A TENTATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
EFE OR MBUTI LANGUAGE

The reputed language of the
Pygmies of the Ituri Forest,
Belgian Congo

By

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INTRODUCTION

THERE was pleasurable excitement at the Bible House in London when in 1930 the news came that Canon Apolo Kivebulaya was translating the Gospel of St. Mark into the 'Mbuti' language, spoken by Pygmies of the Congo Forest. That translation is the basis of the present tentative Grammar and of the Dictionary which accompanies it.

1.

The story of the heroic saint who is responsible for this translation has been written by Archdeacon A.B. Lloyd. Born in Uganda about 1864, Apolo was a pupil for a short time of Alexander Mackay, but was not converted till later. Soon after his baptism in 1895, he volunteered to serve as an evangelist in Toro, some 200 miles to the west. There he had to learn to express himself in the Nyoro tongue, but appears never to have mastered it. Mr. Lloyd tells us that "the rolling R and the aspirated H absolutely defeated Apolo, and to the end of his days he had not an aspirate in all his vocabulary and a rolling R was never heard." While he was in

Apolo of the Pygmy Forest. C.M.S. 1936.

Apolo, the Pathfinder. C.M.S.
Toro, he climbed the slopes of Ruwenzori and looked down into the country beyond, towards the great Congo river. Far away was a range of hills which his guide told him was the Mboga country where many people lived. To take the Gospel to them was now Apolo's ambition. In December, 1896, he made his way round the mountain range to the north, crossed the Semliki river and reached the beautiful highlands of Mboga. Of his experiences there we need not write. Suffice it to say that after being beaten to the point of death at the Chief's orders, he won the Chief for Christ and in the course of thirty-seven years built up a numerous and vigorous Church. He was a keen missionary and carried the Gospel to several other tribes, besides the Banyamboga, in the Forest or on its outskirts - to the Balega, Bambuba and others. He planted teachers among them. What is more pertinent to our purpose, he came into contact with the Pygmies, sought them out in their forest haunts, made friends with them. Says Mr. Lloyd: "He lived with them in their tiny huts, he ate with them their weird meals of roasted antelope or monkey, supplemented with roots and fruits from the forest. His fame spread through pygmy land, and he was hailed as the friend who never failed them.... More than fifty of them were baptised by Apolo".

In 1926 a small primer in the language 'Lumbuti' was printed for him by the Religious Tract Society. It contained a translation
of the Lord's Prayer and of some other passages of Scripture.

Apolo was ordained deacon in 1900 and priest in 1903; and in 1922 was appointed a Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, Namirembe. He died at Mboga, 30 May, 1933. The last entry in his diary, five weeks before his death, read thus: "I have two cattle and the profit from these I leave to the Church at Mboga. I have no money at all". He also left the manuscript of his translation of St. Mark.

The Rev. A.B. Lloyd, who after having retired from the C.M.S. was returning to Africa to carry on the work at Mboga till a successor to Apolo could be appointed, was asked by the Bible Society to secure this manuscript with a view to its publication. He found it at Mboga and reported in June 1934, that he was going over it with an educated African who knew the language. In the following October he sent to London a transcription of the Gospel which he had made with his own hand. On his return to England some months later, Mr. Lloyd brought the original manuscript.

2.

The manuscript is contained in two school exercise books, labelled "The Njovu" and bearing the figure of an elephant upon the cover. There are 39 pages of close writing.

How it was produced is not precisely clear. My first impression was that Apolo wrote some six chapters himself and
afterwards enlisted the help of a teacher named Nasani as his amanuensis. But Mr. Lloyd says that Apolo wrote it all with his own hand from dictation. Apolo, he explains, had no gift for languages. He appears never to have acquired Nyoro perfectly and did not learn to speak the language of the Pygmies with any facility. His helper was a teacher who had worked among the Mbuba people and spoke that language, which he declared to be identical with that spoken by the Pygmies. A study of the manuscript appears to confirm these statements. There are signs of dictation and very clear indications of imperfect understanding of the Nyoro version from which it was made.

These imperfections were, of course, hidden from me when I began to study the translation. I was eager to have it printed, first because it would be of service in the evangelisation of whatever people could read and understand it, and, second, as a memorial to Canon Kivebulaya, a very gallant Christian gentleman. It is, however, the practice of the Bible Society not to issue a version unless it has reliable assurance that the translation is accurate and otherwise acceptable. In the normal course this version would have been submitted to people competent to pass judgment upon it. But in all the world (so far as we could ascertain) there was no person capable of giving an opinion. Mr. Lloyd himself, who had gone over the manuscript with a man who knew the language and had laboriously copied it, professed himself unable to judge of its fidelity. Two alternatives
presented themselves: either to keep the manuscript in the
strong-room until some expert should come forward; or to
attempt to form some judgment upon it myself.

I began to examine it. The first verse read: Uchipa

ejiri Yesu Kristo baiya, Magu Mugu bai. Ejiri, I conjectured,
was the Swahili and Arabic injil, 'Gospel'. Our Lord's name was
easily recognisable. The last three words evidently stood for
'Son of God'; but which of the two words in capitals was 'Son'
and which 'God'? A reference to other verses in which God is named
left it certain that Mugu is 'God', and I inferred that, being
unable to find a satisfactory equivalent for the divine name,
the translator had borrowed the Swahili Mungu, - in fact the name
was spelled thus once or twice. Incidentally this gave the first
indication that there might be no ng in the language. If Mugu
was 'God', then Magu must be 'Son'. I looked up the other 33
passages where 'Son' or 'son' occurs and found magu in most of
them, either standing alone or embedded in a phrase like mamagü
or abibamaguai. The exceptions were four in number: magu was
not there. (I found out later that other words atdi and kagbwi
'child', were used instead of magu). In looking at the passages
where I expected to find a rendering of 'Son of man', I
repeatedly found abi, which I provisionally fixed upon as 'man'.
But at 8.38 I found the words Magu Mugubaimba. I had no means
of knowing what the latter syllables of the second word (-baimba)
might mean, though by this time I had the suspicion that bai
stood for 'of'; but the presence of Mugu surely indicated that the phrase meant 'Son of God' and not 'Son of man' as it should mean. Here was an evident mistranslation. And if a first scrutiny revealed an error, how many more errors would a more rigorous examination bring to light?

After some hesitation I decided to embark upon that thorough examination. The first step was to prepare a complete concordance of every word. This I hoped would enable me to assign a meaning to each word and enable me to determine the construction of sentences. Once this were accomplished I should be able to judge fairly well whether the translation were good.

It sounds simple enough; but I soon became aware that I had undertaken a very difficult task. If the reader will glance at the photostats which accompany this exposition, he will begin to appreciate the difficulties.

In places the writing was extremely illegible. Look, for instance, at the word at the end of the fourth line from the bottom of No. 2. As this is the only time the word occurs I am still in doubt as to the spelling: I imagine it to be ai-ba-walalata ni lai? 'Is not this the carpenter?' There are many similar puzzles.

I had not proceeded far with the concordance when I discovered that the spelling was very erratic. Indeed, in the title the word for 'Gospel' was written Enjiri and in the first verse Ejiri. Evidently Apolo had tried to write phonetically but he was far from
consistent. He could never, for one thing, decide between r and l; the same word would now be written with l and now with r. (We find the same thing in printed Nyoro). Knowing that he always dropped his 'aitches', I was not prepared to find so many h's in his transcription; it seemed to me that if sometimes he left them out he sometimes put them in unnecessarily and almost haphazardly: I still cannot be sure whether ha should not sometimes be a, or a ha; his occasional idenih a should certainly be ideni a. The use of w and y between vowels was not regular: sometimes he wrote bai, sometimes bayi, sometimes baiyi. There is a series of words spelled variously with t and tr; hiteni and trochu appear, for instance, frequently as hitreni and trochu. In my tentative chapter on the sounds of the language, I have alluded to other inconsistencies of this kind. In my transcription of the Gospel I have tried to regularise the spelling.

A still greater difficulty was in regard to the division of words. This is, of course, a perennial problem in the writing of a language. What is a 'word'? The flow of speech is punctuated with pauses because the speaker needs to take breath – it is physically impossible to speak without stopping occasionally – or because he feels that he has expressed his thought: we speak to be understood, and when one idea is expressed, we pause to let it sink in. A sentence is defined as 'a series of words in connected speech or writing forming the grammatically complete expression of a single thought'. A long pause, marked in writing
by a full-stop, or perhaps by a semi-colon or note of inter-
rogation, follows the end of a sentence. In some languages the
long pause is heralded by a change of stress or pitch: a
syllable may be strongly stressed, as often in French, or the
pitch of the voice may be lowered or heightened, to indicate the
approach of the pause. Since neither stress nor tone is
indicated in our manuscript we lack this aid to determining
a sentence. The writer is sparing in the use of punctuation
marks - and sometimes he puts them in the wrong place. The verse
numbers should be a help; but they are not always so; and
sometimes they are misleadingly misplaced by the writer. It was,
at first, often impossible to tell where a sentence began and
where it ended.

Within a spoken sentence there are often other pauses
breaking it up into what are called 'breath-groups'. Their
frequency depends somewhat upon the fluency of the speaker. These
may, or may not, be indicated in written sentences by commas,
semi-colons, etc. Within these breath-groups there are certain
units which we name 'words'; and if we are to distinguish these
in writing by separating them out with little spaces between
them, we ought first to know exactly what we mean by 'word'.
According to the Oxford Dictionary a word is 'a combination of
vocal sounds, or one such sound, used in a language to express
an idea (e.g. to denote a thing, attribute or relation) and
constituting an ultimate minimal element of speech having a meaning
as such. This definition does not resolve all our difficulties: it is not a complete guide. According to it, the a at the end of men's is as much a word as a in a man. In the language we are dealing with, the objective relation of nouns, etc., is shown by e: abi, man, nominative; abi e man, objective; olo, going, nominative; olo e, going, objective. The definition would require us to write abi e, olo e, not abie, oloe. Mba shows a dative or locative relation: abi mba is 'to or from, or in regard to, a man'. Are we thus to separate the two elements or to write them as one word, abimba? If we write abie, what justification is there for writing abimba? Which is correct in English, uphill or up hill? - downward or down ward?

How much or how little of the chain of speech is to be included in a word is difficult to decide. There is a never-ending conflict between 'conjunctivism' and 'disjunctivism'. The disjunctivist method keeps the 'ultimate minimal elements' separate; the conjunctivist method joins two or more such elements into a single word when they are regarded as forming together a semantic or functional unity. Both parties find it difficult to be consistent. The actual writing of Bantu languages displays the degree of divergence between the two schools. One has only to

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x See a recent discussion (from which I have borrowed) by Dr. D.M. Beach in his The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language (1938)
compare, e.g. written Sotho with written Nyoro to see the difference: Sotho goes to the extreme in the disjunctivist as Nyoro goes to the extreme in the conjunctivist style. Take for instance the sentence in the Lord's Prayer, 'Forgive us our sins...' In Sotho it reads: U re tsoarele libe tsa rona, hobane le rona re tsoarela bole be re sitetsoeng; u se ke ua re isa molekong; u mpe u re leele ho e mobe. And in Nyoro: Kandi otuleke're ebibi byaitu bai tu naitwe tuganyira bona abatutonga. Kandi otatutwara omu kwohebwa. (Nyoro omits the last sentence).

Is there no fixed principle to guide us? Dr. Doke has laid it down that in Bantu speech every word contains one and only one main stress. So that stress - "the force-beat of syllables, designed to bring particular syllables into a relative prominence" - is the determining factor in word-division. How far this principle applies to Sudanic languages I cannot say: in so far as they are tone languages, the correct use of pitch is of far greater importance than stress. We certainly cannot apply the principle to Efe for there is no indication of stress in our material.

If now we examine the manuscript we find no regularity in the division into words. There are interspersed spaces which may or may not mark breath-groups. One may imagine the
man who was dictating uttering in one breath adehitdiabo (the first 'word' on photostat No.1) and Apolo writing it down as he heard it without attempting to split it up into 'ultimate minimal elements'. But the grammarian wants to resolve into comprehensible units such a concatenation of syllables. Let us write down the two verses 30 and 33 (photostat No.1), first as Apolo transcribed them and then as we have provisionally decided to write them:

adêhitdiabo maîgbwa? tumbi hitibu itdaowue
hie ide aisua 32 idtahoto abiaitaîgbwa hisitd
aiye uduale chihiisoyaiye. idere tumbini tole hosu
tumbi îgbw ahitalu.

Ade hitdi a bo ma-îgbwa? 32. Tumbi hitibu itda
uwehie ide a isu a, itda hotro abi a itda igbwa
hisitdi aie, udu a lechi hisoya aie. 35. Idere
tumbi ni itdole hosu, tumbi igbwa hitralu......

More or less literally translates this reads: "Who touched my body? Then he sent his eyes upon their faces, that he might see the person whom his body had touched (i.e. who had touched his body), who had done this thing. But then the woman was afraid, then (her) body trembled...."

Here we have not only regularised the spelling and put in the verse numbers correctly; we have divided the groups into what we consider to be words. It was necessary, it will be
Adhutoliabo maigbwa! tumbi hitibu itdawwe
hie idaisua 32 i dtahoto abiaitaigbwa hisitd
aiye uduaie Chihisoyaiye i o dure tumbini toki kosi
umbi igbu akitalu 33 Beni hetda udua hisatado i
ukwetaiye bahehe bahipkewto itdawwe itdani i
una ombe i bapele babhitoni itda tachi 34 ma
r gutoibci tochu ake nhipai hi doako iniye ulonamu
lumbe nodotumbi hundanibaiye hap 35
Tochu ahaitsinema beni abiykiso go abitiria toso
ripaiboadi dinka tumbi ahure itdala hie kana
mibamanagutoibo aifo to chu duda bocha nhipi itoto
dmisi aitodie i idere Jesu Gite itdaboluehhi to chu
aitdamba Esigiti tumbi hiteni abitiria t sosipa
bai la chi nagosu Esiato aliainabo hapigosa 37 abia-
itdani ololoaiye Pbeto Yakoba Johanaa Yakobit
38 tumbi ahilafu abitiri t sosipa abo abo aitdabaibma
Hapi uiahaiso obi obatakuabea 39 Uwia kapele Ra
pi hisilasaive baide hiteni lachi a chu dawmbabe
cha anihitala udawahiso ch i it chu abelaive i magu
utoko mokoli Esi aite c uba tocho a 40 Iheugbwe i
holahola ahom a itda hisilafu sole att fuaiye tu
mbi holo maguapoina - atdaina bapere abia idi,nani ahaisochadina. bomagutobo bilasi ahe, ni ba Yesu hilo go magutobo hechic. 11 tumbi hitini itdal a Chi talisapu chinaini mutini magu tobani o abulisani magutobo hechic a tumbi ho lo ide, 42 Itdalambalakai hoveha hotoi a bulinani ahiti itana fanaitibaii tumbi ho a 43. Isholahola abibapishketdana bi. tumbi ho da aheitiitti amwe.

Mukasa Shula 6 Mukasa

I Hapitumbi hapi heji hena a ideboa beni aito di nohaitda achahebi hapi sabiti hisihikaive
Tumbi hiibwaga itodie tosonipa: abibeli hisogiaive
Itanambatai akupi; la Chi akupi itoniyi
Swambabo lai hatda tochua abulaive! napi ila ja achiudulaqu dudolai taani mugu hisetiilai?
Udu amanibahasiteni techiai 3 Uduaitdahelihi
Silusiyai mahano! aibawalalatililai
Mugu Malamubai Yakobo ilibra Yesna Yudaina
Simoniina Pergi atdahaqowina amugocha i dina abula amubadia 14 tumbi Yesu hitimi i
observed, to detach a syllable from one group and add it to another, taking, e.g. the obi from chihisoya iye and attaching it to le to make lechi and splitting udua into the noun udu and the linking particle a, and re-dividing the last two words into igbwa hitralu. This procedure was only possible, of course, when the concordance had enabled us to determine the meaning of words in their context; to know, e.g. that ade - who; hitdi - he touches; ma - my; and igbwa - body. This study also allows us to say that 'my body', 'his body', are idiomatic for 'me, myself', 'him, himself'. It also shows that 'to send one's eyes' means 'to look around'.

It need not be said that in thus venturing to divide the chain of speech into words there is room for abundant errors. I am not doing more than suggest how it should be done in this particular instance. The ultimate decision can only be taken after a thorough study of the phonetics and grammar has been made. Meanwhile I have aimed at making the sentences as readable as possible. I have been guided by semantic rather than by phonetic considerations, and necessarily so, as I have never heard a word of the language spoken by natives. I have had in mind the convenience of the reader. I have been neither slavishly conjunctivist nor slavishly disjunctivist. A rigid disjunctivist would perhaps divide the word groups hitdi, hitibu, hotro, hisitdi, into h itdi or hi itdi, etc., seeing that itdi
is the verbal root and h (or hi) a formative, and therefore (on definition) a word. I think it more convenient to write one word. I admit that I am not quite consistent. I have written ma-igbwa, 'my body', with an hyphen, but itda igbwa, 'his body', and itda uwehie, 'his eyes', separately. These latter phrases illustrate the uncertainty caused by coalescence of vowels: I am inclined now to think they should be written itda a igbwa, itda a uwehie.

What I have said will show at once the advantage of making a concordance and the difficulties in making it. At first it was largely guess-work. I knew within a little what the text meant. This was St. Mark's Gospel, not an unknown writing. Each group of symbols which I imagined to be a word was written on a separate slip of paper with the rest of the phrase or sentence in which it occurred, after the manner of Cruden. A number of these words recurred frequently and their meaning was soon apparent. There was no difficulty in isolating and recognising the function of such words as hapi, tumbi (even though they were sometimes spelled api, tubi) 'and', 'then'; they occurred in almost every verse. Other words came much less frequently, but generally speaking one could, after writing a word down five or ten or twenty times, in its varying context, arrive at its meaning, or at what the translator thought its meaning to be.
There are words which occur only once or twice, and to them it is hazardous to assign form or meaning. A good many words followed by ?? will be found in the Dictionary. I am amused as I look over my first notes when I see how far I went astray in some of my guesses, taking as a word what proved to be either a part of a word or two words, perhaps three; or assigning a wrong meaning to it. One slip bears the heading: 'ITDANAIO ?? Leper, Leprosy'. I soon found that it really meant 'he says', or 'says to him'. I am still in doubt about some things: even about how to write the title of the Gospel. Should it be ENJIRI ISOGBWE NI ACHI; or ENJIRI ISOGBWE NI ACHI; or ENJIRI HISOGBWENI ACHI; or ENJIRI HISOGBWENI NIA CHI; or ENJIRI HISOGBWENI ACHI? That ni and ni a have puzzled me from first to last. And should ENJIRI be EJIRI?

As the Concordance grew under my hands, I began to see how sentences were constructed; how the verb tenses were formed. One clue to the latter was the evidently foreign word batiza in chap. 1, v.4. I wrote down the forms which it assumes in the first chapter:

\begin{verbatim}
batiza
bahibatiza
baibatiza
mubatiza
hibatiza
ibatiza
\end{verbatim}
Batiza evidently stood for 'baptize' or 'baptism'; and it seemed to have various prefixes attached to it which might represent pronouns or tense-formatives. Mu-batiza might = 'I baptize'; hi-batiza = 'he baptizes'; but what were bahibatiza, baibatiza? Ba appeared at first to be identical with the Bantu ba 'they'; but I was soon able to isolate it as an introductory word or conjunction, 'and then'; and remembering how Apolo dropped his "aitobes", I thought that possibly these words should be re-written ba hibatiza, ba hibatiza' 'and then he baptized'. When I came to other words beginning with h I temporarily classified them with hibatiza and separated out the verbal root: hitreni, hisogo, hilalani, hibe. Then I discovered that the root of hisogo is ogo and that the s is another formative. With these clues it became possible to analyse the verbal groups, separating the formatives from the roots. And when fifty or so verbal forms containing the s, or one other of the several formatives, were written down with their context, it became possible to conjugate the verb.

But this disquisition is becoming wearisome to the reader. I will only add, before passing to another topic, that, working in the evenings after my official labours were over, it took more than a year to complete the Concordance. At the end of that time I had some hundreds of sheets, arranged in alphabetical
order, containing all the words in the Gospel, each in its various contexts. I had also copied the Gospel afresh with the spelling and word-division revised as I then thought they should be - which is very different from what they now are. Here was the material for a Grammar and a Dictionary howsoever provisional these might be.

3.

An interesting and important question to be answered at an early stage was: From which version was this translation made? Only by going back to this 'original' could I judge how far the rendering was idiomatic and not a mere trans-verbation. Apolo knew no Greek and no English. He was a Muganda by birth and it was natural to suppose that the version in his mother tongue had been his basis. I had read somewhere that he had been associated with Archdeacon Owen in translating St. Mark into Konjo. On the other hand, he had learnt some Nyoro which was (I understood) the prevailing language at Mboga. A comparison of these three versions with the Etc, led me to the conclusion that it was the Nyoro version which he had used as a basis. I therefore, with the help of the Rev. H.E. Maddox's Elementary Lunyoro Grammar (published in 1902 by S.P.C.K.) learnt sufficient of that language to enable me to read the Gospel.

I found that the translation kept pretty closely to
the Nyoro text - with some omissions and a few additions. There were some differences which made me wonder whether Apolo had had access to other versions. It is well known that St. Mark employs two Greek words for 'basket' in 8.19,20: kophinos and sphuris. The Nyoro has only one, ekigaga: but the Efe has two, ilolo and ihou. He also uses musalaba for 'cross' which is not in the Nyoro.

There are some instances where, as I point out in the Grammar, it may be suspected that the translator imitates Nyoro idiom; but there are numerous other instances where the idiom is quite unlike that of Nyoro and is presumably native Efe. I may cite here the rather striking construction which reminds one of the Hebrew absolute infinitive. For example:

\[ \text{avu anihavu ose: drinking you will drink: you will surely drink.} \]
\[ \text{au abau cha: taking away, they will take away} \]
\[ \text{uhu-ni huhu: silent, he was silent} \]
\[ \text{ilafo hilafo: choking it chokes} \]

In this connection it is interesting to note (I base no argument upon it) that the Efe word for 'my father' is Aba. At 14.36 Nyoro has: Aba. Isenyowe. 'Abba, Father'; but our manuscript has only Aba ni. I suppose Apolo thought there was something incongruous in repeating the word: Aba ni Aba.
There is something of interest in the fact that the Pygmy in the Congo Forest should address his father by almost identically the same word as that by which Christ addressed His father - and Father, and that the same peculiar idiom of emphasis should be on the lips of Isaiah and the Pygmies!

A close comparison of the Efe and Nyoro version reveals and explains certain errors in the former. I have pointed these out in my detailed comments on the Gospel and in the Dictionary: here I need only offer a few illustrations.

At 15.22 the English reads 'Golgotha, which is being interpreted, The place of a skull': Nyoro, Gorogosa ekimanyisibwa ngu Kiikaro kyoruhanga. This is rendered ubu a Kologosa asi ide aitra asi ibu Mugu bai - i.e. the place of God. The explanation is that in Nyoro Ruhanga (with a capital) is 'God', and ruhanga is 'skull'. The curious identification was interpreted to me by a native of Toro: just as the skull, he said, encloses the vital personality of man, so God comprises within himself the life of the universe.

At 5.41 St. Mark records our Lord's words to the daughter of Jairus: 'Talitha kumi, which is, being interpreted, Damsel, I say unto thee, Arise'. The Nyoro has: Talisa kumi, okumanyisibwa kwakyo ngu Omuisiki, ninkugambira nti Dmuka. The Efe reads (see photostat No.2): Talisa apuohi na ini
muteni magu tobo naio. (Some words are omitted). Archdeacon Lloyd correctly inserted kumi after Talisa; but he left the word apuchi. This puzzled me for a time since apuchi means 'ten' and I could not see how Apolo got the reading Talitha ten. Then it occurred to me that kumi is the Nyoro word for 'ten'. I have amended the verse to read: Talisa kumi, ide asie, Mgutoboe ini mutreni, naio, Boha!

Other errors arise from confusing Nyoro words which are similar in form but different in meaning.

The Nyoro zina is 'sing'; and zinira is 'sing for; pay tribute to'. Both words are rendered owaimbu in the manuscript.

14.26 'and when they had sung a hymn'; Nyoro, kandi obubamazire okuzine ekizina; Efe, hapi ahisibe owaimbu ni a.

12.14. 'Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar?' Nyoro, Kirungi okuziniraga Kaisali abintu? (i.e. Is right to go on singing things for Caesar?). Efe, Ilemba bo Kaisali ni owaimbu ai?

Here, of course, it is possible that the Nyoro and Efe idioms are the same; but it is more likely that this is an example of mere confusion and transverbatition: a rendering of words, not of ideas.

Nyoro tera is 'beat'; tere'ra, 'enjoin, stir up'. At 15.11 for the English 'but the chief priests stirred up the multitude', Nyoro has Baitu banyakatagara abakuru batere'ra skitebe; and Efe Idere banyakatagala abitiri hilama tumbi abi alika - i.e. they beat the people, taking tera for tere'ra.
Nyoro *teme'ru* is 'mow, out'; *temera* 'sow'. At 4.32 the English reads: 'Yet when it is sown it groweth up!

Nyoro, *kendi obukatemerwa kakura*. The Efe having no passive should render 'when they sow it'; but actually reads Besi ahube tumbi haji iboba tutu: 'when they cut (it) then it becomes very great'.

**The Nyoro reflexive form of linda, 'take care of', is erinda, 'take care of yourself, beware'.** Those two forms are confused in the Efe rendering: 4.24 has it correctly *anilagu*, 'beware ye' (*mwerindege*), but at 6.20 'and kept him safe' - Nyoro, *vamulinda*, 'he took care of him' - is rendered, *beni hocha ilagu aba itca-mba*, 'he was on his guard against him'.

There are other passages where one suspects similar errors: *ruka* ('plait'; *ruka ibara*, name) and *ruza* (go out) are both rendered *osi*; *gura* ('sell') and *gwera* ('embark') are both rendered *opa*; *koma* ('pick up'); and *koma-mu* ('choose') are both rendered *ilogo*. The Nyoro word *gaya* is borrowed in the form *ikaya* to represent both *gaya* ('backbite') and *gaya* ('despise').

**Attention is drawn in the Dictionary to other suspected renderings of this kind.**

I have alluded to omissions and additions. I have been able to restore a few omitted words and phrases in the text; but at some places have been compelled to leave blanks in my
transcription - they are very few. Apolo was evidently not averse to inserting an occasional comment. At least, some added words look like comments. At 3.23 the words are added 'He cannot' as if in answer to the question, 'How can Satan cast out Satan?' At times there are apparent second-thoughts in the text; as if the man dictating had suddenly corrected himself, or suggested another rendering, and the first was left undeleted.

On the whole, considering the way in which it was produced, the translation leaves a favourable impression on one's mind.

4.

A first cursory glance at the manuscript when it arrived half convinced me that the language in which it was written was not a member of the Bantu group. By the time I had analysed the first chapter, I was thoroughly convinced. I could not discover any of the characteristics of Bantu: the alliterative concord, the distinct form of the passive verb, etc., etc. I had studied Bantu languages for forty years; and if this had been Bantu, the making of a Grammar would have been relatively a simple matter. But the construction was entirely strange to me. Was the language Sudanic? If so, a
knowledge of other Sudanic languages would be a help to me. I therefore sought the advice and assistance of Dr. A.N. Tucker at the School of Oriental Studies, who most kindly entered into my plans and for several sessions took me through a course of comparative Sudanic study. He had recently worked in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan on the Moru-Madi Bongo-Baka groups, and now placed his material at my disposal and worked through much of it with me, in addition to giving me lessons on the Nilotic group. I also had some lessons from Dr. Ida Ward on Efik; and studied by myself the works of Dr. Westermann and others on the Sudanic languages. All this gave me an insight into the structure of these tongues which was of great value when I began to draw up a tentative grammar of Efe.

Dr. Tucker and I came to a provisional conclusion that Efe has affinities with the Logo-Moru-Madi group.

While, as I say, Efe is not Bantu, it has features which remind one of Bantu.

Some of the nouns have distinguishable prefixes:

- m-a-ka: chief, king
- o-ku: kingdom
- m-opa: a tale
- opu: tell a tale
- k-i-pu: clothing
- i-bu: clothe
A participle is formed by prefixing *ba* or *b* to the verbal stem; and this participle appears sometimes to be employed as a noun.

*ba-upi*: sitting, one sitting  
*upi*: sit  
*b-otde*: dead, the dead  
*otde*: die  
*b-ogi*: intelligence  
*ogi*: hear, understand

Other nouns are formed by suffixes:

*anu-pa*: eating place  
*anu*: eat, eating  
*eba-pa*: place of ending  
*eba*: end  
*ole-ku*: purpose of sowing  
*ole*: sow  
*aso-ku*: purpose of serving  
*aso*: serve  
*otde-ku*: from the dead  
*otde*: die  
*.ona-du*: burial  
*ona*: plant, bury  
*ukini-du*: curtain, veil  
*ukini*: shadowing

The *-ni* as in *uki-ni* forms a series of verbal nouns.

*Chi* is a particle signifying 'manner'.

These prefixes, suffixes and particle are reminiscent of the noun-prefixes in Bantu.

*mu*- in *maka*: compare the noun-prefix *mu-*, Class 1.  
*m*- in *mopa*:  
*b*- in *botde*:  
*b*- in *bogi*:  
*k*- in *kipu*:  
*mu-*, Class 3.  
*mu-*, Class 2.  
*bu-*, Class 14.  
*ki-*, Class 7.
chi  compare the noun-prefix  k--, Class 7
-du in ona-du  "  "  lu--, Class 11
-ni in uki-ni  "  "  ni--, Class 9
-ku in ole-ku  "  "  ku--, Class 15
  (infinitive)
-ku in otde-ku  "  "  ku--, Class 17
  (locative)
-pa in anu-pa  "  "  pa, Class 16.
  (locative)

X Cf. Ila: ohi-ila, 'the Ila manner', etc.

In some instances these comparisons may appear to be strained. But, I would submit at least, the ku and pa cannot be ignored. We are probably not to think of Efe having borrowed such Bantu elements. I do not know to what extent they obtain in other Sudanic languages. They may, perhaps, be considered as part of the inheritance of Bantu and Sudanic from a common parent. It would be too much to claim Efe, on the strength of them, as the actual representative of that common parent.

5.

The most interesting question remains to be discussed. We have used the name 'Efe' of this language which is called Lumbuti by the Rev. A.B.Lloyd, and Mbuti (cutting off the Bantu
prefix Lu- that becomes natural to those who speak Lu-nyoro and Lu-ganda, by others. When the name 'Efe'? And is Efe the language of the Pygmies? By the language of the Pygmies' I do not mean 'a language spoken by Pygmies'. On this point I think no lengthy argument is necessary. We have in the Bible House a letter dated 6 September, 1930, which was written by Apolo in Nyoro and translated by Mr. Lloyd. In it he says: "I am still working very hard that I may fully understand the language of the Pygmies... I have now nearly finished the Gospel of St. Mark in Lumbuti".

The word here rendered 'Pygmies' is Bambuti: their language is Lumbuti. Evidently Apolo had no doubt that the language in which he and his helper were translating, was a language that was spoken by Pygmies. Both these men were in contact with the little people: Apolo had sojourned with them in the forest: he certainly had the means of knowing whether 'Lumbuti' was spoken by them. It was for their sake that he was making the version. Would he have gone to the trouble of making it unless he had good reason for believing that when they learnt to read they would be able to read and understand it? These considerations convince me that at least some of the Pygmies, living within a certain distance of Mboga, speak a tongue which is identifiable with the language in which this manuscript is written. Doubt has been cast upon this, but without good reason, it seems to me. What I have written is confirmed by independent witness. Mr. A.B.Lloyd tells of...
conversations which he held with Pygmies but does not say in what medium they were conducted; nor does he record Pygmy words - with one exception. He writes of an encounter with a small army of dwarfs, headed by their chief, "As soon as they caught sight of us they ran forward shouting: "Itiri, itiri!" which we quickly learned was the pigmy greeting, and might be translated as meaning 'Welcome, welcome!'"x

The word itiri occurs frequently in the Gospel with the sense of 'big, great, elder'; abi-tiri is given regularly as the equivalent of bakuru 'elders'. Itiri would seem to be an appropriate salutation on the lips of dwarfs when addressed to a full-size stranger! This is, perhaps, slight evidence. It is supported by the testimony of Sir H.H. Johnston and others, to be quoted presently. It may be argued that the Pygmies have borrowed this speech; but until strong proof to the contrary is brought forward, we can assume that the language in which the Gospel is written is indeed a language spoken by Pygmies.

But is it an autochthonous language of the Pygmies? This question is bound up with another which may be discussed first, viz. Have the Pygmies a language of their own?

This has been denied by some writers. They maintain that Pygmies adopt the speech of their 'patrons' and have none of their own.

x A.B.Lloyd: Apolo of the Pygmy Forest, p.61.
Father Trilles quotes the opinions of Mgr. Le Hoy, Dr. Poutrin and others to this effect and summarizes their conclusions as follows:

1. The Pygmies have no language of their own.
2. They speak a language closely allied, if not identical with that of the clans in the midst of which they live.
3. When that language is not the language of the clan or

---

R.P. TRILLES, *Les Pygmées de la Forêt Ecuatoriale* (1932) p.p. 212 et sqq. Mgr Le Hoy says: "Tous les groupes des Négrilles rencontrés jusqu'ici parlent une sorte de patois qui paraît étranger à leurs voisins, mais qui, de fait, est empruntée à d'autres tribus près desquelles ils ont précédemment séjourne". He tells of questioning the Pygmies. "J'interrogeais les Négrilles, en leur faisant traduire certains mots, toujours les mêmes, quand ils voulaient bien s'exécuter. Mais la comparaison me montrait par la suite que ces mots appartenaient à la langue d'une tribu ou de tribus plus ou moins éloignées... Je continuais: 'N'avez-vous pas encore une autre manière de parler?' On souriait, et l'on me disait parfois: 'Oui, encore une...' Mais c'étaient, parmi les Bantu, des mots bantu, empruntés à une tribu plus éloignée, ou déformés, ou retournés."

Dr. Poutrin, in the report of the Cottes mission to South Camerun and North Gabon, writes: "Les Négrilles n'ont pas une (continue on next p.)
tribe in whose midst they live, it is that of a tribe among whom they lived formerly, perhaps long ago and hundreds of miles from where they now are.

Father Trilles studied the language of the Pygmies in the Gabon and south Camerun. He prints vocabularies in his book. One of these, containing words taken from songs and legends, we have reproduced in an Appendix to the Dictionary. He points out that investigators such as he has quoted had to approach the Pygmies through interpreters and that they never questioned the women but only the men; he agrees that in intercourse with strangers, the Pygmies employ either the language of the conquering tribe or a language the vocabulary of which is largely borrowed from tribes more or less distant; but he affirms that they have a language of their own, the words of which are still preserved in sacred songs, incantations, proverbs, and fables and to some extent in their current speech. The grammar he finds to be quite different from that of neighbouring languages. While not being satisfied that the evidence is absolutely conclusive, he is inclined to answer the question in the affirmative: the Pygmies of the west have, or at least have had, a language of their own.

Note continued.

language propre, ou du moins on n'en trouve pas de traces, et ils semblent avoir subi, aussi bien au point de vue de la langue qu'à celui des moeurs et des coutumes l'influence des tribus au milieu desquelles ils vivent plus ou moins en parias".
In the east— that is to say, in the north-eastern region of Belgian Congo— vocabularies of several languages were collected by Sir H.H. Johnston and published in his *Uganda Protectorate*. Two of them, named 'Mbuba' and 'Bambute', are reproduced in an Appendix to our Dictionary. Johnston was struck by the close similarity of these two lists of words: the 'Mbuba' spoken by a non-Pygmy people and the 'Bambute' by Pygmies. He calls the latter 'a dialect' of the former; and seems to have reached the conclusion that the Pygmies adopted it from the Mbuba people. This conclusion is apparently based (1) on general principles: he quotes other travellers and says, "Pygmies apparently have no language peculiar to their race but merely speak in a more or less corrupt form the languages of the other Negro tribes nearest to them, with whom they most associate"; and (2) on the observation that the speech of the Mbuba people is purer than that of the Pygmies. The Pygmies, he says, intercalate their speech with faucal gasps in place of guttural consonants. This assumes, what surely needs proof, that the guttural consonants are primary and the 'faucaal gasps' secondary. It seems to me more likely that the Mbuba replaced the glottal stop (which is what Johnston seems to mean by 'faucaal gasps'), by k, than that the Pygmies dropped the k in favour of the glottal stop.
Sir H.H. Johnston also gives a short vocabulary of Lese. I have supplemented this with a few words which were sent to me recently by a lady missionary. The likeness of words in the three forms of speech is notable, for example:

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<th>Bambute</th>
<th>Lese</th>
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<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>agbe</td>
<td>e'be</td>
<td>ekpe</td>
<td>ekpwe</td>
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I have put in the 'Efe' word from the Gospel. The ' in Bambute e'be represents the 'faucal grasp'.

Johnston's vocabularies are not, I think, beyond criticism: they need to be taken with caution; he puts in what are demonstrably Bantu words; and he compares words which, I think, are not really comparable.

His 'Bambute' is to be taken for what Mr. Lloyd and Apolo call 'Lumbuti' and what we have called 'Efe'. If the general similarity between Efe, Mbuba and Lese is as close as the few words we know suggest, than the question as to the relation between the Mbuba and the Lese peoples arises.

Have they a common language? If, as Johnston imagines, the Pygmies took their dialect from the Mbuba, did the Lese also borrow the Mbuba, or vice versa? Or did they both adopt, with modifications, the Pygmy language?

We have already seen that the likeness or identity of 'Lumbuti' and Mbuba was apparent to Apolo and his assistant who is described as a Mbuba teacher. (It is not clear whether this
means that he was a native Mbuba or whether he was a Munyamboga who had gone as a teacher to the Mbuba.) Mr. Lloyd tells me that when Apolo sent evangelists to the Mbuba, men already acquainted with 'Lumbuti', they were surprised and delighted to know that they were easily understood when they spoke 'Lumbuti'.

Some answers to our questions are provided by Father Schebesta. When he was going to the Belgian Congo in 1931 to study the Pygmies, I placed in his hands a copy of the 'Lumbuti' primer already mentioned, and asked him to ascertain whether this represented the Pygmies' own native tongue. I was at the Congress in Paris in 1932 at which, after his return, he presented his preliminary Report. His paper is printed in the Proceedings of the Congress. He has since then given a fuller account in his volume Bambuti, die Zwerge vom Kongo. The full scientific results of his expedition, which will presumably contain linguistic material, have not yet been published.

