

LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF SOUTHERN TANZANIA

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Southern Tanzania has been relatively neglected by archaeologists interested in the Iron Age in East Africa. Linguistic evidence points to the emergence of agricultural Bantu speaking societies in southern Tanzania not later than the early first millennium A.D., the time of the earliest Iron Age in eastern Africa. The ancestral communities were probably located in the highlands of the Rufiji and Ruvuma River basins. From there their descendants expanded over various parts of southern Tanzania, eventually inhabiting all sections. We anticipate that when further archaeological research is undertaken a continuity of pottery types through the Iron Age will be discernible in many parts of the region. Archaeological studies should also consider the possible changing emphases of agricultural traditions which may have accompanied population dispersals. By the middle of the first millennium A.D. knowledge of a variety of crops probably encouraged movements into more marginal lands.

The languages discussed in this study are spoken in the southernmost part of Tanzania, from the lower Rufiji-Ruaha River zone south to the Ruvuma River. The region is bordered by the Indian Ocean, Lake Nyasa, and the Iringa (Southern) highlands. The basic data for the study were core vocabulary collections for key languages of the region, which appear below (Table I).¹ Core vocabulary is less subject to attrition than general or cultural vocabulary, and less affected by the distortions of word borrowing, and we can effectively use rates of relative cognation in such vocabularies to classify related languages.

For southern Tanzania the following percentages of cognation obtain:

Makonde							
54		Yao					
47	52	Matumbi					
43	48	64	Matengo				
41	48	61	64	Ndwewe			
41	45	50	48	47	Pogolo		
43	46	55	51	54	72	Mbunga	
39	40	45	43	46	66	84	Ndamba

Three major groupings (note spacing above) can be discerned from these data

One group we call Ruvuma because the territories inhabited by its speakers tend to center on the Ruvuma River basin. This division has two subgroups, one consisting of Yao and Mwera and the second of Makonde, with its dialect Mavia. The Mwera cognate counts are not placed in the chart because of our inadequate sample of Mwera vocabulary. But on the truncated basic word list available to us, Mwera has a distinctly high score with Yao. We thus agree with Derek Nurse on the closeness of Mwera and Yao. We provisionally accept Nurse's placement of Makonde with Yao-Mwera,² but the connection is a relatively distant one. Makonde's counts are markedly higher with Yao-Mwera than with any other Bantu languages, but only slightly above the general range of Yao-Mwera counts with the second of the three groups, Rufiji, or of Rufiji with the remaining group, Kilombero.

The second grouping, including Matengo, Matumbi, and Ndwewe, we have called Rufiji

because of its prominence across the Rufiji watershed. Additional members of this subdivision are Ndengeleko, Ngindo, and Ruihi. Our Ngindo list is too short to include it on the lexical chart, but from our comparisons it fits well into this subdivision. No information was available to us on Ndengeleko and Ruihi, but we have no reason to doubt Nurse's inclusion of them in Rufiji. We do not agree with Nurse, however, that Matengo and its dialects (Manda, Mpoto, Ngoni) form a fourth grouping separate from the Rufiji subgroup.

The third major group is called Kilombero because its members, Pogolo, Ndamba, and Mbunga, are spoken in the Kilombero River drainage basin. Mbunga is a dialect of Ndamba, greatly modified in vocabulary by the influence of languages of the Rufiji group the counts of apparent Mbunga cognation with which run from eight to ten percent higher than those of Ndamba. A considerable number of loanwords from Rufiji and a few from other as yet unidentified sources have penetrated the Mbunga core vocabulary. We have placed in parenthesis the words in the appended list which can be shown on phonological groups to be borrowings, and in brackets the words which appear on distributional grounds to be borrowings. These words are not used in the lexical counts because loanwords distort the picture of genetic relationships in proportion to their frequency on the list.³ (On the other hand, in discounting these words our data is lower for comparing Mbunga with other languages). Not all the loans have been discovered, though, since the Mbunga counts still are overhigh.

