

THE EASTERN SUDANIC LANGUAGES

A. N. Tucker

LINGUISTIC SURVEYS OF
AFRICA



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THE EASTERN SUDANIC LANGUAGES

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PREFACE

THE COUNTRY AND THE LANGUAGES

BY the 'Southern Sudan' is to be understood roughly an area of some 240,000 square miles, embracing the two provinces—Upper Nile Province and Equatorial Province.¹ (The latter is a recent amalgamation of the Bahr el Ghazal with Mongalla Province.) The northern part of this country is a vast swamp, alternating with large tracts of steppe lands, which are iron-hard in the dry season and almost liquid mud during the rains. Eastward the swamps and steppes gradually give way to the highlands of Abyssinia. The south is mountainous and well wooded, leading to the Uganda escarpment and the Nile Congo Divide. The west consists of 'park land' or rolling country covered by light woods, which prevent the observer from seeing any distance except from the tops of the slight ridges which intersect the country at great intervals. To the south-west the land is richer, and tropical undergrowth more abundant. There is only one small patch of tropical rain forest to the south-east.

Owing to the Nile (Bahr el Jebel) and its tributaries, the swamps are more accessible by river steamer, during part of the year at least, than one would at first imagine. Since many of the Nilotic peoples like to live along the banks of rivers and watercourses, they may be approached in this way. Their inland branches, however, are very hard to reach, since it takes nearly the whole of one dry season to level out a 200-mile motor road, which the following wet season will entirely submerge. In the southern areas motor transport is becoming more and more possible, and roads are now being made which can outlast the rainy season. Here the main obstacle lies in the myriad small rivers and streams which intersect the country, and which, with no warning, will come down in spate and wash away the strongest bridge that local talent can erect.

The inhabitants of the Southern Sudan present a great mixture of cultures and languages. On the whole, however, language and culture are definitely linked, except in some western and south-western districts. The following are the main languages and cultural groups with which this linguistic series will concern itself:

I. *The Eastern Sudanic Languages.*

1. The Moru-Madi group.
2. The Bongo-Baka-Bagirmi group.
3. The Ndogo-Sere group.
4. Zande (and other unrelated Sudanic languages).

II. *The Nilotic Languages.*

5. Dinka.
6. Nuer.
7. The Shilluk-Acholi group.

III. *The Nilo-Hamitic Languages.*

8. The Bari dialects.
9. The Lotuko dialects.
10. The Topotha-Turkana dialects.

¹ Seligman (op. cit., p. 2) includes Dar Fur, Kordofan, Dar Nuba, and El Fung in his conception of the 'Nilotic Sudan', but the languages spoken there (with the possible exception of El Fung) lie outside the scope of this series.

11. The Nandi group.
12. The Masai group.

IV. *Unplaced Category (Western Hamitic?)*.

13. The Didinga-Beir group.

The present work will confine itself to the three main groups of Eastern Sudanic languages,¹ namely, Moru-Madi, Bongo-Baka-Bagirmi, and Ndogo-Sere. The Sudan members of these groups live in the western and southern highlands of Equatorial Province,² but the main body of Eastern Sudanic speakers should be sought outside the Southern Sudan in the neighbouring corners of Uganda and the Belgian Congo, and in the Oubangui-Chari and Tchad Districts of French Equatorial Africa. The Sudan representatives are obviously invaders from these parts.

The distribution of these peoples is roughly as follows (for detailed distribution see Chapter I):

Moru-Madi group.

This group extends from Amadi District of 'Mongalla' Province (Moru) in a horse-shoe bend through Maridi and Yei (Avukaya, Keliko), through the north-east corner of the Congo (Logo, Lendu), north-west Uganda (Lugbara, Madi), and into the Opari District of 'Mongalla' Province (Madi).

Bongo-Baka-Bagirmi group.

This group includes the Rumbek 'Jur' and many of the so-called 'Moru' tribes. Its Sudan members are scattered between Yei and Amadi and between Amadi and Wau. The great bulk of the group, however, are to be found in the Oubangui-Chari District of French Equatorial Africa (Sara) and south-east of Lake Tchad (Bagirmi).

Ndogo-Sere group ('Belanda'-'Basiri').

These people are to be found mostly between Wau and Dem Zubeir, though a large portion of Basiri live north of the Mbomu River in Oubangui-Chari.

Other Sudanic tribes.

The Azande occupy the south-west corner of the 'Bahr el Ghazal', extending eastward as far as Maridi. The great bulk of the Azande live in the Congo. For the distribution of the smaller Sudanic tribes see Chapter I.

The term 'Eastern Sudanic languages' is used here primarily in a geographical sense; the dialects in the Southern Sudan form the eastern boundary of Sudanic speech, where it borders on the Nilotic wedge which, in turn, divides it from Hamitic speech.³ As a group or family name, however, it is not very good, since these languages themselves are sharply divided into two opposing camps: (a) the Moru-Madi and Bongo-Baka groups, which have much in common with each other and with the languages of Calonne Beaufaict's *Derniers Néolithiques* (Momvu, Efe, &c.); these languages are either indigenous to the Wele basin or are among its very earliest

¹ For the distribution of tribes within the Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic, &c. groups, see my article, 'Survey of the Language Groups in the Southern Sudan', *Bulletin of School of Oriental Studies*, vol. vii, pt. 4, 1935.

² Since the formation of Equatorial Province is very recent, and the boundaries, at the time of writing, still rather vague in places, the old terms 'Bahr el Ghazal' and 'Mongalla' Province will occasionally be used in the text to signify the north-western and the south-eastern sections of this new province.

³ See Map 1. North of the Nilotic area there has been a great fusion of Sudanic with Hamitic, as may be seen in the multitudinous dialects of Dar Fur and Kordofan, and Hamitic influence extends westward as far as Lake Tchad at this latitude.

invaders; (b) the Ndogo-Sere group and Zande, Banda, &c. which have much in common with each other and with the languages of the later invaders of this area.

Westermann¹ places them all under the category of *Nigritische Sprachen*, except Bagirmi, which he classes under *Innersudanische Sprachen*, although he recognizes the affinity between the latter and Bongo. Delafosse uses the term *Nilo-Tchadien* for a large number of dialects in which Bongo and Bagirmi occur. At the same time all these early Wele languages have, according to most authorities, undergone varying degrees of Nilotic influence, so that Westermann's earlier classification of Moru, Madi, Bongo, &c., as 'High-Nilotic'² also carried with it considerable weight.

In dealing with frontier languages it is impossible to apply very strict categories; Bongo, to take an instance, though belonging to the Bagirmi group (Westermann's *Innersudanische Abteilung*) has borrowed much from the Momvu dialects, while its neighbour Baka has Mundu affinities, unpossessed by either Bongo or Bagirmi, and appertaining to the Ndogo-Sere group. In this book, therefore, the languages discussed will be described, because of their geographical position, as the 'Eastern Sudanic Languages', but they will be grouped linguistically under the names of their best-known representative dialects, thus: Moru-Madi, Bongo-Baka-Bagirmi, Ndogo-Sere.

¹ 'Charakter und Einteilung der Sudansprachen', *Africa*, 1935.

² *The Shilluk People*, p. 35.

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THIS and the succeeding volume are published under a combined grant from the School of Oriental and African Studies, the Sudan Government, and the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, to all of whom I am deeply indebted.

The material was obtained mostly during a linguistic tour of the Southern Sudan during 1932-3. This was my second visit to the Sudan. During the years 1929-31 I had been engaged by the Sudan Government for the purpose of studying the main 'group' languages there, helping the local authorities in the production of grammars and dictionaries for Europeans, and advising them in the application of the newly adopted Rejaf alphabet to the writing of the various group-languages in schools. It was while doing that work that I first conceived the idea of producing a comparative series on these languages, provided that I had the time to carry out the necessary investigation. To this end, on expiry of my governmental contract, the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures voted a grant of £400,¹ which was later supplemented by the School of Oriental and African Studies, who also very kindly allowed me extra leave in which to finish the research. At the same time the Sudan Government kindly promised to allow me free transport on its railways and steamers during the expedition. The various local governments, in addition, did all they could to provide me with free motor transport for my inland journeys, whenever possible. Without such generous assistance the present work would not have been possible. In this connexion Major R. G. C. Brock, Governor of the 'Bahr el Ghazal', and Mr. L. F. Nalder, Governor of 'Mongalla' Province, are especially to be thanked. Neither can I overstress the kindness and hospitality shown me by local officials and missionaries,² who allowed me to use their stations and their staff for the collecting of my dialectal material. During a third visit to the Sudan in the spring of 1938 I was able to check up on my tribal distribution notes and learn the latest governmental statistics.

For the presentation of the material in this book I am greatly indebted to Mr. J. R. Firth of University College, London. I had already written the Moru-Madi section when I appealed to him for criticism. The result was a rewriting of the whole grammatical section on an entirely different basis and in accordance with the linguistic theories associated with his name; this basis I have since used for the other two sections of the book.³ To him also is due my redefining of the Sudanic, Hamitic, and Bantu languages in Chapter IV.⁴ To Professor A. Lloyd James I owe an immense debt of gratitude for his thorough scrutiny of the work in manuscript form and consequent elimination of errors in style.

¹ In this connexion I should like to pay a special debt of gratitude to Professor C. G. Seligman, who was the prime mover in obtaining this grant for me at a time when money for research purposes was very difficult to find.

² My missionary helpers belonged to the Church Missionary Society and the Missioni Africane of Verona in the Sudan, and the Africa Inland Mission in the Congo.

³ The principles underlying this method of presentation are also to be found clearly expressed in Professor Malinowski's book *Coral Gardens*, where they are applied to Melanesian languages, with, however, special reference to a particular aspect of culture. I am greatly indebted to the author for allowing me to see this valuable book in manuscript form while my own work was still in embryo.

⁴ My original definitions (in which I was greatly helped by Professor Westermann) have already been published in my article, 'Survey of the Language Groups of the Southern Sudan'.

My material has been vastly enriched by contributions from various parts of the Eastern Sudanic area, in the form of separate monographs, answers to questionnaires, and criticisms of tentative notes of mine. Acknowledgement of these contributions is best made under the sections in which they appear in the book. Thus:

INTRODUCTION.

The following local authorities¹ have spared no trouble in subscribing towards checking, correcting, and enlarging upon my tribal statistics in Chapter I.

'Mongalla' Province.

The late Dr. K. G. Fraser and Mrs. Fraser, C.M.S. Lui, Amadi.
 Major L. N. F. Brown, D.C., Amadi-Maridi District.
 Mr. T. H. B. Mynors " " " "
 Mr. D. Lomax " " " "
 Mr. W. T. Clark " " " "
 Major D. Logan Gray ,, Yei District.
 Mr. J. Winder " " "
 Captain G. P. Cann " Opari District.
 Mr. L. F. Nalder, Governor of 'Mongalla' Province.

To the last-named authority I owe a special debt of gratitude for throwing open the office files at Juba for my inspection; these files contained many items of extreme importance, which he had just received in answer to an anthropological questionnaire circulated by him throughout the province.²

'Bahr el Ghazal'.

Rev. Fr. Stephen Santandrea, R.C. Mission, Wau (later Kayango).
 Rev. Fr. Olivetti, R.C. Mission, Kajok.
 Mr. C. A. G. Wallis, D.C. Wau, Central District.
 Mr. S. R. Simpson, D.C. Raga, Western District.
 The late Mr. D. J. Bethell, D.C. Raga, Western District.

The last-named authority, whom I met since leaving the Sudan, was able to check my previous notes on tribal distribution and to procure for me the loan of a very valuable tribal map of the Kreish area, compiled by Mr. Hibbert, a previous D.C., besides providing me with a map of his own, on which the western section of Map 3 is based.

My population statistics were originally obtained through the courtesy of the Secretariat for Education, Khartoum, and have since been vetted by the various local authorities.

From the area outside the Sudan I have had the following assistance.

Belgian Congo.

The Belgian Government, through our Foreign Office, has very kindly provided me with the latest population figures of non-Bantu tribes in the north-east corner of the Congo.

