This is a series of lexical reconstructions of proto Central Kenyan Bantu and Luhya-Nyanza Bantu by Patrick Bennett distributed by a series of letters to a group of individuals in 1973-1974 and recovered from the Vansina archives by Michael Marlo and shared by him with me. This comes closest to Bennett 1981 “Proto-Thagicu lexical reconstructions” listed on Glottolog. I ocr-ed and corrected the scan to an aceptable level and re-typed the reconstruction into one table for CKB and one for Luhya-Nyanza. Where I could not read the manuscript I have indicated xxx. I have incorporated the numerous corrections that were mentioned in the newsletter into the main tables. I have replaced the CKB and PB vowel using phonetic symbols for a 7 vowel language.

Leiden, 12-11-2015 Maarten Mous

PROTO-THAGICU: An Expansible Inventory and Newsletter

Previous work on the Thagicu group has been restricted to descriptions of individual dialects, textual publication, and comparative treatment of a relatively small number of linguistic features, mostly phonologic. The cluster is an important one in many ways, and has been used as a basis for general Bantu reconstruction by both Meinhof and Guthrie. Two of Guthrie’s ‘Test Languages’, indeed, belong to the group.

I have elsewhere stated that the attention of Bantuists must, if further progress is to be made, be directed to the level of the Guthrian Zone and its subgroups. Little progress elsewhere, except through refinements of Guthrie's lexicostatistics and correction of his data, can be anticipated. The day of the Bantu overview is past, at least until studies at lower levels yield new insight on internal history.

With this in mind, I have determined to initiate this inventory of lexical reconstructions within Thagicu, as the first in a projected series of such subgroup inventories, to be presented in comparable format so as to facilitate inter-group comparison. Due to the nature of the material - and the composition of its audience - it seems best to treat this as an ongoing - and expansible - listing rather than a finite compilation.

Entries will be made on a series of sheets divided into compartments, each 3” x 2.5” - or precisely one half of a three by five card. Those who feel it appropriate can therefore separate the compartments and arrange them into a card file according to any desired criteria. For those preferring to retain the integrity of the sheets as presented, periodic indices may be provided.

The top of each entry will give: reconstructed stem (shorn, of class and inflectional affixes); part of speech or class affiliation; minimal gloss; and a serial number' (to avoid duplication in the source listing).

The second division within the listing describes attestation; to control and limit the items included a modified version of the Guthrian areal criterion is used. Thagicu is naturally divided into Northern and Southern subgroups. Northern may further be subdivided to give two subgroupings of less certain linguistic validity, one including Chuka and Tharaka, the other the remainder of ‘Meru’. The second subgroup is divided on purely geographical and lexical grounds into a western division (Kikuyu, Embu, etc.) and an eastern including the Kamba dialects and Segeju. Except in unusual circumstances, items will not be considered for inclusion in this inventory if they are not attested in at least three of the four subdivisions thus demarcated.

The principal languages consulted are abbreviated as follows: Southern Kikuyu (A); Embu (B); Kamba (C); Segeju (D); Tharaka (E); Chuka (F); Mwimbi (G); Imenti (H). Two languages from each subdivision are included among these 'Test Languages'; normally if a subdivision is attested for an item from one of these languages no other occurrence is noted. Other forms of Thagicu will occasionally be included, however; abbreviations will be assigned as they become necessary.

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The next section of the listing leaves space for notes on distribution outside Thagicu. If the reconstructed item corresponds to one of Guthrie’s Comparative Series, the number of that series will generally be given, without further information. Otherwise, occurrence of a cognate item in nearby languages will be noted.

Borrowing here poses a special problem. Items which have clearly been’ borrowed from Thagicu sources will generally be noted at this point, and, create no real difficulty. Obvious borrowings from Swahili and English will normally be excluded altogether. Other possible borrowings, however, including some Swahili borrowings, may be included, if there is not good evidence that the borrowing took place after the differentiation of the major dialects. In such cases, the possible source item is quoted here.

The remainder of the space in the listing is made available for presentation of ’skewings’- irregularities of formal correspondence, class assignment, or meaning - and such other annotations and cross-references as seem appropriate. A separate listing will be maintained of the specific lexical items upon which j the reconstruction is based.

These listings will be sent out to interested colleagues at irregular intervals, as they become available. No particular order, other than that of discovery, will be reflected, though the first areas to be investigated will be the nominal and verbal listings of the Thagicu Dialect Questionnaire (see Bennett & Eastman, ’Collecting Bantu Linguistic Data by Questionnaire’, in Survey Research in Africa, edited, by O’Barr, Spain, & Tessier, Evanston, 1973. Along with the listings, discussion of relevant points, news of developments in the field of Thagicu studies, and similar commentary will be passed on. Recipients wishing to broadcast information on research in progress, note discoveries, or simply send greetings are urged to communicate with the compiler. Etymologies and reconstructions received with especial gratitude.

Non-standard dialects already assigned labels: Machakos Kamba (I); Kamba dialect from an area near Kilungu (informant PMS) (J). In preparing this first installment of three sheets some problems have begun to arise with the representation of diphthongs, final long vowels, and syllable breaks unmarked by intervening consonants. When the question is resolved some entries may have to be slightly revised.

Patrick R. Bennett

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TABLE 1 see main table

PROTO-THAGICU: Second Issue

In the preceding issue I published a brief introduction to this project, along with the first 27 PT entries. This issue, I wish to begin with a few more conventions made explicit. First, the correspondences underlying the reconstructions are basically those outlined in 'Dahl's Law & Thagicu, in ALS VIII ' by yours truly. However, those only cover some of the dialects used, and certain of the data available *at* the time were, to say the least, imperfect. The conventions and < correspondences in use here, then are as follows:

All symbols orthographic

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Kikuyu | L Ndia Kikuyu … | Embu | Kamba | Daiso | Chuka | Tharaka | Meru | Meru-X |
| P | h | b | v | v | v | 0 | b | 0 | 0 |
| MP | :h | mb | mv | mb | mvb? | mp | mp | mp | mp |
| θ | th | th | t | th | d | th | th | hh | th |
| Nθ | :th | nth | nth | nth | nd | nth | nth | nd | th |
| T | t | t | t | t | t | t | t | t | t |
| NT | nd | ndt | nd | nd | t | nt | nt | nt | nt |
| C | c | c | c | s | s | c | c | c | c |
| NC | nj | nj | nj | nz | s | nc | nc | nc | nc |
| K | k | k | k | k | k | k | k | k | k |
| NK | ng | ng | ng | ng | ng | k | nk | nk | nk |
| MB | mb | mb | mb | mb | mb | mb | mb | mb | mb |
| D | r | r | r | 0 | r | r | r | r | r |
| ND | nd | nd | nd | nd | nd | nd | nd | nd | nd |
| J | 0 | 0 | c | s | s | j | c- | j | j |
| NJ | nj | nj | nj | nz | s | nj | nj | nj | nj |
| G | g | g | g | 0 | 0 | g | g | g | g |
| NG | ng | ng | ng | ng | ng | ng | ng | ng | ng |
| ~~I~~ | i | i | ɪ | ɪ | ɪ | ɪ | ɪ | ɪ | ɪ |

The four nasals correspond exactly in all dialects, as do all the vowels except ~~ɪ~~ (see my article 'An Eighth Vowel in Thagicu', JAL Vol.7/2). Note the symbols W and Y used for orthographic and ũ and ĩ respectively, ~~Y~~ will occasionally be used for the consonant that appears - with all too little regularity - in most dialects in forms like Kikuyu mũkũyũ 'fig tree', as realized y or 0. Most cases of surface 'semi-vowels' are in fact of vocalic origin and bear tone, but this is consonantal, toneless, and undifferentiated for quality, where other orthographic y may show clearly the quality of either i or ĩ. Another symbol, X, is used in one of the reconstructions in this set (28-54) to indicate that

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a stem is treated in all attesting dialects as consonant initial, though no consonant can be reconstructed at present.

The problem of representation of double vowels and hiatus mentioned in the first issue remains unsolved. The following dialect labels should be added to the list: Lower Mwimbi (informant CK] (K); Northern (Ndia) Kikuyu [informant BM] (L); Kilungu Kamba (M). In phonology, I, J, and M differ from C only in skewings, conditioned reflexes (pardon the pun) not included in the table above, and details of phonetic realization; K similarly resembles G. L, however, differs sufficiently from A and B to be treated independently on the table above.

The user of these lists should note that this listing, like Guthrie's, is reflecting synchronic rather than necessarily diachronic information - with the same problem of competing related ’starred forms’ - including many of Guthrie’s own competing starred forms - look closely at number 12! Like Guthrie’s, this too is areally slanted - the Mt. Kenya area and Southern Thagicu will expand at the expense of peripheral attestations, I predict. Don’t try any statistics for quite a while yet! My tonal reconstructions are not necessarily any more reliable than Guthrie’s, either. We do our best.

On the newsy side, readers will rejoice to hear that my non-retention was reversed, so that, if need be, I can remain at UW at least through 1974-75. Further, Thagicu (or at least Kikuyu) linguistics seems to be looking up - besides the Hon. Ed. and Amy Myers, McCawley is showing interest, Lyndon Harries has dug out dusty notes, and I hear tell one of my students is using Kikuyu examples in papers at UCLA. Once again, contributions from the outside world - linguistic or otherwise - eagerly awaited.

This went to press April 25, 1973 - shows you the time lag in dispatching the thing. Until May - P.R. Bennett, Dept. African Langs. & Lit., 1456 Van Hise, 1220 Linden Drive, Univ, of Wisconsin, Madison, 53706 Pass the address to any friend with Thagicu interests!

table: see main table

PROTO-THAGICU III:

Owing to circumstances and timing more or less beyond my control, this is a double issue, accounting for the delay of May and the advance transmission of June. First, a few corrections and notes. I might as well admit that the last issue was rather poorly proofed! Most important is an omission of a gloss from proto-item 36; the item should be glossed 'HUNGER' (in Kamba dialects 'famine'). Less immediately relevant, but embarrassing, are some errors in the table of correspondences on the first page of the last issue. In the Ndia Kikuyu (L) column, \*NT is realised nd as in the majority of Southern Thagicu, not nt as written. Further, the Chuka (F) and Tharaka (E) reflexes of \*J have been transposed in the typing. The reflexes are in fact E j (often realized y, and normally so written in most texts) and F c- (though this is probably due to a Kikuyu-influenced orthography; the Barlow vocabulary normally employs j).

