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PHILOTIC TRIPTYCH, LANDER

L. H. FIRBERG

THE LANGO

ON THE TRAIL OF THE PIGMIES

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Frontispiece.

THE LANGO

A NILOTIC TRIBE OF UGANDA

By J. H. DRIBERG

(*Uganda Civil Service*)

With a FOREWORD *by*

SIR ROBERT THORNE CORYNDON

K.C.M.G.

Governor of the Uganda Protectorate

ILLUSTRATED

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FOREWORD

It is probable that the Colonial Civil Service as a whole does not quite realize how much it owes to the work of individual officers upon subjects more or less outside their ordinary duties. I class this book as one of these useful efforts.

Mr. Driberg lived and worked among the Lango for between six and seven years; and though it was his work to know them and their language, it was not strictly part of his duty to spend long hours in collecting, collating and recording the substance of tradition, history and custom with which this volume is crammed. Of the use of such a volume to the present and succeeding generations of district officers in Uganda there can be no doubt; and probably as little as to its value to those students of ethnology who will never see Uganda itself.

Of its purely literary interest you will doubtless judge for yourself, but as a basis of comparison with other tribes in a similar stage of development, and as an excellent example of close study and suggestive channels of investigation, you must accord to this book a place of merit. You will see that it is simply and clearly worded, and that it is sufficiently concise; a touch of humour here and there, an occasional deeper note, and the broad view-point show the author to be at once a sympathetic native administrator and anything but a visionary—a muscular student, in fact. It is clear that the writing of this book was a labour of love.

The first chapter shows close study and a careful process of comparison and elimination. Few will be able to offer criticism on this historical research, for the subject he deals with is not large in extent and the country is remote. Here, as elsewhere in savage Africa, fortune has fluctuated, and the tribe has grown and has dwindled in strength and unity. The chief factor that causes the rise and the wane from decade to decade of a small native tribe is the infrequent appearance of a really powerful chief upon whose strength and wisdom his people are lifted to conquest and expansion; such an instance comes to mind at once in old South Africa in the Chief Chaka and his Zulus, and in Moshesh and his Basuto. Less frequent, but equally definite in result, would be one of those general and irresistible upheavals

from which there occurs, so to speak, a great flow of human lava; a notable instance is the epic march of the chief Sebitwane from Leribe, in what is now Basutoland, through the Orange Free State, the Transvaal and Bechuanaland to found a great native kingdom on the upper Zambesi, disturbing, decimating or absolutely destroying a dozen small clans and tribes throughout its blighting progress. A third factor is the occurrence of a devastating plague or visitation; and here at once I quote the sleeping sickness in Uganda, wherefrom there resulted approximately 17,000 deaths in the Sesse Islands alone, and the total expatriation by the Government of 12,000 people to the mainland at the north end of Lake Victoria. Mr. Driberg shows how these Lango people have suffered their share of such outrageous fortune. It is now our definite and fine trusteeship to guard them not only from war and pestilence, but from the newer and more insidious enemies of, amongst others, alcohol and venereal disease. This chapter touches also upon such matters of lesser importance as place-names and nicknames and so on, and references to the proper use of local customs and traditions, and of dress and weapons.

The second chapter is a useful record of natural conditions, such as fauna and climate, and there are clear and close descriptions of geographical features. There is an interesting reference to a pigmy crocodile of not more than two and a half to three feet in length in the Moroto River; the guardians of our national collection at South Kensington would like to know more of this.

The third chapter shows close study of physique and of general aspects of psychology, and it exhibits also a good critical faculty. The next contains an excellent record of village life and house-building, local industries and the control of livestock, agricultural methods and food crops. It shows the Lango to be a brave, cheerful and resourceful people. The accounts of trapping, music and games are full of interest.

In a later chapter the author deals at some length with matters of everyday life, the interest of which will be measured chiefly by the knowledge and the literary style of the man who has watched them on the spot and has recorded them for a thousand other eyes to read. He recounts the ceremonies of birth, marriage and burial, and one can see between the lines the joys and fears and the obscure superstitions of a primitive people. It is clear that the customs as to property and inheritance, kinship, and the simple political organization are recorded by a close and methodical student. A thread of recognition of divine intervention runs strangely through both the big and the little things of life. The diversity of and the reasons for both family and personal names will interest a trained anthropologist more than the layman; and this applies also to the account of their laws and the punishments

which belong to them. The proverbs, and the cries of birds set to words, and the children's games, show that, when all is said and done, the children of all humanity and the proverb-maker of all the centuries are more akin at heart than one is inclined to think.

That part of the book dealing with the ever attractive arts of magic and divination, and the much less pleasant practice of witchcraft, will not interest the student more than the casual reader—which last expression is an offensive description of most of us. And I think it shows an exceptional power of receptiveness and record and a good faculty for analysis. The book represents what must have been close study for so short a period as less than seven years, and by a young and previously inexperienced observer. I see nothing in it to show that the record is exaggerated or that the deductions are incorrect.

I can commend the book to hundreds of young district officers in countries other than Uganda; for, apart from its own direct interest, it opens attractive avenues of inquiry and study, and it may well be regarded as a beacon to young administrative officers whose honour and duty, and often, I am glad to know, whose pleasure it is to win the confidence and strong respect of a whole small nation of primitive people.

R. T. CORYNDON.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
ENTEBBE, UGANDA.

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PREFATORY NOTE

THIS record has been inspired by my affection for a race with whom I have lived and worked for several years, and among whom I have been fortunate enough to form some of my most enduring friendships. Brave, loyal, courteous and hospitable, they have readily accorded me a confidence greater than my deserving, and they will always remain more than a pleasant memory now that the exigencies of service have separated us. In repayment of this obligation this work was in the first place undertaken, in order that in these days of rapid change and transition to newer modes of life and thought some memorial might remain of their past traditions and of customs, which may too easily be overwhelmed by the hurrying and ruthless march of an alien civilization. It is my hope, nevertheless, that what is here written may be found of value both to my brother officers and to anthropologists, though I am only too painfully aware how inadequate this record must be. Vast lacunæ are inevitable, partly owing to my lack of qualifications as an ethnologist, and partly to the circumstances in which the material was collected. My duties left me but little time for detailed investigation, and the information here collected is rather a medley of such facts as came to my knowledge both in my official and private capacity than a scientific excursion into anthropology. However, with all its limitations, I offer this work as the contribution of an amateur, in the best sense of the word, and can only add that, however haphazard the method, every care has been taken to exclude all matter, whether ethnological or linguistic, the accuracy of which has not been thoroughly and repeatedly tested and confirmed.

Some explanation is now necessary of certain questionable details of method and terminology. Exception will probably be taken to my use of the terms *Nilotic* and *Hamitic*. I am aware that these terms are old-fashioned and unscientific, but to the best of my belief no satisfactory classification has yet been made, nor is such a classification possible in the present state of our knowledge. I offer no apology therefore for the use of these convenient labels, and it is sufficient to state that, apart from many minor tribes, by *Nilotic* I mean Shilluk, Dinka, Nuer, Anywak, Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopaluo, Jaluo; and by *Hamitic* Latuka, Taposa, Dodotho,

Karamojon, Iteso, Akum, Turkana, Suk, Masai, Nandi, and the group of tribes contained under the general heading Langu, viz. the Ajie, Olok, Lorwama, and possibly Didinga. In the spelling of Latuka, Karamojon and Langu I have been influenced by Lango practice, and have for convenience left it unchanged; but I have since learned by experience among these tribes that the correct spelling should be Lotuko, Karamojong and Lango.

Since leaving the Lango I have been stationed both among the Alur and the Acholi, and have noticed that several Nilotic words used by the Akum, which do not occur in Lango, are nevertheless heard in Alur and Acholi. I am accordingly inclined to the view that the Akum possibly came in contact with and were influenced by the Jaluo branch of the Acholi family during the latter's south-easterly migration. I see no reason, however, to modify my belief that the Akum are a Hamitic tribe akin to the Iteso, and it is of interest to record in this connection that the Taposa are called Kumi by the Didinga.

Though unscientific, the alphabet used here was nevertheless adopted, as I considered that it would be of more general service to readers who, like myself, are unacquainted with modern phonetic scripts. It is sufficiently serviceable for practical purposes, and the finer shades of pronunciation, which tends to vary according to the locality, cannot, in my opinion, be learned by the eye, though a more precise transcription would admittedly facilitate comparative philology. The few diacritical marks employed have not been shown in the ethnological section, as they tend to distract rather than to assist the reader, and anyone desiring to do so can supply them himself by reference to the vocabularies. Only assured words have been included, and the vocabulary is far from complete, as I have reason to believe that the Lango vocabulary is very extensive, and a residence of only seven years is by no means sufficient to exhaust its possibilities.

It had been my intention to include an appendix of comparative Nilotic vocabularies, designed to illustrate phonetic changes and roots common to the whole family, but the present cost of publication decided me to withhold this material for a more favourable opportunity. This has proved an advantage, as I have since had the opportunity of serving among Hamitic peoples, and have found many points of contact between the two families, more especially as between the Ajie and the Lango.

My grateful thanks are due to Professor and Mrs. C. G. Seligman for their constant encouragement, criticism and advice, and to the latter I am further indebted for a complete revision of Chapter V, § 6, which has been rewritten with her generous collaboration. I am indebted to Sir Robert Coryndon for his kindly Foreword, to Mr. P. T. Hannington and Mr. F. H. Rogers

for permission to reproduce their photographs, and to Mr. H. R. Wallis, C.M.G., who has undertaken the arduous task of seeing the proofs through the press. In conclusion, I should state that this book could never have seen the light but for generous financial assistance from the Uganda Government and from the funds of the Lango Lukiko or Council of Chiefs.

J. H. DRIBERG.

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ETHNOLOGY

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CHAPTER I

HISTORY

In his history of the Uganda Protectorate Sir H. H. Johnston writes as follows :—

> The real reading of Unyoro's past history seems to run on these lines : Long ago, perhaps two thousand or three thousand years back, began a series of invasions of Unyoro by a cattle-keeping Gala people from the north-east, the ancestors of the modern Bahima. These folk appear to have come from the north-east, or countries to the south of Abyssinia and west of Somaliland. Apparently they came round the north end of Lake Rudolf, and then directed their course south-westwards into the countries which are now known vaguely to the Baganda as Bukedi (or the land of nakedness). But the land of Bukedi was then, as now (though not perhaps to the same extent), peopled by a warlike race of Nilotic negroes and modern Acholi, Lango, Umiro, etc., and (according to the tradition) the Bahima did not find the means of settling down comfortably in these lands to the east and north of the Victoria Nile, so they crossed over into Unyoro. . . .[1]

Again he writes of the Basoga :—

> According to native tradition, this country was formerly inhabited by Nilotic negroes of the Lango tribe, and also of the Elgumi race—the Elgumi being more allied in language and physique to the Masai. . . . Into this country there broke, some hundreds of years ago, an invasion of Uganda people, or at any rate of negroes from the direction of Uganda, who spoke a dialect of the Luganda language. These, after mixing with the Lango and Elgumi, . . . were the ancestors of the modern Basoga.[2]

That there should have been Lango people settled at that remote period before the Hamitic invasion in "the countries which are now vaguely known to the Baganda as Bukedi" and in Busoga —a reasonable enough hypothesis in view of the information available at the time when the above quoted lines were written—is absolutely at variance with Lango tradition, according to which the country alluded to as Bukedi has been occupied by them in comparatively recent years, and previous to this occupation was uninhabited.[3]

[1] Sir H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii., p. 600.

[2] Sir H. H. Johnston, op. cit, vol. ii., p. 713. It should be noted that by Elgumi is indicated the tribe now known as Teso.

[3] A possible allusion to a bygone, autochthonous race may be contained in the Lango word *Maita*, which is generally used to indicate south. The suggestion is very tentatively advanced that this word *Maita* (also called *Moita*) may be not unconnected with the race of cannibal dwarfs known to the Akikuyu as *Maitoachiana*.

What may be intended is that the country was occupied by an aboriginal race of negroes, who by fusion with the Hamites have developed into the tribes contained in the Nilotic group. But even so the present Lango probably did not inhabit that region at such a remote date, but have reached it by a series of southward migrations.

Further, if we are to accept Lango tradition, the theory of a previous Nilotic occupation of Busoga must be explained on a different hypothesis. This may be supplied by the tradition of the Jaluo (Nilotic Kavirondo), who state that they originally came from a country in the far north-west by Mbale and Lake Salisbury—traces of the route taken remaining in the position still occupied by the Badama. Mr. Hobley, indeed, is of opinion that "This great migration (of *Bantu* Kavirondo) took place at a much earlier date than that of the Nilotic Jaluo from the north, and was checked only by the irruption of the Nile tribes into what is generally known as the Kitoto plain."[1]

And again: "The invasion of the Nilotic Jaluo race appears to have taken place later than that of the Bantu, and they are, it is believed, an offshoot of the Acholi or Shuli stock." Granted a slight Nilotic element in the Basoga, it is possible that in this comparatively recent invasion southwards a small body may have become detached, and following the course of the Mpologoma have entered Busoga from the east and settled in the north, where the Nilotic element is said to be the strongest. It may be noted, however, that in the Lusoga *Vocabulary* given by Sir H. H. Johnston only three words can be attributed to a Nilotic source,[2] a fact which may indicate that the Nilotic element to be found in the Basoga is exceedingly small.

Professor C. G. Seligman, in dealing with the Hamitic problem, considers that the Nilotes and half-Hamites represent the fusion of the proto-Hamites and negroes, "who, in spite of minor modifications and the introduction of some foreign elements, retained their old African tongues."[3] And Westermann, relying on a computation of the Shilluk dynasty by Mr. B. Struck, conjectures that "a probably fair-skinned tribe or clan became in some manner united with the Shilluks and made itself the ruling factor"[4] about the first quarter of the sixteenth century. It is questionable whether the Shilluks owe their ruling house to these Hamitic invaders, and on the available evidence it may be argued with greater

[1] C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, pp. 8, 9.

[2] These words are *ngoto*, neck (Lango, *ngut*); *luu*, skin (Lango, *lau*); *iye*, war (Lango *yi*). *Lido*, *maido* (ground-nuts), which is identical with the word used by the Lango, is probably Ateso in origin (compare Masai, *lodoa*), and has been adopted from the Iteso both by the Lango and the Basoga.

[3] Dr. C. G. Seligman, *Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem*, p. 636.

[4] Diedrich Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, p. lii.

probability that the invasion synchronized with the demise of an effete dynasty, dating possibly back to the fusion of the proto-Hamites and indigenous negroes into the Shilluk nation, and that the crushing reverses inflicted by the sixteenth-century invaders gave the last blow to an already tottering dynasty, and enabled Nyikang, the founder of the present dynasty, to assert himself and to inaugurate the era of migration in the search for more fertile lands and less uncomfortable neighbours.

To revert to the Lango, however, they are a Nilotic tribe whose language shows close affinities with Shilluk, and their movements must be co-ordinated with those of other tribes of the same family, which exhibit a strong centrifugal tendency. Shilluk tradition points to their migration from a point south of their present position and east of the Bahr-el-Jebel, a tradition shared to a certain extent by the Jur;[1] while Emin[2] noted an Acholi legend of a southward migration. Accordingly Westermann conjectures that "the original habitat of the people will have been in the country situated about the middle of their present seats, that is, along the shores of the Bahr-el-Jebel and extending eastwards inland. Here one division of the Shilluks, the Beri, are still living. The rest of the Shilluks were forced to migration probably by the arrival of more powerful and warlike tribes from the east, viz. the Bari and Latuka, who up to the present inhabit this country. The Shilluks . . . emigrated in three directions: south, north-east, and north-west. The division wandering south are now known as Gang or Acholi. . . . From the Gang a number of smaller divisions have branched off into south-west, south, and south-east: the Lur (Aluru), Jafalu (*Jafaluo*, *Japaluo*), Lango, Ja-Luo (Nyifwa Kavirondo), Wagaya."[3] Schweinfurth also hypothesized a Shilluk migration to the south, resulting in the Acholi tribe, a hypothesis based on similarity of language, manners and customs.

In the following pages an endeavour will be made to show how Lango traditions of their previous history harmonize with the above statements, but it must be premised that in this account—which is largely conjectural and open to criticism—the Lango are treated as a separate tribe who migrated after the Acholi move, and not as an offshoot of that tribe. The reason for this assumption will be given subsequently.

The vanguard of the Lango to have reached the Nile were the present inhabitants of the country bordering on the River Tochi,[4] Lango, who have lived in close and continuous contact with the Acholi and have to some extent assimilated their language and

[1] Hofmeyer, *Anthropos*, 1910.
[2] *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 155.
[3] Diedrich Westermann, op. cit., p. l.
[4] This river is called by the Lango Péchema (from the name of a little fish), but the Acholi name Tochi is more generally recognized.

to a lesser extent their manners and customs. Emin noted, when travelling from Panyatoli to Fatiko, that on the north bank (of the Nile) there are isolated crags and tall forests inhabited by Lango people,[1] a point of interest as indicating that the Lango have since then been forced to withdraw further south and east.

That these westerly Lango had reached the Nile near the mouth of the Tochi at least one hundred and sixty years ago is shown by the Banyoro legend of Lukedi, the founder of the present dynasty.[2] Singoma and Kato, sons of Ndama, were born at Jabito in the Lendu country. When urged to seize the throne of Bunyoro, they travelled through the country of the Alur, and came east to the Acholi and last of all to the Lango. They followed this route, as it is said that the sovereign of the Banyoro must always enter his kingdom from across the Nile. On arriving among the Lango, who greeted the brothers in a friendly manner, Singoma asked a Lango to sell him a spear, and to this day the place, which is situated far west of the Tochi, is called *Atongwil*, the place of the bartering of the spear. Then they met Lukedi, who showed them the way to the ferry, probably the same route as was used by Emin.

According to their tradition, the last of the Jopaluo[3] migrated from the north to the south bank of the Nile (for they would appear to have been situated both on the north and the south) about four generations ago, some incidentally remaining on the north, but moving rather eastwards in the direction of the Tochi. The reason for this migration may have been the prospect of better land and the desire to be united with the rest of their tribe, but it is likely that it was ultimately due to pressure from behind. This pressure was in all probability caused by the Lango, whose definite occupation of the Nile bank at this point would be thus about one hundred and twenty years ago. They would form the advance guard of the tribe who had gradually made their way down towards the Nile opposite Foweira. Advancing as they did in periodic waves, they were at first doubtless content to leave the Jopaluo in possession of the north bank of the Nile, and indeed they never dispossessed them entirely, although the majority emigrated gradually before their advance, and of recent years there has been a tendency to return to their old homes. In

[1] *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 287.

[2] This legend, like Emin's note, shows that the north bank of the Nile was then occupied by the Lango. This Lukedi, it should be observed, has several Nilotic characteristics, and in another version of the story on p. 600 of *The Uganda Protectorate* he is made to wear a bead head-dress very similar to that worn by the Lango.

[3] Named (or nicknamed) variously Shefalu, Chiope, Chopi. The name which they acknowledge themselves is Jopaluo. The *Luo* designation is found in Jaluo (Nilotic Kavirondo), the Alur, and in *Luo* (the name by which the Jur know themselves).

Ndaula's reign, indeed, some "Bakedi" crossed the Nile and raided cattle,[1] being eventually defeated by Ndaula's brother, Kagora. This incident cannot have occurred later than about one hundred and seventy years ago, while the date of the Lukedi legend may be placed about 1750–1760. It is likely enough, therefore, that for about the last two hundred years the Lango have been in touch with the Jopaluo, and that a few advanced parties had reached the Nile, but that the final expulsion of the Jopaluo to the south bank of the Nile, due to the advance of more Lango, did not take place until eighty years later.

Tradition puts the original home of the Lango somewhere north-east of their present situation. More specifically, Okelobong of Jaber says that the Lango originally started beyond the Langudyang and Langulok in a country called Ogora. Every dry season they used to come down in parties to hunt, as game was not plentiful there, returning home shortly before the rains, and eventually they were driven to migration southward owing to continual fighting. Olemu, again, the great-uncle of Nume of Ayer, states that the Lango lived on good terms with the Langudyang. Ogweti, father of Onyik of Achaba, also refers to the Langudyang and Langulok as neighbours, with whom they used to be on good terms, except in the dry season, when they used to fight over watering their cattle. The Langudyang, however, were at constant feud with the Alira. They were driven south by a great famine. Odur, a very old man who lived under Kibuji hill, names five hills in the old Lango country: Giriki, Wera, Oburyu, Kito and Morokau, of which Kito is the highest; but it is unlikely that the identity of these hills will be established owing to the practice of different names being given to the same geographical features by different tribes, but it is probable that in Morokau is preserved the Hamitic word *moru* (hill), and that it stands for the Kauwi hills on the east of the Didinga mountains.

It seems certain, then, that the Lango originated near to and north of the Langudyang, who are situated about ninety miles south-east of the site suggested by Westermann as the original home of the Nilotic peoples whom he classes generically as Shilluk. This is near enough for all practical purposes, and it is probable that the Shilluk as a whole stretched quite as far south-east as that when we consider the numerous subdivisions of the family, which now exist, and which were presumably gathered in that quarter. The identification of the country called Ogora mentioned above with Mount Agoro in the present Latuka country is attractive, especially as in both game is said to be scarce, but cannot be dogmatically insisted upon without further evidence. Emin has, however, recorded various names in that direction, which may have

[1] Sir H. H. Johnston, op. cit., p. 595.

some bearing in this connection, viz., the station of Langomeri[1] (3° 49′ N. 32° 30′ E.); Langora mountains[2] (3° 55′ N. 33° 5′ E.); the Langia range of mountains[3] (3° 43′ N. 32° 58′ E.) But here again caution has to be observed, as they may be names given either by the Langudyang or Langulok tribes, who belong definitely to the Hamitic group in spite of the similarity of the names, and were probably part of the invading force which brought about the disruption of the Shilluk family.

Tradition, it has been said, states that the Lango were generally on friendly terms with the Langudyang and Langulok, who were, however, at feud with the Alira, and it will be seen later that the Alira and the Acholi are very nearly related, although for various reasons, including linguistic variations, they are held by the Lango to be different tribes, and are accordingly so treated here. It is a possible hypothesis, therefore, that owing to this feud and continual state of war the Acholi and the Alira started their southward migration before the Lango—a supposition very strongly supported by the testimony of their respective languages, which, although largely alike in vocabulary and structure, exhibit equally suggestive dissimilarities: and these dissimilarities, moreover, are chiefly to be found in innovations in the Lango language which can be traced to Hamitic sources, innovations not only in vocabulary, but also in syntax and the greater development of certain parts of speech, notably the verb. This consideration suggests that not only did the Lango live on more intimate relations with the Langudyang, but that they also lived as their neighbours for a longer period.

Westermann, in a passage already referred to, places the arrival of these Hamitic invaders about the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and is of opinion that the Shilluk emigration took place as a result at no long period of time afterwards. It was probably later on in this same century that the Acholi and the Alira made their southward move, wearied of the continual struggle for existence in a country where water was scarce and their neighbours hostile. As scarcity of water was doubtless one of the impelling causes of their migration, they would naturally have taken a south-westerly direction, which would enable them to get away from their enemies and at the same time to reach the Nile approximately at the bend south of Nimule. This is a well-watered area, containing the Rivers Asua, Unyame, Ayugi, all of which join the Nile near Nimule, and innumerable lesser streams, and would accordingly with its multitudinous game appear a land of promise to the harassed Acholi, who seem to have left traces of their occupation in several place-names. But while the main body stopped here, two divisions, the Alur and the Jopaluo, continued to move southwards up the Nile, until they reached the countries where they eventually settled,

[1] *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 366. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 242. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

the Alur extending along both banks of the Nile and the north-west of Lake Albert, and the Jopaluo settling on the north and south banks of the Victoria Nile between Foweira and Lake Albert.

Such was the situation, when at some time in the latter half of the seventeenth century the Lango were driven southward, by increasing immigrants of the Hamitic type on the one hand, and by a great famine and a general shortness of water on the other, which resulted in inadequate food crops and made the prospects of game the more attractive. This famine, indeed, may have extended over all that part of the country, reaching the Acholi, and it may be this same famine which induced the Jaluo to break away from the Acholi tribe and to move in a south-easterly direction, following the Asua and then striking across the as yet uninhabited countries subsequently occupied by the Lango, the Akum and the Iteso, until after long wanderings they eventually reached their present homes. This would harmonize with their tradition that they were once part of the Acholi tribe (as their language indicates), and left their old homes owing to a great famine.

At any rate, about that time the Lango appear to have started their migration southwards, the advance guard being composed of the Lango who now live west of the Tochi and who reached their present position, as has been said, about two hundred years ago. But by the time that this advanced body had arrived at their destination, something had caused the rest of the Lango tribe to swing in a more south-easterly direction. For obviously the Lango intended to follow the vanguard of their tribe south-west, and would have done so were it not for some obstruction forcing in from the west, where the Acholi and Alira had taken up their residence. The nature of this obstruction may possibly be alluded to in their traditional legends.

All tradition asserts that long ago the Lango were on good terms with the Acholi and Alira, but subsequently quarrelled and moved away. There are, too, many traditional songs and games alluding to battles between the Lango and the Madi in which the Lango were almost invariably defeated. But the essential point in these traditions is that before their quarrel with the Acholi the Lango and the Acholi used to be allied against the Madi. The probability therefore is that the Madi in their eastern march had just then reached the Nile from the west and were beginning to make themselves felt on the Acholi west flank. The Acholi, threatened by this menace, applied for assistance to the warlike Lango, but, after constant reverses and heavy losses, realized that they had backed the wrong horse, withdrew their support from the Lango and came to terms with the Madi. Consequently, in face of the allied forces of the Madi, the Acholi and the Alira, the Lango were

obliged to turn eastwards, to allow for Acholi expansion at the instigation of the Madi advances, the Acholi moving southward to the territory now occupied by them, and the Alira and others of the Acholi moving south and south-east, thus effectually cutting off the Lango west of the Tochi from the main body.

While it is understood that this large migration was not instantaneous, but a succession of waves, it is certain from tradition that there was a very clear halt in its progress after its course had been diverted by western opposition. This halt occurred somewhere between the Rivers Udat and Moroto[1] about three days north of the latter river and about 33° 20′ east latitude. All tradition received from Lango in different parts of the country points to an area in that direction from which the final advance was made. Thus Ajibu of Aduku states that his family came from Kachedung, two days in a north-easterly direction beyond the Moroto. Olemu of Ayer (previously referred to) states that his father was born at a place subsequently called Ayer, two days' journey beyond the Moroto. Awal, a very old man, the uncle of Adiga of Ngai, states that his father, Elyap, was born at Abubu Hill, on the River Achake, shortly after crossing the Moroto from a long distance. These instances from many are sufficient evidence of such a halt, similar to that made by the Shilluk in the Baher-el-Ghazal region preliminary to their final migration northwards.

During this period of rest the relations of the Lango with other tribes were considerably extended. Especially notable were their commercial relations with the Banyoro and the Akum,[2] with both of whom they then came in contact for the first time, the latter at that period being situated about four days' journey in a south-easterly direction. It should be noted, however, in view of subsequent developments that their relations with the Akum were then of the friendliest character. Constant raiding was the rule between the Lango on the one part and the Acholi and Alira on the other, but the Acholi used generally to confine their attentions to outlying villages and the cutting-off of stragglers. This is in agreement with the known fear and respect with which the Lango inspired the Acholi and other surrounding tribes. That a regular state of war, however, did not exist, but rather a series of border forays, is shown by the fact that Jopaluo traders used to penetrate to the Lango, bartering iron hoes (from which spear blades would be manufactured) in return for produce, goats and ivory, as to reach the Lango the Jopaluo had to pass through the Acholi and

[1] So called by the Lango, to whom the more general name Asua is unknown.

[2] Akum is the more accurate form of the Banyoroized Kumam. It is not clear whether the name was originally given to them as a nickname by other tribes. At any rate, they acknowledge it now, though they claim Lango as the real tribal name, distinguished from other tribes of the same name by the addition of *Ikokolemu*, "the children of Olemu."

Alira.[1] It appears that a large trade was so carried on, and the Lango in their turn would retail their surplus hoes to the Akum, amongst whom they would exchange the hoes for cattle, three hoes —such was their scarcity—being the equivalent of one heifer.

In spite of previous failures the Lango still made large unorganized attacks on the Madi, who were now several days distant, and even reached Nimule, near the confluence of the Nile and the Moroto. As before, the Lango generally met with reverses, but doubtless were able to carry off slaves and several head of cattle. Thus the grandfather of Oleng of Aboke married a Madi woman carried off on one of these raids. But of a disastrous expedition against a Madi chief called Kawali it is sung *Ajungamweng otyeko jo kum yo* (Ajungamweng finishes his men on the march), because in it more Lango were destroyed by the spate of a river, called by them Nyangaragot, than were killed by the Madi.

Their dealings with Jopaluo traders brought the Lango into contact with the Banyoro, to whom the Jopaluo had carried reports of their surpassing valour and skill in battle. The result was that detachments of Lango were frequently invited over by different factions to aid in the civil wars which so often distracted the Banyoro. Thus we are told that help was given to Abwon and Achali respectively, chiefs in Bunyoro, and in forays the Lango more than once reached Bugungu on Lake Albert, and even penetrated the Alur and Lendu countries on the opposite shore. The rewards which they received for these services were principally slaves, male and female, and what cattle or movable property they could secure.

Meanwhile, tiring probably of their constant bickerings with the Acholi and Alira, led on also by prospects of fine hunting in the country which they now occupy and which was then uninhabited, possibly also feeling pressure from the Nilotics in the north-west and the Hamites to the east, the Lango again started moving south and west about one hundred and twenty years ago, to judge by such genealogical tables as are available—just about the same time as the Jopaluo evacuated the north bank of the Nile near Foweira in favour of the Lango west of the Tochi. It was during this last period of advance that the expeditions into Bunyoro were initiated. The advance probably reached its end, and the country at present occupied by the Lango was overrun, about thirty years ago, and during all this time constant expeditions across the Nile were conducted with the two motives of fighting and plunder.

That the advance was a succession of periodic waves is made quite clear by the local account of individual movements, and it

[1] The fact that we find the Jopaluo trading with the Lango suggests that their migration to the south bank of the Nile was due rather to inclination than force.

is further evident that in general the advance was made by two main routes, the one moving by Alito Hill westward and populating the areas now known as Kichema, Ngai, Anyek and Achaba. The southern or more popular route was by Eruti Hill, from which point one line of march was by Lira westwards, touching Abyeche (called now Nabieso), while the other turned southward and penetrated the country as far as Agaya. This second stream of migration was to a large extent fed by the north-easterly Lango, and traces of their erratic course may be found among the northern Iteso in the graves of the forefathers of the present inhabitants of the Nile littoral.

At a slightly earlier period the Akum and their kinsmen north of Lake Salisbury, the Iteso, had started expanding south and west on parallel lines, with a two-fold result on the Lango. In the first place, this advance being somewhat earlier than the Lango advance, the eastward wing of the Lango found that a forward movement on their part was blocked by the Akum, and consequently we now find a body of Lango stretching beyond the Moroto to the north-west of the Iteso. In the second place, the Akum, who had occupied the western banks of the Munyal and the northern shore of Lake Kioga and were spreading towards the Abalang, came into contact with the Lango column which had reached Agaya. This check to their advance—for previously they had encountered no inhabitants—caused a rupture of the friendly relations which had formerly existed between the Lango and the Akum, and the latter, outnumbered and opposed by a foe whose life was dedicated to fighting, were routed and driven back over the Munyal, while the Lango pressing southward chased the remnants of the Akum along the Namasale peninsula, till some even crossed over into Buruli and Busoga to escape extinction. It may be these Akum who have modified the speech of the northern Basoga, as to this day there are numerous large settlements along the coast.

Meanwhile the Lira section reached Aber and Kibuji, where they found the few Jopaluo who had migrated south of the Tochi when the first division of the Lango had entered their country. Most of them joined their friends across the Nile, but one small section moved south by canoe, till they came to Kaweri Island off Bululu, where they have since taken up their residence.

Mention should here be made of an alliance contracted by certain of the Lango with Mpina,[1] called chief of the Jopaluo, with the

[1] Mpina (or Anfina) stated by Emin (p. 284) to be chief of the whole of the Magungu and Shifalu districts "as well as ruler of a part of the Lango country." Again, "Anfina tells me that his authority extends far into the Lango country." Although Mpina, who was a powerful chief of the Jopaluo, was at different times assisted in his wars by Lango detachments, as were other chiefs in Bunyoro, there is no evidence in proof of his claim, which is extremely unlikely, and was probably made from his desire to impress Emin.

object of attacking the Acholi. This is rather mysterious, as it has already been shown that while border foraying was a constant practice between the Lango and the Acholi, there was no general state of war as was the case against the Madi. Nor can the reason be that the Lango wished to force a way through the Acholi to reach their kinsmen on the west of the Tochi, as by the time of this alliance they were already in touch with them. The time can roughly be fixed by the fact that my informant, Ogweti, father of Onyik of Achaba, who is about sixty or sixty-five years old, himself assisted Mpina in operations consequent on the alliance. If then we suppose that Ogweti was at that time about twenty years of age, the date of the alliance would be approximately 1870–1875. A possible explanation is to be found in an incident recorded by Baker.[1] He had reached Fatiko among the Acholi on March 6, 1872, and records a defeat by Ali Hussein, a captain of the notorious slave-trader Abu Saood of the Umiro (Lango). By a treacherous betrayal of Lango hospitality this Ali Hussein, who had received large presents of ivory and seventy head of cattle from them, butchered a number of his Lango hosts and carried off women and children and huge herds of cattle to Fatiko, thereby gaining great favour with Abu Saood. Encouraged by this feat, a second expedition was sent against the Lango with the object of obtaining more slaves under the command of "a notorious ruffian named Lazim." He sent a party of one hundred and three men, armed with sniders, with about one hundred and fifty natives to attack the Lango villages at dawn, keeping the main body in reserve. Of the advanced party only one, a Bari, escaped, the remainder having been massacred by the Lango. This is a brief abstract of Baker's account, and if we take into consideration the fact that the slave-traders' headquarters were among the Acholi at Fatiko, and that of the one hundred and fifty natives mentioned a large number would be Acholi, it is quite conceivable that the Lango would identify the Acholi with the slave-dealers. At any rate, a possible motive for the alliance with Mpina is supplied. In spite of Lango assistance in Mpina's country, however, no apparent action was taken against the Acholi, and there was no definite result of the alliance. Nor is this surprising, as Mpina was always on good terms with the Acholi, and in all probability never intended that the alliance should even be more than a bait to attract Lango assistance to his own cause.

The history of the Lango in their present territory up to the year 1897 is one of internal strife on the one hand and of military assistance lent to warring factions in Bunyoro on the other, for the most part a secluded existence, little troubled by the outside world of their neighbours, and after Lazim's sound defeat unmo-

[1] Baker, *Ishmailia*, p. 101.

lested by the slave-traders with the exception of a few sporadic and innocuous visits from the Nubi post in Bunyoro. It may have been due to their long wanderings that the Lango had lost the instincts of a united tribe under one head; but whatever the cause, the fact remains that by the time they had reached their present home they were constantly torn by inter-village fighting. One war-leader of importance after another would rise up, recognized as head of the fighting forces in a certain area so long as he was prosperous, and round him would rally villages impressed by his prosperity and incited by the hope of sharing in it.

In 1897 a military expedition was sent to crush the remnant of the Soudanese mutineers who had taken refuge on the Tochi between Achaba and Ngai, and was brought to such a successful conclusion that the mutineers were dispersed and the Lango (who had never heard of the mutiny) suffered heavy casualties and lost innumerable women and stock. In the same year Kabarega, the Mukama of Bunyoro, fled with Mwanga, Kabaka of the Baganda, to the Lango, with whom by reason of their generous rewards he and Kamrasi[1] had been on friendly terms, driven to abdicate after a reign characterized by cruelty and injustice, a fugitive and outlawed by the British Government. For two years he evaded capture, till in 1899 he was surrounded and arrested in the Abalang near Ngai. During these two years armed parties of Baganda and Banyoro crossed the Nile at many places, ostensibly in search of Kabarega, but actually inspired by the lively expectation of plunder and pillage. They undoubtedly did considerable damage to isolated villages and captured many head of cattle, but such was the courage of the Lango and so great their warlike reputation that they inflicted many severe reverses on the invaders, armed though the latter were with sniders. Otwal, Owinyakulo and Etik are only a few of the names which stand out in that period. Owinyakulo indeed won many notable victories against the Baganda, and in one battle near Aber defeated a large force, killing seventy and chasing the remainder across the Nile as far as Foweira, at that time a Government station. An even greater victory was won by Etik in the neighbourhood of Kidilande, where he killed two hundred armed Banyoro and captured many sniders.

But successful as the Lango operations were, a large number of the Banyoro who had come over to arrest Kabarega, together with many of those who were of his faction, made their homes on the East bank of the Nile and along the north shore of Lake Kwania, from Kwibale to Akokoro, to which area their expansion had as yet carried but few Lango. Here they led a precarious existence,

[1] The Lango helped Kamrasi against his brother Nakubari in the fight for the accession to the throne after the death of his father Mugeni, and against Pauka in Bugungu.

always threatened by Lango attacks, each year bringing more immigrants from across the Nile and consequently greater security, until, small as their numbers were, they established their right to that strip of coast land.

Other Banyoro and some Banyara and Baruli settled along the coast of the Namasale peninsula from Chakwara almost as far as Kele, keeping along the coast owing to the lack of water inland, with the result that Lango settlement in the peninsula was scanty and villages were frequently isolated from their fellow Lango by intervening strips of Bantu immigrants, with here and there an Akum village. So unsatisfactory was this found to be in practice that in recent years the Lango and the Akum have gradually withdrawn to their established territories, leaving the alien Bantu in undisputed possession of the littoral.

Shortly after the capture of Kabarega, Semei Kakunguru withdrew with his extensive following from Buganda and invaded the Lango country, setting up administration at Bululu and Kele. He took up the cause of the Akum and by force of arms drove back the Lango from the area bordering on the Munyal, with the result that the Akum returned to the west bank and resettled the country stretching from Nyara to Kele. He established a post at Akabo a little south of Ekwera in the Lango country, but before any effective operations were started he was ordered to leave the district by the Uganda Government. He consequently withdrew, but left behind a Munyoro from Bugerere, Musabira by name, who by means of sniders maintained a hold on the country round Bululu. He was, however, killed in battle by the Lango in 1903, and succeeded by a relation of his, Kazana, who gave his warm support to the Akum, and won a considerable influence among them from his headquarters at Kele. In spite of a vigorous resistance the Lango were forced back almost to the line of the Abalang, with the exceptions of Agaya and their outposts on the Namasale peninsula, and Kazana introduced among the Akum, who were now fast spreading westwards, a system of administration planned on the Baganda model. This system he organized and developed, including within its scope the Lango settlements at Agaya and Awelo, until in 1907, on the Government establishing a station at Bululu, he placed himself and his influence with the Akum freely at the Government's disposal, and continued his active co-operation till his retirement in 1918. In his day he was the most potent enemy with whom the Lango have had to deal.

With the establishment of administration it was found necessary to send a small expedition against the Lango at Ekwera, Awelo and Dokolo, and two years later administration was also started from the west at Kibuji, and progress by methods of peaceful penetration was such that in 1911 the administration was united

under one station at Nabieso (Abyeche), which has been the headquarters of the Lango district till in 1914 the station was moved to Lira in the heart of the Lango country.

Ethnological Relations of the Akum.—Up to this point it has been assumed that the Lango and Akum are two different and distinct tribes, but in view of the fact that they have previously been considered subdivisions of one tribe it is now necessary briefly to state the grounds for this assumption. Mr. Kitching, for instance, writing of the Akum, says: "The small section known as the Kuman, on the north shore of Lake Kioga, appears to be part of the Lango who quarrelled with the rest of the tribe, and moving a little southwards became affiliated to the Teso tribe, from whom they borrowed many words and inflections." And again: "The so-called Kuman dialect represents a fusion of the Lango and the Teso, a section of the Lango having quarrelled with their relations and fraternized with the neighbouring tribe." [1]

Preliminary to the main discussion, however, a difficulty arises in regard to the name of the tribe, and must be first considered, though a definite decision on this point seems to be impossible in the light of our present knowledge. Stated briefly, the difficulty is this: Lango is the name acknowledged by the tribe themselves, who repudiate the name Miro, by which they have been known to the Acholi, the Alira and the Akum. The Bantu designation Bakedi [2] and the Karamojon Atere do not bear on the question, as they are obviously only nicknames. At the same time, while Akum would appear to be the correct name for the people known generally as Kuman and also known to the Lango as *Kerekere* (a nickname taken from the word used in their language to represent "all"), and while they answer to and acknowledge this name, they nevertheless claim that Lango (modified by the addition of *me Ikokolemu*) is the real tribal name; and, indeed, pitched battles used to be fought, especially in the regions of Ngai and Abermaido, between the people whom we have called Lango and the Akum over thé rival claims to this name.

To Baker they were known as Umiro, and Emin states that their tribal name is Lango-Umera, but it must be said that both Baker and Emin made these statements on the authority of the

[1] Rev. A. L. Kitching, *Backwaters of the Nile*, pp. 18, 35.

[2] The origin of the words Bukedi and Bakedi is obscure. It is popularly supposed that *Kedi* means "naked," and that *Bukedi* means "Land of Nakedness," but there does not appear to be any authority for this supposition. In the opinion of some it means "Land of the East," being so called by Bantu invaders from the Lango *Kidi* (= east), the country and all *Bakedi* (viz. Lango to Bugishu) lying east of Buganda and Bunyoro. An attractive explanation is offered in the fact that the Bantu invaders first entered Okedea, an area in the Teso district, and may have impressed that name to do service for the whole area from the Nile to Masaba.

Acholi, who would naturally refer to them as Miro, the name by which they knew them.

The difficulty is, however, further complicated by the tribe known as Langudyang or Langulok (subdivisions of the same tribe, but known to the Lango generally as Langu or Olok), who were probably, before migrating south, one of the Hamitic invaders of the Gondokoro area in the early sixteenth century. We have seen that the Lango lived on friendly terms with them before their migration, and Lango tradition is very strong on the point that, in the past as they do to-day, they spoke a different language similar to Karamojon and Akum. Repeated reference is made to this tribe and their country by both Baker and Emin,[1] and the latter was evidently of opinion that the Langudyang and the Lango-Miro (this designation is used temporarily for the purpose of distinction only) were sections of one large tribe; for in a passage, the geography of which it is somewhat difficult to follow, he writes: "The Madi also live on the other side of the Nile to a distance of about three days' journey to the East of Dufile. Then come the Umiro, a tribe of the Lango; then the real light-coloured Lango (Galla), who breed asses and camels."[2] This passage is chiefly instructive as showing that there are marked physical differences at any rate between the Lango-Miro and the Langudyang, and also that Emin was apparently acquainted with the fact that the so-called Miro named themselves Lango. And again he writes: "The Umiro are the largest and most extensive of the Lango countries, divided into small districts . . . ruled over by small chiefs. In the far south-east towards Usoga there are permanent villages: farther to the east the inhabitants are nomads."[3]

From these references it is clear that even in Emin's day, though there was a natural tendency to confusion by reason of the similarity of names, a distinction was observed between the Lango-Miro and the Langudyang. The former, it was noted, are a dark-skinned people who live in villages, while the latter are

[1] ". . . men from Bognia and Lirem, from whom I obtained information about this country. They wore the usual Lango head-dress and spoke Lango, which is quite different from Acholi" (*Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 296). "The station in the Lirem country, whish is inhabited by the Aje division of the Lango tribe . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 415). "Wat-el-Mek penetrated beyond Lira (i.e. the Alira) and had reached the country of Lango, which was exceedingly interesting. From the description of the people, it appeared that the portion of the Lango visited by them was entirely different from the country between Gondokoro and Unyoro. The expedition *crossed the Sobat River* and had arrived in the Langgo about one hundred and thirty miles due east of Fatiko. . . . They described the country as similar to portions of the Soudan. . . . The Langgos were an immense tribe, but were . . . divided under many chiefs. These people were very powerful and were esteemed as great warriors. They seldom ate flour, but lived upon the meat and flesh of their innumerable herds. . . . Beyond the Langgo is a country called Lobbok. . . . It appears that at Langgo the value of beads is very great, and the natives work them into patterns on their matted hair." (Baker, *Ishmailia*, vol. ii., pp. 117–119.)

[2] *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 10.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

light-coloured, of Galla stock, and nomadic; the latter also keep asses and camels, which the former do not, and Baker tells us that they seldom eat flour, but live upon the milk and flesh of innumerable herds—habits entirely contrary to those of the Lango-Miro, who also speak a different language.

Taking all these points into consideration, therefore, it seems improbable that the Miro are a division of a great Langu tribe represented elsewhere by the Dyang, the Olok, the Aje (or, more properly, Ajie) and other sections. Whence they got their name Lango, and why they are called Miro by the surrounding tribes, is not clear; but it is possible that they adopted the former as a concession to the invading Langudyang, with whom they for some time lived in harmony (for it would appear that Lango is a Hamitic rather than a Nilotic name),[1] keeping their old name Miro as a distinguishing cognomen, until by disuse it gradually grew obsolete save as a nickname among their neighbours.

The Akum, as has been said, also claim the name Lango, and if (as will subsequently be shown) they are of Hamitic origin, they are probably more entitled to it than the Lango-Miro; but it should be remembered that, unlike the Lango-Miro, who in no way acknowledge the name Miro, they admit that Akum is no nickname, but an actual name of their division or tribe. No decision is accordingly offered as to the respective claims, but the two peoples will be arbitrarily designated as Lango and Akum.

It now remains to examine the considerations which justify a belief that the Lango and the Akum are two different tribes. The first consideration is that of language. Mr. Kitching in a passage already quoted suggests that the Akum were Lango, who became affiliated to the Iteso and borrowed from them many words and inflections. It is true that in the Akum language as now spoken, putting aside the ever increasing Lunyoro and Lusoga influence, while a large portion of the vocabulary indicates a Nilotic origin, there is no inconsiderable portion of the words which belong to the Karamojon-Ateso group. But the significant point is that the inflections and structure of the language are largely Atesan, and that even words which are strongly Nilotic show slight variations attributable to Atesan modes of speech. In these circumstances it is easier to suppose that a people allied to the Ateso adopted a Nilotic language than that a Nilotic people acquired not only an Atesan vocabulary (including the ability to pronounce the letter *S*), but also its inflections and structure; for while the adoption of a new vocabulary by a whole tribe is in certain cases conceivable (and examples of such a phenomenon are not wanting), the structure of a language and its inflectional changes, which are dependent on the tribe's mode of thought and are intimately bound

[1] Schweinfurth, however, states that one of the Dinka tribes is named Abelang.

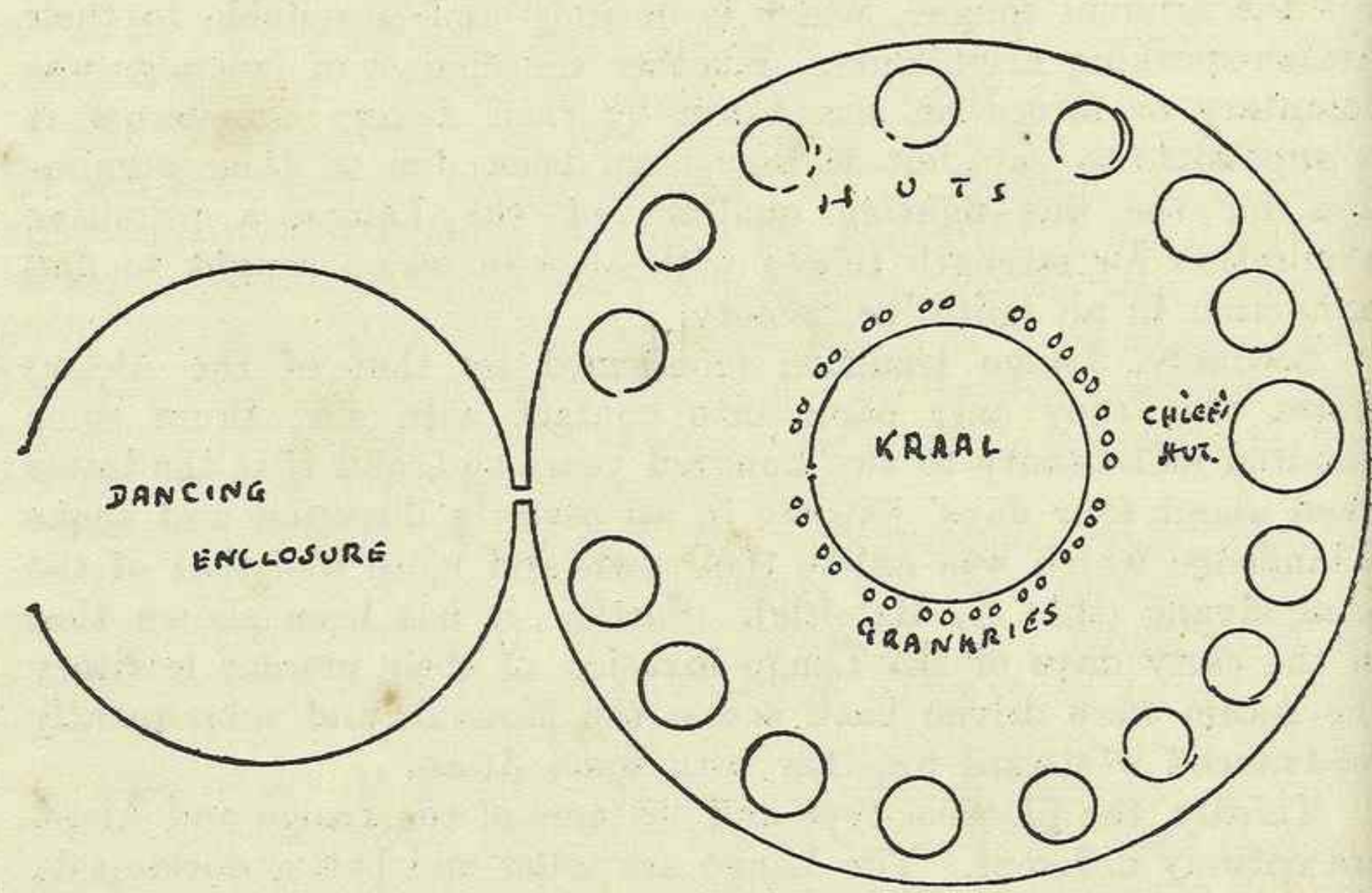
up with its inner consciousness, would undergo no such violent transformation. It is likely, therefore, that where two tribes have a common vocabulary, or the vocabulary of one includes a considerable number of words common to that of the other, and when there is a marked difference of structure in one influencing even the verbal inflections, it is likely in such a case that the structural differences indicate the original language of the tribe. Accordingly in our case the structural peculiarities (quite apart from differences of vocabulary) indicate that the Akum originally spoke a language allied to Ateso, on the foundations of which they have built a modified Lango vocabulary; and further, that this change has taken place within the last fifty years is proved by the fact that it is not uncommon to find old men in their villages who speak nothing but the original tongue, which is entirely understandable to their Atesan-speaking neighbours. Whether the change of language was voluntary or forced on the Akum by their Lango conquerors it is impossible to say, but it may have been due to their admiration for the fine fighting qualities of the Lango—a primitive admiration for strength tinged with an awe which sought to find protection in an imitative flattery.

Secondly, Lango tradition (confirmed by that of the Akum) states that they only came into contact with the Akum some hundred and twenty to two hundred years ago, and that the latter lived about four days' journey in an easterly direction and spoke a language which was unlike their own and more like that of the Langudyang (that is, Hamitic). Further, it has been shown that in the early days of the Lango invasion of their present territory the Akum were driven back across the Munyal, and subsequently readvanced westward together with some Ateso.

Thirdly, the physical type and customs of the Lango and Akum are entirely different. The Lango are taller and better developed; they are entirely nude in both sexes and adorn their bodies with cicatrices. The latter are shorter and slighter in stature, of a finer texture and less platyrrhine, and confine cicatrization to their brows. Although young men went nude, the old men used to wear robes of skin tied to the shoulder, and the women used to wear a fringe of banana leaves round the waist, or if this was unobtainable, a small skin apron. Now a small piece of cloth is worn suspended in front in place of the skin, and the young men always wear a strip of barkcloth or calico tied round the waist and drawn between the legs. They wear fewer ornaments than the Lango. Both sexes wear strings of large or small beads round the neck and waist, while in both lips rings with beads are often inserted. Most women wear a piece of brass wire through the tongue, and their arms are heavily adorned with the same material; but armlets of brass wire are not much favoured by the men, except by cattle thieves, who

adopt it as a disguise to impersonate Lango. The Lango head-dresses are never worn by them, and, in addition to bracelets of ivory, boat-shaped ivory armlets are worn above the elbow.

The villages of the Akum are also entirely different from those of the Lango, being always built on the same ordered plan. This consists of two large circles enclosed by strong euphorbia hedges, and leading into one another by an arched gateway in the euphorbia. To enter an Akum village, the visitor first passes by a broad opening into the smaller of the two enclosures. In this there are no buildings, but several shade trees, affording pleasant resting-places. This is the dancing enclosure, and in it the cattle are gathered in the evening for milking and preparatory to their being passed through the second gateway one by one into the circular kraal, which is



PLAN OF AKUM VILLAGE.

built in the middle of the rearmost enclosure. Round the kraal the granaries are neatly arranged, generally two or three to a house, and the houses are built on the inner side of the euphorbia hedge, the doors facing towards the centre. The chief's hut is on the side opposite from the entrance gate. The houses are much larger than the Lango houses, are built on a different technique with doorways three feet high, and are surmounted on top with an antelope's head. There are no raised bachelors' houses nor unmarried women's quarters. In addition to sheep and goats, cattle are also sometimes kept in the living houses.

The Akum adopt different methods of agriculture from the Lango, use the short, bent hoe, and are eminently better agriculturists. They drink the milk of their cattle, which are milked in

the evening and not at midday. As fighters they cannot be classed with the Lango, and have always lived in terror of them. They are exceedingly cheerful and fond of singing and dancing. The dances consist of many graceful and complicated figures, and are similar to the dances of the Kederu [1] and the Iteso, the chiefs from time to time being carried on the shoulders of the dancers. The singing is remarkably beautiful, the men and women often singing in harmony or antiphonally, not in unison as among the Lango.

At dances and other ceremonial occasions the Akum plaster their bodies with clay and ashes. In marriage contracts it is usual to pay only part of the dowry before the marriage, the rest being paid subsequently in instalments. Seduction of an unmarried girl is no offence, and no compensation is paid to the girl's guardian. There is a definite initiation ceremony for boys reaching the age of puberty and a more developed clan system. The suicide of near relations is rare at a funeral, but on the other hand men as well as women join in the death wail. On the death of her husband a childless woman raises up seed to her husband by any man, and the resulting child is treated as the issue of deceased.

In this brief review of the more marked peculiarities which distinguish the Akum from the Lango, it should be observed that these peculiarities are shared in common with the Iteso. The Iteso villages, dances, marriage customs, songs (including a cultivated art of whistling), modes of agriculture, the drinking of milk, cicatrization, ornaments—all these are identical with the practice of the Akum as against the practice of the Lango.

Finally, though the Iteso did not intermarry with other tribes (a rule which has somewhat broken down of recent years), they undoubtedly did and do constantly intermarry with the Akum. On the other hand, the Lango, who also do not intermarry with other tribes, with few exceptions, neither marry Akum women nor give their daughters to Akum husbands, a sufficient indication, if further were needed, that the Iteso at any rate consider the Akum as belonging to the same family as themselves.

[1] "The dance (of the Kederu) consists of a simple set of really beautiful evolutions. . . . I saw a young man being carried round seated on the shoulders of a comrade; he was singing and gesticulating with his arms . . . and crying shrilly, Yo, Yo." (*Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 309.)

CHAPTER II

ENVIRONMENT

BOUNDARIES—GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES—FLORA—FAUNA—CLIMATE

§ 1. **Boundaries.**—THE boundaries of the Lango district as defined by proclamation are as follows :—

> Commencing at the intersection of the Asua River (Moroto) with 33° 30′ east longitude, the boundary follows the boundary of the Teso district to the most easterly point of Namlimoka Island.[1] It then follows Lake Kioga and the Victoria Nile to the mouth of the River Tochi. It then follows the thalweg of the Tochi River to the confluence of that river and the Abega River; thence it follows a straight line to the summit of Mount Moru; thence it follows a straight line in a north-easterly direction to the confluence of the Asua River and the Udek River; thence it follows the Asua River to its point of commencement.

Its area is 5,673 square miles, of which 588 square miles consist of water.

It will be clear from the previous chapter that within the district are certain tribes other than Lango—Banyoro, Banyara and Baruli, from Kwibale to Akokoro, and from Chakwara along the coast-line to Kele; Bakenyi along the swamps on the east and south coast; and of more importance the Akum, who are now permanently installed in the country east and south of the Abalang. A few Jopaluo have returned in recent years, and are settled along the coast from Kibuji to Atura, though their numbers are so few that their presence in no way hinders Lango approach to the Nile. In the area at Atuboi and in part of Lwala the inhabitants are Iteso, who followed the Akum into the country under the auspices of Kakunguru and Kazana.

It has also been shown that west of the Tochi River there are Lango in the Gulu district, who, living as they do under Acholi chiefs to within thirteen miles of Gulu, have been considerably influenced by Acholi language and manners. To the north-east the Lango again outrun the bounds of the administrative district,

[1] Viz. ". . . from thence (33° 30′ E. long.) it runs south till it intersects the swamp east of Lake Kwania; thence through Omunyal (Munyal) swamp to the north-eastern extremity of Lake Kioga, which it follows to the most easterly point of Namlimoka Island."

a certain number being situated in the north-west corner of the Teso district, and others beyond the Moroto The latter have been administered since the beginning of 1918 from Lira, and the former will eventually be included in the district.

§ 2. **Geographical Features.**—The country is flat with gneiss and syenite outcrops, which in only a few cases can be dignified by the name of hill. Atuke and the groups of hills known as Maruzi and Eruti are the only ones worthy of even passing consideration. It should be observed, however, that north of Lira these outcrops become much more frequent, and at the same time the general features of the country undergo a change. In place of flat, savannah-like country, intersected by innumerable marshy rivers whose sluggish current is almost blocked by the thick vegetation, we find as we approach the region of the Moroto that the valleys are more decided and the banks more definite, and that there is less vegetation on the streams. Consequently the water flows more readily, and being unretarded in its course dries up in the hot season. Elsewhere nearly all the rivers contain some water at all times of the year, with the result that the greatest population is to be found along the watercourses; but there are few places where it is not possible to obtain water by digging, and there are consequently only two areas of any magnitude where the Lango have been unable to settle: the tract of country between the outskirts of Kibuji and Chiawante, where the water-holes are very far apart and are apt to become dry; and the interior of the Namasale peninsula, which is entirely waterless throughout the year. A conspicuous feature of the landscape are the ant-hills which are visible on all sides.

The watershed dividing the Moroto system from the rivers and marshes draining south and west into the Nile and Lakes Kwania and Kioga runs approximately through Abako, Aloi, Apala, Ogur and Onen, to the west of which line the rivers, as has been said, are covered by thick vegetation, and with their undefined banks should more properly be termed marshes were it not for an almost imperceptible current. On the Aroicha and Koli papyrus is to be found for about twenty miles from their mouths, and on the Aloin and its branch the Oyam throughout all their courses. The Tochi is in part clear, with a swift current, and in the rainy season rises considerably; but of the rivers flowing west entirely within the boundaries of the district the only one which is free of vegetation is the small but swiftly flowing stream called the Nget, which adds its waters to the Aminkwaich.

The Moroto is a winding river, with a width between banks which varies in places but averages thirty-five feet. Towards the east, where the country shows a very gentle slope down to the Moroto basin, being flat and undulating, tributary swamps for the most

part take the place of rivers, and the Moroto itself is influenced by the same conditions, at places almost entirely losing all trace of banks. As the river progresses north-west, however, the banks, which vary from fifteen to forty feet in height, become more and more determined by the general contour of the country, which is intensified, with the result that deep gullies, for the most part dry, except during the rains, when they become impassable torrents, take the place of swamps and drain into the Moroto. During the dry season the depth of water in the Moroto varies from two to six feet, but in the rains the river comes down in overwhelming spate, a flood of two hundred yards' width swirling down in an impetuous current.

Not only is the country well-watered by innumerable swamps and rivers, but it is bounded by navigable waterways on the south and west, and on the east as far north as Sangai, and is further cut almost in two by the navigable Lake Kwania and its tributary waters. This has led to considerable intercourse along the waterways with surrounding tribes, especially with the Banyoro, who, owing to the poverty of their country in cereals, frequently visit the Lango in large flotillas of canoes to barter for food, although as a rule they do not penetrate far inland. It is the more remarkable, therefore, that the Lango in the neighbourhood of these waterways have not adapted themselves to conditions which offer such easy advantages of communication. But it remains a fact that, although they possess a few canoes, they are of inferior quality in size and construction and their owners are equally inferior watermen.

The soil generally is a rich, red loam, with often a clayey subsoil, interspersed with black cotton soil. Ironstone abounds, sometimes on the surface, but more often one to three feet below the surface soil, and certain areas, notably Aganga, are rich in ferruginous schist. On the west bank of the Munyal and the north shore of Lake Kioga (as also in several swamps) and north of the Moroto a sandy soil predominates. Red chalk is common throughout the district, but white chalk can only be obtained at a few places, the best pits being on Kaweri Island. Iron pyrites occur in the rocks at Apenet Hill and near Apala, and at Ekwera and Aputi there are extensive deposits of excellent salt, stretching in all probability beneath that arm of Lake Kwania.

§ 3. **Flora.**—With the exception of the west end of the Namasale peninsula and the sandy regions, where the grass does not attain a great height, the country is covered with coarse spear-grass some eight to ten feet high, but north of the Moroto this species of grass is noticeable for its almost complete absence. There is no forest in the district, but between Inomo and Aloro and north of Lira there are small woods which afford a pleasant relief from the monotonous grass and stunted trees which come under the generic

description of "bush." In timber-bearing trees the country is very deficient owing largely to the annual fires, but the gullies of the Moroto system are fringed with magnificent trees draped with convolvulaceæ and lianæ in tropical exuberance. There are a few mivuli (*Chlorophora excelsa*, Bth.) scattered about, but wild figs and the innumerable species of acacia and mimosa largely predominate. The white-flowering mimosa, however, is, with few exceptions, only to be found in the sandy soil of the Namasale peninsula and north of the Moroto, and the mauve-flowering variety in a few swamps, though the yellow-flowering mimosa is to be seen everywhere. *Acacia Campylacantha* is very common, and the table-topped acacia is generally to be seen. Of the varieties of the fig the most common are *Ficus glumosa* and *F. fessoglensis*, while the sycamore is very abundant, and there are some magnificent banyans (*F. indica*) in isolated patches. The *erythrina* is a noticeable feature of the landscape over all the district, and two varieties of *datura* are to be found north of Lake Kwania. Solanaceæ and yellow-flowering Leguminosæ break the monotony of the unending grass, of which there are numerous species, the *vossia*, with its irritating hairs, being noticeable in several marshes. A profusely flowering lilac adds its touch of colour to the drab landscape. Of palms there are only three, *borassus*, *phœnix* and *hyphœne*, of which the hyphæne only grows in small numbers to the north of the district, while the borassus and phœnix are also confined to certain areas, Kibuji, Amach and Badyang being the most conspicuous. The fruit of the *kigelia*, which is found all over the district, is used as a remedy in chest complaints. *Shea-butter* trees are unevenly distributed, being found north and east of Ngeta Hill, increasing in numbers near and north of the River Moroto. They are abundant on the watershed of the River Moroto and the rivers feeding Lake Kwania, and are found on the east of the Abalang as far south as Abermaido, but not on the west bank. Elsewhere they do not exist. There are three varieties of *Euphorbia*, the *Candelabrum* being the commonest, especially among the Akum, who use it to hedge their villages. The pipe-stem *Euphorbia* (*oligo*) is more common among the Lango as it has a ritualistic significance. *Capsicum conicum* is frequently found, but was probably imported in the first instance, while colocasia and aloes and various *Cucurbitaceæ* are common enough, and the *amomum*, with its sub-acid fruit—so grateful on a hot march—is abundant. Near villages, too, are *Sansevieria* and *Hibiscus cannabina*, used in the manufacture of cord and thread respectively, of which a finer quality, but of little durability, is made from the wild cotton tree. Of waterplants papyrus, ambatch, *Pistia stratiotes*, may be found along most of the Nile and in Lake Kwania, which is also covered with water-lilies, blue and white and yellow, in contradistinction to the

clear waters of Lake Kioga. Indeed, with few exceptions, on the Nile the whole coast-line of the district is guarded by thick aquatic vegetation. The *Calotropis procera*, with its balloon-like fruit, the gardenia, petunia and aster, jasmine and gladiolus, lupin and heavy-scented clematis, with various convolvulaceæ, add a touch of colour to the scenery. Of wild fruits, which are scarce and for the most part unpalatable, the wild vine is by far the most succulent, but the tamarind and an edible cherry are both found in profusion. Several species of orchids may be seen in May and June, especially in the north-east, where, too, the tiger-lily grows. Restricted though the vision is by the growth of long grass, during August and September, when the flowers are in full bloom and have been refreshed by the passing of an occasional shower, there are frequent and unexpected patches of colour to please the eye, which later in the year can see only the sere and yellow leaf, the parched grass and withered tree.

§ 4. **Fauna.**—As might be expected from the nature of the country the liberal supplies of water and the cover provided by the grass and bush, game is numerous and varied. A large herd of giraffe exists in the Namasale peninsula and smaller herds near Abongomola, north of Atuboi and east of Nagi; rhinoceros are common at Kalwala and very destructive in the region round Kwibale and Akokoro. There are six large herds of elephant and two of buffalo, with reference to which it is interesting to note that the Lango state that before the great cattle pestilences of 1883 and 1890 there used to be innumerable buffaloes, from which they obtained their hide lashes; but that the disease which killed off their cattle killed off nearly all the buffalo as well. Waterbuck, reedbuck, bushbuck, Jackson's hartebeeste, Uganda cob, oribi, duiker, dikdik, and warthog are to be found everywhere, and Speke's tragelaphus in the swamps at Bululu, Kele, Agaya and Aloro and on the Island Enok. Roan may be found on the Tochi and along the south bank of the River Moroto. Eland and zebra are common a short distance beyond Atuke Hill and occasionally visit Orumo. The bush-pig is a pest to cultivation on the Nile littoral, where it has taken up its home after swimming the Nile from Bunyoro. Four species of bees have been identified and are widely distributed. The carnivorous animals, lion, leopard, serval, civet, hunting-dog and hyæna (of which there are two species) are numerous and destructive to live-stock; jackals, hares, porcupines, pangolins, aardrak, mangousts and merekat may be mentioned, the red patas monkey, black cercopithecus, and the rock-hyrax or coney. Rats and voles are omnipresent, and include the large ground-rat, *Thryonomys Swinderenianus*).

The hippopotamus exists in various parts of the Nile, and is occasionally seen in Lake Kioga; it is even known at Chegere, on the River Koli, and on the Aloin and Tochi. The crocodile is common

everywhere except in Lake Kwania, where its numbers have been lessened by the fact that it forms an article of diet for certain of the Lango. In the Moroto there exists an hitherto unknown pygmy crocodile, called *akengpur*, in all particulars similar to the ordinary crocodile, but not exceeding, even when full grown, two and a half or at most three feet. In this river also, as in the Tochi, but nowhere else in Lango, two species of river mussel are numerous. The otter and fresh-water crab are found in many of the rivers, but the only fish worthy of note is a perch and the catfish and the lungfish, which often grow to great dimensions and is capable of inflicting unpleasant wounds with its teeth.

Save in the lake region, the district is not rich in bird-life, but much damage is done to crops by flocks of small birds. Of game birds there are francolin, duck, goose, spur-fowl, teal, guinea-fowl, dove, green pigeon, quail, snipe and bustard. Pelicans and storks, including the marabou and the whale-headed stork, are to be found within certain areas, and the egret is fairly common. Bululu is remarkable for a great number of pennant-winged nightjars (*Cosmetornis vexillarius*), which, however, are not confined to that place, and the weaver-birds and owls build their nests everywhere. On Lake Kwania, the favoured haunt of numerous and diverse aquatic birds, both large and small, *Neoparra Africana* trips lightly from lily to lily, and the moorhen, heron and coot are frequently seen. The unpleasant ox-pecker, the kite, white-breasted crow, the vulture and several hawks are common in the vicinity of villages. The grey parrot is sometimes seen, and the beautiful golden-crested crane frequently flies overhead with its rancorous cry.

There are a large number of snakes, of which the puff-adder (both *Bitis arietans* and *gabonica*), the cobra, the black and green mamba, and a thin black viper are the most poisonous. There are also venomous water-snakes in the marshes, and pythons are not uncommon, but do not attain a great length. Monitors and lizards of various kinds and chameleons abound. Scorpions are rare, but ants of all kinds are numerous.

Owing to the marshy nature of the country, mosquitoes (largely of the *Anopheles* genus) swarm everywhere except north and east of the Moroto watershed, and sandflies are at times and in certain regions an unmitigated pest. *Glossina morsitans* is present in large numbers in the area south of the Aroicha and west of a line drawn from Apach to Abyeche, with the result that no cattle can be kept alive there, though goats and game seem unaffected. It is interesting to note that in the dry season of 1913–14 rhinoceros migrated temporarily north of the Aroicha to Chegere, returning south after the rains broke. In August 1914, for the first time, a few *morsitans* were found north of the Aroicha within two miles of Chegere, a fact which points to the probability of their having

followed the rhinoceros. *Glossina palpalis* have been recorded south of Maiyuge on the bank of the Nile, near Atura, east of Bululu, on Kaweri Island, and on the Moroto and some of its tributaries; but so far no case of sleeping sickness has been authenticated among the Lango, and the fly are probably all uninfected. *Glossina pallipedes* have been found near Aganga on the Nile. The *Tabanidæ* and *Hæmatapotæ* are well represented, and of the latter a new species would appear to exist north of the Moroto on the River Adwari. *Ornithodorus moubata* is occasionally found among the Banyoro fringe, and is probably imported after visits across the Nile.

§ 5. **Climate.**—The year is divided by the Lango into two seasons, the wet and the dry, and this is roughly a satisfactory division.[1] The dry season lasts from December to the end of March, during which time rain rarely falls and the annual burning of the grass takes place. South of the Abalang rain generally falls during the last fortnight in March, but elsewhere it is not expected in any quantity till April is well advanced. In normal seasons rain is evenly distributed over the months from April to November, with a dry period during July, ensuring rich harvests; but an excessive rainfall during August imperils the standing grain crops, which are then approaching maturity. The average rainfall for the years 1912 to 1917 is 55·09 inches, but the mean monthly rainfalls are a surer indication of climatic conditions:—

January	0·49	July	2·03
February	1·45	August	7·17
March	1·93	September	9·28
April	8·23	October	7·87
May	8·20	November	3·01
June	4·72	December	0·71

It should be borne in mind, however, that rain is very local, and the figures given above are accordingly of little value for the district as a whole, Chakwara and Awelo, two neighbouring areas, having, the one a perennial shortage, and the other a large excess of rain, especially during the months of April, May and June. Further, any records to be of value should extend over a period of at least twenty years in order to

[1] The following are the Lango lunar months with their approximate English equivalents:—

CHWIR (RAINY SEASON)		*ORO* (DRY SEASON)	
Ekwang	April	*Achupan*	December
Odunge	May	*Orara matidi*	January
Omaru	June	*Orara madwong*	February
Otikok	July	*Omuk*	March
Oret	August		
Obar	September		
Opoolong	October		
Adudu-otukit	November		

cover all abnormalities in the rainfall. The above table, for instance, only covers six years, and includes two seasons of exceptionally heavy rains, thus giving a fallaciously high mean rainfall.

The months April to October 1917, excluding July, were characterized by an excessively heavy rainfall, followed by a drought lasting till June 1918, with nothing but a few local showers intervening. This is in accord with tradition to the effect that droughts occur every twenty-one years following on a period of abnormally heavy rains, as it is said that about twenty years ago there was a disastrous drought extending over a very wide area, which was preceded by rains of such exceptional violence that for many months all rivers and marshes were impassable, while the lakes and the Nile were congested with sudd which the abnormal rise of water had broken loose from the banks. Such conditions repeated themselves in the years 1916 and 1917.

Thunderstorms of great severity and of a cyclonic nature are frequent, not seldom resulting in loss of life and stock. The prevailing wind during the rains is south-south-east, but in the area between Ochini and Atura storms usually follow the course of the Tochi, coming down from the north-east till they reach the bend of the Nile, when they strike up to the north-west. During the dry season the prevailing wind is north-easterly, bearing an arid heat from the Karamojan deserts. Hail-storms during June and July are frequent, and do considerable damage to crops, but are of short duration. The nights are generally cool, but in the dry season can be unpleasantly hot, especially in the Namasale peninsula.

There is little knowledge of the stars and constellations and little interest is displayed in such matters, even eclipses being regarded with the same stolid indifference. Names are current only for Saturn, Venus, the Pleiades, and for Mars, which is called "The Husband of the Moon," in strange contradistinction to the Acholi name "The Wife of the Moon." The firmament west of the Milky Way is *oro*, the dry season, and to the east is *chwir*, the wet season.

CHAPTER III

PHYSICAL AND PSYCHICAL CHARACTERISTICS

PHYSIQUE—DISEASE—ADORNMENT—PSYCHOLOGY

§ 1. **Physical Characteristics.**—Writing of the Shilluk, Schweinfurth states that they are "narrow-jawed, long-legged, lean, but muscular," and this description so far as it goes is applicable enough to the Lango, a tribe numbering approximately a quarter of a million; but judging from available photographs, however, the Lango do not seem to bear a very striking resemblance to the Shilluk. Indeed (and again by photographic comparison only) they seem much nearer in type to the Anywak, of whom Captain A. G. Cummins observes that they have well-formed noses, thin nostrils and a high bridge. The resemblance is in particular close as between the unmarried women.

Speaking generally, then, and without reference to measurements which are unobtainable, the Lango are long-limbed, orthognathous and dark-skinned. They have narrow jaws as a rule, and their lips are much thinner and their noses better formed than is usual among negro tribes. They are thin without the lanky appearance which characterizes the Acholi and the Dinka, and obviously muscular without any disproportionate development. In contrast with the practice of Bantu tribes, the men do all the hard work of cultivation, and this together with the pursuit of hunting and fighting has resulted in a fine appearance of physical capacity, which is not belied by their powers of endurance and sustained exercise. One of the remarkable results of their energetic life is the excessive development of the iliac line; so deeply and clearly indeed is it defined that it goes even beyond the examples to be found in Greek sculpture, which by many have been condemned as a convention verging on the grotesque. The Lango may with justice be called a handsome race, both men and women, though very degraded-looking specimens are occasionally to be found with more markedly negroid features.

It has been observed that they are dark-skinned, but reference should be made to the fact that there live at Apach for some obscure reason a number of much lighter-skinned Lango, and elsewhere the

light-skinned type may occasionally be seen. This may be a rare type surviving from a previous intermarriage with a fair-skinned Hamitic people.

Cases of leucoderma are met with from time to time, and reference should also be made to a notable family of albinos, who have preserved this abnormality for the last three generations. They are not entirely albinos, but in every case are deficient in pigment for more than half of their skin surface. The amount of albinism varies in different members of the family, the most original perhaps being a lad with pinkish-white legs and feet, but black tips to his toes. It is said that originally they were entirely albinos, and it would appear that their albinism is only transmitted through the male issue. They are considered so remarkable that they hold the status of a separate clan, named Achyenokori, after the name of the original albino. All albinos, however, do not necessarily belong to this clan.

The two central lower incisors are levered out with a piece of metal about the age of thirteen, with the result that an undue development of the corresponding upper teeth is sometimes observable. The gap is occasionally filled up by the lateral pressure of the remaining teeth, which are never sharpened or otherwise disfigured. The operation is performed by a professional dentist for a fee of one fowl, and it is believed that if the teeth are not removed the child will not grow up. Though in common with other Nilotic tribes the Lango have a tendency to suffer from phimosis, the circumcision of either sex is unknown, but no hair is allowed to grow on the face or body; should any grow it is removed at once.

Their bodies and arms, both of the men and the women, are ornamented with raised cicatrices, occasionally resulting in an unsightly hypertrophy.[1] These cicatrices are made by the insertion of a bent needle (often a thorn from the *Acacia Campylacantha*) under the skin; the skin which is raised over the bent part of the needle is cut off with a sharp knife and semsem oil mixed with red chalk is rubbed in. Baker remarks with wonder on the number of cicatrices which he saw on a Lango chief named Okulu, whom he happened to meet at Anfina's village.

The patterns thus formed vary indefinitely, and are a matter of individual predilection without any reference to the clan or family. Most commonly the cicatrices radiate from the breastbone on either side, being continued on the shoulders and upper arms; some prefer cruciform patterns between the breasts extending

[1] Emin, op. cit., p. 342: "The Gok have the same tribal marks as the Atwot, viz. several scars radiating from the glabella, and their language, customs and arms are exactly like those of their Dinka brothers." Among the Shilluk, on the other hand, as apparently among the other Dinka clans, tattooing of the body is rare. The Acholi, Alur, and Jopaluo in the main confine cicatrization to their foreheads and brows.

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to the umbilicus, or a small Saint Andrew's cross below the umbilicus; others, again, surround the umbilicus itself with a rosette of cicatrices. Women often decorate themselves attractively from waist to breast and on the back with a fine filigree pattern, giving the appearance of a corset. But to attempt a description of all the different patterns would be not only impossible, but quite futile, as they bear no individual significance. A distinction, however, should be drawn between the usual bodily cicatrization (*arech*), which is stated to be entirely decorative with a view to enhancing the personal appearance, and ceremonial cicatrization of the shoulders and upper arms (*ageran*), and both should be distinguished from the casual cutting of the skin for the medical purpose of bloodletting. Ceremonially, after killing an enemy a man cuts rows of cicatrices on his shoulder and upper arm. The number of rows thus cut vary, but three and a half would appear to be normal. If in a battle more than one enemy falls to his spear, he does not cut cicatrices for each death, but for the total generally. It is usual to start on the right arm and to continue on the left when the right is full. The object is to appease the spirits of the dead by the emission of some of the slayer's blood, and it is a probable conjecture that all cicatrization should be traced back to this ceremonial practice, the system having been extended for effect and by degeneration having lost all religious significance.

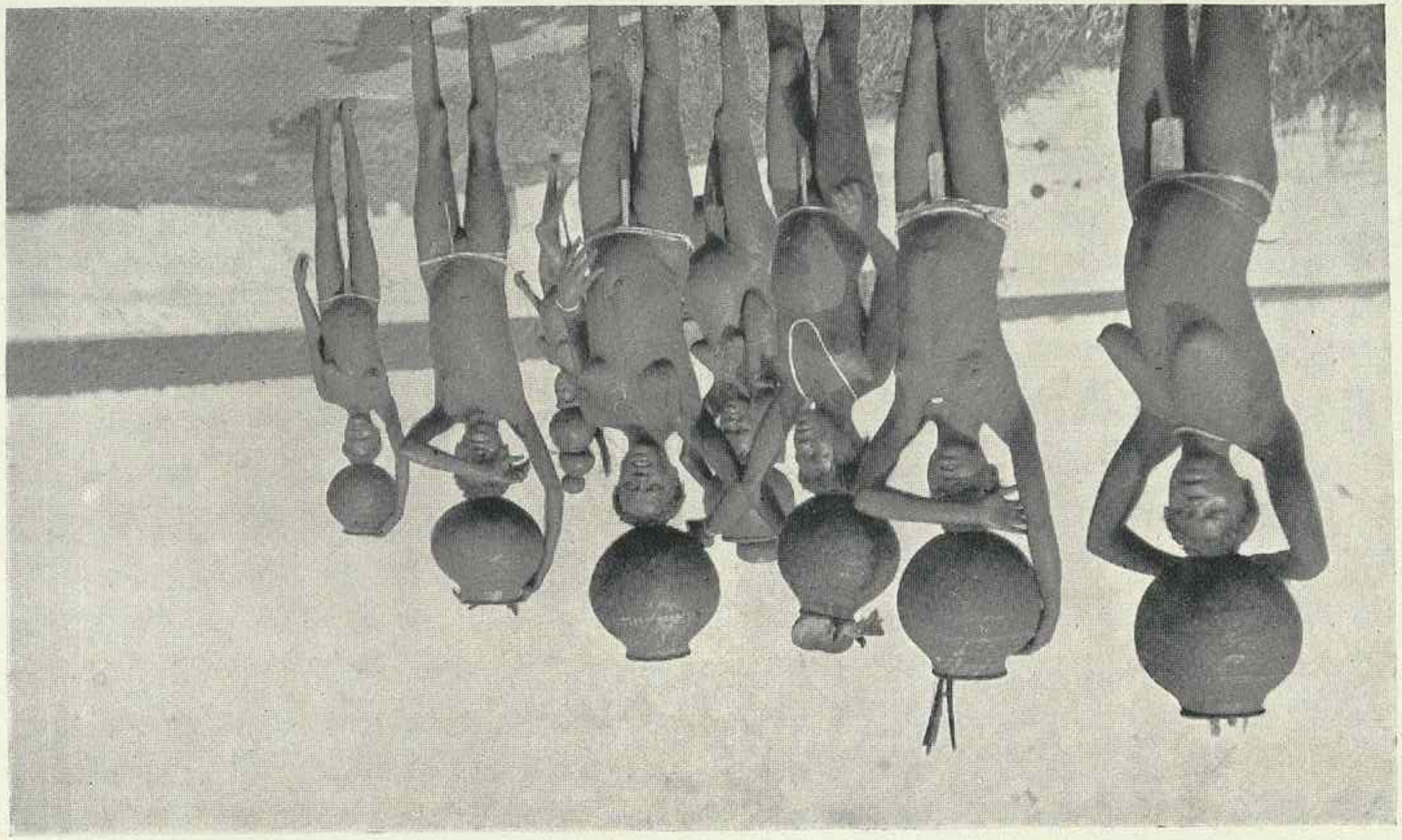
The habit characteristic of other Nilotic tribes, of standing on one leg with the foot of the other resting on the inner side of the the knee, is rarely observed among the Lango.

The nose, the lips and the ears are all pierced to receive ornaments, to which further reference will be made.

Between chiefs and commoners there does not seem to be any observable difference in physical appearance. Men average five feet eleven inches in height, and women vary between five feet seven and ten inches. Like the men, too, they are very well built and admirably proportioned, while their graceful carriage is more particularly evident when they are returning to their villages with the waterpots, newly filled at the well, balanced on their heads. They are extremely prolific and are excellent mothers. The left breast is generally slightly longer than the right, possibly because it is the usual breast for the child to suck.

They are a clean people and constantly wash or bathe in the swamps and pools, and on account of their absolute nudity are free of the offensive odour so frequently found among native tribes. Bodily dirt is also removed by rubbing with semsem oil.

§ 2. **Disease.**—There is little disease among the Lango, and the children, although numerous, are nearly always healthy in appearance and well nurtured. Syphilis is almost entirely absent, as is indicated



WOMEN AND GIRLS FETCHING WATER FROM THE NILE.

To face p. 52

apart from ocular evidence by a high birth-rate and a small infantile mortality. A few cases of gonorrhœa have come to notice, in the majority of instances contracted by Lango serving with the forces during the years 1915 to 1918. Frambœsia is very common, especially among children, but the disease usually cures itself spontaneously. It is not the practice to inoculate infants with it, as is the custom among numerous other tribes, but a young baby often suffers from a pre-natal infection, from which it rapidly recovers with apparently a subsequent immunity. Every stage of frambœsia is to be found from mild infections to malignant tertiary ulcerations, and many curvatures of the tibia are to be attributed to this cause.

In spite of the fact that anopheles are numerous, they do not seem to suffer much from malaria, a few mild attacks in infancy apparently conferring immunity. Only two cases of spirillum fever have come to notice, and these were both incurred by Lango living in Bantu huts on the lake shore. *Glossina palpalis* is present in the areas already indicated, but no case of sleeping sickness has been authenticated.

Umbilical hernia is very common, due probably to septic conditions at birth. Affections of the eye are also numerous, especially conjunctivitis, entropion and ectropion, and iritis and cataract are from time to time encountered. A thin bracelet of twisted iron (*wel me amina*) is worn as a cure and preventive of eye diseases, especially if the patient is young. Once put on it is never removed, or the trouble would recur. It may be noted (though the connection is not obvious) that the bracelet is also worn as a charm to ensure success by a man who only wounds, and constantly fails to kill, game or his enemies.

Dysentery attacks both children and adults now and then, but this is possibly due to the nature of the food which they eat, as there does not seem to be any water- or milk-borne disease.[1] Bronchial troubles are not infrequent, and it is a common belief that rheumatism will inevitably follow on the act of sitting on a mortar. Women suffer occasionally from hæmorrhoids, but no case has come to notice in the male sex. Cellulitis is often diagnosed by the natives as a cause of death, but not above fifteen cases have been authenticated. Curiously enough, indigestion is a much-dreaded complaint, and it is thought that anyone passing close behind a sufferer from indigestion will himself contract the disease. For this reason a sufferer asks an unsuspecting stranger to massage his back in the hope that the indigestion will be transferred to him, and for this reason also no one borrows the beads or ornaments of one who has ever suffered from indigestion.

[1] Two cases of Lango suffering from *Filaria medinensis* have been known, but their history in each case made it almost certain that they contracted the disease while on a visit to Gulu, where it is well known and widely spread.

Skin affections are numerous, and include itch, eczema, crawcraw and ichthyosis. Both types of leprosy, tubercular and anæsthetic, are present in a mild form; but though lepers are numerous, they are not segregated, and severe cases are fortunately rare. They receive, however, with sufferers from goundou and sarcoma, special treatment in battle. While albinos are very rare, cases of partial albinism of the hands, especially in oldish people, are more common. The Lango also not infrequently suffer from synovial cysts at the bend of the wrists.

Bursitis patellæ and fibrous tumours on the hips and elbows are very usual, due probably to the crawling position necessary for entering their huts and to the hard surface of the floor on which they sleep, with only the intervention of a little grass or a thin hide. It is more noticeable in men than in women, possibly due to the fact that men often kneel for long periods when digging up the ground for the new crops. The Akum, who use a different type of hoe and dig standing, are rarely affected. This explanation, however, leaves out of account the many thousands who do not suffer from this swelling (which is quite painless) and yet live under exactly the same conditions as their fellow Lango. Nor do the women suffer to nearly the same extent from bursitis, and only the aged seem to be affected by tumours on the elbow, while in no case has a woman been seen suffering from a tumour on the hip. Yet in her household occupations, such as grinding grain, a woman is on her knees for a considerable part of the day, and has no preferential treatment in the matter of sleeping accommodation. A similar tumour has once been observed at the base of a man's skull of large dimensions, but painless and of many years' growth.[1]

Two cases of goundou have been observed, and elephantiasis of the scrotum and cases of hydrocele are occasionally encountered. Children are apt to suffer from ringworm, and owing to their fashion of hairdressing women are susceptible to lice.