Loanwords have also been identified in Ndwewe, Pogolo, Matengo, and Matumbi. Those apparently from a Ruvu source language have been identified with a double plus (+ +). Two old roots borrowed from an earlier Northeast-Coastal or Njombe Bantu language may already have occurred in proto-Kilombero, *-dala "woman" and *-titu "black," but because of uncertainty as to their origins they have been left unmarked.⁴ Yao and Pogolo cognations with Rufiji are offset slightly higher than those of the members of their divisions, Makonde and Ndamba, least influenced by Rufiji contacts. These counts probably thus represent, like the Mbunga scores, contacts of earlier Yao and Pogolo with neighboring Rufiji peoples over the course of the past centuries. From the evidence we have, the Mwera seem to have been influenced even more strongly than the Yao by interactions with Rufiji communities.

In addition to the lexical cognation percentages, several innovated words or unique innovated shapes or meanings of wider-spread words also distinguish the three major groups from each other. When unique lexical usages occur in more than one language, they have to have arisen when the now divergent communities were still relatively undifferentiated, or they were acquired through borrowing from one to the other.

In languages of the Rufiji group appear unique words for "tree," "louse," "long," "knee," "bark," and "horn," the particular extended form *-longel- for "to say," and the uniquely sound-shifted form of the older Bantu root for "all" (see Table). The root word for "tree" (*-kongo) occurs in Mwera but is there synonymous with a second root (*-tela) also found in Yao, and so is probably one of the Rufiji loans in Mwera. The Ruvuma connection, in keeping with its low internal cognation, finds weaker support in the innovations -- the grouping of Makonde with Yao-Mwera being sustained by two strong items, for "skin" and "woman," and a weak case, the use of *-tela for "tree."

The Kilombero grouping is attested, like Rufiji, by notable lexical innovations, such as *-pango "bird," *-moku "louse" (for *-poko), *-konci "fingernail," *-land- "to drink," and the application of *-tima to "belly." Their words for hair reflect an underlying *-guili, whereas the Rufiji forms reflect *-uili, an old variant of the proto-Eastern Bantu root in which *g had been lost. Mbunga and Ndamba have in common several loanwards adopted at or before the proto-Ndamba-Mbunga period from an Njombe dialect (Hehe, Bena, Sangu, Kinga), marked in the table with a plus (+); a few assimilatory vowel shifts highly unusual in Bantu languages (as in

"bird" and "man"); and some other unique words of uncertain origin (e.g., *-sov- "to die" and *-gomi "hom").

A few unique items are more widely distributed. One is the root for "stone," *-ganga, used in several of the southern Tanzania languages as well as in the Njombe languages of the Tanzania-Coastal Bantu group. Matumbi, Ngindo, and Pogolo retain an older Bantu root for this meaning. Mbunga and Ndamba can be shown phonologically to have adopted -ganga, possibly from the Njombe group since proto-Ndamba-Mbunga had such long-standing contacts with Njombe people. Another regionally shared word we have noted is *-cece for "four," an item not of the 90-word list of core vocabulary. All of the southern Tanzania languages without exception use this root word. Makua spoken mostly to the south of the Ruvuma also uses the word, so it is apparently an item of early wide areal diffusion, like *-ganga. A third item, appearing in two non-corresponding forms, *-poko and *-moku for "louse," in Makonde and Kilombero, must be interpreted as reflecting very early contacts before the speakers of these languages had spread so widely. A fourth item, *-kiga "root," has the spread of an old cognate, but is not enough on its own to make a case for grouping Rufiji, Ruvuma, and Kilombero together in one subgroup of Eastern Bantu.

The distributions of several roots probably reflect the periods of contacts suggested by the analysis of the cognate chart. For instance, Yao's sharing of the use of the *-tumbi root for "mountain" and of *-tama for "to sit" with the Rufiji group can be suggested to derive from Rufiji influence on early Yao speakers. Ndwewe's use of *-taka for "earth" and *-kongolo for "foot/leg," in contrast to usual Rufiji *-lima and *-gulu for those meanings, can be explained by placing the earlier Ndwewe speech area farther to the southeast where Yao-Mwera contacts would have been important. The distributions of a few other roots have cross-group distributions suggestive of an old dialect chaining pattern in which the proto-Rufiji speakers held a central position and the proto-Ruvuma and proto-Kilombero societies were located at opposite sides of the proto-Rufiji. These include *-lima "earth" (probably from Bantu *-lim- "to cultivate"), *-lomo versus *-kanywa for "mouth" (both older Bantu usages), and *-kulungua "big" versus older *-kulu for "big."

