

A T E N T A T I V E G R A M M A R

O F T H E

E F E O R M B U T I L A N G U A G E

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

By

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

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 ~~the~~ 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~~d~~ 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 bayi. Ejiri, I conjectured, was the Swahili and Arabic injl, '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 mamagu or ebibamaguai. 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 ideniha 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 tochu 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 interrogation, 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 s 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 abi mba? 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.^x 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

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 differences: 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 bohle be re sitetsoeng; u se ke ua re isa molekong; u mpe u re loele ho e mobe. And in Nyoro: Kandi otuleke're ebibi byaitu baitu 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 ^{31, 32} ~~30~~ and ~~33~~ (photostat No.1), first as Apolo transcribed them and then as we have provisionally decided to write them:

adehitdiabo maigbwa? tumbi hitibu itdauwe
hie ide aisua 32 idtahoto abiaitaigbwa hisitd
aiye uduale chihisoyaiye. idere tumbini tole hosu
tumbi igbw ahitalu.

Ade hitdi a bo ma-igbwa? 32. Tumbi hitibu itda
uwehie ide a isu a, itda hotro abi a itda igbwa
hisitdi aie, udu a lechi hisoya aie. 33. Idere
tumbi ni itdole hosu, tumbi igbwa hitralu.....

More or less literally translated 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

REPRODUCTION OF A PAGE OF THE MS. OF
ST. MARKS'S GOSPEL
EFE VERSION

Adi hitodiabo maigbwa? tumbi hitibu itdauwe
hie ideaisua 32 idtahoto abiaitaigbwa hisitd
aiye uduale Chihisoyaiye. idere tumbinini tole hosu
tumbi igbu ahitalu. 33 Beni hetda udua hisataolo i
pkwetaiye bahere bahipkweta itdauwe itdamaio u
dua ombiai bapere bahitoni idta lachi 34 Ma
gutoboe tochuabe nibai hidoato iniye ulonamu
lumbi, nodotumbi hundanibaiye. hapi 35.
Tochue ahaisitemia beni abihiso go abitiria toso
nipaiboadi here tumbi ahue itdala chi hana
nibamagutoboi lotde, a chuduebocha nupi itotd
amiso aitodie? idere, ³⁶ Jesu Gite itdaboluhchie tochu
aitdamba Esigite tumbi hiteni abitiria tosonipa
bai lachi nagosu Esiate abeniabe hapi gosa 37 abia
itdaniololoaiye Beto Yakoba Johanaa Yakobiti
38 tumbi ahilafu abitiri tosonipabai bo aitdabaimba
Hapi ariahaisocha obatakuabeal 39 Uwia bapere Ra
pi hisilasaaiye baide hiteni lachi a chudumbabe
cha anihitala uduwahisocha itochuabelaiye? magu
tobo hotole Esigate? (c) ubuahocha. 40 Idehegbwe i
holahola ahomel idta hisilafu ideatefuaiye tu.

REPRODUCTION OF A PAGE OF THE MS. OF
ST. MARK'S GOSPEL
EFE VERSION

m̄bi holo maguafina - atdaina bapere abiaidei
nani ahaisochadina. bamagutobo hilasi ahe-
ri ba Yesu hilogo magutoboa hedie; 41 tumbi hiteni
itdalachi talisa apuchinaini muteni magu-
tobonai abulinani magutobo hecha tumbi ho-
lo idere. 42 Itdalabamwakai haacha hoti a-
bulinani ahitdi itana fanaitibai tumbi ha-
a 43. Iholahola abibaphaketdana li. tumbi ha-
da ahetitdi anwe.

Mulho Shula b MUKAŠA

1 Hapitumbi hapi heji hena a ideboa beni aito,
di hochaitda achaber hapi sabiti hisihikaiye
Tumbi higbwaga itodie tosonipa: abibeli hisogiaiye
Itanambatai ahupi? lachi ahupi iteniye?
bwambabo lai hatda tochua abulaiye? hapi ita-
ja achudulagu dubolai laini mugu hisetilai?
udu amanibahisitini echiai 3 uauaitdahelliki
silusiyai mahano? aibawalalatdhumilai
Magu Mahamubai Yakobo itiba Yesea Gudaina
Simoniina Perzi atdahagbwina amugochai
dina abula amubadia? 4 tumbi Yesu hiteni ide

observed, to detach a syllable from one group and add it to another, taking, e.g. the chi 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 A CHI; or ENJIRI HISOGBWENI A CHI; or ENJIRI HISOGBWE 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:

batiza

bahibatiza

baibatiza

mubatiza

hibatiza

ibatiza

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 "aitches", 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 Efe, 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, ekigega: 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:

avu anihavu osa: drinking you will drink: you will
surely drink.

au abau cha: taking away, they will take away

uhu-ni huhu: silent, he was silent

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 ai 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 Duka. The Efe reads (see photostat No.2) : Talisa apuchi 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, Magutoboe ini mutreni, naio, Eoba!

Other errors arise from confounding 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 okuzina ekizina; Efe, hapi ahisibe owaimbu ni a.

12.14. 'Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar?' Nyoro, Kirungi okuziniraga Kaisali ebintu? (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 transverbation: 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're ekitebe; and Efe Idere banyakatagala abitiri hilaama tumbi abi alika - i.e. they beat the people, taking tera for tere'ra.

Nyoro teme'ra is 'mow, cut'; temera 'sow'. At 4.32 the English reads: 'Yet when it is sown it groweth up! Nyoro, kandi 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'. These 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, yamulinda, 'he took care of him' - is rendered, beni hochu ilagu abe itda-mba, 'he was on his guard against him'.

There are other passages where one suspects similar errors: as, for example, where 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-ka: kingdom

m-opa: a tale

opa: 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.

<u>ba-upi</u> : sitting, one sitting	<u>upi</u> : sit
<u>b-otde</u> : dead, the dead	<u>otde</u> : die
<u>b-ogi</u> : intelligence	<u>ogi</u> : hear, understand

Other nouns are formed by suffixes:

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

<u>m-</u> in <u>maka</u> :	compare the noun-prefix	<u>mu-</u> , Class 1.
<u>m-</u> in <u>mopa</u> :	" " "	<u>mu-</u> , Class 3.
<u>b-</u> in <u>botde</u> :	" " "	<u>ba-</u> , Class 2.
<u>b-</u> in <u>bogi</u>	" " "	<u>bu-</u> , Class 14.
<u>k-</u> in <u>kipu</u>	" " "	<u>ki-</u> , Class 7.

<u>chi</u>	compare the noun-prefix	k--,	Class 7 ^x
- <u>du</u> in <u>ona-du</u>	" " "	<u>lu-</u> ,	Class 11
- <u>ni</u> in <u>uki-ni</u>	" " "	<u>ni-</u> ,	Class 9
- <u>ku</u> in <u>ole-ku</u>	" " "	<u>ku-</u> ,	Class 15
			(infinitive)
- <u>ku</u> in <u>otde-ku</u>	" " "	<u>ku-</u> ,	Class 17
			(locative)
- <u>pa</u> in <u>anu-pa</u>	" " "	<u>pa</u> ,	Class 16.
			(locative)

^x Cf. Ila: chi-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^{ce}/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 Roy, Dr. Poutrin and others to this effect¹ and summaries 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
-

^x R.P. TRILLES, Les Pygmées de la Forêt Equatoriale (1932) p.p. 212 et sqq. Mgr Le Roy 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 séjourné". 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.M. 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-Pygmey 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 'faucal gasps' secondary. It seems to me more likely that the Mbuba replaced the glottal stop (which is what Johnston seems to mean by 'faucal 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:

English	Mbuba	Bambute	Lese	Efe
two	agbe	e'be	ekpe	ekpwe

I have put in the 'Efe' word from the Gospel. The ' in Bambute e'be represents the 'faucal gasp'.

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, then 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 Bandaka and also the Barumbi.

The Aka (who were known to Schweinfurth and other travellers), are connected with the Medje, the Babreyu and the Majogu. 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^{of} 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 Ituri 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 Lendu; 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-Pygmaen in 'Anthropos' (vol.25., p.312) Father Schebesta 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, Balese, Mambuba and Mombutu, who speak Mamvu, have adopted the pygmy language and have formed various dialects. "The Karobalese still speak the pygmy dialect in its purest form, although with variations". He speaks of the Mamvu having replaced the glottal stop (Hiatuskehlikopflaut) 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. Buschmänner 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 Nduya 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:

Ama afu hochu 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

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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CHAPTER I

THE SOUNDS

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.

1. THE CONSONANTS

The consonants are provisionally shown in the following table.

	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Dental & Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar	Laryngeal
Explosive	p b		t d			ch j	k g	kp gb	
Implosive	(ʼb)		td?						
Affricative	pf			(t dz)					
Nasal	m		n			(ny)			
Lateral			l						
Rolled & flapped			r ()						
Fricative	(v)	f v							h
Semi-vowel	w					y			

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 ⁱⁿw/only a few borrowed words.

