |
| 743 | tomorrow | igóló | igóló | ɲééɲá | isónéká |
| 166 | tongue | lúlimí | lòlɪmí | lúlimí/ééndimi | lúlimí/ndimi |
| 120 | tooth (canine), tooth filed to a point | liinó | - | - | liinó/méénó |
| 267 | tooth | liinó/miinó | liinó/miinó | liinó/méénó | liinó/méénó |
| 306 | top, peak | - | - | kású | kánsòǒngéleté |
| 293 | tortoise | fúúwé | fúúwé | sógógóté/ másógógóté | - |
| 277 | town | mújilí ? | - | iháá | lúgò/ngó |
| 378 | tramp of feet | sisilindó | músilindó | chisiindó/nsilindó | - |
| 270 | travel | kúzyá lúgèéndó | kúyòǒngá | kúyéétá | kújá lweéndó |
| 540 | tree | múti | múti | múti | siti/fiti |
| 538 | tremble, shake (vi) | kúzúgumá | kúzúgumá | kúzúgumá | kútétémá |
| 566 | trickle away | kúsétémá | kúsòtòtóká | kútoónyá | kúsóóβá |
| 401 | trunk (of elephant) | káβikó | káβikó | káβikó | kúβókó kwá nsófú |
| 604 | try | kúgémézyá | kúgémézyá | kúgémézá | kúllingisýá |
| 605 | tsetse-fly | nsááté | - | ééndólóβó ? | kájéémbé/tújéémbé |
| 938 | turn upside down, turn over | kúpiilúsyá | kúpiilúsyá, kúpiindòótá | kúpilulá | kúhliindulá |

| No | English | Si-Suumbwá SISiibombo | Si-Suumbwá SIYóombé | KiLoóngó | KiBende/KITóongwé |
|-----|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 174 | turn round | kupilimya | kupilimya | kupiluká | kusyungulusyá |
| 711 | tusk, elephant's (middle size) * | ihásá/máhásá | ihásá/máhásá | ihásá/máhásá | ihásá/máhásá |
| 452 | twin | tósumá | kupétegá | kupétegá | kusokóla |
| 185 | twist roll, spin with fingers | kupóla | kupótá | kupótá | kúkuká |
| 483 | twist, esp strands | íþili | íþili | íþili | íþili |
| 752 | two | sinená | siþéeté | énsóonzi | íþééle |
| 18 | udder | kufuundukúla | kufuundukúla | kúsúúúá | kufuundukúla |
| 945 | uncover, reveal | -liindi | matóótó | íþisi | íþisi |
| 551 | unripe, half grown | -þisi | -þisi | lógulu | kwigulu, heégulu |
| 994 | unripe, uncooked | higulyá | lógóþ | lógulu | kwigulu, heégulu |
| 311 | up, above | þwetimé | þwetimé | þwetimé | bwíma |
| 614 | upright | kuniá, kusuþáála | kuniá, kusuþáála | kuniá, kuniyáála, | kusuþáála |
| 446 | urinate/defecate | kúbyóhá | kúbyóhá | kúbyóhá | kúbyóhá |
| 745 | urine | máansú | máansú | éerj-káli | mású |
| 569 | use | kútómtíá | kútómtíá | kúkótéla | kútúmtíá ? |
| 307 | utmost, highest point | higulyá | - | kású | heégulu |
| 904 | vapour, gas | - | mwaáyó | - | - |
| 380 | veil | múgisa | múgísi | múgísi | músiþá ? |
| 276 | village | sváaló | sváaló | kújji ? | luyó |
| 692 | virgin (bride), girl | mwaáanké | mwaáanké | múhájáakazi | múhájá/þáhála, níhá |
| 327 | vision | kúþoná | kúþoná, múbotéle | - | kwíngá |
| 330 | voice, (thunder) | múzwi | múzwi | liáka | kúótá |
| 224 | vomit | kúþká | kúþká | kúðánáká | kúkuká |
| 524 | walk (take a) | kuyéela | kuyéela | kufuumbágíla | kuyáatá |

| No | English | Si-Suumbwá SiSióombó | SiSiúumbwá SiYóombe | Kilóongó | KiBénde/KITóongwé |
|------|---|--------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 269a | walk | kúzyá, kútiúumbágitá lókúta | kazyá, kútiúumbágitá | Kugéndá | Kujá |
| 847 | wall | kúkóójá | ŋkàandé | ééndúgú | lúmbátó |
| 983 | want, need, wish | pitá | kwééndá | kwééndá | kúhéénsá, kúliúukilá |
| 507 | war | ŋgiji | - | ichúrnú | fitá ?, másóolá |
| 790 | want-hog | kúhíhyá | ŋpitl | ééngili | ŋgiji |
| 860 | wash oneself (after evacuating) | kwikáápitá | kúsyéénéntá | kútyéégáná, kúhééhá | kúhíhá, kúsyééléká ? |
| 127 | wash (hands) | kútótá, kúkáanzá | kwikáápitá | kúnáápá | kunyááyá |
| 128 | wash (clothes) | kwóógá | kútótá | kúfúlá myééndá | kúkújítá myééndá |
| 129 | wash, take a bath | miinjí | kwóógá | kwóógá | kunyááyá |
| 322 | water | kúténgútá | miinjí | miinjí | máansí |
| 959 | wave, let off a trap, remove a spell | ifwé | kúténgútá | kúténgútá | kuténgútá |
| 1017 | we | múzópé | ifwé | ichwé | úúfwé |
| 1010 | weak | kúsúsyá | múzópé | - | múkímé |
| 881 | wean a child, give leave, send away | kwáambalá | kúsúsyá | - | kulésyá íbeelé |
| 234 | wear, dress | kusúká | kwáambalá | kúzwáálá | kútwáálá |
| 501 | weave, knit | βútiimbé | kusúká | kúsóná | kúsúká, kújósá |
| 1015 | weight, rhythm | hwínzí, izíjítá, sisimá | βútiimbé | βútiimbé | - |
| 210 | well | kútótá, kútálálá | izíjítá | izíjítá | sisimá |
| 56 | wet (get) | βiindé | kúlójítá | kúlójítá | kunyáányá |
| 919 | what? | yé tyááni | βiindé, ési | chihá | nisi |
| 469 | which? | lugúnzó | yé tyááni | litá | ní síntú sí |
| 192 | whistling | múziungú | logúnzó | lúchulizó | kágúmsú kuhúdiá |
| 175 | white man | yépé | múziungú | múziungú | músyungú |
| 610 | white | ééndé | lyépé | kwéélá | -áápé |
| 918 | who? | | ééndé | ohá | gányi |

| No | English | Si-Suumbwá SISILÓOMBÓ | Si-Suumbwá SIVOOMBÉ | KILOONGÓ | KIBÉNDÉ/KITÓONGWÉ |
|------|--------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 28 | wicked | -βi | -βi | múβi | -βi |
| 339 | wife | múktimá | múkázi, múké | múkázi | múkási |
| 187 | wind up (thread) | kúviga | kugóondá | kugóondá | kukuunjá |
| 746 | wind | muyágá | muyágá | muyágá | músáyá |
| 937 | winnow | kühéhá, kwéélúúliá | kwéélobá | kühéhéla | kúpeépetá |
| 112 | wipe | kusyaágúliá | kusyaágúliá | kusyaágúliá | kufutá ? |
| 88 | wire (brass) | wááyá ? | wááyá ? | ényéyéle | - |
| 194 | witchcraft | βulózi | βulózi, βósumi | βulózi | bulósi |
| 279a | withhold from | kwimá | kwimá | kwimá | kwimá |
| 279 | withhold from, abstain | kwiyiimá | kwiyiimá | kwiyiimá | kuléka, kwiliá siintú |
| 338 | woman | múktimá/βáktiimá | múktiimá/βáktiimá | múkázi/βákázi | múkéléamá |
| 747 | womb | lúsáatngó lwé mwaána, ndá | ndá | - | lindá |
| 812 | word | igáámbo/mágáámbo | igáámbo/mágáámbo | igáámbo/mágáámbo | iyáámbo |
| 772 | work as a mason | kwóombéka | kuzééngá | kwóombéka | kujijáka, kujééngá |
| 167 | work (n) | múlimó/milimó | múlimó/milimó | múlimó | múlimó/milimó, músiká |
| 81 | wrap up | kúhiná | kugóondá | kugóondá | kúháámhá |
| 344 | wring (clothes) | kúliná, kúkarmúliá | kúkámóóliá | kúkámóóliá | kúkámá |
| 773 | yawn | kwááyóliá | kwááyóliá | kwiyáyamúliá | kúgájutá |
| 593 | year | mwaáanjá | mwaáaka | mwaáaka | mwaáaka |
| 150 | yesterday | igóló | igóló | myéénychiló | isonéká |
| 75 | you (sing.) | opé | opé | lwé | úúgwé |
| 1018 | you (pl.) | imwé | imwé | imwé | úúmwé |
| 715 | young man | muyáandá | muyáandá, músóombá | músigázi | múlyáluyá |
| 637 | your(s) (pl. 2nd person) | yiniú | yiniú | yéenyú | -éenyú |
| 693 | youth | músúumbá/βásúumbá | músúumbá/βásúumbá | músigázi, múháakazi | múlyáluyá, múhála |

| No | English | Si-Súúmbwá SiSiilóombò | SiSúúmbwá SiYóombé | KiLòongò | KiBëndà/KiTóongwé |
|-----|---------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| 292 | zebra | ntúlégé | - | èèntúlégé | mbééyá ? |

Appendix 1. Zone F word-list: F22

| No | English | KiDákámá | KiNyányèembé | KiKónóongò | SiGalágaanzá |
|------|-------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 133 | abdomen, stomach, belly | ndá | ndá | ndá | ndá |
| 495 | abscess, boil | iβiimbá | ifilá | iputé | iviimbá |
| 786a | abundant/abound | -pá | -ókálá | pá | kókázyá |
| 786 | abundant | -pá | -ókálá | pá | kókázyá |
| 571 | abuse, insult | -dókáńá | -tókílá | -tókílá | kòtòkízyá |
| 252 | abuse, reproach | -iyójá | -tókílá | -tókílá | kòtòká |
| 809 | accustomed (get) | -mánílía | -lééndélétá | -lééndélétá | -lééndélétá |
| 274 | act (vt) | -ittá | -jéézyá | -jéézyá | -ittá |
| 229 | add up | -ònggèjá | -ònggèzyá | -ònggèzyá | -pómyá |
| 927 | adjacent (be); border (vi) | -βiimbíháná | βòbithí | -ihéiá, -βiimbírkáná | lòβòómbá (n) |
| 662 | adze, carpenter's | mbiizó | mbiizó | mbiizó | mbiizó |
| 254 | affair | múháyó | múháyó | múháyó/miháyó | igáámbó |
| 1002 | afraid (be) | -ògòhá | -ògòhá | -ògòhá | -ògòhá |
| 168 | agriculture | kòlímá | lílímá | lílímá | lílímá |
| 926 | all | -òósé | wòósé | -òsé | -òósé |
| 248 | alter, change | -píindótá | -gálòsyá | -gálótá | -pílotá |
| 595 | animal | ndimú | nyámá | ndimú | ndimú |
| 617 | answer a call | -idíká | -itáóká | -itáúká | kwítáájílá |
| 782 | answer, reply | -shòóshá | -sòβíízyá | -itáúká | -zúmyá |

| No | English | KtDakamá shililáambá | KiNyanyéembé sililáambá | KiKónóngó sililáambá | SIGalagáanzá sililáambá |
|------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 664 | ant (reddish-brown biling) | | | | |
| 122 | ant-hill | kigòbò | kigòbò | kigùtù | kigùtù |
| 663 | ant (small) | sòngwá | nyòdngò ? | nsòbòwá | - |
| 586 | antil | - | - | ilyáánitù | - |
| 989 | apply by stretching, spread over | -fàambá | -fàambá | -fàambá | -fàambá |
| 976 | appoint, set up | -imtiká | -imtiká | -imtiká | - |
| 55 | arm, hand | kikònrùkònrò | kojòkò | gbkònrò | kojòkò |
| 771 | armpit | lyáapá | - | rkwáapá | lyáapá |
| 203 | arrange, put in order | -fèegèlèjé | -pàingá | -fègèlèzýá | -pàingá |
| 204 | arrange, put right, repair | -fèejá | -fèegèlèzýá | -fègèlèzýá | - |
| 478 | arrive | -shiká | -fiká | -siká | -fiká |
| 665 | arrow | isòongá | isòongá | isòongá | mwáámbù |
| 666 | arrow (head of); spear head | isòongá | isòongá | nsòngé | - |
| 337 | ashes | ijù/máǰù | matùundé | máwù | ivù/máwù |
| 199 | ask for | -lòombá | -lòombá | -lòombá | -lòombá |
| 89 | assemble, collect (V) | -ibòndiká | -saringitá | -kùmingá | -chàingá |
| 789 | aunt (father's sister) | séengí | séengí | séengí | séengí |
| 148 | avoid, dodge | -éepá ? | -kwéepá ? | -ihéjá | -fìsýá |
| 688 | awe, fear of God | fòofá | -ògòhá | újáamù | -lòombá |
| 667 | axe | mbásá | mpásá | mpásá | mpásá |
| 364 | baboon, ape | ngòkò | ritòòmbití | ngaku, ipòómá | ngòkò |
| 634 | back of (at the) | -numá | kònyumá | numá | kònyumá |
| 297 | back | m(ù)gòongó | mùgòongó | m(ù)gòongó | mùgòongó |
| 287a | backbone | m(ù)gòongó gwa mùgàfí | mùgòongó | m(ù)gòongó gwa m(ù)gòongó | - |

| No | English | KiDakamá | KiNyanyèèmbè | KiKònoòngò | SiGàlàgàanzà |
|------|--|----------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 27 | bad | -βi | -βi | -βi | iβi |
| 37 | bad (become), rotten (v) | -βòtá | -βòlá | -wòlá | -βòlá |
| 87 | bait | cháámbó | cháámbó | cámbó | cháámbó |
| 398 | banana (plant) | idòókè | idòókè | m(ù)dòókè | m(ù)dòókè |
| 397 | banana (fruit) | idòókè | idòókè | idòókè | idòókè |
| 399 | banana (for cooking) | idòókè | - | idòókè | mádòókè |
| 1005 | baobab | ṛwáándó | - | mbúyú | mbúyú |
| 1022 | bark (of tree) | igólá | igólá | igólá | igólá |
| 313 | barren (of living being) | mùgòòmbà | mùgòòmbà | m(ù)gúumbà | mùgòòmbà |
| 314 | barren (of land) | lyáá bú | háà ywá | kìlángà | - |
| 376 | base of tree-trunk | itíná | itíná | itíná | itíná |
| 650 | bask (in the sun), warm oneself | -òótá | -òótélá | -òótélá | kwiyoóntá |
| 576 | basket of open wicker-work | isáanzó | isáanzó | ntúngá | itóóndó |
| 577 | basket (plaited) | kikápó | kikápó | ṛkápó | kikápó |
| 643 | bathe | -òógá | -òógá | -òógá | kwòógá |
| 498 | be fitting, behave | kisógá | -fááyá ? | -íkòòβòkánílé | -fááyá |
| 1 | be, become | -βi | -βá | -βá | kòβá |
| 955 | beach, coast, shore | ṛwááni | hwááni | ghwááni | mpwááni |
| 827 | bead(s) | βòsátó | wáámbó | wáámbó | wámbó |
| 416 | bean, kind of bean (from <i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i>) | shíili | kápálá | káfútó | kápálá |
| 417 | bean, small (from bean plant) | máhátágè | máhátágè ? | máhátágè | máhátágè |
| 844 | bean (runner) | - | kápálá | nsíili, kápálá | káfútó |
| 1037 | bear child | -fìyáálá | -βútá | βyáátá, ipékòlá | -βútá |

| No | English | KiDakamá | KiNyanyéembé | KiKónónógó | SiGaiáalanzá |
|-----|-----------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 147 | beard | ndezú | ndezú | ndezú | kálévú |
| 768 | beat | -tòlá | -gùrná | -gùrná | -gùrná |
| 759 | beautiful | polítít | -sogá | -sogá | nsogá |
| 162 | bed | polítít | òlittí | òlittí | kitándá |
| 161 | bedstead | polítít | òlittí | òlittí | lòtáantá |
| 653 | bee | nzókí | nzókí | nzókí | nzókí |
| 775 | beer | wááwá | wááwá | mááhwá, wááhwá, | íòsélé |
| 497 | befit, suit | -fèégéjá | -fèégéjá | -fèééhwá | -nózyá |
| 101 | below, underneath | háánsí | háánsí | m(ò)kùlúllí | háánsí |
| 186 | bend, twist (vi) | -igòòndá | -igòòndá | -igòrná | - |
| 468 | bend (vt) | -igòòndá | -pèetá | -gomá | kweéìtòtá? |
| 193 | bewitch | -lógá | -lógá | -lógá | -lógá |
| 930 | bifurcation, cross-roads | nzilá mááká | - | kámááká | mááká |
| 222 | bite | ndòtítá | - | ndùllíá | - |
| 262 | bind up, splice | -lágólá | - | -pítzyá, -lúngá | -tòngá |
| 658 | bird-lime | sheéngò | òlèmbò | wilèémbò | òlèémbò |
| 811 | bird | nóní | nyóní | nóní | nyónyí |
| 46 | birth (give), to a child | -fyaááí | -fjütá | -ipekütá, -fyaááí | -fjütá |
| 125 | bite | -lurná | -lurná | -lurná | -lurná |
| 221 | bitter | ndòtò/-tòtò | -tòtò | ndòtò | ndòtò |
| 223 | bladder | cháású | - | ítòndítzyò | - |
| 482 | blind person | m(ò)hòwú | mpòfú | mùhòfú | mpòfú |
| 669 | blood | m(ò)gazi | m(ò)gázi | m(ò)gázi | mugázi |
| 496 | blow on, blow up | -fuulá | -pùulá | -fuitzyá | -puugá |
| 238 | blow bellows | -gùfjá | -fikütá | -lùguta | -vukuta |
| 463 | blow away | -lúushá | -pèetá | -hèhèlzyá | -hèhá |
| 776 | boast, brag, praise oneself | -igáámbá | -fèézyá | -ikurnátòzyá | -ikurnyá |

| No | English | KiDakamá | KiNyanyémbé | KiKonoŋgó | SiGalaáanza |
|------|---------------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| 676 | boal | iyááto | - | máshiwá ? | wááto |
| 670 | body | múŋŋit | m(ú)ŋŋit | múŋŋit/miŋŋit | múŋŋit/miŋŋit |
| 581 | boil up | -dudumoká | -sifoká | -sifoká | -sifoká |
| 30 | boil (vt) | -séŋyá | -séŋyá | -séŋyá | -ŋzyá |
| 433 | bone | iguhá | iguhá | iguhá | ifupá |
| 564 | bore a hole | -dóliá | -dóliá | -dóliá | -dóliá |
| 1008 | bom (be) | -fyaáiwá | -fúwá | -fyaáiwá | -fúwá |
| 910 | borrow | -gopá | -gopá | -gopá | -kopá |
| 872 | bottle | nsopá | nsopá | nsopá | nsopá |
| 928 | boundary | loŋŋimbi | loŋŋimbi | loŋŋimbi | loŋŋombá |
| 671 | bow, bending | ŋetá | ŋetá | úta, kwihiná | ŋetá |
| 508 | bow | ŋetá | ŋetá | úta | ŋetá |
| 953 | bowstring | ibgýé | ibgýé | - | ibgýé |
| 58 | brain | ŋóŋŋó | wóŋŋó | wóŋŋó | ŋwóŋŋó |
| 509 | branch | itáambi | itáambi | itáambi | itáambi |
| 375 | bread | m(ú)kaáté | m(ú)kaáté | múgáaté | múkaáté |
| 831 | break wind * | -nyá | -niá ifuzi | -fwátolá | -niá ifuzi |
| 77 | break, snap | -ŋinzá | -putá | -felaá | -felaá, -vuná |
| 1036 | break wind | -nyá | -niá ifuzi | -fwátolá | -niá ifuzi |
| 17 | breast (of a woman) | maŋeélé, máduú | maŋeélé | maŋeélé | maŋeélé |
| 489 | breath, breathing | myááyo ? | myóbyé | myóbyé | muhémo |
| 490 | breath, rest | -eshéemá | -esyéemá | -esyéemá | -nšemá |
| 138 | bridge | iyáándi | idálájá ? | idálájá | idálájá |
| 139 | bridge (wooden) | iktŋngó | - | ifotiló | - |
| 885 | bring, fetch | -eehá | -leétá | -leétá | -leétá |
| 171 | bring to light | -fúundá ? | - | - | - |
| 882 | bring up (a child) | -léembá, kóŋá | -léliá | -léliá | -léliá |
| 660 | brook, stream | kámóŋngó | móŋngó | kámóŋngó | móŋngó |

| No | English | KiDákamá | KiNyányèembé | KiKónòòngò | SiGálàgàanzà |
|-----|--|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 942 | broom | m(ù)téyú | m(ù)téywe | m(ù)téyé(njè), cééyò | - |
| 113 | broth | m(ù)sòzì | m(ù)sòzì | m(ù)sòzì | múfwá |
| 381 | brother-in-law, sister-in-law | shémééjì ? | m(ù)kwéelá | m(ù)kwelá | múkweétá |
| 341 | brother (older) | m(ù)kótò | múkòtò | m(ù)kótò | itòòmbó |
| 673 | brother, relative, fellow-tribesman | m(ù)dógó | múdògó | m(ù)dógó | múdògó |
| 874 | bruise badly, take the skin off | -ikúlumbòtá ? | -tyòòβòlá | -kúβòlá | - |
| 71 | buffalo | mbógó | mbógó | mbógó | mbógó |
| 807 | build | -zèéngá | -zyééngá | -zyéngá | -zèéngá |
| 674 | bull | iyàgáambá | nzàgámbá | nzàgámbá | - |
| 80 | bunch (of hair) | m(ù)sinzì, máywíflù | músinzì | m(ù)sinzì, málúndó | - |
| 890 | burden, load | m(ù)lígó | múligó | m(ù)lígó | múligó |
| 645 | bum (vt & vi) | -βáká | -βáká | -βáká | -βáká |
| 231 | burnt (become) | -pyá | -βáká | -zìgá | -zìgá |
| 179 | bury | -jítíká | -zyítíká | -zyítíká | -zítíká |
| 555 | bush | ipóólú | ipóólú | ipóólú | ipóólú |
| 21 | buttermilk | cháápá | mbóβòtò | mbóβòtò | - |
| 514 | buttocks | idákó/mádákó | idákó/mádákó | idákó/mádákó | itákó/mátákó |
| 301 | buy | -gòlá | -gòlá | -gùlá | -gòlá |
| 873 | calabash | nsòhá | kikòòndó/ vikòòndó | kikòndó, ikòndó | sikòòndó/vikòòndó |
| 857 | calf of the leg | nsálútá | - | lòsálútá | nsálótá |
| 877 | calf | kádámá | ndámá | ndámá | ndámá |
| 31 | call | itáná | -itáná | -itáná | -itáná |
| 675 | canoe (dug-out) | lyáátó | ngáláβá ? | ngáláβá | ipáángó |
| 602 | canoe | lyáátó | lyáátó | lyátó | wáátó |

| No | English | KiDakámá | KiNyányeëmbé | KiKónóóngó | SiGáláaanzá |
|------|--|---------------------|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 993 | carry a child on the back (in a blanket) | -hèèká | -pèèká | -pèpá | -pèèká |
| 567 | carry/lift on to head (take up) a heavy load | idwífiká | -itwífiká | -ilitwífiká | -itwiliká |
| 97 | carry astride on the hip | -hèèká | -pèèká | -tigiká | -ìpòósýá |
| 560 | carry, take | -sólá | -sólá | -sòómbá | -sólá |
| 578 | carry, convey | -sòómbá | -sòómbá | -sòómbá | -sòómbá |
| 104 | cat | nyááþú | nyááú | nyááþú | nyááþú |
| 286 | cattle | mitúgó | mitúgó | -þisáwá | mitúgó |
| 486 | cease, finish | -shilá | -málá | -málá | -málá |
| 526 | centipede | nyénzéléélé | - | itántáþi ? | nzúmaáit |
| 247 | change, turn round | -kéþléiá | -gálòkà | -gálòkà | -pìlòkà |
| 334 | charcoal | mákálá | m(ù)kálá | ikálá/mákálá | múkálá/mikálá |
| 963 | charm (esp. to ensure wife's fidelity) (n) | lòkómòólá | - | lòkàgó | - |
| 32 | chase (away) | -pèèjà | -pèèzyá | -pèèzyá | -liindá |
| 515 | cheek | itámá | itámá | itámá | itámá |
| 92 | cheerful (become) | -tógwá | -cháángámúká ? | -záámá | -sáárgáþátá |
| 106 | cheetah | imóóndó | - | þálatáþátá | - |
| 585 | chest | kíkúþá | kíkúþá | kíkúþá | sífúþá |
| 672 | chest (of animals and birds) | kinifíni | kidáit | kíkúþá, kidáli | - |
| 431 | chief, headman | m(ù)témi, m(ù)hanyá | mútémi | m(ù)témi | múhanyá, múkòtò |
| 431a | chief | m(ù)témi | mútémi | m(ù)témi, mwánaárgwá | mútémi |
| 679 | child, infant | ηwááná | mwááná | mwááná, kákèké | mwááná |
| 597 | child, offspring | ηwááná | mwááná | mwááná | mwááná, lòþiútó |
| 886 | chin | kítèzú | kítèzú | kítèzú | kátévú |
| 83 | choose | cháágòlá | -sáágòlá | -sáágòlá | -sáágòlá |

| No | English | KiDákámá | KiNyànyéèmbé | KiKónóòngó | SiGálàgàánzá |
|------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 109 | civet cat | itùúngó ? | - | -tùúngó | - |
| 255 | clan | lòdògò | βòkòó ? | igóóngó | βòkòó |
| 841 | climb, ascend | -fèehèlèà | -pàlàmità | -liinà | -kòtáandá |
| 550 | clod, lump | ilóóngó | ilóóngó | iwóómbá | ilóóngó |
| 851 | close (the eyes, mouth, etc.) | -fúumbá ? | -lùgàlè | -kùndikilè | -tiindilè, -múmyá |
| 299 | cloth | kitàámbáálá | kitàmbalá | kitàámbalá | sitàmbáálá |
| 235 | clothe | -zwífiká | -zwífiká | -zwífiká | -vwífiká |
| 300 | clothes, material | ñwèndá | mwèndá | mwèèndá, myèèndá | mwèndá |
| 305 | cloud | ilúúndé | ilúúndé | ilúúndé | ilúúndé |
| 817 | coagulate | -gáándá | -gáándá ? | -gáándá | -gáándá |
| 941 | cobra (spitting) | swífilá | nswífilá | nswífilá | nswífilá |
| 906 | cohabit | -itóómbá | -iyáánzá | -likálá ná múháli wákwé | - |
| 465 | cold | mbèhó | mbèhó | mbèhó | mbèhó |
| 624 | come | -iizá | -iizá | -lizá | -lizá |
| 505 | come on suddenly, take in the act | -diimá, -sàngántjá | -diimýá | -sàngántkizyá | -dilimá |
| 230 | construct, put together | -βééjé | -βéégélézyá | -βéézyá | -βéézyá |
| 471 | cook | -zùgá | -tèéká | -tèéká | -tèéká |
| 557 | cook in water or fat | -pógòmyá | -séβyá | -pógòmyá | -pótòmyá |
| 43 | cooking pan, small | kisèmé | itúúfilá | nyúúngó | nsdómpó |
| 385 | cool (become); get well | -pólá | -pólá | -pólá | -pólá |
| 265 | copper, brass | sháβá | shábá ? | - | sháβá |
| 283 | copy a pattern | lòndélèjé | -lòndélézyá | -lòndélézyá | -lòndéézyá |
| 894 | cork, stopper | kikúndífkjó | - | m(ú)fundífkizyó | kiβizyó |
| 52 | corpse, carcass | m(ú)zógá ? | - | m(ú)lámbo | m(ú)lámbo |
| 1001 | corpse (human) | máiti ? | múyági | m(ú)lámbo, múβímbá | múlámbo, múβiimbá |
| 383 | cough (vi) | -kólólá | -kòsótá | -kólólá | -kótótá |

| No | English | KIDAKAMÁ | KINYANYÉMBÉ | KIKONÓNGÓ | SICÁGÁANZÁ |
|------|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 4 | count | lájá | -lájá | -lájá | -lájá |
| 100 | country (our) | nsí | nsí | nsí | nsí yitó |
| 14 | courtyard | lójójá | úwánjá ? | lójójá | lójójá |
| 852 | cover (up) | -kúndikijá | -kúndikijá | -kúndikizyá | -lúndikijá |
| 285 | cow | njómbe | njómbe | njómbe | njómbe |
| 1003 | coward | mwóójá | mwóójá | mwóójá | mwóójá |
| 335 | crab | - | - | kányalbéégé | - |
| 520 | craw, creep | -lhwéégá | -lámبالá | -áagulá | -áagulá |
| 612 | cricket | Kinyénzéléléé | m(ú)zénzéní | m(ú)zínzíní | - |
| 153 | cripple | siunhí | mulémá | mulémá | mulémá |
| 803 | crocodile | imáámhá ? | nyáíná | nyáíná | - |
| 319 | cross (a river) | -lítá | -lítá | -lámábóká | -lámábóká |
| 846 | crow (n) | nyóngótó | ikóóngótó | ikúngúúú | nyhwáhwá |
| 308 | crown of the head | - | - | mpáandá | mpáandá |
| 79 | crumple | -kóónjá | - | - | -wúungá |
| 370 | crush by pounding, pulverize | póondápóondá | -pótúá | -límá, -lázángá, -létá, -túnángá | - |
| 393 | crust | nzigítwá | nykókótó | makókótó | ókkwáángótó |
| 160 | cry, wail | -litiá | -litiá | -litiá | -litiá |
| 966 | cucumber, small | múórógú | - | kátángá | kátángá/mátángá |
| 736 | cudgel | iláángá | m(ú)kómá | bóhíhí, igóóngó | igóóngó |
| 165 | cultivate | -límá | -límá | -límá | -límá |
| 950 | cure, cool, heal | -pójá | -pójá | -pójá | -pójá |
| 355 | cut | -líná | -pítá | -pótá | -lémá |
| 98 | cut, lop | -lémá | - | - | -kénzá |
| 117 | cut to shape, sharpen | -pótúnzá | -pótúnzá | -pótúnzá | -pótúnzá |
| 365 | dance (of men, to show courage) | -ishíinyá | - | - | - |
| | | | -ikumaálóosyá | | |

| No | English | KIDAKAMÁ | KINyányéembé | KIKónbóngó | SIGáliabanzá |
|------|--------------------------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 53 | dance | -fíná | -sáapá | -sáapá | -sáapá |
| 622 | dark, black | yaapi | -pí, -hájósú | -pi, wíájósú | -áapí, iájósú |
| 481 | darkness | gíiti | gíiti | gíiti | izimá |
| 824 | dawn (vi) | -éelá | -syá | -ángáóká | mákingilimá |
| 359 | dawn, daybreak | mákingilimá | -weelá | mákingilimá | mákingilimá |
| 744 | day after tomorrow | mázdóli | mázdóli | mázdóli, iqótó yaákwe | mázdóli |
| 130 | day | lósíikó | lósíikó | lósíikú, nsíikú | nsíikófósíikó |
| 682 | day-time | iíimi hágáiti | háápé | iyóójá | mulyóójá |
| 869 | day (all) | iíimi dwi | lósíikó izimá | iyóójá zéhéle | lósíikó izimá |
| 751 | day before yesterday | mázdóli | mázdóli | mázdóli | mázdóli |
| 423 | dead person | wá jóté | m(ú)ýági | mújiiimbá, m(ú)laambó | m(ú)fu |
| 424 | death | lótú | lótú | lótú | lótú |
| 931 | decorate | -féséjéjé | -páámhá 7 | -féséjézyá | -ngéjézyá |
| 446a | defecate | -nyá | -niá | -niá | -niá |
| 631 | denial | múlemó, -lemá | kókaaná | kókaaná, ikáaná | kókaaná |
| 821 | deny | -lemá | -káaná | -káaná | -káaná |
| 648 | destroy, spoil | -jiiipyá | -jiiipyá | -jiiipyá | -jiiipyá |
| 437 | dew | lómé | lómé | lósáangú | lómé |
| 219 | die (cause to); put to death * | -fúliájá | -wóláágá | -wóláágá | -fóláágá, -fwíisyá |
| 1027 | die * | -fá | -fwá | -fwá | -fwá |
| 425 | die | -fá | -fwá | -fwá | -fwá |
| 504 | dig up, dig out | -fukóbóla | -fukóbóla | -fukóbóla | -fukóbóla |
| 503 | dig | -sífimbá | -sífimbá | -sífimbá | -sífimbá |
| 466 | diminish, grow less | -póhngólá | -dóohá | -dóohá | -póhngóká |
| 635 | dip | -kójá | -kózyá | -dóvyá | -kózyá |
| 49 | dirt | máko, focháifú 7 | úcháifú 7 | úcháifá | máikáála, mákwé, máfíla |
| 680 | district, province, country | igóhngáblí | nsí | igóhngúli | igóhngáblí |

| No | English | KiDakámá | KiNyanyémbé | KiKonoóngó | Sigatáagáanzá |
|------|--------------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| 245 | divide | -galpóla | -gawóla | -gawóla | -galpóla |
| 512 | divorce | kobókáaná | -sogá | -lékáaná | -lékáaná |
| 367 | do, complete, finish | -malá | -malá | -malá | -malá |
| 366 | do | -ítá | -fleezyá | -fleezyá | -ítá |
| 60 | dog | iwá, mbwá | mbwá | mbwá, mbwégésé, m(ú)kwórytyi | mbwá |
| 292a | donkey | nzójé | puúndá ? | ndógojé | - |
| 695 | door | ilúgáiló | m(ú)láarngó | ilimbá | m(ú)zígó |
| 415 | dove (red-eyed) | mhuúndá | nkuúndá | nkuúndá | nkuúndyá |
| 188 | doze | -tiindítá | -tiindítá | -tiindítá | -tiindítá |
| 529 | draw water (from well) | -dahá | -dahá | -dahá | -dahá |
| 215 | dream (vt, vi) | -lótá | -lótá | -lótá | -lótéá |
| 328 | dream (n) | ndóbtí | ndóbtí | ndóbtí | ndóbtí |
| 448 | drink | -nywá | -nywá | -nywá | nywá |
| 196 | dizzle | mámátó | mátóonyé | mátóonyé | - |
| 780 | drop, throw down | -tuungóla | -suungóla | -icá | -páá |
| 284 | drum | nómá | nómá | nómá | ngómá |
| 598 | dry (vi), set out to dry | -aanfiklá | -aanfiklá | -aanfiklá | -aanfiklá |
| 346 | dry | -áábó | chá ywá | -kazu | -gómé, halámé |
| 954 | dry up, ebb | -óbómá | -káá | -póongóla | -óbómá |
| 345 | dry up, become dry | -óbómá | -káá | -káá | -óbómá |
| 289 | duck | mbáátá | mbáátá | mbáátá | mbáátá |
| 243 | dust, cloud of dust | lojpuúpu | lojpuúpu | lojpuúpu | lojpuúpu |
| 628 | dwell | -liikáá | -liikáá | -liikáá | -liikáá |
| 452 | eagerness, zeal | támá ? nphólo | - | wáarngwáarngó | máarngómáarngó, mítósó |
| 491 | eagle, bird of prey | lojtalá ? | - | poóngó | ndéési |
| 563 | ear | itwi | itwi | itwi/máitwi | itwi, máitwi |
| 70 | earth, land | sf | nsf | wulóngó | nsf |

| No | English | KiDakama núungó | KiNyanyélembé nyúungó | KiKónóorngó kisémé/vísémé, nscúmpó | SIGalagáanzá núungó |
|------|---|--------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 44 | earthenware vessel for serving up food | | | | |
| 156 | eat | -lyá | -lyá | -lyá | -lyá |
| 900 | effort, exertion | ngúzú | | ngúzú | nágá |
| 273 | egg | igi/máǵí | igi/máǵí | igi/máǵí | igi |
| 443 | eight | munaáné | munaáné | munaáné | m(ú)naáné |
| 705a | elbow | nyáanzwí | | kákóóóliá, tukó | kákóóóliá, tukó |
| 329 | elephant | mibóit | | mhávi, nzóǵú | nzóǵú |
| 336 | embers | ikáá/makáá | ikáá/makáá | ikáá/makáá | ikáá/makáá |
| 842 | embrace | -kumbáǵiá | -kumbáǵiá | -fumbáǵiá | -kúmpbáǵiá |
| 394 | end (come to an), cease | -máá, -óyá | | -máá | -péá |
| 952 | escape, recover | -piá | -piá | -piá | -pòǵǵá |
| 899 | examine, measure, test | -pimá, -óá | -pimá | -pimá | -pimá |
| 45 | excrement, dung | mááfi | máávi | máávi | máávi |
| 958 | exorcise, drive out a devil | -iseéngá | | -kínditá | -sána |
| 784 | explain | -iyeléǵá ? | -éleléǵá ? | -yóombá, wífiá | -wífiá |
| 620 | eye | lísó | linsó/mínsó | linsó/máansó | linsó/mínsó |
| 828 | eyebrow | ngóhé | ngóhé | kúunzi | - |
| 838 | eyelash | ngóhé | ngóhé | ngóhé | ngóhé |
| 587 | face downwards | -fundaáá | - | -fundaáá | -fundaáá |
| 686 | face | ǵóshó | óyó | óyó | ǵóshó |
| 940 | fade, disappear | -zinzitá | - | -léká kwigéá visóǵá | -fufá |
| 891 | faint, lose consciousness | fá káǵumbá ká nǵi | | -fúá myóǵyé | -zimfiá |
| 298 | fall | -gwá | -gwá | -gwá | -gwá |
| 549 | fall short | -lépéá | -línditwá | -dóóhá | -pòǵǵóliá |

| No | English | KIDAKAMÁ | KINYANYEEMBE | KIKONORŊO | SIGAIJALANZÁ |
|------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 462 | fan, wave | -puingitlā | -puingitlā | -puingā | -puingā |
| 764 | far | kōlē | kōlē | -kōlē | kōlātī, kōlē |
| 921 | fat (be) (of animals) | -nōnā | -nōnā | -gīnā | -gīnā |
| 922 | fat (of animals) | -nōnū | -nōnū | -gīnā, -nōnū | -nōnē |
| 531a | father | βāājā | βāājā | βāājā | daada, βāājā |
| 382 | father-in-law, | βāājā/maāyō | βāābā/maāyō | m(ū)kwingwā | βāājā/maāyō m(ū)kwē |
| | mother-in-law | | | | |
| 531 | father (my) | βāājā | βāājā | βāājā | daada, βāājā |
| 687 | fear | βōōjā | wōōjā | wōōjā | βōōjā |
| 652 | feathers, fur | māyoyā | wōōyā | māyoyā | βōōyā |
| 848 | fence, enclosure | lōōjā | lōōjā | - | lōōjā |
| 858 | ferment, turn sour | -galāsā | -galāsā | -galāsā | -galāsā |
| 762 | few (a), not much | ndō | -dō | -dō | ndō |
| 757 | fierce, sharp | ndāki | -dāki | -dāki | -kālī |
| 421 | fig-tree | - | - | - | - |
| 422 | fig-mulberry tree | m(ū)kōyō | m(ū)kōyō | m(ū)kōyō | m(ū)kōyō |
| 216 | fight | -itōlā | -ligurmā | -ligurmā | -ligurmā |
| 804 | fill | -ōōkājā | -ōōkazyā | -ōkazyā | ōōkazyā |
| 176 | fill a hole, stop up | -chijā | -kijā | -kijā | -zijitā |
| 583 | filter, strain | -kēmékā | -kāmā | -kēmēmā | -switā |
| 50 | fillth | mākō | - | - | - |
| 516 | final, decisive | -mālā | - | ūtākālā, mālakālā | māfita, mākwē |
| 760 | fine, excellent | -sogā | -sogā | -mālā mpēlō | mpēlō |
| 447 | finger | iyāālā | iyāālā | nsogā | nsogā |
| 323 | finger nail | lōnōngā | nzālā | nyāālā/maālā | kaalā/maālā |
| 474 | fire | mōōlō | mōōlō | nōngā | lōzālā/nzālā |
| 280 | fireplace, hearth, | liikō | liikō | mōōlō | mulilimbōlō |
| | kitchen | | | liikō | liikō, sipēembō |

| No | English | KIDAKAMA | KINYANYEEMBE | KIKONONGO | SIGALALANZA |
|------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| 97Da | firewood (collect, cut) | -lɛmá | -púla | -lɛlɛla nkwi | -lɛandɔla nkwi |
| 413 | firewood | lókwi | lókwi/nkwi | nkwi | nkwi |
| 191 | fish up, pull out | -zúla | -lɛpɔla | -zɛmbɔla | -zɛpɔla |
| 126 | fish (old Swahili nsw) | ndilɔ | sámaki ? | nsómba, nswl | nsamáki, nsómbá |
| 190 | fish (v), trap fish | -zúla | -zúla | -lɛgá, -zúla | -lɔla |
| 400 | fist | ngumɛ ? | ngumɛ ? | nkúanzɛ | lingó |
| 525 | five | sáano, líáano | líáano | líáano | líáano |
| 493 | flap wings wildly, flutter | -puugila ? | - | -púángá | -papánila |
| 832 | flutulence | -lɛmbéelwá | -lɛmbéelwá | -lɛmbéelwá | -vɛmbéelwá |
| 384 | flavoured (be properly flavoured) | -lɛjɛngɛlɛlɛ | -kólɛlɛ | -pɛlɛla, -sɛema | -kolɛlɛ |
| 907 | flower | iwá/máuwá ? | máuwá ? | lɛlɛlɛ/máulɛlɛ | lúwá/máuwá |
| 278 | fly (house) | ígíngi | nsáásɛ | ng(ɔ)sáazi, nsáazi | nsaazi |
| 1028 | fly (v) | -lálá | -lɔkka | -lálá | -pɔlɔká |
| 1032 | foam * | máfuló | ifuló | máfuló | ifuló |
| 502 | foam | máfuló | ifuló | máfuló | ifuló |
| 143 | follow (in order) | -lɔngɛlɛla | -lɔnda | -lɔndéelá, -lɔnda, -kɔnjómá | -lɔndézyá |
| 142 | follow | -lɔndéelá | -lɔnda | -lɔnda | -lɔndézyá |
| 823 | food supply for a journey | másáangú | mpámbá | másangú | mpámámbá |
| 566 | forest | ipóólú | ipóólú | ipóólú | ipóólú, isókóólá |
| 584 | forge | -pónda | -kúla | -sulá | - |
| 889 | forget | -lɛlɛla | -lɛlɛla | lɛlɛla | -lɛlɛlɛlɛ |
| 458 | fork, bifurcation | mááká, mtsáanhi | máákámá | máágwá | mpaaanti |
| 442 | four | lɛ | lɛ | lɛ | lɛ |

| No | English | KIDákámá | KINyanyéembé | KIKómbóngó | SIGalááanzá |
|-----|---------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| 295 | frog | chòólá | chòólá | cslá | chòóla |
| 574 | fruit | kisumò | - | kisufò | - |
| 349 | fry | -káláàngá | -káláàngá | -kálíngá | -káláàngá |
| 936 | fully developed, be | -kòlì | -kòlì | -kóméelá | -kóméelá |
| 625 | full (become) | -òókálá | -òókálá | -òókálá | -òókálá |
| 316 | garden | busitááni ? | busitááni ? | isaáyí | busitááni ? |
| 419 | gather (flowers, fruit) | -sòógólá, -yòlá | -yòlá | -yòlá | -yòlá |
| 91 | gathered (be), assembled (be) | -ikúmlíngá | -sáàngyá | -ikúmlíngá | -ikúmlíngá |
| 368 | gazelle (Grant's) | nshá ? | - | mpóónzò | nshá |
| 454 | gazelle, small (impala) | mòbngé | - | mpálápalá | - |
| 108 | genet (kind of speckled civet cat) | líúúngó | líúúngó | líúúngó | líúúngó |
| 408 | get, obtain | -páándíká | -pálá ? | -páándíká | -páándíká |
| 684 | ghost, sudden apparition | mizimú | - | mizyóká | mizyóká |
| 568 | giraffe | nhwígá | nhwígá | nhwígá | nhwígá |
| 246 | give away (present) | -fúnyá | -fúnyá | -isééngá, -fupá | -fúnyá |
| 449 | give | -línhá | -pá | -pá | -pá, -péelézýá |
| 916 | give light to | -wílmá | -mòlúká ? | -mòlúká, -keengéésýá | -mòléká |
| 815 | glide, trickie | -itítíká | -sòólíá | -tonyékéelá | -vwa |
| 289 | go | -já | -yá | -yá | -yá |
| 639 | go in, come in, enter | -língríá | -língríá | -língríá | -língríá |
| 63 | goat | mbójí | mbózí ? | mbójí | mbózí |
| 694 | goat, (he-) | itóláàngé ? | - | ngulááti | ngulááti |
| 695 | god | skééyá | mukúúngú | mukúúngú | - |
| 758 | good | -sògá | -sògá | nsògá | nsògá |

| No | English | KiDákámá | KiNyányeëmbé | KiKónóóngó | SIGaláaánzá |
|-----|---|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------|
| 388 | goshawk (East African) (<i>Astur tachiro</i>) | lòpálá | - | lùpálá | - |
| 68 | grain (of cereal) | lòpìyó, lòpèké | lòpèké | mpésé | lòpésé |
| 696 | grandfather | gòòkò | gòòkò | gùukù | gùukù |
| 697 | grandmother | máámá | máámá | máámá | máámá |
| 432 | grasp, hold in arm | -kúumbátíá | -kúmbátíá | -díimá | -vúumbátá |
| 698 | grass, reeds | iswá/máswá | máswá | máswá | mááwáási |
| 406 | grate | -kwáálá | -kwáàngóá | -kwáánúá | -kwáàngóá |
| 409 | great, powerful, big | ihányá | -hányá | ngkóló, -kóló | -kóló, -hányá |
| 164 | grief, sorrow | - | mísaáyó | kònywáagátá | - |
| 371 | grind (grain with a millstone) | -shá | -syá | -syá | -siá/-syá |
| 372 | grind coarsely | -hátálá | -pálázyá | -pálálá | -pálálá |
| 212 | groove, furrow | mútálá | - | ngkúulú | - |
| 801 | ground, cultivated | mùgòòndá | mùgòòndá | m(ù)gúúndá | mùgòòndá |
| 405 | grow up, get large, become great | -kólá | -kólá | -kólá | -kólá |
| 913 | grow (of plants) | -mélá | -mélá | -mélá | -mélá |
| 461 | grown (be fully) | -kólá | -kólá | -kómèèlá | -kólá |
| 373 | gruel, light porridge | hóómbá | múntá | ngkóómbá | ngkóómbá |
| 358 | grunt, grumble | -kúmyá | -síimá | -kíimá | -kúmyá |
| 205 | guide aright | -háná | -héembéká | -lòòndóólá | -lònggòózyá |
| 351 | guinea-fowl | ngháángá | ikáángá | ngkáángá | ngkáángá |
| 701 | gun | ngóóhó | ngóóhó | m(ù)ndóózi, ngóòhó | ngóóhó |
| 702 | hair | lònyéélí | lònyéélí/nyéélí | lònyéélí/nyéélí | lònyéélí |
| 977 | hair (long straight- of animals and Europeans) | nzwííí ? | òsiingá | úsiingá | lòsiingá |
| 75 | hair (white, grey) | mví | mví | mvwí, mbwí | lòvwí/mvwí |

| No | English | KiDakámá | KiNyanyéembé | KiKonoörngö | SiGálagaänza |
|-----|---------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 703 | hand (flat of) | ipí | ikóófi ? | kigänzá | ikóófi |
| 157 | hand, right | kòitíiá | kómúlyíiá | m(ú)litiá, m(ú)lyíiá | kòiliiá |
| 439 | hand (left) | kòmósó | kómúmósó | m(ú)mósó | kòmósó |
| 476 | handle, haft | múpíni | m(ú)píni | mpíni | mpíni |
| 779 | hang in mid-air | -enééná | -enééná | -ningééiá, -ningintíiá | -éénééná |
| 655 | hard | iláámbú | ndáámbú | ilámbú | ilámé |
| 377 | hardship, distress | mákóyé | mákóyé | lòdúkó | mákóyé |
| 294 | hare | βòrjáándó | kásógóyá ? | òrjáándó, m(ú)násáyáyi | - |
| 781 | haste | máàngò | wààngò | wáàngò | máàngò |
| 795 | hate, detest | -chítwá | -gáyá | -kítwá | -gáyá |
| 700 | hay | máswá | - | máswá màkázú | mááwáási màlámé |
| 678 | head, chief person | múhánýá | múhánýá | m(ú)kòlò, m(ú)hánýá | múhánýá, m(ú)kòlò |
| 356 | head | mútwé | mútwé | m(ú)twé | mútwé |
| 352 | head-pad | ngátá | nzíngá | ngátá | ngátá |
| 561 | heap | ilòòndó | ilòòndó | ilòndó | itúmbí |
| 391 | heap up, ready/set on fire | -báchá | -péembá | -pémbá mòtòtò | -péémbá |
| 623 | hear | -ligwá | -ligwá | -dégéleká | -ligwá |
| 543 | heart | mòbòyò ?, hòlò | mòbòyò ? | m(ú)timá | mòbòyò |
| 944 | hearthstone for putting pots on | máfigá, màtúúgè | máfigá | ifigá/máfigá | ifigá/máfigá |
| 893 | heavy, serious, dull | itiimbú | -tyiimbú | -timbú | itiimbé |
| 705 | heel (of foot) | ipáándijó ? | - | káíínzifá | - |
| 681 | heifer | módgá | ndógòósa | ndógòósa | - |
| 418 | hem, make a border | -pííndá | -kòónjá | -ptíndá | -kòónzá |
| 690 | hen, fowl, chicken | ngókó | ngókó | ngókó | ngókó |
| 766 | here | hèénaáhá | hánó | áhá, úkó | áhá, ókó |
| 863 | hiccup | kisékúsékú | - | kíisákwí | káansékú |

| No | English | KiDakama | KiNyanyeembe | KiKombongo | SigaBagaanza |
|-----|--|-------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 800 | hide (vt) | -jisa | -jisa | -jisa | -jisa |
| 38 | high, be (of meat) | -jola | -guindá | -guindá | -fóla |
| 326 | highway | ibalabála ? | nzila | nzila rhianya | - |
| 309 | hill | logólo | - | kátlogólo | logóló |
| 925 | hip | - | m(ú)kimbili | nyónga | - |
| 317 | hippopotamus | itómómó | kibókó ? | itómómó | itómómómó |
| 396 | hit with a hammer | -pónda | - | -lola | -guma |
| 706 | hoe | igéembé | igéembé | igémbé | igéembé |
| 990 | hold, arrest | -dima | -dima | -dima | -dima |
| 575 | hole, nest | lablolo | lablolo | lablolo | ilina, idlilólo |
| 836 | hollow out | -dóla ? | -kómbá | -kómbelela, | -kwáangóla |
| 816 | home | kokaaya | kówiswé | kó wiswé | kówifif |
| 654 | honey | jóokí | wóokí | wóokí | jóosí |
| 150 | honour | -kója | - | -kózyá | -kózyá |
| 797 | hook (for pulling down mbuguúá ? branches in plucking fruit) | - | - | ndólogo | - |
| 189 | hook (fish) | ndójánó | ndówanó | ndójáná | ndójánó |
| 707 | horn, ivory, tusk | ipéembé | ipéembé | ipémbé | ipémbé |
| 288 | horse * | - | - | twángá | fálátsi ? |
| 708 | house | núumbá | nyóumbá | núumbá | nyuumbá |
| 263 | how many? | ziingá | -lingá | ziingá | ziingá |
| 572 | hump (of hunchback) | igóndé ? | - | logókú | - |
| 573 | hump (of cow) | logókú | - | logókú | - |
| 756 | hundred | igáná | igáná | igáná | igáná |
| 320 | hunger | nzala | nzala | igáná | nzala |
| 33 | hunt | -higá | -fóndá | -fóndá | -higá |

| No | English | Kidákamà | KfNyányéembé | KfKónbóngó | SióIagáanzá |
|------|------------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 34 | hunter (professional) | múhtigi | mújééndi | mújééndi, m(ó)htigi | múhtigi |
| 35 | hunting | ihígílo | ójíféendi | ójíféendi | íhótigi |
| 227 | husband | múgòoshà | m(ó)gòoshi | m(ó)gòosi | múlumé |
| 808 | hut | núurumbá | nyúurumbá | kánúumbá, kátúuntú | íjándá |
| 709 | hyena | mbili | mbili | mbili | mfiisi |
| 1016 | l | néénó | ééné | nééné | ééné |
| 1013 | idleness, sloth | íjòzòjù | úvílá | óvílá | íjòzòjé |
| 901 | ill (be); groan | -sààlá | -íwàálá | -íwàálá | -íwàálá |
| 902 | illness, (crippling) | íjòsàtú | ókwilé | ókwilé | íjòwílé |
| 275 | imitate | -lèmbékéjá | -lòndèlè | -lòndèlè | ígíftzya |
| 16 | in front of | mbèlé | há káft | kòombèlé | kòombèlé |
| 353 | in the middle of | hàgáft | há káft | hàgáft | hàkáft |
| 118 | incite | -chóngànishá ? | -sòngélelá | - | -sòngélelá |
| 206 | increase, make greater | -òngpéjá | òngpéyá | òngpéyá | -òngpéyá |
| 155 | increase | -kwíllá | - | -íftíllá | -zillisiyá ? |
| 426 | inheritance | isàlò | - | másàlò | - |
| 542 | inside, in | múgáft | - | múgáft | múkáft, múnyúumbá |
| 353a | inside, middle | hàgáft | múgáft | hàgáft | hàkáft |
| 132 | intestines | íjòlá | wòlá | wòlá | -íjòlá |
| 399 | intoxicated (get) | -kòkwá | -kòkwá | -kòkwá | -kòkwá |
| 513 | iron ore | máwé gá chòómá | - | máwé gá còómá | máwé |
| 264 | iron | chòómá | chòómá | còómá | syòómá |
| 710 | island | - | - | kisiwá | - |
| 2 | itch | -íjájá | -íjájá | -íjájá | -íjájá |
| 460 | jammed (become) | -hàgá | - | -fyenyényékéla | -hàgámíla |
| 853 | jaw (bone) | íhàngáyó | - | izakúúá / màzákúúá | - |
| 960 | jealousy | - | íjòjòlá | íjòjòlá | íjòjòlá |

| No | English | KiDakamá | KiNyanyéembé | KiKontobóngó | SiGaláalanzá |
|------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 271 | journey | logééndó | logééndó | logééndó | logééndó |
| 606 | judge (vt) | - | - | -lámulá | -lámulá |
| 810 | jump, leap | -idiúumóká | -ibóká | -lóká | -dómuká |
| 477 | kidney | mfigó | mfigó | mfigó | mfigó |
| 218 | kill | -jóláglá | -wóláglá | -wóláglá | jóláglá |
| 677 | king | múlémi | - | m(ú)lémi | múlémi |
| 787 | kite | lojálá ? | lojálá | lojálá, nyálandá | - |
| 347 | knead | -kaándá, -jililirgá | -kaándá | -kaándá | - |
| 348 | knee | izwi | iyóngó | iyóngó | - |
| 427 | kneel | -sukaámbá | -sukaámbá | -sukaámbá | -toláámbá |
| 607 | knife | loshó | kisyó | lósyo, ngbó(í)jiti | kééle |
| 402 | knife, thin, curved, broad-bladed | loshó | - | lósyo lwa wigóondé | lhwéézyó |
| 704 | knot | iguúndó | iguúndó | ilúndó | ifuúndó |
| 626 | know | -mányá | -mányá | -mányá | -mányá |
| 178 | lake | nyáanzá | - | nyáanzá | nyáanzá |
| 151 | lame (be) | -sóbómtilá | - | -suúntá | -suúntá |
| 511 | lamp | chééngé | kólojóló ? | tálá | lómólé, lálá |
| 99 | land (dry) | nsf yáá bú | há náá, há bú | ngbóká | nsf ngbóméndámé |
| 761 | large, great, big * | -hányá | -hányá | -hányá | -kólo |
| 94 | laugh | -séká | -séká | -séká | -séká |
| 792 | lay over on one side | -lálájlá | - | -líniká | -línámtká |
| 1000 | lazy | -zojju | óvilá | -zojju | izojje |
| 699 | leaf, blade of grass | iswá | máswá | idbitó | ilimítá, bwáási |
| 1025 | leaf (tree) | idbitó | idbitó | idbitó | ilimítá |
| 911 | leak, ooze out | twiiná | -zwá | -sólóliá | -vwá |
| 96 | lean, bend down, slope | -linámá | -linámá | -linámá | -kóonykómá |
| 536 | lean on, rely on | -isányá | -légéméiá ? | -lilingjífiá | -légéméiá ? |

| No | English | KiDakamá -gáandá | KiNyanyéembe -gáandá | KiKómóorjgó -gáandá | SIGatagáanzá -kóondá, -gáandá |
|------|---------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 796 | lean, become; grow thin | | | | |
| 535 | leaning (be) | -iinámá ? | - | -ébiámá | -ségamtiá |
| 613 | learn | -ililáangá | - | -iámábeka | -ifumdisyá |
| 546 | leave, permission | -zúntújía | - | -léombá | lòhúsá |
| 1011 | leave over | -sáájá | -siligázyá | -siligázyá | -lékélá |
| 547 | leave, go away | -ifingá | -wòóká | -wòóká | -fòóká |
| 544 | leave (of) | -léká | -léká | -léká | -léká |
| 975 | left over, (be); remain over | -shigááká | -siigáátiá | -siligáá | -siligázyá |
| 310 | leg, foot | kógótó | m(ú)gótó | múgótó, migótó | kógótó/máagótó |
| 774 | lend, borrow | -áázimá, láandá | - | -lándá | -áázimá ? |
| 107 | leopard | nsóǝǝ | nsóǝǝ | nsóǝǝ | nsóǝǝ |
| 878 | lick (vt) | -láámhá | -láámhá | -láámhá | -láámhá |
| 134 | lie down | -láálá | -láálá | -láálá | -láálá |
| 250 | lie on one's back | -sagaaláálá | - | -láálá kánságá | -láálá kánságá |
| 791 | lift up, pick up | -inobá | -wòósyá | -iréllá | -nyeryyóolá ? |
| 467 | light in weight | mbòóhú | mbòóhú | mbòóhú | ibòobhé |
| 304 | light, sky | ilúundé | ilúundé | ilúundé | ilúundé |
| 805 | lightning | lòtápáyá | - | ókòǝǝ | lòkòǝǝ/nyòǝǝ |
| 657 | lime, whitewash | nswáakálá | nswáakálá | nswáakálá | nswáakálá |
| 213 | line, row | fooláangpé | - | múhtilil | músilááli ? |
| 659 | line, fishing | - | - | lógpýé | - |
| 103 | lion | nshimbá | nsimbá | nyweelé | nsimbá |
| 198 | lip | múlomó | múlomó | múlomó | múlomó/milómó |
| 956 | listen | -degeleká | -degeleká | -degeleká | -húlkizyá |
| 972 | listless (be) | -nógoléká | - | -nyeká | -lalalá |
| 1024 | liver | itémá/itímá | itímá | itímá | itímá |
| 429 | livestock (keep) | -sáǝǝ | -sáǝǝ | -sáǝǝ | -sáǝǝ |

| No | English | KIDakamá | KINyanyéembé | KIKónobógó | SIOtáagáanzá |
|------|--|---------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 819 | lobster | | | | |
| 794 | locust | máyigé | nzigé | nzigé | nzigé |
| 155a | long (become) | -lilhá | -lilhá | -lilhá | -lilhá |
| 144 | long | lilhú | ndilhú | lilhú | ndilí |
| 131 | look after, care for | -áangá | -tuungyá | -léla, -tuunzyá | -tuunzyá |
| 871 | look after grazing cattle, help a sick man on the road | -dímá | -dímá | -dímá | -dímá |
| 354 | look at, examine | -lólá | -lilngá | -lilngá | -lilngá |
| 354a | look around | -lóláalólá | -gábláká | -lilngálingá | -lilngálingá |
| 200 | look for, hang around (to get something), pursue | -lígó(β)itíjá | -kó(β)lá | -kurjúkyá | |
| 973 | loose (be); faint, weak | -nógolóká | -legéá ? | -nógolóká | -nógolóká |
| 181 | lost, get | -zimlílá | -lágiká | -lágiká | -lágiká |
| 1023 | louse | idá(ndá) | mpáni | mpáni | idá(ndá) |
| 769 | love, want | -logwá | -logwá | -logwá | -símá, tógwá |
| 534 | lung | mábo(β)ó | | má(β)ó(β) | ipó(β)ó/má(β)ó(β) |
| 713 | magic * | βólógi | ólógi | ólógi | βólógi |
| 714 | maize | múdegé | m(ú)degé | m(ú)degé | muhindi |
| 521 | make offerings to the dead | -isébngá | -sá(β)itá | -isébngá | -isébngá |
| 226 | male | ígó(β)shá | -góbshá | ígó(β)shá | m(ú)gó(β)shá |
| 10 | mamba, green (kind of poisonous snake) | kipití ? | nho(β)kó | nyá(β)ó(β)ó | nko(β)kó |
| 783 | many | -ingí | nyingí | nyingí | nyingí |
| 1019 | many * | -ingí | nyingí | nyingí | nyingí |
| 897 | marriage | wit(β)ózi | | wit(β)ózi | kwit(β)ózi |
| 895 | mamy (of man) | -lólá | -lólá | -lólá | -lólá |

| No | English | KiDákámá | KiNyanyémbé | KiKónóngó | SIGaláanzá |
|------|---|------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| 896 | mary (give in marriage-of parents, priests) | -toojá | -tooyá | -tooyá | -tooyá |
| 814 | master | múémí | - | - | βááβármáayó múgi |
| 898 | match, harmonise (v) | -légántiá | -geliántiá | -geliántiá | -légántiá |
| 935 | mature | -hányá | -kómétiá | -kómétiá | -kómétié |
| 596 | meat | nyámá | nyámá | nyámá, kanyúungó | nyámá |
| 259 | medicine, remedy | βógótá | wógáangá | ógéngá | βógáangá |
| 260 | medicine (art of) | βólagózi | wógáangá | ólágotá | βófúrnú |
| 261 | medicine-man | múfúrnú | múgáangá, mífúrnú | m(ó)lagózi, m(ó)fúrnú | múfúrnú |
| 90 | meet | -sáanjá | -sáangyá | -sáangá, -sáangyá | -sáangá |
| 861 | mell | -ááβá, -háhá | -ááβá | -yeyúká | -zágá |
| 845 | midwife | múkdóngá | - | mwingi | - |
| 859 | migrate, move away | -sáámá | -sáámá | -sáámá | -sáámá |
| 1030 | milk (n) | maβéelé | maβéelé | maβéelé | maβéelé |
| 20 | milk (curdled), curds | maβéelé gá βógááandé ? | mboβóto | mboβóto | - |
| 19 | milk, (fresh) (n) | maβéelé | maβéelé | másyósyó | maβéelé |
| 903 | millet (puffrush) | βóβelé | βóβelé | ósigá | βóβelé |
| 290 | millipede | ígóongóto | ígóongóto | ígóongóto | ígóongóto |
| 73 | mix (ingredients, 'season food') | - | -lobngá | -kalingizyá | -hwíla |
| 72 | mix, put together | -sángátiá | -sángátiá | -sángátiá, -sáangyá | -sáangyá |
| 363 | monkey (small lighlish-coloured) | múómbiti | múómbiti | múómbiti, kanyámúlió | múómbiti |

| No | English | KiDakama | KiNyanyembe | KiKombogó | SiGataganza |
|------|--|-------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|
| 362 | monkey (colobus- hair, white on shoulders) | ngokú | ntómbilif | ngukú | ngokú |
| 361 | monkey (small, dark-coloured) | nywezi | mwézi | mwézi | mwézi |
| 716 | moon | nyézi | mwézi | mwángá gwá mwézi | mwézi |
| 609 | moonlight | ibó/mbó | mwézi | mbú | mbú |
| 59 | mosquito | yáayó | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 436 | mother | -fóúmbá | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 65 | mould (pottery) | igólb | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 717 | mountain | igólb | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 163 | mourning | kitiló | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 1028 | mouth | mwómó | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 272 | movement | igééndó | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 979 | mud, mire | igééndó | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 642 | mushroom | máióló | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 152 | mutilated (tree) | foojá | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 281 | name | -lemááá | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 539 | name | iliná | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 403 | nape (of neck) | hó kúyóombá | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 256 | navel | nhágááló | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 765 | near | inókú | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 379 | neck | bitih | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 843 | need, request | nhirngó | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 962 | new | nhótómbó | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 718 | night | -pyá, -geri | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 755 | nine | fozikó | mbú | mbú | mbú |
| 484 | nose | keéndá | mbú | mbú | mbú |

| No | English | KiDakamá | KiNyanýeembé | KiKoonóngó | SiGatagaanza |
|-----|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 211 | number | naamba ? | - | mbazyó, naamba | m(ú)laamba |
| 237 | oar | ndirino | - | m(ú)tirjko | m(ú)tirjko |
| 939 | obstruct | -kingá | -kaána ? | -kingá | -kaána |
| 48 | offspring | baána, ðiðyaáiwá | mwaána/ðaána | mwaána, mufúto | lofúto |
| 66 | oil (from plants) | máguá | máfutá | máguá | máfutá ga ðoto |
| 435 | oil | máguá | máfutá | máguá | máfutá |
| 818 | old times, the past | kálé | kálé | kálé | nsiko, kálé |
| 411 | old person | m(ú)naamháa/m(ú)gikódi | m(ú)gikoló | munaamá, mukikulu | m(ú)kikoló |
| 410 | old | -kolékoló | -a kálé | ikukúu, iyakalé | -kookóó |
| 214 | one-eyed (being) | soóngó | nsóongó | soóngó | - |
| 440 | one | lómó | yímó | yímó, sobló | ímó |
| 590 | open mouth wide | áasamá | -ásamá | -áasamá | -áasamá |
| 984 | open | -luggá, -luungolá | -luggá | -luggá | -kingolá |
| 829 | open (set ajar) a door | -saansámtika | -kingolá | -luggá hadóó | -silndfka |
| 876 | order, direct | -tómá | -lagitizyá | -lagitizyá | -lagitizyá |
| 961 | ostrich | inóringú | - | noóringu | - |
| 640 | our(s) pl, 1st person | iyiswé | iyiswé | iyiswé | sítú |
| 506 | out (go), go away | ítngá | -fumá | -fumá | -fumá |
| 324 | outside | háanzé | hil baála | kwilibaála | háanzé |
| 217 | overcome; win, vanquish | -kiindá | -kiindá | -kiindá | -kiindá, -siindá |
| 995 | owed by, be | -toondwá | - | -toonda, toondwa | -toondá |
| 835 | oyster | - | - | - | - |
| 207 | pack (luggage) | -luungá hármó | -luungá | -luungáaniá | -luungá |
| 208 | pack, press together | - | - | -kiindilá | -somékélelá |
| 456 | pack, flock, group | idaalé | -libóó | idaalé/madaalé | idaalé |
| 457 | pack, bale, bundle (n) | - | ítóombá | ifukúsyi | - |
| 236 | paddle (n) * | ndifinó | - | mútirjko | m(ú)tirjko |

| No | English | KIDakamá | KiNyányéembé | KIKóonóngó | SIGalaganzá |
|-----|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 342 | palate | iláangó | - | iláangó | iláangó |
| 9 | palm (date) | mutéendé | mutéendé | mutéendé | - |
| 719 | palm-wine | wàahwá | - | wàahwá | - |
| 257 | pain (of hand) | kògaaanza | kigaaanza | - | igaaanza/máagáanza |
| 6 | palm (raphia) | - | - | - | m(ù)usununú |
| 7 | palm (borassus) | múhama | múhama | múhama | múhama |
| 8 | palm (oil) | máwésé ? | m(ù)chikichi ? | - | m(ù)chikichi |
| 459 | palpitate, flutter, tremble | -detemá | - | mutéésé | -tetemá |
| 47 | parent, s/he who begets | múfyiyé | muóti | múfyiázi | múfyúti |
| 720 | parrot | kásukú ? | kásukú ? | kásukú | kásukú |
| 232 | pass, surpass | -fítá | -fítá | -fítá | -fítá |
| 325 | path | nziia | nziia | nziia | nziia |
| 159 | pay | -lpa | -lpa | -lpa, -sofya | -lpa |
| 600 | pay attention, take care | -lbia | -lingfítá | -lirga | -lirga |
| 820 | peel, shell | -lóondóliá | -páatá | -páatá | -páatá |
| 12 | peg | lidioloi/maobólib | - | mbugo | - |
| 11 | pegs (tent) | maámbo, makóméio | maámbo | lómámbo/ máámbo | lómámbo/máámbo |
| 494 | penetrate | -fítá | - | -llyéenyenkezyá | -dbia |
| 721 | penis | mbolo | ljbólo | llogá | mboló |
| 884 | penknife, lanceet | igéémbe | kagéémbe | kagéémbe | kagéémbe |
| 558 | person | muómò | muómò | muómò | muómò |
| 638 | pesle | nywisi | muokoojko | m(ù)koojko | muwinsi |
| 312 | pig | ngulujé | ngulujé | ngulujé | ngulujé |
| 414 | pigeon, kind of | húundá, rhuundá | rhuundá | rhuundá | rhuundá |
| 579 | pile up, pile loads on head | -idwifitá | -londitá | -londitá | -londitá |

| No | English | KIDakámá | KiNyanyéembé | KiKómbogó | SIGalááanzá |
|------|----------------------------|------------|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| 479 | pinch, make narrow | -shíná | -siná | -siná | -siná |
| 357 | pipe (tobacco) | nleembá ? | múleembá | m(ú)leembá | múleembá |
| 552 | pit, hole | línshá | líná | líná, ikolóbogwá | líná |
| 974 | place, put (v) | -dtlfiá | -ingizyá | -tòdà | -ttilá, -tòdà |
| 722 | place (n) | háámò | háámò | háámò, hakimbáit | háámò |
| 892 | place of the dead | kórhááktíó | - | kò báfú | kòzimú |
| 225 | plait | -súká | -súká ? | -sijá | -súká |
| 932 | plant, sow | -háámhá | -háámhá | -háámhá | -tèhá |
| 510 | platform | lòtálá | lòtálá | lòtálá, lòtálólò | lòtálá, lòtálámá |
| 834 | please, satisfy (v) | -lptvá | -koloelá | -tòsá | -nòzyá |
| 93 | pleased (be) | -lògishiwá | -lògiziwá | -lògiziwá | -nòzyá |
| 13 | plot of ground | lòjòógá | kwánjá ? | séésá | lòjásáanzá |
| 647 | plunder (a town) | - | - | - | - |
| 1014 | plunge into, cause to sink | -pónéjá | -lmbókizyá | -lángilá | -dumbókizyá |
| 114 | poke | -sòsèlá | -pèmbélezýá | -pèmbélá | -pèmbélezýá |
| 737 | pole, thin | lògító | lògító | -lògító | lògító/ngító |
| 111 | polish, clean by rubbing | -nélejá | - | -gúúsá | -kúúsá |
| 177 | pool, pond | lìáámbo | lìáámbo | kaiáámbo | kaiáá, lìaámbo |
| 923 | porcupine | nòngbòit | - | nòngbòit | nòngbòit |
| 374 | porridge (stiff) | jóógáí | úgáí | ógáí | ógáí |
| 42 | pot (metal) | ikópò | ikópò | ikópò | ikópò |
| 41 | pot, vessel | kisémé | kisémé | kisémé | sisémé/visémé |
| 39 | pot, mug | múkèébé | m(ú)kèébé | múkèbé | múkèbé |
| 40 | pot, cooking (earthen) | núungò | nyúungò | nyúungò | núungò |
| 749 | potato (sweet) | kaful | kaful | kaful | kaful |
| 646 | potter's kiln | itánulú ? | - | itánulú | itánulú |

| No | English | KIDAKAMÁ | KINYANYÉSEMBÉ | KIKÓNOÓNGÓ | SIGALGALANZÁ |
|-----|--|---------------|---------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| 369 | pound (grain in a mortar to get off the husks) | -pótlá | -pótlá | -pótlá | -twańgá |
| 441 | pour away | -lilá | -lilá | -lilá | -seésá |
| 641 | pour | -ditlilá | - | -kenená | -fúuká, títlilá |
| 748 | pregnancy | ndá | ndá | mwiitúungó | ndá |
| 636 | pregnant, be | -kójpi ná ndá | -lía ná ndá | -kólía ná mwiitúungó, ndá | -lía ná mwiitúungó |
| 599 | prepare | -péegélejá | -péegélejá | -kwipiisangá | -nogelézjá |
| 553 | press out (oil seed, sugar cane) | -góbngá | -sindiká | -góbngá | -sindiká |
| 996 | produce, put forth, display | -fúmyá | -fúmyá | -fúmyá | -fúmyá |
| 909 | prominent (be); put out | -fúmitíjá | -fúmá | -fúmitíkaná | -fúmá |
| 518 | pronounce | -yóombá | - | -yóombá | -yóombá |
| 340 | protect by charm (medicine) | -kágá | -kágá | -kágá | -kágá |
| 947 | protect by charms (target) | -kágá | -kágá | -kágá | -kágá |
| 475 | puff-adder | imámháhilí | | Kipití | Kipití |
| 244 | pull | -lilá | | -kwéésá | -kwéésá |
| 173 | pull up, come to a halt | -límá | -límá | -límá | -límá |
| 172 | pull up, root up | -dúbólá | -dúbólá | -dúbólá | -dúbólá |
| 833 | pull, drag | -gógolá | -kokolá ? | -kwéésá | -kwéésá |
| 57 | pump | lípómbá | lípómbá | lípómbá | lípómbá |
| 548 | push | -shindiká | -shindiká | -terńká | -siindiká |
| 992 | put, place, set | -tóbilá | -tóbilá | -tóbilá | -tóbilá |
| 887 | put together for companionship | -lengámijá | -lengá | -lengánizyá, -pélanizyá | -lengánizyá |
| 969 | put a pot on the fire | -téténgá | -téténgá | -téténgá | -téténgá |

SIGALÁJÁNZÁ

| |
|---------------|
| -lilngá |
| nsáto |
| -soóla |
| -zimya |
| -lembéelá |
| mvúla |
| -gimá mvúla |
| kámwardíli |
| sipwá, sidikó |
| -lúumá |
| koswá ? |
| rkóso |
| rkóso |
| - |

KIKONÓNGÓ

| |
|---------------|
| -tuungá |
| nsáto |
| -ikeniá |
| -zimya |
| -lembéelá |
| mbúla |
| -ibonyá mbúla |
| mwánúli |
| -lilindimá |
| kidikó |
| -lilindimá |
| ndézi |
| nséenzi |
| rkóso |
| rkóso |
| mtúkú |

KINYANYÉEMBÉ

| |
|---------------|
| -tuungá |
| sáto |
| -ikeniá |
| -zimya |
| - |
| mvúla |
| -ibonyá mvúla |
| - |
| kidikó |
| - |
| - |
| - |
| rkóso |
| rkóso |
| mtúkú |