My apologies for the above - I hope there will be no more such corrections for a while. Now some notes from readers (specifically an input from Christopher Ehret). I quote: “If the attribution of 'rhinoceros’ [#28 in the Proto-Thagicu inventory] bothers some, it's probably because I gave only the immediate Dadog reconstruction. The original ptSNil form was (tone tentative) \*o:puria. It has to bw < SNil because the Thagicu form encapsulates the SNil n.suff -ia. The replacement of initial o- can be explained as morpheme substitution: o- Thagicu o- =\*bo-) prefix, which would be replaced by the more appropriate 9/10 class prefixes." If one accepts the derivation (and I am not wholly convinced that the direction of derivation is as represented), there seems to me to be a simpler explanation than a borrowing through Class 14 as Ehret postulates. Compare the borrowing of Masai ol-kondi 'hartebeest' as ngondi. Depending on the circumstances and time of borrowing, the postulated o- initial could simply have been interpreted as a prefix identical to or analogous with the Masai gender marker, and directly replaced in borrowing with the appropriate prefix. However, a query - how general in Nilotic is the item? On the same item, I should have noted (the last was an ill-starred issue indeed) that Benson's dictionary gives\*-pùdíá instead of the tone pattern heard by me in other dialects and indicated in the entry. I shall check into the discrepancy.

And yet another note, also from Ehret, who sends a Proto-SNil reconstruction for 'crocodile' \*ki:nya:ŋi; cf. our #25. Southern Nilotic forms were not included with the Nilotic attestations given in that entry largely owing to lack of space, but the item is clearly pan-Nilotic. It cannot be ascertained whether the Thagicu form is from Masai or another form of Nilotic. A principal point of interest, however, is the assimilation in Thagicu of the first nasal to an ŋ. The reason for this is not clear. The Chaga dictionary, however, lists a form kiṅńań which would appear to be intermediate. The assimilation does not help identify the source, though it obviously indicates an early entry into Thagicu, due to its generality. The final i of Ehret's reconstruction also does not help, as Masai shows an -in plural suffix with this item, and Thagicu, like many Bantu languages of the area, in any case tends to add -i. to consonant-final borrowings. The Length Ehret reconstructs might suggest the Masai as the immediate source.

Now some practical points on the side. The careful reader will note that certain of the entries contained in the following pages seem out of sequence, in that #75, 85, 100, 101, 108, 109, 110, and 115 are not to be seen. The reason is simple: inexorable fate has caught up with us. The entries assigned those numbers in the file on which these sheets are based, while probably good Thagicu items, and perhaps later to be included, at present are not attested widely enough to satisfy the three-subgroup standard established in our first issue. It is our hope and firm belief that the reader will bear with us, as this will increase in frequency.

A final point: in many items, such as #59 and 60, serious splits occur in vocalization or consonantal structure of a given item. While relationship and (by some definitions) cognacy clearly exists, the distribution of the forms is not such as to allow one to determine which is basic and which skewed from the standpoint of Thagicu alone. In such cases I will usually take the coward’s way out and appeal to the form more common outside Thagicu, as I have done in these cases. Of course, sometimes even such an appeal is made in vain; in the case of #12 where \*-tumo and \*tumw compete in the meaning ’spear’, East African Bantu uses both forms rather indiscriminately. In such cases, and in many other cases of what Guthrie terms osculance, the decision as to which form to represent in the listing remains, and must be understood to remain, arbitrary and without meaning.

There is not much news as such to communicate at the moment, wherefore farewell until our next issue. Your comments and communications are, as always, welcome.

Patrick R. Bennett Dept, of African Langs. & Lit. University of Wisconsin, Madison

Table: see main table

PROTO-THAGICU IV

Beloved friends, colleagues, and readers: we have another really big issue here, and some changes. I finally caught up with my mailing list, which has many additions to be made, so this issue really will be sent out. The third issue,owing to other pressures, did not reach most of you. Accordingly: if you receive this issue, and wish to receive further copies, send me a postcard (P.R. Bennett, Dept, of Afr. Langs, & Lit., Univ, of Wise., 1456 Van Hise Hall, 1220 Linden Drive, Madison, Wisconsin 53706, U.S.A; No copies will be sent out henceforth unless notification of continued interest is received. The publication will continue to arrive unrequited, however, send no cash. If you wish to continue receiving the listings and Thagicu-oriented news, and have not received numbers 1,2, or 3, indicate on your card which volumes you are missing and they will be sent.

I feel the investment of a postcard on your part is not too much to ask for this marvelous set of sheets, after all. If you’re not interested enough to send one off, with correct name and address, you don’t deserve the result of my academic sweat. Besides, I’d like to hear from you from time to time with notes, comments, queries, requests, etc. If you have a colleague who might be interested, ask him to write in - there’s always room for one more.

Format this time is different. The thing is longer again because of delays- this is at least two issues long. Further, our offset machine she are down-gebruken and so I had do get this run off on ditto. If successful, we may keep doing it that way - doesn’t look as nice, but it’s cheaper. Walt for the next issue, folks!

News - perhaps a lot, perhaps a little, but space demands it be saved for personal notes to those who will receive them with this. On with the show:

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS: In the process of editing the Harlow Thagici dialect vocabularies for publication (the first section, consisting of nominals and uninflected particles, will shortly appear in Afrika und Ubersee if all goes well), our Hon.Ed. ran across a number of items relevant to reconstructions already issued herein. These, and some other points discovered in going over past issues, force us to give you the following supplements to your files ~ please amend your copies accordingly:

corrections implemented

<page IV-2>

which is of course related to the Thagicu item. The question is, whence the Thagicu? The distribution in Nilotic makes it clear that the origin is to be sought amoung the Nilotic languages. The most probable source for the item was suggested as Masai in our last issue, in view of the vowel length in Ehret's form. It now seems likely that Eastern Nilotic Teso/Masai is responsible for the presence of the word in both Thagicu and Southern Nilotic. Note that the prefixal formant -ki-(of unclear origin and function) of Eastern Nilotic is in other items not found in either the Western or the Southern groups. Its absence in Shilluk but presence in Southern Nilotic as in Teso-Masaian suggests strongly a borrowing.

corrections implemented

If further mistakes are found or additions made\* they will be announced; henceforth the Barlow materials will be consulted in any nominal reconstructions. Note that attestation in Barlow is not always reliable\* especially when given by Barlow under his dittoing convention (copying a form in a neighbouring column). Accordingly\* items found only. In Barlow will be so indicated; items dittoed, in BArlow will be marked with a circled ditto nark (©).

Another convention has become necessary (see item 150). In a reconstruction, R preceding a starred stem indicates reduplication of that stem. As the treatment of reduplication in Thagicu is far from uniform and highly subject to skewing, the reduplication will be exemplified in some detail in each case where the symbol is used. Where reduplication occurs with no skewing involved, its use will not normally be necessary.

The cautious reader will note that our sins have caught up with us even further; item 109, mentioned in the last issue as omitted through lack of sufficient evidence, is here inserted, out of order. And untonemarked, through messy skewing. Ah, well. Nothing else to do, I fear, and it will hardly bother the reader who has been carefully alphabetizing these things. When as and if I put forth an index, the problem will solve Itself.

Plans for the future: our next issue will concentrate on verbs from the Thagicu questionnaire. Nouns off that list have been about milked dry for the moment; not completely\* but I think some 162 entries is a decent set of nouns to start out with! After the Thagicu questionnaire verbs, we will of course return to nouns, and milk dry the materials in the Barlow lists, after which we still have three dictionaries (ACH) and a pile of manuscript notes (BEG) straddling our necessary three subgroup criterion. Given that, and the fact that next year (if things like keeping a job and getting a grant work out) your Hon.Ed. hopes to get out to Thagicu-land and pull in a pack more manuscript notes. I think I can promise you Proto-Thagicu will not soon run out of material. Send your comparisons; I’ld like more in the Ext. column where Guthrie gives no CB, but am limited by my sources. Any of you have another Thagicu dialect not on my list sitting around, send those comparisons in too! Bw. Glazier at Oberlin, why not sort out some of the Mbere items corresponding to our starred nouns so far? Bw. Ehret, where’s that Igoji and Kitui and Sonjo stuff you keep extravagantly promising to let out of your clutches? That goes for the rest. See a possible cognate, mail it in!!

And finally, I do hope all of you will send your postcards; I’m doing this for joy and to get it done, but we always like to have an audience!

Editor in Chief and Star Reporter

*signature*

PROTO-THAGICU V: Production Team Forges Ahead, Ten Lost Tribes Found

It is the hope of our Hon.Ed. that the friendly reader will ignore any seeming lack of scholarly sobriety in the above. It is simply that we here are rather pleased to have managed to get another issue ready sb soon, and gratified by other developments.

For one thing, Segeju. Up until this issue, we’ve been suffering along on the information content (fairly full but oddly distributed lexically) in Dammann’s ‘Sprachproben, confident in the conviction that nothing else was available. When yours truly found a ‘Segeju’ in London and had him record a list, nothing but slightly dialectally tinged Swahili came out. A couple of times I was contacted by, or tried to contact, people who claimed to have had a chance to record some of the language, but nothing ever worked. So finally a few weeks ago, more by accidept than anything else, I find out that the ‘few words and phrases’ Dammann mentions as being previously published Segeju in Baumann’s Usambara und Seine Nachbargebiete turn out to be a word list and set of appended sentences yielding some 200-odd lexical items (many not attested in Dammann) and considerable data on verbal inflection, etc. Baumann's material is no worse transcribed than Krapf’s Kamba, and clearly not significantly different from Dammann’s dialect. Accordingly, you will find below a list of Segeju additions to our previous entries, and in a short time I intend to put together a revision of my feelings on the place of Segeju in Thagicu history. Baumann’s materials contain many important items bearing on this question. But more on that later. Now, the additions:

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So much for Segeju. Further matters of gratification: first, note that our offset machine is working again, a boon in that the ditto from thermofax process tried last time did not perform satisfactorily on some of the fine print. Beyond that, a number of newcomers have volunteered themselves to our list. One, Kevin Ford in Nairobi, is working (aren’t we all?) on the problem of Kikuyu tone; I have a feeling part of the introductory section of future issues should be devoted to the discussion of various aspects of the problem. Another, D. Nurse in Dar es Salaam, is already contributing to these sheets. He sends a note on item 146, stating that the Chaga reflex is in fact in Class 9, rather than 8. Also a query on the statement that in 143 the voicing of the \*k is due to Dahl’s Law, suggesting the nasal prefix as the significant factor. Here the Northern forms show ngiti as do the Southern. Contrast #33 \*-KING0, where the Southern dialects have ngingo, the Northern uniformly and regularly nkingo. Clearly the characteristic Southern post-nasal voicing (see chart of correspondences in PT2) can not account for the voicing in Northern dialects, while Dahl’s Law affects the groups equally.