From the lexical counts and the other evidence it appears, therefore, that the Rufiji, Ruvuma, and Kilombero languages derive from three distinct ancestral Bantu settlements of Early Iron Age date in southern Tanzania. Leaving aside the skewed Mbunga counts that are caused by its Rufiji borrowings, the low range of cognation between the three subgroups is from 39 to 46 percent. Because these figures fall into the lowest range for the Eastern Bantu languages as a whole, the split between the three groups must go back to the initial breakup of the proto-Eastern Bantu in the last millennium B.C. and did not arise in situ in southern Tanzania. The genetic relationship between the three does not appear, in other words, to be any closer than the relationship of each with any other primary subgroup of Eastern Bantu.

The probable locations of the communities of initial settlement were the Kilombero River area for the Kilombero group, the Songea highlands for the Rufiji group, and parts of the adjoining middle Ruvuma River watershed for the Ruvuma group. The Ruvuma society in turn expanded, immediately splitting into two communities, probably through a movement east toward the middle or lower Ruvuma, with the pre-Makonde taking shape nearer the coast and the proto-Yao-Mwera roughly in the middle Ruvuma country (Map I). The split of Mwera from Yao came considerably later, about a thousand years ago, we suspect, and therefore reflects a later northward coastal extension of Ruvuma speakers. The presence of Northeast-Coastal Bantu loanwords in Mwera indicates that people speaking a language of the Northeast-Coastal group, possibly a Ruvu-related dialect (Zugamo and Luguru are typical present-day Ruvu dialects), preceded the Mwera in the coastal hinterland.

In roughly the second half of the first millennium the proto-Kilombero society diverged into Pogolo and Proto-Ndamba-Mbunga communities, but without major movement away from the areas of original settlement (Map II). The descendants of the proto-Rufiji people, on the other hand, expanded far beyond their ancestral settlement areas. The internal cognation of the Rufiji subdivision runs from the low to middle 60 percents, placing its initial breakup into several dialects at somewhere around the middle part of the first millennium. (For possible locations and trends of expansion at that time, see Map II). Rufiji expansion eventually came to involve movement into several ecological zones that are unlike that of the highlands from which they apparently dispersed.

Ehret has written elsewhere about the possible factors influencing agricultural change and development in early East African history.⁵ The broad outlines of his study have application here to the reconstruction of possible settlement patterns. Using a variety of data, principally linguistic and archaeological, Ehret proposes that the foundation of agriculture in the proto-Bantu homeland was the West African yam-based planting tradition, involving crops that are well-adapted to a relatively high rainfall environment. During their subsequent expansion in the east-central African savanna, proto-Eastern Bantu communities acquired knowledge of grain crops and cattle from Central Sudanic speakers. By adding elements of the Sudanic agricultural complex to their own, the Eastern Bantu could opt for a variety of environmental conditions other than those they would have associated with their previous planting tradition. After Eastern Bantu speakers settled in the savannas, they continued to acquire other crops over the course of the first millennium. Of some importance for southeastern Tanzania, though probably not immediately, was the adoption of Southeast Asian crops along the Indian Ocean seaboard. The timing of this introduction corresponds to that when regional divergence among the Early Iron Age Bantu was beginning to increase in southern Tanzania, but several centuries probably passed before bananas or other Southeast Asian crops penetrated the interior to any noticeable extent.

We have no evidence as yet of the specific role held by any of the introduced cultigens in the settlement history discussed here. The West African planting tradition probably continued to be a major element in the agriculture, but with decreasing importance. The ancestral communities were settled in higher rainfall zones. Subsequent expansions were usually into the drier eastern half of southern Tanzania where rainfall is generally less than one thousand mm a year (see Maps I and II, on which one thousand mm rainfall areas are shown by dash lines). Even there, though, settlements may have been located in areas of high moisture levels, either in hills or along rivers in the lowlands. The exception to this pattern appears to be principally the Ngindō-related peoples who partly expanded into areas away from the important rivers. The movement into this driest portion may have been the final one undertaken by the southern Tanzanians, after more productive agricultural lands had been taken up. Much of the interior of southeastern Tanzania may thus have remained largely the preserve of hunter-gatherers throughout the Early Iron Age.