Examples:

p. <u>pa</u> , <u>pe</u> , <u>pi</u> , <u>pu</u> - particles	<u>ilupa</u> , throw away
<u>pisiyo</u> , needle	<u>tepi</u> , branch
<u>hapogi</u> , let him hear	<u>itapu</u> , swear
<u>opu</u> , garden	<u>aitupu</u> , porter

pw. epwahwa, cup (Nyoro)

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, be, bo - particles

butu, enemy

bolu, spirit

abi, man

abe, name

ubu, place

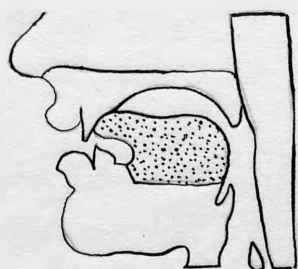
ikuba, be able

ilobe, break

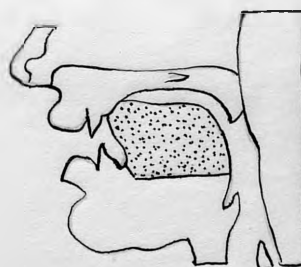
bw- ebwamba (a-ibu-mba), at a place
ambambwe (ambambu-e), in former days
mb- umba, bind
bamba, mountain
embi, negative particle
ilemba, good
rimba, moon
itumbu, keep

6. The implosive consonant, 'b' (written phonetically ɓ)

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'bina in Lugbware; i'bi'bi in Luluba^{where 'b' = ɓ}. 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 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 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. ato becomes ?do.

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, out; 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:

itdole, tdole, woman

iletdu, old

itetdi, embrace

etda, know

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, itrалу, 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

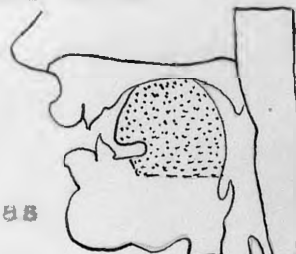
(a) a retroflex t (written phonetically ṭ), made with the tip of the tongue pressed against the front of the hard palate (behind the teeth-ridge)

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

Palatal
ty, dy

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 c is used for ch, e.g. luchuba, vessel, (Efe); rucuba, (Nyoro)

Examples:

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 Efe, mahaga

ngolo, reed

golo

Swahili: Mungu, God

Mugu

18. The labio-velar explosives kp, gb.

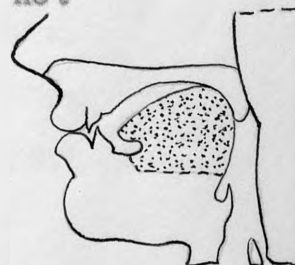
These characteristic Sudanic consonants are formed by a double stop, the lips being together and the back of the tongue touching the soft palate (in the k, g position) at the same time. The two articulations are made simultaneously. When the sound occurs between two vowels, there must be no on-glide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

19. The voiceless velar explosive, kp.

This occurs usually in connection with w, as kpw.

Examples:

ikpweta: kneel to



Labio-velar
kp, gb.

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

igbwa, body

hegbwe, in

igbwaga, begin

ogbwe, write

ilagbwu, throw down

21. The affricate, pf.

Affricate consonants are defined by WV. 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 W: 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 (η) 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 *par. 5.*)

Examples:

ma, mu, mai, pronouns

meri, wilderness

ma, ima, mother

miemie, deep water

maka, chief

mobo, a sign

mape, wind

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). WW. 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

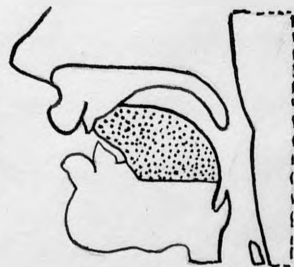
nafuga, riches

una, spread

isuna, sow

ona, plant, bury

itona, pray



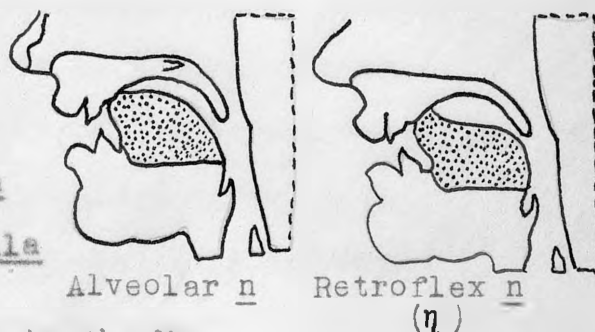
Dental n.

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
singa, condemn
lenga, measure
engamira, camel

Efe: soni
siga
ilega
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 ɲ), 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 l 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 ^{l-}like

initially and after a, o and u (though it often sounds remarkably r-like between vowels.) It is r-like after i and e. The r is rather d-like, consisting of only one tap. The same seems to be true in Nyoro. Maddox says l & r are "really one letter in the native mind". He gives the rule: "between the vowels a e and a i, o e and o i, u e and u i, write l, but in other cases write r. Between o and o it is immaterial." D, he says, is interchangeable with l or r when commencing a word. There is a rolled r, which Maddox writes 'r. In his vocabulary l- 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 l and r: a word will now be spelt with l and now with r. We have not adopted the one or the other uniformly, but have regularized the spelling of individual words.

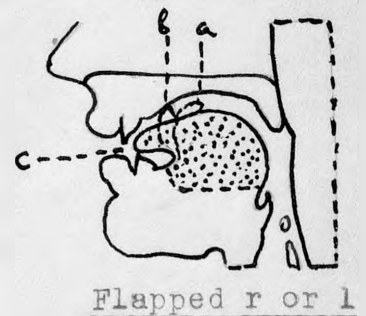
There was the same uncertainty in writing down the Ila language. Now it has been found that in such words as lala, lie down, sleep, lwala, claw (and in other words before e, o, u) the l differs in no significant way from the 'clear l; before i and y the sound is not l, r, or d; but a flapped lateral (written phonetically by

Doke *r*), e.g. ku^rya, 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 [*r*]). The sound occurs in Moro Miza, e.g. *ε[ⁱcome*; 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 [*r*] 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:

la, lai, le, ladi, lachi, lechi, locha, particles and
pronouns

labe, a fence

lebana, first

lagu, wisdom

leku, left (hand)

lalodu, seven

leu, slave

lipo, after

lolo, measure

lotdi, spirit

lugbwas, booth

ilalo, hide

ilala, rend

itali, carry

ila, arm

olo, go

olu, thing

ole, sow

hele, canoe, boat

rimba, moon

ere, come

uru, pour

iluru, trouble

ilore, be offended

iraji, kiss

irambi, sigh

meri, wilderness

In borrowed words the tendency is to substitute l
for r.

Nyoro:	<u>rabi</u> , rabbi	Efe:	<u>labi</u>
	<u>raboni</u> , Habboni		<u>laboni</u>
	<u>maraka</u> , angel		<u>malaka</u>
	<u>serikani</u> , soldier		<u>silikani</u>
	<u>mukuru</u> , superior		<u>mukulu</u>

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:

<u>fu</u> , bow down	<u>ilafu</u> , leave
<u>ifuga</u> , possess	<u>ilafo</u> , choke
<u>efu-efu</u> , doubtful	<u>ilofu</u> , take away
<u>afu</u> , <u>ufu</u> , kill	<u>itofu</u> , break
<u>ofu</u> , remain	
<u>ufo</u> , 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.

<u>avu</u> , drink	<u>ivu</u> , cause to drink
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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

syopu, owner of garden

silipi, earthquake

asi, think

silisili, dust

osi, deny

ilasi, enter

sipi, locust

osu, fear

itoso, gather

ose, go up

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

singa, accuse

sigu

nsoni, shame

soni

soma, read

isoma

sometimes Nyoro z changes to s.

emeza, table

Efe: mesa

33. The voiced fricative z.

This only appears in foreign words.

Examples:

Nyoro: ezeza, 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 stitches' 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 1.5 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. 1.7 the original MS. reads Baitene, where, according to normal later usage, it should be Ba 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 (Ba hitreni) ide huduwe (udue) tochuwe (trochue) lachi: Isere (hisere) na lipo ni ai itda iladiye (hiladi a) unuwe (umue) mani, api (hapi) magikubaha (?magikuba a) itda fuwe (fue) itugo muleba kakaito 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:

<u>habo</u> , cock	<u>aheli</u> , there
<u>hada</u> , vessel	<u>tiha</u> , feast
<u>haga</u> , jealousy	<u>tohu</u> , testimony
<u>halu</u> , foot	<u>iha</u> , one, other
<u>hatu</u> , widow	<u>ahi</u> , go about
<u>hebi</u> , fish	<u>ihl</u> , take off
<u>hechu</u> , tongue	<u>ilaha</u> , weep
<u>hedi</u> , hand	<u>ikpwohi</u> , throng

H is retained in foreign words and occasionally is substituted for other sounds.

Nyoro:	<u>mahano</u> , wonders	Efe: <u>mahano</u>
	<u>muhito</u> , tribulation	<u>muhito</u>
	<u>magezi</u> , wisdom	<u>maheji</u>
	<u>gobya</u> , act hypocritically	<u>ihobia</u>
	<u>empahwa</u> , cup	<u>epahwa</u>

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 "labialised 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 'labialised' is limited: in

our material only these are to be found: bw, gbw, kpw.