Miss Lucy McCord and Mr. H. Stam, of the Africa Inland Mission, took great trouble to provide me with sketch-maps showing the distribution of Eastern Sudanic tribes in the Congo. These maps were a valuable addition to those already published by Czekanowski, Maes et Boone, and others, being more local in character.

¹ Many of my informants have since been transferred to other stations.

² Since incorporated in his *Tribal Survey of Mongalla Province*.

French Equatorial Africa.

I am very much obliged to the Government of Oubangui-Chari for sending me, also through our Foreign Office, statistics concerning the distribution of the Sara and Banda tribes in that area, accompanied by a very welcome map (Map 4).

I am also greatly indebted to Professor H. Labouret of Paris for obtaining for me from Fort Lamy the governmental statistics of the tribes in the Lake Tchad area.

Uganda.

My tribal statistics have been taken from the Census Returns of 1931.

In addition, Father E. Ramponi (Missioni Africane) from Gulu has very kindly given me the results of his own research into the distribution of Lugbara dialects.

PART I. THE MORU-MADI LANGUAGE GROUP.

Moru-Avukaya.

Dr. and Mrs. Fraser, at whose mission hospital at Lui I was a guest for a considerable time, were instrumental in introducing me to Moru, and allowed me to make great use of their staff, besides encroaching on their own time. Their greatest contribution, for which I shall always be grateful, was the loan of one of their leading Moru teachers, who accompanied me on my journeys through the whole Moru-Madi area, and who was invaluable in helping me with dialectal differences.

The Rev. and Mrs. F. G. Laverick, who offered me hospitality at their station at Maridi, helped greatly to put me in touch with Avukaya and the Western Moru speakers.

I should also like to thank Major L. N. F. Brown, the then District Commissioner of Amadi and Yei, for placing at my disposal members of the native police and prisoners, from whom I was able to obtain nearly all the dialects I wanted.

Since leaving the Sudan I met Mr. T. H. B. Mynors, who was busy writing a Moru grammar. We exchanged notes and he gave me a copy of his work in manuscript (which has since been circulated in the Sudan in typescript form), from which I have helped myself liberally.

Logo and Lendu.

I was only able to spend a short time in touch with Logo speakers (although the Africa Inland Mission at Aba supplied me with all the raw material I could handle while there), and my Logo section would have been very deficient but for the subsequent assistance of Miss Lucy McCord of the A.I.M. Toro, who very kindly filled in a Linguistic Questionnaire, which I had made out, and, more important still, lent me the manuscript Logo Grammar of the late Miss Mary Mozley, which proved to be a most valuable source of information.

My Lendu grammatical material was acquired similarly through the Rev. B. L. Litchman's filling in my questionnaire for that language, my time only permitting me to study its very peculiar phonetic system.

Lugbara.

Fr. Crazzolaro of the R.C. Mission, Gulu, sent me some useful notes on Lugbara verbs, but unfortunately a serious illness prevented him from filling in my questionnaire. My own Lugbara field-notes were taken from natives outside their own country, and I had no means of telling whether their dialect was the purest Lugbara or not.¹

¹ Comparison with the Lugbara of the New Testament shows considerable Keliko influence in my Lugbara material.

Madi.

I am greatly indebted to the C.M.S. Loka for lending me two (Pandikeri) Madi schoolboys, whom I was able to compare with Lokai speakers. In this way I was able to do some valuable dialectal work, in which I was also helped by the R.C. Mission at Loa.

Mr. P. B. Broadbent of the Civil Secretariat, Khartoum, gave me, through Professor Westermann, several of the Institute's 'linguistic guides', which had been filled in for various Sudan languages. Of these I have made particular use of the one in *Madi*, filled in by Rev. Fr. Bay of R.C. Mission, Loa; in *Keliko*, filled in by Police Corporal Yassa Akulu, under the supervision of Major D. Logan Gray; in *Kreish*,¹ filled in by Mr. D. J. Bethel, D.C. of Raga.

PART II. THE BONGO-BAKA-BAGIRMI GROUP.

Bongo.

I am, in the first place, indebted to Fr. Stephen Santandrea of the Missioni Africane, Kayango, for placing at my disposal the manuscript of an article of his on Bongo. I have unhesitatingly referred to this excellent work in order to supplement my own field-notes, and am glad to acknowledge my frequent indebtedness to the author.

'Beli.

In the same manuscript appear some notes on 'Beli, which are interesting in that they were taken on the language of the same prisoner whom I had previously examined in Wau (by kind permission of the local authorities).

Baka.

Mr. T. H. B. Mynors, during his Moru studies, had also made some notes on Baka, which he kindly passed on to me.

Sara.

I can never be sufficiently grateful to Professor D. Westermann and Dr. H. C. Melzian for giving me the notes they took on Sara Kaba during an African exhibition in Berlin in 1929. The rest of my Bagirmi-Sara material has had to be taken entirely from books, and these notes constitute the only reliable phonetic and tonetic material that I have from that part of Africa. Consequently their value in establishing my basis for comparative phonetics has been enormous.

PART III. THE NDOGO-SERE GROUP.

While at Wau I was able to do little more than take phonetic and vocabulary notes on these languages. Consequently the grammar section of Part III is built up almost entirely of comparative material collected by Father Stephen Santandrea, the manuscript of which he gave me long before it was published in typescript form in the Southern Sudan. Since then he has kept in constant touch with me and has answered numerous queries arising from his notes, besides lending me a valuable MS. on Golo.

¹ A full discussion of *Kreish* is to appear in a later volume of this series.

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INTRODUCTION

SECTION I. TRIBAL

Chapter I. DISTRIBUTION OF THE EASTERN SUDANIC TRIBES.

- „ II. HISTORY OF THE EASTERN SUDANIC TRIBES—
THE INVASIONS OF THE WELE BASIN.
- „ III. HISTORY OF THE EASTERN SUDANIC TRIBES
(*continued*)—THE EFFECT OF THE INVASIONS.

SECTION II. LINGUISTIC

- „ IV. CHARACTERISTICS OF AFRICAN LANGUAGE
FAMILIES.
- „ V. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EASTERN SUDANIC
LANGUAGES.
- „ VI. SOME GENERAL PRINCIPLES AND DEFINI-
TIONS UNDERLYING THE STUDY OF
EASTERN SUDANIC GRAMMAR.

SECTION I. TRIBAL

CHAPTER I

DISTRIBUTION OF THE EASTERN SUDANIC TRIBES

1. Reference has already been made to the main groups of Eastern Sudanic speakers in and about the Southern Sudan. In this chapter each group will be analysed in detail. In the case of some tribes, attempts have been made at an exact census. In other cases only the number of *taxpayers* is given; in such cases a fair estimate of tribal strength may be obtained by multiplying the number of taxpayers by four.

THE MORU-MADI GROUP

2. This group comprises over 250,000 speakers of languages and dialects which are almost mutually intelligible, if one excepts Lendu. These languages stretch in a horseshoe bend from Amadi to Yei in Equatorial Province,¹ through the north-eastern corner of the Belgian Congo and the north-western corner of Uganda, and back again into Equatorial Province, Opari District. Both geographically and linguistically this chain of languages may be divided into three sub-groups, which can, for convenience, be called:

- i. The Northern, or Moru, dialects (Amadi and Maridi Districts).
- ii. The Central languages (Yei District and Belgian Congo).
- iii. The Southern or Madi sub-group (Uganda and Opari District).

I. THE MORU DIALECTS (20,000 *speakers*)

3. The name 'Moru'² is of doubtful origin. It is used indiscriminately as an alternative name for a great many tribes and sub-tribes, and is applied even to some non-Moru-speaking tribes. The true Moru-speaking tribes are as follows:

4. The (MORU) MIZA (1,800 taxpayers) live south-east of Amadi under Chiefs Ndarago and Agangwa. There is another small section of the Miza living near the Moroägi, and a third (120 taxpayers) living and intermarrying with the Morokodo under Chief Hassan. The Miza dialect is now the language of education in the mission schools.

5. The (MORU) KEDIRU (1,300 taxpayers) live north of the Miza under Chief Wala. A branch of the Kediru nicknamed the MAKU'BA live under Chief Roba on the Tapari, in contact with the Nyangwara in the no-man's-land south of Tindalu.

6. The LAKAMA'DI live north of the Kediru on the Tali road under Sub-Chief Wura (under Chief Roba). These are the most northerly of the Moru and they live in contact with the (Bari-speaking) Mondari, with whom they intermarry.

7. The three dialects—Miza, Kediru, and Lakama'di—are so similar as to be almost identical.

8. The MOROÄNDRI³ (850 taxpayers) live west of the Miza under Chiefs Ngere (Ngele) and Wajo.

¹ In what was formerly Mongalla Province.

² The true pronunciation is 'Moro' not 'Moru', but the latter spelling was adopted partly to avoid confusion, in missionary circles, with the South Sea Moro.

³ In the tribal names Moroändri, Moroägi, and Morokodo it does not seem possible to omit the word 'Moro', at least, when speaking these languages. In the other tribal names the word 'Moro' may be left out at will.

9. The 'BÄLIMBÄ ('Böliba') (300 taxpayers) live south of the Miza adjoining Päjulu (the Bari-speaking 'Fajelu') territory under Chief Jambo.

10. These two dialects are almost identical, although 'Bälimbä has absorbed certain elements from the neighbouring Bari dialects.

11. The MOROÄGI (800 taxpayers) live west of the Moroändri on the road to Maridi in two small sections—the nearer under Chief Agangwa and the farther under Chiefs Madragi and Okupoi. A small section of the Miza is to be found living between them. A remnant of Moroägi, fugitives from the Azande, may also be found on the Tali road under Sub-Chief Mondo north of the Morokodo, and some 400 at Amadi itself.

12. The (MORU) WA'DI (325 taxpayers) are scattered about north of Maridi under Chiefs Okupoi and Madragi. Many so-called Wa'di are really Morokodo, and speak a Bongo-Baka language.

13. These two dialects are almost identical. In fact there is some doubt as to whether these people are not really one tribal unit.¹ Both these dialects are nearer to Moroändri than to Miza, but they also have much in common with Avukaya.

14. The Amadi District census for 1937 gives the following population statistics; here the number of subjects to each chief is stated, irrespective of tribe (this does not include Maridi District tribes):

Chief	Popula- tion	Tribe
Ndarago Lorola . . .	5,675	Miza
Agangwa Warangwa (Agangwa Wărăngwa)	2,302	Miza, Moroägi, Moroändri
Wajo Dengo . . .	1,499	Moroändri
Ngere Abu . . . (Dgere Äbu)	1,398	Moroändri
Roba Koyongwa . . .	3,274	Kediru
Wala Difo . . .	1,962	Kediru
Jambo Loo . . .	1,247	'Bälimbä
	<u>17,357</u>	

From the point of view of population, Miza is the most representative dialect of the Moru group; on the other hand, Moroändri has more in common (especially phonetically) with Madi on the one side and Avukaya on the other.

II. THE CENTRAL LANGUAGES (83,000 *speakers*)

15. The AVUKAYA² live principally in two sections between Maridi and Yei. The OJILA branch (750 taxpayers) lives largely between the Naam and Olo rivers, under Chief Okupoi, but reaches as far east as Chief Wajo. Another smaller section is to be found north of Chiefs Madragi and Mambe. The OJIGÄ branch (700 taxpayers) lives just north of Yei, but there is also a small section of these people, called AGAMORO living on the outskirts of Mundu country south of Maridi, and a further branch ('AJIGO') in the Belgian Congo between Aba and Faradje.

¹ Mynors reports that the Moroägi are only called so by the Miza, and prefer to call themselves Wa'di. Brown, however, asserts that the name Wa'di was chosen by Madragi to apply to the mixed Moroägi and Morokodo population under his jurisdiction.

² The name Avukaya or Abokaya is supposed by some to be of Zande origin, and various theories are current as to how it came to be applied.

16. The KELIKO or KALIKO (real name MA'DI) (1,110 taxpayers) occupy the high plateau in the southern part of Yei River District under Chief Aluma, and are grouped in the following clans: Panyana (ruling clan), Poni, Gulumbi, Ayuru, Orugu, Bora, Nyanga, Nye. There is another section of Keliko (9,138) under Chief Kalika(?) in the Belgian Congo south-east of Aba in the territory of the Alur-Lugbara.¹

17. It is doubtful whether the BÖRI or BERRI have separate tribal existence. Logan Gray states that they live in the Belgian Congo, and gives a short vocabulary of their language. I have been unable to confirm this. It is more likely that the various scattered groups of a BÖRI clan speak either Keliko or Päjulu ('Fajelu') according to the people they live among. Mynors informs me that there is a Bōri rain-makers' clan among the Moro, whose graves resemble those of Kakwa rain-makers.