Father Schebesta divides the Pygmies of the Ituri region into three groups:

1. Bambuti in the south, on the banks of the Ngayu, Ituri, Lenda and Lindi rivers;

"The name Bambuti, which originally only denoted the Kibira-speaking pygmies, was applied to all pygmies after the conquest by the Wangwana".
2. **Aka** in the north, on the banks of the Ruki, Poko and Bomokandi rivers;

3. **Efe** in the east, in the virgin forest as far as the uplands.

The Bambuti (to whom belong the Bankango) had originally only the Babira-Bakumu as hosts. After the latter had been supplanted by peoples which had probably pressed forward from the North-West, they attached themselves to the new conquerors who were the Babali, the Banda and also the Barumbi.

The Aka (who were known to Schweinfurth and other travellers), are connected with the Medje, the Babre and the Najogu. The pygmies of the Balika and a part of those of the Babubu are to be included in this section. Their hosts are principally Sudanic tribes, speaking Sudanic dialects.

Of the Efe, Father Schebesta says they are "by far the most numerous and purest tribe of pygmies and have, it would appear, retained their original language up to the present day. The influence of negro tribes, such as the Mombutu, Mamvu, Balese and Bambuba, who have penetrated into the Forest, is primarily very little."

Of particular interest is the following passage (pp. 214-5)
about their languages:

"The life of the pygmies is so closely connected with that/the Negroes, that each tribe of Bambuti understands and even speaks tolerably well the language of the negro tribe near whom it lives. This language of communication (Verkehrssprache) is not also always the tribal language (Lagersprache) of the Bambuti, for by this name I mean the dialect spoken among themselves. If an original pygmy language exists to-day, it can only be one of these tribal languages.

"The whole problem is more involved than it would at first sight appear, because all pygmies, except the Efe, are polyglot. Several tribes, as I know by experience, speak up to five languages; these are, however, exceptions, for the most part they content themselves with two or three. Although there are as many languages of communication as there are negro tribes in the Ituti Forest, the tribal languages are limited to three: Kibira, Medje and Efe. Kibira is a Bantu, i.e. negro language, which is spoken to-day by a great part of the Bambuti, particularly those in the south. Medje is a Sudanic, likewise a negro language, and is spoken by the Aka, the northern branch of the Bambuti. In both languages are found words and phonetic peculiarities which were comprised in the original idiom of the pygmies that has since been incorporated into these languages".
We are now coming to the subject that interests us most.

"A place of its own is taken by Efe, the language of the Eastern pygmies, as well as that of the Mamvu and Balese negroes who are, however, few in number as compared with the pygmies. Since the Efe speak one language only, it would be justifiable to conclude that this tribe of pygmies had either been connected exclusively with those negroes, or else that the negroes had adopted the language of the Bambuti and introduced a certain proportion of foreign elements into it. Without going into details, I incline towards the second possibility: that Efe is a pygmy language by origin which was adopted by the Mamvu, the Balese and the Bambuba who had penetrated into the eastern district. It is true that Efe resembles on certain points the languages of the Eastern Nilotic tribes, i.e. the Logo, the Bari and the Lencu; yet there is so great a difference between their vocabularies, that the resemblance must be put down to borrowing and not to root relationship. We would have, then, in Efe a current pygmy language, probably the very one which was formerly spoken by all Ituri pygmies before the negro tribes penetrated into the Forest".

In his article Die Efe-Pygmäen in 'Anthropos' (vol.25., p.312) Ocher Chebesta expresses his conviction that the Pygmies have a language of their own. The Mamvu languages, he
says, are really pygmy property: the present day Mamvu, Balesse, Mambuba and Mombutu, who speak Mamvu, have adopted the pygmy language and have formed various dialects. "The Karobalesse still speak the pygmy dialect in its purest form, although with variations". He speaks of the Mamvu having replaced the glottal stop (Hiatuskehlkopflaut) by k. Here is an opinion directly opposite to that of Sir H.H. Johnston: who thought the Pygmies had borrowed their language and in the process had substituted the 'faucal gasps' for the gutturals.

Father Schebesta seeks to show a relationship between the Pygmy and Bushman languages. His article on this subject in 'Anthropos' - Die Einheit aller Afrik. Pygmaen u. Buschmannen aus ihren Stammesnamen erwiesen (vol.26, p.894) contains a list of Efe words compared with Bushman. I have transcribed the Efe words in the Appendix No.2 of the Dictionary. We need not follow him on this adventure. Let us rather hear what he has to say about the little Primer which I gave him.

"The little book (he writes) lay for many months among my papers until in Andudu and Nduye the key to it came to my hands. Without a doubt the language was an Efe dialect, but the question was, which? On my journey through Ruanda I
I heard by chance of a black preacher who was named Apolo and who was probably the man for whom I was looking. He was said to be a Negro from Uganda who, years before, had crossed over into Belgian territory and conducted a mission at Mboga, where I was given more information about Apolo and was told where I might expect to meet him. A few days later I stood before his mud hut in a native village where his natives were engaged in building a new church. Great was my disappointment when Apolo failed to appear. A woman told him that Apolo was absent in the Forest. "As it was, actual conversation with Apolo himself was not now of vital importance to me, however interesting it might have been, because I was in communication with the very pygmies in whose language the book was written. After a few important corrections, several errors having crept into the text, the translation of the Lord's Prayer in the Efe dialect runs as follows:

Ame afu hocha halu tida, na hitu
Our father is above heaven, thy name
habula fua, Oka nibai habula fua, osani
come to us, kingdom thy come to us will
nibai habula fua halu tida bai hene,
thy come to us above heaven and earth.
eti anu amubai amuhanu obala, au au
give food our we eat to-day take away sin
Our we forgive those who trespass against us

(those who), do not tempt us but us free from thing evil.

"I have introduced this translation for the benefit of those who would like to see a specimen of Lumbuti, for nothing has as yet been printed in this language, and no European has turned his attention to this widespread language family".

So Father Schebesta.

His amended translation might be criticised; but I refrain. It offers an interesting confirmation of what I have written.

How far Father Schebesta's views are to be accepted need not be discussed at present. They require examination by men living within reach of the Pygmies. It is in order to stimulate investigation that I have quoted him at length. If what he says about Efe is found to be correct, the work I have done in this tentative manner may have some value as an introduction to the real language of the Pygmies.

And so my long labours draw to a close. In the course of them I have sometimes been tempted to abandon the task, asking myself whether the expenditure of time and energy were worth while.
Yet I persevered in the hope that what I was doing might be a contribution, not only to the unravelling of an unknown language of very great interest, but much more to the evangelisation of the Pygmies of the Congo Forest. I also hope that I may thereby help to perpetuate the labours of an African for whom I cherish a deep admiration.

What I have written is not intended for publication. This tentative Grammar, the Dictionary, and the Version of St. Mark with my comments, are to be sent out to the field, in the hope that they will be examined, corrected, and used. If as a result, the Gospel can be printed, I shall think myself repaid for all the work I have done.

Edwin W. Smith

The Bible House,
London.
7 September, 1938.
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I. It is hazardous to write about the sounds of a language which one has never heard spoken, especially when the only available material is a badly written manuscript in which the spelling is inconsistent and there is no indication of stress or tone. One clue to the value of the symbols lies in the fact that one of the writers was a Muganda and that he, and at least one of his assistants, spoke the Nyoro tongue which is closely akin to Ganda. Presumably the symbols they employ in writing Efe have more or less the same value as in Ganda and Nyoro. This, however, cannot be a wholly satisfactory criterion, because (1) the sounds in Nyoro and Ganda are not always precisely identical, (2) there are evidently some sounds in Efe which do not occur in those languages, and (3) the values of the vowels are not clearly distinguished in Ganda and Nyoro books.

The following sketch is, therefore, merely tentative. I have ventured to define the sounds provisionally, with diagrams in some instances. These definitions and diagrams are taken from *Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages* by D. Westermann and Ida C. Ward (cited W.W.), and *The Phonetic and Tonal Structure of Efik* by Ida C. Ward (cited I.C.W.). I have introduced them in the hope that they may assist other investigators in determining the sounds.
The consonants are provisionally shown in the following table.

The place of tr (see 11) has not yet been determined.

For ny see 26. The consonants in brackets are hypothetical or doubtful.
3. - The Explosive Consonants.

Efe apparently employs five types of explosive consonants, viz. bi-labial, dental (or alveolar), palatal, velar and labio-velar. Each has (a) unvoiced and (b) voiced form. The degree of aspiration cannot be stated.

4. - The voiceless bilabial, p.

The Nyoro p is said to be 'as in English'; the Ganda p 'softer than English'. It is unaspirated in Ganda.

In Efe it occurs initially and medially before vowels; it appears not to occur in combination with the homorganic m, i.e. mp is not found in our material; it is followed by in w/only a few borrowed words.

Examples:

p. pa, pe, pi, pu - particles
    pisivo, needle
    hapogi, let him hear
    opu, garden

pw. epwahwa, cup (Nyoro)

Ilupa, throw away
Tepi, branch
Itapu, swear
Aitupu, porter

There is an occasional substitution of the voiceless consonant p, for b; e.g. hilepa, 'it is good', is written, without apparent reason, for hilemba; on the other hand, b may be written for p, as, e.g. abeli for bapere, (if, as seems likely, the root is the same).
5. **The voiced bilabial, b.**

The Nyoro b is described by Maddox as 'usually a much softer consonant than in English'; in Nyankole, he says 'the lips hardly meet to pronounce it, so that the letter sounds almost like v' - i.e. it is apparently the bi-labial fricative (written phonetically v) pronounced by bringing the lips together, as for blowing out a candle, and letting the air pass through this narrow opening with voice. The Ganda b is like v when it comes between vowels. Whether the Efe is ever fricative cannot be said, but it is significant perhaps that Schebesta writes Avitiri (headman) where our MS. has Abitiri.

B occurs initially and medially; rarely before w; and frequently after its homorganic nasal m.

Examples:

b. - ba, ba, bo - particles

- butu, enemy
- bolu, spirit
- abi, man
- abe, name
- ubu, place
- ikuba, be able
- ilobe, break
bw- ebwamba (a-ibu-mba), at a place
ambambwe (ambambu-e), in former days
mb-umba, bind
bamba, mountain
embi, negative particle
ilemba, good
rimba, moon
itumbu, keep

6. The implosive consonant, 'b' (written phonetically $\tilde{b}$)

This differs from the explosive b in that the air is sucked inwards instead of being expelled when the closed lips are opened. It is made by placing the lips together, enlarging the throat by lowering the larynx and then releasing the stop with a sucking inwards of the breath. The occurrence of this sound in Efe is hypothetical. But it occurs in other Eastern Sudanic languages and in words which are similar to Efe words. Thus Efe bibi, star, is 'bi'bi in Moro Miza; 'bi'binya in Logo; 'bi'biqa in Lugbwara; $i'bi'bi$ in Luluba. Care should therefore be taken to test its presence in Efe. It may well be that certain apparent homonyms are to be distinguished by the character of the b, if not by differences of tone: e.g. ubu, sleep; ubu, time, place; ubu, put; ubu, forbid; ubu, accuse; abe, name; abe, receive; obi, roll; obi, count.
Dental t and d  
Alveolar t and d
7. **The dental or alveolar, t, d.**

This is said to have 'rather a peculiar sound' in Nyoro and d to be 'as in English'; in Ganda t & d are alveolar and unaspirated. It is at present impossible to say whether in Efe these are (a) dental, i.e. made with the tip of the tongue on the teeth; (b) alveolar, i.e. made with the tongue pressed against the teeth-ridge; or (c) retroflex, i.e. made with the tip of the tongue pressed against the front of the hard palate (behind the teeth-ridge). The various positions of the tongue are shown in these diagrams taken from W. & W. *(see p. 9).*

8. **The voiceless t.**

This occurs initially and medially before vowels.

**Examples:**

- *tobo*, female
- *tau*, side
- *tefu*, outside
- *tilo*, far
- *te, to, tu*, particles
- *itutu*, big, very

9. **The voiced d.**

This rarely occurs initially and often medially; rarely before w; and following the homorganic nasal, n., but only in one or two borrowed words.
Examples:

d. dehu, some other
dadaini, strings
oda, fall
idi, salt
itodi, teach
dw. idwa, a pronoun (?)
nd. mukwenda, messenger (Nyoro)

10. The implosive $td$ (written phonetically $\text{d}$ or 'd)

The combination $td$ is frequent in our MS. It is sometimes written $dt$; we have adopted $td$ throughout. It is not always possible to determine whether the writers intended a word to be spelt with a $t$ or a $td$. But the use of $td$ certainly points to the existence of a sound distinct from $t$ or $d$ but related to them. We suggest it is the implosive $d$, sometimes written 'd, phonetically $\text{d}$. It is formed by sucking in the breath, like the implosive $b$. The presence of this sound is probable in Efe, seeing that it is used in other Eastern Sudanic languages: thus Efe udi, dig, hew, is u'di in Moro Miza, 'di in Lugbwara and Logo. It is also possible that $td$ may be an alveolar implosive with simultaneous glottal closure, i.e. $?d$. In one Efik dialect the sound is found instead of $t$: e.g. $\text{ats}$ becomes $?\text{ct}$.  

N.B. $?$ is the symbol for the glottal stop.
The difference between \( t, d \) and \( td \) is seen in the following words: \( ite, \) exist; \( itde, \) destroy; \( ita, \) foot; \( itda, \) he, him, his; \( iti, \) cut; \( itdi, \) touch; \( ote, \) seize \( otde, \) die.

\( Td \) is often found medially, and initially only when the preceding vowel has been dropped. It does not occur with a nasal, nor with \( w. \)

Examples:

\begin{align*}
\text{itdole, tdole, woman} \\
\text{iletdu, old} \\
\text{itetdi, embrace} \\
\text{etda, know}
\end{align*}

11. **The combination, \( tr. \)**

There is fluctuation in the spelling of a series of words in the MS: sometimes they are written with \( t, \) sometimes with \( tr, \) and one or two words may sometimes be written with \( r. \) Thus we have: \( tutu, truru, trutu, \) spittle; \( itana, irana, itrana, \) to be astonished; \( tochu, trochu, \) word; \( itama, itrama, \) to run; \( italu, itralu, \) to be sorry; \( oto, otro, \) see; \( itu, itru, \) front; \( ediate, ediatre, \) nothing.

This variation appears to point to the existence of a sound different from \( t \) or \( r. \) The combination \( dr \) does not occur.
Retroflex t

It may be

(a) a retroflex t (written phonetically \(t\)) made with the tip of the tongue pressed against the front of the hard palate (behind the teeth-ridge)

or (b) a dental or alveolar t followed by a rolled r.

or (c) as in Gbaya, an affricate made with the curled up tip of the tongue, somewhat like the tr in English tree.

or (d) an explosive r as noted by Dr. Tucker in the Moru and Bongo groups, where he says tr, dr are not t r, d r.

We have regularized the spelling by writing tr in all words where in any instance we find tr.

12. The palatal explosives, ch, j.

It is not certain whether these are to be regarded as (1) explosives (phonetically written ty & dy) in which the stop is made by the front of the tongue against the hard palate, the tip of the tongue being down behind the bottom teeth; or as (2) affricates (phonetically written tʃ, dʒ) like the sounds in English church, judge.

In Ganda Crabtree classifies them as 'continuants', and ch is said to be as in church. Maddox says that in Nyoro c(ch) is pronounced like cheese and that the pronunciation is markedly different from that in Ganda. The presence of friction would decide whether these consonants are affricates.

There is some hesitation in our MS. between the two sounds ch and j. Sometimes we find itda_cha, he says; and sometimes itda_ja. We have written ja throughout.
13. The voiceless ch.

This occurs initially and medially before vowels; and once or twice before w.

Examples:

ch  cha, chi, chu, particles
    ocha, be
    ochi, be born
    echo, scatter
    uchu, head
    itrochu, speak
    apuchi, ten

chw
    apuchwai, ninth

In borrowed words ch is sometimes retained and sometimes represents other sounds. Note that in Nyoro ch is used for

Efe machuta, oil
    Ngwana, mafuta
   muchija, fever

Nyoro, musuija

14. The voiced j.

This occurs initially only in ji, a particle; and in ja,
the defective verb 'to say', used as a conjunction 'that'.

Examples of its medial use:

aji, become
iji, suckle
ija, stumble
iju, rest
imaja, unclean
ihoji, dry

15. **The velar explosives k, g.**

These are made, as in English, with the back of the tongue raised against the soft palate. G is presumably always hard as in Nyoro, and not, as in Nyankole, often soft.

Attention is drawn again to what Sir H.H. Johnston remarked (see Introduction, p.99.), namely that the Bambuti substitute 'a faucal gasp' for the guttural k.

16. **The voiceless velar, k.**

It is used both initially and medially; it is not followed by w, nor preceded by a nasal n.

Examples:
ki, ku, ko, particles
kagbwi: son, child
kido, small vessel
kombe, garment
kupu, skin
oka, kingdom
uki, overshadow
isuku, mock
ituka, beseech

In words borrowed from Nyoro, k replaces g, as a rule: an exception is mukisa, blessing, which is also written mugisa.

Since in Efe the velar nasal does not precede k, nk in foreign words becomes k.
Examples:

Nyoro: gaya, curse   Efe: ikaya
gasa, be worth ikasa
ganyira, forgive ikanila
enkaina, ass kainagbwi
ekijumankuba, sponge kijumakuba

For the assimilation of k & g see pars. 44 sqq.

17. The voiced velar, g.

This is also used initially and medially. It is not found in connexion with w (gw), nor with n (ng).
Examples:

ga, gi, gu, particles
magu, son
ogi, hear
ogo, go from
ilogo, choose
ilagu, beware

As g never occurs preceded by a velar consonant, the n is dropped from borrowed words.

Examples:
Nyoro: mahanga, nations 
ere, mahaga
ngolo, reed 
golo
Swahili: Mungu, God 
Mugu

18. The labio-velar explosives kp, gb.

These characteristic Sudanic consonants are formed by a double stop, the lips being together and the back of the tongue touching the soft palate (in the k, g position) at the same time. The two articulations are made simultaneously. When the sound occurs between two vowels, there must be no on-glides to the k before the lips come together for the p position: i.e. it must be a-kpwe, not ek-pwe; a-gbwi, not ag-bwi.

19. The voiceless velar explosive, kp.

This occurs usually in connection with w, as kpw.

Examples:

ikpwe: kneel to
ukpwasi: porch
okpwi: fire
ikpwobo: whither
ekpwe: two

20. The voiced velar explosive, gb.
This also occurs with w, and rarely in an initial position.
Examples:

gbwogbwou, a path imegbwi, shore
igbwe, body hegbwe, in
igbwuga, begin ogbwe, write
ilagbwu, throw down

21. The affricate, pf.

Affricate consonants are defined by WW. as "sounds which resemble plosives in that they consist of a stop, but differ from plosives in that the stop is released slowly instead of suddenly. Thus no explosion occurs, but the fricative consonant corresponding to the stop, and made where the stop is made, is heard as the organs of speech separate slowly. An affricate can, therefore, be considered as a group of two sounds, stop + fricative". (pp.86,87)
It cannot be said at present whether the Efe pf is bi-labial or labio-dental.

Pf occurs both initially and medially before vowels: never followed by f; and never preceded by the nasal, m.

Examples:

pfupfu: cloud, or hour This word is also written (once) in the MS as fufu. See note in Dictionary under Pfupfu.

epfu, deceit
epfepfu, falsely

22. For the (possible) palatal affricate, see

23. The nasal consonants, m, n.

The velar nasal (ŋ) appears not to be used in Efe: (see 16, 17). But seeing that Maddox says that it is unknown in Nyoro and unpronounceable by the natives, it is possible that it does exist in Efe and was not recognised by the writers of our MS.

The breath, stopped from issuing from the mouth by either (1) the lips, or (2) by the tip of the tongue against the teeth, teeth-ridge or the hard palate, is, by the lowering of the soft palate, allowed to escape by the nose; thus we get (1) the nasal consonant m; (2) the nasal consonant n. The Efe n is probably alveolar, but this is a point to be tested.
24. **The bilabial nasal, m.**

This occurs frequently as an initial, less so medially. It is sometimes followed in borrowed words by w, and frequently by the consonant b (see p. 5).

Examples:

- ma, mu, mai, pronouns
- mā, ima, mother
- maka, chief
- mape, wind
- marī, wilderness
- mīmle, deep water
- mobo, a sign
- mati, salute

25. **The alveolar nasal, n.**

We say 'alveolar', but it is uncertain which of the three possible n's is represented. It depends upon where the stoppage is made by the tip of the tongue, whether (1) against the teeth (dental n); (2) against the teeth-ridge (alveolar n); (3) against the hard palate (retroflex n). W.W. say that (1) and (3) are both uncommon in African languages. Probably Efe has only (2).

N occurs both initially and medially; never in connection with w.

Examples:

- na, ni, particle
- una, spread
- ona, plant, bury
- nafuga, riches
- isuna, sow
- itona, pray

Dental n.
Since consonants are not preceded by a nasal consonant in Efe, the n is dropped from borrowed words (see 16, 17).

Examples:

Nyoro: nsoni, shame Efe: soni
   singa, condemn siga
   lenga, measure ilega
   engamira, camel egamila

We have noticed one exception to this in the Ms. mukwenda, messenger (Nyoro) is written mukwenda, not mukweda.

26. The palatal, ny.

This combination may represent the palatal nasal (written phonetically n), heard in Italian campagna, or a combination of n & the semi-vowel y.

It appears only in words borrowed from Nyoro or Ganda, e.g. nyakatagala, priest. This is written nakatagala in 1, 43, and we have generally followed this spelling.

27. Lateral, rolled, flapped consonants.

It is impossible to say what the sound is that is represented in our material, sometimes by r and sometimes by r, or whether they represent two sounds or one. In Ganda l and r appear to belong to the same phoneme. The sound (say WW. p. 191) is like
initially and after ā, ō and ū (though it often sounds remarkably r-like between vowels.) It is r-like after ĭ and ē. The r is rather d-like, consisting of only one tap. The same seems to be true in Nyoro. Maddox says ĭ & r are "really one letter in the native mind". He gives the rule: "between the vowels a ē and a ĭ, o ē and o ĭ, u ē and u ĭ, write ĭ, but in other cases write r. Between o and ō it is immaterial." D, he says, is interchangeable with ĭ or r when commencing a word. There is a rolled r, which Maddox writes ĭr. In his vocabulary ĭ- and r-words are listed together. Words in his vocabulary and N.T. are not always spelt the same, in this particular.

The writers of our MS. waver between ĭ and r: a word will now be spelt with ĭ and now with r. We have not adopted the one or the other uniformly, but have regularized the spelling of individual words.

There was the same uncertainty in writing down the Ila language. Now it has been found that in such words as ĭala, lie down, sleep, lwala, claw (and in other words before ē, ō, ū) the ĭ differs in no significant way from the 'clear ĭ; before ĭ and y the sound is not ĭ, r, or d; but a flapped lateral (written phonetically by
Doke \( r \) \( r \), e.g. ku\( y \), te eat. Dr. Doke says that it is enunciated with a single flap of the tongue. Contact positions are much as for \( l \), but there is more tension. The sides of the tongue are raised to touch the palate all along the upper side teeth. The forward part of the tongue blade (not the tip) flaps against the alveolus (teeth ridge) almost to the base of the upper front teeth, while the air escapes over the front and slightly forward laterally.

This may possibly be the sound in Efe. Or it may be a flapped \( r \) (written phonetically \( l \)). The sound occurs in Moro Miza, e.g. \( \epsilon \ell i \) come; cf. Efe ere, come.

The flapped \( r \), and how it differs from flapped \( l \), is thus described by W.W. (p. 74):

a. Starting-point of the tongue

b. Underside of the tongue touching the teeth ridge.

c. Final position of the tongue.

"The term flapped consonant is given to certain kinds of \( r \) and \( l \) sounds made by curling up the tip of the tongue and then flapping it down quickly: on the way, the underside of the tongue touches the teeth-ridge, making one tap. If the sides of the tongue touch the upper teeth, the sound is a flapped \( r \); it resembles a \( d \) made very quickly. If the sides of the tongue are free, and the air can escape laterally, it is a flapped \( l \)."

It is possible, of course, that (as in Gbaya and other languages) \( l \), \( r \) and \( l \) may all occur in Efe and even \( r \) as well.
The sounds represented by \( l \) and \( r \) occur in our material, both initially and medially before vowels: never before \( w \) and \( y \).

Examples:

\[ \text{la, lai, le, ladi, lachi, lechi, locha, particles and pronouns} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{labe, a fence} & \text{lebana, first} \\
\text{lagu, wisdom} & \text{leku, left (hand)} \\
\text{lalodu, seven} & \text{leu, slave} \\
\text{lipo, after} & \text{lolo, measure} \\
\text{lotdi, spirit} & \text{lugbwasa, booth} \\
\text{ilalo, hide} & \text{ilala, rend} \\
\text{itali, carry} & \text{ila, arm} \\
\text{olo, go} & \text{olu, thing} \\
\text{ole, sow} & \text{helu, canoe, boat} \\
\text{rimba, moon} & \text{ere, come} \\
\text{uru, pour} & \text{iluru, trouble} \\
\text{ilore, be offended} & \text{iraij, kiss} \\
\text{irambi, sigh} & \text{meri, wilderness} \\
\end{array} \]

In borrowed words the tendency is to substitute \( l \) for \( r \).
Nyoro: rabi, rabbi  Efe: labi
raboni, Habboni  laboni
maraika, angel  mailaika
serikani, soldier  silikani
mukuru, superior  mukulu

28. Fricative consonants: f, v; s, z; h.

These are made by narrowing the air passage at some point and by allowing the air to escape through this narrowed space.

29. The voiceless fricative, f.

We cannot say whether this is bi-labial or labio-dental: i.e. whether it is formed (1) by bringing the lips together (as for blowing out a candle) and allowing the air to pass out between them, or (2) by bringing the bottom lip against the top teeth. Both kinds may possibly occur in Efe.

In Ganda f and v are velarized, i.e. their articulation is accompanied by a simultaneous raising of the back of the tongue. Crabtree says they are bilabial and sound like fw, vw. Maddox says that in Nyoro f is generally pronounced like fw.
In Efe, \( f \) is used both initially and medially before vowels: there is no instance of \( fw \) nor does \( nf \) occur. It is not always certain whether or no the sound is \( pf \) or \( f \) (see 21).

Examples:

- \( fu \), bow down
- \( ifuga \), possess
- \( efu-efu \), doubtful
- \( afu, ufu \), kill
- \( ofu \), remain
- \( ufo \), spear, sword

\( F \) is kept unchanged in borrowed words

Nyoro: \( efeza \), coin  Efe: \( feza \)

30. The voiced fricative \( v \).

The same uncertainty exists, of course, as regarding \( f \). \( V \) is not used in Nyoro.

We have no instance of its being used initially in Efe: it occurs medially before vowels in very few words, never before \( w \), and never preceded by \( n \).

- \( avu \), drink
- \( ivu \), cause to drink
31. The sibilant fricatives s and z.

In Ganda these sounds are made with the tip of the tongue; Nyoro z "commonly like zz". (Maddox,
There is no sh(f) or zh (ʒ) in Efe.

32. The voiceless fricative, s.

This occurs both initially and medially before vowels; never before w, rarely before y; nor does ns occur.

Examples:

silila, grass
silipi, earthquake
silisili, dust
sipi, locust
syopu, owner of garden
asi, think
osi, deny
osi, fear
ose, go up
ilasi, enter
itoso, gather
itisi, gateway

s is generally unchanged in borrowed words, but if it is preceded by a nasal consonant, this is dropped.

Nyoro: sabatu, sabbath
Efe: sabatu, sabiti

siga, accuse
soni, shame
soma, read

sometimes Nyoro z changes to s.

emeza, table

Efe: mesa
33. **The voiced fricative z.**

   This only appears in foreign words.

   Examples:
   
   Nyoro: *efeza*, coin
   Efe: *feza*
   muzabibu, grape vine
   muzabibu

   The *z* in foreign words is sometimes changed.

   Nyoro: *magezi*, wisdom
   Efe: *maheji*

34. **The glottal fricative h.**

   *H* is usually classed, say *WW* (p.85), as a glottal fricative, i.e. friction is said to occur between the open vocal cords. "A further element in its articulation is the sudden expulsion of the air from the lungs. Frequently some friction can be heard in the mouth after the sudden 'jerk'. The tongue is in readiness for the following vowel during the production of the *h*, and the friction heard is in reality a whispered vowel: thus *h* before *i* is different from that before *e*, *a*, etc."

   *H* does not appear to occur in Ganda; in Nyoro it is "a pure aspirate" and followed by *w, i, or y*, it receives a noticeable emphasis (*Maddox*). We have heard it said that Apolo Kivebulaya 'dropped his sitches' when speaking Nyoro. In our MS., however, *h* is conspicuous. It is of very frequent use in the formation of nouns, adjectives
and verbal forms. Occasionally it appears where it ought not: e.g. at l.5 ideniha is written for ideni a (as in later passages). We suspect that ha is frequently written for a. On the other hand, h is sometimes omitted where it perhaps should be written: e.g. l.7 the original MS. reads Baitene, where, according to normal later usage, it should be Bh hitreni. That verse well illustrates both the omission and the superfluity of the h. The original read as follows (we put our suggested corrections in brackets): Baitene (Bh hitreni) ide huduwe (udue) tochuwe (trochue) lachi: Isero (hisere) na lipo ni ai itda iladiya (hiladi a) umuwe (umue) mani, api (hapi) magikubaha (?magikuba a) itda fuwe (fue) itugo muleba kakeito mbaiye (baie).

We think that the use of h needs to be carefully reviewed. H occurs both initially and medially before vowels; never with w except in one or two foreign words. Examples:

- habo, cock
- hade, vessel
- haga, jealousy
- hau, foot
- hatu, widow
- hebi, fish
- hechu, tongue
- hedi, hand
- aheli, there
- tiha, feast
- tohu, testimony
- iba, one, other
- ahi, go about
- ihi, take off
- ilaha, weep
- ikpwohi, throng
H is retained in foreign words and occasionally is substituted for other sounds.

Nyoro: mahano, wonders  Efe: mahano
muhito, tribulation  muhito
magezi, wisdom  maheji
gobyu, act hypocritically  ihobia
empahwa, cup  epahwa

35. The semi-vowels, w and y.

This is WW.'s definition: "a semi-vowel has characteristics of a vowel and a consonant. It is an independent vowel glide in which the tongue starts from the position of a close (or half-close) vowel, such as i, u (or e, o) and immediately moves to some more open position, i.e. to that of a vowel of greater sonority than itself. Thus w is the semi-vowel beginning from the u or o position and y the semi-vowel from the i or e position. The consonantal character of a semi-vowel lies in the fact that it has little sonority: it cannot have syllabic quality nor can it bear a specific tone."

36. The labio-velar semi-vowel w.

This is used largely in Nyoro, as in Ganda, to form what are called "labialized consonants", e.g. lwa, lwe, lwi, lwo. It is used in the same way in Efe, but the number of consonants which may be thus 'labialized' is limited: in
our material only these are to be found: bw, gbw, kpw.

also represents the glide from u to a, in such words as abwa = abu-a: ouwa, dazzle; uwa, snake; uwa, eye; uwi, a loud cry.

The w was often used (but not consistently) in the original MS when the suffix e was added to words ending in u: e.g. amwa (amu-e); trochuwa (trochu-e); oluwa (olu-e). We have removed the w in such words.

In the original MS. we find words run together like this: abwalika "many times" for abu a like; unwabea, for unu abe a.

37. The palatal semi-vowel y.

In Ganda most consonants (but not w) can be palatalised, i.e. pronounced with palatal y, e.g. kya, kye, kyo, kyu. Such forms are also common in Nyoro. They do not appear in our Efe material and when such words are borrowed, they make a change. Thus, Nyoro, kyenu, curse, becomes in Efe ikiena; gobya, becomes ihobiya; ohya, becomes iyobiya.

Apart from this the use of y in Nyoro "is merely phonetic in adjusting awkward vowel combinations." For example, when a a, a e, etc. come together through the addition of prefixes, either the first vowel is elided, or y is interposed as ayanga, for aanga; eyangire for eangire, iyafa for iaфа.
Ai are not separated in this way: ai "may be considered a diphthong with a considerable latitude of pronunciation" (Maddox). In haiguru, i.e. "the sound is broad like ie in lie" in omunyaihanga "it is more a in may".

The writers of our MS naturally followed Nyoro usage, but not quite consistently. When a word ending in i is followed by one beginning in a, a y is generally introduced. Thus we have ombyaichale, 'truly', which should be divided, it seems, ombi a ichale (or ombi aichale) 'truly'; haocha ida a ihotiyai which should be haocha ida a ihoti ai, 'he was one of the twelve'; heti nibaiyatita, 'the stool of thy feet', should be heti nibai a ita.

The ai is a common prefix, forming nouns. When it is added to a word beginning with o, a, e, y is usually interposed: e.g. ai-y-olu-lado, a robber; ai-y-aga, companion of the bridegroom; ai-y-ame, physician; on the other hand, we have ai-ubo, master of the house; ai-udu-magu sinner. Sometimes, again, the i is dropped and ay is written: e.g. ay-olie, sower; ay-ogbwa, writer; ay-aiutra, builder; ay-epefu, deceiver; ay-olu-aso, servant. We have left these formations as they are in the original MS.

It has been more difficult to determine what to do with ai when it enters into the genitive construction. One form
is variously spelt bai, bayi. When the suffix -e is added, and when a follows, we have baiye, baiya. We have decided in this instance to omit the y, and to write bai, bai a. So too, mai, maie, mai a; lai, laie, lai a, etc.

Another common association is ni a, ni e, frequently, but not consistently written niya, niye in the original. We write ni a. Thus ani (you), anie (for aniye), ani a (for aniya).

We have retained the y in such words as oya, iya, aya. The presence of the y in these words testifies that there is a glide from vowel to vowel, and not a glottal stop between them.
II. THE VOWELS

38. In our material a five-vowel system is followed: \( \text{a, e, i\0, u} \). No distinction of length is shown.

39. How far the vowels have the same values as in Nyoro and Ganda it is impossible to say. For the purpose of comparison we append these notes from W.W.:

In Ganda there are five vowel phonemes.

\( \text{i} \) is very close when long and when final: evviivi, knee; not quite so close before a nasal consonant: okutiinda, to bridge over; when short and non-final \( i \) sounds a little more open and retracted: ekitabo, book.

\( \text{e} \) is close (a) when final: ente, cow; (b) when long: mweenda, nine.

\( \text{e} \) is open when short and non-final: ekko, dirt. The most open variety is used when the sound is short and precedes a nasal consonant: omulema, lame person. In ente yiye, 'the cow is his'; three varieties of \( e \) are heard: the last is the closest, the first the most open.

\( \text{a} \) has the open position (intermediate between the vowels of have and halve) when it occurs long: okusaaba, to smear. It has a central position when short: satu, short.

\( \text{o} \) is close when final: omuto, cushion; it is more open when long and when initial (initial \( o \) often sounds rather long: oluta, span; it is very open when short and medial:
ebboggo, snappishness. The three varieties are heard in obwolo, poverty.

u is practically Cardinal No.8 when it is long or final: ekkuubo, narrow passage. It sounds a little more open when short and non-final: amakulu, meaning.

Length of vowel is significant in Ganda; e.g. okuzika, to go out of cultivation; okuziika, to bury.

40. Are there other vowels in Efe?

(a) Sir Harry Johnston noted the French or German sound of u (German ü) in words like tou, 'arm'; asuba, 'bone'; tupi, (buffalo); ucu 'head'; use, 'tooth'; ou 'water'. Presumably he is referring to the vowel in French rue; German Hüte, which is written phonetically y.

This needs confirmation.

(b) In the Moru-Madi group of languages three other varieties occur; and possibly they may be found also in Efe.

ɔ : when long this vowel strikes the English ear as the au is caught; and when short as the vowel in not.

i : this resembles the i in bit, hit. We shall suggest (see chap.5, pars. 33, 36) that there is a distinction between ni, dative, and n determinative.

ɛ : this resembles the a in vary, ea in tearing.
The presence or absence of these vowels should be settled. It may be that words spelled alike in the Dictionary are distinguished by the vowel value.

III. COMBINATIONS OF VOWELS

41. Two vowels frequently come together in our material. We are not to suppose them all diphthongs.

Diphthongs are not formed by simply pronouncing two vowels in succession. A diphthong is defined by WW as "a gliding sound in which the tongue starts in the position of one vowel and immediately leaves it to glide towards another vowel position by the most direct route, without any diminution and subsequent reinforcement of the breath force". A diphthong strikes the ear as one syllable.

Whether a vowel combination such as ai in Efe words like ai, 'uncover'; aiyai, 'house'; aipe bo? 'how many', is a diphthong depends on whether or not the tongue remains still for a while on the a and then again on the i: the fact that ai is so frequently written ayi in our material suggests that the tongue does so remain and that therefore ai is not a diphthong as i in the English 'time'.

Other combinations are as follows: Whether any of them are diphthongs remains to be proved. Of course, they may (like ai indeed) be diphthongs in some words and not
in others.

a e: ba-etda, knowing.

Sometimes y is put between the vowels: a-y-epfu,

a o: ba-otde: dead

Y is generally inserted: a-y-ole: sower

a u: au, remove; itau, recover sight; ba-upi, sitting

a e: Y is placed between the vowels: eya, poor; hey, door

e i: bei, beicha: if

e u: hau, seed

i a: ediatre, none

Y is often placed between the vowels: iya, do;

ihobiya, defraud.

i e: ikiekpwe, twelve

o i: itoi, seek; oi, sun

o u: gbwogbwou, road; hou, basket

u a: ibaluwa, document

W is often inserted between the vowels: ibaluwa

will be found spelt as ibaluwa

u e: abuedi, some time; gueni, himself

u i: bolu-ita, hardness of heart; haluitda, heaven

o a: w is generally inserted between the vowels: owa-imbu,

pay tribute to.

There are combinations of three vowels as in aie,

baie, beaicha, if when.
IV. ELISION & COALESCEENCE OF VOWELS.

42. When two vowels come together, one or other may disappear; or the two are replaced by a vowel acoustically intermediate between the two. Elision or coalescence takes place when two words stand side by side; or when they are combined into one word; or when a prefix ending in a vowel is added to a word beginning with a vowel.

Examples of elision:

* ba shitreni, 'and they say', will often/be found written ba hitreni. This may not really be elision, for the two a's/may make a long a (aa)
  edidi for ediedi, 'one by one'.

  This may not be elision though written as if it were so; the i and a may coalesce into i. edidere is written for edi idere.

It should be noticed that numerous verbs, nouns and adjectives begin with a vowel, i, and that this tends to disappear.

Examples of coalescence:

* ba-echa, standing, becomes becha.

  It is probable that the e in becha should be e, the front vowel between a and e.

* ba-ogi, hearing, understanding, becomes bogi.

  It is probable that the o in bogi should be o.
a itu, becomes etu. The two will be found written as one in the Gospel.