Since I have mentioned the correspondence chart, allow me to make one more correction: in the chart, mb was tentatively given as the Segeju reflex of mp Instead, it is now clear that the correct reflex is mv, as in Embu. Dammann’s materials gave only two items bearing on the problem, mbemba (#66) ‘maize’ and mvea ‘horns’ (the latter due to a Proto-Southern item \*-PYA in Class 11/10). Baumann, however, gives the form mwefo/wefo (for mvevo) ‘cold’, compare CB 1492 \*-pepo. As item 66 is much skewed throughout the group, and clearly an item likely to be involved in cultural borrowing, its evidence is suspect.

For any reader to whom it may be relevant, Prof. Irvine Richardson of Michigan State is presently at the University of Dar Es Salaam. Let us restrict our reactions, those of us caught in the Midwestern winter, to polite murmurs of approval and congratulations.

As promised, in this issue we begin on verbal entries. Listings are as for nouns, save that class is not mentioned. Stems are given with suffixes deleted and, final hyphen; absence of hyphen indicates the stem given is not suffixed in the infinitive.

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A brief note on entry #207; the verb itself, and the convention. This verb, like some others in this and other Bantu languages, appears to show only a consonant and a tone as its stem in certain constructions. When the morpheme cooccurs with certain suffixes (both extensions and tense-forming suffixes) it becomes evident that the morpheme contains a latent vowel. Close observers of Bantu will have noted that \*Cu,\*Cw, \*Ci, and\*Cy are usually distinct and very common, but \*Ce,\*Co,\*Ca apparently lacking except where consonant loss has occurred. In many languages showing this distribution, however, behaviour of suffixes reveals the latent low vowel. Where this occurs in Proto-Thagicu, the convention for indicating the vowel is the use of a lower-case superscript vowel.

Finally, this issues’s big bonus. Back in the first issue I stated we might branch out in time if PT proved successful. Behold, it has happened. All you Luhyia-lovers and Nyanza-nuts, welcome to the ranks of the Thagicu thumb-thuckers. Seriously, for a changej herewith you will find the first three sheets of a series of reconstructions in format comparable to those of Proto-Thagicu for the Eastern . Victoria region. These follow my reconstructions for Proto-NEV (see my Reconstructed Phonologic History of North-East Victoria Bantu), but include the remainder of Guthrie's E.40 group, specifically at present Kuria and Gusii.

The system of transcription of Proto-entries resembles that used so far for Thagicu, save that \*c is used instead of \*θ for the reflex of Guthrie’s \*c, and (for a number of reasons not to be discussed in this issue) \*1 instead of \*d. Details of correspondence will be discussed in a later issue. Note that, to save effort, wherever possibly the listing of external correspondences is done by cross-reference to Proto-Thagicu.

Languages or dialects belonging to the group are, as in the case of Thagicu, divided into four sub-groupings; to be included in the listings an item must appear in any three. For convenience (and due to multiplicity of form) the Central (Luhya) group is further divided into three divisions, to allow easier plotting of geographic distribution. The divisions (and test language labellings in use so far within each) are: Northern , including Gisu (Ludadiri or biblical usage presently accepted without further comment) A, Bukusu B; Central, comprising West (Nyuli C, Nyala D) , Mid (Marama E, Nyole F), and East (Hanga G, Taconi H) ; Southern, including Isuxa I and Logooli J; and Eastern (Kuria K, Gusii L). The distinction between the major boundaries and the divisions within Central is made by the use of double and single dividing slashes, respectively.

To distinguish the two series, serial numbers belonging to the Eastern Victoria series will bear a prefixed V. The proportion of Thagicu to Eastern Victoria entries in future mailings will probably vary as data permit. When PEV starts to run dry, there’s a lot more Bantu to go! At any rate, faithful Thagicu specialists will undoubtedly be delighted to receive new insights on external distribution and wierd cognates linking the groups (see especially V20 - a prize!); while it is our hope that some new recipients will be impelled to add themselves by the expansion. Names and addresses of Luhya or Gusii specialists welcomed.