18. The LOGO (some 60,000) are mostly to be found in the Congo in the triangle of country between Aba, Faradje, and Watsa² where there seem to be four sections of them. A few Logo are to be found in Yei District of Mongalla Province. The Belgian Government statistics concerning this tribe are as follows: 'In the territory of the Logo-Dongo (head township, Faradje) there are 75,581 inhabitants, of whom 62,941 are indigenous. They are divided into Logo-Agambi (19,976), Logo-Doka (31,510), Bari-Logo³ (4,292), and Dongo-Tedemu (7,163).'

19. Living among the Bari-Logo, but speaking a distinct dialect of their own, are the KAZIBATI, but nothing is known of these people beyond their name.

20. The NDO (13,947) live just south of the Logo in the territory of the Alur-Lugbara, centre Aungba. Not much is known of these people, but they are said to be related to the OKABO (or OKEBU), who are blacksmiths among the Lendu and Alur, and who speak Lendu, Logo, Lugbara, and Alur, according to the people they live among.

21. Calonne-Beaufaict and Hutereau⁴ both refer to scattered groups of Ndo or Ndogo ('Do' or 'Dongo' according to Hutereau), living between the Dungu and Kibali rivers. Calonne Beaufaict tries to relate these tribes to the Kreish (op. cit., p. 148), but they are far more likely to be related to the Ndo of Lugbara-Alur territory, especially as they, too, are renowned as smiths (p. 154). See, however, under 'Kreish', § 231.

22. The Central languages are not so closely allied as the Moru dialects. Keliko and Logo are, on the whole, mutually intelligible, while the Agambi dialect of Logo

¹ *Hutereau*, p. 22: 'The Kaliko, who speak a dialect of Logo, extend from Aba towards the basin of the Nile.'

² *Ibid.*, p. 27: 'The Logo occupy the basin of the Dungu from Faradje to the junction of the Abuku, which they occupy leaving the Dungu; from the junction of the Abuku they extend towards the south, occupying the lower right bank of the Aro, tributary of the Nzoro or Obi; thence they form the boundary of their territory by following the line of the hills Lay and Libo towards the hills Bagpwa and Tendebi; from Tendebi they extend towards the upper Oru and from that point to Faradje.'

³ *Maes et Boone*, p. 252: 'The territory of the Logo extends along the basin of the Aba above Faradje; it is bounded in the west by the meridian of Faradje; in the south it covers the basin of the Nzoro or Obi from that meridian as far as 30° 40' long. E.'

⁴ *Hutereau*, p. 29: 'To the Lugbara may be related the Bari, riverains of the section of the Kibali included between the Nzoro and the Dungu.' Note that these Bari have nothing in common with the Bari of Refaj.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 317: 'The Dongo and the Do people the basin of the Kibali above the Ambia and reach as far as the Lowa, separating the Lugbara, the Madi, and the Logo. On the left bank of the Kibali the Do have the Kebo and Alulu (Alur) as neighbours.'

is very like the Ojigä dialect of Avukaya. Ojila may be said to form a bridge between these languages and the Moru dialects, in that it is the most easily understood by Moru speakers.

THE MADI SUB-GROUP (240,000 *speakers*)

23. The LUGBARA (also called 'Lugwari') live south of the Logo with centre Aru¹ (50,844), and extend into the West Nile District of Uganda (139,348), where they are found mostly in the following counties: Logiri, Adumi, Aringa, Terego, Maracha, Offudde, Omugo, and Vurra. A few (171 taxpayers) are to be found in Yei District of the Southern Sudan; their dialect of Lugbara is very closely akin to Keliko.

24. There would seem to be four main dialects of Lugbara:

- Pajulu (High Lugbara), spoken near Arua;
- Oruleo-ti (Low Lugbara), the most widespread dialect;
- Kulu'ba, spoken in Aringa County;
- Ma'de, spoken in Logiri County.

25. The following information on the distribution of these dialects was kindly supplied me by Father Ramponi:

Aringa Sub-chiefs

Aringa, Odravo, Yumbe, Rumogi, Kei.
Dialect: Kulu'ba.

Adumi Sub-chiefs

Mbaraka, Osu, Nyio.
Dialect: similar to Pajulu.

Aivvu Sub-chiefs

Yole (Terego group), Oluko, Pajulu, Aroi.
Dialect: Pajulu.

Logiri Sub-chiefs

Logiri, Lazzebo, Bondo.
Dialect: Ma'de. (Note: Madi spoken near Rhino Camp.)

Maracha Sub-chiefs

Oluvu, Maracha, Oleba, Kabora.
Dialect: Oruleo-ti (Terego dialect, or Omugo).

Ofude Sub-chiefs

Tara, Yivu, Kisimoro.
Dialect: Oruleo-ti (see Maracha).

Omugo Sub-chiefs

Omugo, Udupi.
Dialect: Oruleo-ti.

¹ *Hutereau*, p. 28: 'The Lugbara occupy the entire upper basin of the Kibali river and the Obi or Nzoro river. They extend to the west towards Mount Wati and occupy the valleys in which flow the tributaries of the Albert Nile. The Lugbara who are established between the Loa (Lowa) and the Kibali take the name of Madi.' p. 321: 'The Lugbara people the territories of the upper basins of the Nzoro and the Loa; the Madi the whole basin of the Aru and the right basin of the Home.'

Maes et Boone, p. 256: 'The Lugware inhabit a territory bounded in the north by the basin of the Obi or Nzoro; in the east by approximately the 30° 15' long. E.; in the south it covers the basin of the upper Wele or Kibali; in the west it extends as far as 30° long. approximately.'

Terego Sub-chiefs

Terego, Ochodri, Katrini.
Dialect: Oruleo-ti.

Vura Sub-chiefs

Vuraa, Arivo, Ajia, Opia.
Dialect: Pajulu.

26. The MADI¹ (pronounced Ma'di) of Uganda (40,307) are to be found in Aiiyu County, West Nile District, and also in greater or lesser numbers through most of the north-east counties in Gulu District—Dufile, Adropi, Oyowi, Zaipi, Adzugopi, Laropi, Meturu, Metuli, and Moyo, the River Koshi serving as southern boundary between them and the Lugbara. The Moyo dialect is the most widespread Madi dialect in Uganda; the dialect spoken in Aiiyu County is very like Lugbara.

27. The Madi further extend into the Southern Sudan into the western section of Opari District (1,022 taxpayers), but many of the Sudan 'Madi' are not of pure Madi stock, being a mixture of several totally unrelated tribes. These people speak two dialects of Madi, besides their own tribal dialects:

MADI LOKAI in the south (2,000 speakers), and
MADI PANDIKERI in the north (5,000 speakers).

28. The following is a tribal analysis taken from the official report on Opari District in 1932: There are seven 'Madi' chiefs in Opari District, whose tribes, taken in order from south to north, are:

Southern Madi

Ch. Surur (population 1,200), genuine Madi related to the people of ex-Chief Rossu of Kajokaji.

Ch. Odego (population 2,800), Lokoya (Oxoriok), related to the Lokoya of Lyria.

Ch. Ito Gaperi (population 400), 'Fajelu' (Päjulu), related to the 'Fajelu' of Yei District.

These three tribes speak Lokai Madi, which is similar to Uganda Madi, and is the language of education in mission schools in Opari District.

Northern Madi

Ch. Dar (population 3,200), genuine Madi related to the people of Labongo in Gulu District, Uganda.

Ch. Iberu (population 800), Päjulu related to the 'Fajelu' of Yei District.

Ch. Geri (population 800), Bari related to the Bari of Chief Lorilo Kombo of Central District.

Ch. Nyani-Kuyu (population 250), Kuku related to the people of Morali, Kajo Kaji.

These four northern and eastern tribes speak Pandikeri Madi, which has more in common with Moru (Moroändri dialect) than Lokai has. I have heard of a third dialect 'BURULO said to be spoken around Nimule, but was unable to follow it up. The few words I met with were like Pandikeri.

29. The LULUBA (real name ULU'BO) (766 taxpayers) constitute the vanguard of the Ma'di penetration into Opari District, and now appear left high and dry on the

¹ *Maes et Boone*, p. 262: 'The Madi inhabit the valley of the Nile, on the right bank between Wadelai and the mouth of the river Aswa; on the left bank between Wadelai and the mouth of the River Kaya. There are several groups of Madi in the territory of the Belgian Congo, among the Alur and Lugware.'

Luluba Hills, forty miles south-east of Juba and west of the Lokoya, in three main villages, Lumer, Lokaliri and Larongo. Their dialect is more like Pandikeri than Lokai, with some Pajulu vocabulary since there has been much intermarrying with that tribe. Nearly all the Luluba speak Bari as a second language.

30. The Southern languages are mutually intelligible to a fairly high degree. Lugbara in many ways, however, may be regarded as a bridge between Madi and Logo.

31. All the Moru-Madi languages (with the exception of Lendu which will be discussed separately) are so closely related that any speaker of one would very soon be able to adapt himself if brought to live away from the speakers of another. Logan Gray reports that he was able to make a Lugbara chief and an Avukaya understand each other to their mutual astonishment, each speaking his own language. Hitherto, all communications between these two tribes had been carried out in Lingala, the lingua franca of the district. He also reports that a Böri of Yei District, when on a visit to Opari District, was able to talk to the Madi in his own language. My own questionings of a Moru speaker, whom I had with me on tour, brought out the fact that he found Avukaya (Ojila) and Madi (Pandikeri) the easiest languages to understand and Logo the most difficult. He himself was a Moroändri.

32. The LENDU may also be said to belong to the Moru-Madi group, yet their language cannot be understood by the other members. For one thing the divergence in pronunciation of words of common origin is too great (the Lendu having evolved a 'spitting' pronunciation of syllables containing, in many cases, consonants only), while Lendu has many grammatical constructions foreign to the other Moru-Madi languages. It is quite evident, from vocabulary evidence as well, that Momvu elements have crept in, as suggested by Czekanowski, p. 595.

33. The Lendu (151,925) live in the Congo west of Lake Albert with centre Djugu,¹ while a smaller branch of Lendu (5,985) is to be found in Alur-Lugbara territory; some have overflowed into the West Nile District of Uganda (2,670) and live mostly in Okoro County.

The real name of the tribe is 'BALE or 'BALENDRU and their language is 'BAADHA or 'BALEDHA.² They have often been erroneously classified as Bantu.

THE BONGO-BAKA-BAGIRMI GROUP

34. The members of this group are more scattered and diverse than those of any other language group in the Southern Sudan. They stretch from Amadi District in Southern Province in a broken line to Lake Tchad, and it is possible that there are yet further members to be discovered outside this area. Mutual understanding between the tribes is absent except over relatively small areas. By comparison of vocabulary and grammar, however, the members of this widespread group may easily be determined.

35. The BONGO in Schweinfurth's time were evidently far more numerous than now. At present they are to be found mainly in two small settlements, one, under Chief Sabun, on the Bussere River, just south of Wau (300 taxpayers) and extending south along the Bo road, and the other larger settlement farther east near Tonj, under Chief Kerasit (500 taxpayers).

¹ *Maes et Boone*, p. 98: 'The Balendu inhabit the western shores of Lake Albert, south of Mahaji; they extend approximately as far as 29° 50' long. E. in the west, as far as 2° 30' lat. N. in the north, and 1° lat. N. in the south.'

² *dh* pronounced like the *th* of English 'the'.

36. Major Brown also reports an isolated colony living along the Iba River from 5° 50' N. to 6° 10' N., calling themselves BUNGÖ. From the vocabulary he has given me there is no doubt that they are a Bongo offshoot. There is also a Bungö village headman Toi under Chief Rikita. These people speak Zande as well as Bongo.