V. ASSIMILATION.

43. Assimilation is defined by WW as "the process by which a sound came to be replaced by another sound under the influence of a third sound which is adjacent to it in word or sentence".

44. The negative prefix, or infix, of verbs may be k or g, according to the consonant which follows in the next syllable. If that consonant is voiceless, the voiceless k appears in the prefix or infix; if the consonant is voiced, the voiced g appears.

Examples:

(a) voiceless k, voiceless consonant following:
   ketda: he did not know
   kisoji: let him not turn back
   kisogi: let him not hear
   hakaji: let it not become
   hakotde oha: he will not die
   kappa ilafue: it did not flow again
(b) voiced $g$ voiced consonant following:

- **gabe**: he does not believe
- **hagaba**: it does not end
- **ganu**: did not bear
- **gere**: comes not
- **gali**: did not reply
- **gilasi**: entered not

45. There are apparent exceptions to this rule. Thus we find in the manuscript **gosa**, 'he does not like', **gosu**, 'he does fear', where we should expect **kosa**, **kosu**. The prefix or infix is frequently followed by the infix **-s-** which modifies the verb; and then it is often, if not generally, written $g$, not $k$, as in the examples given above, **ki-sogi**, **ki-s-oji**. Thus we have **hagisatde**, **hagisitralu**, **gisocha**, etc. The writing in this respect is not uniformly regular: we find **hakisatde** as well as **hagisatde**. It may be that the $s$ is voiced, and should be written **z**.

We have **makavu** and **magafu** where we expect **magavu** and **makafu**; **magikuba** where we expect **makikuba** (we do get **nakikuba**); **ahakaga** instead of **ahagaga**; **kamba** instead of **gamba**; **kogbwe** instead of **gogbwe**.

It may be, in view of these exceptions, that the writing is at fault; or that we have not rightly formulated the rule.
46. The negative particle ki, gi, standing alone, varies also, apparently according to the consonant in the word which follows. The examples are too few to allow us to say this with certainty.

\[\text{trochu gi edi: not more than one word}\]

We find ki where, according to the rule in par. 44, we expect gi.

\[\text{anitona ki le-mba, pray it be not}\]

47. Assimilation appears to account for $b$ changing into $p$. From the verb ibu, 'put on, clothe', a noun is formed by prefixing $k$-; but the noun is not kibu, but kipu. Here the assimilation is regressive.

47a. Assimilation may take place in vowels as well as in consonants. Perhaps we have an example of this when mu, 'I' is prefixed to verbs beginning with i: mu-itodi, for example, becomes mu-todi, 'I teach'.

VI. TONES

48. Tonetics is the study of tone in speech. By a tone is meant the relative pitch of any significant speech-element chosen as a unit. The speech element may be syllable, root, word or phrase. The simplest kind of tone-unit is the
syllable and this has been taken as the basis by those who have hitherto studied the tonetics of Bantu and Sudanic languages. In Hottentot, Dr. Beach has taken the root as a basis.

Do tones play a significant part in Efe speech? In other words, does the meaning of a word or phrase depend in any degree upon a variation of the pitch of the voice with which it is pronounced? Can we say of Efe, as can be said of other African languages, that a word consists of consonants, vowels, and tones? This remains for investigation. But we may point out why we consider the presence of tones to be more than probable.

Sir H.H. Johnston reported of the Bambute: "They also have a peculiar singing intonation of the voice when speaking which is noteworthy. It consists usually in beginning the first syllable of a word on a low note, raising the voice on the penultimate syllable and lowering it again on the last" (The Uganda Protectorate, vol. ii, pp.532, sqq.) In his vocabulary the grave and acute accents over the syllables convey the low and high sounds: e.g. taú, 'back'; íbú, 'dog'; úpí, 'ear'; utígbá, 'lips'; ìbú, 'sleep'. If these accents represent tones (and what else can they represent?) they can be marked thus: .; ; .; ; ; showing great regularity. Unfortunately, we are not given
examples of 'high and low sounds' in longer words. If a dot above the line represents the high tone; the falling and rising tones (if they exist) can be shown by \( \ddot{\text{a}} \).

49. Pitch is used for two purposes, viz.

(a) to indicate meaning (semantic or etymological tones)
(b) to show grammatical relationships (grammatical or syntactic tones).

(a) These tones may be expected to mark difference in meaning between words spelt alike. Numerous examples of such words will be found in the Dictionary: see the different uses of ACHA; ABA; OSI, etc. Such apparent homonyms may be distinguished possibly by difference in consonant and/or vowel values, by length of vowel or consonant; and by tone. The tones of each word in the Dictionary should be observed and indicated.

(b) Syntactic tones may be suspected, distinguishing verb groups that appear identical in this tentative Grammar.

For example: \textit{amu-tisu} may mean 'ta send us' or 'let us send'. The difference in meaning may possibly be shown by tone.

It would be useful if a passage from the translation were written out with every word carefully marked for tone.
1. The purpose of this chapter is to offer a preliminary and general account of the construction of words in Efe.

2. The items in our vocabulary fall into three categories, viz. (1) monosyllables; (2) disyllables; (3) polysyllables.

MONOSYLLABLES

3. Monosyllables are either
   (a) words composed of a single vowel or diphthong
      (see ch.1, p.41) We here presume that these combinations of vowels are diphthongs.
      The words are:
      1. Nouns, e.g. o (or u) water; oi, sun; ai, house
      2. Verbs, e.g. oi (or ui), hate; ou, anoint; au, remove
      3. Particles, - prefixes, suffixes, infixes, e.g. a, e.
   (b) words composed of a consonant and a vowel or diphthong, C + V, C + D.
      These are:
      1. Nouns, e.g. cha, hour;
      2. Pronouns, e.g. mu, ma, mai, la, le, lai;
      3. Verbs, e.g. fu, bow down
      4. Particles - suffixes, postpositions, connectives, etc.
e.g. ba, bo, be, cha, chi, chu;
    pa, ku, du, ga, gi, ni, tai, mba

It is possible to detect an 'idea' in some of these monosyllables: chi, 'manner'; pa, 'place'; gi, 'negation';
    ku, 'direction, purpose'; bu, 'time' or 'place'.

(2) DISYLLABLES

4. These may be formed on the pattern (a) V+C+V,
    (b) C+V+C+V

5. (a) A considerable number of words are formed on the pattern V+C+V.
The series is as follows. The words underlined are found in our material only in composition, e.g. il-ala, rend;
h-ene, land. Possibly, if our vocabulary were larger, these, like the rest, would be seen as distinct words.

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6. We refer to these disyllables hereafter as VCV. They function as:

- a. Nouns: e.g. aba, father; ima, mother; abi, man;
  - ubu, time, place; iku, a press; olu, udu, thing
b. Adjectives: e.g. obu, new; iha, one, some

c. Numerals: e.g. ekpwe, two; echi, four

d. Pronouns: e.g. umu, I; amu, we; itda, he; ade, who?

e. Particles (adverbs, etc.): usa, or; achi, like ina, with.

f. Verbs. These are the great majority.

Some VCV function as more than one part of speech:
e.g. abe, as a noun is 'name'; as verb 'believe, consent';
and it is also a verbal adjunct. Many of them used as verbs
have several meanings, e.g. osi, pour, be satisfied, cry
aloud, deny, see. Apparent homonyms may probably be
distinguished by (a) tone; (b) consonant value; (c) vowel
value.

7. Westermann (in his Die Sudansprachen) has shown that
in many Sudanic languages a large proportion of the words
are monosyllabic and that they consist only of one consonant
and one vowel. He has also demonstrated that the words
which no longer have this simplest form can, to a large
extent, be traced back to words of one syllable.

In Efe there are many monosyllables, but the majority
of words are composed of more than one syllable. The VCV
may be said to be the ground-work of the language. Can they
be proved to derive from monosyllables? We believe this
can be shown quite definitely as regards some, at least, of
VCV. They are composed of a vowel prefix (a-, e-, i-, o-, u-)
and a monosyllabic root. This is indicated by two facts:

a. Some of these roots appear in other Eastern Sudanic languages as self-contained words with a meaning which is identical with, or similar to, that of the Efe VCV.

Examples:

Efe:  
  afu, kill
  uku, pull down
  uvu, drink
  uti, mouth
  otde, die
  obe, dance
  upi, ear
  udi, dig
  ibu, place

Lugbwara:  
  fu, kill
  ku, pull up
  mvu, drink
  ti, mouth
  dha, die
  be, dance
  bi, ear
  'di, dig
  vo, place

b. In many instances the vowel prefix has evidently a semantic function, i.e. it gives a distinct turn to the meaning of the word. The following examples will illustrate the fact.

  i-do, heal, save;  o-do, get well, be saved
  i-gbwa, body;  u-gbwa, tree
  i-pi, leaf;  u-pi, ear
  e-ji, depart;  o-ji, turn back;  u-ji, bring
  o-na, plant;  u-na, spread
  atde, quench;  i-tde, destroy;  o-tde, die;
  u-tde, war
a-vu, u-vu, drink; i-vu, cause to drink

In Logo a- is prefixed to a monosyllabic verb of motion to indicate motion towards the speaker.

e.g. do, take; a-do, bring
go, go back; a-go, come back; cf. Efe ogo,
asi, enter, go in; asi, enter, come in.

This does not appear to be true of Efe.

In the languages which he examined in his Die Sudan- sprachen, Westermann found that the prefixed vowel makes (1) a verb into a noun; (2) an ordinary noun into a proper name; (3) an adjective into a substantive. We cannot discover that this is true of Efe.

8. (b) In addition to VCV there are disyllables formed on the pattern C+V+C+V.

The consonant is to be regarded as a prefix to VCV: since VCV are themselves formed by a prefix, we might regard the consonant as a pre-prefix.

Examples of nouns:
CH: ch-a-li, joy
    ch-e-ga, bush
    ch-o-ki, beer
H:  
  h-a-bo, cock  
  h-a-da, vessel  
  h-a-ga, jealousy  
  h-e-ya, door  

M:  
  m-a-gu, son  
  m-a-ka, lord, chief  
  m-a-pe, wind  
  m-e-ri, wilderness  

T:  
  t-e-pi, branch  
  t-i-tro, worm  
  t-i-ko, pig  
  tr-o-chu, word  

It is seldom that a semantic association with VCV can be traced within the limits of our material. Examples:  
  haga, jealousy;  
  aga, marry  
  maka, chief;  
  oka, kingdom  
  tepi, branch;  
  upi, ear;  
  ipi, leaf

(3) POLYSYLLABLES

9. Polysyllabic words are formed from VCV by means of 
(a) prefixes; (b) suffixes; (c) compounding; 
(d) reduplication.
(a) **Prefixes**

10. A series of words, functioning as nouns, adjectives and verbs, is formed on the pattern \( V - C + V + C + V \). We are tempted to name these pseudo-polysyllables because the initial vowel, which is invariably \( i- \), easily falls away and indeed (in the verbal noun and some verbal forms) is often absent.

11. A few nouns are formed by prefixing \( ih-, ik-, il-, im-, ip-, itd- \) to VCV.

- \( ih-ehi \), fruit
- \( ih-ule \), branch
- \( ik-eka \), dry land
- \( il-olo \), basket
- \( im-egbwi \), side, shore
- \( ip-ugi \), eye of needle
- \( itd-ole \), woman cf. ole, sow

12. Some adjectives are formed by prefixing \( ih- \) to VCV. This prefix may have some relation to \( ihu \), sort, kind; and to \( iha \), some.

- \( ih-ata \), high cf. ata, pass
- \( ih-oji \), dry cf. oji, dry up
- \( ih-oku \), bitter
- \( ih-ota \), long cf. ota, spring up
- \( ih-otu \), hard cf. otu, be hard

Other adjectives are formed by prefixing \( il-, im-\), ip-, it-, to VCV.
il-eko, small  ip-asi, different
il-emba, good  it-iri, great
il-etdu, old  im-aja, unclean

13. Many verbs are formed by prefixing il-, im-, ir-, is-, it-, itr- to VCV.

il-
  il-umba, wrap  of. umba, bind
  il-ofu, take away  ofu, remain
  il-odu, ask  udu, tell
  il-afu, leave  ofu, remain (afu, kill)
  il-ogo, lift up  ogo, come from
  il-ugbwa, grow  ugbwa, a tree, near
  il-agbwi, be changed
  il-egbwi, change (tr.)
  il-agbwu, throw down  ogbwu, cast away
  il-eja, cause to stumble  ija, stumble
  il-ali, roll away  ali, turn

im-
  im-agu, be lost, defiled

ir-
  ir-ambi, sigh

is-
  is-uku, mock
  is-una, saw
14. It seems impossible, with our material, to determine the meaning of these prefixes. In Logo *t* or *l* is prefixed to the verb root when a plurality of action or of object is implied, e.g.

_aji_ - _toko aji sandu_, the woman returns the box

_leji_ - _toko leji sandu_, the woman returns the boxes.

Or the force of the prefix is iterative and frequentative: _ci_ is to bite with a single action; _teci_ is to gnaw. In Moru _oga_ is to chop; _toga_ to chop in
pieces. In some languages a neuter passive verb is obtained by prefixing to the verb root a syllable beginning with l; e.g. oda, pour; lada, fall (of water); opi, turn; lepi, revolve.

Our scanty resources do not permit of saying whether in Efe the it- and il- have analogous meaning.

15. The various verbal prefixes indicating 'tense', etc. will be dealt with in chapter 8.

(b) **Suffixes**

16. In determining the construction of verbs, the possibility must not be overlooked that the initial element is the verb and the second a suffix. The verb itugo, untie, might be taken as it-ugo and as belonging therefore to the series of it- verbs (examples in par.13). A connexion might be sought with the VCV verb ugo (or ogo) 'go out'. In reality the verb must be divided itu-go (perhaps itu-ugo); for it consists of VCV itu, tie, bind, and a reversive suffix -go or (-ugo); itugo, untie. The use is clearly shown in these sentences:

**Ba hote Yohana ba hitu:** then he took John and bound (him)

**Achu bai bocha na anitugo kainagbwi ale?** Why do you untie the colt?
But this is the only clear example in our material. Are there other verbal suffixes, resembling the common Bantu forms? It is impossible to say, at present.

The-lu, -ku, -ka, -ga, in such verbs as itrulu, rise up; itralu, rebuke; isuku, mock; ipaka, dispute; itraka, divine; ituka, beseech; ituga, obtain; igbwaga, begin, may be suffixes, but cannot be shown to be such from our scanty material.

17. Other verbal suffixes will be dealt with in chapter 8, nominal suffixes in chapter 5.

(b) Compounding

18. Some verbs are compound. Thus in ikpweta, the ikp is not to be taken as a prefix. There are evidently two words ikpu-ita: ita is leg (?knee), and probably (the word does not occur separately), ikpu is bend, or double (cf. ekpwe, two) so ikpweta is to kneel.

Other verbs may be compound, e.g.

ikpwohi, throng, crowd
ikpwobo, be scorched

19. Compound words are common in Efe. The nouns will be dealt with in chapter 3. Here some miscellaneous examples may be given.

trochu-abe: word-believe, faith
olu-aso: thing-stick-to, serve, minister to
o-tiri: water-big, lake, sea
magu-tobo: child-female, daughter
bolu-hehi-ola: spirit-inside-hard, hardness of heart

(d) Reduplication

20. Reduplication is also a frequent method of word making. Some of these words are polysyllables, others disyllables.
mie-mie, deep water
 gbwo-gbwo, road
 tru-tru, spittle
 sili-sili, dust
 pfu-pfu, hour
 udu-ada-da, commandment

ifo-fo, suddenly
 ihola-hola, very much
 ite-te, one by one
 ilusi-lusi, create
 (ilusi, make)
 idi-di, shake

itdi-itdi, receive (as handed down)
CHAPTER 3.

THE SUBSTANTIVE. A.- NOUN

1. FORMATION OF NOUNS

A. Simple root-nouns

1. A few nouns are pure monosyllabic roots, consisting of
   (a) a single vowel: o (or u) water
   (b) an apparent diphthong: oi, sun; oi, hating, persecution; ai, house
   (c) a consonant+vowel or apparent diphthong: cha, time, hour; heu, seed; hou, basket; leu, slave, servant; tau, side, shore.

B. Nouns formed by prefixes
   (1) Vowel-prefixes

2. Many nouns are VCV, i.e. they are to be found in the series given in chapter 2. We regard these as composed of a vowel prefix (a-, e-, i-, o-, u-)+ monosyllabic root.

a-be, name                    i-bu, place
a-bi, man (homo)              i-di, salt
a-ka, tower                   i-gbwa, body
a-pe, corpse                  i-hu, sort, kind
a-tdu, place                  i-la, arm
a-pfu, deceit                 i-pa, blood
a-chi, four                   i-pi, leaf
The exact significance of these vowel prefixes cannot now be discerned. It will be noticed that some of them are attached to the same root; i-bu, o-bu (cf. ubo); i-pi, u-pi; a-ka, o-ka; i-chu, u-chu.

(2) Consonant pre-prefixes

3. There is a large number of nouns formed on the pattern C + V + C + V. Some of these were listed in chap.2: further examples follow. It will be seen that they are formed by prefixing b-, ch-, d-, h-, l-, m-, mb-, r-, t-, to VCV. It is impossible to assign any precise meaning to these prefixes.

B- bamba, mountain
b-olu, spirit
b-ulu, bed (cf. Ile bulo, bed)
b-ulu, grain
b-utu, enemy
CH- oh-ali, joy
    oh-ega, bush
    oh-oki, beer

D- d-da, string

H- h-ebi, fish
    h-echu, tongue
    h-echu, cold wind
    h-edi, hand
    h-agbwe, stomach
    h-ele, boat
    h-ene, land
    h-enu, pain
    h-eti, seat, border
    h-ina, stone

K- k-agbwi, son
    k-aloh, town
    k-ido, cruse
    k-ipu, garment
    k-ombe, garment
    k-upu, skin

L- l-abe, fence
    l-agu, wisdom
    l-olu, measure
    l-otdi, spirit
M-  m-opa, wise saying (opa, liken)
    m-obu, sign
    m-ala, centurion
    m-ape, wind

MB-  mb-ino, fame

R-  r-imba, moon

T-  t-iba, feast
    t-ohu, testimony

(3) Vowel consonant pre-prefixes.

4. Examples have been given (chap.2, p.11) of nouns formed
by prefixing ih-, ik-, im-, ip-, itd-. There are also
ib-, it-,

IB-  ib-olu, the midst
    ib-ute, company, band (should this be ibu-te?)

IT-  it-isi, gateway

(4) The Prefix ai-

5. In Sudanic languages, personal nouns are formed from
other words by means either of (a) suffix, or (b) prefix.
These may be simple affixes, or may be words with definite
meaning.
For example:

(a) Suffix. Moru, -'ba (man)

- toka, smithy; toka'ba, blacksmith

Dyerma, -ko

- naru, to travel; naru-ko, traveller

Mangbetu, -ombi (no mbi = man)

- no lia, song; no li-ombi, singer

(b) Prefix.

Baghirmi, mela- (owner)

- sinda, horse; mela-sinda, horseman

Yoruba, a-

- bo, to worship a-bo, worshipper

Kunama, a-

- batsa, a fight; a-batsa, fighter

Dinka, a-

- bel, to be stupid; a-bel, a stupid person

6. In Efe the prefix ai- is used. When it occurs in such a word as aitodi, teacher, it might be taken as a+-itodi, the full form of the verb, to teach. But comparison with words beginning with a consonant, e.g. ai-mukogobo, leaves no doubt that the prefix is ai- and that the i- in such verbs as itodi is elided; in other terms the ai is prefixed to the verbal noun (see par.8).
It is also prefixed to nouns, to verbs, and to two or more words in combination.

(a) Prefix + noun.

ai-ubo, "goodman of the house", master;
   ubo, place, house.
ai-opu, "husbandman", gardener, cultivator;
   opu, garden.
ay-epfu, a deceiver;  epfu, deceit

The ai- may be added to nouns of foreign origin.

ai-mukogobo, a prisoner  mukogobo, prison
ai-buhobia, a hypocrite  buhobia, hypocrisy

(b) Prefix + verbal noun.

aibi, an invalid  ibi, being sick
ai-y-otro, a witness  otro, seeing
ay-ogbwe, a writer, scribe  ogbwe, writing
ai-todi, a teacher, disciple  todi, teaching
ai-lisa, a shepherd  lisa, herding, to herd (foreign)
ay-aga, a bridegroom  aga, marrying, marry
ai-owa, a tax gatherer  owa-imbu, paying tribute
a-y-ole, a sower  ole, sowing
(c) Prefix verbal noun verbal noun.
ai-una-ole, a sower
una, spreading, sprinkling
ole, sowing

(d) Prefix noun verbal noun.
ai-y-abi-logo, chosen people
abi, man, men
logo, choosing, chosen
ai-y-abi-batisa, the Baptist
abi, man; batisa, baptizing
ai-y-abi-todi, teacher of men
abi, man; todi, teaching
ai-y-olu-lado, thief, robber
olu, thing, things;
lado, stealing
ai-y-olu-aso, a servant
olu, thing, things;
aso, cleave to
ay-ai-utra, a builder
ai, house; utra, building
ai-udu-magu, a sinner
udu, thing; magu, doing wrong

(e) Prefix verbal noun noun
ai-y-eme-abi, a physician
eme, doctoring;
abi, man, men

(f) Prefix pronoun verbal noun
ai-ma-ilupe: my betrayer.
ma, my, me; ilupe, betraying
(g) Prefix + verb in the h-form.
ai-hupa: husbandman     upa, to cultivate
ai-hoka, a thief       oka, to steal

(h) Prefix + noun + adjective + verbal noun
ai-uwehi-holu-tona, a blind beggar; uwehi, eyes;
holu, blind;  tonu, asking

(i) Prefix + noun + verbal noun + possessive particle
In the examples given above, the component words are simply juxtaposed, without connectives. In the following, the connective ba is placed in the normal position.
ai-hebi-afu-ba: killer of fish, fisherman. hebi, fish
afu, killing;  ba, connective, 'of'.

(5) Other prefixes

(a) Ba prefixed to the verbal noun makes a series of participles, (see chap.9). Sometimes a participle of this kind is used as a noun.
ogi, hearing, understanding. Bogi, understanding, Intelligence.

Hapi Yesu hisotro aie itda ni hisali bogi itutu a:
and when Jesus saw that he answered with great intelligence. otde, die, dying. Botde, dying, dead, the dead.
Idere abi a botde ai bai trulu a idebai a: but as touching the dead and the rising of them.

Here abi a botde ai means "people who are the dead".

It is possible that other B-nouns are derived in this way (see par.3).

(b) Na as a prefix occurs only in nafuga, riches.
    epfu nafuga bai: the deceitfulness of riches
    abi a ahiscocha nafuga: men who have riches

(c) G is prefixed to verbal nouns as a negative.
    abe, believing
    gabe, not believing, unbelief

(d) iya or i occurs only in relationship terms.
    iyabi (?i-abi), brother, brothers.
    iyachu, elder brother.

(e) mu, also occurs in one instance only.
    mw-abi, my brethren.

C. THE VERBAL NOUN

7. There are two forms of the verbal noun: the first being the verb in its simplest form (with some exception), and the second being formed from the first by suffixing -ni. They are treated as nouns in that e.g. they may take the objective suffix e, and be followed by a possessive.
8. (a) The first form.

1. The VCV verbs. Anu to eat, is also 'eating' and 'food'. Other examples:

   - abe, believe, believing, faith
   - adu, call, calling
   - afu, kill, killing
   - au, take away, removal, forgiveness
   - avu, drink, drinking, drinkable
   - echa, stand up, rising, insurrection
   - iti, cut, cutting harvest
   - ogbwe, write, writing, parable
   - olo, go, going
   - ubu, sleep, sleeping, sleep
   - ucha, drive away, cast out; driving away, etc.

2. The VCVVCV verbs generally retain the initial vowel, but there are instances of the i being lost: thus itona and tona, pray, praying.

   - itralu, be anxious, anxiety
   - itrana, be amazed, amazement
   - itrulu, trulu, rise, rising, resurrection
   - itodi, todi, teach, teaching, doctrine
Illustrative sentences.

aniholo anu gi: You-go (with) eating no. Take ye no food.
ulo, abe nibai hido anie: go, believing thy has-healed thee. Go, thy faith has made thee whole
udu-itda au bai: sins removing of: the forgiveness of sins.
ba hetdi itda avu bai: then (they) gave him drinking of: they gave him to drink.
basi ba iti hihika, because cutting has-come: for the harvest is come.

illadie olo Gehena hegbwe: passing through going Gehenna inside: rather than go into Gehenna.
ubu haesu ide uwe: sleeping was heavy (?) them eyes: their eyes were very heavy.
udukuba alika ucha lotdie: power many driving-away spirits: authority for casting out devils.

9. (b) The second form.
The suffix -ni is added to the simple verb.
abe-ni, believing abe, believe
ada-ni, commanding, covenant ade, command
ali-ni, turning, repentance ali, turn
eti-ni, cutting eti, cut oneself
ika-ni, pride ika ?
aso-ni, serving, service aso, cleave to
osa-ni, loving, love osa, want, love
uka-ni, separating, separation uka, separate
utra-ni, building, structure utra, build
The VCVCV verbs frequently lose the initial i-.

**I**toso-ni, meeting  
**I**toso, gather, assemble

**I**trale-ni, crying aloud  
**I**trale, cry aloud

**I**tuka-ni, beseeching  
**I**tuka, beseech

**I**trulu-ni, rising  
**I**trulu, arise

**I**todu-ni, showing  
**I**todu, show

**I**ladi-ni, passing, Passover  
**I**ladi, pass

**I**lodu-ni, questioning  
**I**lodu, ask, question

**Illustrative sentences:**

Lai na mahura adani bai: this is my-blood covenant of.  
This is my blood of the covenant.

Ba hitreni batiza elini bai: their ha-spoke baptism  
turning of: and he preached the baptism of repentance.

Cele aso-ni ku: he-not-come being-served for: came not to be served.

Ba abi alika hapa itosonie: then men many repeated meeting;  
and the multitude again assembled.

Beni hocha itraleni abe: he was crying aloud.

Todi a obu ai: a new teaching.

Bugati toduni bai: bread showing of: shewbread

Tumbi Lodi-ni hite: then was the Passover.

10. As to the use of the verbal noun, we may here note:-

(a) the use of the verbal noun where in English the infinitive is employed.
ini mutuka ere: thee I-beseech coming. I beseech thee to come.

(b) a peculiar formation reminiscent of the Hebrew absolute infinitive: 'keeping, I kept', i.e. I earnestly kept: 'dying, he will die', i.e. he will surely die.

e.g. ube hube ubue, shortening, be shortened the time.
    uhu-ni hubu, being silent, he was silent.
    dehue afu ahafu, some killing they killed: they killed some.

(c) the verbal noun takes the objective suffix e.

(d) the use of the verbal noun after a verb. Generally, but not invariably, the verbal noun is in the objective.

ba hap a e jie: then he-repeated departure. Then he again departed.

hosaini hupu i pi hegbwe abue: birds found leaves in staying (obj.) The birds found a resting-place among the leaves.

ba hitibu itda adue: then (they) sent him (or his) calling. Then they sent to call him.

D. Compound Nouns.

11. Many nouns are formed by placing word after word with no connecting particle.
(a) **Noun + noun.**

meri-nnti: wilderness-honey, wild honey (see note in Dictionary)
oisa (oi-is(n): sun-time, daytime.
otiri-tau: sea (great water-side, sea-shore.
ubu-hechu: time cold-wind, winter.

(b) **Noun + verbal noun**

abi-ufu: man-killing, murder.
abi-echa: man-standing-up, insurrection.
trochu-abe: word-believing, faith.
trochu-ogbwa: word-writing, parable.
trochu-udu: word-telling, preaching.
udu-agi: thing-thinking, thought, desire.
udu-kuba: thing-being able, power, authority.
udu-etda: thing-knowing, knowledge.
udu-gabe: thing-not-believing, unbelief.
udu-ada: thing-ordering, order, commandment.
udu-magw: thing-defiling, evil, wickedness.
igbwa-ola: body-being-hard (?), life.
olu-aso: thing-cleaving-to, service, servant.

(c) **Noun + adjective.**

abi-huna: man sick, invalid
abi-eya: people poor, the poor
abilika: people many, a crowd, multitude
abilemba: man-good, a good man
hina-boba: stone big, a big stone
hitu-boba: voice great, a loud voice
o-tiri: water-great, sea, lake
tdole-obu: woman new (?); wedding, "bridechamber"

d) Noun noun adjective
abi-hedi-hoji: man hand dry; a man with a withered hand
abi-uwehi-hoiu: man eyes blind, a blind man

e) Noun participle noun
abi-baitu-huni: man-tied-limbs (?); a paralytic

f) The components of some nouns we cannot define for lack of material.
ula-uta: wild beasts
ula-gbwa: fist, palm of hand

E. Unanalyzable words

12. There is a certain number of words of which we have not been able to show the composition.
Examples:

aloha: fornication
apuchi, ten? ohí, like
atugu: perfume, spice
kufuku: garments
silila: green grass (?)
sili-sili: dust
ukpwasi: a porch

F. Nouns formed by reduplication

13. The majority of reduplicates in our vocabulary cannot be derived from simple words.

When the component words begin with a consonant, the reduplication is complete; when the initial is a vowel, so that two vowels come together, one is lost.

Examples:

bala-bala: rock
bi-bi: star
da-da: cord, string
ekpwe-ekpwe: two by two
epfu-pfu: falsities
gbwo-gbwou: path, road
hobi-hobi: ? a torn thing, rags
imbu-mbu: fragments, crumbs
lupe-lupe: temptation
mie-mie: deep water
sili-sili: dust
ti-ti: early morning
tobe-tobe: folly
tru-tru: spittle

The word 'house' occurs in two forms, ai and aiyai. Sometimes these reduplicates are found in combination with other words.
Examples:

use-gbwe-gbwe: teeth?
udu-ada-da: commandment
abi-laga-laga: nations

II. EXTENSION OF NOUNS

14. The noun formed with prefixes may be extended in various ways:—
   a. by reduplication (see par. 13)
   b. by combination with another noun, or other words, to form compounds (see par. 11)
   c. by suffixes (see pars 17 - 19)
   d. by postpositions (see pars. 30 - 35)
   e. by qualificatives (see chapter 7.)
15. It is not easy always to determine whether the secondary element comes under b, c, or d. The feature common to them is that they are simply juxtaposed to the noun, without a connecting particle, whereas the qualificatives contain a particle. When is a secondary element to be regarded as a component word, a suffix, or a postposition? Are we to say that it is a component, when, like agi in udu-agi, it has a definite sense of its own and is found by itself, unconnected with another word? If so, are we to regard hegbwe in the phrase otiri hegbwe as one word, seeing that hegbwe appears elsewhere to mean 'stomach'? A preposition is defined as a word expressing some relation between two persons or things; and a post-position should mean the same, only that it is placed after, instead of before the noun. And since hegbwe expresses the relation of within-ness, we must regard it as a postposition.

Are then, pa, mba, bo, which also express location, to be regarded as postpositions, or suffixes? We do not know whether stress plays any part here. In a Bantu language, the stress may be drawn forward when a suffix is added, e.g. mu'nyama: animal, munya'mzizi: 'zanda, want; za'ndika, precious; 'rate, love; ra'tana, love each other. Here -nzi, -ika, -ana are plainly suffixes. But we do
not know whether stress plays any part in word-making in Efe: if Efe is a tone-language, this is not likely, though possible. In Moru many adjectives have a high tone on the final syllable, which is also stressed; when -ro is suffixed, no change in tone or stress takes place.

Our classification of suffixes and postpositions must be hypothetical, perhaps arbitrary.

Certain suffixes and postpositions are common to noun and pronoun: they will be treated later. Here we deal with those used only with the noun.
III. SUFFIXES PECULIAR TO THE NOUN

(1) The plural suffix -ini

16. This is not used consistently. Very frequently, there is nothing in the noun, as written, to indicate whether it is singular or plural - possibly there is a difference in tone, as in Dinka, where pany with a high tone (\*) is singular, 'wall'; and pany with a low tone (.) is plural, 'walls'. The difference between "a man speaks" and 'men speak', may be indicated by the plural affix to the verb: abi hiteni; abi a-hiteni.

The suffix may be -ni, when the final vowel of the noun is e or i or o.

Examples:

hosa, bird  
heti, seat  
alufu, thousand  
komba, garment  
aihupa, husbandman  
abitiri, headman, elder  
haluitda, heaven  

hosaini, birds  
hetiini, seats  
alufuini, thousands  
kombeini, garments  
aihupaini, husbandmen  
abitirini, elders  
haluitdaini, heavens.
Illustrative sentences.

**hossaini hupu ipi hegbwe abue:** birds find a resting place among the leaves.

**hetiini idebai a abi ahaisopa alipapu adi ina papere:** and also all the seats of the men who sold doves.

**tumbi banakatagala here itda locha abitiriini ayogbweni ina:**
then the priests came to him, the elders and also the scribes.

**hitibu leue-hola aihipaini mba:** he sent a slave to the husbandmen.

**echiro alufuini hocha ide na bapere:** they were (in) all four thousands.

**Ba haji ipesi kombeini:** then (his) clothes became different.

**Haluitdaini heba cha tumbi hene a ina:** Heavens shall come to an end and earth also.

**Tumbi igbwaini highwaga itralue:** then the bodies (i.e. they themselves) began to be troubled.
magikuba ha itda fue itugo muleba kakaitoni baie:
I am not able to stoop down to him to untie the thong of (his) sandals.

17. The objective suffix e may be attached to -ini. (see chap.5, par.13-21).

bugati hikuba isi hegbeinie: bread able to satisfy stomachs.

18. Some borrowed nouns retain their original plural, without taking the suffix as well: e.g. banakatagala in the sentence quoted above. Ba is the plural personal prefix in Nyoro and other Bantu languages. It would be better to write nakatagalaini. Other examples: Ba-suda, soldiers; Ba-falisayo, Pharisees; Ba-yudaya, Jews.

19. When a noun is used to qualify another, the suffix -ini is attached to the second noun, not the first.

Bakristo a epfuini; false Christs.

20. In such a phrase as 'James and John', the plural suffix may be attached to the first name to indicate that there are two persons: e.g.

Yakobo-ini Yohana, James and John; Musa-ini Eriya: Moses and Elijah.
21. The suffix -ini may be separated from the noun by a particle.

udu-magu-ba-ini; sinners
hetda itdaja haga bai ini ideni gabo: he knew that it was because of jealousies.

22. The suffix may be attached to a phrase, coming at the end of it, when the phrase consists of a string of names.

Malyamu Magadaleni, Malyamu Yakobo atda ini: Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James.

(2) Suffixes denoting sex.

23. There is no grammatical gender in Yfe. There are distinct words for members of either sex: e.g. aba, my father; ima, my mother; but in many instances it is impossible to say whether the person or animal referred to is male or female. When it is desirable to emphasize the sex, agbwi may be suffixed for 'male', and tobo for 'female'.

agbwi is used as a qualificative for 'right': e.g. nahedi a agbwi, thy right hand; baupi imegbwi a agbwi, sitting on the right side; just as leko, small, is used for 'left'; nahedi a leko, thy left hand.
Examples:

abi, person; abi-agbwí, male person, man
Mugu hailusi abi-agbwí tdole a: God made (them) man and woman.

magu, child; magu-tobo, daughter
magu-tobo mai hocha ihuna achu otde-otde, my daughter is sick, at the point of death.

(3) Augmentative suffix -mbu

24. As a qualificative mbu is 'first', 'superior', as in the sentence:

idere abi alika a mbu adi na ahisaji cha lipo ai:
but many people who are first shall become last.

As a suffix, it occurs in the following:

echi, four echimbu, five, i.e. more than four
cf. echina, three. ? less than four
atdambu, sister, (s)

(4) The locative suffix, -pa.

25. Suffixed to the verbal noun, -pa gives a series of nouns signifying the place of the action. It may also be attached to a compound noun.
(a) First verbal noun + pa.

Examples:

- **anu**, eating  **anu-pa**, eating-place, or time for eating
- **eba**, ending  **eba-pa**, place of ending, extremity, end
- **ubu**, sleeping  **ubu-pa**, place for sleeping
- **uchi**, beginning  **uchi-pa**, place where one begins, start.
- **topi**, selling  **opi-pa**, selling place, market.

Illustrative sentences:

**usa anupag1 agotro:** nor did they see a time-for-eating

**ogo hena a ebapa oloe ba haluitda ebapa:** from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven.

**uchi pa enjiri:** the beginning of the Gospel

(b) Second verbal noun + pa.

- **toso-ni**, meeting  **toso-ni-pa**, place of meeting, synagogue.
Illustrative sentence:

abi a hisobo ai... usa ochinipa: a person who has forsaken... or land.

(c) Noun verbal noun pa.

olu, thing; itde, put olu-itde-pa: where things are put, treasury

Illustrative sentence:

hapi hupi osie olu-itde-pa: and he sat watching the treasury.

(5) The suffix -ku.

26. This appears to impart a sense of either (a) purpose; or (b) direction from or to. It resembles the Bantu prefix ku- which forms infinitive and locative nouns.

ole, sowing ole-ku, for the purpose of sowing, to sow
aso, serving aso-ku, for the purpose of serving.
? opi, selling opi-ku, market. (The meaning is not clear: see below)

otde, dying, death otde-ku, from death,

afu, killing afu-ku, for the purpose of killing, to death
atdi, taking, arresting  atdi-ku, for the purpose of taking

Illustrative sentences.

aiunsole holo oleku: sower went out to sow

gere aso-ni-ku, aso-ku ni here: came not to be ministered unto, but to minister.

hapi ahaiseji a opi-ku ais: and when they return from market.

ahisitrulu a otde-ku: and when they are risen from the dead.

abi ahocha ahisolo abi afu-ku adi: they were men who had led men to death (for the purpose of killing them)

ufo ina, hobi ina, matdi-ku: with swords and staves to take me (for my taking)

(6) The suffix -du

27. Affixed to the verbal noun, -du makes nouns which have various meanings: it is difficult to discern the precise significance of most of them.

The objective suffix -e may be attached to these words.

Examples:

ona, planting, burying  ona-du, burial

olo, going  olo-du, something to go by, a token.
Illustrative sentences.

... ma-ona-du, my burial (the sentence in which the phrase occurs is obscure)

hetdi hocha ida-mba olodue: he had given them a token
ahaisitoi ai a itda ihobia ote-du, afu a: they sought

how they might take him by guile and kill him
ai mai na abi mahaga ai ba tona-du ai na: my house a

house of prayer for all nations.
tumbi ahite itda ubue lupia etdi-du aie: and they

promised to give him money (as a reward)
achudu lagu-du bo lai laini Mugu hisetdi lai?: What is this wisdom which God has given him?
ide a ihule besi ba ihima-du a ipi haitabu a: when her branch is now become tender and putteth forth its leaves.
hetdi ide lotdi kuba-due: he gave them power over evil spirits.
tumbi hilogbwu itda uwehie uduotrodu: then he fixed his eyes in a steadfast gaze.
tumbi ukini-du yekalu bai hilala: and the veil of the temple was rent.