I think that’s more than enough for now. Yours very sincerely,

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| # | pCKB | m | gloss | attested | ext | skewed |
| 1 | -àkì | 3/4 | fire | a,b,c,d | - | b,e,f,g,h (-ànkì) Note: dialectal variation in b. Barlow gives \*-ànkì for f. |
| 2 | -kódò | 9/10 | heart | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB 1115 -kódò ‘heart’ |  |
| 3 | -ʊ́à | 5/6 | sun | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB2147 -yʊ́bà ‘sun’ | Mbere: riɪwa (Barlow) |
| 4 | -ʊ́jɪ̀ | 11/10 | river | a,c,d,g | CB2155 -yʊ́jì ‘river’ | b,f (-únjì) e,f,g,h = water (f,g show both meanings) |
| 5 | -ɲàmà | 9/10 | meat | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB1910 -yàmà ‘eat’ | d also = animal |
| 6 | -pígà | 5/6 | stone | a,c,e,f,g,h | CB1545 -pígà ‘counting stone’ | l: \*-θígà |
| 7 | -ɲùà | 12/13 | mouth | b,e,f,g,h | CB1398 -nyùà ‘mouth’ | a (nùa) C (kàɲùa 14a/6) |
| 8 | -kòtì | 5/6 | back of neck | a,b,c,e,g,h | CB1162 -kòtì ‘nape’ |  |
| 9 | -dì | 3/4 | root | a,b,c,e,g,h | CB591 -dì ‘root’ |  |
| 10 | -gúɪ̀ | 3/4 | arrow | a,b,e,f,g,h | CB903x -gúɪֹ́ ‘arrow’ | c, d (gíɪ̀) |
| 11 | -tu | 3 | flour | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB1856 -tù ‘flour’ | d class 14 |
| 12 | -túmò | 5/6 | spear | c,e,h | CB1867 túmò | b,g -túmʊ̀, a ‑tímʊ̀; f,g: ‑túmo, (Barlow); d: tummo; it is not clear whether this is to be taken as \*túmʊ̀ or \*túmò |
| 13 | -píʊ́ | 11/10 | sword | a,b,c,d,e,g | CB1544 -píʊ́ ‘knife’ | h -cíʊ́ |
| 14 | -ádà | 7/8 | finger | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB1893 -yádá ‘finger’ |  |
| 15 | -gò | 9/10 | shield | a,b,g | CB756 -gàbò ‘shield’ | c,d,e gàò; these may not in fact reflect skewing, could simply be uncontracted forms regular in the dialects. |
| 16 | -níʊ́dʊ̀ | 5/6 | nose | a,b,c,e | CB2151 -yúdù ‘nose’ | f,g,h -ɲíʊ́dʊ̀ 9/10 [ɲ for n], d: juru which clearly connects with this item, its precise relationship, given the inaccuracy of Baumann's transcriptions, is uncertain. |
| 17 | -θákámé | 9/10 | blood | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h |  |  |
| 18 | -ntʊ̀ | 1/2 | human | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB1798 -ntʊ̀ |  |
| 19 | -tâ | 14/6 | bow | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB1631 -tá ‘bow’ |  |
| 20 | -gèndò | 11/10 | journey | a,b,c,e,g,h | CB808 -gèndò ‘journey’ |  |
| 21 | -gènì | 1/2 | stranger | a,b,c,e,g,h | CB809 -gènì ‘stranger’ |  |
| 22 | -θíʊ̀ | 14/6 | face | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB347 -cìʊ́ |  |
| 23 | -túmbɪ́ | 5/6 | egg | a,b,c,d,g,h | CB1873 -túmbɪ́ ‘egg’ |  |
| 24 | -dû | 5/6 | knee | a,b,i,e,g,h | CB722 -dú ‘knee’ |  |
| 25 | -ŋáŋí | 7/8 | crocodile | a,b,e,g,h | Nilotic origin, Masai, Kalenjin, Luo, etc. Cf. Masai kiɲáŋ, Teso akiɲáŋ, Shilluk ɲáŋ | also, at least a,g,h, = ‘crab’, h (one dialect) ‑ŋáŋídí. pSN kí:nya:ŋi- ‘crocodile’ (Ehret p.c.). See text in blog. |
| 26 | -játâ | 9/10 | star | a,b,g,h | cf. Sw. nyota?? | c,e -tátâ? The Tharaka form uncertain, the Kamba multivalent ; h also -jótâ |
| 27 | -gùʊ́ | 9/10 | hippo | a,b,c,e,g,h | CB908x -gùbʊ́ ‘hippo’ | Note disyllabic |
| 28 | -púdíâ | 9/10 | rhinoceros | a,c,e,g,h | Ehret (1971) attributes to Southern Nilotic origin quoting Datog hoobujeed < \*yo:buria However there are many problem with such an identification |  |
| 29 | -kɪ́á | 9/10 | poor man | a,c,e,h,k | Taita: -kiwa ‘poor’ |  |
| 30 | -bɪ́à | 9/10 | rat | a,c,d,e,g,h | CB65 bèb` ‘rat’ and PS31 -bìbà ‘rat’ | tonal reconstruction uncertain, both HL and LL |
| 31 | -ɲàmʊ̂ | 9/10 | animal | a,b,c,e,f,g | Presumably a skewing of CB 1909 -yàmà ‘animal’; in many other Bantu animal and meat are identical, cf. #5 | h -ɲòmô; but Barlow: nyamoo (mishearing or intermediate stage in development from nyamʊ to nyomoo?) |
| 32 | -jɪ̀dá | 9/10 | path | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB941 -jɪ̀dá ‘path’ |  |
| 33 | -kíngó | 9/10 | neck | a,b,c,d,f,g,h | CB1086 kííngò ‘neck’ | though Baumann gives gingo, possibly a class 5 form, it is probable that ngingo was heard; compare Baumann’s bemba for Dammann's mbemba ‘maize’ |
| 34 | -v́jɪ̀ | 6 | water | a,l,d, | CB1999 -yɪ́jɪ̀ ‘water’ and related series!  Replacement by xxx Machakos Kamba is recent early lists and texts show manzi | b,c (and perhaps d where the form is ambivalent) attest -v́njɪ̀ See also #4; ʊ́jɪ̀ ‘river’, used for water in e,f,g,h. The stem is presumably the same. The high-toned initial vowel being assimilated in the prefix vowel. |
| 35 | -~~ɪ́~~θòdì | 5/6 | tear | a,b,c,e,g,h | CB2031-ícòdì ‘tear’ | Note that in Meru and Kamba dialects, certainly h,j, singulars tend to be back-formations often attesting a stem \*-éθòdì! The connection with eye \*-ɪ́θò is probable but the derivation is proto-Bantu. |
| 36 | -Xʊ́dà | 5 | hunger | b, older c,e,g | The limited distribution suggests borrowings, as does the unusual form. Source? | Note the no consonant is attested but the pre-consonantal alternate of the class 5 prefix is used in all cases! |
| 37 | -ntʊ̀ | 7/8 | thing, object | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB1788 -ntʊ̀ ‘thing’ | Plurals of this stem are rare; perhaps limited to Meru (g,h,k). In most dialects, \*-ntò is used as the plural (6) but this may be unconnected, see #71. As in Kamba \*-ntò contrasts with yɪ̀ndʊ̀ assuming a stem \*-yɪ̀ntʊ̀. This occurs in e as well. d see 71 |
| 38 | -θʊ̀dí | 3/4 | soup, broth, saus | b,e,g,h | CB405 -cùdì ‘broth’ | c - θodí |
| 39 | -θónì | (9)/10 | shame, modesty | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB380 -sónì ‘shame’ |  |
| 40 | -jóká | 9/10 | snake | b,c,d,e,g,h | CB952 -jókà ‘snake’ | a = intestinal worm. ‘snake’in A attests \*-ɲókǎ |
| 41 | -jʊ́kɪ̀ | 9/10 | bee | a,b,c,e?,f,g,h | CB962 -júkì ‘bee’ | see also #64 in e, Lindblom glosses this item ‘honey’!! but ‘bee’ for Barlow. |
| 42 | -θàngʊ́ | 5/6 | leaf | a,b,c,d,e,g,h |  |  |
| 43 | -kúɲʊ̂ | 11/10 | finger nail | b,g,h | a and probably l seem to attest \*-kùɲʊ́ which better fits a derivation from \*-kùɲ ‘scratch’ if this is accepted. Lindblom’s citation from for e from \*‑kúngʊ̂ !! | c: ngunyʊ ‘pinch’ |
| 44 | -pɪ́ndɪ́ | 5/6 | bone | a,b,c,e,f | Guthrie identifies this with CB1526 pííndí ‘shin’, compare German Bein, English bone !! | g,k class 3/4 (bur Barlow g: 5/6); h ‑pɪ́ndɪ́ndɪ́ 3/4; d Baumann gives moindi, to be linked with the class 3 forms in g,h,k; perhaps one should revise estimates as to the original class of the item. |
| 45 | -pítí | 9/10 | hyena | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB1562 -pítì ‘hyena’ |  |
| 46 | -gùò | 9/10 | clothe(s) | a,b,e,f,g,h | CB873 -gùbò ‘cloth’ | c.d. \*gʊ̀à The presence of \*u in most dialects is probably a reflex of original \*w subject to the shift w >u //\_o still productive in Kikuyu. |
| 47 | -gòmbè | 9/10 | head of cattle | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB849 -gòmbè ‘bovide’ |  |
| 48 | -búdà | 9/10 | rain | a,b,c,e,f,g,h, | CB235 -búdà ‘rain’ |  |
| 49 | -ʊ̀dá | 7/8 | frog | a,b,m,e,g,h | CB2150 -yùdá ‘frog’ | Kamba generally shows ‑òdá |
| 50 | -kúdúngǎ | 9/10 | cave | a,b,c,e,g,h |  | tone unclear on final vowel. The Kamba could reflect and has been interpreted as ‑kúngà |
| 51 | -jàgɪ́ | 9/10 | zebra | a,b,c,e?,h |  | Lindblom’s transcription of the e form could represent a skewed form, uncertain |
| 52 | -gégó | 5/6 | tooth | a,b,c,d,e,f,g | CB802 ‑gègò ‘tooth’ | k,h show \*-ègò and other skewings can be found in the Meru dictionary |
| 53 | -édì | 3/4 | moon, month | a,b,c,d,e,g,h | CB1765 -yédì ‘moon’ | realisation as mwáì in j may be predictable, plural in that dialect mɪéì, regularly. |
| 54 | -θʊ́á | 3 | termite(s) (collective) | a,b,c,g,h | CB392 -cúá ‘termite’ | Lindblom gives kɪthoa ‘termite hill’ for e; mistaken gloss? Tone uncertain. |
| 55 | -ákà | 3/4 | year | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB1904-yánkà ‘year’ (probably originally ‘season’) |  |
| 56 | -dígì | 11/10 | string | a,b,e,f,g,h | CB613 -dígì ‘string’ | Kamba dialects have \*-lígì |
| 57 | -θàká | 7/8 | bush, wilderness | a,b,e,f,g,h | CB269 -càká ‘thicket, bush’ | c = \*-θèká. The class of the reflex in d is unclear; it occurs only in the locative dakani, which may = 9 or an abbreviated 7. |
| 58 | -dìà | 5/6 | lake, pool | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB603-dìbà ‘pool |  |
| 59 | -gànò | 11/10 | tale | a,b,c,e | CB776 -gànò ‘tale’ |  |
| 60 | -ɲàkí | (9)/10 | grass | b,e,f,g,h | cf. CB1948 -yàtí ‘grass’! Luhya forms reflect a stem \*-ɲaaCi in 14, but even Logooli and Isuxa forms give no clue to the identity of C. | Ocassionally a singular in 11 is used. a,c (and other Kikuyu + Kamba dialects) reflect \*-ɲèkí |
| 61 | -dɪ̀dɪ̀ | 14/6 | bed(stead) | a,b,c,e,f,g | CB 563,564 dɪ̀dɪ̀ ‘sleeping place, bedstead’ | h \*-dʊ̀dɪ̀ |
| 62 | -gʊ̀ndà | 3/4 | field, garden | a,b,c,e,f,g | CB897 -gʊ̀ndà ‘garden’ | d and some e variants reflect \*-ndà, or \*-ʊ̀ndà; h shows \*-(g)ùndà. |
| 63 | -ɪ́mbò | 11/10 | song, dance | a,b,e,f,g,h | CB2012 -yímbò ‘song’ |  |
| 64 | -ʊ́kɪ̀ | 14 (6) | honey | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB2157 \*-yúkà; honey’ | Kamba, Segeju (Daiso) and Tharaka = beer in addition to the base meaning (often rendered ‘bee’s honey’). See also #41 |
| 65 | -góndù | 9/10 | sheep | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | NECB \*-gondɪ 5 ‘sheep’ and similar forms from the area. See Ehret ‘Sheep, Central Sudanic Peoples in Southern Africa JAH 9(2) 1968. | In modern Kamba generally \*-lóndù in 5/6! But ŋóndù is attested for Kamba, though rare and probably only as collective. |
| 66 | -pémpè | 9/10 | maize | e,h | CB475 \*pémbé ‘millet’ | g: mpampa; Barlow: f: mbembe; a,b,l = mbémbè; Kamba and Segeju = mbémbà. It is difficult to tell whether forms in -a or -e are original but Guthrie’s form suggests the former despite the wider spread of -e forms. The Kamba forms could be direct cognate of Guthrie’s entry, suggesting a coastal source for word and grain in the Thagicu area. |
| 67 | ɪ̀dɪ̀ | 3/4 | body | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB112 \*bɪ̀dɪ̀ ‘body’ |  |
| 68 | -tɪ́ | 3/4 | tree, etc, | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB1729 \*-tɪ́ | j and other forms of Kamba show a singular in class 7. Class 3 forms meaning ‘stick’ or ‘medicine’, meanings also shared by forms in other dialects. |
| 69 | -díà | 5/6 | milk | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB604 \*dibà ‘milk’ | d Baumann gives for ‘milk’ a reflex of this stem in class 6, but also cites ria (the class 5 form) with the meaning ‘breast’. |
| 70 | -kʊ̂ | 11/10 | firewood | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB1181 \*kʊ́ɪ̀ ‘firewood’ monophthongisation of such forms is frequent, cf. #2495 |  |