37. Evans-Pritchard¹ gives the following sub-tribes of the Tonj Bongo: Gir, Kolongo, Dabor, Domor, Karakiti (probably the largest to-day), Mor, Gubi, Domuku, Kere, Ngudu, Kolanda, Moro, Nguru, Mbor, Muku, Dogodjo, Dawai, Kela, Bio, Landa, Mbelembé, Ngulumbeli, Lelo, Dobodo, Ngongo, Bobur, Ngboku, Ngbanguru, Ngelo, Babagimi, Gomono, Ngulupara, Mokobi, Neri, Longo.

The Gubi, Kela, and Karakiti, he adds, are probably numerically superior to the other tribes. Those tribes living along the Wau-Tonj road are much interspersed with Azande.

38. The BAKA live fairly thickly round Maridi (2,033 taxpayers) under Chiefs Nganzio, Lanzima, Bakinda, and Senambia, and extend southwards over the Congo border. There is another section of Baka north-west of Yei (380 taxpayers) under Chief Gungo, and two further isolated groups (4,000) in the Congo itself west and east of Faradje.² The Yei Baka are divided into eight clans under the following heads: Gungo (Chief's family), Dobo (clan Bandwa), Minjare (clan Waraga), Mavuro (clan Gwandama), Rongo (clan Shambellinga), Ndada (clan Abraham), Gumu (clan Adalla), Gulomi (clan Mousa). A few Baka (and Mundu) are to be found under Chiefs Okupoi and Madragi north of Maridi.

39. The Baka form the southern end of a linguistic chain, stretching up through Moru country to Rumbek. Those that live in the Moru District cause most confusion to investigators, since they too have adopted the common name 'Moru'.

40. The MOROKODO live mostly on the Amadi-Maridi road just west of Amadi under Chief Hassan (625 taxpayers). A smaller section (325 taxpayers) is to be found in the region north of Maridi, under Chief Madragi, while another smaller group (100 taxpayers) live among the Ma'di near Chief Dokolo (but still under Hassan).

41. North of Amadi are four small tribes which are so intermingled as to be hard to locate accurately.

The (MORO) BITI live under Chief Dokobo, on the Tali road. The MA'DI³ (100 taxpayers) live north of these under Chief Dokolo. The (MORO) WIRA (250 taxpayers) live farther north still, but under the same chief. The MÄ'DU live with the Lakama'di under Chief Wala. All these people are often mistaken for true Moru.

42. The languages Morokodo and Ma'di are almost identical, Biti and Mä'du are also closely allied to each other and to Nyamusa, while Wira is partly like Morokodo and partly like Lori. On the whole, however, these 'Moru' dialects are the most closely connected of all the Bongo-Baka group.

43. The NYAMUSA (900 taxpayers) live north of the Wira, also under Chief Dokolo. Their language may be regarded as a bridge between the so-called 'Moru' dialects

¹ *The Bongo*, p. 17.

² *Hutereau*, p. 27: 'The Baka of the right bank of the Atwá extend as far as the upper reaches of the rivers and streams Garamba, Kinibiti, Nakue, Bukalie, Aka.'

Maes et Boone, p. 5: 'The territory of the Abaka lies for the most part outside the Belgian Congo; it includes the region watered by the upper reaches of the tributaries of the rivers Issu-Ibba, Meridi, Jalo, and Aka, south of lat. 5° N.'

³ Not to be confused with the Madi of Opari District. See Schweinfurth, vol. i, p. 523 footnote.

and the so-called 'Jur' dialects to the north. The Nyamusa are bounded by the Atwtw on the north and the Mondari on the east.

The Nyamusa are evidently the 'Bufi' of Schweinfurth and Emin Pasha.¹ Both these authorities mention another tribe, the 'Lesi' speaking a related language, but no trace of these people can be found.

44. The northern (or rather north-western) section of this linguistic chain is composed of the 'Rumbek Jur'² (7,268), stretching from just north-west of the Nyamusa to just south of Rumbek. They consist of half a dozen small tribes, hemmed in on the north by the Ngok Dinka and on the east by the Agar and Atwtw.

45. The LORI live north-west of the Nyamusa, east of M'volo, and along the M'volo-Gnop road. The LALI and MODO, speaking an almost identical language, live close to them, exact location uncertain. The language Lori is similar to Wira and is spoken by many so-called Wa'di to the south.

46. The GBERI live west of M'volo. The almost extinct MITTU (real name WETU) speak practically the same dialect; a few families of this tribe are to be found mixed with Mundu, Babuckur, and Morokodo. The language Mittu (or Wetu), judging from the vocabularies of Schweinfurth and Evans-Pritchard, is almost identical with Morokodo.

47. By far the most numerous of the 'Jur' are the 'BELI, extending from north of Toinya Post to the Gok Dinka on the north, the Agar Dinka on the east, and the Bongo on the west. Between Toinya Post and M'volo are the SOPI (SOFI), who are probably a subsection of the 'Beli; the languages are almost identical, and are the most closely related to Bongo of all the 'Jur' languages.

48. The Amadi District census for 1937 gives the following population statistics; here again (as in § 14) the number of subjects to each chief is given, irrespective of tribe:

Amadi region—'Moru'

Chief	Population	Tribe
Hassan Nyari . . .	2,411	Morokodo
Dokolo lo Amu . . .	2,141	Nyamusa, Wira

M'volo region—'Jur Sofi'³

Korwai Kerjok . . .	903	'Beli
Kozo Lobi . . .	774	Modo
Yesi Lakada . . .	520	Modo
Kondo Agoi . . .	338	'Beli
Jok Abot . . .	277	Modo, Lali
Doko'bo Dongoli . . .	781	Lori

Toinya region—'Jur 'Beli'

Ndia Agar . . .	904	'Beli and Bongo (about 50)
Ngolo Makoi . . .	979	'Beli
Tio Mading . . .	967	'Beli and Wetu (about 40)
Logo Dorogo . . .	437	Gberi and Wetu (about 20)
Agok Magong . . .	388	'Beli

Total . . . 11,820 'Moru' and 'Jur' speakers.

¹ 'Nyamusa is the name of this district, which is inhabited by the Bufi tribe.' Emin Pasha, p. 321.

² Not to be confused with the Shilluk speaking 'Jur' (Luo) near Wau. The word 'Jur' means 'stranger' in Dinka, and the Dinka apply the term to all foreigners except Europeans and Arabs.

³ The name 'Sofi' seems here to refer to a collection of tribes rather than to one tribe.

49. Such are the main members of the Bongo-Baka group in the Southern Sudan. Of late, however, some interesting information on the very confused population of the Western District of the (former province) Bahr el Ghazal has come to light:

The YULU¹ (300 taxpayers), KARA and BINGA² (pronounced Biŋa) (270 taxpayers), AJA (200 taxpayers), and perhaps the RUNGA (150), and NGULGULI (280 taxpayers), show remarkable vocabulary resemblance to Bongo-Baka, although no grammatical material is as yet forthcoming. These tribes are for the most part an overflow from tribes in French Equatorial Africa, the boundary of which is very near. In fact, a section of BINGA (706) is given in the French Government statistics for Oubangui-Chari as far west as the Département of Oubangui-Ouaka (a region of Bambari), the present home of the Banda tribes. The languages Binga and Yulu are more like Baka than Bongo, but the language Kara (in vocabulary at least) might almost be classified with the Sara dialects of Oubangui-Chari.

The SINYAR,³ who live on the border of Darfur and French Equatorial Africa at Mogororo (lat. 12° N.), also show a vocabulary resemblance to Bongo-Baka. Theirs seems to be the only language in Darfur to do so.

50. Outside the Southern Sudan, enough vocabulary evidence has been collected by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes⁴ to trace this group along the Chari River in French Oubangui-Chari as far as Fort Archambault. The representatives in this area he classes under the BARMA group and they comprise the languages BARMA, BABALIA, DISSA, BULALA, and the multitudinous SARA dialects (Sara Denjé, Sara Guléi, Sara Bai, Sara Lak, Kaba, Hôro, Ngama, Valé, Télé, and Tané).

51. Delafosse⁵ divides the Sara into two groups, West and East, of which he says:

West Sara, between the Chari River and the Middle Logone River. 'Under this appellation are grouped a very great number of tribes, of which the principal tribes, from east to west, are: the Horo, the Tounia, the Sara Guleï, the Sara Daï, the Sara Demi, the Mbaï, the Lake or Lag, &c. Each of these may be divided in its turn into an infinite number of sub-tribes.'⁶

East Sara, right bank of the Chari River, from 8° to 9° 5' N. 'Their most important groups are around the depressions through which flow the Bahr Salamat and the Aouk, tributaries of the Chari. To the east they extend as far as Lake Iro, to the west they just pass the line Golkidja, Gouflé, Djinjeboa. Their colonies are extremely numerous, and each bears the name of the village it inhabits: thus one has the Sara Dagui, the Sara Ndioko, the Sara Bodo, the Sara Manga, the Sara Ngaki, the Sara Njounjou, &c.'

52. *The Kabba*, which Delafosse separates from the East Sara, have also a large number of small groups—the Kabba-Mara, the Kabba-Simmé, the Kabba-Marabiri, the Kabba-Kono, the Kabba-Boa, the Kabba-Bédoum, the Kabba-Binanga, &c., &c. They occupy the junction of the Chari with the Bahr Salamat and the Aouk. One can hardly distinguish the Kabba from the Eastern Sara, he

¹ Fr. Santandrea was the first to point out that Yulu was a member of the Bongo-Baka group.

² Hibbert, in his historical map of this area, divides the Binga into several subsections—Lali, Raja, Shalla, Moro, Ngaranja—but nothing of these is known, and the territory they once occupied, on the borders of Darfur and Dar Runga, is now uninhabited according to Bethell.

³ From information supplied me by P. B. Broadbent and A. J. Arkell.

⁴ Op. cit., which takes into account the previous investigations of Barth, Nachtigal, Decorse, and Delafosse.

⁵ *Enquête Coloniale dans l'Afrique Française*, pp. 119–30.

⁶ A noticeable feature of Bongo tribal organization before the arrival of the Arabs, see § 37.

states, but they differ completely from the Western Sara. He is inclined to relate them to the Dissa of Lake Iro.

53. The French Government statistics for this tribal area are as follows:

Valé (900)	Département of Ouham-Pendé in region of Batangafo. (Not listed as a Sara tribe.)
SARA (148,190)	Divided into the following tribes:
Sara Toumak (7,700)	Département of Chari-Bangoran NW. of subdivision of Koumra.
Sara Goulaye (48,190)	Départ. of Chari-Bangoran W. sub. of Koumra and also Départ. of Logone sub. of Laï (9,190).
Sara Daï (8,800)	Départ. of Chari-Bangoran sub. Moïssala and Koumra.
Sara M'baye (22,000)	Départ. of Chari-Bangoran sub. of Moïssala.
Sara Madjingaye (11,500)	Départ. of Basin of River Sara bounded by Fort-Archambault, Koumra, and Moïssala.
Sara N'gama (7,000)	Subdivisions of Batangafo (2,500) and Moïssala (4,500).
Sara Kaba (19,700)	Region of Fort-Archambault and Départ. of Ouham-Pendé (subdivisions of Batangafo, Bouca, Paoua, and Bossangoa). Region NE. of Fort-Archambault.
Sara Tounia (1,000)	
Sara Kaba Goula (4,600)	N. of sub. of Fort-Archambault on River Salamat.
Sara Kaba Djingé (2,500)	Region of Kyabé, basin of River Kéita.
Sara Kaba N'démé (5,500)	East of sub. of Fort-Archambault.
Sara Tié (3,500)	Region bounded by the rivers Salamat and Mindjick.
Sara Kaba M'bangá (5,000)	Region bounded by River Kéita in north and River Aouk in south.
Sara Kaba (1,200)	Subdivision of N'délé to the north of N'délé.

54. 'These diverse tribes', the report continues, 'inhabit the "Pays Sara", of which the centre is Fort-Archambault, and which consists in the basin formed by the confluence of the Chari River with the Rivers Salamat, Kéita, Aouk, and Sara, as well as the basins of the sources of these last-named.'