(7) The suffix -tai

28. This is evidently connected with the verb itai, fill; and as an adverb it seems to express intensity, thoroughness. Suffixed to nouns it conveys to them the same sense: some of these have an abstract meaning.
Examples:
olu, thing
udu, olu, thing
ubu, day, time

olu-tai, honour
ulu-olu-tai, glory
ubu-bu-tai, all future time, eternity
meri, open space  meri-tai, quite open space, marketplace.

Illustrative sentences:

ubu a olutai a di a tiha ina: and places of honour at feasts

beni hocha ere ase pfpfuphe hegbwe meni a a lika uduolutai a: coming on the clouds with much power and glory.

ahakapa cha anua na ihebie ububutai: let them never eat fruit again (from thee) for ever

ahaupi upa abihuna meritaI: they laid the sick in the marketplaces

(8) Other suffixes

29. There appear to be numerous other suffixes, but the material before us does not suffice to determine their significance.

(a) -bu

aso, sticking to, serving  aso-bu, a young man

(b) -chu

uohu is 'head'; as a postposition, chu, iohu, are 'on top', 'upon', 'because of'.

As a suffix chu forms such nouns as the following. Some of them show a connexion with the root idea, but not all.
bamba-chu: mountain, also bamba
ihuna-chu: a great sickness
trohu-chu: a tomb
utu-chu: a pillow
aiya-chu: top of house, roof
iyacho: older relation, brother

(c) -gbu
bulu: grain bulu-gbu: a sickle

(d) -hi; -hehi; -hihi
uwe: eye, eyes uwehi: eye, eyes
bolu: spirit bolu-hahi: heart, inner man
tiko: swine tiko-hahi: into swine

(e) -itda, -tda
ai: house aitda: house
haiu: high(?) haiu-itda: heaven
maki ? mak-itda: herd (?)

(f) -ko
This appears to be a suffix in ti-ko, swine, because the objective (5.16) is tie-ko
(g) -pi

oka-pi: the okapi
sili-pi: earthquake
si-pi: locust

In Moru -pi is the final syllable in terms of relationship: ta-pi, father; inLogo it has a relative or subordinating force.

(h) -pu

aitu-pu: door-keeper ?ai-itu-pu; or ai-tupu
alipa-pu: dove
hili-pu: ?way

(i) -te

ibu-te: company, band.

Te is used once apparently as a postposition after lalodu, seven; and meaning, it seems, 'all'.

Notice that the word 'all' is sometimes written bape and sometimes bapere, bapete, bapetre: - is this the same suffix as in ibu-te?

For another suffix, apparently not the same as this, see below, (k)

(j) The suffix gi, derivative or negative
G occurs as a negative infix in verbal forms, e.g. 
\textit{mu-g-ere}, I do not come; \textit{g-ikuba}, they could not; 
\textit{ha-g-itoi}, he seeks not.

The use of \textit{g} as a negative will be dealt with later.

\textit{G} is suffixed to the verbal noun with the meaning
'without', e.g. \textit{anu}, eating, food; \textit{anu-gi}, without food.

\textit{aniholo anugi}, go without food, i.e. take no food
for your journey.

\textit{Gi} also forms with \textit{esi} two frequently used words,
\textit{esig} and \textit{esinegi}. For a third formation, \textit{esigire}, see
next pur.

\textit{Esi} by itself occurs with a doubtful meaning, e.g.
\textit{ahetdi... itda esi muzabibu a ihehie:} they give him ?some
fruit of the vine; \textit{muundu trochue esi abeli:} (that) I
speak some word there; or, perhaps, there also.

\textit{esi-gi} and \textit{esi-ni-gi} mean 'a little space or time,
not far, not far, not many'.

e.g. \textit{Hisaso ni a esig}: having gone forward a little space
\textit{Hapi esigi hisata ichi ni a:} after it had passed again
a little, after a little while.

\textit{ahupi esinegi}: they endure for a while.

\textit{ahacoja hebi a esinegi}: they had a few fishes only.
In one instance gi appears to denote 'only' rather than 'non'.

trochu-gi-edi: one thing (word) only

(k) The suffix -atre, -tre, negative.

Atre, (or at'de) is used as a negative particle in such sentences as: hapi atre sabiti-mba abi, and not man for the Sabbath. It occurs as the equivalent of Nyoro busa: hisitrama atre a: he fled naked (Nyoro, yairuka busa); atre umue abisamya; in vain (busa) they worship me.

As a suffix atre occurs with esi (see previous par.) and edi, one: esi-atre, edi-atre.

esi-atre follows a negative verbal form, emphasizing the negation.

nagosu esiatre: fear not, fear not at all
agikuba anue esiatre: they could not eat at all
agotro esiatre abie: they saw no man at all
ahakikanila cha ide esiatre ububutai: they shall not forgive them for ever

ediare may follow a noun as a negative, or may stand alone, for 'none, no, not any'. In a clause with a negative noun, it gives a double negative.
e.g. agobo atdie ediatre: they did not have any children
hagitreni abi ediatre: they told not no man
agotre ediatre: they did not see nobody
Ediatre frequently follows the negative post-position embi for the purpose of emphasis.
e.g. ba hucha itda olu embi ediatre: they sent him away having no thing at all.

The suffix -tre (or -itde) may be related to atre. It occurs with esigi (see previous par.), as esigitre, 'never', 'not at all'.
e.g. kikuba itda esigitre: he could not at all
nakapa itdamba alinie esigitre: and never again enter into him.

IV. POST-POSITIONS PECULIAR TO THE NOUN

30. Most postpositions govern nouns and pronouns (see chap.5) A few appear in our material with nouns only.

31. (1) The postposition bo.

As a suffix to nouns and pronouns it has a collective meaning (see chap.5, par.22) As a postposition it indicates motion to or from, and translates the Nyoro preposition hali, to, towards, away from.
Examples:

maka bo: to the king
Pilato bo: to Pilate

Illustrative sentences:

abuleinani here ifofo maka bo: straightway she came quickly to the king
ba hilasi Pilato bo olu embi: and he went in to Pilate without fear

N.B. Bo is also an interrogative particle

32. (2) The postposition na. (see also chap.4, pars.74-82)

Na also has several meanings. Sometimes it appears to be translatable as 'from', or 'since'.

Examples:

magu na higbwaga itda ote: child from it-began him (or his) seizing;
from a child it began to seize him
abule bape miitdi umu ileko na: all these things I have kept since (my) youth

Sometimes it appears to mean 'only'.

Examples:

edi na nimba hatde: one only to-thee it-lacks: one thing only thou lackest. Or is na predicative here: one it-is?
hilemba nilasi igbwaola hegwe ëdi nimba hatde
ichi halu na: it is good (that) thou enter
into life having lost one leg only

33. (4) The postposition megbwi

As a noun imegbwi appears to mean 'edge, fringe';
as a postposition, 'by the side of, around, out of'.
Examples:

   ba holo otiri megbwi: he went by the side of the sea
   hapi higbwaga itodie otiri megbwi: and he began to
      teach by the sea side
   ba ite ai hoda gbwogbwou megbwi: and some fell by
      the way side
   ba hilupa ape opu megbwi: they cast the corpse out
      of the vineyard

34. (5) The postposition ani.

We are in doubt as to the meaning of ani. Coming after
nouns, it may impart to them a plural sense: cf. -ini;
or it may mean 'having'.
Examples:

   alika abi a nafuga ani adi hacooha: many people (rel.)
      wealth having (or possession -s) (rel.) were:
      there were many rich people
abi a hisocha upi ani ai hapogi: a man (rel.) is with ears, (rel.) let him hear. Here ani, may be plural, or = any.

ide hakupa unie ubu ani: that he may not find you sleeping ?sleepers, or having sleep.

Holo heti a hisaba ni Turo ani a Sidoni a: He came into the district which is adjacent to Tyre and Sidon. Here ani appears to mark the plural, indicating that there were two places;

mususu anini alufue echimbu a bugati ani a echimbu: when I broke among the 4,000 the four loaves. Here ani seems to indicate the plurality of bugati.

ba iha hoda hohi ani abu a: and some fell among thorns: where thams were.

V. NOUNS OF RELATIONSHIP

35. The following occur in the Gospel

aba, my father

ebe, thy father

afo, his father
ma, ima, my mother  imaini, my mothers
eme, thy mother
atda, his mother
atdagbwe, grandmother (?)

At 10.30 we have atdagbwe as the equivalent of the
Nyoro bayyina (mothers)
abagbwe, forefather. ?grandfather (Nyoro: isenkuru)
iyaohu, brother. ?elder (used at 1.30 for mother-in-
law)
iyabi, brother iyabini, brethren (?includes sisters, see 10.30)

mwabi, my brethren
itiba, brother (used also for 'neighbour',
?clansman)
atdambu, sister? ?big or superior mother, or child
atdagbwi, sister ?male mother; or male child
imakagbwi, sister. child of my mother
atdi, child; also 'sister' (atdi is also used for 'small')
magu, son
magutobo, daughter
agbwe, ?eldest, eldest son

36. Some of these nouns need explanation, which we
cannot give in the absence of a complete table of
relationship. The following sentences illustrate the
usage: more will be found in the vocabulary.

idere aba gu ni: but my Father himself only

nachosu ebe eme a: honour thy father and thy mother

besi abi a le hikaya afo: if a man curseth his father

utro-ba imainie: behold my mothers

ima bachi? who (or what) is my mother?

hisilodu atda: she asked her mother

abi ahisobo... iyabini usa atda usa afo usa atdi...

ahagisetdi ai... iyabi ina, atdambu ina, atdagbwe lai ina

atdi a...men that have left... brethren, (or sisters) or

mother, or father, or children... who shall not be given...

and brethren, and sisters, and mothers and children.

Ba hetdi mugisa oka amubai abagbwe laini hisele ai Daudi

Blessed is the kingdom of our father David which contain

ide mwabi: they are my brother (brethren)

beicha abi a itiba hacotde; if a man's brother die

Yohana itiba Yakobo a: and John the brother of James

Perezi atdagbwi na amugo cha ide ina abula amubadi a: are

not his sisters here with us? (MS. atdahagbwina)

Iyabi hetdi cha iyachue afu bai: brother shall deliver

brother to death

Tumbi iyachu hacaga tdole itda iye, hacochi itda atdie:

then let his brother marry his wife and beget him

children
cha atdi hecha abi a ide ahisochi aie: children shall rise up against the people who gave them birth

Timayo kagwi Batimayo ai: Bartimaeus the son of Timaeus

idii ma-kagbwi: they are my sister

Lefi magu Alifa: Levi the son of Alphaeus

Magu abi bai; abi ba magu ai: the Son of Man

agbwe lai haga tdole: the first (eldest brother or son) married the woman

VI. ENUMERATIVE NOUNS

37. In Efe the numerals appear to be nouns. As a rule they stand in apposition; but occasionally they are qualitative, i.e. they are preceded and followed by particles. The following occur in the Gospel.

38. One (a) ite

abi bapere hisabe ai ide a ite ai atdi a ileko:
whosoever shall receive one of these little ones:
(them who (is, one child small)

ubuni idebai haocha ihu ite ga: their witness agreed not together (was sort one not)
In the former sentence *ite* appears as qualifying (*i da a ite ai*), in the latter as a noun in apposition (*ihu ite*).

(b) *edi*, appears often to mean 'one of many': it occurs in apposition and frequently before the noun it stands with.

*edi abi haocha*: there was one man

*hapi edi asobu hocha hisitroba itda*: there was one young man who followed him

*aimukogobo edi*: one prisoner

*miya edi*: one hundred

*hapi edi ahasadu Baraba*: and one they called Barabbas.

39. Two: *ekpwe*

*alufu ekpwe*: two thousand

*ekpwe haocha*: they were two

Three: *echina*

*edinali miya echina*: 300 pence

*lugbwasa echina*: three tabernacles

*ubu echina*: three days

Four: *echi, echiro*

*abi echi*, four men

*ahogo hechu hegbwe echiro le*: they come from the four winds

*echiro alufuini hocha*: they are four thousand

The suffix -iro or -ro cannot be explained.
Five: echimbu
    aipe bo bugati hocha? Ideja, echimbu: how many loaves are there? They said, five.

40. Six: maiya
    ubu maiya: six days
    apuchi maiya: tens six, sixty

Seven: lalodu
    lalodu hocha: they are seven
    bapere lalodu te: all the seven

Eight: not in St. Mark

Nine: not in St. Mark
    ?apuchu, see note below (par. 44)

41. Ten: apuchi

Eleven: only once in St. Mark and here it is mistranslated
    ihoti, twelve

Twelve: ikiekpwe; apuchi ikiekpwe; ihoti (hoti). The three renderings occur
    mwaka ikiekpwe: twelve years
    be here apuchi ikiekpwe and ai a: then he came with the twelve
ba hadu aitodie ihoti adie: he called the twelve disciples.

hitodu ague ihoti adi mba: he showed himself to the twelve.

Sometimes ihoti occurs as qualificative.

hapa olo aitodi a ihoti lede ai: he again took the twelve disciples.

42. We cannot say how the other numerals, 13 - 19, are formed: they do not occur.

Twenty, thirty, etc. are evidently 'ten two', 'ten three', etc. Thus we have:
apuchi echimbu: 50
apuchi maiya: 60

ba hanu apuchi hisilafu hichi echina ekiya, ba hapi apuchie maiya, hisaji hichi miya: and brought forth tens reaching to three and again tens six, and getting to hundreds.

43. The words for hundred and thousand are borrowed through Swahili from Arabic (miyah, alf.)

Hundred: miya

Thousand: alufu
44. 300, etc., 4,000 etc., are expressed as 'hundred three', etc. 'thousand four', etc.

miya echina, 300
alufu ekpwe: 2,000
alufu echiro: 4,000
alufu echimbu: 5,000

45. Of the ordinals we have few examples. Some of them are rendered by abu, followed by the numeral: thus

abu ekpwe: the second time
abu echina: the third time

Or the numeral is used alone

hapi isa haocha echina: and it was the third hour
isa maiya: the sixth hour

Ninth is rendered apuchwai (? apuchu ai)

isa apuchwai hiseba hichi: until the ninth hour
hapi apuchwai: and at the ninth (hour)
VII. FOREIGN NOUNS

46. Any translation into Efe may be expected to employ a considerable number of words borrowed from other languages. We give two lists:

(a) words whose origin we have been able to trace;
(b) words which are Bantu in appearance but whose provenance is unknown to us.

It will be observed that these nouns keep their original form, except that there may be slight changes in spelling and that Nyoro words mostly lose the initial vowels.

47. Traceable words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Efe</th>
<th>Swahili</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alufu: thousand</td>
<td>bafuta: linen</td>
<td>elfu; alf</td>
<td>Nyoro: bafuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balua: document</td>
<td>bugati: bread</td>
<td>Nyoro: ebaruha</td>
<td>Nyoro &amp; Swahili: omugati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bugohia: hypocrisy</td>
<td>Nyoro: bugobya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butama: sheep</td>
<td>&quot; entama</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daimoni: demon</td>
<td>Greek: daemon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edinali: penny</td>
<td>Nyoro: edinali; Latin denarius</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egamila: camel</td>
<td>Nyoro: engamira</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekitumbisa: leaven</td>
<td>Nyoro: ekitumbisa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eliyage: a skin bag</td>
<td>Nyoro: ndyanga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
enako: pain
epwahwa: cup
feza: coin
golo: reed
injili: Gospel
ipaka: dispute
kakaito: shoe
kalidali: mustard
kijumakuba: sponge
kisaka: desert
kiseke: reed
kitabo: book
kodolate: farthing
kopo: cup

luchuba: vessel
lupia: money
miya: hundred
machuta: oil
mahaga: nation
mahano: wonder
maheji: understanding
malaike: angel

Nyoro: enaku
Nyoro: empwahwa
Nyoro: efeza
Nyoro: ngoro
Nyoro: enjiri; Arabic: Injil
Nyoro: empaka
Nyoro: enkaito
Nyoro: akaradali
Nyoro: ekijumankuba
Nyoro: kisaka, jungle, bush
Nyoro: kiseke
Nyoro: kitabu; Arabic, kitab
Nyoro: kodolante
Nyoro: akakopo

English: cup
Mwero: rucuba
Nyoro: erupiya, rupee
Swahili: mis; Arabic: miyah
Ngwana: mafuta
Nyoro: mahanga
Nyoro: mahano
Nyoro: magezi
Nyoro: maraikea; Arabic: malaiak
mani: strength
mesa: table
misiri: fields
muchija: fever
mugisa, mukisa: blessing
muhito: trouble
mukwenda: messenger
Mugu: God
mukulu: chief
makulu: meaning
mulembe: Peace, generation
musalaba: cross
mutalala: beer
mutini: fig-tree
muzabibu: vine
mwaka: year
munako: poor person
nabi: prophet
nakatagala: priest
sabatu, sabiti
silikani: policeman
soni: shame
yekalu: temple

Nyoro: mani
Nyoro: emeza; Latin: mensa
Nyoro: misiri: fields
Nyoro: omusuija
Nyoro: mugisa
Nyoro: muhito
Nyoro: mukwenda
Swahili: Mungu, Mugu
Nyoro: omukuru
Nyoro: amakuru
Ganda: omulembe, peace; in pl. emilembe, epoch, century
Swahili: msalaba; Arabic: Satib
Nyoro: mutara'ra, unfermented beer
Swahili: mutini; Arabic: tinah
Nyoro: muzabibu
Nyoro: mwaka
Nyoro: munaku
Nyoro: nabi; Arabic: nabi
Nyoro: nyakatagara
Nyoro: sabatu; Hebrew
Nyoro: serikale; Ngwana: serekani
Arabic: askari
Nyoro: ensoni
Nyoro: yekaru; Hebrew: hekal; Arabic: hekal
48. (b) Untraceable words.

basuda: soldiers  ? French: soldat + Bantu plural prefix ba
bilato: sandals  ? Ganda: engato
bukere: fishing net
ekaji: coat  ? English: jacket
libitdi: vessel  ? Nyoro: ekibindi
mabutere: crown
muhube: secret, mystery
mujiri: testimony
mukogobo: prison
muleba: thong, girdle
mulobe: secret, privately
mutabisi: reward, wage.  ? Ngwana: matabisha  
  (Gatti: 'a generous tip' p.218)
mavu: iron, fetter
sege: a small coin  ? Nyoro: masage, poverty
  Ganda: busege
ai-ba-walalata: carpenter
CHAPTER 4.

THE SUBSTANTIVE. B. PRONOUN.

I. THE PERSONAL PRONOUN, ABSOLUTE

1. Person  Singular  Plural
   1  umu:  I  amu:  we
   2  ini:  thou  ani:  you
   3  itda: he; she; it  ide:  they

2. These pronouns are written as self-standing units, except when they carry suffixes.

3. The 1st and 2nd person forms are nominative, but are also commonly used as objective, e.g.

   amuhasi acha amu nilusi: we-desire that us thou-do: we desire that you do for us

   Musa hogbwe amu: Moses wrote us.

   The proper objective pronouns are formed by means of the suffix -e (see chap.5, par.16)

   umue:  me  amue:  us
   inie:  thee  anie:  you

   Inie and anie are used also as vocative.
The 3rd person singular and plural may be nominative and objective.

**itda chupi ide itibue:** (that) he might send them

**be hitibu itda:** and sent (to) him

**tumbi ahitroba itda:** then they followed him

**beni ide ahocha hele hegbwe:** they were in the boat

**hitreni ide:** he said (to) them

**hadu ide:** he calls them

4. The absolute personal pronouns may be used emphatically and are then followed by the connected pronoun.

**umu mubatisa:** I, I baptize

**ani nihetda:** you, you know

**hakaji musosa chi, ini chi nisosa chi:** let it not be as I wish (but) as thou wishest

**ini nocha Galilaya:** thou, thou art a Galilean

5. The second person pl. **ani** is often, but not invariably used in addressing a single person.

**Bapere ani ahocha itoi abe:** all (men) are seeking you (i.e. Jesus)

6. The use of **itda** and **ide**.

These are frequently employed predicatively to render the Nyoro copulative forms **nugwo**, **nikyo**, **nuwe**, etc. i.e. the
copula -n- combined with personal pronouns and translatable, 'it is it', 'it is they', 'it is I', etc.

Example:

abi a ide mwabi, ide imakagbwi, itda ma: 'the same is my brother and sister and mother

Nyoro: ogu nuwe mwene waitu, nuwe munyanya nyowe, nuwe mau

Note in this sentence the use of abi a ide, which in other contexts stands for 'their man', or 'their men'.

Ide is more often used than itda; and ide may be used with singular as well as with plural nouns.

ide kolobani: it is Corban
ide kodolante: it is a farthing.

Note that in these two instances the Nyoro form is niyo, which may be singular (with nouns of class 3) and plural (with nouns of class 2). This may be an example of mechanical transliteration, non-idiomatic.

7. Ide occurs predicatively in such phrases as these:

ide huha: it is why
ide gabo, or ide-ni-gabo: it is because, it is for this reason
ide asie, it is to say (Nyoro: nukwo kugamba)
Examples:

idere ide huha ni a mere: for that is why I have come
Nyoro: baitu nikyo naizirire
ide gabo cha ani mutreni: therefore I say unto you
Nyoro: nikyo ndukubagambi'ra
ideni gabo anihatde: it is for this reason you err
Nyoro: tinikyo muhabira...? is it not for this
(reason) you err?

8. The Nyoro nukwo refers to manner. It is sometimes rendered by ide alone.

ide anihachupi osie: in the same way, thus, keep on watching
Nyoro: nukwo murolege...

9. The Nyoro numwo is locative, 'it is in', 'it is therein'. In one instance this is rendered ide hegbwe. This seems a clear instance of transverbation.

mabe ni ai ide hegbwe cha ahucha daimoni: my name by it is therein they shall cast out demons.

In other instances ide hegbwe represents simply the Nyoro -mu: e.g.

hutra ide hegbwe aka: he built in it a tower
Nyoro: yayombaka-mu ekikomero
Ide can be used demonstratively to represent the Nyoro abo, eri, etc.

Examples:

ide abi ahisanu lede bugatie: those men (or, they the men) who ate the bread...

Nyoro: abo abalire...

anihagotro bo ide udue? see ye not these things (or, them the things)?

hina aiyai-utra-ini hisobo ai ide haji: the stone which the builders rejected, that (one) is become...

Nyoro: ...... eri likaforwa

11. The third person itda is sometimes employed where we should expect the first person. This occurs in quotations of direct speech.

Examples:

abi-uwehi-holu ja itda naio: "Laboni, itda hosa itda uwehie hambodo" The blind-man spoke to-him saying: "Rabboni he desires his eyes let-be-healed." Here we expect umuhosa, I desire: ma-uwehie, my eyes tumbi hubu Patero: "Ali-na itda lipo, Sitanie; nakagi na trochu Magu baie..." Then he rebuked Peter: Go-thou-back him behind, Oh Satan; thou-thinkest-not thing God of". Here we should expect ma-lipo behind me.
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**itda ja lachi:** "*Itda ha na ahusu itdaba magu ai na*"

He spoke thus: "It is that they (will) honour him of son that", i.e. his son. Here we should expect ma-magu, my son

**itda ja:** "*Itda ketda na usa etda-tre udu anihi siti reni le*"

he said: "He not-knows that or understands thing you-say it." Here we should expect maketda, I-not-know

This apparent mixture of direct with indirect speech may be idiomatic, showing a tendency to speak of oneself in the third person.

**12.** The idiom (if it is an idiom) appears in the following sentences:

**Itda na lai:** it is I

**Itda be na? Itda be na? Is it I? Is it I?**

**Itda be na anihoche adu la ajie ade?** Whom say ye that I am?
II. THE PERSONAL PRONOUN, CONNECTED

13. Person | Singular | Plural
--- | --- | ---
1 | mu-; ma-; m-; I, me | amu-; am-: we, us
2 | ni-; na-; n-: thou, thee | ani-; an-: you
3 | - | a-: they

14. These pronouns are written as prefixes to the verb forms.

15. Comparing the 1st and 2nd persons with the absolute pronouns it will be noticed that
   (a) in the singular, the initial vowel is lost: mu-, ni-
   (b) in the plural, the initial vowel being retained, the connected and absolute pronouns are identical,
       Occasionally, however, umu- occurs for mu-, e.g.
       anie umu-lodu: you I-ask, I ask you.

16. The third person singular is lacking: in other words, the verb form stands without a pronominal prefix. Thus:
    amu-h-otro: we see
    h-otro: he sees
    g-otro: he sees not.
    If it is necessary to express the pronoun, the absolute is used:
    itda hotro: he saw
17. The 3rd p. pl. a, is frequently omitted. When a verb form with this prefix is preceded by a word ending in a, the two vowels coalesce, or one disappears.

\[ \text{ba ahitreni: then they said, may be written ba hitreni.} \]

18. The forms ending in a vowel are prefixed to verb forms beginning with a consonant; those ending in a consonant are used when a vowel follows.

19. In the 1st p. sing. m- is prefixed to VCV verbs; and mu- to the VCVCV verbs without the initial vowel: thus

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{m-abe, I believe,} & \quad \text{not mu-abe} \\
\text{mu-tuka, I beseech,} & \quad \text{not m-ituka or mu-ituka}
\end{align*} \]

Other examples:

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{m VCV} & \text{mu VCVCV} \\
\text{m-ere, I come} & \text{mu-lusi, I do, I make} \\
\text{m-osa, I desire} & \text{mu-lama, I smite} \\
\text{m-etdi, I give} & \text{mu-tapu, I swear} \\
\text{m-olo, I go} & \text{mu-tona, I pray} \\
\text{m-utra, I build} & \text{mu-treni, I say} \\
\text{m-iya, I do} & \text{mu-ragi, I kiss}
\end{array} \]
(a) \(n\)- is prefixed to the full form, \(n\)-ilusi, or (b) that \(ni\)- is prefixed after the initial vowel is dropped \(ni\)-lusi. The effect is the same, in writing at least.

Examples:

\begin{align*}
\text{\(n\+VCV\)} & & \text{\(n\+VCVCV\)} \\
n-\text{adu}, & \text{thou callest} & \text{nilusi}, & \text{thou makest} \\
n-\text{obo}, & \text{thou leavest} & \text{nitreni}, & \text{thou sayest} \\
n-\text{ocha}, & \text{thou art} & \text{nikuba}, & \text{thou art able} \\
n-\text{olo}, & \text{thou goest} & \text{nitodu}, & \text{thou showest} \\
n-\text{ido}, & \text{thou savest} & \text{nito\(di\),} & \text{thou teachest} \\
n-\text{etdi}, & \text{thou givest} & \\
\end{align*}

20. In the 1st and 2nd per. pl. the same rule applies: \(am\)- and \(an\)- precede vowels; \(amu\)- and \(ani\)- precede consonants. But we cannot draw the same distinction between \(VCV\) and \(VCVCV\) verbs as we drew when dealing with the 1st and 2nd per. singular. Both classes of verb introduce an \(h\) between the pronominal prefix and the verb when the pronominal prefix is 1st and 2nd per. pl. Compare:

\begin{align*}
\text{VCV} & & \text{NCVCV} \\
\text{am-olo}, & \text{I go} & \text{amu-h-olo,} & \text{we go} \\
\text{n-olo,} & \text{thou goest} & \text{ani-h-olo,} & \text{you go} \\
\text{mu-treni,} & \text{I say} & \text{amu-h-itreni,} & \text{we say} \\
\text{ni-treni,} & \text{thou sayest} & \text{ani-h-itreni,} & \text{you say} \\
\end{align*}
This h- will be dealt with in the chapter on the verb. Here we observe that in the imperative or cohortative verb, the h- is not employed.

amu-h-olo: we go; but amulo: let us go
ani-h-olo: you go; but anulo: go ye

In the plural it is therefore possible to distinguish between the statement and the command (or wish); but in the singular it is not possible to distinguish, unless there be some difference in tone. For example: nolo, is both go: and Thou goest.

Other examples of amu-:

amu-h-afu: we kill
amu-h-otde: we die
amu-h-ocha: we are
amu-h-ikuba: we are able

Other examples of an-; ani-

anu-uhu, be ye silent ani-h-uhu, you are silent
an-ugi, hear ye ani-h-ogi, ye hear
an-aso, cleave ye to ani-h-aso, ye cleave to
an-ere, come ye ani-h-ere, ye come

21. Besides h, the consonants g, or k, ch and s may be infixed: and these may also be infixed in the singular as
well as the plural. In the plural the pronominal prefixes are (as before h) amu- and ani-; in the singular ma- and na- are used, and also mu and ni. There are too few instances of mu and ni for a positive rule to be laid down but it appears that mu and ni occur regularly before s; and ma and na before k, g, and ch, though there are exceptions to this.

There are also other infixes -gich, -hach, -hagis, etc., which we need not deal with here, for the same rule applies to them.

Examples:

`g` or `k`, negative

- **ma-g-ikuba**: I am not able
- **ma-g-itreni**: I do not say
- **mu-g-ere**: I come not
- **na-g-afu**: do not kill
- **na-g-osu**: be not afraid
- **na-g-ihoka**: do not steal
- **amu-g-ocha**: we are not
- **amu-g-ikuba**: we are not able
- **ani-g-abe**: ye believe not
- **mu-k-etda**: I do not know
- **amu-k-etda**: you do not know
- **na-k-agi**: thou thinkest not
22. **Position of the pronoun**

When nominative, the pronoun is normally placed before the verb.

There may be two nominatives, the absolute pronoun and the pronominal prefix: e.g.

ani-\*ni-h-etda: you, you-know

23. The pronominal prefix may be objective, i.e. the object of the verb to which it is prefixed. The case is known only by the context, unless there be some difference in tone.

  e.g. **amu-tisu**, may mean 'send us', or 'let us send', the context showing that the former is the meaning. **Amu** is objective in this instance (we send is **amuhitisu**).
When the absolute pronoun (without the suffix -e) is an object, it is placed before the verb group composed of verb and pronominal prefix, etc. The pronominal prefix is the subject.

Examples:

ini mu-tuka ere: thee I-beseech come. I beseech thee to come.
mosa umu netdi: I-wish me thou-give. I wish thee to give me.

When there are pre-verbal particles, the object (without case suffix) follows the verb-group.

Examples:

cha metdi ini: shall I-give thee; I will give thee

This also occurs when the subject is a noun preceding the verb-group.

Example:

Musa hogbwe amu lachi: Moses wrote us thus....

When the pronoun is objective, having the case suffix -e, it normally follows the verb-group.

Examples:

nere, nacha umue: come, follow me
trana umue: have pity on me
amuhotro inie: we see thee
abesi abi hilodu anie: if a man asks you
Sometimes, however, the objective pronoun (with _e_) is placed before the word-group.

Examples:

**hapi cha anie ahui bapere:** and shall you they-hate all; and they shall all hate you

**achudu bai bo umue nobo:** why me thou-leavest? Why dost thou forsake me?

24. **Itda** and **ide** may precede or follow the verb, whether they be nominative or objective. Examples:

a. nominative

**tumbi hapi itda hali:** then again he answered

**ide ja:** they say; **itda ja:** he says

b. objective

**ba hitibu itda:** and sent (to) him

**ba ahotro itda:** and they saw him

**ba ahere itda:** and they brought it

**ba itda ahere:** and him they brought, i.e. they brought (it) to him

**ba itda ahetdi mugise:** and him they gave blessing

**ba hitodi ide:** and he taught them

**hitreni ide lachi:** he said (to) them thus

**ba ide hitreni lachi:** and (to) them he said thus
III. GU AND ITS COMPOUNDS

25. The pronouns are emphatic, reflexive and reciprocal.

The first forms:

ni-gu, thyself
ani-gu, yourselves
gu, himself
a-gu, himself, themselves
ide-gu, themselves, each other

Examples:

anere anigu: come ye yourselves
anichilagu anigu: take heed to yourselves
Herode gu hitibu a: Herod himself had sent
Daudi gu hadu: David himself calls (him)
agu hocha ubu a hele a itu: he himself was asleep
in the stern of the boat
agu hisikuba chi gabo umue hoya ilemba: for she, as
she was able, has done me a good (thing)
cha hapi agu hilodu ani: and he (himself) will show you.

On the analogy of ni-, ani-, we expect to find a-gu
to be plural. The above examples show agu to be singular
- unless it is the plural form used for a single person
of majesty.

Agu is found also as plural, e.g.
usa malaika agu... even angels themselves...

Ide-gu occurs in our material as a reciprocal pronoun, as well as reflexive.

ahoka idegu anue: they buy themselves food
idegue ahaisilodu ni aie: questioning each other

26. These pronouns may all take the objective suffix -e.
nigue: thyself
ido nigue: save thyself
usa nltiba, nigue nisosa ai achi a: love they neighbour as thou lovest thyself
anigue: yourselves
gue: himself
gue: himself, themselves
haupi ague eti-nie hina: he was cutting himself with stones
hitodu ague: he showed himself
idegue: each other
idegue ahaisilodu ni aie: questioning each other
ba hitdi ilodu-nie idegue: they held questioning among themselves

27. These pronouns are used to emphasize the possessives, thus expressing the English 'his own', etc.
kombe gu itda bai: his own clothes.
anihacheti Kaisali a Kaisali agu baie: always give to Caesar, Caesar's own (things)
28. The pronoun *agu* is emphasized by the addition of *igbwa*,

body:

* hogi agu a igbwa: she felt within herself, i.e. in her body
* hita agu a igbwa: let him deny himself

29. Certain suffixes are attached to these pronouns.

(a) *-bo* gives a collective sense

* nigu-bo: thy home
* anigu-bo: your people
* agu-bo: his home
* ide-bo: their country, people

Examples:

* hitisu itda, ulo-na nigubo: he sent him (saying), go to thy home
* ulo nigubo, abi a anigubo ibo: go to thy home (and) to your friends (or people)
* tumbi hoji agubo: then she went home
* heji hene a idebo a: he came to his own country, i.e. his and others
* aniko idebo a abi ai: surely thou (you) art one of them, i.e. a man of their sort.

(b) *-ni* gives the sense of 'only', 'alone'. This may be suffixed to either the nominative or objective.

* gu-ni: he only
* gue-ni: him only
* agu-ni: he only
* ague-ni: him or them only
Examples:
Yesu gueni ahotro: they saw Jesus only
hene hanu agueni: the earth brings forth of itself

(c) -mba gives a locative sense, to, from, in regard to.
anigu a anichupi idi a anigu-mba: have salt in yourselves

30. The particle ku infixed gives a directive sense
a-ku-gu: against himself or itself; by themselves
ide-ku-gu: among themselves

Examples:
besi ba oka haka akugu: if a kingdom is divided
against itself
gotro ihehie, ipi akugu-ni: he did not see fruit,
(but) leaves by themselves only
idere ahiscocha ipaka ihesi-nie idekugu: for they had
disputed among themselves
ahaisilodu ni idegu a idekugu: they were reasoning
among themselves.

IV. THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

31. The pronouns are usually followed (or sometimes
preceded) by the interrogative bo or be. They are:
ade bo? who?
aibo bo? which (of two)?
aipe bo? how many?
adebai bo? whose?
ade-téi bo? whose?
aichi bo? aichi be? what?

32. Examples:

ade? ade bo? ade be? who?
abitiri bo ade? who is the great man?
ade hitdi a bo maigbwa? who touched me (my body)?
abi-bo hadu be umue ajie ade? who do men say that I am?
hapi ade hikuba ba ha odo? who then can be saved?
ade hitreni a bo lechi? who has said this?
kodi ade ahetdi ini? or who gave thee...?

aibo bo? which (of two)?
aibo bo ifo-foi? which is easier?

aipe bo? How many?
aipe bo ilolo? how many baskets?
aipe bo ubu? how many days? How long?

We include this in the list as it appears to be similar to the rest; but it might preferably be called an interrogative adjective.
V. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

33. Certain words which in some contexts function as qualificatives and are then linked to the noun which they follow by means of a, or by simple juxtaposition, are also employed as indefinite pronouns.

34. *Ipesi* as an adjective means 'other, different'; as a pronoun, 'another', a different person or thing of the same kind. It represents the Nyoro -ndi.

Examples:

*ba haga ipesi aie:* and then marries another
*cha mutra ipesi:* I will build another
35. **Ipu** as an adjective means 'diverse', of a different kind; as a pronoun, another, or others of a different sort.

Example:

*anigisetda aichi bo cha anihachetda ipu bapere:* if you do not know (this) bow are you going to know all those of a different sort?

36. **Ite** is an enumerative noun, 'one (see chap.3, par.59); as a pronoun, 'one' or 'some'.

Reduplicated as **itite** (**ite-ite**) it stands for 'each one'.

Examples:

*ba ite ai hoda:* and some (seed) fell

*beni tibu-ini hibe etdie ide itite:* having finished giving tasks (to) them each one.

37. **Edi** is also an enumerative noun, 'one', 'one of many' (see chap. 3., par. 59). As a pronoun it means 'one person or thing of several or many'.

Examples:

*edi hōacha:* one he had (yet)

*edi na nimba hatde:* one (thing) to thee is lacking

**edi-atre** is a negative form of **edi**, 'none, not one': it generally follows a negative verb.
Example:

agotro ediatre: they-saw-not not-one, they saw nobody.
edi-edi, or ed-edi, the reduplicated form of edi, is 'one by one'.

Example:

ahisibwaga itda ilodu a ededi: beginning to ask him
one by one.

38. Iha: one or other of several persons, or things.

No distinction is drawn between singular and plural.
There are no examples of an objective (i.e. with suffix -e) in our material.
More frequently than dehu is iha used as a qualificative, e.g. nabi a iha; one of the prophets
ayogbtanini a iha: one of the Scribes
nitodi itdabadi a iha: one of his disciples

It is frequently juxtaposed to the noun without an intervening particle: e.g. hene iha, another country.

Examples of use as a pronoun:

iha nahedi aRgbwi, iha nahedi a leko: one (of us) at thy right hand, and one at thy left hand
iha niba, iha Musa bai, iha Eriya bai: one (booth) of thee, one of Moses, one of Elijah.
Dehu: some, other, others; certain people.

No distinction is drawn between singular and plural.

The objective form is dehu-e.

Rarely in our material is dehu treated as a qualificative; e.g. abi a dehu, some people. When used adjectively, it is simply juxtaposed to the noun, e.g. ibu dehu, other or divers places.

Examples of use as a pronoun:

dehu hogo hapi tilo: and some come from far.

hibi ubo dehu imegbwi: he went to other places roundabout.

dehu ja... dehu ja: some say... others say.

besi na abi hasi ajie dehu a itu: if a man wishes to become somebody at the head.

dehu haocha becha: some were standing.

abi dehu na haido: other people he saved.

hapi hele ba dehu ahaocha itda-mba: and canoes of others were with him.