KIDAKÁMÁ

| | | |
|------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| 981 | put together, compose | -péelá |
| 982 | python | isáto |
| 656 | quarrel (vt) | -lilywá |
| 180 | quench, extinguish | -zimya |
| 485 | quiet (tp) | -póla |
| 76 | rain | mbúla |
| 917 | rain (vi) | -tola |
| 1006 | rains, the lesser | nyáanóli |
| 197 | rainy season | kidikó |
| 580 | rumble | -duumóká |
| 26 | rat, kind of | ngoso |
| 488 | rat (field) | (tukó)mtúkó |
| 24 | rat | ngoso |
| 25 | rat, (very large, long-tailed) | ngoso |
| 883 | razor | logéembé |
| 949 | read | -soma |
| 1007 | resp. harvest | -imbotlá |

| | | |
|------|-------------------------|----------|
| 523 | receive | -pokéelá |
| 537 | reed | madéelá |
| 632 | refuse, say no | -kaaná |
| 633 | reject, refuse, dislike | -kaaná |
| 545 | remain, stay behind | -sigá |
| 1035 | remain, stay | -sigá |
| 840 | remember | -izoktá |
| 499 | resemble | -ikóla |
| 879 | resemble (very closely) | -ikóla |

| |
|-----------|
| logéembé |
| -soma |
| -imbotlá |
| - |
| -pokéelá |
| makúumtúo |
| -kaaná |
| -kaaná |
| -sigá |
| -sigá |
| -izoktá |
| -ikóla |
| -ikóla |

| No | English | KiDakamā | KiNiyáyeémbé | KiKónóngó | SIGáagáanzá |
|------|---|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1031 | resemble * | ikólá | -ikólá | -ikólá | -ikólá |
| 149 | rest heavily on, be burdensome | -léméélá | - | -zójókwá | -límblwá |
| 964 | rest the cheek on the hand (in brooding mood) | -iidlimáá itámá | -isumátá | -idlima itámá | -idima itámá |
| 957 | rest, take a holiday | -isuihnyá | -suihá | -suihá | -itózyá |
| 249 | return, go back | -lizá | -suftá | -suftá | -softá |
| 1004 | return | -shoóká | -suftá | -suftá | -softá |
| 500 | revive | -pémboólá | - | -télémbóóca | -fúúúúá |
| 318 | rhinoceros | mihéá | mpémbébé | mpéá | - |
| 988 | rib | tofázu | tofázu | tofázu | tofávu/mbávu |
| 473 | ripe | lyá jópýé | -piilé | lyá jópýé | ipilé, jópýé |
| 996 | ripen (vi) * | -pyá | -pyá | -pyá | -pyá |
| 472 | ripen (vi) | -pyá | -pyá | -pyá | -pyá |
| 209 | river | móóngó | móóngó | móóngó | móóngó |
| 239 | roar, rumble | -titá | - | -lindimá | -kúumtá |
| 644 | roast | -óóchá | - | -bántká | -bántká ? |
| 350 | roast (in/by fire) | -Awimá | -bántká ? | -límá, -óóchá | -límá, -fáájóólá |
| 806 | roast | iwé | itáé | itáé | itáé |
| 291 | rooster (cock) | ikóóngóúúmé | -kúngúúúmé | -kúngúúúmé | ikúngúúúmé |
| 169 | root | muzi | m(ú)zi | m(ú)zi | muzi |
| 29 | rotten | [j], -fóolé | mbi | ipi, -kenáagókíté | fófóolé |
| 1012 | round (be) | -igonzéátá | - | -fírlngáná | -fírlngá |
| 183 | round (go), turn round | -ipónzáná | -zilingá | -iplingá | -zilingá |
| 999 | round, become | -jilingá | -jilingá | -jilingá | -iplimýá |
| 110 | rub | -kólá | - | -kúúúzyá | -sogólá |
| 50a | rubbish, garbage | fóócháátá ? | - | mátiákáá | mátiákáá |

| No | English | KiDakamá | KINyányéembé | KIKónóóngó | SIGátááanzá |
|-----|--|--------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|
| 321 | rubbish heap | ishimó ? | | liwógóú | izyááá |
| 826 | run | -péelá | -péelá | -péelá | -lóká |
| 522 | sacrifice | mátomóó | | káíorimbíó | |
| 723 | salt | miúunú | miúnyú | miúnyú | móonyó |
| 95 | sand | m(ú)sehgéelá | músehgáséngá | m(ú)sehgáséngá | músehgá |
| 630 | satiated (be); have enough to eat or drink | -igotá | -lóká | -lóká | -lóká |
| 788 | satisfy | -fojá | | | -nózyá |
| 251 | say to, tell to | -wítá | -wítá | -wítá | -fwtíá |
| 783 | scorpion | ikómi | kárimá | kárimá | kárimá |
| 453 | scrape | -kwáángólá | -kwáángólá | -pálá | -pááángózyá |
| 855 | scrape, grate | -pálá | -kwáángólá | -kwáángólá | -kwáángólá |
| 856 | scratch, grate * | -ishinángólá | -kwáángólá | -kwááná | -sináángólá |
| 688 | scythe, sickle | imóóyó | imóóyó | imóóyó | ihwézyó |
| 84 | search for | -koojá | -koojá | -koojákoojá | -koojá |
| 85 | search diligently | -pááápáá | -pesolá | -kúá | -pésá |
| 738 | seal, stool, chair | isúumbí | isúumbí | isúumbí | ifúumbí |
| 770 | see | -fóná | -wóná | -wóná | -fóná |
| 67 | seed | lójyó | mbyó | mbyó | mbyó |
| 404 | seize | -dímá | -dímá | -dímá | -dímá |
| 611 | self | nyéntkítí | -éntkítí | mweintkítí | m(ú)sájá ? |
| 302 | sell | -gólá | -gbzyá | -gozyá | -gozyá |
| 570 | send | -tómá | -lágítzyá | -tómítzyá | -tómá |
| 451 | separate, set apart | -téngá | -báángólá | -tótólá | -gágbá |
| 450 | separate, leave each other | -lékáná | -lékáná | -lékáná | -lékáná |
| 534 | set a trap | -légá | -légá | -légá | -légá |
| 868 | set (of the sun) | -lóká | lyóótá kógwá | -lóká | -zyááámá |

| No | English | KiDakamá | KiMwanyembé | KiKonoóngo | SiGalléaanza |
|------|--------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 971 | settled (be); be in good order | -léembaééá | -légéélezyá | -gellantía | -lingantía |
| 754 | seven | mpúungattí | mpúungattí | mpúungattí | mpúungattí |
| 1033 | sew * | -sumá | -sumá | -sumá | -sumá |
| 589 | sew | -sumá | -sumá | -sumá | -sumá |
| 135 | sexual intercourse with (have) | -itóombá | -lyáanzá | -yáanzaná, -laála, -lóbómbá | -itóombá |
| 691 | shadow, shade | chinini | kinziminzimi | m(ú)láká | m(ú)láká, kinzémé (humán) |
| 867 | shame, disgrace | nsóni | nsóni | nsóni | nsóni |
| 116 | shame | nsóni | nsóni | nsóni | nsóni |
| 724 | shame, modesty | nsóni | nsóni | nsóni | nsóni |
| 386 | sharp (be) | -ógífhá | -ógífhá, -gumá lí ngóóyó | -ógífhá | -yáalá |
| 920 | sharpen | -nóóá | -nóóá | -nóóá | -nóóá |
| 915 | shave | -móógá, -sónzóóá | -sésényá | -sésényá, -móógá | -móógá, -sónzóóá |
| 603 | she, he | wééi | mweritkifí | mweritkifí | áawé |
| 287 | sheep | holó, rhóó | rhóó | rhóó | riálámá |
| 1009 | sheil, cowrie | nshimbi | nkólo | kómbéilé | nshimbi |
| 822 | shel | nshimbi | - | kómbéilé | - |
| 725 | shield | nkíngá, lúnpóóá | - | lókóóngá | - |
| 712 | shin (bone) | m(ú)lóbndí | m(ú)lóbndí | m(ú)lóbndí | m(ú)lóbndí |
| 968 | shiver, shudder * | -délemá | -téléamá | -téléamá | -téléamá |
| 528 | shiver | -délemá | -téléamá | -téléamá | -téléamá |
| 434 | short | nguhí | nguhí | nguhí | sifupí, -guhi |
| 430 | shoulder, tip of | igóóndí | ngóó yá májéegá | ngóó yá májéegá | igéegá |
| 588 | shoulder | igéegá | igéegá | igéegá | igéegá |
| 839 | shout | -yógá | igéegá/majéegá | igéegá/majéegá | -yógá |
| 946 | shrivelled (be); wrinkled | -ikuná | úfítí ? | úfítí ? | ikóónjá |

| No | English | KiDakamá | KiNyanyéembé | KiKonobóngó | Sicálagaalanzá |
|------|--|--------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 763 | sick | -saatú | ndwifilé | m(ú)wifilé | m(ú)wifilé |
| 870 | sift | -chéká, -yòbngá | -yòbngá | -yòbngá | -yòbngá |
| 615 | sing | ímbá | ímbá | ímbá | ímbá |
| 3 | sing | -fáñlá, -bìshá | -fáñlá, -zuzúúá | -fáñlá | -fáñfóóá |
| 980 | sink, be drowned | -fwíná | -lójá | -dumbukilá | -lálalá |
| 170 | sink | -lípítá | -zyáámá | -zyáámá | -zyáámá |
| 726 | sister (his/ her) brother | káábómbó | lìmbó | lìmbó | lìmbó |
| 627 | sit | -ikálá | -ikálá | -ikálá | -ikálá |
| 753 | six | múkaagá | múkaagá | múkaagá, haagá | múkaagá |
| 785 | size, measure | kigémó, nshimó | m(ú)kimó | pòhanyá | sítmó |
| 123 | skin (of person) | ndííí | ndííí | ndííí | ndííí |
| 124 | skin/mind (of fruit) | igolá | ipalalá | ikúmbá | ikakálá |
| 303 | sky | liúndé | liúndé | liúndé | liúndé |
| 865 | slander, accuse falsely, often secretly | -lémbékéjá | -songéelá | -songéelá | -songéelá |
| 470 | slap | -tòlá ipí | -làatòlá ikóófi | -tòlá ipí | -gumá ikóófi |
| 970 | slash | -temá | - | -putá | -temá |
| 220 | slaughter | -sínzá | -sínzá | -sínzá | -sínzá |
| 727 | slave, bond servant | m(ú)sésé | m(ú)sésé | m(ú)zyá, m(ú)sésé | mtómwá ? |
| 728 | slave (female) | m(ú)sésé | m(ú)sésé | m(ú)zyá | - |
| 729 | slave, (male) | m(ú)sésé | m(ú)sésé | m(ú)zyá | - |
| 136 | sleep (vi) | -laalá, -lindfiá | -laalá tóló | -laalá | -laalá |
| 731 | sleep (n) | toló | toló | toló | toló |
| 730 | sleeping-place, accommodation | há koláalá | há uláaló | ndaaló | há jòaaaló |
| 967 | slip, be slippery | -nyébéleká, -nyòbíòbíòká | -tyébélemúká | -tyébélemúká | -tyébélemújyá |
| 1021 | small | ndo | ndo | ndo | sido |
| 332 | smallpox | ndbííí | ndbííí | káalémbé | ndbvií |

| No | English | KIDÁKAMÁ | KINYÁNYÉMBÉ | KIKÓMÓNGÓ | SIGÁGÁANZÁ |
|------|------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------------|-------------|
| 241 | smell (sweet) (vi) | -mótiá | -nunjklitlá | -móteéiá | -nunjklitlá |
| 242 | smell (bad, of fish) (n) | iszó, inúúfó | -nunjká | ónunjúhú | kónunjúká |
| 240 | smell (bad) (vi) | -nunjhá, -núuhá | -nunjká | -nújhá | -nunjká |
| 629 | smoke (n) | lyóochi | lyónjki | lyóki | lyónsi |
| 428 | smoke (give out) (vi) | -zuóká | -zuuká | -zuuká | -tunjúká |
| 387 | snail, slug | ngóótiú | - | ngóótiú | míwééiú |
| 837 | snail | ngóótiú | - | ngóótiú | ngóká |
| 145 | snake, serpent | nzóká | nzóká | nzóká | nzóká |
| 158 | snare, trap (n) | ijítinó, m(ú)tegó | móópá | m(ú)tegó | mútegó |
| 864 | sneeze | -lyáármúá | -lyáármúá | -lyáármúá | -lyáármúá |
| 924 | sniff, smell out | -niúnnyhá | -niúnnyá | -niúnnyá | -niúnnyá |
| 296 | snore, snort | -kolómá | -kolómá | -kolómá | -kolómá |
| 69 | soil | ólóóngó | ólóóngó | ólóóngó | ólóóngó |
| 732 | song | lyímbóóimímbó | lyímbó | lyímbó/nyímbó | lyímbó |
| 616 | songs * | mímbó | nyímbó | nyímbó | nyímbó |
| 36 | soot | máklili | máklili | máklili | máklili |
| 195 | sorcerer | múúgi | m(ú)lozi | m(ú)lógí, m(ú)kónikómí | múúzi |
| 201 | sore | ilóóndá | ilóóndá | ilóóndá | ilóóndá |
| 734 | soul, spirit | ghólo, hóló | móyó, njóló | hóló | móyó |
| 331 | sound, cry | m(ú)zwi | kóllíá | m(ú)zwi | múzwi |
| 64 | space (open) | háápé | ówánjá ?, kwígó | lówángá | lópóthá |
| 82 | spark | más-ásí | sásé | nsésé | nsésé |
| 253 | speak | -yóómbá | -yóómbá | -yóómbá | -yóómbá |
| 733 | spear (n) | ichimú | ichimú | itímú | isumú |
| 137 | spend time | -tómítá mákáanzá ? | -sòhómóliá | -sòhómóliá | -sòhómóliá |
| 1038 | sperm, semen | wíné | - | wíné | lópókó |
| 62 | spider | lópójí | kájóójí | ilánájí | lópójí |
| 182 | spirit (of dead person) | múzímú | múzímú | múzímú | múzímú |

| No | English | KiDakámá | KiNyanyéembé | KiKonoóngó | SiGálagaanzá |
|------|---|---------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|
| 464 | spirit (disembodied) | múzimú | múzimú | múzimú | múzimú |
| 683 | spirit (evil) | múzimú | múzimú | múzimú | múzimú |
| 582 | spit | -luúgá | -luúgá | -luúgá mátyé | -luúgá |
| 533 | spittle | máté | mátýé | mátýé | máté |
| 601 | split, crack (vt) | -taándòlá | -taándòlá | -taándòlá, -nèná | -taándòlá |
| 951 | spoil, blind (vt) | -hófúshá | -pófúzyá | -hófúsyá | -pófúlá |
| 649 | spoil (a child) | -légétá | -sènéká | -sènéká | -nyenyéká |
| 998 | spoil | -βiipyá | -βiipyá | -βiipyá | -βiipyá |
| 813 | spoon | múdtínhó | m(ù)tiínkó | m(ù)tiínkó | múttíínkó |
| 5 | spot, speckle | ibádó, idolé, | ípáíá/máβáíá | ípáíá, íbadó | ípáíá |
| 959a | sprain an ankle | -tégúká | -tégútólá | -tégútólá | -tyégòkà |
| 141 | spread out (be) | -èènélá ? | -sàámházyá | -sàámháíá | -sàámháíá |
| 527 | spread | -àanzá | -àanzá | -àanzá | -àanzá |
| 908 | spread abroad, be; become generally known | -kúmòóká, -èènélá ? | -mànyíká | -mànyìkà | -mànyìlìá |
| 592 | spread, smear on | -βilá | -βilá | -βilá | -istífgá |
| 591 | spread, scatter (vi) | -sàámháíá | -sàámháíá | -sàámháíá | -sàámháíá |
| 880 | spring (of water) | nzwííló | mòóngó | kásétá | - |
| 965 | spring, machine | mútáámbo | - | mútáámbo | mútáámbo |
| 866 | spy out | -βòógítijá | -pètélézyá ? | -βòótizyá | -pètélézyá |
| 849 | squat (on the haunches) | -ítòóndá | -sòónzòβáíá | -sòónzòβáíá | -sòórkómáíá |
| 991 | squeeze oneself up against a wall (e.g. to allow another to pass) | -isómá | -pényézyá ? | -ihégá | -iísyááná |
| 914 | squeeze out | -káándá | -mínyá | -kámá | -kámódíá |
| 343 | squeeze, milk | -shéémá | -syéémá | -kámá, -syéémá | -kámá |
| 102 | squirrel | - | línkálá | káwúúndí | - |

| No | English | KIDAKAMÁ | KINYÁNYÉEMBÉ | KIKÓNOÓNGÓ | SIGALGÁJÁNZÁ |
|------|---|--|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| 562 | slack, pile up | -ibondá | -ibrdtká | -ibrdá | -ibómbkáká |
| 1029 | stand (vi) | -fímá | -fímá | -fímá | -fímá |
| 735 | stare | sóondá | sóondá | sóndá | nsóondá |
| 390 | stare, glare | -fjuúmbliá | -kónóla mínsó | -fómóla mínsó | -fómóla mínsó |
| 202 | start off, send away | -fínjá | -furnyá | -fínjá, -sifimjá | -furnyá |
| 799 | startle, catch unawares | -káarjá, -káarjádá | - | -fínóktíliá | -sitóktizyá ? |
| 830 | startle, jerk | -káarjádá | shítóktizyá | -fínóktíliá | -sitóktizyá ? |
| 618 | steal | -ifjliá | -ifjliá | -ifjliá | -ifjliá |
| 266 | steal | chóbmá | chóbmá | chóbmá | - |
| 554 | stem (of maize, millet, maizelele etc.) | stern (of maize, millet, maizelele etc.) | ifjótólé/ majótólé | ifjótólé/majótólé | ifjótólé |
| 825 | step over | -kíliá | -dórmóká | -idúrmóká | -láármóbóká |
| 315 | sterile man (or woman) | múgóbómbá | múgóbómbá | m(ú)góbómbá | múgóbómbá |
| 541 | stick | múliáarjá | múliáarjá | múliáarjá | múliáarjá |
| 74 | stir, mix by stirring | -sáarjá | -kúlogá | -sáarjá | -sáarjá |
| 850 | stir | -sáarjijá | -kúlogá | -kúlogá | -sáarjyá |
| 78 | stir up | - | - | - | - |
| 61 | stone | iwé | iwé/máwé | iwé | ifwé |
| 228 | store up, collect | -ibondkáká | -kúsáarjyá ? | -kúmingjá | -kúmingjá |
| 154 | straight (make) | -gobóliá | -gobóliá | -gobóliá | -gobóliá |
| 268 | stranger, guest | múgénéi | múgénéi | múgénéi | múgénéi |
| 661 | stream, current | - | múbórgó | múbórgó | múbórgó |
| 798 | strength, power | ngúzú | ngúzú | ngúzú | nága |
| 140 | stretch oneself | -igobóliá | -igobóliá | -igobóliá | -igobóliá |
| 395 | strike, knock | -gópónéjá | -gópóné | -gópónjá | -gómá |
| 982 | strike with a spear | -chímá, -lász | -sómá | -kímá | -sómá |
| 282 | string (n) | úzí ? | úzí ? | fózi | úzí |

| No | English | KIDAKÁMÁ | KINYANYÉTEMBÉ | KIKÖNÖNÖNGÖ | SIGÁGÁLÁNZÁ |
|-----|---------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|
| 487 | strip off (e.g. grains of corn) | -hóbiá | -yájiá | -póbiá | -póliá |
| 519 | strut proudly | -ikúmyá | -ijóná | -ikumáilósyá | -ikúmyá |
| 407 | stumble | -igúmhá | -kúmpá | -ikúmpá | -ikúmpá |
| 997 | stunted (be), be spoilt | -teéndéálá | -dumáalá | - | -dumáalá |
| 948 | stutter | -nájantjá | -gúgumtiá | -gúgumtiá | -gúgumtiá |
| 594 | suck (the breast) | -óorjá, -óhá | óorjá | -óorjá | -óorjá |
| 480 | suck (vt) | -milimá | -óorjá | -milimá | -milimá |
| 912 | suffer, bear patiently | -iyóómtijá | -vumtiá ? | -iyóómtizyá | -iyóómtizyá |
| 802 | sugar cane | igújiá | igújiá | igújiá | igújiá |
| 333 | sun, light | litimí | lyóójsá | lyóójsá | lyóójsá |
| 184 | surround | -lyóngódiá | -pillimá | -pillimá | -zyóngódiá |
| 438 | swallow | -mliá | -mliá | -mliá | -mliá |
| 777 | sweat | -lahitjá | -lahitizyá | -lahitá | -lahitá |
| 905 | sweat | lobyfió | lobtá | lobyfió | lobtá |
| 392 | sweep up, collect in a heap (rubbish) | -itóóndiká | -zyóbiá | -kurnitigá | -kokómóliá |
| 943 | sweep | -pyáagóliá | -pyáagóliá | -pyáagóliá | -pyáagóliá |
| 517 | sweet, pleasant | -nónú | nséemú | -séemú | -séemé |
| 51 | swell | -firimba | -firimba | -firimba | -firimba |
| 608 | sword (short) | ishó | hálá | ngóófió | Kisyó |
| 933 | sword | lópáangá | lópáangá | lópáangá | lópáangá |
| 360 | tail | múktiá | múktiá | múktiá | múshiá |
| 875 | take leave of | -daahyá | -daahyá | -daahyá | -daahyá |
| 778 | take in (from rain, etc.) | -óójsá | - | -ikingitizyá | -fioka mvuúá |
| 565 | take, carry | -sólá | -sólá | -sólá | -sólá |
| 233 | take off (clothes), undress | -zuúliá | -vuúliá | -zuúliá | -vuúliá |

| No | English | KiDakamá | KiNyanyéembé | KiKónóóngó | SIGalagáanzá |
|------|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 530 | tangle | -túngwá | - | léétá uláambú | -pomyá |
| 898 | taste (v) | -βóónjâ | -lôzyá | -gèrná | -βóónzyá |
| 985 | teach, instruct | -háná, -láánjâ, -láàngá | -láárgá, -héémbéká | -héémbéká | -fiúndĩĩsyá |
| 621 | tears | mĩĩsôzi | ndĩĩlĩlò | mĩĩsôzi | mĩĩnsôzi |
| 412 | ten | ikòmí | ikòmí | ikòmí | ikòmí |
| 121 | termite | mĩswá | m(ù)swá | m(ù)swá | mùswá |
| 739 | testicle | idòòsò | itúúnyá | mátúúnyá | ivyá/mávyá |
| 1020 | that | ĩyò | ĩfỳò | iyò | iyò |
| 455 | thatched roof | háándĩ | ĩβándá | kwígólyá | - |
| 767 | there | òkò | àhò, ùkò | àhò, ùkò | àhò, ùkò |
| 54 | they | βòói | βènkĩlĩf | ààwò | àβò |
| 444 | thick, fat | igĩnú | ngĩnú | ngĩnú | -gĩnú |
| 86 | thicket * | másáká | isáká | isáká | isòkòòlà |
| 854 | thicket | isáká | isáká | kásáká | isòkòòlà |
| 619 | thief | mwĩĩβĩ | mwĩĩβĩ | mwĩĩβĩ | mwĩĩzi |
| 23 | thigh (of human) | itáàngó | itáàngó | itáàngó, mātáàngó | itáàngó |
| 22 | thigh (of animal) | kòtáambò | itáàngó | itáàngó, mātáàngó | itáàngó |
| 559 | thing | kĩĩnhò | kĩĩntò | kĩĩnú | siĩntò |
| 987 | think, imagine | igániká | -igániká | -igániká | -igániká |
| 651 | thirst | nyóótá | nyóótá | nyóótá | nyóótá |
| 740 | thorn | liĩnhwá | liĩnhwá | liĩhwá/miĩhwá | liĩgwá |
| 689 | threaten | -ògòhyá | -kàárgá | -ògòhyá | -ògòghyá, -kàárgá |
| 532 | three | idátò | idátò/yáátò | itátò, idátò | itátò |
| 115 | thrust into | -chimá | -kimá | -kimá | -sòrná |
| 420 | tick (cattle or dog) | ikúúndyá | nkúúndyá | nkúúndyá | lĩnkúpá |
| 1034 | tie (fasten) (vt) | -túúngá | -túúngá | -túúngá, -túgátá | -túúngá |
| 258 | tie up | -túúngá | -túúngá | -túúngá | -túúngá |
| 978 | tingle with excitement | isátòlâ ? | -itĩmúlitâ | - | -isisimòlà |

| No | English | KIDakamá | KINyanyeembé | KIKonóbogó | SICalagáanzá |
|-----|---|------------------|------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 119 | tip, point | mihélo | - | mpélo | - |
| 741 | tobacco | itúumbáit | nsúunjóko | súurphó | itááfpé |
| 146 | today | leeló | waáléeló | waáléeló | waáléeló |
| 742 | toe | kwááti, ikúulúmé | iyááti, lipkúmyá | iyááti, lipkúmwá | kaátiámwáátiá |
| 445 | tomato | manyáányá | lthnyáányá | nyáányá | m(ó)lólómátóó |
| 105 | tomcat (half-wild) | - | - | kimbótó | stimbótó |
| 743 | tomorrow | igóló | igóló | igóló | igóló |
| 166 | tongue | lólími | lólími | lólími | lólími |
| 120 | tooth (canine), tooth filed to a point | - | - | másóngá mbwá | - |
| 267 | tooth | liinó | liinó/liinó | liinó/liinó | liinó/liinó |
| 306 | top, peak | kwigóyá | higóyá | mpélo | higóyá |
| 293 | tortoise | gukúmakáti | - | guumááti | fúulwé |
| 277 | town | nsí | múji ? | kaáyá | logó |
| 378 | tramp of feet | lókúindó | lókúindó | lókúindó | m(ó)siindó |
| 270 | travel | -yóombá | -yóombá | -yóombá | -yá lógééndó |
| 540 | tree | mútt | mútt | m(ó)tt | mútt |
| 538 | tremble, shake (vi) | -detemá | -detemá | -detemá | -detemá |
| 566 | trickle away | -twiiná | -sblótiá | - | -lóónyá |
| 401 | trunk (of elephant) | nywító | - | kaǵékó | m(ó)kóongá gwá nzóvú |
| 604 | try | -gémá | -gémá | -gémá | -gémá |
| 605 | tease-fly | másááti, góbótó | lógéémbé | kaǵémbé | miiká |
| 938 | turn upside down, turn over | turn -pitndbiá | -gábitá | -gábitá | -pitliá |
| 174 | turn round | -yóombá | -pitimýá | -pitimýá | -zóngótóosýá |
| 711 | tusk, elephant's (middle size) * | - | liinó lya nzóvú | miinó gá nzóǵúmpótt | - |
| 452 | twin | ijásáámiájásá | mápásá | mápásá, máǵásá | ipásá/mápásá |

| No | English | KiDakama -sógótá ? | KiMyanyéembé -sókótá ? | KiKonoóngo -pélegá | SiGálááanzá -sógótá |
|------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 185 | twist roll, spin with fingers | -shúfá | -péla | -pélegá | - |
| 483 | twist, esp strands | íftíí | íftíí | íftíí | íftíí |
| 752 | two | kjéelé | kjéelé | kjéelé | - |
| 18 | udder | -kuundóolá | -kundókóla | -kundókóla | -vundukótá |
| 945 | uncover, reveal | -ftíst | -gáagí | ítíndí, -ftíst | ítíndí |
| 551 | unripe, half grown | -ftíst | mblst | -ftíst | -ftíst |
| 984 | unripe, uncooked | higdyá | higdyá | higdyá | higdyá |
| 311 | up, above | wfírná | wfírná | wfírná | wfírná |
| 614 | upright | -nyá, -sújáláa | -niá, -sújáláa | -niá, -sújáláa | -niá, -sújáláa |
| 446 | urinate/defecate | máású | máású | mááúnzí | máású |
| 745 | urine | -torníá | -torníá | -torníá | -torníá |
| 569 | use | halkító | higdyá | kwigdyá | - |
| 307 | utmost, highest point | halkító | higdyá | higdyá | miuvúiké ? |
| 904 | vapour, gas | jöséjü ? | múúrúktíib | ítúú | - |
| 380 | vein | nwáanzí/mwáanzí | mushípá ? | m(ú)spá | igobóngóí |
| 276 | village | kjáláandá, igobóngóí | kijiji ? | igobóngóí | mwáníkt |
| 692 | virgin (bride), girl | miúnyhá | mwáníkt | mwáníkt | ndóóí |
| 327 | vision | fojóní | ndóóí | ndóóí | múzwi |
| 330 | voice, (thunder) | ibkófá | mózi | m(ú)zwi | ibká |
| 224 | vomit | -ibká | -ibká | -ibká | -ibká |
| 524 | walk (take a) | -yobómbá | -yobómbá | -yobómbá | -tumbágfíá |
| 269a | walk | -já | -yá | -yá | -yá |
| 847 | wall | háándí | igélelé | igélelé | igélelé |
| 983 | want, need, wish | -koofá | -koofá | -koofá | -koofá |
| 507 | war | íjólógó | wólógó | wólógó | wíá ? |
| 790 | wart-hog | ngíftí | ngíftí | ngíftí | ngíftí |
| 860 | wash oneself (after evacuating) | -ishémérhá | -lafjásáyá ? | -ipýáagótá, -syéenéntéá | -ipýáagótá, -ipipá, -isyéenéntéá |

| No | English | KIDAKAMÁ | KINYANYEEMBE | KIKOMBONGO | SICATÁLANGÁZA |
|------|--------------------------------------|------------------|--------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 127 | wash (hands) | -igúúsá | -kúúsá | -ikáláǵá | -ikáláǵá |
| 128 | wash (clothes) | -káánzá | -káánzá | -káánzá | -káánzá |
| 129 | wash, take a bath | -óǵá | -óǵá | -óǵá | -óǵá |
| 322 | water | milinzi | milinzi | milinzi | milinzi |
| 959 | wave, let off a trap, remove a spell | -logóolá | -leóolá | -logóolá | -logóolá |
| 1017 | we | yiswé | yiswé | yiswé | yiswé |
| 1010 | weak | -zǵǵú | - | -nogólekú | -zoháalá |
| 881 | wean a child, give leave, send away | -ǵǵá | lókýá | -lécá | -zizýá |
| 234 | wear, dress | -zwáálá | -zwáálá | -zwáálá | -vwáálá, -áámbláá |
| 501 | weave, knit | -súrmá, -fúrmá ? | -fúrmá | -súrmá | -fúrmá |
| 1015 | weight, rhythm | ǵǵilimbú | ǵǵilimbú | -ǵǵilimbú | ǵǵilimbé |
| 210 | well | lwiniZI | lwiniZI | lwiniZI | izifja |
| 56 | wet (get) | -dóá | -loǵá | -tótá | -leǵelá |
| 919 | what? | ki | ki | ki | si |
| 469 | which? | ǵǵil kinéhé | iki | yifhé | yááhé |
| 192 | whistling | múǵǵil | múǵǵilbzi ? | m(ǵ)ǵózi | múǵǵilzi |
| 175 | white man | múzuǵǵú | múzuǵǵú | múzuǵǵú | múzuǵǵú |
| 610 | while | yáapé | yáapé | mweéǵó, yáapé | nyééǵó |
| 918 | who? | nááni | nááni | inááni | ndéé |
| 28 | wicked | ǵǵil | mbi | m(ǵ)ǵikénáǵózi | ǵǵil |
| 339 | wife | múǵǵimá | m(ǵ)ǵimá | m(ǵ)ǵimá | múǵǵimá |
| 187 | wind up (thread) | -góonda | -kóǵǵjá ? | pilimýá, piligá | -góonda -káánzá ? |
| 746 | wind | múyáǵá | múyáǵá | múyáǵá | mbého, múyáǵá |
| 937 | winnow | -béǵá | -péǵá | -héhá -péǵá, -héhéǵǵizýá, | -héhá -péǵá, -ééǵóolá |
| 112 | wipe | -fúǵá ? | -fúǵá ? | -pyáǵǵilá | -pyáǵǵilá |

| No | English | KiDakámá | KiNyanyéembé | KiKónoóngó | SiGálágáanzá |
|------|--------------------------|------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 86 | wire (brass) | βólozi | wélozi | ólozi | βólozi |
| 194 | witchcraft | -ilimá | -ilimá | -ilimá | -ilimá |
| 279a | withhold from | -iyimá | -iyimá | -iyimá | -iyimá |
| 279 | withhold from, abstain | m(ú)kírimá | m(ú)kírimá | m(ú)kírimá | mukírimá/ákírimá |
| 338 | woman | nda | nda yá ówóli | nda yá ówóli | nda yá βóβúti |
| 747 | womb | múháyó | múháyó/míháyó | múháyó | igalámbó/magaámbó |
| 812 | word | -zeéngá | -zyééngá | -zyééngá | -zeéngá |
| 712 | work as a mason | múlitmó | múlitmó/mílitmó | múlitmó | mílitmó |
| 167 | work (n) | -gòónda | -gòónda | -gòónda | -pínda |
| 81 | wrap up | -níná | -kámá | -mínnyá | -kámboóli |
| 344 | wring (clothes) | -ááyóliá | -ááyóliá | -ááyóliá | -ááyóliá |
| 773 | yawn | ṛwáaka | mwáaka | mwáaka | mwaáka/myaáka |
| 593 | year | igólo | igólo | igólo | igólo |
| 750 | yesterday | βééβé | ééβé | ééβé | éwé |
| 15 | you (sing.) | irwé | irwé | irwé | irwé |
| 1018 | you (pl.) | muyáandá | m(ú)sobómbá | m(ú)sobómbá | muyáandá |
| 715 | young man | irwé | irwé | irwé | irwé |
| 637 | your(s) (pl. 2nd person) | muyáandá | m(ú)sobómbá, mwáaníkí | m(ú)sobómbá, mwáaníkí | músoómbá, mwáaníkí |
| 693 | youth | ndóótó | ndóótó | ndóótó | |
| 292 | zebra | | | | |

Appendix I. Zone F word-list: F-21

| No | English | KímunáSúkumá | Jinákítyá | GínáNtózú |
|------|-------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| 133 | abdomen, stomach, belly | nda, rñhúmbí | nda, rñhúmbí | rñhúmbí, ndá |
| 495 | absciss, boil | ijúté | ijúté/máijúté | ijúté |
| 786a | abundant/about | kokóliá | -séésá, -pá | -pá |

| No | English | KimunaSúkuma | JinaKitiyá | GinaNtuzú |
|------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| 786 | abundant | kokolá | -irigi, -a jiyagá | -pa, niingi |
| 571 | abuse, insult | -dókliá | godoká, godokliá | godokliá |
| 252 | abuse, reproach | -sokombejía | godoká | godoka |
| 809 | accustomed (get) | -mántitiá | gomántitiá | gomántitiá |
| 274 | act (vi) | -itiá | gwitiá, goteéndá | gwitiá |
| 229 | add up | oóngejá | gossánjá, goóngejá | goóngejá |
| 927 | adjacent (be); border (vi) | -ilólétiá, -zébngánwá | gwihétiá, gófirimtikáná | gófirimtikáná |
| 652 | adze, carpenter's | mbizó | mbizó | mbizó |
| 254 | affair | mhiáyó, ngimó | mhiáyó/mhiáyó | mhiáyó/mhiáyó |
| 1002 | afraid (be) | -oogohá | googohá | googhá |
| 168 | agriculture | ilimá | ilimá/ijilimi | ilimá |
| 928 | all | -pyé, -oosé | pyé, -oosé | -oosé, -pyé |
| 248 | aller, change | -gáibichá | gogáibochá, gogáibitiá | gogáibochá |
| 595 | animal | ndimú | ndimú | ndimú |
| 617 | answer a call | -idifká, shoókéjía | gwiditká | gwidiká |
| 782 | answer, reply | -shooshá | goshóoshá | goshóoshá |
| 664 | ant (reddish-brown biting) | shililáambá | ijjnegú, jililáambá | sánágú |
| 122 | ant-hill | shugitió | ijigitió | igigitió |
| 663 | ant (small) | soóngwá | miá, nswá, soóngwá | soóngwá |
| 566 | anvil | ipóndelió, ikómélelió | - | isútilió |
| 989 | apply by stretching, spread over | -fáambá | gójáalambá, gókomá, gógónyá | gokómá |
| 976 | appoint, set up | -irmititichá, irmititjía | gwírimtiká | gototiá |
| 55 | arm, hand | njkonó | njkonó | njkonó |
| 771 | armpit | mhiángwá | mhiángwá | mhiángwá |
| 203 | arrange, put in order | -toondá, -páangá | gohelá | gogéleke |
| 204 | arrange, put right, repair | -jjegelelejiá, -shoókéjía | gopjejéjía | gopjejéjía |
| 478 | arrive | -shiká | goshigá | gósika |
| 665 | arrow | isoóngá | isoóngá | isoóngá |

| No | English | KimunáSúkumá | JinaKityá | GináNtúú |
|------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| 666 | arrow (head of); spear head | ichimú, ntwé gwí' chimú | | sónó |
| 337 | ashes | máñú | íñúmañú | íñúmañú |
| 199 | ask for | -lobmbá | gòlòombá | gòlòombá |
| 89 | assemble, collect (vt) | -filingá, -kumúungá | | gòsòombá |
| 789 | aunt (father's sister) | séngí | séngí | gòsòombá |
| 148 | avoid, dodge | -lék, -gwéépá | gwíllá | gwíllá, gògwéépá |
| 688 | awe, fear of God | íñúzinyá | íñúzinyá, iyógúnyá, gòzúnyá | íñúzinyá |
| 667 | axe | míbasá | míbasá | míbasá |
| 364 | baboon, ape | ngókó | ngókó | ngókó |
| 634 | back of (at the) | kobnúmá | númá | gòónúmá |
| 297 | back | ngòóngó | ngòóngó | ngòóngó |
| 297a | backbone | isanágoóngó | isanágoóngó | isanágoóngó |
| 27 | bad | -fi | -fi | -áa íójí |
| 37 | bad (become), rotten (vi) | -fólá | gòfólá | gòfólá |
| 87 | ball | wámbo | calámbo | wámbo |
| 398 | banana (plant) | idóóké | ndóóké/midóóké | ndóóké |
| 397 | banana (fruit) | ndóóké | idóóké | ndóóké |
| 399 | banana (for cooking) | idóóké | idóóké | ndóóké |
| 1005 | baobab | nywáandú | nywáandú | nywáandú |
| 1022 | bark (of tree) | igóóliá, igiámbara | igpiá | ihángó |
| 313 | barren (of living being) | ngpòmbá | ndáásá, ngpòmbá | ngpòmbá |
| 314 | barren (of land) | nyázú | íbasámbsí, twáwá | íbasámbsí |
| 376 | base of tree-trunk | itíná | itíná | itíná |
| 650 | bask (in the sun), warm oneself | -óóliá | gòótí sáná < góóliá ísaná < góóliá ísaná | góóliá |
| 576 | basket of open wicker-work | ngónó | calánjó, ndándámó | isáanzó |
| 577 | basket (plaited) | shigáábó | íjábú | gígáábú, gámaná, isóónzó |
| 643 | bathe | -oogá | gòógá | gòógá |
| 498 | be fitting, behave | -ligelá | gòjíitza céléne, gòshigáana | gòjíieemba |

| No | English | KimonaSukuma | JinaKitiya | GinaMuzú |
|------|--|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| 1 | be, become | -ji, -jiizá | gójilizá, gójí | gójí, gójilizá |
| 955 | beach, coast, shore | rhwaláni | waló, rhwaláni | rhwaláni |
| 827 | bead(s) | jósáó | jósáó | jósáó |
| 416 | bean, kind of bean (from <i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i>) | nduuú | tshtíítshtíí | siíí |
| 417 | bean, small (from bean plant) | máhalágé | ihálágé/máhalágé | mázoléká |
| 844 | bean (runner) | ishííí | ishííí/shííí | siíí |
| 1037 | bear child | -fyááá | gójyááá | gójyááá |
| 147 | beard | ndezú | ndezú | ndezú |
| 768 | beak | -toíá | gotóá | gotóá |
| 759 | beautiful | yá wíizá | -sogá, -izá | -sobmbá |
| 162 | bed | jóíííí | jóíííí | jóíííí |
| 161 | bedstead | jóíííí, íhíáá, íkúímáú | jóíííí | jóíííí |
| 653 | bee | nzókí | nzókí | nzókí |
| 775 | beer | wááwá | wááwá | wááwá |
| 497 | beril, sulf | -péeééá, -ígééá | wááwá, pósééé, másééé | gójpéeééá |
| 101 | below, underneath | hástííí | háástí, múústí | háástí |
| 186 | bend, twist (vi) | -pítíndá, -sójyá | gókuná, góbóondá | gólingá |
| 468 | bend (vt) | -góbóndá | gógómá, gógóná, góbóondá | gógómá |
| 193 | bewitch | -lógá | gólógá | gólógá |
| 930 | bifurcation, cross-roads | nzíá mááká | nzíá mááká, majíásá | nzíá mááká |
| 222 | bile | ndbóó | ndbóó | ndbóó |
| 262 | bind up, splice | -lagólá, | gógááingá, góíuurjá | góbóongányá |
| 658 | bird-lime | wííéémbo | wííéémbo, íbómá | wííéémbo |
| 811 | bird | nóní | nóní | nóní |
| 46 | birth (give), to a child | -fyááká | gójyááá | gójyááá |
| 125 | bite | -lírímá | gólumá | gólumá |
| 221 | bitter | ndbóó | -lóbí, ndbóó | -lóbí |

| No | English | KimúmaSúkumá | JinaKitiyá | GinaNtúú |
|------|-----------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| 223 | bladder | mtúko go mlíne | itúunji | itúunzi |
| 482 | blind person | mókú | mókú | mókú |
| 669 | blood | miiniringá | miiniringá | miiniringá |
| 496 | blow on, blow up | -fúulá | gofúulá, gofúulá, | gofúulá |
| 238 | blow bellows | -fúulá móbó | gofúgúta | gofúulíliá |
| 463 | blow away | -yengéjéá | gofhejéá, gohwéchéulá, | góláá |
| 776 | boast, brag, praise oneself | -isányá | gofháyá, gwfhájá, gwígrimbá, | godóósá, gojóná |
| 676 | boat | lyááto | gwfháliá | |
| 670 | body | mití | ibizmbi, lyááto | lyááto |
| 581 | boil up | -dudumá | -mití < mujiti | mití/mimití |
| 30 | boil (vt) | -sébyá | gopógómá, gojijiliá | gósijóká |
| 433 | bone | liguhá | gosejyá, gosijóká | gosijóká |
| 564 | bore a hole | -bulóliá | iguhá/máguhá | iguhá |
| 1008 | born (be) | -fyaálwá | gocijolá, godóla | chijolá |
| 910 | borrow | -bóká | gojyaálwá < jyaalá | gojyaálwá |
| 872 | bottle | jóbá | góláándá | gogopá |
| 928 | boundary | iojirimbi, ngelelé | jóbá | jóbá |
| 671 | bow, bending | wigóondé | iojirimbi | iojirimbi |
| 508 | bow | jolá | jolá | jolá |
| 953 | bowstring | jojji bó jolá | jolá | jolá |
| 58 | brain | poóngó | logé, iogoyé | logé |
| 509 | branch | itaámbi | poóngó | poóngó |
| 375 | bread | ngáati | itaámbi | itaámbi |
| 831 | break wind* | -bulá | ngáati | jótulo, ngaati |
| 77 | break, snap | kojítinza | gojjuucá, gónya ifuji | gónyá isúzi |
| 1036 | break wind | -bulá ifudi | gojítinza | gojítinza |
| 17 | breast (of a woman) | ndutú, ímónónó, mbeelé | iojiléle, ímónónó | gónyá isúzi |
| | | | | nóónó, mbeelé |

| | | | |
|---------|---------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| English | Kimunásukuma | Jinakitiá | Ginakituza |
| 489 | breath, breathing | myúyí | myúyí |
| 490 | breathes, rest | -eshémhá | gwéshéhémá |
| 138 | bridge | mháambókító | idáánhó |
| 139 | bridge (wooden) | íkítító | idáánhó |
| 885 | bring, fetch | -ééhá | gwéhéhá |
| 171 | bring to light | -énhéjéjé | gókumúúchá |
| 882 | bring up (a child) | l-éjé | gókíjé |
| 660 | brook, stream | kahúúúú, kámóóóóó | idóóóó |
| 942 | broom | íkúúúúú | ikúúúúú |
| 113 | broth | nsúj | nsúj |
| 381 | brother-in-law, sister-in-law | kwéshéjé | kwéshéjé |
| 341 | brother (older) | kwéshéjé | kwéshéjé |
| 673 | brother, relative, | ndúúú | ndúúú |
| | follow-the-brother | ndúúú | ndúúú |
| 874 | bruise badly, take the skin off | -chúúúúú | gókúúúúú |
| 71 | buffalo | múúúú | múúúú |
| 807 | build | -zéhéngá | gdzéhéngá |
| 674 | bull | nzágámhá | nzágámhá |
| 80 | bunch (of hair) | nshínjé | nshínjé |
| 890 | burden, load | nígó | nígó |
| 645 | burn (vt & vi) | -báká | góbáká, góbáká, góbáká |
| 231 | burnt (become) | p-á, nyéghéshéjé | góp-á, góp-á |
| 179 | bury | -jítá | gújítá |
| 555 | bush | ípúúú | tsáá, ípúúú |
| 21 | buttermilk | máphéjé malalá | máphéjé, máphéjé |
| 514 | buttocks | idákú/mádákú | idákú/mádákú |
| 301 | buy | -gúú | gdgúú |
| 873 | calabash | hóú | jísáá, sáhá |
| | | | gisááá |

| No | English | KimunaSukuma | Jinakiya | GinaNuzú |
|------|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| 857 | calf of the leg | sakú | sáludá | sáludá |
| 877 | calf | ndamá | ndamá, ndtiaáanthá | ndamá, ndtiaáanthá |
| 31 | call | -litaná | gwítaná | gwítaná |
| 675 | canoe (dug-out) | ripalája | ítáántí, iyáátó | iyáátó |
| 602 | canoe | iyáátó | ítáántí, iyáátó | iyáátó |
| 993 | carry a child on the back (in a blanket) | ifíráá | gwíjálá | gwíjálá |
| 567 | carry/lift on to head (take up) a heavy load | idítiká | gwídtiká | gwídtiká |
| 97 | carry astride on the hip | -kújjá | gobáápá | gobétiá |
| 560 | carry, take | -póochá | gobóócá | gobóochá |
| 578 | carry, convey | -hwáá | gobóócá, gobshishá | góchááá |
| 104 | cat | nyáájú, júushi | nyáájú, nyáájú | nyáájú |
| 286 | cattle | mitugó | mitugó | mitugó |
| 486 | cease, finish | -shilá | góshilá | gósilá |
| 526 | centipede | ndúmtiá hájítí | ndúmtiánájíí | gúfúúle |
| 247 | change, turn round | -gálóká | gógálóká | gógálóká |
| 334 | charcoal | ikálá/makálá | ikálá/makálá | ikálá/makálá |
| 983 | charm (esp. to ensure wife's fidelity) (n) | ibkómóóló, íbtéégó | íkikágó, íbsoómbó, íbikómóóló | isáámbá |
| 32 | chase (away) | -pééjá | gópééjá | gópééjá |
| 515 | cheek | isáyá, ítámá | ítámá, ísáyá | isáyá |
| 92 | cheerful (become) | -zááá(isáná, zááámúká, (sángá(isáá) | gósáángá(isáá | góbýéga |
| 106 | cheetah | - | - | náná |
| 585 | chest | shikújía | jikújía | gókújía |
| 672 | chest (of animals and birds) | shigúúú | jigúúú | gidááí |
| 431 | chief, headman | nyójiwá | ntémí/í(satémí | nyójiwá |
| 431a | chief | ntémi | nywánáángwá | ntémi |

| No | English | KimunaSukumá | JinaKitiyá | GimáNtúzi |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| 679 | child, infant | rweteleléle, ntgini, rwaána | rwáana, ntgini, rweetelele | rwáana, ntgini, rweetelele |
| 597 | child, offspring | rwaána | rwaána | rwaána |
| 886 | chin | shilezu | jilezu | gilezu |
| 83 | choose | -chaagolá | gocáagolá | gobóonjá |
| 109 | civet cat | nhiungo | jéwé | nhiungo |
| 255 | clan | lugaanda | ntála, lugaanda | lóbogó |
| 841 | climb, ascend | -linhá, fetéiá | golinhá, gódaanhá | golinhá |
| 550 | clod, lump | igeengeli, ilindó | ikindó, iloórho | ikindó |
| 851 | close (the eyes, mouth, etc.) | -ilimá | gólilimá (eyes), gómimyá (mouth, anus), | gólilimá, gókúumba |
| 299 | cloth | shilaambaála | jitaambaála | gitaambaála |
| 235 | clothe | -zwíchá | gózúká/gzwíká | gózwajá |
| 300 | clothes, material | myénda, ngólo | rwéenda/miéndá = myénda | ngólo |
| 305 | cloud | iluúndé | iluúndé/máluúndé | iluúndé |
| 817 | coagulate | -laála | golaála | golaála |
| 941 | cobra (spitting) | switá | ftíla, jipalámóngá | switá |
| 906 | cohabit | -itóombá | gwitáala | gblehya |
| 465 | cold | lonyili | mbého | mbého |
| 624 | come | -lizá | gwizá | guzá |
| 505 | come on suddenly, take in the act | sáangitijá | gósangantjá, gólugá | gótúungitijá |
| 230 | construct, put together | -léjéjé, -luúndá | góljéjé | gólúá |
| 471 | cook | -zugá | gózugá | gózugá |
| 557 | cook in water or fat | -séjyá | gólógóyá, góbsifóca | gópogomyá |
| 43 | cooking pan, small | likijyá | lojijá, losenekó | nhiungo |
| 385 | cool (become); get well | -pola | gópola, góhóá | gópola, gópóla, gólujá |
| 265 | copper, brass | shabá | shajjá? | shajjá |
| 283 | copy a pattern | -luúndéjéjé | gólóndéjéjé | goshókóelá |

| No | English | KimúnáSúkumá | JinàKiiyá | GinàNtùzú |
|------|------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 894 | cork, stopper | ikúndikijò | iciβijò, ikúndikijò | ikúndikijò |
| 52 | corpse, carcass | miimbá | miimbá (mu-βiimbá) | nyámáfú ? |
| 1001 | corpse (human) | mii | miimbá | miimbá |
| 383 | cough (vi) | -kólólá | gòkólólá | gòkólólá |
| 4 | count | -βááá | gòβááá | gòβááá |
| 100 | country (our) | sí | sí yiisé | sí yiiswé |
| 14 | courtyard | lúgáangá | gwáálúgwá, lùβòògá | lùβòògá |
| 852 | cover (up) | -kúndikijá | gòkúndikijá, gògùbá, gòkúumbá | gòkúundikijá, gògùbá |
| 285 | cow | ηòòmbé | ηòòmbé | ηòòmbé |
| 1003 | coward | ηòòβá | ηòòβá | ηòòβá |
| 335 | crab | igégélékà | ηgégélétyá | hàgá |
| 520 | crawl, creep | -lààndááá | gwáágùlá, gòshòòlómá | gwáágùlá |
| 612 | cricket | tóndógòsò | jiyéénzé, jinyéénzélélá | shéényé |
| 153 | cripple | némá | némá | ndéβilé |
| 803 | crocodile | ηwízná | ηwízná | ηzná |
| 319 | cross (a river) | -kíá | gòkíá | gòkíá |
| 846 | crow (n) | ηhòòngòòlò | ηhòòngòòlò | ηhòòngòòlò |
| 308 | crown of the head | ntwé gátí | lòòndóji, mháàndá/nháàndá | ntwé gátí, (lòòndózi) |
| 79 | crumple | -háiiβòlá | gòkúná | gòliingáliingá |
| 370 | crush by pounding, pulverize | -kómáàngá | gòpòòndá, gòbùúdá gòpòòndágòlá | gòt'wáàngá |
| 393 | crust | βògòkwá | ηgòkòlò | lògòkòlò |
| 160 | cry, wail | -lílá | gòlílá, gòηóólá | gòlílá, gwáàná |
| 966 | cucumber, small | liimbé | liimbé | liimbé |
| 736 | cudgel | ηhòómé, lùβúgú | igòònhó/mágoònhó, íláàrhá | βòhíli |
| 165 | cultivate | -límá | gòlímá | gòlímá |
| 950 | cure, cool, heal | -pójá | gòpólá, gòpítá | gòpítá |

| No | English | KimunaSukumá | Jinakiyá | Gimankuzú |
|------|----------------------------------|----------------------|---|-----------------|
| 355 | cut | -fiuta | gotemá, gojputá, góttiná | gotemá, gojputá |
| 98 | cut, lop | -gécédéjá | góséngá | góséwékéiá |
| 117 | cut to shape, sharpen to a point | -pòbónzá, -sòbóngóla | gósónjá, gòsòngpòlá, gònòbiá, gòpòbónzá | gòpòbónzá |
| 365 | dance (of men, to show courage) | -ilaámboóká | gotiámbofiá | gojliná |
| 53 | dance | -jina | gojliná | gojliná |
| 622 | dark, black | yáapi | giiti, -pi | -pi |
| 481 | darkness | giiti | giiti | giiti |
| 824 | dawn (vi) | kwángalòka | máktingó, gwébiá | gwángalòka |
| 359 | dawn, daybreak | máktingó | ikúngó | gwébiá |
| 744 | day after tomorrow | niòndó jòongí | mázòbòli | niòndòngí |
| 130 | day | lòshikò | lòshigò | lòshikò |
| 682 | day-lime | itimi | itimi | itimi |
| 869 | day (all) | lòshikò pyé | itimi bú | itimi ji |
| 751 | day before yesterday | mázòbòli | mázòbòli | mázòbòli |
| 423 | dead person | míu | míu | nzúmbáitké |
| 424 | death | ibíu | ibíu | íosu |
| 931 | decorate | -toná, -lòndá | gòtoná, gòkómá, gòjéégéiá | gòjéégéiá |
| 446a | defecate | -nyá | gònyá | gònyá |
| 631 | denial | pòlèmi | pòlèmi | némó |
| 821 | deny | -lémá | gòlémá | gòlémá |
| 648 | destroy, spoil | -jìllyá, -jìllyá | gòjìllyá | gòjìllyá |
| 437 | dew | lómé | lómé | lómé |
| 219 | die (cause to); put to death* | -jòlágá | gòjòlágá | gòjòlágá |
| 1027 | die * | -chá | gòchá < ciá | gòchá |
| 425 | die | -chá | gòchá/ciá | gòchá |
| 504 | dig up, dig out | -jòlólá | gòfugobólá, gòjòkòbiá | gòsúkòbiá |
| 503 | dig | -sítimbá | gòsítimbá | gòsítimbá |

| No | English | KimunaSukuma | Jinakiya | Ginaŋkizuzi |
|------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|---------------|
| 466 | diminish, grow less | -gécétiá, -gèhà | gògèhà, gòbòhà | gògèhà |
| 635 | dip | -dàbyà | gòsòombyà, -zòfikà, gòdàbyà, | gòsòombyà |
| 49 | dirt | fòsòsò | ifòdìmákò | -sòsò |
| 680 | district, province, country | igòbngpili | ifjàndà, càlò, sɪ | igòbngpili |
| 245 | divide | -gàfítà | gòpàljà, gòpàjàányhà | gòpàjàányhà |
| 512 | divorce | -lèkàánà | gòlèkàánà, fòjímò -gòjímòlià | ndèkàányà |
| 367 | do, complete, finish | -màlì | gòrmàlì | gòrmàlì |
| 366 | do | -itìà | gwtitìà | gwtitìà |
| 60 | dog | mvá [nyvâ] | mvá [nyvâ] | mvá [nyvâ] |
| 252a | donkey | nzòjè | nzòjè | nzòjè |
| 685 | door | nyànjòpò | njànjòpò, kwígì | nyànjòpò |
| 415 | dove (red-eyed) | mihùundà | rihòolò, rihèlè | rhiundè |
| 188 | doze | -ŋimndìà, -hìngèkèlì | gòhìndilìà | gòhìndilìà |
| 529 | draw water (from well) | -dàhà | gòdàhà, gòjítìà | gòdàhà mifmzi |
| 215 | dream (vt, vi) | -lòlòlì | gòlòlòlì | gòlòlòlì |
| 328 | dream (n) | shilòbò | ifilòbì | gòlòbòlì |
| 448 | drink | nyvâ | gònyvâ | gònyvâ |
| 196 | drizzle | lòzòulèzùulè, miaswàlilìà | gàlìalìlìà, giaswàlilìà | miaswàlilìà |
| 780 | drop, throw down | -sùungpòlìà | gòpònyà, gògùmà, | gòpwiishà |
| | | | gògwishà | |
| 284 | drum | nyòmà | nyòmà | nyòmà |
| 598 | dry (vt), set out to dry | -àanikilìà, -àanikjìà | gwaànikilìà, gwaànikìà | gwaànikjìà |
| 346 | dry | nyòbomu | -òòmù | -òòmù |
| 954 | dry up, ebb | -lìindòhà | gòkàrnà | gògèetìà |
| 345 | dry up, become dry | -kàmà | gòkàmà | gòdòmà |
| 288 | duck | mbsàatà | mbsàatà | mbsàatà |
| 243 | dust, cloud of dust | lòfjùufjù | lòfjùufjù, lòkòngò | lòfjùufjù |
| 628 | dwell | -lìkàlìà, -lìkàlìà | gwèkàlìà, gwègàashà | gwègèetìshà |

| No | English | KimúnáSúkumá | JináKiriya | GináNúúú |
|------|--|------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------|
| 482 | eagerness, zeal | rhòòmbò | jááhá, iwáahááhi | gòjuúgútá |
| 491 | eagle, bird of prey | ináándá | mbeéshi | ikóóná |
| 563 | ear | gòtò | gòtò | gòtò |
| 70 | earth, land | sí | sí | sí |
| 44 | earthenware vessel for serving up food | líikéjò | lòjòlígá, núúngò | lwáálíyá |
| 156 | eat | -lyá | gòyá/áilá | gòyá |
| 900 | effort, exertion | wiháámbi | ngúzú | pòkómágòkì |
| 273 | egg | lgi | lgi/mági | lgi/mági |
| 443 | eight | inááné | inááné | inááné |
| 705a | elbow | igòókòolá | igòókòolá | igòókòolá |
| 329 | elephant | mihòit | mihòit | mihòit |
| 336 | embers | ikálá | ikálá (lyá mòit) = ikálá lyá mòit | ikálá/mákalá |
| 842 | embrace | -kúmbáitíá | gòkúmbáitíá, gòjùgá | gògúumbá |
| 394 | end (come to an), cease | -gélela | gòoyá, gòshilá | gòoyá |
| 952 | escape, recover | -pítá, -pòjògpká | gòpòjògpká, gòpítá | gòpítá |
| 899 | examine, measure, test | -géleká, -píimá | gògémá, gògeleká | gògélá |
| 45 | excrement, dung | mááshì | mááshì | mááshì |
| 958 | exorcise, drive out a devil | -pééjá | gòlágòlá, gòjìimá pòrìumú | gòpééjá māsáamvá |
| 784 | explain | -lòrnéelá, -sòòmbòolá, -háyá | gòshòòméléjá, gòwítíá, gòsòòmbòolá | gòwítíá |
| 620 | eye | lìisò/mìisò | lìisò/mìisò | lìisò |
| 828 | eyebrow | ngòhé, màkúumbíisò | màkúumbíisò | mághòhé |
| 838 | eyelash | ngòhé | logòhò/ngòhé | logòhé |
| 587 | face downwards | -jùndáalá | gòjùndáalá | gòjùndáalá |
| 686 | face | jòshò | jòshò | jòshò |
| 940 | fade, disappear | -shilííá | gòjìimá, gòlìimá, gòjìimítá | gòsílá |

| No | English | Kimimásükumá | JinaKityá | GinaMüzú |
|------|------------------------------|--------------------------|---|-------------------|
| 891 | faint, lose consciousness | -jima | gofeeiwá, gúca gaffimbé gá ngi -gúca gaffimba gá ngi | gofeeiwá |
| 298 | fall | -gwá | gogúáigwá | gógwá |
| 549 | fall short | -lepeelwá, -shilfiwá | golejía, gulejela | gogéheiwá |
| 462 | fan, wave | -puungitá | gopúungitá, gónehéelá | gopúungitá |
| 704 | far | kole | -kole | kole |
| 921 | fat (be) (of animals) | -giná | gógina, gónoná | gónoná, gógina |
| 922 | fat (of animals) | -ginú | -ginú | -ginú, -nonu |
| 531a | father | íaaíá | íaaíá | íaaíá |
| 382 | father-in-law, mother-in-law | íaaíárimáayó íókó | íaaíárimáayó íókó | íaaíárimáayó íókó |
| 531 | father (my) | íaaíá | íaaíá | íaaíá |
| 687 | fear | íoojía | íoojía, íiníni | íoojía |
| 652 | feathers, fur | íooyá | íooyá | íooyá |
| 848 | fence, enclosure | ngitíí | logotó, igoojé, íoojía | íoojía |
| 858 | ferment, turn sour | íolá (gáasa) | golojía, goblá, gógáasa | gógáasa |
| 762 | few (a), not much | -geéhu | -geéhu | ngééhu |
| 757 | fierce, sharp | rháití/-kált | -kált, -óogí | rháití/-kált |
| 421 | fig-tree | - | - | ntiini |
| 422 | fig-mulberry tree | rkóyó | rkóyó/rimikóyó | rkóyó |
| 216 | fight | -lwá | gwikényá, gólwá/lwá | gókényá |
| 804 | fill | -óokóá | gókálá | gómálá |
| 176 | fill a hole, stop up | -chíjía | gocjía | gochjía |
| 583 | filter, strain | -kénénéjía | goyóungá, gókenená, gógida | gówiwá |
| 50 | filth | íóososo | -soso | makaambálá |
| 516 | final, decisive | rháitíkijó < -kálá 'end' | ngéelé, rháitíó <gókálá, gókálíká | ngéeléó |
| 760 | fine, excellent | nsóombá, nyéelá | -sogá, -íza, -sóombá | -sóombá, -íza |
| 447 | finger | hwááá | hwááá/rimááá | hwááá |

| No | English | KimunaSukuma | JinaKiya | GinaNtuzú |
|------|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 323 | fingermail | lyalálá | lyalálá/walálá/njalálá | lyalálá |
| 474 | fire | móóló | móóló | móóló |
| 280 | fireplace, hearth, kitchen | lilíká | lilíká | lilíká |
| 970a | firewood (collect, cut) (vt) | -seerhá | góbseená, góbsoleéá | góbsoleá njhó |
| 413 | firewood | njhwá | lóká/njhwá | nyéó |
| 191 | fish up, pull out | -lójá, -gwalápulá | góbziqolá | góbólá, góbzuqá |
| 126 | fish (old Swahili <i>nsw</i>) | ndzilíó | shí | shí, ndzilíó |
| 190 | fish (vt), trap fish | -zuqá | góbzuqá | góbzuqá |
| 400 | fish | ngúrní | ngúrní, jiiqhiandi | ngúrné |
| 525 | five | itaanáó | itaanáó | itaanáó |
| 493 | flap wings wildly, flutter | -fúlogitá | góbabaná, góbiiqilíná | góbabaná |
| 832 | flatulence | -píimbeélwá | írují, njúúó, góbizóká, ndóóó | góbizóká |
| 384 | flavoured (be properly) | -koléá | góló/bngá | gómóná |
| 907 | flower | jujaláqó | polaláqó, polaláqó | polaláqó |
| 278 | fly (house) | ngí | ngí | ngí |
| 1028 | fly (vt) | -lálá | golalá | golalá |
| 1032 | foam * | ifuló | íruúó/máfuúó | ifuló |
| 502 | foam | ifuló | íruúó/máfuúó | ifuló |
| 143 | follow (in order) | ilóóndééá | góbóóndéjá, gókóóqíjá | gójíitilá, góbóóndééá |
| 142 | follow | -kóóqíjá | mháámhá | mháámhá |
| 823 | food supply for a journey | ipóólú | ípóólú | ipóólú |
| 556 | forest | -sulá shóóqí | gótulá | gósulá |
| 584 | forge | -ifíqá | gwíqíqá | gwíqíqá |
| 989 | forget | lork, bilurcation | ifíásá, ípágálá | ngwákáó, lógokó |
| 458 | fork, bifurcation | iné | iné | iné |
| 442 | four | dborgó | dáangá | dáangá |
| 295 | frog | íróq | - | matwáajó |
| 574 | fruit | íróqóóndwá | - | matwáajó |

| No | English | KimunaSukuma | JimaKitya | GinaNtuzú |
|-----|--|---------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 349 | fry | -kaiiaŋgá | gókaiiaŋgá | gókaiiaŋgá |
| 836 | fully developed, be | -aaiókáká | gókómétiá, gókóká | goshikaaná |
| 625 | full (become) | -óókólá | gókóká | gómáadka, góokavá |
| 316 | garden | shiliugú | jisaiáti, jiaáŋŋá | ilagó |
| 419 | gather (flowers, fruit) | -yoŋŋá, -siuŋgólá | goyoŋŋá | gógésá, goyoŋŋá, góosólá |
| 91 | gathered (be), assembled (be) | -ŋŋilirŋá | gwŋŋilirŋá | gómáányhá |
| 368 | gazelle (Grant's) | laála | laála, ŋjá | laála, ŋjá |
| 454 | gazelle, small (impala) | mhalá | mhalá | mhalá |
| 108 | genet (kind of speckled civet cat) | nhiuŋgú | nhiuŋgú | nhiuŋgú |
| 408 | get, obtain | -paándiká | gópáandiká | gópáandiká |
| 684 | ghost, sudden apparition | káŋŋéŋŋá, néngééŋŋi | ŋhóŋŋ? | lihiuŋgá |
| 568 | giraffe | nhiwŋŋá | nhiŋgá | nhiŋgá |
| 246 | give away (present) | -saiámhá | gósaiámhá, gómóonhá | gósunyá |
| 449 | give | -irihá | gwŋrrihá | gunhá |
| 916 | give light to | -twirrá | gótirrá | gúmirká |
| 815 | glide, trickle | -sétá | góbóobóobóká, góbóobóobóká | góséá, góbóobómá |
| 269 | go | -já | gójá/gójóŋŋá | gójá |
| 639 | go in, come in, enter | -ŋngitiá | gwŋngitiá | gwŋngitiá |
| 63 | goat | mbofi | mbofi | mbofi |
| 694 | goat, (he-) | ngulyáati | ngulyáati | ngulyáati |
| 695 | god | múciungú | kobŋŋé, lyobŋŋá | lyobŋŋá, múciungú |
| 753 | good | yá waijá | -sógá, -izá | nsógá, -áa ŋuzá |
| 388 | goshawk (East African) (Astur fachiro) | hiuŋgwé ? | . | lóbŋŋáá, ikóli |
| 66 | grain (of cereal) | lópéké | lópéké/mbéké | lópéké/mbéké |
| 686 | grandfather | gókókó | gókókó | gókókó |
| 697 | grandmother | máamá | máamá | máamá |

| No | English | KimunaSukumá -dómítíá, -díimítíá | JinaKíyá gokumbanjá, godiimá, godimítíá | GinaMúzá g'uguumbá |
|-----|--|-------------------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 432 | grasp, hold in arm | | | |
| 698 | grass, reeds | iswámáswá | máfa, máswá | máswá |
| 406 | grate | -kwááá | gókwaáá | gókwaáá |
| 409 | great, powerful, big | nháále/-láále, -koló | -koló, -láále, -díimá | -láále/nháále, -koló |
| 164 | grief, sorrow | ǂsundúházú | ǂoptiná, ǂyobnzú | ǂusundúházú |
| 371 | grind (grain with a millstone) | -shá | ǂoshíá/shá | ǂoshá |
| 372 | grind coarsely | -hááá | ǂohááá | ǂohááá |
| 212 | groove, furrow | ǂholóméá | ǂhólóombá, ǂgóká | ǂlórǂgá |
| 801 | ground, cultivated | ǂǂóndá | ǂǂóndá | ǂǂóndá |
| 405 | grow up, get large, become great | -kolá | gokolá | gokolá |
| 913 | grow (of plants) | -mélá, -méléá | ǂǂzwá | ǂǂzwá |
| 461 | grown (be fully) | -hóá | gokolá, gókómééá | gokolá, gókósbká |
| 373 | gruel, light porridge | ǂhólómbá | ǂhólómbá | ǂhólómbá |
| 358 | grunt, grumble | -kúúmá | gokúimá | gokúumyá |
| 205 | guide aight | -lǂǂgélá | ǂǂlǂǂgélá | ǂǂlǂǂgélá |
| 351 | guinea-fowl | ǂháǂǂǂgá | ǂháǂǂǂǂgá | ǂháǂǂǂǂgá |
| 701 | gun | ǂǂóǂǂǂ | ǂǂóǂǂǂǂ | ǂǂóǂǂǂǂ |
| 702 | hair | ǂǂyǂǂǂǂǂ | nzǂǂǂǂǂ | ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ |
| 977 | hair (long straight- of animals and Europeans) | ǂǂshǂǂǂǂǂ ? | wǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ | ǂǂyǂǂǂǂǂ (ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ) |
| 75 | hair (white, grey) | ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ | nzwá/nzoi, mvt | mvt |
| 703 | hand (flat of) | ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ | ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ | ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ |
| 157 | hand, right | ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ | ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ | ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ |
| 439 | hand (left) | ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ | ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ | ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ |
| 476 | handle, haft | ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ | ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ | ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ |
| 779 | hang in mid-air | -ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ | ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ | ǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂǂ |

| No | English | Kimùmásúkumá | JinaKityá | GinaNtuzú |
|-----|---------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 655 | hard | -dirnú | -daámú/-daám -dirnú/-dirín | ndilimú |
| 377 | hardship, distress | mákóyé | mákóyé | mákóyé |
| 294 | hare | sáyáayi | lónyáándó | lónyáándó |
| 781 | haste | wáangó | wáangó wáangó | wáangó |
| 795 | hate, detest | -gila | gókólwá | gókólwá |
| 700 | hay | máswá | máswá mbómú | ngítíli |
| 678 | head, chief person | ntáálé | nywáángwá, njóóló, nsómhá ntáálé | ngíojíwá |
| 356 | head | nhwé | nhwé/nhwé | nhwé |
| 352 | head-pad | ngatá | ngatá | ngatá |
| 561 | heap | lójíjít | lójíjít | gíbóndó |
| 381 | heap up, ready/set on fire | -kóméiá | gópémbá (mbóto)= pémbá | gílingjíliá |
| 623 | hear | -íigwá | gwígwá | gúgwá |
| 543 | hear | ghóóló, mbóyó | ghóóló | ghóóló |
| 944 | hearthstone for putting pots on | ihiga | ishigá/mashigá | ishigá/másigá |
| 893 | heavy, serious, dull | ndító | -dító | ndító |
| 705 | heel (of foot) | ishiiginá | ishiiginá | ishiginá |
| 681 | heifer | ndogósá | ndogósá | ndogósá |
| 418 | hem, make a border | -pífrndá | gohítrndá, gohítrndó | gohítrndá, góptíndá, gótoóliá |
| 690 | hen, fowl, chicken | ngokó | ngokó | ngokó |
| 766 | here | áhá, ókó | áhá | áhá, ókó |
| 863 | hiccup | kisákámbólé | jiságámbólé, jisákúumbí | gisagámúlé |
| 800 | hide (vt) | -físa | gofíisa | gofíisa |
| 38 | high, be (of meat) | -fóla | gogúundá | gofíolá, gogúundá |
| 326 | highway | ipáándá | ibálábálá, ípáándá | ipáándá |
| 309 | hill | káábógóóló | lógóóló | lógóóló |

| No | English | KimunaSukuma | JinaKitiya | GinaNiuu |
|------|--|------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 925 | hip | lokunú | lokunú | lónónggá |
| 317 | hippopotamus | ngúfó | ngúfó | ngúfó |
| 396 | hit with a hammer | -kómáingá | gókómá, gótola | gotola ná núundó |
| 706 | hoe | igémbé | igémbé | igémbé |
| 990 | hold, arrest | -dima | godimá, góywaashá | godimá |
| 575 | hole, nest | npójo, ipóndó | caánjó, npójo, ipóndó | ipóndó, ichóóngó, npójo |
| 836 | hollow out | -bakótiá, -pónzá | gókúumbá, gókóombá | gókóombá |
| 816 | home | kojiise | kaaya, gokaaya | gó kaaya |
| 654 | honey | potóki | potóki | potóki |
| 150 | honour | -koja | gokojá | gokojá |
| 797 | hook (for pulling down branches in plucking fruit) | lojéilo | ngwáakó, ngófyó | ngwáakó |
| 189 | hook (fish) | ilojo | ndójaánó | ilojo |
| 707 | horn, ivory, tusk | mhéémbé, ipéémbé | mhéémbé, ipéémbé | mhéémbé, ipéémbé |
| 288 | horse * | - | faiáása | faiása ? |
| 708 | house | niúmbá | niúmbá | niúmbá |
| 263 | how many? | shingá | -ngá | silngá |
| 572 | hump (of hunchback) | logukú | logukú, igéémbé | logukú |
| 573 | hump (of cow) | logukú | logukú | logukú |
| 756 | hundred | igana | igana | igana |
| 320 | hunger | nzala | nzala | nzala |
| 33 | hurt | -golyá | gohwimá | gohwimá |
| 34 | hunter (professional) | ngófyá | rhwírimí | rhwírimí |
| 35 | hunting | logófyá | bohwírimí, gohwírimá | gohwírimá |
| 227 | husband | ngooji | -gooji | ngooosi |
| 808 | tut | niúmbá, ipáándá | ipáándá, sombitili, sóngéleli | loboso |
| 709 | hyena | mbili | mbili | mbili |
| 1016 | | nééné | nééné | nééné |

| No | English | KimunaSukuma | JinaKiya | GinaKitzu |
|------|------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1013 | idleness, sloth | poolo, pógokolo, pótee aiazú | pógokolo, poolo wimogolelwá | poilemééwá |
| 901 | ill (be); groan | -saátá | gósááádá, gótwáááá | gósááá |
| 902 | illness, (crippling) | pósaátú | pósaááú | pójéchélé |
| 275 | imitate | -fígíjía | gwíngéméjía | gókó ó ítíjía |
| 16 | in front of | kó pó obóngi | nó óngá, mbéle gó pó oóngi, | há pó oóngi |
| 353 | in the middle of | hágátt | hágátt | hágátt |
| 118 | incite | kósbkóóá | gósámtíá | gókórnýá |
| 206 | increase, make greater | -óóngéjía | góóngéjía | gúóngéjía |
| 155 | increase | -kwítíá, óóngéjía | góóngéjía, -kwítíá | gókwrítíá |
| 428 | inherifance | wíngítá, pógá ítíe | wíngítí, póléketwá | pólékolwá |
| 542 | inside, in | múgátt | múgátt | múgátt |
| 353a | inside, middle | hágátt | múgátt | hágátt |
| 132 | intestines | pó á | pó á | pó á |
| 389 | intoxicated (get) | -kólwá | gókólwá | gókólwá |
| 513 | iron ore | shikó é | co omá | lók ilí |
| 264 | iron | chóbómá | jístínzá, cúómá | chóbómá, gístínzá, zínzít |
| 710 | island | íjínzá | íjínzá | ízínzá |
| 2 | itch | -pé é | góp ápá | góp ápá |
| 460 | jammed (become) | -há ngí íá | góbhágá, gwíshidá | góbhágá, góhala |
| 853 | jaw (bone) | tsáyá | tsáyá, íháámbáyó | tsáyá |
| 960 | jealousy | wí úú | wí úú | pó úú |
| 271 | journey | lógeléndó | lógeléndó | lógeléndó |
| 606 | judge (v1) | -fá n ú á | gób á ng ó íá, gó á n ú á | gólá n ú á, gób á á lób nywá |
| 810 | jump, leap | -ítáá nbóká | gwítá ndí k á | gwítá ndí k á |
| 477 | kidney | m hígó | m hígó | m hígó |
| 218 | kill | -pó á gá | góp pó á gá | góp pó á gá |
| 677 | king | nié n í | nié n í | nié n í |
| 787 | kite | fú ng wé | fú ng wé | ík ó í |

| No | English | KimúnáSúkumá | JinaKityá | GínáNtúú |
|------|-----------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 347 | knead | -máándá | gólujá | gólujá, gókaándá |
| 348 | knee | izwi | izwi | izwi |
| 427 | kneel | -lujá | gólujá, góSugámá | gólujá |
| 607 | knife | lòshò | lòshò | lòshò |
| 402 | knife, thin, curved, broad-bladed | Ifyègèlò ? | Imòbèlò | mhòolò |
| 704 | knot | Iguúndò | Iguúndò | Iguúndò |
| 626 | know | -mááná | gómááná | gómááná |
| 178 | lake | nyáánzá | nyáánzá | nyáánzá |
| 151 | lame (be) | -lígítá | gógígítá | gógígítá |
| 511 | lamp | talá | talá, ceéngé | talá |
| 99 | land (dry) | sí nyòòmú | -sí | sí nyòòmú |
| 761 | large, great, big * | mháalé | -laalé, -kòlò | -kòlò, nítáalé/nháalé |
| 94 | laugh | -seká | gòséga | gòséká |
| 792 | lay over on one side | -súúndá | gwínitá, gòpònjá | kájáúzú |
| 1000 | lazy | gògòkòlò | -gòkòlò, -òòlò gòléméelwá | -léméelwá |
| 699 | leaf, blade of grass | lòbòtò, lswá | lòbòtò/máòbòtò | lòbòtò |
| 1025 | leaf (tree) | lòbòtò | lòbòtò | lòbòtò |
| 911 | leak, ooze out | -zwá | gòzwá | gòzwá |
| 96 | lean, bend down, slope | -imámá | gòkumámá | gòkumámá |
| 536 | lean on, rely on | -sééndámítá | gòsééndámítá, gwísájá | gòsákífwá |
| 796 | lean, become; grow thin | -gáándá, -kòòndá | gòkòòndá | gòkòòndá |
| 535 | learning (be) | -laálitá | gòkòòndá | gòsééndámítá |
| 613 | learn | -lilangá | gwínámá, gwiyinámítá, gòsééndámá | gòsééndámítá |
| 546 | leave, permission | -zúnitijá | gwílaangá, gwyítigá, | gòlaangá |
| 1011 | leave over | -sàájá | gòlágwá <gòlágá gòsàájá, gòlèkèlè | gòzúnitijíwá gòsàájá |

| No | English | KimunaSukumá | JináKĩiyá | GinàNtùzù |
|------|------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| 547 | leave, go away | -ĩngà | gwĩngà, gòjá, gòþòókà | gwĩngà |
| 544 | leave (off) | -léká | gòléká | gòléká |
| 975 | left over, (be); remain over | -shigá | gòsàagá, gwikàtá | gòsàagá |
| 310 | leg, foot | gògòlò/màgòtò | gògòlò/màgòtò | gògòlò/màgòtò |
| 774 | lend, borrow | -gòpá, -bòkà, (làándá) | gòlàándá | gòlàándá |
| 107 | leopard | sòþi | sòþi | sòþi |
| 878 | lick (vt) | -làámbá | gòlàámbá, gòkòliinhá | gòlàámbá |
| 134 | lie down | -làálá | gòlàálá, gòlàmbáalá | gòlàámbáalá |
| 250 | lie on one's back | -sàgálálá | gòsàgálálá | sàgáálí |
| 791 | lift up, pick up | -núúngéèjá | þòòcá, gwĩmĩfíká gògòngòómóá | gòþòòchá |
| 467 | light in weight | mbòòpú | -bòòpú | -bòòpú |
| 304 | light, sky | igòtò | igòtò | igòtò |
| 805 | lightning | lòlápí | lòkòþá | þòméémé ? |
| 657 | lime, whitewash | swáákáá | fáágáá, swáágáá | ndòþá |
| 213 | line, row | lòhĩlĩlĩ, þòshòólé | lòhĩlĩlĩ, nsòlòtò, þòólé | þòólélé, lògòlòólé |
| 659 | line, fishing | þòjí | - | ntéò ? |
| 103 | lion | shĩimbá | shĩimbá | shĩimbá |
| 198 | lip | nómó | nómó/milòómó | nómó |
| 956 | listen | -dégéléká | gòdégéléká | gòdégéléká |
| 972 | listless (be) | -nèdéká | gòyògómá | guyóóhá |
| 1024 | liver | itĩmá | itĩmá | itémá |
| 429 | livestock (keep) | -súgá | gòsáþá | gòsúgá |
| 819 | lobster | - | - | - |
| 794 | locust | njigé | njigé | nzigé |
| 155a | long (become) | -lĩhá | gòlĩhá | gòlĩpá, gòþitĩlĩjá |
| 144 | long | ndĩhú | -lĩhú | ndĩpú, nĩpú |
| 131 | look after, care for | -áàngáilíá | gòlárháná, gòlàþádá, gòláþitíá | gwáàngáilíá |

| No | English | KimúnaSúkúma | JinaKiyá | GinaNtúú |
|------|--|----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 871 | look after grazing cattle, help a sick man on the road | -dima | gobáima, gobáaphána, gobáfitá | godúima, gotóbongeéla |
| 354 | look at, examine | -lólá | gólá | gokéngééla |
| 354a | look around | -lálángjía | gwíalángjía | gololéla |
| 200 | look for, hang around (to get something), pursue | -lónnéelá, -isóófítá | gosóófítá, gosóbómítá | gopópótá |
| 973 | loose (be); faint, weak | -diéla | góléjía, gónogoléka | gónogoléka |
| 181 | lush, get | -jímítá | gojímítá | gozimítá |
| 1023 | louse | ndá | ndá | nda |
| 799 | love, want | -logwá | gotógwá, gotáyá | gotógwá |
| 934 | lung | mabóópó | ibóópó/mabóópó | gikufá ? |
| 713 | magic * | ítóbógi | ítóbógi | ítóbógi |
| 714 | maize | ítivdége | líndége/máandége | líndége |
| 521 | make offerings to the dead | -táambiká | gogáfa, gógelá, gwígaftá, gótáamba | gogáftá |
| 226 | male | ngóshá | -góshá, íbéhí | ngóshá |
| 10 | mamba, green (kind of poisonous snake) | lobóótó | ítáambáhtíli | sáwáádí ? |
| 793 | many | nyíngí | -íngí | níngí |
| 1019 | many * | nyíngí | -íngí | níngí |
| 897 | marriage | wítóbóji | wítóbó, mbóllá | ítóbózi |
| 895 | many (of man) | -tóllá | gótóllá | gótóllá |
| 896 | many (give in marriage-of parents, priests) | -tóbá | gotóbá | gotóbá |
| 814 | master | seéjía | íjogónzó | nyáángbó |
| 888 | match, harmonise (v) | -léepánjía | gobéngántá | gobéngántá |
| 935 | mature | íkóméelé | -kómézu | gosóóká |
| 596 | meat | nyamá | nyámá, nyámá | nyámá, nyámá |
| 259 | medicine, remedy | íjogótá | íjogángá, íjogótá | íjogótá |