Hysteria and epilepsy are not uncommon, but the latter is not hereditary. Insanity is rare, and the insane or light-witted are carefully looked after by their friends. One case of agoraphobia, resulting in suicide, has come to notice, and also a most singular intermittent mania, which developed suddenly in a particularly intelligent man, Palakak by name, and reaches its crisis at every full moon. For the first and last quarter of every month the patient was perfectly normal, but during the two middle quarters was

[1] Emin notes as a deformity in Bari women an "enormous enlargement of the bursa patellæ of both knees often to the size of an orange," and attributes it to the fact that they perform all their duties kneeling. Dr. Seligman suggests, on the strength of New Guinea parallels, that the swelling on the hips may be an encysted parasitic worm, but this has not been borne out by the few excisions performed. The tumours on the hips and elbows are, however, entirely distinct from the swellings on the knees, and are differently named, the former being called *etol* and the latter *ebol*.

violent and suffered from severe hallucinations, in which the sun and the moon played a predominant part. Lycanthropy is the commonest type of mania. Suicide is not infrequent under the stimulus of grief, hysteria, or temporary insanity.

Epidemics have in recent years taken a heavy toll of life, facilitated largely by the greater ease of intercommunication between tribes and aided by a strong antipathy to all forms of inoculation and vaccination. Small-pox has for many years been endemic in certain regions, to wit Aduku and Apach, but was producive of few deaths till in 1917 an epidemic introduced from Buganda swept through parts of the country resulting in close on three thousand deaths. During the same year cerebro-spinal meningitis found an entry into the district through the medium of soldiers and carriers discharged from the front, and was accountable for about four thousand deaths, the majority of which, however, occurred among the Akum. In 1913 bubonic plague, which had previously been endemic in a mild form at the Bantu settlement of Namasale, spread eastwards and northwards, and for the next three years was responsible for an approximate annual death-rate of one thousand, since when its vigour would appear to have abated. But surpassing far in virulence all these established epidemics was the so-called "Spanish influenza" towards the end of 1918, which in less than two months afflicted two-thirds of the population and caused over seven thousand deaths. Measles is endemic throughout the country, but is sporadic in its outbreaks and has an insignificant mortality. A menstruous or pregnant woman, however, may not approach a sufferer from measles, or the latter will become blind.

The vocabulary of terms descriptive of the organs and anatomy of the body is unusually large, though the terminology is not universally known especially to the young men. The epidermis and the hypodermis are, for example, distinguished, and terms are current even for the pancreas, the tonsils and the spigelian lobe of the liver. The hypogastrium is diversely named in the male and female sexes. Such intimate terminology might argue an interest in medicine, which is not borne out by facts, and on the other hand the terminology of disease appears to be correspondingly defective. Thus one word, *etoku*, does duty for goundou, eczema and sarcoma; *angwal* stands for both paralysis and synovitis, *aola*, any throat, chest or lung complaint attended by coughing.

The treatment of disease is primitive and diversified, consisting of bleeding, internal and external application of herbal decoctions and infusions, and certain magico-religious rites.

Wounds are washed with water, and after the application of antiseptic or cauterizing herbs are plastered with cowdung. In addition to this, however, the accompanying fever is relieved by bleeding, which is the usual remedy for fevers, headache, lumbago,

sciatica and rheumatism. Pain is relieved by tying fibre tightly over the affected part as a counter-irritant. Fever is also reduced by sponging with cold water. In fractures the broken bones are approximated with fair accuracy and the limb is encased in a strong leather jacket neatly laced together, after an application of antiseptic herbs.

The following procedure is observed in bleeding. The cupping horn has a hole at the tip and is applied to the affected part, whereupon the operator sucks until the blood collects under the skin, when the horn is removed and several small incisions are made on the skin. The horn is then returned to position (the hole in the tip having first been covered with a leaf of a plant, *inege*, to prevent the blood reaching the mouth), and the operator sucks the blood into the horn. This operation does not necessitate the services of a professional *ajoka*, or witch-doctor, but a fee of one chicken is payable to any operator engaged outside of the family of the invalid; an *ajoka* is necessary, however, to remove pus from boils by sucking direct without a horn.

Witch-doctors (and some non-professionals) have a wide knowledge of the use of herbs and plants for medicinal purposes, including remedies for dysentery, constipation, headache, chest and lung complaints, plague and meningitis (the last by the inhalation of the smoke of burnt leaves), and the following are a few of the plants thus employed :—

Abelwinyo—leaves eaten in chest complaints.
Atingating—decoction of leaves rubbed on chest for coughs.
Yago—fruit cut in half and rubbed on chest.[1]
Apupu—leaves eaten to cure diarrhœa.
Oreme—root chewed by sufferers from demoniacal possession.
Atubara—bark chewed as an aphrodisiac.
Adiltong—juice squeezed from leaves and applied to spear wounds.
Akejo—leaves applied to sprains and bruises.
Nino—oil crushed out and applied to spear wounds.
Agilo—seed crushed and used as a poultice for frambœsia.
Echuruch—decoction of root drunk to cure hydrocele.
Eburka—decoction of leaves applied to frambœsia sores.

The religious aspect of magico-religious rites connected with disease will be considered in Chapter VI, but the ceremonies recorded below are appropriate to our present context :—

1. The ceremony known as *ryemo to*, or the driving away of disease, takes place every June, when the millet is ripening, and also at other times on the outbreak of sickness. The ceremony is carried out village by village. In the evening two branches of a tree, *okango*, are cut and placed in the *otem*, or outdoor fireplace.

[1] The pulp of the kigelia (*yago*) is used for dressing wounds by the Bari at Rejaf, and for dressing ulcers by the Lugbwara.

Next evening, just after sunset, the whole village assembles and everyone takes a torch of grass from the thatch of his porch and lights it at the fireplace in his house. Holding the lighted torch in his hand he takes a hide in the other, preferably the hide on which his baby sleeps, as it is thought that the baby's urine with which it is impregnated is a good antitoxin. If there is no baby in the family, any old and worn skin (*adwel* as contrasted with *pyen*) may be used. After the ceremony, the hide is returned to the house. Each man beats his hide soundly in his house, waving his torch into all the nooks and crannies. The noise and the lighted torches have in this way frightened the disease out of all the houses in the village, and the whole village escorts it, raising the cry of victory and beating the hides, till it is driven into a river or a swamp, from which it cannot return. Ashes from the house fireplace are put in potsherds and calabashes and are left there at the river's brink, and there the next morning the two branches of okango are planted. The potsherds and calabashes are sometimes deliberately broken, but are usually left whole. If there is no convenient river, the ceremony may conclude at a cross-roads, as the disease will not know which road to take in order to return to the village.

2. Ceremony of *lamo tong me to* (consecrating the spear of sickness). A man or woman on being overcome by severe illness asks an old man (*adwong*) to consult a soothsayer (*atyet*) as to the advisability of this ceremony. If the soothsayer says that it will be beneficial and instructs the old man on details of procedure (as to the nature of the leaves to be used and other varying details), they proceed with the ceremony. The sick man sits or, if too weak for sitting, lies in his porch; the old man, who performs the consecration ceremony, stands in front of the sick man, holding in his right hand a spear belonging to the invalid. He puts a kigelia fruit,[1] stalk outwards, on the ground in front of the sick man, and holds the leaves commanded by the soothsayer in his left hand. He spits on the spear and with its point draws a line on the ground from the left side and the right side of the invalid, so that they meet in front of him, and from the point of junction draws a line to the kigelia fruit. He gently pricks the brow and xiphisternum of the sick man with the point of the spear, and spitting into a calabash of water, placed ready at hand, laves the spear, as also does the sick man and all his relations, praying meantime that as the water washes away dirt from the spear so may the sickness depart. Still holding the leaves in his left hand and the spear in his right, the old man seizes the stalk of the kigelia and runs with it into the "bush," praying as he runs that the disease may leave the sick man, "and you, kigelia, take it away and do not return."

[1] The kigelia is used also by the Lugbwara as a scapegoat in a ceremony resembling the foregoing *ryemo to*.

He leaves it in the bush at a point indicated by the soothsayer, with the stalk pointing away from the invalid's village, and gently places the leaves on top. He returns the spear and sticks it in the ground in front of the invalid's porch, and next morning it is taken into the house. It is not used for hunting or fighting, and always remains in the house, but may be used again if the man again becomes ill. The fee to the old man is one pot of beer.

3. Ceremony of *lamo dyel me to* (consecrating the goat of sickness). As in the previous ceremony, the invalid obtains the opinion of a soothsayer, who advises whether this or the *lamo tong* ceremony will be more beneficial, but this cannot take place unless the spear has already been consecrated on a previous occasion. The consecration of the goat takes place at dawn, and is conducted by an old man (*adwong*). The goat to be consecrated must be a black he-kid. The sick man sits at the porch of his house, and the old man holding the *tong to* (the spear consecrated in the previous ceremony) in his right hand, twice passes it round the goat, praying that the goat may take away the illness. The goat is then taken near the sick man and its mouth is held open. The sick man spits into it and rubs his forehead on the goat's brow and the goat's nose on to his own chest. Then all the relations spit into the goat's mouth in turn. The goat is next slung on to the invalid's back, forelegs over his shoulder, and the old man and each of the relatives present, spitting into a calabash of water ceremonially, pour a handful on to the goat and rub the water down its flank. The goat is returned to the pen, as it is now fully consecrated, and is sent to pasture with the flock. The *adwong* receives a fee of one pot of beer. When it grows a little older, the goat is castrated, and when it is aged it is killed and eaten by the assistants at the ceremony, the head being given to the old man. Another goat, however, is first consecrated in its place. Otherwise it is not killed, unless the man again falls sick, when it is killed after another has been consecrated. There must always be a consecrated goat during the man's lifetime, and it may not be bartered nor given away as part of a marriage dowry.

After all other remedies have been tried without success, sick infants are drawn under a granary, the mother putting the child in at one side and the father pulling him out at the other. Not much faith is attached to this practice and the general idea appears to be that it was once known to have a good result, and that there can be no harm in trying it.

§ 3. **Adornment.**—Lango, both men and women, are inordinately fond of ornaments. Cicatrization, which originally had a ceremonial significance, has become merely a bodily decoration.

If tradition is correct, the Lango of the sixteenth century used to wear their hair dressed elaborately after the present custom of

the Shilluk, who work it into a kind of tam-'o-shanter. Among other Hamitic customs, however, adopted from their Hamitic invaders, they adopted before moving south the form of head-dress seen now among the Langudyang, the Karamojo and the Suk. It would appear to have been identical, and the change in actual fact was so slight from the Shilluk model [1] as to require little more than the addition of the detachable hair chignon, which fell to the small of the back, and to which the name *aban* was given, though one might have expected them to have adopted the Hamitic name.

The next step was to drop the *aban* or chignon about one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty years ago, and this is attributable partly to the fact that the Lango migrations have removed them considerably from the influence of their old Hamitic associates to people by whom the chignon was not worn; but even more to the change in the nature of the country, from open plateaux and rolling hills to the close savannah tracts which they now inhabit. In these areas of scrub and long grass intersected by fœtid marshes the chignon must have proved an annoyance and an impediment, and its wearers would have been only too glad to have discarded it. When on top of this their raids into Bantu countries introduced them to peoples whose heads were closely shaved, it is not surprising that they should have started a series of innovations which have now completely changed their physical appearance.

About this period two styles developed: (1) The hair of the head was allowed to grow long as before, and into it were woven, aided by a plastering of clay and chalk, cock's feathers built up into the appearance of a busby. This busby was called *kono*, and *walo* was the term used of dressing the hair in this fashion. This was more particularly, but not exclusively, a war head-dress.

(2) The crown of the head is called *tok*, a term which is also used to indicate this and some subsequent methods of hairdressing. The hair is allowed to grow, and when it is of a suitable length there are threaded into it small discs of ostrich egg-shell and the black seeds of a convolvulus called *acholi*, forming a compact covering, on to which red chalk is plastered on occasions for decorative effect. As the hair grows the weight of the coiffure pulls it backwards, and new bands of seeds are added above the brow, till the backward tendency produces a sagging mass of hair and seeds at the back of the neck.

On their introduction, white beads were substituted for the

[1] In J.A.S., vol. xii, No. LVI, Major Meldon writes: "The peculiar form of hairdressing among the Shilluk resembles that of the Langu, but the latter is more elaborate and stretches like a shield down the back." Baker, however (op. cit., vol. ii., p. 119), records that "at Langgo the value of beads is very great, and the natives work them into patterns on their matted hair," resembling the later Lango bead head-dress.

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These designs are known by technical names,[1] a few only of which are here appended as illustrating the diversity of custom, which, with two exceptions, is guided by personal predilections rather than tribal regulation. Nor is this surprising when one bears in mind that the shaving of the head is a recent innovation; but that at some more or less remote date a significance, either physical or psychical, will be attributed to each individual coiffure is none the less probable.

Achudi—the head shaved clean except a top-knot.
Atira[2]—a space of three fingers shaved from the crown to the forehead. (This must be done after killing an enemy.)
Atoro—a mode reserved for children, *me akwera* (Chapter V, § 1), who must adopt it.
Abim—longish hair all over the head.
Arut—the hair shaved in patches.
Apam—hair shaved short all over the head.
Ajulu ("the crest")—the head shaved except for a "comb" three inches wide running from the crown backwards.
Kinga—a mode reserved for twins, the hair being left long save for a fringe which is shaved round the head.
Wangdyang—the head completely shaved, except two circular patches one on each side.

All modes of hairdressing are to be seen at the present day with the exception of the Shilluk and the Hamitic chignon, though the permanent *tok* and *kono* are infrequent, except in the remote north-east. But while these modes have considerably decreased in popularity during the last ten years, there is at present a tendency among the young men to revert to them and to abandon the modern habit of shaving the head.

The practice of women has not changed, and from time immemorial they have left their hair uncut. It is anointed with croton or semsem oil mixed with ashes or chalk, and twisted into ringlets or strands hanging on all sides from the crown of the head. Women dress each other's hair, a tedious process of hours, but charge no fee for their services.

There is no general law which governs the wearing of ornaments, and in practice there is much diversity, caused principally (if not entirely) by the individual means of purchasing them. Nor is there any need for symmetry, and if there is only wire enough for one arm or one leg it is worn thus without embarrassment. Coils of brass wire are worn on the upper arm and above the elbow, and gorgets of the same material round the neck, sometimes to such a height that actual discomfort would be caused, were it not

[1] To shave the head generally is *loto*; to shave it in mourning is *lyelo*; *mworo* is to trim the hair, but not to cut it close; to shave the head with special reference to the style of coiffure is *koyo*.

[2] *Chido* is the verb used of this mode Thus, *koyo achudi*, but *chido atira*.

that the top and bottom coils of the gorget (which often number fifteen[1]) are loose, and by sagging allow play to the neck. It is worn also below the elbow (four coils) and (up to nine coils) on the forearm. Below the knee only a few coils are worn, generally four, followed by a gap of three inches, and then three coils round the calf of the leg. It does not seem to incommode their movements, and absence of any wire indicates the rare state of extreme poverty. No wire ornaments are worn as tightly as by the Acholi, among whom distressing ulcers are caused and limbs even wither through excessive constriction. For the more universal brass wire of commerce the north-easterly Lango for the most part use iron wire bought from the Akwa, a Karamojan people expert in smelting.

A band of beads, generally about an inch and a half in width, but containing up to twenty rows (or sometimes two bands with an interval of two inches, the lower being just above the eyebrows), is often worn round the forehead fastened at the back of the head; and a small reedbuck horn or a stick shaped to its semblance (bound with brass and sometimes furnished with a small brush of hair at the tip) is frequently worn, the thick end pointing to the crown of the head and the tip curving upwards off the brows.

The ears are pierced on the edge of the cartilage in twelve to fifteen places,[2] and metal rings, sometimes plain, sometimes mounted with a blue bead, are inserted. A small plug of wood or a large-earring is worn in a hole pierced in the lobe of the ear, but it is not a practice to distend the lobe in any way.

The septum of the nose is sometimes pierced and one small ring with a blue bead inserted, as is also in a few cases the hollow between the chin and the lip, into which is put a straw or bit of shaped wood. Since the 1907 expedition a cartridge case is sometimes substituted. In the north tapering pieces of quartz or glass, about three-eighths of an inch in diameter at the thick end, after the Acholi fashion, are sometimes worn instead of a straw. At Dokolo, Bata and the region east of Ngoratok Hill, flat, metal, heartshaped discs are worn in the lower lip. Metal rings are occasionally worn in the tongue.

A leather noose is slung over the shoulders round the neck, and attached to it at the back is worn a "tail," called *alyam* (generally made of the bristles of the warthog), or sometimes three "tails" united by a metal ring, and the horn of a young bushbuck or ram fashioned into a war whistle. When worn a knife is suspended from the shoulder by a cord or is tied to the left upper arm or slung at the small of the back to a leathern girdle.

[1] The figures given are only an approximate average.

[2] A similar type of ear-ornamentation is affected by the Jaluo (Hobley, op. cit., p. 31).

A ring is sometimes seen on the finger (but less frequently than among women and usually on the thumb only), and round the waist a string of small beads or cowrie shells, or a plain, fine string (but this again is tied loosely and in no way resembles the Acholi string corslet). An iron ring called *ocheo*, from which a curved, pointed extension projects some two to three inches, is common, and serves the double purpose of picking the teeth and scratching the body. Very rarely a small ring, attached to a small finely wrought chain, is worn by a super-dandy suspended from the prepuce, and a projecting umbilicus may be bound with brass wire.

With the exception of the Jo Aber section of the Lango and a few neighbours of other sections living in the north-east, who on reaching the age of puberty wear a small goatskin with an inverted V cut in the middle of the lower edge, generally quite insufficient for the purpose of concealing the penis—a practice imitated from the Acholi—they are quite nude.

Small bells are worn on ceremonial occasions below the knee and at the ankles, fastened with string, made from the fibre of the hibiscus, or sown on to a narrow band of white goatskin, which is twisted puttee-wise round the leg ; the whole body also is burnished with oil, but mud or dung is not applied to the body for decorative purposes.

Necklaces are made of string or giraffe's hair or of river mussel shell and ostrich eggs chipped into little discs, these last being imported from the north or being heirlooms which belonged to the family when they lived in the ostrich country. On the necklaces are also threaded various charms for love, health, and success in hunting, chiefly consisting of small wooden blocks or the seeds of the *Musa ensete*.[1] Bead necklaces are also universally worn.

The only mark of aristocracy is a bracelet of ivory worn on the left wrist, or suspended from the neck over the chest an ivory ornament called *ogwil* (curved to contain fat for anointing the body and often delicately stencilled in black points). These are only worn by men who are chiefs or come by descent, however remotely, from the stock of chiefs, although any man is allowed to possess the unworked tusk. Others wear bracelets of metal, such as that called *ogul* or *okom*, or of the hair from an elephant's tail, or charms on string and hide wristlets in the nature of charms made from animals killed by them. Allusion has already been made to the medicinal bracelet (*wel me amina*).

A switch made of a cow's or giraffe's tail affixed to a wooden handle is occasionally carried, but walking-sticks, which used to be named—a practice now passing into disuetude—are nearly always used, partly for protection against snakes, and partly to

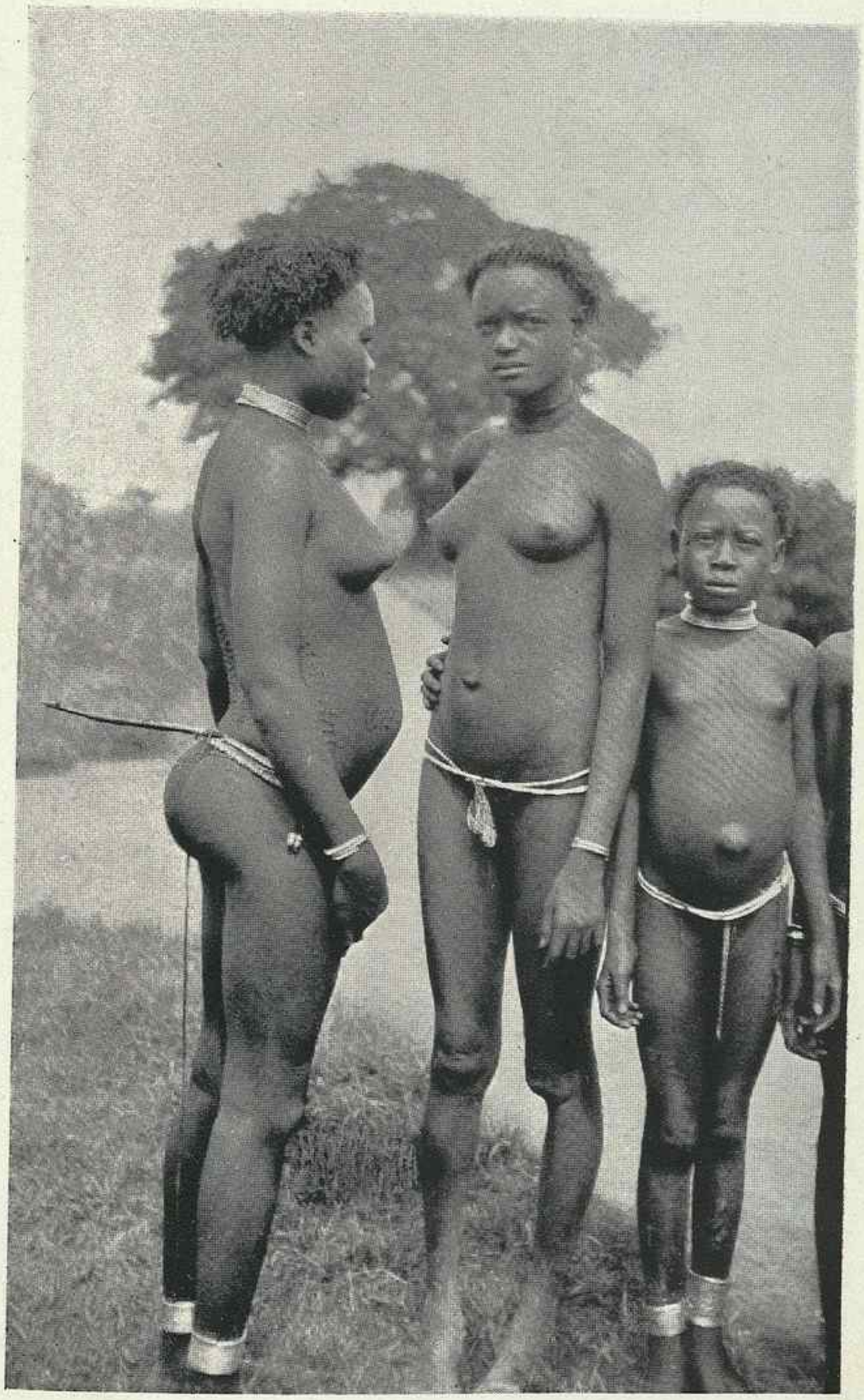
[1] Emin (op. cit., p. 20) states that at Kiroto the seeds of the *Musa ensete* are greatly prized for the manufacture of necklets.

probe the path in the innumerable marshes. Elegant walking-sticks with twisted handles are made by immersing the green wood in boiling water and forcing it to the required shape. The war-whistle and leather loop of the tail are coloured with red chalk on ceremonial occasions. A lover often wears a chaplet or necklet of a plant called *angwengwe*, which smells like patchouli, and is intended to give pleasure to the beloved by its fragrance, and round his neck threads, together with beads, love charms cut from the root of the plant *alugaluga*.

By the women brass wire is especially coveted, even more than beads, and by the Jo Burutok section of the tribe it is worn, under Akum influence, coiled without a break from the wrist to the elbow. Often, however, the right arm is encased to a less extent in order not to incommode it in its duties. It is worn also, as with men, as a gorget round the neck, but rarely exceeds eleven coils; and less usually on the upper arm, which, however, may be ornamented by a thin strip of raphia fibre worked into a neat armlet. Children who have not reached an age to wear wire often display such fibre ornaments. Three or four coils of wire are worn below the knee, and above the ankle it may extend to as many as twelve coils.

The nose is not so often pierced as with men, but the cartilage of the ear is pierced without distinction and carries similar rings and beads. One hole is pierced in the lobe, in which are often worn two or three medium-sized earrings and also a very large one with a diameter of five inches, made of thin, rounded metal, reaching to the shoulder, though quite light and not disfiguring to the ear; through it a necklace hanging down on the breast is passed on either side. Bead necklaces strung on hair or string and hanging well below the breasts are largely worn, as are plain necklaces of giraffe hair or a necklet of large beads on an inflexible wire hoop. From the neck, too, hang small amulets and a small calabash oil-flask. Both lips are pierced and a ring with a small bead is inserted in each, or sometimes only in one. A small piece of metal is often wedged between the two middle upper teeth. Thin wire bracelets are sometimes worn and a bell is occasionally fastened to metal anklets, which are, however, generally worn without this addition. Women never wear ivory. Belts of beads or a fine chain may be worn round the waist, but the former are almost always confined to girls or newly married brides. A narrow band of beads may be worn generally over the brows, and cowrie necklets and wristlets are assumed by women who have born twins, and by the twins themselves until they have reached the age of puberty. Finger rings are largely worn and are usually presents from admirers.

From about the age of five girls wear over the pudenda a few strings or threads (called *chip*) made from the hibiscus, increasing



LANGO WOMEN, SHOWING THE "TAIL."

To face p. 64.

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in number with the age of the wearer. There are attached to a thin leather girdle (*del*) which is fastened behind and twisted into a stick-like leather continuation (*achudi*) which projects backwards. If the father is prosperous, an unmarried girl wears an *ariko*, or apron of small metal chains in place of threads.[1] It is given her by her father, and is increased in size according as he can get more chains made, an apron ten chains wide costing one goat. It is wearable until the woman has borne two children; but generally, when she marries, her husband takes it, and if he has a younger sister gives it to her; if not, he sells it. In the case of a woman who has borne a child, a strip of leather (*lau*) about two or three inches in breadth hangs down behind from the girdle to below the knees. It is given to her by the father of the child. In former days a broad leathern "tail" (*ateke*) covering both buttocks and studded with pieces of metal (*ogita*) used to be fashionable, but is now rarely seen. It is made of goatskin, except in the case of certain clans whose women are forbidden the skin of goats.

A girl's ornaments are given to her by her father or lover, and it is the duty of a husband to comply with his wife's natural desire for brass wire and beads, in so far as he can afford to get them. Should he neglect her in this respect through meanness, her brothers would be entitled to protest, as the neglect would be interpreted as a shame and reproach to her wifely qualities by her feminine neighbours.

Their bodies are anointed with vegetable oils and curdled milk.

§ 4. **Psychology.**—Many diverse qualities, often antagonistic to each other, are united in the nature of the Lango, with the result that he not infrequently takes up an unexpected attitude or point of view. To-day he will gladly assent to a proposal; to-morrow in similar circumstances nothing will induce him to view the same proposal favourably. He is reserved and unemotional in his ordinary dealings, and at the same time liable to be easily excited should anything out of the usual occur, or should he consider that he is labouring under an injustice. But quick as he is to flare up into a passionate outburst, the very excess of his passion ensures an equally quick return to his normal impassivity.

Accordingly, while he is liable to commit a sudden act of violence or homicide, it is unusual for him to harbour a grudge for any length of time. So a lengthy blood-feud is not due to malice or personal ill-feeling, but is the pious fulfilment of a sacred duty devolving on him, and as such is accepted and executed remorselessly when

[1] Owen (*Bari Grammar*, p. vi) states that "the women (Bari) wear in front a small apron or fringe either of leather or plaited little iron chains." The Didinga girls also wear a similar apron of ostrich egg-shells, called *rika*.

opportunity offers; the feeling uppermost in the mind, however, is not one of personal revenge, but a just recompense or honour done to his murdered kinsman. The fables of the elephant and the mantis and the hare and the leopard aptly illustrate traditional feeling in this matter.

But reserved as he is, he is also cheerful and goodnatured, without however the exuberant camaraderie of the Acholi; ever ready to participate in a dance, polite and hospitable to strangers, fond of the society of his fellows, unemotional without being sullen. He has a lively sense of humour and a pleasant wit in repartee, be it often caustic and of an Elizabethan breadth. Thus he will name a notoriously thievish dog *ngaonena* (who-saw-me?), and to this same humour may be attributed such a delightful word as *boda* (float of ambatch wood), because it keeps the children playing in the water so long that they neglect the goats and return home late (*omiyogi bodo wi jo*—it causes them to be a nuisance to people). And as with the Elizabethans, so here the wit and humour of the womenfolk is equally broad, and there is little reserve when the two sexes are gathered together. Facts of life are treated with an unabashed frankness and with no sense of false modesty. It is the more surprising therefore to find that there is a distinction in the oaths used by men and women; not that the latter are any the less coarse in expression, but that the actual words used are never used by men, though they may be mere synonyms, such as *opindiri*. Similarly, a few words (such, for example, as *layo*) have a polite synonym (*konyere*), which is generally used in the presence of women. On the other hand, for sheer indelicacy, the songs sung by women at their private dances and some of their folk-tales surpass those of the most advanced male raconteurs.

Particularly pleasing are their family relations, in which love for their children is unusually noticeable. They are well nurtured and looked after, and with rare exceptions are kindly treated. Especially is this so during the long period before a baby is weaned, and every morning or evening a mother may be seen giving her infant a warm bath in a calabash bowl. Generally speaking, the mother at any rate shows, if she does not feel, more affection for her children than the father. Men prefer male children and women prefer female. Conversely, the children show considerable affection for and obedience to their parents.

Ideas of morality are high, with the result that the tribe is singularly free of disease, and though a more than European licence is allowed to unmarried girls, it alone among neighbouring tribes is free of the stigma of prostitution. This conception and practice of morality is due probably to the fact that marriage is the result of individual choice on the part of both parties. As a rule their married life is in consequence happy and harmonious, a mutual

physical attraction and the woman's reputation as a good cook and housewife being the chief incentives to the union. The wife has considerable freedom of action and customary rights, and is almost on an equal social plane with her husband, meeting and entertaining his guests even in his absence, entertaining her own relations as guests, joining in the village dances and generally sharing in the social life of the village. A woman may even borrow a bull from a neighbour—as for instance to give a ceremonial feast to her mother—and the husband has no option but to repay the debt, though incurred without his knowledge and consent. On the other hand, he may not make a present or a loan without his wife's consent, which, however, is not normally withheld.

It is often urged against polygyny and the payment of dowries that it results in the degradation of the women to the position of being mere property. However true this may be elsewhere, it is very far from the truth among the Lango, whose womenfolk are treated with remarkable courtesy and consideration, and though invested by custom with the right of vetoing a husband from contracting a second marriage, would be the first to resent the institution of monogamy. Nor does the payment of a bride-price or dowry carry with it the rights and authority of a slave-owner. The position is far from analogous, as a husband would quickly learn should he ever entertain such a fanciful notion. The bride-price has no bearing on the woman's station (except in so far as the possession of the dowry enables her brother to punish any infringement of her rights), and does not affect her freedom, but is the outward and visible sign that she has passed from the clan of her relations to that of her husband—the covenant of a free and unfettered choice both on her part and on his; and just as she has been willing to throw in her lot with her husband's clan with the consent of her family and clansmen, so her husband, who has gained for his clan a new member and a prospective mother of warriors, is willing (such is his desire for her) to make good the numerical loss to her family's clan by the payment of a substantial dowry, from which the family will subsequently restore their numbers by a similar process. There is nothing of the degrading here, no compact of servitude, but an equitable social arrangement for the preservation of clan equilibrium.

Their old men, fathers and grandfathers, are maintained by the family when they have passed the stage of active participation in the village life; they share their food and their drink and join in such social intercourse as their age permits, being respected for the wisdom which they are presumed to have acquired in their long lives. Orphans, on the other hand, receive little sympathy and assistance, and theirs is a hard and ungracious lot. Their maternal uncle is their best friend, but desirous as he may be of

helping them, his wife is far from the same mind. She has no wish to cook for them, and by a process of slanderous accusations of theft and pilfering she inevitably drives them away from their hospitable uncle. A similar fate often awaits them even if they go to live with a married sister. Cultivate as well as they may, with a view to buying a goat or a cow with the fruits of their toil, they find that only their food is consumed by the household, and that their brother-in-law and their sister are content to let them work, but not to allow them to secure wealth and property sufficient for matrimony. For a pauper orphan there is little hope, unless his maternal uncle is rich enough to disregard his wife's prejudices and to provide his nephew with a wife of his own.

They are brave and venturesome warriors, who have won the fear and respect of their neighbours, delighting in war not only for the plunder which it brings, but also for its own sake. But pitiless as they are in their conduct of war, for in the heat of the conflict both women and children are speared if they are not taken as prisoners, yet they scrupulously abstain from the wanton mutilation of the living or the dead. Ever ready to lend their arms to others engaged in war, they have frequently joined in the private quarrels of other tribes, enhancing their prestige and enriching their villages. With this bravery in battle, too, is to be associated a certain fatalism, which is exhibited in their belief that to each man his day of death is fore-ordained, and consequently, though every means are adopted to avert death (in the hope that the day is not yet), when death comes the mourning and sorrow, poignant and heartfelt while it lasts, is not demonstratively of long duration.

In their relations with each other they are generally honest, and a man will leave cattle or goats with a friend for many years in the assurance that they will be well cared for and will be safe with all their issue till such time as he may need them. Their granaries, both village and field, are used for storing their most treasured possessions in the certainty that no one will be so unsocial as to steal them, and a total stranger with equal certainty will be given a goat to take to a distant clansman or relative through whose village he will be passing on his journey. So innately honourable are they that, next to homicide, libel is considered one of the most serious offences.

The desire for wealth in terms of livestock (a desire of possession rather than of expenditure) is one of the most marked features in their nature. We have already seen that in their earliest days they used to trade for cattle; and it is this desire for wealth which has possibly led them to the industrious pursuit of agriculture. For there is a recognized currency of grain and livestock, by which so many bundles of millet equal one goat, and so many goats equal one bull or cow. Frequently the men are all away among the

crops working from dawn till five o'clock, tilling the soil, weeding or harvesting, while the women's time is no less busily employed in caring for her babies, keeping the village scrupulously clean, assisting in the weeding and the harvesting, grinding and winnowing the grain and preparing the food.

With this desire for material wealth must be associated an usurious strain in their nature, to which again is allied a speculative element. Thus for example the loan of a bull, be it even to a friend or relation, cannot be repaid by a bull, but the debt must be discharged by the payment of a heifer. The speculative element enters when a bull is lent on the security of an unborn calf, which may or may not turn out to be a heifer.

From this it would appear that the Lango are ungenerous, but this is far from being the case, though years of feuds have taught them to regard a stranger with suspicion. No one would attend a beer drink unasked, unless included in a general invitation, and his uninvited presence would be resented; but no visitor or passing guest would be excluded from a general feast or would be unwelcome at a casual meal. Even a beggar—a rare enough condition—is greeted depreciatingly with *wot' chak' obot kal matye i poto* ("go and glean the grain fields"), and is then given a hearty meal with the family. This depreciation of gifts usually accompanies a presentation, and the donor will for instance announce that he desires to give you a puppy or a pullet when actually he intends a bull.

Lastly, they are emphatically independent and impatient of control, strongly conservative and averse from all innovations. Guided in their social relations by a morality based upon public opinion, they are nevertheless individualistic in their political life. Each man is as good as his neighbour, and disliking interference himself, is equally averse to limiting his own individuality by an acknowledgment of political dependence. They are the last people in the world to be dragooned into any line of thought or action, and while amenable to reason would actively resent any attempt towards an unpalatable compulsion. Hence we find that their chiefs were no more than war-leaders, since successful war premises organization; hence, too, their judicial councils had little or no initiative; they were bound by precedent, and their services were rather those of arbitrators than of judges, so little power had they to enforce their judgments. So little despotic, indeed, were their chiefs, that they had even to build their own houses, as they had not the right to any assistance from the men whom they led in war. This individualism and independence appear not only in their political life, but in the religious aspect of their social life the same tendencies are observable. Intensely religious, believing implicitly in the creed of their fathers and in the necessity for a strict observ-

ance of the due formulæ and ancient practices, bound up as every action of their life is by a sacred ceremony, yet with it all they have preserved a religious independence, which has saved them from the despotism of the witch-doctor and has created in them a hearty distaste for all types of malignant witchcraft.

CHAPTER IV

MODE OF LIFE

THE VILLAGE—WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS—MANUFACTURES—LIVESTOCK—AGRICULTURE—FOOD—WAR—HUNTING—MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS—DANCES—GAMES

§ 1. **The Village.**—The Lango live in villages, which vary considerably in size from ten to one hundred and fifty huts. In pre-administration days, when war was the natural condition of things and peace an interlude, villages were larger than in these more settled times, as the larger the village the greater the security on the one hand, and the more extensive their opportunities for plunder on the other; but even previous to administration small villages were not infrequently found, being offshoots from some large settlement from which a family had seceded, it may be from ambition to found a separate group, or from a distaste for a new site selected by the majority for the village's occupation, or at the advice of some *ajoka*, or from sickness or some internal friction. The reasons for such a partition might be innumerable.

However, the primary object of the village is for protection against attack and for purposes of offence. In consequence we find that the family and the village are not convertible terms, as is the case among African tribes which have a greater sense of tribal responsibility and are united under a tribal chief. On the contrary, clans and even families are often widely scattered under the stimulus of war and migration, although it is usually the case that the eldest son continues to live in his father's village, and the other sons at any rate till they marry; and further, to increase the power of the village, several families live in it together. Thus in one village at Kibuji sixty-seven men belong to the clan Agodya, while the remaining twenty-six men are members of seven different clans.

A feature of the Lango village which distinguishes it from the villages of many Nilotic tribes is the absence of any kind of fencing or zariba. It is not defended by a thick euphorbia hedge, nor by a stockade of stout stakes as used formerly to be the custom of the Acholi, nor by a stone or earthern wall as used to be the case among the Jaluo. But from time immemorial the Lango have

lived in entirely unfortified villages, a testimony to their independent spirit, as also to their courage and fine fighting capacities.

The result of these two facts, that the village contains more than one family and that they are unfortified, is that they have shown a tendency to straggle, though not to the extent of Bantu or (among Nilotics) Dinka settlements, which approximate to the nature of garden cities. The huts are not as a rule arranged in any recognized order, either circularly or in streets ;[1] though they are built closely together, there is a lack of cohesion and system, so much so that normally there is nothing to distinguish the chief's house either by size or position, an indication of individual independence which is so characteristic of the tribe. Each of the families in a village builds together, and generally these individual groups take the form of a rough circle or the segment of a circle, with the doors facing towards the centre, and not infrequently there is a space of quite thirty yards separating the component parts of a village—a space which is not necessarily cultivated or even cleared of the wild grass and brushwood. Very often, however, in a large village the houses of the unmarried men are arranged in a straight line on the edge of the village, but not necessarily near the cattle kraal, as is the custom of the Jaluo.

A man desirous of building a new village first consults *Jok* through the medium of an *ajoka* as to the merits of a particular site. He will be ordered to apply one of the numerous tests usually prescribed. Thus he may be recommended to place eggs in a certain spot or to throw them at haphazard into the bush, and after an interval of a few days the *ajoka* will be able to read the signs and portents ensuing ; or—more practically—he may be advised to plant grain and to be guided by the nature of the crop ; or—not an infrequent test—he will be instructed to defecate at the desired site and to be guided by the dung-beetle, which will indicate that the spot is unhealthy and likely to cause death if it burrows up red earth. Thus by numerous omens is a man able to foretell the character of a site, but not till he has definitely occupied it will he know with certainty that it is not in " the path of god " (*yo jok*, also called *yo yamo*, " the path of the wind ")—that is, the road by which *jok* frequently passes. He will first learn this by numerous inexplicable deaths, after which, if he is a wise man, he will move his village.

Similarly, having chosen his site, he will inquire of *jok* whether he may make use of the thatch of his old house. If *jok* allows it (as he generally does), it will be used on the *goin* or shed, not on the house itself. If *jok* disapproves, the old grass is left in situ, and disregard of the order will result in disease following the builder

[1] In Apio's old village at Aloi, rebuilt on a new site in 1918, all the houses were arranged in one street about three hundred and fifty yards long.

to his new home. Before entering the completed house, however, the man's wife must brew some special beer, which is drunk on the third day after brewing, and enables the family to enter into occupation with safety. Fire is not newly made, but is brought from the old house. If after a year his wife does not bear him a child in the new house, and she has previously born him twins, a pot containing the remains of a dead twin is transferred from the old village and placed in the courtyard.

Whether large or small, the village is composed of married men's huts (*ot*), bachelor quarters (*otogo*), sheds (*goin*) for cooking and grinding and for storing pots, granaries, several kinds of chicken houses and the cattle kraal. In addition to these there is sometimes a sleeping-hut (*ot aguruguru*), as contrasted with the *ot*, reserved for guests or occupied when the owner is living apart from his wife; an *otogo anyira*, or girls' dormitory, where in former days all the unmarried girls of the village used to sleep together after attaining the age of puberty in the charge of an aged matron —a practice almost entirely fallen into dissuetude now that the girls have largely taken to sleeping in their mothers' houses until they are married.

The *ot* is the property of the wife, and for each wife a man has to build a separate house and separate granaries, just as for each wife separate crops have to be cultivated. It is not built, however, until the woman has given birth to a child, till which time she lives with the man in his *otogo*. The reason given for this delay in building the *ot* is that the labour would be wasted were the man to build the house and then find that the woman was sterile and had to be returned. It is doubtful, however, if this is the true reason, as sterility is a most rare condition, and in any case her successor on death or divorce would occupy it.

In appearance the *ot* is a circular dome-like structure, the roof being thatched with grass arranged in flounces and rising from a mud wall eighteen inches to two feet in height. The builder's first act is to lay out the ground-plan by digging a circle of holes for receiving the uprights (*achipa*) and the framework of the porch. The circle is remarkably regular, and averages eleven feet in diameter, the size being governed by the quality of the local timber, which is generally poor. Strong, but pliant, uprights are then firmly inserted and securely bound by rafters (*atat*), which are applied in concentric rings narrowing towards the top of the roof, which is finally securely bound together. The pitch of the roof is determined by the rapidity with which the rings of rafters narrow in diameter, and is a matter of importance both in resisting the weather and in holding the thatch. A house with a good pitch is called *ot awichere*, and one with a badly pitched roof *ot abak abaka*.

Next the house is thatched, the man's wife fetching in the grass

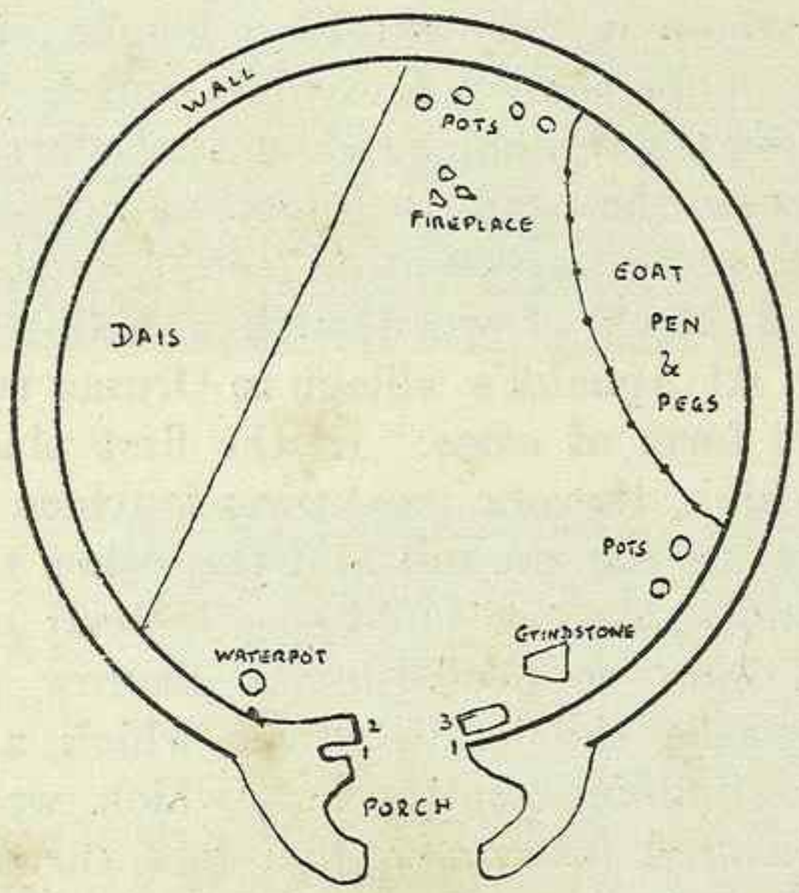
which is applied in ridges and flounces, starting from the bottom of the roof and working upwards. The grass is inserted in bundles with the roots downwards, and the work is completed by patting the edges of the various ridges with an *ago* (a piece of wood of the shape and size of a butterpat) in order to level inequalities in thatching and to give the house a finished appearance. The timber most favoured for building is, for the stakes, the tree *odugo*, and for the rafters the *akere*, and the kind of grass normally used for thatching is called *abi*. Owing to the poor quality of the timber and the ravages of termites and borers, a house rarely stands for more than three years.

The last stage is to build the wall, the framework of which has first been strengthened by a close lattice-work of rafters, on to which the mud is applied to a thickness of three or four inches and to which it adheres on drying, when the cracks are filled up with a final plaster of black earth (*opuo*). There is one doorway (*dokika*) at the front, with a porch (*gola*) projecting two feet, thatched either separately or, as is more often the case, continuously with the contour of the roof. The sides and roof of the porch are mudded in the same way as the wall, and the sides curve outwards to an extent sufficient to allow of a water-pot being placed in the cavity of the porch out of the way of the line of entrance and egress; but the actual opening of the porch and doorway is only just sufficiently large for a body to crawl through on hands and knees, and is closed from inside by a stiff, plaited mat-like door. This door operates in a slot, which is ingeniously contrived at the junction of the porch with the wall of the house and permits of it being slid to the side. The upright arms of the slot curve over, and at the top meet the mud roof of the porch where it joins the wall, but being within the wall there is room for the construction of a basin-like cavity of clay (called *guro*), above the arch, in which is kept the vegetable pot. The slot is thus in reality a backward extension of the porch into the house.

The wall, porch and entrance having been thus completed, the builder then turns his attention to the interior arrangements, which are simple. Immediately on the right, on entering, is the grindstone, which may be used in wet weather, on the left a raised dais (*tuti*), on which the occupants sleep. On the other side is the *anok*, a corner reserved for goats. It is cut off by a low plaster wall about three to six inches high, in which pegs are driven, and to the pegs the goats are tied. Sometimes, instead of the plaster wall and pegs, a small fence is erected with an opening like a kraal entrance, similarly closed with logs. Opposite the door and on the far side are the cooking-stones and the fire, on either side of which pots are arranged along the wall. The smoke usually escapes through the door, but sometimes there is a smoke hole on the lee

side of the roof. Two beams are let into the roofing extending across the house, and over them is constructed a platform or shelf (generally above the *tuti*), on which the firewood and various small articles are stored. On the *tuti* is spread grass when the house is occupied, and above it are laid the sleeping hides or sometimes mats made of the beaten-out bark of the phœnix palm. The surface of the floor is made of a mixture of cowdung and the earth, *opuo*, kept smooth and clean and frequently renewed.

A house so built is called *ot arwata* (the term referring to the method by which the mud is applied to the framework of the wall), and is the commonest type to be seen in these days. Formerly, and not infrequently still, houses were built on a slightly different



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PLAN OF LANGO HUT.

1. Slot in which the door runs.
2 and 3. Arms of slot, the door being withdrawn and pushed in from behind 3.

technique, and such houses are called *ot apama*. After the holes for the stakes have been dug a plaster wall about two feet high is built of clay and grass, without any wooden framework, inside the circle of holes, and when it has set firmly the uprights are then implanted and the building proceeds in the manner already described. The building of such a wall is a much more tedious process, requiring care, and this accounts for the present popularity of the *ot arwata*.

On reaching the age of puberty a boy builds himself an *otogo*, having first obtained permission from his father. Previously to that he has lived in his mother's house. His mother and sisters provide the grass for the thatching. These huts are built on piles varying from three and a half to seven and a half feet above the ground. They are exceedingly small, being only about four and

a half feet in diameter, and the circular opening used for a door —only just wide enough for the body to squeeze through—is reached by a log staircase (*apetan*), sometimes covered in by a roof and reed sides, or in very superior huts by mud sides.[1] Usually, however, the staircase is left open. So small is the doorway and steep the staircase that entrance and exit have to be made slowly on hands and feet. But in spite of their small proportions these huts will on occasion accommodate from four to five men. The platform is composed of timber thickly plastered, and into it are fixed the stakes which form the roof and which are then treated as in building an *ot*. The roof is low in proportion to its diameter, and is entirely plastered inside. The doorway is closed by a mat-work door (*achiga*), which is leaned against it from within. Except at the doorway, where it may attain a height of eighteen inches, the wall is rarely more than a foot high, and is to a large extent hidden from view by the thatching, which is also arranged in flounces. Round the doorway the wall is sometimes decorated with rude designs in red and white, representing men, animals and geometrical patterns. A small block of wood with a hollow for the head is used as a pillow. At Apualol's village in Orumo two friends jointly erected an unique form of *otogo*. In the first place each built his *otogo* abnormally high, the one measuring fourteen feet three inches from the platform to the ground and the other thirteen feet four inches ; and secondly, the two buildings, instead of being separate from each other, were connected by a narrow platform slightly sloping down towards the centre, from which a staircase led to the ground. The building on the left, which was also the loftier of the two, measured internally five feet three inches by four feet nine inches, and the other four feet six inches by four feet four inches.

As has been said, the *otogo* is occupied by a man after attaining the age of puberty till his wife bears him a child ; but though he then builds his wife an *ot*, he often retains his *otogo*, at any rate till it falls out of repair, as his own private quarters, where he may, should he wish to do so, sleep alone, or where he may house his guests. Men who are too old to beget any more children and whose wives are dead not infrequently build themselves an *otogo*, but in their case it is not elevated more than a foot off the ground, as their age makes the climbing of steep staircases a matter of difficulty.

Various reasons have been assigned for these curious structures. It has been suggested, for instance, that the unmarried men were

[1] Emin (op. cit., p. 103) says that the Madi girls after reaching the age of puberty sleep in buildings raised from the ground, like granaries in appearance, with small oval doorways, smoothly plastered with clay, and that these buildings are entered by a wooden bench in front. At the present day, however, there would appear to be no trace of such buildings among the Madi.

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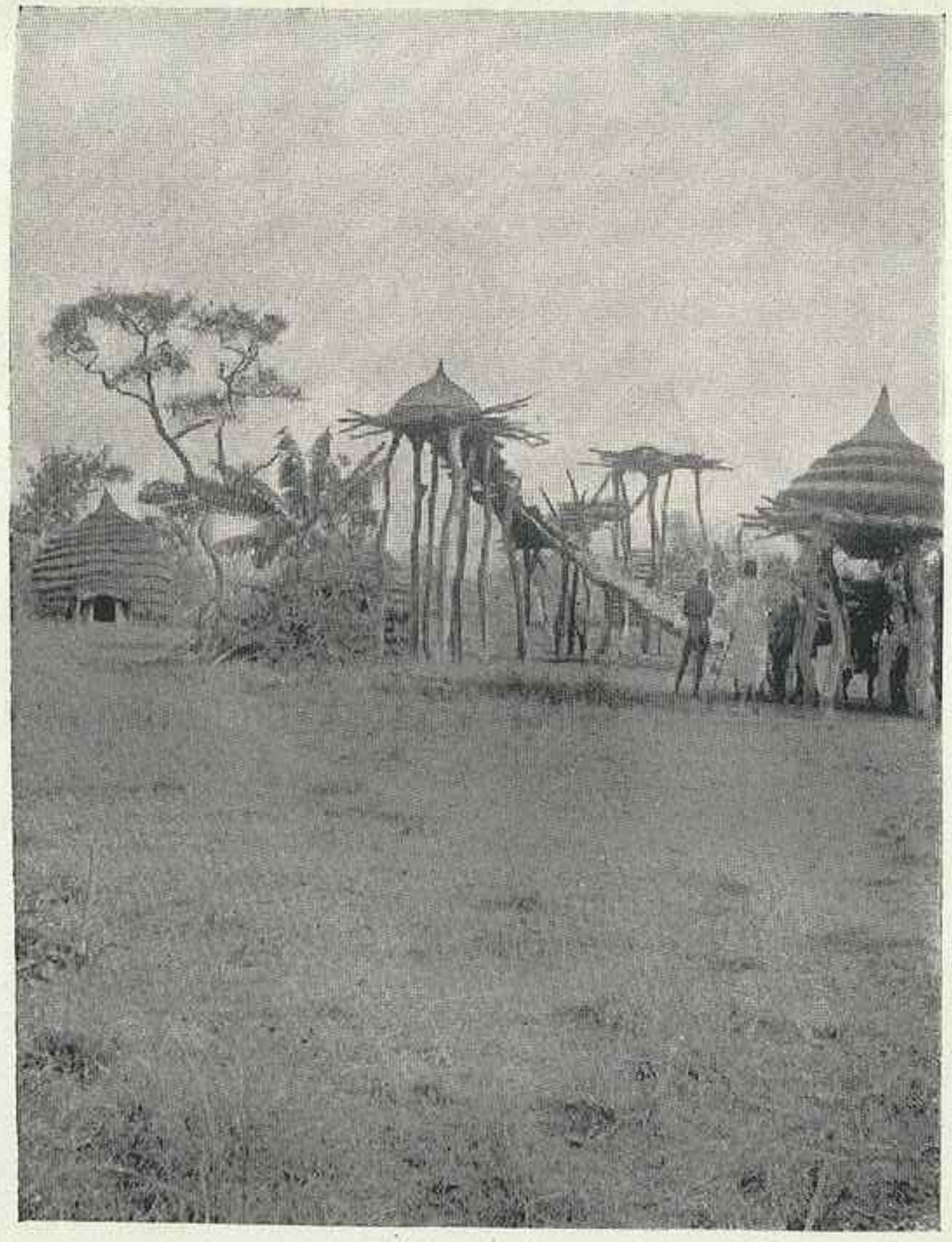
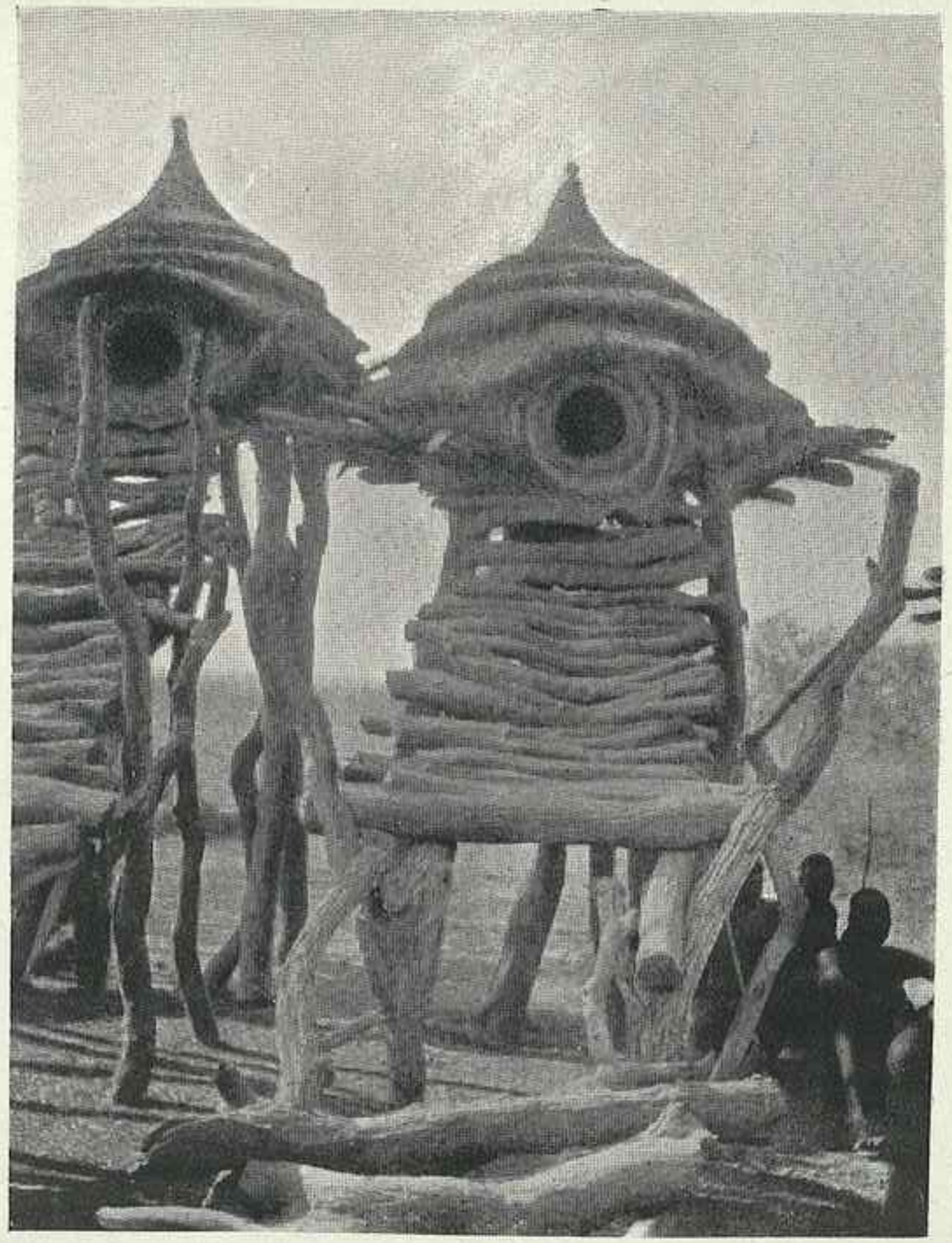


A DOUBLE "OTOGO" AT APUALOL'S.



BACHELOR HUTS AT ORUMO.

To face p. 76.

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made to live in these houses for moral reasons, and that once they had turned in for the night their elders scattered ashes on the ground in order to detect them should they visit any of their girl friends before the dawn. This reason seems hopelessly inadequate, as not only is there no foundation for it in fact, but were the houses on the ground this system of detection would be quite as effective. Two reasons are given by the Lango, neither of them however very convincing. From time immemorial, it is said, the unmarried men used to live in these little *otogo*, and if they were built on the ground the inhabitants would be at the absolute mercy of any raiders, as the very low wall of the *otogo* would afford no protection against a spear-thrust. Any passer could spear the sleeping man through his roof. For this reason they were built on piles—for security of person, not of morals. This explanation is to a certain extent supported by some huts at Jaber, which are built on the ground, but are of exactly the same size and shape as a normal *otogo*. The owners stated that they built them so as there was no danger of a raid in these more settled times. But the practice has rarely been imitated elsewhere; and against this it should be observed that, in the event of a raid, the inhabitants of these huts, agile as they are in evacuating them, are much at the mercy of the enemy by reason of their slow egress. Nor does this reason explain the small size of the *otogo*, which would appear to be limited by the very fact of its construction on piles, and would thus be an effect rather than a cause.

The second and more possible explanation is that the huts were built small in order to eliminate the cold night air, for which reason also the interior is plastered; on this score, too, it is stated, the *otogo* was built on piles as the owner would light a fire underneath it before going to bed, round which he would sit with his friends eating his evening meal, while his house was warming up for the night. The resulting ashes may have given rise to the theory referred to above.

Professor Seligman, however, suggests with much plausibility that the elevated *otogo* was originally built to prevent the youths being "magiced" at a particularly susceptible period of their lives, a hypothesis supported by parallels in the Pacific and among certain hill tribes of Assam. The fact that the *otogo* of old men are hardly elevated at all both discredits the theory of protection against attack and adds force to a magico-religious hypothesis.

The *otogo anyira* or girls' *otogo* is built on the ground, and is considerably larger than a bachelor's *otogo*, having a diameter of twelve feet; but, like the bachelor's *otogo*, it has only a small doorway, which is raised six inches off the ground by a plaster step. Its wall is built first, and is two feet high, and the framework of the roof is constructed separately and superimposed on the wall,

it is also supported by a centre pole. The thatch is applied in flounces in the normal manner. There is no porch as in an *ot*, and the entrance doorway is black and shiny with the semsem oil which has rubbed off the girls' bodies.

The *ot aguruguru* is smaller than the *ot*, and is purely a sleeping apartment; it is constructed on similar lines, but is devoid of a porch and accommodation for goats. On the other hand, there is often a party wall shutting off the actual bedroom from the outer chamber near the doorway, which is large enough to admit a man without kneeling.

Grain is temporarily stored in field granaries (*goga*) at the spot where it is harvested, but is eventually transported when the season is concluded to the village granaries (*dero*). The field granary is mounted as a protection against the depredations of animals on a strong platform about two feet six inches from the ground, and is very large, up to even seven feet in diameter. They are made of strong, closely-woven wicker-work, often smeared with cowdung, but rarely plastered with mud, and are circular in shape. The wall of the granary is about two feet high on the leeward side, but to windward is extended to form a thatched umbrella-like hood, completely protecting the grain from the rain and wind.

The granary proper (*dero*) is a large structure capable of holding one and a half to two tons of grain. It is raised about a foot off the ground by a platform of logs, sometimes laid across stone supports at each corner, has a diameter varying from four feet six inches to six feet, and stands about five feet six inches in height. The framework is first completed, consisting of upright poles on a circular wicker base with lateral withies locking them in position. It is then heavily plastered from the base upwards with a compound of mud, cowdung and chopped grass, and finally coated with unmixed cowdung as a preservative. It is covered by a movable, conical roof of grass applied to a rough wooden framework, and on its side is a small concave step (*achudi*) by which a man may climb up into it. The roof is often of considerable weight, and is propped open by a forked stick called *ayep*.

Leguminous crops, such as ground-nuts, peas, beans, and semsem, are kept in a smaller store (*tua*, which is also elevated on a platform, and is generally inside the shed, in which the gourds and calabashes are kept. It rarely exceeds three and a half feet in height, and at the base has a diameter of eighteen inches, tapering to a mouth of some eight or nine inches. Its construction is different from that of the *dero*, and just as the house is distinguished in name by varieties of technique, so here the same distinguishing terms are applied: to build a *dero* being *rwato dero*, to make a *tua*, *pamo tua*. The base is first moulded of clay, and to it tiers of grass soaked in, and covered with clay, are applied until the required height

is attained. The clay having been prepared, the grass is laid on the ground in separate strips about three inches wide and two feet long, on to which the wet clay is rubbed until the grass is thoroughly impregnated and assumes the appearance of a thin ribband of clay. On its beginning to dry it is applied to the edge of the base, and each subsequent ribband is then folded over the ridge thus formed, every application slightly increasing in this way not only the height of the *tua*, but the thickness of the part previously completed. The mouth of the *tua* is closed by a movable lid made of grass and clay, and if the food is not likely to be required for a long period it is hermetically sealed with mud and cowdung.

Beans and ground-nuts may also be stored in what is known as an *aling*, a long stake driven into the ground, at the top of which the food is wrapped in grass resembling nothing so much as an obese cocoon; or in an *ot jok* (so called from its similarity to a shrine), which is nothing more nor less than a diminutive grass hut, resembling a dove cote, at the top of a seven-foot pole.

The *goin* is a shed with open sides, in which is a platform for storing gourds, winnowing mats, etc., and for supporting the *tua*; rope, nets and other articles are hung in the roof, which is thatched without flounces, and under the platform may be grinding-stones; but usually these are in a separate *goin*, together with a fireplace. The lower grinding-stone, which is large, is embedded in the ground and neatly plastered round with mud and cowdung. It is oval and stands about eight inches high at the back and four inches in front; the woman, kneeling behind, uses a smaller stone for grinding.

Chicken-houses generally consist of small cotes on a pole (to protect them from wild cats), with another pole slanting against the house to serve as a ladder; but occasionally a recess is worked into the roof of the *ot* which serves a similar purpose. To the north-east chicken-houses fashioned of clay are in vogue, situated either independently in trees or moulded into the junction of the *dogola* with the wall of the *ot*. A square checker-work basket (*kor*) with curved handles crossing from corner to corner is universally employed for sitting hens.

In the open space or yard (*dyekal*), on to which the houses face, the ground is hard and smooth with constant brushing, and here the grain is winnowed and spread out to dry or to ferment as the case may be. The *dyekal*, it should be noted, belongs to the man's wife, just as does the *ot*, and in referring to the *dyekal* of so-and-so the woman's name would be mentioned, not the man's. Sometimes a kind of wooden couch is built near the houses, placed on four timber supports about three feet high; or—more elaborately—a sloping bench of logs is built against a tree with a conical thatched cover on supporting uprights. This is used especially by the old men for lounging on during the day, when they are not otherwise

occupied. The projecting poles of the granary platforms under the shadow of the granaries are also favourite resting-places.

In the *dyekal* is the *o*[1] or fireplace, which is more generally referred to as the *otem*. This term is, however, more strictly applicable to the trees ; it may be dry logs, planted in the *dyekal* both as a windscreen and for shade, and also for religious motives, which will subsequently become apparent, and its wider use is due to the proximity of the fireplace. The trees planted in the *otem* are *odugo*, *oligo*, *olwedo* and *alenga*, and votive offerings are hung in them together with seed for the next season's crops. In the *otem* is also the *dul*, a log bench, called also *kongo*, from the fact that the beer (*kongo*) is largely consumed at the *otem*.

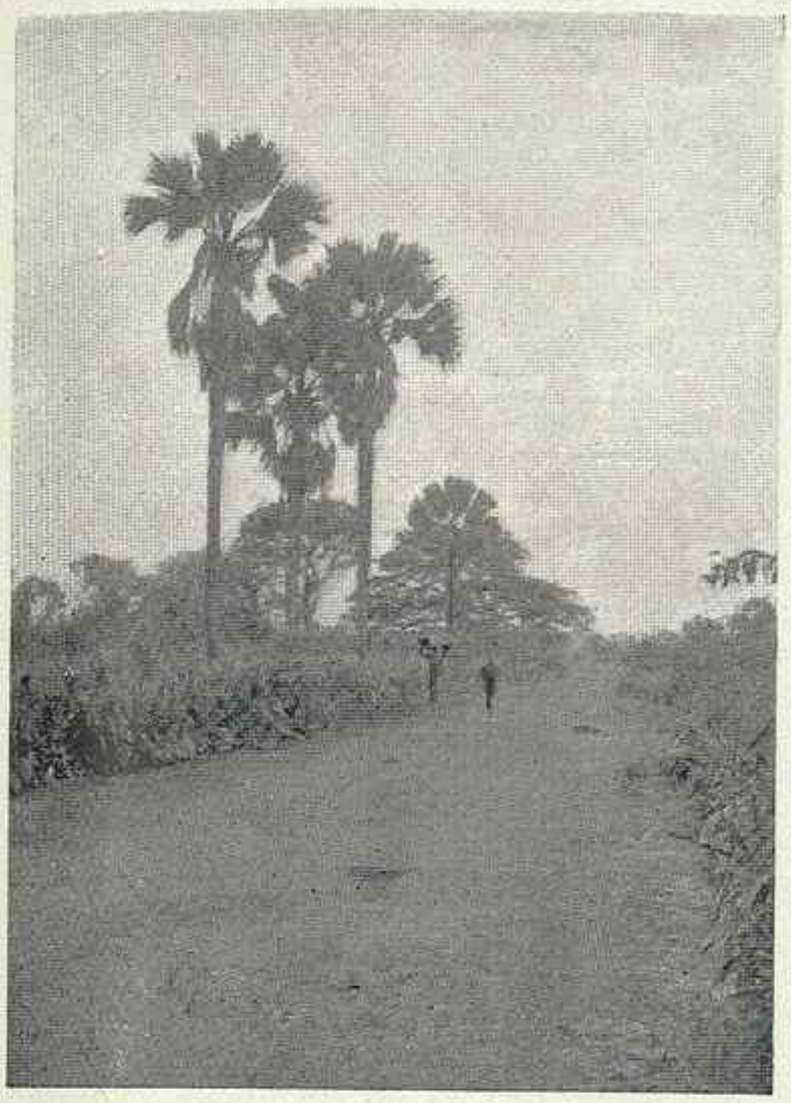
The cattle kraal (*awi* or *kul*) is always very strongly made of stout poles, sunk several feet into the earth and projecting about ten feet above it. It is circular and is sometimes constructed with a double wall of poles, branches and brushwood being woven in between them. The gateway is narrow and is closed by logs let down between the walls of the kraal, and two wooden posts placed in position at each side of the door. There is generally only one kraal in a village, and if the village is small or poorly stocked with cattle a kraal is not generally erected, as it entails a considerable amount of labour, but the cattle are entrusted to the care of friends in other villages. The villagers each cut three or four logs for the owner of the kraal (*won awi*) and may then keep their cattle there free. The kraal owner must himself cut the timber for the gateway. Outsiders wishing to use the kraal must pay a fee to the *won awi* before again removing their cattle, generally a hoe or a spear ; but if a cow has been left in the kraal several years, at least one of her calves is demanded.

Water is obtained from a river or well, and is fetched by the women and children at sunrise and towards sunset. The cattle are watered at a different pool from that which provides the drinking water. Fire is obtained by twirling a fire-stick into the socket prepared in another stick. The sticks are called *lapi mach*, and are known respectively as *dako* and *chwar*, wife and husband.

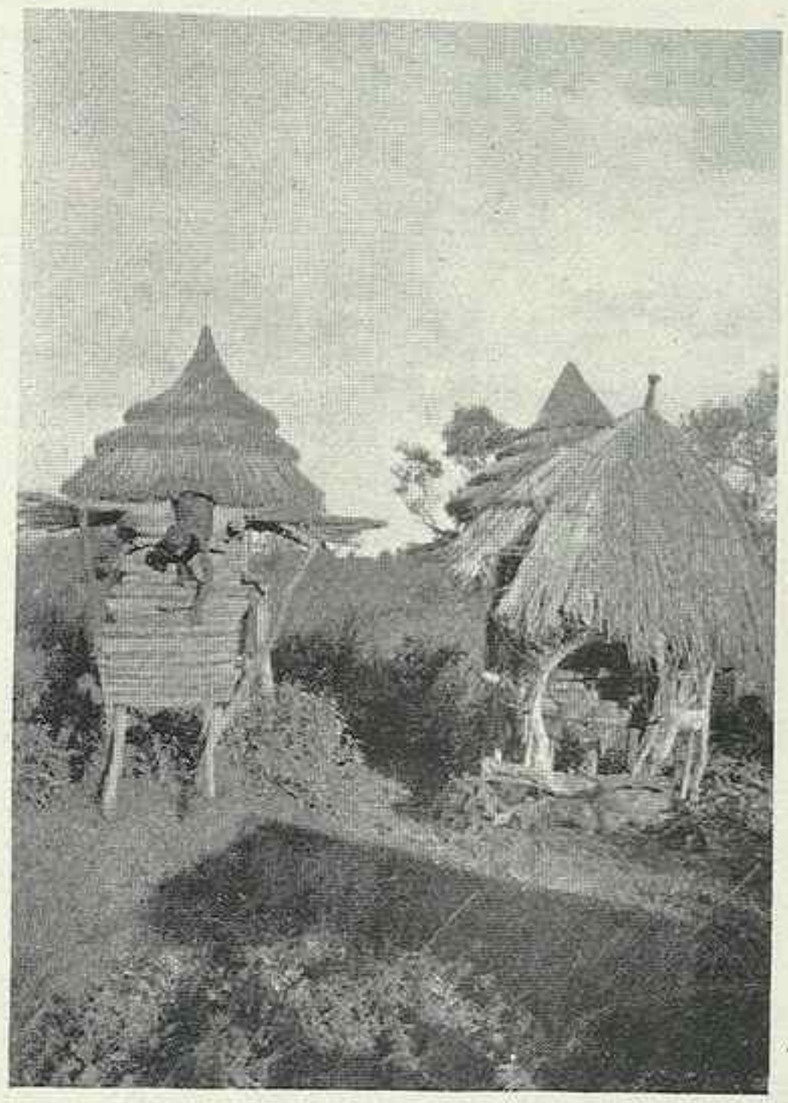
Care is taken to maintain a general state of cleanliness in a village, and a special place behind the village is set aside as a privy. Any neglect of these sanitary regulations is much resented, and has on occasions led to quarrels resulting in bloodshed. It is known as *nge-gang*, or "behind-the-village," the only instance in which *gang* is used to mean a village, though among the Acholi it is the regular word.

§ 2. **Weapons and Implements.**—It would appear that the general use of the spear is quite a comparatively recent development,

[1] Derived from *oyo*, to warm oneself.

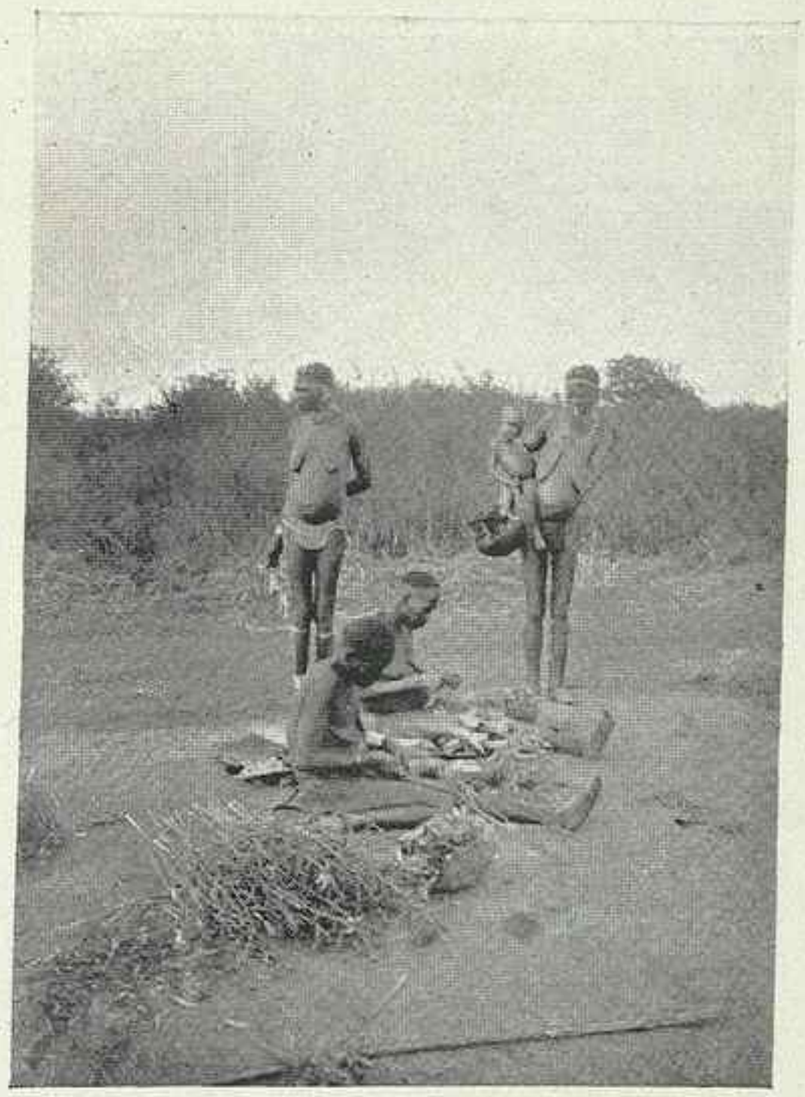


A NATIVE ROAD.



BACHELOR HUTS, SHOWING EGRESS.

A LANGO DANDY.



PICKING "MALAKWANG."

To face p. 80.

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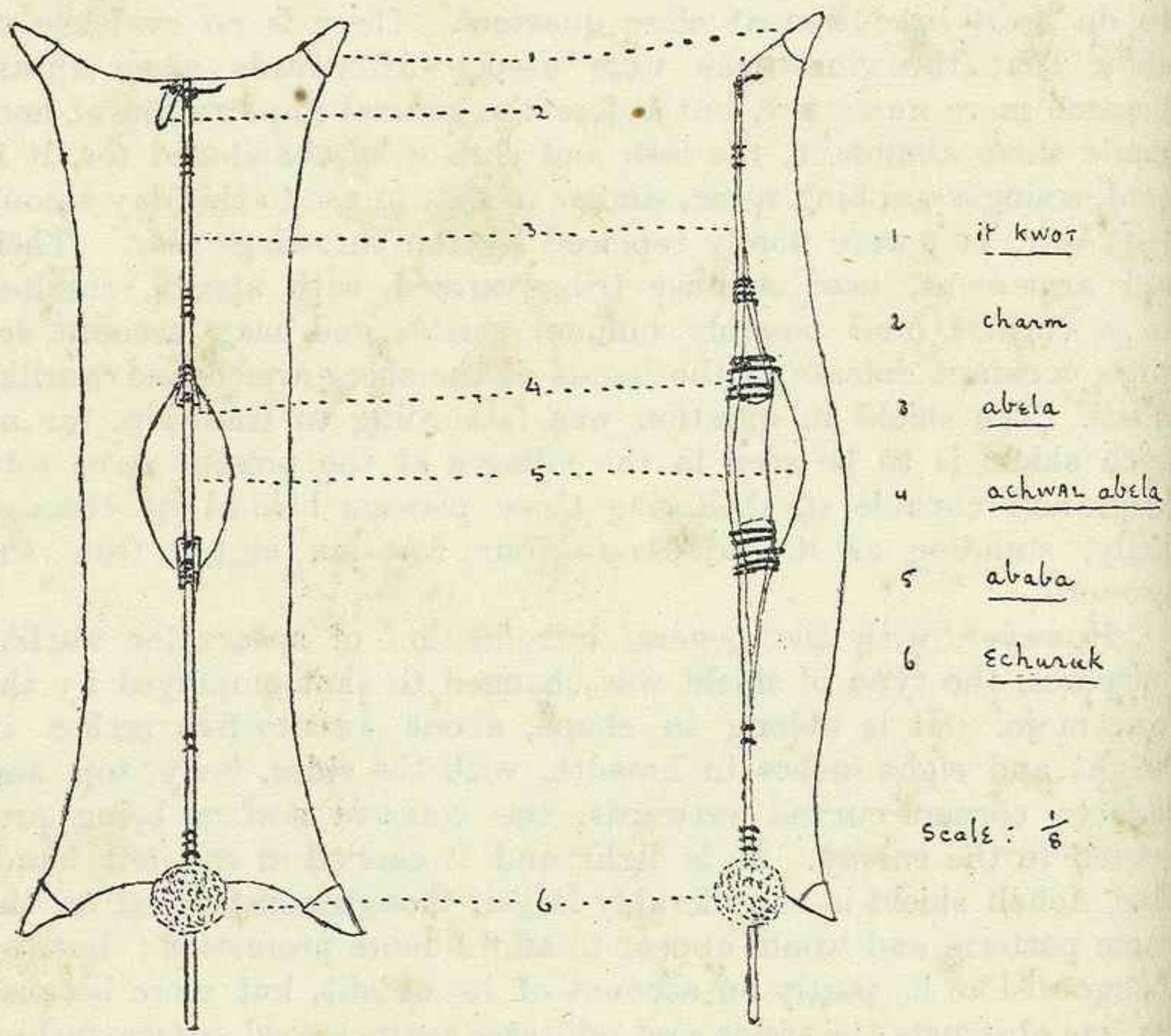
owing to the fact that the Lango are not skilled in the art of smelting the local iron ore. It has already been noted that about one hundred and twenty years ago the Jopaluo did a considerable trade in metal hoes, which the Lango worked into spear-heads, and since then imported hoes have been their almost exclusive source of supply of the metal required for blades. Previously to that date spears were very rare, and were chiefly obtained by capture on the field of battle, were fitted with a long shaft and retained for purposes of hunting. At that time the weapons generally employed were long lashes of buffalo hide and heavy clubs with which they used to do great execution at close quarters. There is no evidence to show that throwing-sticks were used. Afterwards when spears became more numerous, but before the general importation of hoes made them abundant, the lash and club were abandoned for, it is said, a single stabbing spear, similar to that in use to this day among the Alur, and were finally replaced by the throwing-spear. Their old armament, used against tribes armed with spears, resulted in a curious (and possibly unique) shield, and may account for their constant defeats at the hands of the spear-armed and warlike Madi. The shield in question was (according to tradition, for no such shield is to be seen in the villages at the present day) very large and capable of sheltering three persons behind its concave belly, standing as it did about four feet six inches from the ground.

However, with the general introduction of spears for warlike purposes, the type of shield was changed to that employed by the Karamojo. It is oblong in shape, about twenty-five inches in height and eight inches in breadth, with the sides, belly, top and bottom corners curved outwards, the concave surface being presented to the enemy. It is light and is carried in the left hand. The Acholi shield is considerably larger, though constructed on the same pattern, and would appear to afford more protection; but the Lango dislike it, partly on account of its weight, but more because its size obstructs the vision and militates against good spearmanship.

Its structure is more complex than would at first sight appear to be the case. It may be made of the following skins (in their order of preference, which is determined by their respective resisting powers): buffalo, rhinoceros, elephant, giraffe, crocodile. The wet skin is cut to the requisite shape and size, and, while still wet, is pinched up in the centre to form a midrib (*oguru*), which on drying attains great hardness and solidity. At the back of the shield runs a stick (*abela*) directly behind the midrib, made from the tree *china*, and fastened to the shield by leathern thongs. The *abela*, which is often strengthened with leather binding, stops short at the top of the shield, but is prolonged at the bottom for some four inches. The slight concavity of the shield, which is nicely graduated, allows

the hand to grasp the *abela* at the centre or point of balance of the shield, and the hand is further protected by a pad of leather attached at this point to the shield itself to form a handguard (*ababa*). A wedge (*achwal abela*) at each end of the handguard assists the concavity. The corners of the shield are slightly elongated, and to these points (*it kwot*), which are tipped with a covering of finer leather, goats' or cows' tails (*awula dyel, awula dyang*) are attached preliminary to battle. At the same time, to the prolongation of the *abela* is affixed a feather ball (*echuruk*) composed of chicken's feathers,

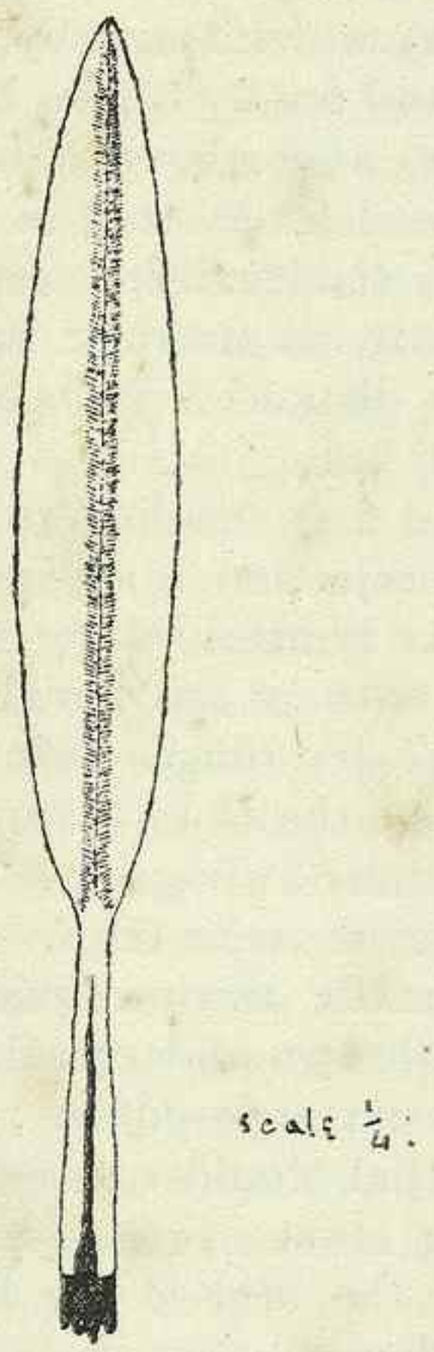


LANGO SHIELD.

with which some of the owner's hair has been mingled. To complete the preparations for battle, charms in the shape of small pieces of wood are tied to the top of the *abela* to bring luck. Spear-holes are patched and metal rivets are often applied to give additional strength to the patches. Normally a man makes his own shield, but should he from laziness or for any other cause commission a friend to do it for him he would have to pay as fee one pot of beer.

The modern spear is a throwing spear with a small blade, normally about seven inches long; but the size of the blade, which when not in use may be covered with a leather sheath, varies

considerably, and some are so worn down that they do not exceed two inches and a half.[1] Though the Lango spear is of poor quality, the metal being very soft and easily bent, it possesses an elaborate nomenclature. The point is known as *lep* or tongue, and from it runs a midrib (*oguru*) down the middle of the blade (*pot*) till it reaches the neck of the socket (*etwal tong*—the strictly technical term, but referred to also by the words *ngut*, neck, or *kor*, chest). At this point the blade narrows down to a slender neck, which again



LANGO SPEAR.

Blade, 10¼ ins.; socket and neck, 4 ins.
Shaft from socket to butt, 3 ft. 7 in.
Butt, 1 ft. 1½ in. Total length, 5 ft. 10¾ ins.

LANGO KNIFE.

Blade, 9 ins.; handle, 4·2 ins.
Handle projection, 1·3 ins

widening slightly is prolonged into the socket (*opoko*), split on one side to allow of the insertion of the shaft. The socket may be long, in which case the spear is called *tong acho*, male spear; or it may be short, and the spear is then called *tong adako*, female spear. The word *tong* unqualified is applied to a spear whose socket is split in a continuous line with the midrib, but is qualified by the word *akane* if the socket is split at the side. An unusually long-

[1] The word for spear is *tong*, while *otum* means a worn-down spear. For this distinction compare kwer = hoe, and *nget* = worn-down hoe; *pyen* = hide, and *adwel* = worn-out hide.

bladed spear (in fact any spear with a blade longer than ten inches) is called *tong me oger* or *tong ager*, but no spear with a blade longer than fourteen and a half inches has been observed. The shaft (*tir*, or less technically *bol*) is made either of the *epobo* or *okego* trees, and varies in length according to the balance required by the size of the blade. Having been pointed to the requisite shape, it is secured firmly to the spear-head (and also to the butt) by a gum (*odok*) which oozes from the pipe-stem euphorbia (*oligo*) when a piece is broken off and held in the fire. To the bottom of the shaft is affixed the butt (*achipet* or *euna*), which starts by being round at the socket, becomes quadrilateral, and finally tapers into a point. It is long, thin and somewhat pliable, and above it for ornamentation a ring of brass wire is sometimes fitted to the shaft. For hunting purposes (and in some areas habitually) spears are often fitted with a longer shaft and no butt, as freed of the weight of the butt they will carry a greater distance. No poison is ever applied to spears.

The spear is held by the thumb and first two fingers at the point of balance, and the accuracy of its projection is entirely a matter of the wrist, though the motive power is attained by the swing of the body and the arm. Where no butt is used, a different grip is employed for long-range work, the first finger being placed on the end of the shaft, which is held by the thumb and the middle and third fingers. In this grip the arm is swung back to its fullest extension, whereas in the former it is never more than three-quarters extended. In battle a spear is normally thrown over the shield (*chilo* or *bayo tong*), but may also be thrown underneath (*doro tong*), as when feinting (*yoko*) or aiming at an exposed leg; it is rarely thrown to the side of the shield, as that would expose the arm to an unnecessary extent. A crouching stance is adopted, with the heel of the right foot in a line with the heel of the left, which is advanced to a distance convenient for an ever-changing balance, much as a boxer stands; the shield is held well forward by the left hand, which also grasps the spare spears, blade downwards. An unimaginable speed is attained in the manipulation of the shield and a dexterity in side-stepping and swerving which tells of long and continuous practice. A spear will even be caught in mid-flight and returned at the thrower with only the delay necessary to turn it round. When armed for battle the Lango carry from five to ten spears each, and are remarkably efficient marksmen up to a range of sixty yards. For battle the Lango carries one spear in his right hand and the rest gathered in his left behind the shield. These are carried point downwards in order that they may be in position for the right hand to grasp without reversing, which would cause a perhaps fatal delay. When hunting, however, they carry the spears point upwards, in order that, if charged by a lion or

leopard, they may at once ground the butts and extemporize a *chevaux de frise* against the animal. A spear is known to its owner and his fellow-villagers by a distinguishing mark, either natural or artificial, and this knowledge frequently serves to settle a dispute as to the ownership of game killed. In the old days spears, as well as walking-sticks, used to be named, but this practice is no longer universal, though one hears such names still as *Mamanyangkedi* (I-am-not-slow-with-you) or *Okokowok* (He-cries-loudly). A spear may be named also from some circumstance connected with its acquisition or after the name of its donor or maker.