| 71 | -ntò | 8 | goods, property, cattle | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | Perhaps a skewing of #37. But cf. Sotho ǹthô 'thin’. Possibly due to confusion and influence of #37 but c,e contrasts this and a plural from 37. | xxx. The relationship d Baumann gives a form gịto for ‘thing’; this might be a back-formation from this item, as the voicing of \*k before the high vowels appears regular; but cf. 37. |
| 72 | -gòngò | 3/4 | back | a,c,e,f,g,h | CB858 \*-gòngò ‘back’ |  |
| 73 | -cìɪ̀ | 3/4 | kraal, homestead | a,b,c,d,f,g,h | CB936 \*-jɪ̀ ‘village’ | some forms are now used to mean ‘village’ or ‘city’ under the influence of Swahili mji. e may reflect \*jìɪ̀ |
| 74 | -kʊ́~~Y~~ʊ̂ | 5/6? | fish | c,e |  | h has a reflex in 7. The tone is somewhat uncertain. |
| 76 | -bʊ́kʊ̂ | 9/10 | hare | a,c,g | Guthrie identifies this as a skewing of CB1597 \*púkù ‘rat’. Not certain. | In some dialects (e.g. f) this is more common in 13/12. b has mbúùgʊ́ which may be a skewed reflex despite its strangeness. |
| 77 | -θòká | 5/6 | axe | a,c,d,e | CB372 \*-còká ‘axe’ | h,g show only forms in 13/12, but g 5/6 in Barlow. d Baumann gives ndoko as singular, but the plural madoka convinces one that the former form was mistranscribed. |
| 78 | -dʊ́mè | 1/2 | male, husband | a,b,c,d,e,g,h | CB697 \*dʊ́mè ‘male’ |  |
| 79 | -bàdù | (11)/10 | rib | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB30 \* bàdù ‘rib’ | Most forms (e,j excepted) have a backformation skewing in the singular usually phonetically ɓ though this reflects varying proto-consonants. It seems simpler here to take the plural as primary. The tone of c,j (but not m) seems HL !! |
| 80 | júɪ́dɪ̀ | (11)/10 | hair | a,b,c,d,e,f,g | CB967 \*júɪ́dɪ̀ | h< \*cíʊ́dì. Most singulars backformations in \*c. d Baumann gives shele, which might represent a skewed \*‑júɪ́dɪ̀ |
| 81 | dɪ̀ɪ̀gú | 0 | provisions (for journey) | a,c,e,g,h | Probably non-Bantu but source unknown. | All Kamba dialects reflect \*lɪ̀ɪ̀gú. In most of Kamba, this is now used for ‘food’ in general. Though the original restriction is attested. |
| 82 | dɪ̀-ɪ́kò | 5/6 | hearth | a,b,c,f,g,h | CB2056 \*yíkò ‘hearth’ | In e and some Kamba dialects (and no doubt sporadically elsewhere) the preconsonantal 5 prefix is added to the form given, which incorporates the vocalic allomorph. In all dialects this is used as stem for the plural with \*di as ‘augment’. |
| 83 | bòòcò | 9/10 | bean | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | Possibly connected with Swahili posho but not certain |  |
| 84 | -ɲònì | 9/10 | bird | a,d,e,h,k | CB2121 \*yònì ‘bird’ | Kamba dialects \*ɲʊ̀ɲì. Embu + Mwimbi tend to use a reflex or back-formation in 7, reserving this item for a collective. d It is unclear whether Baumann glosses the first item only as ‘down’. |
| 86 | -ánà | 1/2 | child | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB192\*-yánà ‘child’ | a,b,c and other Southern dialects except Segeju (Daiso) use 8 as plural class possibly a reflex of 19 (diminutive plural still found in some languages further South). Barlow also cites plural in 8 for f,g. |
| 87 | -ókò | 15/6 | arm, hand | a,c,d | CB158 \*-bókò ‘arm’ | h = ‘meat of front leg of animal’; Champion gives e with the meaning ‘foreleg’ |
| 88 | -ɲʊ̀mbá | 9/10 | house | a,c,d,g,k | CB2168 \*yʊ̀mbá | a plural in 6 was heard in m. b,e,f,h = \*ɲòmbá |
| 89 | -~~ɪ~~θò | 5/6 | eye | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB2030 \*-yícò éye’ | Note that, after the 5 prevocalic prefix \*di=, ~~ɪ~~ gives i in all dialects, cf. #35, |
| 90 | -páθà | (5)/6 | twin | a,c,e,g,h | CB1407 \*-pácà ‘twin’ | BL = \*-θáθà |
| 91 | -dɪ́gâ | 9/10 | fool | a,c,e, | perhaps cf. \*-díg ‘be unintelligible’ | rare, except in Kamba |
| 92 | -gʊ̀dʊ̀è | 9/10 | pig | a,b,c,e,g,h | CB888 \*-gʊ̀dʊ̀bè ‘pig’ | m= \* gʊ̀lʊ̀è |
| 93 | -kʊ́kʊ́ | 9/10 | fowl | a,b,c,d,e,g,h | CB1203 \*kʊ́kʊ́ ‘chicken’ | All forms subject to Dahl’s law reconstructing \*gʊ́kʊ́ would equally be possible |
| 94 | -θɪ́ | 9/10 | land, earth, country | a,b,c,e,d,f,g,h | CB330 \*-cí ‘ground’ | d Baumann glosses the item only as ‘down’ |
| 95 | -tʊ̂ | 15/6 | ear | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB1802 \*tʊ́(ʊ̀) |  |
| 96 | -òngó | 7/8 | head, skull | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB169 \*bòngó | Despite its spread, probably recent in the meaning ‘head’ replacing #121, the original item still frequent in many dialects, cf. Romance \*testa. |
| 97 | -jògù | 9/10 | elephant | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB951 \*-jògù ‘elephant’ |  |
| 98 | -dígʊ̂ tone unclear | 5/6 | banana | a,c,d,e,g,h | Chaga ir̩ū (5) ‘banana’ | f,g,h,k show forms in 9/10. The tone cited in the Kikuyu dictionary may be incorrect, Benson give LL but l shows the expected tonal pattern. Some Kamba dialects (c,j but not m) also show LL! d Baumann gives a form maruo, probably a plural of this item; it may represent a skewing due to the influence of the final back vowel after loss of \*g (cf. 211), or simply mishearing. |
| 99 | -pùdò | 3/4 | stream bed | a,b,e,f,g,h | Buwe in Tanzanian shows mu̱fu̱lo̱ ‘river’, equated by Dempwolff with CB1615 \*-púdò ‘foam’, semantically unlikely, but the Bowe is clearly cognate. | a = ‘down, bottom’; c = ‘valley’, most Northern forms = ‘river’, see #4 |
| 102 | -jádà | 9/10 | hand (arm) | b,e,f,g,h | perhaps related to CB \*júdó ‘finger’ (920); cf. #14 | c: nzaa (10) ‘fingers’ |
| 103 | -dèdù | 7/8 | chin, beard | a,b,e,g,h | CB520 \*-dèdù ‘chin’ | Southern forms mostly ‘chin’; Northern = ‘beard’ or both; c = ‘goat’s beard’ |
| 104 | -píndú | 3/(4) | darkness | e | cf. CB1555 \*-pínd ‘be black’ | Kamba forms in 7. g,h = \*‑pùndú. One h idiolect \*‑gùndú. Cf. a híndima ~thindima = ‘be dark’. |
| 105 | -pémpé | 7/8 | drum | e,g,h |  | meanings ‘drum’ (instrument) ‘barrel’ (for honey storage) ‘hive’ (bee hives are made from hollowed logs). The original meanings is uncertain. Note forms: a = \*pémbé, c= \*θémbé. Cf. skewings of #66, perhaps \*mb is original in both? |
| 106 | -θàngà | 3/4 | sand | b,c,g,h | CB288 \*còngà ‘’ sand’ | The tone of the Kikuyu form suggests this a borrowing. All forms also = ‘soil, earth’, a shift common to most words in this semantic range. |
| 107 | -díò | 8 | food | a,b,c,f,g,h | probably not to be connected with \*dɪ́ ‘eat’! Chaga fir̩o ‘ceremonial food’. | All items also ‘dish of maize and beans’. The Kamba form has this meaning only. It may be the more specific meaning was original; cf. #81; similar shifts occur elsewhere in NE Bantu. |
| 111 | dì-ɪ́tʊ̀á | 5/6 | name | b,c,e,f,h,k | cf. \*ɪ́t ‘call’ | a,l,g = \*dì-ɪ́tʊ̀á. Some Kamba and Tharaka idiolects prefix the preconsonantal prefix of 5 to this item. All dialects xxx the incorporated prevocalic 5 prefix as ‘augment’ in the plural; for treatment of prefix, cf. #82 |
| 112 | -ò~~ɪ~~ò | 3/(4) | life | a,e,f,h | CB2134 \*-yòyò ‘life’ | \*~~ɪ~~ is not realised except in a. |
| 113 | -dùkɪ̀ | 3/4 | smell, air | a,h | - | semantically = any gas or vapor. b,c,d = \*dùkè, The tone of h may equal H HL. but it is unclear. |
| 114 | -bú | 9/10 | shout alarm | a,c,e,f,g,h |  | usually limited to\*kʊ̀-úgà mbú ‘to raise the alarm, cry out’. In a a backformation in 11 is found. |
| 116 | -ɲʊ̀ngʊ́ | 9/10 | pot | a,b,c,d,e,f,g | h= \*-ɲòngʊ́ |  |
| 109 | -ɲoota | 9/10? | thirst | - | CB2137 \*-nyótà ‘thirst’ | All forms seem skewed; tone unclear. a: \*‑ɲóótà 14a; b: -ɲòntà 9?; e: -ɲǒntâ 9; f: is given by Barlow as ɪnonta, a class 5 form! |
| 117 | -àdɪ́ | 1/2 | daughter | a,b,e,f,g,h | CB1896 \*-yàdɪ́ ‘girl’ | E has class 8 plural. Barlow gives 8; many dialects use this for ‘maiden’ as well. |
| 118 | -kʊ́~~Y~~ʊ̀ | 3/4 | fig tree | a,b,c,e,g,h | CB1246 \*-kʊ́yʊ̀ ‘fig tree’ | ~~Y~~ = 0 in b,g,h |
| 119 | -títʊ̀ | 3/4 | forest | a,b,c, | CB1765 \*-títʊ̀ ‘forest’ | f,g = -θítʊ̀; h = ‑ítʊ̀ (possibly though a Dahl’s law type of dissimilation? |
| 120 | -θètù | 3/(4) | soil, sand | b,e,f,g,h |  |  |
| 121 | -tʊ́è | 3/4 | head | a,c,d,g,h | CB1808 \*-túè ‘head’ | see also 96 |
| 122 | -dɪ́mɪ̀ | 11/10 | tongue | a,b,c,d,e,g | CB572 \*-dɪ́mɪ̀ ‘tongue’ | e,g, show variants in -dɪ́mè; h shows \*‑ʊ́mè |
| 123 | -kɪ́ndʊ̀ | 5/6 | rat |  |  | b shows \*‑kɪ́ndʊ̂ (mishearing?) |
| 124 | -màɪ́tʊ́ | 1a/2a | my mother | a,b,e,g |  | c= \*-mwàɪ́tʊ́. Interpretation is difficult. The stem is probably mu (mwa) + itʊ ‘our’ but coalescence to meetʊ would be expected except in a. Probably innovated in Northern dialects. |
| 128 | ɲʊ̀kʊ́è | 1a/2a | thy mother | b,c,e,f,g | cf. CB1395 ɪnyòkò ‘thy mother’ | rare in c; a= ɲʊ̀kʊ́à; h= ɲàkʊ́é; f ꭥ |
| 129 | ɲɪ̀nâ | 1a/2a | his mother | a,e,f, | CB1393 \*nyìnà ‘mother’ | Much skewing and idiolectal fluctuation. b,e,f,h = ŋɪ́nâ; e.g. = gínâ, f also ngina; e,b, also niina; c ìnyá, nyìnyá, f ɲìnâ in Barlow only. |
| 131 | -θʊ̂ | 9/10 | enemy | a,b,c,e,g,h | cf. - θʊ́wo ‘hate’, with which this may be connected  CB400 icúúd- ‘dislike’ | g,h also show a form with class 1 prefix added to the class 9 form. |
| 133 | -ɲááɲà | 1/2 | friend | a,b,c,e,g,h |  | a = ‘erotic partner’; g,h = friend; b shows HL HL as tonal pattern |
| 134 | -dɪ́~~ɪ̀~~θɪ̀ | 1/2 | herder |  | cf. vb. -dɪ́~~ɪ~~θɪ ‘to herd’ < -dɪ́ ‘eat’, CB550 \*-dɪ́ ‘eat’ |  |
| 136 | -gʊ́nà | 5/6 | baboon | b,e,f,h |  |  |
| 137 | -dàá | 9/10 | louse | a,b,c,e,g,h | cf. CB446 \*-dá ‘louse’ | a: HL; b: L HL if tone correctly transcribed |
| 138 | -pû | 5/6 | stomach | b,c,e,h | CB1610 \*-pù ‘stomach’ | a = ‘womb, pregnancy’ only. This meaning is shared by most others, however. h also shows a form in 7/8 |
| 139 | -bògó | 9/10 | buffalo | a,b,c,e,g,h | CB157 \*-bògó ‘buffalo’ |  |
| 140 | -àgɪ́ | 11/10 | mosquito | a,b,e,g,h |  |  |
| 143 | -kítɪ̀ | 9/10 | dog | a,b,c,g,h |  | g is suspect but confirmed by Barlow. Most dialects have more than one equivalent for ‘dog’. In all \*k is voiced by Dahl’s law in this item. Nurse: voicing of k due to nasal. Northern and Southern: ngiti; in contrast to #33 where the Southern dialects have ngingo and the Northern uniformly and regularly nkingo. Clearly the characteristic post-nasal voicing (see chart of correspondences in PT2) cannot account for the voicing in the Northern dialects, while Dahl’s Law affects the groups equally. |
| 144 | -kútà | 6 | fat, oil | a,b,e,f,g,h | CB1278 \*-kútà ‘oil’ | c= \*-gútà, showing early fixing of Dahl’s Law in this item. Dahl’s Law voices \*k in all dialects in this item. |
| 146 | píɲâ | 14a, 9a | strength | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | Chaga fina (class 8 form!) Nurse: class 9 | b also θíɲâ; a shows HL as tonal pattern; k HL HL; f from Barlow. class 14a South; class 9a North |