A finer study, such as archaeology can provide, is needed of the degree to which agricultural change corresponds to generalized changes in settlement patterns. With the present amount of information, we can only note that at a regional level the Bantu societies of southeastern Tanzania expanded eventually into a variety of ecological zones. Even when they appear to remain near well-watered areas, some variation in the pattern may have been developing. For instance, the Kilombero basin is characterized by a moist highland regime and a moist lowland flood-plain regime. The Pogolo are situated in the one zone and the Ndamba-Mbunga in the other, so that they tend to emphasize different crops.

The changes discussed here began perhaps two thousand years ago in southern Tanzania. During the first stage of agricultural settlement, Bantu speakers entered central south

Tanzania as already distinct proto-Kilombero, proto-Rufiji, and proto-Ruvuma communities. This first period corresponds well with the dates in archaeology for the inception of the Early Iron Age elsewhere in eastern Africa. The direction of initial Bantu expansion into southern Tanzania was most probably from the northwest, and not along the eastern coast as Robert Soper might sometimes seem to imply.⁶ Expansion toward the coast took place via the highlands along the northeast side of Lake Nyasa. The Songea and Kilombero areas would thus be fruitful places in which to begin archaeological investigation, as would the area along the basin of the Ruvuma River.

In the centuries around the middle of the first millennium the proto-Rufiji began also to diverge into a number of descendant communities. At a subsequent stage the Rufiji expansion turned northward, extending eventually all across the southeastern interior of Tanzania as far as the lower Rufiji River. It seems possible that in this second wider expansion a greater diversification of agricultural traditions emerged, and this theme remains a topic for future study.

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NOTES

- 1 This table is based on a standard 90-word, shortened form of the 100-word list used for calculating percentages of cognation between related languages. For an explanation of the lexicostatistical method, see C. Ehret, *Southern Nilotic History: Linguistic Approaches to the Study of the Past*, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1971.
- 2 Derek Nurse, "Bantu Expansion in East Africa: Linguistic Evidence," in C. Ehret and M. Posnansky (eds), *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History*, University of California Press, Berkeley 1982.
- 3 For more information on the necessary excising of loanwords, see C. Ehret, *The Historical Reconstruction of Southern Cushitic Phonology and Vocabulary*, Reimer., Berlin 1980, Table 4.
- 4 The Njombe languages to the west do show direct borrowings from a Southern Cushitic language, but these languages are peripheral to the region whose history is considered here.
- 5 Among other works, see his chapter in the *General History of Africa*, vol. 3 UNESCO, forthcoming.
- 6 R. Soper, "Bantu Expansion in Eastern Africa: Archaeological Evidence," in C. Ehret and M. Posnansky (eds), *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History*.

TABLE 1: Core Vocabulary

English Gloss	MAKONDE	YAO	MATUMBI	MATENGO	NDWEWE	POGOLO	NDAMBA	MBUNGA
1. I	mipa	une	ne	nenge	nenga	nene, nenyā	nenga	nenga
2. you	mwepo	umwe	mwe	mwenga	mwenga	muenga	yuwe	wenga
3. we	hwepa	uwe	twe, tu	twenga	twenga	twenga	twenga	twenga
4. who	nani	⁠wani	nyai	nyani, wani	gani	gani	yani	ghani
5. what	chamani	cici	namani	kiyani, kiki	niki	chichi, chi	liki	liki
6. all	-ohe	-ose	-ote	-oha	-oha	-osere	-osi	-osi
7. many	----	-jinji	-ingi	-ingi	-vindu	-inga	-tangala	(v:vameheli)
8. one	-mo	-mo	-mo	-mo	-mu	-mo	-mu	-mu
9. two	⁠wili	⁠wili	-bili	-wili	-vina	-wili	-vili	-vili
10. long	-nehu	-leu	-laso	-lazo	-tandamahu	-tari	-tali	-tali
11. small	-dyoko	-mnono	-tsene, -tsake	-soko	-chukuchuku	-dididi, -pusu -kulu	(dokwa) +	(doko) +
12. big	-kulungwa	-kulungwa	-kulu	-kulungwa	-kurunga	-kulu	-komi	-kulu
13. woman	nkongwe	⁠wakongwe	wawa, umbo	mbumba	ikihi	mdala	mdadala	mdala
14. map	mnume	juamlume	analume	mwanalume	mwanalumbi	mpalu	mlulumi	mlumi
15. person	munu	mundu	ndu	mundu, mwene	mundu	mweni	mundu	mundu
16. fish	ihomba	sonba	omba	homba	homba	somba	somba	somba