The knife (*pala*) is worn both in hunting and war, but is never used for finishing off a wounded man or animal. In the heat of a sudden quarrel it may be used as a weapon of offence, especially by women, but would not otherwise be so employed. In war it is reserved for cutting off the head-dress (*ryeko tok*) of an enemy killed by one's spear; in hunting it is only used for cutting up game. The blade is about nine inches long and fashioned like a spear, but of slightly greater width; instead of a socket the blade is furnished with a tang, which is fixed into a wooden handle. It is carried in a leathern sheath, which may be slung over the shoulder, or on a girdle at the small of the back, or may be fastened to the left upper arm.

The axe (*le*) used for felling timber and cutting up firewood has a blade at the most only two inches in breadth, and tapers back to a point which is driven through a wooden handle. It is also used as an adze for shaping timber. Razors are ground down from old spear-heads to a very sharp edge.

The modern hoe (*kwer*) is nearly always imported and is attached to a wooden handle, about five to seven feet long, by a metal tang, projecting about six inches, to which the handle is tightly bound. The handle and the hoe are in the same straight line,[1] and to distinguish it from other hoes, as for instance the crooked hoe used by the Acholi and the Akum (*Kwer me agot*), it is specifically designated as *Kwer me arok*. In the old days before metal was plentiful a wooden hoe (*okutu*) was used, cut to a very fine edge and hardened by fire. A wooden rake (*ogode*) is used for clearing away grass and weeds. It has two prongs, which are shaped when the pole, bifurcating at the end, is still green.

Bows and arrows are not used for war or hunting, but a small bow and short arrow, with a plug near the arrow-head to prevent its penetrating too far, are used occasionally for bleeding cattle in the jugular vein as a cure for certain ailments. Children sometimes play with simple bows and arrows (the latter often tipped

[1] The Latuka apparently use a similar type of hoe—a crescent-shaped piece of iron fitted to a strong bamboo handle often ten feet long (Emin, op. cit., p. 233). If, as seems probable, sorghum and millet were introduced into the Nile regions early in the sixteenth century, the Hamites also introduced the hoe, and the Lango may have borrowed this type from them.

with porcupine quills), but in spite of this apparent survival, it seems certain that these weapons never formed part of the equipment of a Lango warrior.

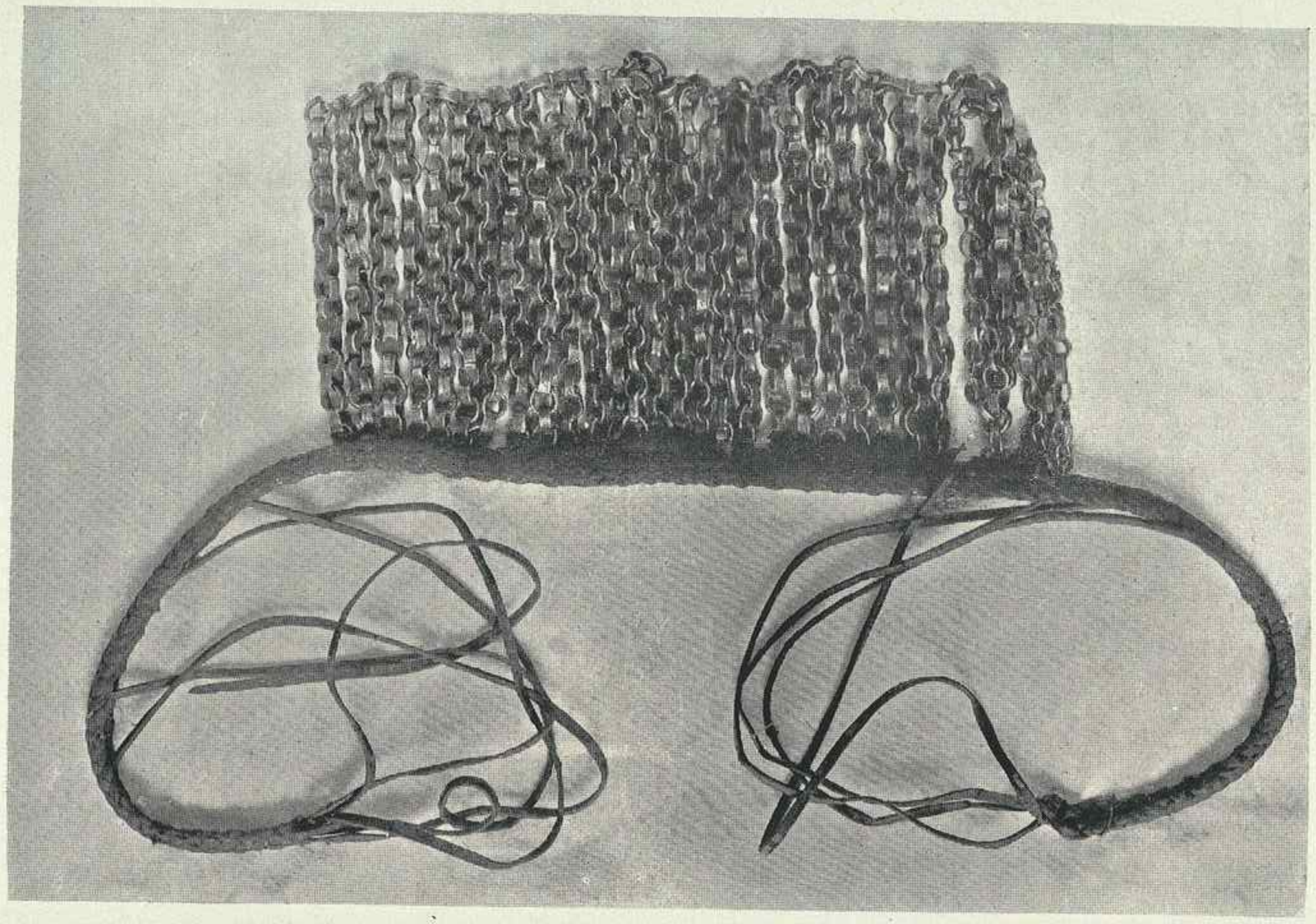
The fishing spear or harpoon (*echalut*) is very similar to a spear shaft and butt, but the shaft is longer and is made of a heavier wood, while the harpoon itself is a more solid implement than a spear-butt, consisting of a round socket of thick metal tapering into a solid point.

Stools (*kom*) are cut from one piece of wood, and consist of a seat hollowed out and supported by three legs about eighteen inches high. In time oil and perspiration tone them to a pleasing shade of dark brown. Men less luxuriously inclined use a branch which has prongs conveniently situated for elevating it from the ground. Women never sit on stools, but use the *dul*, to which reference has already been made.

The following household implements are in general use, and it should be noted that the various pots and calabashes are specialized and are not interchangeable: *agulu pi*, earthenware water-pot; *agulu dek*, pot for cooking meat or vegetables; *agulu achok*, pot for cooking potatoes; *tago kwon*, small pot for cooking porridge; *tago oyo*, small pot for cooking rats; *tabo kongo*, small beer pot; *abino*, large beer pot; *tabo nino*, small pot for cooking semsem; *abak kongo*, large pot for making beer; *chabichabi*, a beer pot slightly smaller than the *abak*; *tuto*, a small pot with a hole in the bottom for straining salt.

Gourds and calabashes are fashioned to the following uses: *agwata awal dek*, for meat or vegetables; *agwata etoke*, for a kind of buckwheat; *awal pi*, large bowl for water; *awal chak*, large bowl for milk; *awal kwon*, large bowl for serving porridge; *agwata pi*, small bowl for water; *apoko pi*, or *okoli pi*, drinking-cup; *apoko chak*, milk churn. Porridge and vegetables are stirred with a ladle (*agwech*) made from the tree *alutokwon*, and a wooden platter called *ewer* is often used for serving the latter instead of the *awal dek*. The *ebur* is a milk-pail made of a hollowed out log standing about eighteen inches high, and is similar in appearance and manufacture to the *pany* or mortar for crushing semsem. Brooms are made from a fine grass called *ajan*.

§ 3. **Manufactures.**—Certain manufactures are in the hands of men who inherit the privilege, but it is not clear how this specialization arose and what the social significance is. The reason commonly given is that these men are skilled in the art, and accordingly the work is left to them. They are not distinguished by either social privileges or disabilities, and in the majority of cases the practice of their craft descends in the family from father to son. These manufactures are of three classes: metal-work, except the *ariko*;



GIRL'S METAL APRON.

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the *ariko* worn by girls; drums; and each of these different articles is made by different guilds of craftsmen. The term guild is used without any presumption of a regular society, bound by rules and limited by ceremonies of initiation, as such is not the case, but because the members of one craft do not make manufactures belonging to another, and because the spear-makers (for instance) generally know who are the spear-makers in other parts of the country, and often apply to them for assistance, and the same is the case with drum-makers. In the case of spears, knives and the *ariko* (which, it should be noted, though made of metal, is on account of its intricacy a specialized branch of metal-work), should a Lango require one of these articles, he has to supply the metal in the form of iron hoes, for the Lango smith is quite ignorant of the art of smelting the iron ore which is abundant in parts of the country. These are then converted into the required article, and the fee (which is never excessive) varies according to the amount of labour expended in its manufacture, the fee for the *ariko* being the highest —from one to three goats according to its size—owing to the intricacy of the work. The finished article is retained by the manufacturer till his fee is paid, such payment being termed a ransom for his labour.

The smith is known as *atet*, and is differentiated as *atet tong* or *atet ariko* according to the branch of metal-work in which he deals. The latter specializes entirely in the *ariko*, but the former, while his chief employment is the manufacture of spears and knives, usually also makes finger-rings and earrings of iron and brass and the heavy brass bracelet known as *ogul*. Just as the iron is obtained from imported hoes, so imported brass wire supplies the metal for these rings and bracelets. Copper ornaments are occasionally seen, but they are obtained from the highly skilled Abwor and Akwa workers. The spearsmith also rivets broken chairs and shields.

Smiths are not numerous, but their number is gradually increasing. as every smith has an apprentice or assistant who works the bellows and arranges the implements preparatory to work. This assistant is generally a relation, and the price of his labour—apart from an occasional pot of beer—is his initiation into the mysteries of the trade.

The *ot tet* or smithy is situated outside the village, and consists of one circular hut without walls, whose roof reaches to within a foot of the ground, with the object of eliminating violent winds. In it are the bellows and furnace and all the paraphernalia of the trade, such as earthernware moulds, tongs, hammer, stocks of charcoal, and the hide apron which the smith wears to ward sparks from his body. The *ot tet* is inviolate, and the smith runs no risk of theft.

In the case of drums, the manufacturer finds all the materials,

viz. the timber and the skins for the surface, and the fee for a set of seven drums is one large bull. Sometimes a small heifer is paid. The drums are made from the trees *etek*, *apok*, *abata* or *yago*, and consist of one long, narrow drum (*atimu*) and six other drums of a squat, fat shape, the largest of which is called *min bul* (mother drum), the second *adangadang*, and the rest *atin bul* (child drum). The drums comprise the notes of a heptatonic scale, which descends from the *atimu*—the highest note—to the *min bul*—the lowest—through the various gradations of the smaller drums. Drum skins are provided by bull calves, waterbuck, elephant, and (in the case of the *min bul*) crocodile, but the *atimu* is covered with the skin of a monitor lizard. The skins are fastened by cords braced down the sides of the drum, except in the case of the *atimu*, whose skin is attached to the rim of the drumhead by little wooden pegs cut from the tree *adwong*. The drums are tuned up carefully before use (the *min bul* to G♭) by heating in front of a fire.

The *tom* or harp is now obsolete, and only a few specimens are known to exist, though it used to be the universal instrument. Every man made his own, even as is done with flutes, as there were no professional manufacturers. It consists of a hollowed wooden body covered with elephant hide, in which there is a small circular orifice; the body is boat-shaped, and from one end of it rises a curved arm fitted with pegs, to which the six strings are fastened from the other end. The strings are made from the leg tendons of animals, or occasionally, it is said, of human beings. No bow nor plectrum is used.

Pottery is not confined to a manufacturing class, but pots are made by the males of the family as required, the women fetching the clay (*dagi*) from the riverbeds. As in many places the requisite variety of clay is not obtainable, pots are largely imported along the lake shores by Banyoro, who hawk them for food, especially as these pots are of far superior quality to the local manufacture. The clay is used unmixed, and the smaller pots are moulded by hand from the lump. In the case of the larger pots the base is moulded and the pot is gradually built up by successive strips of clay. When it is finished the pot is left for three or four days until quite dry, and then thickly wrapped in grass, which is fired from the base upwards. While the pot is still damp a small piece of stick (*aked* or *agor*) about one and a half inches long and spirally fretted is rolled over it to impress such patterns as the maker may choose, and the inside of the pot is gently smoothed with a calabash scraper called *akwaya*. Pots which are but slightly cracked are repaired for use by being smeared on the inside with a gelatinous substance extracted from a wild root called *akure*. Clay pipes are very roughly made, as they are only used by old men. In addition to the pots already detailed above there is, however, one pot *dogaryo*

("two-mouth") which is used for various ceremonial purposes, to which reference will subsequently be made. It has, as its name implies (though it is also called *agulu jok*, or pot of god), two mouths, and is the only pot whose manufacture is reserved to certain individuals, not apparently from any esoteric reason, but simply because its manufacture is somewhat difficult and requires especial ability.

There are three varieties of mats in use, but a six-foot, twilled-work mat of fibre, imitated from the neighbouring Bantu, is gradually ousting the old-fashioned mat made of the beaten out bark of the phœnix palm and the *kolo* or papyrus mat made by threading together a sufficiency of papyrus stalks. The *oderu*, or winnowing mat, about two feet square, is made, like the house door, of wicker-work. Wicker-work and twined-work baskets of various sizes are used for grain and vegetable products, and are of neat and strong construction; but the *kor* for hens is made of broad bands of checker-worked fibre. Both men and women engage in basketry and matting.

There is a multifarious variety of strings and threads, ropes and cords, manufactured each for its special use, ranging from the simple *akedi*, which consists of two-ply plaits of roughly twisted grass, and is used for binding firewood or any emergency load, to the three-ply braided rope *akongomer*, which is used for game snares and cattle halters. Thread is made from raw cotton by moistening and rubbing it on the thigh, and being used only by women is made solely by them. Women also make the *akedi* for the firewood, but all other ropes, strings and cords are manufactured by men from the fibres of various plants, both wild and cultivated for this purpose.

Oil is crushed from semsem and from various wild trees, notably the croton, from the fruit of which it is extracted by boiling. The semsem oil is used mixed with food, and also together with ashes or red chalk to dress the heads of the women. Other vegetable oils are only used for anointing the body or the hair.

At Ekwera and Aputi there are extensive salt deposits along the lake shore, and holes dug above water-level fill up with the brine, which is then removed in pots and added to the food. No attempt is made to crystallize the salt by evaporation. Elsewhere salt is made in two ways. The most usual method is to collect goats' dung into a heap and covering it with grass to burn it. The ashes are then carefully collected and placed in a *tuto* or earthenware pot with a small hole in the bottom. Water is poured on, and slowly percolating through is collected in another pot below impregnated with salt. Certain wild plants, both marsh and upland, such as *onyiri* and *ochege*, and a specially cultivated plant *otwilo*, are treated by a similar process, but the salt thus obtained is considered to be

of an inferior and less pungent quality. Saltish earth, such as is found in the cattle salt licks, though never refined and used as a permanent source of supply, is occasionally eaten in small quantities when the stock of salt is exhausted. Every year, however, a larger quantity of imported salt is consumed, so much so that it has become one of the largest items of local trade, and there can be no doubt that before many years these primitive methods of preparing a very inferior article will have disappeared. The manufacture of salt and the extraction of oil is carried out exclusively by women.

§ 4. **Livestock.**—That, in spite of the large amount of agriculture undertaken, the Lango are at heart a pastoral people is shown by their innate love for their cattle; indeed, affection and love are hardly terms too strong to use in this connection. Names, to which they often answer, are given to cattle, names generally frivolous, but sometimes such as are given to men. They are minutely distinguished in colour, stature, shape of the horns and in lesser points, characteristics described each by a different name which indicates the nature and physical peculiarities of the animal. The following is a list of distinguishing appellations applied to cattle:—

Anuk—having dark back and shoulders.
Amugemuge—with black patches on back and shoulders.
Anyang—cream-coloured.
Akwoyo—sand-coloured, russet.
Ateba—having the ears notched.
Alem—hornless.
Achuna [1]—having crossed horns.
Angiru—dark-shouldered.
Angiranyang—black with cream-coloured back.
Angoli—having a white brow with a dark or red body.
Angech—dappled.
Akore—having a coloured brow.
Angechakore—dappled, but with a plain-coloured brow.
Akorelinga—red and white on body, but with a plain-coloured brow.
Apel—having black stripes.
Apeta—with spreading horns.
Arema—blood-coloured.
Amojanik—exceptionally large.
Angunya—black and white.
Aluk—one horn bent forward, the other back; both horns drooping over.
Akomol—dappled.
Alibilibi—grey.
Amoramor—fawn-coloured.

[1] Horns of cattle are sometimes twisted into certain shapes when they are still young, of which *achuna* is the most noticeable. The shape *aluk*, however, would appear to be natural, though the Dinka artificially train the horns of some of their cattle in this way, and make them leaders of the herd, calling them significantly *majok*; moreover, negroes bringing cattle with horns thus trained are shown on many old Egyptian frescoes.

Elinga—russet and cream; reddish and white.
Echima—pied black and white.
Machol—black; dark-coloured.
Makwar—red; reddish; bright-coloured.
Makwakwar—light red; dun.
Macholapel—black with a few white spots.
Matar—white.
Opilo—striped; black with white stripes; white with red stripes.

Not infrequently where cattle have died or have been raided the women raise the cry of mourning, as if for a dead man. Nor is this due only to the fact that cattle are the most valuable form of currency, and the means of prospective wives and progeny, but it must largely be ascribed to genuine affection for the animals such as is accorded by the Dinka, the Masai, and numerous other tribes. Cattle, and indeed goats and sheep, can be recognized by their owners long after they have been parted from them, even when they are hidden in a large herd; even more, the owner will know all the issue of a cow which has passed out of his hands and their subsequent history, and this, too, although distinguishing brands are never employed.

Cattle are numerous everywhere except in Maruzi county, south of the Aroicha and eastward, approximately to a line Apach to Abyeche. In this one area they cannot be kept owing to the prevalence of *Glossina morsitans*, from the effects of which, however, buffalo appear to be immune. The type of Lango cattle is the short-horned, humped zebu. There seem, however, to be two distinct strains, the one being much larger in build and frequently having artificially crossed horns; but this strain seems to be dying out, although a few are still to be found in the north-east. Past raids into and beyond Bunyoro resulted in a few of the large Ankoli cattle being taken back as spoils of war, and to them is to be traced a third and very characteristic strain which is now but rarely observable.

A great pestilence, which appears to have been a peculiarly virulent epidemic of rinderpest, ravaged the country in 1890 and 1891.[1] It carried off a large number of cattle and all the buffalo except a couple of small herds, and for very many years there was such a dearth of stock that the marriage dowry dropped to a matter of a few goats and hoes; indeed, it is only within recent years[2] that careful breeding and systematic levies on neighbouring tribes, especially the Akum and the Iteso, have replenished the depleted herds, and even now the numbers are stated to be far below the

[1] This would be the same plague as visited the Ankoli in 1891. There appears, however, to have been a previous visitation in the Lango country about 1883.

[2] Thus at Awelo in 1911 there were only eleven head of cattle all told, while now there are probably four hundred.

former standard.[1] Since that memorable year sporadic outbreaks of rinderpest, introduced generally from the north-east (the worst of which occurred in 1917), have carried off a certain number of cattle, but have had little appreciable effect on the sum total.

Of all cattle diseases rinderpest has been, and is, the most disastrous to the Lango. Two types appear to be differentiated, *geng* rinderpest proper, and *edeke*, a milder form of cattle plague. Anthrax (*etulemany*) is extremely rare, only one case having been observed. East Coast fever (*ediding*) is, however, endemic over the greater part of east and north-east Lango, but has a low mortality. Mild epidemics occur also in other areas, as at Aloro in 1916 and Agaya in 1917. Remedies for cattle sickness consist for the most part of bleeding, but a drug concocted from a wild lupin called *aweli* is also administered internally both to cattle and goats when they are out of condition. Bleeding is generally performed by cutting notches in the ears of the beast (whence comes the distinctive name *dyang ateba*, derived from *tebo*, to notch), but they are also bled from the jugular vein, which is pierced by an arrow plugged near the tip to prevent excessive penetration.

In spite of the undue proportion of bulls to be found in many herds, there is little deterioration to be observed among the cattle, although this may partially account for the dying out of the large type above mentioned. This is due to two causes. In the first place the Lango, unlike the Masai, do not abstain from killing bulls, thereby undoubtedly lessening the risk of inbreeding; and in the second, though a superficial acquaintance with the people might cause one to wonder how it is that in spite of the evident affection for their cattle they pay so little regard to their breeding—for as many as one-third of a herd may consist of bulls—actually the facts show that the Lango have given the subject no little consideration. The herds in fact are not what they seem: very often quite a minor part belongs to the village. It has already been pointed out that where a village has only a few cattle, these are placed out among friends to save the labour of erecting a kraal. The practice, however, goes much further than this, for even in villages where a kraal has been built and where cattle are kept the inhabitants put out their cows among their friends to be served by their bulls, and there they stay until they have calved, perhaps often for several years, the reward varying in proportion to the length of the period. Where more calves than one are born, it is usual to give the second to the friend in whose charge they have been. Doubtless the practice was in origin a form of insurance, by which in the case of a raid at least a portion of the livestock would be saved; but

[1] The official Blue Book for the year ending March 1918 estimates cattle in Lango at 20,000; sheep at 64,000; goats at 141,000. Accurate figures are not obtainable, and it is probable that the number of cattle is underestimated.

the practice still continues at a time when all danger from raids has ceased, not apparently as a mere matter of habit, but because the experience thus gained has demonstrated not only the benefits accruing to herds from a change of pasturage, but also the advantage of avoiding inbreeding. Consequently the cows are not infrequently away from their owners in new surroundings and with strange bulls, while the village kraal is similarly stocked with cattle from other villages. In the past steers were scarce, but of recent years the practice of gelding bulls has considerably increased with manifest advantage to the breed; and here it may be stated that in the case of bulls and dogs castration is the method generally adopted, but with sheep and goats the testicles are merely crushed.

The cattle kraal is carefully chosen on suitable ground, where the water will drain away in the rains and at the same time will not drain into the village. It usually encloses a small hillock and a tree, to afford shade and an object against which the cattle may rub themselves. The site is changed when the grass is worn away to such an extent that only black mud may be seen. Young calves are not kept in the kraal, but in the living houses. The village herd is let out to pasture in the morning about eight o'clock in the charge of the small boys of the village, who are admirable herdsmen and are entirely understood by the cattle, though sometimes older men will take turns in acting as cowherds, especially if the herd is a large one and the locality is infested with lions. They return to be milked at noon and spend the afternoon under the shade trees, browsing idly near the village or lying down and chewing the contemplative cud. They are all brought back and driven into the kraal between 5.30 and 6 o'clock at night. Cattle are never used for draught purposes.

The owner of a cow milks her himself, or, if he is absent, his children do it for him. Should he have no children, the herdsman of the day officiates, but in no case may a woman perform this duty. Milk is not often drunk fresh, but after being milked into the *ebur* or wooden milk-pail it is poured into the *apoko chak*, in which it is churned, and thence into an *agwata* or calabash bowl, in which it is left to curdle, aided by the addition of the root of an orchis called *ebwuroko*, or by the admixture of some of the cow's urine, which is also used in cleaning out the various vessels. The buttermilk is drunk and the butter is used both in food and as an unguent, but most of it is taken to the owner's brother-in-law, from whom the cattle originally came as marriage dowry for a girl of the family.

There is a definite currency converting livestock to grain and vice versa, but the ratio changes from time to time according to the fluctuations in the market value of the stock and the quality of the harvest. It has little permanent value, therefore, but an examination of the standard current in 1916 is of interest as showing

a lack of logical coherence between purely stock transactions and transactions of mixed stock and grain[1] :—

1 large bull	=	1 small heifer.
2 bulls	=	1 cow.
6 loads grain (approximately 350 lb.)	=	1 he-goat.
11 loads grain (approximately 650 lb.)	=	1 young she-goat.
15 loads grain (approximately 900 lb.)	=	1 she-goat.
25 loads grain (approximately 1,500 lb.)	=	1 bull.
1 granary full (approximately 1½ tons)	=	1 heifer.
15 goats	=	1 bull.

It should be noted that the purchase of a cow or bull is not complete, whatever the price, until the purchaser has paid a spear for its tail (*tong me ibe*), which is calculated separately. Even though the full price has been paid, the animal may not be removed until the spear has been handed over. A man selling a cow or a bull, or paying over an animal in settlement of a loan, if his intentions are honest, scrapes up mud from the hoof-tracks of the cattle in the kraal and throws it over the cow (*choyo lobo kume*, as the practice is called); he then turns the other way and throws some on the cattle that are left, in order to signify that he desires the same fate to follow the cow as remains with his own cattle. On the other hand, if he is maliciously disposed, he pulls out a hair of the tail (*puto ib dyang*) and the animal will die. This belief does not apply to sheep and goats.

Goats and sheep are both kept, but the former are preferred both for their better breeding powers and because custom forbids women to eat sheep. Neither sheep nor goats are milked, but the milk is reserved entirely for the lambs and kids. They are herded by the young boys of the village in one flock, but at night are returned to the houses of their individual owners, to be tied in the *anok* or pen. They are not driven to pasture at any distance from the village, but generally to a clearing in the vicinity known as *bar*, where the grass is kept short by daily grazing; and if it comes on to rain they are at once driven back to the huts, as exposure to rain causes great mortality.

Pneumonia, indeed, contracted from such exposure is always a danger to sheep and goats owing to the sudden changes of temperature which accompany storms; but virulent epidemics have not infrequently decimated the flocks—epidemics of goat plague (*agogot*), goat-pox (*akukuch*) or goat-scab (*gwenyu*). Against these epidemics the Lango have no specifics, and indeed they are baffled by all complaints, however mild, from which livestock are apt to suffer.

[1] The approximate monetary value of livestock in 1916 was: cows, £4; heifers, £2 to £3 6s.; bulls, £1 to £2; sheep and goats, 4s. Grain could then be purchased at 1s. 4d. the 100 lb.

As with cattle, so with their goats: they are designated by different names according to their colour or physical development:—

Amuk—same as cattle.
Akapel—red with white shoulders.
Ateba—same as cattle.
Alibor—grey.
Alibilibi—same as cattle.
Amoramor—same as cattle.
Alem—same as cattle.
Akomol—cream-coloured with white patches.
Elinga—same as cattle.
Machol—same as cattle.
Matar—same as cattle.
Makwar—same as cattle.
Makwakwar—same as cattle.
Malot—with long hair.

The short-haired goat is the type usually seen, but a long-haired species is also kept and is more common to the east. The sheep are also short-haired, and the tails of the ewes are not infrequently docked. Goats and sheep are not looked upon with any peculiar affection, and as the majority of the names are the same as those applied to cattle, it is probable that this habit of giving distinguishing names to denote different physical characteristics is borrowed from their practice as regards cattle. When goats bear twins, the leaves and stalks of a convolvulus called *bomo* are twisted into a chaplet and tied round the necks of the mother and kids.

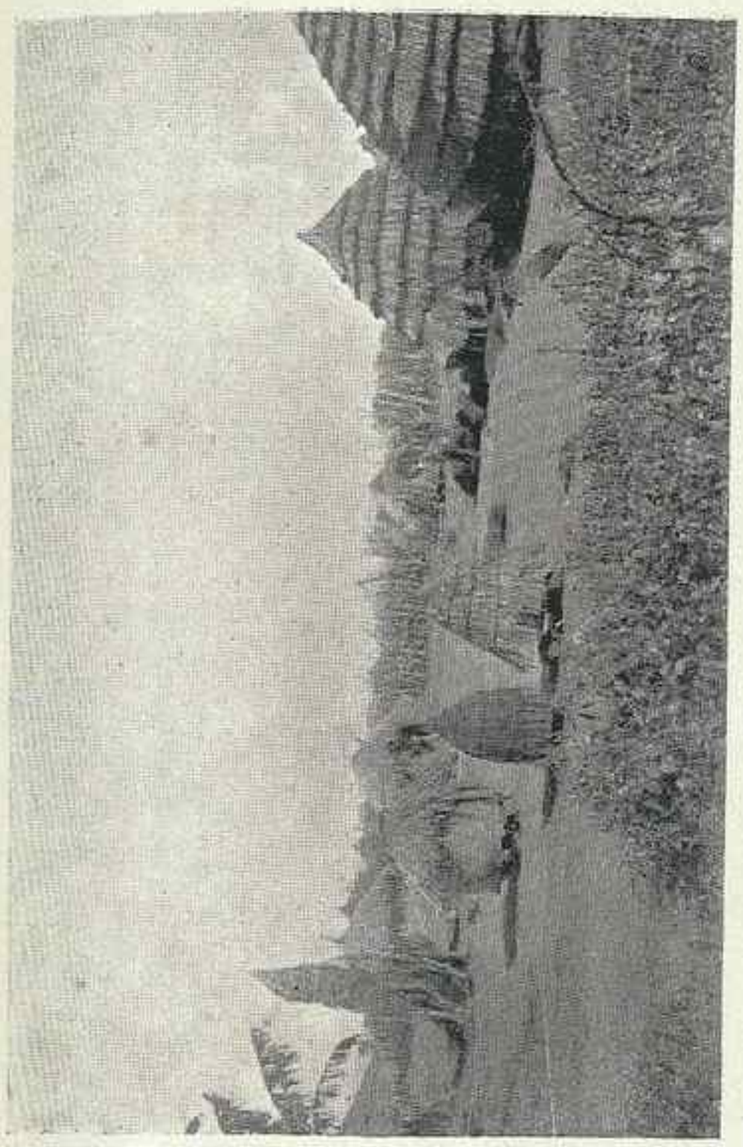
Fowls of a degenerate Mediterranean type are kept, but they are very diminutive in size, and their eggs are no larger than those of an English bantam. In 1908 some half-bred fowls were introduced into Kibuji from Bunyoro, and their progeny are to be met with now in most parts of Lango, though in small numbers. They are readily recognizable, and their quality and scarcity may be assessed by the fact that though an ordinary fowl costs but twopence, an *achung gweno* or *gweno atapana* (as these half-breds are called) costs as much as from half a crown to four shillings. When chickens are hatched out, their shells are pierced with sticks and stuck in the roof of the owner's house, as a charm against the depredation of birds of prey.

Dogs of a mongrel type, brown and black being the predominant colours, abound in every village, and are gifted with a most unmusical snarling. As puppies, dogs are fed daily with milk and porridge, but once they are old enough to fend for themselves they have to pick up a living as best they can with the scraps of food and offal which lie in the vicinity of a village. Certain dogs are, however, trained for hunting, and more attention is paid to their upkeep, with the result that they are better developed physically and attain a good

standard of strength and endurance. In addition to their ordinary food these hunting-dogs are treated with drugs to increase their sense of scent and their ferocity. For the latter leopards' urine (when procurable) is the approved specific, and for the former a grass called *achupen*. Dogs are given the ant *karalang* and the beetle *akanyango* to eat in their food in order to counteract their thieving propensities. All dogs are named, the names being for the most part frivolous in meaning, and develop considerable affection for their masters; they answer when called either to name or whistle, but look with suspicion on strangers; and are fickle with their obedience even in the immediate circle of their master's family. Should a hunting-dog with a good record be killed, whether accidentally or on purpose, goats are paid in compensation to correspond with the number of kills placed to the dog's credit; and on the death of a good or favourite hunter, its owner buries it in the pasturage (*bar*) in a shallow grave, and leaves are thrown on top. Such dogs are mourned, but heads are not shaved as at a human funeral. Year by year as the hunting season starts, the owner invokes the dead dog by name, killing a goat over the grave; and on his decease his son carries on the observance, but may compound for life by killing a bull. In spite of these proofs of affection, however, the dog is considered an essentially unclean animal, and as such is prescribed as food in a common ordeal or test of guilt. Cats are rare, and being as a rule half-wild by descent, inevitably revert to the bush after a longer or a shorter period, especially as they receive neither attention nor food.

Pets are sometimes kept, especially the red Patas monkey, and are well treated, sharing their master's food and living with the freedom of the village. They are eaten on death, if they belong to an edible species, but not by the owner or his family. The marabou, stork, baboon, cob, *Tragelaphus spekei*, bushbuck and duiker have all been observed as pets, but are not usually so kept.

§ 5. **Agriculture.**—Though the Lango obtain good crops, this is due rather to the fertility of the soil than to their own skill as agriculturists, which can in no way compare with that of the Akum. They are agricultural from necessity and not from deliberate choice, and, though industrious, are to a certain extent handicapped by the long hoe (for they evince no disposition to adopt the handier type used by the Akum), which makes deep tilling difficult. The grass is first broken about a month before the sowing and left in situ, trees being felled or lopped of their branches; this is later raked away and burnt, and the surface of the soil is dug up, but to no great depth, and cleared of roots. All this heavy work is done by men, in contrast with the Bantu practice, and the hoe is used either standing or kneeling, in which case the shaft is grasped low down,



WOMEN GRINDING UNDER GRANARY.

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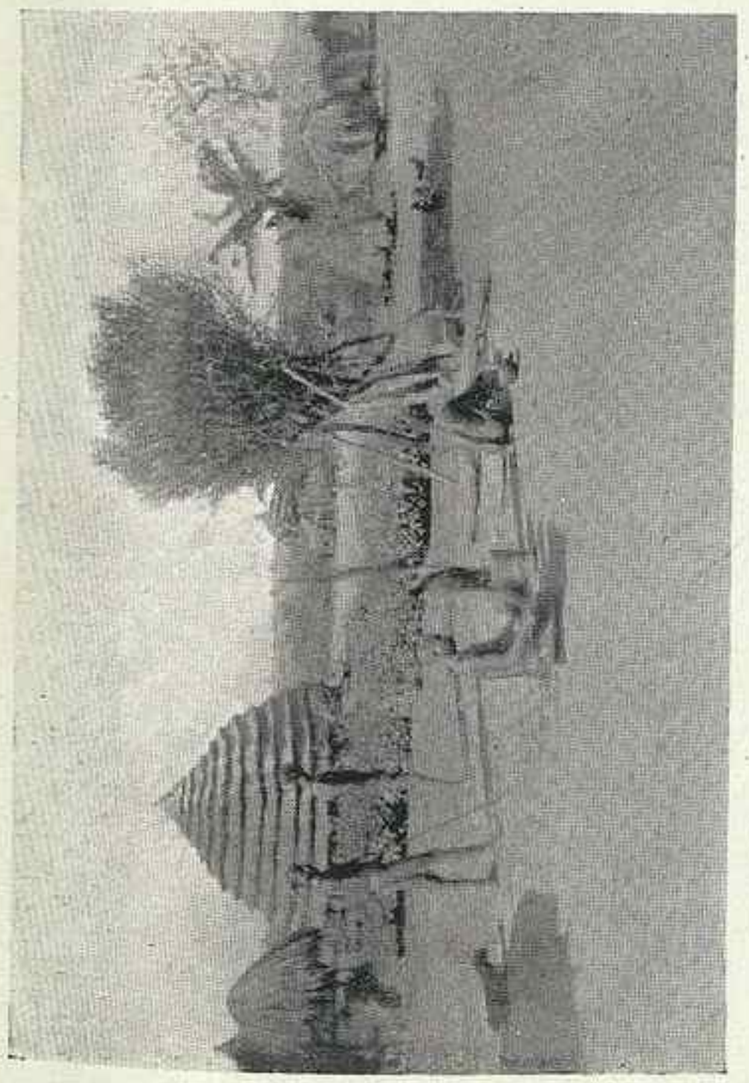
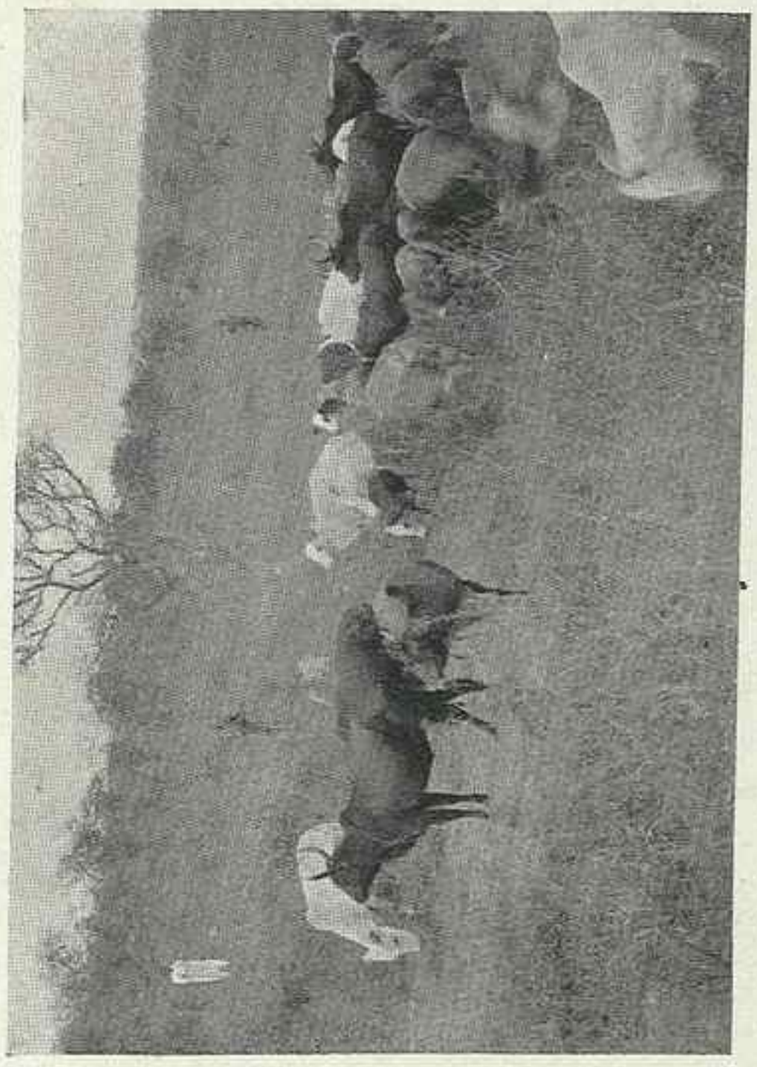
VILLAGE SCENES.





VILLAGE CATTLE.

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held away from the body, and the strokes are applied inwards. The hoe and not the axe is used for cutting small roots. The seed is then scattered broadcast; but before the sowing, to ensure due germinization, the leaves of the sacred plant *alenga* are taken and scattered over the seeds; after the harvest, too, a little grain is scattered under the plant. When the crop appears above ground a piece of stick or bamboo-like grass is stuck into the ground to prevent anyone casting the evil eye on the crop. It is in the nature of a scapegoat, as it will take to itself any maleficent influences which in its absence would ruin the crops. Women and children are employed in removing the grass and rubbish, and when the crop grows it is their duty to assist the men in keeping it clear of weeds. The crops are never planted in rows, but are scattered sometimes even without separation. Thus millet and semsem are occasionally sown together, while pigeon peas and millet are a regular combination, and sorghum is sometimes mingled with millet or maize.[1]

Only in the case of extreme poverty or when famine has consumed all supplies does a man cultivate unaided. Assistance is normally procured from his friends and neighbours in return for food and drink after the day's work, and the extent of the assistance thus procurable is conditioned by the size of the reward, regularized by custom and designated by a standard terminology. Hard work and long hours are expected of these assistants and are ungrudgingly accorded, with the result that cultivation by this semi-communal method far exceeds the possibilities of individual work. These groups or associations for cultivation are more or less permanent, and are called *wangtich*.

Pur kongo is the term used when there are fifteen to twenty assistants. A large area is indicated, and work begins at dawn and ceases at sunset. The labourers work individually without apportioning the tasks, and the reward consists of liberal supplies of beer drunk at the owner's village at the end of the day.

Pur gweno: only three or four assistants. They are rewarded with chickens, and their tasks are allotted by the owner of the plot to be cultivated. Each man has a line to hoe, about one hundred and fifty yards in length, the breadth of which is measured by his hoe handle.

Pur adwe (also called *pur poto adili*) is similar to the *pur kongo*, but the amount of beer only suffices two or three assistants.

Pur boyo aonya: only a small area of cultivation is expected of two or three assistants, and the reward (consisting of bean leaves cooked with semsem) is not immediate. The assistants will be invited to partake next time that this dish is eaten by the owner's family.

[1] Writing of the village of Langaza, a Bongbe settlement, Emin (op. cit., p. 380) says: "It is curious to note that the people here sow Eleusine and Hyptis among the durrah."

Pur aleya : a mutual arrangement between two men that they will assist each other equally in cultivation without reward.

They appear to have but the slightest knowledge of the theory of the rotation of crops, and are for the most part content to work out an area of land and change to a new quarter after the prodigal native fashion, which results in a considerable wastage of timber, cut down to provide space for new cultivation. It is normal, however, for millet to be sown on land already used for semsem, and itself to be followed by potatoes. When cotton is grown, millet always succeeds to the patch with excellent results. To a certain extent this goes hand in hand with the fact that owing to the poor type of timber used and to the ravages of white ants they are compelled to rebuild their huts every three years, and are accordingly free to move to another quarter, should their land be played out. Usually the move is not distant, but on occasions quite large migrations are made, but the object is generally to go and settle with old friends. Thus Obua, who used to live about five hours east of Kichema, some fifteen years ago moved north-east of Mount Moru with all his people, and in 1914 returned to within two miles of his old home.

The following are the main crops planted and the seasons of planting and harvesting ; but it should be noted that among the Jo Burutok planting starts a month earlier owing to different climatic conditions. Nor are the various crops entirely universal, with the exception of millet, semsem, peas, beans, *malakwang* and potatoes, and even with these there are differences in variety in different localities. At Bala, for instance, and Inomo no ground-nuts are cultivated.

Crop.	Month of Planting.	Month of Harvesting.
Kal (millet)	May, June	September
Bel (sorghum)	April, August	June, November
Nino (semsem)	May (subsidiary crop), August, September	July, November, January
Alodi (wild herbs, sometimes cultivated)	June	September
Apena (pigeon peas)	May, June	November
Achok (sweet potatoes) ..	March to January	All months
Ngor (small beans)	May	August
Aranga (large beans)	May	August
Koko (peas)	June, July	September
Akeo (peas)	June, July	September
Malakwang (buckwheat) ..	June, July	September
Okono (vegetable marrow) ..	June	September
Ochwe (cucumber)	June	August
Maido (ground-nuts)	June, July, September (local variation)	November, January
Kali (Soudanese ground-nuts)	June	October
Anywagi (maize)	Very little ; grown irregularly.	

Of these crops millet is indubitably the most important, as it provides both food and drink in the beer which is manufactured from it. Manuring is never resorted to, and the only crop (apart from the small early sowing of semsem) which is regularly planted twice a year is sorghum, the second crop being intended to carry them over the end of the dry season until the new season's crops are ready. The sorghum planted is usually of the red kind and has several varieties, of which *awera* is found to be the most suitable for beer-making and has also the largest yield. One variety, however, is also sometimes planted in February, to rest dormant till the first rains, in order to provide an early supply of new food. Two varieties (*amira* and *angura*) are peculiar in possessing edible stalks, which are called *nyang*, in contradistinction to *tyang*, the stalks of all other varieties. There are also eight varieties of semsem, which are sometimes all grown on the same area, sometimes selectively. There does not, however, seem to be much difference in the quantity or quality of the yield, and when one kind is preferred it only means that it was the kind which the owner first got; and as seed is obtained each year from the previous year's crop it became perpetuated to the exclusion of other varieties.

During the last few years the Lango have been encouraged to cultivate cotton from seed supplied by the Department of Agriculture, the local wild variety having no commercial value; but though an excellent quality of cotton is produced, it is doubtful whether such a large output will ever be attained as is produced by the Iteso and Akum. This is due partly to the fact that immense quantities of semsem are cultivated annually for export and obtain a ready market, a crop which with much less labour brings in an almost equal profit; but still more to the fact that the rains break a full month earlier among the Iteso and Akum, with the result that they are able to plant their cotton in June and July, during which, the most favourable months, the Lango are still busy with food crops.

At the harvesting of the millet and sorghum women, children and men all take part, as should rain fall when it is ripe the grain is apt to rot. When knives are not used for harvesting, reaping rings with a sharp cutting edge are worn. This harvesting is made especially interesting by the simple but ingenious method of packing the grain for removal to the granaries. A circular hole about two feet deep and one foot in diameter is dug in the ground. A long, broad grass is laid out in a circle on the ground, the roots pointing to the centre, and the grass being the radii of the circle. The root-ends are all bound together and then placed at the bottom of the hole, the grass thus forming a complete lining. Into this the heads of grain are thrown and packed down tightly. The ends of grass at the top are then bound together, and there is the bundle (*arita*)

ready for removal to the field granary. The grain is not taken to the village until the whole harvest is completed, and even then a large part of it may be left in the field granaries till required.

Flocks of little birds do considerable harm to growing crops, and necessitate the presence of children and even adults to watch the crops and to drive them off with shouts and stones. Scarecrows are not employed. But by far the most damage which agriculture sustains is suffered from elephants, herds of which frequent the neighbourhood of villages in June and July when the crops are green and juicy. Not only do they tear them up and eat them, but what they do not eat they ruthlessly trample down. They even take the harvested grain out of the granaries. Along the Nile hippopotami, which come up out of the water at night, and rhinoceros do some damage, and bushbuck and waterbuck everywhere endanger the standing crops. So extensive indeed are their depredations north of the River Moroto that in some cases crops are heavily stockaded, and one such palisade of stout poles measured approximately two miles by one. With the exception of a severe visitation in 1917, locusts in the past have not done much damage, but violent thunder and hail storms just as the crops are ripening are very destructive.

Previous to their raids into Bunyoro the banana and sweet potato were unknown to the Lango. The former has not found much favour, and although here and there a tree is put in near a village the banana cannot be said to be cultivated, and owing to their migratory tendency is not likely to become popular. With few exceptions where it is planted it almost seems as if it had been planted for æsthetic effect. The sweet potato, on the other hand, is being planted in larger quantities every year; such was its early popularity, in fact, that, when it was first discovered and brought back in triumph from Bunyoro, a bundle of runners for planting was actually sufficient dowry for a wife.

Ground-nuts also are comparatively new to the Lango, and in many areas are not yet cultivated. The name (*maido*) suggests a Hamitic origin, and as it is more widely distributed to the south and east it has probably been adopted from the Akum and Iteso. The broken grass is left in the fields where ground-nuts are planted, that the plants may force their way through.

The Lango do not cultivate for home consumption only, but, urged largely by a desire for brass wire for themselves and their wives, export annually large quantities of millet, semsem, beans and peas. Several years ago they used to barter food with the Banyoro, who in spite of their fondness for grain cultivate it in comparatively small quantities, and now the Basoga and Baruli are also considerable buyers. Semsem is extensively bought by traders resident in the country.

Mushrooms (of which there are two main varieties) are not deliberately cultivated, but belong to the owner of the garden in which they happen to grow, or if found in an uncultivated area to the original finder, and on their being discovered they are kept free of weeds by him. Similarly at Ogur and Apala, where the shea-butter trees only grow in small numbers, the nuts belong to the man in or near whose cultivation the tree stands. Even if he subsequently abandons the land he retains his right to the tree, which on his death passes to his heir. Should he, however, migrate to any distance it is usual for him publicly to adjure his rights. It may be observed here that it is commonly believed that the shea-butter tree will not bear if a spear is leaned against it, unless a grass rope (*akedi*) has first been tied round the trunk by its owner.

Tobacco is grown in very small quantities near the villages, often between the huts, the variety with the yellow flower being preferred. In many villages also the small chili is becoming popular.

§ 6. **Food.**—The chief food of the Lango—and at the same time their chief drink, slightly fermented, but rarely intoxicating—is called *kongo*, a preparation of millet. Though it never intoxicates them to insensibility, it not infrequently excites them to such an extent that quarrels and even deaths result. It does not seem to impair their health, however, and in the beer-drinking season, September to January, when the grain is most abundant, they are always in excellent condition. It is manufactured in the following way: The millet is first put underground in a large jar containing a little water for two days, till it starts to germinate, or else it is spread out on the ground and water is sprinkled over it. It is now spread out to dry for two days, and has reached the stage known as *bilo*. For the next three days it is ground into fine flour and spread out in the sun, and on the fourth day the flour is taken and mixed with water, little by little, into a smooth paste. It is then boiled slowly at intervals for seven days, after which it is dried, and when dry (now called *moko kongo*[1]) is again put in a large jar (*abak*), of which two-thirds are filled with water. At this stage a small amount of millet, which has been made to germinate as before and is called *tobi*, is added prior to its being cooked for consumption, a process which takes one whole day. It is not strained in any way, but when the feast is ready is decanted into various small pots for distribution. Newly made beer is called *kongo alim*,

[1] It may be noted that it is forbidden to throw a lump (however small) of *moko kongo* at another person, as it is universally believed that that person, if hit by it, will die as a result, even if there is no apparent injury. The penalty payable is that paid for homicide.

from its sweetness, but after fermentation it is called *alingo*. Water is added as required till it becomes very diluted and flavourless, when it is called *pig kongo*, or the juice of beer. It is sucked up through tubes, which at the bottom end have a fine mesh woven from fibre to keep out the grain. These drinking-tubes are of two kinds, named generically *ocheke*. They are distinguished by the addition of *lum* or *nyamagara*, after *ocheke*, signifying the *ocheke*, made of grass (*lum*), on the one hand, the thick stem of a particular grass being used, and of a plant called *nyamagara*, on the other. The latter plant is not indigenous, but was imported from Bunyoro, and grows near the lake and the Nile. It is consequently called after the Lunyoro name, and being stronger is nowadays more popular. The tube is often carried in a walking-stick hollowed out to contain it.

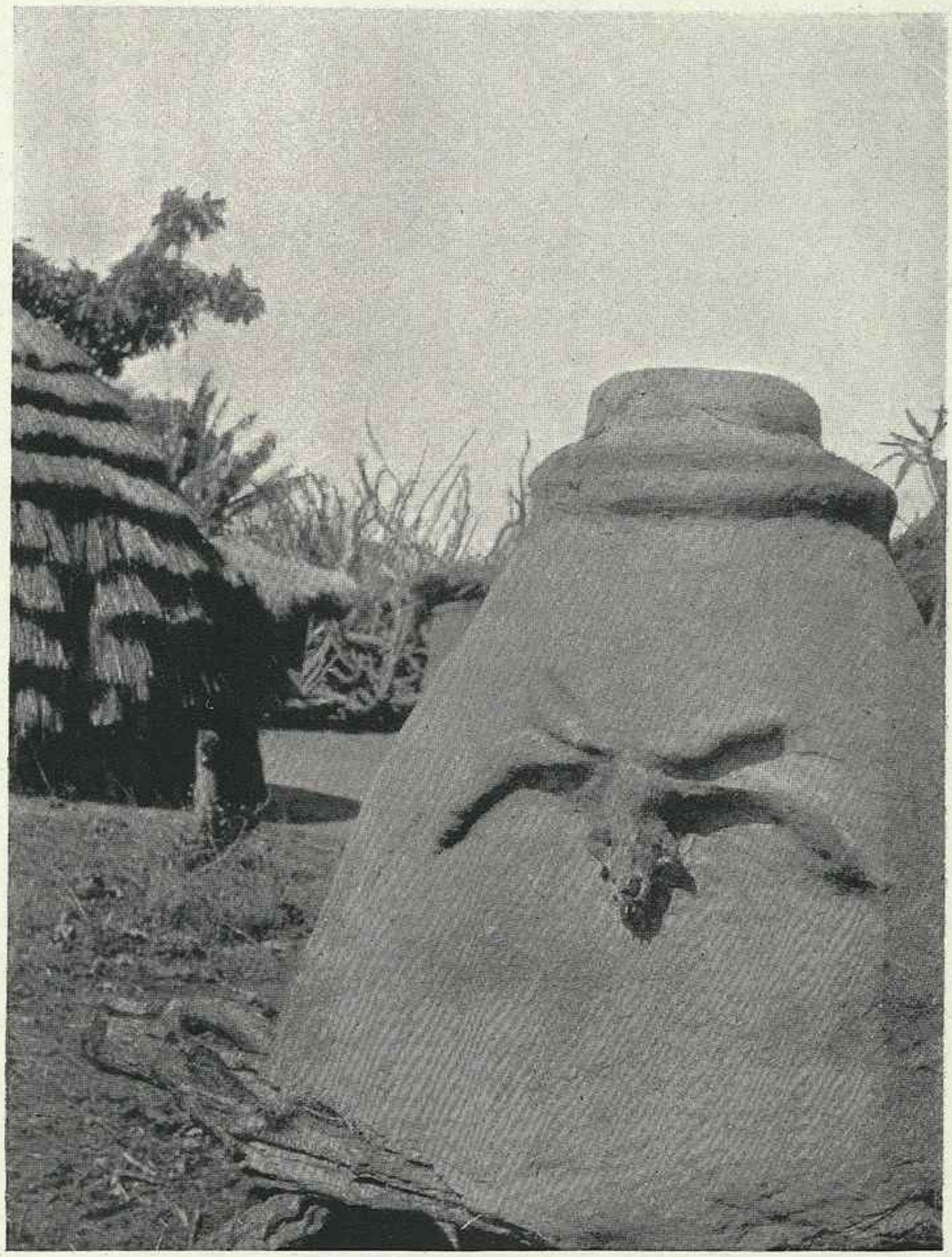
The dregs of beer (*ting kongo*) are often preserved against a possible scarcity of food, and are eaten as porridge mixed with the ordinary millet flour. One *tua* of beer-dregs will in normal times buy a goat, but during famine two *tua* are sufficient to buy a heifer, and instances are remembered when the marriage dowry has mainly consisted of *ting kongo*.

Millet is also ground into flour and made into a kind of thick porridge (*kwon*) and eaten with vegetables (*dek*). The old men mix buttermilk with it when eating it. A thin gruel (*nyuka*) is also prepared from it. It should be noted, however, that the term *dek* is loosely used to denote any kind of seasoning or addition to the main food of a meal. It may thus be used of vegetables or meat, and similarly the term *bango* (to eat unseasoned food or food without relish) is applied both to meat and to porridge, when there is no subsidiary food to go with them. By extension it is even applied to *dek*, and it is possible to use the apparent contradiction *abango ek* (I eat vegetables or seasoning only), when the eater has nothing but vegetables before him.

Kongo can also be made in the same way from sorghum, but its quality is not so good, lacking the fuller flavour, and it is only used during the period before the millet crops are ready, as sorghum is harvested first. Consequently a comparatively small crop of sorghum is grown, although this varies according to the locality. Sorghum is also eaten roasted like chestnuts in the ashes, and the stalk of two varieties, *amira* and *angura*, is also edible.

The following story is told of the manufacture of *kongo*: Once upon a time there lived a man named Atiri, of the clan called Arakijakum,[1] who was the first man to make *kongo*. So pleased was

[1] Probably not the Lango clan Arakit, a clan name which is also found among the Akum and certain Karamojan tribes. The addition of Jakum (= Jo Akum) clearly indicates that the Akum clan is intended. This is significant as preserving



FOOD STORE, WITH DESIGN.

To face p. 102.

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he at his discovery that he sent the first jar to his chief, who drank it and fell at once into a drunken sleep.

The men who lived in the chief's village thereupon came together and cried, "Behold, this Atiri has put poison in the drink which he prepared and has killed our chief. Let us see to it." So in their displeasure they took Atiri and killed him. Now shortly after this was done the chief awoke and, being thirsty, asked, "Where is Atiri?" "He is dead," replied his men. "This is strange," said the chief, "for he was alive and well but a short space of time ago. How came he to die?" "We thought," they gave him answer, "that he had put poison into the drink which he sent you and caused your death, so we killed him." Thereupon the chief was very angry and killed all the slayers of Atiri. It is not told how the manufacture was rediscovered.

Semsem is first pounded in a mortar and then rubbed to a paste on the grindstone and eaten as a relish with other food; and the same process is applied to *etoke*, the seeds of *malakwang*, which, however, together with one variety of semsem, *amola*, is generally repounded, as it is of a tougher substance. The paste of *etoke* thus produced is squeezed and its juice is added to the food of the day, but the dry paste is left for three or four days until maggots breed in it, when it is eaten by women.

On the other hand, semsem may be roasted in a dry pot over the fire (*chyelo*, the term also applied to roasting ground-nuts and sorghum in ashes) and eaten whole. In this form it is a convenient and sustaining food for a journey. Indeed, it is a mistake to suppose that native food consists of a monotonous repetition of one or two dishes, and a surprising variety is observable especially in vegetable preparations. Thus *agira*, *anyoba* and *anyoya* are three terms descriptive of different ways of boiling vegetables; *boyo aonya* is a preparation of bean leaves and semsem; *apeke* designates cakes of semsem and millet; *apililiong* is *etoke* cooked by itself, but when combined with *malakwang* (the leaves of the same plant) the guest is invited to eat not *apililiong*, but either *etoke* or *malakwang*. *Atatam* is a special savoury dish of meat consisting of minced duodenum, liver, lung and stomach mixed with porridge and semsem. The leaves (called *ochwicha*) and the female flowers of the edible marrow *okono* provide an excellent spinach. Potatoes are either boiled or roasted, and may be cut up, dried and stored for subsequent use, when they are called *otere*, after the Lunyoro name. Herd boys often cook potatoes in small clay ovens called *abuk*.

Various wild fruits and plants are eaten, either independently or regularly as a vegetable, and especially is this the case during

a tradition that the manufacture of beer was a Hamitic discovery and lends additional colour to the hypothesis that to the Hamites should be attributed the importation of grain.

famine, when food may consist entirely of roots and berries. The following are some of the wild plants and herbs thus used :—

Aduru—a fig-tree, of which the fruit and leaves are both edible.
Ochuga—a wild cherry, the fruit and top leaves of which are eaten.
Aiyu—the top leaves are eaten.
Abelwinyo—its berries, which are of a pleasant flavour, are eaten.
Ochoboro—the leaves are eaten.
Bomo—the leaves are eaten.
Olwedo—the young leaves are eaten.
Atingating—the leaves and berries are eaten.
Bokachel—the leaves are eaten.
Anono—the leaves are eaten combined with the pea called *akeo*.
Apiriti—the leaves are eaten with beans.
Elau—the leaves are eaten.
Enanga—(fig-tree) the fruit is eaten.
Ocheo—(amomum) the pulp of the fruit is eaten.
Ogo—the fruit is eaten.
Olok—(grape vine) the fruit is eaten.
Owelo—the fruit ripens in December and is eaten.
Okworo—the berries are eaten.
Obat okwoto—the yam-like root is eaten.
Obo—(yam) the root is eaten. (Generally known by the plural *obochi*.)

While the Lango are essentially grain-eaters, they are extremly fond of meat, to which is probably due their excellent physique and stamina, and without which their virility would undoubtedly be impaired. It seems probable that at one time they existed almost entirely on game, and that the grain habit has been slowly acquired. Indeed, ceremonial occasions, which are frequent, always require the slaughter of domesticated animals. Normally cattle are slaughtered by spearing the animal above the third rib, while goats and sheep are simply stabbed in the throat with a knife; but for certain ceremonies another ritual method prevails. They are suffocated to death by closing all the orifices of the animal (including the ears and fundament). Further, when it has thus been killed, it is not skinned as is customary, but the skin is cut up with the meat in strips, with the exception of the head, from which the skin, save for a piece above the brow, is carefully removed.

Being fearless hunters, they are almost omnivorous. Nearly all wild animals are eaten, and all birds, except carrion eaters and birds of prey, are considered suitable for food, and to their love of meat they attribute the comparative scarcity of the crocodile in Lake Kwania, though it should be added that this reptile is far from universally acceptable. The stomach and entrails of lion are refused, as these parts may be tainted with human flesh, and many will abstain from giraffe's meat in the belief that its consumption is liable to cause leprosy. The hyæna and the jackal are also prohibited as being devourers of carrion. Snakes, frogs

and crabs are not eaten, but various insects, including locusts and termites (with the exception of the small termite *aming*, which, if eaten, will retaliate by causing deafness), are eagerly sought after. The grasshopper *awinwinyo* may not be eaten by anyone suffering from ulcers. Eggs when eaten are eaten either raw or hard-boiled, but are forbidden to women. Rats and voles of all kinds are eaten. Fish, where obtainable, is much appreciated, and is dried in the sun after being opened up and cut into strips; but the lung-fish (*lut*) is prohibited to women of the *Jo Burutok* section. In time of famine water-lily roots, a diet imitated from the Banyoro, are eaten with or without fish, and are said to be most sustaining. There appear to be no other prohibitions which apply to the tribe as a whole, but a number of minor prohibitions, mainly affecting women and semi-totemic in character, apply to individual clans. To these further reference will subsequently be made.

Of domestic animals, cattle are eaten, even if they have been killed by lightning or disease. Women are never allowed to eat chickens, nor the flesh of goats till after the birth of their third child, while only women who are too old to bear children may eat sheep. Tobacco may only be smoked by old men, as it is considered harmful to warriors and huntsmen, and is not permitted to women. A further argument adduced against tobacco is that it interferes with love-making, girls being averse to its smell. It is never used as snuff.

Cannibalism is not indulged in, but it is said that wizards (who alone eat snakes) disinter and eat the dead bodies of men: no specific case, however, can be proved, and it is improbable. It seems rather like an echo of the Banyoro charge against the Bachwezi.

The chief meal of the day is about sunset, and what is left over from the evening meal may be eaten in the morning. It is the duty of the women to prepare the food, just as it is their duty to grind the grain; and if it should not be ready when their lord and master returns he will probably express his views forcibly. Old men may help in stirring the last brewing of the beer. Women and men generally eat apart, children eating with the women until they reach the age of puberty. Occasionally, however, a man will eat *dek* with his wife when there is a particularly favourite dish.

Honey is much sought after, and for this purpose hives are put up in the trees during April. The hives consist of hollowed-out, cylindrical trunks of wood, stopped up at one end. They are cut from the tree *apok*, but sometimes cylinders of grass lined with clay are substituted. The honey is only taken out a little at a time for fear that the bees may desert it. Honey is distinguished as *ageger* (old, hard honey) and *atonggwen* (egg-shell coloured, i.e. fresh honey). Of recent years a ready sale has been found for surplus honey among Indian traders, especially in the region round

Atura, but efforts to interest the Lango in the beeswax industry have not been successful.

§ 7. **War.**—As has been said, in the old days when spears were still scarce the defensive armament consisted of a large shield shared by three people, which was apparently for protection until the enemy's spears were expended, after which it was thrown aside and the Lango would rush to the attack armed with clubs and such spears as they picked up off the ground. It was carried on the head by one of the three until the enemy was sighted, when with the shield held up at the full length of the arms they sang their battle songs, mingled with taunts and cries calculated to enrage or terrify the enemy. The Lango, too, in spite of their courage, when going to battle would fill their ears with leaves, lest the shouts and taunts of the enemy should weaken their resolve.

Such was the mode of fighting against enemies of another tribe, but for their inter-village quarrels a different, and less destructive, course of action was followed. Should a quarrel arise between two villages with animosities too powerful to allow of mediation by the elders, a very tall tree was cut down and its branches were lopped off. This done, the fighting men of each village would draw up in lines on either side, armed with lashes eight feet long. With these they would whip each other mercilessly, until an umpire who stood at one end raised a stick between them when he thought that they had punished each other enough. This apparently relieved the feelings of both parties, but it does not seem that any decision was arrived at or that either side was pronounced victorious. In each village there was a stand, rather like a tall drum with its end open, in which everyone put his fighting lash. If a man took a spear to one of these fights, his fellow-villagers laughed at him as a coward, took his spear and smashed the spear-head on rocks, in case he should kill anyone. A good wielder of the buffalo lash was much admired, both by men and women, and after the fight all would repair to their friends, telling over the beer of this stroke and that, of a subtle guard or a disabling counter.

Even after the introduction of spears had revolutionized warfare, both in equipment and tactics, this form of duel was long retained as the solvent of inter-village disputes. In those days, tradition has it, there was peace in the tribe, and even unaccompanied women could pass in safety from end to end of the land. This Elysian period appears to have continued till within sixty years ago, as Odur, father of Arum of Kibuji, an old man recently deceased, well remembers the duels of buffalo lashes, and such a date is in harmony with the current belief that it was Akena, the war-leader of Adyege before Etik, the father of the present chief Anyuro, who overthrew the old social structure.

For more than the last hundred and twenty years Lango mercenaries have made periodical incursions into and beyond Bunyoro, assisting bickering factions, abetting rival claimants to the throne, or allied with the Banyoro in carrying war and fire into Buganda. During these raids and forays they were spectators of civil war, of villages striving one against another to the death; they saw women and children killed in the heat of battle or sacrificed afterwards to the lust of revenge. It is not surprising therefore that after many years what they saw beyond the Nile gradually changed their own view-point, until fired by these examples Akena (whose mother was a Madi captive) resolved to win for himself mastery over the Lango at the point of the spear. His struggles with neighbouring leaders were long and persistent, especially with Ogwali of Chegere, so much so that songs are still sung of them, and *yi pa ogwali ked' Akena* (the struggle between Ogwali and Akena) has become proverbial of any difficult situation. From that time onwards internecine strife became the rule, and with the old order was jettisoned the chivalry which formerly prohibited the killing of women, children and cripples even during war. Men, much less women, could no longer go abroad from their villages by day unless accompanied by a band of armed friends. Two men approaching each other from opposite directions would make long detours of avoidance. To visit a friend or relative in another village a man would travel secretly by night, and while at his friend's house he would be importuned by the rest of the villagers as to the date and manner of his journey home with a view to ambushing him, the laws of hospitality alone preventing his murder in the village, and only by cunning and stratagem could he reach his home alive. In short, there was a perpetual state of war, unrestrained by chivalry or rules of conduct, with the very briefest interludes of peace. That this condition of things was due to the Banyoro example is made almost certain by the word *byemi*, used to designate civil war or faction fights derived from the Lunyoro *obyemi*.

Before proceeding to a battle, the leaders first take the auspices (*neno ich*). A goat is killed and cut up: if the inner side of the stomach is clean and healthy in appearance, it is favourable; if it is spotted, it is unfavourable and the raid is deferred. The oracle of Atida, to which reference will be made in a later chapter, is also consulted for a prophecy concerning the intended operations, and should the answer be unfavourable, they are postponed.

On the night previous to the battle the spears are taken and their points placed against the *oligo*, the sacred euphorbia planted in every village, and then returned to their huts. In the morning follow two ceremonies, the first of which is conducted by an old man of the village. The warriors, burnished with oil and wearing all the beads and metal ornaments in their possession, draw up in

a semicircle before him, armed for battle and spear-points lowered to the centre of the circle, where stands the old man. After adjuring them by the memory of their ancestors and the famous deeds of old to fight as men and to win victory and renown, he proceeds to the consecration ceremony (*agat*), consisting of the following chant which he intones, while the warriors accompany each response with a lunge of their spears, the final response being followed by a long-drawn shout and uplifted weapons. In his hand the old man holds a branch of the sacred lilac (*olwedo*), with which at the end of the chant he lightly brushes the spear-points of the warriors, passing down their line—an operation known as *lamo tong*.

Recitative.	Response.
Iony i mo.	*Giony.*
Wi mon' owil.	*Owil.*
Tong ajocha chukan.	*Chukan.*
Ka megwa omoko i kumgi, ber.	*Ber.*
Ka iryamogi, ber.	*Ber.*
Ka wanekogi, ber.	*Ber.*
Ka wanekogi tung 'chel, ber.	*Ber.*
Ka kok' okokere tung cha, ber.	*Ber.*
Ka wan wadwogo walelo, ber.	*Ber.*
May you be poured on the foe.	Let them be poured.
May the enemy be bewildered.	Bewildered.
May their spears fall to the ground.	May they fall.
If ours cleave to their bodies, it is well.	Well.
If you rout them, it is well.	Well.
If we slay them, it is well.	Well.
If the slaughter is on one side, it is well.	Well.
If the mourning is on their side, it is well.	Well.
If we return with rejoicing, it is well.	Well.

For the next ceremony the village adjourns to the *bar* or pasturage. The young men who are going to battle form in two long lines fully armed, while two very old women of the village, skilled in soothsaying, take their place in the middle. They run once from end to end of the line and deliver a long harangue to the effect that the warriors should emulate their fathers and grandfathers, whose glorious deeds they recount, fight well, kill the enemy and scorn to run away. They then run again from end to end of the line. All this while they are carrying each a winnowing mat and the wooden pestle—"the spear and shield of women." They next pour water on the path which the men will take, and on the same spot put the pestle, and on the top of it the winnowing mat reversed. Thereupon two old men lead in a goat whose throat is cut over the mat, the blood pouring on to it. A second harangue follows from the women, in which the warriors are told to take strength from the blood. They then walk over the blood, the water and the mat on the road to

battle, and the dead goat is left where it is, to be devoured by the birds and animals.

On all paths leading to an area in which a fight is in progress loofahs, or sometimes the fruit of the kigelia, are put on the ground, to indicate that a state of war exists, and that neutrals pass on at their own responsibility, as they would be liable to attack from either party on the presumption that they were aiding the enemy.

In minor raids the object is to ambush the enemy at dawn or to fire his village before he knows that the attacking party has arrived, driving off his cattle or spearing the opponents as they come out of their houses; but in more ambitious expeditions, where a strong army has been gathered and will receive an organized resistance, it is usual to divide the force into three columns, which debouche into lines on sighting the enemy. Each column (*wich*) has its leader, and consists of three or more companies (*eryonget*), the war-leader (*twon lwak*) being at the head of the central column. Immediately behind the war-leader marches the drum-bearer, who is unarmed and carries the drum slung on his back. The capture of a hostile drum is considered a great feat of arms. It is beaten from time to time by the third man, in order to enable the wing columns to keep their position and distance, and in the event of victory it is vigorously beaten not only to mark the occasion, but as a rallying cry to call in stragglers. The two wing columns advance slightly ahead of the centre, which contains the best and most seasoned fighters, whose duty it is to await the advance of the enemy's centre when his flanks have been crushed in by the advanced wings.

On getting into touch with the enemy, after the customary taunts and shouts, a period of skirmishing ensues, during which long-range spear-throwing tests the strength and moral of the enemy. Once it is seen, however, that the enemy is wavering at the number of his casualties, the battle closes to a hand-to-hand mêlée, to be followed by the pursuit of the vanquished. There is no tolerance for cowardice, and a wounded man who keeps crying for help and exclaiming that he is dying is promptly despatched by his neighbours to prevent his lamentations of fear causing a panic. On the other hand, his comrades help from the fight a wounded man who bears his pain with silent fortitude.

On a successful cast of the spear the thrower (*won mo*, i.e. owner of the enemy) invokes the name of his beloved (*gwongo apayo*), a shout of triumph and an indication to his friends of his success. The owner of the second spear (*adopet*) which finds its mark in the already wounded enemy also gives his particular invocation, and indeed shares with the *won mo* all the honours of the kill and such resulting loot as there may be. One who takes a hostile spear on his shield invokes by name a favourite bull belonging to his

father or maternal uncle (*gwongo twon*), or shouts *eremit* in defiance of his enemies.

The dead are stripped of all their ornaments, including the *tok* or head-dress, which is cut off close to the skull, and to remove bracelets the wrist may be severed; but apart from this, there is no wanton mutilation of the corpses. The ornaments belong to the dead man's slayer, who hangs the *tok* in his *otem*. This is done to release the dead man's *winyo* or guardian spirit, and for the same reason his corpse must be laid flat on the back, with arms extended crosswise (*loko winyo*, to turn over the spirit).

Lepers and the cancerous[1] may not be speared, or the disease will assuredly fall on the spearer or his family. If one such is accidentally killed, his slayer must sacrifice a goat to ward off the effects; no number of goats, however, will avail if he was speared on purpose. If it is considered necessary to kill persons afflicted with leprosy or cancer, they must be driven into a hut, which can then be burnt. The fire will be a barrier, which the spirit of the leprous or cancerous will not be able to pass to afflict the slayer.

On approaching their village after a victorious battle the warriors beat the drum and each slayer of the enemy blows his call on his war-whistle. At a short distance from the village they break into the victory dance, running forward in line, shields at the ready and spears poised, shouting their particular war-cries. Thus they run advancing and retiring, until the women come out to meet them, raising the shrill ululation of victory (*goyo jira*) and running with knife in hand to stab the shields of the victors in a riotous mêlée (*ngato kwot*), till finally, the ceremonial rejoicings concluded, they receive their weapons from their elated spouses.

Early next morning the drum is beaten and each slayer of a man and each *adopet* brings a goat or a sheep, for the killing of an enemy entails grave spiritual danger from his ghost (*tipo*, shadow, immaterial part of a man). This *tipo* has a deadly influence, afflicting the slayer with attacks of giddiness and frenzy, during which he may do himself or the bystanders mortal mischief. It makes his head go round (*owiro wive*) and dances in his head (*omyelo i wiye*) until he is not responsible for his actions. For this reason, and also lest in the heat of the conflict a leprous or cancerous man has been speared, the slayers sacrifice goats and sheep, which may be of any colour, unless the slayer feels the influence of a *tipo* already beginning to affect him, in which case he must kill a black goat. Sheep are killed ceremonially, and consequently their skins are cut up with the meat, but goats are killed in the normal way, and their skins become the property of whosoever first claims them. The whole community joins in eating the meat, but the heads are

[1] This term is used for convenience to denote the diseases grouped by the Lango under the word *etoku*.

the old men's perquisites. At this feast war-names (*nyıng mo*) are allotted to the victors descriptive of their individual actions. The undigested matter from the intestines of the slaughtered goats is smeared over the bodies of the warriors as a prophylactic against the *tipo*, and all the bones are burnt to ashes, which the warriors throw broadcast to the winds. The *tipo* has further to be appeased by the cicatrization of the killers, each cutting rows of cicatrices (*ageran*) on his shoulder and upper arm, the number varying according to his ability to stand the pain up to three and a half rows. And finally each slayer has to shave his head after the fashion known as *atira*.

While fighting is always liable to break out, the favourite season for war is in the months of June and July, when the young crops are in the field, as part of the rewards of fighting is the destruction of your enemy's crops, with the result that he has subsequently to buy food or to go hungry. Women and children, cattle and goats, are the spoil of victory, but women and children are sometimes killed in the heat of battle. They are not sold as slaves to other tribes, but not infrequently change hands among the Lango in consideration for cattle. Their captors, however, often marry the women and adopt the children, especially the girls, who will subsequently bring in a good marriage dowry. Captives can nevertheless be ransomed by the defeated village, who will in all probability have suspected or been warned of the impending raid, and will have placed their livestock in the charge of friends several days' journey away.

§ 8. **Hunting.**—For hunting purposes the country, except in the more thickly populated parts, is divided into various areas called *arum*, the rights to which are jealously guarded by their owners. For instance, when the Lango lived east of the Abalong River they there established certain hunting areas and privileges, and for a long time after they were forced west their claims were conceded by the Akum. An *arum* is the hereditary property of an individual, who is not necessarily a chief, and there can be no hunting on his property without his permission or invitation. The owner (*won arum*) is responsible to the community for its upkeep, and it is his duty, assisted by his relatives, to ring round the *arum* with a fire-break to prevent fires from spreading from other properties or from spreading from his to neighbouring *arum*. As an *arum* may vary in size from four to one hundred and forty square miles, it will readily be understood that its upkeep entails considerable labour, which is not excessively compensated by the toll on all slaughtered animals which is the prescriptive right of the *won arum*, and which he uses as a medium of exchange to purchase grain and other food supplies. Consequently, should anyone by carelessness or intention

set fire to an *arum*, its owner has a legitimate claim against him for damages, as he is deprived of the recompense which is due for his public labour. Such damages vary according to the size of the *arum*, but in no case are less than two heifers. Anyone wishing to build in an *arum* must first obtain the formal permission of its owner, but such permission may not be refused, as the owner has only the hunting rights over the land; the *won arum*, however, is not responsible for damage to house or crops by fire, protection against which is the resident's own business.

As there are five methods of hunting employed it will be convenient to discuss them seriatim, even at the risk of tautology, in the order in which they take place every season:—

(1) *Dwar me atwoda*, or *me chiko bo* (Hunting by tracking or by netting). As a rule, not more than one or two villages participate in this together. When it has been decided to hunt, beer is brewed and is drunk on the morning of the next day, when also the auspices are taken with sandals (*lamo war*), and the following ceremonies take place. First of these is the ceremony of *goyo bo* (the beating of the net). An old woman of the village and one boy and one girl, both but recently weaned, strike the nets, which have been unfolded before the *otem*, with leaves of lilac (*olwedo*) and solanum (*ochok*). The berries of the latter they chew and spit on to the net, the old woman intoning the following chant, the responses to which are taken up by the hunters:—

Recitative.	Response.
Ka in iwot' chiko bo aman, wupong' ching atino.	*Ber.*
Iryemno chotok.	*Iryam.*
Iwach chotok.	*Iwach.*
Ka wi le owil, ber.	*Ber.*
Ka wudwogo malelo, ber.	*Ber.*
Ka wi le owil, ber.	*Ber.*
If you go netting now and fill the children's hands.	It is well.
Drive them quickly.	Drive.
May the spear speed quickly.	May it speed.
If the game is bewildered, it is well.	Well.
If you return rejoicing, it is well.	Well.
If the game is bewildered, it is well.	Well.

This is followed by the ceremony known as *buko*[1] *gweno i otem* (the fluttering of the chicken in the *otem*). The nets still remaining unfolded where they are, the spears of the hunters are laid flat upon the ground, blades towards the *otem*. Formerly it was the custom to stick the spears into the ground, but this was found to be unlucky. An old man flutters the chicken, beating it over the net. When

[1] There is no single word to represent adequately the common ceremonial meaning of *buko*. It describes a process of holding a chicken at the base of the wings and waving it about and causing it to flutter over a particular object, ever and anon beating it on the object.

the chicken is thoroughly exhausted, he lays it flat on the net. If it kicks, there will be good hunting; if it lies still, no game will be found, or, if found, none will be killed.

As this is the earliest hunting in the season, taking place from September to December, there is one ceremony by which the goodwill of the bush is obtained, and the effect of which lasts for all kinds of hunts during the whole season. It is not repeated in the same village till the next season, but if it is omitted, the bush will conceal the game, as it will be hostile. Old men plait spear-grass into a long rope (*elago*), which is stretched in a straight line, each hunter grasping it with his left hand. When all are ready, at a given signal they cut the rope with spears, and each man takes the piece which is left in his hand and places it in his *otem*, where it is allowed to rot.

On the next morning one or two men go after tracks of game, and on finding a herd send back word, and the rest of the village come up with nets which are set up in a line and the game driven into them, huntsmen being also placed on the flanks to cut off their escape.

Each animal killed is divided as follows: to the tracker, one haunch (*amuru*); to the owner of that section of the net in which the game is killed (called *won bo* or *won le*, the owner of the net or the owner of the animal), one haunch, one shoulder (*bat*), the head and entrails; to the first spearer (*maneko*, he who kills, or *madopo*,[1] he who repeats), one shoulder.

(2) *Dwar me arum* (Hunting by surrounding [*rumo*=to surround with fire]). This is the most important hunt of the season, and the *won arum* issues a general invitation to the hunt by word of mouth, no drum being used to summon the hunters. When he is ready to issue such an invitation (generally in January or February), he brews beer, and on the morning after his guests drink it. Parenthetically, all the hunters are not considered his guests, as they probably number several hundreds, but those especially invited to the beer and the members of his own family and village. On the second day also the auspices are taken with sandals. The auspices are taken by the *won arum* for the hunt as a whole; others take their own particular auspices separately. If unfavourable, the hunt is nevertheless persisted in, as it is hoped that the accident indicated will happen to someone else. However, by way of precaution, the *won arum* makes clay figures of a man, a woman and a leopard, the woman representing the man's wife. The leopard is shown biting the man, and the woman is supposed to be lamenting

[1] The *madopo* or *adopet*, both in war and hunting, usually refers to the man who throws the second or third spear, the underlying idea of the word being the repetition of the first throw. In this case and in the *dwar erenga* the net takes the place of the first spear.

his death. The name of an enemy is given to the man, and that person will be the one to be attacked by the leopard. (This is called *chweyo le*, to mould the animal, or *keto jok*, to frustrate god.) Further, the *won arum* goes to an *ajoka*, or witch-doctor, who by the ceremony of *tyeto war* is able to tell if any misfortune is likely to occur. This witch-doctor has already been consulted before the issue of invitations as to a suitable date for the hunt, and tells him after consulting the deity *Atida* what he must do to ensure success; e.g. he may tell him to kill a white chicken away in the bush, sprinkling some of the blood in the path which the hunters will follow, doing such and such a thing with its head, its feathers, its entrails and so forth.

On the third day, the day of the hunt, the little beer which has been left for the purpose is finished up, and the dregs are spread over the courtyard of the *won arum*'s house. On the previous night the spears are left out in the *otem*, leaning against the sacred euphorbia (*oligo*),and it is the extreme of good luck if a male, pennant-winged nightjar flutters over them (*buko*). After the sprinkling of the dregs, and when the dregs are dry, takes place the consecration ceremony of *gato tong* or *lamo tong* (the latter phrase referring more particularly to the brushing of the spear-heads). The hunters are drawn up in a half-moon, spears pointing forward, and an old man of the village, or, if there is not one, the *won arum* (who invokes and speaks in the name of an ancestor), brushes the spear-heads with leaves of the trees *alenga* and *olwedo*, while intoning the following chant, the responses being made solemnly by the hunters, who lunge at the same time with their spears. After the hunt the old man and his friends get a dish of *atatam* from the meat killed.

Recitative.	Response.
Obile wi le.	*Obile.*
Obile chotok wi le.	*Obile.*
Omwatang ki mwat.	*Mwat.*
Okwech! obile wi le.	*Obile.*
Okwaro wi le, leny.	*Wi le.*
Wi leny owil.	*Owil.*
Ka inek' alop, beber.	*Ber.*
Ka ineko kul, beber.	*Ber.*
Apolini wi owil.	*Owil.*
Wi roda owil.	*Owil.*
Ka inek' akal, beber.	*Beber.*
Ka ineko jobi, beber.	*Ber.*
Ka ineko lyech, beber.	*Ber.*
Ka inek' ekori, beber.	*Ber.*
Ka inek' amoching, ber.	*Ber.*
Edol' emany, emany i der' opong.	*Opong.*
Ibili wich ka lek.	*Ka lek.*
Iryamno k' olwedo.	*Iryamno.*
Inek kanati.	*Inek.*

RECITATIVE.	RESPONSE.
Okwe! wi job' owil.	*Owil.*
Okwe! wi kul owil.	*Owil.*
Tongwa tir.	*Tir.*
Ka tong opoto kume, ber.	*Ber.*
Otyak i 'deru ki tyak.	*Otyak.*
Ka arum okwe, beber.	*Ber.*
Ka ineko le, ber.	*Ber.*
Ka iryemo le magi tenge, beber.	*Ber.*
Ka mon gilelo, ber.	*Ber.*
Iryamno ki nywat.	*Ki nywat.*
Ngat mabalo tong wi owil.	*Owil.*
Iwach akwara te wach.	*Te wach.*
Ibwang achipan.	*Ibwang.*
Ting kong' onek le.	*Onek.*
Otyak i 'deru ki tyak.	*Otyak.*
Ka ipoko, beber.	*Ber.*
Otyak atatam ki tyak.	*Otyak.*
Ting kong' onek le.	*Onek.*
The animal's head is tasted.	Is tasted.
The animal's head is swiftly tasted.	Is tasted.
It halts and stumbles.	It stumbles.
Ah! the animal's head is tasted.	Is tasted.
It grazes the head of the animals.	Their head.
May the animals be bewildered.	Bewildered.
If you kill hartebeeste, it is well.	Well.
If you kill warthog, it is well.	Well.
May the waterbuck be bewildered.	Bewildered.
May the bushbuck be bewildered.	Bewildered.
If you kill reedbuck, it is well.	Well.
If you kill buffalo, it is well.	Well.
If you kill elephant, it is well.	Well.
If you kill giraffe, it is well.	Well.
If you kill rhinoceros, it is well.	Well.
Let the liver be folded, let it fill the mat.[1]	Let it fill.
May you taste the head in the courtyard.	In the courtyard.
You drive them with lilac.	With lilac.
May you kill at once.	May you kill.
Ah! may the buffalo be bewildered.	Bewildered.
Ah! may the warthog be bewildered.	Bewildered.
Our spears are upright.	Upright.
If the spear strikes, it is well.	Well.
It is cut up on the mat.[1]	Cut up.
If the *arum* is at peace, it is well.	Well.
If you kill animals, it is well.	Well.
If you drive them aside, it is well.	Well.
If the women rejoice, it is well.	Well.
You drive them limping.	Limping.
Whoso misses, may he be bewildered.	Bewildered.
Speed the spear grazing as it speeds.	As it speeds.
May you rout the herd.	May you rout.
May the beer-dregs kill animals.	May they kill.

[1] Meat is cut up into portions on a winnowing mat.

Recitative.	Response.
It is cut up on the mat.	Cut up.
If you divide the meat, it is well.	Well.
The *atatam* is cut up.	Cut up.
May the beer-dregs kill animals.	May they kill.

This done, they proceed to the hunt, at which the *won arum* is supreme and directs hunters to their positions wherever he considers that there may be danger of a gap which would enable the game to escape. The large body of the hunters stands on the lee side of the hunting area, and the main fire (obtained ceremonially by fire-sticks at the *arum*) is lighted by the *won arum* and his relations all round on the windward side, a long circular line bearing down fast with the wind; as soon as this is lighted, the lee side is also lighted and burns slowly against the wind. The object is to drive down the game with the wind, and the lee fire only serves the purpose of bewildering the game and blinding them with smoke when they emerge. Very few game suffer from the fire and large numbers escape, although men are posted at the sides and many others follow the main fire. Dogs are not usually brought to this hunt, but when brought stand with their owners behind the front line of hunters to chase wounded game or to fall on any which break through. Rarely is a wounded animal ever allowed to escape, such is the speed and endurance of the hunters, but is immediately followed up till killed. Whirlwinds of heated smoke and terrific power are common, and the larger ones lift men off their feet and are known even to throw them into the fire. In spite of the fact that all kinds of game, including elephant, buffalo, lion and leopard, are driven out by the flames, quite little children turn out to hunt, and women from villages near by bring the hunters tamarinds and amomum to quench their thirst. Anything from twenty-five to forty miles may be covered in one day at these hunts.

The game killed is divided as follows: to the *won arum*, one shoulder; to the first spearer (*won le*, owner of the animal), one haunch, which goes to his close relations (*omegu me tong*), the saddle (*pyer*), which belongs by prescriptive right to his mother-in-law or, if unmarried, to his mother, the head, neck, chest, tail, stomach and entrails; to the second spearer (*madopo* or *adopet*), one shoulder and one haunch, of which the haunch goes to his close relations; to the third spearer (*madopo oguru*), the back and ribs. The hide goes to the man (an intimate friend or relation of the *won le*) who first says "*lau an abero*," "I claim the skin." In former times it was customary for the *won le's* brother to claim in this way the tusks of an elephant killed at a hunt, but this is no longer the case, and by modern practice one tusk goes to the first spearer and one to the second.