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|-----------|--|---------------------|-------------------------|
| No | English | KimunaSukuma | GinaNtuzú |
| 260 | medicine (art of medicine man) | ĩgagaĩngá, ãĩfũmú | ĩgagaĩngá, ãĩfũmú |
| 261 | medicine-man | ngagaĩngá | nágaži, ngaĩngá, mĩfũmú |
| 90 | meet | -sagaĩngá | gomaĩnyhá |
| 861 | melt | -aĩfũ | gwaĩja, gobaĩasaana |
| 845 | midwife | kaĩndĩ | ngĩmĩ |
| 859 | migrate, move away | -saĩmá | gĩsaĩmá |
| 1030 | milk (n) | maĩjelele | maĩjelele |
| 20 | milk (curdled), curds | maĩjelele | maĩjelele, maĩsĩbĩngá |
| 19 | milk, (fresh) (n) | maĩjelele | maĩjelele |
| 903 | millet (bulrush) | ĩjĩjele | ĩjĩjele |
| 290 | millipede | ĩgĩngĩgĩ | ĩgĩngĩgĩ |
| 73 | mix (ingredients, 'season food') | -ĩjĩjeke | gĩtibĩngá |
| 72 | mix, put together | -saĩngá | gĩsaĩngá |
| 363 | monkey (small lightish-coloured) | ĩhĩmbĩĩĩ | ĩhĩmbĩĩĩ |
| 362 | monkey (colobus- (with long black silk hair, white on shoulders) | ĩhĩmbĩĩĩ | ĩhĩmbĩĩĩ |
| 361 | monkey (small, dark-coloured) | ngĩbũ | ngĩbũ |
| 716 | moon | ngĩwĩjĩ | ngĩwĩzi |
| 609 | moonlight | ĩjĩ ngĩwĩjĩ | ngĩwĩzi ópĩ |
| 59 | mosquito | mĩbũ | mĩbũ |
| 436 | mother | maĩyũ | ĩyá, maĩyũ |
| 65 | mould (pottery) | -ĩjĩmbá | gĩjĩmbá |
| 717 | mountain | ĩgĩbũ | ĩgĩbũ |
| 163 | mourning | ngĩhĩngũ | ngĩhĩngũ |
| 1026 | mouth | nĩmũ | nĩmũ |
| 272 | movement | ĩgĩeĩndũ, gáĩĩĩĩ | ĩgĩeĩndũ |
| 979 | mud, mire | ĩjĩlũlũ | ĩtĩmbĩ |

| No | English | Kimúnásúkumá | Jinakitjá | Gimánitúzú |
|-----|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 642 | mushroom | βoβja | βoβja | βoβja |
| 152 | mutilated (be) | -lemehiáá | gohimááá | gohéjā |
| 281 | name | ifina | | ifina |
| 539 | namely | giki | rumbō, nōtō | ōná |
| 403 | nape (of neck) | βokosi | riβōri | βōgosi |
| 256 | navel | lokūndi | nikōndi | rikuṇdi |
| 765 | near | hahō | -bizi, -hizi | hihi |
| 379 | neck | nhiŋgō | nhiŋgō | nhiŋgō |
| 843 | need, request | -dākā | βātōgawā, gōhāyā βōlōombi, riβōmbō | gōdākā |
| 962 | new | mihyā, -pyā | -pyā, mihyā | mihyā, -pyā |
| 718 | night | βōjikō | βōjikō | βōzikō |
| 755 | nine | keṇdā | keṇdā | keṇdā |
| 484 | nose | lyotō | lyotō, niṇdō | lyotō |
| 211 | number | rihāngalā | gōβālā ? | gijālō |
| 237 | oar | ngahi | nditihō | ijugitō |
| 939 | obstruct | -lemejā | gocijā, gōcāimā | gōjijā |
| 48 | offspring | βōjyitile | riwāriā | riwāriā |
| 66 | oil (from plants) | māgūtā | βōnāiā, māgūtā | βōgōōndō ? |
| 435 | oil | māgūtā | māgūtā | māgūtā |
| 818 | old times, the past | kālē | kālē | kālē |
| 411 | old person | nāarmhiāiā, ngikōtō | nāarmhiāiā (m) rygkōtō (f) | nāarmhiāiā, ngikōtō |
| 410 | old | riholokōtō | riholokōtō | riholokōtō |
| 214 | one-eyed (being) | sōngō | sōngō | sōngō |
| 440 | one | imō | -imō | imō |
| 590 | open mouth wide | -āāsimā | gwāāsimā | gwāāsimā |
| 984 | open | -lugōtā, -kuṇdiāiā | gōlugōtā | gōlugōtā |
| 829 | open (set ajar) a door | -lugōlā | gōlugōlā, gōtōjā | gōtōjā |

| No | English | KimúnáSúkumá | JináKtiyá | GináNtúú |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| 876 | order, direct | -lagíjá | golagíjia | gótómíjia |
| 961 | ostrich | nóongú | nóongú | nóongú |
| 640 | cur(s) pl. 1st person | yíisè | (y)íisè | iswé |
| 506 | out (go), go away | -íngá | gwíngá, gótúmá | gwíngá |
| 324 | outside | háanzé | -háanzé | háanzé |
| 217 | overcome; win, vanquish | -líndá | gókííndá, góhészíá | gókííndá |
| 995 | owed by, be | -lóondwá | gótóondwá < gótóondá | gótóondwá |
| 835 | oyster | - | - | - |
| 207 | pack (luggage) | -úungíiá | gótúungányá | gótúungá |
| 208 | pack, press together | -sóongéiá | gósógá, góshidányá | gokáandíktjia, góshíindíia |
| 456 | pack, flock, group | idááité | idááité/máááité | íjiiá |
| 457 | pack, bale, bundle (n) | liójótá ? | íjiiá/mbíitá/májjiiá | - |
| 236 | paddle (n) * | ngáhi | núumbá/mítúumbá | isulusi ? |
| 342 | palate | iláárgó | ndíinó | ndíirhó |
| 9 | palm (date) | nténdé | iláárgó | iláárgó |
| 719 | palm-wine | - | nténdé | nténdé |
| 257 | palm (of hand) | shigáanza | - | wáálwá |
| 6 | palm (raphia) | - | jigáanza | gíngáanza |
| 7 | palm (borassus) | ihámá | ? | - |
| 8 | palm (oil) | nchikichi | ? | - |
| 459 | palpitate, flutter, tremble | -zigúrná | gótíiníhá, gódetémá, | gódetémá |
| 47 | parent, s/he who begets | myáájí | gózúgurná | myáázi |
| 720 | parrot | kasukú | myáájí/íáábyáájí | - |
| 232 | pass, surpass | -jíitá | gójíitá, gókíiá, | gójíitá |
| 325 | path | nziíá | nziíá | nziíá |
| 159 | pay | -lípá | gólípá | gólípá |
| 600 | pay attention, take care | -lólá | góláájjiiá, gólóóá | góléggélejíá |

| No | English | KimunãSúkumã | JinaKityá | GinãNtuzú |
|------|-----------------------------|--------------------|--|-----------------------|
| 820 | peel, shell | -yógolá, -lòndòolá | gòpaliá, gòkujjòlá, gòtòndòlá | gòtòndòolá |
| 12 | peg | mábógò | ?mbágò | mámámò |
| 11 | pegs (tent) | lómámámò/mámámò | lómámámò/mámámò | mámámò |
| 484 | penetrate | -nwéelá | gòshéebá | gwirigitiá |
| 721 | penis | lòjòlò | ndòbò?7, mbòlò | gìsòòngò |
| 884 | penknife, lancet | kagèlmbè | lòshò | lòshò ló jògòndé |
| 558 | person | múunhò | múunhò | múunhò |
| 638 | pestle | rwizí | rwizí | rwizí |
| 312 | pig | ntòòmbá | ngúújé, ntòòmbá | ntòòmbá |
| 414 | pigeon, kind of | ntiunúá | ngiunúá | rhéelé |
| 579 | pile up, pile loads on head | -jìlingitiá | gwáááá, gòtòfíá | gòtòfíá |
| 479 | pinch, make narrow | -shiná, -jòongá | gòshiná | gòsiná |
| 357 | pipe (tobacco) | lòséké, iséké | lòséké | lòséké |
| 552 | pit, hole | lòhòòngò | lòhòòngò, rjòòjò, ipòòndb | lòhòòngò |
| 974 | place, put (vt) | -lòblá | gòtòblá, gòditiá | gòtòblá |
| 722 | place (n) | háanbò | háanbò, háeljé, lwáandé | háanbò |
| 892 | place of the dead | kòlímú | gòlímú | gò jàchi |
| 225 | plait | -shijjá, -súká | gòbóká, gòshijjá | gòshijjá |
| 932 | plant, sow | -háámhá | gòháámhá | gòháámhá |
| 510 | platform | lòtáálí | lòtáálí | hitálé, lòtáálí |
| 834 | please, satisfy (vi) | -yejía | gòlòòmbhá, gòpòjía gòtògìshná, gòtòjía | gòsujía |
| 93 | pleased (be) | -yejliwá | gòwígòyá, gòyèjía | gòyèjliwá, gòtògìshwá |
| 13 | plot of ground | lògáàngá, lójòògá | gòtògwá, gòyègá | lójòògá |
| 647 | plunder (a town) | -nyègètèjía, -témá | ibaaálí | gòdìlmá |
| 1014 | plunge into, cause to sink | -nwéelá | gòsòònzá | gònwéelá |
| 114 | poke | -sòòsèlá | gòlìjjiá | gòsòòsèlá |

| No | English | KimwĩmũSũkũmũ | JinaKitĩyũ | GĩnũMũzũ |
|-----|---|---------------------------------------|--|--------------|
| 737 | pole, thin | lojĩalũ | loĩĩo/ĩĩĩo | loĩĩo |
| 111 | polish, clean by rubbing | -kũũsũ | gopũlũ, gopũlũlũ, gopũlũlũ, gopũlũ, gopũlũlũ | gopũkũndũolũ |
| 177 | pool, pond | ĩĩĩĩmbũ | ĩĩĩĩmbũ, ĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩmbũ |
| 923 | porcupine | nũũngũ | nũũngũ | nũũngũ |
| 374 | porridge (stiff) | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ |
| 42 | pot (metal) | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ |
| 41 | pot, vessel | shĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ |
| 39 | pot, mug | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ |
| 40 | pot, cooking (earthen) | nũũngũ | nũũngũ | nũũngũ |
| 749 | potato (sweet) | nũũngũ | nũũngũ | nũũngũ |
| 646 | potter's kiln | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ |
| 369 | pound (grain in a mortar to get off the husks) | -ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ |
| 441 | pour away | -ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ |
| 641 | pour | -sũũĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ |
| 748 | pregnancy | ndũ, ĩĩĩĩĩĩĩĩ, ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | gopũlũ, gopũlũlũ, gopũlũlũ, gopũlũlũ | gopũlũlũ |
| 636 | pregnant, be | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ ndũ, ĩĩĩĩĩĩĩĩ, ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ndũ | ndũ |
| 599 | prepare | kũĩĩĩĩ ndũ/ĩĩĩĩĩĩĩĩ; kũĩĩĩĩ ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | gopũlũĩĩ ndũ gopũlũĩĩ ndũ -gopũlũĩĩ ndũ gopũlũlũ | gopũlũĩĩ ndũ |
| 553 | press out (oil seed, sugar cane) | -ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | gopũlũ, gopũlũlũ | gopũlũlũ |
| 986 | produce, put forth, display | -kũũĩĩĩĩ | gopũlũ, gopũlũlũ | gopũlũlũ |
| 909 | prominent (be), put out | -ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | gopũlũ, gopũlũlũ | gopũlũlũ |
| 518 | pronounce | -ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | gopũlũ, gopũlũlũ | gopũlũlũ |
| 340 | protect by charm (medicine) | -kũũĩĩĩĩ | gopũlũ, gopũlũlũ | gopũlũlũ |
| 947 | protect by charms (target) | -kũũĩĩĩĩ | gopũlũ, gopũlũlũ | gopũlũlũ |
| 475 | puff-adder | shĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ | ĩĩĩĩĩĩ |

| No | English | KimwaniSukumá | JinaKitiYá | GinaNtúZú |
|------|--------------------------------|----------------|--|------------------------------------|
| 244 | pull | -diúá | gobúrá, gogwésá | gogwésá |
| 173 | pull up, come to a halt | -itímá | gwtímá, gwtímtiá | gwtímá |
| 172 | pull up, root up | -diúbóliá | gobúbóliá | gobúbóliá |
| 833 | pull, drag | -gwbésá, -diúá | gobúrá | gogwésá |
| 57 | pump | ijóombá | ijómbá | ngóká |
| 548 | push | -shimidiká | goshimidiká | gosiinditká |
| 992 | put, place, set | -tóbóliá | gobóliá, gojíticá | gobóliá |
| 887 | put together for comparison | -helá | goleénganjá | goleénganjá |
| 969 | put a pot on the fire | -legá | gohégá | gobóbliá (figo) |
| 981 | put together, compose | -liungá | gobobrygá, gojjejá gobobrygá, gobuungá | gotúumdiá |
| 862 | python | sató, ndelémá | sadó | sató |
| 656 | quarrel (vi) | -lwá | goyógá, gwíkénjá | gokényá |
| 180 | quench, extinguish | -jrimyá | gójrimyá | gózimyá |
| 485 | quiet (be) | -léndá | gotúitká, goblémbéla | guleéndá |
| 76 | rain | mbuléá | mbuléá | mbuléá |
| 917 | rain (vi) | -tóbli mbuléá | gobóliá mbuléá | gobóliá mbuléá |
| 1006 | rains, the lesser | iswáaliákiá | gá/ákiákiá, gáswáaliá | máyááyi |
| 197 | rainy season | kidikó | jidikó | gidikó |
| 580 | rumble | -liduusitá ? | gobúumdiá | gobúumdiá, gobulumá |
| 26 | rat, kind of | ngósó | - | siná |
| 488 | rat (field) | ngósó | - | ngósó |
| 24 | rat | ngósó | - | mbéjiá |
| 25 | rat- (very large, long-tailed) | ngósó | ngósó | selezi |
| 883 | razor | logéembé | logéembé | logéembé |
| 949 | read | -sómá | gósómá | gósómá |
| 1007 | reap, harvest | -gesá, -yojja | gogésá, gobukobóliá, gobuléá, goyojjá | gogésá, goyojjá, góstimbá, gobuléá |

| No | English | KimwãSúkumã | JinaKityã | GinaMũzũ |
|------|---|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 523 | receive | -ããnukuãã | gwããnukuãã, gòbòkèèãã | gwããnukuãã, gòbòkèèãã |
| 537 | reed | mãdètètè | idètètè/mãdètètè | mãdètètè |
| 632 | refuse, say no | -lèrnã | gòlèrnã | gòlèrnã |
| 633 | reject, refuse, dislike | -gìãã | gòlèrnã, gòlèrnèjã | gòlèrnã |
| 545 | remain, stay behind * | -sããgã | gòsããgã, gwĩkããã | gòsããgã |
| 1035 | remain, stay | -ikãã | gòsããgã, gwĩkããã | gòsããgã |
| 840 | remember | -ìzòkã | gwĩzòkã | guzòkã |
| 499 | resemble * | -ìkòlã | gwĩkòlã | gùkòlã |
| 879 | resemble (very closely) | -ìyìkòlã | gwĩkòlã | gùkòlã |
| 1031 | resemble * | -ìkòlã | gwĩkòlã | gùkòlã |
| 149 | rest heavily on, be burdensome | -dìdìhèlwã | gòlèrnèjã, gòlũrnã, gòhèbèjã | gòlũrnwã |
| 964 | rest the cheek on the hand (in brooding mood) | -pĩmĩthãã, -sũũndũhãã | gwĩtòtĩ ãmãã < gwĩtòlã ãmãã < gòtòlã ãmãã | gòtòlã pòhããjĩ |
| 957 | rest, take a holiday | -ìfũũã | gwĩfũũã | gũfũũã |
| 249 | return, go back | -shòòkã | gòshòògã | gòshòòkã |
| 1004 | return | -shòòkã | gòshòògã | gòshòòkã nũmã |
| 500 | revive | -jòbòchã | gòpĩmbòtòcã, gòjòbòcã | gòjòbòchã |
| 318 | rhinoceros | mihèlã | mihèlã | mihèlã |
| 988 | rib | lòjãzũ | lòjãzũ/mbãzũ | lòjãzũ |
| 473 | ripe | shihilè | -pìlè | -pìlè |
| 996 | ripen (vi) * | -hyã | gòpyã | gòpyã |
| 472 | ripen (vi) | -hyã | gòpyã/gòpìã | gòpyã |
| 209 | river | mòòngò | mòòngò | mòòngò |
| 239 | roar, rumble | -hìlĩmã | gòhìlũndũmã, gòrjòlã, gòlũmã, gòhìlĩmã | gòrjòlã |
| 644 | roast | -kãlããngã, -òòmĩchã | gòbòcã, gòkòrnèjã | gòbòchã |
| 350 | roast (mby fire) | -chòmã | gòbòcã | gòbòchã |
| 806 | rock | shìgããngã | jìgãngã, ãtãlè | ìtãlè |

| | | | | |
|-----------|--|------------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| No | English | KimunaSukuma rhuungulume | JinaKitya | GinaNtuzi gongpiligongu, rhuungulume |
| 281 | rooster (cock) | nj | rhuungulume | nzi |
| 169 | root | ijollile | -fuzu, -fi | -fuzu |
| 29 | rotten | -ikobnzeele | gwifilinga, gwilinga | gullinga |
| 1012 | round (be) | -galoka, -galochu | galinga, gilinga, gwiyngojia | gocinja |
| 183 | round (go), turn round | -ikobnzeele | gwifilinga | gotuanga |
| 989 | round, become | -kulusa | goshinga, gogiusa | gokola |
| 110 | rub | ijososo, mapalala | mapalala | makambalala |
| 50a | rubbish, garbage | ichoorpo | ikandilo | makambalala |
| 321 | rubbish heap | -peela | gopeela | gopeela |
| 826 | run | shitaambo | jigililo, jikambo | rholo |
| 522 | sacrifice | muunhu | muunhu | muunhu |
| 723 | salt | maseni | saangasaanga, masalo | saangasaanga |
| 95 | sand | -ligota | gwigota | gugota |
| 630 | satiated (be); have enough to eat or drink | -ligoja | gwigotyá, gbtombya | gósujá |
| 788 | satisfy | -witia | gwitila | gowitila |
| 251 | say to, tell to | rholo | rholo | rholo |
| 783 | scorpion | -pala, -kwala | gopala | gopabrza |
| 453 | scrape | -kwala | gopala | gokolobosa |
| 855 | scrape, grate | -shina | goshina, gokwala | goshina |
| 856 | scratch, grate * | imbolelo | molo, imolelo | mholelo |
| 668 | scythe, sickle | -chola | gacola, gokoola, gocola | gokoolja |
| 84 | search for | -kula | gokula | gokula |
| 85 | search diligently | isumbi, shiti ? | tsuumbot | isuumbot |
| 738 | seat, stool, chair | -jona | gajona | gajona |
| 770 | see | mbyo, mbevu ? | mbyo | mbyo |
| 67 | seed | -dima | godima | godima |
| 404 | seize | -enekete | -enkiti | -enekete |
| 611 | self | | | |

| No | English | KimunaSukuma | JinaKitiyá | GinaNtuzú |
|------|--------------------------------|--------------------|--|--------------------|
| 302 | sell | -gólá | gojlinjá | gojlinjá |
| 570 | send | -lómá | gotómá, gobáálá | gotómá |
| 451 | separate, set apart | -lékákányá | gotékákányá | gotékákányá |
| 450 | separate, leave each other | -lékákáná | gotékákáná | gotékákáná |
| 534 | set a trap | -légá | gotéga | gotéga |
| 868 | set (of the sun) | -gwá lítími | gotéga, gotíjítíá, góśakálítíá, góléka | gotéga, gúla |
| 971 | settled (be); be in good order | -lééndá | gotéengántá | gotéengeleléjá |
| 754 | seven | mpúungáítí | mpúungáítí | mpúungáítí |
| 1033 | sew * | -sumá | gósurná | gósóná |
| 589 | sew | -sumá | gósurná | gósóná |
| 135 | sexual intercourse with (have) | -lóombá, -lúombá | gwéltómbá, gwélláálá | gúlaálá, gwéltómbá |
| 691 | shadow, shade | mibého | nyewéngéjéj, mibého | mibého |
| 867 | shame, disgrace | minálá | sóní | gúgúóká |
| 116 | shame | sóní | sóní | minálá |
| 724 | shame, modesty | minálá | sóní, minálá | minálá |
| 386 | sharp (be) | -óogíthá, -kálíthá | gotóogíthá, gotkálíthá | gotkálíthá |
| 920 | sharpen | -nóólá | gónóólá | gónóólá |
| 915 | shave | -móógá | gómóógá | gómóógá |
| 603 | she, he | wééi | wééi | wééi |
| 287 | sheep | rhólo | rhólo | rhólo |
| 1009 | sheil, cowrie | shilimbí | shilimbí | shilimbí |
| 822 | shvel | - | lógáálá, lódeléka | giobóngó |
| 725 | shield | lómóóbá | lópóóbá | lópóóbá |
| 712 | shin (bone) | nóóndí | nóóndí | nóóndí |
| 968 | shiver, shudder * | -zigúumá | godétémá, gónígíná | gófúlamá |
| 528 | shiver | -zigúumá | godétémá | godétémá |
| 434 | short | ngúhít | -gúhí | ngúhí |
| 430 | shoulder, tip of | lóléga | lóléga, májóléga | lóléga |

| No | English | KimúnáSúkumá | JináKíiyá | GínáNtúzu |
|-----|--|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| 588 | shoulder | ípègá | ípègá | ípègá |
| 839 | shout | -hámúká | gòyógá, gòyógáná | gwáántíllá |
| 946 | shrivelled (be); wrinkled | -ítá miinya | gòpáálá, gwhóbá, gwhínúúdá | gwiitá síizókòlò |
| 763 | sick | -sáátú | -sáádú | -sáátú |
| 870 | sift | -yòòngá | gòyòòngá | gòyòòngá |
| 615 | sing | -ítmbá | gwhímbá | gwhímbá |
| 3 | singe | -báβa | gòbáβa | gòbáβa |
| 980 | sink, be drowned | -túβíllá | gòlíβíllá, gònwèéllá | gòrjáwá nhúli |
| 170 | sink | -nwèéllá | gòlíβíllá | gòlíβíllá |
| 726 | sister (his)/ (her) brother | ilòòmbò | ítòmbòyè | ilòòmbò |
| 627 | sit | -ikálá | gwhígááshá | gògííshá |
| 753 | six | itáándátò | ítándátò | itáándátò |
| 785 | size, measure | - | nshimò, ngèlè | ngèlèkèlò |
| 123 | skin (of person) | ikóβá, ndíí | íkóβá, ndíí | ikòònzá, ndíí |
| 124 | skin/rind (of fruit) | lyóólá, igòòngwá, igáándá, igóólá | ígóólá, íkúúlú, íkòóllé | igóólá |
| 303 | sky | ilúúndé | ígòlò, ílúúndé | ilúúndé, igòlò |
| 865 | slander, accuse falsely, often secretly | -sááyítá | gòsòònlèjé, gòβòòlá | gòβòòlá |
| 470 | slap | -tòlá ípi | gòpáálá | gòpáálá, gòtòlá ípi |
| 970 | slash | -témá, -fègá ? | gòsèéngá, gòtémá | gòswèkà ? |
| 220 | slaughter | -síinzá | gòsíinzá | gòsíinzá |
| 727 | slave, bond servant | nsèsé | nsèsé, mfúgwá | nsèsé |
| 728 | slave (female) | nsúgwá | nsèsé, mfúgwá | nsèsé |
| 729 | slave, (male) | nsúgwá | nsèsé, mfúgwá | nsèsé |
| 136 | sleep (vi) | -líindítá | gòláálá | gòshíitòlá |
| 731 | sleep (n) | -tòlò | tòlò | tòlò |
| 730 | sleeping-place, accommodation | ndáálò | ndáálò > gòláálá | ndáálò |

| No | English | KimunaSúkumá | JinaKitiyá | GinaKituzú |
|------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---|------------------|
| 967 | slip, be slippery | -chótoñóiká | gócóñjá, gótyóñjá, gacóñóñóiká, góñéñjá | gótyóñjá |
| 1021 | small | ndó | ndóñjé | ndóñó, ndó |
| 332 | smallpox | yñina, ndóñjé | ndóñjé | ndóñjé |
| 241 | smell (sweet) (vi) | nyáasó (n) | góniurñhá | góniurñhítá |
| 242 | smell (bad, of fish) (n) | ñóniurñhu, kóñjógutá ? | íst, ñóniurñhu | góniurñhá |
| 240 | smell (bad) (vi) | -niurñhá | góniurñhá | góniurñhá |
| 629 | smoke (n) | lyóochi | lyóochi | lyóochi |
| 428 | smoke (give out) (vi) | -ziúkkítá | gózúuká | gózúuká |
| 387 | snail, slug | ngóokú, ndóñgá | ngóokú, jipóokú | ngóokú |
| 837 | snail | ngóokú, ndóñgá | ngóokú | ngóokú |
| 145 | snake, serpent | nzóká | nzóká | nzóká |
| 158 | snake, trap (n) | ntégo | ntégo | ntégo |
| 864 | sneeze | -lyáámúúá, llyáámúúchá | gwtyáámúúá | gwtyáámúúá |
| 924 | sniff, smell out | -niurñhá | góbéñá, góniurñhá | góniurñhá |
| 296 | snore, snort | -holóótá | gónpóolá | gónpóolá |
| 69 | soil | ñóñindó | ñóñóññó | ñóñóññó |
| 732 | song | lyñimbó | lyñimbó | lyñimbó |
| 616 | songs * | mñimbó | lyñimbó | mñimbó |
| 36 | soot | mitágé, njijó, mñiló | mñilóñññil/makñití, mitágé | mñilóñññiló |
| 195 | sorcerer | nógi | nógi | nógi |
| 201 | sore | mñóóndó | ñibóndá | ñibóndá |
| 734 | soul, spirit | ñhóoló, mñóyó | ñhóoló | ñhóoló |
| 331 | sound, cry | ñiká | ñiká | ñwááno |
| 64 | space (open) | kóñjógá | kóñjógá, ñwáátá | ñwáátá |
| 82 | spark | ñsáñ | ñsáñ | ñsáñ |
| 253 | speak | -yóombá | goyóombá | isáséñmáásáñ |
| 733 | spear (n) | ichimú | ñimú | ichimú |
| 137 | spend time | -hóoyá, jññijá makáanza | gohóoyá | gohñtyá makáanza |

| No | English | KimunaSukuma | JinaKitya | GinaNtuzi |
|------|---|----------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|
| 991 | squeeze oneself up against a wall (e.g. to allow another to pass) | -isiundá | gwíginika, gwishidéléja | giupegebeká |
| 914 | squeeze out | -twina | gokamá | gokáandá |
| 343 | squeeze, milk | -sheemhá | goshémá | goshémá |
| 102 | squirrel | - | gafúundi | gafúundi |
| 562 | stack, pile up | -sobombyá | gobónda, gobolifá | gobólifá |
| 1029 | stand (vi) | -ltrimlá | gwíimá, gwíimifá | gwíimifá |
| 735 | star | soónda | soónda | soónda |
| 390 | stare, glare | -fyótólá | gafúyótólá, gafúúndólá | gómógólá miiso |
| 202 | start off, send away | -peéja | gwínyá | gwínyá |
| 799 | startle, catch unawares | -kuungá, -sáangánija | gokáangá | gwisámboKija |
| 830 | startle, jerk | -gútblá | gokáangá | gwisámboKija |
| 618 | steal | -lilja | gwíjía | gwíjía |
| 266 | steel | chóbómá | - | chóbómá ngárhá |
| 554 | stem (of maize, millet, etc.) | ipelele | ipelele/mápelele/ mbelélé | ipelele |
| 825 | step over | -liláambóká | gokítá, gokítárhá, gotáambóká | gokítárhá |
| 315 | sterile man (or woman) | ngobómá | ngobómá | ngobómá |
| 541 | slick | náárhá | náárhá | náárhá |
| 74 | stir, mix by stirring | -lujyá | gósáájá, gobugusá | gobugusá |
| 850 | stir | -lujyá | gósáájá | gósáájá |
| 78 | stir up | -tejá ? | gofúúicá, gokomyá | gólúmyá |
| 61 | stone | hwé | hwé (pl. máwé) | hwémáwé |
| 228 | store up, collect | -sobombyá | gósobombyá, gobónda | gofúilingá |
| 154 | straight (make) | -golólóchá | gogólóóá | gogólóóá |
| 268 | stranger, guest | ngeni | ngeni | ngeni |
| 661 | stream, current | ikóóndó | lókáangá, ngobómó | núkumá |

| No | English | Kimuniasükümä | JinaKtiyä | GimaNtüzü |
|-----|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 798 | strength, power | ngüzü | ngüzü | ngüzü |
| 140 | stretch oneself | -igobóóá | gwígobóóá | gugobóóá |
| 395 | strike, knock | -guucúja | gobucimá | gógucúdjá |
| 982 | strike with a spear | -chimá | gobimá | góchimá |
| 282 | string (n) | póji | íobíója | póji |
| 487 | strip off (e.g. grains of corn) | -yogolá | gohololá, góyogolá | goyogolá |
| 519 | strut proudly | -lisányá | gwíháyá, gwíháyá, gwígímtá | gúsányá |
| 407 | stumble | -igúumhá | gwípámá, gwígúumhá | gógúumhá |
| 997 | stunted (be), be spoilt | -gebótéá | góbíipá | góbíipitwá |
| 948 | stutter | -hyahyátíja | goháhádtíja | goháhádtíja |
| 594 | suck (the breast) | -óonjá | góonjá | góonjá |
| 480 | suck (v) | -bipa | gobipá, góonhá | gobipá |
| 912 | suffer, bear patiently | -igumtíja | gwíyóómtíja | gýóómtíja |
| 802 | sugar cane | máguwá | ígúwá | igúwá |
| 333 | sun, light | ítimi | ítimi, iyóója | ítimi |
| 184 | surround | -iyóóngódíá | gopínditíá, gógója | gópínditíá |
| 438 | swallow | -mílá | gómilá | gómilá |
| 777 | swear | -íliántíá, -íihááktíá | gwíliántíá | gúlóóngá, guáhtíá |
| 905 | sweat | lóbúyú | lóbúyú, lícúúú | líúúúú |
| 392 | sweep up, collect in a heap (rubbish) | -kumingá | gópýááglá, gósóómbýá | gókúmingá |
| 943 | sweep | -hyááglá | gópýááglá | gósááglá |
| 517 | sweet, pleasant | -nónú | -nónú | -nónú |
| 51 | swell | -píimbá | gópíimbá | gópíimbá |
| 608 | sword (short) | lóbshó | lóbshó | lóbshó |
| 933 | sword | ípáárgá | lóbshó | paárgá |
| 360 | tall | nkúá | nkúá | nkúá |
| 875 | take leave of | -lága | goblága | goblága |

| No | English | KimúnáSúkumà | JinàKìiyà | GìnàNtùzú |
|------|-----------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|----------------|
| 778 | take in (from rain, etc.) | -òòjà | gòòjà | gòòjà |
| 565 | take, carry | -bòòchá | gòsólá | gòbòòchá |
| 233 | take off (clothes), undress | -zúùlâ | gòzúùlâ | gòzúùlâ |
| 530 | tangle | -yâánjwá | gòtájà, gòtájànâ | gòzwáanjâ |
| 898 | taste (v) | -lójá | gòlójá | gògèrnâ |
| 985 | teach, instruct | -lâárgâ | gòlâárgâ, gòhéembékâ | gòlâárgâ |
| 621 | tears | shiisòji | jiisòji | miisòzi |
| 412 | ten | ikòmi | ikòmì | ikòmi |
| 121 | termite | nswâ/miswâ | nswâ/miswâ, mfâ/mlfâ | nswâ/miswâ |
| 739 | testicle | mákíndá ? | lòbòlò/mbòlò lòbògólò/mbògólò | mbòlò |
| 1020 | that | iyó | iyó | -yó, -chó, -bò |
| 455 | thatched roof | ìḽiimbilè | jisòònzò | ìḽiimbilè |
| 767 | there | àhò, òkò | àhò, òkò | àhò, òkò |
| 54 | they | bòòì | bòòyí, bè | bòòì |
| 444 | thick, fat | ngínú | -gínú, -nónú | -gínú |
| 86 | thicket * | isáká/másáká | iságá | isáká/másáká |
| 854 | thicket | kásáká | iságá | isáká |
| 619 | thief | ḽwiḽi | ḽwíḽi, ḽwiḽi | ḽùḽi |
| 23 | thigh (of human) | itáangò | itáangò | itáangò |
| 22 | thigh (of animal) | gòlòòmbò | jiìòòmbò/itáangò | itáangò |
| 559 | thing | shiihò | gìihò, jikòlò | gìihò |
| 987 | think, imagine | -iigániká | gwígániká | gudètá |
| 651 | thirst | nóótá | nóótá | nóótá |
| 740 | thorn | liihwá | liifá | liiswá |
| 689 | threaten | -káárgâ | gòkáárgâ | gòógòhyâ |
| 532 | three | idátó | idátó | idátó |
| 115 | thrust into | -chímá | gòcímá, gòsómá | gòchímá |
| 420 | tick (cattle or dog) | ḽhúundyâ | ḽhúundyâ | ḽhúundyâ |

| No | English | KimúmaSúkumá | JinaKityá | GinaNtuzú |
|------|--|--------------------|---|---------------|
| 1034 | tie (fasten) (vt) | -deenyá | gótúungá | gótúungá |
| 258 | tie up | -túungá | gótúungá | gótúungá |
| 978 | tingle with excitement | -yegá | gwágilimbiá | gutiá náámhá |
| 119 | tip, point | íòsòóngé | nénò, òsòónjé | mhiéó |
| 741 | tobacco | ítúumbátt | ítúumbátt | ítúumbátt |
| 146 | today | léléó | léléó | léléó |
| 742 | toe | lwáálá | òòòónò, lwáálá | lwáálá |
| 445 | tomato | inyáányá/mányáányá | nyányá | itolé/mátole |
| 105 | tomcat (half-wild) | kímbóó | kímbóó | kímbóó |
| 743 | tomorrow | ntóóndó | ntóóndó | ntóóndó |
| 166 | tongue | ítóimí/ndimi | ítóimí | ítóimí/ndimi |
| 120 | tooth (canine), tooth filed to a point | lilínó | . | twírimlò |
| 267 | tooth | lilínó | lilínó/mínó | lilínómiínó |
| 306 | top, peak | ngéttéó | ígólýá | hígólýá |
| 293 | tortoise | mthúú | gúúmáádi | gúúmáádi |
| 277 | town | njilini | kááyá | mádróká ? |
| 378 | tramp of feet | ntilindó | nkúindó | nkúindó |
| 270 | travel | -yééfiá | goyééfiá, gojá/gójjá | gójá ígbééndó |
| 540 | tree | lítrí | ntí | lítrí |
| 538 | tremble, shake (vi) | -détémá | gobdétémá | gobdétémá |
| 566 | trickle away | -zwá | gottiná, gòsòbítóká | gòzwá |
| 401 | trunk (of elephant) | nkóóndó | nkóóndó | nkóóndó |
| 604 | try | -gémá | gógémá | gógémá |
| 605 | tsetse-fly | ibóbóló | nòpòló, ngí | bóbòró |
| 938 | turn upside down, turn over | -galòchá | gòsinólá, gòttíndòlá, gògálòcá, gògálòlá | gòkúúndiká |
| 174 | turn round | -píndbòlá | gòpínditijá, gòpílimyá gwáyòngògójá, gòpíbiá | guyòngògójá |

| No | English | KimùnáSúkù má | JinàKiiyá | GìnáNtùzú |
|------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| 711 | tusk, elephant's (middle size) * | mhèembé | liinò, ipèembé | liinò, mhèembé |
| 452 | twin | máβàsá | ìβàsá/máβàsá | máβàsá |
| 185 | twist roll, spin with fingers | -dòsá | gòdòsá, bòtà | gòdòsá |
| 483 | twist, esp strands | -sòβyá | gòbòtà | gòliingáliingá |
| 752 | two | -βiti | ìβiti | ìβiti |
| 18 | udder | shinèná | jinèná | ginèná |
| 945 | uncover, reveal | -kúundòlá | gòfúndòlá, gòkúundòlá | gòkúundòlá |
| 551 | unripe, half grown | itindí | itindí, -βisi | ndòβéjá |
| 994 | unripe, uncooked | ìβisi | -βisi | -βisi |
| 311 | up, above | higòlyá | higòlyá | hiigòlyá |
| 614 | upright | wíimá | wíimá | wíimá |
| 446 | urinate/defecate | -nyá, -sùβàálá | gòsùβàálá, gònyá gòtùundágá, | gònyá, gòtùundágá |
| 745 | urine | miinè | minè | miinè |
| 569 | use | -tòmíilá | gòtòmámíilá | gòtòmámíilá |
| 307 | utmost, highest point | ηhàitkijó | jisòònzó | βòkàitkijó |
| 904 | vapour, gas | myòòyí, lyòóchi | myòòyí, myòòyé | ηòòyòòyò |
| 380 | vein | ηwáánji | ηwáánji | ηwáánzi |
| 276 | village | chàáló | ìgòòngòlí, càáló | gìjiji ? |
| 692 | virgin (bride), girl | ηwáàlòki | ηwíβéembú | ηwáániki |
| 327 | vision | shilòòti | jilòòti | gìlòòti |
| 330 | voice, (thunder) | nùundùmò | ìláká | ìláká |
| 224 | vomit | -lòká | gòlòká | gòlòká |
| 524 | walk (take a) | -simiinzá | gòsimitzá, gòyéelá | gòsimiinzá |
| 269a | walk | -jà | gòsimitzá | gòjà |
| 847 | wall | ndùgú | ndùgú | ìsèéngè |
| 983 | want, need, wish | -iikánwá, iikòòmuvá, -dáká | gòháyá | gòdáká, gòkòòmuvá |
| 507 | war | βòlògò | βòlògò | βòlògò |
| 790 | wart-hog | ηgíli | ηgíli | ηgíli |

| No | English | KimunaSukuma | JinaKivya | GinaNtuzi |
|------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 860 | wash oneself (after evacuating) | -itshéénétshá | gwápyáagóla, góshéénéberá | gósháagóla, góshéénéberá |
| 127 | wash (hands) | -oojá | goolá, gokalájá | gokalájá |
| 128 | wash (clothes) | -fúla | gobóla, gokanzá | gokáanzá ngójo |
| 129 | wash, take a bath | -óoga | gobóla | góoga |
| 322 | water | milinzi | milinzi | milinzi |
| 959 | wave, let off a trap, remove a spell | -sofóóla | gókáagóóla, góloógóóla | gózimya |
| 1017 | we | þilisé | (y)ilisé | þilisé |
| 1010 | weak | þóthetu | -gokolo, -teftu | -néneéla |
| 881 | wear a child, give leave, send away | -gija | goleca, gobilishá | gójija, góbuushá |
| 234 | wear, dress | -zwaála | gbuzáala/gózwáala | gózwáala |
| 501 | weave, knit | -sumá | gobómá, gòsumá | gòshoná |
| 1015 | weight, rhythm | þóditó | þóditó | þóditó |
| 210 | well | kwilnzi | kwilnzi | kwilnzi |
| 56 | wet (get) | -lojla | goddá, góþóombá, góbója | gódóla |
| 919 | what? | ki | ki/ki/(y)ki/ki? | kiyi |
| 469 | which? | ndaki | -lit | litné |
| 182 | whistling | sháji, nji | nóli | nóli |
| 175 | white man | mzóngu/þázóngú | mzóngu | -óopé |
| 610 | white | -áape | -ilit, -pé | -áapé |
| 918 | who? | náani | réánti/náant? | óyakti(té) |
| 28 | wicked | -áa þóþi | -þi | -áa þóþi |
| 339 | wife | rkirnia | riké | riké |
| 187 | wind up (thread) | lingá | golingá | golingá |
| 746 | wind | lýyága | lýyága | lýyága |
| 937 | winnow | lýyága | góbhéra, góbéétá, gwéétá | gwéétá |
| 112 | wipe | -hyáagóla | gópýagóla | gósháagóla |
| 88 | wire (brass) | þóðóódi 7, wáaya ? | íténdéla/maténdéle | þózi þó chóómá |

| No | English | KimunaSúkumá | JinaKtiya | GinaNtúzu |
|------|---------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 194 | witchcraft | βòlògi | βòlògi | βòlògi |
| 279a | withhold from | -gòβá | gwímá | gúmá |
| 279 | withhold from, abstain | -βisilá | gwílecá <gòtèká | gùlèchá, gwiyiimá |
| 338 | woman | ɲkífmá | ɲkílmá | ɲkífmá |
| 747 | womb | ndá, ɲhúumbí | ndá, ɲhúumbí | ɲhúumbí |
| 812 | word | mháyò/miháyò | mháyò | mháyò |
| 772 | work as a mason | -zééngá | gòzééngá | gòzééngá |
| 167 | work (n) | nímó/milimó | nímó/ milimó | nímó/milimó |
| 81 | wrap up | -liingá | gògòndá, gòliingá | gòliingá |
| 344 | wring (clothes) | -kámá, -bigisá | gòkámá | gòkámá |
| 773 | yawn | -iiyáhyòlá | gwááyòlá | gwááyòlá |
| 593 | year | ɲwááká | ɲwááká | ɲwááká |
| 750 | yesterday | igòlò | igòlò | igòlò |
| 15 | you (sing.) | βééβé | βééβé | βééβé |
| 1018 | you (pl.) | βiirjwé | (y)iirjwé | βiirjwé |
| 715 | young man | ɲyáándá | ɲáándá | ɲyáándá |
| 637 | your(s) (pl. 2nd) person) | yiirjwé | (y)iirjwé | liirjwé |
| 693 | youth | nsòòmbá, múúnyhá | nsòòmbá, ɲwááníki | ɲwáálòki |
| 292 | zebra | ndòóió | ndòóió | ndòóió |

Appendix 1. Zone F word-list: F31

| No | English | KiniUshóólà | KiniLaámá Central | KiniHáanzú |
|------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------------|---------------|
| 133 | abdomen, stomach, belly | ndá | ndáá | ndá |
| 495 | abscess, boil | pyó | pyóó/mápyóó | ipútè/máipútè |
| 786a | abundant/abound | pá, pò | miingí | idó |
| 786 | abundant | pá, pò | póó | ntényá |

| No | English | KināUshóóà | KiniLaambà Central | KiniHaanzú |
|------|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 571 | abuse, insult | kòtòkàná | kòtòkìlì | kòtòkìlìaná |
| 252 | abuse, reproach | kòkòtáklìlì | kòlágánìlì | kòlèá |
| 809 | accustomed (get) | kòjìlìá | kòkìjìlìá | kìzòódiá |
| 274 | act (vi) | kòjìpyá | kòtèèndá | kìtómá |
| 229 | add up | kòyóóngèèlyá | kòyóóngèelyá | kòhànglìlìnkányá |
| 927 | adjacent (be); border (vi) | kòyímbìnxáná | kòkìmbìmbìlìá | mímbì (n) |
| 662 | adze, carpenter's | nsésó | nséésó | nséésó |
| 254 | affair | lòkàáni/njàáani | lòkàáni | lòkàni |
| 1002 | afraid (be) | kòyóópóká | kòyóópóká | kògópá |
| 168 | agriculture | lyimá | kìlímó | kìlímó |
| 926 | all | swè, túlwè | swèé | ìthí |
| 248 | alter, change | kòkàlìá | kòkàlìá | kòkàlìá |
| 595 | animal | nìnmù | nìnmù | m(ú)nyámá ? |
| 617 | answer a call | kòyítìkà | kòyítìkà | kìitìkà |
| 782 | answer, reply | kòshòókèèlyá | kòshòókèèlyá | kòjìbù ? |
| 664 | ant (reddish-brown biting) | nèlèlì | nèlèlì | nyèèlì |
| 122 | ant-hill | kìgòtò | ànìnjèndò | kìgòtò |
| 663 | ant (small) | júúndwí | nsóóngòtì | múlwá |
| 586 | anvil | tyáántìó | tútìtìó | mwaàndá |
| 989 | apply by stretching, spread over | kòkómá | kòkómá | kògòóliá |
| 976 | appoint, set up | - | kòyífmìkyá | - |
| 55 | arm, hand | mòkónó | mòkónó | mòxónó |
| 771 | armpit | nkwáápá | mpyèégèné | kìsúkòsúkò |
| 203 | arrange, put in order | kòpáángá | kòpáángá | kòpáángá |
| 204 | arrange, put right, repair | kòjìptìlyá | kòzìpyá | kòzìpyá |
| 478 | arrive | kòpìkà | kòpìkà | kòpìkà |
| 665 | arrow | nsòóngá | nsòóngá | mòyí |
| 666 | arrow (head of); spear head | - | nsòóngè | ndilimá |

| No | English | KinàUshóólà | KiniLàambà Central | KiniHàanzù |
|------|---------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 337 | ashes | máú | máú | máú |
| 199 | ask for | kólóómpá | kólóómpá | kòlòómpá |
| 89 | assemble, collect (vt) | - | iliringítà | kòhàngòitá |
| 789 | aunt (father's sister) | sééngi | nòkòkòtò | màmámá |
| 148 | avoid, dodge | kòshógá | kòtyéégá | kìhèjá |
| 688 | awe, fear of God | kòkòlyá, kòlyóómpá | wfèkèlì | kòlòómpá |
| 667 | axe | mpóópó | mpóópó | ihééngò |
| 364 | baboon, ape | mpóómá | mpóómá | mpómá |
| 634 | back of (at the) | númá | númá | kònyúmá |
| 297 | back | mùgòòngó | mùgòòngó | mùgòòngó |
| 297a | backbone | ɲkómé yá mùgòòngó | ɲkómé yá mùgòòngó | mùgòòngó |
| 27 | bad | mbí | mbí | ibí |
| 37 | bad (become), rotten (vi) | kóyólá | kóyólá | kòólá |
| 87 | bait | - | kítégèlò | lòdyá |
| 398 | banana (plant) | mùgòómbá ? | múdizi ? | mùgòómbá ? |
| 397 | banana (fruit) | ndizi ? | ndizi ? | ndizi ? |
| 399 | banana (for cooking) | - | - | múzúú |
| 1005 | baobab | mwaándó | mwaándó | mwaándó |
| 1022 | bark (of tree) | - | gyóé | igáámbá |
| 313 | barren (of living being) | mùgòómbá | ngòómbá | mùgòómbá |
| 314 | barren (of land) | bámbási | dómú | ìjángwá ? |
| 376 | base of tree-trunk | shilinkwí | tiná/mátiná | itíná/mátiná |
| 650 | bask (in the sun), warm oneself | kóyóótá | kóyóótá | kótá |
| 576 | basket of open wicker-work | kigáángé | kísóonzò | kísémé ? |
| 577 | basket (plaited) | kikápò | kíyò | kikápò |
| 643 | bathe | kúyóógá | kúyóógá | kògá |
| 498 | be fitting, behave | ìjípítìlè | kìjípítìlè | ifáilè ? |
| 1 | be, become | kútúlá | kótúlá | kòtòlá |

| No | English | KinAushoöla | KinLámambá Central | KiniHáanzü |
|------|--|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 955 | beach, coast, shore | mpwááni | mpwááni | mpwááni |
| 827 | bead(s) | nsáángá | nsáángá | ihángá |
| 416 | bean, kind of bean (from Phaseolus vulgaris) | nkúúndé | nkúúndé | nkúúndé |
| 417 | bean, small (from bean plant) | máhálágé | máhálágé | máhálágé |
| 844 | bean (runner) | nkúúndé | nkúúndé | nkúúndé |
| 1037 | bear child | kúlélá | kulélá | kólugá |
| 147 | beard | ndéüü | ndéüü | ndéüü |
| 768 | beat | kókúá | kókúá | kókúá |
| 759 | beautiful | lizá | múúá | nzáá |
| 162 | bed | kíáándá, òlitt | òlitt | òlitt |
| 161 | bedstead | òlitt | òlitt | òlitt |
| 653 | bee | nzóki | nzóki | nzóki |
| 775 | beer | ntóó | ntóó | ntóó |
| 497 | befil, suit | kókijpítá | kókijpítá | kózpítá |
| 101 | below, underneath | páánsí | nsítitt | piht |
| 186 | bend, twist (v) | kókígóndá | kányóngólyá | kikóonzá, kópíndá |
| 468 | bend (vt) | kógóndá | kopééla | kókobonzá |
| 193 | bewitch | kólógá | kólógá | kólógá |
| 930 | bifurcation, cross-roads | misáámbí yá nzíá | ntáágnílyó | misáámbwá nzíá |
| 222 | bile | ntóóndó | ntóóndó | nyóóngó |
| 262 | bind up, splice | kókíltká | kányómbékéelá | kókíltkwá |
| 658 | bird-lime | òntá | òntá | lónémbó |
| 811 | bird | nóni | nóni | nyónyí |
| 46 | birth (give), to a child | kulélá | kulélá | kítóngóilé |
| 125 | bite | kóúríá | kóúríá | kóúríá |
| 221 | bitter | òsésóngó | tyááit | ndóóó |
| 223 | bladder | - | - | - |
| 482 | blind person | múpókú | múpókú | múpókú |

| No | English | KinàUshòòlà | KiniLaàmbà Central | KiniHàanzù |
|------|-----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| 669 | blood | mìgáíí | mìgáíí | nsákámi |
| 496 | blow on, blow up | kùpéémbéélá | kùpéémbéélá | kùpéémbéélá |
| 238 | blow bellows | kòlùgùtá | - | kùpéémbéélá |
| 463 | blow away | kùpéémbá | kùpùpùtá | kòlùmyá |
| 776 | boast, brag, praise oneself | kòktsániá | kòktsamáadyá | kíkòzà, kíkòtá |
| 876 | boat | - | - | máshùá ? |
| 670 | body | mwiííí/miíííí | mwiííí/myíííí | mwiííí/miíííí |
| 581 | boil up | kòpòkòtá | kòpùutá | kòtòkòtá |
| 30 | boil (vt) | kòtéléká, kòpyóópyá | kòpyóópyá | kòpyóópyá |
| 433 | bone | kùpá | kyúpá | ikùpá |
| 564 | bore a hole | kòbòsòlà | kòpòsòlà | kòtòbòlà |
| 1008 | born (be) | kùlélwá | kòlélwá | kòtùgwá |
| 910 | borrow | kùkòpá | kòkyòpá | kòkòpá |
| 872 | bottle | nsòópá | nsòópá | nsòpá |
| 928 | boundary | míímbi | míímbi | mímbi/mímbi |
| 671 | bow, bending | òótá | òkótú | òtá |
| 508 | bow | òótá | òòtá | òtá |
| 953 | bowstring | - | ìlìlgi | ìdìdigi |
| 58 | brain | òòŋkò | òòŋkò | òòŋgwè |
| 509 | branch | ìtáám̄bi | ìtáám̄bi | ìtám̄bi |
| 375 | bread | mùkàáté ? | mùkàáté ? | mùkàtè ? |
| 831 | break wind * | kòshùlá | kòsùlá | kòhùlá |
| 77 | break, snap | kòúná | kòúná | kòúnáŋgá |
| 1036 | break wind | kòshùlá | kòsùlá | kòhùlá |
| 17 | breast (of a woman) | mbéíélé | mbéíélé | iyébéle |
| 489 | breath, breathing | mwááó | mwááú | mihúpó |
| 490 | breathe, rest | kùshùúpá | kòsùúpá | kòhùpá |
| 138 | bridge | dálájá | tìngitìngi ? | ìdálájá ? |

| No | English | KɪnàUshòòlà | KɪnɪLààmbà Central | KɪnɪHàànzù |
|-----|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 139 | bridge (wooden) | - | lyalò | kɪpùtìlò |
| 885 | bring, fetch | kùlèétá | kòlèétá | kòlèétá |
| 171 | bring to light | kòkùmòòlà | kùlòòngyá | kìgèlyá |
| 882 | bring up (a child) | kòkùlyá | kòkùlyá | kòlèlá |
| 660 | brook, stream | kámòòngò | mwáápò | mòòngò |
| 942 | broom | kyòòyò | kyòòyò | ùpyágiò |
| 113 | broth | mùsòòlí | mòsòòlí | mòhòlí |
| 381 | brother-in-law, sister-in-law | mùlámwí (málè), sháámbà (fémátè) | mùlámòwí | múnyànkòmbànè |
| 341 | brother (older) | mùgòtì | múninà | mùkòlò |
| 673 | brother, relative, fellow-tribesman | mòntòwá | mòntòwá | ahéu, tòòtì, àìunà |
| 874 | bruise badly, take the skin off | kòkwáàmòòlà | kòrjwèétòlá | kìpònòlá |
| 71 | buffalo | mbòògò | mbògò | mbògò |
| 807 | build | kòjèèngá | kòzèèngá | kòzèèngá |
| 674 | bull | nzágáámbà | nzágáámbà | nzágáámbà |
| 80 | bunch (of hair) | - | pyòpí | nsìngá |
| 890 | burden, load | mùligò | mùligò | mùligò |
| 645 | burn (vt & vi) | kòyáákílá | kòyááklá | káklíá |
| 231 | burnt (become) | kòpíá | kòpyá | kòpyá |
| 179 | bury | kòyííká | kòyííká | kòtíká |
| 555 | bush | sáká | òwí | iháká |
| 21 | buttermilk | mbòòtò | màsòòngá ? | màkwásò |
| 514 | buttocks | tákò/mátákò | tyákò//mátákò | òkúnò/nkúnò |
| 301 | buy | kògòlá | kògòlá | kògòlá |
| 873 | calabash | kíndí, kítsáàò | kíndí | shíndí, yíndí |
| 857 | calf of the leg | nsákù | - | - |
| 877 | call | ndáámá | ndáámá | njònjòómbè |
| 31 | call | kòyítá | kòyítá | kítáángá |

| No | English | KinaUshoola | Kinilambá Central | KiriHanzú |
|------|--|----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 675 | canoe (dug-out) | - | pyáàngó | ngatáwá ? |
| 602 | canoe | - | byítít | mitúámbí ? |
| 993 | carry a child on the back (in a blanket) | kópáápá | kópáápá | kókéénká |
| 567 | carry/lift on to head (take up) a heavy load | kóhwíká | kúkwíítiká | kíítíká |
| 97 | carry as/into on the hip | kókólééá | kópýáápítýá | kókwáítá |
| 560 | carry, take | kóshólá | kósólá | kóhólá |
| 578 | carry, convey | kókéénká | kókééngá | kókéénká |
| 104 | cat | nyááú | niááú, záàngó | nyáú |
| 286 | cattle | mitugó | mitugó | mitugó |
| 486 | cease, finish | kóshilá | kósilá | kómálá |
| 526 | centipede | ngí yá ótyááná | ngí yá mutýááná | niháándó |
| 247 | change, turn round | kópítóká | kópítóká | kópítóká |
| 334 | charcoal | kyáá/mákáá | kyáá/mákáá | múkálá |
| 963 | charm (esp. to ensure wife's fidelity) (n) | nsalámhá | mptígt | - |
| 32 | chase (away) | koyítngá | koyítngá | kóhámtá |
| 515 | check | kúndá | kyóòndá | ikúndá |
| 92 | cheerful (become) | kúshógókáárgá | kókéénká | kóhógóká |
| 106 | cheetah | - | nsyá ? | ihói |
| 565 | chest | kikúwá | kikúá | kikúá |
| 672 | chest (of animals and birds) | kikúwá | kyokóombé | kidáif |
| 431 | chief, headman | mòtérni | mùtérni | mùmbóí, manángwá |
| 431a | chief | mòtérni | mùtérni | mùtérni, mùmbóí |
| 679 | child, infant | mwááná | mwááná | nywááná, mupenyá |
| 597 | child, offspring | mwááná | mwááná | nywááná |
| 886 | chin | kidélú | kidélú | kidélú |
| 83 | choose | kúshágólá | kúsáágólá | kúsáágólá |

| No | English | Kinl'Ushóolá | Kinl'Laamba Central | Kinl'Háanzú |
|------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| 109 | civet cat | - | ntilí | iséensé |
| 255 | clan | lóbíli | ndógó | ndógó |
| 841 | climb, ascend | kónsáanjklá | kónsáanjklá | kónsáanjklá |
| 550 | clod, lump | gíndí | òmbá | ikíndí |
| 851 | close (the eyes, mouth, etc.) | kútiyá, kúmiúma | kútiyá, kúmiúma | kútiyá, kúmiúmyá |
| 299 | cloth | kifáambalá | mweéndá | kifáambalá |
| 235 | clothe | kojáalyá | ntilí | koŋugalyá |
| 300 | clothes, material | ntilí | ntilí | ngiú ? |
| 305 | cloud | liúndé/máliúundé | liúndé | liúundé |
| 817 | coagulate | kógóná | kógáandá | kógáandá |
| 941 | cobra (spitting) | mwiilu | mwiitò | mílo |
| 906 | cohabit | - | kokinjilí | kiinjiláná |
| 465 | cold | mpépó | mpépó | mpépó |
| 624 | come | kolíza | kolíza | klza |
| 505 | come on suddenly, take in the act | kógwítila óshisharóliáandí | kóyáagantítyá | kówáambá liáandí |
| 230 | construct, put together | kojéerjá | kóyòbndá | koziyá |
| 471 | cook | kúlugá | kúlugá | koŋugá |
| 557 | cook in water or fat | koitéléká | koitéléká | koŋokótyá |
| 43 | cooking pan, small | kikalaánggò | nsupulá ? | khalaánglò |
| 385 | cool (become); get well | kapóla | kokámyá | kopóla, kokómyá |
| 285 | copper, brass | - | shaba | shabá |
| 283 | copy a pattern | kútiyá | koláitilá | košhatilá |
| 894 | cork, stopper | ifímbí | ifímbí | kiúntikilò |
| 52 | corpse, carcass | múimmbá | múimmbá | múzógá ? |
| 1001 | corpse (human) | múimmbá | múimmbá | múimmbá |
| 383 | cough (vi) | kakolola | kakolola | kakohola |
| 4 | count | koýalyá | koýalyá | koýalyá |
| 100 | country (our) | nsf yíitò | nsf | ihílu, íht (íhtu) |

| No | English | Kinaushoolá | Kiniláambá Central | KiniHáanzú |
|------|----------------------------------|-------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 14 | courtyard | Kiyáanza | Kiyáanza | kisáit |
| 852 | cover (up) | kókunkitiá | kókunkitiá | kókunkitiá |
| 285 | cow | rióombé | rióombé | rióombé |
| 1003 | coward | mwóóá | mwóóá | mwóóá |
| 335 | crab | rigegélégé | - | rikáá |
| 520 | crawf, creep | - | kóyáágúúá | káágúúá |
| 612 | cricket | jenzéle | - | rijáá |
| 153 | cripple | mulémá | - | mólémá/álemá |
| 803 | crocodile | - | mulámbá ? | - |
| 319 | cross (a river) | kopúúá | kopúúá | kopúúá |
| 846 | crow (n) | rikáoringiá | rikáoringiá | rihóngiá |
| 308 | crown of the head | nsáansí | nsáansí | nsáansí |
| 79 | crumple | - | kólinidkallindiká | kókónzáakónzá |
| 370 | crush by pounding, pulverize | kóhúúáangá | kóskóúá | kópóónúá, kóhwalangá |
| 393 | crust | rikáókó | kyókó | lókókó |
| 160 | cry, wail | kóitiá | kóitiá | kóitiá |
| 966 | cucumber, small | gúógó | Kyóóti/ákyóóti | gúógó/ágóógó |
| 736 | cudgel | Kipíni | gyóóngó | kidúurhúúí |
| 165 | cultivate | kóitímá | kóitímá | kóitímá |
| 950 | cure, cool, heal | kópóyá | kopóniá | kópóyá, kópólisá |
| 355 | cut | kótemá | kótemá | kótemángá |
| 98 | cut, lop | - | kópógóúá | kótemángá |
| 117 | cut to shape, sharpen to a point | kónóóti | - | kópálá |
| 365 | dance (of men, to show courage) | kóiná | - | kóiná |
| 53 | dance | kóiná riómá | kóiná riómá | kóiná |
| 622 | dark, black | nziló | nziló | ndwááló |
| 481 | darkness | wiiló | wiiló | kit |
| 824 | dawn (v) | koyééá | koyééá | weliá |

| No | English | KiriUshoolá | KiriLaambá Central | KiriHiáanzú |
|------|--------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| 359 | dawn, daybreak | gĩngó | gĩngó, kigĩngó | kotólóka |
| 744 | day after tomorrow | ĩjĩli | gyobó iyá | pashaabla |
| 130 | day | lótóondó | lótóondó | lólhiko |
| 682 | day-time | muĩnst | muĩnst | mónywé |
| 869 | day (all) | muĩnst pii | muĩnst pii | mónywé wíht |
| 423 | dead person | jóthi | jóthi | izóli |
| 424 | death | mukú | mokú | móimĩfili |
| 931 | decorate | nykia | nykia | kóshá |
| 446a | defecate | kwiyoóbéhyá | kagómóla | kópáarmba |
| 631 | denial | karlá | kónlá | kónlá |
| 821 | deny | kókáaná | ósili | kóhilitá |
| 648 | destroy, spoil | kókáaná | kókikáaná | kóhilitá |
| 437 | dew | koyónóoná | koyónóoná | kógazanjá |
| 219 | die (cause to), put to death - | lósóbilí | lósóplí | lóbni |
| 1027 | die * | koyólága | koyólága | kúólagá |
| 425 | die | kókía | kókía | kóshá |
| 504 | dig up, dig out | kókía | kókía | kóshá |
| 503 | dig | kóshimbóola | kóshimbóola | kótúhóla |
| 466 | diminish, grow less | kúshĩmbá | kóshimbá | kóhĩmba |
| 635 | dip | kókéepá | kókéepá | kópóngóla |
| 49 | dirt | kítóelyá | kítóelyá | kiná |
| 880 | district, province, country | ósháfú ? | ósháfú ? | ósháfú ? |
| 245 | divide | nsi | nsi | ĩtsali |
| 512 | divorce | kwiyoómániá | koyómólianiá | kógálianiá |
| 367 | do, complete, finish | kókíkika, ɲaláká | kókíkika | kíkika |
| 366 | do | kómála | kómála | kómála |
| 60 | dog | kutéendiá | kókĩbama | kítomá |
| | | mbuá | mbuá | mbwá |

| No | English | KínáUshóólá | KíníLáambá Central | KíníHáanzú |
|------|--|-----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| 292a | donkey | ndógwí | ndógói | ndógwè |
| 685 | door | múláàngó | lwíigi | múláàngó |
| 415 | dove (red-eyed) | ɲkòóló | nziá | ɲkòòndá |
| 188 | doze | kòtíindíilá | kòtíindíilá | kòtíindíilá |
| 529 | draw water (from well) | kòtépéelá máázi | kòtépéelá máázi | kòtépéelá mázi |
| 215 | dream (vt, vi) | kòlyóótá | kòlòótá | kòtòótá |
| 328 | dream (n) | ndóótí | lòlòótí | ndótí |
| 448 | drink | kòkópá | kòkópá | kòɲwá |
| 196 | drizzle | másísilá | másísilá | másísilá |
| 780 | drop, throw down | kòkálá | kòkónòontá | kòxálá |
| 284 | drum | ɲgómá | ɲgómá | ɲgómá |
| 598 | dry (vt), set out to dry | kòyáníkíilá | kòómýá | kánfíká |
| 346 | dry | nóómú | nómú | lómú |
| 954 | dry up, ebb | kòpwéelá | kòpóá | kòhíilá |
| 345 | dry up, become dry | kòyóómá | kòómá | kòómá |
| 289 | duck | mbáátá/mbáátá | mbáátá | mbátá |
| 243 | dust, cloud of dust | lòɲkòòndí | lòɲkòòndí | lòɲkòòndí |
| 628 | dwel | kòkikalá | kòkyátá, kòdíilá | kíkihí |
| 492 | eagemess, zeal | - | òyágá | púpá ? |
| 491 | eagle, bird of prey | náándá | náándá | ndí |
| 563 | ear | kòtótí | kítótí | kòtwí |
| 70 | earth, land | nsí | nsí | pihí |
| 44 | earthenware vessel for serving up food | nòóɲgú | yòóɲgú | nyòóɲgú |
| 156 | eat | kòlyá | kòlyá | kòlyá |
| 900 | effort, exertion | kòkámátíká | kòkámátíká | ɲgólú |
| 273 | egg | gí/mági | gyí | íjje/májié |
| 443 | eight | mónááná | mónááná | múnáná |
| 705a | elbow | kíɲkòkòólá | kintiginó | kíɲkòkòólá |

| No | English | KinaUshóóla | KiniLaambá Central | KiniHiáanzú |
|------|------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 329 | elephant | nzógu | nzógu | nzógu |
| 336 | emblers | kyalámakálá | kyalámakálá | ixalá |
| 842 | embrace | kókumtásilá | kókumtásilá | kókumpásila |
| 394 | end (come to an) | kupéla | kupéla | kóléxá |
| 952 | escape, recover | kópóná | kópóná | kókómnyá |
| 899 | examine, measure, test | kógeméla | kógeméla | kópilmá |
| 45 | excrement, dung | mábi | mábi | mábi |
| 958 | exorcise, drive out a devil | kópóyá | - | kógélanjilá |
| 784 | explain | kwiibóndyá | kókénéntyá | kiilámbyá |
| 620 | eye | lilisó/milisó | lilisó/milisó | liihómilho |
| 828 | eyebrow | kóbombó | nkómbó | nkópe/nkópi (pt) |
| 838 | eyelash | kigi | nkógi | nkópi |
| 587 | face downwards | óundaláá | kóundaala | kóundaala |
| 686 | face | ósió | ósió | ósió |
| 940 | fade, disappear | kólimitilá | -limitilá | kólimitilá |
| 891 | faint, lose consciousness | kwiyoóká | kógaala | kózimtilá |
| 298 | fall | kógwá | kógwá | kógwá |
| 549 | fall short | kókéepá | kókéepá | kópóngóla |
| 462 | fan, wave | kópéembéla | kópépéla | kópépéla |
| 784 | far | kóit | kóit | kóit |
| 921 | fat (be) (of animals) | kóginá | kóginá | kóginá |
| 922 | fat (of animals) | nginú | nónú | nginlé |
| 531a | father | diáadá | talá | taata |
| 382 | father-in-law, mother-in-law | mókwi | mókóit | mukwifingwá |
| 531 | father (my) | diáadá wáané | táta wáaná | taata |
| 687 | fear | óowá | óóá | wobá, kógopá |
| 652 | feathers, fur | malufi | máuli | nzóyá |
| 848 | fence, enclosure | lókééela | lókótó | lókótó |

| No | English | KinaUshoola | KiniLambá Central | KiniHaañzü |
|------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 858 | ferment, turn sour | kókáitpá, kógátsá | kógátsá | kógátsá |
| 762 | firm (a), not much | rkééi | rkééi | rhééhò |
| 757 | fierce, sharp | múkàii, mútáki | nzógi | ntáki |
| 421 | fig-tree | - | múúáingáit ? | - |
| 422 | fig-mulberry tree | mókótó | múkótó | múxóyó |
| 216 | fight | kókikkóá | kókkóká | kkikkowá |
| 804 | fill | kókkijóyá | kókkijóyá | kózzóyá |
| 176 | fill a hole, stop up | kólimbyá | tiníitiá | kózihá ? |
| 583 | filter, strain | kóshózá, kóyóngyá | kóshózá | kókámá |
| 50 | filth | mpáiiáá | málgááá | mpáááá |
| 516 | final, decisive | mpélo | mpélo | páámpélo |
| 760 | fine, excellent | klizá | nzilá | báhò, ruzá sáaná? |
| 447 | finger | hwááá | hwááá | nzááá, ógáánzá |
| 323 | fingernail | kúúúúúú | ikúúúúúú | ikúúúúúú |
| 474 | fire | móóóó | móóóó | móóóó |
| 280 | fireplace, hearth, kitchen | há ólúgúú, jíikó ? | kómáingwá | líikó |
| 976a | firewood (collect, cut) (v) | kóhyééná rkóí | kóyééná rkóí | kotényá rkwé |
| 413 | firewood | rkóúú | rkóú | lókwi, r'yt |
| 191 | fish up, pull out | kóúúúú | nimdiá | kábúú |
| 126 | fish (old Swahili nsw) | nsámáki ? | kóziúú | nsé |
| 190 | fish (v), trap fish | kójiúú | rkúúúú | kábúú |
| 400 | fish | rkúúúú ? | rkúúúú | ngúúú ? |
| 525 | five | láááá | láááá | nkóúú |
| 493 | flap wings wildly, flutter | - | kókópúúúúúú | nkóúúúúúú |
| 832 | flauntance | kólimbitwá | kótiyá | kóúúúúúú |
| 384 | flavoured (be property) | kókóúúúá | kókóúúúá | kókóúúúá |
| 907 | flower | lyóóá ? | yóá ? | liá ? |
| 278 | fly (house) | nsági | nsági | nsági |

| No | English | KinUshóólá | KinLáambá Central | KinHáanzú |
|------|------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1028 | fly (vi) | kòpúpútá | kòpúpútá | kòpútá, kòlùmá |
| 1032 | foam * | póómbòtú | pyómbòtú | ipómbòólú |
| 502 | foam | póómbòlú | pyómbòlú | ipómbòólú |
| 143 | follow (in order) | kòlòòndèèlà | kòtyááttíilá | kòshatá |
| 142 | follow | kòlòòndéèlà | kòtyáátá | kòshátíilá |
| 823 | food supply for a journey | mpáámbá | mpéké | mpéké |
| 556 | forest | sháká | òòwí | iháká |
| 584 | forge | kòtyááná | kòtyááná | kòtyáná |
| 889 | forget | kòyíiwá | kòyííwá | kííwá |
| 458 | fork, bifurcation | pyáándà/mápáàndá | pyáándà/ mápáàndá | ipàndá |
| 442 | four | kánfí | kánfí | iiné |
| 295 | frog | ntòòndó | ntòòndó | nhòòndó |
| 574 | fruit | ɲkálí | ɲkálí | itúúndá ? |
| 349 | fry | kòkáláàngá | kòkáláàngá | kòkáláàngá |
| 936 | fully developed, be | kòkòlá | kòlilòká | kòxòlá |
| 625 | full (become) | kòkíjòlá | kòkíjòlá | kizòlá |
| 316 | garden | nsóòzá | nsóòzá | búsitááni ? |
| 419 | gather (flowers, fruit) | kòkyálá | kòkálá | kòxátá |
| 91 | gathered (be), assembled (be) | kòkíìòòndíilá | kòkíìòòndíilá | kíilingíilá |
| 368 | gazelle (Grant's) | lálálá | lálálá | mpátá ? |
| 454 | gazelle, small (impala) | mpátá | mpátá | mpátá |
| 108 | genet (kind of speckled civet cat) | ntúúngó | nsákáálá | ntúúngó |
| 408 | get, obtain | kwíiligá | kòlígýá | kòlìjá |
| 684 | ghost, sudden apparition | múntúúngá | síimwí/másíimwí | minhúúngá |
| 568 | giraffe | ntwíigá | ntwíigá | ntwígá |
| 246 | give away (present) | kòpúniá | kòpúniá | kòpúmyá |
| 449 | give | kòpééilá | kòpééilá | kòpúnyá, kòpá |
| 916 | give light to | kòmíilíká | kòmíilíká | kòmíilíká |

| No | English | Kinúshóólá | Kiniláambá Central | KiníHáanzú |
|-----|--|------------------|--------------------|------------|
| 815 | glide, trickle | koshámáambá | koshámáambá | kolágláá |
| 269 | go | kúyééndá | kolóóngólá | kolóngólá |
| 639 | go in, come in, enter | koyíngítá | kiingítá | kiingítá |
| 63 | goat | mbóli | mbóli | mbóli |
| 694 | goat, (he-) | ngólááti | mpááí | nguláí |
| 695 | god | nzóá | nzóá | ifúundá |
| 758 | good | miúúzá | múkééndé | nzízá |
| 388 | goshawk (East African) (<i>Asur</i> <i>techiro</i>) | nsáánsí ? | kisámwéga | ndí |
| 68 | grain (of cereal) | - | mbéú | - |
| 696 | grandfather | koókó | koókó | isékóíó |
| 697 | grandmother | maámá | nókókótó | maámá |
| 432 | grasp, hold in arm | kokuumbásá | kokuumbásá | kokumbásíá |
| 698 | grass, reeds | masáánsí | masáánsí | máfa |
| 408 | grate | kokwáámóólá | kónyéeróólá | kikwáá |
| 409 | great, powerful, big | -kótó | nkótó | nkótó |
| 164 | grief, sorrow | óktá | óktá | masígó |
| 371 | grind (grain with a millstone) | koshíá | koshíá | kosíá |
| 372 | grind coarsely | kópáláá | kópáláá | kópáláá |
| 212 | groove, furrow | kámwáápo | nyóólóí | - |
| 801 | ground, cultivated | múgótóndá | múgótóndá | múgótóndá |
| 405 | grow up, get large, become great | kokóólá | kokóólá | kokóólá |
| 913 | grow (of plants) | kokóólá, kokóólá | kokóólá | kokóólá |
| 461 | grown (be fully) | kokóólá | kolitóká | kotóólá |
| 373 | gruel, light porridge | ntííí | ntííí | nkóómbá |
| 358 | grunt, grumble | kokáaná | kokáaná | kokányá |
| 205 | guide aright | kolótóngéélá | kolítíngyá | koláglítá |
| 351 | guinea-fowl | nkááringá | nkááringá | nkááringá |

| No | English | Kinshasha | Kinshasha Central | Kinshasha |
|-----|--|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| 701 | gun | mudobzi ? | mpuloso | Kinshasha bòndòki ? |
| 702 | hair | lòlùumbi | lòlùumbi | lòsiringámsiringá msiringá |
| 977 | hair (long straight- of animals and Europeans) | - | òsilingá | |
| 75 | hair (white, grey) | mbiif | mbyif | mbyif |
| 703 | hand (flat of) | kòopi ? | kyòopi ? | ikopi ? |
| 157 | hand, right | kwá ndfifó | kòndfifó | kòfifa |
| 439 | hand (left) | nkúgi | kòngigi | mukonò wá kíkima |
| 476 | handle, half | mupini/mpini | mòpini | mupini |
| 779 | hang in mid-air | kònginziá | kòyèégamitá | kònjintlá |
| 655 | hard | nkákú | nkákú | ikakó |
| 377 | hardship, distress | nzágó | nzágó | másigó |
| 294 | hare | lòrywáandó, mpúundá | mpúundá | mnywángalá |
| 781 | haste | wáangó | òkángó | káyá |
| 795 | hate, detest | kòshòókilá | -ifilá | koiaká |
| 700 | hay | másáansí ná mòtómú | kyókó | máfá ní mòbómó |
| 678 | head, chief person | mòkòlò, mòtèrn | mòkòlò | mòkòlò |
| 356 | head | lúé | lúé | itwè/mitwè |
| 352 | head-pad | nkátá | nkátá | nkátá |
| 561 | heap | kábómó | kyóngó | liòndó |
| 391 | heap up, ready/set on fire | kòkòlétyá mòtò | -akítilyá | kòkaktilyá mòtò |
| 623 | hear | kuligya | kuligya | Kijá |
| 543 | heart | nkótó | nkótó | nkótó |
| 944 | hearthstone for putting pots on | mápigwá | pigwá/mápigwá | mápigá |
| 853 | heavy, serious, dull | lòtò | liútò | ndlò |
| 705 | heel (of foot) | kntiginó | kintiginó | kiliginyo |
| 681 | heifer | mòkótá ? | - | nòpòombé |
| 418 | hem, make a border | kòtindóblá | - | kòpindá |

| No | English | KinaUshoolá | KiniLámhá Central | KiniHáanzú |
|-----|--|-------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| 680 | hen, fowl, chicken | nkúwó | nkúwó | nkóko |
| 766 | here | ipa, okó | ipa, kwáshó | ápa, okó |
| 863 | hiccup | kinsekúnsékú | kinsekúnsékú | kinéhuhekú |
| 800 | hide (vt) | kópísá | kópísá | kópítá |
| 38 | high, be (of meat) | kóyóla | kóluúndá | kóbá |
| 326 | highway | balabalá | balabalá | ipáandá |
| 309 | hill | kinótióló | mógóongó | lóggbí |
| 925 | hip | ikunó | yifigánó | - |
| 317 | hippopotamus | ngúú | ngúú | mpéémbé |
| 396 | hit with a hammer | kókó ná nòondó | tulá | kókómótéla |
| 706 | hoe | gyéémbé | gyéémbé | igéémbé |
| 990 | hold, arrest | kógwítá | koyáámhá | kómwámhá |
| 575 | hole, nest | kití | kití | ipólonyó |
| 836 | hollow out | - | kástimbá | káhitimbá |
| 816 | home | kónst ífó | kónst ífó | kilo (lit) |
| 654 | honey | ókí | ókí | ókí |
| 150 | honour | kókóyá | kóshimíá | kókóyá |
| 797 | hook (for pulling down branches in plucking fruit) | - | nkóongyó | - |
| 189 | hook (fish) | - | ngwádyó | ndáánó |
| 707 | horn, ivory, tusk | lópéémbé/mápéémbé, mpéémbé | lópéémbé | lópéémbé, lópéémbé/ mápéémbé |
| 288 | horse * | - | - | - |
| 708 | house | núúmhá | núúmhá | núúmhá |
| 263 | how many? | zingá | zingá | -lirgá |
| 572 | hump (of hunchback) | kókukú | kókukú | kókukú |
| 573 | hump (of cow) | lwéegá | lwéegá | lókukú |
| 756 | hundred | gáná | gyáná | igáná |
| 320 | hunger | nzála | nzála | nzála |

| No | English | KinaUshoola | Kinilaamba Central | Kinithaanzu |
|------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| 33 | hunt | koyifima | koyifigitiya, koyifima | kolaha |
| 34 | hunter (professional) | molyifimi, muntaandob | midagitiya, mulyifimi | muliati |
| 35 | hunting | koyifima | odagitiya, oiyifimi | kolaha, olahi |
| 227 | husband | mugoodoha | sheniéni | mugohá |
| 808 | hut | kataandó | Kiyáandá | kitaiá |
| 709 | hyena | dyoodó, mpiti | nyááwó | mpiti |
| 1016 | I | ifiné | ifné | neéné |
| 1013 | idleness, sloth | okátiá | okátiá | okaita |
| 901 | ill (be); groan | kohwáala | kohwáala | kohwáala |
| 902 | illness, (crippling) | ólwifilé | ólwifilé | ólwélé |
| 275 | imitate | kólitikitiya | koyifigitiya | kólágitúá |
| 16 | in front of | kóntóongéela | ntóongéla | kórhóongéela |
| 353 | in the middle of | pákátt | pákátt | pákátt |
| 118 | invite | kósisnikitiya | kókurútiá | kósoongéela |
| 206 | increase, make greater | kwiyoóngéelyá | kókolitítyá | |
| 155 | increase | kókitikitiya | koyóongéelyá | kókitiá |
| 426 | inheritance | ósaali | ósaali | kósalá |
| 542 | inside, in | múkátt | múunso | múkátt |
| 353a | inside, middle | múkátt | múkátt | múkátt |
| 132 | intestines | óla | óla | mála |
| 389 | intoxicated (gel) | kógaláá | kóhigáalyá | kógalá |
| 513 | iron ore | maguélé má kyótóma | maguélé má kyótóma | - |
| 264 | iron | kyótóma | kyótóma | móhokálmahóká |
| 710 | island | - | kítóongóngó | - |
| 2 | itch | kyááagá | kyáagá | kaagá |
| 460 | Jammed (become) | kógaga | kósiititiá | kókwámá ? |
| 853 | jaw (bone) | nzágáá | nzágáá | múliáambo |
| 960 | jealousy | wiiú | wiiú | wiiú |

| No | English | KínaiUshóóá | KínaiLámhá Central | KínaiHáanzú |
|------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 271 | journey | músfínzò | músfínzò | lòsfínzò/nstfínzò |
| 606 | judge (v) | kòlámúá | kòlámúá | kòlámúá |
| 810 | jump, leap | kòpòóá | kòpòóá | kòpúá |
| 477 | kidney | mpigò | mpigò | mpigò |
| 218 | kill | kwiydilágá | kòyòlágá | kòwòlágá |
| 677 | king | mutémi | mutémi | mutémi |
| 787 | kite | nsáánsí | nsáánsí | máiléle |
| 347 | knead | - | kòyòóná | kòkàándá |
| 348 | knee | lúu/máluú | lúú | lúu |
| 427 | kneel | kòtúungámá | kòtúungámá | kòtúungámá |
| 607 | knife | nsilimé, njòóó | nsilimé | lòpýò |
| 402 | knife, thin, curved, broad-bladed | - | myòoléó | nzòó |
| 704 | knot | gyuundò/ maguúndò | liindò | ikúundò |
| 626 | know | kòrámá | kòrámá | kòrámáyá |
| 178 | lake | lámábò ? | náánzà | lòbzi ? |
| 151 | lame (be) | kòncòntá | kòncòntá | kòsúrjótá |
| 511 | lamp | tálá | níláá | níláá, níláá |
| 99 | land (dry) | nsí ndònmú | nsí | lhi ní rnkákú |
| 761 | large, great, big * | kyótò | kyótò | rjokò |
| 94 | laugh | kòshòkà | kòshòkà | kòshòkà |
| 792 | lay over on one side | - | kònimiká | kòkúrúxá |
| 1000 | lazy | múkátá | múkátá | - |
| 699 | leaf, blade of grass | sháánzi | sháánzi | ifá/máfá |
| 1025 | leaf (tree) | lòkà | lòkà | lòtòtò |
| 911 | leak, ooze out | kòshòlòá | kòshòlòá | kòhòlòá |
| 96 | lean, bend down, slope | kòtúná | kòtúná | kòtúná |
| 536 | lean on, rely on | - | kòsáníá | kìhòfíá |
| 796 | lean, become, grow thin | kònyééká | kònyééká | kònyééká |

| No | English | KínaiUshóhóá | KínaiJámbá Central | KínaiHáanzú |
|------|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 535 | leaning (be) | kóyégeméiá | kóyégemáilá | kweégeméiá |
| 613 | learn | kókírmániá | kókítíngyá | kílingasá |
| 546 | leave, permission | kógómáigwá | ógómóigwá | - |
| 1011 | leave over | kósháagýá | kósháagýá | kósháá |
| 547 | leave, go away | kólégá | kólégá | kólóngolá |
| 544 | leave (off) | kólèkà | kólèkà | kólèkà |
| 975 | left over, (be); remain over | kósháagá | kósháagá | kósháagítá |
| 310 | leg, foot | mógóló/mígóló | mógóló | mígóló/mígóló |
| 774 | lend, borrow | kóyáázum(w)ýá | kóyáázimá | kázimá |
| 107 | leopard | nsóí | nsóí | íhúí |
| 878 | lick (vt) | kóvíyáámpá | kóvíyáámpá | kóvíáámpá |
| 134 | lie down | kógóná | kógóná | kóláká |
| 250 | lie on one's back | kógóná nsángáílítí | kógóná nsángáílítí | kóláká hángáílí |
| 791 | lift up, pick up | kóháánsbólá | kóháánsbólá | kóhómbólyá |
| 467 | light in weight | -pépeéle | mpépeéle | míhépééle |
| 304 | light, sky | líúndé | gyóló | líúndé |
| 805 | lightning | lópítto | urnémé ? | lópítto |
| 657 | lime, whitewash | rkényé | rkényé | shókálá |
| 213 | line, row | móshááílí ? | múnjóólóólí | móshááílí ?, músíítí |
| 659 | line, fishing | - | múnjókáándá ? | lódjílí |
| 103 | lion | nsíimbá | nsíimbá | íhíimbá |
| 198 | lip | múlómó/mílómó | múlómó | múlómó |
| 956 | listen | kótégéetá | kótégéetá | kótégéetá |
| 972 | listless (be) | kótóoná | kótékétá | kótóoná |
| 1024 | liver | tyíimá | tyíimá | ítímá/mítímá |
| 429 | livestock (keep) | kósháá | kópúugá | kópúugá |
| 819 | lobster | - | - | - |
| 794 | locust | nzígé | rkótóombí | nzígé |

| No | English | KinaUshoóla | KiniLámbá Central | KiniHáanzú |
|------|--|------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 155a | long (become) | kóyítápá | kóyítápá | kóyítápá, kókúyá |
| 144 | long | lyífpú | lyífpú | íóífpú |
| 131 | look after, care for | kókééndébéla | kókééndébéla | kóúúanza ? |
| 871 | sick man on the road | kóúútimá | kóúúingá | kóúútimá |
| 354 | look at, examine | kóyáá | kóyáá | kógbzébéla |
| 354a | look around | kóyááá | kóyááá | kógbzá |
| 200 | look for, hang around (to get something), pursue | kóúshééndéyá | kóúúumá | kóúúndítíá |
| 973 | loose (be); faint, weak | kónyéméntáá | kóúúúntá | kóúyá |
| 181 | lost, get | kóúúúúú | kóúúúúú | kóúúúúú |
| 1023 | louse | mpáni | mpáni | mpáni |
| 934 | love, want | kúyúúúwá | kóúúúúwá | kóúúwá |
| 713 | magic * | pyúúúúú/mápyúúúú | pyúúúúú/mápyúúúú | ipóúúú/mápyúúúú |
| 714 | maize | óúúú | óúúú | óúúú |
| 521 | make offerings to the dead | mpókúúú | pókúúú | kímpókúúú |
| 226 | male | kópóyá | kópóyá | kókóká Inzagó ? |
| 10 | mamba, green (kind of poisonous snake) | mógóúúúá | ngóúúúá | igóúá |
| 793 | many | kíptímbú | káptímbú | . |
| 1019 | marry * | lingí | ningí | idó |
| 897 | marriage | lingí | ningí | idó |
| 895 | many (of man) | otóúú | ntóúú | kóúúú |
| 896 | marry (give in marriage-of parents, priests) | kátóúúá | kóúúúá | kóúúú |
| | | kótóúúúúá | kótóúúúúá | kótíúúá |
| 814 | master | . | shéyááú | mógóúú |
| 888 | match, harmonise (v) | kóúúúúúúú | kóúúúúúúú | kwímpýúúúú |
| 935 | mature | -kóúú, -kámú | ndúúúú | líkóúúú |