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

The w was often used (but not consistently) in the original MS when the suffix a was added to words ending in u: e.g. amwe (amu-e); trochuwe (trochu-e); oluwe (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 lika; 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, kyena, curse, becomes in Efe ikiena; gobyā, becomes ihobiya; ohya, becomes iyohiya.

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 iafa.

A i 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 ombiyaichale, 'truly', which should be divided, it seems, ombi a ichale (or ombi aichale) 'truly'; haocha ide a ihotiyai which should be haocha ide a ihoti ai, 'he was one of the twelve'; heti nibaiyaita, '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-eme, physician; on the other hand, we have ai-ubo, master of the house; ai-udu-megu sinner. Sometimes, again, the i is dropped and ay is written: e.g. ay-ole, sower; ay-ogbwa, writer; ay-ai-utra, builder; ay-epfu, 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 baie, 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, eya. 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: a, e, i, o, 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.

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.

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

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.

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.

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.

ɪ : this resembles the i in bit, hit. We shall suggest (see chap.5, pars. 33, ~~34~~³⁵) 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'; aibe 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

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

e i: bei, beicha: if

e u: heu, 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: ibalua, document

W is often inserted between the vowels: ibalua

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 & COALESCENCE 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 ahitreni, '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)

ed^eidi for ediedi, 'one by one'.

This may not be elision though written as if it

were so; the i and e may coalesce into ε.

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 ε, the front vowel between a and e.

ba-ogi, hearing, understanding, becomes bogi.

It is probable that the o in bogi should be ɔ.

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 cha: he will not die

kapa ilafue: it did not flow again

(b) voiced g voiced consonant following:

gabe: he does not believe

hageba: 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-s-ogi, 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.

trochu gi edi: not more than one word

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

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'.

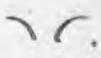
VI. TONES

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'; ibú, 'dog'; upí, 'ear'; utigbá, 'lips'; ubú, '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 .

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: amu-tisu may mean '~~to~~ 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.

CHAPTER 2

WORD - BUILDING.

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.

V B V

ABA	EBA	-	OBA	UBA
ABE	EBE	-	OBE	UBE
ABI	<u>EBI</u>	IBI	OBI	UBI
<u>ABO</u>	-	IBO	OBO	UBO
ABU	-	IBU	OBU	UBU

V + MB + V

<u>AMBA</u>	<u>EMBA</u>	-	-	UMBA
<u>AMBI</u>	<u>EMBI</u>	-	OMBI	-
AMBU	-	-	-	-

V + CH + V

ACHA	ECHA	-	OCHA	UCHA
-	-	-	-	-
ACHI	ECHI	ICHI	OCHI	UCHI
-	ECHO	-	-	-
ACHU	<u>ECHU</u>	ICHU	<u>OCHU</u>	UCHU

V + D + V

ADA	-	-	ODA	-
ADE	<u>EDE</u>	IDE	-	-
ADI	EDI	IDI	<u>ODI</u>	UDI
<u>ADO</u>	-	IDO	ODO	-
ADU	-	-	ODU	UDU

V + F + V

-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-
AFO	-	IFO	OFO	UFO
AFU	EFU	-	OFU	UFU

V + G + V

AGA	EGA	-	OGA	<u>UGA</u>
-	-	-	-	-
AGI	-	IGI	OGI	UGI
AGO	-	-	OGO	UGO
AGU	-	IGU	-	UGU

V + GB + V

-	EGBWA	IGBWA	-	UGBWA
AGBWE	<u>EGBWE</u>	-	OGBWE	-
AGBWI	<u>EGBWI</u>	-	-	-
-	-	-	<u>OGBWO</u>	-
<u>AGBWU</u>		-	<u>OGBWU</u>	-

V + H + V

AHA	-	IHA	<u>OHA</u>	UHA
<u>AHE</u>	EHE	IHE	-	-
AHI	EHI	IHI	<u>OHI</u>	-
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	IHU	-	UHU

V + J + V

EJA	IJA	-	-
-	-	-	-
-	EJI	IJI	OJI
AJI	-	-	-
-	-	IJU	-
-			

V + K + V

AKA	-	IKA	OKA	-
-	-	-	-	-
AKI	-	-	OKI	UKI
<u>AKO</u>	-	IKO	-	-
<u>AKU</u>	-	IKU	-	UKU

V + KP + V

-	-	-	-	-
-	EKPWE	-	-	-
-	-	-	OKPWI	-
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-

V + L + V

ALA	-	ILA	OLA	ULA
ALE	<u>ELE</u>	ILE	OLE	<u>ULE</u>
ALI	<u>ELI</u>	ILI	OLI	-
ALO	-	-	OLO	-
ALU	-	-	OLU	<u>ULU</u>

V + M + V

AMA	-	IMA	OMA	-
-	EME	-	OME	-
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-
AMU	-	-	OMU	-

V + N + V

<u>ANA</u>	-	INA	ONA	ENA
<u>ANE</u>	<u>ENE</u>	-	<u>ONE</u>	-
ANI	ENI	INI	-	-
-	-	-	-	-
ANU	ENU	-	-	UNU

V + P + V

APA	-	IPA	OPA	UPA
APE	-	-	OPE	-
<u>API</u>	-	IPI	OPI	UPI
-	-	-	-	-
<u>APU</u>	-	IPU	OPU	UPU

V + PF + V

-	-	-	--	-
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-
-	EPU	-	-	-

V + R + V

-	-	-	-	-
-	ERE	-	<u>ORE</u>	-
-	<u>ERI</u>	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	URU

V + S + V

-	-	isa	osa	USA
-	-	ise	ose	-
ASI	ESI	ISI	OSI	<u>USI</u>
ASO	-	-	-	-
-	ESU	ISU	OSU	-

V + T + V

ATA	-	ITA	OTA	-
-	-	ITE	OTE	UTE
<u>ATI</u>	ETI	ITI	OTI	UTI
-	-	-	-	UTO
<u>ATU</u>	-	ITU	OTU	UTU

V + TD + V

ATDA	ETDA	ITDA	-	-
ATDE	-	ITDE	OTDE	UTDE
ATDI	ETDI	ITDI	-	UTDI
-	-	-	-	-
ATDU	-	-	-	UTDU

V + TR + V

-	-	-	-	UTRA
-	-	-	<u>OTRE</u>	-
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	<u>ITRO</u>	<u>OTRO</u>	-
-	-	-	-	-

V + V + V

-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-
AVU	-	IVU	-	UVU

V + W + V

-	-	-	OWA	UWE
-	-	-	-	UWE
-	-	-	-	UWI
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-

V + Y + V

-	EYA	IYA	OYA	-
-	-	<u>IYE</u>	-	-
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-

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: <u>afu</u> , kill	Lugbwara: <u>fu</u> , kill
<u>uku</u> , pull down	" <u>ku</u> , pull up
<u>uvu</u> , drink	" <u>mvu</u> , drink
<u>uti</u> , mouth	Lugbwara & Logo: <u>ti</u> , mouth
<u>otde</u> , die	Lendu: <u>dhe</u> , die
<u>obe</u> , dance	" <u>be</u> , dance
<u>upi</u> , ear	Moro, Miza, Lugbwara: <u>bi</u> , ear
<u>udi</u> , dig	Lugbwara & Logo: <u>'di</u> , dig
<u>ibu</u> , place	Moro, Miza & Keliko: <u>vo</u> , 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.

<u>i-do</u> , heal, save;	<u>o-do</u> , get well, be saved
<u>i-gbwa</u> , body;	<u>u-gbwa</u> , tree
<u>i-pi</u> , leaf;	<u>u-pi</u> , ear
<u>e-ji</u> , depart;	<u>o-ji</u> , turn back, <u>u-ji</u> , bring
<u>o-na</u> , plant;	<u>u-na</u> , spread
<u>atde</u> , quench;	<u>i-tde</u> , destroy; <u>o-tde</u> , die;
	<u>u-tde</u> , 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,
go out, leave.
si, enter, go in; asi, enter,
come in.
cf. Efe il-asi, enter

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:

<u>haga</u> , jealousy;	<u>aga</u> , marry
<u>maka</u> , chief;	<u>oka</u> , kingdom
<u>tepi</u> , branch;	<u>upi</u> , ear; <u>ipi</u> , 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.