(3) *Dwar erenga* (Hunting in a small area called *eranga* or *chula*, island). It follows on the *arum*, that is at the beginning of March, and consists in hunting small "islands" of grass, purposely or accidentally not burned. Intentional "islands" consist of *amochanga*, or patches of grass, which were burnt in September or October to provide green fodder for livestock during the dry season. The *erenga* belongs to the *won arum*, in whose property it is situated, and the terms *won erenga* and *won arum* are therefore identical. Invitation is not general, as only a limited number of hunters are required, and is issued by word of mouth, without a drum, by the *won erenga*. The procedure at a hunt is a mixture of the two previous methods. Nets are set up on the lee side instead of the slow fire, and fire is lighted on the windward side only, the hunters being disposed at the nets and on the flanks. Preliminary ceremonies are conducted as for the *dwar me arum*, with the exception that the ceremony of *gato tong* is omitted, as the *dwar erenga* is considered as a sequel to the *dwar me arum*, making a repetition unnecessary. Only small game and edible rats or voles (*anyeri*) are expected.

Game killed is distributed as follows: to the *won erenga*, one shoulder; to the owner of the net in which the animal is killed (*won bor*, also called *won le*, the owner of the animal), two haunches, one of which he gives to his intimate relations, the saddle, which goes to his mother-in-law or mother, the head, neck, chest, back, ribs, stomach, entrails and tail; to the *adopet* or first spearer, one shoulder. In regard to rats and voles, however, including the large *Thryonomys Swinderenianus*, the first spearer does not take the kill, but it is claimed by the second spearer, who keeps it undivided.

(4) *Dwar me ariga* (Hunting by driving). The ceremonies preparatory to this kind of hunting are the same as for the *dwar me arum*, with the addition, if nets are used, of the rite of *buko gweno*, already detailed. It takes place in March after all the grass has been burned, and the area of the hunt corresponds with the *arum*. The *won arum* (called also *won ariga*) organizes the hunt or gives someone else permission to do so, as whatever the description of hunt there can be no general hunting in an *arum* without the owner's permission, or he will spite the hunters by taking some game dung and hiding it privily, and they will in consequence draw a blank. Invitations are issued by word of mouth that on such and such a day there will be a hunt, and on the day previous to it the *won ariga* beats a drum to remind those whom he has already invited. While he is beating the drum he wears a chaplet of a convolvulus called *bomo*, which is also draped round his neck and shoulders. The hunters are lined up in an immense circle, surrounding the *witim* or area to be hunted. At a signal the whole circle starts advancing towards the centre, and the *won ariga* with one drum

and his brother with another, both festooned with convolvulus, run up and down opposite arcs of the circle, marshalling the ranks, rectifying gaps, and beating their drums that all may know their relative positions and thus keep touch and direction. Thus the game is all driven with the help of dogs to the centre, where takes place the final conflict; and it should be added that even elephants are so hunted. When the *witim* is small, nets may be set up and the game driven on to the nets, as in the *dwar me chiko bo*, but without the help of fire, which is never used in this method, as the hunt only takes place after all the grass has been burned.

The game killed is distributed as follows: to the first spearer (*won le*), two haunches, of which one goes to his intimate relations, head, saddle, neck, chest, stomach, entrails, tail; to the second spearer, one shoulder; to the third spearer, the back and ribs; to the *won ariga*, one shoulder. But when nets are used the distribution is as follows: to the owner of the net in whose section the animal is killed (*won bo*, also called *won le*), two haunches, of which one goes to his intimate relations, head, back, neck, ribs, saddle, chest, stomach, entrails, and tail; to the first spearer (called, as in the first method of hunting, *madopo*), one shoulder; to the *won ariga*, one shoulder.

(5) *Dwar me woto kenwu* (Solitary hunting). This takes place in an *amel*, or patch of burned grass, and consists in spooring the game down. Though courageous enough as hunters and ready to tackle any animal with spears alone, the Lango curiously enough cannot be called expert trackers. This is doubtless due to the fact that their mode of hunting does not take much account of the art, and unless the tracks are quite recent or clearly unmistakable, they are not followed up. The hunter prefers to watch by waterholes early in the morning, or to proceed at once to some known haunt of the herd, whatever it is. A man goes by himself, or with one friend, with his dog. Preparatory ceremonies consist of taking the auspices by sandals, and as the hunter leaves his courtyard he reclines his spear momentarily in the *otem* against the sacred euphorbia. His dog is free, but is leashed when the game is spied. When about forty yards off it is released and goes for the animal, while the hunter follows to its assistance. As the business of dogs is not to kill game but to delay them till the hunter's arrival, they are trained to attack the haunch and testicles of buck and warthog. They are not sent in after the more dangerous animals. One haunch of any animal killed is given to the chief of the locality, the only form of hunting by which the chief *qua* chief benefits.

Game is hunted at all seasons of the year by means of traps and snares, with the two-fold object of obtaining meat and protecting the crops. The following methods are employed:—

The commonest snare is the *otaich*, which is constructed of the long sharp thorns of the acacia or of thin pointed sticks. These

horns are arranged in the form of a circle, the points facing to the centre and the blunt ends being securely bound on the circumference. It is strongly made with a double row of thorns, and is placed in a game run over a small hole which has been dug out to fit it, and is operated in conjunction with a cord, one end of which forms a noose placed under the thorns, the other end being fastened to a hidden log. The animal on getting its foot in tightens the noose, and as it is irritated by the thorns tightens it still more, the log preventing it from going any distance and leaving a trail which is easily followed.

The *adeye* or "strangler" is a rope stretched across a game run between convenient trees with a running noose in the centre at a level sufficient to catch the animal's head.

The *akongomer* (so called from the name of a particular variety of rope from which it is made) consists of a noose set on a trigger and attached to a long pole, which is bent almost to the ground when the snare is set. On being released the noose catches the animal's leg, the pole swinging up straight and either breaking or dislocating the limb. A much smaller edition of the *akongomer* is used for snaring birds, and a rat-trap (*owich me chiko oyo*) is also made on the same principle, the noose being set on a trigger at the mouth of the rat-hole.

A similar snare is constructed for catching servals and wild cats, the noose being arranged at the door of a small trap in which a live chicken is placed as a bait. The noose catches either the neck or leg, and close to the noose the rope is threaded through a log which serves the double purpose of tiring out the animal and of preventing its biting or tearing the rope.

Lions, leopards and hyænas are provided for by a large and strongly constructed trap, called *akino*, on entering which the animal releases a trigger closing the doorway. A live goat in a separate compartment is used as a bait.

Pits with stakes at the bottom (*abuge*), an imitation from the Jopaluo, are sometimes used to protect crops, but are not popular; another Jopaluo institution, however, the drop-spear for elephants, has obtained a wider vogue. It consists of a heavy spear-head set in a log (*kol*) cut from the tree *apok*, about three feet long and two feet in diameter, and is suspended over an elephant run in such a way that an elephant passing below, on touching a rope, releases the log, which crashes down, driving the spear deep into its head or shoulder. The elephant, even if it escapes the owner of the snare, almost inevitably succumbs to weakness and loss of blood.

At the *dwar me arum*, birds, especially francolins, are apt to fly low, either because they are singed or because they are bewildered by the smoke and noise, and are easily knocked over with a stick.

Bird-lime is known and is sometimes employed, and the *abal* is a snare for guinea-fowl. A long rope is stretched a few inches off the ground across a potato patch which the guinea-fowl frequent, and from it are suspended some ten to fifteen little nooses. It does not appear to be very effective.

When spears are leaned against a house or tree, they are leaned point downwards, or the game will not come to the owner of the spears. This is, however, a comparatively new theory, as a few generations ago the reverse belief prevailed. Should one pass a *peru jok* (the ceremonial structure built at the birth of twins) in any village on the way to a hunt, additional virtue will accrue to the spears by being reclined against it. There is no definite number of spears carried at a hunt, but it varies from three to ten according to the means of the hunter. To bring himself luck a hunter on sighting game puts his spears on the ground and jumps over them once, and in taking them up also gathers up some of the earth, which he throws in the direction of the animal.

On spearing an animal a hunter invokes his beloved (*gwongo apayo*) as in war, but if the animal is an elephant he invokes the name of his mother. This establishes his claim to the kill, and he immediately blows his particular call on his whistle, thus summoning his relations to assist in case of a dispute and to cut up the meat. On the death of the animal the *won le*, i.e. the technical killer, the owner of the net or the thrower of the first spear, as the case may be, makes an incision in its nose with his spear in order to allow its guardian spirit (*winyo*) to escape.[1] Otherwise the guardian spirit would die and the *won le* would never again have an opportunity of hunting this particular animal. After cutting its nose, he taps it on the brow (*ogoyo wiye*) with all his spears, and then laying the animal on its back passes the spears between its legs from hind to head (*logoro tong i tyene*), gently tapping its heart on the way (*goyo chwinye me lucho winyo mere*). The motive is to bewitch or to daze the guardian spirit in order that kindred animals may be confused and will in future fall an easy prey to the hunter's spear. The *won le* does not skin the animal, a task which is performed under his supervision by his relations or, if he is a stranger, by his host's villagers.

On nearing home successful hunters blow their calls on their whistles to apprise the village of their success, and are met in the *otem* by their wives, who raise the cry of victory and bring them water to drink and for washing. They place their spears in the *otem*, and their wives take them into the house later. On the other hand, unsuccessful hunters return in silence, and are greeted with nothing but contumely and insults often of the most filthy and obscene

[1] The Alur and Acholi cut off the nose, fill the nostrils with pounded leaves of *alenga*, and hang it in the *otem*.

nature. Their wives bring them no water, and they have to take the spears indoors themselves; even their little children run and hide, as they refuse to bring water to a father who cannot supply the larder. Once many years ago there was a man Otwe who returned from a hunt with empty hands and received nothing but jeers and taunts from his wife, who kept asking in a loud voice what could have induced her to marry such a despicable coward. Tiring of the unceasing babel of invective, he went off hunting alone next morning to try and retrieve his reputation, but during the day encountered a herd of buffalo and was killed. And from this incident arose a well-known song which has now become proverbial of shrews and their kind: *dok mon mumiyo le nek' Otwe* (Woman's words made the animal kill Otwe).

The heads of animals killed are wrapped in leaves of *alenga* and placed in the *otem* after being gnawed clean. The bladders of small game are hung in the *otem* to pacify their *winyo* and to enable such game to be hunted again with success. And most important of all various charms are made to ensure future success. Thus the feet of bushbuck and duiker are preserved and filled with pounded *alenga* taken from the *otem*, and the tip of the tail of any animal killed is worn on a ring to which the hunting-whistle is attached, or else is worn by the *won le's* wives and children on their necks. The tips of the horns are worn filled with the animal's favourite food, its particular kind of grass mixed with semsem and red chalk, the intention being to attract that species, as it were, to its own pasture. Wristlets are worn made from the skin of game killed, except game killed by nets or traps, and fastened to hunting-nets are bits of the tails, horns and feet.

If a roan antelope (and in former days a rhinoceros) is killed, its head is left in the bush at the spot where it died, though its horns may be cut off and taken away to make flutes. Were the head to be taken to the village, the spirit of the roan, which has a very dangerous influence, would follow and kill its like; i.e., if it is a young male roan, a young boy of the hunter's family would die; if it is a female, a woman would die, and so forth. It is not clear why special provision should be made against this animal, but it is certainly feared to some extent because of its death-cry, which resembles that of a stricken man.

Many animals have hunting synonyms or names used during the hunt to bring good luck. For instance, the bushbuck (*aderit*) is on the field called *agagi*. Synonyms are given to the lion, however, rather to avert a panic which might ensue if the dread name *engato* were to be suddenly and unexpectedly called out. He is known accordingly in depreciation as *odyek*, *egwel kul* or *atunya*, and the name *engato* is forbidden during a hunt.

It is readily apparent from the history of their many migrations

that fishing is a comparatively recent development in Lango life, and consequently as yet its pursuit cannot be called a tribal characteristic, except perhaps among the lakeshore and riverain dwellers. Their practice is in effect an adaptation of the methods of neighbouring tribes, on to which have been grafted a few customs, more or less evident, modified from hunting vogues. There is little of ancient code or prescribed custom governing the art and practice of fishing, but a distinction may be made between fishing by harpoon [1] and by traps.

Anyone is at liberty to summon people to a "hunt," and the area to be fished is called *echilech*. There are no public ceremonies, but if a man has been unsucessful on a previous occasion, his harpoon is impaled on a solanum berry, which has been plucked and thrown on the ground in the *otem*, to give it sharpness and attractiveness. The *echilech* may consist of a convenient and shallow estuary at the mouth of which the men form up in line to drive to its source; or it may consist of flooded lowlands, in which case the grass is all trampled down round the selected area, and sometimes small embankments are built up of grass and mud to prevent the escape of the fish. The lungfish (*lut*) and the catfish (*twang*) comprise the main bag, and when fishing for the former the water may be waist-deep, but for the latter does not exceed knee-depth. The harpoon may be thrown, but it is an unwieldy weapon, and is more generally used for stabbing. The first harpooner is the *won rech*, owner of the fish, and the second (*adopet*) takes the tail end of the fish. Should a man harpoon a fish ineffectually and it falls off his weapon, he has no claim, but the next man to harpoon it is the *won rech*. To be a kill the fish must be fast on the harpoon. As a man gets fish he strings them through the gills and trails them behind him. On returning from fishing he places his harpoon in the *otem*, where it remains till next required.

There are four different fish-traps or baskets: *elinga*, *ogwa*, *echurung* and *kijang*. The first three are made by men and are only used by men. They are constructed of wickerwork, varying in size, and have the appearance of lobster pots. The *elinga* is used in deep water, the *ogwa* and *echurung* in a shallow current, and the *ogwa*, having a wider mouth, is sometimes used for dipping and scooping up fish. Previous to use they lie for one night in the *otem* and are brushed with solanum leaves to bring good luck. A bait is put inside consisting of beer-dregs wrapped in castor-oil leaves, and is said to be very efficacious. The leaves and bark of the tree *etek* are also sometimes used, and, being slightly poisonous, have the effect of stupefying the fish, in which condition they lie floating

[1] The word harpoon is used for convenience to translate *echalut*, though technically, perhaps, the word should be reserved for an implement with a float and detachable handle. Such a weapon, however, is not used by the Lango.

on the surface. In a certain year, too, when there was a great scarcity of fish in the Pechema or Tochi River, Ojokapech, a resident of Aber, is said to have thrown in a dried fish from an *ewer* or vegetable platter, after which fish were caught in abundance.

The *kijang* is a long conical basket with a wide, open mouth, and is made and used by women. Before use it is put in front of the *otem* and is brushed with solanum leaves. Women organize a drive, and their *kijang* are placed in the water each next the other in a long line, and the fish are driven into the wide mouths, the women advancing on to them in a semicircle from a distance. It is only so used in shallow water, but may be employed in deep water for dipping.

The rod and line is but rarely used, and only by little boys. Hooks are of different sizes, and the bait consists of worms and maggots. A float made of a twig of sorghum stalk is roughly tied to the line.

Crocodiles are mainly killed ashore, where they lay their eggs; but sometimes a man will go with a friend armed with a barbed spear and hunt them from a canoe, and if he is successful one shoulder goes to the owner of the canoe. But the Lango are poor watermen, and but rarely adopt this method. Reference however should be made to Okeng of Chiawante, probably the best Lango swimmer, who swims across Lake Kwania, hunting crocodiles on the way by diving and stabbing them in the belly with a knife. A few years ago there used to be a tame crocodile in the Tochi near Aber, and it wore a cowrie necklace, though none living can state who so adorned it. It does not appear to have been venerated, nor were sacrifices offered to it nor any special diet, but it had the significant name *Achamoginnga* (i.e. Whose property do I eat ?).

§ 9. **Musical Instruments.**—The musical instruments of the Lango consist of drums and flutes. The only stringed instrument is the six-stringed harp, *tom*, already described, but it is now very rarely heard, being only played by a few old men. It is difficult to understand why it should have fallen into desuetude, as it has a most attractive tone and always draws large audiences of young men, who will stop to listen to it even on the way to a hunt. Nevertheless, it is a curious fact that, though in other respects conservative to an exceptional extent, in the sphere of music the Lango have been much influenced by neighbouring tribes, and in particular by the Banyoro.

This tendency is particularly noticeable in their wind instruments. The *olwet*, for instance, is hardly ever heard now, and may be said to have lapsed about eight years ago, when the Bantu influence was first beginning to be appreciable. It is a flute with four stops, fashioned from the wood of a tree *orokoroko*, and was particularly used to accompany the now extinct dance *myel agweya*. Its place

has been taken by the flute *otule*,[1] which is now the universal wind instrument for accompanying dances.

These flutes are known as bass flutes (*min bilo*, or mother flute), tenor flutes (*adadang* or *adange*) and treble flutes (*atin bilo*, child flute), according to their size, though there are naturally variations of size even within the same group, and are made from the following horns: bass flutes from full-grown waterbuck, cob, roan or tragelaphus; tenor flutes from bushbuck and half-grown cob; treble flutes from young cob, bushbuck or tragelaphus. They all have three stops, which are made by burning with a heated spear-butt, and the correctness with which they judge the intervals for boring the stops is remarkable. Indeed, it is unusual to see a flute which has had to be restopped, the original stops having been filled up with beeswax.

The *atin bilo* is also called the *adum*, as, being high-pitched, its function is to play or "interpret" (*dumo*) the air. The *min bilo* supplies what is practically a figured bass, while the *adadang* repeats the air in fourths. A flute band consists of two *atin bilo*, one *adadang*, and two *min bilo*.

The *bilo me ngonyamuto* is a still newer importation, and is a four-stopped flute made from a bamboo *ogada*. Its use is not widespread, nor is it employed in concerted music; it is the σύριγξ of the Theocritean goat-herd, and plays a similar charming rôle.

Another modern instrument is the *agwara*, which consists of a three feet long bamboo-like reed (*obot*) fitted into a calabash, curved into what is said to be the semblance of a military bugle. As with the *arupape*, the mouthpiece is a hole in the side of the reed, all other instruments being blown from the end. It produces a clear, almost metallic, note similar to that of a cavalry trumpet, and on it are reproduced military bugle calls with a remarkable fidelity. It has no other function, and its modernity can thus be readily gauged.

A similar, if deeper, note is produced by the *arupape* or *apel*, which is an indigenous trumpet used in war and at dances merely for creating a noise. It has no musical value. Its size varies from one or two and a half feet, gradually widening from tip to end, the longer varieties being fashioned from the hollowed-out stem of the candelabra euphorbia (*opopong*) and covered with the skin of a monitor lizard, the smaller from the horn of Speke's tragelaphus. The mouthpiece is near the narrow tip, at the point of which is pierced (as in the case of the *bilo*) a single stop, and two notes at an interval of a minor third are the sole compass of this trumpet.

The *bilo* proper is the war-whistle (*echoich*), but the term is generically used to cover all wind instruments. Thus a dance

[1] Called also *amule* or *olere*. These names themselves indicate its Bantu origin; cf. Lunyoro, *enyamulere*.

A LANGO DRUM BAND.

To face p 124.

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accompanied by flutes may be referred to as *myel me bilo* (though the old name—still used, but less frequently—was *alugturu*), and we have seen that the flutes are distinguished as *min bilo* and *atin bilo*. It is made of the horn of a young hartebeeste, cob or reedbuck, and the performer blows down the wide end of the horn, the tip being pierced to form a stop, which is operated by the little finger. Like the *apel*, it can only produce two notes of a somewhat shrill and unmusical tone at an interval of a minor third. Every man has his own whistle motif (*nying*, or name, of *bilo*), which may be memorized by a few words, a catch or phrase of a private song, much in the same way as the bugle calls in the British Army are memorized by words of a more or less fanciful nature. The motif may not be played by anyone else, and an infringement of this rule will certainly cause a violent quarrel, and may even lead to bloodshed. Nor is this surprising when it is remembered that a man blows his whistle motif in war and hunting to signify that he has obtained a kill, and that it is his method of revealing his presence or identity from a distance to his beloved, his family and intimates.

The drum band consists of seven drums, whose appearance and manufacture have already been described, and they are distinguished like flutes into one *min bul* (mother drum), one *adadang* (second in size to the *min bul*), and four *atin bul* (child drum), together with the *atimu*, a tall, narrow, upright drum, in contrast with the others, which are round and squat, varying in size to produce different notes. When in use the *atimu* is slung by a leathern thong over the neck and clasped between the knees by the performer, who beats it vigorously with the flat of his hands generally in syncopation with the other drums. These are arranged in a line leaning against a log, before which two musicians kneel beating them with little drum-sticks. The execution calls for great skill and dexterity, one performer operating on the *min bul* and one *atin bul*, the other four drums being operated by his partners. The *min bul* is always at the end of the row, but the position of the other five drums is changed from time to time when a variation in the mode is required. The drummers are always males.

The Lango assert that these drums are truly indigenous, but it is doubtful whether this claim can be sustained, though to a certain extent it is supported by the fact that the drum dance is gradually losing popularity in favour of the more modern flutes, the modernity of which is further evidenced by their terminology. The word *adadang*, for instance, is undoubtedly onomatopœic, and must have been applied to a drum before its use was extended to flutes. But in spite of this their claim carries little conviction. The *atimu*, and perhaps the smallest of the *atin bul*, such as they have used in battle and hunting from a remote period, are probably the only

truly Lango drums, being employed in numerous rites and ceremonies and thus arguing their antiquity. For the rest, the drums are so strikingly similar to Bantu models as at once to suggest imitation, albeit at a distant date; and so diverse is the institution of a concerted drum band of this nature from the general practice of other Nilotic and even Hamitic tribes that this suggestion almost becomes a certainty.

The conditions of inquiry have precluded a scientific analysis of their music by a competent observer, nor has it been possible to obtain phonographic records from which such an analysis could subsequently be made; but it appears to be the case that the Æolian and Lydian modes predominate. This is, however, little more than a suggestion which later inquiry on scientific lines may show to be unfounded. If, however, it is proved that the former mode does predominate to any extent, this will still further strengthen the belief that these drums have a Bantu origin, as observations in different parts of Africa tend to show that the Æolian mode is typically Bantu. The substitution of the Bantu three-stop flute for their old four-stop *olwet*, with a consequent change in musical mode, at any rate shows that modal innovations are not repugnant.

Both drum and flute melodies are numerous, but while the latter are frequently charming in themselves, drum music—apart from its technique—has little value save as a dance accompaniment. Rhythm is very strongly marked, and the music is vigorous and inspiriting, despite the fact that the minor key is unduly favoured. As vocalists, however, though they appear to be able to sustain pitch for an almost indefinite period, arguing a good ear, they possess with rare exceptions somewhat coarse and unmusical voices, and do not display that instinct for music which is, for example, inherent in the Nilotic Acholi on the one hand and the Hamitic Iteso on the other.

§ 10. **Dances.**—Of the numerous Lango dances, many of which are now nearly obsolete, owing to the vagaries of fashion, the *myel me bul* and *myel me bilo* (according as the drum or flute band is in attendance) are the commonest. The dance is performed by men and women, the performers standing with their legs together and arms bent forward at the elbow holding a stick. From this position they jump straight up into the air, ever and anon flinging their legs sideways with a shout as they leap, or turning round before again coming to earth, and repeat the process in perfect time to the music for long periods at a stretch.[1] Monotonous as this may

[1] Compare the Suk dance Kedongo, which is performed by warriors, women and girls. It consists chiefly in leaping up and down off the ground, and appears to be indulged in chiefly as a form of exercise (Beech, *The Suk*, p. 24). A similar dance is also common among the Jaluo, and the first part of the Shilluk dance is of the same nature. The Acholi and Alur dances, however, are quite different.

be to our eyes, it is a fine exercise and requires a high standard of stamina and muscular energy, especially in women and girls; for in addition to jumping up and down in an erect posture, at every jump they have to click their anklets together, and by a toss of their heads send their ringlets flying in the wind. Stilts are occasionally used by men at dances.

When the flute band is in attendance, the male dancers stand in a large circle facing inwards, while the five musicians play different tunes known to the dancers, moving round inside the circle with a curious gliding gait, which seems even in the strong afternoon sun (for dances all take place during the late afternoon) to be more ghostly than human. It may be remarked, too, that professional flautists are at once recognizable by their long necks, which appear to become permanently distended by the posture and swaying motion adopted while performing.

A group of girls follows the musicians singing in a shrill treble, while the dancers join in as each chorus recurs, the cumulative effect being singularly agreeable. The circle of dancers may be several deep if there is a large attendance, but outside them all grouped in little clusters dance and sing the older women, the surplus girls and the children; and it may be observed that the older women take a far greater pride in their dancing than do the girls of the present day, endeavouring it may be to counterbalance their faded charms by an additional vigour and grace of motion.

The dancers meanwhile continue the jumping movement, the whole circle leaping in perfect time, until at the end of one tune there is a pause for rest, and the flautists decide amid suggestions from the dancers what song to play next. And so it goes on, but an unpopular air, or one imperfectly played is greeted with shouts of derision and the dance is abruptly broken off in favour of another tune. Now and then during a dance couples will come forward into the middle of the circle and give a *pas de deux*, often accompanied by lewd gestures and imitations of animals, while the rest continue jumping. Formerly custom restricted the number to two couples at a time, in order not to cramp the movements of the musicians, but the modern practice is less considerate.

The *myel me bul* is similar, but the dancers are arranged in lines, the men in one line and the women in another facing them about six feet away, or there may be several little lines, the women nearly always being segregated, though here, as in the *myel be bilo* (though less usually), a man and a woman may add diversion by a *pas de deux*. The songs sung to the drums are different from those sung to the flutes, but very often the dancers are content to dance without singing, venting their high spirits in shouts and invocations and whistling at the end of each number.

In the *myel me bilo* the dancers often carry hide whips or long

withies of *epobo*, about eight feet in length and very pliant, and from time to time variation is introduced into the proceedings by a man standing upright in the centre with his two hands above his head holding the withy horizontally. There is no cessation in the dance, but one of the other dancers will advance and give him a severe blow with his whip or withy, which curls right round the body, leaving a great weal and not infrequently drawing blood. He endures three such blows, sometimes from the same person, at others from different people, and between each blow and after the last gives tremendous bounds into the air, the object being presumably to get some relief from the acute pain which these blows must cause. He must, however, on no account show that he felt them or flinch in any way, as he would be shamed before the women and be accounted a coward. It is said that this practice was devised at the women's instigation, that they might know who were brave men and who were cowards, and so be able to select their lovers with skill and discretion, for cowardice on the husband's part brings equal shame and disgrace on the wife. It seems a possible conjecture, however, that this dance was evolved from the inter-village duel related above, where also a cunning wielder of the lash was greatly honoured.[1]

Of obsolete dances the *myel awala* or bell dance survives only in the rain ceremonies, as also does the *abala* and *abalachela*. These dances are chiefly remarkable for their syncopated measures in contrast with the modern dances, which are in $\frac{2}{4}$ or $\frac{4}{4}$ time, the *awala* being perhaps the most technically developed, consisting of a toe and heel movement, a side chassé and a vigorous stamp with the right foot which sets the bells jangling. It is interesting to note, however, a possible tendency to revert to the old syncopated styles, as evidenced in 1918 by a new dance called *ajere*. It appears to have come from the Hamitic Akwa people, together with another dance, *myel me apita*, which is in $\frac{3}{4}$ time and is accompanied by the *min bul* only, whose monotonous beat may be represented as — — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ repeated *ad infinitum*. The *myel atwanyara* is another obsolete dance, consisting chiefly of bodily contortions, and it appears to have been largely imposed by chiefs in the old days on captives or recalcitrant tribesmen, who were made to dance the *atwanyara* on stones or ant-hills as a sign of their repentance or submission. Reference has already been made to the *myel agweya*, the main movement of which, as its name indicates, consists in kicking the foot of one leg against the calf of the other.

Other purely ceremonial dances, such as the *myel me arut* (dance

[1] Mr. E. B. Haddon, writing of the Bari, makes the following statement: "The young warriors (*teton*) have trials of endurance, each taking a hippopotamus-hide whip and seeing who can bear the pain best."

at a twin birth) and the *myel omarari* (the plague dance), and the descriptive action dances of girls, will be considered later. There remains the *myel me kongo* (beer dance), sometimes so called, though strictly it is not a dance, and its more general name *wer kongo* (beer song) more aptly describes it. It is held inside the host's hut, all other dances taking place in the *bar* or pasturage, and consists entirely of singing, women being but rarely admitted. They all sit round the beer-pot, drinking through their tubes, and every now and then one will get up and sing, sometimes an old song, sometimes an improvisation, but always, whether old or new, the rest join readily in the chorus. At no other dance is beer publicly provided, but the dancers generally have some both before and after the dance at their own villages (for the dances are attended by guests from neighbouring villages who have been warned on the morning of a dance by a whistle and drum beats from the village where it is to be held), but not enough to intoxicate them in any way. At every dance they wear all their finery of headgear, beads, wire, and other personal adornments, and their bodies are brightly burnished with oil. At no dance, however, are spears allowed, as the dancers in their exhilaration and excitement might come to blows, though this is rare, except in the *myel me kongo*.

Songs, like dances, are divided into different classes: *wer bilo* (flute songs), *wer bul* (drum songs), *wer kongo* (beer songs), and sundry ceremonial songs, but there is little to distinguish them save the rather crude indelicacy which permeates the *wer arut* (twin songs). Songs may be historical, referring to the deeds of former heroes, but more generally topical, the allusions in the latter class being sometimes difficult to follow without a knowledge of their previous history, as the songs are frequently very compressed and elliptical, the words often having to be fitted to a familiar tune. They always consist of a solo or recitative and a chorus. The majority are unable to sing a solo, and only a few are competent vocalists by the light of their inner consciousness, others who show promise being taught by friends. A good singer improvises the solo as he sings, delighting in introducing personal allusions more particularly of a caustic and derogatory nature, and gets as his fee a chicken or even, it may be, a goat. Topical songs are devised at any time of the year by young men, but especially about September and October, to be in readiness for the dancing season, which opens with the harvesting of the grain. Drum dances are prohibited earlier, as if they are indulged in while the crops are in the ground game would come and ruin them. A more potent reason, perhaps, is to be found in the fact that till the grain is harvested there is always a shortage of beer, and without beer that maketh glad the heart of man they have not the same incentive to song and dance. Songs of an indelicate nature are not usual at these public dances,

and despite the unseemly gestures already alluded to, dances are not a prelude to promiscuous immorality.

§ 11. **Games.**—It may be said that dancing and beer-drinking are the chief pastimes of the Lango, but in addition to these diversions of an otherwise strenuous and industrious existence there are a number of games in which especially the children delight, as do children of all nations, simple and primitive, but sufficient apparently to give them amusement and occupation.

The games played by boys for the most part adumbrate their more mature existence, games in which swiftness of hand and eye is essential, eminently suitable to mould future warriors and huntsmen. Such a game is that called *chobo awala*, or spearing the hoop. A hoop about eighteen inches in diameter is thrown revolving with great speed through the air by one boy, while all the rest throw sticks, representing spears, through it while it is still in flight. So swiftly is it done that it is often difficult to say whether a hit or miss should be recorded.

A development of this game is another called *tot* or *toto okoto*, meaning exactly the same as *chobo awala*. It is played with one hoop (*okoto*), the players being divided into two sides, generally numbering six apiece. Each player has a short length of string tied at each end to sticks about four inches long, the whole implement being called *gwok*, or dog, because its duty is to hunt the hoop. Side B is drawn up in a line, and someone on side A throws the hoop rolling before them. Each player in side B casts his *gwok* as the *okoto* passes him. If it passes straight through or misses, he has failed, and stands still ; but if it is caught up and entangled in the *okoto*, he rubs his feet backwards and forwards on the ground (technical term, *rego parachan*) as a sign of success and to mark the spot. When the *okoto* finally stops, a member of side A approaches and takes his stand in the place where the successful man on side B has shuffled his feet, taking up exactly the same attitude, whether sitting, kneeling, standing or lying, as was adopted by the successful thrower on side B. The other side may call to him and trap him into speech, but if he speaks he is not allowed to proceed, and the game is forfeit. From this stance he throws his spear at the hoop (*toto okoto*) where it lies. If the spear falls in the hoop, it is a win to A ; if the spear misses, it is a loss, and B taunt them "*Tot oloyi ; iwot ki alanya*" ("You are defeated and are outstripped.") B then throw back, and so on in turn. There is neither stake nor prize either in this game or in any other, and generally speaking no game concludes with a decision as to who are the victors, such a point of view not interesting the players, who are engrossed in the game for its own sake. But sometimes a count is kept in the following way : When the *gwok* catches the *okoto* it scores one point to the

side of the *gwok*, unless the champion of the other side successfully throws his spear into the *okoto*, in which case there is no score. As the hoop is thrown by each side alternately, they both have the opportunity of scoring points. If both sides score points, they neutralize each other, and only the balance is carried forward.

Sham fights are another popular amusement between two large parties of boys, who are armed with the stiff stalks of the amomum for spears, and for shields carry a piece of the curved sheath of the borassus palm. With these they wage their mimic wars with great zest and vigour, advancing and retiring, feinting, wheeling, and simulating death in an abandon of martial frenzy. Where the numbers are few a more formidable weapon than the amomum stalk may be employed, consisting of a thin stick about three and a half feet long, in the end of which has been fixed a porcupine quill. Bows and arrows are not used in these sham fights, but children are sometimes seen shooting at birds (which they never seem to hit) with bows and arrows of a small and crude design.

Another popular game is a kind of hockey called *goyo odilo* [1] (striking the ball). The *odilo* is generally the hard fruit of the wild *akwarakwara* tree, or a roughly rounded piece of wood; but the sap of a rubber-yielding creeper, presumably a Landolphia, worked into the shape of a ball is also said to be used.[2] The players number anything from six to ten aside, and use curved sticks, which bear a remarkable resemblance to hockey sticks. With these they tussle for the ball, and their object is to get it over the opponent's goal-line, which consists of a line roughly marked at each end of the selected area. *Mato* is the term used to score a goal, and is probably the same word as *mato*, to drink, referring to the milk of a supposed cow, which, as in so many games, the losers hypothetically pay as forfeit.

Young saplings of the true *olutokwon* can with care be pithed without damaging the rind, leaving a wooden barrel similar in size and length to that of a shot-gun. Wads are made by chewing fibre which is compressed to the dimensions of a .450 bullet. These are inserted one at each end of the barrel, and a wooden ramrod is pressed down behind one of them, the barrel being held pointed like a rifle. The wad in front of the ramrod being moved down the barrel compresses the air, which finally ejects the other wad with a loud explosion and with considerable velocity to a distance of some fifteen to twenty yards. Boys derive much entertainment from these "guns."

The last of the exclusively boys' games is that of imitation drums. These consist of sticks of varying lengths, the ends of which are bent over and stuck into the ground at an elevation of a few inches.

[1] This name is now applied by the Lango to the European game of golf.
[2] Never having seen one, I am unable to vouch for the accuracy of this statement.

A set consists of seven such sticks, and their lengths are so regulated as to give precisely the same tones, when tapped, as do the drums themselves. At these small boys amuse themselves by the hour, both taking an intrinsic pleasure in the sounds evolved and also, incidentally, learning by tuition and experience the different combinations of drum modes.

As might be expected, Lango girls differ but little from girls of all nations, and quite early in life their instinct for motherhood demands a doll. It is no elaborate affair, but simply a long sweet potato, and is washed, fed, scolded and slung on the back just like a human baby. Assisted too by boys of their own age, they will build model huts, all perfectly constructed, and it may be that a whole village of huts, each averaging eighteen inches in diameter, will be thus built in play, together with a cattle kraal and all the usual granaries and outhouses.

But apart from this, girls have fewer recreations than boys, being required to assist their mothers in home work and in looking after younger children at an earlier age. Consequently they join in the amusements of their elder unmarried sisters when they are in European eyes still but children. One such game is called *neko dyang* (killing the cow), a variant of which is not unknown in European nurseries. The participants are drawn up on two sides, each with a leader, who has to conceal a maize seed in the hand of one of her partners or herself. She openly rubs each of their hands in turn, and when they are all finished they present their closed fists to their opponents, who have to guess in which hand the seed is concealed. If they guess correctly, the seed is passed to them for manipulation; but if wrongly, the girl in whose hand the seed is raises her hand to her mouth, making a sucking noise, as though she were trying to suck up milk, often adding the words, "*Woti nek dyang pa ngadi*" ("Go and kill So-and-so's cow"), thus justifying the title of the game. A casual spectator may similarly ask one side "*Wun wuneko dok adi?*" ("How many cattle have you killed?")

The most characteristic girls' games are their descriptive dances or action songs, which are numerous and often extremely charming in the execution. Of these one called *Adita Madi* (Basket of the Madi) is of historic interest, as obviously dating from the period of the Madi raids. The girls sit in a circle singing

Adit' adit' ngo? Adita Madi.

(The basket, what is the basket? The basket of the Madi.)

their hands being interclasped all round. At the beginning they lean towards the centre, at which point their hands are clustered together, and as the song advances they lift their hands up, still keeping them interclasped, widening and extending their arms to

the full extent, and again lowering and, as the words *adita Madi* recur, reuplifting them. Thus do they, as it were, portray by the motion of their hands the circular basket used by the Madi from its narrow foundation to its wide brim.

Kwaich obolo ibe te oduru (The leopard lashes its tail under the fig-tree) are the words of another popular action song. The girls stand in a circle facing inwards with their arms around each other's waists, and as they sing the circle keeps revolving in short, rapid jumps. Within the circle is a small girl kneeling on the ground and barking like the dog which she represents, while outside the circle prowls another girl, who is the leopard trying to steal the dog. Ever and anon she darts her hands through any gap which the dancing feet may leave, the dog retreating to the far corner and barking lustily, until with a successful grab she clutches the dog and drags her forth out of the circle triumphant.

From these action songs to the telling of folk and animal stories is no far cry, and it is a common amusement for the villagers, men and women, boys and girls, to sit round the fire in the evening whiling away the hours with these fables. In their narration they show keen dramatic insight, distinguishing the characteristics of the animals or persons represented by appropriate gestures and changes of voice, the hare, for instance, renowned as always for its cunning, being especially characterized by a mumbling speech in recognition of its cleft lip. Certain narrators by the excellence of their dramatic art and the extensiveness of their repertoire win a more than local reputation, and are not infrequently invited out at the cost of a pot of beer to entertain their hosts for an evening, the beginning perhaps of what may some day become a professional class of raconteurs. A selection of these stories will be found at the end of this book.

A favourite pastime is the invention of words and phrases resembling the cries of birds or insects. Some are very adept at this ingenious amusement, and clever improvisations of this nature often become current and gain credence as the *ipsissima verba* of the birds.

Thus the *awele akungkung* (red pigeon) is believed to sing: "*Ni to me papa mato omiya dang bedo gi wiya ni kung, kung, kung, kung.*" ("[They say], that I brood over the death of my father with a *kung, kung, kung, kung.*")

The *awele alugaluga* (green pigeon) sings:—FEMALE: "*Atin two', ikob' atata; 'atin two', ikob' atata.*" MALE: "*Kara dong atimo nedi?*" (FEMALE: "'My child is ill.' You speak foolishly. 'My child is ill.' You speak foolishly." MALE: "Well, what am I to do?")

A guinea-fowl, caught in a snare, cries: "*Giketo roich, giketo roich.*" ("They set a snare, they set a snare.") Meanwhile the others who have escaped sing to it from neighbouring trees:

"*Ibeyo me 'ka, ibeyo me 'ka.*" ("You went carelessly, you went carelessly.")

The *apenyjulu* is a small chatty bird which holds the following conversation with its comrades: A. "*Kar' anwang anang' ochek. Ochek kan twatwal. In ibed' piny kuno.*" ("Why, I've found the fruit ripe. It is quite ripe here. You wait down there.") B. "*Bola moro ; akoro kwe.*" ("Throw me some ; I wait in vain.") A. "*Opoto piny kuno ; mo mere lo oko.*" ("It has fallen down there ; its juice is oozing away.")

A small black bird called *achecho* wakes people up in the morning with its cry to work: "*Kwer, kwer, kwer.*" ("Hoe, hoe, hoe.")

The mosquitoes buzz to each other: A. "*Aye-e-e-eng ma !*" ("I am quite full [of blood].") B. "*Pi-i-i- ingo ?*" ("Why ?") A. "*Abal' obi-i-i-ya.*" ("I spoil the spear-grass"—i.e. by falling on it owing to its weight of blood and being pierced.)

The millepede *okolo* says: "*Achwe ngwen otoro nguta.*" ("Abundance of termites breaks my neck"), because it gorges to repletion on termites till it can only move with difficulty.

Among the Jo Aber the propounding of riddles is a very popular amusement, especially among children and adult women. Elsewhere riddles appear to be entirely unknown, and it is likely that the Jo Aber are indebted for them to their Acholi neighbours, who take great delight in these tussels of wit.

One who proposes to propound a riddle cries "*koich,*" to which anyone accepting the challenge replies "*ilit.*" Should the latter be unable to guess the answer, he says: "*Oloya ; woti, cham dyang pa ngadi*" ("It is beyond me ; go and eat So-and-so's cow"), mentioning at random the name of anyone, generally a chief. Whereupon the propounder ejaculates "*Titi, titi*" in a light tone, representing the notes of a drum beaten in triumph. A man may make several guesses at a solution before giving up the problem, and the propounding and solution of a riddle takes some such form as this:—

Question (*Koich*).	Answer (*Ilit*).
Gin a mam otum ? (What is never finished ?)	*Kot* (rain).
Mam (No).	*Wot* (motion).
Mam (No).	*Buto* (sleep).
Mam (No).	*Oloya ; woti, cham dyang pa olong.*
Titi, Titi. Buru mach (ashes).	

The riddles are for the most part somewhat puerile and often admit of several solutions, thus giving the propounder a wide avenue of retreat, and that to the European the solution may appear as enigmatical as the riddle itself will become apparent from the following examples. The wide distribution of certain riddles is remarkable ; thus, for instance, the riddle whose answer is "A man's

shadow" is identical with one well known to the Shilluk. The Swahili have a precisely similar riddle to the one answered by "The hair of the head," and the figure of the eyes as representing pigeons is to be found also among the Batoro.

QUESTION.	ANSWER.
Gin anywalo nyare aber, mam oto? That which bears a beautiful, deathless daughter?	*Mach.* Fire.
Gin a mam ajalo? That which I do not delegate?	*Kech kadi kech oneki, mam ijalo.* Hunger. Though hunger kills you, you do not delegate it.
Gin akano kodi mere kene? That which reproduces unassisted?	*Ngwen.* Winged termites.
Gin a mam atucho? That which I do not reveal?	*Ka ibuto ki chyegi, iwok giri liling, itowoto pur.* Having slept with your wife, you go out in silence to cultivate.
Gin a mam ineno keni? That which you cannot see alone?	*Nga matwero neno toke?* Who can see the back of his head?
Ochuga nget ot? Cherries beside a house?	*Iti.* Ears.
Apuro potona, atochono; otekochek, atokayo, otokwero pongo chinga? I cultivate and sow the seed; it ripens and I harvest it, but the harvest does not fill my hand?	*Yei wiyi.* The hair of your head.
Atelo yo abor, kara mam atuno? I go a long way, but do not arrive?	*Lep, kara mam otuno tiki.* The tongue, for it does not reach your chin.
Pum alubi? A thud following you?	*Buru.* Ashes.[1]
Gin aguro agwech i dye nam? That which stirs a ladle in the lake?	*Dwe.* Moonbeams.
Dajok ogweyo dipo? A wizard kicks at the threshold?	*Dwe.* The moon.
Aweli aryo gikato nam? Two pigeons cross the lake?	*Wang.* Eyes.
Anywal' anyira aryo, giwiyo wigi? I bear two daughters, who dress their hair?	*Eladu.* Papyrus.
Anywal' atino aryo, girorom? I bear two children of equal size?	*Tyelo.* Feet.
An awot' awota gira: in iwoto kwen, awota? I go my ways; where go you, fellow-traveller?	*Tipo dano.* A man's shadow.

[1] Referring to the thud of ashes emptied out of a basket on to the ground, the breeze again carrying them after you.

To these may be added a few proverbs as further illustrative of their modes of thought, though in no sense can they be considered as a game or amusement. The lineage of proverbs is for the most part lost in the mists of antiquity, but two at least consist of catch phrases from once popular songs.

Kop obedo tek bala yi pa Ogwali ked' Akena.
The affair is as difficult as the war between Ogwali and Akena.

Chulo twol i apoko.
To imprison a snake in a drinking cup (of a malicious and dangerous act).

Winyo ochodo tol.
The bird breaks the snare (of a lucky escape).

Mam gichob' anyeri duch.
They do not all kill rats (i.e. someone has to go home empty).

Gwen obuk i wi duru.
Chickens scratch on the midden (*vide* English proverb of a cock on his dunghill).

Mach onywalo buru.
Fire produces ashes (of a lazy or ineffectual person).

Lyel acho tye i tim.
A man's grave is in the bush (i.e. to die in battle is a man's death).

Ngat' ongoto ngeya kun anino.
Me dormitantem pedicavit aliquis (of an unexpected or treacherous occurrence).

Engato makok mam oneko le.
A roaring lion kills no game. ("All bark and no bite.")

Oyo oywayo i ngony dero.
A rat pulls at the bottom of a granary (of an unexpected loss).

Ongoto buru.[1]
He lies with ashes (of extreme poverty).

Pyem mamono lak gweno tu.
Obstinacy prevented the chicken's teeth from growing.

Kalo mach.[2]
To jump the fire (to do a thing irrationally or without purpose).

Gin maloyo le en kwerini bala ototongo ?
That which defeats an axe can this hoe of thine cut it ?

Kal ka otu mam dong olworo cheng.
Grown grain does not fear the sun.

Tong gwen yam obeko duchu ba ?
Do all eggs hatch out ?

Ogwang omone gwene awelo.
The mongoose is at feud with the chicken who is a stranger to the place.

Kupa olunyo nge gweno.
The termite escapes behind the chicken's back.

[1] Old song: *Chan omak' Adup' ; ongoto buru* (Poverty overwhelms Adupa ; he sleeps with ashes).

[2] Song: *Ngwech nya p' Otuchu ongot me kalo mach* (Ngwech, daughter of Otuchu, has loose intercourse with men).

Aweno yam olaro ki won tol.
A guinea-fowl once struggled with its snarer.

Acho yam oto ki tong achel keken bo?
Did a man ever die of one spear only?

Ibolo apuk i pi.
You throw a tortoise into the water.

Ngok ma dong ingoko in dok idok wot neno?
Do you return to look at your own vomit?

Ikwoyo abeno nono bala?
Do you sew a baby's hammock without cause? (i.e. before the child is born).

Igeno buo ngor ata.
You put your trust fruitlessly in the froth of cooked beans (i.e. you neglect the substance for the shadow).

The game known to the Swahili as *bao* and played by natives from South Africa to Morocco is sometimes played by the Lango, by whom it is called *choro*, but has never attained popularity, being probably due to foreign influence. While the normal thirty-two holes are employed, elaborate boards such as are used by the Swahili and Baganda are represented by at most a roughly adzed log, and more often than not the holes are merely made in the surface of the ground.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

BIRTH—NAMES—MARRIAGE—BURIAL AND MOURNING—PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE — KINSHIP — CLAN ORGANIZATION — POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND CUSTOMARY LAW

§ 1. **Birth.**—The physiological antecedents of parturition are dimly comprehended, though it is understood that sexual intercourse is the primary cause; nevertheless, behind it all lies a vague belief that *jok*, or god, is in some way responsible. This belief, as we shall see, is especially strong in the case of any deviation from the normal, but a divine influence is associated even with ordinary births. Thus it is said that *jok ma tye iye omiyo dako nywal* (god that is within her causes a woman to bear), even as of a beautiful and well-formed person it is significantly said that *jok olwoke kume* (god bathed his body).

There is apparently no attempt to harmonize these two aspects of physical and divine causation, but the absence of any tradition of virgin birth indicates that undue preponderance is not given to the latter; indeed, the idea of divine immanence would appear to be due entirely to the obscurity of the generative processes, native logic ascribing all that is obscure to an all-pervading, but undefined, divinity. To such a mentality aberrations from the normal would naturally predicate a more direct interposition of the divine influence, and just as such an influence is considered well- or ill-intentioned, so the abnormal effect is judged to be lucky or unlucky. This being so, we must expect to find that the birth of twins, and such abnormalities as leg and breech presentations and dentulous births, give rise to vague apprehensions and necessitate special ceremonials; and with these classes are associated births after a succession of infantile deaths in the family. In this last case, however, the association is propitiatory, and the child is called *atin me akwera* (child of refusal), receiving a depreciatory name in order to put off its guard the evil influence which had killed the previous children, and so to avert its maleficence.

Such a practice, which will be more fully considered subsequently, indicates that the natal influence of *jok* may be evil, and such is

the view which generally prevails in the case of children who are born with teeth—a very rare occurrence—or whose upper teeth are the first to appear. Leg and breech presentations are similarly considered unlucky; but the birth of twins, on the other hand, is accepted as the highest manifestation of divine favour. *Jok opoto kum ngadi ; onywalo jo aryo twatwal* (god has visited So-and-so ; she has borne two children). This distinction of the divine influence into good and evil would appear to be guided by a reasoning which attaches an evil intention to apparently purposeless abnormalities, such as those mentioned above, but a good intention to an abnormality which results in an unexpected and welcome increase to the family and clan.

Sterility is uncommon and is considered a great disgrace. It is an adequate reason for divorce, and often leads the woman to commit suicide. Failure to produce children is always attributed to the woman and not to her husband, as impotent men, termed *jo apele*, are treated as a class apart and do not marry. A drug, consisting of pounded herbs and taken by the mouth, is known to some for curing sterility, but there is no evidence for believing that, as is the practice with certain tribes, the dispenser of the drug relies more on his own virility than on the magic properties of the drug in removing the woman's alleged infecundity.

Pains connected with parturition appear to be slight except when presentation is abnormal or delivery obstructed, and almost to the last hour a woman is able to attend to her usual household duties, including the provision of fuel and water. After delivery also her recovery is almost immediate. Labour pains are classified as *moich* and *kitiber*, distinguished as they precede or follow complete parturition. A girl who is about to become a mother for the first time may feel the pains for as many as two days before confinement ; but, as is usual, in subsequent births the pains are only felt for a short period and are less severe. There is no segregation before confinement, and a woman goes about her usual avocations until she is overcome by the pains of labour.

But on the day of birth, and subsequently till the ceremonial goat is killed by her husband, members of other clans are not allowed in the woman's courtyard (*dyekal*), which is roped off or fenced round with thorn branches and brushwood. Should they disregard this rule, the child would die. During this period of seclusion the state of the woman is described as *gonyere*, "to be unloosed." After the birth of a female child, the mother is secluded in her house for three days, the period being extended to four days if the child is male, and even her husband is denied admission. At the end of that period she sweeps out the house, buries all the refuse in a marsh, and, having bathed herself, returns to her *dyekal*. The midwife and the woman's mother attend on her during this period

of seclusion, and in the case of a first child the confinement takes place in the house of the woman's mother, as till her first child has been born she has no house of her own, sharing her husband's *otogo*.

Midwives are always employed except in the case of oldish women, and when their services are not available, as in the case of a sudden and unexpected birth on a journey. They are not a professional class, but any woman of ripe and experienced years [1] is qualified, an elder co-wife generally assisting in this capacity at the confinement of a younger. It is said that male midwives have been known. The midwife's fee in the case of a simple birth is one pot of beer, but if the placenta does not come away of itself, and has to be artificially expelled, a he-goat must be paid. The placenta is always expelled by pressure on the fundus of the uterus, never by attraction on the umbilical cord; but it is rare that a birth is other than simple, and, presuming that the reverse is due among the Baganda to their generally syphilitic condition, this non-adherence of the placenta is an additional proof of the absence of syphilis in the tribe. Miscarriages are unusual, but of triplets one nearly always dies, owing to insufficient nourishment, and this is thought to be inevitable as a woman has only two breasts. Very often, moreover, only one of twins survives, and transverse presentations always end fatally owing to the inadequacy of the midwives. The miscarriage and death of a pregnant woman may be maliciously caused by someone taking her *akedi yen*, or grass rope for tying up bundles of firewood, tangling it up in a very tight ball with frequent knots, and then hanging it in the smoke at the top of the house. The umbilical cord of the unborn child will similarly get tied up into knots with fatal results.

The umbilical cord is not cut till pulsation has entirely ceased after the expulsion of the placenta. It is tied in two places and then cut with a knife by the midwife, the placental end falling away with the placenta. The fœtal end is moistened with water by the mother and rubbed round in one place with a feather till it is frayed. Eventually it withers and falls off at that place, no notice nor care being taken of it.[2]

The placenta and umbilical cord are placed in a potsherd (*tako pel*) and left in the house for two days, and on the third day the midwife takes it into the bush and places it at the foot of a tree, hidden and out of the reach of animals. On the fourth day, when the child is bathed for the first time with warm water, she shows the mother the *tako pel*, and the mother takes it and places it somewhere else under a tree, secretly to avoid observation, as, were an enemy to take the umbilical cord and place it in a fire, the mother

[1] *Dako matego machole*, a mature woman is the midwife.
[2] The clan Jo Amwono use a spear for severing the cord.

would become sterile. It may not be buried, however, as it would be a bad omen, presaging the baby's early death and burial; it is left for ever, and animals devour the placenta. Even the *tako pel* (without the placenta and umbilical cord) has magic properties, and, were an enemy to remove and conceal it, the woman would be sterile till it were returned and till, after the ceremonial killing of a goat, the thief had poured water on her with a prayer that she should be fruitful in the future and multiply exceedingly.

The woman's food is normal till the labour pains start, when nothing is eaten till after birth. For three days after parturition she drinks millet gruel (*nyuka*), on the fourth day she adds beans (*ngor*), on the fifth *malakwang*, on the sixth pigeon peas (*apena*), and on the seventh she reverts to her ordinary diet. Till the third day after the birth of a daughter and the fourth after the birth of a son the mother does not eat salt with her food. At the first meal at which salt is allowed, called *cham me kwer* (food of refusal), the cooking fire is especially lighted with the firesticks. The food being ready, the woman sits at the entrance to the porch of her house, the baby in her lap, legs straight in front and arms extended, palms downwards on the knees. The midwife, co-wife, or her maternal grandmother, ceremonially anoints her with the salted food on the brow, xiphisternum, both shoulders and the knuckles of all fingers and toes; the baby is also anointed on the brow and xiphisternum. This ceremonial takes place after she has bathed and returned to the *dyekal*, and the two taken in conjunction clearly mark the end of a period when she is ceremonially unclean, and as such spiritually dangerous to society, requiring seclusion even from her husband. The general period of seclusion within the *dyekal* is brought to an end by the child's father killing a goat ceremonially at the door of his wife's house. If this were not done, the woman would die.

If a mother dies at birth, the baby is brought up by a foster-mother, should one be available, who is presented with a cow when the child grows up; more often than not, however, no foster-mother can be procured, and the father attempts to rear the infant on cow's milk, which, being undiluted, generally causes the infant's death, its stomach and digestion being unable to cope with the diet. Milkless women are given a secret drug to drink, and their breasts are scarified, with the result that milk is eventually secreted. Should a suckling mother be struck with a branch of the tree *epobo*, it is believed that her supply of milk would run dry. If a baby is slow in learning to speak, the mother scratches his lips with a large grasshopper called *tekeleng*.

Deformities and monsters are rare, and the only abnormalities observed are an adult male with a double set of nipples, another with a sixth rudimentary finger growing at the base of the thumb,

and another with six toes. The following are, however, said to occur, but invariably die shortly after birth: eyes at the back of the head; one arm only in the middle of the chest, resembling an elephant's foot; double heads; and Siamese twins. Monorchids have not been reported, and certainly, if they exist, they are not attributed with the same pernicious qualities as among the Shilluk and the Bir.

The birth of twins, as has been said, is considered an auspicious occasion, bringing luck not only on the family and clan, but on the whole village, irrespective of relationship, and requires special ceremonies. As soon as twins are born, the father, having advised the relatives of his own and his wife's clans, obtains two new pots, and the midwife places the placenta and umbilical cord of each twin in the two pots separately. If there is a co-wife, she seals the pots with clay; if not, the husband's mother. Next morning the father cuts timber for building a *peru*, or small grass-thatched platform; the pots are placed in their destined position near the *otem*, and the *peru* is built over them in situ. From the day of birth two small drums are beaten every evening, and the village girls dance and sing. The father then procures three white chickens and a white or a brown sheep, and appoints an afternoon to *myelo jok* (to dance in honour of god). The male adult guests attend with their spears and shields, which are placed leaning against the *peru*, the spears in the hollow of each shield; female guests bring flour for porridge and beer, semsem, and pigeon peas; while the children of the male guests bring chickens of any colour (though white are the most popular). These gifts are all placed in the *dyekal* of the mother, who immediately on the birth of twins dons a hide apron which she continues to wear till the end of the ceremonies.[1]

The midwife scoops up a little porridge flour from each contribution and puts it into two calabash bowls, which must be new and unwashed (*agwati akech ma mam olwok' iye*), and mixes the flour into a paste with water, the resulting paste being called, for the purpose of this ceremony only, *tanga*. The bowls are placed under the *peru* and two durrha stalks are crossed over each. This done, an old woman makes all the company—men, women, and children—stand up in a line for the ceremony known as *goyo tanga* (striking the ceremonial paste). Following the old woman each of the women present touches and anoints the men's chests with a durrha stalk which has been dipped in the *tanga*, having first ceremonially spat on the durrha stalk. The old woman chants as she does it, and the chant is taken up by the other women: "*Pu!*[2]

[1] As the ministrants of the goddess Atida also wear hide aprons, this is a further indication of the influence of *jok* in the birth of twins, who are indeed often referred to as *atin ajok*, children of *jok*. Similarly of a woman who bears twins it may be said *onywal ajok* (she bears under god's influence).

[2] An interjection ceremonially used to represent spitting.

in, jok, dong ibino i kumwa. Wan dang wagami. Bed', ibed' kedwa maber. Kom atino dang obed' yot; kom totogi dang obed' mayot. Le mawok i nyimwa tongwa opot' i kume; dano mayenyowa wan waneke, waleli." ("Pu! thou, god, hast come upon us. We accept thee. Stay, stay thou with us favourably. May the children be well; may their mother be well. Any animal that comes before us let our spears fall in its body. Any man who seeks for us let us kill him and rejoice.") Each man then takes one of the durrha stalks and, repeating the above chant, anoints all his spears, each in turn.

Next the father of the twins flutters[1] a white chicken on the *peru*, and killing it eats it by himself, putting the feathers and bones under the *peru*. He then similarly flutters the other two white chickens (one a cock, the other a hen) and lets them go alive. They remain in the village and are not killed till they grow old. They are called *gweno jok* (chicken of god) or *gweno me arut* (chicken of twin birth). When they are old enough to be killed, they are fluttered as before and the father eats them; but first two other white chickens, offspring of the old hen, are consecrated in their place, as there must always be two *gweno jok* in the village, or the twins would die.

After the fluttering of the chickens, the sheep is killed by stabbing its throat at the *peru*, when it is cooked and all the men present eat of it. The chickens brought by the guests are beaten to death in the *peru* and are eaten by the company, the entrails being given to the children. When they have eaten they rub ashes over each other and on any stray passer-by, the ashes being called *mo me arut* (the unguent of twin births). The men drink beer and the women dance by themselves, principally the descriptive dance already referred to, women beating two small drums. From time to time a man gets up to *ngato arut*, i.e. he takes up his spear and shield and performs a triumphal war dance in honour of the twin birth, running up and down before the *peru*. A woman breaks away and stabs his shield with a knife, as after a successful battle, raising the cry of victory, and chanting, "*Komwa duchu obed' yot. Nekwa unu le. Dano mayenyowa dang nekewu.*" ("May we all be well. Slay us the animal. Him also who comes in search of us slay you him.")

Eventually all go away, and only the village girls prolong the entertainment far into the night with dances and indelicate songs; and again at the next full moon the girls dance by themselves for four days.

The mother of the twins prepares a special brew of beer for the above feast in the two-mouthed jar called *agulu jok* (jar of god), and she, with the old men and women, drink it apart on the afternoon of the dance. The jar is then returned to the woman's

[1] *Vide* Chap. IV., note 1, p. 112.

house, where it remains, unless by chance it gets broken, when the pieces are eventually placed on the grave of either of the twins. Twins have always to dress their hair after a peculiar fashion (*kinga*) prohibited to others, and they and their mothers wear cowrie necklets and wristlets.

When the *peru* rots and falls into disrepair owing to the weather and termites, it is not renovated, and it will bring a man, even a stranger, luck if he leans his spear against it as he passes through a village on his way to battle or hunting.

The symbolical two throughout these ceremonies is worthy of note: two pots, two consecrated chickens, two calabash bowls, two durrha stalks for each twin, two drums, two days of dancing at the full moon for each twin, the two-mouthed jar.

The birth of triplets is celebrated as for twins, and leg and breech presentations are also similarly celebrated, not, however, in rejoicing, but in order to avert the ill omen and to deceive *jok* by making him believe that twins have been born. If a child is born with teeth, the omen is bad, and his father consults a soothsayer, who will tell him what must be done to avert the omen. In some cases he is advised to *myelo bala arut* (to dance as for twin births). Though it is inauspicious for the upper teeth to appear first, no special ceremonies take place, as the usual procedure will already have been followed at the child's birth.

If after a succession of infantile deaths a child is again born, it is given a depreciatory name, such as *Ochet* (ordure),and is called *atin me akwera* (child of refusal or tabu), in order to bluff the malicious spirits. If such a child is a girl, on the third day after her birth the lobe of her ear is pierced, and on the fourth day if it is a boy. This is done by the midwife as soon as the mother has been anointed with salt food, and the holes are made for a purpose known as *yalo* (to greet ceremonially). For no one may greet or handle an *atin me akwera* unless he first greets it ceremonially by giving it some trifling present, generally a bead set on a brass ring to be worn in the lobe of the ear. As he greets the child, the stranger, having spat ceremonially, says: "So-and-so, child of So-and-so (mother's name), I *yalo* you with this bead. May your name prove to be a fortunate one and bring you long life and prosperity." Before greeting a twin child a stranger must pick up some ashes and rub them on the child's neck.

If a young child is sick and subsequent to its birth the mother has had relations with a paramour, the latter has to kill a goat at the door of the house, where it is eaten. This is known as *ngolo dogola* (cut the porch, i.e. from the evil influence), and the ceremony thus reveals the presence of an adulterer who would otherwise have escaped detection. He dare not refuse to kill the goat, or the death of the child would be laid to his charge.

At the first occasion on which a child gets seriously ill its parents perform the ceremony of *kayo chogo* (biting the bone), also called *ngolo to* (cutting off disease), or more fully, *neko dyang me chogo pi dano matwo* (killing a cow for the bone on behalf of a sick person). The sick child is left at home, and the father proceeds with his wife to the latter's family, being careful, however, not to see nor to be seen by her mother. He takes with him a goat or a bull according to his means. This is called *dyel* or *dyang me mo* (goat or bull of anointing), as his wife's father gives the men relations of the family, who drive the goat or bull, a pot of oil with which to anoint their bodies. On reaching their destination, the man's brother-in-law accepts the animal and ties it up with a rope taken from one of his own bulls or goats, as the case may be. The former animal becomes the brother-in-law's property, and his own goat, which has just been untied, is fastened to the porch of the wife's mother's house, where it is ceremonially killed. It is then cooked and eaten after a pot of beer has been drunk, but the following parts of the animal are separated: the liver, duodenum, lungs, stomach, pancreas and xiphisternum. These are minced up, cooked and made into a ball, mixed with porridge and semsem, and the ball of food is taken to the door of the sick child's mother, who by now has returned home with the breastbone of the slaughtered animal slung by the ribs round her neck and hanging on her chest. The meat of the breastbone is eaten and it is thrown away. A co-wife or, in default, some other woman hands her the ball of prepared food, and after she has bitten the bone of the xiphisternum she passes the rest to her sister's son to eat. A strip of skin cut from the belly of the goat is fastened round the neck of the mother and the child, and the intestinal dung (*we*) from the goat is mixed with spittle and is used to anoint all the man's family; a line of it is also smeared on the lintel of his wife's mother's porch. Were this ceremony omitted the child would die, as it would not have the goodwill of its mother's family.

The appended table, showing the birth-rate and rate of infant mortality, is the result of direct inquiries made in different parts of the tribe. There is, unfortunately, no method of arriving at the age of the women questioned, and, as the results indicate, they range from young wifehood to extreme old age. It will be seen that the percentage of girls born is 55·5 and of boys 44·5, but actually, though statistics on this point are not available, the disparity among persons of mature age is still more greatly in the favour of women, as infant mortality (238 per 1,000 children born) appears to be greater among males than females. This, of course, is the normal rule, and accounts, in European countries at any rate, for the preponderance of the female sex, the excess of girls actually born among the Lango being remarkable.

Name of Woman.	Children Born.		Died in Infancy.	Died before Puberty.	Grew to Maturity.
	Boys.	Girls.			
Ato	5	6	1	3	7
Awiyu	4	3	2	1	4
Amoin	4	6	2	3	5
Apio	9	4	4	4	5
Agwang	5	1	0	0	6
Akonga	3	5	1	2	5
Auma	3	9	4	1	7
Atino	1	1	0	0	2
Atim	2	1	1	0	2
Auma	6	3	2	2	5
Akulima	2	2	0	2	2
Aleny	0	1	1	0	0
Atiti	6	11	5	2	10
Achoma	1	1	0	0	2
Atyek	0	1	0	0	1
Alyeko	4	1	1	0	4
Angun	3	4	2	3	2
Akech	1	2	0	2	1
Alaba	1	0	0	1	0
Atiti	3	1	1	1	2
Alobo	3	5	1	2	5
Atim	0	2	0	0	2
Angwech	5	6	2	3	6
Amongo	2	4	1	2	3
Anyango	1	1	0	0	2
Agwang	5	4	3	0	6
Akulo	0	1	0	1	0
Achyeng	1	4	2	0	3
Atapi	5	7	3	2	7
Apoto	2	1	0	0	3
Elang	2	2	0	1	3
Aola	1	0	0	0	1
Agwang	2	3	2	0	3
Achoma	2	4	2	1	3
Achen	0	1	0	0	1
Apio	1	2	2	0	1
Angoli	5	2	2	1	4
Ijang	6	8	5	1	8
Akulalima ..	3	6	2	0	7
Atim	1	1	0	0	2
Akelo	1	4	1	0	4
Abote	3	0	0	1	2
Agita	0	1	1	0	0
Akau	3	4	2	0	5
Akelo	2	5	3	1	3
Adopiny	3	1	0	0	4
Akiteng	0	2	1	0	1
Ajere	3	2	0	2	3
Amoin	3	5	3	1	4
Awiyu	2	2	1	0	3

Name of Woman.	Children Born.		Died in Infancy.	Died before Puberty.	Grew to Maturity.
	Boys.	Girls.			
Amule	1	0	0	0	1
Agita	5	7	4	2	6
Abua	5	5	3	4	3
Agoa	5	3	0	1	7
Alele	1	2	0	0	3
Auma	2	4	3	0	3
Awer	1	1	0	1	1
Alobo	0	1	0	1	0
Angwech	3	4	1	2	4
Akulo	1	4	2	0	3
Alelaguma ..	1	0	0	0	1
Akonga	2	1	1	0	2
Achyen	3	6	2	3	4
Amuna	0	2	1	0	1
Apio	3	3	1	0	5
Awo	4	7	3	2	6
Ajere	2	0	0	1	1
Akelo	1	3	0	0	4
Amonge	1	0	1	0	0
Akech	3	5	2	2	4
Aola	1	1	0	0	2
Apio	1	2	0	0	3
Awide	1	4	2	0	3
Akau	3	0	0	0	3
Abonyo	2	4	1	2	3
Angoilum	3	2	1	0	4
Akulo	3	6	3	1	5
Akol	0	2	0	0	2
Adana	0	1	0	0	1
Akiteng	1	1	0	1	1
Angom	4	9	6	1	6
Atini	2	2	0	0	4
Alele	1	0	0	1	0
Aluk	3	3	2	0	4
Ayo	2	1	0	0	3
Arach	0	2	0	0	2
Adongo	3	4	1	2	4
Amoin	1	4	3	0	2
Atyek	1	1	0	0	2
Aleny	4	2	0	0	6
Aliro	0	2	1	0	1
Achiyu	5	3	3	2	3
Ajwang	7	4	4	1	6
Abote	1	2	0	0	3
Achet	1	4	2	0	3
Alich	0	1	0	0	1
Akonga	2	1	2	0	1
Ajok	1	3	0	0	4
Agweng	2	6	2	1	5
Aola	3	1	1	0	3

§ 2. **Names.**—It will be convenient to consider the names of males and females separately, but generally speaking they are readily distinguishable by the first letter, which in the case of women is almost always A, a letter rarely found at the beginning of male birth-names. A few begin with I, as Ijang, and E, as Elang, but with no other letter. An individual's names may be a record of his life history: thus it will be seen that often the nature of his birth may be deduced, and his subsequent actions are largely revealed by his war-name and nicknames. After a man's death *atech* is prefixed to his name: thus *atech Okulo*, the late Okulo.

Let us take the suppositious case of a man whose birth-name is Ojok, and who has subsequently accumulated the following additional names by the processes described below: Widok, Amuko, Apio, Alyeko, Abwango. It is possible to deduce that the man in question was born with a complement of teeth, that one of his ancestors was a kraal owner, that he has killed a man and a boy, that his mother was one of twins, that his fiancée or wife is named Alyeko, and that as a child he suffered from incontinence of urine.

Names given to Males.—(1) The *nying me pel* (name of the navel, i.e. birth-name) is given by the midwife on the day of the child's birth. The name is stereotyped by custom, and a first-born must be called after his father's father; but for subsequent children a wider range of choice is available from the names of their father's brothers, and after these have all been utilized later children are named after their paternal grand-uncles. The third child, however, is often, though not necessarily, named after one of his mother's brothers. Within this limited range of selection the choice of a name is left to fate. The infant's mother offers the child her breast saying, "Drink, So-and-so" (using one of the available names). If the baby refuses, another name is tried, and the name to which he responds by drinking is given to him. If, however, as sometimes happens, the wife's relations assist at the delivery in the function of midwife, a name from the wife's clan is given to the child. Should a man die leaving his wife enceinte, the posthumous child is given his father's name instead of his grandfather's. Should a boy be given his uncle's name while the latter is still alive, e.g. *Ngulu*, they may be differentiated by the addition of the adjectives *madwong* and *matidi*, the big and the small (*Ngulu madwong*, *Ngulu matidi*); and this same distinction is not infrequently made where two men with a common name live in the same neighbourhood. The *nying me pel* may be used by anyone except the man's betrothed, who would only use it as a sign that the engagement is broken off.

(2) The *nying kwaro* (name of an ancestor) is given by the old men of the clan while the child is still unweaned. It is not the ancestor's birth-name, but his nickname (*nying me arat*). If the ancestor in question is alive when the child is weaned and walks,

he gives the child a chicken. Anyone may use this name, either by itself or in conjunction with the birth-name.

(3) The *nying mo* (war-name) is given by a man's relatives and comrades after a battle during the feast propitiatory to the spirits of the slain. The names are stereotyped and describe the man's conduct on the field of battle, generally in relation to a kill; but the fashions in war-names are liable to change, and some of the old names are no longer used or even understood. The Lango north of the River Moroto exhibit a tendency to use Acholi war-names, which are entirely different. The name is usable by all, either separately or in conjunction with the birth-name, and is generally the most popular of a man's names. The following list, which is not exhaustive, affords an interesting commentary on the practice of war, and illustrates the diversity of the actions described by these names[1]:—

Anyanga—one who kills with a light-coloured (i.e. new) spear-shaft.
Abwango[2]—one who throws only one spear and puts his enemy to flight.
Aliro—one who spears an enemy who is prevented from falling by the spear which props up his body.
Adar—a lier-in-wait, an ambuscader.
Abela—one who puts the enemy to flight.
Apea—one who drags away a captive.
Apelo—one who spears an enemy, who runs away on being wounded.
Agel—one who kills an enemy's flank man.
Achur—one who browns the mass without aiming.
Angiya—one who expressly chooses out a particular enemy in battle, but while he is spying him out someone else slays that enemy.
Alengo—one who after killing a man on the road puts the corpse in the grass alongside.
Adilo—one who kills early in the morning.
Alal—one who kills during the pursuit of a routed enemy.
Anyeko—one who captures a woman, whom someone else kills out of jealousy.
Abal—one who kills a woman.
Arimotum—one who throws a spear, and then runs somewhere else to throw another from a safe distance, for fear of reprisals.
Awira—one who escorts a guest and then kills him.
Arot—one who kills two men in one day.
Atyera—one whose spear-shaft breaks on piercing his enemy's body.
Angolomo—one who cuts off and kills the leading man of an invading party.
Alira—one who runs a man to a standstill and then makes him prisoner.
Aluko—one who kills on the way back from a raid.
Alekomo—one who captures an enemy by warding him off with his spear-shaft from the men on his own side, saying, "This is my prisoner."
Akona—one who kills an enemy with protruding ears.
Ayuto—one who takes a prisoner and runs off with him, leaving the battle.

[1] The *A* prefix is adjectival.
[2] Not to be confused with Abwango, a nickname (*nying me arat*) meaning "One who as a child suffered from incontinence of urine."

Amulo—one who kills a cripple or an enemy who is crawling away.
Akuloling—one who kills a kraal owner.
Akokochal—one who partakes in a drawn battle.
Akokorom = Akokochal.
Anyap—one who kills with a spear whose shaft is heavy or sluggish.
Adya—one who leads a charmed life, spears constantly missing him.
Adyatong = Adya.
Akor—one who keeps stabbing a dead man.
Akumetum—one who kills an old man.
Ami—one who kills privily without witnesses.
Amany = Ami.
Adokotum—one who kills more than one enemy in a day.
Apenyo—one who kills after threatening, "*Tin mam iwoto*" ("To-day you will not go").
Aweyetum—one who kills after a long spell of ill-luck.
Arengomo—One who kills his enemy after hunting him out of the main body.
Adiyo—one whose captive is killed by someone else while the captive is supplicating for mercy and he is considering the matter with his spear-point pressed against the captive's chest.
Adwemo—one who boasts that he kills every full moon.
Ayok—a coward who keeps pretending to throw, but does not do so.
Abolamo—one whose spear-shaft breaks during its flight.
Ariyu—one who after killing an enemy stretches him along the path.
Anekapeta—one who has killed ten men.
Akenoling—one who kills a woman in sacking a village.
Akwangotum—one who kills an old man with white hair.
Amuko—one who kills a man and a boy.
Awany—one who, being guest in a village, helps it in a raid and kills a man.
Alwek—*obsolete; meaning not known.*
Ayongwe—one who kills a man in the road and leaves him there.
Anyongaleng—*obsolete; meaning not known.*
Akangamo—one who kills a starving enemy.
Angenyotum—one who kills a dog.
Atemoling—one who kills a village headman.
Arop—*obsolete; meaning not known.*
Atyam—one who kills a blind man.
Abura—one who kills without delay.
Alem—*obsolete; meaning not known.*
Achung = Aliro.
Twontong—a very fierce fighter.
Mintong = Twontong.
Ariya—one who spears an enemy, but does not kill him.
Apena—one who selects a particular enemy, identifying him by some ornament or physical peculiarity, as, "*An abyero won mola cha*" ("I claim that man with the brass wire").
Achuma—one who spears *achuma*, i.e. hand-to-hand, at close quarters.

(4) The *nying toto* (mother's name) is formally applied to a child by old men of the clan while he is still unweaned. A man may be called by it in conjunction with his birth-name—simply by itself, or with the prefix *wot* (son of). Anyone may use this

name, and it is used by the man himself as an invocation after spearing an elephant. Should a man reside in a village where someone else has already the same name as his mother's, he would also add for distinction the name of his mother's mother. Thus one whose mother's name is Akulo might add his grandmother's name, Alyeko: Akulalyeko. It is of interest to note here that a Lango, on being asked whose son he is, will invariably give the name of his mother, and not of his father.

(5) The *nying me agwong* (name of invocation) is used by himself, and is not utterable by anyone else. It is the name of his beloved (*apayo*), and is used only as an invocation on the successful cast of a spear in hunting or fighting. Should anyone but the man himself use this name, a serious quarrel would ensue, possibly resulting in bloodshed.

(6) The *nying me arat* (nickname) is either assumed by the man himself on attaining the age of puberty, or is given to him by his friends. It is sometimes coarse (as Amatobodiwiadua), sometimes descriptive of a particular characteristic (as Ngutopong, he of the thick neck; Ochamonyang, the eater of crocodiles; Atindyel, child of a goat, i.e. one on the day of whose birth a goat gave birth to twins), but quite often pointless and irrelevant. This name gives scope to punning allusions, to which the Lango are much addicted. Thus one who was named Odero was closely missed by a spear which fell into a granary (*dero*), and subsequently one of his common nicknames—for nicknames are not limited to one only—was Tongopotidero, "Spear that fell in the granary."

Names given to Females.—(1) The *nying me pel* is bestowed on a girl in the same way as with males, a first-born being given the name of her father's mother, and subsequent girls being called after the father's sisters and the sisters of her paternal grandfather. A posthumous daughter receives her mother's name. This name is only used by her girl friends, by old men, and by her husband after she has borne him a child. Before that she is still considered a new bride (*aterany*), and has the same status as a fiancée (*apayo*).

(2) The *nying me arat*[1] (nickname) is a pet name given by the girl's mother when she is about four years old. It is used subsequently by her as a flirtation name, and she is so called by her lover and her husband until she has borne him a child.

(3) The *nying rwot*[2] (chief's name) is given by her girl friends of the same age grade (*lwak*). On their reaching the age of puberty the girls assemble in the *otogo anyira* (unmarried girls' house) and have a feast of chickens, after which they select for each other

[1] Also called *nying chot* (flirtation name); or by the Western Lango *nying me apaka*, from the Lunyoro *mpako*, and equivalent to *nying me arat*, the practice of the Banyoro in this respect being similar.

[2] Also called *nying mo* by analogy with the masculine practice.

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their respective *nying rwot*. It is the name of any chief or other prominent man, but the girl has no claim on the rightful owner of the name; it may be used by anyone either separately or in conjunction with the birth-name. It is applied without alteration and without substituting the feminine for the masculine prefix.

(4) The *nying toto* is given to girls as to boys, and is similarly used by anyone.

Twins and other abnormalities are excluded from the preceding system, as far as the birth-name goes, and are named after rules of their own, which give little scope for individuality. For twins there can be no deviation from the customary nomenclature, which is also followed in the case of triplets.

Nature of Birth.	Name of Elder.	Name of Younger.
Two males.	Opio.	Odongo or Ochyen.
One female, one male.	Apio.	Ochyen.
One male, one female.	Opio or Okelo.	Achyen.
Two females.[1]	Apio.	Adongo.

Children are nearly always born between midnight and dawn, and consequently a child born during the day, being an exceptional phenomenon, must be called Ocheng or Acheng, according as it is male or female.[2] A child born with teeth is named Ojok[3] (fem. Ajok). Breech and leg presentations are signalized by the name Odoich (fem. Adoich).

As has been said, an *atin me akwera* (child of refusal or tabu) is given a special name (*nying me akwera*, name of tabu), with the object of propitiating fate and of counteracting the malicious influence which has killed the preceding children. Further, the child is not named on its birthday, but on the day of the piercing of the lobe of the ear. Such a child may be called Apil (fem. Apili); or may be called from a name of the midwife's clan, preferably her son's name if she has one; or it may be given a foreign name, such as Kija[4] (masc. and fem.); or a deprecating or absurd name, such as Ochet (fem. Achet, ordure), Orach (fem. Arach,[5] bad), Obinokene (fem. Abinokene, he came by himself), Achayi (masc. only, I despise thee); or a name taken from nature, such as Opiny (fem. Apiny, earth), Olum (fem. Alum, grass), Olobo (fem. Alobo, soil), Arum (masc. only, hornbill), Ogwal (fem. Agwal, frog), Ojwin (fem. Ajwin, wagtail). Such names taken from the animal

[1] Should one of these die at birth, the next male child is called Opio, whether one of twins or not.

[2] From *cheng* (sun). Similarly, but for no ritual reason, a child born during a fierce storm may be named Okot (fem. Akot), from *kot* (rain).

[3] From *Jok* (god), indicating a supernatural influence governing its birth.

[4] Lunyoro, Kiza.

[5] The feminine form Arach is also sometimes given to males.

or vegetable world are sometimes also given to ordinary children, probably with the same idea of safeguarding their future existence.

With the exception of the hunting areas (*arum*), which are named either after the original owner's mother or after an incident which occurred during a hunt, no names are generally given to extensive tracts of country, though sometimes, as at Abako and Apata, if a whole clan or a large section of it occupies a wide area, it becomes known by the clan's name. On the other hand, every little village has its own name, purely fanciful, or containing some local allusion, or called after the clan. A coarse or insulting name may be given to a village by its neighbours, and often becomes the village name, in spite of the disapproval of its inhabitants. When a village moves to a fresh site, it generally assumes a new name. The following examples illustrate the nature of these village names [1]:—

Angotomidi—where they fornicate with sprats.
Angotalop—where they fornicate with hartebeestes.
Akolodong—where wrath remains.
Adagkolo—where wrath is refused. (This village is an offshoot from the former.)
Apala—clan name.
Abologwokidero—where the dog was thrown into the granary.
Abongodyang—where there are no cattle.
Awitim—the place of dense bush.
Amonamito—the place beloved of women.
Achandako—where there are no women.
Anywalatidi—the place of few births.
Abangemany—where liver is eaten without other food.
Abako—clan name.
Agwichiri—clan name.
Ateyao—the place under the shea-butter tree.
Arwotmamribere—where the chief cannot be reconciled.
Abelopongdero—where the granaries are full of durrha.
Achulbanja—the place of the payment of debts.
Atolmamnywako—where they do not share the vagina.
Abermaido—the place of good ground-nuts.
Aligmola—where there is no brass wire.
Lwala—red clay.
Badyang—cattle pasturage.
Ngonyboke—the buttock of leaves (from a wooded ridge).
Anyomdyel—the place of goat marriage (owing to poverty after the rinderpest of 1890).

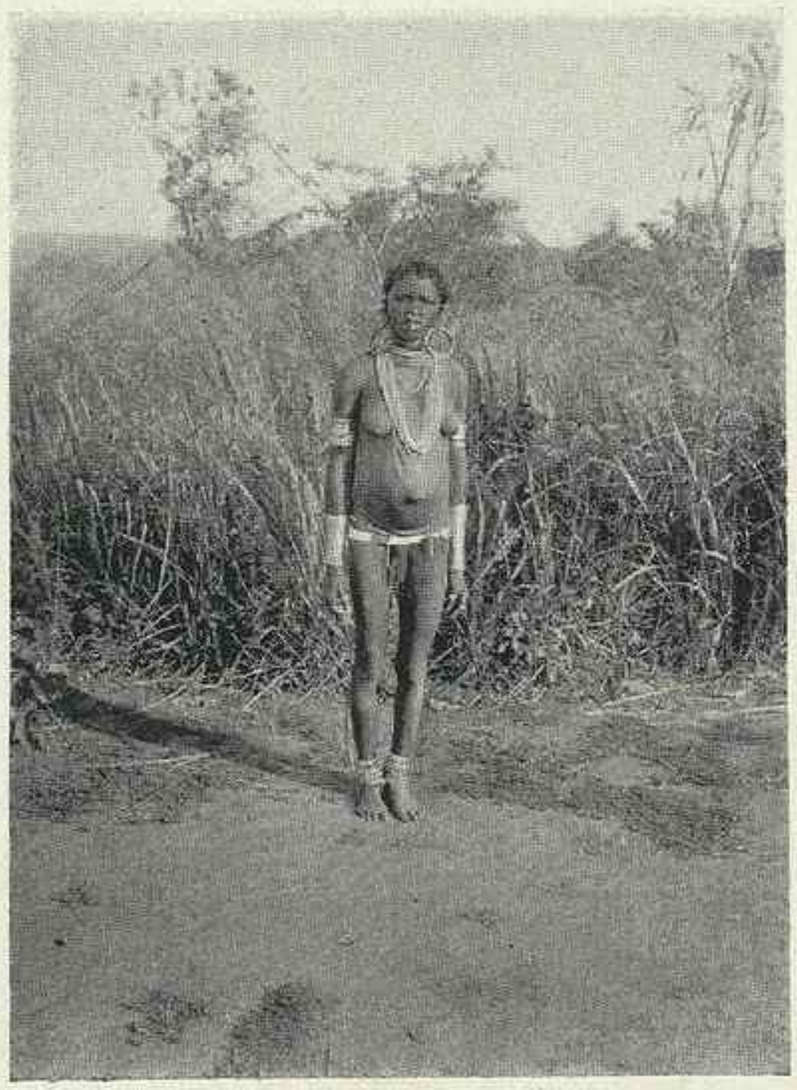
[1] The prefix *A* is in this case locative. The true locative prefix is *ka*, which has been modified by a recent tendency to drop the initial consonant. At a still earlier date, when villages were largely named after the clan or the founder of the village, the prefix used to be the preposition *pa* (of). Thus Amaich, which used to be known as Kamaich, was before that known as Pamaich or "(the village) of Omaich." Achaba (Kachaba) similarly was known as Pachaba "(the village) of Ochap." Westermann, in explaining this prefix *pa*, as it is used by the Shilluk, states that it is the short for *pacho* (village). This may be so, but it more probably represents the preposition as stated above, and would thus be explained by an ellipse of *ot* (house) or *pacho* (village) before the *pa*, which on the death of the eponymous chief was gradually replaced by the local prefix *ka*.

Hills are generally named after a chief resident in the vicinity, rivers by the man who first draws water from them, and springs by the man who digs the well. Rivers are considered to be feminine, though their names do not necessarily have the feminine prefix. Thus, in referring to a tributary of the Moroto, the Lango says *Akochiwa nyare Moroto* (The Akochiwa, daughter of the Moroto). Nearly every reach of a river, except a large and easily identified one like the Moroto or the Pechema, has a separate name ; and often, according to the number of villages drawing water in the same reach from different springs, the reach itself is subdivided. A river may be named after the discoverer's mother, with the prefix *amin* (sister) ; thus Aminapio (sister of Apio), Aminawapi (sister of Awapi). And even where fanciful names are given, or names containing local allusions, the same prefix is often employed ; thus Aminkwaich (sister of the leopard), so called because a leopard was driven into the water and killed there. A river, though feminine, may also, though not often, be called after a chief, as for instance the River Oki, near Aloi, but purely fanciful names predominate. A tributary of the Moroto, the Akochiwa, is so called because a buffalo met its death in it, and the name is of interest as a modified form of the Ateso word *akosebwan* (buffalo) is used instead of the true Lango *jobi*. It is said that this word was used as the buffalo had been hunted to its death in that river by some neighbouring Iteso, but actually in that region bordering on the Iteso and other Hamitic tribes, several Hamitic words have been added to the language, and this may suffice to account for the solecism.