English gloss	MAKONDE	YAO	MATUMBI	MATENGO	NDEWE	POGOLO	NDAMBA	MBUNGA
17. bird	chuni	cijuni	yuni	kiyuni	kijuni	mpango	mbongu	mbongu
18. dog	ng'awanga	mbwa	bwa, pwa	yimbwa	jimbu	mbwana	galu	galu
19. louse	imboko	lucipi	limala	ilila	limala	moko	limoku	mbapani
20. tree	ntela	mtela	tela,	mkongo	mkongo	muti mtera	(libiki) +	(libiki) +
21. seed	imbeyu	mbeju	mbeyu	mbeyu	mbeju	mbeyu	mbeyu	mbeyu
22. leaf	lihamba	lisamba	—	lihamba	lijani	(luhamba)	minyasi	linyasi
23. root	likolo	mciga	lukiga	—	mighegha	luchiga	mikigha	mikigha
24. bark	likahi	makungwa	likungwa	liyula	majowa	lala, lygoi	(mibaku) +	mibandi
25. skin (hu)	limbende	lipende	lukanda	kanda	mgochi	[lukuli] + +	mvili	mvili
26. meat	inyama	nyama	nyama	nyama	nyama	nyama	nyama	nyama
27. blood	miadi	nyasi	miai	mwahi	milopa	(chihondo), chifupa	(mwasi)	(mwasi)
28. bone	liwangwa	liupa	upa	lihupa	kihupa, riwongawonga	mafuta	mipawa	mfupa
29. fat (n.)	mahuta	mauta	mauta	mahuta	mahuta	ligi, magi	mafuta	mafuta
30. egg	lii	lindanda	pinga	lihumbi	mahombi	magoli	yi	[ihumbi]
31. horn	lupembe	lusengo	pembe	linyeru	manyero	luchira	migomi	migomi
32. tail	mchila	mcila	kila	mkila	mikila	(mbaha) (lubahila)	likila	mkila
33. feather	lileha	ndenga	lindenga	lingoma	nauni		lipuku	[mangoma]

English gloss	MAKONDE	YAO	MATUMBI	MATENGO	NDWEWE	POGOLO	NDAMBWA	MBUNGA
34. hair	ulinda	umbo	wili	liyundu	nywinle	vui	fwili	fwili
35. head	mutwo	mtwe	twe	mutu	mutwi	mtui	mutwi	mutwe
36. ear	likutu	lipilikanilo	kutu	kutu	[lisikilo] + +	(lipepe)	majeje	makutu
37. eye	liso	liso	liyo	liho	mihu	liso	lisu	lisu
38. nose	imula	lupula	pulo	imbulu	mbula	mpula	mbula	mbula
39. mouth	mkanya	mkanwa	(kano)	ndomo	mnomo	mlomo	mlomo	mlomo
40. tooth	lino	lino	ino	lino	minu	lino	minu	linu
41. tongue	lulimi	lulimi	limi	lulimi	lulimi	—	lulimi	lulimi
42. fingernail	lukombe	cacikongo	suwu	ndonchi	ciuhu	nkonchi	ngonji	lukonji
43. foot/leg	ludodo	lukongolo	lugulu	kuguru	likongoro	ligulu	liwulu	liwulu
44. knee	libundu	lilungo	liyuwa	luyugwa	lijuwa	lunungunu	ngongona	litenda
45. hand	mkono	mkono	luboko	woko	luwoko	lioko	liwoko	liwoko
46. belly	mutumbo	citumbo	ndumbo	lutumbo	lutumbu	mtima	chisololo	mtima
47. neck	ukoti	lukosi	kikoi, ingo	hingu	ntandala	ugozi	ngulo	mtandala
48. breast	liwele	liwele	bele	nganga	mavele	mavele	mavele	mavele
49. heart	mtima	mtima	moyo, mtima	ntima	moyo	moyo	moyo	moyo
50. liver	linoha	litoga	litoga	immani	litomo	litoga	litima	litima
51. to drink	-mbila	-nwa	-nywa	-nwa	-nyw-	-landa-	-landa	