| 147 | -gʊ̀dʊ̀ | 15/6 | leg, foot | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB884 \*-gùdù ‘leg’ | f Barlow ꭥ. Some Kamba dialects skew the plural to mààʊ̀, others show expected màʊ̀ʊ̀ |
| 148 | -pùùpò | 11/10 | wind | a,b,e,f,g,h | cf. CB1623 \*-pùùp ‘to blow’; 420 \*-pùùpà ‘wind’ and 422 \*‑pùùpù ‘wind’ | Barlow f |
| 149 | -gì | 9/10 | fly | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB819 \*-gì ‘fly’ |  |
| 150 | -rdp-bʊ́ɪ̀ | 9/10 | spider |  | cf. CB178 \*bʊ̀bɪ̀ ‘spider’ | reduplication follows various patterns: a,b: \*bʊ́-N-bʊ́ɪ̀; c =‑bʊ̀a-N-bʊɪ (tone unsure); k = bʊ́-bʊ́ɪ̀; h = bʊɪ-bʊɪ (tone uncertain) |
| 151 | -ʊ́ò | 11/10 | hide | b,e,f | perhaps cf. CB2145 \*‑yùb ‘to skin’ which exists in Thagico; if so, tone must be re-assessed | a,c,g = \*-ʊ́à. Tone recorded only in a,b,e; in e LL! Original tone unclear; original ending unclear. m in nj attested for most dialects where prevocalically N > mb except Kamba. Indication of original initial? |
| 152 | ~~ɪ́~~gúà | 3/4 | thorn | a,b,c,e,g,h | CB \*-yígùà ‘thorn’ |  |
| 153 | ~~-~~θèɲá | 3/4 | day (opposed to night) | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | cf. CB \*-càná ‘day’ |  |
| 154 | màamâ | 1a/2a | uncle (maternal) | a,b,c,h | cf. Gusii maame | tone possibly HL‑HL |
| 155 | ~~-~~mè | 5/6 | dew | a,b,e,h | CB1290 \*-mè ‘dew’ | usually only 5, but e cited in 6 only. b e seems to have tone HL !!! |
| 156 | ~~-~~θánjù | 11/10 | stick | a,b,e,f,g,h | CB250 \*cándú | c has a cognate in s = ‘branch of tree’; Barlow f |
| 160 | -kòndé | 7/8 | skin | a,b,c,g,h |  |  |
| 161 | ~~-~~gùmò | 3/4 | fig tree | a,b,e,h |  | a different species from #118 \*-kʊ́~~Y~~ʊ̀. This is much more involved in ritual life. Tone of b seems to be HL ! |
| 162 | ~~-~~dɪ̀mà | 7/8 | mountain | a,b,c,f,g,h | CB569 \*-dɪ̀mà |  |
| 163 | -bʊ̀ɪ̀ | 11/10 | feather | e,g,h |  | b= pʊ̀ɪ̀. h seems to show H tone HH; a has a form mbʊ̀ɪ̀ ‘blossom of plants’. Unless the a item is connected, possibly a Northern item borrowed and reinterpreted in b. |
| 164 | -cèégè | 9/10 | porcupine | a,b,c,e,g,h | tones not quite clear |  |
| 166 | -dìígɪ́ | 5/6 | door | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB2034 \*-yìgɪ̀ ‘door’ | tones unclear: a LL, g HH, l HL, others unrecorded. bf f from Barlow. h ɪrige in dictionary, ɪrigɪ in Barlow. c,g,h and variants in b,e add another class 5 prefix to this; in all the prefix \*di- is retained in the plural |
| 167 | -dʊ́ngʊ̀dú | 3/4 | mongoose | c,g |  | tone uncertain HHL, HLL,HLH attested, a,b show -dʊ́ngʊ̀dʊ́ ! |
| 168 | -kʊ́ngì | 11/10 | wind | a,d,l,c,g |  | a ‘flying dust’. f Barlow |
| 169 | -bʊ́dì | 9/10 | goat | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB185 \*-bʊ́dì | f Barlow ꭥ |
| 170 | -gìgɪ̀ | 9/10 | locust | a,h | CB827 \*-gìgè ‘locust’ |  |
| 171 | -gɪ́dɪ̀ | 9/10 | thousand | a,h |  | c = \*- gɪ́lɪ̀ ! |
| 172 | -gànà | 5/6 | hundred | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB774 \*gànà ‘hundred’ | f Barlow ꭥ; b = Barlow |
|  | -pìndà | 5/6 | time | a,c,h |  | most dialects show a more frequent form in 13/12 |
| 175 | -kádà | 5/6 | charcoal | a,c,e,g,h | CB980 \*-kádà ‘charcoal’ |  |
| 176 | -kúnʊ́ | 5/6 | mushroom | a,c,h |  |  |
| 177 | -pɪ̀ndɪ̀ | 14a,9a | time | a,f,g,h | CB1527 pɪ́ndɪ́ | c shows ɪndiimo ‘then’, which may be connected despite irregularities of correspondence |
| 178 | -dàndʊ́ | 5/6 | debt | a,c,h | CB497 \*-dàndʊ́ ‘debt’ |  |
| 179 | -dâ | 5/(6) | white earth | a,c,h |  |  |
| 180 | -déngé | 5/6 | pumpkin | a,h | CB543 \*-dèngè ‘pumpkin’ | c \*léngé |
| 181 | dɪ̀-ɪ́à | 5/6 | weed | a,c,f,h |  | as in other items of this shape, some dialects, c,h, add the preconsonantal class 5 prefix |
| 182 | dɪ̀ʊ̀kò | 5/6 | ford | a,c,e,h | also in Southern Bantu cf. Sesotho letsibhô, etc. Not listed in CB, unless, as speculated below, c \*dɪ̀ʊ̀k- ‘revive. cf. CB596 \*dɪ̀ʊ̀k-? ‘revive’ | tone ? a = LLL, e = HLL. Possibly connected with vb \*-dɪʊk- ‘revive’. |
| 183 | -témà | 5/6 | liver | c,e,h | cf. CB1739 \*-tɪ́mà ‘liver’; usual Bantu reference a ‘heart’ and note vocalic skewing; usual class 3/4 but Dempwolff gives tima ‘liver’ for Ilamba, similar xxx in Rimi, xxx Buwe. |  |
| 184 | -θúúɲâ | 5/6 | fat meat | a,c,e,h | cf. Proto-Kalenjin (Ehret) \*su:ns-t-; Masai e-súnykí / isúnyà (also in other Bantu of the area as Taita, for origin see below, most suggested history in some way unsatisfactory | tone uncertain; c mainly in older sources, Ehret p.167 postulate the Masai as a borrowing from Southern Nilotic. Ultimate source of the Thagicu unclear. Length suggests NOT from Masai. Given the shape of the Masai pl, could this have been borrowed through Thagicu? |
| 185 | -dèègʊ̀à | 9/10 | bull | a,c,e,g,h |  | c glossed as ‘ox’ |
| 186 | -kwàdé | 9/10 | partridge | a,c,h | CB1169 \*kʊ́ádé; CB1170 \*kʊ̀àdɪ́ both as ‘partridge’ |  |
| 187 | -pɪ̂ | 11/10 | palm (of hand) | a,c,e,h | CB1500 \*-pɪ́ ‘palm of hand’ |  |
| 188 | -gɪ̀ò | 11/10 | sherd | a,h |  | Disyllabic in a. c shows a reflex in class 7. |
| 189 | -dég- | v | refuse | a,b,e,f,g,h | CB521 \*-dég- | c = \*-lég- |
| 190 | -θɪ̀- | v | grind | c,g | CB344 \*-cì- ‘grind’ | a,b,l show -ɪ- as the vowel. HL heard (misheard?) as high-toned |
| 191 | -ɲú- | v | drink | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB1347 \*-nyú ‘drink’ |  |
| 192 | -dídikan- | v | remember | a,b,e,g | Taita -rurukany- ‘think’ | h -\*díikan- bu possibly regular reduction; c = \*‑lílikan- |
| 193 | -kám- | v | milk, squeeze | a,b,c,g,h | CB994 \*‑kám- ‘milk’ |  |
| 194 | -òd- | v | rot | a,l,c,e,f,g | CB153 \*-bòd- ‘rot’ | b,h,i heard as \*‑ód- |
| 195 | -ʊ́dag- | v | kill | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB184a \*‑búdag- ‘kill’ |  |
| 196 | -ón- | v | see | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB154 \*-bón- ‘see’ |  |
| 197 | -óp- | v | tie | a,b,c,e,f,g | CB171 \*‑bóp- ‘bind’ | e variants and h show final -g-; possibly should not be counted as true skewing |
| 198 | -kwát- | v | hold | a,b,c,d,e,g,h | CB1172 \*‑kʊ́át- ‘seize’ | Dahl’s Law voices the initial consonant except in c,d. |
| 199 | -θíɪ | v irregular | go | a,b,d,f | one hesitates to compare xxx \*-jɪ- but even more so compare Luo dhi ! | -θí is found in c,e,g, but this may not be tone skewing, as similar vowel reductions occur elsewhere in these dialects. In some dialects (e.g. c) this verb is defective. |
| 200 | -dúg- | v | cook | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | Gusii -rug- + other Victorian forms |  |
| 201 | -ʊ́di- | v | ask | a,b,d,e,f,g,h | CB186 \*‑bʊ́ʊ́di- ‘ask’ | c and other Kamba dialects show \*-kʊ́li-, probably through attachment of infinitive as ‘present’ prefix \*‑kʊ- |
| 202 | -ɪ́d- | v | tell | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB106 \*‑bɪ́d- ‘tell, announce’ | somewhat archaic in c. |
| 203 | -kú- | v | die | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB1249 \*-ku- ‘die |  |
| 204 | -gʊ̀- | v | fall | a,b,d,e,f,g,h | CB863 \*-gʊ̀- ‘fall’ |  |
| 205 | -àkɪ- | v | light fire | a,b,d,h | CB34a \*-bàki ‘light fire’ | a causative form, related items are found in other dialects |
| 206 | -dɪ̀p- | v | pay | a,b,c,d,g,h | CB589 \*-dɪ̀p- ‘pay’ |  |
| 207 | -p- | v | give | a,b,l,d,e,f,g,h | CB1404 \*-pa- ‘give’ | a = \*-pé (though some Kikuyu dialects agree with other Thagicu). The latent vowel of the reconstruction appears in certain inflectional and derived forms, as past perfect, habitual, etc., see note in intro. |
| 208 | -úd- | v | rain | a,b,c,d,e,g,h | cf. 48 | also = leak, bleed, etc. |
| 210 | -kìɲ- | v | arrive | a,b,e,f,g,h |  |  |
| 211 | -~~ɪ́~~gu- | v | hear, perceive | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB2043 \*-yígu- | d shows -uw-; compare #98, should this rounding be treated as regular? |
| 212 | -~~ɪ̀~~kad- | v | sit, stay | a,b,d,e,f,g | CB2052 \*-yìkad- ‘sit’ | c = \*-~~ɪ̀~~kal- d,e,h,k show (in some cases as variants) a form \*-kàd- which may in some cases be a semi-regular development. |
| 213 | -mèɲ- | v | know | a,b,d,e,f,g,h | CB1301 \*-meni ~ \*‑meny- ‘know’ | c = \*-màɲ-. Both vowels are found outside Thagicu, but the forms in e may represent influence from the final ɲ |
| 214 | -dɪ́- | v | eat | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB550 \*-dí- ‘eat’ |  |
| 215 | -dɪ̀d- | v | cry | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB561 \*-dɪ̀d- ‘cry’ |  |
| 216 | -gʊ̀d- | v | buy | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB876 \*-gʊ̀d- ‘buy’ |  |
| 217 | -í~~ɪ̀~~- | v | steal | a,e,g,h | CB2020 \*-yìb- ‘steal’ | c= \*-ʊ́~~ɪ̀~~-; b=-í~~ɪ~~-. \*~~ɪ~~ is inserted only because xxx is found in Kamba; in other forms it probably did not exist. Note that only g,h are unambiguously \*i~~ɪ~~, only c unambiguously \*ʊ~~ɪ~~- xxx; the latter would be expected given the CB form. |
| 218 | -tém- | v | cut, chop | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB1703 \*-tém- ‘cut’ | f only in Barlow |
| 219 | -cíad- | v | bear (fruit, children) | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB136 \*bíad- ‘bear child’ |  |
| 220 | -ɪ́t- | v | call | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB2017 \*yɪ́t- ‘call’ |  |
| 221 | -pànd- | v | plant | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB1432 \*-pànd- ‘plant’ | One h source shows high tone! |
| 224 | -med- | v | sprout, grow | a,b,c,d,e,g,h | CB1293 \*-mèd- ‘grow’ | b,h were herd as \*méd !! |
| 225 | -ʊ́m- | v | dry, harden | a,b,c,d,e,g,h | CB2161 \*-yúm- ‘dry’ |  |
| 226 | -kùu- | v | carry | a,c,d,e,g |  | The g entry is doubtful, and may reflect recent Kikuyu influence |
| 227 | -pʊ́ʊd- | v | beat, thresh | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB1590 \*-pʊ́ʊ́d- ‘thresh’ | b,g in Barlow only |
| 228 | -còok- | v | return | a,b,e,f,g,h |  | c,d,e,f -cìok-, which probably represent the original form. The form above was chosen because of wider distribution. |
| 229 | -ɪ́du- | v | be ripe | a,c,d,g | CB117 \*bɪ́du ‘get cooked’ | The meaning ‘be done’ of food is also found in Thagicu with this form. |
| 231 | -ój | v | take | a,c,d,e,g |  |  |
| 232 | -dàaci- | v | make payments of bridewealth | a,c,d,g,h |  |  |
| 233 | -θɪ́nj- | v | butcher | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB741 \*-cɪ́nj- ‘butcher’ | b only in Barlow |
| 234 | -pák- | v | smear | a,c,d,e,h | CB1417 \*-pàk ‘rub’ | Note tone. Tone based on Kikuyu only in this item. |
| 235 | -dáθ- | v | shoot | a,n,c,e,f,g,h | CB449 \*-dác- ‘shoot’ |  |
| 236 | -tíg- | v | leave, let, stop | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | CB1746 \*-tíg- ‘leave’ |  |
| 237 | -tʊ́ʊd- | v | dwell | a,n,c,e,f,g,h | CB1819 \*-tʊ́ʊd- ‘rest |  |
| 238 | -úm- | v | come out | a,b,c,e,f,g,h | cf. CB1622 \*púm- ‘come out’. The Thagicu should reflect Bantu \*-búm- !! |  |