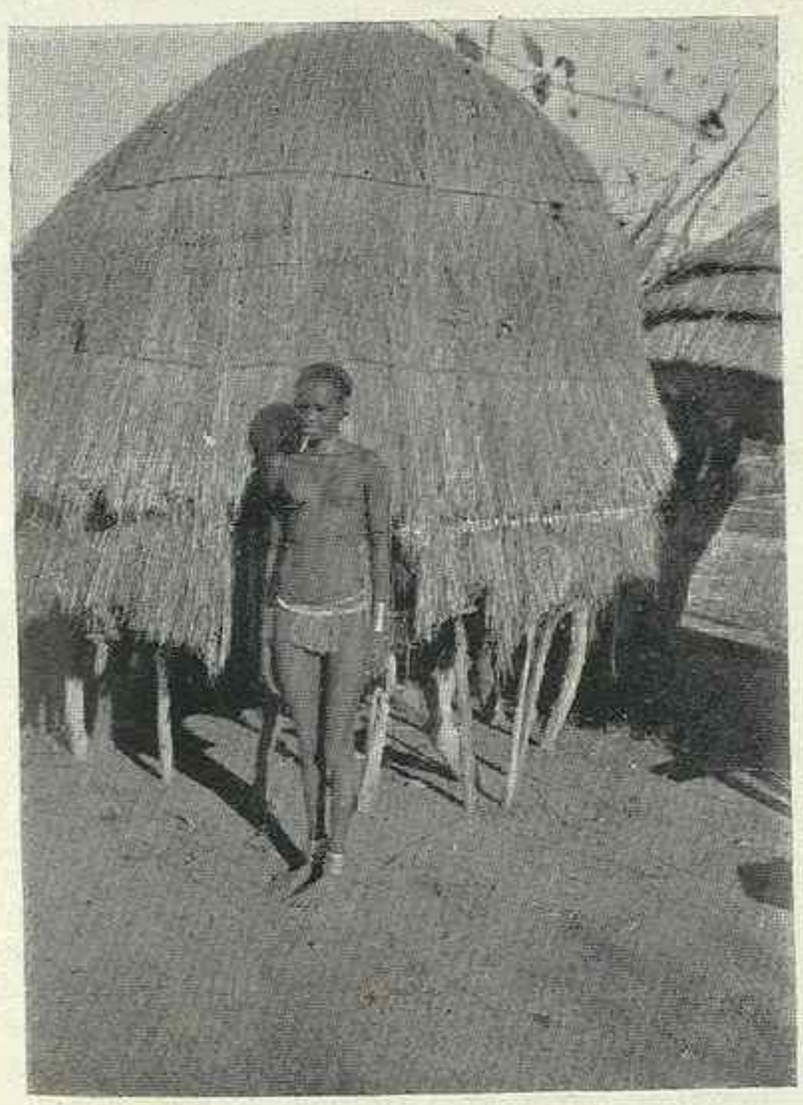
§ 3. **Marriage.**—The Lango system of marriage is polygynous, and there is no limit to the number of wives a man may possess, except the limit imposed by his means for obtaining them. Many, indeed, are monogamous by force of circumstance, though in view of the large excess of the female sex, any attempt to enforce monogamy would be neither feasible nor desirable. Each wife has her own house (built after she has borne her husband a child, before which event she shares her husband's *otogo*), and the house and courtyard are always referred to as her personal property ; and for each wife the husband has to cultivate separate crops and to erect separate granaries.

The women on the whole live in amity the one with another, though jealousies are apt to break out if one wife considers that her co-wife receives undue favours, or is preferentially treated in the matter of cultivation. This question, however, is largely in their own hands, as each wife prepares the beer independently which will reward the men engaged to cultivate her own crops ; and if she has been too prodigal of her grain during the year, with the result that she can only provide a small quantity of beer, she has only

A BATA MAN.



A BATA WOMAN.



GIRL IN FRONT OF "GOIN."

LANGO WOMAN WITH BABY.

To face p. 154.

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herself to blame if the area of her cultivation is restricted. An unconscious tact, however, is required of the husband in distributing his favours, and in spite of the ominous word used to designate co-wife,[1] it is rare that any serious difference of opinion arises. Indeed, instances are not wanting in which a woman, on growing old, of her own instance presses her husband to marry a younger and more attractive wife, and it is certainly true that the womenfolk would be the first to resent the institution of monogamy, as in a polygynous establishment, not only is the woman's work lessened, but in their husband's absence his wives avoid the solitude inherent in a monogamous union.

It is the duty of a father to provide a wife for his son if he has the means, and the dowry obtained on the marriage of the son's sister is largely reserved for this purpose. An orphan, if he has no other relatives on his father's side, or if they are too poor, is provided with a wife by his maternal uncle.

Usually there is no formal betrothal of the girls by their guardians, as this is done by arrangement of the dowry after previous meetings of the interested parties, meetings more or less clandestine. The consent of the girl is essential, as she cannot be forced into an unwelcome marriage, and normally, a man on seeing a girl who appeals to his heart first gets to know her intimately,[2] and if they find that their affection is mutual, they inform their parents that they desire to marry, and the amount of the dowry is then arranged with the girl's guardian (father, brother or uncle, as the case may be). On occasions, however, intimate friends may betroth their children, or a man may obtain a loan on the security of a small daughter, or even on a daughter yet unborn.[3] Thus Okelo, who owes Ngulu a heifer and a bull, may borrow these from a friend, Ojok, on the understanding that the prospective child of his wife shall be betrothed to Ojok if she proves to be a girl, Ojok undertaking to pay a further bull and a cow (or whatever the amount may be) as the balance of the dowry when the girl reaches a marriageable age. Such arrangements as these are not common, and, should the girl when she grows up disapprove of Ojok and refuse to marry him, nothing can be

[1] *Anyeko*, derived from *nyeko* (to be jealous).

[2] The term *chodo* (from which is derived *chot*, flirtation) is used to denote all clandestine friendships with unmarried women. They are platonic in so far as, though the couple may even spend the night together, they do not have sexual relations with each other, but a wider interpretation must be put on these lovers' meetings than is habitual in European societies. Should they go beyond this stage the term is no longer applicable, and the lover will have committed the offence of *luk* (illegitimate intercourse), which is very often the precursor of matrimony. Lovers during this period of platonic friendship make solemn promises to each other (*Kwongere*, to take mutual oaths) as a test of their fidelity and affection, such as, "I will not drink beer for a month," "I will abstain from semsem," "I will refuse this and that," and so on.

[3] The marrying of wives while they are still quite immature girls—a practice common among the Akum and Alur—is not countenanced by Lango custom.

done to make her, and Okelo has to recover the heifer and bull from Ngulu together with any calves that may have been born, and return them to Ojok, unless Ojok is willing to take what is now owed him out of the dowry paid by another suitor for the girl.

A mother takes a keen interest in the suitability of her son's intended wife, and by many tests endeavours to ascertain whether she is a worthy housewife, the marriage being often abandoned if the woman fails in these tests. As, however, they are probably known to the fiancée's mother, who will have warned her daughter what to expect and how to comport herself, they have not much protective value. Among such tests are these: the girl is invited by her lover's mother to go and help in the housework, and is given some semsem to roast, the while her future mother-in-law busies herself out of doors. After an adequate period the latter calls the girl, complaining of some dust or a fly which has got into her eye, and asks her to remove it. The girl stoops over, and by her breath she can tell whether the girl tasted or smelt the semsem to see whether it was sufficiently cooked. In the former case it is presumed that she is a spendthrift and wasteful of her husband's food. Again, the anxious mother, having left, say, half a dozen pieces of meat scattered about in her house, asks her prospective daughter-in-law to sweep out the house while she goes away on a pressing errand. On her return some such conversation as this ensues: MOTHER: Well, Alyeko, have you swept out the house? GIRL: Yes. MOTHER: Thank you. Oh, and by the way I carelessly left some meat in there. Did you happen to find it? (If the girl says she found six pieces, all is well. Otherwise. . . .) GIRL: Yes. I found four pieces lying about and collected them in this calabash. Look! MOTHER: That is curious; I thought I left six. GIRL: Perhaps you did, but I only found four. Maybe the dog has eaten the rest. MOTHER: No, it cannot be that, as we have no dog. I must have been mistaken. In this case also the girl is proved to be a greedy wastrel.

The rule prohibiting the marriage of relations is very strict. No one may marry a girl however remotely connected by blood on either the father's or the mother's side, that is, all marriage is forbidden within the father's or the mother's clan; and even certain distant step-relationships, in which there is no blood-tie whatever, are a bar to marriage. Thus, woman A marries man X, and a son is born of the marriage. A leaves X and is married to Z, and dies without further issue. Z marries woman B, and a daughter is born to them. It is clear that there is no blood-relationship between the daughter and the son, but their marriage is nevertheless forbidden. This is probably due to the fact that when a woman leaves her husband her children go with her, and if she marries again, though technically belonging to their father's clan, they

are treated as the children of her new husband. Marriage with the wife's sister is, as will be seen, in certain cases permitted.

The amount paid as the marriage dowry for a girl varies considerably, according to the circumstances of the contracting parties and to the conditions prevailing in the area in which they live. Prior to the great plague which killed off so many cattle in 1890, the dowry used to be very high, but it rarely reaches the old amount nowadays. It then fell almost to nothing, and similarly during a famine a very small dowry is expected, though when times are better a further instalment may be paid. Since 1890 the amount of the dowry has shown a gradual tendency upwards, consisting first of goats, and then of two head of cattle. At present it varies in different localities from four head of cattle to a general maximum of ten head, but one enormous dowry was paid in recent years at Orumo which comprised ten head of cattle, one hundred goats, forty hoes, and sixty spears.

Let us take a hypothetical case in which the interested parties, having concluded their preliminary love-making, the dowry has been fixed at five head of cattle, apart from the bull which will be killed at the marriage feast. First of all, old men—the lover's father, if alive, and his contemporaries—take one cow, one heifer and one bull to the courtyard of the fiancée's mother, the lover remaining unobserved outside the village. Nothing further happens that day, but the emissaries are told to return with the balance a few days later, as—a conventional fiction—the girl's mother has not had any notice, and consequently there is no beer ready with which to offer hospitality. Some two or three days later the same old men take one cow and one heifer, the lover again remaining outside and at a short distance from the village. After exuberant greetings the girl's mother serves out the beer which she has prepared against their coming, one small pot being taken to her lover by his fiancée, as he may not enter the village out of respect for his future mother-in-law. The girl's mother then produces oil and gives it to the old men, who anoint their bodies, while a flask of oil is also taken to the lover by the unmarried girls of the village, who proceed to anoint him all over. The father and mother of the bride give her a public lecture on morality and conjugal fidelity, and adjure her to forget her wicked and flighty unmarried habits, and to be a good and thrifty wife. She receives also from her brother a present of brass wire, and in accepting it reminds him that her marriage has brought in many cattle to the family, and that it is his duty, when he marries, to marry for the sake of their clan a virtuous and useful wife, not a gadabout good-for-nothing. The visitors then return home, leaving the bride behind.

In about four to ten days' time the lover goes at night with some young male friends to the girl's village. He stands aside,

but directs them to her house and tells them to take the girl. They accordingly go and ask her to accompany them; but she raises the alarm and abuses them in foul language and unseemly insults, until they finally seize her, struggling, biting, kicking and screaming, while her parents stand by and tell her to go like a good girl now that the dowry has been paid. They drag the bride through the grass, through thorns and thickets—in short, anything that comes in the way, so that she is often badly scratched and bruised, as she resists until they have forcibly thrust her into her lover's *otogo*.[1]

The marriage is consummated that night, and in the morning the girl goes to her home, but returns on the same day with all the young men and unmarried girls of her village, carrying wood, water, flour, termites, butter, honey, and meat from an ox killed that day by the father of the bride. These are presents for the bridegroom. The girls all throw down their loads in the village and run and stand outside in the grass. The bridegroom follows them and brings them in one by one, greeting them by name and presenting each with a brass finger-ring; to each of the young men also he gives a spear.[2]

The girl then remains for good as his wife, and two days later, when they return the bowls in which the above presents of food were brought, the husband sends an ox by his friends, who take and kill it at the porch of the bride's mother's house for the wedding feast. The ox is distributed as follows: one leg and shoulder to the bride's father; one to the bride's stepmother older than her own mother; one to the bride's stepbrothers (*jo me tong*, relations of the spear); one to the bride's mother; half of the back to the bride's elder sister; half to the married women relations; the breast of the ox is cooked by the bride's mother and sent to her son-in-law; all the stomach and entrails go to the bride's mother, except the duodenum, which is eaten by the bride's father, and the larger intestine, which is given to the young men who brought the ox; the head belongs to the bride's mother.

The dowry[3] is divided as follows: two heifers and one bull to the bride's uterine brother, or, failing this, to her stepbrother or father; one heifer to the bride's maternal uncle; one cow to the more distant male relations (*jo me tong*), as if the girl were maltreated they would be called upon to assist in making war against the husband's family. The cow is kept by the eldest, and the calves born of it are divided. Subsequently, after a child has been born

[1] This is known as *ywayo dako* (to drag away one's wife), and the ceremony is a survival reminiscent of the practice of marriage by capture, and in no way indicates reluctance on the girl's part.

[2] These gifts and the bull for the wedding feast are not recoverable in the event of a divorce.

[3] Cattle obtained by a sister's marriage are crudely called *dyang me ngony amin*, cattle of a sister's buttocks.

of the marriage, the husband pays an additional heifer (*roya me ot*, heifer of the house) to provide the wife's mother with a supply of milk, and one bull for killing to his wife's maternal grandmother, and one heifer (though latterly a bull has been considered sufficient) to the bride's paternal aunt, who holds it in trust for her son or prospective son.

The principles which govern the distribution of the dowry remain the same, whatever the amount paid. In the area west of a line drawn from Kibuji to Chiawante, where there are no cattle on account of the *Glossina morsitans*, the dowry is paid in goats, the number of which varies from forty-five to eighty, but the distribution remains much the same: twenty-eight goats to the bride's uterine brother; sixteen to the *jo me tong*; twelve to the bride's maternal uncle; to be followed by five goats to the bride's mother (*dyegi me ot*), and three goats to the bride's maternal grandmother. In addition three goats are killed for the wedding feast. Elsewhere, also, if the contracting parties are poor, the dowry may be paid in goats, or partly in goats, partly in cattle. Spears, hoes and even chickens sometimes form part of a marriage dowry.

The *dyang me ot* are only the property of the bride's mother so long as she lives with her husband. Should she be divorced from the bride's father, another of the latter's wives would take over the custody of the cattle, or, failing another wife, an unmarried brother of the bride. On no account may the *divorcée* take them away, as they are held in trust for a younger brother of the bride, in order to provide him with a marriage dowry.

The bride's mother is regarded with extreme reverence, as has already been indicated in the wedding ceremonials, and her son-in-law may neither see her nor speak with her. Should he therefore wish to pass through the village in which she lives, he has to send on word in order that she may get out of the way or remain inside her hut. In the event of a local raid a woman is generally taken for safe custody by her relations to her son-in-law, if he lives in an unaffected area. She is carried on a litter, and on approaching the latter's village the bearers cover her with a cow-hide until the son-in-law has had time to prepare a house for her reception and to leave the village. Reference in this connection may be made to a case in which a woman invited her mother to visit her house without informing her husband. On his return from the crops he thrashed her severely, although his mother-in-law had gone before his return, and in this was held by his wife's relations to have acted correctly.

This avoidance by a man of his mother-in-law and the reverence paid to her (*woro maro*, to respect or to revere the bride's mother) is said by the Lango to be due to the idea that it would be unseemly for a woman to see the nakedness of a man who has had sexual

relations with her daughter. This idea is natural enough, and is supported by the custom of the Jaluo, among whom a man visiting his mother-in-law must wear a small skin apron suspended from his waist. A breach of this rule prescribing avoidance would, according to general belief, cause the death of the mother-in-law, the husband, the wife or her child; but at Awelo an instance came to notice in which it was stated that if a man looks on his mother-in-law she will become blind, unless compensation of one heifer is paid.

The prohibition enjoining the avoidance of the mother-in-law is never removed, but the bride's father is only revered in so far as a man may not share his drinking-tube (*ocheke*) with his father-in-law. The custom is extended to no other of his wife's family, and there is no ceremonial respect entertained by a woman for members of her husband's family.

This rule of avoidance also applies to the case of a man who is making clandestine love (*chodo*) to a woman's daughter, and the secret friendship is often discovered by the girl's mother noticing the lover's avoidance of her. After a successful hunt (*me erenga*), such a clandestine lover must throw two edible rats (*anyeri*) into the granary of the girl's mother.

Illegitimate intercourse (*luk*) with an unmarried woman is not treated as so serious an offence as adultery, and in fact is often the preliminary to marriage.[1] *Luk* is compoundable by the payment of cattle or goats to the injured party, that is the girl's guardian, the amount varying with the locality between a maximum of one bull and fifteen goats, and a minimum of six goats. According to ancient practice, all the livestock paid as compensation was killed in the goat pasturage, where it was eaten without formality or ritual, not only by members of the girl's family, but also by any neighbours who chose to attend the feast.[2] A normal compensation for *luk* is thirteen goats, and by modern practice they are distributed as follows: six goats (*dyegi me bar*, goats of the pasturage) are killed and eaten in the *bar*; one goat goes to the girl's mother; six goats to her father or other near relations. Should a child be born, the amount is increased, but these payments establish no right to the woman or the child, though they give the man the option of marrying her, an option which is usually accepted, as the amounts already paid would be taken into consideration in settling the marriage dowry, though they would not be recoverable in the event of a divorce. The fact that little opprobrium is attached to this illegitimate intercourse makes it probable that originally it was

[1] It should be clearly understood, however, that prostitution is entirely unknown.

[2] It is evident from this that any payments made for *luk* were considered in the light of a just compensation for injury to the family and clan, and not in the nature of profit, and there appear to be no grounds for believing that girls are encouraged by their parents to capitalize their attractions as a source of revenue for the family.

really regarded as merely a preliminary to marriage, as indeed it largely is to-day; and the rule that a further amount is paid if a child is born points to a desire to ensure a subsequent marriage, as by marrying the girl the man gets the child of the union and, in the sense that the amount is deducted from the total of the dowry, recovers the fines already paid. If the girl dies in giving birth, the case assumes a more serious aspect and more cattle are required to be paid, sufficient to bring the total payments up to the amount of compensation due for homicide. After being violated, a girl may not complain directly to her mother, but tells her sister-in-law if she has one; if not, she tells a girl friend, who informs her mother, and so the news reaches her father, through whose medium the amount of compensation is arranged.

Illegitimate intercourse with a married woman is a more serious affair, and frequently leads to feuds and bloodshed. The offence may be compounded, however, by payment to the husband, the customary compensation being one cow, one heifer and one bull, the last animal being killed and eaten in the *bar*. If the woman dies in childbirth as a consequence, the compensation for homicide must be paid, and the man responsible for her condition is liable to a blood feud with the girl's family. Much more disgrace attaches to a married woman detected in illicit intercourse with a man than to an unmarried girl, and repeated faults of this nature are a just ground for divorce. Any children born of the adultery belong to the woman's husband, and not to the father; and should she be subsequently divorced and marry the lover, the compensation which he has paid is not considered when arranging the marriage dowry.

Should a girl be found in illicit intercourse with a man out of doors, or should she complain of such intercourse, all passers-by throw grass on the spot, as *jok* is immanent there with evil influence. The man is said to have brought god on the girl (*otimo jok kum nyako*), and from fear of such an inauspicious influence, which is associated with daylight for some reason which is not clear, but is probably due to the instinctive desire for privacy, coitus, whether legitimate or illegitimate, is only permitted within a house and at night.

A married woman, though she becomes in a limited sense the property of her husband, in so far as the compensation paid for adultery with her belongs entirely to her husband, and in so far as she has to obey his reasonable orders in regard to the housework and fieldwork, yet is by no means in a servile position. She has the education of the small children in her control, and should she be unjustly ill-treated she has the right to complain to her brothers, who would obtain satisfaction in the shape of cattle or goats from the husband, or would arrange a divorce in lieu thereof. She is consequently well-treated and lives on a practical equality with her husband, may converse with and entertain his friends, even

in her husband's absence, and visits her relations with her husband's permission. On these visits she stays either in her mother's house or in a house put at her disposal by her brother, under the chaperonage of her brother's wife; but she may not receive food from him, nor enter the house which he is inhabiting at the time. Should she have illicit intercourse with another man during the visit, the brother is liable for the amount of the compensation to her husband, and must himself recover it from the adulterer.

A characteristic mark of a mother is the leather tail (*lau*) worn by her and previously described. This tail is given her by the father of the child as soon as the woman is noticeably enceinte, and a new one is given on each subsequent occasion. No one except the woman may touch this tail, as should anyone take it she would become barren until its return with the necessary ceremonial. This also applies to the cotton fringe (*chip*) worn over the pudenda. On returning it, the man who took the *lau* has to bring a goat, which is led in a circle round the injured woman, water is sprinkled by him from a small calabash over the woman's head and over the goat, before which the man then kneels, and spitting on his hands rubs the brow, flanks and stomach of the goat, the while he adjures the woman to be fruitful and to multiply, and to fear no ill nor bewitchment from him. The goat is then killed and eaten.[1]

Until it is fully weaned, that is for a period of two and a half to three years, by which time it can walk and generally look after itself, a child is carried on its mother's back when she goes from the village about her work, slung in a kind of hammock (*obeno*) made of skin, which is fastened by four thongs, the two lower ones passing under the child's legs and round the woman's torso and meeting the top ones, which have been passed over her shoulders below her breast, where they are all tied together. The sling is usually constructed of goatskin, but a few clans have special rules on this subject, and for an *atin me akwera* it must be made of the skin of an otter or a civet cat. Often the child is protected from the heat of the sun by an *awal* (calabash bowl) slung over the back and head; and fastened at the small of her back to the woman's girdle are some leaves of a plant *akita* for an obvious sanitary purpose. Great care is taken that the *obeno* should not be lost, or the child would die. When the child is weaned, it is torn up and thrown in a marsh.

A man does not cohabit with his wife during menstruation, at which period she wears grass and leaves instead of the usual *chip*; and during the whole period also from pregnancy until the child is close on being weaned—a matter of nearly three years—there is no cohabitation, as, though the child is gradually accustomed

[1] The object of this ritual is doubtless to transfer the curse of barrenness from the woman to the goat.

to cow's milk from the age of about six months, it is still largely dependent on its mother; and it is held that the premature arrival of another child would deprive it of its necessary attention and diet, to the detriment of its health. Such a long period of abstention from marital relations in itself most clearly shows that the practice of polygyny is intimately bound up with the social fabric of their existence. Such a restriction would prove intolerable had not the man other wives to whom he could turn, and the only alternative to polygyny would be unrestrained prostitution.

Divorce implies the return of the dowry paid by the husband. The most usual cause is incompatibility of temperament, though commonly enough indeed the woman is well content with her lot, and the pair present a happy picture of connubial bliss. The general constancy and devotion noticeable in their married life is remarkable, and doubtless largely accounts for the healthy condition of the tribe; but it may be that she has since her marriage found another lover, or that her affections for a former lover have revived, and her passion for him induces the woman to leave her husband. Technically, all that he paid for her should be returned to him, together with any increase of the original cattle and goats; but this strict adherence to the letter of the law is frequently waived, and the husband is content to take what is paid by the lover (who marries the girl), provided that it is at least equivalent to the dowry which he himself paid.

This theory that all the issue of the cattle should be returned to the husband is the natural corollary of the fact that on divorce custom assigns the custody of the children to the mother, irrespective of any guilt on her part which conduced to the divorce, though usually, on growing up, any male children voluntarily return to their father. This custom has probably little to do with the physical necessity for infants to be in the charge of their mother, but is undoubtedly a relic of a previous matriarchal constitution of society; and with the modern tendency to waive any claim on the issue of dowry cattle, except young calves at foot, it has become habitual in recent years to give the father the custody of the children. Even under the old dispensation a man could generally recover his child, even after the lapse of a few years, by paying one heifer *ne pit* (for its upkeep) either to the girl's family or to her new husband, whichever party was responsible for the care and upbringing of the child.

In no event, even if the woman joins her lover direct without returning home, does the lover pay the amount of the dowry to her late husband, who can only recover his property through the brother or father of the woman, to whom the lover must pay the dowry with the attendant wedding ceremonies.[1] Difficulty of

[1] This rule is rigidly observed, and is a significant proof that the payment of a dowry is not a mere process of barter, but is fundamental to the clan system.

recovering the dowry used to afford a frequent pretext for war, and this it was which presumably led to the husband appropriating his wife's tail if she meditated leaving him, for he is generally aware of such an intention. The possession of the tail accordingly gives him power over the woman's productivity, with the result that her guardian would make every endeavour to return the dowry as soon as possible, as infecundity brings more shame and disrepute on a woman than the most riotous living, and no husband could possibly be found for her in such a condition. On the repayment of the dowry the late husband returns the tail in the presence of the woman, her brother and her husband-to-be, with the necessary ritual, thus publicly renouncing his rights in her.

Ill-treatment (including the refusal to cohabit with her on inadequate grounds) is a further and sufficient ground for the wife to leave her husband. She returns to her father or brother, and the husband's property is returned to him, possibly less a fine for the specific assault which led to the divorce. A wife is also entitled to leave her husband if, by neglecting his agricultural duties, he is unable to support her with a sufficiency of food. All his property is in this case returned.

A husband may divorce his wife, receiving full repayment of his dowry, for the following reasons: (1) Repeated infidelity. The reason for this is not so much the actual infidelity for which he receives compensation from the lover, but because as a result of it he is put to shame among his friends, to whom it is apparent that the wife prefers other society to his. It may be also that, knowing of his wife's clandestine meetings with her lover, he yet cannot locate him, in which case his only remedy is divorce. Infidelity as such, therefore, is not necessarily a ground for divorce, but rather the loss of reputation resulting therefrom. (2) Sterility in a woman is an adequate reason for divorce. This rare condition, as has been stated, is a woman's greatest reproach, and should a woman prove sterile, she may be returned to her family, in which case the man's property is returned, or another sister is given him in her place. Further, a woman who, though fertile, is unfortunate enough to bear only weaklings who do not long survive, is considered to have some magic property in her which causes their death, either intentionally or unintentionally, and is consequently returned to her family. This inability to rear up a family causes great grief to a woman, and is, fortunately, a rare occurrence. A peculiarly poignant instance is remembered at Achaba. In this case the woman in question was married to three husbands successively and was divorced by each, as in each case the child that was born died shortly after birth. She was accordingly accounted an ill-omened woman with a curse on her, and though in no way ill-treated, was driven by the frenzy of her despair and the belief that

she really was possessed of a malign influence to commit suicide.

Should a man's wife die before presenting him with a child, or should she die in giving birth or before the child is weaned, he is entitled to the return of his dowry; or if she has an unmarried sister pleasing to him and willing to join him, she may be given to him without further payment. It is usual, however, in these cases for the husband to present the girl's mother with a bull.

The position of the *chilim* or wife of the dowry theoretically requires special mention, though in practice only one case affecting her position has come to notice. A man Okelo having married a woman Atim, the woman's brother Ngulu proceeds, as is normal, to marry with the dowry paid by Okelo, the wife of the marriage being called Okelo's *chilim*. If, however, Atim deserts her husband or returns to her family, Okelo has the right to any offspring which have resulted from Ngulu's marriage, and in default of children may claim the *chilim* herself. This is the theoretical rule, but actually, with very rare exceptions, the husband is content with the repayment of his dowry, knowing full well that were he to claim the *chilim*, as is legally his right, she would have no affection for him, and there would be no stability in their relations. Nevertheless, with this possibility in view, a man is much interested in his brother-in-law's choice of a wife, and it is said that, should he disapprove of the woman, he may veto the marriage. No case is known, however, in recent years in which this right to veto was exercised.

Women captured in war are either married by their captors or, if too young, are treated as their own daughters, and given in marriage for the usual dowry. They labour under no disabilities and suffer no differential treatment, nor is any reproach attached to descent from them. The paternal grandmother, for instance, of Oleng of Aboki, in his day a great war-leader, was a captured Madi woman. Similarly, Onyik of Achaba had for his grandmother an Alira woman, the wife of Owany, who bought her for a handful of grain in the great famine which ravaged the Alira country and the countries lying northwards about ninety years ago. This, however, is the only way in which Lango intermarry with other tribes—the way of capture. They do not intermarry with their Bantu neighbours, nor with the Akum and Iteso, and it is rarely that they give their daughters in marriage to an Acholi. Still less do the men marry girls from other tribes.

§ 4. **Burial and Mourning.**—Males are buried on the right-hand side of the door of the house, females on the left. The graves are deep, as it is the rule that the dead should be buried in red

clay,[1] which in many places is only reached at a considerable depth; and the grave must be so orientated that the head of the deceased should lie towards the sunrise.

A man possessing more than one wife is buried in the courtyard about six feet in front of the *otem*, as the women have all an equal social standing, and it would be impossible to come to an agreement as to which woman's house should be selected for the burial. Chiefs and war-leaders are buried outside the village about ten yards beyond the deceased's *otem*. A man who dies in battle or who is killed in the bush is left to the vultures, if his death takes place at a distance from his home, though all the funeral observances are kept. If he is killed near his village, his body is allowed to decompose, and his skull is taken and buried at the usual site and with the customary ritual. A *won awi* (kraal owner), who is not necessarily the chief of the village, is buried in the centre of his kraal, but this does not prevent its being used for cattle after the funeral.

Not more than one person may be buried in a single grave; for this reason, and to ascertain the sex for its burial position, the embryo is removed from a woman who dies enceinte and is buried separately. Were this not done, the woman's ghost would hunt her husband or (if unmarried) her brother.

In the hope that it may only be a trance, and that the apparently dead man may be revived from it, he is laved with cold water. When it is seen, however, that he is really dead, there is no delay over the funeral, and he may even, though not usually, be buried at night. Immediately that the fact of his death has been established, messengers are sent to inform and to summon the more distant relatives, and the funeral wail is at once raised by his wife or (if unmarried) by his sister. This is taken up by all the womenfolk in the village and apprises the relations in neighbouring villages.

The burial position is for a woman on her left side, and for a man on his right; the legs are bent and the knees are drawn up towards the chest so far as they will go; the arms are bent at the elbows, with hands clasped under the cheek. Preparatory to the funeral, therefore, the limbs are flexed into the necessary position in order that they may set with the cooling of the body. The eyes are closed, and the ears are sealed with the leaves of the tree *ochoga* to prevent earth from entering. If this last precaution is omitted, the deceased will haunt the heir till he dies. The head of the deceased is shaved, and the hair,[2] together with his wooden pillow

[1] The bodies of the dead are not smeared with ochre, but it is possible that this rule had some connection with such a practice in the remote past.

[2] If he is wearing a bead head-dress, it is cut off from his head, and after the beads have been disentangled the hair is thrown on the grave. The beads are sold by the heir.

and (with the *Jo Aber*) his hide apron (*lau nyare*),[1] is thrown on the top of the grave.

The corpse is carried to the grave in the deceased's sleeping-hide, which is buried with him, and after the earth has been replaced a chicken is fluttered (*buko*) over the grave, and beaten to death. A sheep is also killed over the grave, and its *we* (intestinal dung) and testicles are thrown on top of the grave, together with the dregs of the beer which is drunk at the funeral meal, when, too, the meat of the sheep is eaten. The skin is worn on the head by the nearest relative till the feast of *apuny*. Branches and leaves of the tree *edugu* are scattered over the grave.

On the day of his death the deceased's wife and mother tie strings or bands of fibre round their heads, necks, waists and breasts. Near relatives take off all their ornaments, while distant relations remove their bead ornaments and cover their brass ornaments with grass or fibre. Men shave their heads on the third day after the death, and women on the fourth, the hair being thrown on the grave.

Close relations, especially wives of the deceased, generally attempt to commit suicide, and have to be restrained by the villagers. For three or four days during the first paroxysms of grief they are closely watched, and do not attend the actual burial lest their sorrow should overstrain their reason.[2] The deceased is consequently buried by an outsider, not a member of the family, and not necessarily even by a member of the clan. The brother of the deceased presents the burier and his assistants with a ram,[3] which is killed and eaten by them on the day after the funeral.

The *achuban*[4] or funeral feast (referred to also as *mato kongo wi lyel*, to drink beer over a funeral) is held on the arrival of the relations, and is a mournful and depressing meal, generally concluded in silence.

There are no further ceremonies till the next harvest, when all the relations assemble and celebrate the *apuny*[5] *me gonyo tol* (the feast of the undoing of the string). This may be from four to sixteen

[1] Or, in the case of a woman, her cotton fringe (*chip*) and leather tail (*lau*).

[2] Contrast with the practice of the Akum is of interest. Suicide at a funeral is a rare occurrence with them, but on the other hand both men and women wail and lament, while with the Lango lamentations of grief are confined to women, though it is quite usual to see a man's eyes filled with tears. While this lamentation is customary and to that extent therefore formal, it would be a mistake to suppose that sorrow is merely a superficial manifestation, as easily discarded as assumed; the grief is deep and heartfelt, and relations keep in actual, as opposed to formal, mourning for many months.

[3] A goat may not be given, or the deceased would haunt the burier, because as compared with a sheep a goat is a fierce and vindictive animal. Nor may the ram be black, or the burier would die.

[4] This word is also sometimes used to conclude the *apuny*, and probably covers all the funeral ceremonials.

[5] The funeral of children who have not reached the age of puberty is not followed by the *apuny*, but the relations go out of mourning at their own discretion.

months after the funeral, as if a man dies after the new season's crops have been sown the *apuny* is celebrated not at that harvest, but at the following one. It is doubtful whether there is any symbolic significance associating the harvest or the death of the crops with human demise, but the season at any rate allows for an unlimited supply of beer for the festival. Between the *achuban* and the *apuny*, though men's heads are shaved at long intervals, women do not trim or arrange their hair, which remains straggling and dishevelled. But on the day of the *apuny* all shave their heads (*gilyelo wigi me tar*, they shave their heads for rejoicing), the mourning strings and fillets are removed, and ornaments are uncovered or resumed.

All the attendants at the *apuny* bring goats and other contributions to the feast, and at least one bull is killed by the deceased's brother. Consequently there is beef and mutton in abundance, and beer is provided to the utmost requirements. A lump of dry beer dough is thrown on the grave as an offering to the shade of the deceased, and during this meal his heir is selected and his property and wives are apportioned in accordance with the traditional principles governing inheritance; and if the deceased was a chief, his successor is then appointed. After this the senior member of the clan present delivers a speech which combines the laudatory functions of a funeral oration with admonitions to the successor to follow worthily in the dead man's footsteps. At this stage excitement and beer have wrought the whole party to a fervid state of exhilaration, and the subsequent dance is accompanied by much mutual beating with withies from the tree *epobo*, the heir to the deceased's wife coming in for especially severe chastisement. It is all given and taken in good part, however, and no resentment is ever displayed nor would be countenanced. Should distant members of the clan arrive too late for the festival, even if circumstances prevent them from coming till a year later, the heir must provide a bull, or at least a goat, to be killed and eaten, provided that they were not at the original *apuny*.

On the death of her husband a woman continues to occupy his house until the feast of *apuny*, after which a new house is built for her by the heir, and the old one is vacated and left to fall into ruin. A man surviving his wife may continue to live in the house, but may not introduce another wife into it. The death of children and minors does not *per se* necessitate rebuilding, but frequent and unexplained deaths have that result, as the site is then thought to be under some supernatural curse.

If deaths are frequent and inexplicable, the deceased is buried in a swamp, as it is thought that water will bar any further display of spiritual malevolence. Similarly, if a man, dead and buried with the usual rites, persists in haunting his heir or the vicinity,

his remains are disinterred and buried without further ceremony at the bottom of a swamp.

Suicides, if they kill themselves at a distance from their homes, are buried where they lie; if near the village, they are brought and buried on the outskirts of the village. Only very close relations mourn and shave their heads, as his self-sought death proves that the deceased wished to leave the world, and consequently an elaborate display of sorrow would be superfluous. The mourning is not prolonged and there is no *apuny*. The usual (and with women the only) method of committing suicide is by hanging, but sometimes a man will fall forward on his spear or stab himself in the stomach. Persons killed by lightning are not buried, but are thrown into a river or swamp.

A curious interpretation of a natural phenomenon is worth recording in regard to mourning, though it is an isolated instance. Shortly after the death of his brother, Olet, Ayugi of Akalu, stated that in prescience of his brother's coming death his crop of millet that season (1913, a particularly good year generally) had failed, as a sign of sorrow and mourning. "*Kalna rach,*" he said, "*Kara rik' engeyo ka omina omito to etogono duru.*" ("My millet is bad, for it knew that my brother was about to die and raised the cry of lamentation.")

The death of twins, like their birth, is attended by special ceremonies, provided that their mother is still alive; should she have predeceased the twins, they are buried in the normal way, but at a short distance outside the village.[1] Other abnormalities, while a matter of concern at birth, receive no special funeral distinctions.

When a twin dies he is not buried in the ground, but in a newly prepared clay jar (*agulu*). In the case of infants and small children the corpse is crushed into the jar, the limbs, if necessary, being broken; but in the case of a grown man a specially large jar is made, and his limbs are hewn off and he is inserted piecemeal. The lid is hermetically sealed with a mixture of clay and cowdung. A *peru* is built near the *otem*, as for the birth of twins, and under it the jar is set, while two *tuk* (earth-nests of a species of termite) are placed on each side of the jar, the *tuk* and the jar being then profusely plastered with swamp mud. Not unusually an ant-hill forms after a short interval, embracing the jar and the whole *peru*, as it were, in a natural mausoleum. If two twins die simultaneously, they are put in separate pots, but occupy only the one *peru*, and the number of the *tuk* is not increased. The twin's *gweno jok*

[1] This suggests that the supernatural influence attending the birth of twins, while fortunate as a whole, is yet attended with danger, at any rate to the mother. Therefore the object of the danger being removed there is no further need for a prophylactic ritual.

(consecrated chicken) is killed over the jar and eaten by the nearest relation, his father if alive, the feathers and bones being thrown under the *peru*. The usual signs and ritual of mourning are present—feminine lamentations, the shaving of heads, fibre fillets, the removal or covering of ornaments ; but in addition, on the third day after the funeral, all the ritual, already detailed, attending the birth of twins is again enacted without variation, the consecration of chickens excepted. If the deceased twin has reached man's estate, the feast of *apuny* follows in the natural course of events.

§ 5. **Property and Inheritance.**—With the exception of the *arum* (hunting area), property in land is held communally by the village, the land being held to include the grazing and water rights. Even these communal rights are of the vaguest, owing doubtless to the long period of tribal migration and to the general habit of local migrations every three or four years. Being without a central and controlling authority, the tribe has little corporate consciousness, but that in the past some system of tribal ownership of land was recognized is indicated in the occasional disputes which arise at the present time between the Lango and their neighbours, the Akum and the Acholi, the former supporting their claims by the assertion that the land has always been in the possession of the Lango—the tribe as opposed to an individual claimant—(whereas in point of fact very often they may not have resided in the vicinity for more than thirty years). Similarly, though clans have for the same reason become much scattered and broken up, indications are not entirely wanting to show that in the remote past land was held communally by the clan within the sphere of tribal occupancy, and that such clan-land was at the disposal of the individual members of the clan for their use so long as they required it. This clan tenure, however, is by now almost non-existent ; but in a few cases, as at Abako, traces of it can still be found, a member of an alien clan settling in their property being required to give the head of the Jo Abako some small present, such as a bull or a goat. By this present he secures the privilege of tenancy and has equal rights in the usufruct of the land with the members of the clan, without, however, being absorbed into the clan itself. For all practical purposes, however, clan tenure may be disregarded, and the village is the actual unit of communal occupancy.

Any village is at liberty to build in or to occupy uncultivated land, or land which has once been cultivated but has since been abandoned. Such occupation does not imply permanent ownership, but grants the usufruct for such period as it is required and utilized ; but during its occupancy both the village and the individual have complete and irrefutable rights in the land occupied. It follows naturally, however, that such rights being of the most temporary

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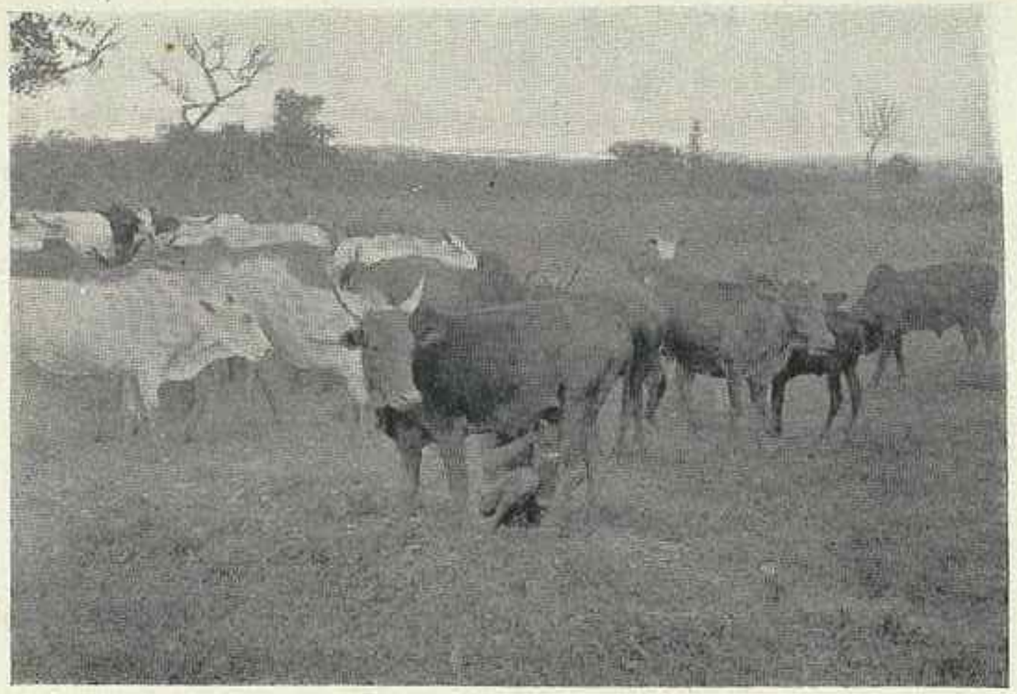

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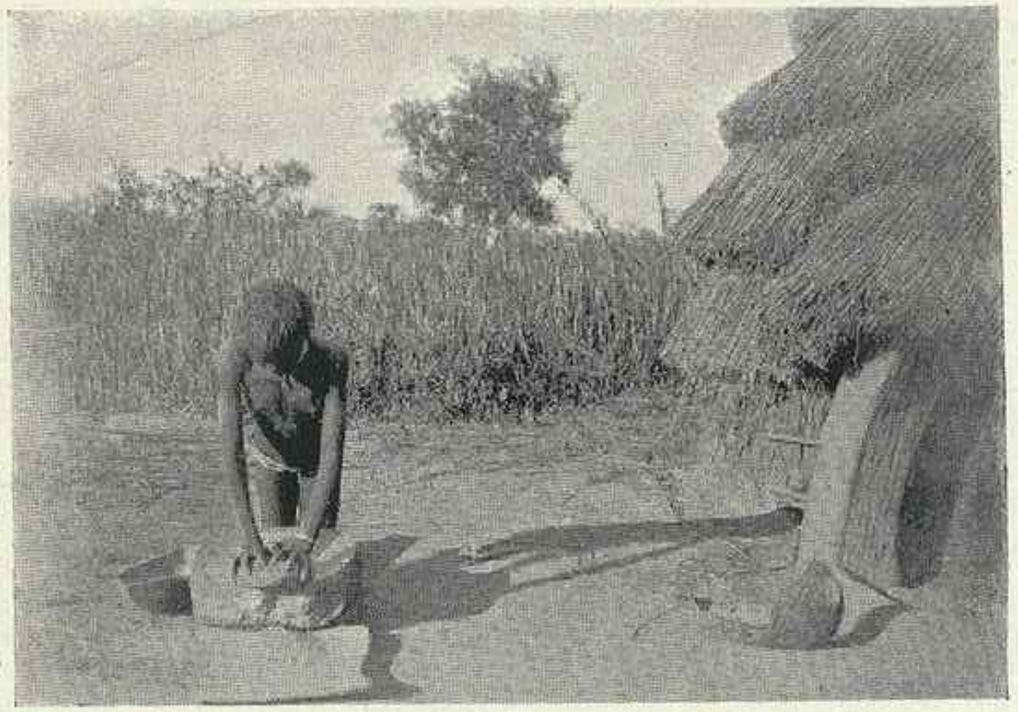
VILLAGE GOATS.



GIRL GRINDING FLOUR.

To face p. 170.

nature, the land may not be alienated, bequeathed or sold, either individually or communally. Any alien, whether of a different clan or possibly even of a different tribe, who with its inhabitants' permission settles in the village may cultivate the common land on exactly the same temporary terms. On migrating, a village may, and generally does, retain its right to cultivate its old land and site for one year, or at most for two years, as crops are planted in well-manured areas now no longer required for sanitary and other purposes, and naturally give a heavy yield. Beyond this, however, it has no claim, and the land is open to occupancy by others. The fact that very often a village may, after the lapse of several years, return to its former site is no proof to the contrary, as it could only resume its old land if it finds it unoccupied.

Within the village each member has the complete use of his own portion, and the semi-communal system of cultivation by groups of men (*wangtich*) in no way affects the individual's rights. So long as he requires the land originally broken by him, for so long no one can trespass on it or evict him, and he may continue to use it year after year without fear of molestation. There appears to be no system by which such communal land is allocated to the individual, the appropriations being made by mutual agreement and the village headman deciding any dispute which may occur. For as there is still land in abundance for all the needs of the tribe, the question has not as yet arisen, but with a growing population a system of allocation will some day be required, and its evolution will be a matter of the greatest interest, and may throw valuable light on their system of land tenure in the remote past.

The *arum*, as has been said, is personal property, but absolute ownership is limited by the fact that the owner cannot refuse permission to any person or community desirous of building and cultivating in the *arum*, though any damage by fire due to a hunt is entirely that community's affair. It would be more correct therefore to say that the *won arum* owns the hunting rights over the land rather than the land itself, and with closer settlement following on an increased population even these rights will one day inevitably disappear.

The only other exceptions are rights to ant-hills (valuable for the sake of termites and the mushrooms which grow on them) and to shea-butter trees. These belong individually to the man who first discovers them or cultivates round them, and they continue to be his personal property, even should he migrate to another locality, unless he publicly renounces his rights, as he generally does if his migration has removed him more than a moderate distance.

Grazing rights and water rights, which include rights of drawing water for domestic purposes, of watering cattle and of fishing, are all

communal to the village, and are in no way allocated to individuals. These rights are jealously guarded, and an infringment of the last two constitutes a serious offence.

Movable property consists of livestock, household implements, and any wealth acquired by agriculture or trade, and is held individually. In a more limited sense a man has property in his wife, his unmarried sons and his unmarried daughters. Only in the sense that his family are bound to assist him in cultivation and the usual routine duties, and that offences against his family are compoundable by payments to him, may it be said that they are his property; and how limited his property in them is is clear when it is remembered that on the marriage of his daughter his wife's family is entitled to a definite portion of the dowry, and in the event of his wife's murder, the culprit, though he pay the customary forfeit to the husband, is none the less liable to a blood feud with her clan. Even in the case of livestock, which more than anything else is reckoned individual property, the owner has to acknowledge certain clan rights in them, as for instance a clan levy to redeem a member of the clan from the consequences of a murder.

No woman may possess property, except her ornaments and tail. It is true that her house, courtyard and granaries are always spoken of as belonging to her rather than to her husband, but this is little more than a formal acknowledgment of her status as wife; she has no claim on them in the event of divorce. Two cases, moreover, have been noted in which property apparently comes under the direct control of women. One bull of a dowry is paid to a bride's maternal grandmother, and a heifer to the wife's mother. But as a matter of fact, in the first case the bull is slaughtered for a feast and is purely a matriarchal survival; while in the second the heifer is definitely the property of the house, as its name (*dyang me ot*) implies. It is ostensibly given to provide the mother with milk, but its real object would appear to be to create a dowry fund for a son born to the bride's mother, to whom, however, the milk of such cattle is reserved; but they are clearly not her property, as in case of divorce she cannot take them with her.

This brings us to an apparently anomalous custom, which in certain cases makes it obligatory on a man who wishes to lend any cattle or goats to a friend first to obtain permission from his wife. Although as a woman she has no rights in the property, yet if she refuses he may not lend a single goat to his most intimate friend. This right of veto may be exercised by a wife only in the case of property brought to her husband by the marriage of her daughter. The object of this veto is undoubtedly to safeguard the property which will provide her son with a wife. Where a man has more than one wife, each wife has the veto over the disposal of only such property as has accrued to her husband by the marriage of one

of her own daughters. Over cattle inherited by the husband or acquired in battle the wives have no control. Thus Oleg has three wives: Akulo, Akijang and Achyen. Akulo and Akijang have presented him with a daughter each, and each would have a veto over the disposal of property resulting from her own daughter's marriage. Achyen would have no veto.

Slaves captured in war are not treated as property in the same sense as cattle, but as limited property, like a man's own wife and children. Female slaves may be given in marriage by their captor (who stands in *loco parentis*) on payment of a dowry, just as if she were his own daughter; or he may marry her himself, in which case she is treated in the same way as any other wife, her only disability being that she probably has no brothers at hand to ensure her good treatment. Should she abscond to another man, who is willing to marry her, the dowry is paid to her captor and not to her family, in contradistinction to the regular marriage rule by which a new husband can only replace the former husband's dowry through the medium of the woman's family. Males are sometimes sold, but are more usually adopted and treated in all respects as a son. Moreover, when they are sold, their purchasers adopt them, and no stigma attaches to them in after life by reason of this transaction. Such adopted sons, even if they are of another tribe, marry Lango wives, and are able to attain to positions of authority and affluence. Such a one is Rumba, a Munyuli slave, who rose to be a noted war-leader and head of the Inomo clan; and Oiwin, a Langulok captured in war and favoured by his captor, the war-leader Opioadiba, above his own sons to so great an extent that he inherited the largest share of Opioadiba's property, and gained such prestige as eventually to become Chief of the Lango at Ayer. Both male and female captives, however, may be held up to ransom.

A man may bequeath his property, as was done by the Opioadiba just referred to, but his bequest is not final, and requires to be ratified by the members of the family and clan gathered at the *apuny* following on his death. Till then no property may be removed, and in actual practice the act of bequest has little value. Indeed, it is rarely that such a step is taken unless a man desires to give an undue share of his property to a particular person, in which case the terms of the bequest would probably not be allowed to stand.

In theory the *dyang me ot* brought in by a daughter's marriage go to her uterine brother, and all property otherwise acquired passes to the duly appointed heir. In practice, however, this may be modified by the general rule that goats are inherited, as they are distributed in the houses of deceased's wives at the time of his death, and cattle in accordance with the distribution of the milk among the various wives. This rule accordingly does to a certain extent enable a man to devise his property as he wishes, but an

unfair distribution of milk or tampering with the *dyang* or *dyegi me ot* is liable to cause trouble between a man and his wife's family, generally a sufficient guarantee that the equities are observed.

Normally a man's eldest son is declared his heir, but if he dies without male issue,[1] or if his eldest son is a ne'er-do-well and generally unsatisfactory, another son is chosen; otherwise the inheritance may pass to the deceased's brother's son, or if he is similarly considered ineligible, to the deceased's sister's son. The heir must be found in one of these groups in the above order of elegibility. The heir to the whole estate (other than such property as is included in the aforesaid provisos) is bound either to distribute a reasonable amount to his uterine brothers, and to such of his step-brothers who have reached the age of puberty and have not been fortunate enough to be provided for out of a sister's marriage, or to assist them from his inheritance in obtaining wives. In this connection it should be recollected that any illegitimate children of his own mother, or children of a previous union who accompanied her on her marriage to the deceased, have a prior claim on him than his step-brothers. The son of his uterine sister has equal priority also on his favour and assistance.

The wives of the deceased are inherited by his brothers, or, if the deceased left no brothers, by his sister's son. If the deceased left a young wife, she is inherited by a son of the deceased other than the woman's own son. An old wife past the age of child-bearing generally elects to live with her son, and in all cases the women have the deciding voice as to which of several possible claimants they will accept as husbands. Should she refuse to live with any of the available relations and return to her family, all the dowry paid by the deceased must be replaced and becomes the property of the heir. On inheriting a woman, a man has to pay one bull to her family to obtain their goodwill. As has been stated above, a woman's son inherits the goats left in his mother's house and the cattle whose milk she habitually drank; but in default of a son these pass to the deceased's relation who is appointed to marry the woman. Further, if there is a son and the woman bears a daughter to the relation who inherits her, the *dyang me ot* resulting from the daughter's marriage go to the deceased's son to provide him with a wife. Unmarried daughters of the deceased accompany their mothers. It is the usual custom for a man, especially if he is the deceased's sister's son, to take up his residence at or near the village of the deceased, from whom he inherits a wife, as having benefited materially in this way it is his duty to strengthen the village

[1] There is no trace among the Lango of the practice prevailing among tribes so diverse as the Dinka, the Akum and the Akikuyu of a woman "raising up seed" to her dead husband by intercourse with another man, with a view to styling the issue by a legal fiction the deceased's son.

by his presence and to assist it and the clan in war. Migration with this end in view is frequently made a condition of his inheriting the woman.[1]

If the heir is a minor, the deceased's brother acts as trustee for the property and takes the boy and his mother to live with him. On the boy's reaching the age of puberty, the uncle hands over this property and gives an account of his stewardship, which is checked by the boy's mother. If there is any discrepancy, the boy institutes a claim against his uncle, who, unless he can show that the mother is wrong, has to make good the alleged deficit. But if the heir is a minor and his mother is an old and capable woman, who while not wishing to return to her own family, nevertheless owing to her years cannot be inherited as a wife, she may herself be appointed to act as trustee for her son, with full powers over the disposal of the property and the contracting of marriages for her daughters.

To the duly appointed heir go the deceased's drums, his spear, shield, war-whistle and trumpet. He keeps the drums, but must sell the other articles, as if he kept them the deceased would haunt him. He also inherits any shea-butter trees and ant-hills which are the property of deceased. The household properties, food and growing crops, are inherited by the respective heirs to the deceased's wives. The ownership of the *arum* more often than not descends to the sister's son, but in this matter also the individual's suitability is taken into consideration. Physical strength and hunting prowess are the chief essentials, as the maintenance of the *arum* requires endurance and hard work, and one who is primarily entitled to inherit the *arum* would be passed over if he lacked the necessary qualifications. A slave, as has been said, suffers from no disabilities, and may inherit property and wives sometimes even in despite of superior claims of the deceased's actual sons.

In the event of the deceased having been the head of his clan, a chief or headman of a village, his successor is similarly elected on his merits at the *apuny* from within the same limits as the heir, viz. his son, brother's son, or (except in the case of a clan headmanship) sister's son. In addition to his mental and physical qualifications, his past generosity and hospitality, especially in the matter of beer, plays no insignificant part in securing the successor's appointment. Very occasionally a woman succeeds to the chieftainship, either as trustee for a minor or elected out of compliment to the prowess of her late husband; but in either case she must naturally be endowed with exceptional abilities and a magnetic personality, in order to inspire such confidence in a people who

[1] Similarly a man may quite correctly refuse to discharge his obligations to his sister's son, whom by custom he has to assist when in trouble or in securing a wife, unless the latter comes to reside at his village.

always live on the fringe of war. Such chieftainesses are: Ayugi of Ogur, known generally as Ayugidako, "Ayugi the woman," who largely owes her eminence to, it is believed, remarkable psychical powers; and Apiotweyotoke of Aloi, a shrewd woman possessed of considerable tact, courage and charm of personality, who is said even to have led her followers into battle on more than one occasion.

A woman's death entails no difficult questions of inheritance, as she leaves no estate other than the ornaments which she wears. If she has a daughter, the latter is entitled to all her personal ornaments; if not, her husband sells them. Her granaries, food, pots, and household utensils are divided among her co-wives, or the surplus is sold by her husband if she was his only wife. If at the time of her death she was holding property in trust for a minor, the trust is transferred either to her brother or to her brother-in-law.

§ 6. Kinship.[1]

Father.	*Papo.*
Mother.	*Toto.*
Father's father.	*Kwaro.*
Father's mother.	*Tato.*
Father's wife (i.e. stepmother or mother's co-wife).	*Toto, chipapo.*
Father's wife's son (i.e. stepbrother).	*Omin.*
Father's wife's daughter (i.e. stepsister).	*Amin.*
Mother's father.	*Kwaro.*
Mother's mother.	*Tato.*
Father's brother.	*Papo, ominpapo.*
Father's brother's wife.	*Toto, chipapo, chi omin papo.*
Father's brother's son.	*Omin, Wot omin papo.*
Father's brother's son's son.	*Wot.*
Father's brother's son's daughter.	*Nya.*
Father's brother's daughter.	*Amin, Nya omin papo.*
Father's brother's daughter's son.	*Okeo.*
Father's brother's daughter's daughter.	*Akeo.*
Mother's brother.	*Nero.*
Mother's co-wife's brother.	*Ner' omin.*
Mother's brother's family.	*Neo.*
Mother's brother's wife.	*Chinero, Chyek.*
Mother's brother's son.	*Wot nero.*
Mother's brother's daughter.	*Nya nero.*
Father's sister.	*Owayo.*
Father's sister's husband.	*Chwar' owayo.*
Father's sister's son.	*Okeo.*
Father's sister's daughter.	*Akeo.*
Mother's sister.	*Toto, Amin toto.*

[1] The termination of words denoting kinship is uncertain, owing to the fact that they are rarely used except in conjunction with the suffix of the possessive pronoun. Thus: *papa*, my father; *papere*, his father; *pap' ngadi*, So-and-so's father. *Okeo* and a few others are fixed, e.g., *okeona*, my nephew; *okeo ngadi*, So-and-so's nephew. The terminations as given above therefore give the balance of probability.

Mother's sister's husband.	*Omaro.*
Mother's sister's son.	*Omaro.*
Mother's sister's daughter.	*Amaro.*
Son.	*Wot.*
Son's wife (m.s. and w.s.).	*Chiwot.*
Son's son.	*Okwaro.*
Son's daughter.	*Akwaro.*
Son's wife's parents.	*Dyero* (friend).
Daughter.	*Nya.*
Daughter's husband (m.s. and w.s.).	*Oro.*
Daughter's son.	*Okwaro.*
Daughter's daughter.	*Akwaro.*
Brother.	*Omin.*
Brother's wife (m.s.).	*Amu dako, chyek, chi omin.*
Brother's wife (w.s.).	*Owayo.*
Brother's son.	*Wot, wot omin.*
Brother's daughter.	*Nya, nya omin.*
Sister.	*Amin.*
Sister's husband (m.s.).	*Oro.*
Sister's husband (w.s.).	*Amu.*
Sister's son.	*Wot amin.*
Sister's daughter.	*Nya amin.*
Husband.	*Chwaro.*
Wife.	*Dako, chyek, chi-.*
Husband's father.	*Kwaro.*
Husband's father's brother.	*Kwaro.*
Husband's father's sister.	*Tato.*
Husband's mother.	*Tato.*
Husband's brother.	*Amu.*
Husband's sister.	*Owayo.*
Husband's brother's wife.	*Anyeko.*
Husband's brother's son.	*Wot.*
Husband's brother's daughter.	*Nya.*
Husband's sister's husband.	*Amu.*
Husband's sister's son.	*Wot awayo.*
Husband's sister's daughter.	*Nya owayo.*
Co-wife (w.s. only).	*Anyeko.*
Co-wife's relations (w.s.).	*Oro chwaro.*
Co-wife's son.	*Wot.*
Co-wife's daughter.	*Nya.*
Wife's father.	*Oro.*
Wife's mother.	*Maro.*
Wife's brother.	*Oro.*
Wife's sister.	*Amu.*
Wife's brother's wife.	*Amu, chilim.*[1]
Wife's brother's son.	*Wot oro.*
Wife's brother's daughter.	*Nya oro.*
Wife's sister's husband.	*Omaro.*
Wife's sister's son.	*Wot amu.*
Wife's sister's daughter.	*Nya amu.*
Husband's family.	*Jo pa chog.*
Wife's family.	*Jo pa oich.*
Relations (generally).	*Wat.*

[1] For *chilim, vide* p. 165. The word is only used when the wife's brother uses as his dowry the identical dowry paid by his sister's husband.

It will be observed that for father's wife, father's brother, father's brother's wife, father's brother's son, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister, brother's wife, brother's son, brother's daughter, wife, more than one Lango equivalent is given. The first word is the one almost invariably used, the synonyms being reserved for occasions when it may be necessary to define more accurately the degree of relationship, or when referring to the relative in question before a third person who is a stranger. The relative would never be personally addressed save by the first of the synonyms given. Thus, a man in speaking to his stepmother, to his father's brother's wife, or to his mother's sister, would invariably address her as *toto*, "mother"; but should it be necessary to particularize to a third party, he would use one of the other appellations. For "wife" we have *dako, chyek*, and *chi*. Of these, *dako* is a generic word meaning "one who has borne a child," but is freely used as "wife," both when addressing the woman herself or in referring to a third person (i.e., *dakona*, my wife; *dakoni*, thy wife). *Chyek* (becoming with the possessive *chyega, chyegi, chyege*, my, thy, his wife), is used similarly, directly or in reference to a third person; *chi*, however (the root form of *chyek*), is only used of a third person—e.g., *chi pa Okulo* or *chi Okulo* (Okulo's wife), *chi pa ngadi* (So-and-so's wife), *chiwoda* (my son's wife).

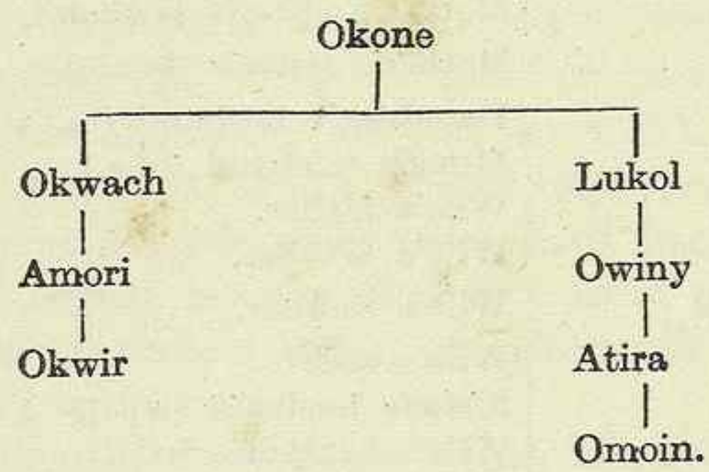
In the following list the Lango terms are given first with their English equivalents:—

Papo	Father. Father's brother.
Toto	Mother. Father's wife. Mother's sister. Father's brother's wife.
Tato	Father's mother. Mother's mother. Husband's mother. Husband's father's sister.
Kwaro	Father's father. Mother's father. Husband's father. Husband's father's brother
Nero	Mother's brother.
Omin	Brother. Father's wife's son. Father's brother's son.
Amin	Sister. Father's wife's daughter. Father's brother's daughter.
Wot	Son. Brother's son. Co-wife's son. Husband's brother's son. Father's brother's son's son.

Nya	Daughter. Brother's daughter. Husband's brother's daughter. Co-wife's daughter. Father's brother's son's daughter.
Owayo	Father's sister. Brother's wife (w.s.). Husband's sister.
Okeo	Sister's son (m.s.). Father's sister's son. Father's brother's daughter's son.
Akeo	Sister's daughter (m.s.). Father's sister's daughter. Father's brother's daughter's daughter.
Omaro	Wife's sister's husband. Mother's sister's son. Mother's sister's husband.
Amaro	Mother's sister's daughter.
Oro	Daughter's husband (m. and w.s.). Sister's husband (m.s.). Wife's father. Wife's brother.
Maro	Wife's mother.
Amu	Wife's sister. Sister's husband (w.s.). Wife's brother's wife. Husband's sister's husband. Husband's brother. Brother's wife (m.s.).
Okwaro	Son's son. Daughter's daughter.
Chwaro	Husband.
Dako	Wife. Brother's wife (m.s.).
Anyeko	Co-wife. Husband's brother's wife.
Chilim (not used as a term of address)	Wife's brother's wife (also called *Amu*).
Neo	Mother's brother's family.
Chi nero	Mother's brother's wife.
Wot nero	Mother's brother's son.
Nya nero	Mother's brother's daughter.
Chwar'owayo	Father's sister's husband.
Chi wot	Son's wife (m. and w.s.).
Wot amin	Sister's son (w.s.).
Nya amin	Sister's daughter (w.s.).
Wot owayo	Husband's sister's son (w.s.).
Nya owayo	Husband's sister's daughter.
Oro chwaro	Co-wife's relations.
Wot oro	Wife's brother's son.
Nya oro	Wife's brother's daughter.
Wot amu	Wife's sister's son.
Nya amu	Wife's sister's daughter.

As is seen from the above lists, the Lango relationships, though based on the classificatory system, include a number of descriptive terms, some of which, nevertheless, are used in a classificatory way.

A man classes all of the same generation as himself in the clan as brothers or sisters, all of his father's and mother's generation as fathers or mothers, and all of the succeeding generation as sons or daughters. The grandfather's generation are all classed as grandfathers or ancestors (the strict meaning of *kwaro*, which includes all generations earlier than the father's), and similarly grandchildren and their descendants are all classed as *okwaro* (fem. akwaro). The *o* prefix (fem. *a*) signifies "son of," referring the grandchildren back to the grandfather's class, descendants and ancestors of the third and succeeding degrees being bracketed in a vague dimension of their own. Thus in the following simple table (all males):—



Amori would call Owiny his brother, Okwach and Lukol his fathers, Okwir and Atira his sons, and Omoin his grandson.

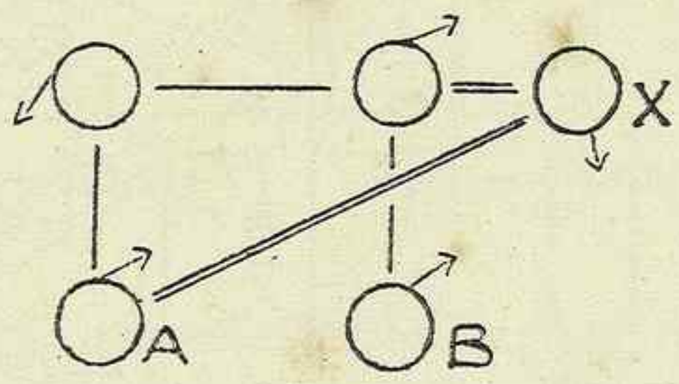
The Lango appear to be in a condition in which they regard certain relatives from the point of view of the individual as would be done in a "family" system of kinship, while others are addressed by the orthodox classificatory terms.[1] Thus, when a man inherits his father's widow he ceases to call her children "brothers" and "sisters" as he did before this marriage, and now addresses them as "children," and thus assumes the status of father in his father's stead. The brother of the widow, whom he would have addressed as *nero* before his marriage to her, becomes his *oro*; her sister, formerly his *toto*, becomes his *amu*. Similarly, if the inheritor of the widow should be the sister's son instead of the own son of the deceased, he takes up the status of father to his mother's brother's children.

Thus, if A married X, his mother's brother's widow, B will call his father's sister's son A, "father." In all these cases the change of status only occurs when the marriage actually takes place, and only in relation to the actual widow who is married and her relatives.

[1] We have adopted Dr. Rivers's suggestion that the British system should be called the "family" system instead of descriptive, as it is dependent on the institution of the family. (*Kinship and Social Organization*, W. H. R. Rivers, F.R.S., London, 1914, p. 77.) It is necessary to reserve the word "descriptive" for its true use, as the Nilotic systems are all rich in descriptive terms.

Yet towards certain relatives a man anticipates his changed status, and uses terms to them as though the marriage had already taken place. This is a common feature in the classificatory system, and the usual cause of the anomalous use of terms. The difficulty among the Lango is to understand why so few terms have been affected, and why they should be the ones that they are.

With the aid of the following charts (see pp. 182, 183) it is hoped that these anomalies will be adequately explained. As has already been said, wives are inherited, if they are young enough, by the deceased's son (who does not inherit his own mother) or by the deceased's brothers. This is definitely implied by the term *jo pa chog*, *chog* being the plural of *chwar* (husband). Thus, when a woman says "*Awoto kum jo pa choga*" ("I am going to the people of my husbands"), she admits thereby that she has more than one possible husband in the family;[1] just as similarly a woman calls her husband's brother's wife *anyeko* (co-wife) in consideration of the fact that on her husband's death this may become the actual relationship.



It is difficult to determine with any certainty whether the deceased's sons or his brothers have the prior right to inherit his wives. The present custom is for the brother to inherit, unless the wife is of approximately the same age as the son, and this is supported by the word *anyeko*, and the fact that a man calls his brother's wife *dako mera* or *chyega* (my wife). Similarly, a son may call his paternal uncle's wife *chipapo*, implicitly assuming that on his uncle's death his father will inherit the woman. Against this, however, must be placed the implications contained in the words *kwaro*, *omaro*, *oro* and *okeo*, the anomalies connected with which can only be satisfactorily explained by presuming the son's primary right to inherit his stepmother.

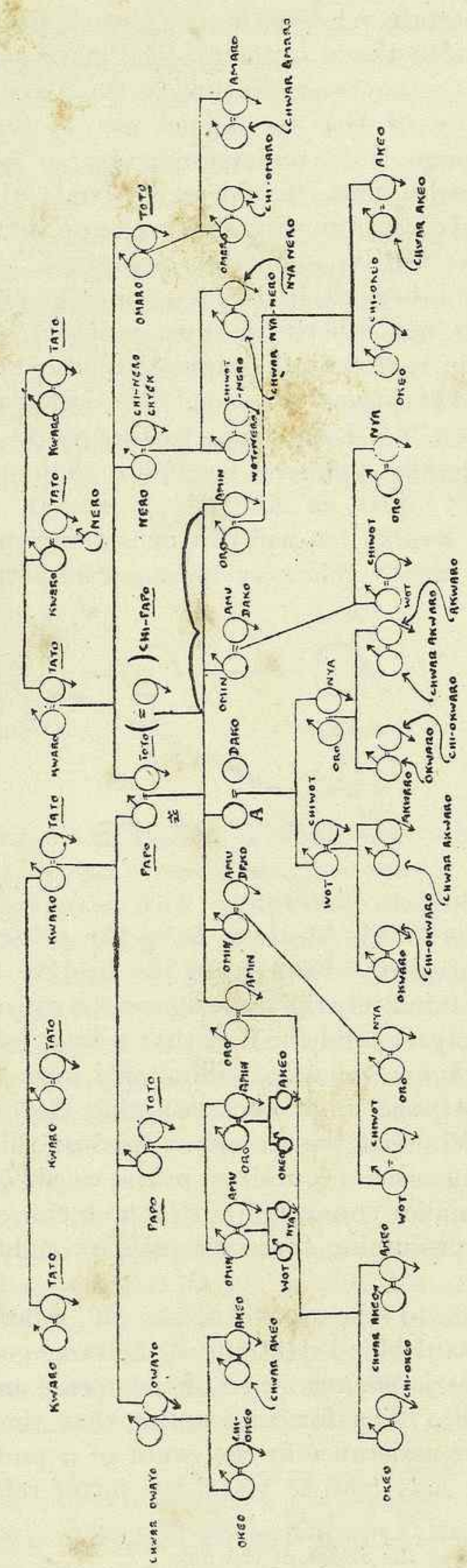
In addition to the above terms of relationship stepbrothers with more distant blood-relations of the same generation are grouped under the titles *jo me tong* (men of the spear) and *jo me amuru* (men of the haunch). The former implies that these relatives may be relied upon for assistance in the event of a raid or any inter-family dispute which may lead to war; the latter refers to the haunch of

[1] This is probably not a reminiscence of a former system of group marriage, but is the recognition of the rights of the heir.

CHART I.

MAN SPEAKING.

(Words underlined are non-Nilotic.)



All terms written on the chart should be used in relation to A.

the bull, killed at the wedding feast, which is their portion. One further idiom deserves mention in defining the relations of brothers and stepbrothers; thus an inquirer would ask, "*Wun atino pap' atot me ot achel?*" ("Are you the sons of a father or (do you belong) to one house?" i.e. are you sons of one father but different mothers, or have you the same mother?—the house being identified with its owner).

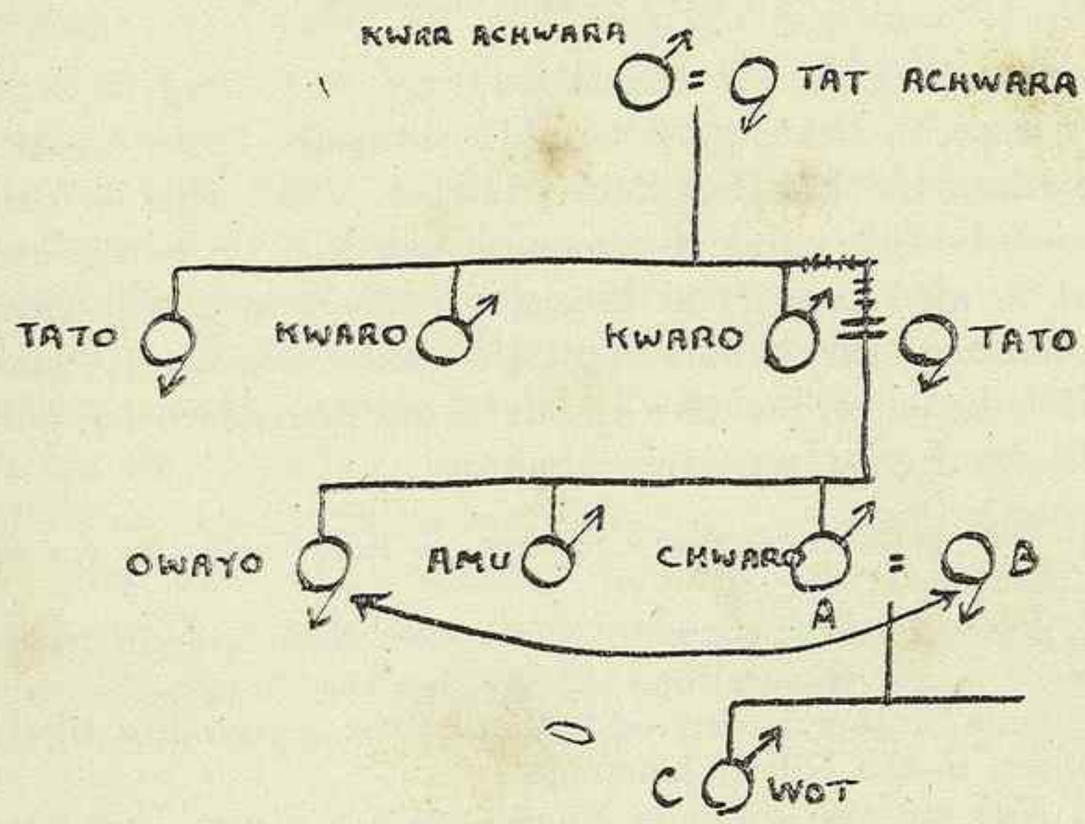
Before, however, discussing the anomalous features in the system, it is necessary to consider the terms linguistically.

Papo, father. The same word occurs in Ateso, a Hamitic language. The Nilotic word *wa* or *won* is not used by the Lango to mean "father," but occurs meaning "owner" or "possessor of"—i.e. *won pacho*,

CHART II.

WOMAN SPEAKING.

(Showing the anomalous use of *Kwaro*, *Tato* and *Owayo* by a woman.)



owner of a village, headman; *won dyang*, owner of a cow; *won poto*, owner of a garden. This may be compared with the use of *ab*, father, in Arabic. *Ab* means "father," but is also used to mean "possessor of," especially in the case of abstract qualities.

Toto, mother. This is also a Hamitic word, found in Ateso, Akwa, Ajie and Karamojon. The common Nilotic words *min* and *ma* for "mother" also occur. *Min* is used in the expression *Minjok*, Mother of God, and is used to mean "mother" in speaking of animals, but only in highly abusive phrases does it mean "mother" of men. (*Vide* Vocabulary, *myen*.) It occurs in the relationship system in the composite terms *omin* and *amin*. These words, literally "male child of the mother" and "female child of the mother," are used

NOTE.—All the terms on the chart are used by B, except *Owayo*, which is used reciprocally between the persons indicated thus ♀⇄♀.

to mean brother and father's brother's son; sister and father's brother's daughter, the children of different mothers by the same father, are *omin* and *amin*; while the children of one woman by different fathers probably also call each other *omin*.

Thus the original meaning of *min* is lost, and the children of the *min* are treated as the children of the father in the classificatory sense, and not of the mother. That this is a late development is seen by comparison with the Shilluk,[1] the Dinka and the Acholi.[1] Among these peoples the child of the mother is differentiated from the child of the father—i.e.:—

Shilluk { *umia*—mother's child, mother's sister's child.
uwa—father's child, father's brother's child.

Dinka { *wenawa*—my father's son.
wenama—my mother's son.

Acholi { *omin*—brother, mother's sister's child.
owon—brother, father's brother's child.

It is possible that the same root *ma, mia, min,* may be represented in the word *amu*.[2] If so, *amu* would originally have meant "child of the *mu*," hence "brother" or "sister." In this sense it may have become obsolete, and its present use will be considered later.

The root is also preserved in *maro*, wife's mother, which is by derivation *ma-oro*, the mother of the wife's brother, who shares with the wife's brother, but to a much larger degree, in the ceremonial respect paid by her daughter's husband.

Tato, father's mother, mother's mother, is not, as far as we can tell, a Nilotic word.

Kwaro is derived from a common Nilotic root for grandparent or ancestor, possibly √*kar*, separation, bifurcation.

Nero, mother's brother, is derived from the root meaning mother's brother, common to the Nilotic languages.

Wot and *Nya* are also common Nilotic words for male and female child.

Owayo, father's sister. The Lango derive this term from *wayo*, "to drag away cattle," saying that the father's sister is the one who drags away cattle from the dowry. A similar term is common to the Nilotic languages.

Okeo, sister's son, also occurs in Shilluk and Acholi.

Oro, wife's father and wife's brother, etc., means "the person who is to be respected." *Woro*, to respect. (Shilluk, *ora*, wife's father. Alur, *voro*, to respect. Suk, *woro*, relations-in-law.)

We may now refer to the above list and examine the use of the terms. It will be convenient to begin with terms used by a woman.

A woman calls her husband's mother and husband's father's sister by the same term (*tato*) as a man calls his father's mother and his mother's mother. She calls her husband's father and his brother

[1] Unpublished material by B. Z. Seligman.

[2] The word *amu* may, however, be a later introduction from a Hamitic source. Cf. Nandi, *pamur*, husband's brother, and *pamurto*, wife's sister.

by the same term (*kwaro*) that a man uses for his father's father and his mother's father. She calls her husband's sister by the same term (*owayo*) as a man calls his father's sister. This term is reciprocal; the husband's sister addresses her brother's wife also as *owayo*. She calls her husband's sister's sons *wot owayo*; this use is similar to the Shilluk *uwaja*, father's sister's son, but is here used by a woman for a husband's sister's son, and, as will be seen later, *wot owayo* is not used by a man.

She calls her husband's brother *amu*; this is curious, as he calls her *dako*,[1] wife, so that one would have expected her to call him *chwaro*, husband. *Amu* is a reciprocal term between persons of opposite sex of the same generation connected by marriage, between whom there is no feeling of *woro* or respect.

She calls her husband's brother's wife *anyeko*, or co-wife, and her husband's brother's children *wot* and *nya*.

A woman only uses the word *oro* for her daughter's husband; the same term is used by a man for his daughter's husband, as well as his sister's husband and his wife's father and brother.

Thus it is seen that, with the exception of *amu*, when a woman marries she does not use special words for her relations by marriage, but adopts the terms used by her husband, but with important modifications. Towards her husband's relatives she already assumes the position as wife to her husband's heirs, his son and his brother (but not his sister's son). In anticipation of her marriage with her husband's son, she immediately calls her husband's parents "grandparents," her husband's sister "father's sister," and the latter's children she calls "children of the father's sister," and her husband's father's sister grandmother. Thus B, the wife of A, uses the terms which would be appropriate to her when she becomes the wife of C.

Dr. Rivers suggests that the use of the same term for father's sister and brother's wife is very difficult to explain on any hypothesis other than that a man once married his father's sister, and this interpretation becomes the more probable in view of the meaning of the term *owayo*, for when the marriage disappeared it would be natural that the father's sister should receive some cattle as compensation and thus "drag away" cattle from the dowry. Thus in the diagram, if A married his father's sister, the brothers and sisters of A and brother's wife would be the same person as the father's sister. However, actually it is only a woman who calls her brother's wife by the same term as the father's sister, and as there is no evidence for this marriage, it seems more likely that brother's wife (w.s.) is here only the reciprocal of husband's sister,

[1] Although a man calls his brother's wife "wife," he has no rights over her during his brother's lifetime. *Dako* means a mature woman, and so is really applicable to any woman.

and that the real anomaly lies in the fact that the husband's sister and the father's sister are classed together, not the father's sister and the brother's wife.

The only other hypothesis which would account for the anomalous use of *kwaro*, *tato* and *owayo* by a woman is that a man might marry his daughter or his brother's daughter. But this would entail further anomalies in the terms used by a woman for brother's children and grandchildren, and also between brother and sister, or between brother and father's brother's sister. No trace of these anomalous terms are to be found.

One might have expected a woman to call her husband's brother either "father's brother" or, in anticipation of the husband's brother being the heir, "husband." Perhaps it is in order to avoid confusion, as she is unlikely to be taken by both heirs, that she uses a totally different term, *amu*. If we are right in our supposition that the *amu* may mean "child of the *mu*" or "mother," and should really be "brother-sister," but has become obsolete, it would be a good reason for the use of this term as husband's brother. The husband's brother's wife is called co-wife and his children "children"; this may be and probably is due to the fact that women will be inherited by her husband's brother. The probability becomes stronger when we see that, although a woman does not call her husband's brother "husband," as we have seen above, he does call her "wife." Calling a husband's brother's children "children" might, however, have been simply dependent on the classificatory system.

A few terms used by a man appear also to be affected by the fact that he may inherit his father's or his brother's widows. Those affected by the inheritance of a brother's widow have already been mentioned.

A man calls his father's sister's son and daughter by the same terms (*okeo* and *akeo*) as he uses for his sister's sons and daughters, a terminology which is also found among the Acholi. That the term is properly applied to sister's son is seen by comparison with the Shilluk system among whom this anomalous use of the term does not exist. Thus towards these relatives he anticipates the status he will take when he inherits his father's widow; the condition, however, is not reciprocal—a man calls his mother's brother's children "children of the *nero*."

The use of *omaro* is more difficult to understand. Literally, "the son of the wife's brother's mother," *omaro* should mean "wife's brother," but actually the term is applied to the wife's sister's husband. This is due to the fact that the wife's brother is already provided for by the term *oro*, while the husbands of two sisters must have needed a term of address and could not call each other *oro*, as that term implies definite duties, and they have no reason to *woro* one another. It probably did not appear important to the Lango that the person

addressed by the term *omaro* was not the son, but the son-in-law, of the *maro*; and this identification was doubtless further facilitated by the fact that, though a man calls his wife's brother *oro* and his wife's mother *maro*, a woman calls her son-in-law *oro*, and the respective sons-in-law could thus quite justifiably call each other *omaro*. It would be natural for a man, seeing that his wife's sister's husband was called *oro* by a woman whom he himself called *maro*, to call that man *omaro*, or "the son of the *ma-oro*." The subsequent extension of the use of the term *omaro* to mean "mother's sister's child" and "mother's sister's husband" requires no comment, depending as it does on a normal anticipation of the rules of inheritance.

The examination of the words for "brother" suggests that at a remote period the ancestors of the Nilotes were matrilineal: this must have been before the Dinka separated from the parent stock. Both linguistically and culturally the Dinka are more sharply differentiated from Lango than the Shilluk and the Acholi, and Professor C. G. Seligman considers that physically they show less Hamitic infusion than the Shilluk. The Dinka are patrilineal, but in the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to say whether they developed this form of descent in their old or their present home. The former alternative is more probable, as the same root is seen in all the Nilotic words for father's sister, and this relative is especially important among patrilineal people.[1] From the time of the splitting off of the Dinka onwards the Nilotes have been subject to pressure from Hamitic peoples. It would seem that before the Acholi and Shilluk split off, the Nilotic stock had become patrilineal, and the custom of inheriting the father's widow (and probably the brother's also) had become established, as is evidenced by the similar anomalous use of terms among the Shilluk and Acholi and Lango. After the departure of the Shilluk the Lango must have been in further contact with a Hamitic people, and this contact must have been of such a kind that the Hamites were able to settle down amongst the Nilotes, so that the Nilotes married Hamitic women. Such marriages must have been very highly esteemed, for the old Nilotic word for "mother" disappeared and the Hamitic word *toto* took its place; a foreign word for "father," *papo*, was also introduced.[2] The new words for mother and father were introduced in the classifica-

[1] The importance of the father's sister is not conclusive evidence for patrilineal descent; where succession is matrilineal the chief's sister is often a very important person, and as a man's sister is important so is the father's sister to the son of the chief.

[2] Representatives of this group of words for "father" are very common, but by no means universal, in Africa. They are found among the Nandi, Masai, Suk and Iteso, and also among the Nilotic Chir (Bari). Various forms are found among the Bantu, but Sir H. Johnston looks upon the roots *se* and *tata* as the old Bantu words for father (*Comparative Study of Bantu Languages*, p. 30). The root is probably Hamito-Semitic, but as far as we are concerned such forms as *papo*, *papa*, *bapu*, *baba* belong to the Hamites in contradistinction to the Nilotes.

tory sense, yet they made no impression on the rest of the system; the father's brother became *papo*, but his son remains *omin*, child of the now obsolete word *min*.

It is, moreover, probable that many of the Lango customs which differ from the Shilluk and show Hamitic affinities owe their birth to this period of Lango history. Even the actual name of the tribe is probably Hamitic, and so would date from this period. It is necessary to bear in mind that at the period referred to the Lango were marrying Hamitic women, a fact which is much more important than the marrying of Lango women by Hamites, which possibly did not occur. This intermarriage predicates an intimacy which could not have been attained except by a policy of peaceful penetration, a condition which could not fail to create a fertile environment for the interaction of the two cultures. The Lango debt is large, both in things material and non-material. Thus the Lango bachelor hut is named *otogo*, a word reserved among certain Hamitic tribes for the family hut. We have seen already the result of Hamitic influence on head-dress, more especially in the direction of the chignon, and there is no doubt that tongue-rings are attributable to a Hamitic source. The *aworon* and rain ceremonies, unique among Nilotics, are of particular interest in this respect, as not only do the *aworon* classes show a marked resemblance to the age grades of such tribes as the Iteso, Ajie, Karamojon, Masai and Turkana, but in the *aworon* and rain songs are included words and whole phrases which are purely Hamitic, and are neither understood nor used in everyday speech. Again, a clan ceremony, *epet*, is undoubtedly a reminiscence of the Hamitic initiation ceremony known as *ameto* or *amet*, and borrowed under that title by the south-east Acholi from the Hamitic Ajie.

The Lango culture possesses numerous features that we had previously considered to be relics of the matrilineal system; in fact, so strong are the features that one might have considered the Lango to be in a transitional stage between patrilineal and matrilineal organization. A brief summary of these matrilineal indications will not here be out of place:—

(1) The recognition that even after her marriage a woman's family has considerable claims on her: hence on her daughter's marriage the payment of a portion of the dowry to the girl's maternal uncle and maternal grandmother. (2) The respect shown to the bride's mother and her avoidance. (3) The practice, which prevailed till recent years, whereby on divorce all the children accompanied their mother, as a consequence of which we find that a man gives his mother's name on being asked his descent, and even uses his mother's name (never his father's) as his own and as a hunting invocation. (4) The duties and privileges of the maternal uncle. (5) The fact that clan tabus almost exclusively affect women only.

(6) The veto exercisable by women over the disposal of the *dyang me ot*. (7) The high position held by women in social life and their pre-eminence in several religious or semi-religious rites.