VI. THE PRONOUNS LE AND LA AND THEIR COMPOUNDS

The pronouns dealt with in this section are shown in the table following.
A. Persons or things mentioned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LE</td>
<td>LEDE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-LE</td>
<td>A-LEDE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Persons or things present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LA</th>
<th>LA-DI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LAI, LAIE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-LAI, A-LAIE</td>
<td>A-LA-DI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41. Le is a resumptive pronoun, i.e. in relative clauses it refers back to the antecedent. As such its place is at the end of the clause. It may be rendered, he, she, it, me, etc.

Examples:

- aniketda udu a anihisitona le: ye-know-not thing which you-ask it.
- ugbwa nisikiena le: tree (which) thou-cursedst it.
- Ba na Yohana hitrulu hisdtde le: see John is risen (who) was-dead he.
- Yohana - ati a amuhisube ombu uchu le - hitrulu be:
  John the man who we beheaded him he-is-risen again.
- itda ichu ni uhisucha lotdie lalodu le: she, from whom he cast out seven spirits, she.
- umu hisihobiya le: me (whom) he betrayed me.
42. *Le* may also refer to persons or things which have already been mentioned and are in the speaker's mind. It is then placed at the beginning of the clause.

Examples:

*le ha hapa osie ba:* he (i.e. the man just spoken of)
cried out again.

*le hogo maka bo:* this (i.e. the events just spoken of)
comes from the Lord.

*anitona ki le mba ubu hechu ba:* pray that it (the event spoken of) be not in winter. N.B. *mba*

*ichi le hofu heya-mba:* he (the person spoken of) is at the doors

43. *Le* may be used impersonally like the French *on*, German *man*.

Examples:

*besi le gabe ni a oka Mugu bai magu alai ba bachi:* if one does not receive the Kingdom of God as this child.

*besi cha hapi le hachooha hogbwe:* and if one shall be in a field

44. *Le* may be a numeral pronoun, one... another.

Examples:

*le ja.....le ja:* one said..... another said
45. Perhaps we may say that in such sentences as the following, the *le* is also a referring pronoun.

Umu niko na *le*: I, I am he, - the one who is spoken of

Tumbi hogi ide ja Yesu Nazalesi *le na le*: then he heard them say, Jesus of Nazareth it is he.

46. The pronoun *lede* corresponds to *le* as plural to singular in some of its uses. It does not often appear as resumptive, but refers to persons and things mentioned. It may be formed thus: *la-ide*, or *le-ide*, cf. *ide*, they, them.

Examples:

Hapi *lede* hisogi aie ahisasi ba na ihola na hocha...

and they (the disciples just mentioned) when they heard them say that he was alive

Hapi *lede* a lipo: after these (things) i.e. the things mentioned.

Hapi *lede* hisolo ahisitreni dehu nia, lece kagabe ide:

and they (the men mentioned; went away and told the rest; and these (the rest spoken of) did not believe them

In the following sentence *lede* is resumptive.

abi bapere besi edi abi hija atdi a ileko *lede* a igbwa umue a ahisabe *lede*: men all if one man offends child
who(is) small they who body (themselves) me who
they-believe they. And whosoever shall cause one of
these little ones that believe on me to stumble.
Notice the repetition of lede.

47. _La_ occurs but rarely in our material (except in
composition) and its function is obscure. It appears to
correspond to le as 'this' to 'that' and to refer to a
person or thing which is actually present. It may be
used in direct address where one would expect a pronoun,
2nd person, singular or plural: in the first two
sentences below it seems like an interjection.
Examples:

_La una abule-mba:_ be thou taken up from thence
_La ko na ide ubala nasi ai a gabo na yakalu:_ thou
that destroyest the temple

_La_ may also be used by a person speaking of himself.

_Itda be na anihocha adu la ajie ade:_ but whom say ye
that this man is, i.e. that I am?

48. _Lai_ also appears to correspond to le as 'this' to
'that'. _Le_ refers to a person who is spoken of and may
be absent; _lai_ appears to refer to a person who is present.
It is not always easy to say why one form is used rather than the other. In the two following sentences two renderings are given of the Nyoro phrase ninyowogu:

I am the one.

14.62. **Umu niko na le:** I am he

13.6 **Umu na lai:** I am he

The Nyoro forms -nu refer to 'that person'; and in Efe the equivalent given is generally lai.

**itda na lai:** it is I

Nyoro: ninyowonu

**lai ni na make:** this (man present) is the heir

Nyoro: **Onu nuwe....**

**ekpwe iko lai:** the second is this.

Nyoro... nkinu

**ide niko lai abi:** these are they, the people

Nyoro: **kambanu**

**ai-ba-walalatda ni lai?** Is not this the carpenter?

Nyoro: **Tinuonu mubaizi?**

49. **Lai** has an objective form laie (laiya)

Examples:

**tdole alai hisilusi laie:** woman this she-done this:

what this woman hath done.

50. **Ladi** is the plural form. It refers to people or things which are present, whether actually or in the mind of the speaker.
Examples:

ladi a ahiscocha abula-mba ba-echa ladi dehu hakotde cha...
these who are here standing, (of) these some will not die

ladi a ahisole ide hene a ilemba-mba ai: these (are)
which they plant them in ground which is good: and these are they which are sown on good ground.

51. When these pronouns are used adjectively, i.e. as so-called demonstratives, they are preceded by a. This a may possibly be the connective particle used to link noun and qualificative as in kombe a ihota, long clothes. Or it may be a prefix. We have treated it as a prefix. There are instances of the connective a being used as well as the prefix (see par. 57 below).

The forms are:

sing. Ale, Alai
plur. Alede, Aladi

52. Ale and alede indicate persons or things which are near the speaker or which have been already mentioned.

Alai and aladi indicate persons or things which are present.
53. **Ale** is generally used in our material to translate that form of the Nyoro demonstrative which refers to a person or thing mentioned or in the mind at the moment, i.e. the forms *ogu*, *oko*, *eki*, etc. 

Examples:

- _ubu ale cha ahisa_: on that day they will fast
- _ahitumbu trochu ale_: they kept that saying
- _beicha abi ale hasi aamba ale_: if any man says to this mountain
- _mopa ale a_: with that parable
- _ubu ale ni ai_: in those days
- _henec ale_: that country
- _na kaimagbwi ale_: this colt
- _bamba ale_: this mountain

54. **Alai** usually translates the Nyoro demonstratives *gu-nu* *ki-nu*, etc., which indicate persons or things which are present.

- _mulembe alai_: this generation
- _machuta alai_: this ointment
- _tdole alai_: this woman
- _ihu alai_: this kind
- _utrani alai_: these buildings
- _ombi ai kona kona abi alai hocha Magu Mugu bai_: truly this man is the Son of God
55. Alai takes the objective suffix -e: alai-e

amugotro cha udu a ihu alaie: we had never seen a thing
of this kind
aniketda be ogbwe alaie? know ye not this parable?

56. Alede is the plural form of ale and like it indicates
persons or things already mentioned.

aihupa alede: those husbandmen.

abi alede: those men

57. Aladi is the plural form of alai and like it indicates
persons or things which are present.

abi aladi, or abi aaladi, these people

58. Le and la in composition.

Suffixed to abu and atdu, le and la retain their
original meanings.

abu-le: that, those, of thing or things mentioned;
that place, there.

abu-la: this, these, of thing or things present;
this place, here.

Examples:

mobo abule bai: a sign of these things

abesi ba olu abule heba ilusi: until these things are
accomplished.
abule bape mitdi: all these things I keep
anihagi abule: ye reason these things
tumbi hobo ide abule: then he left them there
abula ise kisaka: this place is a desert
itda embi abula: he is not here
anupi ba na abula: sit ye here

59. **Atdu** evidently means 'place', or 'position'.

atdu-le: that place, there
atdu-la: this place, here

Examples:
echa ibolu ni atdule: stand in the midst there
atdule na hocha: he is there
ba hitona atdule Mugue: and prayed (to) God there
hali hapi atdula: he will return it again here

60. These forms may be reinforced by the locative suffix -mba.

Examples:
La una abule-mba: be thou taken up from there
Ladi a ahisoocha abula-mba: those who are here
Kristo hocha na abula-mba: Christ is here
Hapi atdule-mba: and at that place...
61. *La* is combined with *ubu*, day, time, to mean 'this day', 'now'. It is frequently written *upula* in our material.

Examples:

- *upula habo igolu na*: to-day before the cock crows
- *aniju-na upula*: rest now
- *hapogo upula ugbwa mba*: let him come down now from the cross
- *la ido nigue ubula*: let him now save himself (thysel)

*Upula* is occasionally followed by *ni*.

- e.g. *mosa umu netdi upula-ni*: I desire that thou give me

at once

62. *Le* and *la* may be combined with *chi*, the particle which carries the idea of 'manner'.

- *le-chi*: a thing of that manner; in that way; thus; so
- *la-chi*: a thing of this manner; in this way; thus; so

Both words are used (it appears) adverbially: *lachi* commonly introduces a quotation of direct speech.

Examples:

**Lechi**

- *ise lechi ma-Maka*: it is so, my Lord
- *idere lechi ga Mugu bo*: but it is not so with God
- *idere ani-mba lechi ga*: but not so with you
- *ani hisitreni lechi*: as he said unto you
Lachi
tumbi hitreni lachi: then he spoke thus
idere lachi ahitreni: for thus they said
hisitde ni lachi ai: who are like this

Lachi may be one of the terms in a genitive construction, with ba, e.g.
magu alai ba lachi: like this child

Lechi is frequently followed by ni. It is a question whether they should not be written as one word.

Lechi-ni hapi hogbwe magu abi bai? and it is what manner of thing written (of) the Son of Man?
How is it written of the Son of Man?
Oka Mugu bai lechi-ni abi hisuna itdaba heu ai:
the Kingdom of God is like a man casting his seed
ba hapi haga iha lechi-ni baper e lalodu te: and in like manner all the seven married her

We cannot say what meaning attaches to this -ni here. Is it indicative or determinative? Is lechi-ni to be rendered "it is in that way, it is like"? (see chap.V.par.40)

Le is occasionally followed by the suffix -pa, which (see chap.III, par.3 (4)) conveys the notion of place, or time.
Besi lepa or abasi lepa is translatable 'wheresoever'.
Besi lepa trochue ahachitreni hene baper e: and wheresoever they shall tell the word in the whole world.
Abasi lepa hilafu: wheresoever he arrives

64. Nani or inani is a suffix whose significance appears rather obscure. It is found attached to lepa, abule.
   lepa-nani: at once, straightway, immediately
   abule-inani: at once, straightway, immediately

Examples:
   lepanani ha hali hapi atdula: straightway he will return it again here
   lepanani huna hogo igbwa: at once sickness left the body
   abuleinani hisogo uwu hegbwe hotro... straightway leaving the water he saw...

The nani may really be composed of two particles na and ni; but it is difficult to assign meanings to them.

VII. AI AND ADI

65. Ai and adi are evidently related to lai and ladi (see pars. 48-50) and apparently the latter are formed by the combination of le er la with ai and adi.
In Logo, Miss Mozley says that adi and aii are personal pronouns, adi being 'he, she; him, her; it' and aii 'they, them'. Dr. Tucker regards the a as a pronominal prefix, so that the pronouns are really i (or ii) and 'di (the d is implosive). The function of 'di, he says, is similar to that of na, i.e. to refer to someone or something which has already been mentioned. It may be the subject of a sentence but not possessive. It has also a demonstrative function, indicating intimacy with the speaker or person addressed. Na and 'di combine to make a place demonstrative, e.g. dili na'di 'spear that there', 'that spear'. The 'di may also be suffixed to pronouns; e.g. a'di and ako'di, 'that man', 'him'.

In Luluba the pronoun corresponding to 'di is le. From these notes it is evident that the Logo pronouns closely resemble the Efe forms. We may suspect that the Efe d is also implosive; and seeing that ai is often written ayi in our material we may suppose that it approximates to the sound of aii as written by Miss Mozley. It will be seen that whereas (Miss Mozley says) adi is singular and aii plural in Logo, the reverse seems to be true in Efe: aii singular and adi plural. Can they be called pronouns in Efe and have they a like function?
Either *ai* or *adi* appears very regularly at the close of subordinate sentences. The model is:

\[ X \text{ (antecedent)} - a - Y \text{ (subject of clause)} - Z \text{ (predicate of clause)} - ai \text{ or } adi. \]

Examples of *ai*:

- **okpwe a hagisatde ai**: fire which is not quenched -
  or, which he quenches not.

- **trochu a anihachitona ai**: word (or thing) which you-still-ask

- **udu a anihisitreni ai**: a thing which is written - or,
  which he writes

- **abi a ideni ahilusi ai**: a man for whom they make

Examples of *adi*:

- **abi a ahaisopa alipapu adi**: men who sold doves

- **abi a ahaisocha tefu becha adi**: men who were passing on the road

- **ide a dehu a ahaisocha becha adi**: and one of them who were standing

In these clauses the *a_, here translated 'who' or 'which' is the regular invariable qualificative link with the antecedent noun, seen in relative clauses and with adjectives (see below, par. 68; and chap. 7) Of the *ai* and *adi* one of two possible views may be taken, viz.
(a) that they are mere particles marking the close of the subordinate clause as a marks its opening; or,

(b) that they are pleonastic pronouns referring to something or someone that has already been mentioned. The 'something or someone' may be indicated by
(1) the antecedent; (2) the subject of the subordinate clause; or (3) the object of the subordinate clause. Thus in the example cited above, abi a ahaisopa alipapu adi, adi may refer (1) to abi, 'men'; (2) to the pronominal prefix in ahaisopa, a 'they'; or (3) to alipapu, 'doves'.

Since adi and ai both occur in clauses which contain no object - see the examples on p.143, -(3) would appear to be excluded; and we have to ask whether it is the antecedent or subject of the clause that is referred to.

NOTE: 'pleonastic', superfluous or redundant, is the term applied by Hebrew grammarians to such a pronoun as he', 'she', in such a verse as "the woman whom thou gavest to be with me she...." Here the antecedent 'woman' is resumed by the pronoun 'she'. The Efe construction evidently differs from the Hebrew, for he' is nominative
and looks forward to a predicate, while ai and adi are nominative but look back.

68. Ai and adi also occur at the close of qualitative clauses which contain no predicate. While they generally occur at the close, the rule appears to be that they are placed next to the qualitative and they may be followed by particles - as in two of the examples given below.

Examples of ai:

be iha hoda hene a ilembe ai mba: and some fell on
good ground - ground which (is) good. Here mba is a locative postposition, 'on'.
upi a mahedi a agbwi ni ai: to sit on my right hand
- hand which is right.
abi botde ai: men who are dead.

Examples of adi:

Ahaji cha malaika a haluitda adi bachi: they shall become like angels of heaven - angels who (are in)
heaven like.
abi a ibikicha adi: men of the council; men who are of...
ubu a olutai adi: places of honour; places which are...
abi a nafuga ani adi: men of wealth; men who are...
Ai and adi appear to occur particularly after enumerative nouns in the same construction.

ide a ihoti ai a ðehu: one of the twelve of them
hitrodu ague ekpwe adi: he showed himself to two

In this example the particle a is omitted.

69. Ai and adi may both take the objective suffix -e.

Examples of aie:

aniketda ubu a ideni aiubo hisere aie: you know not
the time at which the master comes
cha mutra ipesi a agisutra hedini aie: I will build
another which they build not with hands.
ahabe abi a amue hisitibu aie: they receive the man
who sends me
ahitoi mobo a haluitda aie: they seek a sign which is
from heaven
anihotro udu a ahisui aie: you see a thing which is
hated— which they hate
ahagitreni ha na abi ediatre udu a ahisotro aie: that
they should not tell any man the thing which they
had seen.

Examples of adie:

hadu aitodie ihoti adie: he called the twelve disciples

Note the omission of a.
achudu bai bo cha amuhupi itoie aiyotro a ipesi adie?
why should we still be seeking other witnesses?

In these sentences all that follows the verb group is the object; and the objective suffix -e is to be regarded as attached to the whole clause, as if it were a single word.

aniketda: you know not. What don’t you know? ubu-a-ideni-aiubo-hisere-aie: the hour at which the master comes.
ahitoi: they seek. What do they seek: mobo-a-haluitda-aie, a sign which (is from) heaven.
hadu: he calls. Whom? aitodi e ihoti-adie: disciples (who are) twelve. In this instance both aitodi and adi are objective. Does this mean that adi is connected only with ihoti? Is it 'he-called disciples twelve-them'?

We may notice here the idiomatic use of aie with a circumstantial verb-group to form an adverbial subordinate clause.

Examples:
	haisitodi aie... while he was teaching....
		haisilodi aie... as he was passing...
		shaasilodu ni aie... when they were questioning....
		ahisanu aie...while they ate...
		ahisogi aie... when they heard....
		olu hisunu aie... when evening came...
Here the whole phrase seems to be treated as a substantive in the objective case, the specific adverbial meaning being conveyed by the circumstantial -s-.

71. **Aï** and **adi** occur in some genitive formations (see chap.6, par.10). The proper genitive particle is **ba**, but sometimes we get **bai** and **badi** which may represent **ba-ai** or **ba-i**, **ba-adi** or **ba-di**. **Bai** and **badi** may take the objective suffix -e.

(a) The model is **Pd** (person or thing possessed) - **P** (possessor -bai or **badi**. Sometimes the particle **a** comes between the substantives.

Examples:

hitreni aitodi itda-bai: and he said to his disciples.

hisadu aie aitodi a itda-badi: when he had called his disciples.

anilusi gbwogbwou Maka baie: make ye the Lord's road.

ahotro aitodi itda-badie dehu: they saw some of his disciples.

(b) The model is **P - ba - Pd - ai** or **adi**.

Examples:

abi ba magu ai: the son of man; man's son.

itda-ba mwaka ai: her years.
ni-ba magu-tobo ai: thy daughter
hida tiha itda-ba mala adi: he made a feast (for)
his officers.

72. Adi may be followed by a and ina, 'with', 'and';
'and with'.
Examples:

Hapi Yesu itda-ba aitodi adi a... And Jesus with his
disciples.
Uwehi chali embi adi a: eyes without joy; evil eye.
abu ahisocha atdi iji abe adi a: and those who are
suckling children.
abi a ibikicha adi ina: and with men of the council.
ubu a olutai adi a tiha ina: and places of honour at
feasts.

A and ina also follow adi but much less frequently.
okpwe a hagisatde adi adi a: and the fire is not quenched.

73. We return to the question posed in par.67: if ai
and adi refer to something or someone already mentioned,
is this the antecedent or the subject of the relative
clause?
(a) Presumably the referring pronoun would agree in number and case.

In the first examples in par.67, the antecedent is singular throughout; this is shown by the context as well as by form. The \textit{ai} is presumably singular too; so that on this point there is agreement. In form the antecedent is nominative as is the \textit{ai}; so that they agree also in this particular.

In these examples the subject of the clause is plural mostly, while the \textit{ai} is constant: here there is no agreement. But there is agreement in case.

In the second examples, the antecedent is plural throughout, as shown by the context, though not by the form. If \textit{adi} is rightly taken as plural, there is agreement. The antecedent is nominative throughout as is \textit{adi}; so here again there is agreement.

The subject of these clauses is plural throughout; and we may therefore say that there is agreement.

The result of this analysis is that there is slight evidence in favour of the reference of \textit{ai} and \textit{adi} being to the antecedent. If this is the rule, we have to ask as to the relation between \textit{ai} and \textit{adi} on one hand and \textit{le} on the other, for we have already seen that \textit{le} refers back to the antecedent (see par.41). \textit{Ai} and \textit{le}, \textit{adi} and \textit{lede}, may occupy the same position at the end of clauses, as in the following examples:
trochu a anihachatona ai: a matter which you will be asking-for.

udu a anihisitona le: a thing which you ask-for.

If they both refer to the antecedent, what difference is there in function answering to the difference in form? It is a question which we cannot answer.

Analysis of the examples in pars. 67 - 68 does not help to decide whether ai and adi refer to the antecedent or to the subject of the clause.

We must be content to leave the subject open for further investigation. It may be decided that, after all, ai and adi are not referring pronouns, but simply particles used to show the close of the clause. Yet it must be explained why there are two forms and not one only.

VIII. THE FUNCTION OF NA

In Eastern Sudanic languages na has various functions.

(a) As a verb adjunct it indicates future time in Moru.
(b) In Moru it is also suffixed to the verb to give the action a generalised significance; e.g. anya ka ledri, ufu-na: his present occupation is man-killing. Not that he is actually killing a man at the moment.
(c) In some languages **na** is a postposition, 'in', 'into'.

(d) As a demonstrative it indicates nearness, 'this here', as against **ni**, 'that there'.

(e) Its main function in some languages (Dr. A.N. Tucker says) is to refer to something or someone that has already been mentioned.

Perhaps this is its function in the Moru sentence:
**toko na dra te**: his wife is dead.

(f) In Moru, Mynors states, **na** is one form of the 3rd person pronoun, suffixed to the verb as a direct object: e.g. **mindre-na**, 'you see him'. It is not clear whether **na** here refers to a person already mentioned.

(g) Of certain languages Dr. Tucker states that when a verb is used without reference to any specific object, an indefinite pronoun, or **na**, is given the sentence position of the object.

Has **na** any or all of these functions in Efe? Here we are concerned to ask whether in any context it is pronominal. To get the answer we bring together as many uses of **na** as we can detect in our material.
75. *Na* appears to form a mild imperative or subjunctive. Its position then is immediately after the verb.

Examples:

- **anulo na hene:** go ye into the country.
- **upi na mahedi agbwi:** sit on my right hand.
- **hada ahupi na hene:** he ordered them to sit on the ground.
- **itu na boluhehie:** fix (your heart); take courage.
- **anere na amuhafu:** come, let us kill (him).

In the following sentences *na* also seems to introduce the subjunctive and to be translatable by 'that'.

- **aichi bechi na miya?** what is it that I am to do?
- **nija bo na aichi maya?** what sayest thou that I should do?
- **ahibwaga na ose tau ale:** that they be the first to cross to the other side.
- **hituka itda huca na lotdie:** besought him that he cast out the spirit.
- **hituka itda ihola-hola bagucha na hene ale:** besought him much that he would not send them away out of the country.
76. There are sentences in which na appears to take the place of an objective pronoun following the verb. But it is more likely that these are also imperative. Examples:

anadu na: call him.

Here na may take the place of itda; but probably marks a request.

anitdi na: take it.

lube na ugbwa mba: stretch him on a tree: crucify him.

Here again na might possibly replace a pronoun, 'it' or 'him'; but these sentences appear to follow the construction of those in par. 75.

The imperative or subjunctive function is not so evident when the pronominal prefix of the verb is 1st person, not 2nd, as in the following sentence:

Ba ahali, ahitreni Yesu, ide ja: Amuketda na:

they answered, they told Jesus, they said: We know not.

Here na might be 'it'; 'we know not it'; but the sentence might be translated, 'they said that we do not know'.

There are other sentences in which na does not appear to introduce the imperative or subjunctive.

Examples:

\[
\text{ba ahihanula ahumba na Yesue, aholo na itda, ahetdi Pilato.}
\]

On the analogy of sentences in pars. 75 & 76, this should be rendered "then they-took-counsel that they bind Jesus, that they lead (him), they give (him) (to) Pilate."

But in the Nyoro the verbs are indicative throughout (as in the English):

\[
\text{bahanura, baboha Yesu, bemutwara, bamuhayo hali Pilato:}
\]

they took counsel, they bound Jesus, they carried him, they delivered him to Pilate.

Is the Efe rendering a mistranslation; or does the na here indicate consecutive action? Does it mean: 'They took counsel, and after (na) binding Jesus and after (na) leading him away, they delivered him to Pilate?'

\[
\text{tumbi aniho itda, aniho lo itda ba-umba na: take-ye him, and lead him away safely (bound).}
\]

Here the Nyoro reading is: mumukwate, mumutwale aboherwe: the verbs are subjunctive, -kwate, -twale; aboherwe is the perfect indicative, 'he being in a bound state'. In the Efe ba-umba is a participle, 'bound'. Is na connected with ba-umba; or does it make subjunctive the verbs aniho, aniho lo which
without it would be taken as indicative?
Or does na here also indicate consecutive action, and should we render: 'lead him away after (na) he is bound?

78. Na often follows a negative verb expressing a prohibition or rebuke or request. The construction seems to be similar to that of examples cited in par. 75.

Examples:

anihagitreni na ab: do not tell (any) man.
anihagolo na udu a gbwogbwou: do not take things of (for) the road.
ahagitrochu na na ab: that they should not speak to (any) man.

hagite na tiha ba oisa: let it not be on a feast day.

nakagi na trochu...: thou thinkest not the things.

79. Na is frequently used in connection with the verb ocha, to be.

Examples:

Utro, eme niyabina tefu ahocha na itoi ab: Behold thy mother and they brethren without seek for thee.

Echiro alu ruin iho cha ide na bapere: and they were about 4,000.
Having ears, do ye not hear these things?  

Answerest thou nothing?  

Art thou not anxious about things?

In the third of these examples hochana might well be 'be with', 'have'; but it is difficult to read that meaning into the others.

There are some instances of na occurring as a copulative particle; at least, that is what it seems to be.

Examples:

itda na lai: it is I. N.B. use of itda.

lai ni na maka: this is the heir (chief).

umu na Mugu Ibulaimu bai: I am the God of Abraham.

lai na maigbwa: this is my body.

Ini be na Kristo? Art thou the Christ?

hoti na ihou: twelve were the baskets.

umu na lai: I am he.

In some sentences na appears as if it might be demonstrative or refer back to some person or thing already mentioned.
Examples:

Itda ha na ahusu itda ba magu ai na: it is that they
(will; reverence his (my) son na - the son mentioned.
hilemba nilasi igbwaola hegbe edimimba hatde ichi
halu na: it-is-good thou-enter life into one to-thee
it-is-lacking ichi foot na - the foot mentioned.
hapi ba haga ekpwe ai itdole na: and the second
married the woman na - the woman mentioned.

Na may follow alede (see par. 55) apparently to
reinforce it;

osa, trulu ba bo cha haji adeddi abi alede na?
in time of rising whose shall (she) be (of) those
men na - the husbands already mentioned.

82. We have already seen (chap. 3, par. 32) that na,
following a noun (or adjective) appears to be translatable
'from' or 'since'.

Examples:

magu na higbwa a itda ote: child from it-began him
(or, his) seizing.

abule bape miitdi umu ileko na: all these things I
have kept since (my) youth.

It is still a question whether in such sentences na
does not go to form an adverbial phrase. Magu-na: while
he was a child, in his childish state; 

**umu ileko-na:** while I was small, in my youth and since then. If so, it would link on to the suggestion made in par. 77, that na might be translated 'after'.

**hisotro Yesu aie ihota-na:** when he saw Jesus from afar.

We cannot decide as to the meaning of na in general. We must leave it for further investigation.
CHAPTER 5.

SUFFIXES AND POSTPOSITIONS COMMON TO NOUNS AND PRONOUNS.

1. We put these together because we are not sure in every instance whether we are dealing with a suffix or a postposition.

1. THE POSTPOSITION A

2. A has several functions, as will be seen in the dictionary, and some of these are not easily determined. Miss Mozley was puzzled by the a in Logo and concluded that in some instances its use was merely euphonic. It may be the same in Efe.

3. Following nouns and pronouns a is often plainly to be rendered 'with' or 'and'. It translates the Nyoro preposition na which has that meaning.

Examples:

Nachosu ebe eme a: honour thy father and mother.

atdi a, ubu a: and children, and lands.

Mugu hailusi abi agbwie tdole a: God made (them) man and woman.

hadu abi alika aitodi a: he called many people and disciples.
4. When several persons are named comes after each name: e.g.

Petero a Yakobo a Yohana a: Peter and, James and, John and; i.e. Peter, James and John.

5. A frequently follows the pronouns:

umu a: and I; with me. Often written umwa.
ini a: and thou, with thee. Often written iniya.
itda a: and he, with him.
amu a: and we, with us. Often written amwa.
ani a: and you, with you. Often written aniya.
ide a: and they, with them.

Examples:
idere kamba amu a: because he followed not with us.

ebwamba bo cha mulo ite ani a ni upie? how long shall I be with you?

olu hobu ko maupi ani a yekalu hegbe: I was daily with you in the temple.

Note: the a meaning 'and', 'with' is not to be confused with the intervening particle a in the genitive construction, e.g. ide a hedi: they of hand, their hand.
A noun completed by a may render an English adverb.

chali a: with gladness, gladly.
ifofo a: with suddenness, suddenly.
hisali bogi itutu a: answered with great intelligence, intelligently.

When translatable 'with', a may be separated from the noun by other words, i.e. by an adjective, as in the last example given above, or by adi.
holo Besaniya ihoti adi a: he went to Bethany with the twelve.

A frequently follows the genitives mai, bai, and not always is it then translatable 'and', or 'with'.
aitodi mai a: and my disciples.
boluhehi nibai a: and with thy heart.
Uchipa injili Yesu Kristo bai a | Magu Mugu bai:
the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. In this instance the a is probably the qualificative particle - 'who is the Son of God'.

A appears sometimes to signify motion to or from.
Examples:
Utro-ba na amuhisuse Yerusalem a: behold, we go up to Jerusalem.
ahaisitute aie bambachu a: when they were coming
down from the mountain.

2. THE POSTPOSITION INA

10. This is frequently used in the place of, or in connexion
with, a, meaning 'with', 'and'. It also translates the Nyoro
preposition na.

Examples:

Yohana a Andereya ina: John and Andrew and; i.e. John
and Andrew.

Yesu ina beni hitrado ide etue: and Jesus was going
before them.

banabi epfu ina: and false prophets.

maraika ina hocha: he was with angels.

ufo ina hobi ina: with swords and staves.

11. In our material ina follows itda and ide more frequently
than the other pronoun.

Examples:

here abi alika itda ina: he brought many people with him.

olo ide ina: going with them.

ebu echina ide ina mofu: three days I have been with them.
ade ina bo cha na amuhilali hina alaie? with whom shall we roll away that stone?

Note the idiom, ide ina, 'together'.

ahachupi ide ina: that they might stay with them, i.e. with him, together.

12. Ini 'thou, thee', and ina coalesce into inina, 'with thee', 'and thou'; ani and ina into anina, 'with you', 'and you'.

umu makitete ko anina upie oluhohu: I do not stay with you to remain always.

3. THE SUFFIX -E

13. When the word ends in e, the suffix may take the form ye; and it appears as iwe after okpwi, 'fire'.

14. Suffixed to nouns e has a twofold function:

1. vocative; 2. objective.

15. 1. Vocative. The suffix occurs with simple and compound nouns, both common and proper.

Examples:

aitodi: teacher aitodie: oh, teacher!

aitodi-lemba: good teacher aitodi-lembae: oh, good teacher!
Illustrative sentences:

Aitodie, amuhotro abie: Teacher, we saw a man...
Aichi bo cha na miya, aitodi-lembae? what shall I do, oh, good teacher?
Magu-toboe, trochuabe hido a ko inie: daughter, faith has healed thee.
Ali na itda lipo, Sitanie: get thee behind me, Satan.
Ugi Isalele-ye! Hear, oh, Israel!

16. 2. Objective

E is suffixed to nouns in the singular following transitive verbs. Sometimes verbs are treated as transitive whose equivalents in English are intransitive.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Objective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atugu</td>
<td>spice</td>
<td>atugu-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abi</td>
<td>person, man</td>
<td>abi-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atdi</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>atdi-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udu</td>
<td>thing, affair</td>
<td>udu-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>henu</td>
<td>pain</td>
<td>henu-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hechu</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>hechu-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Illustrative sentences:

*ba hoka atugue:* and they brought spices.

*ba hido abie alika:* and he healed many people.

*itda gobo atdie:* he did not leave a child.

To *bo cha nutro udue?* Do you yet see a thing?

*alika cha huto henue:* he shall suffer many pains.

*hitdi hechue:* he touched (his) tongue.

17. The verbal noun may take the suffix.

Examples:

*anu:* eating, food

*objective:* *anu-e*

*hanu amue hedi ita:* ate food (with) dirty hands.

The objective verbal noun is normally employed where in English the infinitive would occur, or sometimes where an adverb is used.

Examples:

*ba hapa itibue leu:* and he-repeated sending a servant;

again he sent a servant.

*ba hapa ilasie Kapernauma:* and he-repeated entering Kapernaum; he again entered Capernaum.

*higbwaga itodie ide:* he-began teaching them; he began to teach them.
The objective verbal noun functions sometimes as a conjunction.

Examples:

asi: supposing, saying.  asie: either.... or.
aibo bo ifofoi asie lachi....asie lachi? which is easy either... or...?
olo: going.  oloe: unto, as far as.
ogo hane a ebapa oloe ba haluitda a ebapa: coming-from end of earth, going-to and end of heaven: from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven.
iladi: passing.  iladie: more than, rather than.
iladie olo Gehena hegbe: rather than to go into G.
iladie abi a nafuga ani a: rather than for a rich man.

18. The suffix is attached to the plural noun as well as to the singular.

hegbwe: stomach; hegbe-ini: stomachs; objective, hegbe-ini-e.
bugati hikuba isi hegbeinie: bread able to satisfy stomachs.

19. When two nouns occur in the compound formation, the objective suffix is attached sometimes to the first and sometimes to the second.
Examples:

hitai houe hoti: filled baskets twelve; they filled twelve baskets.

be hibe ubu apuchie echiro meri: and he-stayed days ten four in-the-desert; he was forty days in the wilderness.

20. The suffixing of -e to pronouns has already been illustrated (see chap. 4, par. 3, etc.). The formations may be briefly resumed here.

(a) The personal pronouns, absolute.

umue: me
amue: us
inie: thee
anie: you

Examples:

nere, nach umue: come and follow me.
amuhacha inie: we follow thee.
magosi ha inie esiatre: I will never deny thee.
abu edi cha anie abetdi maka-bo: they shall deliver you up to chiefs.

(b) Other pronouns.

ni-gu-e: thee, thyself.
ani-gu-e: you, yourselves.
gu-e: him, himself.
a-gu-e: him, them; themselves; himself.
ide-gu-e: themselves.

gue-ni: him only.

a-gu-e-ni: him or them only.

Examples:

Yesu gueni ahotro: Jesus himself only they saw.

haupi ague etinie hina: he was cutting himself with stones.

tumbi hupi ague iluginie hene: and he rolled himself on the ground.

hene hanu agueni: the earth brings forth of itself.

ido nigue: save thyself.

usa nitiba nigue nisosa ni achi a: love thy neighbour as thyself.

idegue ahaisilodi ni aie: questioning each other.

dehu-e: other, others.

ipue: others of a different sort.

lai-e, alai-e: this, these.

Examples:

hapi a dehue ahole: and others they sow.

aichi bocha anihachetda ipue bapere? How will you know all others?

When used adjectively, dehu, ipu, alai, may take the suffix, not the noun.
utro-pe hina alaie:  see these stones.
hilali hina alaie:  roll away this stone.
abi dehue na haido:  he saved other men.
hitibu aitodi dehue ekpwe:  he sent two other disciples.

21. We have already shown how -ẹ/suffixed to ai and adi to be and is/taken then as attached to the whole clause; as in the sentences:

   ba hibu itda kombe a ihota aie:  they put on him a long robe.
   ba hadu aitodie ihoti adie:  he called twelve disciples.

   see chap. 4, par. 64.

4. THE SUFFIX -BO

22. We have seen that bo as a postposition indicates motion to or from (see chap. 3, par. 34). As a suffix to nouns and pronouns it imparts a collective sense.

(a) Suffixed to nouns.

   Abi is 'person', 'man'; abi-bo is 'man in general, mankind'.

   nakagi na trochu Mugu baie, abibo baie ni nagi:  thou mindest not the things of God, (those) of man it is thou mindest.
Sabiti hite abibo huha ni a: the sabbath exists for man.

(b) Suffixed to pronouns.

ni-gu-bo: thy home, thy family, thy people.
ani-gu-bo: your .. ..
agu-bo: his .. ..
ide-bo: their country, home, people.
ulo-na nigubo: go to thy home.
hoji agubo: she went home
heji hene a idebo a: he came to his own country, i.e. his and others'.
ani ko idebo a abi ai: surely thou (you) art one of them, i.e. a man of their number.

5. THE SUFFIX OR POSTPOSITION MBA.

23. We are not sure whether MBA should be treated as a suffix or as a postposition. We have compromised by writing it separately from the noun and attaching it to pronouns by means of a hyphen. It imparts a locative sense, to, at, from; and by extension it can often be rendered 'in regard to', 'on account of'.
(a) Following nouns.

lotdi hogo magu mba: the spirit is gone out of the child.
abibo mba ihu ale hagikuba: to mankind that sort is not possible.
ichile hofu heya mba: he is at the door.
hitibu leue-hola aihupaini mba: he sent a servant to the husbandmen.
udu ahisugo abi mba ai hufu a itda: things which come-out from a man defile him.
hisotro Petero okpwi mba: saw Peter at the fire.
trochu mba: on account of the word.

(b) Following verbal nouns.

beni hocha baupi anu mba: as he was sitting at meat.

(c) Following the personal pronouns, absolute.

In the first and second person singular, the initial vowel of the pronoun is dropped: mu-mba, not umu-mba: nimba, not ini-mba. It would be better therefore to say that so far as these persons are concerned -mba is attached to the connected personal pronoun.

mu-mba: to me, from me, in regard to me.
tona udu mu-mba: ask a thing of me.
nitona mu-mba: thou askest of me.
ide a boluhehi ipesi mu-mba: their heart is alien to me.
ni-mba: to thee, from thee, in regard to thee.

nimba ko mere magu mai a: to thee I brought my son.
edi na ni-mba hatde: one thing to thee is lacking.

amu-mba: to us, from us, in regard to us.
nagite hocho amu-mba boluhehie? Is there nothing
in thy heart in regard to us? Carest thou not?
ani-mba: to you, from you, in regard to you.
ani-mba lechi ga: but not so with regard to you.
itde-mba: to him, from him, in regard to him.

ba hogo itda-mba: lacking it shall be lacking to

him, i.e. he shall lose it, and it went out from him.
atde cha hatde itda-mba: lacking it shall be lacking
to him, i.e. he shall lose it.

itda-mba ahaupi ere: to him they kept coming.
hapi hele ba dehu ahaocha itda-mba: and the boats
of other people were to him, i.e. where he was.
hapi mala hocha becha itda-mba ugbwa: and the
centurion was standing near to him.

ide-mba: to them, from them, in regard to them.
tumbi here ide-mba: then he came to them.
tumbi hitde ide-mba labee: then he set a hedge about
it.
N.B. ide-mba is often used in the more general sense of 'thereon', as in the last example cited above.

*itda hotro ide-mba ihehie:* that he might see (find) fruit thereon.