55. Finally, south-east of Lake Tchad, are the BAGIRMI (25,500), whose language also shows considerable resemblance to Bongo, as already remarked by Gaden,¹ Barth,² Schweinfurth,³ and others. The Bagirmi are a very mixed race, containing both Sudanic and Arab elements.

56. Related to the Bagirmi⁴ (according to Gaden, p. 2) are the KUKA on the lower course of the Wadaïan Batha, the BULALA in Lake Fitri region (according to Gaden the latter adopted the Kuka language after conquering this region), the KENGA living in the mountains in semi-independence over against the people of Wadaï, the NGAMA living west of the Gribingui River, and the NDUKA on the Gribingui, whither they were driven by the Sultan of Kouti from Ba Mingui.

57. These people, though speaking closely related languages, show very great ethnological differences. The Bagirmi and Kuka have attained a fairly high level of Islamic civilization, but the other tribes, like the Sara, still live in a very primitive way.

58. Delafosse⁵ gives the confines of the Bagirmi as follows: 'The empire of Baguirmi

¹ *Essai de Grammaire de la Langue Banguirmienne.*

² *Sammlungen und Bearbeitungen Central Afrikanischer Vokabularien.*

³ *Linguistische Ergebnisse einer Reise nach Centralafrika.*

⁴ See also Lukas, *The Linguistic Situation in the Lake Chad Area in Central Africa.* The author informs me from personal experience that Bulala, Kuka, and Mudogo are all practically identical and all closely related to Bagirmi.

⁵ *Enquête Coloniale dans l'Afrique Française*, p. 132. I retain here his spelling of tribal names and places.

extends from Bousso and Melfi to beyond Fort Lamy, and from the right bank of the Chari to the frontiers of the Ouadaï' (Wadaï Kingdom).

59. Of the other tribes in that region he says: 'The nucleus of the population of lower and middle Baguirmi consists in the Boua-Kara, the Sarouo, and the Barma, indigenous tribes closely connected to the Sara. With these one should mention the Babalia, relatively small in number now, but the descendants of a strong tribe which once occupied the regions between Lake Tchad and Djimtilo. They were driven out of their original habitat by Ouadaï raids. Besides in Baguirmi, where they live in scattered colonies, they form an important group in the neighbourhood of Kouka.'

60. 'Amidst this ethnical chaos, two tribes . . . have conserved their own characteristics, the Kotoko and the Boulala.'

61. 'The Kotoko are riverains of the Lower Chari and of the delta of the river . . . According to Decorse they are divided into three groups—the Lagouéré on the Logone where they are mixed with the Mousgou, the Semsir at Kousseri, the Soungoualkoné at Goulféi. . . . There is little to distinguish these people from the Barma. . . . They have the same customs and a language very closely related, if not identical.'¹

62. 'The Boulala, who once played an important role in Baguirmi and Kanem, are now situated near Lake Fitri, whence they extend westwards as far as Moïto. . . . Next to them one meets groups of Kouka, who have the same origin.'

63. Professor Labouret's report on these tribes, as obtained from Fort Lamy, runs as follows:

'The tribes Kenga, Kouka, Médogo, and Baguirmi seem to have the same origin according to the Administration. The tribe Kenga would seem to be the mother tribe, originating from the mountainous regions of the Guerra and Abou-Telfame. The Kenga and associated sub-tribes live in the subdivision of Mongo; the Kouka in the mountainous country of the Adjer Médogo.

'My correspondent assures me that the Ndouka are not known at Lake Tchad. There is, however, a tribe Ndoka, but this belongs to the Banda group and lives in Dar Kouti in the neighbourhood of Ndélé.'²

64. The Fort Lamy statistics for these tribes are (I retain here the French spelling):

	<i>Tribes</i>	<i>Subdivision</i>	<i>Population</i>
i.	Kenga	Mongo	16,750
	Diongor	"	19,350
	Bidio	"	10,750
	Sokoro	Melfi	10,900
	Barain	"	3,700
	Sabba	"	6,700
	Kirdi Djonkour	Aboudeia	3,450
	" Toram	"	2,550
	" Birguid	"	1,900
		Total	76,050

¹ The linguistic aspect of this statement is not borne out by a comparison of Baguirmi with the three Kotoko dialects treated by Lukas (*Zentralsudanische Studien*)—Kuseri, Gulfei, Schoe. Vocabulary affinities are entirely lacking. Lukas, however (*Die Logone Sprache*, p. 7), classifies the Kotoko and Logone languages together as a branch of the Tchado-Hamitic group.

² See Map 4.

INTRODUCTION. I. TRIBAL

<i>Tribes</i>	<i>Subdivision</i>	<i>Population</i>
2. Kouka (Aouni)	Bokoro	7,400
„ (Koundjouroux)	Ati	8,000
„ (Mendélé)	„	2,150
„ (Am Dina)	Oum-Hadjer	3,550
Médogo	Ati	4,300
Boulala	„	17,450
Abou Semen	„	1,800
	Total	44,650
3. Baguirmiens	Massénya	25,500

65. The Bagirmi of Gaden is the dialect spoken in the neighbourhood of Massénya, which, according to the author, differs in only a few words from the 'provincial' dialects of Koubar (east of Massénya) and the riverain villages of the Chari. Gaden calls the language 'Tar Bârma' in contra-distinction to the 'Tar Bâgrimma' of Barth and Nachtigal—which name Gaden regards as archaic. Barth's Bagirmi, which differs to a certain extent from that of Gaden (especially in verbal conjugation, where it approaches the Sara dialects), was obtained 'with the assistance of the excellent patriot and the very intelligent and pious Bu-Bakr from Bákada.'¹

66. Of the nature of the language Gaden says: 'Although preserving all the behaviour of isolating languages, Bagirmi has entered upon the period of agglutination. Indigenous Bagirmi words are in general either monosyllabic or dissyllabic, and begin with a consonant. The great majority of them are invariable, and present the same physiognomy; only their meaning permits one to classify them as nouns, verbs, qualificatives, or elements of relation. There is a category of verbs, however, which present two different forms according to the tense they express. This is a remarkable peculiarity.'²

67. The Sara dialect analysed by Delafosse was obtained from a boy who was born at Goudongou, a place situated 'non loin du Bahar-Sara', kidnapped by slavers at an early age, and ultimately taken over by the French in an engagement with the Arabs. The Sara dialect analysed by Westermann and Melzian was obtained from a native of Moyen Chari in the neighbourhood of Fort Archambault, who was taking part in an exhibition in the Berlin Zoo in the summer of 1929. The two dialects are widely divergent, that of Delafosse being nearer Bagirmi.

68. Previous comparisons of languages in the Bongo-Bagirmi group have been made mainly on vocabulary evidence, but with the help of Gaden's, Barth's, and Delafosse's researches it is possible to use grammatical criteria as well, and the evidence on this point is very instructive.

69. The grammar of Bagirmi and Sara has more in common with that of Morokodo and Nyamusa than with that of Bongo and Baka, which is surprising, seeing that these eastern tribes are the farthest removed in actual distance.

70. From the vocabulary points of view, Sara has much in common with Baka, Bongo, and Yulu, while the two Western District dialects, Kara and Aja, could almost be called Sara dialects. Bongo and 'Beli, on the one hand, and Bagirmi on the other, stand in separate categories, though, of course, Bongo has fairly close affinities with Baka, and Bagirmi with Sara. Baka, as has already been stated, has many affinities with Mundu, a language outside this group.

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. xv.

² Gaden, p. 4. See also § 359.

THE NDOGO-SERE GROUP ('BELANDA'—'BASIRI')

71. This group consists of four dialects, so closely allied as to be mutually intelligible. The speakers of these dialects live largely west and south-west of Wau.

72. The NDOGO¹ (750 taxpayers) live twenty miles west of Wau, largely on the Wau-Dem Zubeir road. Their language is the accepted 'group' language for the district.

73. The SERE (also called 'BASIRI') (250 taxpayers) live west of the Ndogo, where the same road crosses the Pongo (Kpango) River. The main bulk of the Sere, however, live in French Equatorial Africa north of the Mbomu River and between the tributaries Boku and Kere. The Congo Sere (3,000-4,000) live on the opposite bank of the Mbomu River in the District Ndoruma, where they form a 'chefferie' apart under Chief Gatanga. Their language, though much subject to Zande vocabulary influence, is much nearer Ndogo than the Sere spoken in the Sudan.² The French Government statistics show a further small section (316) living as far west as the Subdivision Damara in the Département of Haute Sangha-M'poko, on the north bank of the Ubangi River, down stream from Bangui.

Hutereau (p. 28) notes a few families of Sere living in the basin of the Sili River (tributary of the Wele River, north-east of Amadi in the Belgian Congo).

Calonne-Beaufaict gives the following main divisions of the Sere: Agele, Adimbomu (lit. born on the Mbomu), Yakoali, Dobanda, Dabodo, Yakumbanze (op. cit., p. 95).

74. The BAI (250 taxpayers) (sometimes called 'Bari'³ and often confused with the 'Baré') live on the Wau-Dem Zubeir road west of the Sere.

75. The BIRI (or BVIRI, commonly called 'BELANDA' or Mve-Gumba) (1,000 taxpayers) live on the Belanda circular road, which leaves Wau and after a southern detour joins the Dem Zubeir road near the Geti River. Another branch of the Biri (300 taxpayers) may be found near Dem Zubeir, and a further branch (250 taxpayers) on the road to Tembura. Their language is very like Bai.

76. The following are the main Biri clans:

(From Evans Pritchard): Fanzingo, Famangde, Mveungu, Mvegbogo, Fumono, Fairi.

(From Santandrea): Fanguru, Mbvendogo, Bambvi, Fadongo.

77. The name 'Belanda' is probably of Bongo origin and is used to denote the members of two distinct tribes, speaking totally different languages, but living together, intermarrying, and sharing the same customs, dances, &c. These two tribes are (i) the above-mentioned *Biri* (or Gamba or Mve-Gumba), who speak a Ndogo dialect, and (ii) the *Bor* (or Mve-Rodi), who speak a Shilluk dialect. Both peoples are called 'Abaré' by the Azande⁴ and 'Belanda' by the Arabs.

¹ Calonne-Beaufaict (p. 132) confounds these people with the Gbaya-Ndogo (a Kreish sub-tribe called 'Nduggo' by Schweinfurth) and with groups of 'Ndogo' or 'Ndo' on the Dungu and Kibali tributaries of the Wele in Belgian Congo (p. 148). The latter are far more probably remnants of the Ndo found now among the Lendu and Lugbara (see §§ 20-1).

² Information from Fr. Santandrea in collaboration with Fr. Albert De Graer of the Congo Mission.

³ Not to be confused with the *Bai* clan of the Belanda, nor with *Sara-Bai*, nor with the *Bari-Logo*, nor with the *Bari* of the old Lado Enclave.

⁴ This will explain Calonne-Beaufaict's problem of the 'Abarè' or 'Bari' (op. cit., p. 116). For a fuller discussion see my article, 'The Tribal Confusion around Wau' (*S.N.R.*, 1931).

78. Scattered clusters of all four Ndogo sub-tribes may be found at intervals on the road from Wau to the Zande country and on the circular road north-west of Tembura.

It is probable that further investigation outside the Sudan will corroborate the view, held by many, that these languages are merely a sub-group within a much larger linguistic group, embracing Mundu and Bangba. (See § 85.)

ZANDE (750,000)

79. The Zande language is spoken consistently in the Southern Sudan south of lat. $6^{\circ} 30'$ and west of Maridi long. $29^{\circ} 30'$.¹ At one time Zande bade fair to oust all other Sudanic languages in the Southern Sudan—the Maridi-Amadi conglomeration, the Ndogo languages at Wau, and even a good many of the Western District languages. Since the enforced retirement of the Zande conquerors, however, these other languages have regained to a certain extent their former usage. The Azande in the Southern Sudan number 231,000 and, owing to sleeping-sickness legislation, are concentrated around Tembura, Yambio, and along the Tembura-Yambio and Yambio-Maridi roads. There is only one sub-dialect of Zande in the Sudan, spoken by the MAKARAKA (true name ADIO) (415 taxpayers), who live between Yei and Maridi in the basin of the Tori.² According to Hutereau another section of Dio may be found on the Mbomu River.