The examination of the relationship system, however, has shown that actual patrilineal descent must be old among the Nilotes, and it is now suggested that the customs showing a strong matrilineal bias may have been introduced comparatively late in the Lango history. It seems possible that at such a period as we have inferred, when the Nilotes were living on such amicable terms with their Hamitic neighbours that the former were able to marry Hamitic women, a strong matrilineal bias may have been introduced. Such a bias would have re-enforced the remnant of matrilineal descent which had survived [1] and may have brought in fresh features. Such a state of affairs could not arise as the result of an invasion of complete strangers, but these Hamites represent only one of the latest of a succession of waves of immigrants, and this last wave of immigration may be looked upon as a form of peaceful penetration.

It may be objected that, as far as we know, the Hamites are patrilineal, and so the Nilotes cannot have borrowed matrilineal customs from them. It is true that the Nandi, Masai and Suk all practise patrilineal descent, but changes of this kind are unlikely to be the result of direct borrowing, but might be brought about by the interaction and fusion of the different cultures. It is not necessary to suppose that the last wave of Hamites was matrilineal, though this may have been the case. Just as the interaction of two matrilineal peoples may result in a patrilineal organization, so it is possible to see that certain matrilineal features might result, under certain conditions, from the interaction of two patrilineal peoples.

§ 7. **Clan Organization.**—Lango clans are numerous, and it may be found that the following list is not entirely complete, especially in the minor subdivisions. They have no very coherent notions on the origin of a clan system, being content with the thought that their remote ancestors founded the clans, and that the wisdom of their ancestors is justified in their children. The basis of the system consists of numerous tabus or prohibitions,[2] which vary

[1] The Dinka are totemistic: a man belongs to his father's totem, but his mother's totem is respected. Professor C. G. Seligman, E.R.E., Art. "Dinka."

[2] The word for tabu or prohibition is *kwer*, "refusal" (derived from the verb *kwero*, to refuse), already met with in the phrases *atin me akwera* and *cham me kwer*. The Jaluo similarly use *kwero* to mean totem, but in Shilluk *jam kwer* is explained as "things belonging to the community or the king, or which are reserved for religious purposes" (D. Westermann, op. cit., p. 265); while with the same tribe the *nya kwer* (girl of *kwer*) is the annual fine of a girl paid by the *kwa* (from *kwa*, ancestor) Okel clan as a traditional punishment imposed in the remote past for an offence by the clan. Among the Dinka the word *kwar* is applied both to the animal totem and to

according to the clans, and it is probable that they were in origin totemic, though the totemism appears to have broken down many generations ago, and at the present time the word is hardly applicable in its accepted significance.

With rare exceptions, there does not appear to be any intimate connection between the clan and the thing tabued. In many cases, indeed, there are several tabus attached to one clan, which tends to dispose of any suggestion of the idea of co-birth with the tabu. On one point, however, there is no doubt, namely that all prohibitions are rigidly observed.

The exceptions which indicate a totemic origin (so strongly, indeed, that such an origin must be ultimately premised for all the clans) are the clans *Jo Ayom*, *Jo Akwaich* and *Jo Akarawok me Jo Amor*, which alone are named after the object tabued. The *Jo Ayom* mourn as for a man if a patas monkey (*ayom*) is killed, just as the *Jo Akwaich* mourn on the death of a leopard (*kwaich*), as they are said to be *danogi* (their man, i.e. a member of their clan). Tradition has it that in the old days the *Akwaich* clan used to place their babies without risk in the mouth of a leopard, and for ever afterwards no leopard would harm them. The *Jo Akarawok me Jo Amor* (the *Amor* subdivision of the *Akarawok* clan [1]) will not kill a duiker (*amor*), and, if they accidentally kill one, they bury it and cover its grave with leaves.

The clans are exogamous, marriage not being permitted into either the paternal or maternal clans, and a woman enters the clan of her husband and conforms with its rules, the old prohibitions of her family's clan being allowed to lapse. Moreover, on divorce a woman observes the tabus of her late husband's clan, and does not revert to her own, and this rule holds good even if she contracts a second marriage into another clan. While observing her new husband's tabus (though they are not binding, and it is rather a matter of courtesy), she still remains constant to those of her first husband. Children follow the father's clan even should they accompany their mother on divorce. Illegitimate children enter the clan of their mother's family or her husband's family according as she is unmarried or married, but a lover who begets a child by an unmarried girl, by marrying her secures the child for his clan.

It will be observed that clans show a tendency to subdivide, some of the subdivisions (as comparison will show) having lost all trace of the original prohibitions. This process was largely facilitated by the fact that clans separated considerably owing to war and

the clan's ancestors, thus establishing *per se* a totemic relationship; but there is no evidence to point to any such connection between the Lango words *kwer* (refusal) and *kwaro* (ancestor). *Atekere* is the word used to signify clan, meaning by derivation "a state of amity or alliance."

[1] The title presumes the former existence of an independent clan, *Jo Amer*, which is now extinct.

migrations, and that the members of a clan are not all settled together. These subdivisions are treated as separate clans and intermarriage is accordingly possible. They are formed in two ways, distinguishable by the appellation of the clan. The commonest is due to the branching off of subdivisions of a clan in ancient days, owing possibly to a quarrel between the sons of the head of the clan. This is shown by the addition of *me tung* (of the branch) followed by the name of the ancestor from whom the subdivision traces its descent. The clan *Jo Akarawok*, for instance, has many such subdivisions, one (for example) being *Jo Akarawok me tung Enyang*, or that branch of the *Akarawok* clan which is descended from Enyang.

New clans, or subdivisions of old clans, may be formed by a founder coalescing two clans together. A clan so formed may intermarry with either of the original clans. Thus for example a man of the *Akarawok* clan elects to leave his friends and settles among the *Jo Oki*. Finally he marries a girl of the latter clan and breeds a family. Normally he retains his old clan customs and hands them down to his children; but it would appear that sometimes his children, being at a distance from the other members of the old clan, and not holding communication with them, elect to form a new clan, which would be called *Jo Akarawok me Jo Oki*. Customs and tabus from both clans may be included and additions may be made, even to the extent of eliminating all traces of their old clan except the name. Some old clans are now extinct, and the only record of their existence remains in the names of such amalgamated clans.

It will be seen that some clans group themselves into informal phratries for particular purposes, but there is no communal organization binding them together, nor is there any prohibition against intermarriage among the clans forming such phratries. Thus for the purpose of holding the festival *etogo me wilo dongo* the following clans club together: *Jo Arakit me Jo Oki*, *Jo Akarawok me Jo Oki*, *Jo Inomo*, *Jo Oki*, and *Jo Akidi*; and for the festival *ele* the following: *Jo Agorya me Jo Abako*, *Jo Abako me Jo Arakit*, *Jo Atekit me Jo Abako*, *Jo Abako me tung Apalamyek*. In other respects, however, they are not in any way united. Similarly, the *Jo Atekit* give a bull to the *Jo Arakit* when a male member of the clan dies, that the latter may join in the funeral. The *Jo Ima me Jo Aula* appear to have no prohibitions, but that this should actually be the case is unlikely, and they probably have recondite tabus which they prefer not to divulge.[1] No one, Lango or alien, may by any ceremony

[1] The tribe as a whole comprises four large divisions: *Jo Aber*, *Jo Moita*, *Jo Burutok* and *Jo Kidi*, but it is not clear how these terms arose. They have now an entirely geographical significance, and there is no indication to show that even in the past they covered associations of clans. The *Jo Aber* live north of the River Koli, the *Jo Moita* live between the Koli and Lake Kwania, the *Jo Burutok* live south of Lake Kwania and the Olweny, while all the eastward Lango are designated by *Jo Kidi*. The word *Burutok* is said to be derived from the name of an old war-leader, but if this is so he

be admitted to membership of a clan to which he does not by right belong, but the following method of forming blood-brotherhood as between individuals has on rare occasions been known of recent years on the Nile bank. The method is similar to that employed by the Banyoro, so much so as to suggest with a conviction of certitude that it is a local ceremony of comparatively recent introduction, especially as the coffee-tree is not found in Lango. A cut is made above the appendix of each of the contracting parties; each then takes one of the two beans found in one pod of the coffee-tree (*omen*) and places it in the wound thus made. It is then transferred to the right hand of the other, who swallows it. If coffee berries are not obtainable, the women of the two parties cook some porridge on the evening of the previous day and let it lie all night until the morning, when the principals shape it into the semblance of coffee beans and perform the ceremony in the same way. It is believed that, should a man betray his blood-brother, his stomach would swell up and burst and he and all his relations would die. The ceremony is spoken of locally as *mato remo* (to drink blood), but even on the Nile bank it is not generally observed, and is rather considered as an eccentricity of a few philo-Bantu.

Jo Akarawok.[1] (1) Boys till they reach the age of puberty and women may not eat the flesh of duiker. Should a woman eat it, she would become sterile. Neither sex may keep the hide. (2) Women may not drink beer from the day when pregnancy is just observable till the child is born, or if the child is a boy until he can walk. Apparently the prohibition actually only covers the case of a male child, and the mother is debarred from drinking beer from pregnancy to birth in case the expected child should prove to be a male. (3) Women may not pass under nor touch nor utilize the timber, leaves and fruit of the tree *awelo* on penalty of sterility. (4) Neither sex may utilize the plant *adyebepar*. (5) Boys on attaining the age of puberty kill chickens in the village pasturage (*bar*) and whip each other with withies cut from the tree *epobo*, while their elders eat the chickens. The ceremony, held every alternate year, entitles them to dress their hair after the fashion known as *tweyo tok* (to tie the occiput), and is called *etogo* (puberty festival), or more fully *etogo me wilo dongo* (the festival of buying adulthood), the

has left no other memorial of his existence. *Aber* and *Kidi* are geographical terms for North and East, while both *Moita* and *Burutok* are vaguely used for South. *Tungto*, the West, has not given its name to any section of Lango. That these terms have no social significance is clear from the fact that the *Jo Inomo*, who belong to the *Jo Moita* group, partake in the *etogo* festival celebrated by some *Burutok* clans; and the clans are so scattered that the majority have representatives in all the four geographical divisions.

[1] *Jo* (people) is invariably prefixed to clan names, many of which appear to have a non-Lango origin, as frequently they correspond neither with current Lango names nor with words in use at the present day. Their names indicate that the clans *Atengoro*, *Ararak*, *Arakit* and *Agorya* have a Turkana origin, or at least are derived from a common source. Cf. the Turkana clans *Nitigor*, *Erarak*, *Eraraket* and *Ogorok*.

purchase price being the chickens which they have killed for their elders and the lashes to which they have submitted as a test of their courage and worthiness of manhood.

Jo Akarawok me Jo Oki. (1) Boys till they reach the age of puberty and women are forbidden the flesh of duiker. Neither sex may keep the hide. (2) Boys on attaining the age of puberty hold the festival of *etogo me wilo dongo* in each alternate year, as already described. But in this clan the boys eat the chickens together with their elders. No boy who has not killed a chicken is qualified to participate in the ceremony, at the conclusion of which the *epobo* withies are broken up and the pieces are thrown into a neighbouring stream, where too the initiates bathe themselves.

Jo Akarawok me Jo Amor have the duiker (*amor*) as their totem, and may not hunt nor injure it in any way. Should one be accidentally killed, they bury it and cover its grave with leaves. They observe another tabu, the now extinct *Jo Amor* clan having apparently been the predominant partner in the amalgamation.

Jo Akarawok me tung Burutok.[1] (1) Boys till they reach the age of puberty and women may not eat the flesh of duiker. Neither sex may keep the hide. (2) Both sexes are debarred from utilizing the plant *adyebepar* under a penalty of dysentery ensuing.

Jo Akarawok me tung Enyang. (1) Boys till they reach the age of puberty and women may not eat the flesh of duiker. Neither sex may keep the hide. Any breach of this rule entails sterility. (2) While a baby is still at its mother's breast, the infant's father may not eat seasoning with his food nor drink beer. (3) Neither sex may utilize the plant *adyebepar* under penalty of dysentery ensuing. (4) A woman may not use a goatskin to sling her baby on her back nor to cover her head when she goes out into the rain.

Jo Akarawok me tung Okelo. (1) Boys till they reach the age of puberty and women may not eat the flesh of duiker. A woman breaking this rule would become sterile. Neither sex may keep the hide. (2) A man may not eat with his wife's relations until after the birth of the first child his wife's mother brings the *kongo me pel* or beer to be drunk in honour of the severing of the umbilical cord. (3) Neither sex may utilize the plant *adyebepar* under penalty of dysentery ensuing. (4) Unmarried girls may not wear earrings.

Jo Akarawok me Jo Ajwok. (1) Boys till they reach the age of puberty and women may not eat the flesh of duiker. Neither sex may keep the hide. (2) A woman may not use a sheepskin to sling her baby on her back nor to cover her head when she goes out into the rain. (3) Neither sex may utilize the plant *adyebepar* under a penalty of dysentery ensuing.

[1] *Vide* note, p. 191. This title is evidence of the existence of a man named Burutok —a name now fallen out of use—and supports the statement that the geographical term *Burutok* derives its name from this old-time war-leader.

Jo Akarawok me Jo Oiti. (1) Boys till they reach the age of puberty and women may not eat the flesh of duiker. A woman breaking this rule would become sterile. Neither sex may keep the hide. (2) A woman may not use a goatskin for slinging her baby on her back nor to cover her head when she goes out into the rain. (3) No one may refer to the eyes of an infant child using the word *wangi* (thine eyes), or the child would become blind. The "curse" may be removed by the child's father drilling the offender's finger-nail with a spear-point until blood is drawn, the blood then being rubbed on the child's eyes. (4) A pregnant woman may not step over the root of a tree, or she would abort. (5) Neither sex may utilize the plant *adyebepar* under a penalty of dysentery ensuing.

Jo Akarawok me Jo Awili. (1) Boys until they reach the age of puberty, and women, may not eat the flesh of duiker. A woman breaking this rule would become sterile. Neither sex may keep the hide. (2) Neither sex may touch or utilize the tree *akeret.*

Jo Akarawok me tung Achola. Boys till they reach the age of puberty, and women, may not eat the flesh of duiker. Breach of this prohibition by a woman results in miscarriage.

Jo Ayom have the patas monkey (*ayom*) for their totem, and consider it as a member of their clan. It may not be injured nor hunted, and if one dies they mourn for it as for a human being. They have no other tabus.

Jo Atekit.[1] (1) Women may not eat the flesh of duiker, and neither sex may keep its hide. If a woman eats it, she either miscarries or dies as the result of purulent rash. (2) Women are forbidden the hide of waterbuck. (3) Neither sex may use or touch the fig-tree *ebu.* (4) Neither sex may use or touch the plant *ebibiny.* (5) A woman may not use sheepskin for slinging her baby on her back. (6) Women may not eat honey. (7) Boys on reaching the age of puberty partake in an initiation ceremony called *epet me wilo dongo,* or the ceremony of buying adulthood. This consists of fighting with *epobo* withies and joining in a feast of bulls killed by their elders. As in the case of the *etogo* festival, the withies are broken up and thrown into a stream or marsh, in which the boys also bathe themselves. (8) Unmarried girls and pregnant women may not pass near the entrance to a cattle kraal. (9) When a male belonging to this clan dies, a bull is given to the nearest village of the clan *Jo Arakit,* that they may join in the mourning and the funeral feast. (10) A man may not eat with his wife's relations till after the birth of his first child the wife's mother brings *kongo me agwel* or beer for anointing the child's forehead. (11) Neither sex may eat the stomach of a goat. Breach of this rule entails impotency in a man and sterility in a woman.

[1] Also called *Atek,* a modern corruption.

Jo Atekit me Jo Ogwang. Women may not eat the flesh of duiker, and neither sex may keep its hide.

Jo Atekit me Jo Abako. (1) Women may not eat the flesh of duiker nor utilize its hide. (2) Women may not eat honey. (3) The festival *ele.* (4) The ceremony *epet me wilo dongo.* For both these, see under *Jo Agorya me Jo Abako,* with whom this clan co-operates.

Jo Atekit me Jo Opayat. (1) Women may not touch nor utilize the hides of waterbuck, bushbuck and cob. (2) Unmarried girls and pregnant women may not go near to the entrance of a cattle kraal. (3) A goatskin may not be used by a woman for slinging her baby on her back. (4) A man may not eat with his wife's relations till after the birth of his first child the wife's mother brings the *kongo me agwel* or beer for anointing the child's forehead.

Jo Atekit me tung Opigikwe. (1) Women may not eat the flesh of duiker, and both sexes are forbidden its hide. (2) Women may not eat honey.

Jo Atekit me tung Ngodadeng. Unmarried women are forbidden to eat the stomach of any animal, tame or wild.

Jo Atekit me Jo Ageya. Under penalty of miscarriage women must be careful to avoid all rain-drippings from the roof when leaving or entering the house.

Jo Atekabati. Women may not touch nor utilize the small shrub *aputok,* nor may they step over it if it is in the path.

Jo Atekit me tung Agona. (1) Under penalty of sterility women are forbidden to eat the flesh of duiker, and neither sex may keep its hide. (2) Women may not touch nor utilize the tree *akeret.*

Jo Atekit me tung Okelanyip. (1) Pregnant women may not utilize the timber and leaves, nor eat the fruit, of the fig-tree *ebu,* they must also abstain from passing under its shadow. (2) Pregnant women are prohibited the cherry *ochuga.* (3) Unmarried women may not eat the larger intestine of goats nor touch the pot in which it has been cooked. (4) Unmarried women may not go across a *laro jok* (god's threshing-floor) or bare patch of soil in the grass.

Jo Atekit me Jo Aite. (1) The flesh of duiker is prohibited to women and the hide to both sexes. (2) Pregnant women may not eat the cherry *ochuga.* (3) Pregnant women must entirely avoid and abstain from the fig-tree *ebu* and its shadow. (4) The plant *adyebepar* is forbidden to both sexes. (5) A pregnant woman may not pass near to the entrance of a cattle kraal. (6) A child may not sleep on the hide of a waterbuck.

Jo Atekit me Jo Amonya. (1) The flesh of duiker is prohibited to women and its hide to both sexes. (2) The flesh and hide of waterbuck is prohibited to both sexes. (3) A child may not sleep on the hide of a waterbuck, but a duiker's hide is permissible to a weaned child.

Jo Atekit me tung Ngora. (1) Neither sex may touch or utilize

the shrub *aputok*. (2) Neither sex may eat the mouse *otitini*. Breach of this rule entails impotence in a man and sterility in a woman. (3) A man may not eat with his wife's relations till after the birth of the first child his wife's mother brings *kongo me agwel* or beer for anointing the child's forehead.

Jo Atekit me kwalo pi. This clan has the same tabus as the *Jo Atekit*, with the addition that in the event of a death they may not be seen fetching water until the *achuban* is over, and accordingly get it from a river or well during the night. Hence the title *me kwalo pi* (of stealing water).

Jo Apeto. Both sexes are prohibited from touching or utilizing the plants *ocholi* and *aywe*.

Jo Amolo. Women are prohibited from eating the flesh of duiker under a penalty of sterility, and neither sex may keep the hide. No one wearing or carrying such a hide may enter the courtyard of a woman of this clan; should anyone do so, and should be seen by a woman of the clan, he would be held responsible for the ensuing miscarriage. (2) No one may point out a stag-beetle to a child; should he do so, a cancerous sore would inevitably break out on the child's head.

Jo Akwaich has the leopard (*kwaich*) as their totem, and consider it as a member of their clan. They may not hunt nor injure it, and in the old days women used to place their babies (it is said) in a leopard's mouth, thus securing them immunity from all leopards during life. They mourn as for a man at the death of a leopard.

Jo Arakit.[1] (1) Women may not eat the flesh of cob, waterbuck or oribi, and neither sex may keep the hides. Should a women eat of oribi, she would be seized with a mortal sickness; and should she eat of cob or waterbuck, a dangerous, though not necessarily, mortal, disease would follow. (2) Pregnant women may not pass near the entrance of a cattle kraal. (3) Women may not colour their girdles with the red ochre obtained from marshes (*palala*). (4) Women may not touch nor step through water standing in an *atabara* (a rocky basin in which rain-water settles). (5) Giraffe may neither be hunted nor eaten. (6) No one may play with *baltak* (bits of potsherd) nor throw them at each other by way of amusement.

Jo Arakit me tung Enyama. Women are prohibited from keeping or utilizing the hide of waterbuck or of cob.

Jo Arakit me tung Bar. (1) Pregnant women may not go near to the entrance of a cattle kraal. (2) When a woman dies, the mourners do not shave their heads until her relations have all arrived, irrespective of the number of days.

Jo Arakit me Jo Oki. (1) Under penalty of sterility women

[1] Also called *Arak*.

may not touch nor utilize the hide of waterbuck. (2) This clan joins in with the *Jo Akarawok me Jo Oki* in their bi-annual festival, *etogo me wilo dongo* (*vide supra*).

Jo Arakit me tung Owiny. (1) Pregnant women may not eat the stomach of goats or cattle. (2) The puberty festival *etogo me wilo dongo* is held annually. It is the same as the bi-annual ceremony conducted by the *Jo Akarawok me Jo Oki*, with the exception that the withies are not broke in half nor thrown into a stream.

Jo Arakit me Jo Okori. (1) Women may not touch nor utilize goatskin, and the hide of waterbuck is forbidden to both men and women. (2) At the funeral of a male innumerable chickens are killed in the village, and the inhabitants lash each other with *epobo* withies or whips of buffalo and hippopotamus hide.

Jo Arakit me Jo Akadomerit. (1) The flesh and hide of duiker are forbidden to women ; men may only eat the flesh outside the village and may not take the hide, which is presented to a friend belonging to another clan. (2) Infants still at the breast are not allowed to taste beer.

Jo Arakit me Jo Apelo. Women may not touch nor utilize goatskin nor the hide of waterbuck.

Jo Arakit me Jo Achola. (1) Women may not use goatskin for slinging babies on their backs nor for covering their heads when out in the rain. (2) Women may not pass near to the entrance of a cattle kraal. (3) Pregnant women may not walk across a *laro jok.* (4) The plant *adyebepar* is prohibited to both sexes.

Jo Arakit me Jo Adongole. (1) The flesh and hide of waterbuck is forbidden to women, and children may not sleep on the hide. (2) A man may not eat with his wife's relations until after the birth of his first child his wife's mother brings *kongo me agwel* or beer for anointing the child's forehead.

Jo Arakit me tung Ngoda. Under penalty of sterility women may not touch nor utilize sheepskin.

Jo Atengor.[1] (1) Women may not eat the flesh of duiker nor utilize its hide. (2) The hide of bushbuck is forbidden to women. (3) Pregnant women are prohibited from eating the flesh or utilizing the hide of cob and waterbuck. A breach of this rule would result in a miscarriage. (4) Every alternate year boys who in the interval have attained the age of puberty celebrate the *etogo me wilo dongo* in the same way as the *Jo Akarawok.* (5) It is forbidden to point a spear at a women, who, if enceinte, would abort as a result.

Jo Atengor me tung Okwir. (1) Women may not step over a tree-trunk fallen across the path. (2) Pregnant women may not wear earrings.

Jo Inomo. (1) The flesh of waterbuck is forbidden to women

[1] Known also as *Atengoro.*

and its hide to both sexes. (2) The hide of bushbuck is forbidden to women. (3) A pregnant woman may not pass near the tree *ekori*, and when her child is born, her husband's mother fetches a branch of *ekori*, from which the leaves have been stripped, and elderly female friends of the woman use it to stir fresh gruel made in the husband's mother's house. It is then concealed in the roof for future use at the next birth. (4) This clan, together with the *Jo Arakit me Jo Oki*, combines with the *Jo Akarawok me Jo Oki* in their bi-annual festival *etogo me wilo dongo*. (5) Women may not eat the cherry *ochuga* nor use the pot in which it has been cooked. (6) The tree *akeret* is forbidden to both sexes.

Jo Aber. Women may not eat the plant *adyebepar*.

Jo Apach. Both sexes are forbidden to eat a kind of mongoose known as *ayita*.

Jo Abanya. (1) Men may not stop women carrying water to the villages in order to get a drink. (2) A woman who has borne a child may not enter an *otogo* (bachelor's hut). (3) Unmarried women may not eat the pea *akeo*. (4) Women may not walk across a *laro jok*. (5) Women are prohibited from stepping over a tree-trunk which has fallen across the path.

Jo Akuti. Women may not eat the flesh of cob, and both sexes are prohibited from keeping the hide.

Jo Ima. (1) Under penalty of a miscarriage ensuing women may not eat the flesh of waterbuck ; neither sex may keep the hide. (2) Unmarried women may not eat the large intestine of goats. (3) Women may not step over a tree-trunk which has fallen across the path. (4) Women may not use a goatskin for slinging babies on their backs nor for covering their heads when out in the rain. (5) A man may not eat with his wife's relations until after the birth of his first child his wife's mother brings *kongo me agwel* or beer for anointing the child's forehead.

Jo Ima me Jo Aula. It is said that there are no prohibitions.

Jo Akoi. Women may not eat the flesh of duiker, and neither sex may take its hide.

Jo Olwa. (1) Women may not eat the flesh of duiker. (2) Neither sex may keep the hide of duiker, cob and waterbuck. (3) Women may not eat the fruit of, touch nor utilize, the tree *awelo*. (4) The fig-tree *ebu* is forbidden to both sexes. (5) Women may not step over a variety of ant-hill known as *ogwe*.

Jo Agorya.[1] (1) The flesh and hide of *Tragelaphus Spekei* is forbidden to both sexes. (2) Women may not eat the flesh of waterbuck, and both sexes are prohibited its hide. (3) A pregnant woman or a woman carrying a baby may not run to shelter when overtaken by a storm. (4) Women may not touch nor utilize the

[1] Known also as Agora.

fig-tree *ebu*. (5) Women may not step over a tree-trunk which has fallen across the road. (6) Women may not walk across a *laro jok*.

Jo Agorya me Jo Abako. (1) The first three prohibitions noted under *Jo Agorya*. (2) The flesh of the duiker is forbidden to women and its hide to both sexes. (3) At every harvesting of millet boys who are about six years old gather in the village pasture ground (*bar*) and kill chickens of their own procuring, or (if they have been unable to procure chickens) kill lung-fish. After waving branches of *epobo* over the slaughtered offerings, they give them to their elders to eat, and from this date they are entitled to be addressed as *awobe*. The festival, which is held in conjunction with the *Jo Abako me Jo Arakit* and the *Jo Atekit me Jo Abako*, is called *ele* (the waving, from *leyo*, to wave), on account of the waving of the *epobo*. (4) The clan also joins with the *Jo Abako me Jo Arakit* and the *Jo Atekit me Jo Abako* in the annual *epet me wilo dongo*, or the ceremony of buying manhood. Boys who have reached the age of puberty kill goats which they have themselves procured, and beat each other with withies cut from the *epobo*; the goats, too, which have been laid out in a row after the killing, are also beaten with *epobo*, and are finally eaten by the initiates and their elders. The withies are finally broken into small pieces and are thrown into a river or marsh, where too the boys bathe themselves.

Jo Ngwech. (1) The flesh of duiker is forbidden to women and its hide to both sexes. (2) Pregnant women may not walk through water standing in *atabara*.

Jo Along. The flesh of waterbuck is forbidden to women and its hide to both sexes.

Jo Along me Jo Arakit. (1) Women may not enter an *otogo* (bachelor's hut). (2) Boys on attaining the age of puberty celebrate the *etogo me wilo dongo*. Goats are killed in the pasturage, and the initiates lash each other mercilessly with *epobo* withies. They are not broken nor thrown into a stream, but are left in the pasturage. The initiates go and bathe ceremonially, and afterwards eat the goats in company with their elders in the pasturage.

Jo Alolo. The flesh of duiker is forbidden to women and its hide to both sexes.

Jo Anyeke. (1) Both sexes must avoid the *pi me dogola* (rain drippings from the roof of the porch) when entering or leaving the house. (2) Neither sex may utilize the plant *adyebepar*.

Jo Adongole. Women may not touch nor in any way utilize the fig-tree *ebu*.

Jo Amonya. The flesh of duiker is forbidden to women and its hide to both sexes.

Jo Ayer. The flesh of duiker is forbidden to women and its hide to both sexes.

Jo Ngoda. The flesh of duiker is forbidden to women and its hide to both sexes.

Jo Akabu. (1) The flesh of duiker is forbidden to women and its hide to both sexes. Should a woman eat the flesh, she would give birth prematurely and the child would die. (2) A man, even a relative, seeing a pregnant woman may not comment on, or refer to, her condition.

Jo Apelo. (1) The flesh of cob is forbidden to women and its hide to both sexes. (2) Neither sex may touch or utilize the plant *aywe.*

Jo Abako me Jo Arakit. (1) The flesh of duiker is forbidden to women and its hide to both sexes. (2) Women when collecting vegetables may not fold the branches over in tying them into bundles; they must lie straight. Should a woman fold them over, any child which she may conceive would turn in the womb and die at birth. (3) The festival *ele.* (4) The ceremony *epet me wilo dongo.* For these two *vide* under *Jo Agorya me Jo Abako.*

Jo Abako me tung Adungul. After the birth of a child the mother and child may not be seen till all her relations have been summoned. A female relation then throws the small grindstone through the doorway, and it is thrown out again by the mother of the child. Were this observance to be neglected, the child would be afflicted with blindness.

Jo Abako me tung Apalamyek. (1) Women are forbidden to eat the fruit of or in any way to utilize the tree *awelo.* (2) Women may not pull up the weeds *aboto* and *aremo.* (3) The festivals *ele* and *epet me wilo dongo* as celebrated by the *Jo Abako me Jo Arakit* are also held by this clan in conjunction with the other celebrants.

Jo Abako me Jo Atengor. Women may not utilize the hide of cob or waterbuck. Should they do so, their children would be bald.

Jo Abako me tung Ogwalagol. (1) The flesh and hide of duiker is forbidden to women. (2) Women may not touch nor utilize the fig-tree *ebu.*

Jo Abako me Jo Abol. (1) The flesh and hide of duiker is forbidden to women. (2) Women may not use goatskins for slinging babies on their backs nor for covering their heads when out in the rain.

Jo Abako me Jo Apelo. (1) Unmarried women may not eat the vegetable *ochoboro* and the cherry *ochuga.* (2) Women who have given birth to a child may not walk across a *laro jok.* (3) Pregnant women may not go near to the entrance of a cattle kraal.

Jo Abako me tung Wonagak. (1) The flesh and hide of duiker is forbidden to women. (2) Pregnant women may not touch nor utilize the tree *ebule* nor pass under its shadow. (3) Under a penalty of blindness pregnant women may not walk across a *laro jok.* (4) Under the same penalty pregnant women may not go near to the entrance of a cattle kraal.

Jo Abako me Jo Achola. The flesh of duiker is forbidden to women and its hide to both sexes. Men may only eat the flesh outside the village, and the hide is given to a man belonging to a different clan.

Jo Abako me tung Onya. Women may not walk across a *laro jok.*

Jo Oki. (1) The flesh and hide of bushbuck is forbidden to women. (2) The flesh of duiker is forbidden to women and the hide to both sexes. (3) This clan joins with the *Jo Akarawok me Jo Oki* (*vide supra*) in the bi-annual ceremony known as *etogo me wilo dongo.* (4) Women may not touch nor utilize the plant *adyebepar.* (5) Unmarried women may not eat the cherry *ochuga* nor use the pot in which it has been cooked.

Jo Opali. (1) The flesh and hide of duiker is forbidden to women. (2) Children may not lie on the hide of bushbuck. (3) Women may not use sheepskin for slinging babies on their backs nor for covering their heads when out in the rain. (4) Women may not enter an *otogo.* (5) Pregnant women may not pass near to the entrance of a cattle kraal.

Jo Ameya. The flesh and hide of duiker is forbidden to women.

Jo Akidi. (1) Women may not keep the hide of waterbuck. (2) The clan joins with the *Jo Oki* and the *Jo Akarawok me Jo Oki* in the bi-annual ceremony known as *etogo me wilo dongo.*

Jo Okori. Women may not keep the hide of waterbuck.

Jo Alipa. (1) The flesh and hide of duiker are forbidden to women. (2) The hide of waterbuck is forbidden to both sexes. (3) Only girls may wear the *ariko* (chain apron).

Jo Opayat. (1) Pregnant women may not eat the stomach of cattle under penalty of miscarriage. (2) The *etogo me wilo dongo* is celebrated annually by boys who attain the age of puberty. It is identical with the ceremony of the *Jo Akarawok me Jo Oki,* but is held separately.

Jo Ayenatum. (1) Under penalty of sterility women are forbidden to eat the flesh of duiker. (2) A pregnant woman may not step over a tree-trunk which has fallen across the path.

Jo Eling. (1) Under penalty of sterility women are forbidden the flesh and hide of duiker. (2) A pregnant woman may not step over a tree-trunk which has fallen across the path. (3) Women may not utilize the plant *adyebepar.*

Jo Akweny. Women are forbidden the flesh and hide of duiker.

Jo Alaki. (1) Women are forbidden the flesh and hide of duiker. (2) Women may not utilize the plant *adyebepar.*

Jo Akwa. (1) Women are forbidden the flesh of duiker, and both sexes are forbidden its hide. (2) Women may not utilize the plant *adyebepar.*

Jo Amute. It is unlawful to point a spear at a woman, whether as a threat or only as an indication, or to strike a woman with *epobo.*

Jo Akadomerit. (1) Women are forbidden the flesh and hide of duiker and the hide of waterbuck. (2) A child who is still at the breast may not taste beer. (3) A man may not eat with his wife's relations until after the birth of his first child the wife's mother brings *kongo me agwel* or beer for anointing the child's forehead. (4) Pregnant women may not pass near to the entrance of a cattle kraal. (5) Pregnant women may not step over a tree-trunk which has fallen across the path. (6) Pregnant women may not touch the pot in which flour has been baked.

Jo Akar. Women are forbidden the flesh and hide of duiker and any pot in which the flesh has been cooked.

Jo Akar me Jo Obok. (1) Under penalty of sterility women are forbidden the swallow *ogerpacho.* (2) The plant *adyebepar* is prohibited to women.

Jo Otorongoli. (1) Women, under penalty of miscarriage, and children may not sleep on the hide of waterbuck. (2) At the birth of a child the mother puts into the child's mouth a small piece of the larger intestine of the animal killed for the birthday feast.

Jo Etoko. A woman may not step over a young calf lying on the ground, and a man wearing a calfskin may not enter the village.

Jo Ararak. (1) Women are forbidden the fig-tree *ebu.* (2) Women may not use a goatskin for slinging babies on their backs.

Jo Apala. Tabus not known.

Jo Apalamyek. Tabus not known. In this clan no one may refer to the eyes of a pregnant woman, or the child will be born blind; but the "curse" may be removed as described for the *Jo Akarawok me Jo Oiti.*

Jo Olemu. (1) Women and children are forbidden the flesh and hide of duiker. (2) Only women of her own clan may assist a woman at parturition.

Jo Ajokakar. (1) Women and children are forbidden the flesh and hide of duiker. (2) Women may not utilize the plant *adyebepar.*

Jo Angodya. Women are prohibited the flesh and hide of duiker and may not touch the pot in which it is cooked.

Jo Adok. (1) Women may not utilize the plant *adyebepar.* (2) The cherry *ochuga* is forbidden to women who have not borne children. (3) Women may not step over a tree-trunk which has fallen across the path.

Jo Ngwiyo. (1) Pregnant women are forbidden the flesh and hide of bushbuck and waterbuck. (2) A man seeing a pregnant woman may not refer to nor comment on her condition.

Jo Amwono. (1) Women and children are forbidden the flesh and hide of duiker. (2) A spear is used instead of a knife for severing the umbilical cord, and both the fœtal and placental ends are so cut. (3) Women may not step over a tree-trunk which has fallen across the path. (4) Before they go out to cultivate all jars

containing beer are carefully sealed up. Hence the name from *mwono,* to seal up.

Jo Adyege. (1) Children may not sleep on the hide of waterbuck. (2) Women may not use goatskin for slinging babies on their backs nor for covering their heads when out in the rain.

Jo Omwa. A pregnant woman may not visit the village where her relations live. When the child is born, her women friends escort her to her mother's house and carry with them a jar of water. Using the leaves of the convolvulus *amoin* as a sprinkler, they sprinkle the doorway of her mother's house, and after this ceremony the woman is allowed to enter.

Jo Apany. (1) Women are forbidden the flesh and hide of waterbuck. (2) Women may not touch, utilize nor pass under the shade of the fig-tree *ebu.* (2) Women may not utilize the plant *adyebepar.*

Jo Apedi. (1) Women are forbidden the flesh and hide of duiker and of waterbuck. (2) Women may not step over a tree-trunk which has fallen across the path. (3) The birthday goat may not be killed for eight days after the birth of a child. On the ninth day the goat is killed, the period of seclusion is ended, and other clans may enter the woman's courtyard.

Jo Obua. (1) Women are forbidden the flesh and skin of leopards; if a woman sleeps on a leopard skin, she will become sterile. (2) The fig-tree *enanga* is forbidden to women. (3) Women may not step over a tree-trunk which has fallen across the path.

Jo Obua me tun Olonga. When a woman gives birth to a child, her husband may not enter the house or courtyard for eight days. The period of seclusion comes to an end, as with the *Jo Apedi,* after the killing of the birthday goat on the ninth day.

Jo Obua me tung Oper. (1) Women are forbidden the hide of cob. (2) A pregnant woman may not eat *okono* (vegetable marrow), and after the birth of her child she may not eat it until she has put a small piece in the child's mouth.

Jo Ato. (1) Women may not touch nor utilize the fig-tree *ebu.* (2) Women may not walk over the type of ant-hill called *ogwe.*

Jo Ajuri. (1) Women are forbidden the flesh and hide of duiker. (2) Both sexes are forbidden to touch or utilize the tree *ebu* and the plant *adyebepar.*

Jo Achaba. A pregnant woman may not enter the courtyard of her mother, and after the child's birth her mother's doorway must first be sprinkled with water, as is done by the *Jo Omwa.*

Jo Abote. Under penalty of miscarriage women may not touch nor utilize the tree *ebu.*

Jo Apukicha. No one may tread on the spot where a cow has miscarried. If a woman does so, she will herself miscarry; if a man, his penis will swell till he dies.

Jo Arom. (1) Women are forbidden the flesh and hide of duiker. (2) Women may not touch nor utilize the fig-tree *ebu.*

Jo Atule. (1) Women are forbidden the hide of waterbuck. (2) Women may not step over a tree-trunk which has fallen across the path. (3) Women may not walk over a *laro jok.*

It will be seen from the above how inconsistent the clans have become and to what an extent the subdivisions have lost identity with the original clan. So much is this the case that it is not possible to determine the parent clans, nor to trace back the lineage of the present system through an examination of the various tabus to an original totemic society divided into a comparatively few clans observing distinct individual tabus, though such a state may with probability be premised. Thus, tabus connected with the duiker are observed by fifty-five different clans; the waterbuck is associated with twenty-seven clans; and the plant *adyebepar* is prohibited to nineteen clans, the majority of which appear to have no genealogical connection. The only two clans in which honey is a tabu are the *Jo Atekit me Jo Abako* and the *Jo Atekit me tung Opigikwe,* suggesting the inference that to the parent clan *Atekit* should be traced this observance, though at the present day, at any rate, honey is not tabued by the *Jo Atekit.* The only clan observance in which facts support inference is the festival *ele,* which is celebrated by the *Jo Abako, Jo Atekit me Jo Abako, Jo Agonya me Jo Abako, Jo Abako me Jo Arakit,* and *Jo Abako me Jo Apalamyek;* in this case there can be no doubt that the *ele* was an *Abako* clan festival, which was subsequently embodied in the constitution of the later subdivisions.

§ 8. **Political Organization and Customary Law.**—Within the last few years European administration has wrought such vast changes, at least superficially, in the political life of the Lango by imposing a centralizing force and all the additional innovations which are inherent in the conception of pacific government that, little as their essential life with its time-hallowed customs has been altered, yet in considering their political status we must speak in the past tense, reverting to a date prior at any rate to 1914.

Before the present dispensation the Lango as a tribe were anarchic, that is to say, they had no settled or constituted tribal authority, but were divided into a number of factions unrelated to their clan system, which were often hostile to each other and rarely worked in co-operation. How long this system or lack of system has prevailed it is impossible to say with certainty, and the conflicting statements which they give of an earlier form of government do not throw much light upon the subject.

Omaradungula of Ayer states that long ago the Lango used to be under one king, to whom all the other leaders were subservient. Okelabong of Aber, on the other hand, states that when they lived

north of the Moroto (one hundred and twenty to two hundred years ago) there were only village headmen, no big ruler. Awal, granduncle of Adigar of Ngai, however, claims that his grandfather, Owalinga, was considered the ruler of all the Lango.

Nevertheless, speaking generally, there does not seem to be much conception of a central government over the united tribe at any time, and it seems likely that the reputed kings mentioned above were nothing more than local war-leaders on a large scale, who had by their prowess dominated their neighbours and possibly concluded alliances with other war-leaders at greater distances. Certainly within the last two hundred years there has been no central government and no paramount chief, and it is probable that when the Hamites broke up the Nilotic family, the defection of the Shilluk with the royal house left all the other branches leaderless, a condition in which they have remained to the present day.

Mention should be made, however, of the Lango tradition that the first three chiefs to have entered the country which they now occupy were Ekangoro, Mugaicha and Obiyamarokakare, of whom Ekangoro was paramount. It is not known whence they came, but it is believed from the sky.[1] This story is interesting as showing that even within four or five generations myth can take the place of history,[2] but still more interesting in that it shows that a paramount chief in the person of Ekangoro was conceivable. It may be possible that this Ekangoro refers back to an even earlier tradition, and is not unrelated to Nyakang (or Okanga), the sainted ancestor of the Shilluk kings.

Putting aside, then, the question of a centralized government, we may next inquire into the manner of government prevailing among the Lango for the last five generations or more. The organization, such as it is, we find is essentially military. Hunting and fighting were the pursuits of the Lango, the former providing them with meat and the latter with booty in the way of cattle, in which their hearts delight. To this end, that their young men might be worthy warriors, tobacco was only allowed to the old men, a solace to their unmartial existence. Similarly, the games of children were of such a type as to train the hand and eye to that swiftness and co-operation which are essential to a successful fighting man. In the same way the dance in which they voluntarily endured painful flogging was to

[1] As did Olum, who is said so be the first man in the world; and certain marks imprinted in the rock at Kibuji, which seem to resemble the footsteps of a man and a dog, and a hole in the rock made by a spear-butt, are attributed to him. He descended to earth with his wife Awiny (the first woman), and both were equipped with tails like those of the patas monkey; they subsequently cut them off, however, as they found them inconvenient when travelling in "bush" country.

[2] According to a further legend of these early chiefs, when they first reached the confines of the present Lango country, they walked very slowly, fearing lest the earth should give way and swallow them up; but one day seeing a hartebeeste spring out of the grass in front of them and dash off at a tremendous pace, they conquered their fears of the unknown and resumed their normal gait.

develop courage and the power of endurance. Accordingly, just as all their young lives were moulded in such a way as to produce warriors, so their government was of such a nature as to suit a warrior people. Over each village was a *jago* or leader of a company, whose duty it was to lead his detachment under the *rwot* or leader of a column.

The office of *jago*, as we have seen, is not necessarily hereditary, though the selection often alights on the deceased's son. Should this son, however, be evidently an impossible person, either on account of his mental or physical capacities, the most suitable member of the family is elected. He holds his office for life, and his son would be the heir presumptive: the title would not revert to a lineal descendant of the old *jago*.

The *rwot* was the nearest approach to a chief which the Lango knew, his sphere comprising a varying number of *jegdi*,[1] possibly only three, but in exceptional cases as many as nine or ten. His functions were almost entirely military, and, though often an elected clan headman, he owed his position largely to military success, combining with other *rwodi*[2] for larger operations under a *twon lwak* or war-leader (lit. bull of the crowd).

The *twon lwak* was not elected, and his title depended on his success; for from being a *rwot* or even a *jago* he gained his position as the war-leader over a group of *rwodi* by his personal influence due to prowess in battle. It is said, too, that liberality in beer was of considerable assistance to one who aspired to hold that enviable position. Its tenure was precarious, since just as success attached *rwodi* to his standard—the hope of booty being a compelling factor—so in time of failure they would gradually desert to a new and more successful leader. Thus we find many cases of men winning a wide reputation and much renown, in fact becoming paramount chiefs of a large area, suddenly losing their position and following almost entirely. Occasionally, indeed, they have maintained it to the end, possibly dying gloriously in battle, and being succeeded by their sons or brothers who have already proved themselves to be worthy inheritors of the title, as was the case with Odongoja, who was succeeded by his brother Otwal. But such a succession is accidental: the son succeeds not by virtue of his sonship, but by reason of his own prowess.

The result of this system was that each *twon lwak* was against his neighbour, endeavouring by the bribe of success to detach his neighbour's villages to his own standard, in order that he might *chamo piny duchu*, eat up the whole earth; and accordingly we find that the history of the Lango is one of internal strife, war-leader vying with war-leader—at any rate since the example of the Banyoro

[1] Plural of *jago*.

[2] Plural of *rwot*.

civil wars, for prior to that influence inter-village hostilities appear to have been contrary to the tribal consciousness, a fact which perhaps argues a greater degree of civil authority at that time in their chiefs and headmen.

Ngora and Ajungamwenge (who led their men against the Madi) were typical *twon lwak*, losing their power after defeats at the hands of the Madi. Thus of the former it is sung, *Ngora, yi obino wiyi nono pi jo meri ma gineko, ma gityeko oko.* (Ngora, war comes on thee alone by reason of thy men whom they killed, whom they finished utterly.) Of the latter it is recorded that desertion was due not to defeat in battle, but to the ominous loss of nearly all his army in the sudden flooding of the river Nyangaragot near Nimule. Again an old song fortunately shows the early attempts to win the title and position of *twon lwak*: *Onyangokodo oyi ki mo kare kene.* (Onyangokodo fights his enemies single-handed.) The inference is that he is so brave and such a cunning leader of men that his village can hold its own by itself. Subsequently Onyangokodo became a great *twon lwak*, this reputation, aided by the skilful reminder contained in the song (sung no doubt often in his own village when entertaining guests with beer), having attracted many villages to his leadership. Villages and chiefs were often included in a temporary alliance on the understanding that they should get a certain specified number of cattle after the raid.

Akena, wot Madi, irobo lobo ; in Ogwal', ideb' i pacho ; Aken' orobo lobo. (Akena, son of the Madi, thou stealest the country ; thou, Ogwali, restest in thy village ; Akena steals the country.) This song illustrates the manner in which each *twon lwak* strove to aggrandize himself at the expense of his neighbour. Akena was the big chief at Adyege, preceding Etik, father of Anyuru. In the beginning his sphere of influence was all north of the Koli, but by dint of skilful generalship and diplomacy he won over many villages on the south bank, which used to fight under Ogwali, brother of Adupa, father of Ogwaliong. He subsequently lost his reputation and leadership by treacherous conduct to one of his men, Watkongo, whom he left to his fate in a scouting expedition, as it is sung :—

Aken', imul' amula ki pinypiny ;
Ibwolo Watkongo,
Ibwolo Watkongo.
Aken', imul' amula ki pinypiny ;
Imiyogi neko Watkongo.

(Akena, thou crawlest along the ground ;
Thou betrayest Watkongo,
Thou betrayest Watkongo.
Akena, thou crawlest along the ground ;
Thou lettest them kill Watkongo.)

Numerous other cases might be instanced, but this is sufficient to show that the tenure of the *twon lwak* depends on his own personal influence, which again depends on his success in war. The various *rwodi* and *jegdi* are under his orders during battle. But while the *rwodi* and *jegdi* had a certain, albeit an infinitesimal, amount of civil authority, being elected to their chieftainships on the grounds of heredity or convenience, the *twon lwak* had none beyond his own most immediate following, but was a military leader pure and simple. Nor is this a matter for surprise: he was not elected to his position, but gained it by the excellence of his military qualities, to which his neighbours were ready to subordinate themselves during war for the sake of success and booty. In times of peace they had nothing to gain from him, and consequently accorded him no recognition nor privileges, while he, on the other hand, had always the difficult task of holding their somewhat fickle allegiance, and had to pose rather as a suppliant than as an overlord.

On the civil side there was no administrative or judicial body beyond the informal gathering of the village elders,[1] whose business it was to settle with the co-operation of the *jago* or *rwot* any disputes which might arise in the social relations of the inhabitants or in their relations with strangers from other villages. Though they had no means of carrying out their decisions, the moral sanction of the people, on which their code depends, sufficed to support them as far as decisions in cases wholly within the village go, and a plaintiff in one village sueing in another village which is friendly or is in the same district would stand a good chance of getting satisfaction. But should he sue at a hostile village, or at one under another *rwot*, his prospects would not be so bright, as, though the elders might find in his favour, they would be unable to enforce their decision if the defendant were unwilling to come to terms, and the defendant would certainly be supported by the younger warriors anxious for a fight. Hence, though custom has evolved an elastic scale of fines and compensations for various offences, recourse had often to be made to violence to obtain satisfaction, and in cases of murder or even adultery it was easier to make war on the village rather than to await the results of a lawsuit which would probably be unfavourable or inoperative. These councils were therefore in reality courts of arbitration rather than of judicial decision, and there was no machinery existing for the legal enforcement of their awards.

This has resulted in the principle of the communal responsibility on the one hand of the family—the legal unit of primitive law, as

[1] The modern meaning of *ker* is "dominion" or "sphere of influence" (as in Acholi), and the word is applied to the districts of a *rwot* or a *jago*; but some old men have suggested—though without any certitude—that in the time of their remote ancestors the council of elders was known as *ker*, and that the modern application is derivative. If this is really so, the word gives the council a very definite status beyond their authority of the last sixty or eighty years.

Sir Henry Maine points out—and of the village on the other. A weak village in which lives a defendant sued by a member of a strong fighting village would insist on the defendant's punishment to save themselves from invasion, and to save the defendant his relations and clansmen, if he is poor and has not committed an offence which is incompoundable, will help him to find the necessary amount of the fine or compensation for which he is sued. The assistance is given freely, and repayment is neither demanded nor expected. But whether the offender pays the full compensation for his offence himself, or whether he is assisted by his relatives, both the family and clan are poorer by the loss of so many livestock, and consequently the crime of an individual affects the whole clan. The offender is accordingly in temporary disgrace for weakening the clan and, if the offence is serious, is publicly reprimanded by the clan headman, not (be it noted) for his offence, but for its communal consequences; and a hardened offender who squanders his patrimony or constantly requires assistance from the clan is driven away or eventually given up to the vengeance of an injured claimant.

Offences will for convenience be divided into criminal and civil, though their allocation in no way corresponds with the distinction made in European codes. Criminal offences are those against society generally, and are not compoundable. All are punishable with death.

(1) *Witchcraft.*—Wizards or witches, convicted of a particular act of witchcraft or generally reputed to practise the art, are clubbed to death and their bodies are burnt in a large fire.

(2) *Incest.* (i.e. sexual intercourse between two persons connected, however remotely, through the father's or the mother's clan).—The offence is punished by the death of the man, who is alone held guilty, though the woman is flogged. It is held that the latter must have been unwilling, or even if she made advances, the man with his greater emotional control should have repulsed her. In addition six goats have to be paid by the offender's relatives, which are killed in the *bar* (pasturage) of the woman's village, and before his execution the offender has to attend the sacrifice of the goats and to pour water ceremonially on the woman with his benediction in order to remove the spiritual effects of his act: for he is said to have *timo* or *kelo jok kum nyako* (done or brought god on the girl), and only by this pouring on of water can she be ridden of this inauspicious possession.

(3) *Sexual Aberrations contrary to the Order of Nature.*—The offender is put to death.[1] If the offence is committed with an animal,

[1] Caution has to be observed in investigating a charge of this nature, as more often than not the alleged offence took place in an *otogo* full of young men, and proves to be nothing more serious than a spontaneous nocturnal emission to which a criminal intent is groundlessly attributed owing to the close proximity of the sleepers. In seven years only six such charges have been made, of which two indubitably came under the above category.

both man and animal are killed, and the animal, which is replaced by the offender's relations, is burnt to ashes; its flesh may not be eaten. In this and the previous offence, both of which are extremely rare, and in the few known instances have been committed by men of weak intellect,[1] the presumption is that only an exponent of witchcraft would act in this manner, and consequently the offender is an enemy of society.[2]

Civil offences or torts are offences in which individuals, and not society in general, suffer, and are compoundable by a compensatory payment.

(1) *Homicide.*—Originally, killing, whether accidental or deliberate, immediate or protracted, was considered an act of war and not of arbitrament, and the relatives of the deceased would raid the murderer's village, taking blood for blood and as much more as they could. Frequently a feud of this nature would last several generations, and many years might elapse before vengeance is taken for want of a good opportunity. It is not clear when or how the custom of making a blood payment originated, but it is very ancient, and probably arose from the murderer's family with the intention of staving off a raid. Indeed, the usual procedure was for the murderer to decamp and to take shelter elsewhere until vengeance had been bought off by compensation, after which he could safely return. In the old days a large number of cattle was required as compensation for killing, but since 1890 seven head have been the price

[1] Lunatics are cared for by their relatives, who treat them with a generous consideration, but put them under restraint during periods of violence. A lunatic would not be killed in vengeance for a murder committed under the influence of lunacy, but his relatives would have to pay the usual blood-money. For the crime under reference, however, there is no palliation, as the status of the clan is involved, and he would be put to death. For all the three above offences, indeed, there is no difficulty about the offender's execution, whether lunatic or sane, as his action has contaminated the whole clan, and not even his family would desire to save him from his just punishment and the consequent rehabilitation of the clan.

[2] An exception is made in the case of a small class of men known as *Jo Apele*, referred to also as *Jo Aboich*, or the impotents. These men, being impotent from birth, are considered as the afflicted of god (*jok obalogi*, god ruins them). They acknowledge a mortal father, but believe that a divine agency operated at their fertilization (*jok manywala*, it was god who begat me). Being impotent, they have all the instincts and nature of women, and as such are recognized by men and women alike. They accordingly become women (*dano mulokere*, *mudoko dako*, a man who has been transformed, who has become a woman). They wear the characteristic facial and bodily ornaments of a woman, the *chip*, the *del* and the *lau*; they wear their hair long, dressing it in ringlets like women's hair, and take women's names; they do all women's work, weed, sweep the house and courtyard, cook the food, fetch fuel and water; they observe women's clan tabus, and, like women, are debarred from owning property or from following men's pursuits such as hunting; they even simulate menstruation and wear the leaves prescribed for women in their courses. They appear in all other respects to be mentally sound and are most industrious. Being women, therefore, in all except the physical characteristics, they are treated as such, and live with a man as his wife without offending against Lango law. Sometimes, but rarely, property passes on the "marriage," and their co-wives welcome him as a woman. The total number of such persons does not amount to fifty, but among the Iteso and certain Karamojan tribes such people of hermaphroditic instincts are very numerous.

paid to the deceased's next-of-kin.[1] The same price is paid for the killing of women and children as of men. Of the seven head of cattle, two bulls are slaughtered in the *bar* as a sacrifice to the spirit of deceased, of which one of the backs is given to the deceased's maternal grandmother and one to his wife's brother (or, if he was unmarried, to his mother's brother); the rest of the meat is distributed among deceased's clansmen indiscriminately. One heifer is given to the deceased's maternal uncle, and the remaining four head belong to the deceased's brother, or in default to his father.

If the murderer has cattle, the compensation is paid by his relatives from his stock while he is in retreat, but if he has none it is their duty to subscribe the necessary amount. Should the murderer have a marriageable sister or daughter, the deceased's brother may accept her instead of cattle as full requital; and if she proves herself to be a good and loyal wife, he will after the lapse of a year or two give the murderer two or three cattle to ratify the marriage, though this is not considered necessary, but is an act of grace. Notwithstanding that the girl was handed over in settlement of a murder, should she bear a daughter, on the daughter's marriage the murderer is entitled to the customary heifer *me nero* (of the maternal uncle). If the girl refuses to stay with the deceased's brother and deserts him, the family is *ipso facto* liable to pay the compensation due for manslaughter.

If a woman is killed by her husband, the compensation is due to the woman's relations, even though the property in her has passed to her husband. Should a man kill his mother, however, no compensation is payable, as the murderer is *okeo* (nephew) to the deceased's family, and as such considered as much one of themselves as of his father's family. Other intra-family killings, such as a brother by a brother, father by a son, son by a father, are not compoundable, as the loss suffered is suffered by the clan, and could not logically be compensated by clan cattle. The murderer is generally put to death unless his parents very urgently entreat his forgiveness, but in any case two bulls have to be sacrificed to remove the blood-guilt and to propitiate the spirit of the deceased.

(2) *Hurt.*—The punishment varies according to the degree of hurt. For bruising or assault with sticks any amount varying between six and twelve goats. For any hurt in which blood has flowed

[1] The amount of compensation payable for offences is apt to vary with a change in local conditions, such as the great rinderpest of 1890, but since then appears to have acquired a generally accepted standard. It is often considered that, as there is frequently no machinery for enforcing legal awards in primitive tribes, the payment of compensation depends solely on the strength of the injured faction, and that any customary scale is a fictitious standard, the injured party taking as much as he can get. To a certain extent this is true, but European temperament is liable to overlook the force of custom, which is as binding in primitive races as "good form" in civilized communities, especially when it is backed (as it so often is) by a religious sanction which holds the offender and his clan to be in a state of moral uncleanness until they have purged themselves by paying the usual indemnity.

thirteen goats or upwards according to the degree. The most serious is permanent injury to, or deprivation of, either or both testicles, for which the compensation is two heifers and two bulls.

(3) *Mischief.*—By this term is designated damage, whether intentional or accidental, to crops or property. The most fruitful source of trouble is cattle and goats straying into and damaging standing crops. The animals are seized and have to be ransomed by the owner, a goat generally being considered sufficient. Similarly, compensation is payable if goats damage a house or break calabashes, etc. Should a dog be killed, its owner must be compensated either by another or, if it is a good hunting dog, by a goat for each animal which has been placed to its credit in the hunting-field. No scale of payments can be laid down for damage by fire, as this naturally varies with the extent of the loss, but the lowest compensation payable for firing an *arum* (hunting area) is two heifers. Injury to cattle or goats by the default or neglect of another necessitates the replacement of the injured animal.

(4) *Adultery.*—Compoundable by the payment of one cow, one heifer and one bull to the woman's husband. If caught *in flagrante delicto* the man is probably speared, but this is not sanctioned by custom, and the action would result in a blood feud. Any child becomes the property of the husband, but no stigma attaches to illicit birth.

(5) *Seduction.*--The girl is liable to no punishment and is not held guilty of an offence. Compensation has to be paid by the man to the girl's guardian (father, brother or uncle, as the case may be), the amount varying according to the locality from six goats to one bull and fifteen goats in simple seduction. Should the girl give birth to a child as the result, the amount of compensation is increased, but the child stays with the girl, i.e. becomes the property of her guardian. Should the man be willing to marry her, the compensation paid is calculated in the dowry, and the child (if any) then goes with the girl to its father. Should the girl die in child-birth, the compensation must be brought up to the amount payable for manslaughter.

(6) *Theft.*—The theft of cattle is the most serious form of this offence; and one caught *in flagrante delicto* may be speared on the spot. If it is traced to the culprit subsequently, it is treated as ordinary theft, for which the penalty is the return of the property stolen, together with property of the same kind to twice its value. The receiving of stolen property is accounted theft. Thus were a bull stolen, or a spear, three bulls or three spears would have to be returned. Misappropriation is treated as theft. If cattle or goats die in the charge of a man to whom they have been entrusted for safe custody, immediately after their death he must produce the hides or skins and the meat before the owner, who will examine

them for evidence of spear or other wounds which may have been intentionally caused. Should the hides, skins and meat not be produced, it is assumed that the man in whose charge they were caused them to die or sold them, and he becomes guilty of theft. In the case of a canoe, it has to be returned together with one goat for each man whom the canoe is capable of carrying.

(7) *Defamation.*—The amount payable varies according to the damage done to the reputation of the complainant, a bull being a common award. False charges of witchcraft are the most serious.

It is the duty of elders to arbitrate in disputes according to precedent, on which this code is based, deciding questions of fact and assessing the compensation. Intention is not considered. Disputes as to marriage and other contracts are also referred to them and they arbitrate on matters of debt. Prostitution is unknown, and accordingly does not come within the scope of the code.

It should be noted that owners and employers are liable for the misdemeanours of their property and employés and for accidents to the latter. We have already seen that a man is responsible for mischief done by his livestock; similarly, should his small child when playing with another small child accidentally push the latter into a hole and break his neck, the father is responsible for the full homicide compensation. Again, A, a guest of B, commits adultery with the wife of C. B has to compensate C and recover afterwards (if he can) from A. B assists A in cultivation, and at the end of the day A gives him so much beer that B becomes drunk, and on his way home, inspired by drunken folly, sets alight to C's house. A is doubly liable, as not only is he B's employer, but he also supplied B with drink. Had B, while drunk, tried to enter C's house instead of burning it and been killed by C with a spear in misapprehension of theft, A would have been liable to B's family for manslaughter. B lopping off a bough for A has his leg broken by the falling bough through his own carelessness, yet A must compensate. B hearing a noise in the grass, and thinking that it is a serval, borrows and throws A's spear, killing what turns out to be C's child. A and B are jointly responsible.

To take an oath or to swear is *kwango*,[1] and the strongest oath of all is to swear by the dead (*jo apiny*, the people of the earth, i.e. the buried), and especially by one's deceased father (*kwongo papi mato i piny*, to swear by your father who is dead in the ground). So strong is this oath and so certain is a man to die if he perjures himself that it is taken as conclusive evidence, and a man denying a charge on such an oath is acquitted. Next to this oath in efficacy is the invocation of lightning (*kwongo lutkot*), i.e. "May lightning strike me dead if. . . ." On the other hand, should one invoke

[1] Also spoken of as *timo atika*, to do verily.

lightning in this way on another it is a serious offence, for which a bull must be paid in compensation.

The following ordeals may in certain cases be undergone by an accused person who pleads not guilty of an offence with which he is charged. As it is fully believed by all that, if the accused is innocent, the ordeal will signify it and will be harmless to him, a refusal to submit to the appropriate ordeal is tantamount to a confession of guilt. Consequently there is no compulsion in the matter: either the man accepts the ordeal and its verdict is final, or he refuses to undergo the test and is *ipso facto* found guilty.

If a man is accused of adultery or seduction and pleads not guilty, he may undergo the test known as *lamo dyel* (to consecrate the goat). He produces two he-goats and two she-goats, and the accuser's party and the accused's party stand in lines opposite each other. The girl whom he is alleged to have seduced stands in the centre, and the accused brings forward one he-goat which he causes to pass round the girl. Having done this he spits in his hand and says, "*Pu!*[1] *Nen, dyel, ka an angoto danoni. Ka imito, layi; ka imito, pyeli.*" ("Pu! Behold, goat, whether I have seduced this person. If thou wishest, urinate; if thou wishest, defecate.") He then rubs the head, back and stomach of the goat with the hand on which he spat. Should the goat make water while it stands there, he is convicted, for its urine is thought to typify the man's semen; if it defecates or does nothing, he produces a she-goat, and the girl goes through the same process. If again nothing happens, they do likewise with the other two goats. If any of the goats make water, the man is convicted, and in addition to paying the ordinary penalty is mulcted of these four goats, which are killed by his accusers.[2] There is no conviction, however, if a goat urinates after being taken away from the centre. If none of the goats make water, the accused keeps them and is acquitted.

If a man is accused of witchcraft, he may on pleading not guilty undergo the ordeal of *lamo dyang* (to consecrate a cow) or *lamo dyel.* One goat or one cow (of either sex) is produced, and the same procedure is followed as described above, the formula running as follows: "*Nen, dyang, ka an awulo danoni. Ka imito, layi; ka imito, pyeli.*" ("Behold, cow, whether I bewitched this person. If thou wishest, urinate; if thou wishest, defecate.") If the animal makes water—which is said to stand for the tears of the accused's innocence—he is acquitted; if it defecates, he is convicted and must suffer the usual penalty. The animal used at the ordeal becomes the property of the successful party, and if the victim of his witch-

[1] A ritual interjection representing the sound of spitting.
[2] This is possibly the origin of the *dyegi me bar*, the goats which are killed in the pasturage when compensation for seduction is paid.

craft died,[1] the condemned man must cut some hair from the forelock of the cow or goat in token of the mourning of the deceased's family. The hair is thrown on the grave in order to tranquillize the spirit of the dead man.

If a man feels that he has been unjustly accused of theft or witchcraft, he may kill a dog with his spear in the presence of his accusers and eat it, a dog being regarded as an unclean animal and not otherwise eaten. If he is guilty, he will die within the year and so expiate his guilt; vice versa, if he does not die, he is proved to be innocent, and may bring an action for defamation against his detractors.

[1] In these ordeals, if the person interested is dead before the day of trial, the animal is led round his or her grave for the purpose of the test.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGION AND MAGIC[1]

JOK — WINYO — TIPO — AJOKA — WITCHCRAFT—RAIN-MAKING—DIVINATION BY SANDALS—MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

(1) **Jok.**—It is difficult to obtain a lucid account of the significance of the term *jok*, which appears in this or a similar form among all Nilotics, with the exception of the Jaluo[2]; probably, indeed, it is but vaguely comprehended even by the Lango themselves. The only description of *jok* obtained is *bala yamo muwoto*, like moving air, which phrase recalls to mind the fact that a village in which

[1] In the following somewhat spasmodic account of Lango religion, the author is aware that there are regrettable lacunæ, an absence of coherence and apparent contradictions in what to us seem vital issues. This is partly due to the lack of sufficient opportunity to study the question with an adequate intimacy, but even more to the extreme reticence of the Lango in matters of religion and magic. One of their own tribe who has served the European, for example, in the police, is often excluded from their more esoteric ceremonies, not from fear that he may be a spy, but on the grounds that he has been contaminated by white influence; and invariably if a European or another alien comes upon a group who are engaged even on such a simple matter as consulting or receiving an oracle from the deity, the business is at once suspended till his departure. To obtain a comprehensive idea of their beliefs and inner practices is therefore a matter of the greatest difficulty, in their entirety almost of impossibility, especially when it is necessary to avoid arousing distrust as to the motives of inquiry; and the little that is here recorded has for the most part been collected by noting casual allusions elsewhere, by collating diverse ritual observances which belong to a certain class of ceremony, and by the material evidence of shrines and objects of veneration. The disproportionate treatment of the rain ceremonies should not be taken as indicating their relative importance in the scheme of religion, for by their public nature they are more obvious to an alien and a knowledge of them is more readily acquired. The difficulty is further increased by the incertitude of the Lango themselves on the essential points of their religion; their conceptions are often of the vaguest, and different phases combine and separate, coalesce and disintegrate, merge and diverge with a bewildering facility which will be only too evident, a result doubtless of the fact that their religion is compounded of two separate elements, which are now treated as distinct, now as an indissoluble entity, namely, ancestrolatry on the one hand, and on the other monotheism, which has by now largely broken down, but was formerly observed in the person of the high god *jok*. These two elements will become apparent in the following pages and call for no further comment, but the combination of them is perhaps more obvious in the rain ceremonies, in which the prayers are addressed to *Min jok*, the mother of god and the giver of rain, while the sacred songs are almost entirely concerned with rehearsing the great deeds of dead ancestors.

[2] Among the Dinka, *jok* comprises a host of ancestral spirits, sometimes the spirits of the recently dead being spoken of as *jok*, though the term is generally restricted to the long dead and powerful ancestors. *Jok* may send sickness and misfortune when annoyed, but is the guardian spirit of the house and clan. With the Shilluk, *juok* is a high god for the most part otiose, but is invoked to send rain. Of the Acholi and Alur, *jok* and the Jopaluo *jwok*, little is as yet known, but their general characteristics are undoubtedly similar.

numerous deaths occur is said to be *i wang yo yamo* or *yo jok* (on the path of the air or of *jok*). He is most visible in whirlwinds and circular eddies of air (*ajoru*). *Jok*, then, like the wind or air, is omnipresent, and like the wind, though the presence may be heard and appreciated, *jok* has never been seen by anyone. Even when Orweny of Bata captured *jok*, as we shall read later, he captured him not corporeally, but in the spirit. His dwelling is everywhere : in trees, it may be, or in rocks and hills, in some springs and pools, especially in connection with rain-making, or more vaguely in the air.

This last habitat taken in conjunction with the legend of Olum and Owiny and others, who descended from the sky, suggests a material "heaven" supervised by *jok*, in which possibly the souls of the departed abide till they are again required on earth. Such a hypothesis would be entirely erroneous. There is no such conception of heaven, which is not dreamed of in their eschatology. Actually, the Lango notion of the universe is the inside of a sphere, the bottom concavity of which is this world, while the top concavity is another inhabited world. The top half is called *polo* (sky, cloud, atmosphere), because owing to the great distance of the other world a kind of mirage prevents it being seen clearly, and gives it the appearance which is popularly known as *polo* or sky. Similarly, the inhabitants of the other world refer to this world as *polo* for a like reason. That the other world is inhabited is well known, as very occasionally *jok* has taken up inhabitants of this world to that other, just as he occasionally brings an inhabitant of the other world down here, and one such visitor is known in the past to have returned after a stay of four days. He could not remember much of what he saw, but he knew that there were a countless number of people (black and reddish black, no white) similar to the inhabitants of this world, with the exception that they all wore tails ; there were cattle, sheep and goats and unimagined plenty, but they only ate fried flies, which unaccustomed food the visitor refused, and, as he was in consequence starving, implored *jok* to return him to this world. The fact that there are more inhabitants in the upper world, and that Olum and his wife were the first inhabitants of this world, and in the beginning wore tails, is generally admitted to prove the priority of existence in the former. Between these two worlds are the sun and moon and stars. During the day the moon and the stars remain invisible in the *polo*, but no one understands what happens to the sun. It is a credited fact, however, that having reached the West in the evening about midnight it flashes across again to the East, where it lies hidden till morning. This rapid midnight transit of the sun is very rarely seen, and is a prohibited mystery, and anyone who sees it is forbidden to speak of it. It argues tremendous danger for him, and he must consult *jok* as to means of safeguarding himself. *Jok* may of course give him various instructions, but the usual

remedy for this untoward sight is to obtain leaves of the plants *ekwanga* and *lakan*, and, having consecrated them in the village by adjuring them to avert and to take to themselves any evil consequences, as the sin was involuntary, to take them far into the bush and to place them in such a spot as *jok* directs, returning home without looking back.

All hills are vaguely connected with *jok*, and for this reason villages are never built on hills, as such close association with *jok* would be dangerous, even if not fatal. Mount Agoro in the Latuka country, formerly inhabited by Lango, is possibly the most celebrated habitat of *jok*; it is believed that *jok* is more immanent there than elsewhere, and at regular intervals parties of Lango used to visit Mount Agoro till quite recent years, armed with spears and shields as protection against the Acholi and Madi, through whom they had to pass. At its foot was the village of a Lango named Wot Odur (son of Odur), who was till his demise some ten years ago the guardian and minister of *jok's* shrine on Mount Agoro, and to whom they handed over the presents with which they went provided. Having climbed to the top, they took some pebbles and fought their way back again. Their object in obtaining these pebbles was to ensure fertility and easy childbirth to their wives, as skilled men were able to extract *jok* from the pebbles and to cause him to confer this boon. Since the death of Wot Odur the shrine of Mount Agoro has been deserted, and no more pilgrimages are made there; but all rocks protruding on a path are thought to be the abode of *jok*, and—reminiscent of the old pilgrimage—pregnant women on passing them pluck and throw grass on them with a prayer to *jok* for health and fertility.

Jok has been, and is, known under a variety of titles corresponding with his different manifestations and activities, though actually *jok* is an undivisible entity permeating the whole universe. The oldest manifestation of *jok* is *Atida*, a name which may not be spoken by the vulgar, who address her as *min jok* or the mother of god. The fact that this manifestation of *jok* is of the female sex is possibly due to a then existing matriarchal regime. She is particularly associated with hunting and fighting and rain, and her oracles are mainly, though not exclusively, served by women *ajoka* (seers).

Almost as old as *Atida* is *Jok Adongo* (*jok* the large or powerful), that aspect of *jok* which is associated with the cult of trees, in which context attention is directed to the association acknowledged between trees and rain-making.[1] This *jok* will call a village headman by name in the dead of night, and on his responding, will say, "Do not you or any of your people cut such and such a tree, as I am present in it,

[1] A parallel for this tree cult is to be found among the southern Galla, by whom great reverence is paid to the baobab, to which small monthly sacrifices are made, and annually a black goat is slaughtered in its honour.

and it is sacred to me; nor may anyone venture to pass under its shadow from *otyeno* (about 5 p.m.) till dawn." The headman instructs his men accordingly, and that tree is for ever tabu. No particular species of tree is thus reserved to *jok*, but figs and kigelias are especially favoured. The tree having become sacred and possessing *jok*, the headman then approaches it to obtain advice on material matters, including hunting and fighting, which, however, as noted above, are actually in the province of *Atida*. He goes to the tree at dawn, alone and unattended, and standing at a safe distance asks the tree's advice and counsel, observing that he and his people have faithfully refrained from injuring the tree or passing under its shadow. The tree will respond, speaking with a human voice, to the effect that they have no claim on its gratitude: where is its shrine? where are its offerings and sacrifices? and directs the headman as to the building of a suitable shrine. This is then built under the tree, a diminutive hut consisting only of a grass roof supported on four posts about one foot high, the hut being no more than eighteen inches in diameter; for no shrine is ever built without divine instruction either to this or to any other manifestation of *jok*.[1] Contented with the shrine and offerings, the tree will give counsel when approached by the headman without any seer or other intermediary.

But though the cult of trees is especially the province of *jok Adongo*, there is one notable exception in a large banyan, which for very many years has been sacred to *Atida* and gives oracles on her account. It may be found north of the River Moroto far from any village (no definite direction being obtainable), and is spoken of as *yat mukobo bala dano*, the tree which speaks like a man—a term which is equally appropriate to all trees sacred to *jok Adongo*, but is particularly applied to this banyan. Under it sits its guardian and ministrant, an aged woman of great stature. The popularity of this shrine has in recent years decayed in favour of other oracles (for *jok* is ever manifesting himself in a new place), but formerly from far and wide the Lango would visit the tree for prophecies of hunting and battle, taking with them presents of beer or chickens or goats. On the day of their arrival they would sit there in meditation and lean their spears against the tree on the subsequent night, in order that virtue might enter into the spears and give them success. In the morning they would proffer their request, which the ministrant would in turn address to the tree, interpreting to them the answer which the tree gave, as, though it spoke with the voice of a man, its words (unlike the utterances of trees sacred to *jok Adongo*) were only intelligible to the ministrant. After a successful raid or hunt

[1] These small shrines are often spoken of as *ot jok*, house of god, but their correct technical name is *abila*. They are always small and crude structures, unvarying in design, the four uprights being cut from the trees *okanga* or *olwedo*, except in the case of *jok Nam*, for whose shrines *otuba* is used. They are built at the *otem* close to the sacred euphorbia.

the votaries would bring presents of loot or game which were suspended on the tree.

Another very ancient manifestation of *jok* is known by the name of *jok Lango*, who is said to be contemporaneous with *jok Adongo*. It is said that he speaks Lango, and though he cannot be seen it is known that he carries a shield and two spears. His speciality is sickness, with the exception of epilepsy or demoniacal possession (*ekwikwin*), and such spiritual diseases as are caused by the ghost of the departed. The name, with its insistence on the fact that he is peculiarly the Lango god, is curious, and may have been applied at the time when the tribe usurped the Hamitic name Lango; on the other hand, while the characteristics of this particular *jok* may have been ancient as affirmed, a distinctive name may not have been applied until recent years in answer to the modern *jok Nam*, *jok* of the river (i.e. with reference to the Banyoro, called *Jo Nam*, people of the river).

Jok Orongo is concerned with the souls or *tipo* of human beings and animals. Indeed, so intimate is the connection that it is difficult to distinguish *Orongo's* functions from the operations of the *tipo*, and some there are who even say that *Orongo* is identical with *tipo*. But the name *jok Orongo* is never actually used in connotations to which *tipo* is applied (indeed it is hardly ever heard), and the distinction is probably that *Orongo* is the universal spirit from which the individual *tipo* derives its separate, though not entirely independent, origin; and it is to *Orongo* more particularly that a seer sends his *tipo* in order to gain communication with *jok* when delivering an oracle. *Jok Orongo* is said to eat fire.

Jok Nam is a modern manifestation of *jok*, dating back to 1897, the year when Kabarega escaped from Bunyoro. As the name suggests, this *jok* is a direct outcome of Bantu influence, and appears to have coincided with the Bantu discovery of *katonda* as a supreme being. His cult is now defunct, except for the phenomenon of possession and its treatment, and he is said to speak Paluo and Lunyoro; but how he makes himself understood to his votaries or the seers is not explained. As we have seen, his shrines had to be built of *otuba* (bark-cloth tree) wood, an imported tree, and many of the small stakes of which the early shrines were made have now become immense trees, and are often still remembered as being So-and-so's tree. The plant *oreme*, from which the Lango salutation is derived,[1] is also sacred to *jok Nam*, owing to the similarity of its name with one

[1] An *ajoka*, when consulted about a minor disease, takes some of the root of *oreme*, and having crushed it and chewed it, spits it on to the patient; it may also be similarly applied to the healthy to ensure a continuance of good health. Hence the greeting *oreme*, meaning, "Have you been treated with *oreme*? are you well?" or, "I give you *oreme*; good health!" The word is often corrupted in modern usage by the prefix *m*, which is probably due to Bantu influence, but may be the relative *ma*, meaning "that which is *oreme*," i.e. good health. The intensive particle *ba* may also be suffixed, making *oremeba*, or by crasis *oremba*.

of the numerous Bantu salutations, *emirembe* (peace). The fact that it may also be given to a sufferer from *ekwikwin* to chew, and that the treatment of *ekwikwin* is in the province of *jok Nam*, indicates that demoniacal possession is a complaint of recent origin, or largely increased in its incidence since about 1897.[1] The fish *obanga* is not eaten owing to its similarity in name with *Ruhanga*, the Lunyoro word for god, adopted in a modified form *Rubanga* by the Jopaluo and to a less extent by the Acholi.

The most recent manifestation of *jok* is *jok Omarari*, a cult which was introduced from the Alira across the Moroto in February 1916. His speciality is bubonic plague, which he is believed to bring, and he is entreated by song and incantations to avert a fatal result from the victim. No explanation can be offered for the name which was introduced with the cult, but having spread through Lango it reached the Acholi of the Gulu district later in the same year, and there the name became curiously confused with *Marini*, the designation given generally by natives to the King's African Rifles, the term *jok Marini* being usually employed. Indeed, one Acholi practitioner affirmed that the King's African Rifles (who were then recruiting) were bringing a fearful and dread pestilence, and only *jok Marini* could avert it, presumably on the principle *similia similibus curantur*. The corruption is rarely heard in Lango, and the cult is now on the wane with the decrease in plague.

With this brief synopsis of the different manifestations or personalities of *jok* we are now in a position to examine the more general beliefs associated with the term and his spiritual position and influence. In the first place we find that the different manifestations overlap each other and are not entirely distinguishable. Thus, though *jok Adongo* is *jok* in the aspect of a sylvan deity, yet Atida, in one case at any rate, usurps his functions; while the province of disease is peculiarly assigned to *jok Lango*, yet *jok Nam* is the specialist on demoniacal possession. Again, leprosy does not come within the scope of *jok Lango* in particular, but is due to the anger of *jok* (the general deity), who punishes the neglect or obduracy of a mortal by spitting at the offender and thus causing the disease known as *omojok* (the oil or fat of *jok*, i.e. leprosy). Yet once more we find that, though hunting and fighting are aspects of human life controlled by *Atida*, nevertheless *jok Adongo* is able to give advice and oracles on these matters.

We have already seen that to *jok* is attributed the phenomenon of birth: *jok ma tye iye omiyo dako nywal* (god that is within her causes a woman to bear); *jok olwoke kume* (god bathed his body, of a

[1] Such an increase in nervous ailments is not unknown in primitive tribes on coming into contact with more advanced races. The Bathonga, on the authority of M. Junod, afford a good example of such an increase in the phenomenon of possession, but (as with the Lango) this increase may be due not only to the influence of an alien civilization, but also to an increase of ancestor worship.

beautiful person); *jok opoto kum ngadi; onywalo jo aryo twatwal* (god visited So-and-so: she has borne twins). There is no need to reiterate further the remarks made when considering the subject of birth, but it is noticeable that in this vague association of *jok* with birth no particular aspect of *jok* is specified, and inquiry has confirmed the assumption that it is the universal *jok* who is so designated. The conclusion therefore seems justifiable that this subdivision of *jok's* activities in no way detracts from his essential oneness, and that there is neither a clear line of demarcation in these activities nor an absolutely general recognition of their separate existences.

During April and May 1918 a complete drought prevailed, and in March of the same year a man fell from the sky, descending near the River Moroto, and bringing with him a bag of money, a leg of a cow and four soldiers. He was black and spoke Lango without any foreign accent, stating that though he had come from a place where there are cattle innumerable and wealth unspendable, he would consent to live here on earth. Orweny of Bata, a powerful *ajoka*, asked him about the drought, as having passed through the sphere of *jok* he would be sure to have the latest information; and the stranger informed him that it was due to the fact that a certain *jok* had committed adultery with the wife of another *jok* and refused to pay compensation, and that therefore in his wrath the latter had stopped the rain. Orweny by his enchantments secured the arrest of the former (the arrest of his spirit only, for he never saw *jok* corporeally), and the payment of compensation towards the end of May, with the result that rain fell in June.

This story, firmly believed by all the Lango, is of interest as suggesting that *jok* may be of either sex, that though invisible to human eyes, *jok* is accredited with purely physical qualities, and that there is a multiplicity of separate and distinct deities who conduct their lives after the temporal earthly fashion. The story is, however, unique in its nature, and probably—as the money and soldiers suggest—owes something to extraneous influence, contradicting as it does all previous conceptions of the nature of *jok*. As a further departure from tradition, we may also note that the heavenly visitant was not adorned with a tail as he should have been, and brought with him the leg of a cow, though we know that the inhabitants of the upper world live on flies. These inconsistencies evoked no comment from the Lango, the whole story being credulously accepted; but as a piece of evidence in estimating Lango theology it has not much value for the reasons stated, though it may be an indication that theological notions are in a process of transition to a greater degree of anthropomorphism. Its one valuable contribution is the reaffirmation of the feminine aspect inherent in *jok*, already exemplified in *Atida*, and we can with safety say no more than that

jok, as Major Cummins writes of the allied Anywak deity, is apparently a dual entity, male and female.

We shall find later that the spirits of the departed appear to become eventually merged in *jok*, and this belief is probably due to a growing confusion with a collateral theory of an all-high, all-powerful and all-pervading deity. Presuming for the moment that this is the case, we can the more readily understand the tendency towards specialization in different aspects of *jok*, and even the idea of innumerable independent *jok* [1] as contained in the story above related. At any rate, the idea which the word *jok* now conveys to the Lango mind seems to be this, viz. the sum total of the long departed merged into one pre-existing deity called *jok*, a plurality of spirits unified in the person of a single godhead, a Spiritual Force composed of innumerable spirits, any of which may be temporarily detached without diminishing the oneness of the Force. Nevertheless—to anticipate once more—though there is at times a tendency to confuse the two systems of monotheism and ancestrolatry, yet in actual practice the distinction is still very real, as we shall discover, and the confusion is not forcibly apparent until an attempt is made to analyse current beliefs, a course which is foreign to Lango mentality, accustomed as it is to accept without question the faith and practices of their forefathers, inconsistencies and all. For the present at any rate we are concerned with *jok* the all-high deity, and will endeavour to discover, if possible, what is his sphere of activity and in what directions he maintains his distinct personality.

It is *jok* who created the two worlds contained in the Lango cosmology together with their inhabitants. The belief therefore that births are ultimately due to his agency is but a natural corollary to the first tenet, for if he is responsible for the first humans in their entirety, it is all the more natural to credit him with a control over the functions which he himself brought into being. Let it be noted, moreover, that his activities in this direction do not confine themselves to human beings, but are also concerned with the birth of animals, a goat for instance which bears twins or triplets being garlanded or festooned with the convolvulus *bomo* in recognition of *jok's* gracious generosity.

His first appearance, then, is benevolent, and benevolence is his general tendency. From him come rich harvests, as is indicated by the agricultural ritual with the plant *alenga*, which is one of the attributes of *jok*,[2] and to him are due the seasons with the rains

[1] The plural, which would be *jogi*, does not exist, a further indication of the essential unity of *jok*.

[2] Certain plants appear to be ritually associated with *jok*, though the nature of the association cannot be definitely ascertained. Their ceremonial uses have been noted at the appropriate pages, but they may be briefly summarized here. Though the *otem* is not exclusively consecrated to an *abila*—indeed, the *otem* is built at the same time as the village, and it often happens that there is no *abila*—its connotation is religious. The trees used in constructing the *otem* are the *edugu*, *oligo*, *alenga* and

ensuring good crops, and the dry season for the joys of hunting; for was it not *jok* who set the stars between the upper and the nether worlds, and so ordained the milky way as to arrange for the two diverse seasons essential for man's life and happiness? *Jok* further exhibits his benevolence by being always accessible to the prayers and inquiries of the faithful, and through the agency of his seers gives advice on all matters, great and small, but especially on such important problems as war and hunting. But he is a jealous god and punishes neglect with severity, demanding his meed of sacrifice and observance. There have been scoffers so bold as to say that they disbelieve in *jok* and that his oracles are worthless; for such as these *jok* reserves the punishment of leprosy or a painful death. Indeed, for the most part disease, accidents, failure in hunting, losses of livestock and the many other tribulations of primitive man are punishments imposed by *jok* for neglect or transgression.

So powerful is *jok* that proximity is dangerous, though such danger does not necessarily arise from *jok's* ill will, but from the divine essence, contact with which without due safeguards is beyond mortal endurance; hence the avoidance of hills in which *jok* may be immanent and the evil consequences of building a village, even unwittingly, *i wang yo jok*, on the path which *jok* is in the habit of traversing. On the other hand, there is no danger to be feared from *jok* if he takes up his residence in a tree near the village or even in the village itself, for he will not do so without warning, as the result of which propitiatory shrines and offerings and a compliance with his instructions regarding tabus and religious observances will neutralize the inevitable danger of *jok*'s personality. It may be observed here also that *jok* appears at times to take an elfish, irresponsible delight in playing harmless pranks on mortals by taking the semblance of a stook of grass or, it may be, of a guniea-fowl, as is related in their folk-tales; but here again the divine essence is harmless to the unsuspecting mortal, as *jok* himself wills the proximity, subordinating his divinity to his sense of humour.