Luhyia and Nyanza

A Gisu (Ludadiri), B Bukusu; Central: West C Nyuli, D Nyala, & Mid: E Marama, F Nyole & East: G Hanga, H Taconi; Southern: I Ixusa, J Logooli; Eastern: K Kuria, L Gusii.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| # | proto East Victorian | gram | meaning | attested | link to PT | skewings |
| v1 | -ntʊ | 1/2 | person | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k,l | pt 18 (pt = proto Thagicu) |  |
| v2 | -kaana | 1/2 | girl | a,b,c,d,f,g,j, |  | possible to be taken as \*-ka ‘woman’ cf. CB970 and \*‑ana ‘child’ (cf. v3??) |
| v3 | -ana | 1/2 | child | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k,l | pt 86 |  |
| v4 | -amɪ | 1/2 | chief | a,c,d,g,i,j | CB 1911 \*-yámɪ̀ ‘chief’ | C glossed as ‘hisband’, a meaning shared in other dialects. Note mainly western distribution |
| v5 | -ca~~ɪ~~ja | 1/2 | man, husband | a,b,c,d,e,g,h,i,j,k,l, | Luganda òmùsá`jjá | On this item, see discussion of NEV \*taj j- sequence in ‘Reconstructed Phonologic History’ and v31 |
| v6 | -kali | 1/2 | woman, wife | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k | CB 986 \*kádì ‘wife’ |  |
| v7 | -geni | 1/2 | stranger | a,b,c,f,g,h,i,j,l | pt 21 |  |
| v8 | -aYɪ | 1/2 | herdsman | a,b,c,g,h,i,j | verbal derivative |  |
| v9 | -~~ɪ~~jʊkʊlʊ | 1/2 | grandchild | b,g,h | CB 2050 \*-yíjúkʊ̀dʊ̀ | a = \*-~~ɪ~~jʊkʊlʊ c = -~~ɪ~~jekʊlʊ l = -jʊkʊlʊ |
| v10 | -caala | 3/4 | tree | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j |  |  |
| v11 | -lɪlo | 3/4 | fire | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | CB 565 -dɪ̀dò ‘fire’ | D cited by Williams as -lito ! Williams, also gives J as -litu. In both cases other sources give L not T as C2. I,J,L = \*-lĭl-ʊ; k= \*-lolo; an L variant is given as omɔ́rro! |
| v12 | -tʊe | 3/4 | head | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h | pt 121 | i,j,k,l =\*tʊY |
| v13 | -kono | 3/4 | arm, hand | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k | CB 1142 \*-kónò ‘forearm’ | Some Central dialects show a plural in 6, suggesting influence of an earlier item in 15/6 such as pt8? |
| v14 | -eli | 3/4 | moon, month | a,b,f,g,h,j,k | pt 53 | d=\*-ʊli; i=\*-ɪli |
| v15 | -bano | 3/4 | arrow, knife | a,b,f,g,h,i | CB 45 \*-bànò ‘arrowshaft’ | Most forms = ‘knife’ g.i glossed ‘arrow’only; a,b,h given as ‘arrow’ AND ‘knife’ |
| v16 | -gongo | 3/4 | back | a,b,d,g,h,i,j,k,l | pt72 |  |
| v17 | -gʊnda | 3/4 | field | a,b,f,g,h,k | pt62 | l=\*gʊndʊ |
| v18 | -goye | 3/4 | rope, thong | b,c,e,g,h,i,j | CB 860 \*-gòyè ‘string’ |  |
| v19 | -lɪango | 3/4 | doorway | a,b,f,g,h,i | CB 552 \*-dɪ̀àngò ‘door’ |  |
| v20 | -bacʊ | 3/4 | day, sun(light) | h,i,j,l | Segeju muado ‘sun’, an implicit item as the word is not commen but links one portion of Victoriam with one of Thagicu | used for ‘sun’ inxxx, daylight elsewhere |
| v21 | -nua | 3/4 | mouth, lip | a,b,c,d,e,g,h,i,j | pt 7 | k=\*-ɲua |
| v22 | -gela | 3/4 | river | b,e,f,h,i,j | CB 799 \*-geda ‘stream’ | Williams gives ‑kila for d. |
| v24 | -kɪla | 3/4 | tail | c,e,i,j,k | CB 1053 \*-kɪ́dà ‘tail’ |  |
| v25 | -pɪga | 3/4 | year | a,d,e,g,i,j |  | one A varant \*-pYgo |
| v23 | -cambwa | 3/4 | ghost, spirit | a,b,d,g,i | Luganda `mùsâmbwá ‘itutelary deity’ | K shows a related form in 5 irisamba, Borrowed into protoKalenjin \*mu:simyusia according to Ehret p.157 |
| v26 | -bɪlɪ | body | 3/4 | a,c,d,f,g,h,j,k,l | pt67 |  |
| v27 | -zigo | load | 3/4 | a,b,g,j | CB 614 \*digʊ̀ | Possibly borrowing is involved |
| v28 | -ino | 5/6 | tooth | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k,l | CB 2073 \*-yínò ‘tooth’ |  |
| v29 | -tumo | 5/6 | spear | a,b,c,d,g,h,j? | pt 12 | i,k,l \*-timʊ; l and perhaps j \*-tumʊ |
| v30 | -gɪ | 5/6 | egg | a,b,c,d,k | CB 809 \*-gí ‘egg’ |  |
| v31 | -ɪjɪ | 6 | water | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k,l | pt 34 |  |
| v32 | -beele | 5/6 | breast, milk | b,c,g,h,i,j,k,l | CB 71 \*-béédè ‘breast’ | 6= milk more common; J has a form in 11 for ‘breast’ |
| v33 | -gʊmba | 5/6 | bone | a,b,c,d,e,g,i,j |  |  |
| v34 | -koti | 5/6 | neck | a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,j,k | pt 8 | i given as etiŋuri < \*-ŋʊti; k has an alternant in \*-ngoti; note that Dahl law applies in all dialects. |
| v35 | -gɪna | 5/6 | stone | d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k,l |  |  |
| v36 | -kuta | 6 | fat | a,b,d,g,h,i,j,k,l | pt 144 |  |
| v37 | -ɪta | 5/6 | name | d,e,f,g,h,j,l | cf. pt 111 |  |
| v38 | -alwa | 6 | beer | a,b,g,i,j,l | CB 1901 \*yàdúá ‘beer’ |  |
| v39 | -bega | 5/6 | shoulder | a,b,g,i | CB 84 \*-bègà ‘shoulder | A number of orms in 11 exists |
| v40 | -leeci | 5/6 | cloud | b,e,g,h,i,j |  |  |
| v41 | -ʊlʊ | 5/6 | nose | a,d,e,g,i,j | pt 16 | b,h=-\*olʊ (back formation from the plural, where coalescence of prefix of ma- with \*ʊ gives moo. l=3/4; k has irnayeru possibly related, cf. the nasal of PT 16. c=eselu The c is due to influence from Northern Gisu, where it is part of the prevocalic class 5 prefix. |
| v42 | -liga | 5/6 | tear | b,c,d,g,h,j,l |  |  |
| v43 | -pʊa | 5/6 | thorn | b,d,f,g,h,i | CB partial series 399 \*‑pʊ́á ‘thorn’ | l=\*-gua possibly related through complex skewing? cf. 152 |
| v44 | -koke | 5/6 | ashes | a,b,e,j |  | i (perhaps j as well) ‑\*kokɪ Note: Dahl’s Law affects initial in all dialects. |
| v45 | -bi | 6 | dung | a,b,d,g,h,i,k | CB 135 \*bí ‘excreta’ | many of these are drawn from early (and somewhat unreliable) sources. The item doesnot, however, seem doubtful. |
| v46 | -tango | 5/6 | thigh | a,b,h,i,j |  |  |
| v47 | -topɪ | 5/6 | mud, soil | a,g,i,j | cf. CB 1797 \*-tope ‘mud’ | b=lítosi!!! Note Dahl’s Law affect initial |
| v49 | -kondɪ | 5/6 | sheep | a,c,g,i,j | cf. pt 65 |  |
| v50 | -nege | 5/6 | testicle | b,d,h,i,j | Luganda àmànégè ‘testicles+scrotum’ | =scrotum in j |
| v51 | -loba | 5/6 | soil, earth | a,b,c,d,g,h,j,l | CB 639 \*-dòbá ‘soil’ |  |
| v53 | -kanga | 5/6 | guinea fowl | a,d,g,h,j | CB 1010 \*-kángà ‘guinea fowl’ |  |
| v54 | -tako | 5/6 | buttocks | a,b,d,g,h,j | CB 1650 \*tákò ‘buttocks’ |  |
| v55 | -bala | 7/8 | land, area | b,g,h,i,j,k | CB 14 \*bàdà ‘open space’ |  |
| v56 | -mɪʊ | 7 | dry season | a,b,g,j |  | disyllabic; perhaps = \*mɪYʊ ? |