24. Mba is sometimes found after abula and abule.

*abula-mba:* at or in this place.

*abule-mba:* from here, from this place.

Examples:

*Kristo hoche na abula-mba:* Christ is here, at this place.

*ladi a ahisoche abula-mba baecha:* those who are here standing.

*la una abule-mba:* be thou taken up from this place.

25. Mba frequently occurs after names of places.

*Yerusalemu mba:* to or from Jerusalem.

26. When mba comes after a personal name, and after a pronoun, the locative sense is often reinforced by the addition of abu a which may be written abwa. This formation seems to be an attempt to render the Nyoro locative namberali, nambereballi, etc. It may, however, be idiomatic.

Examples:

*ba itda ahere Yesu mba abu a:* they brought him to Jesus where he was.
tumbi here ide-mba abu a: then he came to them where they were.

hapi ahitibu itda-mba abu a: and they send to him where he is.

abe a nabe atdi leko here mu-mba abu a: letting let the little children come to me where I am.

Mba may follow and relate to a possessive or other phrase.

uduolutai nibai mba: glory thy to: in thy glory.
oka Mugu bai mba: kingdom God of from: from the kingdom of God.

For the sake, it seems, of emphasis a verbal noun followed by mba may be placed at the beginning of a sentence.

Itrana mba ni Pilato hupi: astonishment to it-was Pilate he-sat: Pilate marvelled.
Itrana mba tai ahupi: astonishment to full they-sat: they were quite astonished.

The suffix is employed sometimes with a possessive sense.

mesa ide-mba abi a ahaisilegbwi feza: tables to-them men who were changing coin: the tables of the money-changers.
30. The suffix may be attached to the referring pronoun le.

\textit{Anitona ki le-mba ubu hechu ba:} pray-ye not it-to
time wind of: pray that it be not in the winter.

6. \textbf{THE POSTPOSITION HEGBWE}

31. \textit{Hegbwe} appears to mean 'stomach', or 'inside'; used
as a postposition it signifies position in, within; or
direction into or out from.

\textit{luchuba hegбwe:} in a vessel.
\textit{bolu-hehi hegбwe:} into the heart.
\textit{hou hegбwe:} in a basket.
\textit{itda hegбwe:} within himself.

7. \textbf{THE POSTPOSITION LOCHA}

32. The word \textit{locha} is apparently formed from \textit{ocha}
'to be' by prefixing \textit{l} which may be the \textit{l} in the
referring pronouns \textit{la} and \textit{le}. As a postposition \textit{locha}
is translatable 'to'.

\textit{itda locha,} to him. \textit{ide locha,} to them.
In our material it is not used with other pronouns.
Examples:

\textit{tumbi hadu abi alika itda locha}: then he called many people to him.

\textit{hapi ba hapa itibue leu-hola ide locha}: and again he sent servants to them.

\textit{ba here Yesu locha}: and he came to Jesus.

8. \textbf{THE SUFFIX OF POSTPOSITION NI}

33. The determining of the function of \textit{ni} has proved perhaps the most difficult task in preparing this tentative grammar; and we are still not satisfied that we have determined it fully.

Does its use in other languages help at all?

(a) In Logo \textit{ni} and \textit{na} are demonstratives, \textit{ni} indicating nearness, 'this here' and \textit{na} relative remoteness, 'that there'.

(b) As a postposition, in Moru etc., it may, like \textit{ri} and \textit{dri} stand for 'to' or 'from', 'for'; in Madi 'towards'. In Madi it may also be a preposition, 'from', 'with', 'in'.

(c) In some languages, notably Luluba (says Dr. A. N. Tucker) it is difficult to tell whether \textit{ni} is to be taken as a
dative postposition, an accusative suffix or a verbal suffix.

(d) In Moru there are two similar particles, distinguished by the quality of the vowel: \( \text{ni} \) is (see above) a dative postposition or preposition; \( \text{nl} \) forms the infinitive, as \( \text{le} \) does in Logo and Avukaya. Moru: oso ni, to hoe; onya nl, to eat; Logo: loko le, to catch.

(e) In Moru \( \text{ni} \) has also a determinative function; i.e. it is used in sentences which point out the doer of an action: e.g. \( \text{a'di fu ni ya? ma fu ni} \): Who killed him? I did.

(f) In Luluba \( \text{ni} \) seems able to occur at the end of any affirmative sentence.

(g) In Madi \( \text{ni} \) is described as a 'linking particle', as is \( \text{i} \) or \( \text{e} \) in Logo: e.g. kitikiko: stool (is) not, it is not a stool. It occurs in genitive formations: e.g. Madi, opi ni bara: a chief's child; Logo, agoni dili: a man's spear.

This reference to other languages suggests:

(a) that in Efe, as in them, the particle may have more than one function.

(b) that in Efe, as in Moru, \( \text{ni} \) and \( \text{nl} \) are to be carefully distinguished. This is a matter for further investigation.
34. We have already indicated some of the functions of \textit{ni} in Ef\={e}.

35. (a) \textit{ni} or \textit{ini} is a suffix marking the plural of nouns: \textit{\textit{t}}b-\textit{X}X. As there pointed out, \textit{ini} may stand detached at the end of a sentence when it refers to several nouns.

36. (b) \textit{ni} as a suffix forming verbal nouns (see chap.3, pars. \textit{\textit{h}}b \textit{\textit{g}}\textit{g} \textit{\textit{\textit{a}}}). As said before, verbal nouns are used where in English we should employ the infinitive. This applies both to the simpler verbal noun and to the verbal noun formed with the suffix \textit{ni}; and we might say that as in Moru and Logo, \textit{ni} (perhaps \textit{ni}) forms the infinitive. We have preferred to call it a verbal noun because like other nouns it may take the objective suffix \textit{e}. This is most clearly seen when a verbal noun follows a verb in such sentences as the following:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ahapa touso-ni-e}: they repeated (the) gathering: they came together again.
  \item \textit{hapa osi-ni-e}: he repeated (the) denying: he denied again.
  \item \textit{ahigbwaga itda ituka-ni-e}: they began his beseeching; they began to beseech him.
\end{itemize}
Why the ni verbal noun should be used and not the simpler form is not apparent. The two appear to function in exactly the same way. Compare the following:

= hagikuba ulusi-e udu mani: he could not manage doing a thing of strength; he could not do a mighty work. =

= higbwaga itibu-e ekpwe-kpwe: he began sending two by two. =

= aholo ilodu-e trochu Mugu baie: they went to teach; they took teaching word of God. =

The examples just given might suggest that the simpler verbal nouns are followed by an object; but there are instances also of the ni-form taking an object. Thus:

= itda hibe na adanie abilika: while he finished dismissing the crowd. =

Verbal nouns ending in ni appear to function like other nouns while, as we have just seen, they also retain the verbal function of governing an object.

37. (c) One function of ni is, as we have just seen, to substantivize the verb. We suggest that it also substantivizes clauses.

There are scores of sentences in our material constructed as follows:

= eliyaga a iletdu ai: a skin-vessel which is old. =

= ani a ahagisabe ai: you who do not believe. =
Here we have an antecedent noun eliyaga and a pronoun ani followed by a relative clause beginning with a and ending with ai. In the second example we have a verb-group composed of the pronominal prefix a, a verbal stem abe, believe, and infixed between them hagis which marks the negative of the so-called circumstantial mode of the verb. In the first example the place of the verb-group is taken by an adjective iletdu.

More complex sentences may be constructed on the same pattern:

abi a / ahisogo hene a ibolu ni / ai: people who came from the cities.
udu a / ani-ni ahachahetdi ai bapere ubu ale ni / ai: things which to-you they-will-be-giving ai all day that ni ai: the things whatsoever that ye will be given in that day.

Here the words enclosed between // occupy the position of the verb-group and adjective in the previous examples. Each of these clauses ends with ni. What is the function of ni here? Our suggestion is that the ni substantivizes the whole dause exactly as it makes a verbal noun out of a verb, as ada-ni from ada.

A possible objection is that in the two examples given, the verbs ogo and etdi require a dative, and that ni gives this sense
to hene a ibolu - from the city - and to ubu ale - in that day.

In many passages one might connect the ni in this way with the noun or pronoun: e.g.

hogbwu kombe itda igbwa ni a: he cast his own garment from him, or from his body.

ba ahamba Galiraya ni a: they went through Galilee.

ba ahitreni hene a ibolu ni a: they told (it) in the city.

But it seems likely that the verbs ogbwu and amba have each a directive meaning - 'cast away', 'go along or through'. Hene can be used without any locative particle to indicate 'in the country' and probably this applies also to the phrase hene a ibolu which stands for 'city'.

Further, there are many sentences in which no dative is implied but where ni occurs: e.g.

trochu mai hageba ni a cha: my word shall not end.

use nitiba nigue nisosa ni a chi a: love thy brother as thou lovest thyself.

In all the examples quoted, it will be observed, ni is associated with either a or ai, the former in principal sentences, the latter in relative clauses. It becomes a question, therefore, whether we are to take ni-a and ni-ai as units. Does the ni ever stand by itself without the addition of a or ai?
Ni occurs frequently following verbs in the circumstantial mode. Examples:

*tumbi ahitrama, ahisamba ni hene a itda ni bape a:* then they ran, they-going-through ni land of it ni all a; and then they ran through all that region.

*hapi ayogbwenini a iha... hisogi ide a ahaisilodu ni idegu aie idekugu aie:* and writers of one... (when) he-heard them of they-were-asking ni themselves aie them - against - them aie: and one of the scribes, hearing them questioning each other...

In these sentences ni and a or ai are separated by other words: in the former hene a itda ni bape is a unit, 'all that land'; in the latter the ai takes the objective suffix -e, becoming aie. The ni is evidently linked to the verb-groups: ahisamba ni, ahaisilodu ni. The second instance is particularly illuminating because ide a ahaisilodu ni follows the normal genitive/construction as in

*ide a hedi:* they of hand; their hand (or hands).
*ide a boluhehi:* they of heart; their heart.

Ide a ahaisilodu ni must mean 'they of they-were-asking'; that is to say, the whole verb group is treated as a noun; and it is suggested that the ni functions to substantivize the group. It would be better, if that is really the case, to join the
ni to the group, at least by a hyphen: this we have not done. Perhaps we might also regard the verb group as being based not upon the simple verb root ilodu, but upon the verbal noun, ilodu-ni.

Other examples are provided by the following incomplete phrases:

hisite ni lechi ai: who are (in existence) like this.
ubu maiya hisiladi ni a: six days (when they) had passed.
anigisoma cha udu a hisogbwe ni a? Have ye not read the thing which is written?
Hisogbwe ni a chi nabi Isaya: as it is written by the prophet Isaiah.
idekugu ahaishitrochu ni a: they were saying among themselves.
lolo a ide hegbwe anihisilega ni ai: the measure in which you measure.
mutaka abi haishoche udukuba ni a chi: like a man who had authority.

38. (d) Ni suffixed to pronouns.
Ni suffixed to certain pronouns appears to give them a dative sense:

itda-ni
ide-ni
lai-ni
These forms are used frequently in relative clauses which in English we should translate 'by which...', 'to which...', 'about which...', etc.; and in others where a pronoun is governed by a preposition, 'with him', etc.

itda-ni:

trochu Yesu baie itda-ni hisitreni: the word of Jesus which he said to him.

ba ide itda-ni ahisilube ade ekpwe: and they crucified with him two others.

itda-ni hisogbwe ni a chi: as it is written of him.

hapi ahilube itda-ni: and they who were crucified with him.

ide-ni:

This occurs much more frequently than itda-ni. It should mean 'to them', etc; but it is commonly employed with reference to nouns in the singular. It also denotes 'to which, where'. In conjunction with abu a it often occurs as a translation of the Nyoro namberali, as in the first two of the following sentences.

ahere ide-ni haisocha abu a: they came to-where he was staying, i.e. to where he was.

hadu aitodie ide-ni haisocha abu a: he called the disciples to where he was.

hocha becha ide-ni abu gisilemba: he is standing where staying is not good, i.e. where he ought not to be.
ibu bapere ide-ni anie ahagisabe ai: any place at which they do not receive you.

utro-ba a ide-ni itda ahisitde: behold where they put him.

lai-ni:
This appears also to have a dative sense and to be emphatic: **lai-ni**, just the particular thing or person that is in the mind of the speaker.

Achudu lagu-du bo lai lai-ni Mugu hisetdi lai? What is this wisdom which to-this-person God has given it (or him)? It is not clear whether the **lai-ni** refers to the wisdom or to the person to whom the wisdom is given: probably to the person.

Lai-ni na maka: this very person is the chief (heir).
Here the **ni** appears to be emphatic.

umu-ni; umue-ni.

Umu-ni ko na le: I am he

The reading is not clear. **Ko** frequently occurs as an affirmative particle. Is **ni-ko** to be taken here as a copulative, as it is in Kingwana, and perhaps borrowed from Kingwana? It certainly appears to be such in the sentence: **Magu abi bai niko sabiti ba maka ai edi-ni**: 'the Son of Man is lord of the sabbath he alone'. If it is also a copulative
here we must read: *Umu niko na le*. But *na* is evidently a copulative as in the similar sentence *umu na le*: I am he. *Niko* might be a form of the affirmative 'indeed'. Or more probably *ni* is to be suffixed to *umu* and *umu-ni* to be taken as 'myself', or 'I myself': *umu-ni ko na le*: I myself indeed, and no other, am the one in question.

*ichiu le umue-ni habe*: he receives myself

39. *Ni* meaning 'only', 'alone'.

In other contexts *ni* appears to convey the idea of 'being alone', translating the Nyoro adjectival pronoun, *-onka*. It occurs as a postposition or suffix to nouns and pronouns.

Examples:

*abilemba embi Mugu ni ite-ni pe*: good-person (there is) none God only one-only. There is none good but God.

*Maka edi-ni*: (the) Lord (is) one-only.

*ipesi ai embi ediatre itda-ni*: another ai there-is-none any-at-all he-only: there is none other but he.

*Here itda-ni* represents Nyoro *uwe wenka*.

*Yasu gue-ni shotro*: Jesus him-only they saw.

*hene hanu ague-ni*: the earth bears-fruit (by) itself-only, the earth brings forth of itself.
gotro ihehie, ipi akugu-ni: he saw-not fruit, leaves to-themselves-only; he saw nothing but leaves.
Aba gu-ni: my father alone.

40. Ni as a linking particle or copulative.

*itda-ni:*

*itda-ni* represents in the translation three Nyoro locutions:

*nauwe:* with him
*uwe wenka:* he alone
*nuwogu:* it is he.

The first two have already been illustrated; the third must now be noticed.

*ani a ihoti ni amuhisitatdi ni luchuba heg CWE 1te-ni ni ai itda-ni:* of you twelve the one we dip with with him in the dish - it is he (Nyoro: *nuwogu*)

*abesi na le utie muraji ichi le itda-ni le:* whomsoever I kiss, that is he, i.e. it is the one already referred to as the betrayer (Nyoro: *nuwogu*)

*ide-ni:*

We have already observed (chap. 4, pars. 6 - 9) that *ide* often translates the Nyoro *nukwo*, etc. In some passages *ide-ni* does the same: the *ni* is perhaps emphatic.
ide-ni atde a uchu-ni ai enako: it is these things
(which are) the beginning of trouble (Nyoro: nukwo)
ide-ni cha metdi ini: it is these (things; I will give
thee (the Nyoro does not have nukwo here)

Ini-ni:

This stands for 'it is thou' or 'thou art', the Nyoro
niwe.

Ini-ni ma magu: thou art my son.

ini-ni Magu Mugu bai: thou art the Son of God.

41. **Ni as vocative.**

There is one instance of this apparent function of ni.

Aba-ni, bapere cha hikuba nabe: My Father, all (things)
are possible to thee (thy name).

It may be that ni here may be rendered 'alone'.

42. Reviewing what we have written, we still feel that the
last word has by no means been said about ni. Perhaps
finally it may be found that ni is to be distinguished from
n and that ni is dative and n determinative, the other
apparent uses being really either one or the other of these.
CHAPTER 6.

THE GENITIVE CONSTRUCTION.

1. INTRODUCTION

1. Of the two linking particles a and ba, a marks the qualificative (see chap. 7) and ba the genitive. It is not possible, however, always to draw a hard and fast line between these two constructions: sometimes the a occurs in phrases which must be rendered by means of the genitive 'of'.

2. According to Dr. Westermann, in the typical Sudanic construction, the substantive indicating the possessor (nomen rectum) precedes the substantive indicating the possessed (nomen regens). Efe does not invariably follow this rule: as will be seen below, the possessed frequently follows the possessor.

The similarity of Efe to the Moru-Madi-Logo languages in regard to the genitive construction is shown by the appended table. Here PR stands for 'possessor'; PD for 'Possessed'; and P for 'particle'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EFE</th>
<th>MORU-MADI</th>
<th>LOGO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. - PR  - PD</td>
<td>PR - PD</td>
<td>PR - PD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. - PD  - PR</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Possessor - possessed - no particle.

This is identical with the compound-noun construction, i.e. the two substantives are simply juxtaposed (see chap. 3, par. [1]), e.g. meri-nti, wilderness-honey, honey of the wilderness, wild honey. It appears to be used for specially intimate relationship, like that of parts of a whole, members of the body, etc. So in Lendu: bwentsiki-jo, man-head, a man's head; in Madi opi bara, chief child, a chief's child; in Logo, Nzambi tai, God word, God's word.

4. The pronominal genitive is constructed in this way. There are distinct forms of the pronoun only in 1 & 2 pers. sing. In the 3 pers. the absolute personal pronouns are uses: itda and ide. If one wishes to say 'our' or 'your', another construction must be employed.
The pronouns are:

1 pers. sing. ma or m: my
2 pers. sing. na or n: thy
3 pers. sing. itda: his
3 pers. plur. ide: thier

The m and n precede words beginning with a vowel.

Examples:

ma: my

ma-magu: my son
ma-igbwa: my body not m-igbwa
ma-maka: my chief
mabe (ma-abe): my name
ma-huru: my blood
ma-hedi: my hand
ma-boluhehi: my heart, my soul
ma-ona-du: my burial

na: thy

na-hedi: thy hand
na-halu: thy foot
na-uwehi: thy eye
nabe (na-abe): thy name
niyabi: thy people, relations
Itda: his
  itda hedi: his hand
  itda abe: his name
  itda ighbwa: his body
  itda pe: his corpse
  itda boluhehi: his heart, soul

Examples with nouns:
  Zebedayoyo kagbwi: Zebedee son; Z's son
  Yohana uchu: John head; John's head.

III. SECOND FORMATION

5. Possessed - possessor: no particle.

Here again, simple juxtaposition; but the order is reversed. This formation is not found in the other languages mentioned; and in Efe it appears to be exceptional.

Examples:
  aitodi Yohana: disciples John; John's disciples.
  oka itda hagikuba upie: kingdom his cannot stand;
  his kingdom cannot stand.
The particle *ai* (objective, *aie*), may follow, as in this example:

```
iyachu hachaga tdole itda aie: let the brother marry his wife.
```

**IV. THIRD FORMATION**

6. **Possessor - linking particle - possessed.**

This formation occurs in Madi and Logo where the linking particle is *a* or *ni*:

**Madi:**
- *opi a bara:* the chief's son
- *opi ni bara:* ditto

**Logo:**
- *akodi a nga:* that-man of things; that man's things.
- *ago ni dili:* man of spear; a man's spear.

In Efe the linking particle is *ba*.

7. **Pronouns appear not to enter into this construction at all frequently.** There is no example in our material of the 1 pers. sing., nor of the 1, 2 and 3 pers. plural.

We write the pronoun and particle as one word.

Examples:

2 pers. sing.: *ni-ba*

```
nali niba aiyai hegbe: return into thy house.
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niba magutobo ai hotde: thy daughter is dead.

3 pers. sing.: itda-ba
abi hisune itdaba heu ai: the man who sowed his seed
ahocha baupi Yesu ina, itdaba aitodi ai a: they were
sitting with Jesus and his disciples.

Nouns:

Herodiya ba magutobo: the daughter of Herodias
Bageresene ba hene: the country of the Gerasenes
Mugu ba aiyai hegbwe a: into the house of God
ahitreni hagite na tiha ba oise: they said let it not
be on the day of the feast.

As shown in some of these examples the complementary
particle ai frequently follows the second noun.
Alifayo ba magu ai: the son of Alphaeus
Yakobo ini Yohana, Zebedayo ba atdi ai: James and John,
the sons of Zebedee.
lede ahisagi na lagalaga ba maka ai: those they think
to be chiefs of the nations.
itdaba magu ai: his son
abi ba magu ai: the son of man
8. This construction is used with such words as

\textbf{lachi} as the second term.

\textbf{magu\ alai\ ba\ lachi}: child this \underline{ba} like; like this child.

V. \textbf{FOURTH FORMATION}


This formation appears not to occur in the other Sudanic languages mentioned. It is rarely found in our material. The Efe particle is \underline{ba}.

Examples:

\textbf{hele\ ba\ dehu}: boats of others, of other people.

\textbf{magu\ ba\ abi\ ai}: the son of man

of. the example above: \underline{abi\ ba\ magu\ ai}.

VI. \textbf{FIFTH FORMATION}


The possessed precedes the possessor and the possessor is followed by the linking particle. In Moro-Madi the particle is \underline{dri} or \underline{ro}; in Logo it is \underline{adia}; in Efe it is
ba, bai, badi. Bai and badi may be contractions of ba ai and ba adi; that is to say the genitive particle is followed by one of these two particles which were discussed in chap.4, section vi (see particularly par.71).

11. The pronominal construction generally follows the same pattern. In this instance we write the particle attached to the pronoun.

Examples:

1 pers. sing. Neither ba nor bai is found to follow the pronoun: instead of muba or mubai (or maba or mabai) we have mai.

ai mai: my house

Kogbwe, ai mai na abi mahaga ai ba tona-du ai na: Is it not written, that my house is to be a house of prayer for all nations?

trochu mai: my word
trochu mai hageba ni a cha: my word shall not end.

butu mai: my enemy

idere gisocha butu mai ai ichi le hocha amubai: for he who is not my enemy is ours, i.e. on our part.
2 pers. sing. **ni-bai**: thy, thine.

- **udu nibai**: thy things, possessions.
- **ulo nopa udu nibai bape**: go and sell all thy things.

**abe nibai**: thy faith

- **abe nibai hido a inie**: thy faith has healed thee.

The objective form of **nibai** is **nibaie**, as in the following sentence:

- **hapi nachosa Maka Mugu nibaie boluhehi nibai a bapere**, **igbwaola nibai a bapere, iagu nibai a bapere, mani nibai a bapere**: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength.

3 pers. sing. **itda-ba; itda-bai**: his, her, its.

**maraika itdaba**: his angels.

- **hapi cha le hitibu maraika itdaba**: and he shall send his angels.

**aitodi itdabai**: his disciples

- **ba aitodi itdabai hilodu itda**: and his disciples asked.

The objective form is **itdabaie**.

**abesi abi ale hitde a igbwaola itdabaie**: if a man loses his life.
3 pers. plur. ide-ba; ide-bai: their
tosonipa ideba: their meeting place
abuleinani tosonipa ideba edí abi haocha lotdi itda:
straightway there was in their synagogue a man with
an unclean spirit.
buhobiya idebai: their hypocrisy.
idere haisocha baetda buhobiya idebai a, ba hitreni
ide lachi: when he knew (perceived) their hypocrisy
he spoke thus to them.
ubuni idebai: their witness
hapi ubuni idebai haocha ihu ite ga: and their witness
was not of the same kind, did not agree.

12. This construction occurs in such sentences as the following:
oka haji amubai: (that) the inheritance may be ours.
abi a hisite ni lechi ai oka Mugu bai idebai: men who
are such, the kingdom of God is theirs.

13. Examples of this construction with nouns.
(a) using ba:
nakichogi trochu abi dehu ba: thou dost not hear
(regard) words (affairs) of other people.
osa trulu ba: time of rising, resurrection.
ubu hechu ba: a time of wind (winter)
magu abi ba: son of man.
hada u ba: a vessel of water.

mabutere hohi ba: a crown of thorns.

ukinidu yekaiu ba: the curtain of the temple.

(b) using bai:

oka Mugu bai: the kingdom of God.

edi na abi hona opu muzabibu bai: a man planted a garden of vines, vineyard.

mani Mugu bai: the power of God.

kitabo Musa bai: the book of Moses.

kombe bafuta bai: a garment of linen.

tdole hocha edi kido machuta bai a atugu bai: a woman had a vessel of oil (which was) of perfume. Note the double genitive here, the second formed by means of a and bai.

Mugu abi a botde ai bai ga, abi a igbwaola ai bai: God is not of dead people, he is of living people.

14. The two linking particles ba and bai appear to be semantically identical. Compare the following sentences, in the first of which we have kombe bafuta bai, and in the second kombe bafuta ba, both with the meaning 'cloth of linen'.

beni hupa ni ague kombe bafuta bai ini: having wrapped linen cloths about himself.
tumbi hobo kombe bafuta ba: then he left the linen cloth.

The ini in the former sentence marks the plural: otherwise the formation is the same.

15. The following are examples of the use of bádi in place of ba and bai.

nibadi: thy. Objective form: nibadie
besi cha ba muhole butu nibadie hetii nibai a ita:
until I make thy enemies the stool of thy feet.

anibadi: your. Objective form: anibadie
idere aitodi anibadi hagisa: but your disciples do not fast.

itdabadi: his. Objective form: itdabadie
hapi hisadu aie aitodi a itdabadi: and when he had called his disciples.

ahotro aitodi itdabadie dehu: they saw some of his disciples.

It has not been found possible to determine the function of adi in this connexion. See the discussion in chap. 4, section VII.

16. The particle bai appears sometimes to be translatable by 'by' or 'to' rather than by 'of'. For example:

ihu alai hagikuba cha ogo trochu bai: this kind cannot
be made to go out by words. Here *ogo trochu bai* is literally 'word of going-out'.

*ahaisupi ilupe itda-uwe trochu bai:* they were tempting him by word.

*iyabi hetdi cha iyachue afu bai:* brother shall give brother to death. Here *iyachue afu bai* is literally 'death or dying of brother'.

There are also sentences in which *bai* is translatable 'and'. For example:

*Anulo anihitreni aitodi itdabadi bai Petero:* go and tell the disciples and Peter.

*idere ubu bapere, bai oise, bai bohusa:* but all the time, and (both) day and night.

**VII. SIXTH AND SEVENTH FORMATIONS**

17. We need only mention these here. Their proper place is in the next chapter since they follow the pattern of qualificative construction, the linking particle being *a* and not *ba*.

In the sixth formation the order is Possessed - particle - Possessor; in the seventh the order is reversed, viz. Possessor - particle - Possessed.
Examples:

Sixth formation:

magu a itda: his son

lipo hitibu magu a itda ide locha: afterwards he sent
his son to them.

Seventh formation:

ide a ibolu: their midst.

ba hite ide a ibolu: and placed (him in) their midst.

abi a itiba: a man's brother.

beicha abi a itiba hachotde: if the brother of a man
die.

VIII. THE PARTICLE TDALE

18. Tdale appears to be a genitive linking particle. In
our material it seems to be used only with terms of relation-
ship and in connexion with the names of places.

Examples:

Malyamu a Yakobo atda tdale ileko le Yose: Mary the
mother of James the little and Joses.

Yusufu here Almasayo tdale: Joseph of Arimathaea came.

Malyamu Magadalene tdale: Mary of Magdala, Mary Magdalen.

tumbi hotro Simonie Andereya itiba tdale: then he saw
Simon and Andrew his brother.
CHAPTER 7.

THE QUALIFICATIVE.

1. A qualificative is a word or group of words which qualifies a substantive. We include in the term all those constructions which are formed by means of the linking particle a. They comprise:

(a) Substantives of place.
(b) Genitival formations.
(c) Adjectival formations.
(d) Relatival formations.

These divisions are somewhat arbitrary.

I. SUBSTANTIVES OF PLACE

2. Following Dr. Westermann (Ewe Grammar, p. 51) we may name certain nouns 'substantives of place'. They are brought into relation with the substantives they qualify by means of the particle a. They often do the work of English prepositions, adverbs and conjunctions. They may also indicate time. It will be seen that they are, or appear to be, names of parts of the body,—we cannot be sure, because of the paucity of our material, in all instances. Thus, if we take lipo to mean 'the back',
ide a lipo is 'their back', or 'back in regard to them', and hence 'after them'.

Examples:

lipo: the back.

ubu a lipo: a later day

lede a lipo: after them, after these things, i.e. the things referred to.

ide a lipo: after them, after it.

le a lipo: after him.

Lipo may be used adverbially, sometimes in reduplicated form: e.g. lipo hitibu magu a itda: afterwards he sent his son.

lipo lipo ahisibe Yohana etdi a: after that John had been given up.

When the 1st pers. pro.sing. enters into this formation - and the 3rd pers. sing. - we are in doubt as to whether the linking particle is used, or whether the genitival pattern is followed as described in chap. 6, par. 4. That is to say, should we write ma a lipo: behind, or after, me; or ma-lipo; itda a lipo or itda lipo? On the analogy of ide a lipo (as above) we should expect itda a lipo.

Itu: the front.

The linking particle a coalesces sometimes with the e of itu to form etu.
hele a itu: the front of the boat.
ani a itu: before you.
ide etu (ide a itu): in front of them.
hasi ajie dehu a itu: he desires to become somebody in front, i.e. first, chief.

Uwe: eye

The word for eye generally takes the form uwe-hi: the significance of the suffix hi is not known. Used as a qualificative the word indicates position before or against.
maka a uwe: before a chief.
mahano amu a uwe: marvellous before us, in our eyes.
hocha ide a uwe: were against them.
ahitde ide a uwe: they place before them.

There are instances of the genitive formation:
na-uwe: before thee
utro-ba, umusitibu a mukwenda maie na uwe nia: behold I send my messenger before thy face.
itda uwe: (or should it be itda a uwe??) before him.
bapere ahoda hene itda uwe: all fell to the ground before him.

Uchu: head. In construction it signifies 'over', 'before', 'preceding', 'first'. 
hitofu kido itda uchu (or, itda a uchu): she broke the cruse over him.
ubu a uchu ni a sabatu bai: on the first day of the week.

Ichu: space above, top. In construction it signifies 'upon', 'on top', 'above', 'over'.
ahogwe itda ichu (or itda a ichu): they wrote over him.
iha hoda balabala a ichu: some fell upon rocky ground.
bambachu ihata ai a ichu: upon a high mountain.

Ita: foot. In construction it signifies 'under'
atdi ba mesa a ita ni a: under the children's table.

Itri: tip, end. In construction it signifies 'at the end' or 'at the opening'. Does itri mean tip of finger or toe, or the end of the alimentary canal?
ba hibu kiseke a itri: and put (it) at the end (or, in the orifice) of a reed.
ba hobu hina trohuchu a itri: and rolled a stone before the opening of the tomb.

Isu: face. In construction is signifies 'upon', 'round about', 'direction'.
tumbi hitibu itda uwehie ide a isu a: then he sent
his eyes upon their faces, i.e. he looked round about,
in their direction.

Igbwa: body. In construction it signifies 'self', 'identity',
'within-ness'.
besi hilasi abi a igma: if they enter into a man.
Igbwa emphasises or identifies the pronoun:
ma-igma: my body; myself.
na-igma: thy body, thyself.
amu a igma: our bodies, ourselves.
anî igma: your bodies, yourselves.
igma (or itda a igma), his body, himself.
ima igma: their bodies, themselves.
komba itdabai a igma: his own clothes.
hogi agi a igma: she felt within herself.
igma a igma: he touches his eyes.

Hegbwe: stomach. In construction it signifies 'within-ness'.
. hilasi ide a hegbe: entered into them.
itda hegbe (or, itda a hegbe): into him.
For the use of hegbe as a postposition, see Grammar
and Dictionary:
hou hegbe usa bula hegbe: in a basket or in a bed.
Ibolu: the middle: ?? waist, or navel. In construction, it signifies 'in the midst', 'round about'.

ide a ibolu: in their midst.

hene a ibolu: 'city', represents the Nyoro rubuga, a threshing floor, city.

Ibute: a band, company. In construction it signifies 'in company with', 'together'.

haupu ulaute a ibute: he stayed together with wild beasts, in their company.

II. GENITIVAL FORMATIONS

14. We have already mentioned these - chap. 6, par.17. We name them Genitival because, while they follow the Qualificative construction, the natural way of rendering them is by using 'of'.

The noun denoting the possessor may either follow or precede the noun denoting the possessed. The particle a comes between them. Sometimes ai is placed after the second noun.

Examples:
1. - Possessed - particle - possessor.

magu a itda: his son.

ipumbu a ihou: a basket of fragments.

hene-megwi a Dalmanusa ai: the edge-land of Dalmanutha.

muzabibu a ihehi: fruit of the vine.
udu a mani: a thing of strength.
hene a ebapa: end of the earth.
ide a hedi: their hands.
atibo-bo a hedi: the hands of man.

15. This formation is followed when there is a double genitive as in the sentence:

besi cha ba muhole butu nibadie heti nibai a ita:
until I make thy enemies the footstool of thy feet:
i.e. enemy thy stool thy of feet.

III. ADJECTIVAL FORMATIONS

16. It seems impossible to distinguish adjectives from nouns and verbs by their form, but only by their position and function. Ihata, ihota, ilemba might all be verbs and indeed ilemba is employed as a verb: it represents not only the adjective 'good', but also the verb 'to be good'. Morphologically verbs, adjectives and nouns are not distinguishable in Efe.

17. Generally the position of the adjective is after the noun, but sometimes it precedes the noun.
abi ali ka: men many: many men. But also
ali ka cha osa ali ka here: many men shall come.
tro chu itiri or itiri tro chu: a great thing or saying.

In questions the adjective may precede the noun:

ihotu ani a bolu hehi? Hard your hearts? Are your hearts hard?

18. The adjective is often simply juxtaposed to the noun, as in the compound noun construction, without any intervening particle. When this is so the two words may be regarded in fact as a compound noun and should perhaps be connected by means of a hyphen.

Examples:

udu-itda: thing bad, sin.

hitu boba: voice great, a loud voice.

ubo bapers: place all, all the place, town.
atdu pesi: places other, other places.
abi echi: men four, four men.

19. There may be some doubt about such words as ali ka, alai, ale, whether they follow the rule of juxtaposition or whether the initial a is really a linking particle and should be written separately. Should we write abi a lika,
many men, or abi alika? The fact that alika sometimes comes first in the sentence seems to settle this point, and we write abi alika. There is still the question, however, whether it is not really abi a alika; and this we cannot answer, without knowing whether the a in abi alika is long or short. So with ale, alai, etc. see chap. 4, par. 51.

The normal adjectival formation follows this pattern:
Substantive - intervening particle - adjective.
Very frequently the particle ai follows the adjective.
Examples without the final ai:
agnbwi: male, right.
    na-hedi a agbwi: thy right hand.
bapere: all, both
    hedi a bapere: both hands.
    ibute a bapere: the whole band.
dehu: some, other.
    abi a dehu: some people.
inha: one of several.
    banabi a inha: one of the prophets.
    ayogbwenini a inha: one of the writers.
    ani a inha: one of you.
ihota: long.
   kombe a ihota: a long robe, cloth.
ihu: some, such.
   ubu a ihu: some days.
iloko: small, left.
   hele a ileko: a small boat.
   atdi a ileko: a small child.
ipesi: other, different.
   ayotro a ipesi: other witnesses.

Examples with the final ai:

iletdu: old
   eliyaga a iletdu ai: an old wine-skin.
obu: new
   eliyaga a obu ai: a new wine-skin.
   todi a obu ai: a new teaching.
ilemba: good
   hene a ilemba ai: good ground.
ileko: small
   hele a ileko ai: a small boat.

The difference in form between two such phrases as
   atdi a ileko, 'a small child' and hele a ileko ai, 'a
   small canoe', may be taken as being the difference between
'a small child' and 'a boat which is small'. That is to say, the latter contains a relative clause. It is questionable whether the *a* is to be regarded as connected at all with the adjective; more probably it closes and marks the relative clause. Usually, but not always, it is associated with a circumstantial verb.

21. The above examples are of adjectives used as attributes. When an adjective is used predicatively, it either (a) assumes a verbal form, or (b) it remains in the sentence without change or connecting particle, or (c) the verb ocha 'to be' precedes the adjective.

Examples:

(a) the adjective assumes a verbal form.

_iilemba:_ good, lawful; as a verb, be good or lawful.

_Hilemba bo ubu sabiti ba...?_ It is lawful on the sabbath day...?

_Hilemba amuhocha abula-mba:_ it is good (that) we are here.

(b) the adjective is unchanged and has no linking particle.

_illembe ga ahisetdi atda ba anu aie ibu ni ai:_ it is not good (that) they should give the children's food to dogs.
ilemba bo Kaisali ani owaimbu ai? Is it lawful to give tribute to Caesar?

idie ilemba aie: salt is good.

N.B. the use of the objective suffix -e cannot be explained.

(c) The adjective is preceded by the verb ocha, 'to be'.

amuhocha aike: we are many.

Or the adjective may precede the verb:

ilemba cha haocha: it will be good (that)...

IV. RELATIVE FORMATION

22. The qualificative may be a clause, linked to the substantive by a and terminating in another particle such as ai or adi. Almost invariably the verb in the clause is in the circumstantial form. We call this the relative formation because these clauses may best be rendered by the English relative pronouns, who, which, that.

23. The most common qualificative clause is that which opens with a and closes with ai. Here the verb group and other words such as the object, take the place of the adjective in the phrases quoted in par. 19.

Examples:

udu a gisada ai: a thing which is not lawful.

abi a hisocha upi eni ai: a man who has ears.
udu a shisugo abi a igbwa hegbe ai: things which come out of a man's body.

ani a hagisabe ai: you who do not believe.

abi a hisabe ai: a man who believes.

abi a shisogo hene a ibolu ni ai: people who come from the cities.

abi a ahasocha baupi ai: people who were sitting.

24. The clause may be objective, i.e. it qualifies the object of a verb in the principal sentence. The ai then takes the usual objective suffix -e.

Examples:

ba here ba hogi trochu a hisite ni aie: they came to hear the thing which had happened. Here trochu-a-hisite-ni-aie is treated as a single substantive carrying the sign of the objective.

ba hitreni itda trochue a shisilusi aie: they told him the things which were done. Here both the object, trochu, and the qualifying clause take the objective suffix -e.

25. The linking particle a may be replaced by abu which in other contexts conveys a sense of place or time. In some instances it appears to function as a relative pronoun.
Examples:

hadu abi abu agu hisosa aie: he calls men whom he himself liked.

udu abu hisogbwe ni lai a; ade bai bo? this thing which is written, whose is it,

Occasionally both a and abu occur together:

hapi mobo alai hulo cha abi a abu ahisabe adi a: and these signs shall follow (go with) the men who believe.

26. The a may be replaced by ideni when in English we should write 'at which', 'to which', 'by which'.

Examples:

ibu bapere ideni anie ahisabe aie: place every at-which you they-receive-not: wheresoever they receive you not.

udu pesi haoccha alika ideni ahisetdi aie: things other were many by-which they give: and many other things there be which they receive.

In other sentences the a occurs as well as ideni:

kopo a ideni musuvu ni aie: the cup from which I drink.

katiza a ideni umue ahsibatiza aie: the baptism with which they baptize me.
Another particle may be used in the place of the final \textit{ai}.

(a) \textit{ni a} instead of \textit{ai}:

\textit{maladi udu a ideni hisochi ni a:} a feast of the day on which he was born.

(b) \textit{le} instead of \textit{ai}:

\textit{aniketda udu a anihisitona le:} ye know not the thing which ye-pray-for it: for which ye pray.

(c) \textit{adi} instead of \textit{ai}:

\textit{abi a ahaisocha huna ani adi:} people who had some diseases.

\textit{abi a ahaisocha itda itroba abe adi:} people who were following him.

(d) \textit{abu a} (\textit{abwa}) instead of \textit{ai}.

\textit{Abu} appears to give the idea of 'place' or 'time'. The phrase \textit{abu a} frequently translates the Nyoro relative adverbial \textit{namberali} or \textit{nambere}. Perhaps this is an imitation of the Nyoro idiom. The linking particle \textit{a} seems to be omitted when \textit{abu a} is placed at the end of the clause.

Examples:

\textit{hitoso ideni haisocha abu a:} gathered at-which he was place of. They gathered where he was.
hadu altodie ideni haisocha abu a: he called disciples at-which he-was place of. He called unto him his disciples.

ba ide hadu ideni haisocha abu a: then them he-called to-which he-was place of. He called them to him.

ba hapi ahilafu ideni Yesu haisocha abu a: then and they-reached to-which Jesus he-was place of: and then they went to where Jesus was.

idere aniketda ubu hiseba ideni abu a: for ye not-know time it-ends place of: for ye know not when the time is.
CHAPTER VII

THE PREDICATIVE.

1. Predicative is used (as by C.M. Doke) as the inclusive term for such parts of speech as are essential to the formation of a predicate, i.e. of that which expresses what is said of the person or thing denoted by the subject. The parts of speech included in the term are (a) the verb, and (b) the copulative. The latter is apparently neither so distinct nor so definite in Efe as in Bantu languages, but it appears useful to deal with it in this way.

I. CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS

2. We divide verbs into two classes: (a) Vowel verbs and (b) consonant verbs.

3. Vowel verbs are mainly formed on the model VCV.

Examples:

abe: receive, believe  ochi: be born
ere: come, bring  ucha: drive away
etda: know, understand  upi: sit, stay
itde: destroy  utra: build
A few vowel verbs consist of a vowel combination, which may, or may not be, a diphthong.

Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ai: uncover} & & \text{ou: anoint} \\
\text{au: take away, forgive} & & \text{oi: hate, persecute}
\end{align*}
\]

There are vowel verbs in which the consonant is 'labialised' as in ogbwe, write.

4. The initial vowel of these verbs is, as a rule, stable, that is to say it is not dropped or changed in conjugation. An exception if found in the o-verbs which frequently change the o into u. This occurs usually in the imperative and also occasionally in the indicative. This change, which is apparently purely phonetic, is to be distinguished from the semantic variation dealt with in pars. 7-11.

Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
o\text{o}: \text{go} & \quad \text{Imperative: u\text{o}: go!} \\
\text{an-u\text{o}: go ye!}
\end{align*}
\]

In the Indicative: h-u\text{o}, exceptionally for h-o\text{o}, as in the sentences:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mobo alai hulo cha: these signs shall go (follow)} \\
\text{usa abule magu hulo: wherever the son (boy) goes.}
\end{align*}
\]
The 1st person sing. is sometimes written m-ulo for m-olo.

ebwamba bo cha mulo ite ani a boluhehi itue? How long am I going to be patient with you?

ogi: hear Imperative: ugi: hear!

an-ugi: hear ye!

In the Circumstantial mode -ugi sometimes occurs instead of -ogi.

anilagu-ji udu anihisugi: take heed what ye hear.

ogo: go out Imperative: ugo: go out!

an-ugo: go ye out!

In the Indicative Circumstantial modes -ugo sometimes occurs instead of -ogo.

boluhehi hegbe udu-agi hugo: from the heart thoughts go out.

Hisugo cha ubu alai: from henceforth....

Consonant verbs are so called because in certain forms they begin with a consonant. When written fully they are on the model VCVCV, but the initial vowel is unstable.

Examples:

iladi: pass itasi: stretch out
ilafu: read, leave itrama: run
ilagu: take care itreni: speak
**itona:** ask for, pray  
**itodi:** teach  
**ikuba:** be able  
**itrana:** be astonished

The initial vowel is dropped

(a) in the imperative.

**itona:** ask for, pray.  
Imperative: **tona!** ask!  
**itasi:** stretch out  
**tasii:** stretch out!  
**itana:** have pity  
**tana!** have pity!  
**itroba:** follow  
**troba!** follow!

(b) in the indicative forms when **mu-** (the connected personal pronoun) is prefixed.

**mu-tuka:** I beseech, not **m-ituka,** nor **mu-ituka**

See chap. 4, par. 18.

(c) It is not so certain whether in other forms the **i** is retained.

We may have, e.g. **nilusi,** thou makest: **hilusi,** he makes; and the circumstantial **hisilusi.** We do not know whether these prefixes should be written **ni-** or **n-**; **hi-** or **h-**; **si-** or **s.** If the **i** is long in these words, then the fuller form of the prefix is correct and the verbs should be written **niilusi,** **hiilusi,** **hisilusi.**

(d) The **i** is often dropped in the verbal noun.

e.g. **todi,** for **itodi,** teaching.  
**tona,** for **itona,** praying.  
**trulu,** for **itrulu,** rising.
II. DERIVATIVE VERBS

6. Does the Efe verb form derivatives like the Bantu verb – causative, applied, reciprocal, etc.?

Our material affords only one clear example of a derivative verb formed by a suffix.

A reversive form is made by suffixing -go (?-ugo) to the simple verb itu; itu: tie; itu-go, untie.

11.4 Ba holo, ba hupa kainagbwi ba-itu a itisi lipina: tumbi ahitugo, ba here itda: they went and found a colt tied by the door outside; then they untied and brought (it) to him.

11.5 Achu bai bo cha na anitugo kainagbwi ale? What do ye untying the colt?

III. ALTERNATIVE VERBS

7. There is more evidence of alternative forms of the verb, made not by suffixes, but by changing the initial vowel of certain vowel verbs.

8. In certain verbs i- appears to give a causative, or transitive sense, while o- gives a stative or intransitive sense.

Examples:-

isi, to satisfy osi, to be satisfied. cf. Nyoro: igusa, iguta.
Aichi bo ha na abi hutdu alaie bugati hikuba isi hegbe-inie meri abula-mba? How is a man to get the bread able to satisfy the stomachs here in the desert?

Tumbi ahanu, ba hegbeinini hosí: then they ate and the stomachs were satisfied.

ido; to heal, save; odo: to be healed, saved.
idò nigiü: save thyself.
alika abie hido: he healed many people.
ba hedi hodo: and (his) hand was healed.
tumbi uwehi hodo: and (his) eyes were restored.

9. Other verbs, beginning with a have a causative form in i-:
avu is to drink; ivu, cause or offer to drink. cf. Nyoro: 
nywa, nywisa.
Hapi cha besí ba abavu udu a hisufu a Éa bapere: and if they shall drink any deadly thing...
Idere abi bapere abu edí chi ani ahìu: for whosoever shall give you to drink.

N.B. avu sometimes appears as uvu: 10,39, avu anihuvu, drinking ye shall drink; 14,25, ubu idenì musuvu aí, in which I drink. But this change in vowel is probably due to assimilation.
atde is to be astray, be lost, be quenched, to lack; itde, throw away, destroy. cf. otde: die

Iholahola anihatde: you are altogether astray.
okpwe a hazisatde ai: unquenchable fire.
edi na nimba hatde: one thing is lacking to thee.
abesi abi ale hitde a igbwaola itdabai: if a man throws away his life.

Amu haitde-ku be nere? Art thou come to destroy us?
ba hubu idekugu itda hisitde aie: they sought among themselves how they might destroy him.

10. On the other hand an a-verb may be active: e.g. aka is to divide; uka is 'separated', 'parted', 'parting'.

Ba haka idegu kombe itdaba haisocha: they parted among themselves his garments.

.... ahachogbwe uka-ni baiye toole ani ai bai: let there be written (a document) of parting of your wife and you.

11. The difference between two verbs may be slight but significant: afu, to kill; ufu, to be deadly, cause to kill.
cf. Nyoro, ita, isa.

anere na amuhafu: come, let us kill (him)
hapi cha besi ba ahavu udu a hisifu aie: and if they drink any thing which is deadly.
12. There appears to be no semantic relation between vowel and consonant verbs, that is to say, our material provides no evidence that the first or second syllable of the latter is a prefix or suffix to the former:

*igbwaga*, has no apparent connexion with *aga*, marry; nor
*ilogo*, 'choose', with *ogo*, 'come out'. There is, it is true, an apparent similarity of meaning between *ija* and
*ileja*, (offend' and 'cause to stumble' - both used to translate the Nyoro *esitaza*. But the *la* (*la+i-*) does not appear to modify the meaning of *ija*.

Besi nahedi hachileja: if thy hand cause thee to offend...
Abi bapere besi edi abi hija atdi a ileko: whosoever causes a little child to offend...

Another example is seen in the verbs *ilagbwu* and *ogbwu*, cast, throw away.

*hene tai hilagbwu itda*: it casts him down.
*abu alika hailagbwu itda*: ofttimes it casts him
*Tumbi ni hogbwu kombe itda*: then he cast away his garment.

See chap. 2, par. 14.

13. Vowel changes appear not to take place with semantic effect in consonant verbs. The only possible exception in our
material is in the verbs ilegbwi, change; ilagbwi, be changed.

abi a shaisilegbwi feza: men who were changing money.
Tumbi hilagbwi ide a uwe: he was changed before them.

IV. ACTIVE AND PASSIVE VERBS

14. There appears to be no passive form of the verb. This is replaced by inversion: i.e. instead of saying 'he was killed', the Pygmies say 'they killed him'.
Examples:

Hapi edi ahisadu Balaba ai haocha: And one they-called Barabbas he-was.
i.e. and there was one named Barabbas. (Nyoro: ayetwa)
tochue ahachiteni.
word they-shall speak.
i.e. the Gospel shall be preached (Nyoro: erakagambwaga)
ayaga shisilofu ide ai tai: (when) the bridegroom shall be taken from them. (Nyoro: ihi'-wa) literally: the bridegroom they take.
idere abu abu alika shumba itda: for he had been often bound: literally: because time time many they bound him. (Nyoro: bakamuboha)
15. Sometimes the reflexive pronoun is used. Thus, instead of the English 'he was manifested', and the Nyoro akolekwa 'he was shown' (passive), the he has hitodu aguwe, 'he showed himself'.

16. Some verbs can be used with both an active and passive or stative sense. Au, e.g. may signify both 'to take away' and 'to be taken away'.

e.g. To bo hu hau udititda Mugu-ndi? Who can forgive ('take away) sins but God?

Udititda nibai hau ba na iganwa: thy sins are forgiven.
Udititda nibai hau nimba: thy sins are taken from thee.
Hapi ahisotro beni hina hau ni imegbwi: they saw that the stone was rolled back, i.e. taken away.

(Nyoro has ihirwe; kumbisibwe - passive.

Ilala means both 'to tear' and 'be torn'.

e.g. Lotdi hilala itda iholahola: the spirit tore him grievously.

... hilala ku fuku itdabaie: then the veil of the temple was torn (Nyoro has the stative, temuka, 'become torn'.

Itoso means both 'to gather' and 'be gathered, assembled'.

Tumbi ahitoso imbumbwe: then they gathered the fragments.
Ba hitoso banakatazala abitiri itda mba bapere: and all the chief priests came together to him.
A subject for investigation is the possible function of ni in giving a stative or passive force to the verb.

V. VERBAL PREFIXES AND ADJUNCTS

The verb stems are inflected more in Efe than in other Eastern Sudanic languages. The main conjugational elements are (a) prefixes; (b) verbal adjuncts.

The use of the prefixes will be illustrated in later paragraphs. Here it may be briefly summarised.

Hi- or h- is prefixed to certain indicative forms of the verb.

abe, believe; h-abe, he believes; a-h-abe, they believe
ere, come; h-ere, he comes; a-h-ere, they come
isa, fast; h-isa, he fasts; a-h-isa, they fast
osa, like; h-osa, he likes; a-h-osa, they like
uhu, be amazed; h-uhu, he is amazed; a-h-uhu, they are amazed
ilogo, choose; h-ilogo, he chooses; a-h-ilogo, they choose.

The prefix is probably hi-, but the i is lost by elision or assimilation.
21. **Ha-** is prefixed to the verb to denote past action. When prefixed to verbs beginning with a, one a appears to be elided; but possibly the two vowels form a long a which should be written aa.

   *adu*, call; *hadu* (or *ha-adu*) he called.

Before other vowels ha is written:

   *ocha*, be; *ha-ocha*, he was; *a-ha-ocha*, they were
   *ibu*, be clothed; *ha-ibu*, he was clothed; *a-ha-ibu*, they were clothed.

   *itoi*, desire; *ha-itoi*, he desired; *a-ha-itoi*, they desired.

   *itodi*, teach; *ha-itodi*, he taught; *a-ha-itodi*, they taught

22. **Ha-** is an infrequent prefix, apparently with a conditional or potential sense, always in the past, and (in our material) associated with the negative *gi-* or *ki-.*

   *osa*, like; *hai-g-osa*, he did not like
   *etda*, know; *hai-k-etda*, he did not know
   *itrochu*, speak; *hai-g-itrochu*, he did not speak

23. **Gi-** or *ki-** is a negating prefix.

   See chap.1, par. 44, on the assimilation of k and g.

   The i is lost through elision or assimilation.
ere, come; g-ere, he comes not; a-g-ere, they came not.
abe, believe; g-abe, he believes not; a-g-abe, they believe not.
osu, like; g-osu, he likes not; a-gosu, they like not.
etda, know; k-etda, he knows not; a-k-etda, they know not.
agi, think; k-ag, he thinks not; a-k-ag, they think not.
ogbwe, write; k-ogbwe, he writes not; a-k-ogbwe, they write not.

ikuba, be able; g-ikuba, he cannot; a-g-ikuba, they cannot.

Si- or s- forms the circumstantial verb, i.e. that form or mode which is found chiefly in dependent clauses. As will be seen, it is usually associated with other prefixes.
The i is lost through elision or assimilation.

etdi, give mu-s-etdi, (which) I give
itibu, send mu-s-itibu (whom) I send
itodi, teach mai-s-itodi (while) I taught
ikuba, be able hai-si-kuba (whom) they could not...
adu, name, call a-hai-s-adu (whom) they named
osu, like, love ni-s-osu (as) thou likest
25. Chi- or ch- appears to give the verb a continuous and hypothetical sense. It is usually combined with other prefixes, such as ha- and may be doubled, chichi-. The i is lost through elision or assimilation.

besi nahedi ha-ch-ileja: if thy hand offends.
besi ani-ha-ch-ogi: if you hear.
belicha ha-ch-otde: if he die.
abi ha-ch/-itreni ani: if a man says to you.

Chi- also appears in some imperative forms:

na-ch-osa: love, thou shalt love.

26. Amb- expresses desire, command, obligation. It appears always as an infix between ha- and the verbal stem.

amu-h-amb-olo? are we to go?
uwehie h-amb-odo: let (my) eyes be healed.
h-amb-ere: he must come.
a-h-amb-upil: let them sit.
afu na h-amb-afu: killing, let him be killed.

27. Besides these prefixes there are particles which precede or follow the verb and modify it in regard to tense or in some other way. We call these verbal adjuncts.
28. For the adjuncts ji, ba, pe, used with the imperative, see par. 38. and for na, subjunctive, see par. 42. and chap. 4, par. 75.

29. be-ni, preceding the verb, forms an imperfect tense or participle. It may be used with or without ocha, 'be', and may be followed by abe, at the end of the clause.

  beni ahocha itda oluaso abe: they were ministering to him.
  beni ahocha itrana abe: they were amazed.
  hupa beni ahabu: he found they were sleeping.
  beni hibu kombe: he was wearing a garment.

30. abe, as noticed above, is frequently associated with beni, and its position is after the verb. It appears to give an imperfect or continuous sense to the verb.

  beni ahocha bukere oli abe: they were casting a net.
  Ba ubu hila abe, ba oka Mugu bai hila abe: the day is at hand, the kingdom of God is coming.

31. ko has a meaning which is not clear in our material. It is possibly a particle of emphasis, expressing strong affirmation.

  ni-mba ko mere: I did bring to thee.
  ahotro ko, agotro tutu: they see indeed, (but) they see not clearly.
ko maupi ani: I was surely with you.

32. *cha*, used in forming future tenses of the verb, may precede or follow the verb-group.
   hapi cha anihecha: and ye shall stand.
   tumbi cha hitrulu: then he will rise.
   itda hihobiya cha umue: he will betray me.

With the negative, *cha* forms the 'not-yet' tense.
   amugotro cha... we had never before seen.
   anigisoma cha... have ye never read?
   aniketda cha... do ye not yet know?

33. *osa* is a word denoting 'time', cf. *isa*, 'time, hour',
    *oisa*, 'day-time'. It appears often to give a future sense to
    the verb; sometimes it is associated with *cha*.
   alika cha osa abi here: many men shall come.
   anaji osa abe: have faith- go on believing.
   itda ni a aheddi osa: to him they shall give.

33a. For the negative -g- see later paragraphs & Dictionary.
    Also nē -p-
VI. CONJUGATION

a. The Infinitive.

34. We have already seen that the verbal noun is used where in English the infinitive is employed. In such sentences as the following it was possible to describe the verb as 'infinitive' or 'a verbal noun', and we preferred the latter because, like other nouns, it may take the objective suffix -e.

- ini mutuka ere: thee I-beseech come.
- hapa ilasi-e: he repeated entering.

b. The Imperative.

35. (1) A command or request to the person addressed may be expressed by the simplest form of the verb. Vowel verbs in o have u in the imperative: consonant verbs drop the initial i.

- ada: ada ide aholo: tell them to go!
- au: au mumba: take away from me!
- echa: echa: stand up!
- ido: ido nigue: save thyself!
- oga: ugi Isaleri-ye: Hear, o Israel!
- olo: ulo na mulembe: go in peace!
- itana: tana umue: have pity on me!
- itasi: tasi nahidie: stretch out thy hand!
- itona: tona udu anisosa iye: ask what you like!
- itoba: toba umue: follow me!
More frequently the command or request is formed by prefixing the connected personal pronouns n- in the singular, and an- in the plural. This is always done when two imperative verbs come together. This may be called jussive.

Examples:

Singular: n- prefixed to the verb.

aha: - naha: cut (it) off.
itali: - nitali bulu-ni: take thy bed.
era, acha: - nere, nacha umue: come and follow me.
ido: - nido amue: help us.
ihi: - nihi nauwehi: pluck out thy eye.
itdi: - nitdi itda: touch her
olo: - nolo: Go!
olo, opa: - ulo nopa udu: go and sell things.
olo, itodu: - ulo nitodu nigue: go, show thyself.

Plural: an- prefixed to verb.

aso: - anaso mulembe: live together in peace.
ibala: - anibala tubi gbwogbwou itdabaie: make his paths straight.
era: - anere itda: bring him.
etdi: anetdi ide anue: give ye them to eat.
ogi: anugi: Hear ye!
olo: anulo na hene: go into the village.
otro: - anutro anihitona: watch and pray.

ilagu: - anilagu ayogbwenini mba: beware of the scribes.

In form there is no distinction between the imperative nadu, call! and the indicative nadu, thou callest; or between anetdi, Give! and anetdi, you give. Possibly the difference may be marked by the tone, or by stress, in speech. When an objective pronoun accompanies an imperative, its position is normally after the verb: with the indicative it usually precedes the verb.

umue nadu: me you call, you call me.

umue nobo: me you leave, you leave me.

But nacha umue: you-follow me, Follow me!

nido amue: you-help me, Help me!

37. (3) The H- form of the verb is frequently used as an imperative (see p.287) Possibly, here again the distinction from the indicative would be marked by tone or stress.

ote: - tumbi anihote itda: then take ye him, or, you take him (Nyoro has the subjunctive here: mumukwate)

itroba: - tumbi ha anihitroba: Then follow (him), or, you follow him. (Nyoro subjunctive: mukuratire)

itona: - anutro anihitona: watch and pray: or, watch and you pray. (Nyoro has both verbs in the subjunctive, murole, musabe)
38. (4) Certain suffixes appear to emphasize or modify the imperative.

-JI

ogo: - ugo-ji itdamba: come out of him!
ali: - anali-ji umu: answer me! (N.B. umu not umue)
ilagu: - anilagu-ji: take heed!
ose: - amuse-ji: let us cross over.

-BA

ali: nali-ni-ba aiyai hegbe: return unto thy house.
 otro: - uto-ba: see, behold! (Nyoro: Dora!)
 upi: - anupi-ba abula, anihoto: sit ye here and watch. 
iya: - iya-ba na amuhotro: let be that we may see (Nyoro: leke, turule)
iya-ba na atdi a hegbe hos: let the children be satisfied.

-PE

otro: - utro-pe amuhisobo: Behold we have left...
 utro-pe: Behold! (Nyoro: Dora!)

39. (5) The Cohortative, expressing an invitation in which the speaker includes himself, is formed by prefixing amu-, we, to the H- form of the verb.

afu: - anere na amuhaju: come, let us kill (him)
40. (6) A kind of Optative, expressing a desire or wish or obligation, is formed by prefixing Hamb- to the verb. Hamb- appears to be the H-form of a verb amba. In the text it is used with vowel verbs only.

afu:- afu na hambafu: let him be put to death!
odo:- uwehie hambodo: (let (my) eyes be healed!
upi:- ahambupi-ba na hene: let them sit on the ground!
uhu:- alika abi hos i itda upi hambuhu na: and many rebuked him that he should be silent.
ere:- Eliya hambere lebana: Elias must come first.
olo:- amuhambolo: are we to go?
aba:- hele a ileko ai ahambaba itda: that they should bring him a little boat.

Some of these instances show that this form is used in indirect as well as in direct speech.

41. (7) A similar (if not identical) optative is formed by prefixing hap- to the verb.

ogo:- Kristo... hapogo upula ugbwa mba: let Christ now leave the cross.

ogi:- hapogi: let him hear!

Abi a ahisocha upi ani ahapogi ilemba: Let men who have ears hear well!
42. (8) Some imperatives are formed with na following the verb, e.g. anulo na hene: go into the country (village). The Nyoro here uses the subjunctive, Mugende omu kika, this being, as in other Bantu languages, a normal way of expressing a wish, or mild imperative. The na is evidently employed for the same purpose in Efe, and may be regarded as forming the subjunctive.

Other examples:

- eji: - aneji na: go away, depart.
- upi: - Upi na mahedi agbwi: sit on my right hand.
- adu: - anadu na: call ye (him) (Nyoro: Mumwete: subj.)
- ido: - anido na itda: leave her alone (Nyoro: Mumuleke: subj.)
- itdi: - anitdi na: take ye (it). (Nyoro: Mukwate: subj.)
- iju: - aniju na: take ye your rest. (Nyoro: Muhumule: subj.)
- ilube: - Lube na ugbwa mba: crucify him (Nyoro: Mubambe ha muti: subj.)

43. (9) The Prohibitive, or negative imperative, is formed in the singular, by infixing -g- between the pronoun na- and the verb. In the plural the g is combined with ha, and the pronoun is ani-. Consonant verbs show their initial i-. Sometimes na follows the verb.
Singular:

- **afu:** nagafu: do not kill.
- **ifo:** nagifo: do not accuse falsely.
- **osu:** nagosu: be not afraid.
- **ihoka:** naghoka: do not steal.
- **ihobiya:** naghobiya: do not defraud.
- **itrochu:** nagitrochu: do not tell.

Plural:

- **ibu:** anihagibu ekajie esiatre ekpwe: do not put on two coats.
- **olo:** anihagolo na udu: do not go with, i.e. carry, a thing.
- **osu:** anihagosu: be ye not afraid.
- **itreni:** anihagitreni: do not speak.
- **uhu:** anihaguhu na: be not amazed.

By the rules of assimilation, **-k-** takes the place of **-g-** in the singular.

**apa:** nakapa itda mba alinie esigitre: never enter him again.

**aji:** hakaji musosa chi: let it not be as I desire.

44. (10) A future or continuous imperative is formed by infixing **chi-** or **ch** between the verb and pronoun.
Singular:

aha:- nachaha: cut (it) off.
osas: nachosa Mako Mugu nibai: thou shalt love the
      Lord thy God.
osus: nachosu ebe eme a: honour thy father and
      mother.

In the plural, the pronoun ani- is followed by hach-
instead of -ch-.

etdi:- anihachetdi: give ye (constantly)
itete:- tumbi anihachitete: then shake off.

45. (11) One form of the negative future imperative is made
by the use of the two prefixes gi- and chi-. In the plural
the h appears, and the pronoun is ani.

Singular:

ilasi:- nagichilasi: do not enter: thou shalt not
      enter.

Plural:

itralu:- ani a igbwa hagichitalu: be ye yourselves
      not troubled.
46. (12) A circumstantial negative, with a future implication, is formed by prefixing ha-gi-s. As the infix -s- indicates, this form means that in such and such conditions, a certain course is not to be followed.

Singular:

\[ \text{itute: hagisitute: let him not descend.} \]

Plural:

\[ \text{igbwaga:- anihagisibwaga itralue: do not begin to be anxious.} \]

\[ \text{italulu:- anihagisitalulu itda: do not rebuke him.} \]

\[ \text{anihagisitalulu ide: rebuke them not.} \]

47. By the rules of assimilation k may take the place of g.

\[ \text{oji:- kisogi hichi aliniye: let him not return back.} \]

(13) An imperative form is produced by reiterating the verb, first in the substantive form and then with prefixes, or without.

\[ \text{abe:- abe-ni anihachabe: believe ye, i.e. go on believing, or believe firmly.} \]

\[ \text{abe-ni abe: only believe.} \]

\[ \text{abe anabe atdi leko: allow the little children.} \]
c. The H- tense form

This form states the action or condition denoted by the verb, with no definite indication of time. It is used both of the present and of the past. It may also be imperative.

Hi- or H- is prefixed to the verb: the i being lost by elision or assimilation. The initial vowel in some verbs is changed, apparently for the purpose of harmonisation: e.g. instead of hilusi, 'he makes', we get hulusi. Some q-vowel verbs change the o into u, e.g. hulo, for holo; but this is not always done.

The H- does not appear in the 1st and 2nd persons singular. The normal form with the pronominal prefixes appears thus:

1 p. sing. m- with vowel verbs 1 p. pl. amuh-
   mu- with consonant verbs
2 " n-
3 " h-

In the 3rd pers. sing. there is no pronominal prefix: hotro, he, or it, sees. In the plural the a- is not always written, but is absorbed in the preceding connective ba, e.g. ba holo, 'and they went'. It would be better, perhaps, to write this: ba aholo.
For examples of verbs with the pronominal prefixes
with and without h, see chap. 4, pars. 16-20.

49. In our text we find the H-form/in these ways:-

(a) To indicate the present.

\[\text{abe: - umue ni habe: he receives myself. (Nyoro: aikirize: perfect)}\]
\[\text{atde: - edi nimba hatde: one thing thou lackest.}\]
\[\text{ite: - Sabiti hite sbibbo huha ni a: the Sabbath exists for man.}\]
\[\text{ilema: - ahilema aniye: they rule you.}\]

(b) In questions:-

\[\text{ilupe: - Achudu bai bo cha ide anihilupe? What are you questioning them about?}\]
\[\text{ogbwe: - Lechi ni hapihogbwe Magu abi bai? How is it written of the Son of man?}\]
\[\text{ooha; ilali: - Ade ina hocha na omuhi}lali hina alaie? Who shall roll us away the stone?}\]
\[\text{itdi: - Ade hitdi a bo maigbwa? Who touched me?}\]
\[\text{au: - To bo ha hau uduitda Mugu ni? Who can forgive sins but God only?}\]