<u>ih-ehi</u> , fruit	<u>im-egbwi</u> , side, shore
<u>ih-u-le</u> , branch	<u>ip-ugi</u> , eye of needle
<u>ik-eke</u> , dry land	<u>itd-ole</u> , woman cf. <u>ole</u> , sow
<u>il-olo</u> , basket	

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

<u>ih-ata</u> , high	cf. <u>ata</u> , pass
<u>ih-oji</u> , dry	cf. <u>oji</u> , dry up
<u>ih-ok-u</u> , bitter	
<u>ih-ota</u> , long	cf. <u>ota</u> , spring up
<u>ih-otu</u> , hard	cf. <u>otu</u> , be hard

Other adjectives are formed by prefixing il-, im-, ip-, it-, to VCV.

il-eko, small

il-emba, good

il-etdu, old

ip-esi, different

it-iri, great

im-aja,unclean

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

il-

il-umba, wrap

il-ofu, take away

il-odu, ask

il-afu, leave

il-ogo, lift up

il-ugbwa, grow

il-agbwi, be changed

il-egbwi, change (tr.)

il-agbwu, throw down

il-eja, cause to stumble

il-ali, roll away

of. umba, bind

ofu, remain

udu, tell

ofu, remain (afu, kill)

ogo, come from

ugbwa, a tree, near

ogbwu, cast away

ija, stumble

ali, turn

im-

im-agu, be lost, defiled

ir-

ir-ambi, sigh

is-

is-uku, mock

is-una, sew

<u>it-</u>	<u>it-abu</u> ,	put forth (leaves)	cf.	<u>abu</u> ,	be in a place
	<u>it-ibu</u> ,	send		<u>ibu</u> ,	a place
	<u>it-ali</u> ,	take up, carry		<u>ali</u> ,	turn
	<u>it-apu</u> ,	swear			
	<u>it-asi</u> ,	stretch out			
	<u>it-atu</u> ,	ascend			

<u>itr-</u>	<u>itr-achi</u> ,	sorrow
	<u>itr-ado</u> ,	precede
	<u>itr-alu</u> ,	rebuke
	<u>itr-ama</u> ,	run from, or towards
	<u>itr-ana</u> ,	be astonished
	<u>itr-eni</u> ,	speak
	<u>itr-oba</u> ,	follow
	<u>itr-ochu</u> ,	tell
	<u>itr-ulu</u> ,	rise up, awaken

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 analagous 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

ifo-fo, suddenly

gbwo-gbwo, road

ihola-hola, very much

tru-tru, spittle

ite-te, one by one

sili-sili, dust

ilusi-lusi, create

pfu-pfu, hour

(ilusi, make)

udu-ada-da, commandment

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.

<u>a-be</u> , name	<u>i-bu</u> , place
<u>a-bi</u> , man (homo)	<u>i-di</u> , salt
<u>a-ka</u> , tower	<u>i-gbwa</u> , body
<u>a-pe</u> , corpse	<u>i-hu</u> , sort, kind
<u>a-tdu</u> , place	<u>i-la</u> , arm
<u>e-pfu</u> , deceit	<u>i-pa</u> , blood
<u>e-chi</u> , four	<u>i-pi</u> , leaf

<u>i-sa</u> , time	<u>u-wa</u> , snake
<u>i-chu</u> , top	<u>u-bo</u> , place, house
<u>o-ka</u> , kingdom	<u>a-bu</u> , place, time
<u>o-kpwi</u> , fire	<u>u-fo</u> , spear
<u>o-lu</u> , thing	<u>u-pi</u> , ear
<u>o-pu</u> , garden	<u>u-ti</u> , mouth
<u>o-si</u> , loud noise, thunder	<u>u-chu</u> , head

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-	<u>b-amba</u> , mountain
	<u>b-olu</u> , spirit
	<u>b-ulu</u> , bed (cf. <u>Ila bulo</u> , bed)
	<u>b-ulu</u> , grain
	<u>b-utu</u> , enemy

CH- oh-ali, joy
oh-ega, bush
oh-okl, beer

D- d-ada, string

H- h-ebi, fish
h-echu, tongue
h-echu, cold wind
h-edl, hand
h-egbwe, stomach
h-ela, boat
h-ene, land
h-enu, pain
h-etl, seat, border
h-ina, stone

h-obi, staff
h-odu, taste
h-oma, den
h-osa, bird

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

L- l-abe, fence
l-agu, wisdom
l-olu, measure
l-otdl, spirit

M- m-opa, wise saying (opa, liken)

m-obo, sign

m-ala, centurion

m-ape, wind

MB- mb-ino, fame

R- r-imba, moon

T- t-ihā, 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, mala- (owner,

sinda, horse; mala-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^a,/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; tona, 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.8). 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 ldebai 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 ahisocha 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 VCVCV 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.

besi ba iti hihika, because cutting has-come: for the
harvest is come.

iladie olo Gehena hegbwe: passing ~~through~~ going
Gehenna inside, rather than go into Gehenna.

ubu haesu ide uwe: sleeping was heavy (?) them eyes:
theireyes 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

ada, command

ali-ni, turning, repentance

ali, turn

eti-ni, cutting

eti, out 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-.

<u>itoso-ni</u> , meeting	<u>itoso</u> , gather, assemble
<u>itrale-ni</u> , crying aloud	<u>itrale</u> , cry aloud
<u>ituka-ni</u> , beseeching	<u>ituka</u> , beseech
<u>itrulu-ni</u> , rising	<u>itrulu</u> , arise
<u>todu-ni</u> , showing	<u>itodu</u> , show
<u>ladi-ni</u> , passing, Passover	<u>iladi</u> , pass
<u>ilodu-ni</u> , questioning	<u>ilodu</u> , 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 alini bai: their he-spoke baptism
turning of: and he preached the baptism of repentance.

Gele 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 hochha 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, he shortened the time.

uhu-ni#huhu, 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 hapa ejie: then he-repeated departure. Then he
again departed.

hosaini hupu ipi 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-nti: wilderness-honey, wild honey (see note in Dictionary)

oisa (oi-isa): 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-eche: man-standing-up, insurrection .

trochu-abe: word-believing, faith.

trochu-ogbwe: 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-magu: 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-holu: 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-ute: wild beasts

ula-gbwa: ?fist, palm of hand

E. Unanalysable 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 ? chi, 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, munyama'nzi: 'zanda, want; za'ndika, precious; 'rata, 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 hit^reni; abi a-hit^reni.

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

Examples:

<u>hosa</u> , bird	<u>hosaini</u> , birds
<u>heti</u> , seat	<u>hetiini</u> , seats
<u>alufu</u> , thousand	<u>alufuini</u> , thousands
<u>kombe</u> , garment	<u>kombeini</u> , garments
<u>aihupa</u> , husbandman	<u>aihupaini</u> , husbandmen
<u>abitiri</u> , headman, elder	<u>abitirini</u> , elders
<u>haluitda</u> , heaven	<u>haluitdaini</u> , heavens.

<u>ayogbwe</u> , scribe	<u>ayogbweni</u> , scribes
<u>epfu</u> , deceitfulness	<u>epfuini</u> , deceitfulnesses
<u>igbwa</u> , body	<u>igbwaini</u> , bodies
<u>kakaito</u> , shoe	<u>kakaitoni</u> , shoes
<u>heci</u> , hand	<u>hedini</u> , hands

Illustrative sentences.

hosaini 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 aihupaini mba: he sent a slave to
the husbandmen.

echiro alufuini hocha ide na papere: 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 higbwaga 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 hegbweinie: 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 lóeni 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 Magadalení, Malyamu Yakobo atda ini: Mary
Magdalene and Mary the mother of James.

(2) Suffixes denoting sex.

23. There is no grammatical gender in Efe. 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-agbwi, male person, man

Mugu hailusi abi-agbwie tdole a: God made (them)
man and woman.

mazu, child; magu-tobo, daughter

magu-tobo mai hochu 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
of. 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:-

<u>anu</u> , eating	<u>anu-pa</u> , eating-place, or time for eating
<u>eba</u> , ending	<u>eba-pa</u> , place of ending, extremity, end
<u>ubu</u> , sleeping	<u>ubu-pa</u> , place for sleeping
<u>uchi</u> , beginning	<u>uchi-pa</u> , place where one begins, start.
<u>?opi</u> , selling	<u>opi-pa</u> , selling place, market.

Illustrative sentences:

usa anupa gi agotro: nor did they see a time-for-
eating

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

uchipa enjiri: the beginning of the Gospel

(b) Second verbal noun + pa.

<u>ochi-ni</u> , being born.	<u>ochi-ni-pa</u> , place of birth, land.
<u>toso-ni</u> , meeting	<u>toso-ni-pa</u> , place of meeting, synagogue.

Illustrative sentence:

abi a hisobo ai... usa oohinipa: 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,
?from the place of the dead.

afu, killing afu-ku, for the purpose of killing,
to death

atdi, taking, arresting atdi-ku, for the purpose
 of taking

Illustrative sentences.

aiuneole 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 aie: and when they return from
market.

ahisitru lu 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:

one, planting, burying

ona-du, burial

olo , going

olo-du, something to go by,
a token.

<u>ote</u> , seizing	<u>ote-du</u> , arrest, ?manner of arrest
<u>tona</u> , praying	<u>tona-du</u> , prayer
<u>umba</u> , tying up	<u>umba-du</u> , a thing for tying up, ⁱⁿ a purse
<u>ihima</u> , being young	<u>ihima-du</u> , youngness, tenderness
<u>ikuba</u> , being able	<u>kuba-du</u> , power, power over
<u>lagu</u> , taking heed	<u>lagu-du</u> , wisdom
<u>etdi</u> , giving	<u>?etdi-du</u> , gift, reward
<u>udu</u> , thing, <u>otro</u> , seeing	<u>udu-otro-du</u> , staring, steadfast gaze.
<u>uki-ni</u> , shadowing	<u>ukini-du</u> , a thing for shadowing, curtain.
<u>agi</u> , thinking, remembering	<u>agi-du</u> , a thing to remember by, a memorial

Illustrative sentences.