Nevertheless, even *jok* has, it seems, his limitations, and can be circumvented by the cunning of his votaries, the domain of magic now entering into the sphere of religion and confusing its issues. Thus we have seen that when the omens indicate danger at a hunt, danger possibly due to the anger of *jok* at some human offence, the *won arum* makes clay figures representing an enemy being killed by a lion or a leopard, transferring *jok*'s wrath and the impending danger

olwedo, the last three of which are all employed in a number of ritual observances. An enemy's head-dress won in battle is hung in the *otem*; the skulls of game killed are also hung there, as are the seeds to be planted at the next season. The *oligo* is employed in ritual concerned with war and hunting; the *olwedo* in rituals of war, hunting and rain; the *alenga* in rituals of war, hunting and cultivation; the *ochok* in rituals of hunting and fishing; the *bomo* in rituals of birth and rain; the *anono* in rituals of birth; the *ekwanga* in rituals of rain and divination; the *kwong*, *owilakot* and *oryo* in various rain rituals.

to the person so portrayed. The process is termed *keto jok*, to frustrate god, and is on a par with the general practice of scapegoats, which have been noted from time to time in the preceding pages. For example, the dry stalk of grass stuck in a grain field to take the consequences of the evil eye and to avert them from the grain; the kigelia or goat used as scapegoats in curing a sick person: the leaves of *ekwanga* and *lakan* which will take to themselves the punishment of one who have seen the midnight sun. Comparable with these practices is the consecration of the *gweno jok* (chicken of god) at the birth of twins, in order that the danger of *jok's* influence may be diverted to them from the infants; similarly, the naming of the *atin me akwera* argues a like motive, the object being to conceal the birth from *jok* by giving the child some such ridiculous name as "frog," "ordure," "nameless one," "despised one," that *jok's* attention may not be drawn to the infant, who will thus be saved from the untimely deaths of its predecessors. How comes it, we may ask, that the all-powerful, omniscient *jok* can be deceived by such palpable devices? For deceived he is certainly held to be, and it is not that *jok*, satisfied with the contrition and sacrifices of his votaries, is willing of his magnanimity to forgo his vengeance and to second their deception: such a thought is entirely alien to Lango theology, which undoubtedly holds that in certain cases—and particularly in the case of an *atin me akwera* above referred to—*jok* is capable of being deceived. The only way in which this is possible is by magic, an art which (as we shall see) is itself derived from *jok* on the one hand and from the spirits of their ancestors on the other. Thus we get the extraordinary conception of power derived from a deity, which is capable of being directed against that deity even, as in the case of that *jok* who was arrested by Orweny, to the extent of compulsion. Such contradictions as these are of no moment to the native mind, which in fact does not appreciate their existence; the two trains of thought are not considered relatively, but are accepted as distinct and assured facts, as (1) *jok* the creator is omnipotent, and (2) in such and such cases magic can vanquish *jok*. It may be that this contradiction is the result of a fusion of diverse rituals at an earlier period in the tribe's history, a system of magic being imposed (possibly at the same time as ancestrolatry) on a pre-existing monotheism; but more probably it is due to the eternal conflict between religion and science, of which magic is the primitive representative, being largely based on a study (however superficial) of natural laws and on the intelligent observation of natural phenomena.

§ 2. **Winyo.**—The word *winyo* usually means "bird," but it is also applied to the guardian spirit which attends human beings and animals during life, comparable with the "aura" of the

psychicists. The relation of the two ideas is extremely obscure, but in some way the guardian spirit appears to be identified with the *achulany* (nightjar) and the *olik* (bat). In regard to the former, we have already seen that it is considered the extreme of good luck if the male[1] pennant-winged nightjar flutters over the spears on the night preceding a hunt, but there appears to be no belief or superstition confirming the supposed connection between the bat and the guardian spirit. The fact that the bat, like the nightjar, is a bird—for in that class the bat is placed—whose activities start about sunset is no real argument for the association, as the owl and other night-birds are in no sort so regarded.

The *winyo* is identified with a man's fortune or luck, to such an extent, indeed, that there is no word in the language to represent these notions, the Acholi word *gum* only being occasionally heard among the most northerly Lango who have come under Acholi influence. Instead we have the following phrases: *winyo kome ber* (his guardian spirit is good, i.e. he is lucky); *winyo kome rach* (his guardian spirit is bad, i.e. he is unlucky); *winyo mere oto* (his guardian spirit is dead, i.e. he is very unlucky, likely to meet some terrible misfortune); *winyo kome tye* (his guardian spirit is, i.e. he is lucky); *winyo ochame* (his guardian spirit has eaten him, i.e. he is extraordinarily lucky).

Granted the existence of a guardian spirit, these phrases are self-evident and require no further explanation. *Winyo ochame* is curious, but not incomprehensible, if one remembers that to its possessor the guardian spirit is benevolent—bad luck being regarded not as evidence of a malevolent, but of a weak guardian spirit—and the idea of a man's good fortune being so great as completely to absorb him is a natural generalization. The phrase *winyo mere oto*, however, is of greater interest, indicating that the guardian spirit is not an immortal emanation of the divinity, unless it means no more than that the *winyo* has severed its connection with its protégé, i.e. is dead to him. That this is the case is made possible by such a phrase as *jok kome ber* (his god is good), which is sometimes heard instead of *winyo kome ber*, again illustrating the confusion of thought in all theological or psychical matters, the various spheres of the divinity, his divers manifestations, guardian spirits, ancestor spirits and souls not being clearly distinguished.

There appears to be no danger to be feared by others from a man's *winyo*, which is said to die with its protégé (*ka dano oto winyo dang oto*, when a man dies the guardian spirit also dies). But this again is probably a *façon de parler*, and only implies the severance of the association which previously existed between the man and his guardian spirit. For we have seen that two battle practices

[1] The guardian spirit, however, is regarded as sexless.

are definitely concerned with the *winyo* of a slain man. His body is extended on its back in order to turn over the guardian spirit (*loko winyo*), and his *tok* or head-dress is cut off and hung in his slayer's *otem* in order to release the *winyo*. Were these ceremonies not performed, then indeed the dead man's guardian spirit might be unable to escape from the corpse, and might be said to die with him—an incomprehensible idea, surely, if the *winyo* is in any way identified with *jok*—but its death or permanent residence with the corpse would have no dangerous result for the slayer beyond the fact that his own *winyo* might desert him for his impious disregard of the conventions towards a fellow *winyo*.

The importance of liberating the *winyo* is more clearly discernible in the case of animals. On killing an animal a man must first make an incision in its nose [1] in order to allow the guardian spirit to escape. He then proceeds to tap the animal on its brow with all his spears, and turning the animal on its back passes the spears between its legs from hind to head, gently tapping its breast on the way. (*Ogoyo wiye ki tong, otologoro tong i tyene, otogoyo chiwinye me lucho winyo mere:* he hits its head with his spears, and passes the spears through its legs, and hits its heart in order to neutralize its guardian spirit.) It is believed that were the nose not incised the guardian spirit would die with the animal, and the slayer would not again be able to kill an animal of that species; but having been released in this way, it is attracted to the animal's slayer by the succeeding ceremonial. The exact result is difficult to describe, but the wood *lucho* gives the main clue. This word has a variety of meanings according to the context (as the vocabulary shows), but its basic idea is that of inversion or alternation. Thus in the case of an animal which has been killed its guardian spirit is inverted by the above procedure i.e. the direction of its influence is altered. Let us assume that a bushbuck has been slain and that the necessary ceremonies have been performed: the *winyo* of the bushbuck has been released and its effect has been diverted. In future it will attend the slayer of the dead bushbuck, dazing and confusing the *winyo* of other bushbucks, and attracting them to him by their recognition of the *winyo* as one of themselves, so that they fall an easy prey to the hunter's spear.

To sum up, therefore, we find that every human being and animal possesses an impalpable guardian spirit, whose influence may lapse at death. It can be liberated, however, from the corpse of its protégé by certain rites, and after its liberation by these same rites becomes well-disposed to the slayer. Guardian spirits are differentiated by the nature of their protégés, guardian spirits of humans on the one hand and of animals on the other, and the latter are again

[1] This association of an animal's nose with its guardian spirit is very natural in view of the importance and development of the sense of scent in the animal world.

subdivided according to the species of animals, the various guardian spirits recognizing and knowing their fellow *winyo* of the same group. Finally, while each person has one guardian spirit allotted to him at birth, it appears that there is nothing to prevent him from acquiring an active interest at any rate—if not an absolute proprietorship—in any number of other guardian spirits whose protégés have fallen to his spear and who have been drawn into his service by the prescribed rites.

§ 3. **Tipo.**[1]—This word means "shade" or "shadow," whether of a person, animal or inanimate object. It is also applied to the spirit or soul of human beings and of certain animals. The man's shadow is identified with the immaterial and spiritual part of him, and it is said that, as a man's shadow does not enter the grave, so his *tipo* (using the word in its spiritual sense) does not enter it either. This identification of a man's spirit with his shadow, that impalpable ghost-like attendant, is common to many creeds less primitive than the Lango, and the absence of a shadow during the hours of darkness naturally suggests the idea that the *tipo* may wander away from its possessor, and by an extension of this thought that it may even be detached at the will of its possessor to wander in the realms of *jok* in order to obtain an oracle. Thus we find that an *abanwa* is able to release her *tipo* on such an errand, but she only does this in the *ot abani* (the house of oracles or soothsaying), in the darkness of which her shadow would naturally disappear. Again, during sleep the *tipo* is no longer visible owing to the absence of a shadow, and is said to reside at its possessor's head, either sleeping itself or wandering nebulously. It is these wanderings of the *tipo* which cause dreams, and the dreams vary according to the adventures which befall the *tipo*. For instance, should a man's *tipo* meet with the *tipo* of a friend of his, the sleeper would dream of his friend, and the actions of the latter *tipo* would be reproduced in his dream as his friend's actions; thus also a man may dream of his ancestors, of animals and of the most improbable happenings, as the *tipo* being unrestrained by human dimensions is able to provoke dreams which are inconsequent and irrational save on a fourth-dimensional hypothesis. For this reason we find that the Lango, holding such views on the *tipo's* nocturnal activities, unlike many primitive tribes, do not consider dreams to be prophetic, and indeed are inclined to treat

[1] According to Dinka belief, every human has two souls, one of which is the *atiep*. The *atiep* leaves the body in sleep and, wandering about, is the source of dreams. It may take the form of a shadow. The *atiep* of an ancestor may ask for food, and if it is not provided will haunt the defaulter and cause him illness or suffering. The ceremonies performed after death are to propitiate the *atiep* of the deceased and to prevent it distressing the survivors. The *atiep* gradually becomes weaker after death, and in course of time may be forgotten. The Shilluk believe that the *tipo* (also applied to a man's shadow) is both the source of dreams and an apparition or sceptre which visits a man during sleep.

them rather as deceptive ; for appreciating the *tipo's* transcendental qualities, they argue that the substance of dreams could not be re-enacted in actual life owing to human limitations, and consequently they can have no bearing on their future. It is admitted that places or occurrences seen in dreams have on rare occasions been subsequently encountered in fact, but this is attributed to a coincidence resulting on the *tipo* having wandered in that direction, and is not invested as a rule with any special significance. A more than usually remarkable dream may induce a man to consult an *ajoka* as to its relevance, but such a course is so abnormal as merely to confirm the general disbelief in the prophetic nature of dreams.

The *tipo*, then, is the soul, and, as we have seen, it is intimately connected with the manifestation of *jok* known as *Orongo*. It may even be called *Orongo*, and we find that the *tipo obedo yamo ata*, the soul is merely air. It is perhaps dangerous to press points resting on what may be no more than mere looseness of verbal expression, but it is significant that *jok* is described as *bala yamo muwoto*, like moving air. Is this subtle distinction between air and the semblance of air intended ? If it is so, the two phrases appear to confirm the hypothesis that *jok* is an invisible spirit, whose passing or presence can be traced by humans in the wind and eddies of air ; but that the *tipo* is the air itself, that is, the emanation of *jok* by which he reveals himself to man—in short, that the *tipo* is simply the aspect of *jok* which is most intimately associated with human existence, as it were an atom of *jok* which entered a man at his birth, a birth which was itself the result of *jok's* intervention. It would be a fruitless task to endeavour to confirm or to disprove such speculations by verbal admissions, but only on some such hypothesis is it possible to account for the fact that the *tipo* may actually be referred to as *jok orongo*, and is moreover sometimes after death called *jok* unreservedly, " because it speaks like *jok*."[1]

It is not clear what happens to the *tipo* at death, for it does not enter the grave with the corpse of the dead man. It is, however, still associated with his personality, and is liable to be extremely dangerous to the living, especially if the deceased met a violent death, in which case it is always malevolent, and has to be propitiated by numerous ceremonies and sacrifices already described. Were these ceremonies omitted, it would " make the slayer's head go round " and would " dance in his head," driving him so mad as to be a danger both to himself and to others.

Certain animals, moreover, possess a *tipo*, but it is by no means evident on what grounds some are so equipped and others are deficient ; the natural presumption that only the dangerous animals

[1] *Jok*, when speaking through a seer, speaks in a somewhat gruff voice, uttering staccato sentences with a tendency to lisping.

would have a *tipo* is negatived by the fact that many, including the leopard and lion, have not, whereas some comparatively harmless species like the giraffe have. None of the smaller animals, however, have a *tipo*, and in fact the only animals which are generally accepted as possessing one are the warthog, rhinoceros, elephant, roan, giraffe and bushbuck. As in the case of the souls of humans, their *tipo* (more especially the *tipo* of the roan, as has already been observed) are very vengeful and dangerous, and after killing any of the animals enumerated the slayer must at once return to his village and consult an *abanwa*, according to whose advice an offering is made and special neutralizing ceremonies are performed. The ceremonies vary according to the dictates of the *abanwa*, but in all cases a black ram must be sacrificed at the door of the slayer's house.[1] The carcase is dragged whole into the bush and left near a river, but the old men of the village may go and eat it there, burning the skin and bones and throwing the ashes into the water. Having thus appeased the *tipo*, the slayer may then return and cut up the body of the dead animal; but the horns of the roan (and by former usage of the rhinoceros) may not be brought into the village, as in the case of this animal it is not possible entirely to eradicate the malevolence of the *tipo*.

The funeral ceremonies and sacrifices after a natural death are all directed towards the same object, the pacification of the *tipo* of the deceased, and it is for this reason that the burial of a suicide is conducted with little ceremony, as the suicide's *tipo* is not likely to be dangerous, the death having been voluntary. On the other hand, the funerals of twins are attended by most elaborate rites, because twin births are especially due to the intervention of *jok*, and twins are accordingly possessed of a more powerful *tipo*, which would be more than normally dangerous on their death.

At some period after a man's death the *tipo* is renamed *chyen*,[2] without prejudice, however, to the use of the former word. Indeed, though during a man's lifetime the word *tipo* alone is used, after his death the two terms appear to be equally applicable, and the distinction (if any) remains obscure. It is likely, however, that the *chyen* represents what we call "ghost" as opposed to "spirit," which would be *tipo*, for when visited by a ghost a man refers to the apparition as the *chyen* of So-and-so, whereas a vision seen in a dream is always *tipo*; it should be remembered further that after death *tipo* has entirely lost its connotation of "shadow," thus requiring some subsidiary word to express the soul's or spirit's visibility. This was probably the original meaning of *chyen*, the spirit of the dead (*tipo*) embodied as a ghost, but such a distinction is hardly now

[1] It is killed by stabbing in the throat with a spear, not with a knife, as is the unceremonial method

[2] Or *dachyen achyen*, a form which is of interest owing to the personal prefix.

recognized, and the two words, representing fine shades of the same conception, are for the most part employed indiscriminately.

After the funeral ceremonies the *tipo* or *chyen* becomes merged into *jok*, but does not entirely lose its personality, at least for a considerable period. In the case of a malevolent *chyen*, however, who persists in haunting a near relative or an intimate friend, the transmutation takes place after the ghost has been laid and thus robbed of its individuality and powers; henceforth it becomes once more an integral part of *jok*. While immediately after death the *tipo* or *chyen* is always malevolent, gradually, with the exception of those irreconcilable ghosts which have to be laid, it loses this evil disposition, and either fades away, becoming one with *jok*, or else, though merging into *jok*, continues to retain its individuality as an ancestor spirit, and demands that an *abila* or shrine be built for it.

The shrine is identical in appearance with the shrines built for *jok*, and the ancestor's *tipo* takes up its residence therein, requiring from time to time offerings of food, beer, etc. The *tipo* makes his requirements known to his descendant either personally, calling him at night, as is done by *jok Adongo*, or by inflicting on his descendant minor misfortunes, and thus inducing him to visit an *ajoka*, who will interpret the *tipo's* wishes. The *tipo* may also intimate that he has no intention of interesting himself in his descendant's life, and requires no shrine, in which case no more is heard of him, and he will have reverted to *jok*. A *tipo*, however, who has demanded a shrine and has taken up his residence therein will, unless offended by neglect, give advice much in the same way as *jok*; but he requires no *ajoka* or *abanwa* as intermediary, but is in direct communion with the descendant whom he directed to build the shrine, known as *won abila*, owner of the *abila*. Very often, however, the *tipo's* only wish was for a shrine to be built, and afterwards he remains silent, refraining from giving oracles.

It is extremely rare that any but an immediate ancestor insists on the building of a shrine and gives oracles, and on a man's death any shrine built by him during life to an ancestor spirit lapses automatically. The presumption therefore is that, as with the Dinka, the *tipo* gradually loses its separate potency, and usually after one generation is indistinguishable from *jok*. Even during the period of the *tipo's* activity, however, as an oracle-giving ancestor spirit, its limited individuality is distinctly recognized both by the *tipo* and the descendants. The ancestor spirit is regarded as an atom of *jok*, which by its previous association with the family still takes a more intimate interest in the prosperity of his immediate kith and kin, and by its dual ties, being on the one hand an emanation of *jok* and on the other the spirit which dwelt in the family's ancestor, is able the more readily to interpret *jok's* will to the dead man's descendants. Thus one Ogwal of Chegere, on inquiring at the shrine

of his father's spirit about a certain sickness which was afflicting his goats, was instructed by the *tipo* to proceed to a tributary of the River Koli: "Go and shake your *aja*,[1] and while shaking it walk to the water's edge. There you will see a solitary grass swaying about, though there is no wind and all the other grasses are at rest. It is swaying because *jok Lango* has taken up his abode in it and desires an *abila*. Root up the grass and plant it in your *otem* and build *jok Lango* an *abila*." That the nature of a *tipo* is only semi-ancestral is further demonstrated by the fact that the *tipo* will in a few instances also give advice through the *won abila* to others than his own descendants or family, which he would not be in a position to do were he not a single entity with *jok*, though for the time being especially endowed with familiar attributes as well.

This same conception of a proprietory interest in *jok* through the medium of an immediate ancestor spirit is evidenced in the solemn oaths by which the dead generally and the attestor's father in particular may be invoked; for just as to *jok* is attributed the mystery of birth, so also it is *jok* who is the ultimate dispenser of death, having decided at a man's birth the term of his existence and appointed the eventual day on which he must meet his death. So when an accused man adjures the spirit of his dead father to arise and kill him if he speaks falsely, he is actually appealing to *jok*, the dispenser of death, to adjudicate through the meduim of his emanation, the *tipo* or *chyen* of the appellant's father.

The majority of *tipo*, though by nature malevolent and dangerous, immediately after the death of their host remain harmless, if the prescribed funeral ceremonies are duly performed; but some there are which refuse to be appeased in this way. They bring sickness on the family, kill the livestock and destroy the crops, haunt the close relations of the deceased,[2] afflicting them with idiocy. When this happens recourse is made to an *ajoka*, and it may transpire that some ceremony has not been adequately performed, and the spirit can then be readily pacified by the correction of the error or omission and by sacrifice; or it may be that the spirit desires no more than formal recognition and the building of a shrine. But on rare occasions it becomes clear that the haunting is purely malicious, and steps are then taken to lay the ghost. The *ajoka* proceeds to the village and is presented with a he-goat on his arrival. Killing it ceremonially, he smears some of the *we* (intestinal dung) on the chest of the haunted man. An *aja* containing cowries is then shaken by him to avert evil influences, and he places ready a newly-made jar with a narrow mouth, at the bottom of which is some of the goat's meat and a little cooked food of such food as the deceased particularly liked.

[1] The ceremonial rattle shaken to avert inauspicious influences.

[2] It is generally believed that when a *chyen* haunts a woman it causes her death by performing the act of copulation dog-fashion.

By the jar he puts in position a lid. When all is ready he again rattles the cowries vigorously and cries loudly to the ghost, "Okelo"—the name of our hypothetical dead man—"Okelo, come here and take your food." The *chyen* arrives, his presence being known, though invisible, and stopping near the *ajoka* charges him with deceit and trickery. "How do I know that I may trust you? There are none of my friends here. Where is Ngulu?" (naming a former friend). The *ajoka* is prepared for this difficulty, however, and the deceased's friends and relations have been assembled and are close by in case they should be required. So Ngulu is brought forward and sits down near the pot, and the *chyen* goes through a list of his old friends, and at each inquiry the person is brought forward or a satisfactory explanation is given of his absence. Persuaded at last that he is really being invited to a family feast, the *chyen* enters the jar to get the food, and the *ajoka* promptly claps on the lid and fastens it down, for by his divine gifts he is able to tell when the ghost is within. The *chyen* struggles wrathfully and cries out bitterly, "*In ibwolona abwola; in ineka*" ("Thou deceivest me; thou killest me"), but the lid is relentlessly sealed, and the pot is taken to a swamp, in the middle of which it is buried. This is the end of the *chyen*, as the words *in ineka* indicate, and henceforward he is indistinguishably merged in *jok*.

But it sometimes happens that a *chyen* repents of his misdeeds on being thus trapped in a pot, and promises to desist from haunting the family and to reform his behaviour. He prays to be liberated on these conditions, threatening that if they persist in sealing up and drowning the pot his influence will nevertheless kill everyone present in the village. Alarmed at these threats, and knowing that they will be able, if necessary, to recapture the *chyen* who is by his nature unable to resist the prospect of a good meal, they open the pot and release the spirit. An *abila* is built for him in the village, the pot being placed near the *abila* as a reminder. It is said that a repentant *chyen* has never been known to revert to its former mal-practices.

§ 4. **Ajoka.**—It cannot be too often emphasized that religion is a much more important factor in the secular life of primitive peoples than it is with civilized communities—indeed, it is the most important factor of all. It enters into all their family and social relations, into their most commonplace activities and their daily occupations—in short, there is no aspect of native life which has not its religious significance and which is not more or less controlled by religious rites or prohibitions. *Jok* is so intensely all-pervading that in all important events prudence compels that his will be ascertained, lest he be offended by an unintentional slight, or in order to profit by his omniscience in obtaining the best results of a contemplated action.

We have seen that an ancestral spirit may take up its residence in the village of the dead man's descendant, and on receiving a shrine and offerings of food will interpret *jok's* will to the *won abila* or owner of the shrine. More rarely a *tipo* will consent to give such oracles through the medium of the *won abila* to inquirers unconnected with the family, and the *won abila* then becomes a person of religious importance, a diviner of *jok's* will, a magician, a "medicine-man," an *ajoka*,[1] or *jok*-man, a man of god. Again, the man whom *jok Adongo* orders to build a shrine is an *ajoka*, and through him *jok Adongo* interprets *jok's* will and advice to all seekers; and the ministers to such shrines as the tree of *Atida*, "which speaks like a man," are all known as *ajoka* or seers.

Both men and women may be *ajoka*, but the most competent and renowned have always been women, and women alone serve as ministrants of *Atida* and *Omarari*. To obtain an oracle is *tyeto jok* or *tyeto tipo*, according as the shrine at which the petition is made is dedicated to the divinity or an ancestor spirit, and the term is used both of the petitioner and of the *ajoka*, who may also accordingly—though less formally—be called *atyet*, the consulter.[2] While engaged in divining *jok's* will an *ajoka* wears a serval skin slung down the front of his body, the forefeet being fastened round his neck, and holds an *aja* in his hand to avert inauspicious influences. An inquirer always prefaces his petition with a small present, generally some beer, flour or cakes, known as *apeke*, a portion of which is offered in the shrine, the remainder being retained as his fee by the *ajoka*; if the petition is one of great importance, a goat may be offered.

Little light can be thrown on the means by which communication with *jok* or the ancestral spirit is established owing to the secrecy with which the whole business is shrouded, but in the case of the oracle of *Atida*, already referred to, "the tree which speaks like a man," a voice is certainly believed to issue from the tree and is interpreted by the ministrant. Similarly, in regard to the tree deity *jok Adongo*, the *ajoka* puts the desired question and the tree replies directly to the inquirer, speaking with a voice which resembles that of a man, but is recognized as *jok's* by its greater gruffness and staccato utterance. It would appear that an ancestor spirit, assuming the speech of *jok*, but retaining enough of the dead man's voice to be recognizable as his *tipo*, speaks directly through the mouth of the *ajoka*, thus paralleling the Dinka conception that the spirit is immanent in the seer. It is as certain as the circumstances allow that no third element is introduced by which the answer of *jok* is automatically ascertained, such as the *war* or strips of cowhide used by the Jopaluo

[1] Sometimes *ajoga*, and *ajwoga* or *ajwaga*, after the collateral form *jwok*, rarely used by the Lango, but usual with the Japaluo.

[2] Similarly with the Dinka, men and women able to see and communicate with spirits are called *tiet*, the power of divination being attributed to the ancestral spirit immanent in the *tiet*.

ajwoga (the *voka* of the Madi), animal auspices and other well-known appurtenances of divination. Oracles are always taken shortly after dawn and before sunset.

Let it be said at once, however, that the answers, whether prophecies or merely advice as to building sites or cultivation, are absolutely definite and are in no way comparable with the "safe" utterances of the Delphic oracle. There is no hedging on the question. Either, "You will win to-morrow"; or, it may be, "It will be propitious for you to arrange a hunt on such and such a day"; or else, "If you fight to-morrow, you will be defeated with much loss." This honesty naturally carries its own dangers, though the answer is often accompanied by fanciful instructions as to specific performances,[1] intended to avert inauspicious influences, and failure may be attributed to negligence in respect of these performances; but sometimes the *ajoka* is proved to have been a failure without doubt —for bad advice is always attributed to the inability of the *ajoka*, and never discredits *jok*, in whose existence and power there is the profoundest belief—and the particular inquirer never returns to him. It is believed, too, that the ability to interpret *jok's* will is not necessarily permanent: *jok* may desert the shrine and withdraw the divinatory power from the *ajoka*, a hypothesis which accounts for a succession of failures on the part of the *ajoka*, and absolves him from deliberate misfaith.

It is clear by now that diverse elements contribute to the power and capacity of an *ajoka*, the last of which is largely of a charlatan character devised to safeguard the seer. The voice from the tree, however, cannot be explained save on the hypothesis of ventriloquism, and to this must be added some form of hypnotism and clairvoyance, which to a greater or lesser degree is undoubtedly present in these séances. It should be remembered that the inquirer believes implicitly in the *ajoka's* ability to communicate with *jok*, and

[1] For example: "On leaving your village for the hunt you will stop the first time you hear the bird *achecho*, and from the nearest lilac (*olwedo*) you will break off a branch. Throw it over your left shoulder, and if it falls in the path you will know that you will first kill a duiker and will be fortunate throughout the day; but if it falls in the grass, you will see a duiker shortly followed by a cob. Let them both pass; do not throw your spear, as, if you do, you will kill no game. Wait, and a herd of hartebeeste will come out; you may then start hunting. But in either case you must pick up the branch of lilac and plant it on the bank of the nearest stream." In this instance, should the prophecy prove incorrect (as it did), the *ajoka* is in a strong position, as it is highly probable that the hunter failed to notice the cry of an *achecho*, only breaking the branch of lilac when the second or the third bird had called. Again: "Go and defecate at the spot where you wish to build your village. If the dung-beetle burrows up red earth, do not build. Having defecated, kill a white hen which contains two red feathers; leave its body on the desired site, but cut off its head and walk towards the sunrise till you come to a mimosa tree. There throw it into the grass and go back to the body. Its entrails you must put on the path leading from your present village to the new site, and one of the hen's eggs you must throw as far as possible to the west, standing in the kraal of your present village. The two red feathers you must share with your wife till the village has been built, and then they must be burnt in the first fire which you light there."

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that the *ajoka* has an equal belief in himself, and in this unsceptical *milieu* there is at once an atmosphere most favourable to the suggestions of hypnotism. The necessity for such special qualifications would account for the few *ajoka* compared with the number of ancestor spirits to whom shrines are erected.

Are we to conclude then that the *ajoka* is nothing but a charlatan, who turns to account his gifts of hypnotism and ventriloquism and covers any possible failures with a medley of instructions resembling the meaningless fatuities of a magical ritual ? Such a supposition is negatived by the attitude of the *ajoka* himself, who undoubtedly believes in his ability to communicate with *jok* or *tipo*. Were he but a charlatan, he would certainly not take the risk of giving definite answers, incapable of a dubious interpretation ; nor would his fees be so nominal ; as they always are, if he regarded himself as an irresponsible practitioner rather than as favoured of god. His point of view is probably that his rare gifts of clairvoyance, of hypnotism, of ventriloquism are evidence of *jok's* interest in him ; that by them *jok* has marked him out from other men as his confidant, and in exercising these gifts he is fulfilling the intention of *jok*, who will, unconsciously to him, be present at the séances and prompt his replies. Grant this not unreasonable assumption, and it must be admitted that in the main the *ajoka* is no more a charlatan than any priest of any religion : he obeys an impulse which he attributes to the deity and utilizes his peculiar gifts in the service of that deity. That his ends are not selfish the modesty of his remuneration proves, but desiring eminence in his profession and a more than local reputation he enhances his natural gifts by a species of magical symbolism, the bizarre mysticism of which tends not only to attract attention, but offers a safe retreat should his inspiration prove to have been at fault. His aim is not to deceive—for with but rare exceptions deceit would profit him nothing—but he sincerely believes that his pronouncements are the veritable words of *jok*.

It remains to be considered in what category these unusual powers are to be placed, these powers of clairvoyance, hypnotism and ventriloquism. Their association with the charlatan elements alluded to suggests magic, which holds a somewhat anomalous position, being in one direction the introduction to or medium of religion, the avenue through which religion is approached and communion with the deity and the spirit world is established, yet on the other hand transcending religion in that it is able on occasions to exert a power greater than the gods themselves. Thus magic tricks the jealousy or anger of the omniscient *jok* by substitutes and scapegoats ; by magic Orweny was able to arrest *jok* and to enforce reparation to his fellow deity ; by magic an *ajoka* is able to lay to rest a troublesome ghost. It matters not that, as his very name implies, the *ajoka* derives his magical powers

from *jok* either directly or through an ancestor spirit; these powers, the contradiction notwithstanding, not only make him more than usually impressionable to *jok*'s personality, but even give him a kind of directing influence over *jok*.

In addition to the psychical gifts enumerated, a successful *ajoka* must be endowed with wide knowledge and with what may be termed a scientific mind, for he will have to deal with inquiries of every imaginable kind. He must have observed natural phenomena with an intelligent appreciation, and his knowledge must be based on a study of natural laws; he must have the power of drawing inferences and making deductions from known facts, and that his deductions are more often than not incorrect is immaterial, for the very fact that he makes them distinguishes his intellect from that of his fellows. He is, in short, a primitive philosopher, a scientist in embryo. Thus, in his advice as to village sites he is guided by the conclusion which experience has led him to form that red earth near the surface is unhealthy: accordingly he advises the test of the dung-bettle. He could just as easily have recommended the inquirer to ascertain the nature of the soil by digging, but such a matter-of-fact method would not appeal to the native mind, which expects something bizarre from an *ajoka* and would not be satisfied without it.

Similarly, the conception that water is a barrier beyond which malevolent spirits cannot pass, many instances of which have already been noted, is based on the analogy of its cleansing properties, best exemplified perhaps in the ceremony of *lamo tong me to*, previously described, in which it is prayed that as the water washes dirt from the spear so may the sickness depart. The ritual use of *we* (intestinal dung) is also doubtless drawn from its medicinal use as a poultice for sores.

The *ajoka* is primarily the physician of the soul. We have seen that he lays a troublesome ghost, and before this operation he must first discover from *jok* the name of the ancestor whose *tipo* or *chyen* is exerting the malign influence. Any disease which has not yielded to ordinary treatment is attributed to a malign influence working on the sufferer's *tipo*, and it is the *ajoka's* function to ascertain and to remove the cause of the trouble. But in addition to this he has an intimate knowledge of the use of herbs and plants for medicinal purposes above and beyond the popular remedies known to the vulgar, and certain operations are only performed by him, as for instance the sucking of pus from boils.

The phenomenon of possession, as has been said, is in the province of *jok Nam*, and the *ajoka* appropriate to this deity consist of the men and women who have been exorcised. More specifically they are named *abanwa* [1] (pl. *abani*), and while they are performing their

[1] This name is a further proof of the alien origin of *jok Nam*. Cf. the Lunyoro *kubandwa*, to be divinely possessed, to prophesy.

religious rites, they wear not only the serval skin usual to all *ajoka*, but also chaplets of a thistle-like plant called *ekwanga* and necklaces of cowries. *Abani* are not confined to one sex, but women predominate, doubtless owing to their greater susceptibility to hysteria and general nervous ailments.

Just as an *abila* is not built save at the specific order of *jok* or a *tipo* so when *jok Nam* demands it an *ot abani* or house of séance is built in the village, distinct from any *abila*, which *jok Nam* may also have commanded. It stands about four and a half feet high, being constructed of strong but pliant withies, which are bent over and inserted into the ground at both ends. The thatch is laid on evenly of sword-grass reaching right down to the ground, and is not arranged in flounces. There is a doorway in front, slightly longer than the doorways of dwelling-houses.[1] Offerings are not made in this house, but only at the *abila*, and it is entirely empty except for a *tong jok*, spear of god.

Like the *ot abani* itself, the *tong jok* is only made if *jok* expressly orders it, and the *abanwa* associated with the *ot abani* then has one made by a spearsmith, who, however, levies no fee for his labour. It resembles an ordinary spear, except that the neck and socket have a spiral twist and are decorated with cowries. Should *jok Nam* desire an *ot abani*, he will always first instruct the *abanwa* to procure a sacred spear, and when it has been made causes the *abanwa* during the transports of possession to stick it in the ground at the spot whereon he desires the house to be built. The *abanwa*, if a man, may use the sacred spear for hunting, but should it be lost he must have another made at his own expense. At all other times save when in ceremonial use it rests in the *ot abani*.

Epileptic seizures or possession (*ekwikwin*) are attributed to a visitation of *jok Nam*, and of a sufferer it is said *jok omake* (god has seized him). In the days before *jok Nam* was recognized one so possessed was simply flogged to the accompaniment of drums and singing till the seizure passed, and at the present time if a person becomes possessed while on a journey he is often merely trounced with the spear-shaft of his comrade. But should the seizure take place in or near his village, *jok* is exorcized by an *abanwa*, to whom a fee of one goat is paid. The following is the ritual observed: the *abanwa* enters the patient's hut with the *tong jok* in one hand, and shaking an *aja* with his other chants until the possessing spirit enters his head, where it makes its presence known by dancing inside. A goat is then tied down at the door of the *ot abani*, and the patient is conducted to it, entering after kicking aside the goat, which is then removed and killed, a little of the meat being given to the sufferer,

[1] The type of building is characteristically Bantu, as is natural in the circumstances of *jok Nam's* importation.

who eats it in the *ot abani*. Beer is drunk by the whole village till late in the evening, with much singing and dancing, and as much noise is made as possible to scare away evil influences, while the patient lies in the *ot abani* still possessed of *jok*, though by now passive and inert. The exorcization dance is accompanied by the music of six *atimu* (long drums), while the *abani* present—and as many attend as possible—shake their *aja* and carry their sacred spears. On his recovering the patient has to pay the owner of the drums a goat and one hoe and has to supply new drum-skins. At night he is led back to his own house, and the *abanwa* remains without food for two days in the *ot abani* exorcizing the spirit.[1] If in spite of this the patient dies (as rarely happens), then it is known that the day ordained for him has arrived, and *jok* has sent his spirit to take him away. If he recovers, the exorcized patient is now an *abanwa*, an *ajoka* accredited to *jok Nam*, but he has no functions until *jok Nam* has ordered the building of an *ot abani*.

Should *jok Nam* desire to communicate with a mortal, he does so through the medium of one of his *abani*. The *abanwa* selected as the medium feels the old epileptic seizure recurring, and knowing that it is a symptom of *jok's* visitation repairs with all speed to the *ot abani*. There the full force of the seizure descends upon him and leads to a divine frenzy, during which *jok Nam*, speaking through the *abanwa's* mouth, summons the person with whom he desires to communicate. On his arrival *jok Nam* delivers his message, and gradually the *abanwa* recovers from the effects of the possession. It is not necessary for him to be exorcized again.

Advice may be asked of *jok* through an *abanwa* just as through an ordinary *ajoka*, and though it is not so usual a practice, in some cases it is the only avenue of approach, as for instance after killing some animal dangerous on account of its malevolent *tipo*. The *abanwa* may by dancing and the stimulus of violent excitement voluntarily induce a type of epileptic seizure, during which *jok Nam* will speak through his lips directly to the inquirer ; but the usual method is for the *abanwa* to seat himself in the *ot abani* and there to throw himself into a trance-like condition, during which his *tipo* leaves him and visits *jok Orongo*, from whom the required information is obtained. On the *tipo's* return to the body the *abanwa*, still in a kind of trance, gives utterance to the message which the *tipo* has received and then slowly recovers his normal condition.

There remain the *ajoka*, who serve the cult of *jok Omarari*. These are always women, and their sole function is to entreat *Omarari* by song to avert a fatal result from a patient suffering from plague.

[1] Clearly the object is to induce *jok Nam* to leave the patient and to enter the *abanwa*, who having once been exorcised is immune from any ill-effects.

Omarari gives no oracle, and in the strictest sense of the word they are therefore not *ajoka*. It is not clear either how certain women attain the distinction of averting the wrath of *Omarari*, but it may be that they are such as have recovered from plague, on the analogy of the *abani* who are the exorcised. The women who are in *Omarari's* service wear a bracelet of cowries on the left wrist. One woman is considered sufficient for a patient, and she sits at his head chanting while her assistants beat two drums, an *atin bul* and *adadang*; where no drums are available an *aja* is sufficient. The drums and the *aja* serve to combat the malicious influence with which *Omarari* has encompassed the sufferer. Her fee is one goat or two hoes, whether the patient recovers or dies; but as the native diagnosis of plague is not invariably accurate,[1] recoveries are more frequent than one might expect. The two following chants were heard sung in this way over plague patients, the former at Anyek and the latter at Achaba, both in August 1916:—

Awer' Omarari, do,
Awer' Omarari, do, do.
Omarari, wek' kol' obedi.
Awer' Omarari, do,
Awer' Omarari, do, do.
Omarari, wek' kol' obedi.
Atin 'atye, atin Omarari:
Wek' kol' obedi.
Awob' 'atye, awob' Omarari:
Wek' kol' obedi.
Nyak' 'atye, nyak' Omarari:
Wek' kol' obedi.
Awer' wi Omarari, do.
Omarari, wek' kol' obedi.

I sing then, Omarari,
I sing then, Omarari.
Omarari, let thy wrath cease.
I sing then, Omarari,
I sing then, Omarari.
Omarari, let thy wrath cease.
Children who are are the children of Omarari:
Let thy wrath cease.
Lads who are are the lads of Omarari:
Let thy wrath cease.
Girls who are are the girls of Omarari:
Let thy wrath cease.
I sing then to Omarari.
Omarari, let thy wrath cease.

[1] That the Lango have accepted the theory that plague is disseminated by rats is evidenced by a song popular in 1917, curiously combining an appreciation of scientific fact with magical ritual: *Oyo onywal i udi; igal yek' Omarari.* Rats are breeding in your houses; you delay to avert Omarari.

A, A, kok ngo ma gikok' Achaba cha?
Akok' Omarari.
A, A, kok ngo ma gikok' Aber cha?
Akok' Omarari.
A, A, kok ngo ma gikok' i ogang cha?
Akok' Omarari.
A, A, kok ma gikoko ni gikoko rwodi, e, e.
A, A, yo ma gipuro ni gipuro rwodi, e, e.

A, A, what is that cry which they cry at Achaba?
I cry Omarari.
A, A, what is that cry which they cry at Aber?
I cry Omarari.
A, A, what is that cry which they cry among the Acholi?
I cry Omarari.
A, A, this cry which they cry they cry, the chiefs, *e, e,*
A, A, this road which they make they make, the chiefs, *e, e.*

§ 5. **Witchcraft.** —Wizards are generically called *ajok*,[1] but are divided into two species named respectively *ading* and *achudany*. Witchcraft is entirely abhorrent to the Lango, and the practicers of the art are severely dealt with, their own family being as ready as anyone else to execute justice on them. They are clubbed to death, and their bodies are burnt in a large fire, during which process all run away to escape the malevolent hatred of the wizard's *chyen*. When sufficient time has elapsed to allow of the complete burning of the body, the young men carefully collect the ashes and bury them in a marsh, the water being an effective charm against the machinations of the *chyen*.

In face of such a Draconian severity it is not surprising that cases of witchcraft are rare in the extreme, and on the other hand it naturally follows that false charges of witchcraft are treated as the most serious of libels. The epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis which occurred in 1917 by reason of its mysterious and apparently causeless character was for several months attributed to the blackest form of witchcraft, and this belief gave an opportunity to Banyoro and Akum witch-finders to do a profitable, though unscrupulous, business among the Southern Lango. Their lucrative trade of "smelling out" a village did not continue for long, however, and the absence of any indigenous form of witch-finding or "smelling out" is a clear proof of the small influence which wizards have in the tribe.

[1] Pl. *ajogi*. This is the colloquial form of the more precisely correct *dajok* (Pl. *jujogi*), which by derivation means literally "man of god," whereas *ajoka*, "seer," "magician," strictly means "the characteristic of *jok*," "divinity." *Vide* Grammar, § 17, for similar formations. The collateral form *dajwok* (Pl. *jujwogi*), derived from *jwok*, is rarely heard. The reason for the association of witchcraft with *jok* is not clear, but as anything strikingly unusual or supernatural in character is commonly attributed to *jok* and is said to be "god-like," it is probable that the term carries no ulterior significance.

The *ading* is less generally malignant than the *achudany*, who practises witchcraft for its own sake and kills indiscriminately irrespective of any quarrel. The former works only by day and relies solely on "medicines." His favourite method is to cut the throat of a lizard called *ogwegwe* with a spear, and having treated it with a secret preparation to leave it in the path of an enemy who will surely die on stepping over it. It is also possible for him to bewitch a person by securing some portion of his body and dealing with it in the way familiar to the usual practices of sympathetic magic—his hair, nail-pairings, urine, excrement, the soil of his footprints; but here again so little is witchcraft feared that no attempt is made to conceal even nail-pairings or hair. Poison does not appear to be employed.

The *achudany* is a wizard who inspires the utmost horror, fear and detestation. To start with, he has the evil eye, and simply by pointing his bent forefinger at a person he can cause his death. His methods are subjective as contrasted with the objective methods of the *ading*. But as a ghoul he assumes his most loathsome character; he disinters the dead, and is alleged (without, however, any tangible evidence) even to indulge in cannibal banquets on their bodies. Curious stories are whispered of his mysterious powers, how by his wizardry he can even cause the dead to rise from their graves and to walk unassisted to his house, on reaching which they fall down mere corpses after the magnetic influence has been lifted. Obviously fear has embroidered facts with a somewhat hysterical mythology, not unreminiscent of the Banyoro charges against the Bachwezi, and possibly influenced by them. Nevertheless, there appear to be no grounds for doubting the assertion that the *achudany* frequents new graves and disinters the body of the deceased; such an act would be quite in keeping with the belief that by obtaining a part of the deceased—even without any cannibalistic intent—the wizard acquires not only an accession of strength by assimilating the dead man's qualities, but also some mysterious power over the surviving relatives.

At any rate, an *achudany* is credited with haunting new graves. He comes at the dead of night when all are asleep, whistling and dancing near the porch of the house, close to which the dead man is buried. He does not disinter the corpse at his first visit, and the deceased's son or other relation can accordingly take steps to guard himself, if he hears him, against which contingency the *achudany* carries a powerful "medicine" guaranteed to lull the senses of the villagers.[1] Carefully he looks out of his house, and discovering the *achudany*, at once retires, but next day lays his plans. Either he can inform his friends at once, and they will accom-

[1] This same "medicine" is very popular with cattle thieves, and is mainly compounded of the nose of a hyæna.

pany him as witnesses the next night, after which the wizard will be publicly executed, or else he may take the law in his own hands. He cuts a stick about nine inches long, and about three inches from the end whittles a notch in such a way that the short knob will easily break. At nightfall he rubs himself over with a "medicine" which has the effect of preventing the *achudany* from smelling his presence (for wizards are gifted with a wonderful sense of scent), and lies in wait for his return. The unsuspecting wizard comes whistling to the grave and, having danced with a furious abandon until utterly exhausted, throws himself on the grave, scratching up the soil with his fingers. Shortly, however, he falls into a stupor or trance, during which his stomach swells to an enormous dimension. This is the watcher's opportunity, and stealing forward he thrusts the stick into the wizard's rectum, twisting it round and round in order thoroughly to injure the intestines, and finally breaking off the knob, so that the stick remains in the wizard's body entirely concealed. On recovering consciousness the wizard returns home without apparently noticing the stick, but during the course of the day he is taken ill and dies within three days. His relations are mystified as to the cause of his death until the stick is expelled by the gases engendered on death in his stomach, and it then becomes clear to them that the dead man was unaware to them an *achudany*. They all admit the justice of his death, and neither waste regrets on him nor attempt to locate his executioner.

§ 6. **Rain-making.** The practice of rain-making and the observances connected with it vary according to the four divisions of the tribe: the *Jo Burutok*, the *Jo Kidi*, the *Jo Moita* and the *Jo Aber*, and it will be seen that the variations are due to the influence of neighbouring tribes. Among the *Jo Kidi*, *Jo Moita* and *Jo Burutok* the ceremonial is most fully developed, whereas among the *Jo Aber*, while there is little ceremony, there is at least one custom which derives its origin from their northern neighbours.

As a preliminary, however, an account must be given of a quinquennial festival known as the *ewor* or *aworon*, the festival of honouring [1] the aged and the men of old, as, though it is concerned with all aspects of native life, its main motive is the instruction of the young men in the mysteries of rain-making. This festival is universal among the Lango, with the exception of the *Jo Aber*.

The *aworon* is essentially a quinquennial festival, but at the end of every sixteen years there is a gap of nine years instead of four, after which the cycle recommences. This is explained by the fact that for rain-making purposes the initiates are divided into four groups, named after certain animals :—

[1] Derived from *woro*, to honour, to reverence.

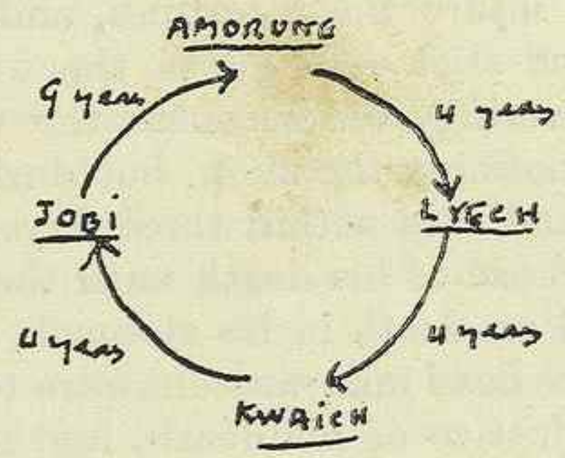
A. LYECH (elephant), with which are associated *ekore* (giraffe), *aputiro* (*kul*, wart-hog), and *etuku* (zebra).

B. KWAICH (leopard), with which are associated *ekwaro* (serval) and *ogwang* (merekat).

C. AMORUNG (rhinoceros), with which is associated *alop* (hartebeeste).

D. JOBI (buffalo), with which are associated *engato* (lion) and *apoli* (waterbuck).

Each individual *aworon* is named after one of these animal groups, and the rain festivals for the next four years are said to belong to that group (though actually the initiates in the group have few special privileges and no duties). The cycle of *aworon* is as follows, starting with the *amorung* group :—



The last festival took place in 1915, and was a *jobi* year, and the next should thus be due in 1925. The reason for the interregnum after the *jobi* is that the *jobi* are said to ripen the grain (*jobi ocheko kal*), and accordingly their influence persists longer than that of the other groups. No connection is evident, however, between this belief and the current local view which assigns heavy rains and floods to cycles of twenty-one years. There is a second and possibly more plausible reason given for this interval, viz. to allow initiates to die off and to make room for their successors. Already representatives of *amorung* and *lyech* groups are scarce.

The *jobi* call the *lyech* their fathers (*papogi*), and the *kwaich* call the *amorung* theirs, for reasons which will subsequently become apparent ; and the few discrepancies in practice in the four *aworon* groups will be found to be between the *lyech* and *jobi* on the one hand and the *kwaich* and *amorung* on the other. Further, though each group has its own specific songs, it is significant that the *jobi* and *lyech* share *awele* (pigeon) and *aweno* (guinea-fowl) songs, while *amorung* and *kwaich* share *awalu* (crested crane) and *okokom* (vulture) songs.

The festival takes place in the month of *aduoduot*[1] (November)

[1] In modern Lango the month is known as *Adudu* or *Adudu-Otukit*, but the obsolete form is used by old men in referring to the *aworon*.

at three different localities. The *Jo Burutok*, embracing Chakwara, Awelo, Ekwera, Aputi, Ngai and West Dokolo, hold it at Ekwera; the *Jo Kidi*, embracing Bata, Bar, Aloi, Orumo, Amugo, Omoro and East Dokolo, at Abako; and the *Jo Moita*, embracing Chiawante, Aduku, Abyeche, Inomo, Agwata, Amaich and Akalu, at Alipa. It should be added that though the *Jo Aber* do not hold the *Aworon* festival, a few representatives from the west, near Kibuji, usually attend the *moito aworon*.

When the festival is due, the *awobi*, or young men who have reached the age of puberty and have not yet been initiated, gather from all the places detailed above at their respective points of assembly. With them come the old men, versed in the mysteries, especially all the old men whose group year it may be; these have no option, but must attend. Thus in 1915 all the surviving *jobi* initiates of 1891 were bound to attend. When they have all gathered, the *awobi* are led by the old men to a traditional sycamore tree, and under this the *awobi* have to sleep for the next three nights. The old men return at nights to sleep in villages, but spend the days in teaching the *awobi* the duties of citizenship, the lore of hunting, the art of fighting and the traditions of their race; lastly they are taught the mysteries of rain-making, together with the rain dances and the songs appertaining to their group. The *agara* or dance bells are not worn during tuition at the *aworon*.

Just before dawn of each day is sung the bird song, peculiar to the group whose *aworon* it is. These songs are only sung at the *aworon* and have no bearing on rain-making.

Kwaich and *amorung* sing [1]:—

Awalu kitem' i bai, a a, awalu kitem' i bai.
(*Apak*) *Awalu oruk' i bai, awalu oruko kiya, oruk' i bai.*

The crested crane starts at daybreak, *a a*, the crested crane starts at daybreak.
(*Recitative*) The crested crane sings at daybreak, the crested crane sings all night long, it sings at daybreak.

En ene okokum obeluny, en ene okokom obeluny; oruk' i bai; en ene okokom obeluny.

That is he, the vulture, he alights, that is he, the vulture, he alights; he croaks at dawn; that is he, the vulture, he alights.

[1] Songs of a ceremonial nature all consist of a chorus (*wer*) and a solo or recitative (*apak*). It is almost impossible even by means of shorthand to obtain the full words of songs and especially of the *apak*, and the essential intonations cannot thus be reproduced. The difficulty is the greater in that they will not repeat the songs to order. In several of the examples below it will be observed that the *apak* has been omitted or much abbreviated. This is entirely due to the difficulty in recording them, and it should be added that though only one *apak* is given to a song in each instance, actually the chorus is repeated time after time, each repetition being followed by an *apak* on similar lines as the one noted. Grammatically the songs frequently differ from the ordinary idiom, and from considerations of rhythm pronouns and prefixes are treated with great freedom. Thus in the first song above, for *awalu kitem' i bai* common speech would have *awalu otem' i bai*.

A a, aluru oya ; pap' ochiro kume.
A a, aluru oya ; pap' okedo kore.
A a, aluru ye a a.
A a, aluru ya a a.

A a, the quail arises ; his father branded his body.
A a, the quail arises ; his father dappled his breast.
A a, the quail *ye a a,*
A a, the quail *ya a a.*

Jobi and *lyech* sing :—

Yei atula iia, yei atula iia.
(*Apak*) *Awele papo pa alukangoli.*[1]

Yei large-headed *iia, yei* large-headed *iia.*
(*Recitative*) Pigeon father of white-brow-and-spreading-horn.

In addition to other bird songs the following two songs are sung by the *jobi* and *lyech* groups at the *aworon* only, but all other songs which are sung at the *aworon* are preliminary to ceremonial use at the rain festivals, and will be noted subsequently :

Iya alukangoli alem, a a,
Iya alukakore alem,
Akomol alukakore.

Thou arisest, white-brow-and-spreading-horn, O hornless one, *a a,*
Thou arisest, dun-brow-and-spreading-horn, O hornless one,
O dappled (buffalo) dun-brow-and-spreading-horn.

A a, egwapeto kangiro, a a, egwapeto kangiro, a a, egwapeto kangiro.

A a, dusky eland, *a a,* dusky eland, *a a* dusky eland.

All the day is spent by the *awobi* in undergoing tuition, and in the evening they go to fetch the food. They may not enter a village during these three days, but the food (in the cooking of which no salt may be used, while the beer must be served cold) is placed ready for them by unmarried girls in the *bar* or goat pasturage, and there each struggles to get as much as he is able. *Awobi*, who come from a long distance, bring uncooked food with them, and it is cooked by women in villages near at hand. During this period there is an absolute truce, even in pre-administration days when it was unsafe for an unarmed man, much less a woman, to walk from one village to another during the day. All spears except the sacred spears of the old men are left in the houses, and may not be brought out under pain of death ; a man's worst enemy is saluted by him, even though a recent blood feud is between them. Any transgressor of the peace

[1] *Atula* and *alukangoli* are both epithets applied in this context to the buffalo. The meaning is not clear, except in so far as the pigeon is one of the patron birds of the *jobi* or buffalo group.

truce is killed and his village is burnt. The *awobi* are armed only with hide lashes and withies of the tree *epobo* and ropes of plaited grass, and with these they severely trouce any passer-by and anyone who remains in a village, without fear of subsequent retaliation. No sexual intercourse is permitted during these three days, and only old men and children and *awobi* who have already been initiated may enter villages. The *awobi* bring the old men, their teachers, food every evening under the tree, after which the latter go to sleep in neighbouring villages. Thus for three days and three nights the *awobi* are taught and sleep under the sycamore tree, and on the fourth day they return to the village.

Before returning to the village, however, the *awobi* first kill a ram of the colour of a small grey bird called *alibor*, and hence named after it. It is cut up ceremonially and is put on spits over a fire under the sycamore tree. While it is cooking the *awobi* and old men proceed together to a *nam* (a lake, river or marsh) to the traditional spot, and there the former are washed and have water poured over their heads by the old men.[1] On their return the old men sit and eat the meat of the ram under the tree, while the *awobi* go and wait outside the village ; they may not partake of the meat. Having finished their meal, the old men gather up the ram's *we* with the grass on which fell the blood of the slaughtered animal (called for this occasion only *kodi*) and eat it.[2] They also collect all the refuse of the meal and all the ashes of the watchfire and carefully deposit them in the river at the spot where the *awobi* were washed.

Having done this, they proceed to where the *awobi* are waiting outside the village (about 2 p.m.), and the women of the village perform the ceremony of aspersion (*kiro* — to sprinkle ceremonially). The *awobi* stand in a circle around them and are spinked with water in which has been mixed the root of a tree called *kwong*, which has been first masticated by the old men ; the leaves of a lilac called *olwedo* are used for aspersing. Were the ceremony not observed all the *awobi* would die.

Warm beer and food cooked with salt are ready in the village for the *awobi*, but before they may enter there is still one ceremony to be undergone. They are each anointed with the beer and the food by the old men on the forehead, each cheek and each breast. They are now free to return to the village, but may not drink the beer till sundown, when the *awobi* who have been initiated drink it in little pots apart.

[1] This and the subsequent ceremonies indicate that the occasion is one of special sanctity, necessitating a careful ablution before the initiates may be readmitted into the normal life of the tribe. The prohibition on the use of salt is applied also to women after confinement, and would indicate that for the period in question the *awobi* are marked off from the rest of the tribe by a condition of moral regeneration.

[2] The *jobi* and *lyech* groups do not eat the *we* and the *kodi*, but throw them into the river. On the other hand, they eat the skin of the ram.

Meanwhile the women have been busy brewing beer for the teachers, the flour having been collected by voluntary contributions, and now the *awobi* have to plaster the floor of a large house with cowdung and to strew leaves on it, that the teachers may drink there in the evening. Each teacher has now a disciple or servant,[1] who addresses him as father, though he may be no relation. The servants of *lyech* teachers are chosen from boys whose age denotes that they will some day be initiated as *jobi*; and the servants of *amorung* are similarly chosen from prospective *kwaich*—explaining why the *jobi* and *kwaich* call *lyech* and *amorung* their fathers, as noted above.

Purposely the old men leave their chairs at a distance from the village at which the beer is to be drunk, and at sundown send their temporary servants to fetch them. They must run as fast as they can there and back in order to get the best place for their master in the beer-house, and while the old men are drinking, each stands behind his master's chair to wave away the flies and to prevent them falling into the beer. Some of the beer is left to be drunk next day. An old man who is pleased with his servitor, with his attentions and zeal, will in future make him presents from time to time, and will even pay the indemnity due for the latter's sexual indiscretions.[2]

The *aworon* festival or initiation ceremony is now complete, and if it is a *jobi* year all the initiates become *jobi*, *kwaich* of a *kwaich* year, and so on, irrespective of the group to which their fathers belonged. They are taught by all the teachers, whether the latter belonged to that year's group or not.

Mention has been made of the sacred rain spears, and it would be well to amplify the reference before proceeding to the actual ceremony of rain-making. There are three types of spears used for this purpose. The first, which is handed down from time immemorial, and of which there cannot be more than ten in existence, is a heavy-bladed, long-shafted, unwieldy spear, black with the smoke and grime of ages. It is used for the ceremony known as *agat* or consecration, and is held in the hands of the consecrator.

The second is known as *tong aliro*, a long-bladed spear with a long neck and socket (two feet), which is solid, and ends abruptly without a shaft. It was originally made by the Hamitic Abur, but is now also made by the Lango. This is the true rain spear.

The third is the *tong akoda* or barbed spear, such as is used for hunting crocodiles. It may have from two to six barbs, but like

[1] As it is not customary for the Lango to have servants of any kind, this point assumes more importance.

[2] Among the *Jo Burutok* each *awobi* gives the old men a chicken to eat with their beer, and the latter subsequently reward them with a chicken in return. The leaves used on the floor of the beer-house must, among the *Jo Burutok*, be from the tree *odugo*. Elsewhere it is immaterial.

the *tong aliro* has a solid socket and no shaft. The object of this spear is to avert locusts, the barbs being intended to resemble locusts' wings.

Should a spear be lost or destroyed in war and it is desired to replace it, great care has to be observed in approaching the spear-smith, as there is always the danger that your desire to obtain a rain spear is prompted by a malicious wish to "tie up" the rain and to cause a drought. The making of rain spears is, among the Lango, confined to the clan known as *Jo Angodya*, and the present smith is one Alecha of Aduku. The applicant first makes his wish known to the clan *Jo Alaki*, who, if after investigation they consider him a *bona fide* case demand two hoes, which they pass to the *Jo Angodya*, and from which Alecha makes the spear. The spear is made free of cost, as any payment would destroy its efficacy. *Tong kot mam okokere*, i.e. a rain spear may not be ransomed.

Before it can have any value, a new rain spear has to undergo the ceremony known as *lwoko* or *lamo tong* (to wash or to consecrate the spear). This is done at the porch of the owner's house, where water is brought in a calabash bowl and the spear held upright in it, point downwards. It is washed in the water by an old man conducting the service, who, having first spat in the water, intones the following prayer: "May the harvest be a rich one. You, spear of the rain, bring good rain and fruitfulness, that our granaries may be filled and that the hands of our children be not empty; that the hearts of our women may rejoice and that they multiply unto us sons and daughters. This, spear of the rain, do and bring unto us abundance of all things." He then stands upright, and holding the shaft of the spear, dips the blade into the bowl, and with it flicks the water first east and then west, still chanting a similar prayer. Finally he sprinkles the water, scooping it up with his hands and throwing it high, first east and then west. The owner of the spear also, having spat into the water and uttered a prayer for fruitfulness and good rains, sprinkles the water. The spear is stuck into the ground, blade down, near the porch, and is not moved into the house till the harvest is ripe. During the ceremony and till after the harvest the spear is swathed with a convolvulus called *bomo*.

The ceremony of rain-making is known as *lamo kot* or *myelo kot*, to consecrate the rain or to dance the rain. It takes place annually from April to July, usually in April, but varying according to the condition of the rains. It may only be performed once for any given area. The ceremony is held: for the *Jo Kidi* at Abako, for the *Jo Burutok* at Bata in Ekwera, and for the *Jo Moita* under a fig-tree near Aduku.[1] The ceremony for the three divisions is the same, but the ritual of the *Jo Aber* will be treated separately.

[1] The *Jo Moita aworon* is the first to be held, and is attended by a few representatives from the *Jo Burutok*, who, however, are mere spectators and take no part in the proceedings.

As a preliminary to the rain festival, beer flour is gathered and taken to the house of the local head of the *Jo Inomo* clan, of which clan Oyuku was a celebrated member years ago, and whose descendants to this day have the privilege of presenting the sacrificial goat. His wives and the women of the village prepare the beer.

First Day.—The old men and *awobi*, all with their spears, sacred and profane, but not with more than one spear each, least they frighten the rain, wearing chaplets and necklets of convolvulus (*bomo*), and with the *agara* or bells bound round their legs and their spears also festooned with *bomo*, proceed to the traditional fig-tree, either the sycamore or the ordinary fig, accompanied by the women and girls. On arrival the men all stand under the tree, while the womenfolk stand apart, and the old men, irrespective of their animal groups, perform the ceremony of *agat* or consecration of the spears, each using one after the other the spear kept for that purpose. The men stand in a semicircle towards him, and at each response to the consecrator's litany sway their spears forward towards him.

THE AGAT.

Recitative.	Response.
Waloyo yamoni.	*Waloyo.*
Wan wamito kot chwe, oony akirok chutok.	*Oony.*
Omai! in, kot, alami ichwe. Ka ichwe, beber.	*Beber.*
Eryamita ka jigijigi.	*Eryam.*
Ka kot ochwe chamw' ochek, beber.	*Beber.*
Ka atino olelo, beber.	*Beber.*
Ka kot ochwe, ber, kot ochwe, ber. Ka mon gilelo, beber.	*Ber.*
Ka awobi giwero, ber.	*Ber.*
Eryamita ka jigijigi.	*Eryam.*
Ka kalwa ochek, ber.	*Ber.*
Ka monwa, olelo.	*Ber.*
Ka atino olelo.	*Ber.*
Ka awobi owero.	*Ber.*
Ka adongo olelo.	*Ber.*
Ilech i dula.	*Ilech.*
Kalwa opong dero.	*Opong.*
Alech alelech.	*Alech.*
Ka yamo odok Burutok, ber.	*Ber.*
Ka kot odok Burutok, ber.	*Ber.*
We overcome this wind.[1]	We overcome.
We desire the rain to fall, that it be poured in showers quickly.	Be poured.
Ah! thou rain, I adjure thee fall. If thou rainest, it is well.	It is well.
A drizzling confusion.	Confusion.
If it rains and our food ripens, it is well.	It is well.
If the children rejoice, it is well.	It is well.
If it rains, it is well. If our women rejoice, it is well.	It is well.
If the young men sing, it is well.	It is well.

[1] Explained by the last line. The dry season wind is easterly, and the rains come when the wind veers to the south.

Recitative.	Response.
A drizzling confusion.	Confusion.
If our grain ripens, it is well.	It is well.
If our women rejoice.	It is well.
If the children rejoice.	It is well.
If the young men sing.	It is well.
If the aged rejoice.	It is well.
An overflowing in the granary.	Overflowing.
May our grain fill the granaries.	May it fill.
A torrent in flow.	A torrent.
If the wind veers to south, it is well.	It is well.
If the rain veers to south, it is well.	It is well.

Following on this the men all sit down in orderly rows under the tree for the *arab* or prayer. The old men lead the prayer and the rest respond in a monotone, concluding each prayer with a long-drawn, deep-throated moan. The prayers are directed to *Min Jok*, and invite her assistance in the festival to ensure good rains and a satisfactory harvest, and she is urged to discover to them any whose hearts are evil and who purpose concealing or witholding the rain by magic. They then proceed to dance the *awala* or bell dance (*awala*=*agara*, bell), a syncopated dance only performed at this ceremony. There is no music, but the dancers are formed into a circle and a soloist stands in the centre, singing while they dance and join in the refrain. All the performers make the gestures and sounds appropriate to their animal groups and imitate their actions. Only such songs are sung as belong to the animal group which last celebrated the *aworon* before the festival. Thus in 1918 only the *jobi* songs were sung. In the midst of the circle one, or at most two, pairs of dancers perform a *pas de deux*. The women dance apart, and at the end of each dance *ngato* and *goyo jira*, i.e. perform the victory dance and raise the cry of victory as after battle. Four or five dances being concluded, the spears are gathered and stuck point downwards into the ground under the tree. (Were they stuck point upwards, the rain would be frightened away.) The sacred spears are also stuck in the ground there and none of the spears are removed till the whole business is over. A little special beer is brewed under the tree in an *agulu ma doge aryo* (an earthenware pot with two mouths), and is poured into an *obuto* (a drinking-cup only used in these ceremonies) and is left there. All return home.

Second Day.—Nothing is done.

Third Day.—All go to the tree again and dance the *awala*. The oldest man takes with him a *gweno ameri* (black and white chicken), also called *ataloka*, because being of more than one colour it is symbolic of the rainbow (*ataloka*). The chicken is held by the wings and waved over the spears and fluttered against the tree, and is killed and eaten there by the old men under the tree, where its bones and feathers are left collected into a heap. All then return home.

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Fourth Day.—As before, they proceed to dance the *awala* under the tree, taking one he-goat and one ram.[1] The privilege of presenting these animals belongs, as has been noted above, to the clan *Jo Inomo*, and more particularly to the Oyuku family of that clan. Having danced under the tree, they go in procession chanting a minor dirge to certain villages, by which it is customary for the rain procession to pass from time immemorial. The procession first marches round the village and then entering it they stick their spears points down in a courtyard in the middle of the circle of dancers. The *awala* is performed as before, and while it is in progress a bowl[2] of water is fetched and placed near the spears. When the dance is over, the old men, one after the other, asperse the water, using for the purpose a plant of the thistle order called *ekwanga*. The water is sprinkled up over the dancers towards the East, while the operator mutters a prayer much on the same lines as that already recorded in the ceremony of *lwoko tong*. Proceeding thus from village to village, they return to the tree late in the afternoon.

On their return the goat and ram are ceremonially killed[3] under the tree, cooked and eaten by the initiates of the animal group whose year it may be. The fire for cooking the meat must be made over the remnants of the chicken killed on the previous day. Dung from the intestines is smeared on the spears and on the tree, and the old men each take a sip of the *kongo me obuto* (the special beer brewed on the first day). Fresh, cool water is drawn from a neighbouring spring at a traditional spot, and each old man drinks a little; while other water in which medicines prepared from the roots of certain trees[4] have been mixed, is thrown up into the air (not aspersed over the people), and an old man climbs the tree, sprinkling the medicated water on its leaves, praying the while for good rains and harvest. When the dance is finished each man pulls up his spear and they all go home. The beer which was prepared before the festival started is now drunk by the old men at the house of the *won-kot*[5] (owner of the rain), and no one

[1] Among the *Jo Bunutok* and *Jo Kidi* the goat and the ram are of the colour called *amuge* (brown), ceremonially also called *ataloka*. The *Jo Moita* only use a black goat, as it is symbolical of rain clouds. In no case may a red goat (*arema*, blood-coloured) be used, as symbolizing blood it would be unlucky.

[2] The water is fetched in an *awal makech* (bitter, i.e. new calabash), and the privilege of furnishing the *awal*, and also the *obuto* and *agulu me doge aryo*, referred to above, belongs to the clan Jo Agorya.

[3] They are not killed if at the time the rains are good, but are kept till the next year or for a drought.

[4] Probably *owilakot*, *kwong* and *oryo*, but it is uncertain.

[5] *Won-kot* means literally owning the rain, hence rain-maker. The title is applied to the owner of one of the old *agat* spears, but he does not appear to have any peculiar authority either over the elements or at the festival. Its application is obscure, but it is probable that originally the *won-kot* was a person of great power, as among the Bari and eastern Madi, but gradually lost his rights and privileges by a process of democratization. The last *won-kot* of any general power was one Olet of Lira, who died about five years ago, and had a great reputation as a maker of rain independent

else may drink it except by invitation. If anyone should so presume, he would fall down dead, and could only be brought to life by the grace of the rain-maker, who will, if he so wishes, pour water on him to this end. The rain spears are stuck in the ground by the porch of their owner's house, and so long as they stay there the rain will fall satisfactorily. They are removed at the beginning of the dry season in order to permit the rain to stop and to enable the grass to dry for the burning.

At the end of the dance the *won-kot* and one old man take the feathers and bones, heads, skins, ashes of the chicken, goat and ram, which have been killed, and bury them secretly in a river or swamp.

On the last day before the goat and ram are killed, another kid and lamb are consecrated to take their place by the head of the *Jo Inomo*, as there must be no interregnum, no period in which there is not a sacred goat or ram. They are consecrated in the usual manner, the performer spitting on his hands and rubbing the animals on their shoulders, sides and stomachs, and pouring water on their heads with both hands, praying at the same time, "May the virtue of this kid and the virtue of this lamb secure us good rains, etc." They must of course be brown or (among the *Jo Moita*) black. They are kept by the *Jo Inomo* clan until they grow up and are required at the next festival, but should a dry spell come unseasonably before the next year they may be sacrificed in the village courtyard, the spears having all been gathered there. Water is thrown up as before and the intestinal dung is smeared on the spears. The killing is not ceremonial, and therefore the hide is undamaged and belongs to the *won-kot*, and the meat is eaten by all. Others are of course consecrated to take their place. Should the clan *Jo Inomo* not possess a goat of the right colour, they may take a suitable goat from anyone, and the owner would not be able to object; moreover, the consecrated goats are in no way molested if they stray into and spoil crops, and the *Jo Inomo* are not responsible for damages.

The following are some of the songs sung at the rain festivals, but only *jobi* songs are sung in *jobi* years, and so on[1]:—

of these rain ceremonies. It should be noted that among the allied Alur the rain-maker has a more exalted position, exercising his powers personally without the assistance of rain dances and ceremonies.

[1] It has been suggested above that the rain ceremonies are of extraneous origin, and among the many indications that this is so the songs sung at the festival afford a most significant proof. Further than this, however, it is probable that the *aworon* festival is also a comparatively late introduction, as a similar but largely elaborated ceremony holds among the neighbouring Hamitic tribes, viz. the Karamojo, Iteso and Akum. In fact, one old man went so far as to say that the clan *Jo Alaki* were the first to introduce the ceremony from the Akum. There are numerous points of divergence, but among these Hamitic tribes there is a quinquennial ceremony, as among the Lango, who are alone among the Nilotic tribes in holding any festival similar to the *aworon*; but instead of four animal groups, there are eight, and the groups are named not only after animals, but after inanimate substances, e.g. *esingu*, sand. Further, the initiates are always young lads, and the ceremony would appear to be more truly one of initiation to puberty with less emphasis on rain, and the initiates permanently take the name of their groups as their own personal grade names.

Amorung Songs.

Ngor oling alinga,
Ngor ochung i ngony yago,
Oling ni ti, ngor,
A a e o aaa.
Ngor oling alinga,
Ngor obed' i ngony yat,
Oling ni ti, ngor,
A a e o ooo.

(Apak) Ngor ka riki duny' apua kemo kidi. Awapo Nyara[1] *ka riki tur ka ekesan ebyong. Ngor oduny' apua kar' ngo? Ngor oling i ngony ebyong ka etiron, a a, ngor ka duny' apua ka alirok. Ngor kaliro ka duny' apua. Koko ngor ewapo kidi ka ebyong, oduny' apua.*

The eight groups are classed in two divisions of four groups each, and during the *aworon* there is a state of war between the two divisions, resulting in numerous deaths, though (as with the Lango) buffalo hide whips only may be used. This state of war is entirely outside the general truce. In these two divisions we may trace the very vague combination of the *jobi* with the *lyech* and the *amorung* with the *kwaich*, which would appear to have lost its original *raison d'être*. Without proceeding to details, enough has been said to show that the festivals are similar, and in consideration of the fact that the ceremony is unique among Nilotic tribes and is both widespread and more developed among Hamitics, it is reasonable to suppose that the former learnt it with the consequent rain festival from their neighbours.

This supposition is supported again by the fact that the rain spears were originally made by the *Jo Abur*, a Hamitic tribe closely akin to the Karamojo, and by the fact that the Lango of Orumo still fetch the sacred water from the *Jo Abur*. If, as seems likely, grain was introduced by the Hamites, the hypothesis that the rain festival is also due to the Hamites gains additional weight, as rain is not so essential to a non-agricultural people.

The Hamitic tribes being to the east and the south. It is natural that the northern Lango, the *Jo Aber*, who come under different influences, should not participate either in the *aworon* or in the usual rain festivals, and it is extremely noticeable that the further south one travels the more established does one find the custom.

The Iteso and Karamojo in times of drought have, in addition, recourse to human sacrifice, but this at no time found favour with the Lango, except the *Jo Aber*, who are largely influenced by the Acholi, to whom rather than to the Iteso may be traced the habit of killing an old man in times of prolonged drought. The Acholi have been quite unaffected by these Hamitic customs, and it is probable that the rite of human sacrifice came down to them from the Madi, who in their turn received it from the Bari, by whom an unsuccessful rain-maker is generally done to death.

To revert now to the songs, the last chain in the evidence is completed. While the chorus is as a rule easy to understand, the recitative more often than not has little or no meaning. This is largely due to the fact that a great proportion of the words are Hamitic, and are evidently handed down as part of the ancient formula. Much of the formulæ is not intelligible even to the old men, and there can be little doubt that as they extemporize the recitative they introduce isolated words and fragments of half-remembered formulæ, without worrying a great deal about the meaning which they intend to convey, beyond a general sense which is already familiar to all the participants.

The very names of the animal groups indicate a Hamitic origin, e.g. *amorung*= Lango *amoching* (called also *ngor* in the first song); and for *kwaich* the Hamitic word *erisa* is sometimes heard. Not only are Hamitic words and obsolete forms retained, but so far do they go that the letter *s*, which does not exist in Lango proper, is pronounced in words which are of Hamitic origin, though the sound approximates more to *chs*. The letter *h* also, though not employed in Lango, appears in these songs.

To take one song only, the last of the *jobi* group, the following words are of Hamitic origin, and can all be found in everyday use among the Iteso, Karamojo or Turkana, though often with slight variations of form or meaning: *abong*, *aryong* (= Lango *eryonget*), *atur*, *akochewan* (also *akosiwan*, *vide* Ateso *ekosobwan*, and Karamojo *ekosogwan*), *awong*, *ekesan*, *ebelebele*, *adwaran*. And nearly all the names of animals which appear in the various songs are Hamitic names instead of the usual Lango.

[1] Nyara, the name of a hill to the south-east in Teso country.

The rhinoceros is at silent rest,
The rhinoceros stands at the foot of the kigelia,
He is utterly silent, the rhinoceros,
A a e o aaa.
The rhinoceros is at silent rest,
The rhinoceros sits at the foot of the tree,
He is utterly silent, the rhinoceros,
A a e o ooo.

(*Recitative*) The rhinoceros where it throws up the dust looks towards the hill. I follow Nyara where it was on the other side where the young man was, the acacia tree. When does the rhinoceros throw up the dust? The rhinoceros is silent at the foot of the acacia with horn at the charge, *a a*, the rhinoceros throws up the dust steadfastly. The rhinoceros standing still throws up the dust. The cry of the rhinoceros follows the hill where the acacia is, and he throws up the dust.

Ebu akomol, a e a,
Ebu akomol, kar' iyenyo ngo kan?
Ebu akomol, a a a,
Ebu akomol, kar' iyenyo ngo kan?
(*Apak*) *Ebu papo pa alubayo ewotio i wor, papo pa alubayo.*[1]

O dappled hyæna, *a e a,*
O dappled hyæna, what seek you here?
O dappled hyæna, *a a a,*
O dappled hyæna, what seek you here?
(*Recitative*) The hyæna, father of *alubayo* (the "road follower") travels by night, father of *alubayo.*

In iyenyo ngor maduny' apua?
In iyenyo ngor maduny' apua?
(*Apak*) *Ngor keken iyenyo, ngor maduny' apua.*

Seekest thou the rhinoceros that throws up the dust?
Seekest thou the rhinoceros that throws up the dust?
(*Recitative*) The rhinoceros alone dost thou seek, the rhinoceros that throws up the dust.

Lyech Songs.

Alira moro yam' Oluju:[2]
Piny oru, o o.
Dong kuk jo awalu, gin ene.
E e, Alira moro yam' Oluju:
Piny oru, a a.
Wum, Jo Awalu,[3] *gin ene.*
(*Apak*) *Onyang oruk' atil, oporo kar' ekesan.*

[1] *Ebu* (*vide* Ateso and Karamojo) = Lango *odyek*, hyæna. The meaning is not clear, but perhaps *alubayo* is by assonance intended to indicate *alop*, the animal associated with the *amorung* group.

[2] In 1911 Oluju, a Lango chief (since dead), obtained assistance from the Alira to make war on Ogeta's people at Abako.

[3] Ogeta's people are called *Jo Awalu* in this song with reference to the marshy nature of their country, the water bubbling up (*walo*) in numerous little springs.

Some Alira conspire with Oluju:
The dawn breaks, *o o.*
Then warn the men of Awalu, "Here they are."
E e, some Alira conspire with Oluju:
The dawn breaks, *a a.*
You, men of Awalu, here they are.

(*Recitative*) The reedbuck calls to the cob, he is like unto a young man.

Chokeunu!
Onyang ochung wi biye,
Ochung ni pim.
E e, onyang ochung wi biye,
A a, wi biye, i a a a.
Chokeunu!
Onyang ochung wi biye,
Ochung ni kang.

(*Apak*) *Onyang oruk' atil kare poron ekesan poron ebelebele tur ekesan. Onyang oruk' atil poron k' adwaran. Onyang oruk' atil poron ebelebele ka tur ekesan. Wapo kidi ebyong, kar' iwapo kidi. . . . Ka iwek wapo kidi ka tur, hai wapo kidi, wapo Nyara, Kok' otemo Nyara, ee eee ee eee, awapo Nyara.*

Gather ye together!
The reedbuck stands on the ant-hill,
It stands unwavering.
E e, the reedbuck stands on the ant-hill,
Aa, on the ant-hill, *i a a a.*
Gather ye together!
The reedbuck stands on the ant-hill,
It stands motionless.

(*Recitative*) The reedbuck calls to the cob like a young man, utterly like a young man on the far side of a valley. The reedbuck calls to the cob like an elder of the people. The reedbuck calls to the cob utterly like a young man on the other side of a valley. To follow the hill of the acacia, for thou followest the hill. . . . Shouldst thou cease following the hill to the other side, ha! following the hill, following Nyara, the cry aims at Nyara, *ee eee ee eee,* I follow Nyara.

Eryeng aa pap' Onyeng,[1]
Eryeng papo aa,
Onyeng Eryeng,
Eryeng pap' Onyeng aa,
Pap' Eryeng Onyeng.

(*Apak*) *Egero amagoro, Kok' owapo kidi, etemo Nyara. Egero amagoro.*

Eryeng *aa* father of Onyeng,
Eryeng father *aa,*
Onyeng Eryeng,
Eryeng father of Onyeng, *aa,*
Father of Eryeng Onyeng.

(*Recitative*) He builds in the wilderness. The cry follows the hill, it aims at Nyara. He builds in the wilderness.

[1] *Eryeng* and *Onyeng* both = Lango *kul,* wart-hog.

Kwaich Songs.

Achanya me Olum, erisa obuto k' achanya,
Achanya me Olum achanya.
En erisa obuto k' achanya me Olum.
Achanya, erisa obuto k' achanya.
Awot anen.

(*Apak*) *Aa, k' olum kare edoket, Abongo, ibuto k' achanya. Achanya en.*

The banana leaves of Olum, a leopard sleeps in the banana leaves.
The banana leaves of Olum, the banana leaves.
He the leopard sleeps in the banana leaves of Olum.
The banana leaves, the leopard sleeps in the banana leaves.
Let me go to see.

(*Recitative*) *Aa*, at Olum's at the place of the ford, Abongo, thou sleepest in the banana leaves. The banana leaves are they.

Elwa me apel tye k' angung,
Elwa me apel tye angung.

(*Apak*) *Akok elwa apel. Epwonya dyang Onango.*

The lightning-charred *elwa*[1] is at Angung,
The lightning-charred *elwa* is at Angung.

(*Recitative*) I lament the lightning-charred *elwa*. Epwonya the cow of Onango.

Kworo mam.
Ogwang owoto dyewor, a,
Ia, ogwang, a,
Ogwang owoto dyewor, a,
Ia, ogwang, a.

(*Apak*) *Kwor' omako gweno. Ogwang pa Epwonya okwayo gweno. Ogwang owoto dyewor kara kworo kare kwor' emunyuru, kar ogwang omako gweno kadi gwok gu. Ogwang emunyuru kar' ogwang kworo. Ka eeee eee kare dyang pa Onangeponya. Kare ogwang owoto dyewor kare kworo kar' Ogwang, kar' oleko dyang Onango, eee eee eee.*

The serval is not.
The merekat travels by night, *a*,
Ia, the merekat, *a*,
The merekat travels by night, *a*,
Ia, the merekat, *a*.

(*Recitative*) The serval takes the chicken. The merekat of Epwonya begs a chicken. The merekat goes by night, be it the serval or the merekat, for the merekat takes the chicken, ay even the dog also. Be it the merekat or the serval. For *eeee eee* even unto the cow of Onangepwonya. For the merekat travels by night, be it the serval or the merekat, for that it drives off the cow of Onango, *eee eee eee.*

Jobi Songs.

Jobi owot' ayeyo wiye,
Otyer tye i ite, otyer tye i ite,
Okem Amongolem.[2]
Jobi owot' ayeyo wiye,

[1] *Elwa* is the tree *Chlorophora excelsa, Bth.*
[2] Amongolem, a river to the south-east, near Nyara Hill.

Otyer tye i ite, otyer tye i ite,
Okem Amongolem.
Oluk omyere jobi bala dok Amongolem.
Jobi owot' ayeyo wiye,
Otyer tye i ite, otyer tye i ite.
Alochit Apeta.[1]
Jobi owot' ayeyo wiye,
Okem Amongolem.

The buffalo goes with head on high,
The bird is on his ear, the bird is on his ear,
He faces the Amongolem.
The buffalo goes with head on high,
The bird is on his ear, the bird is on his ear,
He faces the Amongolem.
Oluk is a match for the buffalo as at the mouth of the Amongolem.
The buffalo goes with head on high,
The bird is on his ear, the bird is on his ear.
Alochit of the spreading horns.
The buffalo goes with head on high,
He faces the Amongolem.

Ha! Yeyeyeye, bilo jobi,
Bilo kok' i kulu, bilo jobi.
Ha! Yaaa,
Bilo kok' Ayago, bilo jobi.
Ha! Yeyeyeye!
(*Apak*) *Ngora Ajwang, Ngweny Adeker,*[2] *ekesan k' adwaran ebelebele ka tur.*

Ha! Yeyeyeye, the flute of the buffalo,
The flute sounds in the river, the flute of the buffalo.
Ha! Yaaa,
The flute sounds in the Ayago,[3] the flute of the buffalo.
Ha! Yeyeyeye!
(*Recitative*) Ngora, son of Ajwang, Ngweny, son of Adeker, young man and elder of the people, utterly on the far side.

Mony Ngora madupo kuluno,
Aimai!
Mony Ngora madupo kuluno,
Aimai!

The host of Ngora skirts this river,
Ah! woe is me!
The host of Ngora skirts this river,
Ah! woe is me!

[1] Alochit is another name for the man Oluk, the hero of a celebrated buffalo hunt. Apeta (= of the spreading horns) is the name which he took to commemorate the event.

[2] Ajwang is the mother of Ngora, and Adeker the father of Ngweny, Ngora's maternal uncle. The Ngora mentioned in this and subsequent songs was a great general who led three successful expeditions against the Madi about sixty years ago.

[3] Ayago, a tributary of the Moroto.

Kiyakiya! a aia!
Dyangni yam tye kwene mumoyo piny?
Tye Alabatu.[1]
Kiyakiya! a aia!
Dyangni muneko piny yam tye kwene?
Tye Alabatu.
Kiyakiya! a aia!
Dyangni yam tye kwene mumoyo pi?
Tye Alabatu.

(*Apak*) *Kok' Achuralem ribiribi ka tur.*

O glistening whiteness! *a aia!*
Where was thy cow, thy cow that swallows the earth?
It is at Alabatu.
O glistening whiteness! *a aia!*
Where was thy cow that destroys the earth?
It is at Alabatu.
O glistening whiteness! *a aia!*
Where was thy cow, thy cow that swallows the waters?
It is at Alabatu.

(*Recitative*) Cry to Achuralem, cry swiftly to the other side.

Gin 'a job' oneno mam oweko:
Dyang tye loka.

(*Apak*) *Otyer ka rupe, otyer ka chupe.*

What the buffalo sees he leaves not:
The cattle are across the river.

(*Recitative*) The bird whispers it to him, the bird advises him.

Ngora owot' ayeyo wiye.
Kom' ochal nadi, ochal nadi?
A a, amagoro ka mo,
A, ochal nadi, ochal nadi?
Ngora owot' ayeyo wiye.
Kon' ochal nadi, ochal nadi?
A a, amagoro ka mo,
A, ochal nadi, ochal nadi?
E e, jobi owot' abong k' abong.

(*Apak*) *Aaa, jobi owot' awi k' awi, owot' aryong aryong. Jobi owoto ki wiye mere atur k' atur, Apeta k' Alochit. Kara jobi owoto awong k' awong, odacho choto i wiye . . . oweko kare Akochewan. Aa, jobi owoto k' awong awi k' awi k' aryong, odacho choto wiye. Ekesan, ha a! Ekesan, ha a! owoto Amongolem, kare otyer tye i ite, ka' rik' atur k' atur. Odacho choto i ite, jobi owoto ki wiye mere ki awong, abong k' abong. Akosiwan, otyer tye i ite. Ekesan, ye eee! Ewapo kidi, kok' otemo Nyara. Jobi owoto kidi ki wiy' awi ebelebele tur k' ekesan k' adwaran, jobi owoto kidi ki wiy' awi ebelebele tur k' ekesan k' adwaran, ebelebele tur k' ekesan k' adwaran, eee eee!*

Ngora goes with his head on high.
Now what is he like, what is he like?
A a, the wilderness where lies the enemy,
A, what is he like, what is he like?

[1] Alabatu, a large open plain near Nimule. This refers to a large white cow paid as ransom by a Lango prisoner to the Madi on one of their numerous expeditions.

Ngora goes with his head on high.
Now what is he like, what is he like ?
A a, the wilderness where lies the enemy,
A, what is he like, what is he like ?
E e, the buffalo travels in herds.