| No | English | KĩnaUshóolá | KĩniLáambá Central | KĩniHáanzú |
|------|---|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 596 | meat | námá | námá | nyámá |
| 259 | medicine, remedy | òkótá | òkótá | ògáarngá |
| 280 | medicine (art of medicine man) | ògáarngá | ògáarngá | - |
| 281 | medicine-man | mógáarngá | mógáarngá | mógáarngá |
| 90 | meet | kótáagana | kóyáagana | kóhalarngá |
| 861 | meit | konyekentúká | kónékéntóká | kóyeyúká ? |
| 845 | midwife | - | múléesi | múlogísiya |
| 859 | migrate, move away | kóshámá | kóshámá | kóhámá |
| 1030 | milk (n) | másóónsò, másóóngá | másóónsò | másóónsò, mábéélé |
| 20 | milk (curdled), curds | másóónsò mágónú | - | kítáhá |
| 19 | milk, (fresh) (n) | másóónsò | másóónsò | másóónsò |
| 903 | millet (bulrush) | òwèlè | òwèlè | òwèlè |
| 280 | millipede | góngólí | gyóngóló | ígóngólí |
| 73 | mix (ingredients, 'season food') | kóyóóngá nání | kósháarjkaná | kóorngá |
| 72 | mix, put together | kósháarjkaná | kósháarjkaná | kóhíarngírhaná |
| 363 | monkey (small lightish-coloured) | ntóómbít | ntóómbít | ntóómbít |
| 382 | monkey (colobus- with long black silk hair, white on shoulders) | - | kijitit | ntóómbít ? |
| 361 | monkey (small, dark-coloured) | - | mpóómá | mpómá |
| 716 | moon | mwééí | mwééí | mwééí |
| 609 | moonlight | - | mwééí mbítka | mwééí |
| 59 | mosquito | mbó | mbó | mbó |
| 436 | mother | mááyó | mááú | iyáá |
| 65 | mould (pottery) | koyóómbá | koyóómbá yóbngó | kóómbá |
| 717 | mountain | mutímá | íkóóngkó | ìgòtò |
| 163 | mourning | sóká | kítíto | sóká |
| 1026 | mouth | múlóómó | múlóómó | múlóómó |
| 272 | movement | kógééndá | ìgèééndó | ìgèééndó |

| | | | | |
|-----------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| No | English | Kinaushoóla | Kinilámbá Central | Kinilámbá |
| 979 | mud, mire | malólo | lyóóló/malólo | malólo |
| 642 | mushroom | oówá, díloózé | lyóózé | ínúwé |
| 152 | multilayered (be) | kófémmáálá | kófémmáálá | kófémmáálá |
| 281 | name | líliná | líliná | líliná |
| 539 | namely | kináilí | yáani ? | itt |
| 403 | nape (of neck) | kíríkódi | ókósi | kirúurwí |
| 256 | navel | nyóku | nyóku | lyóómbú |
| 785 | near | piipi | piipi | pakupti |
| 379 | neck | rkílingó | rkílingó | rkílingó |
| 843 | need, request | lyóómpi | lyóómpi | ntakíté |
| 962 | new | mpyá | mpóá | mpyá |
| 718 | night | ótikó | ótikó | ótikó |
| 755 | nine | kééndá | kééndá | kééndá |
| 484 | nose | mpolá | mpolá | mpolá |
| 211 | number | múloóngó, náámbáilí | mpolá | kóáláyá |
| 237 | oar | móllíngkó | - | - |
| 939 | obstruct | kóptingá | kóktíngámpyá | kóhittiyá |
| 48 | offspring | mwááná | múléiwá/áléiwá | rwááná |
| 66 | oil (from plants) | mákutá | mákutá | mákutá |
| 435 | oil | mákutá | mákutá | mákutá |
| 818 | old times, the past | káití | káití | káití |
| 411 | old person | mónáámpalá, múkóómbí | múnáámpalá, múkóómbí | múnáámpalá, múkóómbí |
| 410 | old | rkóókókób | rkóókókób | rkóókókób |
| 214 | one-eyed (being) | - | kyópo | - |
| 440 | one | káárwí | káárwí | káárwí |
| 590 | open mouth, wide | kóyáansámá | kóyáansámá | kámahá |
| 984 | open | kókgólá | kókgólá | kókgólá |
| 829 | open (set ajar) a door | kókgóllá | kókgóllá | kókgóllá |

| No | English | KɪnàUshòòlà | KɪniLàambà Central | KɪniHàanzù |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| 876 | order, direct | kòlágítilyà | kòlágítilyà | kòlágítilyà |
| 961 | ostrich | nóórǵú | núúǵú | nyòòǵò |
| 640 | our(s) pl. 1st person) | yítù | yítù | itò |
| 506 | out (go), go away | kòpúmà | kòpúnà | kòpúmà |
| 324 | outside | kòónzì | kòòzì | kònzì |
| 217 | overcome; win, vanquish | kòdòlà | kòdòlà | kòshìindà ? |
| 995 | owed by, be | kòdáái | kòdyáigwà | kòdááyà |
| 835 | oyster | - | - | - |
| 207 | pack (luggage) | kòyífkà pàlómwí | kòtúúngà | kòtúúngà pàlòrǵwí |
| 208 | pack, press together | kòpááǵgà | kòpímbízítilyà | kizólyà |
| 456 | pack, flock, group | dyáìè/mádálè | dyáìè/mádálè | idáàìè/mádáàìè |
| 457 | pack, bale, bundle (n) | mùlìgò | búúrǵú/ mábúúrǵú | mùlìgò |
| 236 | paddle (n) | mùtííǵkò | mòtííǵkò | - |
| 342 | palate | - | - | ilàǵǵò |
| 9 | palm (date) | - | mùtééèndè | - |
| 719 | palm-wine | - | ntótò | - |
| 257 | palm (of hand) | gáànzà, kìgáànzà | gyáànzà | tògáànzà |
| 6 | palm (raphia) | - | kiáìáìè | mhwáàìè |
| 7 | palm (borassus) | múpáámà | múpáámà | - |
| 8 | palm (oil) | - | - | - |
| 459 | palpitate, flutter, tremble | kòkìkìmà | kòpúnúntíkà | kòkàgátà |
| 47 | parent, s/he who begets | mùtèlì | mùtèlì/àtèlì | mòtèlì/àtèlì |
| 720 | parrot | - | - | - |
| 232 | pass, surpass | kòkítìá | kòkítìá | kòkítìá, kòhítà |
| 325 | path | nzìlìá | nzìlìá | nzìlìá |
| 159 | pay | kòlìpà | kòlìpà | kòlìpà |
| 600 | pay attention, take care | kòlyáàwà | kòlìindìlìá | kògòzèèlà |
| 820 | peel, shell | kòkáátà, kòyòlòòlà | kòyòlòòlà | kòbályà |

| No | English | KinaUshoolá | KiniLaamba Central | KiniHanzú |
|------|-----------------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 12 | peg | lúú | lókíngi/rkíngi | mábolómýó |
| 11 | pegs (tent) | lókíngi/rkíngi | lókíngi/rkíngi | lómáamból máámbo |
| 494 | penetrate | kókisítyá | kókisítyá | kóbóólá |
| 721 | penis | kiógá/miógá | kiógá/miógá | lógá |
| 864 | penknife, lancet | káliógóorúé | kagéémbe | lópýó |
| 558 | person | móbontó | móbontó | móbontó |
| 638 | pestile | mwiítsi | mókóorjókó | múwáángitó |
| 312 | pig | ngulúma | ngulúma | ngulúma |
| 414 | pigeon, kind of | rkóórndá | rkóórndá | rkóórndá |
| 579 | pile up, pile loads on head | kólobóndítlá | kókíwírtká | kitká |
| 479 | pinch, make narrow | kashiná | kasiná | kashiná |
| 357 | pipe (tobacco) | - | móitéémhá | kixó ? |
| 552 | pit, hole | lyítrndí | lyítrndí | ikóómbó |
| 974 | place, put (vt) | koyítká | koyítká | koítká |
| 722 | place (n) | pá kwáandí | kwáandí | kítsáí |
| 892 | place of the dead | kó ólobóngú | kó ólobóngú | kó álobóngú |
| 225 | plait | kóshúká | kópótá | kóhúká, kópohyá |
| 932 | plant, sow | kopáandítlá | kopáandítlá | koitémélá |
| 510 | platform | kiyáandá | kiyátlá | kitálá |
| 834 | please, satisfy (vt) | kóbóorntítyá | kóbóorntí rkíóó | kóbóoweshá |
| 93 | pleased (be) | kóloéligwá | kóloógéelwá | kóllowá |
| 13 | plot of ground | kyáanzá | kyáanzá | khwááníá ? |
| 647 | plunder (a town) | kólégyéyá | - | kówambá |
| 1014 | plunge into, cause to sink | kógómtítlá | kóshóónsétlá | kógómtítlá |
| 114 | poke | kókóttétyá | lókíto | kópémbéetlá |
| 737 | pole, thin | lókíto | lókíto | lókíto |
| 111 | polish, clean by rubbing | kókóttósá | kómítyá | kósógtítlá |
| 177 | pool, pond | lyáambó/málaambó | lyáambó | ítáámbo |

| No | English | KirindaShobola | KirindaLaamba Central | KirindaHaanzu |
|-----|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 923 | porcupine | kababosolo, nobongoli | nogpiti | iselesé |
| 374 | porridge (stiff) | ogali | ogali | ogali |
| 42 | pot (metal) | gyobó | kyopó/makypó | izopó |
| 41 | pot, vessel | kisemé | kisnemé/isimé (pl) | kisemé/isemé (pl) |
| 39 | pot, mug | mókébé | mókébé | mókébé |
| 40 | pot, cooking (earthen) | kyobngó | kyobngó | nyobngó |
| 749 | potato (sweet) | kandóólo | kandóólo | káandólo |
| 646 | potter's kiln | shóonsélo | shóonséto | nyobngó |
| 369 | pound (grain in a mortar to get off the husks) | kopyóóla, kokóózóla | kóokóla | - |
| 441 | pour away | kwilitá | kwilitá | kwilwáanga |
| 641 | pour | kopóongpóla | kotáagpíla | kóhúndóla |
| 748 | pregnancy | nda | nda, límbi | kóobúunshá |
| 636 | pregnant, be | karóla ní ndá | kókéngká límbi | nda |
| 599 | prepare | kájpítíyá | kájpítíyá | múilitó |
| 553 | press out (oil seed, sugar cane) | kókásimá | kókásimá | kózpítíyá |
| 986 | produce, put forth, display | kópíshá | kópuníá | kókámódá |
| 909 | prominent (be); put out | kópuntíá | kópuníá | kópurnyá |
| 518 | pronounce | kotáambóla | kotáambóla | kópurnyá |
| 340 | protect by charm (medicine) | kókágá | kókágá | kotáambóla |
| 947 | protect by charms (target) | kókágá | kotíungpíla | kókágóla |
| 475 | puff-addler | kíshópá | kínsópá | kókítngá |
| 244 | pull | kólúta | kólúta | moma |
| 173 | pull up, come to a halt | kóyífmá | kólúta | kólúta |
| 172 | pull up, root up | kókóóla | kóyífmá | kímíká |
| 833 | pull, drag | kólúta | kókóóla | kípa |
| 57 | pump | bóómbá | kókókóla | kólúta |
| 548 | push | kógómá | - | ítoómbá |
| 992 | put, place, set | kóyífika | kógómá | kóokókumá ? |
| | | | kóyífika | kótáá |

| No | English | KínàUshòólá | KíniLàambà Central | KíniHàanzú |
|------|--------------------------------|--|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 887 | put together for comparison | kòlìgàníllyá | kòlìgànílìlì | kòlìngàsýá |
| 969 | put a pot on the fire | kòtélékà | kòtélékà | kòtéléxà |
| 981 | put together, compose | kòtúúngá | kòlìngíííà | kòtúúngá |
| 862 | python | nsátò | nsátò | nsátò |
| 656 | quarrel (vi) | kòkíléèá | kòkílééá | kiléá |
| 180 | quench, extinguish | kòdibýá | kòdibýá | kòlìmísá |
| 485 | quiet (be) | kòlìkà, kòtòólyá | kòtòólyá | kòkìlágá |
| 76 | rain | mbúá | mbúá | mbúá |
| 917 | rain (vi) | kòkòá mbúá | kòkòá mbúá | kòkòá mbúá |
| 1006 | rains, the lesser | mwáánòlì | sòòngóá | msísìlá |
| 197 | rainy season | kítikò | kítikò | kítikò |
| 580 | rumble | kògùgùmá | kògùgùmá | kúúngùlùmá ? |
| 26 | rat, kind of | - | kádòlì | rkéénzi |
| 488 | rat (field) | rkòsò | m(ù)kíírkí | mpòxò |
| 24 | rat | rkòsò | mpòkò | mpòxò |
| 25 | rat- (very large, long-tailed) | - | mùkíírkí | - |
| 883 | razor | lówéémbé | lówéémbé | kíwéémbé |
| 949 | read | kòshómá | kòshómá | kòsómá ? |
| 1007 | reap, harvest | kòyíimbòlá (maize), kòyógòá (millet), kòkúná (hard peanutst), kòkyálá (cotton) | kòyógòá | kòògòá (millet), kòhíimbá (peanut) |
| 523 | receive | kòyáánùrkòlá | kòpòkéèlá | kòpòkéèlá, kòhòlá |
| 537 | reed | mátété | kòlúúfí/makùlúfí | mátété |
| 632 | refuse, say no | kòshíitá | kòsíitá | kòhítá |
| 633 | reject, refuse, dislike | kòshíitá | kòsíitá | kòhítá |
| 545 | remain, stay behind * | kòsháágá | kòsáágá, kòsòlòkà | kòsíijá |
| 1035 | remain, stay | kòsháágá | kòsáágá | kòsíigá, kòsáágá |
| 840 | remember | kòkíjòkà | kòkíjòkà | kòkòmbòkííá |
| 499 | resemble * | kòkímpyááná | kòkímpyááná | impyááni |

| No | English | KinaUsuhóolá | KiniLaambá Central | KiniHáanzú |
|------|---|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 879 | resemble (very closely) | kókipyááná | kókipyááná | impýááni |
| 1031 | resemble * | kókipyááná | kókipyááná | impýááni |
| 149 | rest heavily on, be burdensome | kóiyéméélgwá | kóiyéméélgwá | kilémééllá |
| 984 | rest the cheek on the hand (in brooding mood) | kóiyáambá iyamá | kóiyáambá iyamá | kwaámbáilá iláma |
| 957 | rest, take a holiday | kóshóópýá | kóshóópýá | kóshóopýá |
| 249 | return, go back | kóshóóká | kóshóóká | kóshóká |
| 1004 | return | kóshóóká | kogomoká | kóshóká, kózá |
| 500 | revive | káiyótólá | káiyótólá | kókúshá |
| 318 | rhinoceros | mpéémbéllé | mpéémbéllé | - |
| 988 | rib | lábáilú/mbalú | lábáilú/mbalú | lábáilú/mbalú |
| 473 | ripe | mpífisú | mbilú | ilíyé |
| 996 | ripen (vi) * | kópíá | kóyíla | kólyá |
| 472 | ripen (vi) | kópíá | kóyíla | kólyá |
| 209 | river | móongó | móongó | móongó |
| 239 | roar, rumble | kólulurná | kólurná | kóngulurná ? |
| 644 | roast | kókómélá | kókáláangá | kókáláangá |
| 350 | roast (in/by fire) | kóyáashá | kóyáashá, kóshóonsá | kwaáshá |
| 806 | rock | góbé | pyáampá | lógbit |
| 291 | rooster (cock) | mótómbí | mótómbí | mótómbí, nsámháilóggó |
| 169 | root | móllimliti | móllimliti | múllí |
| 29 | rotten | yóló | yóló | ibí |
| 1012 | round (be) | kókílingilá | kópítindínkaniá | - |
| 183 | round (go), turn round | kópilimkítilyá | kólóngóptítyá | kópilimá |
| 999 | round, become | kókílingilá | kóyóngóptítyá | kópiimá |
| 110 | rub | kókótólósá | kókweená | kosógolá |
| 50a | rubbish, garbage | mpáiláá | mpáiláá | mpáiláá |
| 321 | rubbish heap | kítógótó | iyíndí iyá málagalá | izólá |
| 826 | run | kómáánjka | kómáánjka | kómáánjka |

| No | English | KinUshoolá | KinLáamba Central | KiniHáanzú |
|------|--|----------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| 522 | sacrifice | palyó | pydyó | Isóorngéelyó |
| 723 | salt | mblééngé | mblééngé | miúnyú |
| 95 | sara1 | muńsáangá | muńsáangá | mihaáangahaangá |
| 630 | satiated (be); have enough to eat or drink | kókkotó | kókkotyá | kikotá |
| 788 | satisfy | - | kotóonyá njkó | kotóshá |
| 251 | say to, tell to | kóyfiá | kóyfiá | kókwífiá |
| 783 | scorpion | ngfi | ngfi | nkómi |
| 453 | scrape | kópyáá | kópyáá | kópala |
| 855 | scrape, grate | kókwáambóla | kókwéetóla | kópáá |
| 856 | scratch, grate * | kókwáambóla | kosóla | kókwábá, kóhá |
| 668 | scythe, sickle | - | myóólelo | izóló |
| 84 | search for | kódiúmá | kódiúmá | kódiúmá |
| 85 | search diligently | kókúúáangá | kókpúkyá | kókwéblá |
| 738 | seat, stool, chair | tyéengá | tééngó | itúntú |
| 770 | see | kóyóná | kóyóná | kóóná |
| 67 | seed | mbeó | mbeó | mbeó |
| 404 | seize | kó'gwífiá | kó'gwífiá | kówéámbá |
| 611 | self | nzfi | mukóá | nyéensó |
| 302 | sell | kógóyá | kógóyá | kópóyá |
| 570 | send | kótómá | kóhwáá | kótómá |
| 451 | separate, set apart | kólékánóla | kókéamkóla, kólagitiyá | kólékánóla |
| 450 | separate, leave each other | kókléka | kókléka | kilééknóla |
| 534 | set a trap | kóyfyá, kótegá | kóyegá | kótegá |
| 868 | set (of the sun) | kóshafitiá | kóshafitiá | kóhafiá |
| 971 | settled (be); be in good order | kó'jpa | kó'jpa | kótembéla |
| 754 | seven | ópuúngáti | mpúúngáti | mfúngati |
| 1033 | sew * | kótumá | kótumá | kótumá |
| 589 | sew | kótumá | kótumá | kótumá |

| No | English | KinàUshóólà | KiniLàambà Central | KiniHáanzú |
|------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 135 | sexual intercourse with (have) | kítóornbà | kógólólyà | kítóombà |
| 691 | shadow, shade | mùtùlé, lólimtílmí | mùtùlé | mùtùlé, kítílmílmí |
| 867 | shame, disgrace | nsóni | nsóni | minyálà |
| 116 | shame | nsóni | nsóni | minyálà |
| 724 | shame, modesty | nsóni | nsóni | minyálà |
| 386 | sharp (be) | kwiyoóptíkà | kýoóptíkà | -táki ?, nyigi ? (ádj)s |
| 920 | sharpen | kónóólà | kónóólà | kónólà |
| 915 | shave | kómòà | kómòà | kòzùlà |
| 603 | she, he | òyó | òyó | nywèènsò |
| 287 | sheep | ɲkóló | ɲxóló | ɲkóló |
| 1009 | shell, cowrie | ɲkúlà | kúlúkúumbà | nsíímbí |
| 822 | shell | - | - | ntíngòlò |
| 725 | shield | - | ngólà | ngólà |
| 712 | shin (bone) | mùtòóndí/milòóndí | mòlòóndí | - |
| 968 | shiver, shudder * | kòkíkímà | kòkíkímà | kòkágatà |
| 528 | shiver | kòkíkímà | kòkíkímà | kòkágatà |
| 434 | short | kúpt | kúpt | ɲkúpt |
| 430 | shoulder, tip of | - | - | iyégà/màègà |
| 588 | shoulder | yégà/màègà | yégà/màègà | iyégà/màègà |
| 839 | shout | kójógòlyà | kòkítòóntà | kúkútà |
| 946 | shrivelled (be); wrinkled | kòkísinà | kòkísinà | kíhínàángà |
| 763 | sick | hwíílé | hwíílé | -Iwáálà |
| 870 | sift | kýoóɲgyà | kòsèkeènsyà | kòhégéénsà |
| 615 | sing | kýyímbà | kýyímbà | kíímbà |
| 3 | singe | kýyáólà | kýyáólà | kòsòònsà |
| 980 | sink, be drowned | kòtótà | kòtòóntà | kòtòóntà |
| 170 | sink | kýyúmità ? | kòtùlìl | kòlímítà |
| 726 | sister (his)/ (her) brother | múgòlì, múnúnà, tìòòmbò | múgùlì, múnúnà | ìòòmbò |

| No | English | KinàUshóólá | KiniLáambá Central | KiniHáanzú |
|------|---|---------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 627 | sit | kòkikálàansá | kòkikálàansá | ikil |
| 753 | six | mùtáándátò | mùtáándátò | mùtáándátò |
| 785 | size, measure | - | ngéle | - |
| 123 | skin (of person) | ndilit | múkódnzá | ndilit |
| 124 | skin/rind (of fruit) | gyáandá | kúlúkúumbá | igándá ? |
| 303 | sky | lúundé | gólò | ilúundé |
| 865 | slander, accuse falsely, often secretly | kòshòorgéelá | kòshòorgéelá, kòsòorgéelá | kòsòonséelá |
| 470 | slap | kòkòá nkói | kòkòá kòópi | kòkòá ikópi |
| 970 | slash | kòtémá | kòtiá | kòtémá, kòdòrmòlà |
| 220 | slaughter | kòshifnzá | kòsifnzá | kòsinzá |
| 727 | slave, bond servant | mòsèsé | músèsé | múnyá milimò |
| 728 | slave (female) | mòsèsé | mútúgwá | múnyá milimò |
| 729 | slave, (male) | mòsèsé | mútúgwá | múnyá milimò |
| 136 | sleep (vi) | kògóná ndóólò | kògóná ndóólò | kòlálá tòlò |
| 731 | sleep (n) | ndóólò | ndóólò | tòlò |
| 730 | sleeping-place, accommodation | pá ògónò | pá kògóná | pá kòlálá |
| 967 | slip, be slippery | kòtyétémúáká | kòtyételá | kòtélézá ? |
| 1021 | small | niinò | niinò | niinò |
| 332 | smallpox | ndwí | ndòí | ndòí |
| 241 | smell (sweet) (vi) | kònúúrjkítá | kònúúrjkítá | kònyúúrjkítá |
| 242 | smell (bad, of fish) (n) | kònúúrjká | kònúúrjká | kònyúúrjká |
| 240 | smell (bad) (vi) | kònúúrjká | kònúúrjká | kònyúúrjká, kòòtá |
| 629 | smoke (n) | lyóóki | lyóóki | lyóóki |
| 428 | smoke (give out) (vi) | kòjòóká | kòtúúrjká | kòtúúrjká |
| 387 | snail, slug | nkóókú | nkóókú | nkóókú |
| 837 | snail | nkóókú | nkóókú | nkóókú |
| 145 | snake, serpent | nzóká | nzóká | nzóká |
| 158 | snare, trap (n) | mótégó | mótégó | mútégó |

| No | English | KinaUshobola | KiniLaamba Central | KiniHaanzu |
|------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| 864 | sneeze | kityaamula | kityaamula | kolomula |
| 924 | sniff, smell out | koinunjya | koinunjya | koinuunsha |
| 296 | snore, snort | kokoloma | kokoloma | kokoloma |
| 69 | soil | otobongó | otobongó | otobongó |
| 732 | song | lyfimbó | lyfimbó | wimbó |
| 616 | songs * | mifimbó | mifimbó | mimbó |
| 36 | soot | makili | makili | mbilo |
| 195 | sorcerer | mulogi | mulogi | mulogi |
| 201 | sore | nkobonjo | nkobonjo | nkomele |
| 734 | soul, spirit | nkolo | nkolo | nkolo |
| 331 | sound, cry | mbililo | mbililo | mbililo |
| 64 | space (open) | kityanzá | kyotoga | kipoliá |
| 82 | spark | nsaansí | nsaansí | nsasi |
| 253 | speak | kotaambola | kotaambola | kotaambola |
| 733 | spear (n) | ndilima | ndilima | ndilima |
| 137 | spend time | kogebndageenda | - | kogilya |
| 1038 | sperm, semen | - | mbéó ? | manala |
| 62 | spider | tyali | tyali | itafi |
| 182 | spirit (of dead person) | mlobongó | stfimiwí | minhuungá |
| 464 | spirit (disembodied) | - | muintungá | minhuungá ? |
| 683 | spirit (evil) | miitunga, alobongó (pl) | mlobongó | minhuungá ? |
| 582 | spit | kitya máti | kobiti máti | kitya máti |
| 533 | spittle | máti | máti | máti |
| 601 | split, crack (vt) | kalyekambola | kotaambola | kopasola |
| 951 | spoil, blind (vt) | kopokulya | kopokulya | kopokulya |
| 649 | spoil (a child) | kopuniá | kalelema | kodekya |
| 998 | spoil | koyononá | koyononá | kogazanja |
| 813 | spoon | mutifirjko | kitirjko | motirjko |

| No | English | No | KinaUshóolá | KinaLaamba Central | KinaHaanzú |
|------|---|----|--------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 5 | spot, speckle | | dyóá/madóá | dyóá/madóá | máloá, mábóá |
| 959a | sprain an ankle | | kóyégóka | kóyégóka | kisónjókóyá |
| 141 | spread out (be) | | kwiyééndóá | kótánaántyá | kizóla |
| 527 | spread | | kóyáálá | kóyáálá | kwáanzá |
| 908 | spread abroad, be; become generally known | | kókumóóká | kókumóóká | kómányika |
| 592 | spread, smear on | | kópyáká ? | kadóbiá | kípáká ? |
| 591 | spread, scatter (vi) | | kósháámháálá | kósháptállá | kóshámbátlá |
| 880 | spring (of water) | | nzyitóló | iyálo | ndifityó |
| 965 | spring, machine | | - | máshini ? | - |
| 866 | spy out | | kókóléékéyá | kókóléékéyá | kódomá |
| 849 | squat (on the haunches) | | kóshónsámá | kóshónsámá | kóshónsámá |
| 991 | squeeze oneself up against a wall (e.g. to allow another to pass) | | - | kóyégámítá | kwebégémá |
| 914 | squeeze out | | kóminá | kóminá | kóminyá |
| 343 | squeeze, milk | | kóshéémá | kóshónsolyá | kóxamá |
| 102 | squirrel | | kyifndí | kifndí | okifndí |
| 562 | stack, pile up | | kólbndzítá | kólbndzítá | kogunditá |
| 1029 | stand (vi) | | kóyímká | kóyímká | kírmká |
| 735 | star | | nsóóndá | nsóóndá | nzóla |
| 390 | stare, glare | | kóliángólá | kókóliá miisó | kogószétiá |
| 202 | start off, send away | | kóléégá | kóléégá | kohéjé |
| 799 | startle, catch unawares | | kópumpukúlyá | kógóndóliá | kóliimbá |
| 830 | startle, jerk | | kópumpukúlyá | kótiumbá | kóhógólyá |
| 618 | steal | | koyá | koyíliá | kiá |
| 266 | steal | | - | - | - |
| 554 | stem (of maize, millet, etc.) | | lópéleli | lópéleli | ipéleli/mápéleli |
| 825 | step over | | káprótá | káprótá | kókítá, káprútá |

| No | English | KinaUshobola | KiniLaamba Central | KiniHaanzu |
|-----|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 315 | sternle man (or woman) | mogobombá | mogobombá | mugobombá |
| 541 | stick | nkómé | nkómé | múáàngá |
| 74 | stir, mix by stirring | - | kókúügá | kohàngitrikányá |
| 850 | stir | kókibjaniá | kókúügá | kókúügá |
| 78 | stir up | kólisóla | kókoliganiá | kópúnyá |
| 61 | stone | gué/mágué | kóskóitíyá | igwé/mágwé |
| 228 | store up, collect | kólingitíá | kólingitíá | kohàngwíá |
| 154 | straight (make) | kógolóla | kógolóla | kágoóla |
| 268 | stranger, guest | múgèndá | múgèndá | múgèni |
| 661 | stream, current | kámwálapó | kámwápo | mukóonóó ? |
| 798 | strength, power | ngúú | ngúú | ngúú |
| 140 | stretch oneself | kókigobóla | kókigobóla | kígóóla |
| 395 | strike, knock | kogéngá ? | kókuníla | kóká |
| 982 | strike with a spear | kóshómá | kósómá | kóhómá |
| 282 | stirring (n) | ósuné | ósuné | lpsiné |
| 487 | stirp off (e.g. grains of com) | kápóóla | kápóóla | kápóóla |
| 519 | stir proudly | kókúumyá | kókisamaalyá | kóná |
| 407 | stumble | kókúumpá | kókúumpá | kókúumpá |
| 997 | stunted (be), be spoilt | kókájkánáá | kókákíá | kítítíá |
| 948 | stutter | kóshékima | kóshékímá | kohatattíyá |
| 594 | suck (the breast) | káyóonká | káyóonká | kóonká |
| 480 | suck (v) | kópipá | kópipá | kóónsé ? |
| 912 | suffer, bear patiently | kógigimíyá | kógigimíyá | kógimyá |
| 802 | sugar cane | móowá | móowá/myóóá | múwá ? |
| 333 | sun, light | pásó/mpasó | nzowá | lyóowá |
| 184 | surround | kópiimíá | kópiimá | kópiimá |
| 438 | swallow | kómíla | kómíla | kómíla |
| 777 | swear | kwiilapá | kwiilapá | kóliáapá |

| No | English | KiriAushóóá | KiriAambá Central | KiriAanzú |
|------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 905 | sweat | yííá | yííá | kíííngíííá |
| 392 | sweep up, collect in a heap (rubbish) | kóííngíííá mpáááá | kóííngíííá | kópyáápyáá |
| 943 | sweep | kópyáápyáá | kópyáápyáá | múyó |
| 517 | sweet, pleasant | rónú | rkyókóóóó | kóíímá |
| 51 | swell | kóíímá | kóíímá | lópýó |
| 608 | sword (short) | nsíímé | mpáángá | paángá |
| 933 | sword | mpáángá | mókííá | múókííá |
| 360 | tail | mókííá | kóláá | kóláá |
| 875 | take leave of | kwiýáwá | kóyówá | kóbáwá |
| 778 | take in (from rain, etc.) | kóshóá, kókéérnyá | kóshóá | kshóá |
| 565 | take, carry | kópyáá ntííá | kópyáá ntííá | kópyáá ? |
| 233 | take off (clothes), undress | kópyáá ntííá | kókáángá ntííá | kóónzá |
| 530 | tangle | kóbulá | kóyóónzá | kóítýpáá |
| 898 | taste (v) | kómmáá | kámmáá | míhóóí |
| 985 | teach, instruct | míshóóí | míshóóí | íkómi |
| 621 | tears | kómi | kyómi | múfáá |
| 412 | ten | ánpíréú | mósdá | ítóómbó |
| 121 | territe | tyóóómbó/ mááóóómbó | tyóóómbó | tyó |
| 739 | testicle | tyó | núáso, tyó | ípáá |
| 1020 | that | téémbé | tyéémbé | óko, líí |
| 455 | thatched roof | ópy, óko | ópy, kwááso, pááso | éénsó |
| 767 | there | óyo | ááso, íó | néhé |
| 54 | they | grínú | grínú | íháká/máháká |
| 444 | thick, fat | sháká | sháká | íháká/máháká |
| 86 | thicket * | sháká | nsákóó, sháká | míí (sg), íí (pl) |
| 854 | thicket | sháká | mwií | kíruamá |
| 619 | thief | mwií | kígá | |
| 23 | thigh (of human) | kíígá, kííráámbo | kíígá | |

| No | English | KinàUshóóá | KiniLaambá Central | KiniHáanzú |
|-----------|--|----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 22 | thigh (of animal) | kǐigá | kǐigá | kǐnámá |
| 559 | thing | kǐntò | kǐntò | ìntò |
| 987 | think, imagine | kòshǐigá | kòshǐigá | kòsigá |
| 651 | thirst | nóótá | nóótá | nyóótá |
| 740 | thorn | liigyá/miigyá | liigiá/miigiá | liijá/miijá |
| 689 | threaten | kwiýópókýá, kótúúmbá | kótúúmbá | kòntǐshá ? |
| 532 | three | kátátò | kátátò | itàátò |
| 115 | thrust into | kòkiná | kòsómá | kwáásá |
| 420 | tick (cattle or dog) | ɲkópá | ɲkópá | ɲkópá |
| 1034 | tie (fasten) (vt) | kótúúngá | kótúúngá | kótúúngá |
| 258 | tie up | kótúúngá nà lókúsá | kótúúngá nà lǐtigi | kótúúngá |
| 978 | tingle with excitement | kòzánzámúká | kòzwáámá | kòlòwá |
| 119 | tip, point | - | nsóóngé | nsóóngé |
| 741 | tobacco | tyúúmbátǐ | tyúúmbátǐ | itúmbátǐ |
| 146 | today | nántééndé | nántééndé | télò |
| 742 | toe | lwáálá (nàlòkólò) | lwáálá lwá mǔgótò | lwáálá/nzálá |
| 445 | tomato | ntólé | ntólé | nyáányá ? |
| 105 | tomcat (half-wild) | tyó | nǐtǐtǐ | - |
| 743 | tomorrow | múdááo | múdááo | múdáó |
| 166 | tongue | lòlǐmǐ/ndǐmǐ | lòlǐmǐ | lòlǐmǐ/ndǐmǐ |
| 120 | tooth (canine), tooth filed to a point | - | - | - |
| 267 | tooth | liinò/miinó | liinò/miinó | liinò/miinó |
| 306 | top, peak | mpéló | nsóóngé | miǔgólá |
| 293 | tortoise | kǐshishóólò | ɲkòlòkáká | gòlóláǔgòlò |
| 277 | town | múji ? | múji ? | - |
| 378 | tramp of feet | mòkiindó | múkiindó | kíhiindó |
| 270 | travel | kòlòóɲji' mǔsǐfnzó | kóyééndá mǔsǐfnzó | kòhégá |
| 540 | tree | kyótá/mákótá | kyótá | mòtǐ/mitǐ |

| No | English | KĩnaUshoóla | KĩnaLaamba Central | KĩnaHaañzú |
|-----|----------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 538 | tremble, shake (vi) | kokikĩma | kokikĩmĩ | kokagala |
| 566 | trickle away | koshobola | koshobontaká | kohobola |
| 401 | trunk (of elephant) | mokómó | kyóongá | kabixó |
| 604 | try | kogemá | kogemá | kogemá |
| 605 | tsense-fly | ndóbúó ? | nyónyó | munyimpápa |
| 938 | turn upside down, turn over | kopitola | kokuniká | kogobola |
| 174 | turn round | kopitoká | kopilimá | kopndobla |
| 711 | tusk, elephant's (middle size) * | - | lopeembé | - |
| 452 | twin | miiniótĩ | miinyótĩ | miiniótĩ |
| 185 | twist roll, spin with fingers | koshokóta | kópólya | kopeembá |
| 483 | twist, esp strands | kópólya | kópótá | kópólya |
| 752 | two | kábitĩ | kábitĩ | ibitĩ |
| 18 | udder | kinemá | lowélele | maéle |
| 945 | uncover, reveal | kókunokóla | kókunokóla | kókunokóla |
| 551 | unripe, half grown | takala | mbĩfĩ | lotĩmĩ |
| 994 | unripe, uncooked | yĩfĩ | mbĩfĩ | mbĩhĩ |
| 311 | up, above | kyáányá | kyáaniá | mgólya |
| 614 | upright | wĩmĩká ké | wĩmĩká | góbá |
| 446 | urinate/defecate | konia, kobònda | kótònda | konia, kofuunda |
| 745 | urine | mátòndi | mátòndi | mátòndi |
| 569 | use | kotómĩla | kotómĩla | kotómĩla |
| 307 | utmost, highest point | mpelo | nsogóni | mgólya |
| 904 | vapour, gas | mòbòké | mòbòké | mòbòké |
| 380 | vein | mòsipá ? | mòsipá | mòbòké |
| 276 | village | kĩjĩ ? | kisáatĩ | muhipá |
| 682 | virgin (bride), girl | munaánsó | munaánsó | munaánsó |
| 327 | vision | ndóotĩ | ndóotĩ | ndóitĩ |
| 330 | voice, (thunder) | lòlĩ | lòlĩ | lòlĩ |

| No | English | KĩnaUshooiá | KĩnaUamba Central | KĩnaHáanzú |
|------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------|
| 224 | vomít | kwoloka | kotóka | kolóka |
| 524 | walk (take a) | kogéendá | koyóombabóombá | kogéendá |
| 289a | walk | kogéendá, kojéendá | kolongóla | kolongóla |
| 847 | wail | gyelélé | pyóópá | nyúta |
| 983 | want, need, wish | kotaka ? | kósiá | kotiaka ? |
| 507 | war | mbilá | mbilá | mbilá |
| 790 | wart-hog | ngiti | ngiti | ngiti |
| 860 | wash oneself (after evacuating) | kókyeéla | kókyeéla | kiteentyá |
| 127 | wash (hands) | kokaiáa | kokaiáa | kojá |
| 128 | wash (clothes) | kokáanzá | kokáanzá | kópúá ? |
| 129 | wash, take a bath | koyóogá | koyóogá | kógá |
| 322 | water | máazi | máazi | mázi |
| 959 | wave, let off a trap, remove a spell | kótegnóliá | kótegnóliá | kólagóliá |
| 1017 | we | ishé | ishé | seésé |
| 1010 | weak | gólógó ? | nekétú | konyéká |
| 881 | wean a child, give leave, send away | kótishá | kolékya | kolékolyá |
| 234 | wear, dress | kojáaliá | kojáaliá | kólugáliá |
| 501 | weave, knit | kólumá | kólumá | kólumá |
| 1015 | weight, rhythm | ólutó | ólutó | ólitó |
| 210 | well | lóbzi | lóbzi | lóbzi |
| 56 | wet (get) | katóla | katóoniá | katóoniá |
| 919 | what? | yáani | yáani | ntóóni |
| 469 | which? | nyírímbi | níli | ni óli |
| 192 | whistling | mbóli | mpáírímbi | mbóli |
| 175 | white man | múzuungu | múzuungu | múzuungu |
| 610 | white | mwééto | nzétó | nzétó |
| 918 | who? | wáani | wáani | nyáanyú |

| No | English | KinUshóólá | KiniLáambá Central | KiniHaànzú |
|------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| 28 | wicked | -bí | móláándó | ibí |
| 339 | wife | músdóngú | músdóngú | músdóngú |
| 187 | wind up (thread) | kótáilingitllyá | kókóónzá | kókóónzá |
| 746 | wind | nzégá | nzégá | ɲwéégá |
| 937 | winnow | kòpéétá | kòpéétá | kòpéétá |
| 112 | wipe | kòpútá ? | kòpútá ? | kòsháágótá |
| 86 | wire (brass) | - | wááyá ? | - |
| 194 | witchcraft | òlògi | òlògi | òlògi |
| 279a | withhold from | kòíimá | kòíimá | kòimá |
| 279 | withhold from, abstain | kòkíyíimá | kòkíyíimá | kiimá |
| 338 | woman | músdóngú | músdóngú/ ásdóngú | múkímá/ákímá |
| 747 | worm | ndá | íimbi | ndá, kúsbòɲgú |
| 812 | word | lòkàání/ɲkàání | lòkàání/ɲkàání | lòkàní/ɲkàní |
| 772 | work as a mason | kòjéèngá | kòzéèngá | kòzéèngá |
| 167 | work (n) | múílímó/milímó | múílímó | múílímó |
| 81 | wrap up | kògòóndá | kòyúná | kòkòónzá |
| 344 | wring (clothes) | kòminá ntiilá | kòminá | kòkámòtlá |
| 773 | yawn | kòyáólá | kòyááólá | kámáhá |
| 593 | year | mwááká | mwáká | ɲwááká |
| 750 | yesterday | igòlò | igòlò | igòlò |
| 15 | you (sing.) | òwè | òwè | wèèwè |
| 1018 | you (pl.) | ɲnyé | inié | nyéenyé |
| 715 | young man | sòòmbátí | mòlífíshá | mùhòòmbá |
| 637 | your(s) (pl. 2nd person) | yàání | yàání | nyéenyé |
| 693 | youth | sòòmbátí, múnáánsò | músòmbátí (m), múnáánsò (f) | mùhòòmbá , múnáánsò |
| 292 | zebra | ndòólò | ndòólò | ndòólò |

Appendix 1. Zone F' word-list: 1-32

| No | English | GiRwāná | GiAhi | YrnyáMũnyápanyi |
|------|----------------------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 133 | abdomen, stomach, belly | ndá | ndá | ndá |
| 485 | abscess, boil | irobndá | iyobndá | ipúRé |
| 786a | abundant/abound | nyitngí | só | nyitngí, ijé |
| 786 | abundant | nyitngí | só | nyitngí, ijé |
| 571 | abuse, insult | óRókáná | tóxiáná | óókáaná |
| 252 | abuse, reproach | gixóá | jiémwá | ósoGósa |
| 809 | accustomed (get) | ózóéá ? | koRáá | gijivá |
| 274 | act (vt) | óRéndá | koRéndá | ótiendá |
| 229 | add up | óóngléyá | kóunjányá | kóxójiyá |
| 927 | adjacent (be); border (vi) | hombéyá | óóitwá | máimbi (n) |
| 662 | adze, carpenter's | seésó | seésó | seésó |
| 254 | affair | ihányó | ihányó, kúRóngá | ihányó, ruxáani |
| 1002 | afraid (be) | óóyófa | óóyófa | óóyófa |
| 168 | agriculture | máimá | ólitimá | irimá |
| 926 | all | nyóorje | -óorje | nyóorje |
| 248 | alter, change | fitndóá | -xájiyá | óxápiisa |
| 595 | animal | mónyámá ? | ilimwáaná | - |
| 617 | answer a call | IRIXá | IRIXá | gilitká |
| 782 | answer, reply | sóktá | sóchá | óóúsá |
| 664 | ant (reddish-brown biting) | nyéli | nyéli | nyéeri |
| 122 | ant-hill | gtyóó | gtyóó | gtyóó |
| 663 | ant (small) | - | sóóngwá | ányinkóóngó |
| 586 | anvil | - | inóóléo | igwe lo tyáaniá |
| 989 | apply by stretching, spread over | Rantáyá | xóméká | ókómá |
| 976 | appoint, set up | irimchá | irimchá | wáRémwá |
| 55 | arm, hand | móxónó | móxónó | mókónó |

| No | English | GIRwaniá | GIÁhi | YfnyáMünjinyani |
|------|-----------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 771 | armpit | kwálafá | kwálafá | ginyánpwápá |
| 203 | arrange, put in order | fáangá | ninjántiyá | óninjántiyá |
| 204 | arrange, put right, repair | Réndá | chiamdá | òsókiyá |
| 478 | arrive | òjja | réá | òfiká |
| 665 | arrow | iRúumbó | iRúumbó | mòbilyé |
| 666 | arrow (head of), spear head | mýl, isómó | mýl, isómýl | sóongé |
| 337 | ashes | máú | máú | máú |
| 199 | ask for | róombá | óómbá | òrómpá |
| 89 | assemble, collect (vt) | kásányá ? | kóninjántiyá | òkòfilyá |
| 789 | aunt (father's sister) | ió á RáRá | máámá | ijó mwhájá mwáRáá |
| 148 | avoid, dodge | òrèká | òRóRó | òRáRá |
| 688 | awe, fear of God | oyáanjá | - | góogógá |
| 667 | axe | géhééndó | géhééndó | gíhééndó |
| 364 | baabon, ape | mpóómá | mpóómá | mpóómá |
| 634 | back of (at the) | nyúmá | nyúmá | ònyúmá |
| 297 | back | mýyóóngó | mýyóóngó | mýyóóngó |
| 297a | backbone | ishiná mýyóóngó | ikufá yá mýyóóngó | ikufá mýyóóngó |
| 27 | bad | mbí | ijí | mbí |
| 37 | bad (become), rotten (vi) | oyóla | yóora | òyórá |
| 87 | bail | - | münjyóyá | gixòóngéyó |
| 398 | banana (plant) | mógómbá ? | múdsí ? | mógómbá ? |
| 397 | banana (fruit) | ndizi ? | ndisi ? | ndízi ? |
| 399 | banana (for cooking) | ndizi ? | - | - |
| 1005 | baobab | mwalándó | mwalándó | mwalándó |
| 1022 | bark (of tree) | ibáádá | ibáádá | ibáádá/mabáádá |
| 313 | barren (of living being) | mýyóómbá | niááhá | niáhá |
| 314 | barren (of land) | chírimá | òxáwó | ibáábáhi |
| 376 | base of tree-trunk | iRiná | ishiná | itína |

| No | English | GIRwáná | GIÁni | YinyáMunyinjányi |
|------|--|-------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| 650 | bask (in the sun), warm oneself | óóRá | óóRá | kóóRá |
| 576 | basket of open wicker-work | ákáfú | gixáfú | - |
| 577 | basket (plaited) | káfu | gixáfú, káfo | ikááfo |
| 643 | bathe | óóyá | óóyá | góbá |
| 498 | be fitting, behave | ítáiké | nónéyá | nónéyá |
| 1 | be, become | óRéndéeká | ójo óhéndéeká | ó |
| 955 | beach, coast, shore | mpwááni | mpwááni | mwááfo |
| 827 | bead(s) | náángó | gilitó | gilitó |
| 416 | bean, kind of bean (from <i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i>) | nkózá | nkózá | ókózánkózá |
| 417 | bean, small (from bean plant) | máharágé | máharágé | máharágé |
| 844 | bean (runner) | mónkózá | nkózá | ókózánkózá |
| 1037 | bear child | ófááfá | ófááfá | óRungóká |
| 147 | beard | ndéú | ndéú | ndéú |
| 768 | beat | xófá | xóá | ókúfá |
| 759 | beautiful | nijá | óbojá (fémaíe), óhóómbá (máíe) ojijá | ókúfá |
| 162 | bed | yíRándá | gíRándá | gíRándá |
| 161 | bedstead | íRéndégú | gíRándá | óríí |
| 653 | bee | njóké | njóké | njóké |
| 775 | beer | rití | rití | rití |
| 497 | befti, suit | ínóné | nónéyá | ónónéyá |
| 101 | below, underneath | háájí | háájí | fáájí |
| 186 | bend, twist (vi) | fíndá | -bitá, fíndá | gíhúnýá |
| 468 | bend (vt) | fénééntá | -bitá | ókunýá |
| 193 | bewitch | róyá | óróyá | óloyá |
| 930 | bifurcation, cross-roads | mpásá | - | maláyáníó á nijá |
| 222 | bile | mpóóndó, gtsobngó | kisobngó | ntóóndó |
| 262 | bind up, splice | óyáángá | óyáyá | ótáájíhá |
| 658 | bird-lime | óntímbo | ónéémbo | óntímbo |

| No | English | GɪRwámá | GiÁhɪ | yɪnyalMúnyɪpányɪ |
|------|-----------------------------|------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 811 | bird | nyóonyi | nyóonyi | nyóonyi |
| 46 | birth (give), to a child | ófaafá | ófaafá | ófaafá |
| 125 | bite | òrumá | òrumá | òrumá |
| 221 | bitter | nyóngò | ndòlò | ndòlò |
| 223 | bladder | ihòrò | ihòrò | - |
| 482 | blind person | mòfokù | mòfòhù, mòfòkù | mòfòkù ? |
| 669 | blood | sayámi | sayámi | sayámi |
| 496 | blow on, blow up | fembèra | fembèyá | ufembèra |
| 238 | blow bellows | òkumntiyá | òfembèyá | - |
| 463 | blow away | òrumyá | - | òséséeyá |
| 776 | boast, brag, praise oneself | ògfréndá | ògihómýá | gtyónjá |
| 676 | boat | - | - | - |
| 670 | body | mòjɪ/mwɪtɪ | mwɪtɪ | mwɪtɪ |
| 591 | boil up | òRáyáRá | chɔfýá | wòktírá |
| 30 | boil (v) | chɔfýá | chɔfýá | òchɔfýá |
| 433 | bone | ikufá | iyúfá | ikúfá |
| 564 | bore a hole | feyéhá | dònjká | òbòorá |
| 1008 | born (be) | fáafwá | fáafwá | òpááqwá |
| 910 | borrow | òkófá | òyófá | òkópá ? |
| 872 | bottle | chòófá | chòófá, chòòfá | chòófá |
| 928 | boundary | mòfááká ? | mwɪfɪmbɪ/mfɪmbɪ | mɪfɪmbɪ |
| 671 | bow, bending | ikònjé | òRá | òfá |
| 508 | bow | òRá | òRá | òfá |
| 953 | bowstring | òyòhé | òyòhé | òyòhé |
| 58 | brain | wáangwé | wáangwé | wáangwé |
| 509 | branch | isáanjá | isáanjá | isáambɪ |
| 375 | bread | múkáté | múkáté | múkáté |
| 831 | break wind * | òhurá | òhúá mɔndɪsɔ | wehèera unyuma |

| No | English | GɛRwaniá | GɛIɛhi | YɛnyaMunyaŋjanyi |
|------|------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 77 | break, snap | inà | ɔ̀beɔ̀lɔ̀ | ɔ̀yɔ̀naŋgà |
| 1036 | break wind | ɔ̀hura | ɔ̀hura | ɔ̀hura |
| 17 | breast (of a woman) | mbèe | ivé, ɔ̀veé/mávée | maányá |
| 489 | breath, breathing | mwaáhò | éheá | mwaáhò |
| 490 | breathe, rest | gohéa | éheá | gòhéa |
| 138 | bridge | idálájá | idálájá/mádájá | taámbòkò |
| 139 | bridge (wooden) | idálájá la màRi | ɔ̀Rámbòkò | taámbòkò |
| 865 | bring, fetch | éRá | éRá | leéti |
| 171 | bring to light | ɔ̀mányíká | wédyá | ɔ̀tyá, kumá |
| 862 | bring up (a child) | ɔ̀rɔ̀ | ɔ̀rɔ̀ | ɔ̀rɔ̀ |
| 660 | brook, stream | gáyòngò | gáyòngò | gáyòngò |
| 942 | broom | ifáyòrò | ifáyò | chagíró |
| 113 | broth | miholi | máholi | miholi |
| 381 | brother-in-law, sister-in-law | mòlámò | mwaámú | mwaámwánt |
| 341 | brother (older) | múuná ni mòkòó | múuná, múuná | múuná ni muhájá |
| 673 | brother, relative, fellow-fibesman | munyàndòyò | múuná, múuná | munyàndòyò |
| 874 | bruise badly, take the skin off | òsinòkà | sifó | òsòyòkà |
| 71 | buffalo | mbòyò | mbòyò | mbòyò |
| 807 | bull | ɔ̀jeŋgà | ɔ̀jeŋgà | ɔ̀jeŋgà |
| 674 | bull | njáyamba | njáyamba | rkaama, njáyamba |
| 80 | bunch (of hair) | mátíngà | - | ipagátíe |
| 890 | burden, load | mòltyò | mwttyò | mwttyò |
| 645 | burn (vt & vi) | gwaáká | ááxá | gwaáchiá |
| 231 | burnt (become) | òrongòrriá | ifíyá | òpyá ? |
| 179 | bury | ɔ̀jitiá | fihá, íxá | ɔ̀jitiá |
| 555 | bush | iyááká | ihááká | iháká |
| 21 | buttermilk | màyá | máe ni mákòjò | gɛrkaandá |

| No | English | gIRwáná | GjáÁhí | YínyáMúnyányányí |
|-----|--|--------------|----------------|----------------------|
| 514 | buttocks | iRáaxó | iRáyo/mRáyo | itako |
| 301 | buy | òyòrà | òyàá | òyòrà |
| 873 | calabash | ɾpófiá | ɾpófiá | ɾpófiá |
| 857 | calf of the leg | òsàákú | òsàxò | òsàákú |
| 877 | calf | mánpòombé | ndáámá | mwaripòombé, mudiámá |
| 31 | call | gIRíRáná | íRá, íFRáná | òláiámá |
| 675 | canoe (dug-out) | ɾgáláwá ? | ɾgáláwá ? | - |
| 602 | canoe | múlúmbwí? | ɾgáláwá ? | - |
| 993 | carry a child on the back (in a blanket) | òfáfá | fááfá | òyèbóká |
| 567 | carry/lift on to head (take up) a heavy load | gIRíxá | gIRwíká | gítíká |
| 97 | carry astride on the hip | òxwáRírá | òxáRírá | òkíndíká |
| 560 | carry, take | kéerjé | òhòrà | òkéerjé, òhòrà |
| 578 | carry, convey | kéerjé | -òRòá | fééyá |
| 104 | cat | nyáú | nyáú | nyáú |
| 286 | cattle | mIRíyò | míúyò | mítugò |
| 486 | cease, finish | hírá/sírá | híá | hírá |
| 526 | centipede | xómi á Rýáná | ɾxómí yáfiáná | - |
| 247 | change, turn round | fóndóká | gíyíRòhínyá | òsóká gínyémá |
| 334 | charcoal | máxáá | txaá/máxáá | mákáá |
| 963 | charm (esp. to ensure wife's fidelity) (f) | gísoómbá | mòRéyò | òsínófiká |
| 32 | chase (away) | jónchá | jónchá | òírá |
| 515 | cheek | iháyá/máháyá | kúundá, njááyá | máháyá |
| 92 | cheerful (become) | -yáanjá | -yáanjá | bírhé ? |
| 106 | cheerful | ɾpòvì | dúrná | - |
| 585 | chest | gíkúá | gíkúá | gíkúfiá |
| 672 | chest (of animals and birds) | gíkúá | gíkúfiá | gíkúfiá |

| | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|---------------|----------------|--------------------|
| No | English | Gĩrĩana | Gĩahĩ | Yĩnyãmũnyĩnyãmũ |
| 431 | chief, headman | mokòt | mònyãm-páa | mòRemi |
| 431a | chief | mòRemi | mòRemi | mòRemi |
| 679 | child, infant | mwaána | mwaána, mójnyá | mujĩĩmba, mwáana |
| 597 | child, offspring | mwaána | mwaána | mwaána |
| 886 | chin | gĩdũu | gĩdũu | gĩdũu |
| 83 | choose | hóaniá | gohóaniá | ohóoniá |
| 109 | civet cat | - | mũungo | mũungo |
| 255 | clan | mwaángò | mòfirá | ókòò ? |
| 841 | climb, ascend | náitĩá | náitĩá | - |
| 550 | clod, lump | ĩkĩkĩ | ĩtòongò/máongò | ĩtòongò, yòongò |
| 851 | close (the eyes, mouth, etc.) | Rũrũ, mũmũnká | gĩRũrũ | otũyá, oĩnyá |
| 299 | cloth | gĩRámabáa | gĩRámabáa | gĩRámabáa |
| 235 | clothe | Ryčhá | oyáa | gĩtũungá |
| 300 | clothes, material | masáa | isáa/masáa | isáa |
| 305 | cloud | ĩrũnde | ĩrũnde | ĩrũnde |
| 817 | coagulate | kwáRĩtrá | omĩtrá | omĩetrá |
| 941 | cobra (spitting) | mwiĩbò | mwiĩbò | mwiĩru |
| 906 | cohabit | ĩmòyá | dráa | wĩtómbyá, otĩayána |
| 465 | cold | dryókũ | mpefò | mpefò |
| 624 | come | ojá | ojá | ojá |
| 505 | come on suddenly, take in the act | ohangĩtĩyá | ohangĩtĩyá | wahángĩtĩyá |
| 230 | construct, put together | òmbá | òRenda | òRenda |
| 471 | cook | òRakárá | òRexá, dũyá | òyá |
| 557 | cook in water or fat | òRakárá | òRexá | otákayá, òchòvyá |
| 43 | cooking pan, small | gĩhángò | nyòngò | - |
| 385 | cool (become), get well | òryóká | òryóká | òyòkáká |
| 265 | copper, brass | shábá | - | - |
| 283 | copy a pattern | sòketrá | òhònyá | òhòoniá |

| No | English | GɛRwáná | GiÁhí | YɛnyáMunyɛpányi |
|------|------------------------------|---------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 894 | conk, stopper | mákúntkò | mákúntkò | kivítrò |
| 52 | corpse, carcass | nwírímá | nwírímá | gibúú ? |
| 1001 | corpse (human) | nwírímá | nwírímá | múwírímá |
| 383 | cough (vi) | òxóá | òxóá | òkòórà |
| 4 | count | lálá | lálá | òpáryá |
| 100 | country (our) | njí | njí | né |
| 14 | courtyard | gítwánjá ?, òkòòmbí | mòsèé | mòsèé |
| 852 | cover (up) | kòntíyá | òfuntkiá | òkuntíyá |
| 285 | cow | nòòmbé | nòòmbé | nòòmbé |
| 1003 | coward | nwòòjía | nwòòjía | nwòòjía |
| 335 | crab | - | ndéyèyè | - |
| 520 | crawl, creep | - | àlúá | kúúrà |
| 612 | cricket | - | nyéénjé | nyéénjé |
| 153 | cripple | òrémíé | gítémá | gítémá |
| 803 | crocodile | máámhá ? | - | - |
| 319 | cross (a river) | òRámboóká | òRámboóká | òlámboóká |
| 846 | crow (n) | nkòngòb | nkòngòb | nkòngòb |
| 308 | crown of the head | bòsá | bòsá | bòsá |
| 79 | crumple | òmínyáàngá | òhòàngítíyá | - |
| 370 | crush by pounding, pulverize | òfòòndá | òRiànggá | òtórà, òfòòndá |
| 383 | crust | máxòxò | máxòxò | íkòkò |
| 160 | cry, wail | kòrà | òlìá | wífrá |
| 966 | cucumber, small | máyoòyò | ìRààngò | míimibé |
| 736 | cudgel | ifrí | ihrí | ifrí |
| 165 | cultivate | òrímá | límá | límá |
| 950 | cure, cool, heal | ònyòtchá | úfònyá | òpòonyá |
| 355 | cut | Rémá | Rémá | òRémá |
| 98 | cut, lop | òmínjántíyá | òRémángá | òpééngá |

| No | English | Gɪrɔwáná | GIÁŋi | yɔnyáŋi yɔnyáŋi |
|------|----------------------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 117 | cut to shape, sharpen to a point | òsésá | òsésá | òsésá |
| 365 | dance (of men, to show courage) | òyíiná | ògínisýá | ímáá |
| 53 | dance | ògíná | ògínisýá | ògíná mǎwíndí |
| 622 | dark, black | jóríkí | -lílò, ñjilò | jóríkí |
| 481 | darkness | kiŋrì | kiŋrì | kiŋrì |
| 824 | dawn (vi) | gwácháá | òbòchá | dáá nt ñkòbò |
| 359 | dawn, daybreak | gwéráá | mǎlélò | òchéléró |
| 744 | day after tomorrow | irjító | hirjító, kishító | ɔunjító |
| 130 | day | irjító | ishixó | irjító |
| 682 | day-lime | mòbɔmɔ | mòbɔmɔ | mɔumwɔ |
| 869 | day (all) | mòbɔmɔ wòbòyè | mòbɔmɔ wòbòyè | mòbɔmɔ wòbòyè |
| 751 | day before yesterday | ijòbì | ijò | ijòbì |
| 423 | dead person | mwiŋmbá | mwiŋmbá | mòkúyù |
| 424 | death | ñkúyá | ñkúyá | ñkúyá |
| 931 | decorate | òmónéyá | òxòsánsíá | òmónéyá |
| 446a | defecate | òniá | òniá | òniá |
| 631 | denial | ixáná | òxánò | òkàáaná |
| 821 | deny | òxáná | òxáná | òkàáaná |
| 648 | destroy, spoil | òlùpááŋgá | òrúvá | òrúpááŋgá |
| 437 | dew | lòrómè | lòrómè | lòbòrì |
| 219 | die (cause to); put to death * | òráyá | òráyá | komòá |
| 1027 | die * | kúyá | kúyá | kúyá |
| 425 | die | kúyá | kúyá | kúyá |
| 504 | dig up, dig out | kùrú | òhúá | òkùrú, òhímbá |
| 503 | dig | hímbá | òhímbá | òkùá |
| 466 | diminish, grow less | kééfá | òxééfá | kéépá ? |
| 635 | dip | sóómbyá | òhòómbyá | òsíníyá |
| 49 | dirt | ixwè | ixwè | mpaara |

| No | English | Girwána | GIÁni | yinyámúnyinjányi |
|------|-----------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| 680 | district, province, country | nji | ihòombi | |
| 245 | divide | yàaniá | ògawá | òfàyániá |
| 512 | divorce | léká, òchúuúntá | gíreká | gíreká |
| 367 | do, complete, finish | hiirya | òmésyá | òmésyá |
| 366 | do | Rééndá | òRééndá | òRééndá |
| 60 | dog | mbwá | mbwá | mbwá |
| 292a | donkey | ndòbywé | ndòbywé | ndòbywé |
| 695 | door | gínyámwáángpò | gínyámwáángpò, ròòli | nyòbyé |
| 415 | dove (red-eyed) | kòòhwé | nkúundá | nkòòhwé |
| 188 | doze | òRíndiyá | òRíndiyá | òRíndiyá |
| 529 | draw water (from well) | òRáá fá máájí | òRáá fá máájí | òtáá fá máájí |
| 215 | dream (vt, vi) | gòRèá | òòRèá | gòòtèá |
| 328 | dream (n) | ndòòRi | ndòòRi | ndòòti |
| 448 | drink | nywá | ònywá | nywá |
| 196 | drizzle | isísí | isísí/másísí | másísírá |
| 780 | drop, throw down | lichá | òháá | òkàá |
| 284 | drum | ngòòmá | ngòòmá | ngòòmá |
| 346 | dry | áníká | òánìxá | gòáníká |
| 598 | dry (vt), set out to dry | nkákú | xáaxù | nkáaku |
| 954 | dry up, ebb | fwèhèrá | òmírí, ògèhèá | gòkèfá, gírcká |
| 345 | dry up, become dry | òòmá | òòmá | gòòmá |
| 289 | duck | mbááRá | mbááRá | mbááRá |
| 243 | dust, cloud of dust | òpòòngpò ? | òhòòngpò | òkòòngpò |
| 628 | dwell | thá | gògíxáá | gíkáá |
| 492 | eagerness, zeal | lòòmbé | nkòòròmbò | páxá ? |
| 491 | eagle, bird of prey | | | òsèémá, déédé wíliúmbò |
| 563 | ear | | | ìkòRwé |
| 70 | earth, land | kòRwí | gíRwí | njé |
| | | fáánjí | fáánjí | |

| No | English | Gɔ̀rwáná chobngó | Giáhi | Yínwámúnjányí chobngó, kípakóító |
|------|---|------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 44 | earthenware vessel for serving up food | òlá | òbòyá | òlá |
| 156 | eat | páámpáhó | mwiíRómí | ngiú |
| 900 | effort, exertion | iyé/máyé, iyí/máyí | íyí | iyé/máyé |
| 273 | egg | munaáńá | munaáńá | munaáńá |
| 443 | eight | ixókáá | gihohóá | gihókóá |
| 705a | elbow | ngjù, njóyù | ngjù | ngjù |
| 329 | elephant | ixáá | ixáá | ixáá |
| 336 | embers | kúmbáRiá | gòkúmbáttá | kúmbáRiá |
| 842 | embrace | hoóńdýá | hoóńdýá | kwíyá |
| 384 | end (come to an) | forá | gòfóá | òfórá |
| 952 | escape, recover | ḡlímá | ḡlímá | gíyááńjò ? |
| 899 | examine, measure, test | máábí | máábí | máábí |
| 45 | excrement, dung | hèyá | - | gíhímá |
| 958 | exorcise, drive out a devil | ḡlìyíRyá | ḡhanyá | gígíyá |
| 764 | explain | lìhó/mìhó | lìhó | rìhó/mìhó |
| 620 | eye | rihka, lìgòtòtò á mìhò | rihò | gígíyá |
| 828 | eyebrow | rihòtòtò | rihòtòtò | rihòtòtò |
| 838 | eyelash | ráá ná ndá | riyóyó | òkòpé |
| 567 | face downwards | òyá | òrálá í ndááńdáá | rérá ndá |
| 686 | face | ḡsýp | ḡsýp | ḡsú |
| 940 | fade, disappear | òfídélé píjá | òRíRyá, òlìóóyá | ònywérá |
| 891 | faint, lose consciousness | wáklá | òhoyá, ñkìshí | òwírwá |
| 298 | fall | -gwá | ògwá | ògwá |
| 549 | fall short | -kééfewá, kééfá | òxérfá | òféeýá |
| 462 | fan, wave | héndéyá | òhétéá | - |
| 764 | far | kòlèngí | xwééngí | kwééngí |
| 921 | fat (be) (of animals) | rényilé ? | òyíńá | òyíńá |
| 922 | fat (of animals) | rénìé | yínú | yínú, yíú |

| No | English | GiRwānā | GiĀhi | YínYāMūnyīnānyī |
|------|------------------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 531a | father | RááRá | RááRá | RááRá |
| 382 | father-in-law, mother-in-law | múxwé | múxwé | múkwé |
| 531 | father (my) | RááRá | RááRá | RááRá |
| 687 | fear | wóòþá | wóòþá | wóòþá |
| 652 | feathers, fur | njóóyá | májóóyá | máþðri |
| 848 | fence, enclosure | ikiRá | mósásé | ikiRá |
| 858 | ferment, turn sour | òsásá, òtòlà | òsásá | òsásá |
| 762 | few (a), not much | kééó | xli | chēéþó |
| 757 | fierce, sharp | xáti | fíyí | xáti |
| 421 | fig-tree | - | - | - |
| 422 | fig-mulberry tree | - | - | mókóyó |
| 216 | fight | γixòþá | òγixóá | gixòþá |
| 804 | fill | gijóyá | gijóyá | gijóyá |
| 176 | fill a hole, stop up | gijóyá | òxiRá | ògivyá |
| 583 | filter, strain | òfénéntá | òxamá | òkámá, òkénéná |
| 50 | filth | máántú | mpáárá | ipáárá/mpáárá |
| 516 | final, decisive | òdáhá | ihúnliyó | áfikéá ? |
| 760 | fine, excellent | ijá | njijá | njijá, ηóómbá |
| 447 | finger | mwáchá | mwáasháá | chá |
| 323 | fingernail | òkúkú | òhúúhú | òkúkú |
| 474 | fire | móóRó | móóRó | móóRó |
| 280 | fireplace, hearth, kitchen | òrikó | òjixó, màfiwá | riikó |
| 970a | firewood (collect, cut) (vt) | òRényá | òRényá | òtényá ηkwí |
| 413 | firewood | ηkwí | ηkwí | ηkwí |
| 191 | fish up, pull out | òhéyá | òsómbóá | òkóórá |
| 126 | fish (old Swahili nswi) | sámáki ? | sóómbá | sóómbá |
| 190 | fish (vt), trap fish | kwáRá | - | òkóórá |
| 400 | fist | ηkúúndi | ηxóóndé | ηkúúndi |

| No | English | GiRwàná | GiÁhi | YínYáMúnyinYáni |
|------|-------------------------------|-------------|---|-----------------|
| 525 | five | iRáánó | iRáánó | itàánó |
| 493 | flap wings wildly, flutter | ikúnúúntá | òxáárgá mbááyá | òrúmá |
| 832 | flatulence | ndá ijwè | òbèòxá | ògiòká |
| 384 | flavoured (be properly) | ikwàRyè | òxòlèá ? | nóyweérá |
| 907 | flower | iúá ? | séémbé, iúá ? | - |
| 278 | fly (house) | ngii | ngii | ngii |
| 1028 | fly (vi) | òrúmá | òrúmá | òrúmá |
| 1032 | foam * | ifómbóú | ifòòmbòú | ifóómbólú |
| 502 | foam | ifómbóú | ifòòmbòú | ifóómbólú |
| 143 | follow (in order) | -hòórgá | -sáámbyá | gihóórgá |
| 142 | follow | -hòórgá | gihóórgá | gihóórgá |
| 823 | food supply for a journey | máháángú | máíífwá á múhiiñjò | máháángú |
| 556 | forest | ihááká | ihááká | iháká |
| 584 | forge | òRyáná | òfyááná | òtyááná |
| 889 | forget | gítwá | òviRá | gítβá |
| 458 | fork, bifurcation | mpásá | gífwáandwá | mòkòkò |
| 442 | four | iinè | gáné, iinè | iinè |
| 295 | frog | ntòòndó | ntòòndwí | ntòòndó |
| 574 | fruit | itúúndá ? | - | - |
| 349 | fry | òxáárgá | òxáárgá | òkáárgá |
| 936 | fully developed, be | òxòrmáá | òwééndá ò nji (m), òhyá òrúúmbá (female) | òkòrá |
| 625 | full (become) | ijóá | ògíjóá | gíjòá |
| 316 | garden | búsitááni ? | búsitááni ? | njérá |
| 419 | gather (flowers, fruit) | òxáá | òxáá | òkáá |
| 91 | gathered (be), assembled (be) | gèèngérá | ògihóóngítyá | giháángúyá |
| 368 | gazelle (Grant's) | sásórgá | - | mpáá |
| 454 | gazelle, small (impala) | mpáá | mpáá | mpáá |

| No | English | GIRwáná | GIÁhí | YinyáMunyinjányi |
|-----|--|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| 108 | genet (kind of speckled civet cat) | níúngó | níúngó | onyéérgwé |
| 408 | get, obtain | òháárgá | háárgá | òháárgá |
| 684 | ghost, sudden apparition | máRómóká | - | òwíyá |
| 568 | giraffe | nííyá | nííyá | nííyá |
| 246 | give away (present) | òdòyá | òfúnýá (dàáhwá) | òdòyá |
| 449 | give | pá ? | òfá | dòyá |
| 916 | give light to | mwfíká | òmòòlìxá | òmwfíká |
| 815 | glide, tinkle | séméémpá | òsámáámhá, òsénééémbá | òséméémpá |
| 269 | go | -ééndá | òwééndá | gwééndá |
| 639 | go in, come in, enter | ingiá | òxyá | gingiyá |
| 63 | goat | mbóli | mbóli | mbóli |
| 694 | goat, (he-) | mpáhi | ngwáRá | ngwáRá |
| 695 | god | mòlòòngó | mòòngó | mwalúúndá |
| 758 | good | nijjá | òbjá | jíyáná |
| 388 | goshawk (East African) (<i>Astur fackro</i>) | òséséntá | - | mpáfíyáná |
| 68 | grain (of cereal) | mpéèké | mpéèké | mpéèké |
| 696 | grandfather | kókó | xòxò, ihé xòxò | kókó |
| 697 | grandmother | mòdíkòò | inyé xòxò | nyinyákòò |
| 432 | grasp, hold in arm | kúmbáRyá | kúmbáRyá | òkúmbáRá |
| 698 | grass, reeds | máhwá | máhwá, máránjimbá | máhwá |
| 406 | grate | kwáará | òxwáará | kwááryá, kwáárgá |
| 409 | great, powerful, big | kòò | òkòò | òkòò |
| 164 | grief, sorrow | òhwéRè | siimbá | - |
| 371 | grind (grain with a millstone) | òsyá | òsyá | òsyá |
| 372 | grind coarsely | òfáará | òfáará | kóbryá |
| 212 | groove, furrow | gáhòmbó, gáyòòrgá | - | mòkwírrá |
| 801 | ground, cultivated | mòbòndá | mòyòndá | mòbòndá |

| No | English | Gɔ̀r̀wáná | GIÁhí | Ýnyálm̀nyinjányi |
|-----|--|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 405 | grow up, get large, become great | kòrà | òxòá | òkòrà |
| 913 | grow (of plants) | bòhá | òxòá | òkìndá, òkòrà |
| 461 | grown (be fully) | RáyàRá | òxámá | wìhókíá |
| 373 | gruel, light porridge | nyòòmbá | nyòòmbá | nyòòmbá |
| 358 | grunt, grumble | - | òxiéeyá | òyòfá |
| 205 | guide aright | Ròngbòrà | òlògyá | òRòngbèrà |
| 351 | guinea-fowl | nyààrgá | nyààrgá | nyààrgá |
| 701 | gun | bùndùukí ? | igòbolé ? | - |
| 702 | hair | òRúkàimùkà | bùndùukí ? | òtùkà |
| 977 | hair (long straight- of animals and Europeans) | ikìngá | òjfi | gàkìngá/màkìngá |
| 75 | hair (white, grey) | mbuyí | mbuyí | mbuyí |
| 703 | hand (flat of) | iyànjà | ixòfi | ikòphi |
| 157 | hand, right | gítifó | gítifó | gítifó |
| 439 | hand (left) | gímohó | gímohó | gímohó |
| 476 | handle, haft | mòfíntí | mòfíntí | mòfíntí |
| 779 | hang in mid-air | ònjínjìyá | - | ònjínjì |
| 655 | hard | nyákù | xáámù | nyákù |
| 377 | hardship, distress | òkaku | ùxàxù ? | sàáyò, sfiðá ? |
| 294 | hare | m̀nyàngáá | m̀nyàngáá | m̀nyàngáá |
| 781 | haste | àngofá, wáàngwá | àngofá | gwáàngò |
| 795 | hate, detest | òhòrà | òhòwá | òhòrà |
| 700 | hay | òbàbàlímàbàbàlì | máhwá ní máxàxò | máhwá màkàkùntómíé |
| 678 | head, chief person | mòkòò | mòxòò, mòRèmi | mòkòò |
| 356 | head | ifwé | ifwé/màRwé | ilwé |
| 352 | head-pad | nyàRá | nyàRá | nyàRá |
| 561 | heap | iruundò | iundò | ilòòndò |

| No | English | GíRwàná | GiÁhi | YínyáMùnyìnyá |
|-----|--|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| 391 | heap up, ready/set on fire | féèmbérá | Réndá mòòRò | òRéndá, òfèmbéérá |
| 623 | hear | Rááyá | Réyéá | Régéá |
| 543 | heart | ṛxóó | ṛxóó | ṛkóó |
| 944 | hearthstone for putting pots on | máfíyáwá | ifíwá/máfíwá | ifíyó/máfíyó |
| 893 | heavy, serious, dull | iríRò | ndíRò | irítò, ndítò |
| 705 | heel (of foot) | gíRígínó | gíRìṛṛínýó | gìtìṛṛínýó |
| 681 | heifer | ndámá à ṛòòmbé | - | múgòyó |
| 418 | hem, make a border | bíídá | òRù má, òhúnjá isáá | òkónyá |
| 690 | hen, fowl, chicken | ṛkòkò | ṛxòòhò | ṛkòòkò |
| 766 | here | áfá | háfál, hòkò | áfá |
| 863 | hiccup | - | ṛkííshí, ṛkííçí | gìhékúmwá |
| 800 | hide (vt) | fíihá | òfíihá | òbìihá |
| 38 | high, be (of meat) | òyórá | òyúúndá | òyórá |
| 326 | highway | báábáálá ? | ṛjílá, báábáá ? | ibáárá |
| 309 | hill | òyóòṛṛgò, gíyòò | gágíRáántò | gáRúmbít |
| 925 | hip | ṛkúánú | - | nyóòṛṛgé yá gínámá |
| 317 | hippopotamus | ntómòòndò | ntómòòndò | ntómòòndò |
| 396 | hit with a hammer | òRòá | òxòá nyúúndò | òtúrá ná nyúúndò |
| 706 | hoe | ikòòjò | ixòòjò | ikòjò |
| 990 | hold, arrest | òxwááRá | òxwááRá | òkàRá |
| 575 | hole, nest | ihòòmbò | ibòyó/mábòyó | ikòòmbò |
| 836 | hollow out | òkúlá | - | òkùrá |
| 816 | home | òxíRù | òxítò | òṛjítò |
| 654 | honey | òòkí | ròóxí | òòkí |
| 150 | honour | - | - | gògòfá |
| 797 | hook (for pulling down branches in plucking fruit) | ṛwááádá | ṛwááádá | ṛgwááádá |
| 189 | hook (fish) | ndóáná | ndóáná | ndóánò |
| 707 | horn, ivory, tusk | òféémbé, mpéémbé | òféémbé | òfèémbé |

| No | English | GĩRwānā | GiĀhi | yĩnyāMũnyĩnānyĩ |
|------|------------------------|-------------|------------|-------------------|
| 288 | horse * | fārāsĩ ? | fārāsĩ ? | - |
| 708 | house | nyũumbā | nyũumbā | nyũumbā |
| 263 | how many? | iĩngā | iĩngā | iĩngā |
| 572 | hump (of hunchback) | gĩkũkũ | mpòòkũ | gĩkũkũ |
| 573 | hump (of cow) | gĩkũkũ | gixũxũ | gĩkũkũ |
| 756 | hundred | ĩyānā | ĩyānā | ĩyānā |
| 320 | hunger | njāā | njāā | njāā |
| 33 | hunt | òsèèmpā | òsèèmpā | òhèdā |
| 34 | hunter (professional) | mòsèèmpi | mòsèèmpi | mòhèdĩ |
| 35 | hunting | òsèèmpi | òsèèmpó | òhèdó |
| 227 | husband | mũyósyā | mòyósyā | mòyósā |
| 808 | hut | gādĩmũ | ŋxāàngò | ikũumbũ, gĩḽāandā |
| 709 | tyena | mpĩRĩ | mpĩRĩ | mpĩlĩ |
| 1016 | I | nĩĩnĩ | nèénè | nèénè |
| 1013 | idleness, sloth | òxāró | òRóRó | wèènyè |
| 901 | ill (be); groan | òlwā | òrwāā | òrówā |
| 902 | illness, (crippling) | òlwā | òrwĩf | òrwè |
| 275 | imitate | iyèyā | wĩiyèyā | giyèyā |
| 16 | in front of | nsòòngè | òsòòngè | nsòòngè |
| 353 | in the middle of | múxāRĩ | múxāRĩ | múxāRĩ |
| 118 | incite | gòhòngèèryā | òhòngèèryā | hòngèèryā |
| 206 | increase, make greater | òngèèyā | òngèèyā | òngèèyā |
| 155 | increase | kĩyāniyā | kĩjòā | gĩjòyā nāàngò |
| 426 | inheritance | òrèkewā | - | òsāĩ, sáo |
| 542 | inside, in | xāRĩ | mòòŋĩ | múxāRĩ |
| 353a | inside, middle | múxāRĩ | múxāRĩ | múxāRĩ |
| 132 | intestines | ilā/malā | māalā | mālā |
| 389 | intoxicated (get) | òyāā | òyāā | òyāā |