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

hetdi hocha ide-mba oloedue: he had given them a token

ahaisitot 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)

aohudu 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

olu-tai, honour

udu, olu, thing

ulu-olu-tai, glory

ubu, day, time

ubu-bu-tai, all future time,
eternity

meri, open space meri-tai, quite open space,
marketplace.

Illustrative sentences:

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

beni hochha ere abe pfupfu hegbwe mani a a lika

uduolutai a: coming on the clouds with much power
and glory.

ahakape cha anue 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

uchu is 'head'; as a postposition, chu, ichu, 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

iyachu: older relation, brother

(c) -gbu

bulu: grain

bulu-gbu: a sickle

(d) -hi; -hehi; -hihi

uwe: eye, eyes

uwehi: eye, eyes

bolu: spirit

bolu-hehi: heart, inner man

tiko: swine

tiko-hihi: into swine

(e) -itda, -tda

ai: house

aitda: house

halu: high(?)

halu-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; in Logo 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.
ma-g-ere, I do not come; a-g-ikuba, they could not;
ha-g-itoi, he seeks not.

The use of ga as a negative will be dealt with later.

Gi is suffixed to the verbal noun with the meaning
'without', e.g. anu, eating, food; anu-gi, without food.

aniholo anugi, go without food, i.e. take no food
for your journey.

Gi also forms with esi two frequently used words,
esigi and esinigi. For a third formation, esigitre, see
next par.

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

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

e.g. Hisaso ni a esigi: having gone forward a little space
Hapi esigi hisata lohi ni a: after it had passed again
a little, after a little while.

ahupi esinigi: they endure for a while.

ahaocha hebi a esinigi: they had a few fishes only.

In one instance gi appears to denote 'only' rather than 'none'.

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: hisitrana atre a: he fled naked (Nyoro, yairuka busa); atre umue ahisanya: 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

ediatre 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 highwaga itda ote: child from it-began him
(or his) seizing;

from a child it began to seize him

abule bape miltidi 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 hegbweedi 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 haocha: 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 anie ubu ani: that he may not find you
sleeping ?sleepers, or having sleep.

Holo hetí 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 thorns 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)
iyachu, 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 ale 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 cometh
ide mwabi: they are my brother (brethren)

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

Yohana itiba Yakobo a: and John the brother of James

Perezi atdagbwi na amugocha 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 hachaga tdole itda iye, hachochi 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 qualificative, 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 qualificative (ida 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 ahaisadu Baraba: and one they called Barabbas.

39. Two: ekpwe

alufu ekpwe: two thousand

ekpwe ahaocha: they were two

Three: echina

edinali miya echina: 300 pence

lugbwas 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

aibe bo bugati hochu? 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 hochu: 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

ba here apuchi ikiekpwe ani ai a: then he came with the
twelve

ba hadu aitodia 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:

<u>alufu</u> : thousand	Swahili: <u>elfu</u> ; Arabic: <u>alf</u>
<u>bafuta</u> : linen	Nyoro: <u>bafuta</u>
<u>balua</u> : document	Nyoro: <u>ebaruha</u>
<u>bugati</u> : bread	Nyoro & Swahili: <u>omugati</u>
<u>buhobia</u> : hypocrisy	Nyoro: <u>bugobya</u>
<u>butama</u> : sheep	" <u>entama</u>
<u>daimoni</u> : demon	Greek: <u>daemon</u>
<u>edinali</u> : penny	Nyoro: <u>edinali</u> ; Latin <u>denarius</u>
<u>egamila</u> : camel	Nyoro: <u>engamira</u>
<u>eḱitumbisa</u> : leaven	Nyoro: <u>ekitumbisa</u>
<u>eliyaga</u> : a skin bag	Nyoro: <u>ndyanga</u>

<u>enako</u> : pain	Nyoro: <u>enaku</u>
<u>epwahwa</u> : cup	Nyoro: <u>empwahwa</u>
<u>feza</u> : coin	Nyoro: <u>efeza</u>
<u>golo</u> : reed	Nyoro: <u>ngoro</u>
<u>injili</u> : Gospel	Nyoro: <u>enjiri</u> ; Arabic: <u>Injil</u>
<u>ipaka</u> : dispute	Nyoro: <u>empaka</u>
<u>kakaito</u> : shoe	Nyoro: <u>enkaito</u>
<u>kalidali</u> : mustard	Nyoro: <u>akaradali</u>
<u>kijumakuba</u> : sponge	Nyoro: <u>ekijumankuba</u>
<u>kisaka</u> : desert	Nyoro: <u>kisaka</u> , jungle, bush
<u>kiseke</u> : reed	Nyoro: <u>kiseke</u>
<u>kitabo</u> : book	Nyoro: <u>kitabu</u> ; Arabic, <u>kitab</u>
<u>kodolate</u> : farthing	Nyoro: <u>kodolante</u>
<u>kopo</u> : cup	Nyoro: <u>akakopo</u>
	English: <u>cup</u>
<u>luchuba</u> : vessel	Nyoro: <u>rucuba</u>
<u>lupia</u> : money	Nyoro: <u>erupiya</u> , rupee
<u>miya</u> : hundred	Swahili: <u>mis</u> ; Arabic: <u>miyah</u>
<u>machuta</u> : oil	Ngwana: <u>mafuta</u>
<u>mahaga</u> : nation	Nyoro: <u>mahanga</u>
<u>mahano</u> : wonder	Nyoro: <u>mahano</u>
<u>maheji</u> : understanding	Nyoro: <u>magezi</u>
<u>malaika</u> : angel	Nyoro: <u>maraiika</u> ; Arabic: <u>malailk</u>

<u>mani</u> : strength	Nyoro: <u>mani</u>
<u>mesa</u> : table	Nyoro: <u>emeza</u> ; Latin: <u>mensa</u>
<u>misiri</u> : fields	Nyoro: <u>misiri</u> : fields
<u>muchija</u> : fever	Nyoro: <u>omusuija</u>
<u>mugisa</u> , <u>mukisa</u> : blessing	Nyoro: <u>mugisa</u>
<u>muhto</u> : trouble	Nyoro: <u>muhto</u>
<u>mukwenda</u> : messenger	Nyoro: <u>mukwenda</u>
<u>Mugu</u> : God	Swahili: <u>Mungu</u> , <u>Mugu</u>
<u>mukulu</u> : chief	Nyoro: <u>omukuru</u>
<u>makulu</u> : meaning	Nyoro: <u>amakuru</u>
<u>mulembe</u> : Peace, generation	Ganda: <u>omulembe</u> , peace; in pl. <u>emilembe</u> , epoch, century
<u>musalaba</u> : cross	Swahili: <u>msalaba</u> ; Arabic: <u>Satib</u>
<u>mutalala</u> : beer	Nyoro: <u>mutara'ra</u> , unfermented Beer
<u>mutini</u> : fig-tree	Swahili: <u>mutini</u> ; Arabic: <u>tinah</u>
<u>muzabibu</u> : vine	Nyoro: <u>muzabibu</u>
<u>mwaka</u> : year	Nyoro: <u>mwaka</u>
<u>munako</u> : poor person	Nyoro: <u>munaku</u>
<u>nabi</u> : prophet	Nyoro: <u>nabi</u> ; Arabic: <u>nabi</u>
<u>nakatagala</u> : priest	Nyoro: <u>nyakatagara</u>
<u>sabatu</u> , <u>sabiti</u>	Nyoro: <u>sabatu</u> ; Hebrew
<u>silikani</u> : policeman	Nyoro: <u>serikale</u> ; Ngwana: <u>serekani</u> Arabic: <u>askari</u>
<u>soni</u> : shame	Nyoro: <u>ensoni</u>
<u>yekalu</u> : temple	Nyoro: <u>yekaru</u> ; Hebrew: <u>hekal</u> ; Arabic: <u>hekal</u>

48. (b) Untraceable words.

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

CHAPTER 4.

THE SUBSTANTIVE. B. PRONOUN.

I. THE PERSONAL PRONOUN, ABSOLUTE

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

ba 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 shocha 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 daimonie: 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: yayombeka-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 nalo: "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 Petero: "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.

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 anihisitreni 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 anihocha adu la ajie ade? Whom say ye

that I am?