English gloss	MAKONDE	YAO	MATUMBI	MATENGO	NDWEWE	POGOLO	NDAMBA	MBUNGA
52. to eat	-lya	-lya	-lya	-lya	-lh-	-lia	-lya	-lya
53. to bite	-luma	-luma	-luma	-luma	-luma	-luma	-luma	-luma
54. to see	-ona	-wona	-bona, -lola	-haukira	-lola	-ona	-lola	-lola
55. to hear	-pilikana	-pilikana	-pekanya	-kimba -pemba	-jungwa	-pirikanira	-pikanila	-ywanila
56. to know	-kameka	-manyilila	tanga	-manya	-manya	-maana	-manya	-manya
57. to sleep	-ona	-gona	-gonya	-gozela	-goloka	-gonja	-wonja	-wonja
58. to die	-hwa	-wa	-wa	-hwa	-w-	-tua, (-hoa)	-sova	-sova
59. to kill	-walala, -ulaya	-ulaga	-koma	-koma	-koma	-longa, -braga	-wulaya	[-koma]
60. to go	-hwena	-ja	-buka	-yenda	-yenda	-genda	-enda	(-yenda)
61. to fly	-luka	-guluka	-guluka	-guruka	-ghuluka	-guluka	-shuluka	(-qhuluka)
62. to come	-ida	-ika	-isa	-hisa	-ch-	-iza	-isa	(-hika)
63. to sit	-ikala	-tama	-dama, -tama	-tama	-tama	-lifuaga	-bala	[-tama]
64. to stand	-imila	-jima	-jima	-yima	-jima	-goloka	-woloka	(-jima)
65. to give	-wing'a	-pa	-peya	-pa	-P-	-pa	-nyimba	-pata
66. to say	-chi, -tongola	-jila	-longela	-pwage -waha	-longela	-chikita	(-deta) +	[-longela]
67. sun	iduwa	lyuwa	(liluba)	lywa	lichuwa	mjembe	lujuva	[luchuwa]
68. moon	mwedi	mwesi	mwei	mwehi	mwehi	mwezi	mwezi	mwezi
69. star	inonda	ndondwa	lutondwa	ndondo	ntondo	lotondwa	ndondwa	ndodwa
70. water	medi	mesi	matsi	masi	machi	maji	machi	machi
71. rain	mbula	ula	ula	ihula	hura	vula, wula	[ndonya] +	[ndonya] +

English gloss	MAKONDE	YAO	MATUMBI	MATENGO	NDWEWE	POGOLO	NDAMBA	MBUNGA
72. stone	liyanga	liganga	liwe	linganga (nsauati)	liganga	wubwe	(liganga)	(liganga)
73. sand	dimbwe	msanga	mwanga	ndima	mihijanga	(muchanga)	(muhanga)	(mhanga)
74. earth	chilambo	litaka	—	lihunda	litaka	mlima	mlima	mlima
75. cloud	lihunde	liunde	liundi	lihyohi	mahundi	likasi	miafundi	miafundi
76. smoke	liohi	liose	lioi	moto	lyohi	liosy	lurosi	lyosi
77. fire	moto	moto	mwoto	—	moto	moto	moto	moto
78. ash	liu	liu	liu	ilihu	lihu	lifu	lifu	lifuu
79. to burn	-yocha, -yaka	-joca	-yaka	-yaka	-yaka	-aka	-yaka	-yaka
80. path	indila	litala	ndila	ndila	njila	njira	njila	njila
81. mountain	lichinga	litumbi	kitumbi	kitumbi	chitombi	lugongo	(kidunda) +	(kidunda) +
82. red	nehuwi napi	-cejeu -piliyu	-kele -pili	-keli -yuru, -pili	-khele -pili	-chere -titu	-dwifu -titu	(-keli) [-pili]
84. white	nwahi	-swela	-u	-huhu	-uhu	-eru	-kele	(uhu)
85. night	chilo	cilo	-ilo	ikilu	nakilu	chiru	(pamihi)	pakilu
86. to be full	-mbadya	-gumbala	—	-ganza	-twelela	-mema	-nema	-mema
87. new	-hambi	-acilendo	yayambi	-ahimu	-hyonu	cha siai, cha siambi	yashono	yashonu
88. good	chitokopele	-mbone	kibota, -nogau	-maha	-halala	-kalagala	-nofu	(yamaha)
89. dry	-yuma (v.)	-juma	-tekuka	-yanika	-omu	-uma	-uma	-uma
90. name	lina	lina	lina	lihina	lihina	lina, [litao]	(litawa) +	(lihina)