The principal languages consulted are abbreviated as follows: Southern Kikuyu (A); Embu (B); Kamba (C); Segeju (D); Tharaka (E); Chuka (F); Mwimbi (G); Imenti (H). Two languages from each subdivision are included among these 'Test Languages'; normally if a subdivision is attested for an item from one of these languages no other occurrence is noted.

All symbols orthographic

The four nasals correspond exactly in all dialects, as do all the vowels except ~~ɪ~~ (see my article 'An Eighth Vowel in Thagicu', JAL Vol.7/2). Note the symbols W and Y used for orthographic and ũ and ĩ respectively, ~~Y~~ will occasionally be used for the consonant that appears - with all too little regularity - in most dialects in forms like Kikuyu mũkũyũ 'fig tree', as realized y or 0. Most cases of surface 'semi-vowels' are in fact of vocalic origin and bear tone, but this is consonantal, toneless, and undifferentiated for quality, where other orthographic y may show clearly the quality of either i or ĩ. Another symbol, X, is used in one of the reconstructions in this set (28-54) to indicate that a stem is treated in all attesting dialects as consonant initial, though no consonant can be reconstructed at present.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| pCKB | A Kikuyu | L Ndia Kikuy | B Embu | C Kamba | D Daiso | E Chuka | F Tharaka | G Meru-Imenti | H Meru-X | Proto Bantu |
| P | h | b | v | v | v | 0 | b | 0 | 0 | p |
| MP | :h | mb | mv | mb | mvb? | mp | mp | mp | mp | mp |
| θ | th | th | t | th | d | th | th | th | th | c |
| Nθ | :th | nth | nth | nth | nd | nth | nth | nd | nth | nc |
| T | t | t | t | t | t | t | t | t | t | t |
| NT | nd | nt | nd | nd | t | nt | nt | nt | nt | nt |
| C | c | c | c | s | s | c | c | c | c | ? |
| NC | nj | nj | nj | nz | s | nc | nc | nc | nc |  |
| K | k | k | k | k | k | k | k | k | k | k |
| NK | ng | ng | ng | ng | ng | k | nk | nk | nk | nk |
| MB | mb | mb | mb | mb | mb | mb | mb | mb | mb |  |
| D | r | r | r | 0 | r | r | r | r | r | d |
| ND | nd | nd | nd | nd | nd | nd | nd | nd | nd |  |
| J | 0 | 0 | c | s | s | j | c- | j | j | j |
| NJ | nj | nj | nj | nz | s | nj | nj | nj | nj |  |
| G | g | g | g | 0 | 0 | g | g | g | g |  |
| NG | ng | ng | ng | ng | ng | ng | ng | ng | ng |  |
| ~~I~~ | i | i | ɪ | ɪ | ɪ | ɪ | ɪ | ɪ | ɪ |  |

PROTO—THAGICU Vl/Proto-Victorian II: A Late Issue, but New Triumphs

Those Thagicu specialists and Kikuyu scholars who have been following these pages will be, I am sure, delighted to hear the reason for the delay in compiling and transmitting this issue’s set of cognates and reconstructions. Our editor-in-chief humbly wishes to announce the completion of a paper presenting a set of rules and postulated underlying patterns, on the basis of which some 75% of the tonal phenomena of Kikuyu can be predicted in an easy, natural, and comparatively (d.e. diachronically) well-motivated way. The paper has been submitted for publication, and it is to be hoped that it will soon be in the hands of all readers. At present, those of you known to the staff to be professionally interested in the Kikuyu tonal system will receive with this issue a copy of the paper in question.

With all due modesty, may I say I feel this to he a landmark in Kikuyu studies. Not that the postulated patterns and rules are final - it is clear that there remain a number of areas where further research is needed. But I feel that we have reached a point where the back of the problem is broken. Vie can now identify and with sdime confidence attack those areas revealed by the study to be remaining difficulties. Less formally, let me say that I have no due modesty., but am inwardly seething with joy and pride! 35+ years of work on one problem is a tough problem, after all, and the solution is not something I am going to be modest about.

So, then, what news of the Thagicu world? Thanks to your -ditor’s typewriter (both of them)- being tied up, there is little correspondence to report. There is the offer of some possibly to be provided Segeju and Song.o material from our Tanzanian office; perhaps when I get to send a reply it will be realized. Some Mhere material has been sent for examination and comment by Jack. Glazier of Oberlin; the comment will soon, now, be sent, but a few forms have worked their way onto our listings already; note that the x symbol N has been assigned t-ibere attestations in the Thagicu lists.

Watch for the Barlow manuscript (first ’instalment) in Afrika & Ubersee; it has now gone through the proof stage ard should be at hand fairly soon. The materials therein will be of condiderable interest to many readers, I’m sure. For a number of reasons the second part, dealing with the verbal material has been held up, but work should begin early in ipril. Seme, of you will be receiving also a copy of one of the reasons, a paper I’ll be presenting at the end of March in Stanford; this little gem (why can’y I keep them under 30 pages?) brings us to a unified overview of Kikuyu- (and Thagicu^ at least) clause-types which makes choice of independent/relative/absolutive/consecutive absolutely clear and predictable, and leaves the etymologic connections of the verb dorms themselves beautifully justified.

In order to sound less conceited, may I ask that all be aware of T.P. Gorman’s Glossary in English, Riswahili, Kikmyu, and Bholuo, published by Cassell & Co, Nairobi 1972 [took a while to get to my attention. Well set out practical (semantically classified) word lists in the languages named. Pending the arrival of the English-Kikuyu dictionary (and it is taking a while!) this is about the best English-Kikuyu listing we’re likely to get. Gorman scooped me; I had started work on a similar project, though I would hake included a few more languages, at least Kamba and Luhya! I may yet anyold how

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The work has no reverse indices, £o that it cannot easily be used as a Kikuyu-English (or, to be fair, Luo-English) vocabulary. To some extent this deficiency is made up by the fact that the lists are semantically grouped, so that if you know enough Kikuyu to know what a word means you can find the English equivalent. This does not help the non-Kikuyu speaker very much, but for the native speaker makes the book, probably, a good bit more useful than the Oxford dictionary - at least he doesn’t have to abstract the stem and then search through a few dozen possible entries. There are of course some misprints, some strange (and to the non-native speaker misleading)entries) some poorly chosen equivalents - note the fact that mugumo is given as the only equivalent of 'fig tree£, leaving mukuyu out ifi the cold! Note also that the index to section headings (the only way the book can be used to find an English gloss being to use which - and how’s that for a construction!) does NOT give the page on which the Section begins! Still, a very handy item to have in one's pocket, and for shilingi kumi tu can one afford not to?

So much for the book review section. For the non-Thagicu reader, we are again including a three-page set (after this time I could do no less) of Victorian cognates. Conventions the same as last time. *T* did last time promise to talk about that use of \*\_L in place of the \*1) used in the PT listings. The reason becomes apparent in this set. Dahl's Law is the problem. All of the dialects of this set show some form of Dahl's Law at least stem-internally. In Kuria-Gusii, this pretty much affects \*K. only, as in PT. But in the rest it affects other stem-initials as well, including \*T. NoW, it was decided to do as was done in PT and ignore Dahj's Law in the reconstructions, presenting for V34 \*-koti rather than \*-goti. Accordingly, normally a voiced stop corresponding to \*T would not be needed, and the Guthrian \*d\_ as used in PT could be retained. BUT! In some innovative items (a few being loanwirds from various types of Nilotic) a consonant has to be postulated, identical in correspondences with the \*t\_affected by DahJ’s Law, but not in a position where Dahl's Law conditioning can be cited. For these, it is necessary to have the symbol\*]) free and distinct from the item represented here by \*L.

It is interesting to note that the approximate rationof cognates with Proto-Thagicu/ remains stable. About a third of the last batch of Victorian reconstructions were shared with Thagicu; of this set, again about a third. It is as'yet unclear what this may hean for the degree of relationship between the groups; it is also by no means certain that the ratio >. ’ll maintain itdel at such a level. It must be remembered that the outlying' Gusii and Kuria in general share far more characteristics with Thagicuz than do dther members of the group. It is to be hoped that further issues will Clarify this point.

Owing to problems of tine and space, the promised listing of Victorian regular correspondences cannot be included in this issue. Be of good cheer. Until next time (I hope much less delayed), may joy be on you, happy reader.

March 21, 1974