II. THE PERSONAL PRONOUN, CONNECTED

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

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

m-abe, I believe, not mu-abe
mu-tuka, I beseech, not m-ituka or mu-ituka

Other examples:

<u>m</u> VCV	<u>mu</u> VCVCV
<u>m-ere</u> , I come	<u>mu-lusi</u> , I do, I make
<u>m-osa</u> , I desire	<u>mu-lama</u> , I smite
<u>m-etdi</u> , I give	<u>mu-tapu</u> , I swear
<u>m-olo</u> , I go	<u>mu-tona</u> , I pray
<u>m-utra</u> , I build	<u>mu-treni</u> , I say
<u>m-iya</u> , I do	<u>mu-ragi</u> , I kiss

19. In the 2nd p. sing. n- is prefixed to VCV verbs. In regard to VCVCV verbs we can either say that

(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:

<u>n + VCV</u>	<u>n + VCVCV</u>
<u>n-adu</u> , thou callest	<u>nilusi</u> , thou makest
<u>n-obo</u> , thou leavest	<u>nitreni</u> , thou sayest
<u>n-ocha</u> , thou art	<u>nikuba</u> , thou art able
<u>n-olo</u> , thou goest	<u>nitodu</u> , thou showest
<u>n-ido</u> , thou savest	<u>nitodi</u> , thou teachest
<u>n-etdi</u> , thou givest	

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:

VCV	<u>m-olo</u> , I go	<u>amu-h-olo</u> , we go
	<u>n-olo</u> , thou goest	<u>ani-h-olo</u> , you go
VCVCV	<u>mu-treni</u> , I say	<u>amu-h-itreni</u> , we say
	<u>ni-treni</u> , thou sayest	<u>ani-h-itreni</u> , you say

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, oh 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 g; 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

s, circumstantial

mu-s-itreni: I say

mu-s-itibu: I send

mu-s-usu: I break

mu-s-etdi: I give

ni-s-anu: thou eatest

ni-s-itreni: thou sayest

ani-s-osa: you like

oh, imperfect

na-ch-osa: go on loving

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 mugisa: 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 nitiba, nigue nisosa ai achi a: love they
neighbour as thou lovest thyself

anigue: yourselves

gue: himself

ague: 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 your-
selves

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 ahisocho 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-tđi 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.

adebai bo? whose?

adebai bo? whose are they?

adetdi bo? whose?

osa trulu ba bo cha haji adetdi? In the time of
rising (the resurrection) whose shall she be?

aichi bo? what?

aichi bo cha na ayopu hihya? what will the lord of
the vineyard do?

aichi bo na ani Musa hada? what did Moses command
you?

aichi be? what?

aichi be cha na miya? what am I to do?

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) how 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. Eci 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 hoacha: 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

ayogbwenini 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 a agbwi, 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.

39. 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 dehue na haído: 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

40. The pronouns dealt with in this section are shown in the table following.

A. Persons or things mentioned

Singular	Plural
LE	LEDE
A-LE	A-LEDE

B. Persons or things present

LA	LA-DI
LAI, LAIE	
A-LAI, A-LAIE	A-LA-DI

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 hisotde le: see John is risen
(who) was-dead he.

Yohana - abi a amuhisube ombu uchu le - hitrulu ba:

John-the man who we beheaded him-he-is-risen again.
itda ichu ni ahisucha 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 hachocha 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 hoch...

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 yekalu: thou
that destroyest the temple

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

Itida 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 maka: 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 (laiye)

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 ahisocho abula-mba ba-echa ladi dehu hakotde cha..

these who are here standing, (of) these some will
not die

ladi a ahisohe 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 a bamba ale: if any man says to
this mountain
mopa ale a: with that parable
ubu ale ni ai: in those days
hene ale: that country
ka^{na}magbwi 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 mitāi: 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 iboru ni atdule: stand in the midst there
atdule na hocha: he is there
ba hitona atdule Muge: 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 ahisocha abula-mba: those who are here
Kristo hocha ne 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 (thysself)

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 bapere 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)

63. 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 bapere: and where-
soever 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 or la with ai and adi.

66. 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: ai singular and adi plural. Can they be called pronouns in Efe and have they a like function?

67. Either ai or adi appears very regularly at the close of subordinate sentences. The model is X (antecedent) - a - Y (subject of clause) - Z (predicate of clause) - ai or adi.

Examples of ai:

okpwe a hagsatde 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 qualificative clauses which contain no predicate. While they generally occur at the close, the rule appears to be that they are placed next to the qualificative and they may be followed by particles - as in two of the examples given below.

Examples of ai:

ba iha hoda hene a ilemba 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 dehu: 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 altodie 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.

ahittoi: they seek. What do they seek: mobo-a-haluitda-

aie, a sign which (is from) heaven.

hadu: he calls. Whom? aitodie 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'?

70. 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...

shaisilodu 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. Ai 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 ibikioha 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 ai but much less frequently.
okpwe a hagsatde ai 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 ai is presumably singular too; so that on this point there is agreement. In form the antecedent is nominative as is the ai; so that they agree also in this particular.

In these examples the subject of the clause is plural mostly, while the 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 adi is rightly taken as plural, there is agreement. The antecedent is nominative throughout as is 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 ai and adi being to the antecedent. If this is the rule, we have to ask as to the relation between ai and adi on one hand and le on the other, for we have already seen that le refers back to the antecedent (see par.41). Ai and le, adi and lede, may occupy the same position at the end of clauses, as in the following examples:

trochu a anihachitona 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 - 6⁹ 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

74.

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 hucha 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'.

77. There are other sentences in which na does not appear to introduce the imperative or subjunctive.

Examples:

ba shihanula 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):

bahanura, baboha Yesu, bamutwara, bamuhayo hali Pirato:
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?

tumbi anihote itda, aniholo 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 anihote, aniholo 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 abi: do not tell (any) man.

anihagolo na udu a gbwogbwou: do not take things of
(for) the road.

ahagitrochu ha na abi: 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 abe: Behold thy
mother and thy brethren without seek for thee.

Echiro alufuini hocha ide na bapere: and they were
about 4,000.

Anihoocha na upi a anihakogi bo ide udue? Having
ears, do ye not hear these things?

Nagali hoocha na esiatre? Answerest thou nothing?

Nagitralu hoocha na trochue? Art thou not anxious
about things?

In the third of these examples hoocha na might well be
'be with', 'have'; but it is difficult to read that meaning
into the others.

80. 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.

81. 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 hegbwe edi nimba 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 adetdi 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 higbwaga itda ote: child from it-began him
(or, his) seizing.
abule bape miiitdi 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 a 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 hegbwe: 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.

6. A noun completed by a may render an English adverb.
ohali a: with gladness, gladly.
ifofo a: with suddenness, suddenly.
hisali bogi itutu a: answered with great intelligence,
intelligently.

7. 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.

8. 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'.

9. A appears sometimes to signify motion to or from.

Examples:

Utro-ba na amuhisuse Yerusalemu 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.

maraiika ina hochu: 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!

magu-tobo: daughter

magu-toboe: oh, daughter!

Sitani: Satan

Sitanie: oh, Satan!

Isalele: Israel

Isalele-ye: oh, Israel!

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:

atugu: spice

objective: atugu-e

abi: person, man

abi-e

atdi: child

atdi-e

udu: thing, affair

udu-e

henu: pain

henu-e

hechu: tongue

hechue-e

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 anue 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 hene 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 hegbwe: 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; hegbwe-ini: stomachs; objective,
hegbwe-ini-e.

bugati hikuba isi hegbweinie: 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.

ba 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, nacha umue: come and follow me.

amuhacha inie: we follow thee.

magosi ha inie esiatre: I will never deny thee.

abu edi cha anie ahetdi 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 ^{is} -e/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. 60.

4. THE SUFFIX -BO

22. We have seen that bo as a postposition indicates motion
to or from (see chap.3, par. 30). 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-bu: 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 hochu 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.

itda-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 hochu 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 hocha na abula-mba: Christ is here, at this
place.

ladi a shisocha 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, namberebali, 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.

27. 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.

28. 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.

29. 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.

Anitona ki le-mba ubu hechu ba: pray-ye not it-to
time wind of: pray that it be not in the winter.

6. THE POSTPOSITION HEGBWE

31. Hegbwe appears to mean 'stomach', or 'inside'; used as a postposition it signifies position in, within; or direction into or out from.

luchuba hegbwe: in a vessel.

bolu-hehi hegbwe: into the heart.

hou hegbwe: in a basket.

itda hegbwe: within himself.

7. THE POSTPOSITION LOCHA

32. The word locha is apparently formed from ocha 'to be' by prefixing l which may be the l in the referring pronouns la and le. As a postposition locha is translatable 'to'.

itda locha, to him. ide locha, to them.

In our material it is not used with other pronouns.

Examples:

tumbi hadu abi alika itda locha: then he called many people to him.

hapi ba hapa itibue leu-hola ide locha: and again he sent servants to them.

ba here Yesu locha: and he came to Jesus.

8. THE SUFFIX OR POSTPOSITION NI

33. The determining of the function of 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 ni and na are demonstratives, ni indicating nearness, 'this here' and na relative remoteness, 'that there'.
- (b) As a postposition, in Moru etc., it may, like ri and 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 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: ni is (see above) a dative postposition or preposition; nɪ forms the infinitive, as le does in Logo and Avukaya. Moru: oso nɪ, to hoe; onya nɪ, to eat; Logo: loko le, to catch.
- (e) In Moru ni has also a determinative function; i.e. it is used in sentences which point out the doer of an action: e.g. a'di fu ni ya? ma fu ni: Who killed him? I did.
- (f) In Luluba ni seems able to occur at the end of any affirmative sentence.
- (g) In Madi ni is described as a 'linking particle', as is i or e in Logo: e.g. kiti e ko: stool (is) not, it is not a stool. It occurs in genitive formations: e.g. Madi, opi ni bara: a chief's child; Logo, ago ni dili: a man's spear.