80. The great majority of the Azande are to be found outside the Southern Sudan in Belgian Congo.³ The Congo Zande number over 500,000 and lie mostly to the north of the Wele River between long. 23° and $29^{\circ} 30'$ E. Several Zande colonies are also to be found south of the Wele, notably (a) a large group along the Likati River as far south as the Rubi River and Buta, (b) a small group along the Bima River as far as Titule, (c) a small group between Bambili and Amadi, (d) a large group south of the Bomokandi River occupying the basins of the Makongo, the Poko, and the Teli rivers, also north of the junction of the Teli and Bomokandi rivers, (e) a large group south-east of Dungu. In the north the Azande extend to and over the French border.

¹ Evans Pritchard reports that Zande is still widely spoken among the tribes east of Maridi and even among the Rumbek 'Jur'.

² *Maes et Boone*, p. 266: 'The Makrakra are the most eastern of the Azande. They inhabit the valley of the Tore, a tributary of the Yei, and extend to the north as far as 5° lat. N. approximately.'

³ See Van den Plas, p. 9.

Maes et Boone, p. 34: 'The Azande inhabit a region extending from the Belgian Congo into Ubangi-Chari and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and contained approximately between 23° long. E., 6° lat. N., 30° long. E., $3^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}'$ lat. N. The precise limits of this area are as follows:

- (1) in the west, a line drawn from 4° lat. N., 23° long. E. to $23^{\circ} 30'$ long. E. on the Bomu; the Bomu; a small piece of territory on the right bank of the Shinko in the neighbourhood of Rafai, the Shinko itself as far as $5^{\circ} 30'$ lat. N. approximately;
- (2) in the south, the Wele, except for a narrow strip on the banks of that river occupied by the Bakango; a piece of territory between the Likati, the Wele, and 3° lat. N.; the Wele; a piece of territory between the Bima, just beyond Titule, and the Wele; the Bomokandi, the Makongo, a line covering the basin of the Poko as far as the Tely; the Tely, the Bomokandi; a line drawn from the Poko to near the Wele above Bambili, except for a piece of territory in the neighbourhood of 4° lat. and 23° long. E. occupied by the Amadi and the Mangbele; the Wele-Kibali as far as the junction of the Obi;
- (3) in the east, a line drawn from the junction of the Obi to the west of Faradje, from there towards the north as far as 5° lat. N. There are more Azande on a tributary of the Yei;
- (4) in the north, about 6° lat. N.

In the Belgian Congo a few small groups of Azande are to be found in the neighbourhood of Zobia, to the south of Dungu and between the Bomokandi and Niangara.'

81. The Belgian Government statistics are as follows:

Territory of the Avungara	Centre	72,527	out of 72,605.
	Ango		
Territory of the Avuru-Wando	Centre	175,774	„ 177,002.
	Dungu		
Territory of the Avuru-Kipa-Amadi-Abarembo	Centre	93,061	„ 158,900.
	Poko		
Territory of the Abandia	Centre	107,839	'Zandeized' Mongwandi.
	Bondo		
Territory of the Madjara	Centre	72,313,	population largely of Nilotic origin.
	Niangara		

82. The Azande in French Equatorial Africa number about 21,000 and extend in scattered groups along the north bank of the Mbomu River from the Sudan border as far west as Bangassou, about long. 23. They are bounded in the north by the Banda tribes. The French Government statistics are as follows:

Subdivision of Bangassou	1,945
„ Rafai	6,886
„ Zemio	6,042
„ Obo	3,335
„ Djemah	2,786

'There are two main branches of Azande in French Equatorial Africa—the Avungara in the neighbourhood of Zemio and the Bandjia near Rafai.'

83. Among the Azande are to be found the descendants of a variety of conquered peoples (such as the Pambia, Barambo,¹ Huma, and Bukuru² on the Sudan-Congo border, and the Biri, Banda, Gbaya, Gobu in French Oubangui Chari). For a full list of Zande subsections the reader is referred to Van den Plas in Lagae's *La Langue des Azande*.

84. As a rough indication of the entire Zande language area, Van den Plas gives 23° to 30° long E. and 6° to 3° lat. N. He also gives the following as being the main dialects of Zande (and, considering the number of totally unrelated tribes comprising the Zande nation, it is a matter of surprise that the dialects are so few in number):

- i. MBOMU, possibly the purest form of the language, spoken on the Mbomu, Api, Gurba, and Bwere rivers.
- ii. SUEH-MERIDI (called by the Azande the 'English' dialect) spoken between the Sueh and Maridi rivers. It has much in common with Mbomu, certain points in common with Bamboy, and with Bile, besides certain Arab influences.
- iii. BILE spoken on the right bank of the Wele and Dungu rivers, from the confluence of the Aka River to 26° long. It is also spoken on the Bima, south of the Bomokandi, and south-west of Niangara. In the south it shows Makere influences.
- iv. BANDIYA, spoken west of long. 26°, north of the Wele River, and between Bondo and R. Rubi, also in French Equatorial Africa. This dialect has the highest percentage of foreign words.
- v. BAMBOY, less aberrant than Bandiya, spoken in the east, south of the Kibali, between the Kibali and the Dungu, on the right bank of the Dungu to the east of the Aka, and in Yei District. (The Makaraka or Adio are supposed to speak this dialect.)

Van den Plas describes Mbomu as 'la langue authentique', but Bile as 'la vraie langue Zande'.

¹ According to Van den Plas, the Pambia and Barambo languages are related to Sere (p. 16).

² 436 taxpayers in Maridi District; these people still speak their original Bantu language in addition to Zande.

OTHER SUDANIC LANGUAGES

85. MUNDU is spoken by the remnants of a tribe now living amongst the Baka in Maridi (927 taxpayers) under Chiefs Ngamande (Bilal) and Sayid Adikima, and in a little colony north-west of Yei (930 taxpayers). Further colonies of Mundu are to be found in the Belgian Congo in the neighbourhood of Aba (some 2,000 speakers).¹ The language shows greatest affinity to Ndogo-Sere in vocabulary, but in grammar seems to have come under strong Baka (and even Zande) influence. It will be discussed in this series in conjunction with Ndogo-Sere.²

The Congo Mundu, according to Hutereau (p. 261), are historically related to the BERE, who lie farther down the Dungu River. He also mentions two smaller tribes, the TODO, riverains of the Mundu, and the DAY (or Dai), riverains of the Bere.

KREISH, &C.

86. The north-western corner of Equatorial Province³ contains a confused mass of very small tribes. Of these the most important people are the 'KREISH' ('Kredj')—also known as KPALA and GBAYA⁴ (2,000 taxpayers). They are now divided geographically into two main sections:

(a) *Eastern Kreish.*

The GBAYA-NDOGO⁵ (450 taxpayers) formerly lived south and south-west of Dem Zubeir, but have lately been moved on to the Raga-Said Bandas road, where they are now settled under Chief Kimandogo. Their language was reduced to writing by the R.C. Mission at Dem Zubeir, but it is not a pure dialect, being much influenced by Ndogo.

(b) *Western Kreish.*

The NAKA (900 taxpayers) live near Said Bandas west of the Gbaya-Ndogo, mostly under Chief Babiker. Their language⁶ is perhaps the most representative dialect.

West of the Naka, on the River Boro, live a mixed population of 'HOFRA',⁶ BOKO, KUTOWAKA, and others, all under Chief Kosho (550 taxpayers).

¹ *Hutereau*, p. 26: 'The Mundu live separated from their kindred of the same dialect. In the neighbourhood of Aba they are hemmed in by the Kaliko, the Fajelu, the Baka, and the Logo; to the south of Yo or Dungu they occupy a large tract of land as far as the Nzoro.'

Maes et Boone, p. 293: 'The Mundu, whose territory lies partly in the Bahr el Ghazal, occupy in the Belgian Congo a region limited in the north by 4° 45' lat. N. approximately; in the east by the meridian 30° 10' approximately; in the south they are bounded by the Nzoro as far as Vankerckhovenville; in the west they are bounded by a line drawn approximately from that town to the sources of the Yalo.'

² According to Calonne Beaufaict, Hutereau, and others, both Mundu and Sere are closely allied to Bangba.

³ This area was recently known as the 'Western District' of the Bahr el Ghazal. In olden times it was known as 'Dar Fertit'.

⁴ While every one agrees that the name 'Kreish' is a foreign one, nobody has yet discovered an acceptable indigenous name for all the people who speak the language. Bethell advocates 'KPALA', and the Kreish themselves will answer to that name, although I was told that it is the name originally given them by the Yulu. They will also answer to the name 'GBAYA', although they told me that that name properly applies only to those Kreish speakers who are not Naka. The Ndogo call them 'MANDUGBA'. In the present work the general term 'Kreish' will be used to cover all forms of their language.

⁵ These are the 'Nduggo' of Schweinfurth.

⁶ A nickname, probably from Hofrat el Nahas, where they worked and lived for many years. Bethell notes that these people revere copper.

87. Although Eastern and Western Kreish embrace numerous sub-dialects, each with slight but distinctive vocabulary differences, there are certain phonetic characteristics which differentiate the two main groups:

Eastern Kreish has three 'liquid' sounds—*r*, *l*, and *ɽ* (flapped *l*). Western Kreish has only two 'liquid' sounds, *r* and *ɽ*, but their relationship with the Eastern Kreish sounds is peculiar.

<i>Eastern Kreish</i>	=	<i>Western Kreish</i>
<i>r</i>	=	<i>r</i>
romó (man)	=	romó
<i>l</i>	=	<i>y</i>
'bála (one)	=	'báyà
<i>ɽ</i>	=	<i>ɽ</i>
éɽe (fowl)	=	éɽe
Note also:	=	
<i>y</i>	=	<i>y</i>
kóyù (house)	=	kóyù

Bethell further notes that the majority of Kosho's people pronounce the *r* sound with a uvular articulation, 'a strongly rolled guttural *r*'.¹

88. There is one small section of Kreish, the woro (100 taxpayers), living on the Kuru River far to the south of the main body of Kreish speakers and in touch with the 'Shatt' (Thuri) and 'Dombo' (Bodho) Shilluk speakers. They are renowned hunters in the woods in that region. As may be expected, their dialect differs strongly, especially in vocabulary, from both Eastern and Western Kreish.

89. From the French side Calonne-Beaufaict reports (p. 132): 'There are several Abwaya (totem: *bokatula* spider) at Mabuturu's; they are numerous to the north of Mbomu, in the territory Zemio.'

90. The Kreish language is not confined merely to the Kreish, but has spread over other small tribes as well. It has nothing in common with Baya or Gbaya (Mandjia) in Oubangui-Chari. Poutrin, in *Principales Populations de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française*, considers Kreish a sub-section of the Banda group. I can find no correspondences in the two languages to justify this. On the contrary (as will be shown in a later volume), Kreish has a great deal in common with Bongo-Baka-Bagirmi, and may be said to be definitely related to that language group.

91. After the Kreish the BANDA are the most important people in this region (1,560 taxpayers). They live mostly between the Rivers Biri and Raga, but are obviously an offshoot of the Banda collection of tribes in Oubangui-Chari. The French Government statistics for this group of tribes are as follows:

Banda	. 87,952	Originally from the country situated between the basins of the Rivers Oubangui, Chari and Nile, but now found in the Département of Oubangui-Ouaka (48,277), subdivision of N'dele to the north (14,800), Département of Ouham-Pendé to the west (20,200), and subdivision of Damara to the south-west (4,675).
Sabanga	. 400	Département of Oubangui-Ouaka between Ippy and Ndele.
Linda	. 26,871	Département of Oubangui-Ouaka, subdivision of Ippy.
Ngapou	. 650	Département of Oubangui-Ouaka, subdivision of the Morouba.
Yakpa	. 26,000	Département of Oubangui-Ouaka, subdivision of Alindao-Kouango-Mobaye.
Dakpa	. 5,666	Département of Oubangui-Ouaka, subdivision of the Morouba.

¹ Note that Delafosse (p. 20) states that the Sara *r* is uvular.

Boubou . 37,000	Département of Oubangui-Ouaka, subdivision of Fouroumbala-Kouango-Mobaye.
Yakoma . 5,276	Département of Oubangui-Ouaka, subdivision of Fouroumbala.
N'zakara ¹ . 400	Département of Oubangui-Ouaka, subdivision of Ippy.