Yinyaliminyanjanyi

GIÁTI

GIRwáná

English

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|--------------------|----------|---------------|-------|
| 513 | iron ore | magwé níná | ichòbómá | ichòbómá | |
| 264 | iron | icòbómá | | | |
| 710 | island | gàngé nít | gíràámbò | | |
| 2 | itch | gwááyá | | wááyá | |
| 460 | jammed (become) | kwáámá | | kwáámá | |
| 853 | jaw (bone) | ináyá | | òháyá/nháyá | |
| 960 | jealousy | gtxó | | willú | |
| 271 | journey | mòhèenjò | | mùhíinjò | |
| 606 | judge (vt) | òràmbà | | òámúá | |
| 810 | jump, leap | òháńktyá, ònánktyá | | òlímá | |
| 477 | kidney | mptýó | | òfíyò/òmpítýó | |
| 218 | kill | òbàláyá | | òbàláyá | |
| 677 | king | mùRémi | | mùRémi | |
| 787 | kite | òsèéntá | | òsèéntá | |
| 347 | knead | òfíngíRyá | | òmínyá | |
| 348 | knee | ilú | | íú/málú | |
| 427 | kneel | òxóá málú | | òxóá málú | |
| 607 | knife | lòfýó | | mòyí | |
| 402 | knife, thin, curved, broad-bladed | lòfýó wá | mplimbò | njòbò | |
| 704 | knot | ikúúndò | | ixúúndò | |
| 626 | know | òmányá | | òmányá | |
| 178 | lake | iláámbò | | iyáámbò | |
| 151 | lame (be) | surńktyá | | òsurńktyá | |
| 511 | lamp | gímwí, Ráá | | gímwí, Ráá ? | |
| 99 | land (dry) | nj nít | njákú | fláńj nít | njákú |
| 761 | large, great, big * | -kúú | | njókó | |
| 94 | laugh | òhèká | | òhèká | |

| No | English | Gɛrɔwáná | GIÁŋI | Y'nyalimunyinjanyi |
|------|------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 792 | lay over on one side | óránò/jálú ? | ònjipintiyá | òsàsúchà, òkúnýá |
| 1000 | lazy | iròrò | RòRò | -èènyé |
| 699 | leaf, blade of grass | ihwá/máhwa | ihwá/máhwa | ititò |
| 1025 | leaf (tree) | iròrò | iròrò/máRòRò | ititò |
| 911 | leak, ooze out | òhòlá | òhòlyá | òhòòrá |
| 96 | lean, bend down, slope | inámá | inámá | ginámá |
| 536 | lean on, rely on | - | - | - |
| 796 | learn, become; grow thin | òxòxá | òxòxá | kòkòá |
| 535 | leaning (be) | wéélá | òhàramítá | òrèérá |
| 613 | learn | ifúanzá ? | òjifúanzá ? | òjifúanzá ? |
| 546 | leave, permission | mùrèkéá | rùhúsá ? | yáanjíywá |
| 1011 | leave over | sáyá | sáyá | sáyá |
| 547 | leave, go away | òkà | hwááyá, hwéyá | òhèyá |
| 544 | leave (off) | rèkà | èèxá | òrèkà |
| 975 | left over, (be); remain over | sáyá | sáyá | sáyá |
| 310 | leg, foot | mòyòb | mòyòb | mòyòb |
| 774 | lend, borrow | òkòfá | àalómá | àarómá |
| 107 | leopard | ngbvi | mwi | ngbvi |
| 878 | lick (v) | rámmbá | lámmbá | òràámbá |
| 134 | lie down | ráá | òlálá | ráá |
| 250 | lie on one's back | ráá nyérigéiélé | lálá wálámhá | ráá ná rígeéré |
| 791 | lift up, pick up | òmbòá | fúmbòá | nòmbòá |
| 467 | light in weight | ifòfú | - | mpòofú, àangofyá |
| 304 | light, sky | ilundé | ilundé | irulundé |
| 805 | lightning | mpòfó ? | òfíRò | òfíRò, òfíRá |
| 657 | lime, whitewash | chòkàá | chòkàá ? | kéerjé |
| 213 | line, row | ifáandá | mòhítí/mínítíí | yòóra ? |
| 659 | line, fishing | iyòhé | òyòhé | òyòhé |

| No | English | GɛRwáná | GiÁhi | YínYáMünyinjányi |
|------|--|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 103 | lion | niimbá | niimbá | ɲiimbá |
| 198 | lip | mwóómò | mwóómò | mwóómò |
| 956 | listen | Rááyá | tárayá | òtèyééyá |
| 972 | listless (be) | mùlèyèkù (áàjì) | - | gìlèyèkà |
| 1024 | liver | iRimá | iRimá | itímá |
| 429 | livestock (keep) | òRùyá | òRùyá | òtùyá |
| 819 | lobster | - | - | - |
| 794 | locust | ɲkòòmbí | ɲkòòmbí | - |
| 155a | long (become) | òlifá, òliifýá | òlifá | òlifá |
| 144 | long | ndifú | liifú, ndiifú | ndifú |
| 131 | look after, care for | gihééngá | òlááyá | òlèá |
| 871 | look after grazing cattle, help a sick man on the road | òdítimá | òdítimá | òdítimá |
| 354 | look at, examine | ihééngá | òlááyá | gihééngá |
| 354a | look around | ihééngángá, òlááyá | wihééngá | gihééngá, wihééngá |
| 200 | look for, hang around (to get something), pursue | gófèènjá | òlòótá | iségèjèrà |
| 973 | loose (be); faint, weak | lèyèkà | òlèyè | lèyèkà |
| 181 | lost, get | gòyáyá | yáyáá | yáyáá |
| 1023 | louse | ndá | ndá | ndá |
| 769 | love, want | òyáánjá | yáánjá | òyáánjá |
| 934 | lung | fófó/máfóófó | ifófó/máfófó | máfóófó |
| 713 | magic * | òlòyì | òlòyì | òlòyì |
| 714 | maize | mòhiindì ? | intáámá/ mántáámá | ihiiindì ? |
| 521 | make offerings to the dead | òkùmbiká | òhùmbiká | ìkùmbíká |
| 226 | male | mòyóósyá | mòyóósyá | ɲgòósyá |
| 10 | mamba, green (kind of poisonous snake) | máámhá ? | ndáálò | ɲgòòkù |
| 793 | many | nyiiingí | -iiingí | -iiingí |

| | | | | |
|------|--|----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| No | English | Girwana | GIAhi | Yinãmũnyinjãny! |
| 1019 | many * | nyingl | -lingl | -lingl |
| 897 | marriage | díoywá | iyóyóá | gílooyóá, dívra |
| 895 | mary (of man) | díoywá | góyóá | droyá |
| 896 | mary (give in marriage-of parents, pests) | díoywéá | yóóá | rogwéyá |
| 814 | master | mókód | - | miitemi |
| 888 | match, harmonise (vi) | dĩnjãntiyá | ogtĩnjãná | gĩnjãntĩrã |
| 935 | mature | xómĩe | xáãmá | ákĩtrãá |
| 596 | meal | nyamá | nyãmá | nyãmá |
| 259 | medicine, remedy | mãhõxã | ihõxã/mãhõxã | ihõxã/mãhõxã |
| 260 | medicine (art of medicine man) | dýããgã | dýããgã | dýããgã |
| 261 | medicine-man | mýããgã | mýããgã | mýããgã |
| 90 | meat | õhããgã | õhããgã | õhããgã |
| 861 | melt | õhẽtã | õxãfõkã | õhãrã |
| 845 | midwife | dĩfãisyã áxõmã | - | - |
| 859 | migrate, move away | õhããmã | õhããmã | õhããmã |
| 1030 | milk (n) | mãýã, mãhõdõgã | mãýã | mãýã |
| 20 | milk (curried), curds | mãýã | mãýã nĩ mãidõdõ | mãýã |
| 19 | milk, (fresh) (n) | mãhõdõgã | mãhõdõgã | mãhõdõgã |
| 903 | millet (dullinush) | dõvẽ | dõvẽ | dõvẽ/mãvẽ |
| 290 | milipede | hõngõwẽ | ihõngwẽ/mãhõngwẽ | hõngõõrẽ |
| 73 | mix (ingredients, season food) | õrẽkã nyãny! | õrẽkã nyãny! | õngã |
| 72 | mix, put together | õxõfĩtã | õhããnjã | xõfĩyã |
| 363 | monkey (small) | mpdõmã | midõmbĩ | midõmbĩ |
| 362 | monkey (colobus- (with long black silk hair, white on shoulders) | mpdõmã | midõmbĩ | - |
| 361 | monkey (small, dark-coloured) | mpdõmã | midõmbĩ | - |

| No | English | GɛRwàná | GiÁhi | YínyáMúnyirányi |
|-----------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| 716 | moon | mwèèli | mwèèli | mwèèri |
| 609 | moonlight | mwèèli wèliè | mwèèli | fàandá mwèèri |
| 59 | mosquito | mbó | mbó | mbó |
| 436 | mother | ió | ió | iyóó |
| 65 | mould (pottery) | òómbá | òómbá | òòòmbá nyòòngò |
| 717 | mountain | giYóòngò | giRáántó | ngóngò |
| 163 | mourning | ñkúyá | gitíó | ñkúyá |
| 1026 | mouth | mwòómó | mwòómó | mwòómó |
| 272 | movement | - | kihúká | mwènééndó |
| 979 | mud, mire | Rófè/máRófè | iRòfè/máRòfè | itófè |
| 642 | mushroom | mpóRá/mámpóRá | impóRá/mámpóRá | mánninó |
| 152 | mutilated (be) | òlèmié | - | òlèmáá |
| 281 | name | líná | líná | riná |
| 539 | namely | iintó | òhányé | ngwíí |
| 403 | nape (of neck) | nyúmá à ñkiingò | gínyáñxóRi | mòkífá |
| 256 | navel | nyékú | ibúsí | nyéékú |
| 765 | near | fiift | fiifi | pliíft |
| 379 | neck | ñkiingò | ñkiingò | ñkiingò |
| 843 | need, request | òsíyá, óyáànjó, séyéRá | òsíyá | séyá |
| 962 | new | ifyá | -fyá | mpyá |
| 718 | night | òRixó | òRikó | òRikó |
| 755 | nine | kééndá | xééndá | kééndá |
| 484 | nose | mpòlá | mpòá | mpòórá |
| 211 | number | máβályó | - | - |
| 237 | oar | ixwééló | - | múRíinjó |
| 939 | obstruct | xiRá | òYiá | òhiRá, Yiiyá |
| 48 | offspring | mòñjényá/ànjényá | mòfááfó | òfááfó |
| 66 | oil (from plants) | ikúRá | máxúRá | òkúRá |

| No | English | Gĩrĩwáná | GIÁNI | YĩnyalMũnyĩrĩnyĩ |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 435 | oil | mákũRĩ | mákũRĩ | mákũtũ |
| 818 | old times, the past | héngé | xáingĩ | kalengé |
| 411 | old person | mũnyĩmpáá, mũndkò | mũnyĩmpáá | mũnyĩmpáá |
| 410 | old | ikò, ikòombi | lihilié | áxéngé |
| 214 | one-eyed (being) | ĩpòngò | ĩpòngò | ĩpòngò |
| 440 | one | ĩmwé | ĩmwé | gairwé |
| 580 | open mouth wide | gámáhá | wáásámá | gámáhá |
| 984 | open | lòyúá | òròyúá | ròyúá |
| 829 | open (set ajar) a door | lòyúá | òròyúá mwái | òsoktá |
| 876 | order, direct | layĩa | áyĩa | òragitĩá |
| 961 | ostrich | - | mòúúni ? | nyòngò |
| 640 | our(s) pl. 1st person) | ĩRò | ĩRò | litò |
| 506 | out (go), go away | òfurná | òfurná | òdòá |
| 324 | outside | gònjĩ | ònjĩ | gònjĩ |
| 217 | overcome; win, vanquish | òdáhá | òsindá ? | òhómá |
| 995 | owed by, be | òdálwá | òdálwá ? | òdálwá |
| 835 | oyster | - | - | - |
| 207 | pack (luggage) | òRũngá | òRũngá | òtũngĩrĩkaniá |
| 208 | pack, press together | òRũngá | òlálárgá, òhúungá | òtònditĩlĩ |
| 456 | pack, flock, group | - | idáé/mádáé | idé |
| 457 | pack, bale, bundle (n) | mũlĩyó | - | - |
| 236 | paddle (n) | - | káafĩ ? | kĩRĩnkò |
| 342 | palate | - | iyáxaká | iyáxaká |
| 9 | palm (date) | mòléléndé ? | mòRéndé ? | - |
| 719 | palm-wine | ntòl | - | - |
| 257 | palm (of hand) | iyánjá | ĩpòondé | iyáanjá |
| 6 | palm (raphia) | - | - | - |
| 7 | palm (borassus) | múfámá | - | múfámá |

| No | English | GíRwáná | GiÁhi | YínYáMünyinYáni |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 8 | palm (oil) | múchikichi ? | - | - |
| 459 | palpitate, flutter, tremble | xáxáRá | òxáxará | xáxáRá, giiná |
| 47 | parent, s/he who begets | múfáfi | múfáfi | mòfáphi |
| 720 | parrot | siliingwá | mònyásòswí | - |
| 232 | pass, surpass | òkílá | òxá | òkírá |
| 325 | path | njiá | njiá | njiá |
| 159 | pay | òlífá | òlífá | òlífá |
| 600 | pay attention, take care | gihééngá | lává | gihééngá |
| 820 | peel, shell | òbádóá | òbádóá | òbádóá, òsòòβyá |
| 12 | peg | máxómbó | máhómbú | - |
| 11 | pegs (tent) | ñkíingí | òxíingí/ñkíingí | máámbó |
| 494 | penetrate | héférá | éféyá | òhèfèérá |
| 721 | penis | mbólo | òyóósyá ?, mòktá ? | iróyá, ijòòngá |
| 884 | penknife, lancet | gàkòjù | - | gàkòòjù |
| 558 | person | mòòntò | mòòntò | mòòntò |
| 638 | pestle | mòxònjó | mòxóònjó | mòxóònjó |
| 312 | pig | ngómá | ngúúwè ? | ngúúmá |
| 414 | pigeon, kind of | ñkòòndá | ñkúúndé | ñkúúndá |
| 579 | pile up, pile loads on head | gíRífiká | ògíRwíká | gòRífiká |
| 479 | pinch, make narrow | hiná | òhiná | òhiná |
| 357 | pipe (tobacco) | ifúúndé | ifúúndé | ifúúndé |
| 552 | pit, hole | ixóòmbó | ihóómbú | ikóómbó |
| 974 | place, put (vt) | òRéndéá | òRéndéá | òβíkiá |
| 722 | place (n) | ñíí | fáántó | kóókó |
| 892 | place of the dead | òìòòngò | gwááìòòngò | gìyòò |
| 225 | plait | òsúká, òhúká | súká | òsúká ? |
| 932 | plant, sow | òfándiá | gòfándiá | òfándiá |
| 510 | platform | gíchánjá | - | - |

| No | English | Gfɔrwàná | GIÁHI | YínwáMunyánányi |
|------|--|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 834 | please, satisfy (v) | gikóRá ? | òyáánjiá | òfónyá |
| 93 | pleased (be) | òyáánjiwá | òyáánjiwá | òyáánjítwá |
| 13 | plot of ground | gítwanjá ? | | ikujá |
| 647 | plunder (a town) | òhòrà, òhèéyiwá | òhómá ? | - |
| 1014 | plunge into, cause to sink | òjòbòityá | òjògòRyá | òjògòRitá |
| 114 | poke | sòsèéyá | sòsèéyá | òsòsèéyá |
| 737 | pole, thin | òkírò | òfíRá | òkílò |
| 111 | polish, clean by rubbing | òkwàràngá | òfáihá | òfútá ? |
| 177 | pool, pond | gárámbò | gáámbò | ráámbò, kááándi |
| 923 | porcupine | núungú | noóngò | noóngò |
| 374 | porridge (stiff) | òyèé | òyáì | òyèé, mbóra |
| 42 | pot (metal) | ikófò/mákófó | ikófó | ikóógò |
| 41 | pot, vessel | rjifé | ikébé/mákébé | gijéjé |
| 39 | pot, mug | múkèbè | múkèbè | múkèbè |
| 40 | pot, cooking (earthen) | nyòngó | chòngò | chòngò |
| 749 | potato (sweet) | idòó/mádóó | idòó/mádóó | idòró |
| 646 | potter's kiln | íRánúró ? | - | íRánó ? |
| 389 | pound (grain in a mortar to get off the husks) | òfóra | gòngá | òpóra ? |
| 441 | pour away | hùnúá | gòhùndá | hùndá |
| 641 | pour | mimíná ? | mimíná ? | òhùndá |
| 748 | pregnancy | ndá | wiRò | ndá |
| 636 | pregnant, be | wíná ndá/wiRò | wíná wiRò | òhàngá ndá |
| 599 | prepare | òRendá | njánjítá | òntòléyá |
| 553 | press out (oil seed, sugar cane) | òxamá | siindixá ? | - |
| 986 | produce, put forth, display | òdòbnyá | fúnýá | òdòbnyá |
| 909 | prominent (be); put out | hòngfá | gíréá | òdòfya, |
| 518 | pronounce | òhányá | hányá | òhányá, ríjítá |
| 340 | protect by charm (medicine) | òRèndyá máhóká | òxómá | gikáyá ná mpigi |

| No | English | GɛRwaniá | GiAhi | YɛnyaMunɔrɔnɔni |
|------|---------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| 947 | protect by charms (target) | òRènyá málhóká | òlámá | gikává ná mptigi |
| 475 | puft-addler | páfára | ìRùRumbàá | - |
| 244 | pull | òRá | òuRá | òroRá |
| 173 | pull up, come to a halt | ímfiká | ímfiká | ímfiká |
| 172 | pull up, root up | kòtrá | òuRá, hòmpòá | òkòdRá |
| 833 | pull, drag | òroRá | òuRá | òroRá |
| 57 | pump | ìbòòmbá ? | bòòmbá ? | ìbòòmbá ? |
| 548 | push | sàntiyá | sàntiyá | òsuntiyá |
| 992 | put, place, set | fiifiká | fixá | òβifiká |
| 887 | put together for comparison | òniɔntiyá | òghiwéá | gɔxwéaniá |
| 989 | put a pot on the fire | òRèéká | Rèndéá, nyòòngò | òβikira |
| 981 | put together, compose | fiifká ÌRámɔtí Ìmwi | òRungá | òhànpwɔziyá |
| 862 | python | mwiitò ? | nsláRò | sàRu |
| 656 | quarrel (vi) | ixòfá | ògɔxóá | ìrérá |
| 180 | quench, extinguish | ìmyá | ìmyá | òrɛnyá |
| 485 | quiet (be) | kilá | òkiá | òkírá |
| 76 | rain | mbulá | mbulá | mbulá |
| 917 | rain (vi) | mbulá niá | mbulá yáxóá | òxòfá mburá |
| 1006 | rains, the lesser | ìsisi | mbulá nkli | niálòngé |
| 197 | rainy season | máfiká ? | gɛRixò | máRiká |
| 580 | rumble | xómá | - | - |
| 26 | rat, kind of | ndési | mpòxò | mpòkò |
| 488 | rat (field) | njéngi | mpòxò | nkòhò |
| 24 | rat | mpòkò | mpòxò | nkòhò |
| 25 | rat - (very large, long-tailed) | mpòkò | nkòhò | gɛwéémbé |
| 883 | razor | ghwéémbé | wéémbé | òsómá |
| 949 | read | òsómá | òsómá | òRɛniánpá, òtémá, òkúá |
| 1007 | reap, harvest | òxáá | òyòónó, òhinaángá | - |

| No | English | GíRwáná | GiÁhi | YínyáMúnyinányi |
|------|---|------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 523 | receive | órà | òfókéà | òfókéà |
| 537 | reed | mátété | - | - |
| 632 | refuse, say no | hiRá | hiirá | òhitá |
| 633 | reject, refuse, dislike | hiRá | hiirá | hitá |
| 545 | remain, stay behind * | sááyá | sááyá | òsìiyá |
| 1035 | remain, stay | sááyá | sááyá | òsìiyá |
| 840 | remember | kòmbòkwá | òkòmbòkwá | kòmbòkà |
| 499 | resemble * | gwíxwèRè | ògininjáná ná | gíxwá |
| 879 | resemble (very closely) | gwíxwééré ná ngò | gíixwá | gíxwá gi |
| 1031 | resemble * | gwíxwèré | gíihwá | gíxwá |
| 149 | rest heavily on, be burdensome | wiRófèwá | léméá | òRònyééyò ? |
| 964 | rest the cheek on the hand (in brooding mood) | kwáRá iháyá | òsìimbá | òkáRá iháyá |
| 957 | rest, take a holiday | Róóyá | Róóyá | òtóyá |
| 249 | return, go back | sòkà | sòxá | òsòchá |
| 1004 | return | sòkà | sòxá | sòkà |
| 500 | revive | òòòchá | - | òsòchìiyá |
| 318 | rhinoceros | mpèmbèé | mpèmbèé | mpèmbèé |
| 988 | rib | òbálú | òbálú/mbálú | ùbàrú |
| 473 | ripe | ìbìyè | ìbìyè | ìbìyè |
| 996 | ripen (vi) * | ábìyá | βìyá | òβìiyá |
| 472 | ripen (vi) | áβìyá | βìyá | òβìiyá |
| 209 | river | yóòngò | móòngò | yóòngò |
| 239 | roar, rumble | òrúmá | òxóómá | òxóómá |
| 644 | roast | gòòchá | òchóómá ? | òyùmíká |
| 350 | roast (in/by fire) | gòòchá | òchóómá | gòòchá |
| 806 | rock | ngóòngò | igwé | ngóòngò |
| 291 | rooster (cock) | njòlòlò | njòòtòlò | njòlòlò |
| 169 | root | mòòyí | mwiili | mòòryí |

| No | English | GfRwāná | GjÁhí | YrnyaMũnyrjanyí |
|------|--|----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 29 | rotten | iyùitè | iyù | iyòòh |
| 1012 | round (be) | fíndiyá | gííndiyá | gííndiyá |
| 183 | round (go), turn round | fíndiyá | gííndiyá | óííntiyá |
| 999 | round, become | fíndiyá | gííndiyá | óííndiyá |
| 110 | nub | fíngá | | óhúRá |
| 50a | rubbish, garbage | mpáálá, máántò | mpáálá | mpáárá |
| 321 | rubbish heap | ixóómbò | íjaláá ? | ixóómbò |
| 826 | run | ómsáánká | dtá | ómsáánká |
| 522 | sacrifice | gíóóyá | rjúúmbí | - |
| 723 | salt | mũnyú | mũnyú | móonyó |
| 95 | sand | máhalò | ihángáháàngá | máhangáhángá |
| 630 | satiated (be); have enough to eat or drink | kíkúRá | ixóRá | kíkúRá |
| 788 | satisfy | dáñkíyè | - | ódáhá, ikórá |
| 251 | say to, tell to | háníá | háníá | óxáníá |
| 783 | scorpion | rjúóórí | rjúóórí | rjúóórí |
| 453 | scrape | óháyáánjá | óònyá | óòláára |
| 855 | scrape, grate | óíarà | óxwáárá | ópanúá |
| 856 | scratch, grate * | hojja | huná | ókwálará |
| 868 | scythe, sickle | nyéérngò | - | njóòò |
| 84 | search for | féénjá | héénjá | óòpéénjá |
| 85 | search diligently | kúrá | óxwáárá | ókurá |
| 738 | seat, stool, chair | rjúúmbí | rjúúmbí | gíúúmbí |
| 770 | see | gòóná | óóná | gòóná |
| 67 | seed | mbeéyò | mbeéyò | mbeéyò |
| 404 | seize | kwáRá | kwáRá | ókaRá |
| 611 | self | -éésò | -éésò | njéésò |
| 302 | sell | rínjía | línjía | óòpsá |
| 570 | send | Rómá | Rómá | óòrómá |

| No | English | GIRWANÁ | GIÁHI | YINYÁMIYINJÁNYI |
|------|--------------------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 451 | separate, set apart | báyúá | hárnáRúá, gíréká | ópáǵatáyá |
| 450 | separate, leave each other | gíréká | ǵgíréká | ǵránkánǵá |
| 534 | set a trap | Rééyá | Rééyá | ǵRééǵá |
| 868 | set (of the sun) | wéǵá | iláá | ǵǵǵhá |
| 971 | settled (be); be in good order | nínjántáyá | xǵǵndá | ǵyǵǵǵá |
| 754 | seven | mǵfǵngǵáRǵ | mǵfǵngǵáRǵ | mǵfǵngǵáǵ |
| 1033 | sew * | Rúmá | fúumá | ǵRúmá |
| 589 | sew | Rúmá | fúumá | ǵRúmá |
| 135 | sexual intercourse with (have) | ǵJRǵmbá | ǵǵJRǵmbá | wilǵǵmbé |
| 691 | shadow, shade | mǵpéǵ | mǵmǵmǵl, mǵpééǵǵ | mǵpéǵ |
| 867 | shame, disgrace | mǵnyáá | mǵnyáá | mǵnyáá |
| 116 | shame | mǵnyáá | mǵnyáá | mǵnyáá |
| 724 | shame, modesty | mǵnyáá | mǵnyáá | mǵnyáá |
| 386 | sharp (be) | iyǵfá | iyǵfá | iyǵfá |
| 920 | sharpen | nǵá | nǵá | ǵnǵá |
| 915 | shave | chuíyá | mǵsǵsá | ǵjǵRá |
| 603 | she, he | mǵwééǵó | mǵwééǵó | mǵwééǵó |
| 287 | sheep | ǵxǵó | ǵxǵó | ǵkǵó |
| 1009 | shell, cowrie | - | - | - |
| 822 | shell | - | - | - |
| 725 | shield | ǵǵáá | ǵǵǵáá | ǵǵǵáá |
| 712 | shin (bone) | mǵǵndǵ | mǵǵndǵ | mǵǵndǵ |
| 968 | shiver, shudder * | ǵxáxáRá | ǵxáxáRá | ǵxáxáRá |
| 528 | shiver | ǵxáxáRá | ǵxáxáRá | ǵxáxáRá |
| 434 | short | kǵfǵ | kǵfǵ | ǵkǵǵǵ |
| 430 | shoulder, tip of | sǵǵǵǵé | ikurá lá iyǵǵá | ijǵyá |
| 588 | shoulder | ijǵyá/máǵyá | iyǵǵá/máǵǵá | ijǵyá |
| 839 | shout | xǵǵá mǵkǵíndǵ | hǵRá mǵwááǵ | kǵbryá mǵkǵíndǵ |

| No | English | GíRwàná | GiÁhi | YínYáMùnyìnyànyì |
|------|---|-------------|---------------|------------------|
| 946 | shrivelled (be); wrinkled | mákúnyà (n) | - | gihinà |
| 763 | sick | -ilwè | òlwé | -nwé |
| 870 | sift | òkinjità | ùsékéyà | òsèyèsà |
| 615 | sing | gìimbà | fímbà | wíimbà |
| 3 | singe | òìngwíilyà | òβàòrà | òβawíiyà |
| 980 | sink, be drowned | òlòβà | òRòRùfà | òxàRìà |
| 170 | sink | òjubúlià | òpúmòyìà | òxàRìà |
| 726 | sister (his)/ (her) brother | ilòòmbò | múnà á gixímá | múhàjà |
| 627 | sit | ixáà | ìxáà | gìxáà |
| 753 | six | múRándàRò | múRándàRò | múRándàRò |
| 785 | size, measure | mànrìnrìnyò | òxòó, òlífú | gìyàànjò |
| 123 | skin (of person) | ndíi | ndíí, ikáàndà | mòkòònjà |
| 124 | skin/nind (of fruit) | màbàdà | ibàdà/màbàdà | màbàdà |
| 303 | sky | ilùùndé | iùndé | irùùndé |
| 865 | slander, accuse falsely, often secretly | òsèsèà | òhòngèèà | òhòngèyà |
| 470 | slap | òxòá ixóófi | òxòá ixóófi | xòá màkóófi |
| 970 | slash | Rémá | òRémá mòRì | òtyà |
| 220 | slaughter | chìinjà | hìhìRá | òkìgítà |
| 727 | slave, bond servant | múRòmá ? | múRòmá ? | múfáyáási ? |
| 728 | slave (female) | múRúyáwá | múRòmá | - |
| 729 | slave, (male) | múRúyáwá | múRòmá | múfáyáási ? |
| 136 | sleep (vi) | òráá | ráá Ròó | òráá tòó |
| 731 | sleep (n) | òrèé | Ròó | tòó |
| 730 | sleeping-place, accommodation | òráá, òróó | gìláo | nyumba òráá |
| 967 | slip, be slippery | òsèRyá | syèRyá | òtyigòtyá |
| 1021 | small | nyòyò | nydí | nyòyò |
| 332 | smallpox | ndúi | ndòí | - |
| 241 | smell (sweet) (vi) | ònyúnkìlìjà | ònyúnkìá | ònyúnkìá |

| No | English | GɛRwàná | GIÀHɛ | YínYáMúnYánpányí |
|------|---------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 242 | smell (bad, of fish) (n) | ònyúurjá | múnyúurjú | múnyúurjú |
| 240 | smell (bad) (v) | ònyúurjá | ònyúurjá | ònyúurjá |
| 629 | smoke (n) | yòókí | yòókí | yòókí |
| 428 | smoke (give out) (v) | òbáyá | òRúrká | òRúrká |
| 387 | snail, slug | mónyòlhwá | sòyò | òkòònyé |
| 837 | snail | mónyòlhwá | sòyò | - |
| 145 | snake, serpent | njóká | njóká | njóóká |
| 158 | snare, trap (n) | múRéyò | múRéyò | múRéégo |
| 864 | sneeze | gíRyámúá | gògíRyámúá | òYáámúá |
| 924 | sniff, smell out | ònyúunchá | nyúuchá | ònyúunchá |
| 296 | snore, snort | òxòomá | xòomá | òxòomá |
| 69 | soil | òròngò | faanjí | òròngò |
| 732 | song | lyírimbò | wírimbò | wírimbò |
| 616 | songs * | nyírimbò | nyírimbò | nyírimbò |
| 36 | soot | miakí | mbijò | mbijirò |
| 195 | sorcerer | múlóyí | múlóyí | múlóyí |
| 201 | sore | gidòndá | gidòndá | òkòòmè |
| 734 | soul, spirit | òxòó | òxòó, múbòyò | òkòómè |
| 331 | sound, cry | mwiítò | mòlító | òkòó |
| 64 | space (open) | òmúnYáxárit | mòlító | mwiítirò |
| 82 | spark | nsáásé | nsáásé | iyáánjá |
| 253 | speak | òhànyá | nsáásé | sáásé |
| 733 | spear (n) | mòkòhá | hànyá | òhànyá, òngíghyá |
| 137 | spend time | òhwáráángá | mòkòhá | mòkòhá |
| 1038 | sperm, semen | máányí á gígòòsýá | òdójíá | òkòóngá ngáámbò |
| 62 | spider | - | máányí á gígòòsýá | máányí |
| 182 | spirit (of dead person) | ibrímú | nduywáí | sáyòbndí |
| 464 | spirit (disembodied) | - | áìbòngò | mìòbòngò |
| | | | | mìòbòngò |

| No | English | GiRwanà | GiAhi | YinyatiMnyinjanyi |
|------|---|--------------|--------------|-------------------|
| 683 | spit (evil) | òRyá máRè | òRyá máRè | òhyá màtè |
| 562 | spit | màRè | màRè | màtè |
| 533 | spittle | òxámòkà | òxámòkà | òhàkòkà |
| 601 | split, crack (V) | òxàntà | òxàntà | òhòkúyá |
| 951 | spoil, blind (V) | òxàntà | òxàntà | òhèkèyá |
| 649 | spoil (a child) | gíRéndyá | òhèkèyèwé | òhèkèyá |
| 998 | spoil | òjòjàngá | òxòlúanjá | òúàngá |
| 813 | spoon | gíRénxó | gíRénxó | gíRínkò |
| 5 | spot, speckle | mahadá | idóné/mádóné | mádoá |
| 959a | sprain an ankle | òfámáyá | Réyó | òRumbòá |
| 141 | spread out (be) | généyá | nijányá | gíyáyéá |
| 527 | spread | àniká | Rándixá | wéará |
| 908 | spread abroad, be; become generally known | gómányiká | gómányiká | kúmòkà |
| 562 | spread, smear on | òpílá | gíllá | òpílá |
| 591 | spread, scatter (vi) | òyáńíká | àyàRá | òfàgàRá |
| 880 | spring (of water) | òRòRù | mùlthi | gínyèrè |
| 965 | spring, machine | mòtáámbo ? | mùRámbo ? | mòtáámbo ? |
| 866 | spy out | òrénjá | - | gòGryámpáá mpwá |
| 849 | squat (on the haunches) | òfúníá yíńó | súsámá | òsúsámá |
| 991 | squeeze oneself up against a wall (e.g. to allow another to pass) | gífíántáámýá | ògixòRá | igòRá |
| 914 | squeeze out | òmínyá | míńyá | òmínyá |
| 343 | squeeze, milk | -xámá | -xámá | òxámá |
| 102 | squirrel | - | sítńd | lòngl ? |
| 562 | slack, pile up | ijwíyá | òòndá | òlòbòndá |
| 1029 | stand (vi) | ijítá | ímíxá | ímíká |
| 735 | star | njòRá | njòRá | njòRá |

| No | English | GIRWANI | GI'IHI | Y'nyai/Munyinyani |
|-----|---------------------------------|------------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| 390 | stare, glare | òb'byá ímihó | òndòá | òndòá |
| 202 | start off, send away | dòbyá | héyá | òhéyá |
| 799 | stifle, catch unawares | òmáányá | sáamá | òmúxáangá, òóg'f'ya |
| 830 | stifle, jerk | òy'f'ya | sáamá | òxáangá |
| 618 | steal | òh'f'imbá | if'f'á | gi'f'á, òntimbá |
| 266 | steel | ích'òtmá | ích'òtmá | - |
| 554 | stern (of maize, millet, etc.) | mabòf'f'á | ib'òá | ib'òf'f'ámabòf'f'á |
| 825 | step over | Rám'bóká | ímá | òlímá, ò'Rám'bóká |
| 315 | sterile man (or woman) | muy'òmbá | m'ááhá | m'ááhá |
| 541 | stick | m'wáangá | m'wáangá | m'wáangá |
| 74 | stir, mix by stirring | xóm'bangá | ònú'xáangá | xóm'bá |
| 850 | stir | g'eenj'á, ò'R'eendá | òy'áníá | òú'f'f'á |
| 78 | stir up | Rw'f'f'ya | w'òb'á | òx'ò'f'f'ya, òx'òóm'ya |
| 61 | stone | igw'eim'agw'é | igw'é | igw'eim'agw'é |
| 228 | store up, collect | núndá | h'angw'f'f'ya | ò'ib'b'ndá |
| 154 | straight (make) | h'òoch'á | òy'ò'ò'á | òy'ò'ò'á |
| 288 | stranger, guest | muy'ényi | muy'ényi | muy'ényi |
| 661 | stream, current | if'f'áandá | g'ám'b'òng'ò | y'ò'òng'ò |
| 798 | strength, power | ng'úú | ng'úú | ng'úú |
| 140 | stretch oneself | iy'òoch'á | iy'ò'ò'á | g'iy'ò'ò'á |
| 395 | strike, knock | ò'R'ò'angá | ò'R'úá | ò'l'urá |
| 982 | strike with a spear | ò'hómá | ò'hómá | ò'hómá |
| 282 | string (n) | òy'ò'hé | òy'ò'hé | òy'ò'hé |
| 487 | strip off (e.g. grains of corn) | ò'f'urá | ò'f'urá | òp'ò'ò'wá |
| 519 | stut proudly | g'ioná | g'ihóm'ya | g'j'e'ém'bá |
| 407 | stumble | g'if'w'ará | h'ang'ò'xá | òk'ú'm'íá |
| 997 | stunted (be), be spoilt | dub' (á'dj) | - | - |
| 948 | stutter | òg'ò'R'ò'm'b'oy'j'ishá | ò'unk'áaniá | y'òg'ò'f'f'ya |

| No | English | GíRwàná | GiÁhi | YínyáMúnyìnyànyì |
|-----|--|---------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| 594 | suck (the breast) | gòònjká | óònjká | gòònjká |
| 480 | suck (vt) | gòònjká | fiifá | òfífá |
| 912 | suffer, bear patiently | ỳòimtiyá | òyimtiá, òyimtiá | ògimtiyá |
| 802 | sugar cane | múnjkényé | múnjkényì/ múnjkényì | múnjkényé |
| 333 | sun, light | lyòòbá | yóòbá | lyòòbá |
| 184 | surround | wènéndáàngá | filná | òfiimá |
| 438 | swallow | miilá | áanjká | òmilá |
| 777 | swear | giláfiá | ááfá | òràfá |
| 905 | sweat | múRúRú | múRúRú | múRúRú |
| 392 | sweep up, collect in a heap (rubbish) | éyánjá mpáàrà | òhóàngiá mpáàrà | òjòá mpáàrà |
| 943 | sweep | fyáyòá | fáyòá | òchágòá |
| 517 | sweet, pleasant | lòòmbé | lòòmbé | lòòmbé |
| 51 | swell | giimbá | iimbá | òbíimbé |
| 608 | sword (short) | siimé | siimé | siimé |
| 933 | sword | ifáàngá | òfáàngá | lòòfuyò |
| 360 | tail | ifúumbú | òfóòmbó | ìfòòmbó |
| 875 | take leave of | òràyá | wáagá | gòágá |
| 778 | take in (from rain, etc.) | - | òòvá | gòòyá ? |
| 565 | take, carry | òhòòrà | òhóá | òhòòrà |
| 233 | take off (clothes), undress | hèyá másáá | yówá | òyóá másáá |
| 530 | tangle | iRímányikii ? | gífíndiyó ? | - |
| 898 | taste (v) | òsòoyá | òònjá | òyònjá |
| 985 | teach, instruct | òfúúndfsyá ? | fúúndisyá ? | ifúúndfsyá ? |
| 621 | tears | ndiyíyò | mihóólì | ñwáì |
| 412 | ten | ikòmi | ixòmi | ikòmi |
| 121 | termite | múnjhwá | múhényi | mòhwá |
| 739 | testicle | máRòmbò | máRòmbò | ánányáàngá |

| No | English | GíRwánà | GiÁhi | YínYàMúnyinjányi |
|------|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1020 | that | iyó | -lò, -yó | isí |
| 455 | thatched roof | iRèmbè | ifémbè | máhàfá ? |
| 767 | there | áfó, òkó | háhó, òxó | -fó, òkó |
| 54 | they | -èèsó | βèénsó | βèèhó |
| 444 | thick, fat | èyèníí | γíníé | àyènié |
| 86 | thicket * | gàRúnjú | gáháká, Rónjú | gàRúnjú, gáháká |
| 854 | thicket | gàRúnjú | gáháká, Rónjú | gàRúnjú, gáháká |
| 619 | thief | múlákú | mwiiví | mwiiví, múnzímbe |
| 23 | thigh (of human) | gínámá | gínámá, inámá | gínámá |
| 22 | thigh (of animal) | gínámá | gínámá, inámá | gínámá |
| 559 | thing | iintú | gíIntó | íIntó |
| 987 | think, imagine | - | γémá | òsèyá |
| 651 | thirst | nywééRá | nywéRá | nyóóRá |
| 740 | thorn | iyúuyá | igúyá/má(í)gúyá | igúyá |
| 689 | threaten | òyófyá | ògófýá | òkáàngá |
| 532 | three | iRáRú | iRáRó | táátú |
| 115 | thrust into | òhómá | xíinyá, hòómá | òhómá |
| 420 | tick (cattle or dog) | ñkófá | ñxófá | ñkófá |
| 1034 | tie (fasten) (vt) | Rúnjá | gòRúnjá | òhúkiá |
| 258 | tie up | Rúnjá, òchtílyá | gòRúnjáwá òyòhè | òtúnjá |
| 978 | tingle with excitement | sisimòkyá ? | - | - |
| 119 | tip, point | sòòngé | sòómé | sòòngé |
| 741 | tobacco | RúmbáRí | iRúmbáRó | ítúmbáti |
| 146 | today | lééó | lìó | rèó |
| 742 | toe | mwaáchá | mwaánchá | chá gò múgiú |
| 445 | tomato | nyáányá | nyáányá | nyéényé |
| 105 | tomcat (half-wild) | ifúlyááká | ééle | ntyó |
| 743 | tomorrow | fádíó | pádió | fádió |

| No | English | Gĩrwaná | Giáhi | Yinyáhiinyirányi |
|-----|--|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| 166 | tongue | òlĩmĩ | òlĩmĩ | òlĩmĩ |
| 120 | tooth (canine), tooth filed to a point | lĩlĩnó | lĩlĩnó | lĩlĩnó |
| 267 | tooth | lĩlĩnó | lĩlĩnó/mĩlĩnó | lĩlĩnó/mĩlĩnó |
| 306 | top, peak | gòòntó | - | gòòntó |
| 293 | tooths | ŋkũũ, mbáalyóyó | ŋkũũ | ŋkũũ |
| 277 | town | mũji ? | mòjji ? | ibómá ? |
| 378 | tramp of feet | òhòriyáŋgá | - | - |
| 270 | travel | mũhèŋjò | teendá mĩhiŋjò | gòRèndá muhèŋjò |
| 540 | tree | mùRĩ | mòRĩ | mòRè |
| 538 | tremble, shake (vi) | xaxáarà | xaxáRà | òxáyáti |
| 566 | trickle away | òhòrã, igiĩkã | sémémbã | òhòrã |
| 401 | trunk (of elephant) | mũxòrò wá ŋjòũ | mũxòrò wá ŋjòũ | mòxòrjã |
| 604 | try | sòoyá | sòoyá | òsòoyá |
| 605 | tsetse-fly | - | ndòròjò | ndòròjò |
| 938 | turn upside down, turn over | fĩntòá, fĩndiã | òŋfĩnkã | òŋfĩntiã |
| 174 | turn round | fĩntòáŋgá | òŋfĩndĩyã | òŋfĩmĩyã |
| 711 | tusk, elephant's (middle size) * | - | - | òpèèmbè |
| 452 | twin | máíahã | ifáhã/máfáhã | máfáhã |
| 185 | twist roll, spin with fingers | sòxòRã | sòxòRã | òsòxòRã |
| 483 | twist, esp strands | gòyòhá | òyòhá | òpòRã |
| 752 | two | -bĩt | ivĩtĩ | ijĩtĩ |
| 18 | udder | mbéé yã ŋpòombè | gĩnèniã | gĩnèniã |
| 945 | uncover, reveal | kũnũkòá | fũnũkòá | òkũndkòá |
| 551 | unripe, half grown | ĩnyékè, itĩndĩ | mpòòndò | ĩRékè |
| 994 | unripe, uncooked | ĩRòRò | ĩwĩtĩ | ibĩtĩ |
| 311 | up, above | gòntó | gòntó | gòntó |
| 614 | upright | gwĩmã | wĩmã | wèemã |
| 446 | urinate/defecate | nyã, xòjã | òniã, òxòjã | òniã, òkòjã |

| | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|--|-------------------------|
| No | English | Gɪrɔwámá | Gɪáhi | YínymáMúnyírányi |
| 745 | urine | máányí | máányé | máányé |
| 569 | use | Ròmítá | Ròmítá | òténdá |
| 307 | utmost, highest point | gómító | - | òdàhá |
| 904 | vapour, gas | yòbki | mòxíó | múliké |
| 380 | vein | mushipá wá sáyámi | musifá wá sáyámi | musipá á sáyámi |
| 276 | village | kíjiji ? | kíjiji ? | gíjiji ? |
| 692 | virgin (bride), girl | mòncchá | múncchá | mòncchá |
| 327 | vision | gòóRyá | ndóóRí | ndóóRí |
| 330 | voice, (thunder) | mórtó | mòxíindó/ mxiindó | ròbýé |
| 224 | vomit | òrbká | rúxá | òrbká |
| 524 | walk (take a) | gòbòbéndá | ènéndá | gòbèténcá |
| 269a | walk | ééndá | ééndá | ééndá |
| 847 | wall | - | nxááncdá nyúumbá | ìpòpá |
| 983 | want, need, wish | gòhéénjá | òstíyá | òpéénjá |
| 507 | war | ixòjji | fírà | òfíRà |
| 790 | wart-hog | ngíi | ngíi | ngíi |
| 860 | wash oneself (after evacuating) | òfiayóá | ògífí rí ha, ògixòntíyá, ògíseéna, òyíriindá | gíchayóá, gíseéntíyá |
| 127 | wash (hands) | óóyá | óóyá | gòóyá |
| 128 | wash (clothes) | gòhòmbóá | hòmbóá | òhòmbóá |
| 129 | wash, take a bath | gòóyá | óyá | gòóyá |
| 322 | water | máájí | máájí | máájí |
| 959 | wave, let off a trap, remove a spell | òhèiwá máhóká | ááyòá | òhèyáá |
| 1017 | we | seésé | seésé | líkwé |
| 1010 | weak | mòláyékò | òhòngbówé | nyénýé |
| 881 | wear a child, give leave, send away | òfwéésyá | éécha mwáana ípéé | òfwéésyá |
| 234 | wear, dress | òhyáá | yááá ísáá | - |

| No | English | GiRwàná | GiÁhi | ƳfnyáMùnyinjányi |
|------|------------------------|---------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 501 | weave, knit | òRùmá | òRùmá | òRùmá |
| 1015 | weight, rhythm | ùriRò | wiiRò, òliRò | òlò, nǎǎnǎ |
| 210 | well | lòòji | ròòji | lòòji |
| 56 | wet (get) | òRòRúfá | òRòRúfá | òlòbá |
| 919 | what? | ntòóni | ntòóni | ntòóni |
| 469 | which? | yáǎfè | ìǎfè | yááǎfè |
| 192 | whistling | mòòlyi | mòlòli | mòòryè |
| 175 | white man | mújúúngú | mójúúngú | mójúúngú |
| 610 | white | -èèlò | -èèlò | njèèrú |
| 918 | who? | nyáányú | áányú | áányú |
| 28 | wicked | mbí | òòǎí | mòrèyi ? |
| 339 | wife | mòxémá | mòxémá | mòxémá |
| 187 | wind up (thread) | kúúnjá | òkúúnjá | òfèndiyá |
| 746 | wind | úfétó | òfétó, kíǎRiá | mpèèǎfò |
| 937 | winnow | fèfèRá, wèèrà | òwèèrà | òǎfènéntá |
| 112 | wipe | òfúRá | fúúRá | òhúRá |
| 88 | wire (brass) | - | máxómò | - |
| 194 | witchcraft | òròyi | òròyi | òròyi |
| 279a | withhold from | gíimá | íimá | gíimá |
| 279 | withhold from, abstain | ginyiimá | òginyiimá | gíiyimá |
| 338 | woman | mòxémá | mòxémá/áxémá | mòxémá |
| 747 | womb | íǎǎfò | nyúumbá/ndá òǎǎǎǎǎ | - |
| 812 | word | ihányò | ihányò | ihányò, njkááni |
| 772 | work as a mason | òjééngá | òjééngá | òjééngá |
| 167 | work (n) | múúimò | mwiimò | mwiimò |
| 81 | wrap up | kúúnjá | húúnjá | òkòúnjá |
| 344 | wring (clothes) | xárná | òmiinyá | òkáángúá, mínyòòsá ? |
| 773 | yawn | wá mááhá | hwá mwáhu/miáhú | ólá miáyò |

| | | | | |
|-----------|---------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| No | English | GIRwáná | GIÁni | YínváMúnyínányi |
| 593 | year | mwááká | mwááká | mwááká |
| 750 | yesterday | iyóó | iyóó | iyóó |
| 15 | you (sing.) | íeéjé | íeéjé | íeéjé |
| 1018 | you (pl.) | nyéényé | nyéényé | nyéényé |
| 715 | young man | mónyágyíyósá | mohóómbá | mohóómbá |
| 637 | your(s) (pl. 2nd) person) | áányú | áányú | áányú |
| 693 | youth | mwikúúmbó, múúńchá | mohóómbá, múńchá | mohóómbá, múńyíkótúmbó, |
| | zebra | ndóó | ndóó | mósóńgó |
| 292 | | | | ndóó |

Appendix 1. Zone F: word-list: F:25, F:33 and F:34

| | | | | |
|-----------|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| No | English | ICIWóńgó | KIRrángi | KééMúwé |
| 133 | abdomen, stomach, belly | éńdá | íńdá | ńdá |
| 495 | abscess, boil | ípúmbá | isóńgó | sońgó |
| 786a | abundant/abound | ámirigi | fwéé | para, nyíńgí |
| 786 | abundant | ámirigi | fwéé | para, nyíńgí |
| 571 | abuse, insult | kótókáná | kótókára | ótókáná |
| 252 | abuse, reproach | kókalipílá | kóóláńyá | ótókáná |
| 809 | accustomed (get) | kózoléá | kwíjívírá | wéjéwéá |
| 274 | act (V) | kóńńgá | kuboyá ? | jíshá |
| 229 | add up | kókóńgéjé | kwóńgńyá | ósalńjá |
| 927 | adjacent (be); border (v) | - | kóńńkáná | ólańneréá |
| 662 | adze, carpenter's | írńbíjío | - | mpáńgó |
| 254 | affair | íjálámbó/ámáámbó | isááré/másááré | mpóńgó |
| 1002 | afraid (be) | kókóńgópá | kwóófá | wóofá |
| 168 | agriculture | ichítímó | írímá | rémá |
| 926 | all | yéési | óósi | -óónsé |

| No | English | iCIWb-òngbò | Kurángi | Kéémbowé |
|------|----------------------------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------|
| 248 | alter, change | kópitiálá | kobádlisihá ? | wááloryá |
| 595 | animal | inyáámá | nyámá | máká |
| 617 | answer a call | òkwitfikilá | kwitfiká | wéilekà |
| 782 | answer, reply | kójilitù ? | - | óáálóilá |
| 664 | ant (reddish-brown biling) | tsaláfu | mboyrkási | nyèreri |
| 122 | ant-hill | ínsibwá, òkíchúgbìò | kyòbolò | chòolò |
| 663 | ant (small) | - | mòjójò | miré |
| 566 | antil | - | - | - |
| 989 | apply by stretching, spread over | - | kòväämbá | òväämbá |
| 976 | appoint, set up | kòkòntémá | kwitmyá | ófa |
| 55 | arm, hand | ònykònd/ìnikòndò | mukòndò | mòxòndò |
| 771 | armpt | íngwápá | kinyesù | kwááwá |
| 203 | arrange, put in order | kòpáaringá | kupáaringá | òvèkà ténéré |
| 204 | arrange, put right, repair | kòtérjántijá | kùtérjénèshá ? | òjishá |
| 478 | arrive | kòsòkà | kòfiká | òfika |
| 665 | arrow | òndòbòndá | mpalámbò | mòbòyé |
| 666 | arrow (head of), spear head | palálá | mwhwé | mpalámbò |
| 337 | ashes | itwiltwi | ivù | yùù |
| 199 | ask for | kòlèrjngá | kòlòombá | òlòombá |
| 89 | assemble, collect (vt) | kòsáaringá | kòziingá | òbòsá |
| 789 | aunt (father's sister) | sénggi | m(ù)dálá | mááwé |
| 148 | avoid, dodge | kòkwèlèpá | - | ódèrá |
| 693 | awe, fear of God | - | - | - |
| 667 | axe | ítrudémò | cháaryá | chòbómá |
| 364 | baboon, ape | íimbòrmá | nchwé | niuve |
| 634 | back of (at the) | kòbònmá | nyúmá | nyítimá |
| 297 | back | mùgòòngò | mwoòngò | mòbòrpxò |
| 297a | backbone | mùgòòngò | mwoòngò | mògòòrù |

| No | English | iCiWu-ŋngb | KiriRangi | KéelMbuwé |
|------|--|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 27 | bad | ivi | yáwéhá | klívi |
| 37 | bad (become), rotten (vi) | kóluwángiká | kótlá | wúundá |
| 87 | bail | ichaámbo/ iyaámbo | cháámbo | wéishá |
| 398 | banana (plant) | - | mgóombá | mgóombá |
| 397 | banana (fruit) | índizi | ndizi | ndisi |
| 399 | banana (for cooking) | - | ndizi | ndisi |
| 1005 | baobab | ómboýó | mwítwí | mwálayé |
| 1022 | bark (of tree) | igáambá | ikókó | jólá |
| 313 | barren (of living being) | - | múumbá | taása |
| 314 | barren (of land) | kisááná | isokóla | okálokú |
| 376 | base of tree-trunk | - | chiná | ntíndé |
| 576 | bask (in the sun), warm oneself | kókótielá ónditib | kwobá | wodá |
| 577 | basket of open wicker-work | íkísáángá | ihéngéré | kákekápu |
| 577 | basket (plaited) | ichikápu | kikápu | kékápu |
| 643 | bathe | kóchifíndá | kóoha | wobvá |
| 498 | be fitting, behave | kófwááyá | yáboohá | téréré |
| 1 | be, become | kówá | kóvá | óvá |
| 955 | beach, coast, shore | kómbwááni | - | mbárembáé yá láává |
| 827 | bead(s) | osáib | kichingb, kisiringá | visiringó, ntólo |
| 416 | bean, kind of bean (from <i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i>) | fnjwiwif | lúkúá | ŋkóosa |
| 417 | bean, small (from bean plant) | mááiyé ? | máháiyá | lóosi |
| 844 | bean (runner) | - | lúkúá | ŋkóosa |
| 1037 | bear child | kótléá | kóvyááá | óyááá |
| 147 | beard | índevú | ndedu | mbuib |
| 789 | beat | kólaámpá | kóváá | ótulá, ómútá |
| 759 | beautiful | inóónú | bóhá | kéjé |
| 162 | bed | kitiáá | kiláándá | óréré |
| 161 | bedstead | - | ònrí | kócháánjá, kétiáándá |

| No | English | iCiWòòngò | KiiRàngì | KeèMbùwè |
|-----|-----------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| 653 | bee | izòchtí | njòkí | njòkè |
| 775 | beer | indiiimbá | íròsò | rùsù |
| 497 | befit, suit | kònonéétá | kòbòbhyá | òvèèrèrà |
| 101 | below, underneath | pàási | èsé | nsèisèí |
| 186 | bend, twist (vi) | kòpíndá | kòwòdá | òkóná |
| 468 | bend (vt) | kòpíndá, kògòòndá | - | òfólòryá |
| 193 | bewitch | kòlówá | kòlówá | òlówá |
| 930 | bifurcation, cross-roads | pàzítá pààndá | túnjèrà jèrùmánírá | màbasù |
| 222 | bile | ndòlía | kisòòngò | késòòngò |
| 262 | bind up, splice | kònyèépá | - | òlávòlá |
| 658 | bird-lime | òdiéèmbò | ùréèmbò | ùréèmpò |
| 811 | bird | inòòni | ndée | miré |
| 46 | birth (give), to a child | kòlétá | kòvyààlà | òyààlà |
| 125 | bite | kòúmá, kòwáwá | kòlúmá | òlómá |
| 221 | bitter | kíkàit | sòòngò | òsòòngò |
| 223 | bladder | - | kisélù | késúmèèrèrò |
| 482 | blind person | òchtípòfú | mùhòkú | mòtífèlù |
| 669 | blood | òláàndá | sàkàmi | mwààrì |
| 496 | blow on, blow up | kòpútá | kòfwéèrà | wèifèrà |
| 238 | blow bellows | kòpòtítjá | - | - |
| 463 | blow away | kòpèpèlòshá ? | kòfwéèrèkà | òfálàryá |
| 776 | boast, brag, praise oneself | kòkwidáái ? | kwiliyèryá | wéiúnýá |
| 676 | boat | ìngálàwá ? | màshùá ? | mòríngá, bòtí ? |
| 670 | body | òòmbítì/ìmimbítì | múvítì | mòvèrè/mèvèrè |
| 581 | boil up | - | kòfòòkèrà | òvèrà |
| 30 | boil (vt) | kòwíífiá | kòchèm(ù)shá?, kòtòtyá | vèrìshá |
| 433 | bone | ifúpá/mífúpá | ikúfá | kúfá |
| 564 | bore a hole | kòtòwòlá | kòtòbòlà | tòòngá, òbùtòlá |

| No | English | iCIWòngò | Kùràngí | KééMibúwé |
|------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 1008 | born (be) | kólélíwá | kòyóóláwá | òyáálwá |
| 910 | borrow | kòkwáázímýá | kòkòpá | òkòfá |
| 872 | bottle | ísòpá | chòpá ? | chùpá ? |
| 928 | boundary | òlówíímábití | mùháká | mòlámèrèrò |
| 671 | bow, bending | òtá | òtá | òtá |
| 508 | bow | òtá/àtá | òtá | òtá |
| 953 | bowstring | - | ìbòhí | ìbòwí |
| 58 | brain | òwòngò | òwòngò | òwòngò |
| 509 | branch | isáámá | ítáámpt | nsáámá |
| 375 | bread | òmúkajáté | múkajáilè ? | mókáté ? |
| 831 | break wind * | kòsùlá | kòfèerá | òsùlá |
| 77 | break, snap | kòvíná | kòvíná | wúuná |
| 1036 | break wind | kòsùlá, kòkòhýá | kòsùlá | òsùlá |
| 17 | breast (of a woman) | máwéyé | mabòómbo | másií |
| 489 | breath, breathing | òmfító, kòfútá | késhò | òkwéngò |
| 490 | breathe, rest | kòfútá | kòkíhà, kòkèhà | òkwètererá |
| 138 | bridge | ìdálájá ? | dàrálá ? | òtálò |
| 139 | bridge (wooden) | ìdálájá ? | - | òtálò |
| 885 | bring, fetch | kòfèerá | kùrètá | réelá |
| 171 | bring to light | kòzòòshá | - | òrèrèkányá, òrèerýá |
| 882 | bring up (a child) | kwaárjálíilá | kurèrá | òrèrá |
| 660 | brook, stream | chíímááná | mífúò | mòòrkánáná |
| 942 | broom | ìpyáyá | ìfýáàtrò | shéerò |
| 113 | broth | ònsòní, mùnsòní | mòsòtrí | mòsòrí |
| 381 | brother-in-law, sister-in-law | wááshé | máàrgé | máànjké |
| 341 | brother (older) | ònkòkòyáánd | ìròòmbo, kááká ? | wáálo |
| 673 | brother, relative, fellow-tribesman | mwaáántò | múndò | warnéveré |
| 874 | bruise badly, take the skin off | kòlémáálá | kòchòbolá | òndòfá |

| No | English | iCiwibongó | KiiRangi | Keetibwé |
|-----|--|--------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 71 | buffalo | imbógó | mbóó | mbóó, njólómá |
| 807 | bulld | kójjéngá | kójjéngá | ójeéngá |
| 674 | bull | ilómé/malómé | kabáákó | nyáámhá |
| 80 | bunch (of hair) | ámánywáálé | - | njéeri pára |
| 890 | burden, load | ómuligó | muuruwá | morigo |
| 645 | burn (vt & vi) | kókwáká | kómóriká | wááká |
| 231 | burnt (become) | kóbópýá | kóróngóbórá | óónyá |
| 179 | bury | kójjiká | kójjiká | óvééká |
| 555 | bush | ipóóli, ónsitú | isáká | númáó |
| 21 | buttermilk | mbómóólé | mpóótóó | másii áti njákaká |
| 514 | buttocks | itáakó/ámátáakó | itáakó | táakó/matáakó |
| 301 | buy | kókkálá | kókkálá | óttá |
| 873 | calabash | chiláánga/viláánga | kisowávisowá | baáyimabaayi |
| 857 | call of the leg | imbáámhá | nchalú | lúsáakú |
| 877 | call | indáamá | ndamá | ndamá |
| 31 | call | kókwitá | kwáánérá | wáámóká |
| 675 | canoe (dug-out) | ingátáawá | ngátáwá ? | móringá |
| 602 | canoe | ówáátó | m(ú)lúumbwi ? | móringá |
| 993 | carry a child on the back (in a blanket) | kópáápá | kófféréká | úúwáálá |
| 567 | carry/lift on to head (take up) a heavy load | kówtziká | kwititika | óneéka |
| 97 | carry astride on the hip | kópákáátá | kókkiká | ókéká |
| 560 | carry, take | kóseénda | kósumólá | wéúchá |
| 578 | carry, convey | kósoómhá | kówááilá | óhwááilá |
| 104 | cat | inyááú | nyááú | nyááú |
| 286 | cattle | imifugó ? | nyóombé | vimáka |
| 486 | cease, finish | kómáitijá | kómárikirá | ósirá |
| 526 | centipede | táándó | ingimágá | ngalóréri |

| No | English | iCiWòngbò | Kiuràngì | KteéMbuwé |
|------|--|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 247 | change, turn round | kògèlèkka | kwiiròrà | òvòrèkà |
| 334 | charcoal | ikalà/àmakalà | ikalà/àmakalà | màkalà |
| 963 | charm (esp. to ensure wife's fidelity) (n) | inúumbò | m(ù)lèéyò | mpéèngà |
| 32 | chase (away) | kòchihimbijà | kòrindrà | òkamalyà |
| 515 | cheek | itààmyà | isayà | òkàásà |
| 92 | cheerful (become) | kòfùlálá ? | kwànjámùkà | pàampalà |
| 106 | cheeriah | - | sovi | nsòvè |
| 585 | chest | chfufà | kipfimbì | kikuvà |
| 672 | chest (of animals and birds) | chfufà | kidàfí | kikuvà |
| 431 | chief, headman | mweééné | mùtèrì | mòsùngàálì |
| 431a | chief | mweééné, mùtèrì | mùtèrì | mòsùngàálì |
| 679 | child, infant | òrùwàaná nù | m(ù)lìnggà, mwàaná | mwàaná |
| 597 | child, offspring | mwàaná | mwàaná | mwàaná |
| 886 | chin | ichidèvù | kidèdù | ktòdèdù |
| 83 | choose | kòsàgòlì | kòsàgòlì | òsàgòlì |
| 109 | civet cat | ifúungò | nchiungò | cheefá |
| 255 | clan | òlòkò | òlòkò | ndòò |
| 841 | climb, ascend | kòtáandá | kwàámòkà | òkwaává |
| 550 | clod, lump | ilòongò | ìròongò | lòvè |
| 851 | close (the eyes, mouth, etc.) | kòlìlindilì, kwilimà | kòchébèchitnyà | òtìmbinyà, òvimbà |
| 299 | cloth | kitaàmbalà | kitaàmbalà | kitàmbalà |
| 235 | clothe | kòvwitshà | kwivèkèrà | òvèkèrà |
| 300 | clothes, material | mweéndà/myèlèndá | ìngò | ngò |
| 305 | cloud | ikòòmbì, kwíngò | ìngò | diùndè/mràduundé |
| 817 | coagulate | kògàandá | kòkwaátaná | òkwaátaná |
| 941 | cobra (spitting) | ìhòongò | njòkà yà kèràátò | njòkà yà kèràátò |
| 906 | cohabit | kòkwíngitilì | kòsàngitrà, kwilìólà | wiingèrera |
| 465 | cold | ìmbepò | mpèhò | mpéfò |

| No | English | iCiWoŋgò | KiiRangi | KeeMbuwe |
|------|-----------------------------------|------------------|--------------|-------------|
| 624 | come | wizá | kojá | óyá |
| 505 | come on suddenly, take in the act | kókúndémwijiá | kósháánfíríá | ókúndííríá |
| 230 | construct, put together | kóteŋgènéjá ? | kóshááŋyá | ójišhá |
| 471 | cook | kóteleeká | kórwá | déréká |
| 557 | cook in water or fat | kóteleeká | kótoóyá | órááyá |
| 43 | cooking pan, small | ínúŋgò | kikásháŋgò | kábòòmbwá |
| 385 | cool (become); get well | kópóolá | kohóla | ófolá |
| 265 | copper, brass | ísháábá ? | shábá | - |
| 283 | copy a pattern | kókweéndélejá | kóúúúúúúúúúú | ókórórýá |
| 894 | cork, stopper | íkúfúnikò | mífúnikò ? | kilishò |
| 52 | corpse, carcass | ímállí ? | múvílímá | móvílímá |
| 1001 | corpse (human) | ívilímá/mávílímá | múvílímá | móvílímá |
| 383 | cough (vi) | kókóhóliá | kókóhóliá | ókóhóliá |
| 4 | count | kókweesháábú ? | kóválá | òválá |
| 100 | country (our) | ísi yéúú | ísi yítú | nst |
| 14 | courtyard | isáálá | wáámá | chòrwá |
| 852 | cover (up) | kófúnikíliá | kókúntíkírá | ókúntíkérá |
| 285 | cow | ínòòmbé | npòòmbé | npòòmbé |
| 1003 | coward | úrwoòwá | mwoòwá | móofá |
| 335 | crab | íkálá/mákálá | - | nkáláári |
| 520 | crawl, creep | kosétá | kwaáwóliá | wétúliá |
| 612 | cricket | ínyééñzé | nyééñjé | - |
| 153 | cripple | íchlíèrámá | kígírú ? | órááválú |
| 803 | crocodile | índbólo | máámá | máámá |
| 319 | cross (a river) | kóliámboóká | kurúká | ótiámboóká |
| 846 | crow (n) | íkòòrŋgòbòb | íkòòrŋgòliá | ŋkòòrŋgòliá |
| 308 | crown of the head | piáánwé | ítootí | ítootí |
| 79 | crumple | kókòrŋjábònjá | kóftíofátíá | óftíofátíá |

| No | English | iCiWòòngò | KiiRàngi | KéeMbúwé |
|------|----------------------------------|------------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| 370 | crush by pounding, pulverize | kòvíná | kòtwáàngá | òtùlátulá |
| 393 | crust | ámákòkó | úkòkó | lókòókó |
| 160 | cry, wail | kòtílá | kòtrá | òrèrà |
| 966 | cucumber, small | - | - | làámbó/mátáámbó |
| 736 | cudgel | íkwi | mpóló | mòtúwámbèryó |
| 165 | cultivate | kòlímá | kòrlmá | òrémá |
| 950 | cure, cool, heal | kògáàngíliá, kòpùitjía | kòhòryá | yáandí |
| 355 | cut | kòpùtùlá | kòkèrà | òtémá |
| 98 | cut, lop | kòpòlòlá | kòkèrèngá | òfénjèrà |
| 117 | cut to shape, sharpen to a point | kòsòóngòlá | kòsòóngòlá | òfálá |
| 365 | dance (of men, to show courage) | kwiitùtùmòlá | kòviná | òlingátèrèryálingátèrèryá |
| 53 | dance | kòchíná | kòviná | òviná |
| 622 | dark, black | nyilò | njlrò | mwèirámá |
| 481 | darkness | òsikò | kijjá | dúú |
| 824 | dawn (vi) | kwáàchá | kwèerà | kòchééyè |
| 359 | dawn, daybreak | mizáánjá | kwíifiré | kòtyékánòká |
| 744 | day after tomorrow | isikwíínjé | lòvíríryá | òkééyè |
| 130 | day | lòsikò | sikú | nsikò |
| 682 | day-time | ònsáná njkòtò | múúsí | mónsékati |
| 869 | day (all) | òmúsáná wéésí | chírírè | chòòbúchòòbú |
| 751 | day before yesterday | isikwíínjé | èrà sikú | èrà nsikò |
| 423 | dead person | òmhíwè | múviimbá | mòviimbá |
| 424 | death | ìchífwò | nkúyá | nkúyá |
| 931 | decorate | kòtèémbá ? | kòrémbá | òjifèrèryá |
| 446a | defecate | kòkònyá | kòniá | òniá |
| 631 | denial | kòkàáná | siitá | òsiitá |
| 821 | deny | kòkàáná | kòsiitá | òsiitá |

| No | English | iCiwoangó | Kuifangli | KeeMbuwe |
|------|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|-----------|
| 648 | destroy, spoil | kólúwáangá | kásáambóla | ósámbóla |
| 437 | dew | ójobómi | ibóme | lómé |
| 219 | die (cause to); put to death * | kókómáangá | kódiáá | óliáá |
| 1027 | die * | kófwá | kókúyá | kúyá |
| 425 | die | kókómbá, kófwá | kófwá | kúyá |
| 504 | dig up, dig out | kókómbá, kófwá | kófwá | ófwóla |
| 503 | dig | kókómbá, kófwá | kófwá | ósiimbá |
| 466 | diminish, grow less | kóchépá | kósiimbá | ókééfá |
| 635 | dip | - | kóhiichérekera | óliákényá |
| 49 | dirt | ócháálú ? | kóúnyá | hááli |
| 680 | district, province, country | isi | isi | risé |
| 245 | divide | kogawáanyá | kogavá | óvaniá |
| 512 | divorce | kóléká | tááká ? | ireko |
| 367 | do, complete, finish | kómáttijá | márikinyá | máirérá |
| 366 | do | kóloóngá | kóbóyá | ójishá |
| 60 | dog | íiribwá | kári | diyó |
| 292a | donkey | - | ndakwí | ndáákó |
| 685 | door | óndyáangó | mulyáangó | moreengó |
| 415 | dove (red-eyed) | ínjivá ? | njivá | njévá |
| 186 | doze | kólitindlia, kósiimtia | kóliáá | ónyáashá |
| 529 | draw water (from well) | kólépá máází | kóháhá máájji | ólefa |
| 215 | dream (vt, vi) | kóbiá | kóbóterá | ólotérá |
| 328 | dream (n) | índóótó | ndóótó | keróótó |
| 448 | drink | kármwéelá | kúnywá | óonyá |
| 196 | dizziness | ámányóonyó ? | - | mónyinyi |
| 780 | drop, throw down | kókwishá | kófwéla | óya |
| 284 | drum | erjóómá | niángáshá | nééngá |
| 598 | dry (vt), set out to dry | kókwáaniklá | kwáanika | wáaneka |

| No | English | ICHWòngbò | Kifiràngi | Keelmbùwé |
|------|--|---|------------------|--------------|
| 346 | dry | ingávù | yotómá | óómá |
| 954 | dry up, ebb | kwiizobá | - | óómá, chòómú |
| 345 | dry up, become dry | kokalá | kòómá | óóómá |
| 289 | duck | ifimbàá | baálá | kizákóvidákó |
| 243 | dust, cloud of dust | lòngbòndí | iriri | tuúmbí |
| 628 | dwell | kokwikalá | kwikalá | wiikalá |
| 482 | eagerness, zeal | iyalááká | mpítimá | wáàngbò |
| 491 | eagle, bird of prey | - | njúkumbá | loóové |
| 563 | ear | ikótówí (of animals), isikító (of kóttó humans) | - | kótó |
| 70 | earth, land | isí | isí | nsé |
| 44 | earthenware vessel for serving up food | isòòmbò | nyijingò | mágbùntí |
| 156 | eat | kokódýá | kòryá | rá |
| 900 | effort, exertion | ingjwú | - | ótómámi |
| 273 | egg | iyí/máayí | iyí | yááí/máayí |
| 443 | eight | múnáámé | inánó | náná |
| 705a | elbow | - | kikókóólá | kikokoló |
| 329 | elephant | ínzòvú | njú | njú |
| 336 | embers | ikalá/makalá | kíngá | kálá |
| 842 | embrace | kójiwá | kòkwáitírá | kumbáitírá |
| 394 | end (come to an), cease | kòlékà | kòrékà | osirérá |
| 952 | escape, recover | kòpóná | kòhólá | ótóná |
| 899 | examine, measure, test | kòpiimá | kòláàngá, kòyérá | ópimá |
| 45 | excrement, dung | máwí | máwí | máwí, isaká |
| 958 | exorcise, drive out a devil | - | - | òsitá |
| 784 | explain | kòkwéetèjé ? | kòlúsá | òlòsekera |
| 620 | eye | ifisò/ámisò | ritsò | ritsò/máisò |
| 828 | eyebrow | itngpé | máirimá | kérimá |

| No | English | ICIWòngò | KifRangi | KeelMbuùwè |
|------|------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 838 | eyelash | - | - | rkòòshò |
| 587 | face downwards | kòkwínàámá | ràrà ná ndá | lòyá ndáínsé |
| 686 | face | òwílísò | kishò | òshò/máshò |
| 940 | fado, disappear | kòzímilá | kòrómèrà | òrímèrèrà |
| 891 | faint, lose consciousness | kòzìlliká | kúyfrèkà | òrímárimá |
| 298 | fall | kòkòwá | kúyá | òwá |
| 549 | fall short | kòpòngòkífíwá | kúchéénchérekèrà | òyèktrá |
| 462 | fan, wave | kòpùlìjǎ ? | kúfweèrà | òfáláifáláilá |
| 764 | far | kòtáni | kòll | kòlèl |
| 921 | far (be) (of animals) | kònbhá | kònénehá | ònbhá |
| 922 | fat (of animals) | inòònu | nènehá | ònbòlá |
| 531a | father | òbáábá, òònsò | tàátá | bábá |
| 382 | father-in-law, mother-in-law | káyèlèmbá | mukwé | mukwi |
| 531 | father (my) | ònsò, òpáábá wáámé | tàátá wáítò | báábá |
| 687 | fear | wòowá | wòowá | wòofá |
| 652 | feathers, fur | ámáwéyá | báàtèrà | mbúuyé |
| 848 | fence, enclosure | lòwáyá | wáámá | kúfú |
| 858 | ferment, turn sour | - | kòsáásá | chúunú |
| 762 | few (a), not much | ìnjé | ndúúdi | víkè |
| 757 | fierce, sharp | -káll | yáhòòmbá | chittú |
| 421 | fig-tree | - | múúini ? | - |
| 422 | fig-mulberry tree | - | mukúyó | mòkòò |
| 216 | fight | kòkòdwá | kwlíwáhá | wèlúúá |
| 804 | fill | kwlíwòjǎ | kòzibá ? | wèlèjǎyá |
| 176 | fill a hole, stop up | kòlìzimbá | kòrméyá | òlìfá |
| 583 | filter, strain | kòrméenyá | kòsòbjá | òchúujǎ ? |
| 50 | filth | òchááfú | kòsú | visáámé |
| 516 | final, decisive | - | - | kítúókúyè |

| No | English | iCiWòòngò | KiiRàngì | KéèMbúwé |
|------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------|-------------|
| 760 | fine, excellent | -nòónú | yá bòohà | kéèjá |
| 447 | finger | káánkónó | ímaámbá | mónwé |
| 323 | firemail | iníngwá | mpááhá | lójálá |
| 474 | fire | òndíló/miindiló | móótó | móótó |
| 280 | fireplace, hearth, kitchen | ífiyá, ijíikó | riikó | riikó |
| 970a | firewood (collect, cut) (vt) | kòsèényá | kòtémá ñkwi | òviringá |
| 413 | firewood | ìngwí | ñkwi | ñkóó |
| 191 | fish up, pull out | kwiipólá | kòtóólá | òlówóíá |
| 126 | fish (old Swahili nsw) | íshwí | sámáákí ? | nsiyé |
| 190 | fish (vt), trap fish | kòvúá shwí | kòkwáátá sámáákí | òtèyá nsiyé |
| 400 | fist | ìngúmí | nggúmí | ñkóóndé |
| 525 | five | zítáánó | isáánó | sáánó |
| 493 | flap wings wildly, flutter | kòpópómóká | kòfáláfáántá | òfálátá |
| 832 | flatulence | kòvimbílílá | kòvòhírwá | òfúlumèrérá |
| 384 | flavoured (be properly) | kònnógèèlá | - | òkórérá |
| 907 | flower | íuwá/ámáúá ? | íuwá | òlóriwá |
| 278 | fly (house) | isárgáázi | njòòsi | ngiá |
| 1028 | fly (vj) | kòlòká | kòhótóká | òfálátá |
| 1032 | foam * | ipòvú (of soap), ifúúló (the rest) | ifúló | fútó |
| 502 | foam | ipòvú (of soap), ifúúló (the rest) | ifúló | fútó |
| 143 | follow (in order) | kòfúátá ? | kòtúbá | nóòngó |
| 142 | follow | kòfwaátá | kòtúbá | òtúumbá |
| 823 | food supply for a journey | ìnsòómá | másòótá | ñkáándá |
| 556 | forest | ònsító ? | isáká | sáfisááfi |
| 584 | forge | kòlèngànijá | - | òchááná |
| 889 | forget | kòkwíiwá | kòrimtíryá | wèèwá |

| No | English | iCiWoŋgō | KiiRangi | KeeMbuwe |
|-----|---|---|------------|-------------------|
| 458 | fork, bifurcation | izila paandā, ikōowā (for use in millet), ndēmédélō (for pot) | tāāmbarikō | mabasi |
| 442 | four | zini | inē | linyé |
| 295 | frog | òchòóliá | ibuulá | chòòrà |
| 574 | fruit | - | matuúndá ? | - |
| 349 | fry | kòkálángijjá | kòkálángjá | òkálángjá |
| 936 | fully developed, be | kòkwéeripiká | kòvívá | òkólá |
| 625 | full (become) | kwilizólá | kòrēmá | wéjfiá |
| 316 | garden | - | kawúundá | dáangf |
| 419 | gather (flowers, fruit) | kòyáwá | kòyúundá | òyá |
| 91 | gathered (be), assembled (be) | kòkwíwóná | kwíjijingá | wéviríngá |
| 388 | gazelle (Grant's) | - | mbúumá | mbwaláá |
| 454 | gazelle, small (impala) | imbaáú | vóób | njéerá |
| 108 | genet (kind of speckled civet cat) | òfúungó | nchúungó | chéféá |
| 408 | gel, obtain | kòpátá ? | kòpátá | òtòólá |
| 684 | ghost, sudden apparition | òbuzúkámizbika | maurémó | mórimó |
| 588 | giraffe | ndwilyá | ndwilyá | ntóoyá |
| 246 | give away (present) | kòfúnyá, kòkòompá | kòhòngfryá | ŋkoyi |
| 449 | give | kòòmbá | kòtòólá | òfá |
| 916 | give light to | kòwááshá | kòmbriká | òtonjéerá |
| 815 | glide, trickle | kòkòová | kwilíká | wekéeréá |
| 289 | go | kòwáátlá | kòdumá | òfélá |
| 639 | go in, come in, enter | kwilingilá | kwilingira | òngfirá |
| 63 | goat | imbozi | mbòri | mbòri |
| 694 | goat, (he-) | jibébéélú, chibébéélú | nguiáatá | nguiáatá |
| 695 | god | òmulòbòngó | muluungú | mòtaláanjá, jòová |
| 758 | good | nòomú | yá bòohá | kééjá |
| 388 | goshawk (East African) (<i>Astur fachiho</i>) | - | mwéewé ? | lòové |

| No | English | iciWòòngbò | KiiRàngì | KeelMbuúwé |
|-----|--|---------------------------------|-------------|------------------|
| 68 | grain (of cereal) | - | mpéké | mpéké |
| 696 | grandfather | isàkòlò | biábà | máámé |
| 697 | grandmother | nínàkòlò | máámá | máámá |
| 432 | grasp, hold in arm | kóményá | kwáàtérá | kumbàtérá |
| 698 | grass, reeds | isòlè/másòtè | masàámíbé | salámbé |
| 406 | grate | kòkwáàlòjá | kòkwáàlò | onpòlò |
| 409 | great, powerful, big | ikòlò | kòlòlò | kínéné |
| 164 | grief, sorrow | - | mákiwá | òrrífríkáná kéwé |
| 371 | grind (grain with a millstone) | kòshá (by machine), kújéémhá | kòsýá | osýá |
| 372 | grind coarsely | kòsiginá | kòfèrá | òfèrá |
| 212 | groove, furrow | kámfélejì | mfùlò | - |
| 801 | ground, cultivated | chàáàlò | iwòdòndá | wááàlá |
| 405 | grow up, get large, become great | kòkòlìá | kòkòlìá | okòlìá |
| 913 | grow (of plants) | kòléémhá | kómèrá | òukòlìá |
| 461 | grown (be fully) | kòkòlìá | kòvínwá | okòlìá |
| 373 | gruel, light porridge | òngpòmbwá | ùùjì ? | lázánté |
| 358 | grunt, grumble | kòmbòngá | kòkùwá | òsòòchà |
| 205 | guide aright | kòkalipilá | kòròngbòrá | wááméchéá |
| 351 | guinea-fowl | ngáaràngá | ngáaràngá | ngáaràngá |
| 701 | gun | ímòbòdòsì | bòndùkùkì ? | bùndùkà ? |
| 702 | hair | ínyèlè | lòjwífilì | njèrè |
| 977 | hair (long straight- of animals and Europeans) | òsìlàngá | lòjwífilì | nyèlènyè |
| 75 | hair (white, grey) | ìimwé | ímbwé | mbiyé |
| 703 | hand (flat of) | ikigalàngá | ikoofi | koofi |
| 157 | hand, right | ònjilò | kòlómé | kòlómé |
| 439 | hand (left) | òmbòngbò | kòmbòsò | kòmbònsò |
| 476 | handle, haft | òmpfni | mùhíni | moféné |

| No | English | iCiWòòngò | KiiRàngì | KéeMbúwé |
|-----|---------------------------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|
| 779 | hang in mid-air | kwiláambítà | - | òninèrà |
| 655 | hard | ṅkááṅgò | éfáfá | mpáfú |
| 377 | hardship, distress | - | ámàrémá | òyéékérá |
| 294 | hare | - | chúúṅgùrà ? | chèémí |
| 781 | haste | - | chááṅgò | chááṅgòchááṅgò |
| 795 | hate, detest | kòsìilá | kòsòòlá | òsòóchà |
| 700 | hay | ámákávú | màsáámíbí | lókókó |
| 678 | head, chief person | òṅkàáilí | m(ù)kòtò | mókòlò, múnéné |
| 356 | head | òòntwé | mùtwé | mòtwé |
| 352 | head-pad | ìṅgàtá | ṅkátá | ṅkátá |
| 561 | heap | ìlòòndò | ìlòòndò | kipúúmpá |
| 391 | heap up, ready/set on fire | kùpéembá | kòkòryá mòòtò | òkòryá mòòtò |
| 623 | hear | kòkwíirwá | kòtээрá | òtээрá |
| 543 | heart | òmòòyò | mòttímá | ṅkòlò |
| 944 | hearthstone for putting pots on | ifiyà/máfíyá | ishá/máfíá | fiyá |
| 893 | heavy, serious, dull | ikòpáàvú | érútláá | ndítò |
| 705 | heel (of foot) | - | kichínò | nitútúnyá |
| 681 | heifer | - | ntilínò | ndámá èkòrméé |
| 418 | hem, make a border | kòpìndá | kòunániá | òfótá |
| 690 | hen, fowl, chicken | ṅgókó | ṅkókó | ṅkókó |
| 766 | here | épá, kólá | àhá | áfá, ókò |
| 863 | hiccup | ṅkwííṅwí | ṅkwííṅkwí | chèṅkwéénkwé |
| 800 | hide (vt) | kòpísá | kòvisá | visá |
| 38 | high, be (of meat) | kòwólá | kòvúúndá | wòólá |
| 326 | highway | izilá | pálábalá | ṅjèrà |
| 309 | hill | kítòòndá | ìòòlò | mwlímbí |
| 925 | hip | inyòòṅgá | ntírí ? | bòòṅgò |
| 317 | hippopotamus | ivúwò | kìbòkò ? | mwlítná ? |

| No | English | ICiWòngò | Kuiràngi | Kééfíbuwé |
|------|--|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| 396 | hit with a hammer | ikókòngòmésélá | kochulá | ókómérá |
| 708 | toe | iyéèmbé | iséré | séré |
| 990 | hold, arrest | koòndemá | koòndemá | ókwaláá |
| 575 | hole, nest | ilitindí | ihéènggéré | churú |
| 836 | tollow out | kokuumbá | kokóombá | ókóombá |
| 816 | home | kokááyá | mittú | káayi |
| 654 | honey | wòchtí | wòchtí | wòcki |
| 150 | tonour | koògywá | - | - |
| 797 | hook (for pulling down branches in plucking fruit) | - | ñkóondósó | gollidá |
| 189 | hook (fish) | indowáánó | ndáná | ndóánó |
| 707 | horn, ivory, tusk | ipéèmbé/ mápéèmbé | mpéèmbé | mpéèmbé |
| 288 | horse * | - | fárasí ? | fárasí ? |
| 708 | house | inúumbá | nyuumbá | nyóombá |
| 263 | how many? | ziingá | ingáht | iréngá, káréngá |
| 572 | hump (of hunchback) | imbyóòngó | móòngó | ikókó |
| 573 | hump (of cow) | inóòndó | móòngó | káwu |
| 756 | hundred | imya ? | míá ? | méeróòngó étiáánó |
| 320 | hunger | izalá | njalá | njalá |
| 33 | hunt | koòvèríimá | kóssákáátá | ólóombá |
| 34 | hunter (professional) | òmvvímáájí | músákáati | mólóombá |
| 227 | hunting | òbvwmáájí | kóssákáati, sákáati | íóombá |
| 35 | husband | ndóbmé | múúmé | mólóomé |
| 808 | hut | inúumbá, òtíllilá | kñháandá | chiulo |
| 709 | hyena | òtiááwí/átiááwí | mpichí | mpili |
| 1016 | l | nééné | nééné | nééné |
| 1013 | idleness, sloth | òkátávú | òsókòlò | òwírá |
| 901 | ill (be); groan | koówífná | koówaláá | òwaláá |
| 902 | illness, (crippling) | òwíftin | ndwáálá | bulúba |

| No | English | iCiWabongó | KuRangi | KeE'Mbowé |
|------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 275 | imitate | kóndéndéieséjá | ko'otóom'nyá | ótúmbéerá |
| 16 | in front of | kómbébé | mbéré | mbéré |
| 353 | in the middle of | pákási | kátt | kátt |
| 118 | incite | kósongéiá | káso'ongéyá | ósó'olá |
| 206 | increase, make greater | kóongéjá | ko'ongéyá | ódu'umá |
| 155 | increase | kóongéjéká | kórmémá | óswááníá |
| 426 | inheritance | - | - | óuwé'etérá |
| 542 | inside, in | nyá'sí | isi, nyú'umbi | nyó'ombi |
| 353a | inside, middle | pákási | má isi | káttkatt |
| 132 | intestines | bóla | matú'umbó | malá |
| 389 | intoxicated (get) | kókó'chwá | kórévá | óré'évá |
| 513 | iron ore | - | - | huúkú'méerwá |
| 264 | iron | - | - | chó'ómá |
| 710 | island | nyá'ámbi | - | ké'téengényé'ri |
| 2 | itch | kónyégé'lá | kónyé'térá | wí'wá'vá, ónyé'térá |
| 460 | jammed (become) | kókwá'ámá | kókwá'ámá ? | ó'fánté'rá |
| 853 | jaw (bone) | ikupá'rimakupá | isayá'itá'shá'yá | nyá'ásá |
| 960 | jealousy | wí'wú | lyist | kíté'éyá, kíté'yá |
| 271 | journey | ónsáfá'á ? | lweéndó | hwé'ndó, ó'tá'ám'bó |
| 606 | judge (v) | kókwá'mú'itá | kótá'itá | wú'ukú'mé'wá ? |
| 810 | jump, leap | kótóká | kótóká | ó'leré'rá |
| 477 | kidney | - | fiwá | nyó'sá'anjókó'sá |
| 218 | kill | kó'kó'má'angá | kó'oláá | wó'olá |
| 677 | king | mwé'né | mú'émí | mú'sú'ng'á'ti |
| 787 | kile | ómwé'wé ? | mwe'wé | ny'pó'ongó |
| 347 | knead | - | - | ó'fín'ántá |
| 348 | knee | igó'dú'ima'gú'ó'di ? | ichó'mé'ró | kít'ró |
| 427 | kneel | kó'li'ám'bá | kó'chwá'má | wé'lú'wá'mbé'er'yá |

| No | English | iCiWòòngò | KiiRàngì | KèèMbùwè |
|------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| 607 | knife | chisú (of women), òmpyáánò (for men) | itfýò | lòshò |
| 402 | knife, thin, curved, broad-bladed | isèèngò | chààryá ?, lòkókòbòb | lòshò lá fòtá |
| 704 | knot | ifùúndò | chùòngò | fùúndò |
| 626 | know | kòmááná | kòtáárgá | ómányá |
| 178 | lake | òlòkòwá | írívá | láává |
| 151 | lame (be) | kòsùngááfiá | kòchéenchémá | òchéenchéméryá |
| 511 | lamp | itááíá | kímúrí | táá |
| 99 | land (dry) | ísí ngáávú | táánú | nsí kátòkú |
| 761 | large, great, big * | ìngòlò | kòlò | nééné |
| 94 | laugh | kòséká | kòséká | òséká |
| 792 | lay over on one side | - | kwisikítryá | òkúbéká |
| 1000 | lazy | - | sòkòbòlò | mòvirá |
| 699 | leaf, blade of grass | isòòtè/másòòtè | isáámbí | sáámbí |
| 1025 | leaf (tree) | másòòtè | isáámbí | sáámbí |
| 911 | leak, ooze out | kòkòòvwá | kòtòónyá | òsòlòlá |
| 96 | lean, bend down, slope | kòkwíinámá | kwíinámá | wénámá |
| 536 | lean on, rely on | kòtégéméíá | kwíiláángyá | wívééréryá |
| 796 | lean, become; grow thin | kòtópá | kwòòndá | wòòndá |
| 535 | leaning (be) | kòkwégámíá | kwisikítryá, wínáántíá | wísikítryá |
| 613 | learn | kòkwífúúndíishá ? | kòtáárgá | wímányíshá |
| 546 | leave, permission | òlúhúsá ? | - | òláánírwá |
| 1011 | leave over | kòsháitíjá | kòchítryá | òcháárá |
| 547 | leave, go away | kòòká | kòròká | òféérnká |
| 544 | leave (off) | kòléká | kòrèká | òrèká |
| 975 | left over, (be); remain over | kòbákííjá ? | kòchééryá | òcháálá |
| 310 | leg, foot | ìchínámá/íminámá | kòòlò/máolò | kòòlò/mòòlò |
| 774 | lend, borrow | kòkwáázimyá | kòlòóombá | òtáánchá |
| 107 | leopard | ìngòól | nsòví | sòví |

| No | English | iCiwòngò | Kiràngì | KeeMbuwe |
|------|--|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 876 | lick (v) | kònyáandá | kónáámá | ónáámá |
| 134 | lie down | kólámbalá | kóláálá | óláálá |
| 250 | lie on one's back | kòkwanziká | kóláálá chá mbòngò | óláálá chá mbòngò |
| 791 | lift up, pick up | kòkwínolá | kweéwólá | ònyéyá |
| 467 | light in weight | ímboòpú | kòrómó | fongpòòngò |
| 304 | light, sky | íkòòmbí | kimòrí | yòtò |
| 805 | lightning | íchimòllimòlì ? | chakálá | ònmémé ? |
| 657 | lime, whitewash | ísókálá | musíááń ? | - |
| 213 | line, row | òmusíááń ? | - | mòkòòmbí |
| 659 | line, fishing | íkòbòólá | - | múrí |
| 103 | lion | ísáámá | nsímábá | nsímábá |
| 198 | lip | òndòrò/òmíndómò | múlómò | mólómò |
| 956 | listen | kòkwévíkíshá | kòlèèrèrà | òlèèrèrà |
| 972 | listless (be) | kònyònyóyá | - | ònyòrí |
| 1024 | liver | ítímá/máńmá | ítímáò | tímá |
| 429 | livestock (keep) | kófúá | kòfúgá ? | òrìshá |
| 819 | lobster | - | - | òrìshá |
| 794 | locust | ínzilé | ńkòòmbí | nsyè |
| 155a | long (become) | kòtáńtímba | kòlthá | ńkòòmbí |
| 144 | long | ndááni | ndńń | òńńńńń |
| 131 | look after, care for | kòlèlá | kòlájàngá | ndń |
| 871 | look after grazing cattle, help a sick man on the road | kòsòòngá | kòrńshá | òrńshá |
| 354 | look at, examine | kòlòlá | kòlájàngá | òlájàngá |
| 354a | look around | kòvwalámhá | kwiròrà | òlájàngá |
| 200 | look for, hang around (to get something), pursue | kòdòlèlá | - | òlòòmbáòòmbá |
| 973 | loose (be); faint, weak | kòkáláálá | kòèrá | ònyáálá |
| 181 | lost, get | kòzímítá | kòńńńń | òńńńń |