33. 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, ni and nɪ are to be carefully distinguished. This is a matter for further investigation.

34. We have already indicated some of the functions of ni in Efe.

35. (a) ni or ini is a suffix marking the plural of nouns:
see chap.3, pars. ¹⁶⁻²²~~38-42~~. As there pointed out, ini
may stand detached at the end of a sentence when it
refers to several nouns.

36. (b) ni as a suffix forming verbal nouns (see chap.3, pars.
⁹⁻¹⁰~~27, 28~~.) 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 ni; and we might say that as in
Moru and Logo, ni (perhaps ní) forms the infinitive.
We have preferred to call it a verbal noun because like
other nouns it may take the objective suffix e. This is
most clearly seen when a verbal noun follows a verb in
such sentences as the following:

ahapa toso-ni-e: they repeated (the) gathering: they
came together again.

hapa osi-ni-e: he repeated (the) denying; he denied again.

ahigbwaga itda ituka-ni-e: they began his beseeching;
they began to beseech him.

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 clause 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.

usa 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 ahitrana, 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 ^{or qualificative} 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 ahaisitrochu ni a: they were saying among themselves.

lolo a ide hegbwe anihisilega ni ai: the measure in which

you measure.

mutaka abi haisocha 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.

hoch a 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 laini 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.

ichi 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.

Yesu gue-ni ahotro: 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 hegbwe ite-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 n₁ and that ni is dative and n₁ 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'.

EFE	MORO-MADI	LOGO
1. - PR - PD	PR - PD	PR - PD
2. - PD - PR	---	----

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| 3. - PR - P - PD | PR - P - PD | PR - P - PD |
| 4. - PD - P - PR | --- | --- |
| 5. - PD - PR - P | PD - PR - P | PD - PR - P |
| 6. - PD - P - PR (qualificative) | | |
| 7. - PR - P - PD | ditto | |

II. FIRST FORMATION

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. ~~31~~), 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 used: 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 preceds 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-boluhahi: 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 igbwa: his body

itda pe: his corpse

itda boluhehi: his heart, soul

Examples with nouns:

Zebedayo 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 hegbwe: return into thy house.

niba magutobo ai hotde: thy daughter is dead.

3 pers. sing.: itda-ba

abi hisuna 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
ahitreñi hagite na tiha ba oisa: 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 lachi as the second term.

magu alai ba lachi: child this ba like; like this child.

V. FOURTH FORMATION

9. Possessed - linking particle - possessor.

This formation appears not to occur in the other Sudanic languages mentioned. It is rarely found in our material. The Efe particle is ba.

Examples:

hele ba dehu: boats of others, of other people.

magu ba abi ai: the son of man

cf. the example above: abi ba magu ai.

VI. FIFTH FORMATION

10. Possessed - possessor - particle.

The possessed precedes the possessor and the possessor is followed by the linking particle. In Moro-Madi the particle is dri or ro; in Logo it is 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 hochu 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 papere,
igbwaola nibai a bapere, lagu 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 edi 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.

kitab Musa bai: the book of Moses.

kombe bafuta bai: a garment of linen.

tdole hoch a 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 badi 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 VI.

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 altodi itdabadi bai Petero: go and tell the disciples and Peter.

idere ubu bapere, bai oisa, 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 relationship 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 Josés.

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) Relativ 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.

hochu 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 igbwa: if they enter into a man.

Igbwa emphasises or identifies the pronoun:

ma-igbwa: my body; myself.

na-igbwa: thy body, thyself.

amu a igbwa: our bodies, ourselves.

ani#a igbwa: your bodies, yourselves.

itda igbwa (or itda a igbwa) his body, himself.

ide a igbwa: their bodies, themselves.

kombe itdabai a igbwa: his own clothes.

hogi agu a igbwa: she felt within herself.

hitdi uwe a igbwa: he touches his eyes.

Hegbwe: stomach. In construction it signifies 'within-ness'.

hilasi ide a hegbwe: entered into them.

itda hegbwe (or, itda a hegbwe): into him.

For the use of hegbwe as a postposition, see Grammar
and Dictionary:

hou hegbwe usa bula hegbwe: 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.

2. Possessor - particle - possessed.

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.

abibo-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 alika: men many: many men. But also
alika cha osa abi here: many men shall come.
trochu itiri or itiri trochu: a great thing or
saying.

In questions the adjective may precede the noun:

ihotu ani a boluhehi? 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 bapere: 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 alika, 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.

20. The normal adjectival formation follows this pattern:
Substantive - intervening particle - adjective.

Very frequently the particle ai follows the adjective.

Examples without the final ai:

agbwi: 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.

iha: one of several.

banabi a iha: one of the prophets.

ayogbwenini a iha: one of the writers.

ani a iha: one of you.

ihota: long.

kombe a ihota: a long robe, cloth.

ihu: some, such.

ubu a ihu: some days.

ileko: 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 ai 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.

ilemba: 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.

ilemba 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 ais: 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 aika: 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 ani ai: a man who has ears.

udu a ahisugo abi a igbwa hegbwe ai: things which come
out of a man's body.

ani a hahisabe ai: you who do not believe.

abi a hisabe ai: a man who believes.

abi a ahisogo hene a ibolu ni ai: people who come
from the cities.

abi a ahaisocha 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 hagi 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 sie: 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 ahagisabe ai: place every at-which
you they-receive-not: wheresoever they receive you not.
udu pesi haocha alika ideni ahisetdi ai: 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 ai: the cup from which I drink.
batiza a ideni umue ahⁱsibatiza ai: the baptism with
which they baptize me.

27. Another particle may be used in the place of the final ai.

(a) ni a instead of ai:

maladi ubu a ideni hisochi ni a: a feast of the day
on which he was born.

(b) le instead of ai:

aniketda udu a anihisitona le: ye know not the thing
which ye-pray-for it: for which ye pray.

(c) adi instead of ai:

abi a ahaisocha huna ani adi: people who had some
diseases.

abi a ahaisocha itda itroba abe adi: people who were
following him.

(d) abu a (abwa) instead of ai.

Abu appears to give the idea of 'place' or 'time'.

The phrase abu a frequently translates the Nyoro relative adverbial namberali or nambere. Perhaps this is an imitation of the Nyoro idiom. The linking particle a seems to be omitted when abu a is placed at the end of the clause.

Examples:

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 ahiafu 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:

ai: uncover

ou: anoint

au: take away, forgive

oi: hate, persecute

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 is 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:

olo: go

Imperative: ulo: go!

an-ulo: go ye!

In the Indicative: h-ulo, exceptionally for h-olo, as in the sentences:

mobo alai hulo cha: these signs shall go (follow,

usa abule magu hulo: wherever the son (boy) goes.

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 hegbwe udu-agi hugo: from the heart thoughts go out.

Hisugo cha ubu alai: from henceforth....

5. 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

<u>itona</u> :	ask for, pray	<u>itodi</u> :	teach
<u>ikuba</u> :	be able	<u>itrana</u> :	be astonished

The initial vowel is dropped

- (a) in the imperative.

<u>itona</u> :	ask for, pray.	Imperative:	<u>tona</u> !	ask!
<u>itasi</u> :	stretch out		<u>tasi</u> !	stretch out!
<u>itana</u> :	have pity		<u>tana</u> !	have pity!
<u>itroba</u> :	follow		<u>troba</u> !	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, hisiiilusi.

- (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 hegbwe-inie
meri abula-mba? How is a man to get the bread able to
satisfy the stomachs here in the desert?

Tumbi ahanu, ba hegbweini hosi: then they ate and the
stomachs were satisfied.

ido; to heal, save; odo: to be healed, saved.

ido nigue: 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 besi ba ahavu udu a hisufu aife bapere: and if
they shall drink any deadly thing...

Idere abi bapere abu edi chi ani ahivu: 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 ideni musuvu ai,
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 hagsatde 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 haku 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 hisufu aie: and if they drink any thing which is deadly.

ahufu cha ide: and shall cause them to be put to death.

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 llogo, '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 - (e) 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: oftentimes 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 ahaisilegbwi 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 ahisilofu ide ai tai: (when) the bridegroom shall
be taken from them. (Nyoro: ihi'-wa) literally: the
bridegroom they take.

idere abu abu alika ahumba 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 Efe 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 ha hau uduitda Mugu-ni? Who can forgive (take away) sins but God?

Uduitda nibai hau ba na igbwa: thy sins are forgiven.

Uduitda 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 banakatagala abitiri itda mba bapere: and all the chief priests came together to him.