\[\text{agi: - Anihagi abule? Why think ye these things?}\]
\[\text{iluru: - Achudu bai be cha anihiluru itda igbwa? Why do you trouble her?}\]
(c) As we have seen already (par. 37) the H-form is sometimes used as an imperative. Some further examples:

ita:— ... tumbi hita agu a igbwa: let him deny himself.
olo; abu:— aholo, ahahu ubo dehu: let them go and stay elsewhere.
etda:— abi e hisisoma alhetda:— let the man who reads understand.

(d) Sometimes, as the context shows, the action or state expressed by the verb in the H-form is definitely in the past; and sometimes, since its effect remains, it would be translated in the perfect in English.
otro:— amuhotro abie: we saw a man.
itralu:— tumbi amuhitralu: then we rebuked (him)
ogbwe:— Musa hogbwe amu lachi: Moses wrote unto us thus.
ihika:— besi ba iti hihika: for harvest has arrived.

(e) The H-form is used often in conditional phrases, following such conjunctions as Besiba; abesi; besi; beicha.
aka:— Besi ba oka haka akugu oka itda hagikuba upie esiyate: if a kingdom be divided against itself,
that kingdom cannot stand at all.
itde:— Abesi abi ale hitde a igbwaola itdabai... If a man loses his life.
ata: - Besi abi hata umue itroba: if a man desires to follow me.

asi: - Beicha abi ale hasi a bamba ale: if any man shall say to this mountain.

(f) The H-form is used frequently where the subjunctive might be expected.

oka: - Ada ide aholo ahabu ubo dehu, ahoka idegu anue: bid them to go and stay elsewhere, so that they may buy themselves food. (Nyoro: begu’re ebyokulya: subj.)

(g) lasi: - Amutisu na tikohihi, amuhilasi ide ai a: send us into the swine that we may enter into them (Nyoro: tuzitahemu: subj.)

d. The Na tense form: subjunctive

50. We have seen that na following a verb is to be regarded as a subjunctive used imperatively, e.g. anadu na: call ye him. Na is also used after the H-form as a subjunctive.

upi: - hada ahupi na hene: he ordered that they should sit on the ground.

etdi: - ahetdi na ide: that they might give them.
The Ha-form of the verb indicates a definite past. Ha-is prefixed to the full form of consonant verbs, and to vowel verbs. In the 3rd person singular there is no pronominal prefix; in the plural, a-. No examples of 1st and 2nd persons are available.

Ouwa:- kombe-ini haouwa: (his) clothes became white
Itansa:- Iholahola ahaitrana: they were greatly astonished.
Ogi:- haogi itda chali a: he heard him gladly.
Osu:- Herode haosu Yohana: Herod feared John.
Obo:- Hapi tiha hapa haobo ide: and at the feast he used to release to them.
Ocha:- Haocha dehu: some were there.
Abi ahaocha itda: men who were with him.
Ahaocha gbwogbwou: they were in the road.
Edi abi haocha: there was a man.
iladi: - eđi abi halladi: one man passed (or was passing).

itoi: - Hapi shaitoi itda ote: they sought to take him.

ahaitoi ayotro Yesu mba: they sought witnesses against Jesus.

ibu: - Yohana haibu: John was clothed.

ido: - abi dehue na haido: he saved others.

f. The G-form: negative.

52. The negative prefix is gi, which loses the i by elision or assimilation.

1st person singular: mu-g- before vowel verbs; ma-g- before consonant verbs:

ere: - mugere, I am not come....

ikuba: - magikuba ha: I am not able.

itreni: - magitreni: I do not tell

1st person plural: amu-g- before vowel and consonant verbs.

ikuba: - amugikuba: we are not able.

ocha: - amugocha ide ina: are we not with them?

2nd person plural: ani-g- before vowel and consonant verbs.

abase: - anigabe? Do ye not believe.
3rd person singular: no pronominal prefix: g-

ali:- gali trochue esiatre: he answered nothing, i.e. not a word.
anu:- ganu ihehie: it did not bear fruit.
ere:- gere aso-ni-ku: he has not come to be served.
ikuba:- Yesu gikuba: Jesus was not able...
obo:- ba itda gobo atdie: he did not leave children.
bai gobo mague: if he does not leave sons.
olu:- abesi cha na habo golu abu ekpwe: before the cock crows twice.
osa:- Hapi gosa: and he did not allow.
orno:- hisilafu itda ni a goto ihehie: when he reached it he did not see fruit.

3rd person plural: a-g- before vowel and consonant verbs.
osa:- agosa itda: they did not desire him.
oko:- agotro: they did not see.

53. Verbs in the 3rd person appear as negative nouns and adjectives, translated by English words in un-

Nouns:-
abe:- mabe cha, gabe mai huha: I believe, help my unbelief.
Adjectives:— N.B. i-gachu: c.f. the i-prefix to adjectives.
achu: ahanu ide a hedie igachu na: they eat with unwashed hands.

ihofu:— bugati gihofu: unleavened bread.

54. By the rules of assimilation k takes the place of g.
mu - k-, with vowel verbs;
ma - k-, with consonant verbs.
etda:— muketda, I do not know
amuketda, we do not know
aniketda, you do not know
aksetda, they do not know

agi:— nakagi, thou thinkest not

otde:— kotde, he is not dead

itete:— makitete, I do not remain

55. The use of this form as a Prohibitive, or negative imperative, has been illustrated (see par.43). It is also employed where a subjunctive might be expected:
e.g. Anutro, anihitona, anihagilasi lupe-lupe hegawe:
Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation.
(Nyoro: Murole, musabe, mutataha omu kwohegbwa)
Gabe abe ab bapere hagiladi ha na libidte: he did not allow that a man should carry a vessel. Note the na in this instance (see ). The Nyoro here has the infinitive okurabya, to carry.

...tumbi hanu bugati todu-ni baie, udu-adada bai ga ni ai abi a pesi haganu banyakatagala-ni: then he eat bread of showing, which by the law other men except the priests should not eat.

56. It is also used indicatively.

Aniketda bo udu bapere hisooha tefu aie besi hilasi abi a igbwa hegbwe hakimagu abie esiatre, idere hagilasi boluhehi hegbwe...? Do you not know that anything which is outside if it enters into a man cannot make a man bad at all, because it does not enter into his heart?

ikuba:- hagikuba: he cannot, is not able.

abi bo mba ihu ale hagikuba... to man that kind is not possible...

eba:- hageba: it comes not to an end.

itrochu:- Tumbi ahere itda abi upihuna, haigitrochu ilemba: Then they brought to him a deaf man (who) did not speak well.

etda:- idere haiketda hisali aiy a tochu na: for he knew not what to say in reply.
57. The Hag- or Hak- form is used to translate the Nyoro negative subjunctive formed with the aid of the auxiliary verb leka, e.g.

upa: - abeicha here ifofo ide hakupa anie ubu-a-ni:
(so that) if he comes suddenly he should not find you sleeping. (Nyoro: obwaluja bwango aleke okubasanga mugwijagire)

58. With the adjunct cha (see p. 31) it may form a negative future sense:

avu: - makavu cha, I will not drink
aga: - ahisitrulu a otde-ku a cha ahakaga cha: when they are risen from the dead they will not marry.

h. The Haig- or Haik- form: negative.

59. This is an infrequent form in our material. It is the negative of the Hai- form.

achu; anu: -

Tumbi ahotro aitodi itdabadie dehu hanu anue hedi itda, ahaigachu ide a hedie. Idere Abafalisayo-ini Bayudaya ina bapere ahaigachu tai ide a hedie ilemba ahaiganu... Ahaigisachu le ide hedie ahaiganu esiatre: Then they saw some of his disciples eating food (with) dirty hands, not having washed their hands. For Pharisees
with all the Jews unless they have washed their hands well do not eat... Unless they have washed their hands they eat not anything.

osa:- Tumbi hilasi, haigosa abi bape hetda: then he entered(a house) and did not wish any man to know.

i. The His- tense form: circumstantial

60. We call this the circumstantial form, because it is used in dependent clauses. It generally signifies that under such and such conditions the action of the principal verb takes place. The infix is si- or s-, the i being lost be elision or assimilation.

The H- appears in the 1st and 2nd person plural and in the 3rd person singular and plural. The singular is not preceded by a pronominal prefix: e.g. hisadu: (when) 'he called'; in the plural the prefix is a-, e.g. a-hisadu, (when) 'they called'. The a- is usually disguised when it is preceded by the connective ba, or the relative particle a, e.g. abi a hisanu (= abi a ahisanu).

61. Examples of the 1st person singular: mu-s-:

etdi: - udu a anini musetdi ai bapere: whatsoever I give you.
osa: mamagu musâ QLD ai: my son (whom) I love.
itreni: .... musitreni: ...(what) I have said.
itibu: umusitibu a mukwenda maie...: I send my messenger.
osu: mususu anini alufue echimbu: when I broke for the 3,000.

Examples of the 1st person plural: amu-his-
obo: ... amuhisobo olue bapere: .... we have left all.
use: ... amuhisuse Jerusalemu a: .... we go up to Jerusalem.

Examples of the 2nd person singular: ni-s-
anu: ibu a ideni nisanu aie lodi-ni a: a place where thou mayest eat the Passover.
ikiena: ugbwa nisikiena le: the tree which thou cursedst...
itreni: .... nisitreni.... (which) thou sayest.
upi: Ilemba ga nisupi tdole: it is not good that you stay with the woman.

Examples of the 2nd person plural: ani-his-
asi: abi ale anihisasi le: the man you mention.
eji: anihiseji: .... (when) you depart.
ogi: ... udu anihisugi: things which you hear.
osu: Tona udu anisosa aiye: ask what you like.
itona: aniketda udu a anihisitona le: ye know not what ye ask.
NOTE

There are a few instances in which the H is dropped: these may be errors in transcription.

abe: - abi bapere isabe umu: every man who receives me.
   (N.B. umu, not umue)
ere: - isere ma lipo ni ai itda: after me comes one...
idere isere ai hibatiza: but one comes who
   baptizes.

62. The Circumstantial verb is used in various subordinate clauses: -

(a) In relative clauses.

These may be, or frequently are not, introduced by a and end with ai or aie (objective), or le (reference), or mba (postposition).

abe: - Bapere hikuba cha abi a hisabe ai mba: All
   (things) are possible to the man who believes.
abe: - atdi a ileko ledi a igbwa umue a ahisabe lede:
   little children who believe in me.
anu: - ... abi a hisanu ai ihehi: men who produce fruit.
er: - Hosana: ba itda hetdi mugisa hisere Maka abe ni a
   ai: Hosanna! Let blessing be given to him who comes
   in the name of the Lord!
... abi a hisilotde nafugai mba: a man who trusts in riches.

ilotde: itda le ga ahisilube ugbwa mba le: whom they have crucified.

ilube: udu a hisilusi aie: the things which he did.

ilusi: itda le ga ahisilube ugbwa mba le: whom they have crucified.

ilusi: udu a hisilusi aie: the things which he did.

obu: abi a hisobo ai: a man who has left...

ogo: udu ahi sogo abi mba ai: things which come out of a man.

otde: Yokana hitrulu hisotde le: John is risen - he who was dead.

otro: udu ahi sotrro aie: the thing they had seen.

isuna: abia hisisuna kombe obu aie: a man who sews a new cloth.

There are other relative clauses on the model of 'the thing with which I did it', or 'the place at which I did it'. In such clauses ideni and the His- form are employed.

ibatiza: ibatiza a ideni umue ahisibatiza: the baptism with which I am baptized, i.e. they baptize me.

ere: ubu a ideni aiubo hisere aie: the time at which the master comes.

anu: ibu a ideni nisanu aie: a place in which you eat.

aiyai ideni aitodi hisanu ai: the house at which the teacher eats.
ocha: - tumbi ahere ideni haisocha abu a: they came to the place where he was.

ahitoso ideni haisocha abu a: they gathered to the place where he was.

avu: - kopo a ideni itda hisuvu ni a: the cup from which he drinks.

ite: - utro-ba ibu a ideni itda ahisite: see the place where they laid him.

63. (b) In objective clauses.

A clause following utro-ba, 'see, behold', and similar forms of otro, is dependent because it stands as the object of the principal verb, answering the question, 'what am I to see?' The His- form is used in such clauses. It is preceded, but not always, by the particle na.

itibu: - Uto-ba, umusitibu a mukwenda mai: Behold, I send my messenger.

use: - Utro-ba na amubisuse Yerusalemu a: Behold, that we go up to Jerusalem.

adu: - Utro-ba na hisadu Eliya: Behold that he calls Elias.

ocha: - Inagotro bo cha trochu hisocha alika ini a ahisocha itisu a: Dost thou not see that the things are many of which they accuse thee?
64. Similar noun clauses, in which the His- form is used, follow the verbs etda, 'know', 'understand'; ogi, 'hear'; ilagu, 'take heed', 'beware'; and other verbs of mental action.

Following etda:-

ali:- aketda ahisali itda ni a: they knew not what to answer him.

idere haiketda hisali aie tochu na: for he knew not what word to say in reply.

ota:- ba ẖu hota beni cha itda ketda hisota aie: the seed springs up, while he knows not how it springs up.

ata:- Beni hetda udu a hisata: knowing the thing which had happened.

opa:- Idere tumbi ahetda ideni hisopa mapa ale a: for they understood that he likened them with that parable.

Following ogi:-

itreni:- Anugi na ani musitreni aie: Hear what I say to you.

Following ilagu:-

ogi:- Anilagu-ji udu anihisugi: Take heed what ye hear.
65. (c) **In Temporal clauses.**

These are clauses which in English are introduced by adverbs, such as 'when', 'after', 'until'. In Efe the His-form is as a rule used without any adverb: an adverb may follow in the main clause. In Nyoro such clauses are introduced by obu- which Maddox says marks a participle. The verb may be followed by the objective form of ai, i.e. aie.

**ogi:** - abi alika hisogi aie udu a hisilusi aie mahano, tumbi ahitroba itda: many people (when) they heard of the wonderful things which he did, then they followed him.

**agi:** - Petero hisagi a aie tumbi hilaha oba: (when) Peter thought thereon he wept tears. (Nyoro: kandi obuyakitikerize)

**ata:** - Hapi esigi hisata ichi ni a abi a haisocha adi ja Petero naio: And a little (when) it passed, a man who was standing there said to Peter: (Nyoro: kandi akacu kake obukahinguireho)

**eba:** - Hapi isa imaya hiseba, tumbi olu hosa hene bepere and (when) the sixth hour passed, then darkness covered the whole earth. (Nyoro: kandi esaha eyomukaga obuyahikire...)
ibe: - Ahisibe uwe ose ni a, tumbi aholo hene a

Genesalesiya: (when) they had crossed over, then they came to the land of G. (Nyoro: kandi obubamazire okwambuka...)

Hapi hisibe isima ni a, tumbi hube: and (when) he had finished giving thanks, then he broke...
(Nyoro: kandi obuyamazire okusima...)

ilafu: - Ahisilafu hele hegawe aie, abuleinani ahetda itda: (when) they came out of the boat, immediately they knew him. (Nyoro: kandi obubarugire amu bwato...)

66. (d) In conditional clauses the Hi- form is frequently used following certain conjunctions: sometimes the His- form is used alone.

ido: - Ba hupi itda osiye hisido sabiti ni a: they were watching him (in case) he healed on the Sabbath.

j. The Hais-tense form: circumstantial past

67. This is the past tense of the circumstantial His-

Examples of its use:-

itodi: - Olu hobu ko maupi ani a yekalu hegawe, maisitodi a, to bo umu anihote: I was daily with you in the temple (while) I was teaching, and ye took me not.
(Nyoro:.... ninyegesa...) 

ahi: - Haisahi gbwogbwou aie... (when) he was going on the road... (Nyoro: obwakaba nagenda...) 

oya: - Hapi abi alika hitatu beni ahocha itona abe hoya na beni ide haisoya chi: and the multitude went up and asked him to do as he was wont to do unto them. 

ikuba: -. .... ahaisikuba itda umba ai embi ediatre: a man whom they could not bind in any way. 

iladi:-. ahaisiladi aie: (when) they were passing... 

ilegbwi: -. ... abi a ahaisilegbwi feza: men who were changing money. 

ilodu: -. hisogi ide a ahaisilodu ni idegu aie idekugu aie (when) he heard them questioning among themselves... 

ilisa: - ... abi a ahaisilisa: men who were herding... 

olo: -. .... haisolo misiri: (as) he went through the fields. 

k. The Gis- tense form: circumstantial negative 

There are three forms of the circumstantial negative, viz: Gis-; Hagis-; Haigis-. 

The Gis- form occurs rarely in the text.
abe: - ba hupi itrana agisabe a iholahola: he stayed greatly astonished (because) they did not believe

atu: - abuleinani anihisilafu aie aheli cha kainagbwi baitu abi gisatu cha ide a ichu ni ai ediatre ai: and immediately when you arrive, you will find a colt tied upon which a man has never sat.

ilemba: - Idere besi cha ba anihotro udu a ahsui aie hisitde hocha becha ideni abu gisilemba, tumbi... But if so be you see a thing which is hated (which they hate) existing and standing in a place which is not good (i.e. where it ought not to be), then...

ofo: - Hapi uchu ni a bugati agisihofo ai ba, ideni abu ahisitii lodi ni a: and on the first (day) of unleavened (unrisen) bread, when they sacrificed the passover...

The adjectival sense of this form is seen in some of these examples.

1. The Hagis-tense form: circumstantial negative

69. The use of this form as a Prohibitive has already been illustrated. The following are instances of other usage, showing how it occurs in dependent clauses.
abe; ogi:– ibu hapere ideni anie ahagisabe ai anie ahagisogi ai, besi anihacheji ahehi, tumbi...: And all places in which they do not receive you, and do not listen, when you leave there, then... ani a ahagisabe... you who do not believe.

otde; atde: ideni abu titro idebai hagisotde a, okpwi a hagisatde ai ya: in the place where their worm does not die, and the fire is not quenched.

itrochú: Aitodie, nimba ko mere magu mai a lotóí a hocha hagisitrochú ai: Teacher, I brought my son who has a spirit which does not speak.

70. m. The Haigis-tense form: circumstantial negative.

The usage is similar to that of the Hagis-form, but the action is regarded as past.

achu:– ahaigisachu le ide hedie ahaiganu esiatre: unless they have washed their hands, they do not eat anything.

ochí:– ilemba cha hoacha abi-mba itda-mba haigisochi ha: good were it for that man if he had not been born.

ube:– Maka haigisube ha ubu ale haigodo ha igbwa bapere: if the Lord had not shortened that time, no body would have been saved.
n. The Cha tense form: future

Unlike the forms hitherto described, this is not made by prefix or infix. The self-standing particle cha is placed before or after one of the verb forms, e.g. cha hitrulu, he will rise; hakotde cha, he will not die.

This cha evidently bears a significance of time. In one place in our text (13,32) it is used to translate the Nyoro akasumi, 'time', 'season': Idere ubu ale usa cha abi ahisetda ai embi ediatre: 'but of that day and hour knoweth no man'.

As an adverb cha would mean 'now' or 'then' and perhaps 'ever'. In conjunction with one of the other verb-forms it often makes a future tense, and it is commonly used to translate the Nyoro far-future (a-li-tera; t-a-litera), and near-future (a-ra-tera; t-a-tere).

But sometimes the sense is present or perfect, and it is used to translate the Nyoro 'never' tense (t-a-ka-tera-ga) and 'not yet' tense (t-a-ka-tire).
72. Cha may either precede the verb, or come after it. As a rule, it comes before the verb when it is adjoined to other particles such as hapi, tumbi, abesi ba, etc.

That the position of cha has no semantic significance may be gathered from these successive phrases (13,12):

iyabi hetdi cha iyachue... hapi cha afo hetdi mague:
brother shall deliver his brother... and a father shall deliver his son.

73. Examples of cha preceding the verb, clearly showing the future:-

atde; amu:- tumbi cha oi hatœ, hapi cha rimba hagichamu:
then the sun shall fail and the moon shall not shine.

avu:- hapi cha besi ba ahavu... and if they shall drink.

echo:- tumbi cha butama hecho bapere: and the sheep shall be scattered.
ere:— tumbi cha anihere abi: then you will meet a man
(Nyoro: muratangana)
etdi:— abu edi cha anie aheddi maka bo: then they
shall deliver you up to kings.
ote:— tumbi cha ahute uwe: and they shall take up
snakes.
otro:— otro-ni cha hapi anihutro Magu abi baie: and
you shall see the Son of Man.
itrulu:— tumbi cha hitrulu: then he will arise.
iladi:— abesi ba cha ubu echina hiladi: when three
days shall have passed.
ilodu:— ilodu cha hapi anie umulodu trochu gi edi:
I also will ask you one question.

74. Examples of cha following the verb, clearly with a future sense.
eba:— Mulembe alai hageba cha esiatre: this generation
shall never pass...

Haluitda-ini heba cha, trochu mai hageba ni a cha:
the Heavens will pass, but my word will never pass
away.
ilore:— Usa ha abi bapere hilore, magitore cha: though
all are offended, I will not be offended.
olo:— mobo alai hulo cha: and these signs shall follow.

otde:— ladi a abisoch a abula-mba ba ech a ladi dehu hakotde cha esiatre... of those who are here standing some shall never die...

ikuba:— Bapere hikuba cha abi a hisabe ai mba: all things shall be possible to a man who believes.

75. Examples in which Cha, whether before or after the verb, does not give a future sense:—

isoma:— anigisoma cha udu a hisogbwe ni a? Have ye not read what is written? (Nyoro: 'never' tense)

anigisoma cha kitabo Musa bai hegbe? Have ye not read in the Book of Moses? (Nyoro: 'never' tense)

etda:— aniketda cha udue ise? Do ye not yet understand? (Nyoro: 'not yet' tense). The particle ise is perhaps 'yet'.

otro:— To bo cha nuto udue? To cha mutro abie...: Canst thou see anything? — I see men. (Nyoro: Nokweza...)

Nimpweza... present)

abe:— Mabe cha, gabe mai huha: I believe, help my unbelief. (Nyoro: Ninyikirisa, present)
o. The Hach- tense form

76. We have already noticed (see par. 44) that this form makes an imperative: e.g. anihachitreni: speak and go on speaking. In the indicative it translates the present imperfect, the near and far future and occasionally the subjunctive. It may be said to give a continuous and hypothetical sense to the verb.

The text provides no instances of the 1st person, singular, and only few of the 2nd person singular, and these are imperatives: nachacha: cut it off; nachosa, love, thou shalt love.

77. (1) Present and near future.

asi:- Beicha ani ale hachasi ajie abitiri: if any of you wish to be great men.
naji:- Besi anihacheji ahehi: when ye depart thence.
necha:- hapi anihachecha tona hichi: and whenssoever ye stand praying...
ileja:- Besi nahedi hachileja...: if thy hand cause thee to stumble.
ogbwe:- Musa hada na balua na ahachogbwe: Moses ordered that they write a document. M.B. na: subjunctive.
ogi:- Hapi besi anihachogi...: and if you hear...
otde:- Beicha abi a itiba hachotde: if a man's brother die....
ocha:— Anihachitana besi anihachocha trochu a abi mba: forgive ye if ye have aught against a man.

itrani:— abi hachiteni ani: if a man says to you...

itodi:— ... ahachitodi udu: they are teaching things.

p. Hagich— tense form: negative

78. This rarely used negative form inserts the particle -gi- before the -ch-.

etdi:— Amuhachetdi bo etdi amuhagichetdi bo? Are we to give or giving are we not to give? (perhaps: go on giving).

q. Haich— tense form

79. This form is also infrequently found in the text. Its meaning cannot be distinguished from the Haoh- form: it is used to translate the indicative near future and the subjunctive.

ikuba:— Abesi hapi anihachosa oluhobu anihaihichikuba ide oya ilembe: and if you desire you will be able always to do them good.

obo:— anilagu abi bapere haichobo anie itde ilupe: Beware that any man may lead you astray. (Nyoro: alekege okubahabisa)

80. The addition of the particle cha, to the foregoing Hach- forms, either before or after the verb, imparts a future sense.

ikuba: - Anihagisitralu itda, idere abi a hachichilusi udu a mani bai a embi ediatre mabe ni ai hachikuba cha ifofo ilule: Do not rebuke him, because no man who does any deed of strength in my name will be able to blaspheme easily (quickly).

itrochu: - ahachitrochu cha trochu abu a: and they shall speak new tongues.

s. The Beni cha- gi tense form: 'Not yet'.

81. We have seen that cha is sometimes used in translating the Nyoro 'not yet tense'. In an adverbial dependent clause cha may be preceded by beni and followed by the negative gi, to express this idea.

ite: - anutro-ba, ani mutreni a beni cha gite bepere: Behold, I have told you before all things come to pass, (while all things have not yet come to pass).

Nyoro: bi-ta-ka-baire-ko.
t. - The Participles

82. The Perfect Participle: Ba-

A participle is defined as a word partaking of the nature of both verb and adjective. It is sometimes called a verbal adjective.

What appears to be a participle is formed in Efe by prefixing ba- to the verbal stem. This ba may be the word used so frequently to introduce sentences; or, less likely, it may be the connective particle used in forming the genitive.

In our material only vowel verbs have the participle: and only seven vowel verbs, viz. echa, 'stand'; upi, 'sit, remain'; otde, 'die, be dead'; etda, 'know'; okpwi, 'burn'; itu, 'tie, be tied'; ogi, 'hear'.

With echa, the a of ba is elided, and the participle becomes becha; with the other verbs both vowels appear to be pronounced, baupi, baotde, (though botde is also found), baitu.

This form is used (a) in conjunction with the verb 'to be', ocha; (b) without ocha.
(a) The participle following ocha.

**echa:** Ladi a ahisocha abula-mba becha ladi dehu hakotde cha asiatra... Some of those who are standing here shall not die...

Dehu haocha becha ide na ide naio...: Some of those standing (there) said to them...

Idere besi cha ba anihotro udu a ahisui aie hisitde hocha becha abu gisilemba... If you shall see the hated thing (the thing which they hate) standing in a place where it ought not...

Hapi dehu haisocha becha adi na atdule-mba adi na ahisogi aie, ideja... And when some who were standing there heard it, they said...

Hapi mala hocha becha itda-mba ngbwa hisotro...

and when the centurion who was standing near him saw

**upi:**... abi ahaisocha baupi ai anu abe adi: men who were sitting and eating.

ba hapi ahilafu ide ni Yesu haisocha abu a ba hotro itda lotdi itda hocha, beni hocha baupi, beni hibu kombe: and then they came to where Jesus was, and they saw him who had the evil spirit, sitting and clothed.
ba le obe hichi Herode ina ni abi ahi socha baupi ai anu abe adi: and she danced before Herod and the men who were sitting and eating with him.

Timayo kagbwi Batimayo ai uwehi holu tona baupi haocha gbwogbwou megbwi: B. son of T. a blind beggar was sitting beside the road.

etda:- Idere haisocha baetda buhobi a idebai a, ba hitreni ide: but knowing their guile he said to them.

84. (b) The participle without ocha

It may, or not, be connected with a noun by means of the particle a.

otde:- Ilemba tai na hoya, hisido abi upi baotde lai a:
He has done all thing well, (for) he has healed men with dead ears (i.e. deaf).

Ini lotdie hagisitrochu aie, upi baotde, mutreni a ko ini, ugo-ji itda mba: thou spirit who speakest not, (who hast) dead ears, I say to thee, come out of him.

haupi otro-ni-e mutaka baotde: saw him like one dead.

Idere abi a botde ai bai trulu a idebai a: But (touching) men who are dead and their rising...

Mugu abi a boatde ai bai ga: God is not of the dead...
echa:- hina hagobo cha abula-mba ediatre becha ai: a
one shall not be left here, not one standing.
okpwi:- iholahola hiladi kijila bapere egbwa-iye, baokpwi
aie kijila a: greatly it surpasses all complete
sacrifices and burnt sacrifices.
itu:- kainagbwi baitu: a young ass tied.

85. We have one example of the use of a participle where
we should expect either an adverb or a noun: the participle
bogi (ogi: hear, understand) is employed in the sense of
intelligence, understanding.

Hari Yesu hisotro aie itda ni hisali bogi itutu a: Jesus
seeing that he answered with great intelligence.

86. The frequent adverbial bocha, 'how', may be the participle
of ocha, 'to be', as in the sentence:-

idere aniketda ubu a ideni aiubo hisere aie, kodi bocha
here olu unu hichi, kodi bocha here obuhu: for ye
know not the day in which the Master comes, whether it be
in the evening or in the morning.
87. The ba- participle usually translates the Nyoro perfect participle, as may be seen by comparing the following instances:

9.1. ahisocha... becha = Nyoro abemerire
11.5. haocha becha = Nyoro abakaba bemerire
15.35. haisocha becha = Nyoro abakaba bemerire
6.22. ahaisocha baupi = Nyoro abakaba baikalire
9.26. mutaka baotde = Nyoro yasisana afire
11.2 kainagbwi baitu = Nyoro omwana gwenkaina bagusibikire

But notice the following comparisons in which Nyoro employs the genitive particle, wa:

12.27. abi a baotde ≠ Nyoro wabafu
9.25. upi baotde = Nyoro omufu wamatu

88. The Imperfect Participle

The present participle (which in combination with another verb may be used for any time) in Nyoro is simply the present imperfect tense, n-a-tera, 'he is beating', negative t-a-ruku-tera.

This is represented in Efe by formations introduced by beni, which appears to indicate incomplete action. Beni may
be the particle  𝑛𝑖  affixed to  𝑏𝑎,  𝑏𝑎-𝑛𝑖  becoming  𝑏𝑒𝑛𝑖  by regressive assimilation. It may often be translated by the English participles 'being' or 'having', or by 'while', 'after'.

Some comparisons will illustrate these remarks.

1.5  𝑏𝑒𝑛𝑖  𝑎ℎ𝑎𝑐ℎ𝑖𝑡𝑒𝑛𝑖  𝑢𝑑𝑢𝑖𝑡𝑑𝑎  𝑏𝑎𝑖𝑦𝑒  =  𝑀𝑦𝑜𝑟𝑜  𝑛𝑖𝑏𝑎𝑔𝑎𝑚𝑏𝑎  
     𝑒𝑏𝑖𝑏𝑖  𝑏𝑦𝑎𝑏𝑢

13.26.  𝑏𝑒𝑛𝑖  𝑡ℎ𝑜𝑐ℎ𝑎  𝑒𝑟𝑒  𝑎𝑏𝑒  𝑝𝑓𝑢𝑓𝑢  𝑡ℎ𝑒𝑔𝑤𝑒  =  𝑀𝑦𝑜𝑟𝑜  𝑛𝑎𝑖𝑧𝑖𝑟𝑎  
       𝑜𝑚𝑢  𝑏𝑖𝑐𝑢

VII.  THE COPULA

89.  In Nyoro the copulative particle is  𝑛-  which combining with pronouns forms a series of locutions.

     𝑛𝑖-𝑛𝑦𝑜𝑤𝑒;  it is I
     𝑛-𝑢𝑤𝑒;  it is he.
     𝑛𝑔𝑢𝑛𝑢;  it is this, etc.

90.  In Efe the copula appears to be formed in several ways.

   (a)  We have seen that  𝑖𝑡𝑑𝑎  and  𝑖𝑑𝑒  may be used predicatively
       (chap.4, par.6).
ide imakagbwi: they are my sisters.

itda ma: she is my mother.

ide kodolante: it is a farthing.

(b) The suggestion has been made (chap. 5, par. 40) that ni (or nј) goes to form a copulative in combination with itda and ide.

itda-ni: it is he, etc.

ide-ni: it is these, etc.

This requires further study.

(c) It has been pointed out (chap. 4, par. 80) that na appears to function as a copulative particle.

umu na lai: I am he, the one spoken of

Ini be na Kristo? Art thou the Christ?

lai na maigbwa; this is my body.

umu na Mugu Ibulaimu bai: I am the God of Abraham.

This also requires further study.

91. (d) The verb ocha, 'be', is often used.

mocha, I am amuhocha, we are

nocha, thou art anihocha, you are

hocha, he is ahocha, they are
mugo cha, I am not. amugo cha, we are not.
ni go cha, thou art not. an i go cha, you are not.
go cha, he is not. ago cha, they are not.

Examples:

amu hoo cha alika, we are many.
ini no cha Galiraya, thou art a Galilean.
edi abi hao cha, there was a man.

92. (e) The verbs ofu, be, remain, continue; ite, be exist, become; aji, be, become, may each be used in its particular sense.

ofu:-  ichile ugbwa hofu: he is near.
       ichile ekpwe ga a hofu: they are no longer two.
ite:-  hagite i hehie: there is no fruit.
       o isa chi bo cha hite? when shall these things be?
aji:-  haji ib o ba tutu: it becomes very great.
       o ka haji amubai: (that) the inheritance be ours.
       hakaji musosa chi: let it not be as I like.

93. (f) Finally, two words can come together, one as predicate to the other, with no copulative particle; and the first element in such phrases as 'it is good', 'it is good', may
be absent.

idie ilemba aie: salt (is) good.
ilemba ga ahisetdi: (it is) not good (that) they give.

94. The negative copula may be expressed by negative forms of ocha, or by the use of embi.
itda embi abula, he is not here.
ipesi ai embi ediatre itda-ni: there is none other but he.

94a. For the use of ni-ko see Dictionary S.V.
VIII. THE VERB 'TO HAVE'

95. There appears to be no verb 'to have' in Efe. The idea is often expressed by ocha 'to be', without or with a post-position following the noun.

haocha ipa: she had blood: she was (with) blood.
amugocha ide ina? have we not them? Are we not with them?
Aipe bo bugati hocha? How much bread have you? How much bread is there?
Aipe bo na anihocha bugati a? How much bread have you?
nocha hedi a bapere: thou hast both hands.
ali ka haocha nafuga: he had many possessions, he was rich.
tdole hocha edí kido machuta bai: a woman (who) had a cruse of oil.
haisocha ugbwa ai: who had a sword.

96. In the negative embi is often used with ocha.

anu embi hiso cha ai: having no food: there was no food.
anu embi aho cha: they have no food: there is no food.

97. The verb upi, sit, stay, is sometimes used.

ilem ba ga nisupi t d ole n i yachu bai a ni ai: it is not lawful for you to have (to stay with) your brother's wife.
anichupi idi a anigu mba: have salt in yourselves.

98. The use of ani in such sentences as the following needs to be investigated (see Dictionary s.v. ANI). Is it a plural, or does it signify 'having'?

abi a hisocha upi ani ai hapogi: he who has ears, let him hear.

IX. DEFECTIVE VERBS

99. The verbs ja and naio appear to mean 'speak', 'say'. Apparently they do not have any tense forms.

mu-ja, I say amu-ja, we say
ni-ja, thou sayest ani-ja, you say
itda-ja, he says ide-ja, they say

It is a question whether the pronoun and verb should be linked with an hyphen. Ja may appear without a pronominal prefix.

ayogbwenini ja: the Scribes say.

100. With a pronominal prefix Ja is sometimes translatable by the conjunction 'that'.
tumbi hogi ideja Y.N. le na le: he heard that (they said) it is Y.N.

habe itdaja hisitreni ai: he believes that what he says...

abeicha amuhitreni amuja hogo...: if we say that it comes...

101. Naio does not take pronominal or other prefixes. Naio may mean, 'I say, I said; he says, he said'.

otiri naio lachi: he said to the sea thus...

ide naio: he said to them.

Labi naio: Rabbi, I say (to you).

X. SUPPLEMENTARY VERBS

102. Certain verbs are employed in association with verbal nouns to signify that the action is either then begun, or repeated, or is going on, or is completed, or is possible. Usually the verbal noun is in the objective form.
103. **igbwaga**: to precede, do something first, begin.

- *higbwaga itodie*: he began to teach.
- *anihagisigmgbwaga itralus*: be not anxious beforehand.

104. **apa**: to be or do again

- *hapa ilasie*: again he entered; he repeated entering.
- *shapa itosonie*: they again gathered; they repeated gathering.
- *hapa osinie*: he denied again; he repeated denying.

In the negative it signifies 'to cease':

- *ipa hohi kapa ilafue*: the blood flow ceased.

105. **upi**: to sit, stay, remain in a place. In association with a verbal noun, it expresses continuous action.

- *anihahupi osie*: keep on watching.
- *achudu bai bocha amuhupi itoie?* why do we still look for...?

- *ahaisupi ilupe itda*: that they might go on deceiving him.
- *anibupi anique ilodu*: you keep on asking yourselves.

106. **ibe**: to bring to an end. Followed by the verbal noun it frequently gives a pluperfect sense 'when he had done so-and-so.'
itda hibe na adanie abilika: (while) he finished dismissing the crowd.

hisibe ideni adani a: when he had dismissed them.
ahisibe itda fu: when they have killed him.
ahisibe Yohana etdi a: and when they had given up John.

107. ikuba: to be able, to be possible.

hagikuba ulusie: he could not do.

108. The verbs olo, 'go' and ere 'come', are sometimes employed in a similar way.

ebwamba bo cha mulo ite ani a boluhehi itue? How long am I to go on being patient with you?
mulembe hisulo ere: the world which is going to come.
ba here olo ideni a haisocha abu a: they came going to where he was.
CHAPTER 9.

ADVERBS, CONJUNCTIONS AND INTERJECTIONS

1. ADVERBS

1. It is doubtful whether there are true adverbs in Efe; but various nouns and adjectives, and some combinations of words or particles, function adverbially.

2. Nouns used adverbially:

hene: earth; down.

hupi hene: he sat down, or, on the ground.

halu: ?? space above; highly, loudly.

hitreni halu: he spoke loudly.

li po: the back; after, behind.

li po hitibu magu a itda: after he sent his son.

lipolipo: afterwards, after.

hapi lipo-li po ahisibe Yohana etdi a: after that John was delivered up.

tefu: the outside; outside.

beni ahocha tefu: they were outside.

udu pesi embi tefu: there is nothing outside.
tilo: ?? distance; far.

dehu hogo hapi tilo: and some come from far.

ugbwa: ?? flank of the body (cf. igbwa, body); near,
close by.

ba haso ugbwa: then they came near

ichi le ugbwa hofu: that he is near.

2A. Adjectives used adverbially:

ilemba: good; well.

ahaigachu tai itda hedie ilemba: if they do not wash
their (his) hands often and well.

anihogi ha ilemba: hear ye well!

ombi ai nitreni ilembali: of a truth thou speakest well.

ifo: quick; ifo-fo: easy; quickly, suddenly.

ba hitali ifofo ba bulu: straightway took up his bed.

here ifofo maka bo: came with haste to the king.

abeicha here ifofo: if he comes suddenly.

ihota: long; afar.

ihota ahaupi ileba: from afar they were beholding.

hisotro Yesu ihota na: seeing Jesus afar off.

ihola: great; ihola-hola: great, greatly.

ba ahosu ihola-hola: and they feared greatly.

ihola-hola ahaitrana: they were greatly astonished.

hilala itda ihola-hola: tore him grievously.
itutu: great, big. Adverb of intensification: very, etc.

otro tutu: see clearly; etda tutu: know fully.

tumbi haji iboba tutu: and becomes very great.

Sometimes the adjective is to be taken adverbially even when linked by a to the noun:

Hisileba ugbwa ipi ani a ihota: when he saw a tree having leaves afar: not a long, tall tree.

3. Some adverbial expressions are formed by nouns with the postposition a, 'with'.

ahabe chali tutu a: they receive joyfully; with great joy.

hisali bogi itutu a: that he answered discreetly; with great intelligence.

4. It is a question whether na does not convert adjectives into adverbs as in the following sentences:

hisotro Yesu ihota na: seeing Jesus afar off.

baitu a itisi lipi na: tied at the gateway outside.
5. The suffix -pa, denoting 'place', 'time', forms adverbial expressions when combined with the referring pronoun.

**le.**

**lepa: place where; where.**

**besi lepa, abasi lepa: wheresoever.**

**besi lepa trochue ahachitreni hene bapere: wheresoever they speak the word in the whole earth.**

**abasi lepa hilafu: wheresoever he arrives.**

**lepa-nani: straightway, immediately, at once.**

**lepanani here itda locha: straightway he came to him.**

?? should it be written: lepa-na ni.

6. The root **BU** evidently refers to time and place, as is seen in the series of words **abu, ibu, obu, ubu.** In composition **abu** forms a series of adverbials.

**abu edi (abwedi): some time, particularly as future.**

**abwedi cha anie ahetdi maka-bo: they shall some time deliver you up to kings.**

**abu-la: this place, here.**

**itda embi abula: he is not here**

**abula ise kisaka: this place (here) is desert.**

**Abula may take the mba suffix.**

**ladi a ahisocha abula-mba ba-echa: those who are here standing.**
Abu-le: this place, here; that place, there.

ba hobo afo abule Zebedayo: they left their father Zebedee there.

hene abule: here on earth.

Abule may also take the suffix -mba.

la una abule-mba: be thou taken up from here.

Abule-inani: straightway, immediately, at once.

abuleinani mbino itdabai hilafu: straightway his fame went out.

Abule-mba-ni: straightway, immediately.

abulembani hitrochu ide-mba: and he straightway spake with them.

Usa abule (usabule):- wheresoever.

usa abule magu hulo: wheresoever it takes the boy.

Ibu and ubu also form adverbial expressions in composition.

Ebwamba (a-ibu-a-mba): to or at a place; until when.

ebwamba bo cha mulo ite anu upie? how long shall I go on being with you?

ubu-la; upu-la: now, at once.

aniju na upula: and rest now.

hapogo upula ugbwa mba: let him now come down from the cross.
Ubula-nani; upula-ni: now, at once, the present time.
abu miya ubulanani ai: a hundredfold at present.
mosa umu netdi upulani: I will that thou give me forthwith.

7. It has not been possible to assign a definite meaning to
atdu standing by itself; in composition it forms adverbials.
atdu-la: this place, here, hither.
lepanani ha hali hapi atdu-la: and straightway he will
return it hither.
atdu-le: that place, there, thither.
echa ibolu-ni atdu-le: stand in the midst there.
usa hachasi atdu-le na hocha: or if they say, He is there.
ba hitona atdu-le Mugue: he prayed there to God.

8. Chi carries the idea of 'manner'. It is used by itself
with the meaning of 'as', 'how', and enters into composition.
ahaisikuba chi ogi: as they were able to hear.

Achi: as like, in such a way.

hisogbwe ni achi nabi: as it is written by the prophet.

N.B. There is some doubt as to the writing here: should
achi be divided a chi, and the above sentence be written as
follows?
hisogbwe ni a chi nabi.

la-chi: thus, in this way, as.

ide Ja lachi: they said thus.

le-chi: thus, so, in this way, in that way.

ise lechi ma Meka: it is so, my lord.

9. Other adverbs take a verbal form.

ahehi: this looks like a verbal group made up like

ahitreni: they speak. It is as if there were a verb ehi. Has it any relation to the verb ahi, go? It appears as an adverb in such sentences as the following:

tumbi hite ahehi aihupa: then he placed there husbandmen.
anihachilasi ai ahehi ni anihachupi: wherever ye enter, there stay.

aheli: there, where.

edi abi haocha aheli: a man was there.

aheli ha amu anihilusi ubu-pa: there make ready a place for us.

ahiye: there, thence. This looks like the objective form of the verbal noun ahi, going about (ahi-e).
tumbi Yesu hogo ahiye: then Jesus went-from there.
10. There are various particles associated with verbs which might be treated as adverbs. We have called them verbal adjuncts. See chap. 8, par. 27. Their relation to the 'ideophones', descriptive adverbs, found in other Sudanic languages as well as in Bantu is a subject for investigation. In Ila, e.g. we say: *ulashi mbi* he is black - black - black! *ulatuba bu:* he is white - white - white. Do *bi* and other particles in Efe belong to the same class?

  *tumbi ahuhu bi:* they were greatly amazed.
  *utro pe:* behold!

II. CONJUNCTIONS

11. So far as our material is concerned conjunctions are not numerous in Efe. Their function appears to be entirely, or almost entirely, to introduce sentences and clauses; that is to say, they are co-ordinative.

12. The most frequent in our material are these:

  *tumbi:* and, then.

  *tumbi Yesu hali:* then, or and, Jesus answered.
tumbi ahilafu Yerusalemu: then, or and, they reached Jerusalem.

hapi: and, also, moreover, even.

hapi Yohana haibu: and John was clothed.

hapi haigabe: and he suffered not.

hapi a hapi:

umu hapi a hapi ani mulodi: and I, on my part, tell you.

idere: but, for, because.

idere ahocha alika: for they were many.

idere kamba amu a: because he followed not us.

idere haisocha baetda buhobiya idebai a: but knowing their hypocrisy.

13. The particles ba, be, bo, have distinct functions.

Bo, inter alia, is interrogative.

Ba is very frequently used to indicate sequence of action or event.

It introduces sentences: them

ba hapi ahetda ide: and then they knew him

ba aitodi huchi akie bulue ugbwa-chu na: and the disciples began to pluck the ears of corn.

ba hibu itda kombe a ihota aie: they put on him a long robe.

It appears to indicate simultaneous or consecutive action:

amuhotro ba amuhabe: (that we may see) and believe.
be here ba holo abihuna: and they came and they brought a sick man.

Be appears to express what is incomplete or hypothetical. It occurs as an interrogative, alternative to bo; by itself, and more often in composition, it seems to be translatable 'if'.

besi le habe... be le gabe: if one believes... if one believes not.

abei: if
abei ahotro ko, agotro tutu: if they see, they see indeed, but do not see clearly.

abei-cha: if.
abeicha amutreni: if we say...

abesi: if.
abesi abi hilodu anie: if a man asks you...

abeisi: if.
abeisi cha na to hikuba: (that) if it were possible.
abesi ba: until.
abesi ba olu abule heba hilusi: until these things be be accomplished.

bei: if.
bei gobo mague: if he does not leave a child.
be-icha: if

beicha abi a itiba hachotde: if a man's brother shall die.

besi: if, if when.

besi nahedi hachileja: if thy hand offend.

besi ba: if, when; if then.

idere besiba idi haba hodu a: if the salt loses savour.

besi cha ba: until; when (in future).

idere besi cha ba mutrulu: but when I am raised up.

It will be observed that there are two series, one beginning with a, and the other without a: abei, bei; abesi, besi. The significance of this a is obscure.

Abe appears as a verbal adjunct: see chap. 8, par. 30.

beni hocha trochu udu a, lotdi ucha a: preaching the Gospel and casting out devils.

14. Bai, which we have seen as a genitive linking particle, is occasionally used to connect words; and is then to be translated 'and', 'both'.

anihitreni aitodi itdabadi bai Petero: tell his disciples and Peter.

bai abi a ibikicha bapere: and all the men of the Council.
ubu bapere, bai oisa bai bohusa: all the time both day and night.

15. Other conjunctions are the following: -
Kodi: or; whether... or; on the other hand.
  kodi ade shetdi ini? or who gave thee?
  kodi bo cha here olu unu hichi, kodi bo cha here obu-hu:
    whether it be he comes at even, or whether it be he comes at midnight.
usa: or; nor; except.
  hou hegbwe usa bulu hegbwe: under a basket or under a bed.
  atda usa afo: mother or father.
usa ha: although, even.
  usa ha abi bapere hilore: although all men are offended.
  usa ha oka mai a: even my kingdom.

16. Interrogative particles are bo and be. Their place is not at the beginning, nor at the end, of a sentence, but as a rule after the verb or after an introductory particle with which it is associated.
  Bo seems simply to stand as a note of interrogation, to indicate that the sentence is in the form of a question.
  Achudu bo anigabe itda? why did ye not believe him?
  Nija bo na aichi maya: what wilt thou that I do?
Bo is sometimes followed by ha, the significance of which is obscure:

*aichi boha na abi hutdu alaie bugati?* How is a man to get bread for these people?

Bo is frequently associated with cha, which otherwise functions as a verbal adjunct denoting the future. Whether *bo cha* should be written as one word or two is difficult to say.

*oisa chi bo cha hite:* when shall these things be?

*trulu a otde hucha bo cha aichi?* What does the rising of the dead mean?

**Aichi bo?** What?

*aichi bo na ani Musa hada?* What did Moses command you?

**Aichi be?** How? What?

*aichi be cha na miya?* What am I to do?

**Achudu bo?** or **Achudu bo cha?** What?

*achudu bo cha ide anihulo ilusie?* What are you doing?

Be is also used by itself or in association.

*abi-bo hadu be umue ajie ade?* Who do men say that I am?

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**III. INTERJECTIONS**

17. It is not possible to say with certainty that real interjections occur in our material. All that we can say is
that certain locutions appear to be interjective.

Ba: among its functions, ba appears to be used to draw attention to things: as an exclamation mark like 'Oh look!'. It is associated with ko and na; the former appearing to be positive, emphatic, the latter to be suggestive.

Ba ko:

Ba ko amuhotde! see, we die, are in danger of death!

Ba ko lotdi hogo! see, the devil is gone out:

Ba na:

Ba na niba magutobo ai hotde: see, thy daughter is dead!

Ba na hotde: see, he is dead!

Hoi: Is this an interjection of address in the only passage where it occurs?

achudu mba bo ini a amu hoi Yesu Nazalesi aie? what have we to do with thee Oh Jesus of Nazareth?