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|-----------|---|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| No | English | ICHWòngbò | Kiirangi | Keèmbùwè |
| 1023 | louse | tsòòmi | nyinjirí | mpoti |
| 769 | love, wait | kótògwá | kwééndá | wáánjá, ósááká |
| 934 | lung | ipapú/ámáópòpò | ihúshú | mátòtòfò |
| 713 | magic * | òlòzi | òsavi | òsavi |
| 714 | maize | isaká/ámásáká | rkowá | kitirngpòtòpò |
| 521 | make offerings to the dead | - | kòtáámibiká | òbùbùsá |
| 226 | male | ilumè | mòlurné | lómé, nyáámhá |
| 10 | mamba, green (kind of poisonous snake) | ihògò | njóká ? | njóká yá mùyéja |
| 793 | many | frilinjí | tréfó | nyinjí |
| 1019 | many * | frilinjí | tréfó | nyinjí |
| 897 | marriage | libòbè | libòlá | lobólá |
| 895 | marry (of man) | kòfòólá | kòlibòlá | òlòólá |
| 896 | marry (give in marriage-of parents, priest) | kòlòwèbèjá | kòlòònyá | òlòònyá |
| 814 | master | mòntòléemi | mòbosi | - |
| 898 | match, harmonise (v) | - | kwíftáaná | dàntèlèrá |
| 935 | mature | kòkòlía | kòkònjábalá | òkòrìyè |
| 596 | meat | inyáámhá | nyámhá | nyámhá |
| 259 | medicine, remedy | ikwi | mòòdà | mòft |
| 260 | medicine (art of medicine man) | ùnjáárgá | wéárgá | mówá ? |
| 261 | medicine-man | ònjáárgá | mwáárgá | mwáárgá |
| 90 | meet | kòdóná | kòsháámá | òwftóná |
| 861 | meit | kòpèelá | kòciakalibkú | òlirítiká |
| 845 | midwife | - | - | mówá ? |
| 859 | migrete, move away | kòsáámá | kòsáámá | òsáámá |
| 1030 | milk (n) | ámáwètié | màsòbòs | másiil |
| 20 | milk (curdled), curds | ámáwètié | mpòtòlò | másiil yá kwáfámíá |
| 19 | milk, (fresh) (n) | ámáwètié | màsòbòs | másiil |

| | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| No | English | iCiWòngbò | KíríRàngí | KééMbuwé |
| 903 | milliet (bullrush) | òwélé | máwéré | máwéré |
| 290 | millipede | isòngbòlì | ín-yúòlò | nyòngbòlá |
| 730 | mix (ingredients, 'season food') | kòsàlàngásàlàngá | kòsàlàngyá | òdumèrèrà |
| 72 | mix, put together | kòkòlògá ? | kòsàlàngíríríyá | òsàlàngásàlàngá |
| 363 | monkey (small lightish-coloured) | ím-bwáájí | nòbòmbírí | nòbòmbéré |
| 362 | black silk hair, white on shoulders) | | | nyáú kéréèrà |
| 361 | monkey (small, dark-coloured) | ím-bòbòmá | nòbòmbírí | nòbòmbéré |
| 716 | moon | ònwéézi | m-wéézi | m-wéézi |
| 609 | moonlight | wééù | m-wééín | m-wééí |
| 59 | mosquito | ím-tò | ùnò | m-bòò |
| 436 | mother | ò-má-áyi | iyò | m-tá-wí |
| 65 | mould (pottery) | kò-má-áti | kò-òmbá | wò-òmbá, m-òmbá |
| 717 | mountain | kìbòndá | lò-òlò | m-wé-èmbí |
| 183 | mourning | chililò | chírírò | k-è-rè-rò |
| 1026 | mouth | òndòbómò | m-à-lómò | m-ò-bòmò |
| 272 | movement | òwé-èndò/nyé-èndò | lò-yé-èndò | l-wé-èndò |
| 979 | mud, mire | | l-ò-hé | l-ò-fé/m-à-l-ò-fé |
| 642 | mushroom | | irínò | m-à-rínò |
| 152 | mulattied (be) | ò-y-ò-lá | - | ò-tá-à-v-à-l-à |
| 281 | name | kò-lé-m-à-à-l-à | í-rín-à | r-í-n-à |
| 539 | namely | í-l-í-n-à | y-à-à-ní ? | h-á-m-é |
| 403 | nape (of neck) | ò-òt | ú-k-ò-sí | n-t-à-u-è-r-ò |
| 256 | navel | í-r-g-b-ò-g-b-ò | m-ù-k-ò-t-ò | m-ò-n-y-ò-k-ù |
| 765 | near | k-í-p-w-à-à-m-b-w-é | h-í-t-í | f-à-u-f-é |
| 379 | neck | p-à-p-í-p-í | r-í-l-í-r-í-g-b-ò | n-è-h-í-r-í-g-b-ò |
| 843 | need, request | l-í-l-í-r-í-g-b-ò | - | r-í-k-ò-l-ò |
| 962 | new | k-ò-l-é-r-í-g-à | n-s-y-à | k-í-t-é-f-é |
| | | í-m-b-y-à | | |

| No | English | IC:Wòròngò | KilìRàngì | KèèMbuwè |
|-----|-------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| 718 | night | òsikò | òchikò | òtikú, mòtikú |
| 755 | nine | kééndá | kééndá | kééndá |
| 484 | nose | íimbólá | mpulá | mpulá |
| 211 | number | - | - | mulibòngò |
| 237 | oar | ínggálí | - | mòtikò wá maaǵi |
| 939 | obstruct | kòpíngá | kòkípá | òsílá |
| 48 | offspring | mwááná | lòvyááro | nǵáálá, mbyáála |
| 66 | oil (from plants) | máfulutá | mákulá | nsakááré |
| 435 | oil | máfulutá | mákulá | mákulá |
| 818 | old times, the past | ínggáálí | káílí | chakálé |
| 411 | old person | ònykálí, ílèmbwènykòlò (m) | mwòòsì | mòkòtò |
| 410 | old | íkàálí | kífiréká | rswáálá |
| 214 | one-eyed (being) | isòòngò | hásakáálá | chòònyá |
| 440 | one | ílmwí | ímòdò | mòòntí |
| 590 | open mouth wide | kòkwásámá | kwásámá | òsáámá |
| 984 | open | kòfuungpòlá | kòchímbòlá | yòdà |
| 829 | open (set ajar) a door | kòpènjá | kòyòdà | lurítá |
| 876 | order, direct | kòlǵilǵilǵá | kòlǵítrínýá | tómá mòlómí |
| 961 | ostrich | ímòbòní ? | mòbùní ? | nutungu |
| 640 | our(s) pl. 1st person) | yítù | yítswá | wéetò |
| 506 | out (go), go away | kòfúmá | kòfúmá | òsúmá |
| 324 | outside | páazi | wéerwí | nǵí |
| 217 | overcome; win, vanquish | kòpòlá | kòshééndá ? | shòoyé |
| 995 | owed by, be | kòdàiwá ? | kòdàiwá ? (nòòngwá) | òdàí ? |
| 835 | oyster | - | - | - |
| 207 | pack (luggage) | kònyèpá | kòchúngantishá | tuungá |
| 208 | pack, press together | kòsímǵilá | kòchúngantishá | ònántérýá |
| 456 | pack, flock, group | mákoòndé | íkúundí ? | vítití |

| No | English | ICIWòngó | KilRàngi | KéèMbuwé |
|-----|-----------------------------|---------------------|------------|------------------|
| 457 | pack, bale, bundle (n) | ifilúúshì ? | mùtùumbá ? | virutú |
| 236 | paddle (n) * | ínggááfi | - | mòtékóó ó m'ááji |
| 342 | palate | - | iláká | kaliakáá |
| 9 | palm (date) | - | mùtééndé ? | mùtééndé ? |
| 719 | palm-wine | ndfirimbá | - | òòchurjkuuná |
| 257 | palm (of hand) | íkigáánjá | iháánjá | yáánjá |
| 6 | palm (raphia) | - | - | - |
| 7 | palm (borassus) | òrjkómá | - | - |
| 8 | palm (oil) | - | - | - |
| 459 | palpitate, flutter, tremble | kòtèlemá | kòtèlemá | òsingjisá |
| 47 | parent, s/he who begets | òòndézi | βáápsì ? | móyááyé |
| 720 | parrot | kásúkú ? | - | rkóóosó |
| 232 | pass, surpass | kòpítitá | kòlòóká | holòóká |
| 325 | path | izhíá | njírá | njírá |
| 159 | pay | kòlípá | kòrhá | òrèfá |
| 600 | pay attention, take care | kòlòlá, kòsúunjámiá | kòláangá | òláangá |
| 820 | peel, shell | kòpátblá | kòtònyòlá | òkònnòlá |
| 12 | peg | - | - | ifiyááyo |
| 11 | pegs (lent) | lòmalámbò/ Imáámbò | máámbò | lòmalámbò/máámbò |
| 494 | penetrate | kwiinjítá | kòkfrýá | tééréréká |
| 721 | penis | ilòwá | mòlò | ktivá |
| 884 | penknife, lancet | ákáyéémbé | - | kásèré |
| 558 | person | òòndò/áwáándò | mòòntò | mòòntò |
| 638 | pestle | - | mòòsì | mòònsé |
| 312 | pig | íngpòbwé | ngúrúwé | rkáámbá |
| 414 | pigeon, kind of | íngpòndá | - | kenúkwá |
| 579 | pile up, pile loads on head | kòwzifiká | kòtòitká | wèitèká |
| 479 | pinch, make narrow | kòsíná | kòkònyá | òdídá |

| No | English | ICIWòngò | Kiiràngi | Kéemùwé |
|------|--|------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|
| 357 | pipe (tobacco) | òntéemba | páundé | kébulundé |
| 552 | pit, hole | ilitindí | itúndú | siimbó |
| 974 | place, put (vt) | kówíika | kojíika | òvekéra |
| 722 | place (n) | apáandú | háantú | faantú |
| 892 | place of the dead | kwáázimú | kórimwí | kórimú |
| 225 | plait | kòsuwá | kòsuwá | ótiná |
| 932 | plant, sow | kòsimika | kòhiandá | wáala |
| 510 | platform | pádóló | kijáandá | pálá ? |
| 834 | please, satisfy (vt) | kònonéela | - | mbávàtèri |
| 93 | pleased (be) | kònonéézwá | - | òsinònjá |
| 13 | plot of ground | ísi | kòbòdhyá | chóowá |
| 647 | plunder (a town) | kòkwaámbirité | idáhó | òvásochá móoyé |
| 1014 | plunge into, cause to sink | kòkwiwíjijá | kògòròktyá | òbulòkényá |
| 114 | poke | kòsuurgamijá | kòsoonjka | soónséra |
| 737 | pole, thin | ímaámbo | - | yólú |
| 111 | polish, clean by rubbing | kòkúsá | kòhòndá | òfótola |
| 177 | pool, pond | lòkòwá | kárilivá | kiténgé nyèri |
| 923 | porcupine | ínúungòniungò | nòbngò (cf. kinyésuké 'hedgenog) | nòbngò |
| 374 | porridge (stiff) | òwáalí | wáat | wáre |
| 42 | pot (metal) | ikópó/ámakòbópó | ikópó | mákópó |
| 41 | pot, vessel | íchtíndó/ivíindó | chòòmbó ?, nyíngò | viyá |
| 39 | pot, mug | - | mukébé | mòkébé |
| 40 | pot, cooking (earthen) | ínúungò | nyíngò | nyòbngò |
| 749 | potato (sweet) | chilòòmbó | kírasi | kérasi |
| 646 | potter's kiln | - | riiko | nyòbngò |
| 369 | pound (grain in a mortar to get off the husks) | kópòolá | kòhwáangá | òtwáá |
| 441 | pour away | kòkwíita | kwíita | wóitá |

| No | English | iCiWòòngò | KiiRangi | KèèMbùwè |
|------|----------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 641 | pour | kòkwiitijà | kòkòdròrà | òlòngèrèrà |
| 748 | pregnancy | iindà | èndà | mòkòvâ |
| 636 | pregnant, be | kòkòwâ nîi ndâ | kòvâ nâ ndâ | òvâ nâ ndâ |
| 599 | prepare | kòkwândâlîâ ? | kòtâyârîshâ ? | òjîshâ |
| 553 | press out (oil seed, sugar cane) | kòkâmòòlâ, kòsilè | - | siyâ yâ kârnâ |
| 986 | produce, put forth, display | kòfûnyâ | kòtòolâ | òsûnyâ |
| 909 | prominent (be); put out | kòfûmîijâ | kòfûmyâ | òsûmèrà |
| 518 | pronounce | kòtèlâ | kòlûsâ | òlòsâ |
| 340 | protect by charm (medicine) | kòtémâ | kòkîngâ ? | òlàúrîyâ |
| 947 | protect by charms (target) | kòziindikâ | kòziindikâ ? | òlàúrîyâ |
| 475 | puff-adder | ifûlû | itáfûfû | njòkâ yâ kèrètû |
| 244 | pull | kòkweèsâ | kòrûtâ | òlûtâ |
| 173 | pull up, come to a halt | kwiimîlîâ | kwiimâ | wèémâ |
| 172 | pull up, root up | kòkòmbòòlâ | kòñòolâ | òkòolâ |
| 833 | pull, drag | kòkweèsâ | kòrûtâ | òókûryâ |
| 57 | pump | ibòómbâ | òòómbâ | bòómbâ |
| 548 | push | kòsúkùmâ ? | kòsúkùmâ ? | òsiindèkâ |
| 992 | put, place, set | kòwîikâ | kòwîikâ | wéékâ |
| 887 | put together for comparison | kòlîngânîshâ ? | kòfânântryâ | wééryâ |
| 969 | put a pot on the fire | kòtèngâ | kòtèrèkâ | òsimekèrà |
| 981 | put together, compose | kòtòóngâ | kòtòúngâ | òsòóngèrèryâ |
| 862 | python | isátû | sàátû | nsátò |
| 656 | quarrel (vi) | kòkúdwâ | kwitòolâ | wèrèmèrà |
| 180 | quench, extinguish | kòziimiyâ | kòrimiyâ | rîmyâ |
| 485 | quiet (be) | kòkwiinâlâ | kòtòolâ | tòolâ |
| 76 | rain | ivùlâ | mbùlâ | mbùlâ |
| 917 | rain (vi) | kòtònâ ivùtâ | kòvâ mbùlâ | òniâ mbùlâ |
| 1006 | rains, the lesser | - | mátòónti | mùlâ yâ mbèrè |

| No | English | ìCiwòòngò | KiiRàngì | KèèMbùwé |
|------|---|------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| 197 | rainy season | chísikù | kichikù | kétikù |
| 580 | rumble | kólèpòlà | kòdèdérékà | òtútumà |
| 26 | rat, kind of | sèèzi | - | mbèvá |
| 488 | rat (field) | ibúkú | ifúdyà | chúúrú |
| 24 | rat | - | mpòkò | mbèvá |
| 25 | rat- (very large, long-tailed) | sèèzi | nyúúrì | kèrùmúrú |
| 883 | razor | òwèèmbè | wèèmbè | wèèmbè |
| 949 | read | kòsòmà | kòsòmà | òlààngì |
| 1007 | reap, harvest | kòyáwà, kòtèmà, kòsòtá | kòctwà | òtyà |
| 523 | receive | kòpókèlá | kòhòkèrà | isòkèrà |
| 537 | reed | itétè/mátétè | mátétè | kitéètè/vitèètè |
| 632 | refuse, say no | kòkàánà | kòsilitá | òsilitá |
| 633 | reject, refuse, dislike | kòkàánà | kòsilitá | òsilitá |
| 545 | remain, stay behind * | kòsháálá | kòcháálá | òcháálá |
| 1035 | remain, stay | kòshálijá | kòcháálá | òcháálá |
| 840 | remember | kòkòmbòkìlá | kòkòmbòkìrà | òkòmbòkà |
| 499 | resemble * | kòkwifwáánà | kwifwáánà | návýó vílívì nàchtò |
| 879 | resemble (very closely) | kòkwifwáánà | kwifáánà | návýó vílívì |
| 1031 | resemble * | kòkwifwáánà | kwifáánà | návýó vílívì |
| 149 | rest heavily on, be burdensome | kòkweéléméélwá | kwiláàngyá | òrémènwá |
| 964 | rest the cheek on the hand (in brooding mood) | kòkwiinámìlì | kwikwáátá mákìvá | èkwátá itòómà/ kèbávèryé |
| 957 | rest, take a holiday | kòsúpá | kòhúmòlòkà | òtáálòkà, òfwèèrèrà |
| 249 | return, go back | kòsòwá | kòfýóókà | òtáálòkà |
| 1004 | return | kòsòwá | kòfýóókà | òtáálòkà |
| 500 | revive | kòfufúfúá | kòfufúfúá | pòòmbòryá |
| 318 | rhinoceros | mpélò | mpèrà | mpèrà |
| 988 | rib | òtòwáávù/ ìmbáávù | lòbàrù/mbàrù | lòbàlù/mbàlù |
| 473 | ripe | ichilè (fruit), ipilè (in cooking) | lìvinwá | èvèrinyé |

| No | English | ÌCÌWòòngò | KiiRàngì | KéèM̀bùwé |
|------|--|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 996 | ripen (vi) * | kòkwíimbá | kòvínwá | òvèryá |
| 472 | ripe (vi) | kòkwíimbá | kòvínwá | òvèryá |
| 209 | river | òmbááná | ìpòtè | mòfùlò |
| 239 | roar, rumble | kòtútumá | kòrùmá | òrùmá |
| 644 | roast | kòbániká ? | kòókyá | wóómyá mwòòtwi |
| 350 | roast (in/by fire) | kòkóóchá | kòchímíká | wóóchá |
| 806 | rock | iwè | máwúyè | iwè |
| 291 | rooster (cock) | ìjógólò | ṛkòkòlòómé | nsésèrò |
| 169 | root | ikwáázò | mùrí | mòrí |
| 29 | rotten | iwòvù | mbóòvù | kísáàmbòkù, iúndiè |
| 1012 | round (be) | kòvwíilingwá | kòviriingá | òviriingá |
| 183 | round (go), turn round | kòpílimá | kòrìngígrá | sóóntá |
| 999 | round, become | kòvwíilingwá | kòviriingá | òviriingá |
| 110 | rub | kòkúúsá | kòsúúntá | sòóntá |
| 50a | rubbish, garbage | isáká | kòsù | visáàmbé |
| 321 | rubbish heap | ìlìfndì lá sáká | idúúndú lá kòsù | kìpùúmpù |
| 826 | run | kòchímbítílá | kòtíijá | òfééngá |
| 522 | sacrifice | ìsádaáká ? | hòryò | bósá |
| 723 | salt | òmúúnú | sáàngásá | mòónyò |
| 95 | sand | òlòsáàngá | sáìtò | mòsáàngá |
| 630 | satiated (be); have enough to eat or drink | kwiikòtá | kwiikòtá | òikòtá |
| 788 | satisfy | kòtógwééjá | - | mòò wáánjá |
| 251 | say to, tell to | kòwítíá, kòpòójá | wífrá | òwéérá |
| 783 | scorpion | ììngònyá | ìngí | ngé |
| 453 | scrape | kópálá | kòkwáátá | òfálátá |
| 855 | scrape, grate | kópálá | kòkwáátá | òkároryá |
| 856 | scratch, grate * | kòsòwá | kòkúná | òkòná |
| 668 | scythe, sickle | imóójó | - | mùndú |

| No | English | ICHWòngó | KíríRàngí | KéémBuwé |
|------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 84 | search for | kovváámibá | kòsááká, kòsáákírá | osàkèrè |
| 85 | search diligently | kòpààlà | kòsòù | òfùkòrà |
| 738 | seat, stool, chair | íchtí ? | íchiúmbí | tuúmbí |
| 770 | see | kòlòlá | kwòbòá | wòòná |
| 67 | seed | ímbeýó | mbèéyó | mbéó |
| 404 | seize | kòlemá | kòkwáàlá | òkwáàlá |
| 611 | self | yíiyònyé | yényéyó | nyééné |
| 302 | sell | kòkajá | kòchòlòshá | òtá |
| 570 | send | kòtòrná | kòtòrná | òtòrná |
| 451 | separate, set apart | kòsáámbláájá ? | kòvífiká kísímá | tekándóá |
| 450 | separate, leave each other | kwíilèkà | kwíirèkà | wéérékà |
| 534 | set a trap | kòtèyá | kòtèá | òtèyá |
| 868 | set (of the sun) | kwíllá | kwíllá | òwèrè |
| 971 | settled (be); be in good order | kònògèlèlá | - | wééká |
| 754 | seven | - | mufúngáít | mòfúungkàáté |
| 1033 | sew * | kòshóná | kòchiómá | òtúmá |
| 589 | sew | kòshóná | kòchiómá | òtúmá |
| 135 | sexual intercourse with (have) | kòkòòndá | kwíibòyá | òwéésòómá |
| 691 | shadow, shade | páámpepó, íchtínzilá (human) | kívúúrú ? , mpèhò | mòlèlò |
| 867 | shame, disgrace | yáazi | sóni | nsóni |
| 116 | shame | yáazi | sóni | nsóni |
| 724 | shame, modesty | yáazi | sóni | nsóni |
| 386 | sharp (be) | kòkálípá | kòkòlò | wééfá |
| 920 | sharpen | kòpypáangá | kònòlòá | ònòlòá |
| 915 | shave | kòsèényá | kòkèrè | òkàsá |
| 603 | she, he | mwebéne | yèlè | wéé |
| 287 | sheep | índòó | múundí | árisá |
| 1009 | shell, cowrie | - | - | rj-kálává |

| No | English | iCiNwòngò | KiirRangi | KeèMbùwè |
|-----|---|------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| 822 | shell | igòombè | - | rkálavá |
| 725 | shield | ingáó ? | - | gáámboá |
| 712 | shin (bone) | ilòbndi/málobndi | múlobndi | múlobndé |
| 968 | shiver, shudder * | kòtètmá | kòtètmá | òsinglisá |
| 528 | shiver | kòtètmá | kòtètmá | òsinglisá |
| 434 | short | fnipi | rkufi | rkufé |
| 430 | shoulder, tip of | ngònyòngònyò | mavéá | mavéé |
| 588 | shoulder | iwéá | iveá/mavéá | iveá/mavéé |
| 839 | shout | kòlámhá | kòtítá isòsò | òbwááká |
| 946 | shriveled (be); wrinkled | kòkwisilíná | kwikuniná | - |
| 763 | sick | mátrínú | ndwáálá, múkwífrí | -kwááyé |
| 870 | sift | kòyòngá | kòchekésá | - |
| 615 | sing | kwífrmbá | kwífrmbá | wéémhá |
| 3 | singe | kówáwá | kòlunguuriyá | òrééyá |
| 980 | sink, be drowned | kòkòlówá | kòlówá | òtòtá |
| 170 | sink | kòdòtòmléá | kòzáámá, kòbòròkírá ? | ríverérá |
| 728 | sister (his/ (her) brother | ilòombò | iròombò | wáálákò |
| 627 | sit | kwilkálá | kwilkálá | wéikálá |
| 753 | six | - | isásátò | salánsátò |
| 785 | size, measure | cháási | iljoré ? | karéngá |
| 123 | skin (of person) | ingwéémbé | ndfrí | mberò |
| 124 | skin/mind (of fruit) | igalárdá | mákáámpí | koókò |
| 303 | sky | iwífrngò ? | kòtòmiúki ? | yòbò |
| 865 | stander, accuse falsely, often secretly | kòsòngéelá | - | ntulungò ? |
| 470 | slap | kòlámhá ikóófi | kòvá makóófi | tòóvá |
| 970 | slash | kòpútúúá | kòtémá | témá |
| 220 | slaughter | kòsínzíná ? | kòsínfíná | kérá |
| 727 | slave, bond servant | òntòrmwá | murenwá | mòsòómbá |

| No | English | iCiWò ɔ̀ngò | KiiRiàngi | Kéelmbùwé |
|------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|------------------------|
| 728 | slave (female) | òntòrmwá | - | mwiáaná mwoká mósóòmbá |
| 729 | slave, (male) | òntòrmwá | - | mwiáana móómé mósóòmbá |
| 136 | sleep (vi) | kokóná ɔ̀tòlò | tòlò | òlálá tòlò |
| 731 | sleep (n) | òtòlò | tòlò | tòlò |
| 730 | sleeping-place, accommodation | ichòòhò | kiálálò | òrèrè |
| 967 | slip, be slippery | kàsèlèémbohà | kolèrrikyá | òlèrèrèkà |
| 1021 | small | icti | nòúòdì | kúddì |
| 332 | smallpox | ìndòròbè | nduví | ndòvè |
| 241 | smell (sweet) (vi) | kònúúktítà | kònyúúktírà | wúúndèrà |
| 242 | smell (bad, of fish) (n) | kònyúúkà | ònyúúku | ùúndà sílmpáivé |
| 240 | smell (bad) (vi) | kònyúúgà ivíwí | kònyúúkà | wúúndà |
| 629 | smoke (n) | ijòòshì | mòòkyí | mòòkì |
| 428 | smoke (give out) (vi) | - | kòlòkírà | òkúusa |
| 387 | snail, slug | ìnggòhò | ìnggòhò ? | nkálávà |
| 837 | snail | ìnggòhò | itámháatà | nkálávà |
| 145 | snake, serpent | fzòókà | nkà | nkòkà |
| 158 | snare, trap (n) | òntètèyò, ilitègò (humans) | múitèò | òbòyò |
| 864 | sneeze | kòfyáatò | kòtáhyá | òsúnvya máati |
| 924 | sniff, smell out | kònyúúshà | kòtáhyá | òndushà |
| 296 | snore, snort | - | kòhònià | muyòhò ? |
| 69 | soil | ikònggò | iròòngò | nsálò |
| 732 | song | òhwífmboh | wífmboh | chéémboh |
| 616 | songs * | frífmboh | nyífmboh | vyeéfmboh |
| 36 | soot | àmáwíitwí | míkúrt | mékírì |
| 195 | sorcerer | òndòòzi | músavé | mósávè |
| 201 | sore | ilòòndà | kilòòndà | kilwáiyé |
| 734 | soul, spirit | òmbòbò ? | múitímá | mòò |
| 331 | sound, cry | òndilò | múrtrò | mòrèrò |

| No | English | iCiwoŋgŋo | KuŋRangi | KéeMbuwe |
|------|---|----------------------|----------------|------------------|
| 64 | space (open) | ilambáázi | lóbváá | - |
| 82 | spark | ĩnsáázi | seése | nsáseénsáse |
| 253 | speak | kòvèlá | kòlùsá | òbòsèkà |
| 733 | spear (n) | òndòbòndá | ŋkòŋgŋo | límò |
| 137 | spend time | kòsúpá | - | òlòòchà mpéènéé |
| 1038 | sperm, semen | ĩmbéyò, ìndólááŋgŋo | mányáári | máájé, ŋkòŋgŋo |
| 62 | spider | ámáááandò | máwí | lòbvé |
| 182 | spirit (of dead person) | òmúúzmú | mòríímú | mòríímò |
| 464 | spirit (disembodied) | òndíímí | mòríímú | mòríímò |
| 683 | spirit (evil) | ĩjini/máájini ? | mòríímú | òyá mááí |
| 582 | spot | kòshwááíá | kòchwá mááí | mááí |
| 533 | spittle | ámááwí | mááí | òláándalálá |
| 601 | split, crack (vt) | kòlèpòlá | kòwáátòlá | òláándalálá |
| 951 | spoil, blind (vt) | kòpòfúshá | kòhukonyá | lífáryá |
| 649 | spoil (a child) | kòlèmaláájá | kwljávryá | òdèéenchá |
| 998 | spoil | kòlúwááŋgá | kòsáámbòrá | òsáámbòlá |
| 813 | spoon | òntlĩngò | múútkò | múútkò |
| 5 | spot, speckle | l'wáá/máwáá, l'wáwáí | - | l'wáá/máwáá |
| 958a | sprain an ankle | máwáwá | kòlává | òtádóá |
| 141 | spread out (be) | kòfèngpòlá | kwèémèrá | òsámáníká |
| 527 | spread | kòkwááíá | kwèénèrá | wááíá |
| 908 | spread abroad, be; become generally known | kòkwènééá | kòlááŋgŋík'áná | òmányèkà |
| 592 | spread, smear on | kòpáká ? | kòhááká | òsílisyá |
| 591 | spread, scatter (vi) | kòsámabaláá | kwèénèrá | wèésámabaláám'bá |
| 880 | spring (of water) | ĩnsiimbò | chisòchá ? | ĩnchémú |
| 965 | spring, machine | òritáámbò | múúám'bò ? | mòbòwò |
| 866 | spy out | kòsĩĩmbá ? | - | òdèééndá |

| No | English | ICIWòngò | Kuràngì | Kéèlmbùwé |
|------|---|-------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| 849 | squat (on the haunches) | kòchòchònmálá | kòchòchònmálá | chunchumálá |
| 991 | squeeze oneself up against a wall (e.g. to allow another to pass) | kòkwmálané ? | kwiwisá | òsúisá |
| 914 | squeeze out | kòkámóliá | kómínyá | finááritá |
| 343 | squeeze; milk | kòkámóliá | kòkámá | òkámá |
| 102 | squirrel | - | - | - |
| 562 | stack, pile up | - | kòziingá | viríngá |
| 1029 | stand (vi) | kwiřmilitiá | kwiřmá | wetéma |
| 735 | stare | řizótá | nyényéří | njótá |
| 390 | stare, glare | kòliléjé | kòkòdòlá mlisó | kòólá mèésó |
| 202 | start off, send away | kòtòshá | kòsítá | tááńyá, sùlunchá |
| 799 | staklé, catch unawares | kògònbòlá | kòsáńgá | wáálarerú |
| 830 | stattle, jerk | kòshilótá ? | kòvúundbkyá | řindòlá |
| 618 | steal | kòkwiwá | kwiwá | řivá |
| 266 | steel | chòbómá | - | chòómá kéřafú |
| 554 | stem (of maize, millet, etc.) | mápelelé | ibová/mabòvya | bòová/mabòovya |
| 825 | step over | kòlámbòká | kòřřá | òlámbòká |
| 315 | sterile man (or woman) | òmwòòmbá | mòbòmbá | mòbòmbá |
| 541 | stick | soómí | řkómé | mòyésá |
| 74 | stir, mix by stirring | kòkòlògá ?, kòvúutógá ? | kòsáńgýá | òkòtòbòngá |
| 850 | stir | kòkòlògá ? | kòkòlòá | kòibòngá |
| 78 | stir up | kòvwiřmá | - | kòibòngá |
| 61 | stone | řwèl'mawé | řluyé | wèl'mawéé |
| 228 | store up, collect | kòkusanyá ? | kòkusanyá | òviringá |
| 154 | straight (make) | kògòbòlá | kòziingá | wòbòlá |
| 268 | stranger, guest | ònjéńi | kònyulúshá ? | mweńnyò |
| 661 | stream, current | řilémbo | muyini | mòpřkámánò |
| 796 | strength, power | řinguvú | mboté | ngulú |

| No | English | iCiWāngō | KūiRangi | KeeMbuwe |
|-----|---------------------------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| 140 | stretch oneself | kōkwiŋōōōā | kwiwōlōā | wēōōlōā |
| 395 | strike, knock | kōiāmōā | kōhāmōā | ōposānōsā |
| 982 | strike with a spear | kōiāsā | kōiūngā | tūmā |
| 282 | string (it) | ōōzi | ōpōpi | mōri |
| 487 | strip off (e.g. grains of corn) | kōpōbiā | kōiūngā | wōrōlōā |
| 519 | stut proudly | kwiŋūmōlā | kwiŋēryā | ōjōkō |
| 407 | stumble | kōkūmbā | kōkūngāwālā | kōkōwālā |
| 997 | stunted (be); be spoilt | kōnyōōngētēlā | kōsāmbōkā | ōsītā ōkōlā |
| 948 | stutter | kōkōōmōlā | kōhāmōā | ndirikāmī |
| 594 | suck (the breast) | kōkōōngā | kōnyōkā | ōnyōkā |
| 480 | suck (v) | kōyōōmōā | kōhāmōā | mīlīmā |
| 912 | suffer, bear patiently | kōvūmōlā ? | kōhāmōā | kāiānsō |
| 333 | sun, light | igūwā | mwēāōō | kejēfā |
| 184 | surround | ōnzōwā | kōringōrīrā | lōōvā |
| 438 | swallow | kōpīlīmā | kōmōnyā | lōngātēnyā |
| 777 | swear | kōmōlā | kōmōnyā | ōmērā |
| 905 | sweat | kōlāpītijā | kōmōlā | chādī yā mōlālānā, wāpā ? |
| 392 | sweep up, collect in a heap (rubbish) | ijāāshō ? | irūtirā | birō |
| 943 | sweep | kōōnzūlā | kōkūsā kōsū | ōyēērāyēērā |
| 517 | sweet, pleasant | kōpyēēlā | kōyāirā | ōyēērēnyā |
| 51 | swell | -nōnū | mwēērētē | mōrētē |
| 608 | sword (short) | kōvīlīmōā | kōsōfīfā | ōsūōfā |
| 933 | sword | ijisu ? | lōyō | sīrīmē |
| 360 | tail | ipāāngā | ipāāngā | pāngā |
| 875 | take leave of | drochilā | muktrā | mōkērā |
| 778 | take in (from rain, etc.) | kōlāyā | kwāāgā ? | ōlānā |
| 565 | take, carry | kōsēēndā | kōijirā | ōtējērā |
| | | | kōōōlā | ōtōōlā |

| No | English | ICiWòòngò | KiiRàngì | KèèMbùwè |
|------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 233 | take off (clothes), undress | kòvùulá | kwifúmyá ngóò | òsúnyá ngóò |
| 530 | tangle | | kwitáringítríyá | òsánjásáanjá |
| 898 | taste (v) | kòmyáandá | kòsàèrà | òsèèrà |
| 985 | teach, instruct | kòlírígá | kòfúndíshá ? | òmányishá |
| 621 | tears | màsòózi | míisòòri | mèèsòri |
| 412 | ten | ikòmi | ikòmi | kòmi |
| 121 | termite | iishwá | mòswá | mèkèsè |
| 739 | testicle | ámájàlòlò | ndòtò | mbyá |
| 1020 | that | yílà | (kí)-là | kérá |
| 455 | thatched roof | ivíimbò | mákínú | njálò |
| 767 | there | kòlà | kòrà | fára |
| 54 | they | àwèèné | vòòvò | vòò |
| 444 | thick, fat | inénú | nènéhá | nèné |
| 86 | thicket * | isáká, ipòólú | isáká | tòòndò/mátòòndò |
| 854 | thicket | isáká, ipòólú | isáká | kátòòndò/mátòòndò |
| 619 | thief | òmwiivi | mwiivi | mwéivi |
| 23 | thigh (of human) | lòpáámhá/ ímbáámhá | ráawá/máawá | kivèrò/vivèrò |
| 22 | thigh (of animal) | lòpáámhá/ ímbáámhá | kjòmbòlò | kivèrò/vivèrò |
| 559 | thing | chííndò | kííntò | kímáká |
| 987 | think, imagine | kòwáájá ? | kwírírkáná | òririkáná |
| 651 | thirst | ìnyòòtá | nyòòtá | nyòòtá |
| 740 | thorn | iiivvá/ámiiivvá | mwiivá | mwiivá/miivá |
| 689 | threaten | kòkwòówóká | kòòfyá | wúumbá |
| 532 | three | zítátò | ítátò | sáátò |
| 115 | thrust into | kòtùulá | kòtùungá | òfishá |
| 420 | tick (cattle or dog) | ìngòpè ? | ñkúfá | ñkóófá |
| 1034 | tie (fasten) (vt) | kònyépá | kòchúungá | òtúngá |
| 258 | tie up | kònyépá | kòchúungá nà lèdì | òtúngáná mòri |

| No | English | iCiWoŋgò | Kiirangi | Keeŋbùwé |
|-----|--|---------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 978 | ingle with excitement | kòjilimùkà | kwitífíga mayeréra | òsisimòkà ? |
| 119 | tip, point | sòòrgòfù | - | nsòlò |
| 741 | tobacco | ilùürmbà | - | tubàli |
| 146 | today | ilèfélò | - | ènsikò |
| 742 | toe | - | inàámhá | nòb |
| 445 | tomato | inyàányà | nyàányà ? | nyàányà |
| 105 | tomcat (half-wild) | iwàkà | ihùlùmi | ndùrgàri |
| 743 | tomorrow | iyòlò | là mutòòndò | loòvi |
| 166 | tongue | òlùlmi/ìndrmi | làrìmi | lòremé'ndèmi |
| 120 | tooth (canine), tooth filed to a point | - | - | yèbò rá mbàrèmbàrè |
| 267 | tooth | ilimò/àmiimò | iyòò | yéòrmáò |
| 306 | top, peak | pàtòòlò | chòhwf | juulu |
| 293 | tortoise | irngòòbè ? | kisàmàntòhè | ŋkùlù |
| 277 | town | ìst | ìst | muji ? |
| 378 | tramp of feet | òhwééndòlè | kiiki | mlkìndò |
| 270 | travel | kàwòkà | kòkírà ñjírà | otàámhá lòtáámhá |
| 540 | tree | ikwi | muti | mòtè |
| 538 | tremble, shake (vi) | kàtèrmá | kàtèrmá | òsìngisá |
| 566 | trickle away | kàkwilítikà | kwilika | òsòlòrà |
| 401 | trunk (of elephant) | - | mulómò ? | ŋkòno |
| 604 | try | kàpàjà | kòyevà | wesèerèyà |
| 605 | tsese-fly | ìndòlòbò ? | ndòròòbò ? | ngiyà yà ñòòmè |
| 938 | turn upside down, turn over | kàpìndòlà | kòpìndùtá | òwòlà |
| 174 | turn round | kòpìlmyà | kòrìngíríà | òlìngpàterèyà |
| 711 | tusk, elephant's (middle size) | ipèèmbò | éndò ? | chikà |
| 452 | twirl | imbàsà/àmbàsà | màsà | bàsà/mbàsà |
| 185 | twist roll, spin with fingers | kòsòkòtá ? | kòfòtá | òfòtèrèrà |
| 483 | twist, esp strands | kòsòkòtá ? | kòfòlò | fòtá |

| No | English | ICTWoingò | KIIRangi | KeemBuwé |
|------|---------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|--------------|
| 752 | two | úwíffí | ivírí | ivéré |
| 18 | udder | kiwélé | kimírà | kimiré |
| 945 | uncover, reveal | kéfúnolá | kófunolá | okunolá |
| 551 | unripe, half grown | máwístí | ifímfí | mókobólo |
| 994 | unripe, uncooked | máwístí | máwístí | mbíse |
| 311 | up, above | páàbòbò | mwáàrì | yòbíí |
| 614 | upright | kwírímíllá | wílmá | wéemá |
| 446 | urinate/defecate | kòwòndá, kòkómýá | kònlá, kòkòbòjá | ònlá, òsumáá |
| 745 | urine | máàbòzi | mukòjòp ? | másómá |
| 569 | use | kòtómíllá | kòtómíá ? | òrà nòthé |
| 307 | utmost, highest point | páàròlò, íchiléle ? | chòbò | lòkúlu |
| 904 | vapour, gas | òmwúuké ? | - | mòkòj |
| 380 | vein | múshípá ? | lòbáási | mòkòlífá |
| 276 | village | ihalá | kújijí ? | kéjijí ? |
| 692 | virgin (bride), girl | mwáánóké | mwaàrì | mwaàré |
| 327 | vision | índòbò | rdòbò | viròtò |
| 330 | voice, (thunder) | òlòlìngbò | sàùt ? | riyò |
| 224 | vomit | kòtòkà | kòláháká ? | òlòkà |
| 524 | walk (take a) | kòkwééndá | kòyééndá | òlìngòkà |
| 269a | walk | kòwállá | kòdómá, kòyééndá | fèlá |
| 847 | wall | òbòwòbòmbà | lòkààndé | rkààndá |
| 983 | want, need, wish | kòwáàmbá | kòsàaká | òsàaká |
| 507 | war | ívilá ? | rkòòndò | roorì |
| 790 | wart-tog | trójjít | ngírt | ngírí |
| 860 | wash oneself (after evacuating) | kòkwírípýéelá | kòswéwéelá | wéwésótlá |
| 127 | wash (hands) | kòkúusá | kòbýá | wòyá |
| 128 | wash (clothes) | kòkúusá | kòfútlá ngòò | wáiná ngòò |
| 129 | wash, take a bath | kòchífrándá | kòohá | wòwá |

| No | English | ICITwòbìngò | Kiliràngì | Kaemibuwé |
|------|--------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| 322 | water | máázi | máájí | máájí |
| 959 | wave, let off a trap, remove a spell | kolagbolá | kosíyá móléhó | laólá |
| 1017 | we | shwéeshwé | sòsò | siyè |
| 1010 | weak | ngatávú | ngókòóló | mòndúwé |
| 881 | wear a child, give leave, send away | koléshá | kòláaniá | òrèchá |
| 234 | wear, dress | kòvwálá | kòvfrá | òvèkèrá |
| 501 | weave, knit | kòshóná | kòchumá | òtumá |
| 1015 | weight, rhythm | ichiló ? | òrító | òrító |
| 210 | well | ichísimá | idúndú | soólá |
| 56 | wet (get) | kòkolówá | kòólóvá | òólóvá |
| 919 | what? | chindò chi | ché | KIKI |
| 469 | which? | chichí | èrèkwè | kíróoré |
| 192 | whistling | òlòlòrú | mòròrí | mòròrí |
| 175 | white man | ònywéító | miyòtòngó | mòsoóngó |
| 610 | white | ínéító | njèrú | njèrú |
| 918 | who? | ó náánú | ánlé | ánnyú |
| 28 | wicked | lwi | èvèhá ? | mòvè |
| 339 | wife | òrchimá | mòókýé ? | mòka |
| 187 | wind up (thread) | kògòóndá | kòjúnaniá | fótá |
| 746 | wind | òmweyá | mpéshó | mpéfo |
| 937 | window | kòpèlè | kweèrá | fáaranyá |
| 112 | wipe | ìbànggìlì ? | kòfútá | soólá |
| 86 | wire (brass) | kòpýesèlá | - | kínyaaló |
| 194 | witchcraft | òlú | òsávè | òlòvá, ósávè |
| 279a | withhold from | kòkwimá | kwilimá | òlímá |
| 279 | withhold from, abstain | kòkwilinyimá | kwilimá | wéelímá |
| 338 | woman | wáchichimá | mwaámámòbòntò | mòbòntò |
| | | mòbòkýé | | mòka |

| No | English | iCiWuŋgò | KiiRangi | KeeiMbúwe |
|------|--------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 747 | womb | ĩndá yá (òzáázi)? | ĩndá | ndá |
| 812 | word | ijáámbo/ májáámbo | isáaré | ntóŋgò |
| 772 | work as a mason | kojéengá | kojéengá | òjishá, òjééngá |
| 167 | work (n) | ĩmilírnó | mórírnó | mòrémò |
| 81 | wrap up | kògòbòdá | kòunáná | òkámá |
| 344 | wring (clothes) | kòkámòdíá | kòfúunchá | òrú myááò |
| 773 | yawn | kòwáyòdíá | kwáásámá | mwááká |
| 593 | year | òrnwááká | ràáká | mèjéjé |
| 750 | yesterday | iyòlò | nijíjé | wééwé |
| 15 | you (sing.) | òwééwé | wééwé | nyé |
| 1018 | you (pl.) | mweémwé | nyúunyú | mwaáná/mòómò |
| 715 | young man | wachilírné | m(ú)itavána | yáányú |
| 637 | your(s) (pl. 2nd) person | yá mweémwé | yáányú | móitavána (m), mwaána moka |
| 693 | youth | òchijáámá ? | mútáváná (m), múhlinjá (f) | (f) |
| 292 | zebra | - | njáé | ndákò yá isáké (donkey of the forest) |

Appendix 1. Zone F: word-list: F24 and Proto Bantu

| No | English | KIKímbò-N | KIKímbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|
| 133 | abdomen, stomach, belly | nda | nda | 443 -dà |
| 495 | abscess, boil | iputò | iputè | 1609 -pòtè |
| 786a | abundant/abound | kwijjòlá | kwijjòlá | 2082 -yíngí |
| 786 | abundant | kwijjòlá | kwijjòlá | 1296 -mem- |
| 571 | abuse, insult | kòtòxaná | kòtòxaná | 1827 -òk- |
| 252 | abuse, reproach | kòtáktíá | kòtáktíá | 1827 -òk- |

Proto-Bantu (Guthrie)

1284 -man(ɔ̄) - 968 -jub- ʔ

1071 -kt-

1710 -tend-

285 -cəŋg(ə)n-

2129 -yɔŋg-

1419 -páká ʔ

87 -b e(é)jo

771 -gambò

2110 -yɔgɔp-

574 -dímò

302 -(ŋ)ce

2120 -yona

760a -gádbd-

1515 -pídbk-

1528 -píndb-

1529b -píndbK

1909 -(ŋ)yámá ʔ

2018b -yítík-

-

ps 106 -cídákú

882 -gòòb

422/3 -cɔŋgɔ

965¹⁰ -jòndò/òndò

403 -còb-

39 -bà(à)mb-

58 -bàŋg-

2059 -yim(ɪd)-

158 -bòkò

1142 -kòkò

1171 -kòpá

KIKÍmbò-S

kómányíla

kónòjá

kóŋgésíyá

kóŋfimbírɔxáná

mbijò

mpòlá

kóogópá

kóŋfímá

wóosé

kógálólá

-

ndimú

kwítítá

-

nsiláámhá

kíswá

mányánsááé

-

kóŋfíáámhá

-

múxónò

ɔkwaápa

KIKÍmbò-N

kómányíla

kónòjá

kóŋgésíyá

kóŋfimbírɔxáná

mbijò

mpòlá

kóogópá

kóŋfímá

-óosé

kógálólá

-

ndimwáámá

kwítítá

kóŋfíngólá

siláámhá

kíswá

nsilinsi

-

kóŋfíáámhá

kóŋfíngá

múxónò/múxónò

ɔkwaápa

English

accustomed (get)

act (vt)

add up

adjacent (be); border (vi)

adze, carpenter's

affair

afraid (be)

agriculture

all

alter, change

-

animal

answer a call

answer, reply

ant (reddish-brown billing)

ant-hill

ant (small)

anvil

apply by stretching, spread over (kóláámhá)

appoint, set up

arm, hand

armpt

No

809

274

229

927

662

254

1002

168

926

248

595

617

782

664

122

663

596

989

976

55

771

| No | English | KIK imbò-N kòpaaŋgà | KIK imbò-S xòpaaŋgà | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|-----------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|---|
| 203 | arrange, put in order | kónògèlèyá | kónògèlèyá | 1440 -pá(á)ŋg- 1459 -pèd- ? |
| 204 | arrange, put right, repair | kòpíxá | kòpíxá | 1550 -pík- |
| 478 | arrive | isòŋgá | isòŋgá | 386 -còŋgá |
| 665 | arrow | kínibóló | kínibóló | - |
| 666 | arrow (head of); spear head | máú | máú | 216 -bù |
| 337 | ashes | kòlóombá | kòlóombá | 653 -dòmb- |
| 199 | ask for | kòsáaŋgííá | kòsáaŋgííá | 285 -cáŋp- |
| 89 | assemble, collect (vt) | sééŋgi | sééŋgi | 459 -dàádtík- |
| 789 | aunt (father's sister) | kòkwéépá | kòkwéépá | 303 -cá + 810 -ŋgi ? |
| 148 | avoid, dodge | - | - | 521 -dég- |
| 688 | awe, fear of God | ntémó | ntémó | 1986 -yèp- |
| 667 | axe | mpòómá | mpòómá | 1408 -páca 1706 -lémó |
| 364 | baboon, ape | kònyúmá | kònyúmá | 2182 -(ny)úmá |
| 634 | back of (at the) | múgòóŋgò | múgòóŋgò | 858 -gòŋgò |
| 297 | back | ŋgálá múgòóŋgò | ŋgálá múgòóŋgò | 273 -cáná + 1273 -kúpa + 1731 -tí + |
| 297a | backbone | ibí | ibí | 858 -gòŋgò |
| 27 | bad | kòwólá | kòwólá | 97 -bí |
| 37 | bad (become), rotten (vi) | - | - | 153 -bod- |
| 87 | ball | múdbòkè | múdbòkè | 1920 -yámò |
| 398 | banana (plant) | mádbòkè | mádbòkè | 1779 -lòokè |
| 397 | banana (fruit) | mádbòkè | idíókè | 1779 -lòokè |
| 399 | banana (for cooking) | - | - | - |
| 1005 | baobab | - | - | 214 -báyú |

| No | English | KIKirimbó-N | KIKirimbó-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|--|-------------|-------------|---|
| 1022 | bark (of tree) | ipáá | ipáá | 1095 -kóbá |
| 313 | barren (of living being) | múgóbómbá | múgóbómbá | 894 -gúmbá |
| 314 | barren (of land) | ɣxákú | - | - |
| 376 | base of tree-trunk | iliná | iliná | 1756 -liná |
| 650 | bask (in the sun), warm oneself | xóótá | xóótéelá | 2136 -yót- |
| 576 | basket of open wicker-work | isááɣxá | isááɣxá | - |
| 577 | basket (plaited) | xikápú | kikápó | - |
| 643 | bathe | xóógá | xóogá | 2107 -yó(ó)ɣ- |
| 498 | be filling, behove | kórááya ? | - | - |
| 1 | be, become | kójá | kójá | 2 -bá- |
| 955 | beach, coast, shore | ɣhwááni | ɣhwááni | 1900 -yáátó, 1585 -pó- |
| 827 | bead(s) | wáámbo | wáámbo | 291 -cángá |
| 416 | bean, kind of bean (from <i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i>) | ɣkóbóndé | ɣkóbóndé | 1222 -kóndé |
| 417 | bean, small (from bean plant) | máhálágé ? | máhálágé ? | - |
| 844 | bean (runner) | ɣkóbóndé | ɣkóbóndé | 1222 -kóndé |
| 1037 | bear child | kótelá | kótelá | 136 biáát-, 512 -déd- |
| 147 | beard | ndézu | ndélu | 519 -détú |
| 768 | beat | kókójá | xókójá | 1182 -kób-, 1590 -póótú-, 1820 -tót-, 1861 -tút- |
| 759 | beautiful | -sogá | -sogá | 2046 -yijá? |
| 162 | bed | kítáándá | kítáándá | 1666 -lándá 1640 -táátá |
| 161 | bedstead | itáándwá | itití | 563 -títí |
| 653 | bee | njéki | njéki | 2156 -(n)jéki |
| 775 | beer | ntilí | ntilí | 1901 -yabáá |
| 497 | beifil, suit | kómogéla | kómogéla | - |
| 101 | below, underneath | háási | páási | 332 -ci /pá-mó-jct |
| 186 | bend, twist (vi) | kwiigbóndá | kwiigbóndyá | - |

| No | English | KIKirimbó-N | KIKirimbó-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|-----------------------------|---------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| 468 | bend (vt) | kwigóondá | kwigóondyá | |
| 193 | bewitch | ilológá | koloyá | 644 -dlog- |
| 930 | bifurcation, cross-roads | maáxa | - | 940 -jidá + 1406 -pác- |
| 222 | bile | ndóitíá | nditió | 689 -didió, ps 190 -didióé |
| 262 | bind up, splice | kolúungá | kúúungá | 785 -páng- |
| 658 | bird-flesh | wilitémbó | óilémbó | ps 161 -dembó |
| 811 | bird | nyónyi | nyónyi | 518 -dímbo |
| 46 | birth (give), to a child | kóiléá | kóiléá | 2121 -yóni/nyóni, 522 -dégé |
| 125 | bite | kólumá | kólumá | 136 -biád, 208 -bit-512 -déd- |
| 221 | bitter | -xáit | -xáit | 696 -dbrn- |
| 223 | bladder | itondzýó | ikibóú ? | 688 -dóúó |
| 482 | blind person | mpóú | mpóú | 984 -káit |
| 689 | blood | mugázi | chááji | 1839 -bnd-, ps 477 -luúd- |
| 496 | blow on, blow up | kópúúá | kópúúyá | 1573 -pókú |
| 238 | blow bellows | kópúúitizyá | kópúúitizyá | 766 -gadi, 2081 -(n)nyngá |
| 463 | blow away | kópépélúshá ? | kópépélúshá | 1613 -pud-, 1623 -puup- |
| 776 | boast, brag, praise oneself | kwilidáái ? | kwigiáámhá ? | 737 -dúgút-, 738 -dúúúót- |
| 676 | boat | - | - | 1489 -péép- |
| 670 | body | muúúit/riúúit | muúúit/riúúit | 1949 -yáto |
| 581 | boil up | kóseúxá | kóseúxá, kóúúitizyá | 112 -biit |
| 30 | boil (vt) | kóúúichá | kóúúichá | 1777 -úúóg- |
| 433 | bone | ikupá | ikupá | 1273 -kupá |
| 564 | bore a hole | kóúúilá | kóúúilá | 1817 -úúú- |
| 1008 | born (be) | kóléúwá | kóléúwá | 136 -biád-, 208 -bóh-, |
| 910 | borrow | kókópá | kókópá | 512 -déd-, |
| | | | | 1152 -kóp- |

| No | English | KIKÍmbò-N | KIKÍmbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|-------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| 872 | bottle | nsópá | nsópá | 425 -cópá |
| 928 | boundary | lójítrímbí | lójítrímbí | 1419 -páká ? |
| 671 | bow, bending | íotá | ótá | 1631 -íá |
| 508 | bow | íotá | ótá | 1631 -íá |
| 953 | bowstring | ngósá | ngósá | 860 -goyé ?, 1583 -pót- |
| 58 | brain | íóónjú | óbóónjú | 169 -bóngó |
| 509 | branch | ítáámbí | ítáámbí | 1636 -lábí |
| 375 | bread | múzáálé ? | múzáálé ? | 1017 ¹² -káálé |
| 831 | break wind * | kófúúmófiá | kósulá | 431 -cúd- |
| 77 | break, snap | kóbwáádá | kótíná | 230 -bun-, 233 -bunj- |
| 1036 | break wind | kósulá | kósulá | 431 cúd- |
| 17 | breast (of a woman) | májjeelé | májjeelé | 71 -béedé |
| 489 | breath, breathing | lyóhhe | lyóópé | 1468 -péém- |
| 490 | breathe, rest | kósuupá | kósóbópá | 1468 -péém- |
| 138 | bridge | idálájá ? | idálájá ? | 460 -dádó |
| 139 | bridge (wooden) | idálájá ? | idálájá ? | 460 -dádó |
| 885 | bring, fetch | kolecía | kolecía | 546 -deéé, ps 355 -néént- ? |
| 171 | bring to light | - | kópópfiá | - |
| 882 | bring up (a child) | kósóbóngá | kolelá | 510 -deéé, 441 -cúng- |
| 660 | brook, stream | xámóóngó | xámóóngó | 662 -dóngá, 2000 -yíjí 2041 -yíjí |
| 942 | broom | kteéeyó | kójútíí | 1141 -k ó(ó)mbó, 1509 -píágid- |
| 113 | broth | múscíí | múscíí | 405 -códí |
| 381 | brother-in-law, sister-in-law | mulámú | - | 479 -dámó |
| 341 | brother (older) | múkóló | mboyyéé, múkóló | 1198 -kótó |
| 673 | brother, relative, fellow tribesman | miúbógó | idógó | 692 -dógó |
| 874 | bruise badly, take the skin off | kafyóómpólá | kafyóómpólá | 398 -cúúb- |
| 71 | buffalo | mbógó | mbógó | 157 -bógó |

| No | English | KIKÍfimbò-N | KJÍfimbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|-----|--|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 807 | build | kòjéèngà | kòjéèngà | 935 -jèng- |
| 674 | bull | iyàgàámbà | lgóómbè | 697 -dómé, ps. 193 -dómi |
| 80 | bunch (of hair) | isáàrjxà iyá nyétè | isáàrjxà | ps 103 -cici |
| 890 | burden, load | múligò | múligò | 614 -dígò |
| 645 | burn (vt & vi) | kóβàxà | kóβàxà, kópéémbà | 1902 -yàk- 34 -bák(i)- |
| 231 | burnt (become) | kópyà | kópyà | 1502 -pf- |
| 179 | bury | kòzyitixà | kòpòsìiyà, kòzyitìkà | 615d -diik- |
| 555 | bush | ipòólù | ipòólù | 260 -càkà |
| 21 | buttermilk | mbòβòtò | - | |
| 514 | buttocks | itáxò/mátáxò | itáxò/mátáxò | 1650 -lákò |
| 301 | buy | kògòlà | kògòlà | 876 -gòd- |
| 873 | calabash | nséérjké | iséérjxé | 426 -còpà 296 -cápò |
| 857 | calf of the leg | lòsàlútà | nsàlútà | 264 -càkù |
| 877 | call | ndáámà | idámà | 1922 -yàná |
| 31 | call | kwilitánà | kwilitánà | 105 -bíd- 2096 -yít- |
| 675 | canoe (dug-out) | - | ìgáláwà | 1949 -yátò |
| 602 | canoe | - | ìgáláwà | 1949 -yátò |
| 993 | carry a child on the back (in a blanket) | kòpáápà | kòpáápà | 1448 -pááp- ps 520 -yibád- |
| 567 | carry/lift on to head (take up) a heavy load | kwitwíixà | kwitwíixà | 1812 -tífk- |
| 97 | carry astride on the hip | kòpágátà | kòjèlyà | 1448 -pááp- |
| 560 | carry, take | kòsólà | kòsólà | 197 -bòók-, 365½ -còd- |
| 578 | carry, convey | kòsòómbà | kwífnòólyà | 1806 -tòád- |
| 104 | cat | nyááú | inyááú | 1420 -pàkà |
| 286 | cattle | nsáwò, mitúyò | ímifúyò | 850 -gòmbè |

| No | English | KIKÍfimbò-N | KIKÍfimbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|--|---------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| 486 | cease, finish | kòmálà | kómalyà | 351 -cid-, 1281 -mäd- |
| 526 | centipede | táándù ? | itáándò | - |
| 247 | change, turn round | kògélòxá | kòkèlyà, kògélòxá | 759b -gàdòk- |
| 334 | charcoal | ixàlà/máxàlá | ixàlà/máxàlá | 980 -kádá |
| 963 | charm (esp. to ensure wife's fidelity) (n) | kótègà | - | 990 -kàg-, 293 -càngó ? 1698 -tèg- |
| 32 | chase (away) | kòfífíngá | kòfífíngá | 129 -bìng- |
| 515 | cheek | itámá | itámá | 1652 -támá, 300 -càyá |
| 92 | cheerful (become) | kòsàngálámúxá | kòsàngálámúká | 287 -càng- |
| 106 | cheetah | dúmá ? | isòfì ? | - |
| 585 | chest | kikúfá | kíkúfá | 1258 -kúbá |
| 672 | chest (of animals and birds) | kikúfá | kíkúfá | 1258 -kúbá |
| 431 | chief, headman | mùhànyá ? | múkòtlò | ps 436 -tèmi, 1195 -kódò, 1911 -yámí |
| 431a | chief | mùtèmi | mùtèmi | 1911 -yámí, ps 436 -tèmi |
| 679 | child, infant | mwáaná | mwáaná | 1922 -yáná, 1923 -yánáké |
| 597 | child, offspring | mwáaná | mwáaná | 1922 -yáná |
| 886 | chin | kíièzù | kípópt | 520 -dédù |
| 83 | choose | kòsààgòòlà | kòsògòòlà | 255 -cààgòò-, 3651/2 -còd- |
| 109 | civet cat | wálàlámúkífyá | - | 1878 -lúngó |
| 255 | clan | múgàná | úxóó | 779 -gàndá, 552 -dítàngó? |
| 841 | climb, ascend | kòtáántá | kòtáántá | - |
| 550 | clod, lump | ilòngó | kiòòmbá | - |
| 851 | close (the eyes, mouth, etc.) | kòtiindilá, kòmúmyá | kòtiindilá, kòkúumbá mùlòmó | 617 -dím- ? |
| 299 | cloth | kitámبالá | kitáambáá | 487 -dámá ? |
| 235 | clothe | kòtyítxá | kòtyítxá | 720 -duád-, 728 -dúfik- 1915 -yámb- |
| 300 | clothes, material | mweéndá/ myeéndá | mweéndá | 1978 -yéndá, 873 -gòbò |
| 305 | cloud | ilúundé | ilúundé | 748 -dúndé |

| No | English | KiKíimbò-N | KiKíimbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|--|
| 817 | coagulate | kògáándá | kògáándá | 777 -gánd- |
| 941 | cobra (spitting) | nswtííá ? | ɲkòbòkò | 1857a -túúd- |
| 906 | cohabit | kwiñhàátá, kwiigóná | kwiyingíííííá | 2016 -yíngítd- |
| 465 | cold | mpépò | mpépò | 1492 -pépò |
| 624 | come | kwijjá | wijjá | 2045 -yij- |
| 505 | come on suddenly, take in the act | kòbàgáníkílyá | βòshíishá ? | 284a -càngàn- ?, 1940 -yàñk- ? |
| 230 | construct, put together | kònògèèlyá | kònògèèlyá | 86 -bèej- |
| 471 | cook | kòtééxá | kòtééxá | 734 -dúg-, 1701 -téék- |
| 557 | cook in water or fat | kòtééxá | kòsélóká | 1777 -tòòg-, 1778 -tòk- |
| 43 | cooking pan, small | kíííííò | kìxàííííííò | 120 -bigá, 134 -bìyá |
| 385 | cool (become); get well | kòpòlá | kòpòlá | 1564 -pòd- |
| 265 | copper, brass | shábá ? | shábá ? | - |
| 283 | copy a pattern | - | kòlòndètelá | 654 -dònd- |
| 894 | cork, stopper | kíkúndíkílyò | kíkúndíkííò, kífúntxò ? | 606 -dìbò, 1268a -kúntk- 1271a -kúndík- |
| 52 | corpse, carcass | múβíimbá | múviimbá | 145 -bimbá |
| 1001 | corpse (human) | múβíimbá | múviimbá | 1832 -tòmb- |
| 383 | cough (v) | kòxóíóíá | kòkòíóíá | 1108 -kòód- |
| 4 | count | kòβályá | kòβályá | 9 -bád- |
| 100 | country (our) | nsí yíiswé | ínsí | 331 -cí |
| 14 | courtyard | isèésá | isèésá | 55 -báñjá |
| 852 | cover (up) | kòkòndíkílyá | kòkòndíkílyá | 1268 -kúntk- |
| 285 | cow | ɲòòmbè | ɲòòmbè | 1402 -ɲòmbè |
| 1003 | coward | mwóóβá | mwóóβá | 2103 -yòbá |
| 335 | crab | ngédèlálógèègè | líkáá ? | 981 -kádá |
| 520 | crawl, creep | kwáágúúlá | kwáágúúlá | 491 -dánd- |
| 612 | cricket | - | ínsííííí ? | 1981 -yénjé |

| No | English | Kikĩrĩmbo-N | Kikĩrĩmbo-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|-----|----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| 153 | cripple | muĩemá | muĩũũlázũ | 533 -dámá |
| 803 | crocodile | nyĩmĩnĩ | maĩámba ? | 869 -golená, 870 -goliná |
| 319 | cross (a river) | koĩtámbobxaniá | koĩdikaniá | 1051 -kĩd-, 1921 -yámboĩk- |
| 846 | crow (n) | ikĩngolũ | ikĩngolĩ | 1233 -kĩngobòbò |
| 308 | crown of the head | mpakandá | páwoĩngũ ? | - |
| 79 | crumple | kokũnyatĩyá | kokũnyĩkũnjĩ ? | 1149 -kũny- |
| 370 | crush by pounding, pulverize | kojopòndá | kojopòndĩpòndá | 1579 -pònd- |
| 393 | crust | ĩjòxòxò | ĩjòjyokò | 1125 -kòkò |
| 180 | cry, wail | koĩlĩlĩ | koĩlĩlĩ | 561 -dĩdĩ- |
| 966 | cucumber, small | maĩtáĩngá | maĩámpebè | - |
| 736 | cuigel | nyòomé | nyòomé | 568 -dĩm- |
| 165 | cultivate | koĩlĩmá | koĩlĩmá | 1565 -pòd- |
| 950 | cure, cool, heal | kojopĩyá | kojopĩsĩyá | 1703 -lèrn- |
| 355 | cut | kojupũtá | kojũmòlĩ | 321 -cèng-, 10 -bád- |
| 98 | cut, lop | kũnògèlĩwá | kojopĩngĩyá | 385 -còng, 1365 -nòbòd- |
| 117 | cut to shape, sharpen to a point | kojũnjĩyá | kojopĩnjĩ | ps 428 -lám̃b- |
| 365 | dance (of men, to show courage) | kwĩdĩááhi ? | kwĩjĩbòlĩ | - |
| 53 | dance | kwĩngĩyá mũũũũũ | kwĩngĩyá, xòbináá | 146 -bĩn- |
| 622 | dark, black | -áápi | nyĩjĩlò | 2037 -yĩdò, 1561 -piĩpi ? |
| 481 | darkness | kĩlĩlĩ | kĩlĩlĩ | 1073 -kĩlĩ ? |
| 824 | dawn (v) | kwèelá | wèelá | 1047 -kĩ- |
| 359 | dawn, daybreak | wèelá | wèelèelá | - |
| 744 | day after tomorrow | májòbòlĩ | májòbòlĩ | 957 -jòbòdĩ |
| 130 | day | lòsikò/nsikò | lòsikò/nsikò | 352 -cikò, 1750 -lĩkò |
| 682 | day-lime | lyòbònsĩ | lyòbònsĩ | 329 -cĩ, 955 -jòbá |
| 868 | day (all) | lyòbònsĩ lyòbònsè | lyòbònsĩ jèlèlè | - |
| 751 | day before yesterday | májòbòlĩ | májòbòlĩ | 957 -jòbòdĩ |

| No | English | KiKíimbò-N | KiKíimbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| 423 | dead person | mùhèlè | mùchi | 1074 -ki-, 1247 -kú |
| 424 | death | lòfú | nchá | 1256 -kúò |
| 931 | decorate | kónógèèlyá | kónógèlèlyá | ps 161 -d èmbò, 578 -dimbò |
| 446a | defecate | kòniá | kòniá | 1355 -ni- |
| 631 | denial | kòsiitá | kòsiitá | 1000 -káán-, 529 -dém- |
| 821 | deny | kòsiitá | kòsiitá | 1000 -káán- |
| 648 | destroy, spoil | kòfiipyá | kónódná | - |
| 437 | dew | lòmè | lòmè | 1290 -mè |
| 219 | die (cause to); put to death * | kówòlágá | kógúláályá | 184 -bód(ág)-, 2095 -yit- |
| 1027 | die * | kòfwá, kógúláálá | kòchá | 1249 -kú |
| 425 | die | kógúláálá | kòchá | 1074 -ki-, 1249 -kú- |
| 504 | dig up, dig out | kòβúsóólá | kòpúsúulá | 1621 -púkòd- |
| 503 | dig | kòsítimbá | ksítimbá | 1754 -timb- |
| 466 | diminish, grow less | kòdóóhá | kòpòngóxá | 1044 -kéép- |
| 635 | dip | kòsápyá, kòlilitýá | kòtápyá | 732 -dúb- ?, 1781 -tòmb- ? |
| 49 | dirt | βòcháfú | igáágá | 1093 -kó |
| 680 | district, province, country | nsí | nsí | 331 -cí |
| 245 | divide | kógáwólá | kógáβá | 754 -gáβ- |
| 512 | divorce | kòlèxááná | kòlèxá | 525 -dék- |
| 367 | do, complete, finish | kòmályá | kòmályá | 1281 -máð- |
| 366 | do | kònójá | kónógèlèlyá | 1633 -lá- ?, 1710 -tènd- |
| 60 | dog | mbwá | mbwá | 174 -bóá |
| 292a | donkey | ndógóβé | mpúúndá | 947 -jóbé ? |
| 685 | door | mulyáárgò | ηkilit | 2039 -yigi-, ps 153 -dàngò |
| 415 | dove (red-eyed) | ηkúúndá | ηkúúndá | 939 -jibá, 121 -kòóndá |
| 188 | doze | - | kòtindííá | 1764 -tíngí(ít)- |
| 529 | draw water (from well) | kòtápá mífíí | kòtápá miiíí | 1681 -táp- |
| 215 | dream (vt, vi) | kòlòótá ndóóti | kòlòótá | 672 -dóót- |

| No | English | Kikímbò-N | Kikímbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|--|---------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 328 | dream (n) | ndòòti | ndòòti | ps 186 -dóòti |
| 448 | drink | kòrjwá | kòrjwá, kòrjwééiá | 1378 -nú- |
| 196 | drizzle | mátòònyé | mányúúnyú ? | - |
| 780 | drop, throw down | kòpáβá | kwíímbòlá | - |
| 284 | drum | ntúúntú | ntúúntú | 844 -gòmá |
| 598 | dry (vt), set out to dry | kwááníxá | kwááníkilyá | 1924 -yántik- |
| 346 | dry | -xákú, -yiwá | rkákú | ps 557 -yómú |
| 954 | dry up, ebb | kòxàlá | kúpítá | 996 -kám-, 1585 -pò- |
| 345 | dry up, become dry | kòxàlá | kúxàlá | 975 -kád-, 2161 -yòm- |
| 289 | duck | mbáátá | mbáátá | - |
| 243 | dust, cloud of dust | lóbúúβú | lòrkóòndí | 1230 -kòngó |
| 628 | dwel | kwíixàlá | kwíixàlá | 2053 -yikád- |
| 492 | eagerness, zeal | wáàngúwáàngú | wáàngúwáàngú | - |
| 491 | eagle, bird of prey | ixóóná | ixóóná | - |
| 563 | ear | ítwi/mátwi | ítwi | 1243 -kòdt, 1813 -tói |
| 70 | earth, land | nsí | lnsi | 331 -cf |
| 44 | earthenware vessel for serving up food | nyúúngò | nyúúngú, lúbèèhé | 120 -bígá, 134 -bìyá |
| 156 | eat | kólyá | kúlyá | 550 -dí- |
| 900 | effort, exertion | ngúú | kwitútúmúlá | 890 -gòdú, 909 -gúdú ps 249 -gúdi |
| 273 | egg | igt/mágt | igt | 809 -gí |
| 443 | eight | múnááné | naáné | 1341 -náné |
| 705a | elbow | kírxóxóólá | kíxóxóólá chá múkòno | 1130 -kókódá |
| 329 | elephant | njógú | njógú | 951 -jógú, 1708 -témbó |
| 336 | embers | ixátá | múxálá | 980 -kádá |
| 842 | embrace | kwíikúmbátíiá | kòkúmbátíiá | 1211 -kómbát- |
| 394 | end (come to an), cease | kóléxá | xósilá | 351 -cid-, 1281 -mád- |

| No | English | KiKímbò-N | KiKímbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|---|
| 952 | escape, recover | kópónà, kòpòlògòxà | kúpónà | 1565 -pód, 1578 -pón-? 1594 -pòdòk- ?, 1736 -liid- ? |
| 899 | examine, measure, test | xòpiimà | xòpiimà | 797 -géd-, 1519 -pim- |
| 485 | excrement, dung | màbi | màbi | 135 -bi |
| 958 | exorcise, drive out a devil | kòlàgòtá | kòdàgá | 1602 -pòng- ? |
| 784 | explain | kòtèngá | kòpáálííá | - |
| 620 | eye | liisó/miisó | liisó | 2030 -yicó |
| 828 | eyebrow | - | nyélé já liisó | 342 -citi, 1153 -kópé 1079 -kigé, 336 -cigé |
| 838 | eyelash | ɣxòpé | lòkòúmbi | 1155 -kópé |
| 587 | face downwards | kòfulámá, kòwúndáálá | kòxúbámá | - |
| 686 | face | βòshò | wòshò | 391 -cò, 347 -ció |
| 940 | fade, disappear | kòilimáàngííá | kòsilikííá | 618 -dim(td)- |
| 891 | faint, lose consciousness | kòfwá káβiimbá ká ngííí | xòpwélá másátá | 617 -dim- |
| 298 | fall | kògwá | kògwá | 863 -gò- |
| 549 | fall short | kòpòngòkííwá | kúpòngòxá | - |
| 462 | fan, wave | kòpúúgííá | kòpútíííyá | 1489 -pèèp-, 1595 -pòk- ? |
| 764 | far | kòtáít | kòtáít | 507 -dé, 1645 -tadí |
| 921 | fat (be) (of animals) | kònóná | nóónú | 815 -gín-, 1370 -nón- |
| 922 | fat (of animals) | -nónilé | -nóónilé | 815 -gín-, 1370 -nón- |
| 531a | father | daáda, báábá | báábá | 70 -báábá, 1687 -tàáté |
| 382 | father-in-law, mother-in-law | múxwé, múkwiingwá | múxwé | 1092 -kó, 1174 -kóé |
| 531 | father (my) | daáda | báábá | 7 -báábá, 1686 -tàátá |
| 687 | fear | wóóβá | wóóβá | 2103 -yòbá |
| 652 | feathers, fur | wóóyá | mágálá, wáági | 2140 -yòyá |
| 848 | fence, enclosure | lòóβá | lòóβá | 2146 -yòt- |
| 858 | ferment, turn sour | kòsásá | kòsásá | 241 -càcú |
| 762 | few (a), not much | -dó | kídó | 1044 -kéép- |
| 757 | fierce, sharp | kitáki | xòlí ? | 984 -kádíí |