17. 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

18. The verb stems are inflected more in Efe than in other Eastern Sudanic languages. The main conjugational elements are (a) prefixes; (b) verbal adjuncts.
19. The use of the prefixes will be illustrated in later paragraphs. Here it may be briefly summarised.
20. 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. Hai- 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.

osa, like; g-osa, he likes not; a-g~~o~~-osa, they like
not.

etda, know; k-etda, he knows not; a-k-etda, they
know not.

agi, think; k-agi, he thinks not; a-k-agi, 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.

24. 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

osa, like, love ni-s-osa (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.

beicha 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 h- 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-upi: 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 ahetdi osa: to him they shall give.

33a. For the negative -g- see later paragraphs & Dictionary.
Also the -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!
- ogi:- 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!

36. (2) 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:- nitale bulu-ni: take thy bed.

ere, acha:- nere, naha 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.

ere:- anere itda: bring him.

etdi: anetdi ide anue: give ye them to eat.

ogi: anugi: Hear ye!

olo: anulo na bene: 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. 247) 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 hegbwe: 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:

leka, turole)

iya-ba na atdi a hegbwe hosi: 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 hosi 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:-

aji:- 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:- nagihoka: do not steal.

ihobiya:- nagihobiya: 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.

osa:- nachosa Maka Mugu nibai: thou shalt love the
Lord thy God.

osu:- 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:

itute: hagisitute: let him not descend.

Plural:

igbwaga:- anihagisibwaga itralue: do not begin to be
anxious.

itralu:- anihagisitralu itda: do not rebuke him.

anihagisitralu ide: rebuke them not.

47. By the rules of assimilation k may take the place of g.

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.

abe:- abe-ni anihachabe: believe ye, i.e. go on
believing, or believe firmly.

abe-ni abe: only believe.

abe anabe atdi leko: allow the little children.

c. The H- tense form

48. 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 o-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.	<u>m-</u> with vowel verbs	1 p. pl.	<u>amuh-</u>
	<u>mu-</u> with consonant verbs		
2 " "	<u>n-</u>	2 " "	<u>anih-</u>
3 " "	<u>h-</u>	3 " "	<u>ah-</u>

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/^{used}in these ways:-

(a) To indicate the present.

abe:- umue ni habe: he receives myself. (Nyoro:

aikirize: perfect)

atde:- edi nimba hatde: one thing thou lackest.

ite:- Sabiti hite abibo huha ni a: the Sabbath exists for man.

ilema:- ahilema aniye: they rule you.

(b) In questions:-

ilupe:- Achudu bai bo cha ide anihilupe? What are you questioning them about?

ogbwe:- Lechi ni hapihogbwe Magu abi bai? How is it written of the Son of man?

ocha; ilali:- Ade ina hocha na omuhilali hina alaie?
Who shall roll us away the stone?

itdi:- Ade hitdi a bo maigbwa? Who touched me?

au:- To bo ha hau uduitda Mugu ni? Who can forgive sins but God only?

agi:- Anihagi abule? Why think ye these things?

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, ahabu ubo dehu: let them go and stay elsewhere.

etda:- abi a hisisoma aihetda:- 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.

itdi:- hitdi na itda igbwa: that he should touch him.

ogo:- hogo na heti udwaba: that he should go out of
their country.

e. The Ha- form: past.

51. 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

itrana:- 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:- edi abi hailadi: one man passed (or was passing).

itoi:- Hapi ahaitoi 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 haído: 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.

abe:- 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.
bei 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.

otro:- 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.

oto:- 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
unwashen 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

aketda, they do not know

agi:- nakagi, thou thinkest not

otde:- kotde, he is not dead

itete:- makitete, I do not remain

g. Hag- or Hak- form: negative

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 hegbwe:

Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation.

(Nyoro: Murole, musabe, mutataha omu kwohegbwa,

Gabe abe abi 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 toduni 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 hisocha 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 ahare itda abi upihuna, haigitrochu
ilemba: Then they brought to him a deaf man (who) did not speak well.

etda:- idere haiketda hisali aie 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 par. 31) it may form a negative future sense:

avu:- makavu cha, I will not drink

aga:- ahisitrlulu 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 by 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 mus⁰³aso 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 Yerusalemu 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.

osa:- 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.

ere:- 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!

ilotde:- ... abi a hisilotde nafuga^{ai} mba: a man who trusts in riches.

ilube:- itda le ga ahisilube ugbwa mba le: whom they have crucified.

ilusi:- udu a hisilusi aie: the things which he did.

obo:- abi a hisobo ai: a man who has left...

ogo:- udu ahisogo abi mba ai: things which come out of a man.

otde:- Yokana hitrulu hisotde le: John is risen - he who was dead.

otro:- udu ahisotro aie: the thing they had seen.

isuna:- abi a 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, unusitibu a mukwenda mai: Behold, I
send my messenger.

use:- Utro-ba na amuhisuse 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 hau 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
obuyakitekerize)

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 bapere
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 hegbwe 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: some times 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 hegbwe, 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 hoy a na
beni ide haisoya chi: and the multitude went up
and asked him to do as he was wont to do unto them.

ikuba:- ahaikuba itda umb a 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

68. 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 ahisu! 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 Hagi-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 hagnosisotde a, okpwi
a hagnosisatde ai ya: in the place where their worm
does not die, and the fire is not quenched.

itrochu: Aitodie, nimba ko mere magu mai a lotdi a hocha
hagnosisitrochu 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 hedia ahaiganu esiatre: unless
they have washed their hands, they do not eat anything.

ochi:- ilemba cha hoacha abi-mba itda-mba haigisocho 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

71. 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 hatde, 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 abetdi 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, magilore cha: though
all are offended, I will not be offended.

olo:- mobo alai hulo cha: and these signs shall follow.

otde:- ladi a ahisocha abula-mba baecha 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 hegbwe? 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.

aji:- Besi anihacheji ahehi: when ye depart thence.

echa:- hapi anihachecha tona hichi: and whensoever 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 amuhagiohetdi 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 Hach- form: it is used to translate the indicative near future and the subjunctive.

ikuba:- Abesi hapi anihachosa oluhobu anihaichikuba ide
oya ilemba: 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)

r. Hach-cha tense form: future.

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 hachiku
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 bapere:
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.

83. (a) The participle following ocha.

echa:- Ladi a ahisocha abula-mba becha ladi dehu hakotde
cha esiatre... 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
hochha 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 hochha 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 hochha, beni hochha 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 hoyo, 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 hagnosisitrochu 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
stone 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.

Hapi 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.	<u>ahisocha... becha</u>	=	Nyoro <u>abemerire</u>
11.5.	<u>haocha becha</u>	=	Nyoro <u>abakaba bemerire</u>
15.35.	<u>haisocha becha</u>	=	Nyoro <u>abakaba bemerire</u>
6.22.	<u>ahaisocha baupi</u>	=	Nyoro <u>abakaba baikalire</u>
9.26.	<u>mutaka baotde</u>	=	Nyoro <u>yasisana afire</u>
11.2	<u>kainagbwi baitu</u>	=	Nyoro <u>omwana gwenkaina</u> <u>bagusibikire</u>

But notice the following comparisons in which Nyoro employs the genitive particle, wa:-

12.27.	<u>abi a baotde</u>	=	Nyoro <u>wabafu</u>
9.25.	<u>upi baotde</u>	=	Nyoro <u>omufu wamatu</u>

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 = Nyoro nibagamba
ebibi byabu

13.26. beni hocha ere abe pfufu hegbwe = Nyoro 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 nɪ) 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

mugocha, I am not. amugocha, we are not.
nigocha, thou art not. anigocha, you are not.
gocha , he is not agocha, they are not.

Examples:

amuhocha alika, we are many.
ini nocha Galiraya, thou art a Galilean.
edi abi haocha, 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 ahofu: they are not longer two.
ite:- hagite ihehie: there is no fruit.
 oisa chi bo cha hite? when shall these things be?
aji:- haji iboba tutu: it becomes very great.
 oka 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.

alika haocha nafuga: he had many possessions, he was rich.

tdole hocha edi 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 hisocha ai: having no food: there was no food.

anu embi ahocha: they have no food: there is no food.

97. The verb upi, sit, stay, is sometimes used.

ilemba ga nisupi tdole niyachu 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.

<u>mu-ja</u> , I say	<u>amu-ja</u> , we say
<u>ni-ja</u> , thou sayest	<u>ani-ja</u> , you say
<u>itda-ja</u> , he says	<u>ide-ja</u> , 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 ~~it~~ 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.
anihagisigbwaga itralue: be not anxious beforehand.
104. apa: to be or do again-
hapa ilasie: again he entered; he repeated entering.
ahapa itosonie: they again gathered; they repeated gathering.
hapa asinie: 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.
anihupi anigue 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.

lipo: the back; after, behind.

lipo hitibu magu a itda: after he sent his son.

lipolipo: afterwards, after.

hapi lipo-lipo 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 hedia ilemba: if they do not wash
their (his) hands often and well.

anihogi ha ilemba: hear ye well!

ombi ai nitreni ilemba: 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 ahusu 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 Muge: 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 Maka: 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^a 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:

ba hapi ahetda ide: and then they knew^{them}(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.

ba 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 heba 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 abe, lotdi ucha abe: 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 ahedti 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?

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?