From the few notes I was able to take of the Sopo-River Banda, the dialect is almost identical with that described by Éboué² and is consequently related to Mbwaka, Banziri, and Monjombo, according to Poutrin.³ There are several Banda dialects in the Sudan, however, and Bethell reports that one of them at least, Togbo, is almost unintelligible to the rest.

92. Mention should here be made of the GOLO (560 taxpayers), who live between the Ndogo and Wau. These people probably represent the most eastern point of Banda penetration,⁴ but their language, although obviously belonging to the Banda group, has many affinities elsewhere, notably with Ndogo. In fact, Golo is fast dying out among the younger generation in favour of the latter language,⁵ though many speak Kreish too.

93. Santandrea in his monograph on the tribe⁶ divides the Golo into four linguistic groups:

1. The Golo who formerly lived at Kayango. These people have almost altogether forgotten their own language.
2. The Golo formerly living amongst the Belanda (Biri) and now living east of the Abushaka swamp.
3. The Golo now living west of the Abushaka swamp.
4. The Golo formerly living on the old 'sharia' encircling Wau.

94. All these sections have recently been united by Government's orders under Chief Abakar Abushaka, and extend along the Wau-Deim Zubeir road at a distance of 5 to 35 km. from Wau. There are still Golo in Zande country under Sub-chief Bakir. Santandrea estimates the total of Golo in the country at about 4,000.

95. The following Western District languages have so far not been placed:

Feroghe (850 taxpayers).
 Shayu (probably dialect of Feroghe).
 Mongaiyat (100 taxpayers).
 Indri (or Yanderika) (100 taxpayers).
 Togoyo (believed now to be extinct).

96. It is quite probable, when more is known of these languages, that the demesne of the Moru-Madi and Bongo-Baka groups will be still further enlarged. The following two points should be of interest:

97. MANGBETU has distinct vocabulary affinities with both groups, although, from the point of view of grammatical construction, it does not belong to either. Note, thus:

<i>Mangbetu</i> ⁷	<i>Moru</i>		<i>Mangbetu</i>	<i>Bongo</i>	
<i>no ru</i>	äzu	spear	<i>ne ngo</i>	kəmə	eye
<i>na wi</i>	taví	tail	<i>ne kibi</i>	kóbi	buffalo
<i>mbembere</i>	(t)ombí	locust	<i>ne konzo</i>	gbəndə	leg
<i>katshitshi</i>	kásúsú	chin	<i>ne du</i>	'də ('Beli)	thing

¹ The N'zakara speak a Zande dialect. See vocabulary in Lukas's *Zentralsudanische Studien*.

² *Langues Sango, Banda, Baya, Mandjia*.

³ *Op. cit.*

⁴ Santandrea reports: '(The Golo) strongly assert that the bulk of their tribe is still to be found in French Equatorial Africa.'

⁵ This explains, as Fr. Santandrea pointed out to me, why Westermann's analysis of 'Golo' in *M.S.O.S.* 1912 is actually an analysis of Ndogo.

⁶ See Preface.

⁷ Examples from Vekens, *op. cit.*

and:	<i>Mangbetu</i>	<i>Moru</i>	<i>Bongo</i>	
	<i>ne bi</i>	bí	mbili	ear
	<i>ne tikwo</i>	ti	<i>he-ko</i>	mouth
	<i>ne ki</i>	sí	kə	tooth
	<i>na mo</i>	(k)əmvó	hómà	nose
	<i>ne jó</i>	zó	rú	house
	<i>ne ru</i>	rú	ro	name
	<i>ne kodo</i>	kúrú	kə'də	good
	<i>ne si</i>	(k)əkyé	bíhi (bisi)	dog
	<i>ne te</i>	drí	ji	hand

98. EFE (PYGMY) presents a greater problem. Schebesta, in *Les Pygmées du Congo belge*, has already remarked considerable vocabulary correspondence between Efe and the Lendu-Logo languages, which he ascribes to mutual borrowing. On assisting the Rev. E. W. Smith in the analysis of some Efe Biblical texts, however, I noticed that there was also considerable likeness in grammatical construction, although not sufficient to include the language definitely in the Moru-Madi group.

99. The following governmental statistics of the north-east Congo tribes should be of general interest:

<i>Territory of the</i>	<i>Centre</i>	<i>Inhabitants</i>
Babira-Walese . . .	Irumu	94,230
Mabudu . . .	Wamba	174,242
Mangbetu . . .	Isiro	122,317
Makere-Malele-Popoi .	Niapu	42,680
Babua . . .	Buta	120,160
Mobenge-Mabinza . . .	Aketi	87,767
Babali-Barumbi . . .	Bafwasende	69,663
Mongelima-Bamanga .	Banalia	39,850
North Wanande . . .	Beni	87,336
South Wanande . . .	Lubero	154,917
Bakumu . . .	Lubutu	50,164
Mamvu-Monbutu . . .	Watsa	64,041
Logo-Dongo . . .	Faradje	75,581
Alur-Lugware . . .	Mahaji	160,621

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE EASTERN SUDANIC TRIBES

THE INVASIONS OF THE WELE BASIN

100. The history of the Eastern Sudanic tribes, with the exception of the Azande, has to be largely a matter of conjecture, based on such doubtful evidence as physical characteristics, culture, and comparison of language; this last is a useful factor, which has, however, been much abused. Very little study has been made of the languages of the Wele and the Sueh-Maridi basins; at the best, all that one usually finds is a small vocabulary of common words, or the numbers one to ten, tucked away in an appendix to a volume of travel, and this is supplemented by uncorroborated and often misleading statements like 'the Madi language (at Dufile) . . . which is quite different from the other languages spoken in this neighbourhood, but has a definite relationship to the Makraká language';¹ or 'Sandeh and Loggo people, whose language and customs are in affinity with the Monfu.'²

¹ *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, vol. i, p. 161.

² Casati, vol. i, p. 252.

101. Interrogation of the tribesmen themselves throws very little light on the problem. These small tribes have been subject to such violent attacks in the past, from the Azande invaders on one side and the Arab slave-traders on the other, that tribal tradition, which in Africa is so linked up with tribal lands, is practically non-existent. As Calonne-Beaufaict points out (p. 8), incidents of tribal tradition will often linger around a particular place when the tribe itself, long emigrated, will have forgotten them, so that one often obtains better historical data from the actual occupiers of the spot, even though these be in no way related to the original occupiers.

My own inquiries in the Southern Sudan resulted in the following vague statements:

Moru-Madi group:

102. The Miza claim to come from the south.

The Wadi come from the south-east; they used to live with the Madi and Lugbara. The Avukaya come, some say from the south-west, others say from the west.

103. Recourse to the official files at Juba revealed:

The Madi Pandikeri (Chief Dar): 'These people seem to have occupied the present area for quite 200 years, and there is no one who can remember any story of migrations or of conquering their country in the past.'

The Madi Lokai (Chief Surur): 'Surur's father was Mokungu of Chief Kordunga of the Madi tribe, whose people split up, some remaining at Nimule, and some going to Chief Jakalia (present chief) in Attiak' (south of Nimule).

'The Luluba tradition is that they are the result of a fusion between the indigenous Kakajin and the immigrant Fajelu who came from Lukulu on the Yei-Kajö-Kaji road (about five generations ago).'

Bongo-Baka group:

104. The Bongo claim to come from the 'Landekrers' River in the south. Tembura and Dem Zubeir seem to have been visited by them on their route to their present habitat.

The Baka come from the Belgian Congo in the neighbourhood of Dungu. They were driven north to Maridi by the Azande. Another section is supposed to have gone west and north to Tonj. Some of these came south again to Toi and Lesi.

The Morokodo, Wira, Nyamusa came from the north-east (or east) at the same time as the Mondari (a Bari-speaking tribe). The Morokodo themselves claim to have lived with the Acholi and Lokoya on the east bank of the Nile. They reached Maridi district before the Baka and settled between Maridi and Amadi. They were surrounded by the invading Azande and had to hide in caves. They assert emphatically that they have never lived with the Baka or Bongo at any period in their past history.

105. There is one big factor which is of great help in determining the past history of these tribes, and that is the very factor which is responsible for the elimination of their own tribal tradition, viz. the Zande invasions. The history of the Zande advance has been fairly accurately determined, both from Zande legend and from the accounts of eye-witnesses during the later stages, and it is by studying the course of each invading stream that one obtains a glimpse of the peoples which were swept back or engulfed. Each parcel of occupied territory has its own tale to tell, handed down from one occupier to the next, though doubtless distorted in the process. But from the sum of these conflicting scraps of legend one is finally able to obtain a hazy picture of the movements of tribes before the last eruption.

106. The following survey, which must not be regarded as complete since it only stresses the tribes concerned in this book, is obtained principally from a comparison of the historical syntheses of Calonne-Beaufaict, Hutereau, Van den Plas, and Czekanowski.

107. Most authorities are in agreement that the tribes now found in the Southern Sudan and in the Wele basin are invaders, and that the original inhabitants of the latter area at least were the Pygmies—the so-called 'Aka'.¹

108. Calonne-Beaufaict's tentative table of invasions (which he never lived to develop) may well be cited here (op. cit., p. 245).

- A. The aborigines and the first invaders:
 - 1. Momvu.
 - 2. Shilluk tribes; Logo-Avukaya-Moru tribes.
 - 3. Makèrè.
- B. The first Sudanic wave (upper Mbomu):
 - 1. The Mayogo-Mundu-Bangba-Basiri group.
 - 2. The Amadi.
- C. The second Sudanic wave (lower Mbomu):
 - 1. The Abarambo.
 - 2. The Zande tribes Abèlè, Angada, Abagwa, &c.
 - 3. The Adio (Makaraka), Akbwambi.
- D. The Bantu invasion from the south-east:
 - 1. The Akarè.
 - 2. North Wele column, (a) Aboguru ('Bukuru', 'Babuckur'), Mabadi, &c., (b) Abangwinda, Mayeka, (c) Mobenge.
 - 3. The Ababua and Mobati, origin of the Mangbèlè.
- E. The Mangbetu invasion from the south.
- F. The third Sudanic wave—the Zande-Avungura (Avongara) invasion, of which the Mbomu and the Nunga branches had most effect on the Southern Sudan.
- G. The Abandya invasion. The Baza group. Aboguru, Mongbwandi, Abandya.
- H. The Arab and European infiltration.

109. Colonel Bertrand, who had access to Calonne-Beaufaict's unpublished notes, gives the following brief résumé of the invasions of this area (Preface, p. x):

110. Towards the end of the Neolithic Age, in the sixteenth century, the Momvu spread, following a direction roughly Ruwenzori-Chari. To the east, a mixing with the Shilluk-Dinka invaders produced the Bari-Logo group, while, to the west, a mixing with West African influences gave birth to the Makere. Two invasions descended upon this grouping of tribes. The first Sudanic wave (Bangba-Mayogo-Mundu, &c.), debouching from the upper Mbomu, spread south, leaving in the Bahr el Ghazal their Babukur rear-guard.² The Bwaka of Ubangi belong also to this group. The Bantu were the next to arrive from the west, and their vanguard, the Abangwinda, penetrated as far as the Bahr el Ghazal, to be dispersed later by the Sudanic Mongbwandi invaders from the north. At the same time the second Sudanic wave from the north reached the lower Mbomu, the Abèlè (Azande), Auro (Abarambo), and the Amadi. The third Sudanic wave, the Avongara (Azande), succeeded these, crossing the Mbomu farther west (between 24° and 25° long.) at the

¹ Czekanowski (vol. ii, p. 569) postulates a belt of Pygmies extending as far as Mt. Elgon on the Kenya-Uganda border.