| No | English | KIKIrimbo-N | KIKIrimbo-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|---------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 421 | fig-tree | mulimbobid | - | 1246 -kóyó |
| 422 | fig-mulberry tree | kwikokijá | - | 675 -db- |
| 216 | fight | kwijijólyá | kwikokijá | 2049 -yijá-d-, 1296 -mém- |
| 804 | fill | kókijá | kwijijólyá | 602 -dib- |
| 176 | fill a hole, stop up | kóyigidiá, kóyódogá | kóminyá | 409 -cobú- ? |
| 583 | filter, strain | nitaxalála | ijilá | - |
| 50 | flth | kómpéto | kosilá, kódiungá | 976 -kad- |
| 516 | final, decisive | -sogá | -sogá | 2046 -yijá?7 |
| 760 | fine, excellent | lyáalá | iwáalá | 920 -jádá |
| 447 | finger | inóbongá | iwáalá | 919 -jádá |
| 323 | fingernail | móoto | móoto | 2138 -yóto |
| 474 | fire | kixóyó, ijixó | ijixó ? | 565 -dido |
| 280 | fireplace, hearth, kitchen | kóméná | kósoiteelá, kósalá nkwi | 2056 -yikó |
| 970a | firewood (collect, cut) (V) | nkwi | nkwi | 1079 -léér- |
| 413 | firewood | kónyámúla | kwipolá | 1181 -kol |
| 191 | fish up, pull out | nstpá | fnst | - |
| 126 | fish (old Swahili <i>nswi</i>) | kólijá nsipá | kólijá | 333 -ci, 377 -cómhá |
| 190 | fish (vt), trap fish | ngúmt | ingúumi | 429x -cut |
| 400 | fit | itaanó | itaanó | 638 -dób-, 731 -dúb- |
| 525 | five | kópápámúxá | kúpápámúxá | 1225 -kónt- |
| 493 | flap wings wildly, flutter | litulence | kóbýá imjimbi | 1662x -taanó |
| 832 | flutience | kóxólyá | kórogelá | 1447 -páp- |
| 384 | flavoured (be property) | liá ? | liá ? | 432 -cudi |
| 907 | flower | nginjji | nginjji | 710 -dóyig- |
| 276 | fly (house) | kónyááruxá, kópápámúxá | kólijá | 661 -dóbá |
| 1028 | fly (v) | foam * | ipuló/máfuló | 819 -ji |
| 1032 | foam * | | | 1447 -páp-, 889 -qúúbik- |
| | | | | 1615 -púdo |

| No | English | KIKÍfmbò-N | KIKÍfmbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|-----|------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 502 | foam | ifulò/máfulò | ipulò/mápulò | 1615 -púdò |
| 143 | follow (in order) | kòlòòndá | kòlòòndàlòòndá | 654 -dònd- |
| 142 | follow | kòlòòndá | kòlòòndá | 654 -dònd- |
| 823 | food supply for a journey | mpààmbá | mpààmbá | 294 -càngó |
| 556 | forest | ipòótú | ixòxò | 260 -cáká |
| 584 | forge | kòtyááná | kùlùgútá nì mùgùbá | 403 -còd-, 1743 -tián- |
| 889 | forget | kwíípiá | kwííwá | 1989 -yib(iídí)- |
| 458 | fork, bifurcation | mpààndá | ímpààntí | 1407 -pácá, 1435 -pándá |
| 442 | four | jiné | jiné | 1345 -n(n)é |
| 295 | frog | chòdíá | bòdíá | 2150 -yúlá, 1032 -kédé |
| 574 | fruit | itùúndá ? | viligi | ps 128x - còm- ? |
| 349 | fry | kòxáilingá | kòxáilingá | 982 -kádàng- |
| 936 | fully developed, be | kòxòméélá | kòkóméélá | 1190 -kòd-, 1132 -kòm(ád)- |
| 625 | full (become) | kwííjótá | kójótá | 2047b -yijòd- |
| 316 | garden | bùsitááni | bùsitááni ?, kámùgòòndá | - |
| 419 | gather (flowers, fruit) | kòyáábá | xòyáábá | 2101 -yòb-, 1045 -kèt- |
| 91 | gathered (be), assembled (be) | kwíikúngányá | kwíikúngáaniá | - |
| 368 | gazelle (Grant's) | swáálá ? | káswá | (1075 -kiá) ? |
| 454 | gazelle, small (impala) | shá | pòónjò | 1411 -pádá, 1075 -kiá |
| 108 | genet (kind of speckled civet cat) | ntùúngò, lífùúngò | íntùúngò | 1878 -tùngò |
| 408 | get, obtain | kòpátá ? | kòpòkéélá | 1453 -pát- |
| 684 | ghost, sudden apparition | másóké | ifùmíkílá | - |
| 568 | giraffe | ntwiigá | ntwiigá | ps 468 -tòigá |
| 246 | give away (present) | kòfúmyá | kòfúmyá | 1404 -pá- |
| 449 | give | kòpéélá | kòpéélá | 1404 -pá, 2085 -yínk- |
| 916 | give light to | kòmúlixá | kùjíáchá, kòmúlixá | 1330 -mòdík- |
| 815 | glide, trickle | kòyélá | kògélá | 406 -còdò |

| No | English | KiKímbò-N | KiKímbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|-----|---|---------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 269 | go | kóyá | kóyá | 820 -gi-, 1975 -yènd- 2045 -yi- ? |
| 639 | go in, come in, enter | kwiingitá | kwiingitá | 2083a -yingid- |
| 63 | goat | mbòli | mbòli | 185 -bòdi |
| 694 | goat, (he-) | ngúlaáti | ngúlaáti ? | 1581 -pòngó |
| 695 | god | lyóúpá | múlúungú | 715 -dòòngó, 955 -jóbá 2147 -yóbá |
| 758 | good | wósógá | nsógá | 2046 -yijá |
| 388 | goshawk (East African) (<i>Astur tachiro</i>) | - | isáans1 | - |
| 68 | grain (of cereal) | mpéké | lòsáarjá | 288 -càngá |
| 696 | grandfather | kóókò | kóókò | 1204 -kóókò |
| 697 | grandmother | máámá | mbòyó | 1282 máámá |
| 432 | grasp, hold in arm | kódiimá | kókúmbátilyá | 1267 -kúmbát- |
| 698 | grass, reeds | másáanjé | isáanjí | 393 -cóa |
| 406 | grate | kóxwááláángá | kókwáarngóá | - |
| 409 | great, powerful, big | ikòlò, ihányá | ikòlò | 1195 -kódò |
| 164 | grief, sorrow | húzúuni ? | kòsááyá ? | - |
| 371 | grind (grain with a millstone) | kòshá | kòsyá | 344 -ci- |
| 372 | grind coarsely | kóbáláágá | kóbáláágá | 1409 -pád- |
| 212 | groove, furrow | - | xálwijj | - |
| 801 | ground, cultivated | múgòóndá | múgòóndá | 897 -gòndá |
| 405 | grow up, get large, become great | kókòlá | kókòlá | 1190 -kód- |
| 913 | grow (of plants) | kòléembá | kòléembá | 724 -dú-, 1273 -mèd- |
| 461 | grown (be fully) | kòxómééá | kókòlilitá | 1132 -k òm(ád)-, , 1190 -kód- |
| 373 | gruel, light porridge | mpáápò | mpáápò | 1135 -kómb- |
| 358 | grunt, grumble | kònjúulá | kòsááyá | - |
| 205 | guide aright | kòlóóndòólá | kwixátixá páánsi | 670 -dòngòd- |

| No | English | KIKimbò-N | KIKimbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|-----|--|-----------------|--------------|---|
| 351 | guinea-fowl | ɾxáàngá | ɾxáàngá | 1010 -kangá |
| 701 | gun | ngóòhó | múújji | 1627 -puúf |
| 702 | hair | lónyéé/nyélé | nyélé | 2180 -yúúdi, 2179 -yúúde |
| 977 | hair (long straight- of animals and Europeans) | ɓósiingá | úsiingá ? | 359 -cǐngá, 1762 -lingá |
| 75 | hair (white, grey) | mbyi | mbyi | 22 -bui |
| 703 | hand (flat of) | ixóófi | kígaanjá | 1500 -pí, 784 -ganjá 1156 -kóopi |
| 157 | hand, right | kólyitilá | mólitilá | 555 -ditó |
| 439 | hand (left) | múumósó | mósó | 1316 -móóó |
| 476 | handle, haft | múpini | mp'ini | 1521 -p'ini |
| 779 | hang in mid-air | kóninjilá | kóninjilá ? | - |
| 655 | hard | lyáaywa | ixáaxú | - |
| 377 | hardship, distress | ógáyó | ɓáxámú | ps 243 -gǎrm-, 2161 -yǎrm- |
| 294 | hare | káǒnjáandó | kásóbyá | - |
| 781 | haste | wáàngówáàngó | wáàngó | 1938 -yǎngó |
| 795 | hate, detest | kókitwá | kókitwá | - |
| 700 | hay | másáanjé gá ywá | ɓǒɾpóxó | 1195 -kóúó, 1265 -kúumú |
| 678 | head, chief person | múkoló | múúálá | 1808 -tǒé |
| 356 | head | mútwé | itwé | 1016 -káitá |
| 352 | head-pad | ɾxáitá, nzingá | káitúndó | 708 -dǒndó |
| 561 | heap | ibóndó | káitúndó | 1472 -pémb-, 1588 -póúf(k)-, 1698 -tég- ? 2043 -yigú- |
| 391 | heap up, ready/set on fire | kópémbá móótó | kóyóyá móótó | |
| 623 | hear | kotégeéla | kotégeéla | |
| 543 | heart | móbyó | móbyó ? | 1115 -kóúó, 1738 -itímá |
| 944 | hearthstone for putting pots on | mápijá | itépépijá | 1548 -pijá |
| 893 | heavy, serious, dull | itimbú | itimbú | 631 -ditó, ps 448 -itimb- |

| No | English | KIKIRIMBÓ-N | KIKIRIMBÓ-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|-----|--|--------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| 705 | heel (of foot) | kiliinjikino | isáambátilyó | 1082 -kína ? |
| 681 | heifer | ndógóósá | | 1522 -pínd- |
| 418 | hem, make a border | kókobnjá | xópiindá | 1126 -kóko, 1203x -kókó |
| 690 | hen, fowl, chicken | nkókó | nkókó | 2215 -pá |
| 766 | here | ípa, óxó | ípa, úxó | 1180 -kókótó ? |
| 863 | hiccup | kisékú | nsópt | 396 -cóké, 1546 -píc- |
| 800 | hide (vt) | kófíisá | kóswééka | 153 -bód, 913 -gúnd- |
| 38 | high, be (of meat) | kóguúndá | khwóliá | 14 -bada, 940 -jida, 1435 -pánda |
| 326 | highway | njilá | njilá | 683 -gúdtó, , 1841 -táindá |
| 309 | hill | kálógóló | kítúundá | 2132 -yóngal-/nyóngá |
| 925 | hip | inyóongá | óibnyóongá | 908x -gubó |
| 317 | hippopotamus | itonoómbó | ntonoómbó | 1133 -kóm-, , 1182 -kób- |
| 396 | hit with a hammer | kógómélélá | kókójjá | 1861 -lud- |
| 706 | hoe | isilí | isiŋŋi | 436 -cuká, 803 -gémbe |
| 990 | hold, arrest | kódiimá | kóŋáambá ? | 1172 -kúal- |
| 575 | hole, nest | idobili | idobili, ishimó ? | |
| 836 | hollow out | kószimba, kóxoómbá | kószimba | 1134 -kómb- |
| 816 | home | xókáá yíiswé | kówíisá, páxáái | 1020 -kááyá, 2087 -yító |
| 654 | honey | wókki | wókki | 2157 -yókí |
| 150 | honour | kówéséhiimú ? | kókóyá | 1190 -kód- |
| 797 | hook (for pulling down branches in plucking fruit) | ixóntóló | nyééngó | 836 -góbé -góbó- |
| 189 | hook (fish) | ndówaáni | ndóanó | 640 -dóbo, ps 181 -dóbant |
| 707 | horn, ivory, tusk | linó, ipéémbe | linó, ipéémbe | 1476 -pémbe |
| 288 | horse * | | | |
| 708 | house | nyuumbá | nyuumbá | 2168a -nyuumbá |
| 263 | how many? | jingá | jingá | 752 -ngá |

| No | English | KiKímbò-N | KiKímbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| 572 | hump (of hunchback) | lòβégà | kíkúkú | 84 -bégá |
| 573 | hump (of cow) | lòβégà | nuúndú ? | - |
| 756 | hundred | ígánà | mià ? | 774 -ganà |
| 320 | hunger | njàlà | njàlà | 917 -jàdà |
| 33 | hunt | kóβééndà | kògúúβà | 904 -gúfm- |
| 34 | hunter (professional) | múβééndi | múgúújài | 904 -gúfm- |
| 35 | hunting | kóβééndà | kògúúβà | |
| 227 | husband | múgòòshà | múgwiishà | 1101 -kóci, 1102 -kóci 697 -dómé |
| 808 | hut | nyuúmbà | xáái, idiindígá | 2168a -nyòmbá |
| 709 | hyena | mpiti | mpiti | 1562 -piti |
| 1016 | l | nèèné | ùnééné | 1344 ¹⁰ -né |
| 1013 | idleness, sloth | òxàtà | ùxàtà | 529 -dém- |
| 901 | ill (be); groan | kòlwááíà | kòlwááíà | 677 -dóád- |
| 902 | illness, (crippling) | βòlwiilé | úlwilé | 678 -dóádé, 679 -dóáidé |
| 275 | imitate | kòlòòndéélà | kòlòòndéélà | 1995 -yífg- |
| 16 | in front of | kòβòlòòngóóló | kòlòòngóóló | 69 -bédé |
| 353 | in the middle of | páxàtí | páxàtí | 1018a/b -pá/mò-kátí |
| 118 | incite | kòsòòngànià | kòsòòngéletá | 383 -còng- |
| 206 | increase, make greater | kóòngétyá | kóòngéletýá | 2129 -yòng(ídi)-, 1179 -kótí- |
| 155 | increase | kóòngétyá | góòngéletá | 2129 -yòng- |
| 426 | inheritance | isááíó, kòsááíà | másááíó | - |
| 542 | inside, in | múxàtí | múxàtí | 1018 -kátí, 443 -dà |
| 353a | inside, middle | páxàtí | páxàtí | 1018 -kátí |
| 132 | intestines | ùtá | ùtá | 442 -dà |
| 389 | intoxicated (get) | kúxòlwá | kúxòlwá | 1107a -kódd- |
| 513 | iron ore | - | mábwé gà chóómá | 2162 -yómá |
| 264 | iron | chòòmá | chòòmá | 1643 -tádé, 2162 -yómá |
| 710 | island | kisiwá ? | kisiwá ? | ps 94 -cèngá, 676 -dóá |

| No | English | KIKÍrímò-N | KIKÍrímò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| 2 | rich | kojajá | kúnyéogá | 4II -báb- |
| 460 | jammed (become) | kojéyénjékéá, koxwámá ? | kúwámá ? | 1421 -pákám- |
| 853 | jaw (bone) | mázakolá | ikupa | 300 -cáya, 61 -bangá |
| 960 | jealousy | ifojjá | wilú | 2037 -yidó ? |
| 271 | journey | logeléndó | musínjò | 808 -géndó |
| 606 | judge (vt) | koyángolá | koyáangótiyá | 480 -dámòd- |
| 810 | jump, leap | kojájápxá | koólixa | 869 -gòobk- |
| 477 | kidney | mpigò | impigò | 1549 -pigò |
| 218 | kill | kówólágá | kówólágá | 184 -bòó(j)g-, 2095 -yil- |
| 677 | king | mùlèmi | mùlèmi | 1911 -yámí, ps 436 -lèmi |
| 787 | kite | ináándá | isáánsí | ps 413 -pòngòé |
| 347 | knead | koxalándá | kolójá | 1001 -kand- |
| 348 | knee | iyòbngò/ máyòbngò | ilú | 729 -dúí, 722 -dú |
| 427 | kneel | kojúungámá, kósúxalámá | kojúungámá | 1261 -kúkám- ? |
| 607 | knife | lòshò | nsilimé | 1544 -pió |
| 402 | knife, thin, curved, broad-bladed | - | mpulúú | - |
| 704 | knot | igúundó | igúundó | 1272 -kúundó |
| 626 | know | kómányá | kómányá | 1284 -màn(i) |
| 178 | lake | iziwá ? | - | 1934 -yánjá , 603 -díbá |
| 151 | lame (be) | kósuúntá | koótéméá | - |
| 511 | lamp | talá | talá | 1636 -lák- ? |
| 99 | land (dry) | nst yá ywáá/nyakó | nst nyáxú/nyakú | 331 -cf |
| 761 | large, great, big * | -kolò, -hánýá | -kolò | 1195 -kòbò |
| 94 | laugh | kòsèxá | kòsèxá | 312 -cèk- |
| 792 | lay over on one side | kósuúntxá | kojúundxá | 2067 -yín(i)k-, 319 -cèndik- |
| 1000 | lazy | muxáá | úwáá | 529 -dèrn- |
| 699 | leaf, blade of grass | itití/máitití | isáánjír/másáánjír | 1928 -yáni |
| 1025 | leaf (tree) | itití | itití/máitití | 1928 -yáni |

| No | English | KIKÍrímò-B-N | KIKÍrímò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|---|
| 911 | leak, ooze out | kòsílíà | kòsólíà | 723 -du, 1614 -púd- |
| 96 | lean, bend down, slope | kwinámá | kwinámá | 2069a -yínám- |
| 536 | lean on, rely on | kòsèndámíà | kòtègmétiá ? | 319b -cèndám- ? |
| 796 | lean, become; grow thin | kòpààndá | kòpààndá | ps 313 -kònd-, 2125 -yònd- |
| 535 | leaning (be) | kòsèndámá | kweégámíà | 319b -cèndám- |
| 613 | learn | kwiífúundishá ? | kwiífúundishá ? | 1995 -yíò- |
| 546 | leave, permission | lòhúsá ? | lúúsá ? | 463 -dìag- |
| 1011 | leave over | kòlèxá, kòsígáiyá | kòsígáiyá | 345 -cláà, 525 -dèk- ps 102 -cìic-/cìic- |
| 547 | leave, go away | kòwòúxá | kòwòúxá | 197 -bòòk-, 820 -gì- |
| 544 | leave (off) | kòlèxá | kòlèxá | 525 -dèk- |
| 975 | left over, (be); remain over | kòsígáiyá | kòsígáiyá | 1747 -lígáà, 2052/3 -yíkáà- |
| 310 | leg, foot | mugòlò/migòlò | mugòlò/migòlò | 884 -gòòb |
| 774 | lend, borrow | kwáàlúmyá | kwáàlúmyá | 1899 -yáàim- |
| 107 | leopard | nsòjji | nsòjji | 399 -còòt |
| 878 | lick (vt) | kòxòòmbá | kòxòòmbíshá | 485 -dààmb- |
| 134 | lie down | kògòná | kògòná | 454 -dààà, 483a -dààmbàdàà- |
| 250 | lie on one's back | kògòná ká nságá | kògòná ká nságá | 764 -gàààm-, 851 -gòò- |
| 791 | lift up, pick up | kwinlòlì | kwinlòlì | 197 -bòòk-, 2064 -yímòk- |
| 467 | light in weight | toòbhu | kápèlú | 1605 -pòòp- |
| 304 | light, sky | lúundé | òòcháanyá | 880 -gòòb |
| 805 | lightning | ládi ? | kimúli ? | - |
| 657 | lime, whitewash | nswáaxálá | nswáaxálá | - |
| 213 | line, row | musitáálí ? | mòkìlìlì, mùsítáálì ? | - |
| 659 | line, fishing | ngusá | ngusá | - |
| 103 | lion | nsimbá | nsimbá | 357 -cimbá |
| 198 | lip | mulomò | mulomò | 651 -dòmò |
| 956 | listen | kòtèkèézýá | kòtègèlèyá | 1698 -lèò-, 1589 -pòò- 1589a -pòòk- |

| No | English | KIKIimbò-N | KIKIimbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|--|------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 872 | fruitless (be) | kónyònyà | kunyèxà | - |
| 1024 | liver | itèrà | itèrà | 1739 -itirà |
| 429 | livestock (keep) | kòsàjì | kòsàjì | - |
| 819 | lobster | - | - | - |
| 794 | locust | nzigè | inzigè | 827 -gigè |
| 155a | long (become) | kòlìhà | kòlìhà | 545 -dèèp- |
| 144 | long | -lìhù | kòlìhà | ps. 164 -dèèpù, 1645 -làdi 507 -dè |
| 131 | look after, care for | kòtúnyà | kòlèlè | 441 -cùnjì, 510 -dèd- |
| 871 | look after grazing cattle, help a sick man on the road | kòdítirà | kòdítirà | 441 -cùnjì, 550 -di- ? |
| 354 | look at, examine | kòkúunà | kòkúunà | 641 -dòd-, 501 -dènjì- |
| 354a | look around | kòkúunà | kòlìjàlìjì | 501 -dènjì-, ps 142 -dàb- |
| 200 | look for, hang around (to get something), pursue | kòdòjèlèlè | kòdòjèlèlè | - |
| 973 | loose (be), faint, weak | kónyònyà | kòkàlèlè | 523 -dègid- |
| 181 | lost, get | kòlìmitìlè | kòpwèlèlè | 618 -dim(tì)- |
| 1023 | louse | mpàni | mpàni | 446 -dà |
| 769 | love, want | kòtògwà | kòtògwà | 1974 -yènd- |
| 934 | lung | màpòpò | màpòpò | 1607 -pòpò |
| 713 | magic * | jòlògì | jòlògì | 646 -dògì |
| 714 | maize | igààgwè/màgààgwè | igààgwè/màgààgwè | - |
| 521 | make offerings to the dead | kwisèèjngà | kwisèèjngà | 1659 -làmb |
| 226 | male | igòòshà | igwìshà | 697 -dòmè, 1101 -kòci 1102 -kòci |
| 10 | mamba, green (kind of poisonous snake) | nyòjòxò | nyòjòxò | 40 -bàmbà, 41 -bàmbà |
| 793 | many | nyingit | nyingit | 2082 -yijit |
| 1019 | many * | nyingit | nyingit | 2082 -yijit |

| No | English | KiKímbò-N | KiKímbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|--|--------------|----------------|--|
| 897 | marriage | kwitòólá | itòólè, ndòà ? | 1175 -kòéd-, 1774 -tòód- |
| 895 | marry (of man) | kòtòóá | kwitòóá | 1774 -tòód-, 323 -céng- 1175 -kòéé- ? |
| 896 | marry (give in marriage-of parents, priests) | kòtòólyá | kòtòólyá | 1774 -tòód- |
| 814 | master | - | mútèmi | - |
| 888 | match, harmonise (vi) | kwixòlá | kòlínghànzíá | 583 -díngh-, 584 -díngh(àn)- |
| 935 | mature | kómèèú | kòkòtííá | 1132 -kóm(ád)-, 1645 -tádí ? |
| 596 | meat | nyámá | nyámá | 1910 -(n)nyámá |
| 259 | medicine, remedy | ògáàngá | ògáàngá, ùgòtá | 787 -gàngá |
| 260 | medicine (art of medicine man) | òfòfúmú | úfúmú | 1868 -túmò, 787 -gàngá 471 -dàgòd- |
| 261 | medicine-man | múfúmú | múfúmú | 786 -gàngá, 1868 -túmò ? |
| 90 | meet | kwáágááná | kwíitáàngá | 284 -càng- |
| 861 | melt | kònyéméntúká | kòpòéá | 1883 -yábík- |
| 845 | midwife | - | múitéliishá | - |
| 859 | migrate, move away | kòsáámá | kòsáámá | 265 -càam- |
| 1030 | milk (n) | máβééle | máβééle | 73 -béédé |
| 20 | milk (curdled), curds | mòbòfòtò | màβáálé | |
| 19 | milk, (fresh) (n) | máshùshù | máβééle | 73 -béédé |
| 903 | millet (bulrush) | òβéle | òβéle | 70 -bèdé |
| 290 | millipede | igóóngòlò | igóóngòlò | 859 -gòngòdò |
| 73 | mix (ingredients, 'season food') | kòkálíingá | kòsálínghàniá | 286b -càngàni- |
| 72 | mix, put together | kòsáánjá | kòkúlughàniá | 286 -càng- |
| 363 | monkey (small lighlish-coloured) | ntòòmbití | ntòòmbití | - |
| 362 | monkey (colobus- (with long black silk hair, white on shoulders) | ntòòmbití | ñkùúnkù ? | - |

| No | English | KIKIimbò-N | KIKIimbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 361 | monkey (small, dark-coloured) | - | - | - |
| 716 | moon | mwééli | mwééli | 1965 -yedi |
| 609 | moonlight | mpéémhá mwééli | mwééli | 1964 -yedi |
| 59 | mosquito | mbú | mbú | 172 -bú |
| 436 | mother | maáyí | maáyí | 1289 -máayó |
| 65 | mould (pottery) | kajóómbá | kajóómbá | 199 -bóómb- |
| 717 | mountain | ibóolú | kitóóndá | 893 -gódú, 707 -dóndú, 1842 -tándá |
| 163 | mourning | kiitú | kiitú | 567 -diáb |
| 1026 | mouth | mulómó | mulómó | 652 -dómó |
| 272 | movement | lógééndó | lógééndó | 808 -gééndó |
| 979 | mud, mire | mbááb | ítópé ? | 1787 -tópé, ps 466 -tótó |
| 642 | mushroom | wipwá | wipwá | 2103 -yobá |
| 152 | mutilated (be) | kólémáálá | kólémáálá | 534 -démáá- |
| 281 | name | liiná | liiná | 2068 -yiná |
| 539 | namely | yááni ? | kiti | - |
| 403 | nape (of neck) | - | frpóti, nklingó | 1162 -kóti |
| 256 | navel | iwúúmbu | piwúúmbu | 1224 -kóndó ? |
| 765 | near | piipi | piipi | 1274 -kúpi |
| 379 | neck | nklingó | frnklingó | 1086 -kí(ò)ngó |
| 843 | need, request | kópóóga | kóbóómbá | - |
| 962 | new | mpyá | mpyá | 1505 -piá |
| 718 | night | botiku | botiku | 1751 -líkó |
| 755 | nine | kééndá | kééndá | 1039 -kéndá |
| 484 | nose | mpolá | mpoblá | 1591 -pobá, 960 -jódb ps 512 -yódb |
| 211 | number | naámhá ? | kójáiyá, igóóngó, naámhá ? | 664 -dó(ò)ngó |
| 237 | oar | - | mulínxó | 1014 -kapi |

| No | English | KiKíimbò-N | KiKíimbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|-----|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 939 | obstruct | kóptingá | kósiitiyá | 1532 -ping-, 529 -dém- 1069 -king- |
| 48 | offspring | múgàná, mwáaná | βòléli | 1922 -yána |
| 66 | oil (from plants) | - | mákútá | 211 -bótó |
| 435 | oil | mákútá | mákútá | 1278 -kútá |
| 818 | old times, the past | xálè | xálè, pámyáaxá | 983 -kádè |
| 411 | old person | múxóombi | múláálá, múxóombi | 1197 -kódó |
| 410 | old | nsáxálò, ixámá, iyá xálè | nsáxálò | 1196 -kódó |
| 214 | one-eyed (being) | nsóongó | nsóongó | 388 -còngó |
| 440 | one | lómò | ímwí | 1314 -mó |
| 590 | open mouth wide | kwáásámá | kwáásámá | 1889a -yácám- |
| 984 | open | kódógólá | kódigólá | 736b -dúgòd-, 2041 -yigòd- |
| 829 | open (set ajar) a door | kódógólá | kódigólá | 736b -dúgòd-, 2041 -yigòd- |
| 876 | order, direct | kólágitilyá | kólágitilyá | 496 -dágíd(i)- |
| 961 | ostrich | mbúuni ? | mbúuni ? | - |
| 640 | our(s) pl. 1st person) | yiiswè, yitù | -à kówiiswè | 2097 -yitó |
| 506 | out (go), go away | kófumá | kófumá | 1622 -púm- |
| 324 | outside | háánji | páánji | 928 -pá/-kò -(r)jé |
| 217 | overcome; win, vanquish | kókiindá | kókiindá | 1084 -kínd- |
| 995 | owed by, be | kòlòondá | - | 665 -dònd- |
| 835 | oyster | - | - | - |
| 207 | pack (luggage) | kótúungá | kótúungá pá lòmwí | 1877 -túng- |
| 208 | pack, press together | kókímángilá | kókiindlá | - |
| 456 | pack, flock, group | idáálè | idáálè/mádaálè | - |
| 457 | pack, bale, bundle (n) | múligó | múligó | 1833 -tòmbá |
| 236 | paddle (n) * | - | mútítixó | - |
| 342 | palate | iláarxámtilò | kináarxó | - |
| 9 | palm (date) | mútééndé | mútééndé | 1712 -téndé |
| 719 | palm-wine | ntilí | ntilí | - |

| No | English | Kikifimbò-N | Kikifimbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|-----|-----------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| 257 | palm (of hand) | kigpánjǎ | kigpánjǎ | 784 -gǎnjǎ |
| 6 | palm (raphia) | úkímbò ? | - | 21 -bǎdè |
| 7 | palm (borassus) | múchikíchi | ipámá/mápámá | 1 -bá- |
| 8 | palm (oil) | kúterémá | múchikíchi ? | 1867 -tú-d ? |
| 459 | palpitate, flutter, tremble | múléti | kótékémá | 136 -biá-d, 208 -bǎ-t, 512 -dié-d- |
| 47 | parent, s/he who begets | | múfǎáfi | . 1449 -pááp- |
| 720 | parrot | kásókú ? | nyónyi ? | - |
| 232 | pass, surpass | kókútiá | kókútiá | 1536 -pǎ-f, 1051 -kú-d- |
| 325 | path | njǎá | njǎá | 940 -jǎá |
| 159 | pay | kófpá | xítfpá | 589 -díp- |
| 600 | pay attention, take care | kókúúná, kwáánjǎtǎá | kókúúná | 501 -dǎng-, 1026 -kéb- ? |
| 820 | peel, shell | kópáatá | kópáatá | 1409 -pá-d- |
| 12 | peg | lǎjǎgǎ/mbǎgǎ | itáántǎlǎ | ps. 6 -bǎgǎ ** |
| 11 | pegs (tent) | lǎmáámǎbǎ/máámǎbǎ | lǎmáámǎbǎ/máámǎbǎ | 2016 -yǎngǎ-d- |
| 484 | penetrate | kwifíyénjékézyá | kwifíngǎfiá | 155 bǎdǎ |
| 721 | penis | ilǎgá | kǎfǎgá | 1544 -pú-d, 436 -cúká |
| 884 | penknife, lancet | lǎshǎ | káštǎt | 1798 -ntǎ |
| 558 | person | múúntǎ | múúntǎ | 2076 -yǎncǎ |
| 638 | pestle | múúnsǎ | múúnsǎ | 886 -gudubé |
| 312 | pig | ngúújǎ | ngúújǎ | 1121 -kú(ú)ndǎ |
| 414 | pigeon, kind of | rkǎbǎndǎ | njǎfiá | 705 -dbnt-, 1812 -tǎk- |
| 579 | pile up, pile loads on head | kwilwǎfǎxǎ | kwilwǎfǎxǎ | ps 111 -ch-, (1552 -pín(ú)-)? |
| 479 | pinch, make narrow | kósiná | kósiná | - |
| 357 | pipe (tobacco) | mútéémǎbǎ | mútéémǎbǎ | 2013 -yǎndǎ, 582 -dǎndǎ |
| 552 | pit, hole | lǎliná | lǎliná | 1818 -tǎk- |
| 974 | place, put (v) | kótǎdǎá, kótǎtǎá | kótǎdǎá | 2215 -pǎ + 1799 -ntǎ |
| 722 | place (n) | páántǎ | páántǎ | 715 -dbngǎ, 619 -dǎmǎ |
| 892 | place of the dead | kózimú | kwitáámǎbǎxǎ | |

| No | English | KiKíímbò-N | KiKíímbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|--|-------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------|
| 225 | plait | kòsijá | kòsijá | 693 -dók- |
| 932 | plant, sow | kòpáántá, kòháámbá | kòbýááíá | 1432 -pànd- |
| 510 | platform | - | itàántlò | 1640 -tádá |
| 834 | please, satisfy (vt) | - | kòtógwá | - |
| 93 | pleased (be) | kòtògèziwá | kònògétá | 312a -cèk-id- |
| 13 | plot of ground | kíwáánjá ? | isèésá | 14 -bádá |
| 647 | plunder (a town) | - | kòbáámbá | - |
| 1014 | plunge into, cause to sink | kòdúmbúkúyá | kòsùtilyá | 2026a -yibid-, 593 -diám- |
| 114 | poke | kòpémbèlèyá | kòxòlèlèyá | 365 -còòc- |
| 737 | pole, thin | lòkító/rkító | lòsitò | - |
| 111 | polish, clean by rubbing | kòpáíáàngóíá | kòsiingá | 1409 -pád-, 1693 -tédid- |
| 177 | pool, pond | iláámbò | káíáámbò | 603 -dibá? |
| 923 | porcupine | nòòngólí | nòòngótí | 1376x -nòngó |
| 374 | porridge (stiff) | βògáíí | βògáíí | 765 -gáíí |
| 42 | pot (metal) | ikópò | ixópò | - |
| 41 | pot, vessel | kisémè/visémè | ìngégété | 2173 -nòngó /nyòngó |
| 39 | pot, mug | mùxèbè | mùniimbá | - |
| 40 | pot, cooking (earthen) | nyúúngò | nyúúngò | 2173 -nòngó /nyòngó |
| 749 | potato (sweet) | káfú | kilòòmbò | - |
| 646 | potter's kiln | itímíò | ishèlèlò | - |
| 369 | pound (grain in a mortar to get off the husks) | kòpòólá | kòtúlá | 1807 -tòáng- |
| 441 | pour away | kwiitá | kwiitá | 2094 -yit- |
| 641 | pour | kòttítíá | kòdúmbùgítýá | 2094 -yit(íð)-, 435 -cùk(òð)- ? |
| 748 | pregnancy | ndá, mìkúúngò | ndá | 443 -dá |
| 636 | pregnant, be | kòβi ní ndá/ná mìtúúngò | kòβá nífndá | 2062 -yimít- ? |
| 599 | prepare | kònògèlèyá | kònògèlèyá | - |
| 553 | press out (oil seed, sugar cane) | kòxámá | kòxámá | 995 -kám(òð)- |
| 986 | produce, put forth, display | kòfúmyá | kòfúmyá | 1622 -púm-, 1916 -yámb- |

| No | English | KIKÍfimbò-N | KIKÍfimbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|-----------------------------|----------------|-------------------|---|
| 909 | prominent (be); put out | kófúmífià | kópúmilyà | 1263 -kúm- ?, 1622 -púm- |
| 518 | pronounce | kòtèèngà | kówúyà | 1719 -lèt- |
| 340 | protect by charm (medicine) | kósálà | kósálà | 990 -kág- |
| 947 | protect by charms (target) | kóxàgà | kóxàgà | 990 -kág- |
| 475 | puff-adder | kipfítí, imómà | kipfítí | 1513 -pídí |
| 244 | pull | kòkwéésà | kòkwéésà | 749 -dút- |
| 173 | pull up, come to a halt | kwíimà | kwíimà | 2006 -yím- |
| 172 | pull up, root up | kòdúbólià | kòlímboálià | 1814 -tób(òd)-? |
| 833 | pull, drag | kòkwéésà | kòkwéésà | 749 -dút- |
| 57 | pump | ibóómbà | ibóómbà | - |
| 548 | push | kòsòòrjxà | kòtèérjxà | 1758a -lindik- |
| 992 | put, place, set | kòtòdià | kòtòdià | 1818 -tódò-, 122 -bífik- |
| 887 | put together for comparison | kògèlànilyà | kògèlànilyà | 795 -gèd- |
| 969 | put a pot on the fire | kòtèèngà | kòtèéxà, kòtèéngà | 1696a -tédik-, 1702 -téék- |
| 981 | put together, compose | kòtòdìngà | kòtùúnganià | 1877 -tìng-, 625 -ding- |
| 862 | python | nsátò | nsátò, nsáwàákà ? | 297 -cátò |
| 656 | quarrel (vi) | kwiikenià | kwiitáchà | - |
| 180 | quench, extinguish | kòlímýà | kòlímýà | 617 -dim- |
| 485 | quiet (be) | kwíixálà sètè | kwíixálà nyéétè | 1589a -pódik- |
| 76 | rain | mbùtù | mbùlù | 225 -bùdà |
| 917 | rain (vi) | kòtòónyà | kùtòónyà | 1787 -tòni-tòny-, 1352 -ni- 1861 -tùd- |
| 1006 | rains, the lesser | mwáánòfí | chòónsí | - |
| 197 | rainy season | kítikò | kítikò | 1751 -tikò ? |
| 580 | rumble | kògílimà | kwiitòtómólià | 1853 -tòtòm- |
| 26 | rat, kind of | ɲkòsò | nsèènggi | 306 -cènggi, |
| 488 | rat (field) | ɲkòsò | mbèjà | 1597 -pòkò |
| 24 | rat | ɲkòsò | mbèjà | 65 -bèbà, 1103 -kòcùè, 1597 -pòkò |

| No | English | KIKIRIMBÒ-N | KIKIRIMBÒ-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|---|-----------------|-------------|--|
| 25 | rat- (very large, long-tailed) | ŋkùtò | mbejà | 1597 -pòkò |
| 883 | razor | lògèémbé | lògèémbé | 803 -gèmbé, 1328 -mòò |
| 949 | read | kòsómá | kòsómá | 379 -còm-?, 1543 -pióm- |
| 1007 | reap, harvest | kwírímbohà | kwírímbohà | 231 -bùn-, ps 287 -kéc- 1709 -léen- |
| 523 | receive | kòpòkèlè | kòpòkèlè | 1571 -pòkòd- |
| 537 | reed | màtété | màtété | 1723 -lété |
| 632 | refuse, say no | kòsílà | kòsílà | 1000 -kàán-, 529 -dém- |
| 633 | reject, refuse, dislike | kòkìwà | kòsílà | 1000 -kàán-, 529 -dém- 2056 -yím-? |
| 545 | remain, stay behind * | kòsìgà | kòsìgà | 1747 -lìgàd-, 2052 -yìkàd- |
| 1035 | remain, stay | kòsìgà | kòsìgà | 2053 -yìkàd-, 1747 -lìgàd- |
| 840 | remember | kwìjòkítà | kwìjòkítà | 2098 -yìkòd-, 1215b -kòmbòk- |
| 499 | resemble * | kwìxòlè | kwìxòlè | 1612 -pián- |
| 879 | resemble (very closely) | kwìxòlè | kwìxòlè | 1612 -pián(àn)-, 654 -dònd- |
| 1031 | resemble * | kwìxòlè | kwìxòlè | 1612 -pián- |
| 149 | rest heavily on, be burdensome | kwìwà | kòttimbilá | 527 -dém(òd)-, 528 -dém |
| 964 | rest the cheek on the hand (in brooding mood) | kwìdìlímá ìlámá | kwìsumàlè | 1267 -kùmbàt- |
| 957 | rest, take a holiday | kòsùupá | kòsùupá | 1819 -lòòd(ò)- |
| 249 | return, go back | kòshòbá | kòshòbá | - |
| 1004 | return | kòshòbá | kòshòbá | - |
| 500 | revive | kòjèémbohòkà | kòfùulá | 596 -dìòk- |
| 318 | rhinoceros | mpèlè | mpèlè | 1460 -pètà |
| 988 | rib | lòjálù | lòjálù | 30 -bàdù |
| 473 | ripe | fpìlè | fpìlè | 107 -bìd-, 117 -bìdù- |
| 996 | ripen (vi) * | kòpyá | kòpyá | 1503 -pí, 1504 -pí |
| 472 | ripen (vi) | kòpyá | kòpyá | 1504 -pí, 107 -bìd- 107 -bìd-, 1504 -pí |

| No | English | KIKimbó-N | KIKimbó-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|--|---------------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| 209 | river | móôngó | móôngó | 662 -dɔŋgá , 664 -dò(ò)ŋgò ? |
| 239 | roar, rumble | kòtíá, kòlilindimá | kòtùlumlá | 2000 -yíjǎ |
| 644 | roast | kòlímá | kòtímá | 740 -dúm- |
| 350 | roast (w/ by fire) | kòlímá | kòtímítíá | 2111 -yók- |
| 806 | rock | íbwé ipáám pá | íbwé | 2111 -yók- |
| 291 | rooster (cock) | njógoló | njógoló | 1642 -tádé |
| 169 | root | múli | múli | 1203y -kúkú +, 697 -dómé |
| 29 | rotten | -bòlilé | mòbòlù | 591 -di |
| 1012 | round (be) | kwíllirígá | kòpilingániá | 153 -bòd(ù) ** |
| 183 | round (go), turn round | kòjilingániá | kòpilingá | 625 -dɔŋg-, 189 -bòdɔŋg- |
| 999 | round, become | kwíjilingániá | kòpilingániá | 625 -dɔŋg- |
| 110 | rub | kòkòbòniá | kòsiringá | 189 -bòdɔŋg- |
| 50a | rubbish, garbage | múáxalááitá | íjílá, ípáagá | 358 -cɔŋg-, 1186 -kòc- |
| 321 | rubbish heap | lína iyá matákááitá | íjítù | 918 -jáda |
| 826 | run | kòkímbítá | kòkímbítá | 1062 -kímbít-, ps519 -yftók- |
| 522 | sacrifice | sàdáká ? | kwílséérígá | 1742 -tý- |
| 723 | sail | múnyú | múlééngé | 1396 -nyò |
| 95 | sand | múséngáséérígá | βòlòngó | 286 -cangá |
| 630 | satiated (be), have enough to eat or drink | kwíkótá | kwíkótá | 2057 -yikot- |
| 788 | satisfy | kòtógéézýá | - | 701 -dòmb- |
| 251 | say to, tell to | kòwítá | kòwítá | ps 38b -bòid- |
| 783 | scorpion | ngé, njhómi | éngé, záxómi | 1133 -kóm- ? |
| 453 | scrape | kòpálá | kòpálá | 1409 -pád-, 1131 -kòkòt- |
| 855 | scrape, grate | kòkwáangólá | kòksénsá | 1409 -pád- |
| 856 | scratch, grate * | kòsòjía | kòsòjía | 1552 -pin(ò)-, ps 111 -cín- |
| 668 | scythe, sickle | imóózyò | imóózyò | - |

| No | English | KiKímbò-N | KiKímbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 84 | search for | kòpògá | kòpúgá | 366 -còód- |
| 85 | search diligently | kòpésá | kòpáísá | 259a -cákòd |
| 738 | seat, stool, chair | kíksúumbí, kítí ? | kítí ?, kígòdà ? | 1874 -túmbí, 1892 -lébè |
| 770 | see | kòwóná | kòwóná | 164 -bón- |
| 67 | seed | mbèéyò | mbèéyò | 96 -béyò, 211 -bòtó |
| 404 | seize | kòdíimá | kòjàámbá | 1172 -kòát- |
| 611 | self | mwèéné | yèéné | 1970 -yéne |
| 302 | sell | kògòlyá | kògòlyá | 876 -gùd- |
| 570 | send | kòtómá, kòlàgililyá | kòtómá | 1831 -tóm- |
| 451 | separate, set apart | kògàjàniá | kòlègòrxaniá, kògàjàniá | 525 -dék- |
| 450 | separate, leave each other | kòlèxàaná | kwiiléxá | 525 -dék- |
| 534 | set a trap | kòtégá | kòtégá | 1698 -tég- |
| 868 | set (of the sun) | kòlòxá | kògwíilá | - |
| 971 | settled (be); be in good order | kòtèxàaná | kònògèlèlyá | 1702 -léék- |
| 754 | seven | mpúungátí | mpúungátí | ps 419x -púngáté, ps 419y -púngátí |
| 1033 | sew * | kòsúmá | kòsúmá | 1865 -túm-, 378 -còn- |
| 589 | sew | kòsúmá | kòsúmá | 1865 -túm-, 378 -còn- |
| 135 | sexual intercourse with (have) | kwiinyómá | kwiigóniá | 1781 -lòmb-, 851 -gòn- |
| 691 | shadow, shade | múlúlé, mùdàxá, múnýúmi (human) | kínyóómi | 1492 -pépò |
| 867 | shame, disgrace | nsóni | nsóni | 380 -cóni |
| 116 | shame | nsóni | nsóni | 380 -còni |
| 724 | shame, modesty | nsóni | nsóni | 380 -cóni |
| 386 | sharp (be) | kòógípa | kòkálípa, kòjà kixàxá | 978 -kád(ítp)-, 1803 -tó- |
| 920 | sharpen | kònoóliá | kònoóliá | 1365 -nòód- |
| 915 | shave | kòsèényá | kómwá | 1317 -mòòg- |
| 603 | she, he | rwèéné | mwèéné | 1173 -kùé, 1954 -yé(é) |
| 287 | sheep | nxóló | nxóló | ps 305 -kòdó |

| No | English | KiKíimbò-N | KiKíimbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|---|---------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1009 | shell, cowrie | nsiimbi | nsitá | 42 -bámhá, ps 110 -cimbi |
| 822 | shell | - | ixònjé | - |
| 725 | shield | ngòlá | ngáo ? | 906 -gùhá, 756 -gábo |
| 712 | shin (bone) | mùlòòndí | mùlòòndi | 1526 -píndí ? |
| 968 | shiver, shudder * | kòtétémá | kòtétémá | 1726 -létim-, 1012 -kánj- |
| 528 | shiver | kòtétémá | kòtétémá | 1012 -kánj-, 1726 -létim |
| 434 | short | -kúpi | ikúpi | 1274 -kúpi |
| 430 | shoulder, tip of | - | iḽégá | 84 -bègá |
| 588 | shoulder | iḽégá/máḽégá | iḽégá/máḽégá | 84 -bègá |
| 839 | shout | kókòḽá ibòbò | kókòḽá idóóló | - |
| 946 | shrivelled (be); wrinkled | kwiikúnýátá | kwiisináásiná | - |
| 763 | sick | -lwítté | -lwítté | 677 -dóád-, 679 -dóáidé |
| 870 | sift | kóyóóngá | kóyóóngá | 969 -júng(óó)- |
| 615 | sing | kwíimbá | kwíimbá | 2009 -yímb |
| 3 | singe | kòḽáḽá | kòḽáḽá | 5 -báb- |
| 980 | sink, be drowned | kòsápá | kòsápá | 755a -gábitd-, , 593 -diám- |
| 170 | sink | kógábfíá | kódódómétá | - |
| 726 | sister (his)/ (her) brother | ìlòòmbò | ìlòómbò | 703 -dòmbò |
| 627 | sit | kwíixálá | kwíixálá | 2052 -yikád- |
| 753 | six | múxáágá | múxáágá | 1670 -lántátó |
| 785 | size, measure | ngéló | átí mbi | 795 -géd- |
| 123 | skin (of person) | ntiilá | ntiilá | 563 -dídí, 1095 -kòhá 1003 -kándá |
| 124 | skin/rind (of fruit) | ílti | ílti, mákúumbá | 1003 -kándá |
| 303 | sky | wúundé | máikúundé | 880 -gòdò |
| 865 | slander, accuse falsely, often secretly | kòsóngéélá | kòsóngéélá | ps 80 -céb-, 383 -cèng- |
| 470 | slap | kókòḽá ikòófi | kókòḽá, kúpaátólá | 1182 -kòb- |
| 970 | slash | kópútá | kòsemùlá | 1703 -lém-, 321 -cèng- |

| No | English | KIKimbò-N | KIKimbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|-------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 220 | slaughter | kosifinjá | kosinjá | 341 -cfnj- |
| 727 | slave, bond servant | músesé | mujijimpá, mujijisa, mwáási | - 1922 -yána + 986 -kádi |
| 728 | slave (female) | músesé | mwaási | - 455 -daad, 851 -gon- |
| 729 | slave, (male) | músesé | kogóná | 1 851 -gon-, 821 -lódó |
| 136 | sleep (v) | kogóná ndóó | éndóó | 635 -di, 455 -dááá- |
| 137 | sleep (n) | ndóó | pá kogóná, pá ógónó | 1693 -tedid(-) |
| 730 | sleeping-place, accommodation | íajitit | káyelemúká | 1362 -nlini |
| 967 | slip, be slippery | íajitit | kádokáá | - |
| 1021 | snail | -dó | ndójit | 1380 -núuk, 1386 -núnjk- |
| 332 | snailpox | ndójit | ndójit | 390 -cò ? , 1380 -núuk- |
| 241 | smell (sweet) (v) | kánúhilitá | kókúfifá | 1380 -núuk-, 1386 -núnjk- |
| 242 | smell (bad, of fish) (n) | kánúhá | kótuxá | 2114 -yóki |
| 240 | smell (bad) (v) | kánúhá | kótuxá | 596 -díók- ? |
| 629 | smoke (n) | lyóókí | lyóókí | 981 -káá ? |
| 428 | smoke (give out) (v) | káfuxá | kásúsímóxa | - |
| 387 | snail, slug | nxólofu | nxóonjé | 2112 -yóká |
| 837 | snail | nxólofu | nxóonjé | 1699 -légo |
| 145 | snake, serpent | nxóá | nxóá | - |
| 158 | snare, trap (n) | mulégo | mulégo | 1386 -nújk- |
| 864 | sneeze | káyaámulá | káyaámulá | 852 -gón-, 1113a -kodómíó |
| 924 | sniff, smell out | kótuchá | kótúchá | 688 -dóngo |
| 296 | snore, snort | kóxolómá | kóxolómá | 2010 -yímbó |
| 69 | soil | ólóngó | ólóngó | 2010 -yímbó |
| 732 | song | kwírimbó | kwírimbó | 141 -bido-, 1077 -kidi |
| 616 | songs * | nyírimbó | nyírimbó | 646 -ógoi |
| 35 | soot | mákili | mákili | 656 -dónda |
| 195 | sorcerer | mulógi | mulógi | - |
| 201 | sore | kilóómá, nxóónxó | kilóómá | - |

| No | English | KiKímbò-N | KiKímbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|---|---------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| 734 | soul, spirit | mùyí | mòyó ? | 1738 -tírmá, 1115 -kódó 2143 -yòyó |
| 331 | sound, cry | mùtíló | idóóló | 567 -didó |
| 64 | space (open) | lòúmbògá | itàngáaló | 190 -bògá |
| 82 | spark | nsàsé | énsásí | 243 -cácé, 244 -cáci |
| 253 | speak | kòtèéngá | kòúgá | 770 -gám-b-?, 1912 -yám-b- ? |
| 733 | spear (n) | ikimú | mùxòsá | ps 453 -tímò, 1868 -túmò |
| 137 | spend time | kòsòònsòmólá | kòsòópá | - |
| 1038 | sperm, semen | mùgázi, mbèyó yá kígòòshà | úsèlè | - |
| 62 | spider | nsúmá òtáántá | itándábúú, isúmá òtáántá | 178 -bòbí |
| 182 | spirit (of dead person) | mizimú | mizimú | 715 -dòngò , 619 -dimò |
| 464 | spirit (disembodied) | mizimú | ipépo ?, tímúdíimí | 619 -dimò |
| 683 | spirit (evil) | mizimú | ipépo ? | - |
| 582 | spit | kòtyá mátyé | kòtyá mátyé | 1857 -tù-, 1857a -túid- 1859 -túij- |
| 533 | spittle | mátyé | mátyé | 1690 -(n)té |
| 601 | split, crack (vt) | kòtáándòlà | kòdémúlá | 1433 -pánd(òd)-, 1434 -pánd- |
| 951 | spoil, blind (vt) | kòpòfúlyá | kòpókúlyá | 1573 -pòkú |
| 649 | spoil (a child) | kòsènéxá | kòmùlèxántilyá | - |
| 998 | spoil | kòfíipiyá | kònóóná | 133 -bííp-, 2119 -yón- |
| 813 | spoon | mùtíinjò | mùtíinjò | 2055 -yikó |
| 5 | spot, speckle | ijàlá | ijàlá | 18 -bádá |
| 959a | sprain an ankle | kòtègòlà | kòtèéngòxá | 1715 -tèrj- ? |
| 141 | spread out (be) | kòsáámháálá | kwijòlájíjótá | 282 -cánj- |
| 527 | spread | kwáátá | kwáálá | 1916 -yám-b-, 1933 -yánj- 1890 -yád-, 1633 -lánd- |
| 908 | spread abroad, be; become generally known | kòkùmòúxá | kòkùmòúxá | 1263 -kùm-, 1284a -màni- |
| 592 | spread, smear on | kòfíilá | kòpáxá ? | 142 -bidó ? |

| No | English | KIKirimbò-N | KIKirimbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|---|---------------------|----------------------------|---|
| 591 | spread, scatter (vi) | kòsambaalá | kòsambaalá | 1653 -làmb- |
| 880 | spring (of water) | nsĩrmbò | nsĩrmbò | 407x -còdò, 338 -cimb- |
| 965 | spring, machine | - | mútaámbo | 1661 -làmbò |
| 866 | spy out | kópeletiyá ? | kòsĩtmbá ? | ps 117 -còd- ? |
| 849 | squat (on the haunches) | kòsonjòlálá | kòsonjòlálá | - |
| 991 | squeeze oneself up against a wall (e.g. to allow another to pass) | kòminyá | kwiitigá | 47 -bánd-, 1454 -pát(án)- ? |
| 914 | squeeze out | kòshémá | kòxamá | 1313 -mĩni-/mĩny- 995 -kám(òd)- 994 -kám- |
| 343 | squeeze, milk | xawũndĩ | kòxamá | - |
| 102 | squirrel | kòbòndfá | kòbòndfá | 705 -òbnd(ík)- |
| 562 | stack, pile up | kwfĩmá | kwfĩmĩlĩlĩ | 2006 -yfm-/yfmĩdĩd |
| 1029 | stand (vi) | nsòbòndá | njòlá | 1791 -kòndiá, ps 543 -yò(n)ĩ |
| 735 | star | kòbòlòlá | kòkũuná | 1983 -nyenyedĩ |
| 390 | stare, glare | kòwòbòchá | kòwòbòchá | 197 -bòòk- ? |
| 202 | start off, send away | kwòbògòhýá | kòdĩlálá | 284 -cáng-, 1008 -káng- |
| 799 | startle, catch unawares | kwòbògòhýá | kòdĩlává, kwòbògòpýá | 1008 -káng- |
| 830 | startle, jerk | kwĩfjía | kwĩfjía | 2020 -yib- |
| 618 | steal | - | chòbòmá | - |
| 266 | steel | ipòlòlòlò/máfjòbòlò | ibèlègè/màbèlègè, mànsàalé | 70 -bètè ? |
| 554 | stem (of maize, millet, etc.) | kòtáambòbòrpxáníá | kòdĩlálá | 1051 -kòd- |
| 825 | step over | múgòbòmbá | múgòbòmbá | 894 -gòmbá |
| 315 | sterile man (or woman) | ĩpxómé | ĩpxómé | 500 -dáng- ? |
| 541 | slick | kòkũlũgáníá | kòkũlũgáníá | 189 -bòòbng- |
| 74 | stir, mix by stirring | kòkũlũgáníá | kòkũlũgáníá | 735 -dũg- |
| 850 | stir | - | kòkũlũmòlía | 286 -cáng- |
| 78 | stir up | - | - | - |

| No | English | KIK(Imbo-N | KIK(Imbo-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|-----|---------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|---|
| 61 | stone | ibwé/mábwé | ibwé/mábwé | 176 -báá |
| 228 | store up, collect | kókúungániá | kókúungániá | 704 -bnd-, 365 ¹⁷ -cód- |
| 154 | straight (make) | kóbóbiá | kóbóbiá | 843a -góbód- |
| 268 | stranger, guest | múhéenja | múhéenja | 805 -gani |
| 661 | stream, current | móngó | ibgela | 941 -jda ? |
| 798 | strength, power | ngulu | ngulu | 909 -gudu |
| 140 | stretch oneself | kwiigolóá | kwiigobóá | 843a -góbód- |
| 395 | strike, knock | kókóbiá, kókóoniá | kóbiá | 1148 -kont- |
| 982 | strike with a spear | kókimá, kólásá | kólásá | 375 -com-, 449 -dác-, 1752 -lrim-, ps 453 -lrimb |
| 282 | string (n) | úuji | wéenda, wúuji | 592 -di |
| 487 | strip off (e.g. grains of corn) | kópóbiá | kópóbiá | 1588 -póbd(ód)- |
| 519 | strut proudly | kwiigumáiyá | kwiitumóá | - |
| 407 | stumble | kwiikúmpá | kókúmpá | - |
| 987 | stunted (be); be spoil | kódumáá | kóhywéerjéméá | 1132 -kóm-, 1685 -lál-, 1447 -páp- ? |
| 948 | stutter | kótámáántámá | kótámáántámá | 2135 -yójk- |
| 594 | suck (the breast) | xwónyá | kwónyá | 1559 -píp- |
| 480 | suck (vt) | kómilimá, xwónyá | kómilimá | 2059 -yim- ? |
| 912 | suffer, bear patiently | kómigikiyá | - | 872 -gbbá |
| 802 | sugar cane | iguja | iguwá | 955 -jbbá |
| 333 | sun, light | lyódnst, wáápé | lyódnst | 1514a -píbbd-?, 1529 -píndbd ? |
| 184 | surround | kópilimá | kópilimá | ? |
| 438 | swallow | kómilá | kómilá | 1306 -mid- |
| 777 | swear | kwiiláhá ? | kwilápiitá | 503 -dáp- |
| 905 | sweat | idbitá | idbitá | 1855 -ú-, 2158 -yóki ? 2031 -yicodi ? |
| 392 | sweep up, collect in a heap (rubbish) | kókúungániá | kókwaangpiá | 1509 -píagid- |

| No | English | KIKimbó-N | KIKimbó-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| 943 | sweep | kopyaagóla | kopyaagóla | 1509 -piáagid- |
| 517 | sweet, pleasant | -nónú | -nónú | 1370 -nón- |
| 51 | swell | kójjimbá | kójjimbá | 144 -bimb- |
| 608 | sword (short) | - | - | - |
| 933 | sword | mpáangá | mpáangá | 1441 -pángá |
| 360 | tail | mukítá | mukítá | 1053 -kíta |
| 875 | take leave of | kodáahyá | kodáayá | 463 -dáp, 503 -dáp- ? |
| 778 | take in (from rain, etc.) | kósóhá mbúá | - | - |
| 565 | take, carry | kósóla | kósóla | 365 ¹⁰ -cód-, 1806 -túad- |
| 233 | take off (clothes), undress | kólyótóla | kólyótóla | 730 -dúúd-, 1815 -yámb- |
| 530 | tangle | kósbánjá ? | kópwéwéla másáá | 1685 -já- |
| 898 | taste (v) | kógémá, kóhómóla | kogelyá | 797 -géd(i)- |
| 985 | teach, instruct | kóhéembéxá | kólljá | 500 -djang(d)-, 1876 -tú(ú)nd- |
| 621 | tears | misóli | misóli | 1284 -màn(i)- ? |
| 412 | ten | ikómi | ikómi | 368 -códí |
| 121 | termit | múswá | múswá | 1208 -kómi |
| 739 | testicle | itúunyá/máitúunyá | itúunyá/máitúú | 392 -cáá |
| 1020 | that | iyó | iyó | 155 -bódd, 690 -dóddé ? |
| 455 | thatched roof | ipáandá | kócháanyá | 2283 -VCVo), 551 -díá |
| 767 | there | ipó, óxó | ipó, óxó | 143 -bimb-, 639 -dóbbá ? |
| 54 | they | iwó | iwó | 2215 -já + 551 -díá |
| 444 | thick, fat | -gínú | -gínú | 152 -bó |
| 86 | thicket * | másáxá | isáxá/másáxá | 815 -gín- |
| 854 | thicket | kásáxá | isáxá, kásáxá | 260 -cáká |
| 619 | thief | mwiiji | mwiiji | 260 -cáká |
| 23 | thigh (of human) | itáangó | itáangó | 2025 -yibi |
| 22 | thigh (of animal) | kítaambó | kítaambó | 79 -bédo |
| 559 | thing | kítúú | kítúú | 79 -bédo 1789 -itú |

| No | English | KiKímbò-N | KiKímbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|--|--------------------|---------------------------|--|
| 987 | think, imagine | kwiigánixá | kòsìimànkàlá, kòlilìnkàlá | 772 -gán- |
| 651 | thirst | nyòótá | nyóótá | 2137 -(n)yótá |
| 740 | thorn | liiyá/miirhwa | liiyá | 902 ¹⁰ -ngúá/-yíngúá ps 399 -páá |
| 689 | threaten | kòtiishá, kóxáàngá | kòtiishá ? | 2110 -yògòp-, 1008 -kàng- 1741 -tiin- |
| 532 | three | jitátú | jitátú | 1689 -tátú |
| 115 | thrust into | kòtimá | kòtimá | 375 -còm- |
| 420 | tick (cattle or dog) | igòbá/mágòbá | kúpè ? | 1236 -kópá |
| 1034 | tie (fasten) (vt) | kòtúúngá | kòtúúngá | 1877 -túng- |
| 258 | tie up | kòtúúngá | kòtúúngá | 1877 -túng-, 171 -bòp- |
| 978 | tingle with excitement | kwiigilimbòlilá | kòtètémá | - |
| 119 | tip, point | nsòórgé | kó nsòórgé | 387 -còngé |
| 741 | tobacco | nsúúngò | itòòmbá | 1870 -tú(ú)mb- + 1729 -tí ? |
| 146 | today | lééló | lèèlò | 518 -dèédó |
| 742 | toe | lyáálá | lwáálá | ps 360 -nò ? |
| 445 | tomato | nyáányá | nyáányá | - |
| 105 | tomcat (half-wild) | kíimbótó | kíimbótó | - |
| 743 | tomorrow | igóló | igóló | 841 -gódó |
| 166 | tongue | tótímíndtmi | tòtími | 572y -dítmi |
| 120 | tooth (canine), tooth filed to a point | - | nsòóngá mbwá | 387 -còngé |
| 267 | tooth | liinó/miinó | liinó/miinó | 2073 -yínó |
| 306 | top, peak | kò cháányá | pá cháányá | 881 -gòdò |
| 293 | tortoise | ñkúú | ikúú | 1260 -kúú |
| 277 | town | ihálá | rxáái | 818 -gi, 1020 -kááyá |
| 378 | tramp of feet | ñkiindó | lòkiindó, ñrkiindó | 1085 -ki(i)ndó |
| 270 | travel | kóyá | kòwòòxá | 807 -gènd- |
| 540 | tree | mútí | iptkí | 1729 -tí |

| No | English | KIKIRIMBÒ-N | KIKIRIMBÒ-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|-----|----------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| 538 | tremble, shake (vi) | kotiémá | kotiémá | 1726 -létim- |
| 566 | trickle away | kósebióliá | kósijá, kwititká | 406 -cóbó |
| 401 | trunk (of elephant) | muxónó gwá njógu | muxónó gwá njógu | 787 -ged(i) |
| 604 | try | kogémá | kogémá | ps 202 -gàtòd- |
| 605 | tsetse-fly | kagèémbé | ndólobo ? | 1529a -pítndòd- |
| 938 | turn upside down, turn over | kópítndóliá | kógátóliá | 1476 -pémbé ?, 20 -yínó |
| 174 | turn round | kópilimiyá | kópilimiyá | 1407 -pácá |
| 711 | tusk, elephant's (middle size) * | ipásámapásá | ilinó iyá njógu | 1583 -pól- |
| 452 | twin | kópèlégá | kósijá | 1583 -pól- |
| 185 | twist roll, spin with fingers | kópòtá | kópòtá | 113 -bitáí |
| 483 | twist, esp strands | jíjíit | jíjíit | 72 -béédé |
| 752 | two | kíjééle, nyóorjééle | kíjééle | 1268b -kúnòb-, 1269a -kúnòbò |
| 18 | udder | kókúndòkòliá | kókúndòkòliá | 102 -bitáí |
| 945 | uncover, reveal | ititínáí | ijéisi, ititínáí | 102 -bitáí |
| 551 | unripe, half grown | mbisí | ijéisi | 883 -gábò |
| 994 | unripe, uncooked | kò cháányá | kò cháányá | 2059 -yírn- |
| 311 | up, above | wáírná | kwírnititáí | 430 -cúb-, 1255 -ni- |
| 614 | upright | kotúundá, kóniá | kotúundá, kóniá | 1839 -tònd- |
| 446 | urinate/defecate | matòòndí | matòòndí | 390 -cò, 1123 -kòjó |
| 745 | urine | kotómíliá | kotómíliá | 1831 -tòrn- |
| 569 | use | kò cháányá | kò cháányá | 883 -gábò |
| 307 | utmost, highest point | múulú | múulú | 1855 -li, ps 415 -pudi |
| 904 | vapour, gas | músiipá ? | lópótá iwá cháájí | 1583 -pòl-, 1087 -kípa |
| 380 | vein | igòòngòli | ínalá | 818 -gi |
| 276 | village | múhálá, mwéániké | múhálá | ps 186 -dóóli |
| 692 | virgin (bride), girl | ndóòtí | ndóòtí | |
| 327 | vision | | | |

| No | English | KiKíimbò-N | KiKíimbò-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|------------|---|
| 330 | voice, (thunder) | múli | - | 474 -dáká, 954 -jdi |
| 224 | vomit | kólòxá | kòdífxá | 695 -dúk- |
| 524 | walk (take a) | kògééndá | kògééndá | 807 -génd-, 820 -gi- |
| 269a | walk | kòyá | kòyá | 806 -génd- |
| 847 | wall | igélelé | lógélelé | 795 -géd-, 1001 -kánd- |
| 983 | want, need, wish | kòpòógá | kòpòógá | 256 -cák-, 1974 -yènd- |
| 507 | war | wólógó | òlógó | 184 -bòd-, 151 -bitá, 1147 -kòndó |
| 790 | wart-hog | ngiti | ngiti | 814 -gidí |
| 860 | wash oneself (after evacuating) | kwíipyágódiá, kwíishééntá | kwíisiingá | 1539 -piáqtd-, 2107 -yó(ò)g- |
| 127 | wash (hands) | kòxááíá | kòsiingá | ps 303 -kóc-, , 2107 -yó(ò)g- 1186 -kóc- |
| 128 | wash (clothes) | kòkáánjá | kòxáánjá | 1001 -kánd- |
| 129 | wash, take a bath | kwóógá | kwóógá | 2107 -yó(ò)g- |
| 322 | water | míijí | míijí | 937 -jí |
| 959 | wave, let off a trap, remove a spell | kòlòbòódiá | kòtégódiá | 1698 -tég-, ps 276 -kákòd- <- kág- (990) |
| 1017 | we | iiswè | swèèswè | 395 -cúé/-cúé, 2099 -yítúé |
| 1010 | weak | - | - | 528 -dém |
| 881 | wean a child, give leave, send away | kòpèlyá | kòléchá | 526 -dék- |
| 234 | wear, dress | kòlyááíá | kòlyááíá | 726 -dúád-, 1915 -yámb- |
| 501 | weave, knit | kòfúmá ? | kòsúmá | 1861 -túm- |
| 1015 | weight, rhythm | òtítímbò | òtíiimbò | 631 -ditó, 1519 -pím- |
| 210 | well | kísimá ? | isimá | 1753 -tímá, 353 -cimá 1999 -yíjí |
| 56 | wet (get) | kòsápá | kòsápá | 161 -bòmb-, 637 -dòb- |
| 919 | what? | kíí | kíntò kí | 1046 -kí, 1926 -yáni |
| 469 | which? | kííthé | kíntò kí | 1498 -pí |

| No | English | KIKĩmbũ-N | KIKĩmbũ-S | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|------|------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| 192 | whistling | mũloli | mũloli | 642 -dòodi, 687 -dòdi |
| 175 | white man | mujũungũ | mũzũungũ, mwẽteli, wálapé | 599 -dĩrangũ |
| 610 | write | yélelu, yáapé | mwẽteli | 1966 -yédò |
| 918 | who? | ánaánu | ánaáni | 1343 -nání |
| 28 | wicked | -bi | ibi | 97 -bi |
| 339 | wife | mũkĩmá | mũkĩmá | 1022 -ká, 986 -kádi |
| 187 | wind up (thread) | kógòbòndá | kòpilimá | 625 -dĩng- |
| 389 | wind | mpépo, ipuutá | mpépo | 1493 -pépo |
| 746 | wind | kòpéetá | kòpéetá | 1955 -yéd-, 1496 -pél- |
| 937 | winnow | kòpéetá | kòpéetá | 419 -cangĩtòo- |
| 112 | wipe | kòpyaágolá | kòfuta ? | 1598 -pòkòl-, 1539 -piágid- |
| 88 | wire (brass) | - | - | 1508 5 -riáng- |
| 194 | witchcraft | ĩlòlògi | ĩlòlògi | 268 -cámbo |
| 279a | withhold from | kwiimá | kwiimá | 646 -òog-, 647 -òogò |
| 279 | withhold from, abstain | kwiinyiimá ? | kwiinyiimá ? | 2058 -yini- |
| 338 | woman | mũkĩmá/ĩakĩmá | mũkĩmá | 2058 -yini- |
| 747 | womb | nda ya òlileli | nda ya òlileli | 970 -ká, 986 -kádi, 1022 -ké |
| 812 | word | mpòlá | mpòlá | 443 -dà |
| 772 | work as a mason | kòjéengá | kòjéengá | 771 -gámbo |
| 167 | work (n) | mũlímò/milímò | mũlímò | 199 -bòmb-, 935 -jéng- |
| 81 | wrap up | kógòbòndá | kòkònjaniá | 574 -dímò |
| 344 | wring (clothes) | kòminyá | kòminyá | 625 -dĩng- |
| 773 | yawn | kwaáyòlía | kwaáyòlía | 965 -kám- |
| 593 | year | mwaáaxá | mwaáaxá | 1953 -yáyòd- |
| 750 | yesterday | igòlò | igòlò | 1904 -yáká |
| 15 | you (sing.) | ĩejeje | wéwé | 841 -gòobò |
| 1018 | you (pl.) | ilimwé | wéwénywé | 64 -bè |
| 715 | young man | mũgòòshá, mũlũmyááná | mũgwisná | 1325 -mòé, ps 366 -niúé |
| | | | | 697 -dũmè + 1922 -yáná |

| No | English | KIK(imbò-N) | KIK(imbò-S) | Proto-Bantu (Guthrie) |
|-----|---------------------------|----------------------|-------------|--|
| 637 | your(s) (pl. 2nd) person) | yijjwè | yáányù | 2074 -yinjò |
| 693 | youth | mùlùmýáánà, mwáániké | mùlùmýáánà | 697 -dómè + 1922 -yánà 1922 -yánà + 986 -kádì ? |
| 292 | zebra | - | nsénggélé | - |

Appendix 2. Phonological inventories of Zone F.

Appendix 2a. Vowels

| Morpheme ^{as} Language ↓ | i | ii | I | II | e | ee | a | aa | o | oo | U | UU | u | uu |
|--------------------------------------|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|
| SiSuumbwa | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + |
| KiSukuma | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| KiNyamwezi | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| KiBende | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + |
| KiMlaamba | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| KiRami | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| KiKitimbu | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| IciWotungu | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| KiRangi | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| KeeMbuwe | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + |

Appendix 2b. Stops and pre-nasalized stops

| Morpheme* Language ↓ | p | b | mp | mb | t | d | m | nd | c | j | ɲc | ɲj | k | g | ɣk | ŋg |
|-------------------------|---|---|----|----|---|---|---|----|---|---|----|----|---|---|----|----|
| SiSuumbwa | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| KrSukunia | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| KiNyamweezi | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| KiBende | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| KrntLaamba | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| KiRimi | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| KiKiImbo | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| tcWotŋŋg | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| KiiRangi | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| KeeMbuwe | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |

Appendix 2c. Fricatives and pre-nasalized fricatives

| Morpheme * ¹ Language ↓ | ϕ | β | f | v | mf | mv | s | z | ns | nz | f | x | v | ɲx | ɲY | h |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|---|---|----|----|---|---|----|----|---|---|---|----|----|---|
| SiSuumbwa | - | ¹ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| KiSukuma | ² | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| KiNyamweezi | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| KiBende | - | ? | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | ? | - | - | + |
| KiTriL.aamba | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| KiRimi | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ? | ? | ? | ? | + |
| KiKiImbo | - | - | + | + | mf | + | + | + | + | + | + | ? | - | ? | - | + |
| IciWoringo | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| KiRangi | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| KeeMhuwe | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + |

¹ The phonological status of these phonemes is doubtful, since they are either context-sensitive, as in KiKiImbo (x-k), and sometimes they can be in free variation with homorganic stops, i.e., b-β, x-k, Y-g; or they are likely to be loans, as in the case of KiRimi, where the likely donor might be Southern Cushitic Iraqw which has the pharyngeal /s/ and /y/ opposition.

² Only two words in JinaKiIya could be readily found, *ɲwɔɔwa* 'nephew/niece' and *maɔɔwa* 'rope-like cut and sun-dried slices of pumpkin meat used as a relish during the season when there are no fresh vegetables'.

All Zone F languages have fricatives, although only SiSuumbwa and KIBende have consistent BS. In the other languages BS is questionable because of being irregular, suggesting any BS-like behaviour is from borrowed items. Three explanations are possible (a) acquiring them through borrowing words with BS (b) from palatalization as a natural process before high front vowels, as in KtSukuma (c) in form of an open-ended question, how valid is the assumption that Proto Bantu did not have any fricatives?

Appendix 2d. Nasals, liquids, semi-vowels and voiceless consonants, where relevant

| Morpheme ²⁸ Language [†] | ṃ | m | n̄ | n | ɲ | ŋ | l | ʀ (r) | r | w | y |
|---|---|---|----|---|---|---|---|-------|---|---|---|
| SiSuumbwa | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | + |
| KtSukuma | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + |
| KiNyamwezi | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + |
| KiBende | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | + |
| Kriti,aamba | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | + | + |
| KiRimi | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| KiKimbū | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | + |
| IciWōngō | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | + |
| KiRangi | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | + |

[†] While KiDakama has voiceless nasals, the other varieties traditionally grouped in KiNyamwezi (KiKonoongo, KiNyanyembe and SiGalagaanza only pre-nasalize those vowels.

| Morpheme ^{aɪ} | ɱ | m | ɱ | n | ɲ | ɲ | ɲ | ɲ | ɲ | ɲ | R (r) | r | w | y |
|------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------|---|---|---|
| Language ↓ | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | + |
| KeeMbuwe | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | + |

The nasal, liquid and semi-vowel phoneme picture is relatively regular like the preceding phonemes save for three group, namely, (a) KiSukuma and KiDakama for the voiceless nasals; (b) KiRami with the voiceless flap /R/ or /r/; (c) KiRami, KiRangi and KeeMbuwe for the voiced flap /r/ (which is a trill in KiRangi and KeeMbuwe). The presence of /r/ in KiRangi and KeeMbuwe corroborates the earlier observations that they share some common linguistic history as well as geographical proximity.

Appendix 3 Dahl's Law in Zone F

| Lexeme #3 Language | *-tato 'three' | *-lapa 'draw water' | *-yikot- 'satiated (be)' | *-kuta 'oil' | *-kupa 'bone' | *-poku 'blind person' |
|-----------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| SiSiloombo | | | kwiikuta | mafuta | | |
| SiYoombe | isatu | kutaha | | (mazuta) | (igufwa) | muhofu |
| KiLoongo | | | - | | | |
| KimunaSukuma | | kodaha | kwiigota | | liguha | |
| GinaNtuzu | idato | | gugota | maguta | iguha | moku |
| JinaKzya | idato | godaha | gwigota | | iguha | mboku |
| KiDakama | idato | | kwiigota | maguta | | (muhofu) |
| KiNyanyeembe | idato | | | mafuta | iguha | mpofu |
| KiKonoongo | idato itato | kodaha | kwiikota | maguta | | muhofu |
| SiGalagaanza | itato | | | mafuta | ifupa | mpofu |
| KiBende | itato | kutaha | kwiikuta | mafuta | ifuha | muhofu |
| KinaUshoola | katato | kotepeela | kokikota | makuta | kupa | mupoku |
| KiniLaamba | | | kokikyota | | kyupa | |
| Kinihaanzu | itaato | | kikota | | ikupa | mpoku |
| GiRwana | | oRafa | kikoRa | makuRa | ikufa | mufoku |
| Giahi | iRaRo | oRafa | ixoRa | maxuRa | iyufa | mofofoku |
| YinyaMunyinyani | taatu | otafa | kikoRa | makuta | ikufo | mopoku |
| KiKimbo N | | | | | | |
| KiKimbo S | jifatu | kotapa | kwiikota | makuta | ikupa | mpofu |
| iciWoongo | zifato | kotepa | kwiikota | mafuta | ifupa | oifofu |
| KiRangi | itato | kotaha | kwiikota | makuta | ikufa | muhoku |
| KeeMbuwe | saato | otafa | oikota | makuta | kufa | - |

Appendix 3. Dahl's in Zone F

| Lexeme ** Language | *-pute 'abcess, boil' | *-tok- 'abuse, insult' | *-yitik- 'answer a call' | *-pik- 'arrive' | *-tooke 'banana fruit' |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| SiSiloombo | | kotoka | - | | |
| SiYoombe | ihute | kufuka | - | kuhika | itooke |
| KiLoongo | | - | - | | |
| KimunaSukuma | ipute | kodokula | kwidzika | kojika | ndooke |
| GinaNtuzu | ipute | | godzika | gosika | ndooke |
| JinaKizya | ipute | godokula | gwadzika | gojiga | idooke |
| KiDakama | - | kodokana | gwidzika | kojika | |
| KiNyanyembe | - | | - | kojika | idooke |
| KiKonoongo | ipute | kotokula | - | kosika | |
| SiGalagaanza | - | kotokzya | - | kojika | |
| KiBende | ihuute | kufuka | - | kufika | - |
| KinaUshoola | - | kotokana | koztika | | - |
| KiniLaamba | - | kotokula | koztika | kopika | - |
| Kinihaanzu | ipute | kotokilana | kiztika | | - |
| KiRwana | - | oRokana | | - | - |
| Giahi | - | toxana | iritika | - | - |
| YinyaMunyinyani | ipuRe | otokana | gitika | ofika | - |
| KiKimbo N | | | | | |
| KiKimbo S | ipute | kotoxana | kwitza | kopixa | idooke |
| iciWoongo | - | kotokana | okwizikula | kosoka | - |
| KiRangi | - | kotokira | kwizika | kojika | - |
| KeeMbuwe | - | otokana | weiteka | ofika | - |

Appendix 3. Dahl's in Zone F

| Lexeme ↔ Language | *-kaate 'bread' | *-lako 'buttock' | *-cɔpa 'calabash' | *-capo 'calabash' | *-pepo 'cold' | *-teek- 'cook' |
|----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| SiSiloombo | ŋkaate | - | - | sisaabo | mpeho | kuteeka |
| SiYoombe | mukaate | itako | - | sisaabo | | |
| KiLoongo | | - | - | cisaaŋo | - | |
| KumunaSukuma | ŋgaat | idako | - | - | mbeho | - |
| GinaNluzu | | | - | gisaafɔ | | - |
| JinaKɪya | | | ɪdako | soha | | jisaafɔ |
| KiDakama | mugaate | idako | nsɔha | - | mbeho | - |
| KiNyanyembe | mukaate | | - | - | | koteeka |
| KiKonoongo | mugaate | - | - | - | - | |
| SiGalagaanza | mukaate | itako | - | - | - | - |
| KiBende | mukaate | itako | - | - | mpeho | kuteeka |
| KinaUshoola | mukaate | tako | - | kisaao | mpepo | - |
| KintLaamba | | tyako | - | - | | - |
| Kintlaanzu | | - | - | - | - | - |
| GiRwana | mukaate | iRaaxo | ŋɔɔfa | - | - | - |
| Giahi | mukate | iRayo | | - | mpefo | uRexa |
| ɔnyaMunɔnyanyi | muxate | tRako | ŋɔɔfa | - | mpeefo | - |
| KiKumbe N | mukaate | itaxo | - | - | mpepo | koteexa |
| KiKumbe S | muxaate | | - | - | | |
| ɪɪWoongo | omukaate | itako | - | - | ɪmbepo | koteeka |
| KiRangi | mukaate | taako | kisowa | - | mpeho | - |
| KeeMbuwe | mokate | tako | - | - | mpefo | otereka |

Appendix 3. Dahl's in Zone F

| Lexeme ↔ Language | *-koko 'crust' | *-kti 'darkness' | *-lika 'day' | *-cika 'day' | *-keep- 'diminish, grow less' | *-kata 'ear' |
|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| SiSiloombo | | - | | - | - | - |
| SiYoombe | ηkokotwa | giiti | lasiku | - | - | - |
| KiLoorngo | eenkogoto | - | - | - | kukeha | - |
| KimunaSukuma | βagokwa | | lafika | - | kageeha | |
| GnaNtuzu | logokoto | giiti | lasika | - | gageeha | gota |
| JinaKitya | | | lafigo | - | | |
| KiDakama | - | | lafika | - | - | - |
| KiNyanyembe | ηkokoto | giiti | lasika | - | - | - |
| KiKonoongo | makokolo | | lasiku | - | - | - |
| SiGalagaanza | - | - | lasika | - | - | - |
| KiBende | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| KinaUshoola | ηkoko | - | - | - | kokeepa | - |
| KiriLaamba | kyoko | - | - | - | | - |
| Kirihaanzu | lakoko | kiti | - | lahika | - | - |
| GiRwana | maxoxo | kiriRi | iRika | - | keefa | - |
| Giahi | | | ifixa | - | oxefa | - |
| γnyaMunyiŋanyi | ɪkoko | kiti | iRika | - | keepa | - |
| KiKamba N | βaxoxo | kiti | - | lasika | - | - |
| KiKamba S | βaηkoko | | - | | | |
| ɪɪWoorngo | amakoko | - | - | lasika | kacepa | - |
| KiriRangi | ukoko | - | - | siku | - | kata |
| KeeMbuwe | lokooko | - | - | nsiko | okeefa | kata |

Appendix 3. *Dahl's in Zone F*

| Lexeme ** Language | *-kokoda 'elbow' | *-kope 'eyelash' | *-kooka 'grandfather' | *-kooi 'hand (flat of)' | *-kata 'headpad' |
|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| SiSiloombo | ikookola | ηkohe | gooka | ikoofi | ηkata |
| SiYoombe | lokookola | | guuku | | |
| KiLoongo | | erkohe | | | engata |
| KimunaSukuma | | | | - | |
| GinaNtuzu | igookola | ngohe | gooka | - | ngata |
| JinaKizya | | | | - | |
| KiDakama | - | ngohe | | - | ngata |
| KiNyanzembe | - | | gooka | ikofi | |
| KiKonoongo | kakookola | ngohe | | - | ηkata |
| SiGalagaanza | kakookola | | guuku | ikoofi | ngata |
| KiBende | - | ηkohe | kuuku | - | ηkata |
| KinaUshoola | kηkookola | - | | koopi | |
| KiniLaamba | - | - | kooka | kyoopi | ηkata |
| Kinihaanzu | kηkookola | ηkopi | - | tkopi | |
| GiRwana | ixoxoa | - | kaka | - | ηkaRa |
| Giahi | gηthoa | ηkofyo | xaxa | ixofi | ηxaRa |
| γinyaMunyiṅanyi | gηkoka | σkofe | kooka | ikoofi | ηkaRa |
| KiKamba N | kixoxoola | ηxope | | ixooi | ηxata |
| KiKamba S | kixoxoola | - | kooka | - | ηkata |
| iciWoongo | - | - | - | - | ηngata |
| KiRangi | kikookola | - | - | ikoofi | ηkata |
| KeeMbuwe | kikokolo | - | - | koofi | ηkata |

Appendix 3. Dahi's in Zone F

| Lexeme ↔ Language : | *-koko 'hen' | *-koka 'hen' | *-pic- 'hide' | *-piti 'hyena' | *-pa/mo-katt 'in the middle of | *-cek- 'laugh' |
|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| SiSiloombo | | - | kubisa | | hakati | |
| SiYoombe | ɲkoko | - | kuβisa | mfisi | hakatt | kuseka |
| KiLoongo | eenkoko | - | - | empisi | hagati | |
| KumunaSukuma | | - | koβisa | | | koseka |
| GinaNtuzu | ɲgoko | - | goβisa | mbiti | hagatt | goseka |
| JinaKizya | | - | | | | gosega |
| KiDakama | ɲgoko | - | | | hagatt | |
| KiNyanyembe | | - | | mbiti | hakatt | koseka |
| KiKonoongo | ɲkoko | - | koβisa | | hagatt | |
| SiGalagaanza | | - | | mfisi | hakatt | |
| KiBende | iɲkoko | - | koβisa | - | hakatt | koseka |
| KinaUshoola | | | koβisa | mpiti | | kojeeka |
| KiriLaamba | - | ɲkoko | koβisa | - | pakatt | koseka |
| Kirihaanzu | - | | koβisa | mpiti | | koheka |
| KiRwana | - | ɲkoko | fiha | mpiRi | | |
| Giahi | - | ɲkoko | ofiha | mpiRi | muxaRt | oheka |
| ɣinyaMunyinyani | - | ɲkoko | oβiha | mpiti | | |
| KiKumbo N | - | | koβisa | | | |
| KiKumbo S | - | ɲkoko | - | mpiti | paxatt | koseka |
| IcaWorongo | - | ɲgoko | koβisa | - | pakasi | koseka |
| KiRangi | - | ɲkoko | koβisa | mpici | katt | koseka |
| KeeMbuwe | - | ɲkoko | visa | mpiti | katt | oseka |

Appendix 3. Dahl's in Zone F

| Lexeme #: Language : | *-pəp- 'light (adj) | *-bəpə 'lung(s)' | *-tope 'mud' | *-tiko 'night' | *-pɪt- 'pass' | *-pantə 'place (n)' |
|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| SiSiloombo | -puupe | - | - | - | | |
| SiYoombe | -pəpe | - | - | - | kuhita | haantu |
| KiLoongo | -puupe | - | - | - | - | |
| KɪmunaSukuma | | mabəpə | - | βəjiko | koβita | |
| GɪnaNtuzu | -bəpu | - | - | βəziko | goβita | haapə |
| JinaKɪɪya | | mabəpə | - | βəjiko | | |
| KɪDakama | | mabəpə | - | βəziko | | haapə |
| KɪNyanyeembe | -bəhu | - | matope | əziko | koβita | haano |
| KɪKonoongo | | | - | βəziko | | haantə |
| SiGalagaanza | -bəhe | mapəpə | - | βəfuku | | hantə |
| KɪBende | - | - | matope | bufuku | kuhita | haantu |
| KɪnaUshoola | - | | - | | - | - |
| KɪruLaamba | - | mapəpə | - | ətiko | - | - |
| KɪnIhaanzu | - | mapəpə | - | | koɦita | - |
| GɪRwana | -fafu | mafəfə | maRəfe | | - | - |
| Gɪahi | - | mafəfə | maRəfe | əRɪxə | - | faantu |
| ɣɪnyaMunɪɪnyɪ | -pəfu | mafəfə | itofe | | - | - |
| KɪKɪmbə N | -bəhu | | - | | - | |
| KɪKɪmbə S | - | mapəpə | ɪntope | βətiko | - | paantə |
| ɪɪWəongə | ɪmbəpu | amapəpə | - | əsikə | koβita | apaantə |
| KɪlRangɪ | - | mahuuhu | itofe | əsikə | - | haantə |
| KeeMbuwe | - | mafəfə | matofe | otiku | - | faantu |

Appendix 3. Dahl's in Zone F

| Lexeme ⁴³ Language | *-cato/cato 'python' | *-tiko 'rainy season' | *-kocce 'rat' | *-kec- 'reap' | *-pokod- 'receive' | *-tete 'reed' |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| SiSiloombo | nsato | - | ŋkoso | - | kopokeela | - |
| SiYoombe | | - | | kukesa | - | matete |
| KiLoongo | eensato | - | - | kugesa | - | matete |
| KimunaSukuma | sato | kidiko | ngoso | kogesa | - | matete |
| GinaNtuzu | | gidiko | - | gogesa | gabokeela | |
| JinaKtzya | sado | jidiko | ngoso | | | |
| KiDakama | isato | kidiko | ngoso | - | kobokeela | matete |
| KiNyanyembe | sato | | - | | | matete |
| KiKonoongo | nsato | sidiko | ŋkoso | - | kopokeela | - |
| SiGalagaanza | | | - | | matete | |
| KiBende | nsato | - | ikoso | - | kopokeela | matete |
| KinaUshoola | nsato | kitiko | ŋkoso | - | - | matete |
| KiniLaamba | nsato | kitiko | - | - | kopokeela | - |
| Kinihaanzu | | kitiko | - | - | | matete |
| GiRwana | - | - | - | - | - | matete |
| Giahi | nsaaRo | giRixa | - | - | ofokea | - |
| ɣɪnyaMunɪɲanyi | saRu | - | ŋkoho | - | ofokea | - |
| KiKamba N | nsato | kitiko | ŋkoso | - | kopokeela | matete |
| KiKamba S | | | - | - | kopokela | |
| ɪɔɪWɔɔngɔ | ɪsatu | ɔɪsiko | - | - | kopokela | matete |
| KiRangi | saatu | kiciko | - | - | kohokera | matete |
| KeeMbuwe | nsato | ketiko | - | - | isokera? | vitete |

Appendix 3. Dahl's in Zone F

| Lexeme ↔ Language | *-kuc- 'rub' | *-pepo 'shadow, shade' | *-tetim- 'shiver' | *-kupt- 'short' |
|----------------------|--------------|---------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| SiSiloombo | | - | - | nɪɦɪ? |
| SiYoombe | kukuusa | - | - | niiɦɪ? |
| KiLoongo | | muβeɦo | - | -gufu |
| KimunaSukuma | - | | - | |
| GinaNtuzu | - | mbeɦo | godetema | -guɦɪ |
| JinaKɪɪya | goguusa | | | |
| KiDakama | - | - | katetema | |
| KiNyanyeembe | - | - | | |
| KiKonoongo | - | - | katetema | -guɦɪ |
| SiGalagaan̄za | - | - | | |
| KiBende | - | - | katetema | - |
| KinaUshoola | - | - | - | |
| KiniLaamba | - | - | - | -kupi |
| Kinihaanzu | - | - | - | |
| GiRwana | - | mpefo | - | |
| Giahi | - | | - | -kufɪ |
| ɣɪnyaMunɪɲanyi | - | mpefo | - | -kupi |
| KiKɪmbo N | - | - | | |
| KiKɪmbo S | - | - | katetema | -kupi |
| ɪɪWooŋŋo | kokuusa | paampepo | katetema | iniɲɪ |
| KiRangi | - | mpeɦo | katetema | -kufɪ |
| KeeMbuwe | - | mofeɦo | katetema | -kufe |

Appendix 3. Dahl's in Zone F

| Lexeme ⁴⁹ Language | *-poku 'spoil, blind' | *-yiko 'spoon' | *-caka 'thicket, bush' |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| SiSiloombo | kuhofuzya | | - |
| SiYoombe | kuhofusya | mwiinjko | - |
| KiLoongo | kuhofula | | isaka |
| KimunaSukuma | kaβokuja | ndɪŋŋo | kasaka |
| GinaNtuzu | | ndɪŋŋo | isaka |
| JinaKɪya | gabokuja | ndɪŋŋo | ɪsaga |
| KɪDakama | kaɬofuja | mudɪŋŋo | |
| KiNyanyeembe | kaɬofuzya | | isaka |
| KiKonoorŋo | kaɬofusya | mutiinjko | kasaka |
| SiGalagaanza | kaɬofula | mutɪŋŋko | - |
| KiBende | kupofusya | mwiiko | - |
| KinaUshoola | | mutɪŋŋko | |
| KiniLaamba | kaɬokulya | kitɪŋŋko | ʃaka |
| Kinihaanzu | | mutɪŋŋko | ihaka |
| GiRwana | ɬokua | | - |
| Giahi | ɬoxua | giRɛŋko | |
| ɟɪnyaMunyiŋanyi | ɬhokuya | giRɪŋko | gahaka |
| KiKɪmba N | kaɬofulya | mutiinjko | |
| KiKɪmba S | kaɬokulya | mutɪŋŋo | kasaxa |
| ɪɪWooŋŋo | kaɬofuja | ɔntɪŋŋo | isaka |
| KiRangi | kaɬukurya | mutɪko | isaka |
| KeeMbuwe | - | mutiiko | - |

Appendix 3. *Dahl's in Zone F*

| Lexeme ** Language . | *-kopa 'tick' | *-paca 'twin' | *-pot- 'twist strands' | *-pepo 'wind' | *-pet- 'winnow' |
|-------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| SiSiloombo | | | | - | - |
| SiYoombe | ηkuha | mahasa | kupota | - | - |
| KiLoongo | - | | | - | - |
| KimunaSukuma | - | | - | - | - |
| GinaNtuzu | - | maβasa | - | - | - |
| JinaKziya | - | | gobota | - | gabeeta |
| KiDakama | - | maβasa | - | - | kabeeta |
| KiNyanyembe | - | mapasa | - | - | |
| KiKonoongo | - | maβasa | - | | kopeeta |
| SiGalagaanza | lɪŋkopa | mapasa | - | mbeho | |
| KiBende | - | mahasa | - | - | kopeepeeta |
| KinaUshoola | | - | kopotya | - | |
| KiniLaamba | ηkopa | - | kopota | - | kopeeta |
| Kinihaanzu | | - | kopotya | - | |
| GiRwana | ηkofa | | - | ufefo | fefeRa |
| Giahi | ηkofa | mafaha | - | afefo | - |
| γɪnyaMunyananyi | ηkofa | mafaha | - | mpeefo | - |
| KiKumba N | igoba | | | | |
| KiKumba S | kupe? | mapasa | kopota | mpepo | kopeeta |
| iciWoorogo | ɪŋgope | embasa | - | - | kopeeta |
| KiIRangi | ηkofa | maasa | kofota | mpeho | - |
| KeeMbuwe | ηkoofa | mabasa | fota | mpefo | - |

Appendix 4. *Lexicostatistics: 100 word-list of 28 language varieties*

Appendix 4. D166, F23, E122c, F10

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss | S/N | IGiHa (DJ66) | SISuumbwá SISihoombó | SISuumbwá SIYóombé | KILóongó | RuHyozá (EJ22e) | KITóongwé KIBándé |
|------|----------------------------------|-----|--------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 133 | abdomen, stomach | 058 | inda | inda | inda | lujuunda | elbunda | linda |
| 926 | all | 010 | -oise | -óoná | -óoná | -óoná | -ooná | -óoná |
| 55 | arm, hand | 057 | ukufokó | kufókó | kufókó | mukonó | omukono | kufókó |
| 337 | ashes | 071 | umunyota | mávu | ivumávu | izumázu | ejivi | itúndú/ máitúndú |
| 297 | back (n) | 060 | umugongo | mugóongó | mugóongó | mugóongó | omugogogo | umyóongó |
| 27 | bad | 021 | -ibi | -ibi | -ipi | -ipi | -bi | -ibi |
| 1022 | bark | 036 | ikugula | igulá | igulá | igulá | kishushu | - |
| 811 | bird | 029 | inyoni | nóni | nóni | nyónyá | ekinyonyi | inyónyi, kanyónyi |
| 125 | bite | 085 | -nya | kulúamá | kulúamá | nyónyi | kuruma | kutélá |
| 969 | blood | 043 | amaliaso | mágazi | mágazi | kulúamá | kuruma | malásó |
| 433 | bone | 044 | igufa | igufwá | igufwá | igufwá | obwariba | igufwá/máfúhá |
| 17 | breast | 061 | ipeete | mabeelé | mápeele | mápeele, | eibeere | mabeelé |
| | | | | | | itutu/máfútu | | |
| 679 | child, infant | 026 | umwana | mukéko, | mwáaná | mukéka, | omwana | mwaaná |
| | yanake | | | mwáaná | | mukéka, | | |
| 305 | cloud | 068 | igho | malúundé | ilúundé | mwáaná | omwana | mwáaná |
| 465 | cold | 077 | ambeho | impého, íalili | ilúundé | ilúundé | eklowi | ikusi/makuusi |
| 624 | come | 095 | -za | kwizá | impého | íalili | embeho | impého |
| 471 | cook (vt) | 086 | guteeka | kwizá | kwizá | kwizá | kwizá | kwizá |
| 622 | dark, black | 022 | ifupula | kuteeká | kuteeká | kuteeká | kucumba | kuteeká |
| | | | | -pi, íwilitabulé | kwililágulá | kwililágulá | omwirima | -filité, -filité |
| 682 | daytime | 079 | umulaaga | mwizyóobá | mwizyóobá | kwililágulá | omwirima | -kufitá |
| 425 | die | 091 | -pfa, -hwéla | mwizyóobá | mwizyóobá | ilúungwé | omushana | isobúsa |
| | | | | kufwá | kufwá | kufwá | kuf(w)á | kufwá |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss | S/N | iGiHa (DJ66) | SISuumbwá SISilóombó | SISuumbwá SiYóombé | KiLoongó | RuHyozá (EJ22e) | KiToongwé KiBëndé |
|------|----------------------------------|-----|--------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 60 | dog *-boa | 030 | imbwa | mbwá | mbwá | éémbwá | embwa | iimbwá |
| 448 | drink (vt) *-nu- | 083 | ukunywa | kórnwá | kórnwá | kúnywá | kunywa | kúnywá |
| 563 | ear *-lbi, -koto | 048 | ugutwi | kótwi | kótwi | kútwi | okutwi | itwi |
| 156 | eat *-di- | 084 | ukudya | kúlyá | kúlyá | kúlyá | kulya | kúlyá |
| 273 | egg *-gt | 039 | igi | igi/mági | igi/mági | iyáayi/máyá áyí | eihuli | iji/máji |
| 620 | eye *-yico | 049 | idyiso | ilinsó/máasyó | ilinsó/milinsó | ilinsó/méensó | elisho | ilinsó/méensó |
| 652 | feather *-yoya | 042 | ugwoya | mázózá | mázóózá | íwóoyá | ebishanda | máfuumbú, inyélé |
| 323 | ringernail *-jada | 054 | uluzaaala | lyáala | lyáala | lyáala/máala | empambo | lusála/nsáala |
| 474 | fire *-yoto, -tdo | 070 | umulilo | múlliló | múlliló | múlliló | omuliro | múlliló/milliló |
| 126 | fish *-comba, -cut | 028 | inswi | mfwí, nsámáákí ? | mfwí | éémfwí | emfuru | iséémbé/máséémbé |
| 1028 | fly (vi) *-pap-, -godok- | 093 | -guluka | kúgúlúká | kúgúlúká | kúgúlúká | kuharara | kúyúlúká |
| 449 | give *-pa, -yink | 100 | -ha | kúhá | kúhá, kúfúmyá | kúhá | kuha | kúhá |
| 269 | go *-gt-, -yend- | 094 | -genda | kúzyá | kúzyá | kúgéndá | kugenda | kújá |
| 758 | good *-yija | 020 | -iza | mfúla | nsógá | mázimá | -runji | nsógá |
| 409 | great, big, powerful *-kodo | 014 | -kulu | múkóló | nkúlu | iháangó | -hargo | -kútu |
| 702 | hair *-yutdr, -yuede | 045 | ulutwili | músást | músási | isóké | eishoke | inyélé |
| 603 | he, she *-koe, -ye(e) | 003 | wene/nyene | áwéné | áwé | wényéné | wenene | úyó, yóyóli |
| 356 | head *-toe | 046 | umutwe | mútwe | mútwe | mútwe | omutwe | mútwe/mitwe |
| 623 | hear *-yigu-, -teg- | 088 | -umva | kwilmvá | kwóomwá | kúhúllá | kuhullira | kúhúllá |
| 543 | heart *-kodo, -trma | 047 | umutima | mwiizó | mwiizó | múgányá | omwoyo | mweéyó/myééyó |
| 707 | horn, ivory *-pembe | 040 | ihembe | ihéémbé | ihéémbé | ihéémbé | eihembe | ihéémbé iyá nsófu |
| 1016 | ! *-ne | 001 | je (we) | oné | oné | inyé | inye | úuné |
| 218 | kill *-yit-, -bod(ag)- | 092 | -ica | kwiltá | kwiltá | kwiltá | kwita | kwiháaya |
| 348 | knee *-dul, -du | 056 | ivi | sivi | sivwi | chizwi/mázw | okujwi | ijúungó |

| No | Language variety <i>PB and Gloss J</i> | S/N | iGiHa (DJ66) | SiSuúmbwá SiSilóómbó | SiSuúmbwá SiYóómbé | KiLoórngó | RuHyozá (EJ22e) | KiToóngwé KiBéndé |
|------|---|-----|--------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 626 | know *-man(i)- | 089 | -menya | kúmanía | kúmanía | kúmanya | kumanya | kúmanya |
| 1025 | leaf *-yani | 034 | βaβi | matúútú | itúútú | βaβi/máβaβ | ekibabi | lyáanyi/máanyi |
| 310 | leg, foot *-godo | 055 | kugulu | kúgúlu/mágúlu | kúgúlu/mágúlu | kúgúlu/mágu | okuguru | kúyúlu/máyúlu |
| 1024 | liver *-tma | 062 | igitiku | itímá | itímá | itímá | omwirima | itímá |
| 144 | long/tall *-deepu, -tadi, -de | 016 | -leshe | búlééle | ilééle | ilééle | -la | ilééhé |
| 1023 | louse *-nyumba | 031 | enda | ndá | ndá/idá | ééndá | enda | iindá |
| 226 | male, man, husband *-koci | 024 | umugaβo | igóósya | igóósya, múgóósya | isééza/máse éza | omushaja | ngóosi |
| 793 | many *-yingi | 011 | inshi | -iingi | -iingi | nyingi | -ingi | -lingi |
| 596 | meat *- (nyama) | 038 | inyama | námá | námá | éenyamá | nyama | inyamá |
| 1030 | milk *-beede | 082 | amata | mábééle | mábééle | amáté | amata | mábééle |
| 716 | moon *-yedi | 064 | ukweezi | kwéézi | kwéézi | kwéézi | omwezi | imwéénsi |
| 717 | mountain *-godo, -dondo | 076 | umusozi | múgálá | múgálá, lúgúlu | βáángá | eibanga | músósi/misósi |
| 1026 | mouth *-domo | 051 | umunwa | múlóómó | múlóómó | munwá | munwa | múlóómó/milómó |
| 281 | name *-yina | 080 | izina | izilíná | izilíná | izilíná | eibara | isilíná |
| 379 | neck *-ki(inggo) | 059 | izosi | ngkingó | ngkingó | bichá | ebikya, -ngoto | ikósi/makósi |
| 962 | new *-pia | 019 | -shaasha | nyhááhyá | nyhááhyá, ityááhyá | ényháhyá | -hya | nyhyá |
| 718 | night *-tiko | 078 | ijolo | bwilé | wilé | chiló | ekiro | búfukú |
| 484 | nose *-poda, -joda, -yzo | 050 | izuulu | niindó | niindó | ényiindó | enyindo | inyiindó |
| 435 | oil *-kufa | 081 | amavuta | máfutá | máfutá | mázutá | amajuta | máfutá |
| 410 | old *-kodo | 018 | -zehe | ndááíá | ííááíá | -áá káté | -kulu | lyá káté |
| 440 | one *-mo | 012 | -mwe | imwi | iimwi | imwé, kámwé | emo | imwi |
| 325 | path *-jida | 075 | inzila | nzilá | nzilá | múháándá | omuhanda | nsilá |
| 558 | person *-nto | 027 | umuntu | múúntú | múúntú | múúntú | omuntu | múúntú |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss | S/N | iGiHa (DJ66) | SiSúumbwá SiSiióombó | SiSúumbwá SiYóombé | KiLóorngó | RuHyozá (EJ22e) | KiToóngwé KiBénde |
|------|----------------------------------|-----|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 76 | rain (n) *-buda | 067 | imvula | mvulá | mvulá | ééenzulá | enjura | (i)mfulá |
| 169 | root *-di | 035 | umuzi | múzi | múzi | múzi | omuzi | músisí/misisí |
| 95 | sand *-canga | 073 | umshenyi/um usenga | músééngá | músééngá | músééngá | omushenye | músfínsí/misínsí |
| 251 | say *-bond- | 099 | -vuga | kúbwítá | kúwítá | kúgáámbilá | -gamba | kúbáilá |
| 770 | see *-bon- | 087 | -bona | kúβóná | kúβóná | kulééβá | kubona | kúólá |
| 67 | seed *-beyo, -boto | 033 | imbuto | mbútó, mbégú | mbútó, βótúungá | mbíβó | empambo | mbútó |
| 434 | short *-kupt | 017 | -gufi | nítíhí | níihí | -gufú | gufi | ntófú |
| 615 | sing *-ymb- | 098 | -lilimba | kwíimbá | kwíimbá | kúziná | -hooya | kwíimbá |
| 627 | sit *-yikad- | 097 | -icala | kwíikálsiyá | kwíikálsiyá | kwíikálsá | kushuntama | kwíikálá |
| 123 | skin *-koba, -kanda, - dtdi? | 037 | ulushaato | ndilí | ndilí | ikóβá | oruhu | íkóbá/mákóbá |
| 136 | sleep (vi)*-daad-, -gon- | 090 | -humila | kúgóná | kútilindilá | kúlyamá | kunagira | kúyóná, kúláálá lúló |
| 1021 | small *-niini | 015 | -toyi | ndó | ndó | iké | -ke | -nsé, -sé |
| 629 | smoke *-yoki | 069 | umwosi | lyóónsí | lyóónsí | múhilingká | omwika | lyóónsí |
| 69 | soil *-dongo | 072 | iβivu | βúúlóorngó | βúúlóorngó | itáká | eitaka | βúúlóorngó |
| 1029 | stand *-y im(tdtd)- | 096 | -hagalala | kwíimililá | kwíimililá | kwéémétélá | kwemeerera | kwíimililá |
| 735 | star *-londua, -yo(n)li | 065 | inyoota | nsóóndá | nsóóndá | énsóóndé | enyanyilinyi | lútáángwá/ntáángwá á |
| 61 | stone *-boe | 074 | iβuye | iβááté | iβááté | iβááilé/máβá alé | eibaale | iβwé/mábwé |
| 333 | sun *-joba | 063 | izuupa | izyóóβá | izyóóbá | izoóβá | eizooba | isyóóβá/másyóóβá |
| 360 | tail *-kida | 041 | umulizho | músilá | músilá | múchilá | omukira | músilá/misilá |
| 1020 | that *-dafe -dia, VCVo | 009 | -dya | ébyó, éyó | tyó | élyó | -o | lyétili |
| 54 | they *-bo | 006 | βene | áβé | áβé | βónyéné | boonene | βééné |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss | S/N | iGiHa (DJ66) | SiSúumbwa SiSilóombó | SiSúumbwa SiYóombé | KILóongó | RuHyozza (EJ22e) | KITóongwé KiBendé |
|------|----------------------------------|-----|--------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 166 | tongue *-dmi | 053 | ululimyí | lúlimi | lótími | lúlimi/éèndi mi | orulimi | lúlimi/ndimi |
| 267 | tooth *-yino | 052 | idyilyino | liinó/miinó | liinó/miinó | liinó/méénó | elino | liinó/méénó |
| 540 | tree *-ti | 032 | igiti | múti | múti | múti | omuti | siti/fiti |
| 752 | two *-bdi | 013 | -pili | ipili | ipiti | ipili | ibiri | ipili |
| 322 | water *-ji | 066 | amaazi | miinzi | miinzi | miinzi | amaazi | maansi |
| 1017 | we -cøe, -cue, -yitue | 004 | twe (bwe) | ifwé | ifwé | ichwé | icwe | úufwé |
| 919 | what *-ki | 007 | iki | ðiindé | ðiindé, èsi | chihá | -ki | nisi |
| 610 | white *-yedó | 023 | -ela | yépé | iyéépé | kwéélá | kwera | -aapé |
| 918 | who *-nari | 008 | inde | éndé | éndé | ohá | owa | ganyi |
| 339 | woman, wife *-ke, kadi | 025 | umugolegole | múkítimá | múkázi, múké | múkázi | omukazi | múkási |
| 15 | you (sg) (thou) *-be | 002 | we (we) | óþé | óþé | iwé | iwe | úugwé |
| 1018 | you (pl) (ye) *-møe, -nue | 005 | mwe (mwe) | imwé | imwé | imwé | inywe | úumwé |

Appendix 4. Lexicostatistics 100 word-list: G42d, G11, F23

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss | S/N | KiSwahili (KiSanifu) | CiGogo | KimúnàSukúmá | JinàKiiyá | GínàNtúzu |
|------|----------------------------------|-----|-------------------------|---------|-----------------|--------------|-----------|
| 133 | abdomen, stomach *-da | 058 | tumbo | nda | ndá, nhúumbi | ndá, nhúumbi | nhúumbi |
| 926 | all *(-n)ce, -yona | 010 | -ole | -ose | -pyé, -òòsé | pyé, -òòsé | -òòsé |
| 55 | arm, hand *-kono, -boko | 057 | mkono | muwoko | ñkónó | ñkónó | ñkónó |
| 337 | ashes *-bu | 071 | majivu | ivu | máþú | íþú/máþú | íþú/máþú |
| 297 | back (n)*-gongo | 060 | mgongo | mugongo | ngóngó | ngóongó | ngóongó |
| 27 | bad *-bi | 021 | -baya | -bi | -þi | -þi | -aa þóþi |
| 1022 | bark *-koba | 036 | gome | ibada | igóólá, igáámhá | igóólá | iháangó |
| 811 | bird *-yoni, -nyoni, -dege | 029 | ndege, nyoni | ndeje | nóni | nóni | nóni |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss <i>if</i> | S/N | KISwahili (KISanifu) | CIgogo | KimúnáSúkumá | JináKityá | GináNtúú |
|------|--|-----|-------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 125 | bite *-dam- | 085 | -uma | -luma | -luma | gólumá | gólumá |
| 669 | blood *-gadi, (n)yinga | 043 | damu | sakami | miiniingá | mtiniingá | mtiniingá |
| 433 | bone *-kupa | 044 | mfupa | ifupa | iguhá | iguhá/máguhá | iguhá |
| 17 | breast *-beede | 061 | maziwa | ilombo | ndútu, lónóónó, mbeééé | lópééé, lónóónhó | noónó |
| 679 | child, infant *-yana, -yanake | 026 | mtoto, mwana | mwana | nweééééé, nigini, nwaána | nwaána, nigini, nweééééé | nwaána, nigini, nweééééé |
| 305 | cloud *-dunde | 068 | mawingu | ivunde | ilúundé | ilúundé/máluundé | iluundé |
| 465 | cold *-pepo | 077 | baridi | mbeho | lónyili, mbéhó | mbéhó | mbéhó |
| 624 | come *-yji- | 095 | -ja | -za | -liza | gwizá | guzá |
| 471 | cook (vt) *-dug-, -teek- | 086 | -pika | -vua/-teleka | -zuga | gózugá | gózugá |
| 622 | dark, black *-yido, -piipi? | 022 | -eusi < -yelu pi | -litu | yaápi | giiti, -pi | -pi |
| 682 | daytime *-ci, -joba | 079 | mchana | misi | itiimi | itiimi | itiimi |
| 425 | die *-ki-, ku- | 091 | -fa | -fwa | -chá | gócá/ciá | gócá |
| 60 | dog *-boa | 030 | mbwa | mbwa | mvá [mva] | mvá /mva | mvá [mva] |
| 448 | drink (vt) *-nu- | 083 | -nywa | -nywa | nyá | górnyá | górnyá |
| 563 | ear *-toi, -koto | 048 | sikio | ikutu | gótó | gótó | gótó |
| 156 | eat *-di- | 084 | -la | -lya | -lyá | gólýá/liá | gólýá |
| 273 | egg *-gr | 039 | yai/mayai | igank'a | igi | igi/máigi | igi/máigi |
| 620 | eye *-yico | 049 | jicho/macho | liso | liisó/miisó | liisó/misó | liisó |
| 652 | feather *-yoya | 042 | manyoya | lweha | lóóyá | lóóyá | lóóyá |
| 323 | finger nail *-jada | 054 | ukucha | lukombe | lyáálá | lyáálá/nwáálá/njáálá | lyáálá |
| 474 | fire *-yoto, -dido | 070 | moto | moto | móótó | móótó | móótó |
| 126 | fish *-comba, -cui | 028 | samaki | somba | nditió | shí | shí, nditió |
| 1028 | fly (vi) *-pap-, -godok- | 093 | -ruka | -guluka | -lálá | gólálá | gólálá |
| 449 | give *-pa, -yink | 100 | pa | -pela | -iinhá | gwinhá | gwinhá |
| 269 | go *-gi-, -yend- | 094 | -enda | -bita | -já | gójá/gójá | gójá |
| 758 | good *-yija | 020 | -zuri | -swanu | yá wiizá | -sógá, -izá | nsógá, -áá ßuzá |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss | S/N | KISwahili (KISanifu) | CIGogo | KimunaSukuma | JinAKtiya | GinaNtuzu |
|------|----------------------------------|-----|-------------------------|------------------|---------------|---------------------|---------------|
| 409 | great, big, powerful *-kodo | 014 | kubwa, -kuu | -vaha | mhaale/-haale | -koto, -haale, duma | -haale/mhaale |
| 702 | hair *-yudi, -yede | 045 | nywele | mnywili | loywili | weeli | isinsi |
| 603 | he, she *-kup, -ye(e) | 003 | nywele | nywele | weeli | weeli | weeli |
| 356 | head *-ipe | 046 | kichwa | lwe/muwe | ntwe | ntwe/miwe | ntwe |
| 623 | hear *-yur, -leg | 088 | sikia | -hulika | -ligwa | gwigwa | gwigwa |
| 543 | heart *-kodo, -tima | 047 | moyo | nt'umbula | phob, mboyo | phob | phob |
| 707 | horn, ivory *-pembe | 040 | -pembe | nt'umbula | mheembe | ipeembe | mhembe |
| 1016 | I *-ne | 001 | mimi | ane/mene | neene | neene | neene |
| 218 | kill *-yil, -poo(jg) | 092 | -ua | -ulaga | -polağa | gopolağa | gopolağa |
| 348 | knee *-dui, -du | 056 | goli/magoli | flugamilo | izwi | izwi | izwi |
| 626 | know *-man(i) | 089 | -jua | -marya | -maha | gomaaha | gomaaha |
| 1025 | leaf *-yani | 034 | jani/majani | hanze/harp 'a | laboto | laboto | laboto |
| 310 | leg, foot *-godo | 055 | mguu | mguulu | gopoti/magoti | gopoti/magoti | gopoti/magoti |
| 1024 | liver *-tima | 062 | ini/maini | lloga | itima | itima | itima |
| 144 | longtail *-depu, -ladi, -de | 016 | -refu | -lali | ndithu | lithu | ndipu, nipu |
| 1023 | louse *-nyumba | 031 | chawa | rip'ani | nda | nda | nda |
| 226 | male man, husband *-koo | 024 | -dume | mukume | ngooaha | ngooaha, (beh) | ngooaha |
| 793 | many *-yngi | 011 | -ngi | -ngi | nyinggo | tingi | ningi |
| 596 | meat *-niyama | 038 | nyama | nyama | nyama | nyama, nama | nyama, nama |
| 1030 | milk *-beede | 082 | mazwa | mele | ma(ke)le | ma(ke)le | ma(ke)le |
| 716 | mount *-yedi | 064 | mwezi | mwezi/mweng e | nyeezi | nyeezi | nyeezi |
| 717 | mountain *-godo, -domdo | 076 | mlima, Kichugui? | ilundaigongo | logoti | logoti | logoti |
| 1026 | mouth *-domo | 051 | mdomo | mtomo | nomo | nomo | nomo |
| 281 | name *-yina | 080 | jina | itagwa | lina | lina | lina |
| 379 | neck *-ki(i)ngo | 059 | shingo | singo | mningo | mningo | mningo |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss ? | S/N | KISwahili (KISanifu) | CiGogo | KimunaSukuma | JinaKiliya | GinaNtuzu |
|------|------------------------------------|-----|-------------------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| 962 | new *-pta | 019 | -pya | -hya | mhyā | -pyā | mhyā |
| 718 | night *-liko | 078 | usiku | cilo | βōjikō | βōjikō | βōzikō |
| 484 | nose *-poda, -joda, -ydo | 050 | pua | mp'ula | lyōlō | lyōlō, niindō | lyōlō |
| 435 | oil *-kuta | 081 | mafuta | mafuta | māgūtā | māgūtā | māgūtā |
| 410 | old *-kodo | 018 | kuukuu | -zehe | ŋhōlōkōkō | -kolōkōlō | ŋhōlōkōlō |
| 440 | one *-mo | 012 | moja | -monga | imō | imō | imō |
| 325 | path *-jda | 075 | njia | nzila | nzilā | nzilā | nzilā |
| 558 | person *-nto | 027 | mtu | munt'u | mūnūhō | mūnūhō | mūnūhō |
| 76 | rain (n) *-buda | 067 | mvua | mvula | mbulā | mbulā | mbulā |
| 169 | root *-di | 035 | mzizi | mdela | nji | nzwi/mizwi | nzi |
| 95 | sand *-canga | 073 | mchanga | muhafk'a | masēni | sāangāsāangā, masāidō | sāangāsāangā |
| 251 | say *-boid- | 099 | -sema, -ambia | -longa/ti | -wzilā | gōwzilā | gōwzilā |
| 770 | see *-bon- | 087 | -ona | -wona | -βōnā | gōβōnā | gōβōnā |
| 67 | seed *-beyo, -boto | 033 | mbegu | mbeyu | mbiyō, mbēgū ? | mbiyō | mbiyō |
| 434 | short *-kupt | 017 | -fupi | -fupi | ngūhi | -gūhi | ngūhi |
| 615 | sing *-yimb- | 098 | -imba | -imba | -timbā | gwtimbā | gwtimbā |
| 627 | sit *-yikad- | 097 | -kaa | -ikala | -ikālā | gwtigāshā | gōgītishā |
| 123 | skin *-koba, -kanda, -didi? | 037 | ngози | ncingo | ikōβā, nditi | ikōβā, nditi | ikōōnzā, nditi |
| 136 | sleep (vi) *-daad-, -gon- | 090 | -lala | -gona | -tiindilā | gōlālālā | gōshilitālā |
| 1021 | small *-niini | 015 | -dogo | -dodo | ndō | -dōlōlō, -dōdō | ndōlōlō, ndō |
| 629 | smoke *-yoki | 069 | moshi | lyosi | lyōōchi | lyōōci, gōbēhā (vt) | lyōōchi |
| 69 | soil *-dongo | 072 | udongo | ilongo | βōliindō | βōlōōnhō | βōlōōngō |
| 1029 | stand *-y im(zdcd) | 096 | -simama | -ima | -itimilā | gwtimā, gwtimtilā | gwtimtilā |
| 735 | star *-londua, -yo(n)ti | 065 | nyota | nyelezi/ntond wa | sōōndā | sōōndā | sōōndā |
| 61 | stone *-boe | 074 | jiwe/mawe | ibwe | iwē | iwē (pl. mawē) | iwē/mawē |
| 333 | sun *-juba | 063 | jua | izuva | itimi | itimi, lyōōβā | itimi |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss <i>l</i> | S/N | KiSwahili (KiSanifu) | CiGogo | KimunáSukumá | JináKithyá | GináNtúzú |
|------|---|-----|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|
| 360 | tail *-kúda | 041 | mkia | mucila | ŋkíà | ŋkíà | ŋkíà |
| 1020 | that *-da/e, -dra, VCVo | 009 | ile | -la | íyó | íyó | -yó, -chó, -bó |
| 54 | they *-bo | 006 | wao | vene/wawo | βóóí | βóóyí, βó | βóóí |
| 166 | tongue *-dĩmi | 053 | ulimi | kulimi | íóĩmí/ndĩmí | íóĩmí | íóĩmí/ndĩmí |
| 267 | tooth *-yino | 052 | jino/meno | lino | ĩĩnó | ĩĩnó/mĩnó | ĩĩnó/mĩnó |
| 540 | tree *-ti | 032 | mli | mulí/bici | ĩĩntí | nĩí | ĩĩntí |
| 752 | two *-bdi | 013 | mbili | -ijete | -piti | ĩpiti | ĩpiti |
| 322 | water *-ji | 066 | maji | malenga | miĩnzí | mtĩnzí | miĩnzí |
| 1017 | we -cue, -cue, -yitue | 004 | sisi | sese/ase | βĩsè | (y)ĩisè | βĩsè |
| 919 | what *-ki | 007 | nini | cici | kí | kí/kí(y)/kíí? | kíiyí |
| 610 | white *-yeda | 023 | -eupe <yelu pe | -elu | -áápé | -ĩĩé -pé | -áápé |
| 918 | who *-nani | 008 | nani | nani | naáni | naáni/naáni? | oyáíí(hè) |
| 339 | woman, wife *-ke, kadi | 025 | mwanamke | mudala | ŋkíimá | ŋké | ŋké |
| 15 | you (sg) (thou) *-be | 002 | wewe | gwegwe/agwe | βéépé | βéépé | βéépé |
| 1018 | you (pl) (ye) *-mœe, -nue | 005 | ninyi/nyinyi/nyie | ŋxenyx/ŋnxé | βĩĩwé | (x)ĩĩwé | βĩĩwé |

Appendix 4. Lexicostatistics 100 word-list: F22, G62

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss <i>l</i> | S/N | KiDákámá | KiNyanýéembe | KiKónóóngó | SiGálááanzá | iKiHehe |
|------|---|-----|------------|--------------|------------|-------------|-----------|
| 133 | abdomen, stomach *-da | 058 | ndá | ndá | ndá | ndá | ĩĩeme |
| 926 | all *(-n)ce, -yona | 010 | -óósé | wóósé | -ósé | -óósé | -mbe-ĩ |
| 55 | arm, hand *-kono, -boko | 057 | kíkónó | kóβókó | gókónó | kóβókó | ĩwoko |
| 337 | ashes *-bu | 071 | ĩbú/máβú | mátúúndé | máwú | ĩwú/máwú | kífu |
| 297 | back (n)*-gongo | 060 | m(ú)góóngó | múgóóngó | m(ú)góóngó | múgóóngó | ĩmugonggo |
| 27 | bad *-bi | 021 | -βi | -βi | -βi | ĩβi | -vi |
| 1022 | bark *-koba | 036 | ĩgólá | ĩgólá | ĩgólá | ĩgólá | ĩĩbande |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss | S/N | KiDakámá | KiNyanyéembé | KiKönöörngó | SiGálagáanzá | iKiHehe |
|------|----------------------------------|-----|--------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| 811 | bird *-yoni, -nyoni, -dege | 029 | nóni | nyóni | nóni | nyónyi | kidege |
| 125 | bite *-dom- | 085 | -lómá | -lómá | -lómá | -lómá | -luma |
| 669 | blood *-gadi, (n)yinga | 043 | m(ú)gázi | m(ú)gázi | m(ú)gázi | múgázi | danda |
| 433 | bone *-kupa | 044 | ígúhá | ígúhá | ígúhá | ífúpa | kisege |
| 17 | breast *-beede | 061 | máfééle, mádútú | máfééle | máfééte | máfééte | liveele |
| 679 | child, infant *-yana, -yanake | 026 | nywáaná | mwáaná | mwáaná, kákéké | mwáaná | mwana |
| 305 | cloud *-dunde | 068 | ilúundé | ilúundé | ilúundé | ilúundé | ilufu |
| 465 | cold *-pepo | 077 | mbého | mbého | mbého | mbého | -sisimu |
| 624 | come *-yij- | 095 | -izá | -izá | -izá | -izá | -sa |
| 471 | cook (vt) *-dug-, -leek- | 086 | -zúgá | -lééká | -lééká | -lééká | -teleka |
| 622 | dark, black *-yido, -pípi? | 022 | yáápi | -pi, -láápózú | -pi, wíáápózú | -áápi, iláápóte | -litu |
| 682 | daytime *-ci, -joba | 079 | ilími hágátí | háápé | lyóóá | múlyóóá | munyi |
| 425 | die *-ki, -ku- | 091 | -fá | -fwá | -fwá | -fwá | -fwa |
| 60 | dog *-bba | 030 | iwá, mbwá | mbwá | mbwá, mbwégésé, m(ú)kwíyíyí | mbwá | mbwa |
| 448 | drink (vt) *-nu- | 083 | -nywá | -nywá | -nywá | nywá | uku-nywa |
| 563 | ear *-toi, -koto | 048 | itwi | itwi | itwi/mátwi | itwi, mátwi | iliskisa, lipulikilo |
| 156 | eat *-di- | 084 | -lyá | -lyá | -lyá | -lyá | -lya |
| 273 | egg *-gi | 039 | igi/mági | igi/mági | igi/mági | igi | likanja |
| 620 | eye *-yico | 049 | ilísó | ilínsó/mínsó | ilínsó/máansó | ilínsó/mínsó | liiho |
| 652 | feather *-yoya | 042 | máýóyá | wóóyá | máýóyá | póóyá | lugala |
| 323 | ingernail *-jada | 054 | lónóóngá | nzáálá | nóóngá | íózálá/nzálá | lunyove |
| 474 | fire *-yoto, -dido | 070 | móótó | móótó | móótó | móólló/móótó | moto |
| 126 | fish *-comba, -cur | 028 | ndítíó | sámáki ? | nsóómbá, nswi | nsámáki, nsóómbá | somba |
| 1028 | fly (vi) *-pap-, -godok- | 093 | -lálá | -lódká | -lálá | -gúlóká | -guluka, -gultunduka |
| 449 | give *-pa, -yink | 100 | -iinhá | -pá | -pá | -pá, -péeLézyá | -pela |

| No | Language variety PB and Goss / | S/N | KIDakamā | KINyanyéemé | KIKonooŋo | SIGalagaanza | IKIHehe |
|------|-----------------------------------|-----|-------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|------------|
| 269 | go *g- yend | 094 | -já | -já | -já | -já | -hala |
| 758 | good *yija | 020 | -soga | -soga | nsoga | nsoga | -notu |
| 409 | great, big, powerful *kodo | 014 | ihanya | ihanya | nsokla, kato | kato, -hanya | -koni |
| 702 | hair *yudi, -yude | 045 | iywilit | ihanyele/nyele | ihanyele/nyele | ihanyele | hwili |
| 603 | he, she *koo, -ye(e) | 003 | wézi | mwézi/kiil | mwézi/kiil | áawé | mwéze |
| 356 | head *-joe | 046 | mutwé | mutwé | m(ú)twé | mutwé | mutwe |
| 623 | hear *yigur, -leg | 068 | -ligwá | -ligwá | -disgeleka | -ligwá | -puka |
| 543 | heart *-kodo, -tima | 047 | móoyo ? | móoyo ? | móoyo ? | móoyo | numbula |
| 707 | horn, ivory *-pembe | 040 | ipéemé | ipéemé | ipéemé | ipéemé | lupembe |
| 1016 | l *ne | 001 | néné | néné | néné | néné | nene |
| 218 | kill *-yil-, -pood(ag)- | 092 | -polaŋá | -wolaŋá | -wolaŋá | -polaŋá | -wulaga |
| 348 | knee *-dui, -du | 056 | izwi | iywŋo | iywŋo | iywŋo | ilugarmlo |
| 626 | know *-mani() | 089 | -mánya | -mánya | -mánya | -mánya | -lukagula |
| 1025 | leaf *-yani | 034 | icotoú | icotoú | icotoú | ilitá | ihamba |
| 310 | leg, foot *-gudu | 055 | kogolú | m(ú)gpolú | m(ú)gpolú, migolú | kogolú/mágpólú | igulu |
| 1024 | liver *-jama | 062 | itéma/itímá | itímá | itímá | itímá | mulima |
| 144 | longtail *-despu, -tadi, -de | 016 | ilihu | ndihu | ilihu | itáil | -tali |
| 1023 | louse *-nyumba | 031 | idá/mdá | mpáni | mpáni | idá/mdá | lisonoli |
| 226 | male, man, husband *-koo3 | 024 | igóshá | góshá | igóshá | m(ú)gbošyá | umunyidama |
| 793 | many *-yngi | 011 | -ngi | nyngi | nyngi | nyngi | -obtu |
| 596 | meat *-nyama | 038 | nyamá | nyamá | nyamá, kányiungú | nyamá | nyama |
| 1030 | milk *-beede | 082 | mápeete | mápeete | mápeete | mápeete | liswa |
| 716 | moon *-yedi | 064 | nyézi | nyézi | nyézi | nyézi | mwesi |
| 717 | mountain *-gudu, -dondo | 076 | igolú | igolú | -igolú | igolú | kidanda |
| 1026 | mouth *-domo | 051 | mulomó | mulomó | m(ú)lomó | mulomó | mulomo |
| 281 | name *-yina | 080 | ilina | ilina | ilina | ilina | ilawa |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss | S/N | KiDakáamá | KINyanyéembé | KIKónóórngó | SiGálágáanzá | iKiHehe |
|------|----------------------------------|-----|-------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|
| 379 | neck *-ki(ŋ)go | 059 | nhingó | hiingó | hiingó | ikósi | siingo |
| 962 | new *-pya | 019 | -pya, -gèni | mpya | m(ù)pya | -pya | -pya |
| 718 | night *-liko | 078 | òòzikó | ùzikó | òòzikó | òòfukú | kilo |
| 484 | nose *-poda, -joda, -ytdo | 050 | niindó | nyiiindó | niindó | nyiiindó | mengeto |
| 435 | oil *-kuta | 081 | màgútá | máfutá | màgútá | máfutá | máfuta |
| 410 | old *-kodo | 018 | -kòlòkòlò | -à kálé | ikúukúú, lyákálé | -kòòkòó | -gogolo, -vaha |
| 440 | one *-mo | 012 | lómó | yimó | yimó, sòóló | iiimó | -mwi |
| 325 | path *-jda | 075 | nzià | nzià | nzià | nzià | iyasi |
| 558 | person *-nto | 027 | múúntó | mòòntó | múúntó | múúntó | munu |
| 76 | rain (n) *-buda | 067 | mbulá | mvulá | mbulá | mvulá | ndonya |
| 169 | root *-di | 035 | múzi | m(ù)zi | m(ù)zi | múzi | ludela |
| 95 | sand *-canga | 073 | m(ù)seèngelá | mùsèngàsèngà | m(ù)sèngàsèngà | mùsèèngà | luhanga |
| 251 | say *-bata | 099 | -wfilá | -wfilá | -wfilá | -òwfilá | tigila |
| 770 | see *-bon- | 087 | -òoná | -wóná | -wóná, -liingá | -òoná | -wona |
| 67 | seed *-beyo, -bato | 033 | lòbiiyó | mbiyó | mbiyó | mbutó | inyadikwa |
| 434 | short *-kupr | 017 | nguhí | ngúhí | nguhí | sifupí, -gúhí | -fupi |
| 615 | sing *-yimb- | 098 | -iimbá | -iimbá | -iimbá | -iimbá | -imba |
| 627 | sit *-yikad- | 097 | -ikálá | -ikálá | -ikálá | -ikálá | -tengemala |
| 123 | skin *-koba, -kanda, -didi? | 037 | ndilí, ndililí | ndilí | ndilí | ndilí | nyingo |
| 136 | sleep (v) *-daad-, -gon- | 090 | -làálá, -tiindilá | -làálá, -tòlò | -làálá | -làálá | -gonelela, -vasa |
| 1021 | small *-niini | 015 | ndó | ndó | ndó | sidó | -dodo |
| 629 | smoke *-yoki | 069 | lyóochi | lyóŋki | lyóki | lyóónsi | lyusi, lisusi |
| 69 | soil *-dongo | 072 | òlòóŋgò | òlòóŋgò | òlòóŋgò | òlòóŋgò | luganga |
| 1029 | stand *-y im(tdud) | 096 | -itma | -it-rá | -itma | -itma | -ima |
| 735 | star *-londua, -yo(n)li | 065 | sòóndá | sòóndá | sòndá | nsòóndá | inyenyeni |
| 61 | stone *-boe | 074 | iwe | iwe/máwe | iwe | iùwé | liganga |
| 333 | sun *-jaba | 063 | itimi | iyóòpá | iyóòpá | iyóòpá | lisuva |
| 360 | tail *-krda | 041 | mukilá | mukilá | mukilá | musilá | mukila |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss <i>f</i> | S/N | KiDakāmà | KiNyanyéembé | KiKónóórǵó | SiGaláǵáanzá | iKiHehe |
|------|---|-----|----------|-------------------|---------------|--------------|-----------|
| 1020 | that *-da/é, -dra, VCVo | 009 | iyó | ifyó | iyó | iyó | -la |
| 54 | they *-bo | 006 | ḃóó | ḃenfikili | ááwó | áḃó | -vene |
| 166 | tongue *-dmi | 053 | lòlmi | lòlmi | lòlmi | lòlmi | lulimi |
| 267 | tooth *-yino | 052 | liino | liino/miino | liino/miino | liino/miino | liino |
| 540 | tree *-ti | 032 | mòti | mùti | m(ù)ti | mùti | libiki |
| 752 | two *-bdt | 013 | ḃḃiti | ḃḃiti | ḃḃiti | ḃḃiti | -vili |
| 322 | water *-jt | 066 | miinzi | miinzi | miinzi | miinzi | lulenga |
| 1017 | we -coe, -cue, -yitue | 004 | yiiswé | iiswé | yiiswé | ifwé | hwewhe |
| 919 | what *-kt | 007 | ki | ki | ki | sii | kiki |
| 610 | white *-yedo | 023 | yáapé | yáapé | mweéló, yáapé | nyéélú | -elu |
| 918 | who *-nani | 008 | nááni | nááni | inááni | ndéé | nani |
| 339 | woman, wife *-ke, kadi | 025 | mùkíimà | m(ù)kíimà, m(ù)ké | m(ù)kíimà | mùkíimà | umukimama |
| 15 | you (sg) (thou) *-be | 002 | ḃéḃé | ééḃé | ḃéḃé | éwé | veve |
| 101 | you (pl) (ye) *-moe, - ḃ | 005 | iinjwé | iinjwé | yiinjwé | imwé | nyenye |

Appendix 4. Lexicostatistics 100 word-list: F31, F32

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss <i>f</i> | S/N | KiNaUshóòlà | KiNiLaàmbà | KiNiHáanzú | GiRwana | GiAhi | yiNyáMùnyinyani |
|-----|---|-----|-------------|------------|------------|----------|----------|-----------------|
| 133 | abdomen, stomach *-da | 058 | ndà | ndáá | ndà | ndà | ndà | ndà |
| 926 | all *(n)ce, -yona | 010 | swé túlwé | swéé | ihí | nyóòné | -òné | nyóòné |
| 55 | arm, hand *-kono, -boko | 057 | mòkónó | mòkónó | mòxónó | mòxónó | mòxónó | mòkónó |
| 337 | ashes *-bu | 071 | màú | màú | màú | màú | màú | màú |
| 297 | back (n)*-gonggo | 060 | mùgòòngó | mògòòngó | mògòòngó | mòyóòngó | muyóòngó | muyóòngó |
| 27 | bad *-bi | 021 | mbí | mbí | ibi | mbí | ḃí | mbí |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss <i>f</i> | SN | KinUshoola | KiriLaamba | KiriHäänzü | GiRwena | GiAhi | YinyaMunyjanyi |
|------|---|-----|-------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1022 | barf *-koba | 036 | | gyóé | igáámhá | ibáádá | ibáádá | ibáádá/máábáádá |
| 911 | bird *-yoni, -nyoni, -dege | 029 | nóni | nóni | nyóónyí | nyóónyí | nyóónyí | nyóónyí |
| 125 | bile *-dom- | 085 | kólumá | kólumá | kólumá | ónómá | ónómá | ónómá |
| 669 | blood *-gadi, (f)nyifija | 043 | miǵalli | miǵalli | nsákámi | sáyámi | sáyámi | sáyámi |
| 433 | bone *-kupa | 044 | kupá | kupá | ikupá | ikupá | ikupá | ikupá |
| 17 | breast *-beede | 061 | mbélelé | mbélelé | iyééte | mbéé | ivéé | máányá |
| 679 | child, infant *-yana, -yanake | 026 | nwááná | nwááná | nwááná, mungényá | nwááná | nwááná, mbójnyá | nwááná |
| 305 | cloud *-dunde | 068 | luunde/máaluun dé | luunde | luunde | luunde | luunde | luunde |
| 465 | cold *-pepo | 077 | mpépo | mpépo | mpépo | nyóóku | mpépo | mpépo |
| 624 | come *-yji- | 095 | kolizá | kolizá | kolizá | ója | ója | ója |
| 471 | cook (V) *-dug-, -teek- | 086 | kulugá | kulugá | kólugá | ónyá | óRexá, ónyá | ónyá |
| 622 | dark, black *-yáto, -pápi? | 022 | nziló | nziló | ndwáákó | ónóki | -lilo, njiló | ónóki |
| 682 | daytime *-ci, -jaba | 079 | muunsi | morisi | moónyé | moómwí | moómwí | moómwí |
| 425 | die *-hi-, ku- | 091 | kókliá | kókliá | kóshá | kuyá | kuyá | kuyá |
| 60 | dog *-boba | 030 | mbulá | mbulá | mbwá | mbwá | mbwá | mbwá |
| 448 | drink (V) *-nu- | 083 | kókópá | kókópá | kónyá | nywá | nywá | nywá |
| 583 | ear *-ipi, -koto | 048 | kótoí | kótoí | kóhwí | kóRwí | ikóRwí | ikóRwí |
| 156 | eat *-di- | 084 | kólyá | kólyá | biá | biá | óbyá | biá |
| 273 | egg *-gi | 039 | gi/mágt | gyí | ijilómájé | iyé/máye, yí/máyi | ítyí | inyé/máye |
| 620 | eye *-yico | 049 | ilisómisó | ilisómisó | ililó/mililó | ililó/mililó | ililó | ililó/mililó |
| 652 | feather *-yoya | 042 | máúli | máúli | nyzóyá | njóyá | májóyá | májóyá |
| 323 | fingernail *-jeda | 054 | kulókulu | ikulókulu | ikulókúli | ókuku | ókuku | ókuku |
| 474 | fire *-yoto, -diró | 070 | moótó | moótó | moótó | moóRó | moóRó | moóRó |
| 126 | fish *-contiba, -citi | 028 | nsamáki ? | nsíí | nsíí | sámáki ? | sómbá | sómbá |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss | S/N | KinaUshoóla | KiniLaamba | KiniHaanzú | GiRwana | GiAhi | yiNyáMunyinyani |
|------|----------------------------------|-----|------------------------|------------|------------------------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 1028 | fly (vi) *-pap- -godok- | 093 | kópupúta | kópupúta | kópúta, kólúma | órúma | órúma | órúma |
| 449 | give *-pa- -yink | 100 | kópéela | kópéela | kópunya, kópá | pá ? | ófa | óddyá |
| 269 | go *-gi- -yend- | 094 | kuyéenda | kólóngóla | kótóngóla | éenda | óweenda | óweenda |
| 758 | good *-yja | 020 | imúza | múkééende | nziza | njja | ójá | iyána |
| 409 | great, big, powerful *-kodo | 014 | -kóló | ñkóló | ñkóló | kóó | ñkóó | ñkóó |
| 702 | hair *-yuzd- -yuede | 045 | ítúúmbi | ítúúmbi | ítósingá/nsiingá | órúka/ntúka | óji | ótúka |
| 603 | he, she *-kpe- -ye(e) | 003 | óyó | óyó | ñweénsó | mweésó | mweésó | mweésó |
| 356 | head *-tce | 046 | ítúé | ítúé | ítwé/mitwé | íRwé | íRwé/ máRwé | ítwé |
| 623 | hear *-yigu- -leg- | 088 | kúigya | kóigya | kjá | Ráaya | Réya | Réga |
| 543 | heart *-kodo- -trma | 047 | ñkóló | ñkóló | ñkóló | ñxóó | ñxóó | ñkóó |
| 707 | horn, ivory *-pembe | 040 | ítépéembe/mápéembe, ór | ítépéembe | ítépéembe, ípéembe/ mápéembe | óféembe, mpéembe | óféembe | óféembe |
| 1016 | I *-ne | 001 | íné | íné | néené | níní | néené | néené |
| 218 | kill *-yil- -bod(ag)- | 092 | kwiyólaa | kóyólaa | kówólaa | óóláya | óóláya | óóráya |
| 348 | knee *-dui- -du | 056 | íúú/máíúú | íúú | íúú | íúú | íúú/máíúú | íúú |
| 626 | know *-man(i)- | 089 | kómáná | kómáná | kómányá | ómányá | ómányá | ómányá |
| 1025 | leaf *-yani | 034 | ítóka | ítóka | ítóótó | íRóRó | íRóRó/ máRóRó | ítóótó |
| 310 | leg, foot *-godo | 055 | mógólo/migóló | mógólo | múgóló/migóló | móyóó | móyóó | móyóó |
| 1024 | liver *-trma | 062 | ítímá | ítímá | ítímá/mátímá | íRímá | íRímá | ítímá |
| 144 | long/tall *-deepu- -tadi- -de | 016 | íyíípu | íyíípu | íóíípu | ndífu | ííífu, ndíífu | ndíífu |
| 1023 | louse *-nyumba | 031 | mpáni | mpáni | mpáni | ndá | ndá | ndá |
| 226 | male, man, husband *-koci | 024 | mógóóshá | ñgóóshá | ígóhá | móyóósyá | móyóósyá | ñgóóshá |
| 793 | many *-yingi | 011 | íingí | níingí | ídó | nyíingí | -íingí | -íingí |
| 596 | meat *-nyama | 038 | ínámá | ínámá | nyámá | nyámá | nyámá | nyámá |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss | S/N | KināUshoóla | KiniLaamba | KiniHaanzú | GiRwana | GiAhi | ɣInyaMunyinjanyi |
|------|----------------------------------|-----|-----------------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------|------------------|
| 1030 | milk *-beede | 082 | másdónsó, másdóngá | másóónsó | másdónsó, maééle | máaya, mahóóngá | máaya | máaya |
| 716 | moon *-yedi | 064 | mweéili | mweéili | mwééili | mweéili | mweéili | mweéili |
| 717 | mountain *-godo, -danda | 076 | múlmá | ŋkóóŋkó | ígóító | gYóóngó | gIRáántó | ŋóóngó |
| 1026 | mouth *-domo | 051 | múlómó | múlómó | múlómó | mwoómó | mwoómó | mwoómó |
| 281 | name *-yina | 080 | liiná | liiná | liiná | liiná | riiná | riiná |
| 379 | neck *-ki(ŋ)go | 059 | ŋkiingó | ŋkiingó | ŋhilingó | ŋkiingó | ŋkiingó | ŋkiingó |
| 962 | new *-pta | 019 | mpya | mpia | mpya | ifya | -fyá | mpya |
| 718 | night *-lika | 078 | ótikó | ótikó | ótikó | óRixó | óRikó | óRikó |
| 484 | nose *-pada, -joda, -yido | 050 | mpóla | mpóla | mpóla | mpóla | mpóla | mpóóla |
| 435 | oil *-kuta | 081 | mákúta | mákúta | mákúta | mákúRá | mákúRá | mákúta |
| 410 | old *-kodo | 018 | ŋkóókkóó | ŋkóókkóó | ŋkóókkóó | ikóó, ixóómbi | ihilile | áxaéngé |
| 440 | one *-mo | 012 | káámwí | káámwí | káŋwí | imwé | imwé | gámwé |
| 325 | path *-jida | 075 | nziá | nziá | nziá | njiá | njiá | njiá |
| 558 | person *-ntu | 027 | móóntó | móóntó | móóntó | móóntó | móóntó | móóntó |
| 76 | rain (n) *-buda | 067 | mbúla | mbúla | mbúla | mbúla | mbúla | mbúla |
| 169 | root *-di | 035 | móóli/miit | móóli/miit | múli | móóyí | mwili | móóyí |
| 95 | sand *-canga | 073 | múnsáangá | múnsáangá | miháangáháangá | imaháto | iháangáháangá | máháangáháangá |
| 251 | say *-bond | 099 | kóyífiá | kóyífiá | kókwífiá | hániá | hániá | oxániá |
| 770 | see *-bon- | 087 | kóyóná | kóyóná | kóóná | góóná | óóná | óóná |
| 67 | seed *-beya, -boto | 033 | mbéó | mbéó | mbéó | mbéyó | mbééyó | mbééyó |
| 434 | short *-kupi | 017 | kúpi | kúpi | ŋkúpi | kúfi | kúfi | ŋkúpi |
| 615 | sing *-yimb | 098 | kóyímbá | kóyímbá | kíimbá | gíimbá | íimbá | wíimbá |
| 627 | sit *-yikad- | 097 | kókiáalaánsá | kókiáalaánsá | iki | ixáá | ixáá | gixáá |
| 123 | skin *-koba, -kanda, - didi? | 037 | ndií | múkóónzá | ndií | ndií | | mókóónjá |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss | S/W | KinaUsuhobá | KiniLáambá | KiniHaanzu | GIRwana | GIahi | VnyamaMunyijanyi |
|---------|----------------------------------|-----|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|
| 136 | sleep (v) *daab-, -gor | 050 | kogona ndóóló | kogona ndóóló | koliala tolo | oráá | raa Róó | oráá toó |
| 1021 | small *niini | 015 | niini | niini | niini | nyóyó | nyóyó | nyóyó |
| 629 | smoke *yoki | 059 | iyóóki | iyóóki | iyóóki | yóóki | yóóki | yóóki |
| 89 | soil *dongo | 072 | óóóóóó | óóóóóó | óóóóóó | óóóóóó | óóóóóó | óóóóóó |
| 1029 | stand *y im(utd) | 095 | koyimiká | koyimiká | kimáká | líxá | líxá | líxá |
| 735 | star *tondiua, -yo(ñi) | 065 | nsóóná | nsóóná | nzóóá | nóRá | nóRá | nóRá |
| 61 | stone *bore | 074 | gubimágué | gubimágué | igwé/mágué | igwé/mágué | igwé | igwé/mágué |
| 333 | sun *jiba | 041 | mokilá | mokilá | nyówá | yóójiá | yóójiá | yóójiá |
| 360 | tail *kuda | 009 | yó | nyásó, yó | mukilá | iluumbú | óóóóóó | óóóóóó |
| 1020 | that *dave, -dra, VCvo | 006 | yó | áásó, to | yó | yó | -e, -yo | ist |
| 54 | they *bo | 053 | patimimí | áásó, to | éééé | -éééé | éééé | éééé |
| 166 | tongue *dimi | 053 | patimimí | ililimí | ililimí/ndimí | ililimí | ililimí | ililimí |
| 287 | tooth *yino | 052 | ilimó/imino | ilimó/imino | ilimó/imino | ilimó/imino | ilimó/imino | ilimó/imino |
| 540 | tree *ii | 032 | kyóla/makóá | kyóá | motimilit | inúRi | moRi | moóRé |
| 752 | two *jodi | 013 | kabiti | kabiti | ilali | ilii | ilii | ilii |
| 322 | water *ii | 066 | máázi | máázi | máázi | máázi | máázi | máázi |
| 1017 | we -cbe, -que, -yilue | 004 | ishé | ishé | shéé | shéé | shéé | shéé |
| 919 | what *ki | 007 | yááni | yááni | nyááni | nyááni | nyááni | nyááni |
| 610 | white *yedo | 023 | imwééó | wááni | nyáányú | nyáányú | nyáányú | nyáányú |
| 918 | who *nani | 008 | wááni | wááni | nyáányú | nyáányú | nyáányú | nyáányú |
| 339 | woman, wife *ke, kadi | 025 | imúsdóngó | imúsdóngó | imúsdóngó | imúsdóngó | imúsdóngó | imúsdóngó |
| 15 | you (sg) (f)hu *be | 002 | ówé | ówé | wéwé | wéwé | wéwé | wéwé |
| 1018... | you (pl) (v)be...:we | 095 | imé | nyéényé | nyéényé | nyéényé | nyéényé | nyéényé |

Appendix 4. *Lexicostatistics 100 word-list: M31, F24, G42d, G11, F24, F25, F33, F34*

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss <i>f</i> | SN | iKinyakyusa | KIKIimbo-N | KIKIimbo-S | ICIVwongó | KuirRangi | KeeMbuwe |
|------|---|-----|-------------|-----------------|------------|-------------------|------------|-------------|
| 133 | abdomen, stomach *-da | 058 | kwanda | ndá | ndá | éndá | ifinda | ndá |
| 928 | ail *-(-)ce, -yona | 010 | -osa | -oose | wóosé | yeési | -óosi | -óosé |
| 555 | arm, hand *-kono, -boko | 057 | kboko | imuxonó/imixonó | imuxonó | ónkono/imikono | mukonó | imáXonó |
| 337 | ashes *-bu | 071 | omwánditlo | mbá | mbá | ihwifwi | yú | yú |
| 237 | back (n)*-gongo | 060 | inyuma | imugóngó | imugóngó | imugóngó | imwóngó | imóngxó |
| 27 | bad *-ba | 021 | bbi | ibi | ibi | ivi | yavehá | xivi |
| 1022 | bark *-koba | 036 | kandi | ipata | ipata | igáamba | ikokó | jólá |
| 811 | bird *-yoni, -nyoni, -dege | 029 | injini | inyonyi | inyonyi | inóoni | indé | imíré |
| 125 | bile *-dpm- | 085 | -toma | kolúma | kolúma | koúma, kówáwá | kolúma | ólómá |
| 669 | blood *-gadi, (nyinga) | 043 | ikopa | imugázi | chájáji | oháandá | sákami | imwári |
| 433 | bone *-kupa | 044 | xikupa | ikupa | ikupa | ifupa/mtifupa | ikufa | kufa |
| 17 | breast *-beede | 061 | ibeele | mafjele | mafjele | máwéle | makóombó | masii |
| 679 | child, infant *-yana, -yanake | 026 | mwana | imwáana | imwáana | ómwáana ndu | m(ó)siinga | imwáana |
| 305 | cloud *-dunde | 068 | ibungu | ilúundé | ilúundé | ikóombi, iwiringó | ichó | duunde/mádu |
| 465 | cold *-pepo | 077 | impepo | mpépo | mpépo | imbbépo | impehó | impefo |
| 624 | come *-yji- | 095 | -isa | kwijjá | wijjá | wijjá | kojja | óbja |
| 471 | cook (V)*-dug-, -teek- | 086 | pija | kotéexa | kotéexa | kotééeká | korowá | diereká |
| 622 | dark, black *-yito, -pila? | 022 | -tito | -Aapi | nyitlo | nyitlo | injiro | imweirama |
| 662 | daytime *-ci, -joba | 079 | musi | iyónsi | iyónsi | ónsana nkólo | múusi | imónsekáti |
| 425 | die *-ki, ku- | 091 | -wa | koguláala | kochá | koíwa | kokuyá | kuyá |
| 60 | dog *-jora | 030 | mbwa | mbwá | mbwá | imbwá | ikóri | diyo |
| 448 | drink (V)*-nu- | 083 | okonwa | konywa | konywa | konweela | kunywa | bonya |
| | | | | | | | | konweela |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss <i>J</i> | S/N | iKiNyakyusa | KiKímbò-N | KiKímbò-S | iC:Wòongò | KiiRàngì | KéeMbúwé |
|------|---|-----|-------------|-----------------------|----------------|--|-----------|-------------|
| 563 | ear *-toi, -koto | 048 | mbolokoto | itwi/mátwi | itwi | ikóótwi (of animals), isikflob (of humans) | kótò | kótò |
| 156 | eat *-di- | 084 | -lya | kólyá | kúlyá | kókódyá | kúryá | rá |
| 273 | egg *-gr | 039 | ifumb | igi/mágl | igi | iyi/maáyí | iyí | yaát/maáyí |
| 620 | eye *-yico | 049 | liiso | liisó/miisó | liisó | liiso/amiisó | riisó | riisó/máiso |
| 652 | feather *-yoya | 042 | ijoja | wóoyá | mágála, wáagi | amáwéyá | bááera | mbúuyé |
| 323 | fingerail *-jada | 054 | kyala | inóongá | iwáátá | intingwá | mpááhá | lójálá |
| 474 | fire *-yoto, -dido | 070 | moto | móótò | móoto | òndilò/miindilò | móoto | móoto |
| 126 | fish *-comba, -cur | 028 | nswi | nstpá | ínshí | ístwi | sámaáki ? | nsiyé |
| 1028 | fly (vi) *-pap-, -godok- | 093 | pululuka | kónyáárjá, kópápámúxá | kódiixá | kólióká | kóhólóká | ófalála |
| 449 | give *-pa, -yink | 100 | -pa | kópééla | kópééla | kóombá | kótóólá | ófa |
| 269 | go *-gi-, -yend- | 094 | -boka | kóyá | kóyá | kówáátá | kódúma | ófétá |
| 758 | good *-yija | 020 | nono | wósógá | nsógá | nóónú | yá bóohá | keejá |
| 409 | great, big, powerful *-kodo | 014 | -nywamu | ikóló, ihányá | ikóló | ikóló | kódótó | kinéne |
| 702 | hair *-yudr, -yuede | 045 | lunywili | lónyéé/nyéle | nyééle | ínyééle | lójwíli | njéré |
| 603 | he, she *-koe, -ye(e) | 003 | mwene | nwééné | nwééné | nwééné | yééí | wéé |
| 356 | head *-tse | 046 | isnto | mútwe | itwe | òntwé | mútwe | mótwé |
| 623 | hear *-yigu-, -teg- | 088 | -pítka | kótégeéla | kótégeéla | kókwiirwá | kótéera | ótéera |
| 543 | heart *-kodo, -trma | 047 | ndombgta | móóyó | móóyó ? | òmóóyó | móttíma | íkító |
| 707 | horn, ivory *-pembe | 040 | ipembe | liinó, ipéembé | liinó, ipéembé | ipéembé/ mápéembé | mpéembé | mpéembé |
| 1016 | I *-ne | 001 | one | nééné | ónééné | nééne | nééne | nééne |
| 218 | kill *-yit-, -bod(ag)- | 092 | -goga | kówólagá | kówólagá | kókómáangá | kóóláa | wóólá |
| 348 | knee *-dui, -du | 056 | ifundo | iyóóngó/ máyóóngó | ilú | igóóti/mágóóti ? | ichóóméro | kitru |
| 626 | know *-man(i)- | 089 | -manya | kómányá | kómányá | kómáaná | kótáangá | ómányá |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss <i>f</i> | S/N | iKiNyakyusa | KIKimbò-N | KIKimbò-S | ICiWòongò | KiiRàngì | KééMbùwé |
|------|---|-----|-------------|-----------------------------|---------------|------------------|-------------|------------------|
| 1025 | leaf *-yani | 034 | iyani | ititi | ititi/mátiti | másóóté | isáambf | saambf |
| 310 | leg, foot *-godo | 055 | ki'lunde | múgòlò/migòlò | múgòlò/migòlò | ichinámá/Iminámá | koòlò/madóò | koòlò/madóò |
| 1024 | liver *-trma | 062 | kurte | itémá | itémá | itímá/mátímá | itímáb | itímá |
| 144 | long/tail *-deepu, -tadr, -de | 016 | -talr | -liihú | kótáit | ndaáni | nditit | ndit |
| 1023 | louse *-nyumba | 031 | ig'golo | mpáni | mpáni | isóòmi | nyingitri | mpóti |
| 226 | male, man, husband *-koci | 024 | nyambala | igóóshá | igwiishá | ilumé | mólumé | lómé, nyáamba |
| 793 | many *-yingr | 011 | -ingr | nyingri | nyingri | iniinj | itrefú | nyingri |
| 596 | meat *(-n)yama | 038 | nyama | nyamá | nyamá | inyáamá | nyamá | nyamá |
| 1030 | milk *-beede | 082 | lokama | máðéélé | máðéélé | amáwéélé | másòósú | másii |
| 716 | moon *-yedi | 064 | mwesi | mweéil | mweéil | ómweézi | mweéri | mweéri |
| 717 | mountain *-godo, -dondo | 076 | kyamba | lógòtò | kítòóndá | kítòóndá | lòtòtò | mweémbf |
| 1026 | mouth *-domo | 051 | inkanwa | múlómò | múlómò | òndóómò | múlómò | mólómò |
| 281 | name *-yina | 080 | ngamu | iliná | iliná | iliná | iriná | riná |
| 379 | neck *-ki(ŋ)ngo | 059 | makosi | ŋklingò | ŋklingò | isilingò | ŋklingò | nchilingò |
| 962 | new *-pza | 019 | -pya | mpyá | mpyá | itimbyá | nasyá | kiféfé |
| 718 | night *-tikò | 078 | kulo | òtikú | òtikú | òsikò | òchikò | òtikú, nòtikú |
| 484 | nose *-poda, -jodo, -yido | 050 | mbulo | mpólá | mpólá | itimbóla | mpólá | mpólá |
| 435 | oil *-kuta | 081 | mafuta | mákútá | mákútá | máfúutá | mákútá | mákútá |
| 410 | old *-kudu | 018 | kolo | nsáxálo, ixamá, lyá xalé | nsáxálo | ikááit | hásákáalá | nswáalá |
| 440 | one *-mo | 012 | -mo | lómò | lwmf | itmwf | imódò | móóntí |
| 325 | path *-jida | 075 | njila | njila | njila | izjila | njirá | njerá |
| 558 | person *-nto | 027 | mundo | múúntò | múúntò | òóndò/awaándò | móóntò | móóntò |
| 76 | rain (n) *-buda | 067 | ifula | mbúlá | mbúlá | ivúlá | mbúlá | mbúlá |
| 169 | root *-di | 035 | onsi | múli | múli | ikwáázò | múri | móri |
| 95 | sand *-canga | 073 | tsanga | múséngásééngá | òtòóngò | òtòóngò | sálo | mósáangá |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss | S/N | iKiNyakyusa | KiKímbò-N | KiKímbò-S | iCiWòòngò | KiiRàngì | KéeMbúwé |
|------|----------------------------------|-----|-------------------------|----------------|------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|
| 251 | say *-bɔd- | 099 | -li | kɔwíllá | kɔwíllá | kɔwíllá kɔpóóǎ | wífrá | ówéérá |
| 770 | see *-bon- | 087 | -bona | kɔwóná | kɔwóná | kɔlólá | kwoóná | wóóná |
| 67 | seed *-bɛyɔ-, -boto | 033 | mbejo | mbééyɔ | mbééyɔ | mbéyɔ | mbééyɔ | mbéd |
| 434 | short *-kupt | 017 | -pimba | -kupt | íkupt | ínipi | ɲkufi | ɲkúfè |
| 615 | sing *-yimb- | 098 | -imba | kwíimbá | kwíimbá | kwíimbá | kwíimbá | wéembá |
| 627 | sit *-yikad- | 097 | -tɔgala | kwiikálá | kwiikálá | kwiikálá | kwiikálá | wéikálá |
| 123 | skin *-koba-, -kanda-, -dɛdɛ? | 037 | mbapa | ntíllá | ntíllá | ɲgwéembé | ɲdri | mberó |
| 136 | sleep (vi)*-daad-, -gon- | 090 | -gona | kɔgóná ndóóló | kɔgóná | kɔkóná ɔtóló | kólálá tóló | ólálá tóló |
| 1021 | small *-nini | 015 | -nini | -dɔ | kádókádɔ | íchl | ɲduudi | kididi |
| 629 | smoke *-yoki | 069 | lyosi | lyóókí | lyóókí | lyóóshi | móókɲ | móókí |
| 69 | soil *-dɔngɔ | 072 | mɲu | ólóóngó | ólóóngó | ólóóngó | íróóngó | nsáó |
| 1029 | stand *-y ɲm(dɛdɛ)- | 096 | -ɲma | kwíimá | kwíimíllá | kwíimíllá | kwíimá | wéemá |
| 735 | star *-tɔndua-, -yɔ(n)ti | 065 | ɲndondwa | nsóóndá | ɲjótá | ɲfzótá | ɲnyényéeri | ɲjótá |
| 61 | stone *-boe | 074 | ibwe | ibwè/mábwè | ibwè/mábwè | iwè/máwè | ɲbúyè | wéè/máwéè |
| 333 | sun *-ɲɔba | 063 | isoba | lyóónsi, wáápé | lyóónsi | óónzówá | mwaásó | jóóvá |
| 360 | tail *-kɛda | 041 | ɲswigala, ɲmbikipiki | múkíllá | múkíllá | ɲnchlá | mukítrá | mókérá |
| 1020 | that *-dále-, -día, VCVo | 009 | -la | lyó | lyó | yllá | (k)l-llá | kérá |
| 54 | they *-bo | 006 | bene/babo | ɲwó | ɲwó | áwééné | wóóvó | vóó |
| 166 | tongue *-dɛmi | 053 | ɲɔlɲɲi | ɲɔlɲɲi/ɲdɲɲi | ɲɔlɲɲi | ɲɔlɲɲi/ɲdɲɲi | ɲɔrɲɲi | lórémé/ɲdémí |
| 267 | tooth *-yino | 052 | ɲino | ɲinó/míino | ɲinó/míino | ɲiinó/ámíino | lyóó | yéó/máó |
| 540 | tree *-ɲi | 032 | mɲɲɲi | múti | ɲɲɲi | ikwi | múti | móté |
| 752 | two *-brɛt | 013 | -brɛt | ɲíβɲi | ɲíβɲi | úwɲi | ivɲi | ivéré |
| 322 | water *-ɲi | 066 | misi | míɲɲi | míɲɲi | máázi | mááɲi | mááɲi |
| 1017 | we -cɛe-, -cúe-, -yítue | 004 | oswe | ɲswé | swééswé | shwééshwé | sóósó | slyé |
| 919 | what *-ki | 007 | rɲikɲi | kɲi | kɲi | chindó chi | ché | kiki |
| 610 | white *-yedɔ | 023 | -elo | yéélú, yáápé | mweélú | ɲnééló | ɲjéru | ɲjéru |
| 918 | who *-nani | 008 | iko/ɲwani | ánáánú | ánááni | ó náánu | ánié | ányu |

| No | Language variety PB and Gloss | S/N | IKIMyakyusa | KIKIrimbò-N | KIKIrimbò-S | ICIWoringo | KIRangi | KeeMbuwe |
|------|----------------------------------|-----|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-----------|----------|
| 339 | woman, wife *-ke, kadi | 025 | nkukoti | mukifimá | mukifimá | òhchimá | imòkhyé ? | móká |
| 15 | you (sg) (thou) *-be | 002 | ngwe | ikeje | weéwé | òweéwé | weéwé | weéwé |
| 1018 | *xou (pl. obj) *-mpe, -mpe | 005 | zomwe | imwe | òmpeòmpe | òmweòmwe | òmweòmwe | òmwe |