² Subsequently 'Bantuized' by the Abangwinda.

beginning of the eighteenth century.¹ The Momvu-Makere were driven back at the moment when stone was giving way to iron in their culture. A section of the Makere, about 1750, plunged into the forest belt to the south, developed an aristocracy under Zande chiefs there, made contacts with people of other cultures, and finally reappeared from the south under the name of Mangbetu. The Azande, who were still pressing southwards, were definitely checked by this new invasion. At the same time a branch of the Mongbandi, the Abandya, appeared north of the Wele and the Mbomu, and, after being 'Zandeized', drove the Azande themselves from the lower Mbomu, advanced south, and finally came into conflict with the Europeans north of the Congo. At the same time a new Bantu thrust, the Ababua, completely changed the tribal constitution of the area south of the Wele west of long. 26°. It was in this confusion of populations that in 1830 the last Sudanic wave, the Avongara, had its rise, and it carried on its crest this mixture of tribes into the regions which it occupied. As the Avongara swept on, however, the submerged people were assimilated into one great Zande nation, over which reigned order and the 'pax azandea'. At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, European intervention arrested these migrations and stabilized the tribes in the regions where they are to-day.

111. Czekanowski's prehistory covers a wider area, which he divides into three migration zones (vol. ii, p. 568).

- i. The Nile and Great Lake area, where the invasion swept from north-east to south.
- ii. The savannah lands north of the forest belt, where the movement was from west to east.
- iii. The forest belt itself, where the last migrations were from south-west to north-east, although it may be that the Sudan tribes of the forest belt themselves came earlier from the north-west.

112. The causes of the early waves of migration are not easy to ascertain. Calonne-Beaufaict, in discussing the various Zande waves, postulates:

- (a) A drying up of the South Sahara. (This would undoubtedly have also caused the Sara, Banda, Dendi, Fan—and presumably the early Bongo—to begin their first migrations.)
- (b) Pressure of people to the north—the white 'Azudia', probably Arabs.
- (c) A tradition of conquering which was passed on to the conquered people—this being especially the case with the Avongara.

113. For the purpose of this chapter I shall use Calonne-Beaufaict's table of invasions, but discuss each section from the various points of view expressed by different authorities. Again it must be stressed that only those movements which have a direct bearing on the Southern Sudan tribes will be analysed here.

A. THE ABORIGINES AND THE FIRST INVADERS

Eastern Section

114. About the year A.D. 1000, according to Czekanowski, the Bahima-Batutsi cattle-owners (of Galla stock) migrated from their Abyssinian home-lands under pressure of Semitic raids, and moved in a north to south direction. At that time the Nile-Congo Divide was peopled by scattered bands of Pygmies and, to a certain

¹ Their actual invasion of the Wele area, however, did not begin until the nineteenth century.

extent, by early Nilotes. The agricultural Bantu, however, had already taken up their position from the Congo to Lake Victoria, though not united in any way. The Momvu tribes were farther west at the time, but they, or their influence, extended as far south as the Aruwimi River.

115. According to Thomas and Scott this Hamitic wave from Abyssinia reached Gondokoro in the sixteenth century, bringing their cattle with them. From here they dispersed over modern Uganda, intermarried with the indigenous agricultural populations, though at the same time reducing them to a state of serfdom, and founded the kingdoms of Ruanda, Urundi, Karagwe, Ankole, and later Busoga, Bunyoro, and Buganda.

116. The Nilotic invasions (Shilluk-Acholi) from the Sudan swamps, in the same century probably put an end to the Hamitic invasion from the north-east. The first wave of Nilotes swept through Eastern Uganda, the majority settling in Kenya (Jaluo), although a Jopadhola ('Budama') rear-guard remained in Uganda. The Nilo-Hamitic Teso probably made a barrier between these and the next Nilotic wave, the Lango and Acholi, the former settling in a district north-west of the Teso, and the latter over-running (modern) Gulu and Chua districts. Then came the Alur and Jopaluo ('Chopi'), who settled south of these.

117. At about the same time the Madi and Lugbara overflowed from the Sudan, and were caught in the Acholi current and were swept into their present positions.¹ They were followed by outlying sections of the Kakwa and Kuku, who had already come from the east with the Bari.

Western Section

118. Calonne-Beaufaict (p. 146) gives the upper reaches of the Asa (southern tributary of the Mbomu) as the old home of the Momvu, who lived in symbiosis with the Pygmies. From a comparison of word-roots he notices Momvu influences in both Makere and Logo, which he regards as previous to the dispersion of their groups—one in the triangle Buta-Bambili-Bili and the other north of Doruma, towards the upper Mbomu and the Sueh. His reconstruction of Wele prehistory is as follows:

119. The country was once inhabited by small dark people with a Neolithic culture, who remained in partial occupation till the sixteenth century. Successive waves of migration emanating from the Central Sudan drove these people from an undetermined point in the Tchad-Mbomu-Nile escarpment first towards Zemio (on the French border), then towards Amadi (in Belgian Congo), the upper Nava, and the Ruwenzori. In their retreat they left behind them certain isolated islands of Neolithic civilization, which were absorbed in the sixteenth century by the pure Sudanic invaders, and which are now represented by the mixed 'Zandeized' tribes, Birri, Apambia, Abambia, Akarè, &c. The present Momvu, Wambutu, and Walese are their southern descendants, still living in interdependence with the pure Pygmies.

120. To the west, amalgamation of these people with West African migrants produced the Makèrè. In the east, fusion of the Proto-Momvu with the Shilluk invaders produced the Logo and Bari²-Mombutu types. Calonne-Beaufaict further notices Momvu and Mombutu influences in Kreish, and tries to link the Gbaya-Ndogo with the Ndo among the Lendu.

¹ Czekanowski further suggests an old southern course of Madi migration, perhaps contemporary with the early Baganda migrations.

² The Bari-Logo, not the Nilo-Hamitic Bari.

121. The main waves of Zande invasion from the north and Mangbetu invasion from the south discovered the Momvu settled between the Gada and Kibali Rivers and in the mountainous regions to the south, whence they had been ejected from the neighbourhood of Niangara.

122. The Shilluk invasions he describes as follows (p. 152): the first-known Nilotes were repulsed south of Meroe by Mashaousha deserters of Psammetichus I in 650 and 625 B.C. Their descendants, the Fung of Sennar (from whom are descended the Shilluk and Dinka),¹ emigrated by steps as far as the Bahr el Ghazal. One section went north again (1496-1659) as far as Dongola, while another section extended southwards up the Bahr el Arab. By the sixteenth century there were twenty-eight Shilluk tribes on the River Jur, under Nekongo. One band of Shilluk invaders advanced up the Sueh in the same century, and reappeared towards the end of the eighteenth century to the west of Lake Albert—the 'Alulu'.² Relics of this Sueh 'trek' may be found, Calonne-Beaufaict asserts, in the presence of the Dembo, Jur and Belanda, &c., in the Sueh valley. This same Shilluk movement swept with it the Bari-Logo-Mombutu-Mundu conglomeration from their home in the Sueh valley, and these in turn helped to drive the negrillos southwards. Meanwhile the Madi, coming from the north-west, had driven before them a miscellany of other tribes, which merged with the Alulu to form the Acholi and other Shilluk-speaking tribes of the Great Lake area.

123. Between the Shilluk nucleus and the primitives of the Momvu-Walesé group were some very mixed elements, (1) the Logo group, (2) the Nile Madi, (3) the Bongo.

124. Calonne-Beaufaict and Czekanowski are both inclined to underline a Nilotic strain in the Logo and especially the Madi tribal groups.³ This would give the sixteenth century as the time of the rise of these people. Since the Bongo language group has a great deal in common with Moru-Madi (both in vocabulary and in morphology), the logical supposition is that there was once a Bongo-Madi entity, which was split by the arrival of the Shilluk invaders, and that Bongo now represents the purer element. This may further be supported by the fact that the language Bongo has affinities with Lake Tchad, whereas the Moru-Madi dialects are very localized. Finally, from what little linguistic evidence there is to go upon, there is a closer tie between Moru-Madi and Momvu-Lese than between Bongo-Baka and Momvu-Lese.

The history of these particular groups will be given separately (see Chapter III).

B. THE FIRST SUDANIC WAVE (BANGBA-MUNDU-BASIRI AND AMADI)

125. It must have been towards the end of the sixteenth century that the Bangba-Mundu⁴-Mayogo-Basiri pressure made itself felt. Originating near the source of the Mbomu, one column drove back the Baka and Logo, while another, passing more to the west, penetrated south to form the basis of the present Bangba, south of Niangara. The eastern fringe was caught in the tide of Shilluk invasion and swept southwards, along with the tribes the invaders had already conquered.

¹ The theory that the Fung are in any way related to the Shilluk is attacked on ethnographical grounds by Seligman, *op. cit.*, pp. 415-22. In fact his theory (and the generally accepted one) is that the Shilluk movement was from south to north.

² Forerunners of the Alur?

³ It must be admitted here that the 'Nilotic strain' is not at all obvious in the vocabulary and still less so in the grammar of these languages.

⁴ Hutereau, p. 261, claims that the Mundu and Bere had a common origin and a common language—Bangba.

126. The Basiri settled north of the Mbomu, between the Kere and the Boku rivers, whence innumerable attacks from various sources have failed to dislodge them. Though often submerged they were able to retain their tribal entity and their language. A section of this people migrated into the Southern Sudan before the Zande advance. Their history will be given later.

127. The Mundu have led a harried existence, being driven backwards and forwards between the Sueh and the Yei by the ebb and flow of inter-tribal warfare. In the course of time they became more or less affiliated to the Baka, as a comparison of the two languages alone shows.

128. The Amadi originated either near the Rivers Gwan and Asa (Calonne-Beaufaict, p. 120) or north of the Mbomu (p. 136). During the same epoch as that of the Shilluk invasion (sixteenth century), they moved southwards to their present habitat, whence they made frequent, but usually abortive, expeditions south and east. One branch actually established itself on the source of the Sueh,¹ whence it was finally driven by the Azande under Bate, Tombo's son, near the end of last century. Casati noted another branch in 1880 between the Garamba and (mod.) Faradje, while Junker in 1881 noted the Amadi-speaking Niapu living under the protection of the Mangbetu.

129. These points represent the eastern limits of Amadi expansion. There is nothing in the history of the tribe nor in its language² to justify Logan Gray's hypothesis that the Amadi of the Congo are the parent stock from which the Madi and Moru of the Southern Sudan have sprung.³ Calonne-Beaufaict maintains that the original name of the Amadi was 'Amago' or 'Aogo', by which they are still called by the Abarambo.

130. The Amadi, Calonne-Beaufaict continues, may be divided into two groups: (1) the true Amadi, with sub-groups Bodo, Poro, Banza, Bosé, and (2) the Vumani, who may be re-divided into (a) the Banda, (b) the Nekiri-Bodama ensemble, (c) other groups of minor importance. (It is to be doubted if the Banda here have anything in common with the Banda of Dar-Banda.)

C. THE SECOND SUDANIC WAVE (ABARAMBO, ABELE-ANGADA, ADIO)

131. Of the second Sudanic wave, only the Adio section need be treated here. They are a section of a larger group, the Auro,⁴ called 'Banwanda' by the Nunga Azande. They originated in the lower reaches of the Mbomu, and their migrations were in a south-westerly direction. They were checked on the Were by the Bantu Ababua, and subjected by Nindu on the Api. They are next heard of on the Bwere

¹ Subsequent to the departure of the Baka.

² Schweinfurth, vol. i, p. 523, footnote: 'The A-Madi must not be confounded with the Madi of the Mittu, nor with the Madi south of Gondokoro.' A glance at Czekanowski's 'Madyo' vocabulary will substantiate this statement linguistically. Czekanowski, as he explains, vol. ii, p. 201, uses the term 'Madyo' to distinguish these people from the 'ihnen ganz fremden Madi-Neger des Nil-Tales'.

³ 'Notes on the component tribes which form the Amadi-speaking group' (privately circulated report). Nalder, in his chapter on tribal history, has obviously accepted Gray's theory as it stands (op. cit., p. 10). Hutereau, in trying to clear up the same point, only succeeds in confusing the issue still more, when he writes, p. 28: 'The Logware who are established between the Loa and the Kibali take the name of Madi. They do not appear to be related to the Madi of the Liwa-Angba chain, who are situated within the bend which the Wele describes between Surango and Amadi. On the contrary, many soldiers, natives of the Liwa-Angba chain, have assured me that they understand easily the natives who, living between Dufile and Wadelai on the Albert Nile, bear the name of Madi.'

⁴ The Auro are themselves a branch of the Mongbwandi, coming from the Ubangi River.