(*Recitative*) *Aaa*, the buffalo goes with his head on high, he goes in great companies. The buffalo goes with his head swinging this way and that, O Alochit of the spreading horns. For the buffalo goes multitude on multitude, he scatters mud on his brow . . . he leaves his haunts, the buffalo. *Aa*, the buffalo goes in multitudes with his head on high in great companies, he catters mud on his brow. Young man, *ha a !* Young man, *ha a !* He goes to the Amongolem, and his bird is on his ear, as he sways his head from side to side. He scatters mud on his ears, the buffalo goes with his head on high in multitudes, in herds. The buffalo, his bird is on his ear. Young man, *Ye eee !* He follows the hill, the cry aims towards Nyara. The buffalo goes to the hill with his head on high utterly to the other side with the young man and the elder of the people. The buffalo goes to the hill with his head on high utterly to the other side with the young man and the elder of the people, utterly to the other side with the young man and the elder of the people, *eee eee !*

Should the rains fail in spite of these ceremonies, recourse is made to an *ajoka* named Angwech, an aged woman who lives at Abako and holds a position unique among the Lango. She has only attained her present eminence within the last five years, but is now known and acknowledged by the whole tribe, even in the most remote areas. She is not a rain-maker and professes to have no power over the elements, but is a priestess of *Atida*, the aspect of *jok* which is especially associated with rain. As the priestess, she has the power of divination and prophecy, and her advice is sought—with gifts—on a diversity of matters, including rain. During the prolonged drought of 1918 she was approached by embassies laden with gifts from all parts of the district, and it is a remarkable fact (call it coincidence or what you will) that in nearly all cases her assistance was successful. Nor is she a mere charlatan, as is shown by her reception of an embassy from Aduku, whose gifts were unusually rich and numerous. "No," she said in reply, "I will not give you the sacred water, nor will I take your gifts, as it is not I who have helped you. Before you reached me it rained at Aduku while you were yet on the way. Return with your gifts ; it has rained in abundance." On their return they found that she had spoken correctly.

On the deputation of old men reaching her, Angwech gives them such advice as she considers will avail them, including directions for the sacrifice of chickens and goats and the method of their disposal, and takes them to a sacred pool called *ot jok*, house of god. Here the old men besmear themselves with mud from the pool and throw mud and water into the air. They pray for success to crown their efforts, dancing the *awala*, and are finally presented by Angwech

with some sacred medicated water from the pool, which they take home in a calabash.[1] On arriving home they assemble the countryside at the village of the *won-kot*, and having carried out the instructions of Angwech (which vary considerably) asperge the assembled multitude with the sacred water, praying for rain.

Should the drought continue in spite of this, it is suspected that one or more of the old men have maliciously concealed the rain, and endeavours are made to find the culprit. The old men first search among themselves and, should they find him, beat him severely, make him undo his magic and pay a fine of four goats and four sheep, which they eat themselves. If they are unable to find the culprit, all the old men are mercilessly beaten by the *awobi* and are mulcted of innumerable goats, in the hope that they will be induced to deliver up the culprits, whom they are now suspected of shielding.

Rain may be hidden or "tied up" in various ways. (*a*) Mud is taken from a pool of rainwater, rolled into a ball, and hidden in a house, granary or tree. (*b*) The skulls of the animals killed at the rain festival are not disposed of properly, or are subsequently stolen. In one instance they were stolen and ground to dust with fatal effects on the rain. (*c*) Rain may be "tied up" by collecting a little of the falling rain in a small gourd cup called *okoli*, into which is then put a grain of millet. The *okoli* is concealed, generally in a tree.

In addition to the rain songs given above, there are two more songs connected with the rain: *wer mach* (the fire song), which is sung after lightning has struck a house or property:—

Opet awanga, yaa![2]
Opet awanga, aaa!
Awang awang awang, haaa!
Anok anok anat, aaa!
Awang awang awang, haaa!
Anok anok anat, aaa!

(*Apak*) *Akok' awanga kare, a yeyeye aa! awang i tata ka tur kare, Haya! awang i tata ka tur kare. Anok anat, ha, anok anat, awang awanga. Ha aa, awang awanga do, aaa, awanga, yeee, tur ekesan, yeee, awanga, yeyeye, awanga, yeeee, awanga, yee, ebelebele ekesan, ee eee!*

The following ritual is observed if a village or any of its inhabitants or property has been struck by lightning, fatally or otherwise. All the spears in the village are rubbed with ashes and at once stuck through the roofs of the houses from inside, the blades projecting

[1] In the case of the Lango or Orumo, there is a special rain road only used during a prolonged drought in order to obtain sacred water from the Abur, some three days' march. It had not been used for over twenty years till 1918, and was quite overgrown, but its course was well known.

[2] The sense of the song is not clear, beyond the fact that it refers to a spreading conflagration.

above, in order to threaten the rain[1] and to deter it from further malpractices of this nature. The roots of the *Erythrina* tree[2] are cut up, pounded and mixed with water, which is sprinkled over the village. The houses are also tied to one another with a grass rope.[3] The whole village then dances the *awala* in the *bar*, accompanied by one drum, the *atimu*, and singing the above fire song. The rope and spears are so left till the next new moon, when the inhabitants of a neighbouring village come and take the rope from the houses and remove it to a stream or swamp. Here a he-goat is killed, and the flesh cooked and eaten, except the flesh of the head. The rope, the head of the goat, its bones and skin, are buried deep in the marsh. The villagers then remove their spears from the roofs.

The second song is the *wer bonyo*, the locust song. This is either a *jobi* or a *kwaich* song, but as its singing is forbidden neither group admits its responsibility. Should it be sung, the locusts would come with the rains, and it is consequently impossible to obtain the words. It would only be sung with malicious intent, and in this connection it is of interest to note that the clan *Jo Atengoro* is especially entrusted with the task of repelling an invasion of locusts. They catch one and enclose it alive in a small, newly made earthern pot, the mouth of which is then sealed over with clay. It is put on the ground in the direction of the advancing swarm and an axe-head is stuck into the ground beside it, and is there consecrated with water like a new rain spear. The axe-head is never touched again nor taken back to the village, or it would bring back the locusts.

There remains the practice of the *Jo Aber*, which is much less complex, and is frequently much truncated; there is less unity observable also, and often the ceremonies, which are not obligatory, but are only held when the rains fail, are conducted clan by clan.

The assembly having sacrificed a black goat, first proceeds in procession to a spring, which has traditionally been the home of the rain, and there they catch a frog, which is said to be the *wonkot*, in proof whereof the rains break when the frogs croak. They smear the frog with mud and rub mud on their own breasts and foreheads. Water is thrown up from the spring into the air both with the hands and the thistle called *ekwanga*, while the old men pray, "May rain fall as this water falls; may it fall on our grain and fructify it exceedingly, bringing joy and increase to our wives and children."

The procession then passes by a prescribed route from tree to

[1] The word for lightning is *lutkot*, meaning by derivation "immersing rain." Often, however, it is the rain (*kot*) which is said to have struck a house or person.

[2] Called by the Lango on this account *owilakot*, the buyer of rain.

[3] The Alur often tie their huts with grass ropes to *avert* lightning if there have been many bad storms in the vicinity.

tree and from pool to pool, the men and women keeping apart. For the most part the men are silent, but the women sing continuously (not the rain songs above, but songs of everyday life, including some songs usually reserved for the ceremonies attending the birth of twins), and dance the *abalachela*, a dance similar to the *awala*, but peculiar to this ceremony. They dance it under trees, in villages and by pools, and as they walk in procession contrive to retain the steps of the dance. Both men and women are garlanded and wreathed with the convolvulus *bomo*. The men carry one spear each.

At each pool water is sprinkled and mud is rubbed on the body, both by men and women, and the following procedure takes place at each of the trees (always a fig or a kigelia) at which the procession stops. The tree is rushed with much noise and shouting to drive out the rain which has taken shelter in its trunk, which is then tied round with ropes of plaited grass in order to restrain the wind and to cause it to be at peace. The women sing at a distance from the tree, while the men in a deep and solemn voice perform the *agat*, as given above. The tree-trunks are also rubbed with mud taken from neighbouring springs.

Numerous trees and pools are so visited, and the ceremony ends without further variation, except at Lira, where, after all the trees and pools have been visited, the procession reaches a small gneiss outcrop, where it rests, while the men again perform the *agat*. Everyone then gathers up all loose pebbles and covers them with grass and earth, as it is thought that should they be left unconcealed the rain would be frightened away.

The women now disperse, but the men proceed to Ngeta Hill, each armed with his one spear, and on arriving there form a semicircle facing it, and as they dance the *awala* threaten the hill with their spears, singing at the same time :—

> *Kot, chwe ; nen tong ; kot, chwe ki anywal anywala.*
> Rain, fall ; behold the spear ; rain, fall with fruitfulness.

This ceremony is further unique among rain ceremonies in being accompanied by the long drum *atimu*, which is played by the *won-kot*.

In case of failure the *Jo Aber* also obtain advice and water from Angwech, and alone of all the Lango select for death one of the old men, should they persist in withholding the rain.

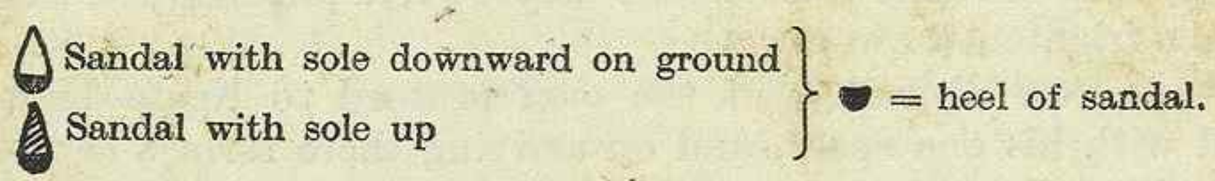
§ 7. **Divination by Sandals.**—This method of foretelling the future (*lamo war* or *tyeto war*, to invoke or to inquire of the sandals) is not confined to any particular class of soothsayers ; every Lango practises it before going on a journey, or to battle, or to a hunt.

It is not open to women. That great store is not set by its predictions, however, is proved by the fact that an unlucky fall of the sandals is not necessarily conclusive, the inquirer persisting in the throws until a good omen is forthcoming; but should the omens persistently remain bad after several throws the prediction is accepted, and in extreme cases the projected journey is postponed.

The Lango sandal is of very primitive structure, consisting of a sole with a slightly raised pad at the back of the heel. At the toe and on each side are small lapels, through which laces are inserted joining up the lapels with the heel pad, the lace of the toe lapel passing between the wearer's big and first toes.

To take the omens the sandals are held together sole to sole, and toe to toe, by the inner edges, if they belong to the man making the inquiry; but if they are borrowed, the thrower holds them by the outer edges. Having thus grasped the sandals, the inquirer throws them up into the air, imparting a twisting motion by a turn of his wrist, and the omens are read by their respective positions on falling to the ground. No skill is required for reading the omens, as the interpretations are all stereotyped, and no variation has been detected anywhere in the tribe. A number of positions carry no meaning, and those shown below appear to exhaust the accepted interpretations. In many cases the reason for these interpretations is obvious, but often no explanation can be offered.

Sandals will be represented diagrammatically by the following symbols :—



Whether the sandal belongs to the right or the left foot is immaterial to the interpretation, and the distinction is therefore disregarded.

POSITION 1. No danger; hunting will be safe.

POSITION 2. (A wider interval between sandals than 1). I.e. A broad road; go on your journey in safety; no danger.

POSITION 3. You will kill game. x = the hide of the animal killed.

POSITION 4. You will kill a male animal. x = the ritual action of incising its nose.

POSITION 5. Same as 4.

POSITION 6.

You will kill a female animal (heel of sandal x on top).

POSITION 7.
A large herd of game will pass close by the trees in which you are concealed, and you will kill many.

POSITION 8.

Ib le (tail of animal). On killing an animal you will take and wear its tail; i.e. you will be the first spearer. x = the tail; Y = the wearer.

POSITION 9.
Superimposed by . Meat tied in a bundle after killing game (contrast Position 18).

POSITION 10.
If you hunt, a leopard or other dangerous animal will kill you.

POSITION 11.
If you hunt, a leopard or other dangerous animal will wound you.

POSITION 12.
If you hunt, a leopard or other dangerous animal will attack you.

POSITION 13. Sandal on its edge, heel to rear, with in a line behind it. Wounded game will escape.

POSITION 14. Both sandals standing on their heels, balanced toe to toe. You will kill a giraffe.

POSITION 15.

A satisfactory flirtation. Y = man lying at ease on his back; x = woman.

POSITION 16.

Same as 15, with the position of the parties reversed.

POSITION 17.
Partially superimposed by (the edge of the under sandle slightly projecting). Sexual intercourse.

POSITION 18.
Completely superimposed by . (1) Pregnancy. (2) You will kill a pregnant doe.

POSITION 19.
Pregnancy at its inception.

POSITION 20.
Achudi del nyako. The projection at the back of a girl's waistbelt.

POSITION 21.
Achudi del dako. The projection at the back of a woman's waistbelt. (Distinguished from 20 by the interval between the sandals.)

POSITION 22.
Respect to your mother-in-law: i.e. beware of an accidental meeting on your journey.

POSITION 23. A girl's breasts.

POSITION 24. Beware of a stranger (Y) whom you (X) will meet on the road; though you are friendly and greet him, he has a treacherous intention.

POSITION 25. An acquaintance (Y) wants to quarrel with you (X), but goes away peaceably after listening to your explanation.

POSITION 26. Someone (Y) will meet you (X) on the road and will wish to kill you with a spear.

POSITION 27. A stick will pierce your foot and you will walk lamely.

POSITION 28. A woman will give you a bowl of bakemeats.

POSITION 29. If you go on a visit, you will either find a sick man or will receive beer from a dark woman.

POSITION 30. If you go on a visit, you will receive beer from a fair woman.

POSITION 31. A third party will impose silence on indiscreet utterances.

POSITION 32. Someone (Y) will give you a goat (X).

POSITION 33. Entirely superimposed by . Poverty; no wife.

POSITION 34. Entirely superimposed by . Very great poverty; no hope of alleviation.

POSITION 35. Someone will present you with a cow, but it will break loose and go back to its original owner.

POSITION 36. Someone will give you a little beer in a bowl. (Distinguished from 22 by the interval between the sandals.)

POSITION 37. Rain.

POSITION 38 Both sandals on edge, soles inwards, the heels touching and forming an angle, or parallel to each other with a small interval. Indicates a grave. You will be killed at your destination, or if sick will not recover.

POSITION 39. A friend will bring you good news.

POSITION 40. One sandal lying sole up, the other standing on edge with the heel resting on the first sandal. You will be put in the stocks.

POSITION 41. As in 40, except that the toe is on the first sandal. Someone will borrow your knife to cut up meat, and will give you a bone to eat.

POSITION 42. Taking cattle or goats for marriage.

POSITION 43. Superimposed by . You will cross a river in a canoe.

§ 8. **Miscellaneous Beliefs.**—If on starting out for a journey a traveller hears a woodpecker on his right hand, it is a good omen; if on the left, it is bad, and he should return home.

If a man sets out on a journey and the woodpecker is heard pecking, all is well, and he may proceed in safety; if it flies across his path and he persists on his journey, he will meet with a sudden death.[1]

If a man sets out on a journey and a small bird called *akado* sings *kraich*, it is unlucky to proceed. This is because the sound *kraich* is held to resemble the sound of a spear in its flight.

If a man starts on a journey and a branch falls in front of him, he should turn back. If he does not, on his subsequent return home he will surely die.

If a jackal barks in front or behind of him, it is a bad omen, and a traveller should turn back; but if it barks on either side, the omen is good.

If a lesser bustard gets up before you on your way to hunting or battle, you will kill neither game nor man. In the latter case you should go back and abandon the fight.

If you meet a beetle called *agungkongo* on the road, proceed with your journey, as you will find beer at the end.

If you eat honey on the way to a hunt, you will kill no game. The *ajeje* is the honey-bird, which flies singing before you and directs you to honey. If after satisfying yourself you do not leave him any honey, on the next occasion he will lead you to a lion's den out of revenge.

A man starting on a long journey cuts a branch from the trees

[1] In 1906 a case occurred in which this omen was fulfilled. Odongoja, brother of Otwal, father of Okelabong of Aber, was setting out on a raid when a woodpecker flew across his path. In spite of protests he disregarded it, and was killed in battle in the course of the same raid.

oryo or *modu*, with which by waving in a circular motion he drives off any threatening rainstorm.

If your sandal-strap breaks at the beginning of a journey, you must return home, as to continue would ensure disaster.

If you meet a small insect called *achwao* on the road and touch it, you or one of your relations will die within a year.

drives

, you

touch

GRAMMAR

ALPHABET

1.

ă	as *a*	in the French *ami*		= *măn.*
ā	as *a*	in *father*		= *mān.*
ĕ	as *e*	in *let*		= *nĕro.*
ē	as *a*	in *make,* or *e* in French *été*		= *nēro.*
ê	as *ai*	in *air*		= *nêro.*
ĭ	as *i*	in *string*		= *tĭngo.*
ī	as *ee*	in *beer*		= *tīngo.*
ŏ	as *o*	in *pond*		= *rŏmo.*
ō	as *o*	in *stone*		= *rōm'o.*
ô	as *o*	in *story*		= *rômo.*
ŭ	as *u*	in *full*		= *chŭro.*
ū	as *oo*	in *fool*		= *chūro.*
ai	as *i*	in *bite*		= *kwaich.*
ao	as *ow*	in *cow*		= *lao.*
au	as *ou*	in *plough*		= *akau.*
oi	as *oi*	in *oil*		= *atoitoi.*
b	as *b*	in *bring*		= *bapo.*
ch	as *ch*	in *chair*		= *cham.*
d	as *d*	in *day* and the interdental *d*		= *adi, dubo.*
g	as *g*	in *garden* (never soft *g*)		= *gin.*
j	as *j*	in *jest*		= *jo.*
k	as *k*	in *king*		= *kino.*
l	as *l*	in *long*		= *lep.*
m	as *m*	in *man*		= *aman.*
n	as *n*	in *new*		= *neno.*
ng	as *ng*	in *thing, singer*		= *ngech.*
ny	as *ñ*	in *cañon*		= *winyo.*
p	as *p*	in *peace*		= *apupu.*
r	as *r*	in *run*		= *remo.*
t	as *t*	in *tell* and the interdental *t*		= *tik, te.*
w	as *w*	in *well*		= *wang.*
y	as *y*	in *yes*		= *yago, ywech.*

REMARKS

2. The sounds *s, sh, z, f, v,* and *h* do not occur in the normal language, though both *s* and *h* appear rarely in ritual songs of Hamitic origin, e.g. *ha* (an exclamation), *erisa* (leopard). Even so the *s* is very interdental and varies in sound, from *chs* to *th.* The interdental *s* is, however, commonly employed by the Alur, and educated Acholi find little difficulty beyond the initial incongruity

in producing the letter. *F* is pronounced as in English by the Shilluk, but the apparent *f* sound in Acholi is, according to Mr. Grove, due to the pronunciation of *p* with improperly closed lips. *V* is frequent in Alur, where the Lango have *b*, but this is doubtless due—together with the prevalence of *f*—to Madi influence, with whom there has been much intermarriage. As all these tribes remove the lower incisors and wear lip-rings, and in some cases tongue-rings also, it is improbable that the disability of the Lango to pronounce these letters is due to a physical cause, such as prevents the Yao women from pronouncing the letter *f*.

3. Diacritical marks have been sparingly used, as it is thought that a multiplicity of such marks is apt to lead to confusion in the reading, and the quantity and even the quality of the vowels are acquired by the ear rather than by the eye. The circumflex distinguishing the *e* and *o* as above given has, however, been uniformly employed, but quantity has only been indicated by – and ◡ when such a distinction is essential to the meaning. For the same reason the interdentals *d* and *t*, the velar nasal *ng*, and the palatal *ny* have not been represented by specific symbols, though it is recognized that the last two sounds are each phonetically one, and not compound as written. Nor is there a danger of confusion in the symbol *ng* such as might arise in neighbouring Bantu languages, as, with the exception of the word *Kangga* (water-wagtail), the hard *ng* does not exist, unless a suffix beginning with a *g* follows a word ending in *n*, in which case the letters are pronounced separately, as in *stronger*, e.g. *omin-gi* (their brother). Similarly, no double consonants appear unless due to a suffix, e.g. *omin-ne* (his brother) might be heard for the more usual *omin'ere*.

4. The glottal stop, which plays an important part in the language, is represented by the raised comma '. An examination of the vocabulary will put beyond doubt the fact that this stop is due to the omission of a consonant or, less frequently, a vowel, though it does not invariably follow that such an omission necessitates the glottal stop; but as such instances in which the expected stop is missing are rare, it may be that the word has been misheard. On the other hand, as will be seen from the examples given below, a large number of the consonants so dropped are accretions to the original root, which appear to have exercised no effect on the significance of the word, and it is equally likely that, whereas in the allied languages (e.g. Alur, Acholi, Shilluk) the word is used with the consonantal accretions in Lango, the original root-form has been maintained without change. Occasionally, but for a reason which remains obscure, the glottal stop appears to have an additional importance, in distinguishing between words otherwise identical, e.g.

ngako (pelican) and *ngak'o* (to split); *ito* (to descend), and *it'o* (to ascend):—

libdo or *lib'o*, to persecute.
ribdo or *rib'o*, to mix.
ômno or *ôm'o*, to fetch.
jakno or *jak'o*, to break.
tumno or *tum'o*, to cut.
kayo or *ka'no*, to bite.
lau, pl. *la'ni*, skin.
oko or *o'o*, outside.
nin'o, to sleep (Alur, *nindo*; Shilluk, *neno*).
rom'o, sheep (Alur, *rombo*; Shilluk, *romo*).
mon'o, foreigner (Alur, *mondo*).
kon'o, again (Alur, *kondo*).
ken'e, alone (Alur, *kende*).
-'ere (enclitic), his, for *mere*.
-'oro (enclitic), some, for *moro*.
pot'i = *poto-i*, your garden.
-'i (plural formation) for *ni*.
ôd'o, to pound (Shilluk, *godo*).
em, thigh, is frequently pronounced *'em* (Shilluk, *gem*).
obeno, baby carriage (Alur, *obendo*, √ *ban*).
bene, also (Alur, *bende*; Dinka, *eben*, √ *ben*).
atino, children (Alur, *nyatindo*, √ *tin*).
remo, blood (Acholi, *rembo*, √ *rim*).
ramo, to pain (Acholi, *rembo*, √ *ram*).

Other words (e.g. *lobdo* or *lobo*, to follow; *ikno* or *iko*, to arrange) represent both the root and the accreted derivations.

5. In certain conditions which are too vague to admit of definition the *a* sound almost merges into the diphthong *ai*, and opinion might vary concerning the correct spelling in particular instances. Westermann found the same difficulty in Shilluk, but was able to formulate a rule that "the sounds *ch*, *j*, *sh* and *ny*, when following a vowel, generally have a slight *i* sound before them, which combines with the preceding vowel to a diphthong." Similarly, Mr. Grove writes of the Acholi: "The proper pronunciation of *o* and *n* involves a preceding *i*, and consequently such words as *kany*, *lony* and *wacho* rhyme roughly with wine, groin and jaw." Only in the case of the palatal *ny* does such a rule hold in Lango, the preceding *a* or *o* including an appreciable *i* sound, e.g. *kany*, five; *achulany*, nightingale; *mony*, battle. Otherwise, there does not appear to be the same amount of iotacism as in Acholi and Shilluk. Exception might be taken to the spelling of, for example, *kwaich*, which in all other allied languages has appeared as *kwach*; but such a spelling would put the *a* definitely on a par with the *a* in *mach* (fire), which contains absolutely no semblance of an *i*. Again, Westermann states that the Shilluk pronounce *pach* (home) as *paich*, and in Acholi the word is

frequently heard pronounced *paijo*; but in Lango it is pronounced *pacho*, as spelled. Compare also in Acholi *macha* (that) with its alternative form *maija*, in which the quality of the *a* is totally different, requiring a different symbol. The amount of iotacism is apt to vary with the eccentricities of the individual speaker.

6. The letters *t*, *d* and *r* in the allied languages are often hardly distinguishable, and have become interchanged, e.g. in Shilluk *dwato* or *dwaro* (to wish); in Alur *taro* or *tado* (to apply rafters), with which may further be compared the Lango verb *tado* and the substantive *atat* (rafter); in Acholi *miro* or *mito* (to want); Dinka *twor* (duck); Lango *atudo*. Similarly, *dyang*, cow (a word common to all these languages), is derived from a root *ti*. Lango, however, does not exhibit the same lack of clear distinction, and only in two words is there any definite confusion between *t* and *r*: *iro* and *ito* (smoke), *karalang* and *katalang* (warrior ant). That at some period in the past a confusion did exist is, however, attested by such words as *twômo* (to fetch water), which—as will be seen—is derived from the root *ram*. There the change may have coincided with a slight specialization in meaning, as indeed has been the case with a few other words, e.g. *churo* (to warn), *chuto* (to reinforce). A similar specialization as between *d* and *r* is occasionally observable, e.g. *chido* (to stain) and *chiro* (to stain in more than one colour, to variegate, to dapple).

The letter *r* is frequently inserted between two vowels for euphony, e.g. *me-r-a* (my); *gi-r-a* (for my part); *dye-r-e* (its middle); *nya-r-e* (his daughter).[1] And this affords a further instance of the interchange of *r* and *d*, for we find that in at least one case *d* is thus used for euphony: *ke-d-a* (with me).

7. The consonants *t*, *k*, *p*, *ch*, if they are the last letter of a word, change to *d*, *g*, *b*, *y* respectively before a vowel or semivowel, or if followed by the letters *d*, *g*, *b*, *y*, *n*, *m*:—

wat, family; *wadwa*, our relations.
ngut, neck; *nguda*, my neck.
abadmo, the thrower of the second spear (= *bat*, *mo*).
ot, house; pl. *udi*.
dok, mouth; *doga*, my mouth.
tek, to be hard; *teg'o*, to become hard.
gwok, dog; pl. *gwogi*.
lep, tongue; *lebna*, my tongue.
alop, hartebeeste; pl. *aloban*.
lebdyang, stone-crop (= *lep dyang*).
ich, belly; *iya*, my belly.
wich, head; *wiya*, my head.

[1] On the other hand, this may be due to a final *r*, which once existed but has now been suppresed, e.g. "middle," which in Lango is *dye*, is in Shilluk *dyer* and Nuer *dar*. Such an instance of suppression occurs in *kwer* (hoe), pl. *kwei*.

Exceptions :—

bot, side ; *bota*, at my house (*boti*, etc.).
dok, cattle ; *dokwa*, our cattle.
kwaich, leopard ; pl. *kwaichang*.
achut, vulture ; pl. *achutang*.
echoich, porcupine ; pl. *echoichang*.
agak, crow ; pl. *agakan*.
odyek, hyæna ; pl. *odyekan*.
apok, sprat ; pl. *apokan*.
tôt, beetle ; pl. *tute*.
atek, pipe ; pl. *atekan*.
aguti, bossed ; (derived from *got*, hill).

Conversely, if a final vowel be dropped, *d*, *g*, *b*, *y* revert to their corresponding voiceless consonants :—

tado, to make rafters ; *atat*, rafter.
chodo, to break ; *chot*, to be broken.
nyig'o, to move slightly ; *nyik*, to be moved.
bayo, to throw ; *abach*, a cast.
deyo, to strangle ; *adech*, strangulation.
dyebo, to suffer from diarrhœa ; *adyep*, diarrhœa.
kobo, to say ; *kop*, statement.

8. The basis of the language is monosyllabic, despite a superficial appearance to the contrary due to inflections and accretions, which will become evident in the course of the following pages. There is to-day no primitive root word consisting of a vowel, and all forms, apparently consisting of a vowel + consonant, can be proved to be mutilated survivals of a consonant + vowel + consonant root. There are a few consonant + vowel roots, apparently original and unmutilated, still in existence, and others may be deduced from consonant + vowel + consonant roots when the final consonant can be proved to be a later accretion. The standard form of the monosyllabic root, however, whatsoever its original type, is now consonant + vowel + consonant, and examples in illustration of the foregoing remarks will be found under Sections 31 to 34. A philological inquiry into the structure of the language on the lines of *Die Sudansprachen* is beyond the scope of this work and the powers of its author, but the vocabulary affords sufficient evidence to predicate a monosyllabic basis of the consonant + vowel + consonant form. The present intention is merely to draw attention to a few variations which have subsequently been introduced into the original root, other than grammatical inflections, prefixes or suffixes, which will be considered in due course.

9. The interpolation of a semivowel *w* or *y* after the first consonant was an early augmentation, and the effect of the *w* has been particularly far-reaching, as it has frequently resulted in a change in the

quality of the following vowel. Westermann has shown conclusively that the root consonant + *a* + consonant, when increased to consonant + *w* + *a* + consonant, eventually becomes consonant + *w* + *o* + consonant, and then consonant + *o* + consonant; and of this there are some striking examples in Lango, more striking probably than any adduced by him, as in certain instances the root exists at all the different stages of evolution. Though the majority of words which have been modified by the addition of a semivowel (so far as it is possible to judge) appear to have retained their original meaning unaltered, instances are not wanting to show that the purpose of the semivowel was to differentiate connotations for which the permutations of primitive roots did not suffice.

The original word for "person" was *la* (possibly a mutilated form of *lap*, as we find *labo* in Shilluk), but this form does not now exist except as a personal prefix to substantives, very common in Acholi, but rare in Lango (e.g. *ladwong*, old man). The current form is *lo* (i.e. *lwa*), the evolution of which is proved by its plural form *lwak*, i.e. *la* + the semivowel *w*, to which root has been added the plural suffix *k*.

Dinka and Shilluk, *mat* = slow; Alur, *mwot* = slow; Lango, *mot* = slow; but compare the following forms derived from the same root: *kimat*, one who moves slowly, i.e. an old woman; *mwat*, to move slowly or haltingly.

Dinka, *bar* = long; Shilluk, *bar* or *bor* = long; Lango, *bor* (long), *abora* (time of lengthening shadows, i.e. afternoon); Acholi, *abwara* (afternoon).

Again, by this rule it is possible to conclude that *wero* (to sing) and *woro* (to praise) originate in the same root, the latter meaning ultimately "to sing songs of praise," as Shilluk gives us the intermediate *wuoro* (to sing). This shows that the original root was *war*, of which *wero* is a perversion, *e* (or in Alur *i*) at a later period not infrequently replacing a more primitive *a*, e.g. *rach* or *rech* (to be bad).

Alur and, to a lesser extent, Acholi have generally preferred the middle stage of evolution:—

Alur and Acholi, *kwop* (speech); Lango, *kop*.
Alur, *kwono* (perhaps); Lango, *kono*.
Alur, *kworo* (to guard); Lango, *koro*.
Alur, *jwok* (deity); Lango, *jok*.

But instances to the contrary are not wanting:—

Alur, *nyolo* (to give birth); Lango, *nywalo*.
Alur, *afoyo* (hare); Lango, *apwô*.
Acholi, *nongo* (to find); Lango, *nwango* or *nwongo*.

Lango prefers the last stage, and curiously enough the words in which a differentiation of meaning (generally a specialization)

is noticeable exhibit this difference, not between the primitive root and a later stage, but between a middle and the final stages :—

twômo, to fetch water ; *ôm'o*,[1] to fetch (√ ram).
lwok'o,[1] to wash (generally) ; *logo*, to wash the hands.
mwodo, to collect fuel ; *modo*, to chew.
twomo, to stab ; *tum'o*,[1] to cut (Shilluk, *tomo*).

Compare also the specialization in meaning due to the interpolation of the semivowel *y* in *tero* (to take), which becomes *tyero* (to take an offering, to offer).

10. Monosyllabic roots naturally carry no accent or stress, which only begins to arise after the language has by inflection or otherwise become to a more or less extent polysyllabic. A very marked word accent is not therefore to be found in Lango, though there is just sufficient stress on the root syllable of polysyllabic words to distinguish it from the other syllables which have been prefixed or suffixed. In agglutinated words the different root syllables are equally marked, and no variation of stress is discernible.

11. A monosyllabic basis, however, presented a difficulty in that the vocabulary was of necessity strictly limited ; consequently one root might have to serve for several unrelated meanings. A system of tones went far to solve this difficulty, the different meanings of one root being distinguished by different tones. These in Shilluk were, and still are, extremely essential ; but it would appear that in Lango, as the root words became augmented by various accretions, the importance of tones tended to diminish. There are only two tones, a high and a low (distinguished respectively by an acute or grave accent over the vowel), as contrasted with three in Shilluk ; moreover, the number of words in which the nature of the tone plays a determining rôle is insignificant. Indubitably every syllable has its specific tone, which (as in Shilluk) is apt to vary or become assimilated to the tones of neighbouring syllables, but from being an integral and essential part of the language tones have with the following exceptions become a melodious accessory, though still essential in so far as the language cannot be intelligibly spoken without a compliance, studied or unconscious, with its tonal system :—

bàla, like ; *bála*, interrogatory.
edèke, dysentery ; *odéke*, boil.
gági, cowrie ; *gà'gi*, cowries.
gwèto, to abstract ; *gwét'o*, to beckon.
ìto, to descend ; *ít'o*, to ascend.
jobí, buffalo ; *jobì*, buffaloes.

[1] The glottal stop represents an *n*, which has further augmented the stem.

kèno, gourd ; *kéne*, gourds.
kwòk, to perspire ; *kwók*, to decay.
lìyo, to pour carefully ; *líyo*, to smooth.
lwángni, fly ; *lwàngni*, flies.
okwìr, martin ; *okwír*, jay.
tìngo, to carry ; *tíngo*, to libel.

12. All parts of speech are subject to reduplication, and some words are more regularly used in their reduplicated form, e.g. *pipino* rather than *pino* (hornet), *atatam* (savoury meat) than *atam*, *twatwal* (very) than *twal*. A word may be reduplicated by simple repetition of the whole word, e.g. *yotyot* (quickly) ; *obedo tektek* (it is very difficult). But such a simple repetition rarely extends beyond monosyllables. The normal rule is that the first consonant + vowel of the root is repeated, e.g. *luto* (to immerse), *luluto ; ber* (to be good), *beber ; mot* (slowly), *momot* or *motmot*, the latter carrying a greater emphasis. Should a word begin with a vowel, this is disregarded, and not included in the reduplication, e.g. *angengech* from *angech* (dappled).

Reduplication may give additional importance to the meaning of the word reduplicated, and doubtless this was its original intention, but in these latter days it more often than not adds no appreciable value :—

Chuchuto (= *chuto*), quickly.

To podi ochachano achachana locha (= *ochano achana*).
Ill-health is still persecuting him.

Ongungur angungura (= *ongur angura*).
He is for ever grumbling.

Kal obobom aboboma (= *obom aboma*).
The millet is quite parched.

Lyet cheng ololobo tyen'a aloloba (= *olobo aloba*).
The sun has blistered my feet.

Lwit bonyo okokoro chinga.
The locusts' feet have quite scratched my hands.

Dyang macha cha.
That cow over there.

13. An unaccented final vowel is generally elided before another vowel, and a final consonant may be slurred or entirely dropped in circumstances for which it is impossible to formulate a rule, so apparently irregular is the practice in this respect. It may safely be said, however, that this tendency towards the suppression of final consonantal sounds is on the increase, and may in part be due to proximity with Bantu neighbours, to whom any ending save in a vowel is abhorrent. Thus *aborok* or *aboro* (catarrh) may both be heard ; *ageran* or *agera* (cicatrization) ; *dog nam* (lake shore), but *do nam* (Lunyoro)—both from *dok* (mouth) ; *chutok* (quickly) has

almost completely given place to the modern *chuchuto*. This suppression has in a few instances resulted in a misconception of the quality of the final consonant, and thus we find for example *amalik* or *amalech* (Speke's antelope), *eputok* or *eputol* (mahogany), *atolom* or *etulok* (marabout stork).

Should the consonant preceding a final unaccented vowel be the same as the first letter of the next word, the final vowel is generally dropped. Further, the final vowel is normally dropped in the following cases :—

Consonant preceding Final Vowel.		Initial Consonant of Next Word.
b, d, n	before	*k*
b	,,	*p*
d	,,	*t*
ch	,,	*g*
ch, r	,,	*n*
k	,,	*ch*

As all elisions are indicated in the texts which are appended, no examples are required here.

14. There exists a cipher language known as *kop me kwoto*, that is, a language of secret understanding by which one may talk behind a man's back. It consists of entirely different words for substantives, but apparently the rest of the grammar and the syntax remain unchanged. The language is much used by lovers, and is normally employed if it is desired to keep the conversation secret from aliens; but it should not be confused with slang terms, or a slang use of accepted phraseology, such as *damôkor* or *bul* (= wife), *gwok* (= child), *chuk* (= testicles), *chareng* (= husband). It is widely distributed, but whether or not it is confined to a group of initiates is unknown. The following examples illustrate the complete divergence from the normal language :—

olwe = *pi*, water.
olich = *chul*, penis.
oduk = *tol*, vagina.
pilalich = *mô*, fat, oil.
atoï = *kwon*, porridge.
akwel = *kongo*, beer.

THE PREFIX *A*

15. Reference to the Vocabulary will show that *a* is the commonest initial letter in Lango, a peculiarity which is shared together with the initial *o* by other Nilotic languages in the Sudan. This is only partially due to the modern tendency to drop an initial consonant, (e.g. *achok* (potato) for *kachok*; *ororo* (snake), cf. Dinka *keror*),

and its importance cannot be overestimated if an accurate conception of the language is to be attained.

16. In a few instances the *a* prefix cannot be explained, and though it cannot form part of the original root of the word, its association has been of such long standing as to make analysis and separation impossible. Ex. *adam* (brain), *adi*[1] (how many ?), *adek* (three), *arok* (hump).

17. The prefix is applied to substantives, adjectives, adverbs and numerals, and is used to form the gerundive mood of verbs; but with this diversity of application there is a like diversity in etymology. Thus *a* may stand for *ka*, the locative prefix (from *ka*, place); it may be the prefix indicating the female sex, especially in the matter of terms of relationship; or it may stand, on the clipping principle already alluded to, for *ma*, the relative; or for *pa*, the preposition "of"; or for *da*, the prefix of the personal agent.

These qualities of the *a*- prefix are self-evident, and require little elaboration, a few examples sufficing :—

A- = locative *ka*.
- *adok*, the place of cattle.
- *akwat*, pasturage.
- *abongonyinge*, the place without a name.
- *agik*, the place of stopping, i.e. end.

A- = female sex.
- *amin*, sister (*omin*, brother).
- *abol*, female bamboo (*obol*, male bamboo).
- *akwaro*, granddaughter (*okwaro*, grandson).

A- = *ma* (relative, i.e. adjectival).
- *aber*, good.
- *achô*, male.
- *amon*, female.
- *akwoyo*, sandy.
- *akech*, bitter.

A- = *pa*, of (i.e. genitive).
- *apapa*, of my father.
- *angadi*, of so-and-so.
- *aloni*, of this man.

A- = *da*, personal agent.
- *atet*, smith.
- *akol*, prisoner.
- *Anam*, Munyoro.
- *akwang*, ferryman.

18. The majority, however, are derived from another use of the *a*- prefix, which originally appears to have been a root word, whether verbal or substantival, indicating either "to be" or

[1] Cf. Dinka, *di*.

"essence." Thus in Shilluk *a* means "it is," e.g. *a gin ango* what is it? *byel a cham*, the durrha is eaten; and in Lango the same *a* is possibly preserved in the *e* of the defective verb *ane, ine, ene* (I am, etc.).[1] In Bari also the prefix *a-* is a verbal prefix, which takes the place of a copula, indicating that an adjective is in the predicate, e.g. *Ngun a-duma*, God is great; *silo kaden a-rigwo*, these trees are straight. As may be expected, given such a root word, this group consists almost entirely of abstract conceptions, the *a-* prefix corresponding with the English suffix *-ness* or the Luganda prefix *bu-*.

Such abstract nouns may be formed not only from verbs, but also from substantives; and though only a few of the latter have been noted in the vocabulary, it would appear that there is no limit to such formations, which may be improvised as required.

19. As a preliminary, however, it is necessary to examine the formation of the gerundive mood of verbs, as a large majority of these substantives are formed on identical lines, i.e. not only is an *a-* prefixed, but the last vowel of the verb is changed to *-a* also (or in the case of abstract nouns formed from other substantives ending in a consonant a suffix *-a* is added).

20. This final *-a* is obscure, and its origin is possibly beyond discovery; it is unlikely, however, that it is a mere repetition of the idea contained in the initial *a-*. In Bari *-a* is a passive or reflexive suffix, and the commonest method of forming the passive of a verb is by the addition of this suffix; e.g. *ko*, to bite; *koa*, to be bitten. In Shilluk and Alur the passive is similarly formed by the suffix *-a*, which is a personal pronoun. True, in Lango the regular tenses of the passive are not so formed, but the gerundive mood also carries a passive meaning. Thus *abeda*, gerundive from *bedo*, "to sit," may mean as an adjective "for sitting," i.e. "being sat on" (*kom abeda*, chair for sitting on), or as a substantive, "the act" or "posture of sitting" (*kom me abeda*, chair of the sitting). Similarly, *gin achama*, "things for being eaten."

21. The meaning of the gerund is liable, however, to considerable variations, ranging from a pure substantive, e.g. *abora* (ulceration), *anin'a* (somnolence), *adyaka* (wetness, moisture), through the true gerundive connotation, e.g. *amata* (*pi amata*, water for drinking), to one of a passive participle, e.g. *aonya* (mixed), *arega* (ground), *abula* (roasted), *alaka* (inherited). Bari, again, affords material for comparison, e.g. *akoa* (bitten), from *ko* (to bite); *abelengo* (broken), from *beleng* (to break); *agwata* (splashed), from *gwaddu* (to splash).

[1] The change from *a* to *e* would not be abnormal. Cf. *cham* and *chem*, *rach* and *rech*, *jago* and *jegdi*.

22. The gerundive is commonly used cognately in conjunction with other moods of the same verb, e.g. *woto awota* (to go a going); *bedo abeda* (to sit a sitting), generally with no addition to the meaning beyond emphasizing the essential idea of the verb. Compare the cognate accusative in Latin and the use of the *bu-* prefix in Luganda, e.g. *okutula butuzi*, to sit a sitting.

23. This wide range of use makes it no easier to trace the history of the termination, though the prefix *a-* is still more clearly defined as connoting essence, characteristic or abstraction.

24. It is possible that originally the suffix was *-an* or *on*, the *-n* being subsequently dropped. In support of this we have eight words: *poron, adwaran, aworon, atwin, apetan, ageran, achapan, etiron.* *Adwaran* is a ceremonial word whose meaning is not clear; *poron* (counterfeit, from *poro*, to counterfeit), *ageran* (cicatrices, from *gero*, to cicatrize), *apetan* (staircase, from *peto*), *aworon* (worship paid to ancestors, from *woro*), are all passive participles used as substantives; *atwin* (a shoot) is apparently derived from *twi* (to sprout), but may be from an obsolete form *twio* (to cause to sprout); *achapan* (servant), appears to be active, despite its formation from *chapo* (to serve); *etiron* is an irregular formation used only in ritual songs from *tiro* (to straighten).

25. The substantive proper formed from verbs also bears the prefix *a-*, e.g. *abwog'e* (abortion), *achwi* (cupping), *awôt* (wrestling), and in a few cases we find the verbal substantive co-existing with the gerund used as a substantive, both words carrying an identical meaning, e.g. *achŏda* and *achŏt* (flirtation), *anekere* and *aneka* (feud), *angwal* and *angwala* (paralysis), *arat* and *arata* (pleasantry). This proves at any rate that, whatever the origin of the *-a* suffix, it does not influence the substantival use of the gerund.

26. On the same analogy abstracts are formed from other substantives and even from adverbs, e.g. *adana* (humanity) from *dano* (man), *ajia* from *ji* (plurals of *adana* and *dano*), *aloba* (earthiness) from *lobo* (earth), *anaka* (eternity) from *naka* (formerly), *aota* (architecture) from *ot* (house), *atina* (to-day-ness) from *tin* (to-day), *atwola* (snakiness), from *twol* (snake), *Agonya* from *Ogonyo*, *akita* (purity or, as an adverb, only) from *kit* (nature). To these should be added the following which have not the final *-a*: *adangdang* (tenor drum) from *dangdang* (the onomatopœic representation of drum-beats), *atômon*, from *tômon*. These examples offer the strongest possible confirmation of the hypothesis that the *a-* prefix denotes essence or abstraction, the most remarkable of all being its application to a proper name, *Ogonyo*. *Nyinga Ogonyo Agonya*, my name is *Ogonyo*, essentially *Ogonyo*, i.e. I have no other name, it is just

Ogonyo. *Naka* (since, formerly) itself carries the idea of duration of time, but with the *a-* prefix is converted to the meaning of abstract duration, i.e. eternity. Similarly, *atômon* is the abstract of *tômon* (ten), meaning "ten-ness," "the idea of ten"; hence its application to any multiple of ten to form with other numerals the numbers twenty, thirty, etc. Another numeral, *achel*, exhibits a like formation, being derived from *chalo*, to resemble, and meaning "similarity," i.e. "oneness," hence one. A very significant example occurs in Acholi in the use of *pare, pari*, etc. (my, they, etc.), prefixed by *a-*, i.e. *apara, apari*, etc., to mean "my (thy, etc.) characteristic" or "forte"; *apare ngwech*, his forte is running; *apagi mako rech*, fishing is their hobby.

27. Adverbs are similarly formed: *kwong*, to be the first; *akwong*, first-ness, first; *toto*, to guess, *atot*, guessing, perhaps; *man*, this, *aman*, thisness, thus; *tir*, to be straight, *atira*, straightness, straightly; *nget*, side; *angete*, to the side, *sideways*. Here again confirmation comes from Bari, e.g. *merete*, side, *amerete*, sideways; *rima*, blood, *arima*, bloody. (Cf. Lango *remo, arema*.)

28. This *a-* prefix, therefore, applies to numerous parts of speech, but contains throughout the same idea of abstraction. It happens consequently that the same word may not infrequently be used as an adjective, an adverb, or a substantive. We have seen that *abeda*, for instance, can be used both as a gerundive adjective or as a substantive preceded by a preposition. Similarly, *amyeka* may mean either "choice" or "thing chosen"; *ajok* may mean "appertaining to god" (adjective) or "magically" (adverb); *agol* may mean both "foolishly" and "fool." Similarly, in Shilluk this *a-* prefix is applied to various parts of speech, e.g. *abu* (poor), from *bu* (to be without); *ageto* (blessed), from *geto* (to bless); *achak* (poet), from *chako* (to compose a song); *amalo* (first), from *mal* (front). We may justifiably conclude then that the prefix is in no way grammatical, but conveys the idea of essence or abstraction, the majority of words thus formed being nouns, but some of them capable of being used cognately as adverbs.

SUBSTANTIVES

FORMATION

29. Substantives are of two kinds, root or underived substantives, and derived substantives, the majority of which are verbal in origin. The class derived from verbs are the most numerous and exhibit considerable variety in their formation.

30. *Class I* consists of root substantives, which are all either actually or by derivation monosyllabic. Organically and structur-

ally Lango has developed considerably from its original simplicity, doubtless influenced by neighbouring languages, more particularly of the Hamitic group. Originally the basis of the language was beyond doubt monosyllabic, but by both the processes of agglutination and inflection the character of the language has so altered as almost to submerge the monosyllabic basis. This alteration is, however, largely superficial, and on analysis there are few words which cannot be referred back to an original monosyllable, perhaps no longer current in Lango, but still existing in Shilluk, Nuer, or one of the allied languages.

31. The simplest form of the monosyllable is a vowel, but of this there are no survivals, the apparent monosyllable *ô* being not a root word, but derived from the verb *oyo*, the primitive Sudanian root being *goj* and the verb *gojo*. The combination vowel + consonant does not occur, despite the following apparent examples :—

an, I.	*ich*, belly.	*it*, ear.
em, thigh.	*in*, thou.	*ot*, house.
en, he.	*ip*, tail.	*um*, nose.

Comparison with Shilluk, Dinka, Jur, Anywak and Nuer, shows that the original forms of these words were: *yan*, *gam*, *yen* (or *ken*), *yech* (cf. *yaich*, to conceive), *yin*, *yip*, *yit*, *wot* (or *hut*), *wum*, and that the forms as now used have lost their initial consonant, and should properly be placed with the group consonant + vowel + consonant.

32. The combination consonant + vowel is doubtless the most primitive, and formed the basis of the language, replaced at a later period, however, by the combination consonant + vowel + consonant (with sometimes a semivowel interpolated between the first consonant and the vowel, e.g. *bwong*, *gweng*, *tyen*, *lyech*), which now comprises the majority of monosyllabic stems. But that the former is more primitive is proved by such a word as *ching* (hand), the original root of which was *ti*.

33. *Consonant + vowel :—*

bŏ, net.	*lē*, animal.	*te*, bottom.
chi, wife.	*ngu*, beast.	*wo*, adder.
ge, pebble.	*nya*, daughter.	*ye*, canoe.
lĕ, axe.	*pĕ*, hail.	

34. *Consonant + vowel + consonant :—*

bel, sorghum.	*jal*, person.	*ngony*, buttock.
bur, hole.	*jok*, god.	*piny*, earth.
chak, milk.	*kech*, hunger.	*rech*, fish.
cheng, sun.	*kŏm*, chair.	*tōm*, harp.
chiny, intestine.	*kōm*, body.	*wang*, eye.
del, skin.	*lak*, tooth.	*yat*, tree.
gin, thing.	*nam*, lake.	

35. Polysyllabic substantives, which have not been formed on the agglutinative method (for these are numerous, and their derivation to a monosyllabic basis presents no difficulty), often carry inflections which as yet cannot be explained, but a few examples will demonstrate that these inflections add no apparent meaning to the root, to which the substantives can generally be referred :—

agak (crow). Bor, *gaki*. √ *gak*.
atudo (duck). Dinka, *twol*; Nuer, *twor*. √ *tat*.
chilo (dirt). Bor, *shi*; Alur (verb), *chido*. √ *chi*.
koyu (cold). Nuer, *koch*. √ *koj*.
lela (gneiss). Dinka, *alel*; Bari, *lele*. √ *lil*.
lwangni (fly). Dinka and Nuer, *lwang*. √ *lang*.
nino (semsem). Acholi, *nyim*; Dinka, *nyum*. √ *nim*.
remo (blood). Bari, *rima*; Lugbwara, *ari*; Alur, *rimo*; Nuer, *ryem*. √ *rim*.
ringo (flesh). Ateso, *akiring*. √ *ring*.
arun (year). Dinka, *rwon*; Shilluk and Nuer, *run*. √ *ran*.
tipo (shade). Nuer, *tif*; Dinka, *atiep*. √ *tip*.
owayo (aunt). Nuer, *wach*. √ *waj*.
udu (ostrich). Dinka, *ut*; Shilluk, *wudu*. √ *wut*.
yamo (wind). Dinka, *yom*. √ *yam*.

36. In other cases the monosyllabic root has been preserved in Lango, but obscured in the allied languages, e.g. :—

ngo (what). Shilluk and Alur, *ango*.
ngor (bean). Shilluk, *ngoro*.

37. *Class II.*—(*a*) Substantives in this class all indicate persons, and are formed by prefixing *da-* (the root of *dano*, person) to verbal roots. *Da-* is often further abbreviated to *a-*, as has already been seen :—

dakony, helper; from *konyo*, to help.
dakwat / *akwat* } herdsman; from *kwayo*, to herd.
dachwech, potter; from *chweyo*, to mould.
datyet, seer; from *tyeto*, to divine.
achan, pauper; from *chan*, to be poor.
atet, smith; from *teto*, to forge.
akwang, ferryman; from *kwango*, to ferry.

38. By agglutination such substantives may indicate the nature of the agent's specific occupation, e.g. *akwat-dyel*, goat-herd; *atet-tong*, spear-smith.

39. A few substantives with this prefix are formed from other substantives :—

dakol, prisoner; from *kol*, stocks.
dajwok, wizard; from *jwok*, God.
ajogakot, rain-maker; from *jok*, God, and *kot*, rain.
Anam, lake-dweller, i.e. Munyoro; from *nam*, lake.

40. *Dagoro* (cripple) and *dakolo* (curmudgeon) are irregular, in that they are not formed from the verbal root, but from the infinitive, and in the following cases the prefix has apparently been extended to inanimate objects :—

achwi, cupping-horn ; from *chwino*, to bleed.
daryeb, cover of granary ; from *ryebo*, to superimpose.
daum, cover of pot ; from *um'o*, to cover.

A few words are prefixed by *la-* instead of *da-*, e.g. *laming* (fool), *lanak* (dentist), *ladwong* (chief), *latin* (child) ; but their use is confined to the most northerly Lango, who have been influenced by the neighbouring Acholi, and elsewhere the same words are heard with the *a-* prefix.

41. (*b*) Substantives may consist of verbal roots without prefix or inflection :—

lek, dream ; from *leko*, to dream.
myel, dance ; from *myel'o*, to dance.
wil, barter ; from *wilo*, to barter.
tich, work ; from *tiyo*, to do.
ywech, broom ; from *yweyo*, to sweep.
kaich, harvest ; from *kayo*, to reap.
chan, poverty ; from *chan*, to be poor.
tek, strength ; from *tek*, to be strong.

Exceptions : The following substantives are formed by augmentation of the root :—

tiyo, old age ; from *ti*, to be old.
dago, migration ; from *dak*, to migrate.
charo, depravity ; from *char*, to be depraved.

42. (*c*) Substantives formed by prefixing *ka* (place) or its abbreviation *a-* to the infinitive or verb roots indicate locality or position :—

kachôkere, place of assembly ; from *chôko*, to collect.
kabuto, place of sleeping, bed ; from *buto*, to sleep.
kabedo, place of sitting, chair ; from *bedo*, to sit.
agik, place of stopping, end ; from *gik*, to end.
akwat, pasturage ; from *kwayo*, to herd.

43. The distinction between such words and root substantives bearing a similar meaning—*kabedo*, for instance, and *kom* (chair)—is not regularly observed, and the former may be used as a simple synonym. But actually there is the same difference as might be expressed by the phrase "something-to-sit-on," i.e. anything, whether a chair, a log of wood, a box or a mat, contrasted with chair.

44. For place-names this prefix is, as might be expected, rarely omitted :—

adok, the place of cattle.
adagkolo, the place of renouncing strife.
angonyboke, the place of the wooded ridge.
abardyang, the place of cattle pasturage.

45. In addition to this local use, the prefix *ka-* is applied to three words with apparently little or no significance :—

kachok, potato ; *derivation unknown.*
kapwô, butterfly ; from *pôr* (cf. Suk, *tapurpor*).
katin (= *atin*), child ; from *tin*.

This may be allied to the Suk prefix *ka-* (which also appears in Bari, but apparently generally to indicate an agent), e.g. *kanyurio*, assembly ; *karil*, tick ; *kamukok*, black ant ; *kametian*, flea. The normal pronunciation, however, of all these three words is without the *k-* ; thus *achok*, *apwô* and *atin*, and the explanation may be found in two adjectives, usually pronounced *aliro* (upright) and *angiru* (dusky), but in the hymns of the rain ritual *kaliro* and *kangiro*. These hymns preserve much of the original Hamitic source whence they were drawn, and it is possible that this *ka-* is the preposition *ka* (of, with) found in Ateso, Akwa, Akum, etc. *Ka-pwô* would then literally mean [a thing] of flying ; *ka-tin*, [a thing] of smallness. This is to an extent confirmed by the fact that in the Akum dialect these three words are regularly pronounced with the *k-*.

46. (*d*) Substantives with the prefix *ki-* are of two kinds. (i) Words indicating inanimate objects, in which the *ki-* stands for *gi-*, the abbreviated form of *gin* (thing). This prefix is applied either to verbal forms or to other substantives :—

kichiki, obstacle ; from *chiko*, to ensnare.
kiroich, scabbard ; from *royo*, to insert.
kitok, head-dress ; from *tok*, occiput.
kitutu, cuckoo ; from *tutu* (onomatopœic).
kibanga, species of fish ; from *rubanga*.
kicholi, finch ; from ? *chol* (to be black).

47. (ii) Words indicating animate objects, in which the prefix *ki-* stands for *kit* (manner, custom, nature). The full form *kite-* (its nature) appears in two words, *kitedep* and *kitekun* :—

kidep, flea ; from *depo*, to glean.
kitedep, flea ; from *depo*.
kitekun, chicken flea ; from (?).
kichô, male ; from *chô*, male.
kimat, old woman ; from *mat* = *mot*, slow.

48. The following words cannot be classified under either group : *kibu* (fig-tree), *kijang* (basket), *kitiber* (labour pains), *kitilang* (bean), *kitôdi* (plantain), and *kitonge* (fragment).

49. (*e*) *O-* is a frequent prefix, as is the case with Shilluk and other Sudan languages. In Alur this prefix is replaced by *u-* with apparently the same significance :—

odyek, hyæna. Alur, *undiek*.
okok, termite. Alur, *ukok*.
omin, brother. Alur, *umin*.
olam, fig-tree. Alur, *ulam*.
opuny, heel. Alur, *unfuny*.

Examples could be multiplied endlessly, but it is only necessary to show that the prefix is universal, and instances of the vowel change from *o* to *u* are found not only as between different dialects, but in the same language. Thus in Shilluk *goro* and *guro* both mean "to tattoo," and the following examples illustrate a similar change in Lango :—

tom, harp ; pl. *tume*.
bora, cat ; pl. *bure*.
ajoru, whirlwind ; pl. *ajurang*.
ot, house ; pl. *udi*.
jo, people ; *ju* (plural prefix corresponding with singular *da-*).

50. The prefix has the following significations :—

(i) It designates persons or the descendants of persons, and as such is a common prefix to proper names :—

Okelo, Okelo, or son of Kelo.
okwaro, grandson, descendant of *kwaro* (grandfather).
omaro, son of *maro* (wife's mother), i.e. wife's sister's husband.
omin, mother's son, i.e. brother.
omô, son of enemy (*mô*), captive in war.

Cf. Shilluk :—

wajo (father's sister), *owajo* (father's sister's child).
gwok (dog), *ogwok* (son of dog, i.e. jackal).

51. (ii) It indicates the masculine gender :—

odoich, name of male baby.
ojok, name of male baby.
obol, male bamboo.

52. (iii) It is sometimes interchanged with the prefix in *a-*, or is applied to substantives which normally stand without a prefix :—

obiru or *abiru*, stick.
ochogo or *choga*, castor oil tree.
ochwau or *chwao*, tamarind.
ogu or *gu*, laterite.
okau or *akau*, stream.
oranga or *aranga*, bean.
obanga or *kibanga*, a fish.
oligo or *liklik*, euphorbia.
opilo for *apilo*, striped.
oroye for *aroye*, gelded.

Similarly, it is also the normal prefix to words introduced from foreign languages :—

ochala, bulrush ; from *bisaro* (Lunyoro).
ochyene, grasshopper ; from *ensenene* (Luganda).
ogali, kind of tree ; from *mugali* (Luganda).
omen, coffee ; from *mumwanyi* (Lunyoro).
omorotot, python ; from *emorotot* (Ateso).
otêre, dried potatoes ; from *bitere* (Lunyoro).
otuba, bark cloth tree ; from *mutuba* (Luganda).

53. (iv) Just as the *a-* prefix indicates abstracts, so *o-* prefixed to verbal or substantival roots indicates concretes, a use to which by far the largest number of substantives so prefixed should be referred. This *o-* stands for the pronoun *en* (he, it), corresponding to the *o-* prefix of the third person singular of verbs. Compare Nuer, in which language the suffix *-o* is a demonstrative pronoun, and *ewe* and *twi*, which have *wo-* and *o-* respectively for the prefix of the third person singular. It is also naturally used as a singular suffix, as will be seen in considering plural formations :—

oduro, it-heap ; from *duro*, to heap.
odwongmon, it-woman-frightener (a lizard), *dwongo*, *mon*.
omôjok, it-oil-god, i.e. leprosy, *mô*, *jok*.
olutokwon, it-immerse-porridge, i.e. ladle, *luto kwon*.
otwinyo, it-blow-nose, i.e. mucus, *twinyu*.
oyengo, it-shake, i.e. earthquake, *yengo*.
odol, it-fold, i.e. headpad, *dolo*.
odir, it-*dir*, i.e. cricket, *dir* (onomatopœic).
okongo, it-*kongo*, i.e. jay, *kongo* (onomatopœic).
okwodo, it-swell, i.e. tick, *kwoto*.
okak, it-*kak*, i.e. wild cat, *kak* (onomatopœic).

54. Roughly, this prefix corresponds with the English article "the," but that its use is not indispensable is demonstrated by a comparison with other languages :—

obayi, dawn ; Shilluk, *bar*.
ober, mosquito ; Shilluk, *beyo*.
ojor, lake fly ; Shilluk and Alur, *jor*.
okak, wild cat ; Shilluk, *kago* ; Alur, *kak*.
olik, bat ; Shilluk, *alilit* ; Alur, *lik*.
oreô, thirst ; Shilluk, *rodo* ; Alur, *rieno*.
ogol, eave ; Shilluk, *gul* ; Bari, *kure*.
ogwang, merekat ; Shilluk, *gwang* ; Alur, *ungwona*.

Conversely :—

chwiny, heart ; Shilluk, *ochuny* or *chunyo*.
kwer, hoe ; Shilluk, *kwero*.
nyok, he-goat ; Shilluk, *onywok*.
lwangni, fly ; Shilluk, *lwango*.
kworo, serval ; Shilluk, *okwor*.

55. (*f*) Among Nilotic languages Lango is peculiar in using the letter *e* as a prefix. This doubtless stands for *en* (he, it), and is comparable with the last use of the *o-* prefix. Compare *edug'u* (species of tree) = *odug'o*; *eloto* (drum-stick) = Alur, *olothero*:—

edoket, it-cross, i.e. ford; from *dokoro*, to cross.
ekôkit, it-ransom, i.e. ransom; from *kôko*, to ransom.
ekokowach, it-cry-*wach*, i.e. merecat; from *koko*, to cry, *wach* (onomatopœic).
ekwe, it-*kwe*, i.e. jackal; from *kwe* (onomatopœic).

In a few instances *e-* replaces the more regular prefix:—

enyang = *anyang*, cream-coloured.
etok = *kitok*, head-dress.
ewor = *aworon*, festival.

56. (*g*) *A-* is prefixed to the roots of verbs and substantives and numerals to form abstract conceptions. Included in these pure substantives are the gerundive formations used substantively. *A* prefix instead of *ka-* and *da-* has already been discussed:—

aryô, duality, two; from root *ri*.
adwanya, recantation; from *dwanyo*, to recant.
adana, humanity; from *dano*, person.
aneo, maternal relationship; from *nero*, maternal uncle.
anin'a, somnolence; from *nin'o*, to sleep.
awanya, avarice; from *wany*, to be mean.
aika, organization; from *iko*, to arrange.

NUMBER.

57. Lango exhibits a large variety of plural formations which may be classified under four heads:—

(*a*) Suffixes.
(*b*) Change in Prefix.
(*c*) Vowel Change.
(*d*) Tonal Change.

It is not clear why any of these methods should be selected for a particular word, and cases occur in which the same word may follow one method in Shilluk, for instance, and another in Lango, e.g. Shilluk, *pi-pik* (water); Lango, *pi-pii*; Shilluk, *aywom-aywomi* (patas monkey); Lango, *ayom-ayomang*. The same substantive may even have two plurals formed on different methods, e.g. *rao-rai*, *rei* (hippopotamus); *dyel-dyegi*, *dyege* (goat); *min-megi*, *mege* (female); *le-leny*, *lego* (animal); *jal-jo*, *ji* (man). Not infrequently the plural is formed by a combination of two or more of the above methods, and the same word may thus be found tabulated under more than one heading.

58. (*a*) *Suffixes.*—Suffix *-ni*. This suffix is probably a shortened form of the demonstative pronoun *eni*, these :—

Lango-Langni, Lango ; *lau-la'ni*, skin.
jago-jegdi (= *jegni*), chief.
[Cf. Masai, *engela-engelani*, clothes.]

59. Suffix *-'i* (= *-ni*) :—

abanwa-aban'i, seer.
abino-abin'i, jar.
adita-adit'i, basket.
agulu-agul'i, pot.
bongo-bong'i, clothes.
bonyo-bony'i, locust.
moko-mug'i, flour.
nger-nger'i, monkey.
nino-nin'i, semsem.
ogwegwe-ogwed'i, lizard.
okwodo-okwod'i, tick.
olok-olok'i, vine.
olwedo-olwed'i, lilac.
otaich-otaich'i, headpad.
pacho-pach'i, village.
pala-pal'i, knife.
poko-pug'i, rind.
polo-pol'i, cloud.
poto-pot'i, garden.
pwuno-pwun'i, pig.
tabo-tab'i, bowl.
tigo-tig'i, bead.
wino-win'i, bristle.
yago-yag'i, kigelia.
ngil'i (fragments) is plural only.

60. Suffix *-i*. This is the most frequently used of all the plural suffixes, and has the widest distribution, occurring not only in the Shilluk group of languages, but also in Masai, Ateso and Bari. Its origin is uncertain, but with this wide distribution it is unlikely that it should be a further modification of the *-ni* (*eni*) suffix. It may, as Westermann suggests, be analogous to the *-i* suffix in Kunama, which may itself be derived from *i*, the Kunama personal pronoun of the third person plural.

abal-abali, snare.
abol-aboli, bamboo.
adwong-odongi, elder.
agara-agachi, bell.
agwata-agwati, bowl.
alwet-alwedi, reaping-ring.
amaro-amari, cousin.
anyer-anyeri, rat.
awele-aweli, dove.
awobe-awobi, bachelor.
awote-awoti, acquaintance.
bilo-bili, whistle.
biye-biyeti, ant-hill.
bo-boi, net.
chwar-chwari, tick.
dajwok-jujwogi, wizard.
dul-duli, log.
dwe-dweti, moon.
dyel-dyegi, goat.
ekore-ekori, giraffe.
eloto-eloti, drumstick.
etol-etoli, tumour.
gweng-gwengi, rock.
gwok-gwogi, dog.
ka-kagi, place.
kul-kuli, wart-hog.
kwer-kwei, hoe.
kwot-kwodi, shield.
labolo-laboli, banana.
lut-ludi, lungfish.
lyech-lyechi, elephant.
maido-maidoi, ground-nut.
min-megi, female.
milo-mili, charcoal.
moro-mori, biting ant.
nget-ngedi, hoe.
nginynginy-nginynginyi, ant.
ngwen-ngweni, termite.
nindo-nindi, day.
nyok-nyogi, he-goat.
ober-obei, mosquito.
ogwegwe-ogwedigwedi, lizard.

ogwal-ogwali, frog.
ogwang-ogwangi, merekat.
ogwil-ogwili, agapornis.
olam-olami, fig-tree.
omaro-omari, cousin.
omele-omeli, glossina.
omor-omori, caterpillar.
onyogo-onyogi, louse.
opego-opegi, pig.
ot-udi, house.
otit-titi, palm-tree.
pany-panyi, mortar.
pi-pii, water.
pino-pini, hornet.
rao-rai, *rei*, hippopotamus.
rech-rechi, fish.
riu-rii, giraffe.
rom'o-rom'i, sheep.
roya-roichi, heifer.
rwot-rwodi, chief.
tong-tongi, spear.
twang-twangi, catfish.
twol-twoli, snake.
twon-twoni, bull.
winyo-winyi, bird.
won-wegi, owner.
yao-yai, *yayi*, shea-butter tree.
yer-yeri, hair.
ye-yeti, canoe.

[Cf. Ateso, *ekojo-ikojoi*, arrow; *etome-itomei*, elephant; *akulu-akului*, ostrich.
Masai, *ndap-ndapi*, hand; *oloro-oloroi*, goat.
Shilluk, *akol-akoli*, drumstick; *aywom-aywomi*, patas monkey.
Alur, *olot-uluthi*, stick.]

61. Suffix *-k* or *-g*. This is probably a shortened form of *gin* or *gi-* (they). Compare Shilluk *gen*, *ga*; Nuer *ken*, *kyen*; Dinka *ke* (all personal pronouns meaning "they"), in all of which languages the suffix *-k* denotes the plural:—

dyel-dyegi, *dyege*, goat.
won-wegi, owner.
dyang-dok,[2] cow.
omin-omegu, brother.
ka-kagi, place.
min-megi, *mege*, female.
chwaro-chog,[1] husband.
le-lego, animal.
amin-amegu, sister.
lo-lwak,[2] person.

[Cf. Ateso, *ekamejan-ikamejak*, hunter.
Bari, *dome-domeki*, heap; *bunit-bunuk*, doctor.
Shilluk, *pi-pik*, water; *gin-gik*, thing.
Dinka, *jo-jok*, dog.
Masai, *ngoraion-ngoroiok*, woman; *ngaina-ngaieg*, arm.]

62. Suffix *-e*. This is probably a modification of the suffix in *-i*, as in a few instances words have both plural forms, e.g. *min*, pl. *mege* or *megi*; *dyel*, pl. *dyege* or *dyegi*. *Ogole* (kite), pl. *ogol'e*, and *war* (sandal), pl. *war'e*, are the only examples of a suffix in *-'e*, which is similarly doubtless a modification of *-'i*:—

ekokom-ekokome, vulture.
keno-kene, gourd.
kŏm-kōme, chair.
min-mege, female.
ngor-ngore, bean.
okongo-okonge, jay.
bora-bure, cat.
dyel-dyege, goat.
got-gote, hill.
kich-kiche, bee.
lĕ-lēye, axe.
mola-mole, brass.
obô-obōche, yam.
amu-amue, brother-in-law.
bur-buche, hole.
piny-pinye, country.

[1] *Vide* Section 9. The *o* of *chog* represents the fusion of *w* and *a*, whereas in the plural *lo* resolves itself into the more primitive *lwa*.
[2] *Dyang* = *di* (√ *ti*) and *-ang*, which is dropped in forming the plural with *-k*.

pyen-pyene, hide.
tôt-tute, beetle.
udu-ude, ostrich.
arun-arune, year.
tom-tume, harp.
tugu-tuge, palm.
wer-were, song.
tung-tunge, side.

[Cf. Ateso, *ekiya-ekeye*, medicine. Bari, *dêru-dêrue*, grass.]

63. Suffix *-an*. This may be connected with the Shilluk demonstrative pronoun *an*, these (though such a form of the plural is not known to occur in Shilluk), which is the more primitive form of the Lango *eni*, these. Compare Shilluk *eni* (those), which is often pronounced *ani* :—

abak-abakan, pot.
alop-aloban, hartebeeste.
atek-atekan, pipe.
epobo-epoban, ash-tree.
mwok-amwokan, aardvark.
agak-agakan, crow.
apok-apokan, sprat.
atem-ateman, ring.
odyek-odyekan, hyæna.
yat-yen, tree.

[Cf. Ateso, *kinachi-akinachan*, cousin.
Galla, *woran-woranan*, spear.
Bari, *gwang-gwangan*, merekat.]

Exception : *apayo-apaïlon*, fiancée.

[Cf. Ateso, *etôri-itorion*, kite.
Bari, *lor-loron*, day.
Bari, *budu-budulon*, wedding.]

64. Suffix *-ang*. With few exceptions this formation is confined to animals :—

achut-achutang, vulture.
ajoru-ajurang, whirlwind.
aluru-alurang, quail.
amyem-amyemang, oribi.
atero-aterang, arrow.
ayita-ayitang, squirrel.
dero-derang, granary.
echoich-echoichang, porcupine.
elili-elilang, otter.
ichwilit-ichiwilang, roan.
achyer-achyerang, star.
akal-akalang, reedbuck.
amor-amorang, duiker.
atat-atadang, rafter.
awula-awulang, tail.
ayom-ayomang, patas monkey.
ebur-eburang, milk-pail.
ekwe-ekweang, jackal.
engato-engatang, lion.
kwaich-kwaichang, leopard.

Exceptions : *atil-atilong*, cob ; *arum-aruming*, hunting area.

65. Suffix *-t*. Possibly, as Westermann suggests in discussing the same suffix in Shilluk, this is derived from *tot* (to be numerous). This word is used by the Jo Burutok and Jo Kidi, is not found in Shilluk, but occurs in Anywak, by whom it is used as a plural suffix without abbreviation. Similarly, it appears again in Ibo *ntutu* (many), which precedes substantives to indicate the plural :—

amalech-amale'ta, Speke's antelope.
biye-biyeti, ant-hill.
amuru-amuruta, thigh.
dwe-dweti, moon.
ye-yeti, canoe.

[Cf. Masai, *engias-engiaset*, work.
Dinka, *puou-puot*, heart ; *you-yot*, breast.
Shilluk, *ye-yet*, canoe ; *wich-wat*, head.
Saho, *alsa-alsit*, month.]

66. Suffix *-in*. Abbreviated from the pronoun *gin*, they :—

amel-amelin, burnt grass. *chug'o-chug'in*, ant.
olik-olikin, bat. *otôgo-otôgin*, hut.
lē-leny (= *lein*), animal.

[Cf. Ateso, *erôto-irôtin*, road ; *ekwam-ikwamin*, wind.
Masai, *osesi-esesin*, body.
Bari, *dang-dangin*, bow.
Suk, *yit-yitin*, ear.]

67. Dropping the suffix *-o*. It has already been seen that the substantival prefix *o-* = *en*, he, it. It becomes clear, therefore, that originally, at any rate, the *-o* suffix was an indication of the singular number, and this plural formation is normal, though now infrequent. Compare *otit-titi*, palm-tree, in which the singular prefix is dropped :—

awêno-awĕn, guinea-fowl. *awino-awin*, small fish.
gwēno-gwĕn, fowl. *chwaro-chōg*, husband.
oro-oich, relation-in-law.

[Cf. Shilluk, *gyeno-gyen*, hen.
Shilluk, *oro-or*, relation-in-law.
Bari, *lusatyo-lusak*, boy.]

Three substantives reverse this logical formation and add the suffix *-o* to form the plural, a method only explainable by the law of polarity :—

atin-atino, child. *nyatin-nyatin'o*, child.
tyen-tyel'o, foot.

[Cf. Ateso, *ibôre-ibôro*, thing ; *engatuny-ingatunyo*, lion.
Masai, *olashi-olasho*, calf.
Bari, *gor-goro*, spear.
Shilluk, *rum-orom*, nose.]

68. Suffix *-ch*. This may stand for *gin*, they, by a softening of the velar to the palatal, in which case it should be classed with the plurals in *-k* ; but it is more likely that it is a separate formation from *ji*, people (Shilluk *je*), a change from a voiced consonant to a voiceless being quite normal :—

roya-roichi, calf. *agara-agachi*, bell.
obô-obōche, yam. *bur-buche*, hole.
oro-oich, relation in law.

[Cf. Bari, *saret-saretji*, judgment ; *dupa-dupajin*, bag.]

69. (*b*) *Change in Prefix.*—Substantives with the singular prefix *da-*, to form the plural, change *da-* to *ju-*. The singular prefix is the root of *dano* (person), *ju-* representing *jo* (people), the word which is used to supply the plural of *dano* :—

dajwok-jujwogi, wizard. *dakol-jukol*, prisoner.
dakwŏ-jukwŏ, thief. *dakwor-jukwor*, enemy.
dalwor-julwor, coward. *dawor-juwor*, glutton.
Anam (= *danam*)-*Jonam*, Munyoro; *adwong* (= *dadwong*)-*odongi* (= *jodongi*), elder.

Exception: *dachô-chô*, male. [Cf. Acholi, *lachô-chô*, male.]

70. The singular prefix *o-* (fem. *a-*) is replaced by the plural prefix *ki-* (= *gin*, they) :—

akwaro-kikwayo, granddaughter. *okwaro-kikwayo*, grandson.

Exception: *otit-titi*, palm-tree.

71. (*c*) *Vowel Change.*—The plural may be formed by a change in the quality of the stem vowel, the predominating change being from *o* to *u* :—

rao-rei, hippopotamus. *cham-chem*, food.
awên'o-awĕn, guinea-fowl. *kwêr-kwēi*, hoe.
lwet-lwit, claw. *min-megi*, *mege*, female.
won-wegi, owner. *obô-obōche*, yam.
tôt-tūte, beetle. *moko-mug'i*, flour.
poko-pug'i, rind. *ajoru-ajurang*, whirlwind.
bora-bure, cat. *tōm-tume*, harp.
ot-udi, house. *jal-jo*, *ji*, man.
min-mon, mother.

[Cf. Bari, *kele-kala*, tooth.
Suk, *tokach-tokuch*, face.
Dinka, *akol-akôl*, day; *mach-mêch*, fire.
Shilluk, *agak-ageki*, crow; *mogo-muki*, beer.]

72. A change in the quantity of the stem vowel forms the plural. With the exception of *gwēno*, the change is always from a short vowel in the singular to a long vowel in the plural :—

bŏ-bōi, net. *kwŏt-kwōdi*, shield.
olŏk-olōk'i, vine. *pwŭno-pwūn'i*, pig.
twŏn-twōni, bull. *dajwŏk-jujwōgi*, wizard.
gŏt-gōte, hill. *kŏm-kōme*, chair.
lĕ-lēye, axe. *tŏk-tōk*, occiput.
jŏbi-jōbi, buffalo. *nyŏk-nyōgi*, he-goat.
gwēno-gwĕn, fowl.

[Cf. Shilluk, *gyēno-gyĕn*, hen; *okŏk-okōk*, egret.
Dinka, *rŏr-rōr*, forest; *răl-rāl*, vein.
Suk, *kunyŭt-kunyūt*, brain.]

73. (*d*) *Tonal Change.*—Plural formation by change of tone has not previously been noted among Sudan languages, with the exception of Shilluk, which largely employs it for this purpose. Only four instances have been noted in Lango, but there can be no doubt that others exist without having been recognized :—

gági-gà'gi, cowrie. *jŏbí-jōbì*, buffalo
lwángni-lwàngni, fly. *kèno-kéne*, gourd.

74. The following substantives have irregular plurals :—

nyako-anyira, girl. *kapwô-kapwôpwô*, butterfly.

Dano and *dako* have no plurals, which are supplied by *jo* and *mon* respectively.

GENDER

75. A grammatical distinction of sex plays no important part in the language, and gender is almost entirely marked by the use of different words (e.g. *achô*, male ; *dako*, female), or is not marked at all (e.g. *en*, he, she, it ; *engato*, lion, lioness ; *atin*, boy, girl). Indeed, in certain cases words, the roots of which were originally feminine, have been perverted to a purely neutral significance. Thus, *dyang* (head of cattle) and *dyel* (goat) both have a common root *de* surviving in Nuer *ti* (cow), which is no more than the Hamitic feminine suffix *ti* (cf. Lugbwara *ti* = to bear a child ; Lango, *chi* = wife). Both cattle and goats were originally grouped as feminine multipliers of wealth, but when distinction became necessary, cattle being the more valuable species, were neutralized and designated by the addition of the plural suffix *-ang*, *de-ang* = *dyang* (without, however, any idea of plurality, as is indicated by the plural *dok*) ; while goats received the masculine suffix *-l*, the one word thus including both a masculine and feminine root and no longer carrying a sex distinction.

76. Where distinction is necessary, gender is expressed either as stated above, by the use of different words, or by the addition of specific words indicating male and female :—

min, pl. *mege*, female.
adako, pl. *amon*, female (adjective of *dako*, woman).
bwong, young female.
akali, young female.
achô, male.
twon, male.
awobe, young male.

E.g. *dyang*, head of cattle ; *roya*, heifer ; *twon dyang*, bull ; *min dyang* or *dyang adako*, cow ; *megi dok*, cows ; *dok amon*, cows and heifers.

Dyel, goat ; *min dyel*, she-goat ; *nyok*, he-goat ; *akali dyel*, young she-goat.

Gweno, fowl = *twon gweno*, cock ; *awobe gweno*, cockerel ; *bwong gweno*, pullet.

Lyech, elephant ; *twon lyech*, bull elephant ; *min lyech* or *lyech adako*, cow elephant.

Lapi mach, fire-sticks ; *lapi achô*, male stick ; *lapi adako*, female stick.

77. Both *twon* and *min* are used not only to distinguish sex, but also to indicate size. *Twon tong*, very large spear ; *twon poto*, large garden ; *twon rwot*, overlord ; *min bul*, bass drum ; *min bilo*, bass flute ; *min pi*, Nile (mother of waters).

78. In addition to these mechanical methods of indicating sex, a few traces of grammatical gender are observable:—

(1) *By Suffix*: *-l* masculine; *-n*, feminine. In Shilluk this distinction is apparently found in one word only (*nya*, child; *nyal*, boy; *nyan*, girl), but in Bari and Ateso the demonstrative pronoun is *lo* in the masculine and *na* in the feminine, a distinction which is regularly observed. These suffixes appear in only the following cases in Lango:—

n *nyan*, girl (but compare *nya*, daughter, not child, as in Shilluk).
min, mother (cf. Shilluk, *mi*).
l *jal* (? = *nyal*), man.
dyel, goat.
nyer (? = *nyel*), boy.

79. (2) *By Prefix*: *o-* masculine; *a-* feminine. (cf. Ateso *e-* (= *o*) masculine; *a-* feminine). This is particularly noticeable in personal names in which the distinction of sex is observed with few exceptions:—

obol, male bamboo; *abol*, female bamboo.
Ocheng, name of man; *Acheng*, name of woman.
omin, brother; *amin*, sister.
okeo, cousin (masc.); *akeo*, cousin (fem.).

80. There may be a third indication of gender in the words *dako* (= *dan-ko*) and *nya-ko*. The root *nya* clearly indicates "a young person," whereas *dan* (cf. *dano*, person) means "a mature person," and is allied to the verb *dong'o*, "to be full grown." The suffix *-ko* would therefore appear to indicate the feminine. [Cf. Lugbwara, *oko* (woman); Bari, *na-kwan*, √ *kwa* = *ko* (woman, girl); Ga, *yo*, the feminine suffix.] It should be added, however, that in the Hamitic languages, from which Lango together with the Shilluk group probably borrowed their very elementary notions of gender, *k* indicates the masculine gender.

CASE

81. The substantive undergoes no inflectional change to form cases, the meaning and position in the sentence being sufficient to indicate which is the object and which the subject of the sentence. Cases other than the nominative and accusative are generally, though not necessarily, introduced by prepositions.

82. The genitive, however, requires fuller consideration, as there is greater variety in its treatment. The simplest method is by the use of the preposition *pa* and *me* (of), according as a person or a thing is involved. To indicate an intimate or habitual connection between two substantives they may be placed in juxtaposition without any

intervening preposition, the dependent genitive following the governing noun :—

Chi pa ngadi.
Wife of so-and-so.

Kop me chon.
An affair of long ago.

Pacho pa nga ?
Whose village ?

Lak lyech.
Tooth of elephant, i.e. ivory.

Awi dyang.
Cattle kraal.

Achudi del dako.
Knot [of] the belt [of] a woman.

Wun atino papo atot me ot achel ?
Are you stepbrothers or of one house (i.e. by same mother) ?

Lit kume.
Pain [of] his body.

83. The preposition *me*, or the combination *me pa*, may be used before persons to form the partitive genitive, and is to be explained as an ellipse. *Ochibo dyegi kany wiy' aryô wang me pa Okelo* (= *me dyegi pa Okelo*), he paid seven goats to replace Okelo's. *Kobe okel dok me Ogwang* (= *dok me dok pa Ogwang*), tell him to bring some of Ogwang's cattle. Whereas *kobe okel dok pa Ogwang* would mean Tell him to bring the cattle of Ogwang.

84. A later development of the expression of the genitive by the use of the preposition *pa* is to be found in the genitival prefix *a-*, which is clearly a corruption of *pa*. That this *a-* prefix is not analogous to the gerundive formation used adjectivally, which has already been discussed, is demonstrated by the fact that the essential gerundive suffix *-a* is absent. As before, the genitive follows the governing noun :—

Tong ajalcha opoto piny.
The spear of that man has fallen to the ground.

Toto anyako.
The girl's mother.

Atyeko chulo kwor apapa.
I have avenged my father's murder.

85. A third and common method is by suffixing the "helping vowel" to the governing substantive. There can be no doubt that this vowel *-e* is the personal pronoun *en* (he, she, it), and is analogous to the old English use of "his." Usually, the genitive follows the governing noun, but may precede it, especially if a particular emphasis is to be laid on the genitive, thus corroborating

Professor Meinhof's theory that the Nilotic, as contrasted with the Bantic and Hamitic, mentally gives the prior position to the more important of the two conceptions:—

Epone wange.
The appearance of his eye.

Wiye bonyo.
The head of a swarm of locusts.

Wode Arum.
The son of Arum.

Akochiwa, nyare Moroto.
The Akochiwa, a tributary of the Moroto.

Locha ngute deng twatwal
That man's neck is very thick-set.

En ka apwô tote etotede.
But as for the hare his mother cooked for him.

86. Cases other than the genitive are determined both by their position in the sentence and by prepositions signifying the indirect relation. The order of the sentence is normally the same as that prevailing in other languages of the same family, viz. subject—verb—object. (*Vide* Folk Stories, *passim.*)

Atino gikwayo dok pa rwot.
The children are herding the cattle of the chief.

Nwang anyira onwango kidi pa Odyek gitokobo ni totogi.
Once upon a time some girls found the grindstone of Odyek and said to their mother . . .

Etokokelo toto anyako pi.
And he brought the girl's mother water

Giyi ki tong.
They fought with spears.

87. On the other hand, the requirements of emphasis may invert the regular order:—

En etekomayo abela en jalcha (= *jalcha etekomayo* . . .).
And he snatched away the stick, that man.

En ka leny gin duchu nyakono obwoyogi.
And as for the animals to all of them this girl was superior.

88. Further, when the subject is a personal pronoun expressed or contained in the verb, or a proper name, the object generally precedes the verb. Similarly, when the object is qualified by a relative clause, it is generally placed first in the sentence:—

Tong gweno awilo chenti achel keken.
Eggs I buy at one cent each only.

Chak akwanyo bang jalcha.
Milk I received from that man.

Dyangna akelo diki.
My cow I shall bring to-morrow.

Pacho maido lokacha jowa gibegero.
The village which is visible yonder our men are building.

Dyelna ma riki amito nyômo kede Oyo otero.
My goat with which I wished to marry a wife Oyo has taken.

PRONOUNS

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

89. *Absolute Form* :—

an, I, me.	*wan*, we, us.
in, thou, thee.	*wun*, you.
en, he, she, him, her, it.	*gin*, they, them.

90. This form of the pronoun is employed both subjectively and objectively, but is not greatly used, especially immediately before a verb. It may be employed, however, in addition to the connective form for the sake of emphasis, and when thus used is distinguished by a higher tone than the rest of the sentence. For the vocative case it is naturally the only form employed :—

Achwanyo in.
It is you that I am calling.

Tye pire en.
The responsibility is entirely his.

91. *Connective Form* :—

Prefixes.	Suffixes.
a-, I.	*-a*, *-na*, me.
i-, thou.	*-i*, *-ni*, thee.
o-, *e-* [1] he, she, it.	*-e*, *-ne*, him, her, it.
wa-, we.	*-wa*, us.
wu-, *u-*, you.	*-wu*, *-u*, *-unu*, you.
gi-, they.	*-gi*, them.

92. These forms are used combined with verbs to denote subjective or objective personal pronouns respectively. The *o-* and *e-* prefixes of the third person singular are used without any distinction of meaning, though the former is more frequently employed. For the sake of euphony verbs ending in a vowel may employ the suffixes *-na*, *-ni*, *-ne*, instead of the more normal elision of the final vowel followed by the suffixes *-a*, *-i*, or *-e* :—

[1] In ritual songs *ki-* is often used as the prefix of the third person singular, thus preserving the consonant which was in the original Sudanian root and is still to be heard in Shilluk.

Mam i-winyo kop ma a-kobo-ni ?
Do you not hear what I am telling you ?

Aore (= *a-oro-e*).
I sent him.

Apenye dikdik en ka okwero koba.
I asked him every day, but he refused to tell me.

93. The second person plural, both subjective and objective, is not infrequently heard without its initial *w*, without, however, any change in meaning, but the form *-unu* is reserved to the plural of the imperative mood only.

94. The prefix of the third person singular is frequently omitted in monosyllabic verbs, unless the subject of the verb is itself a monosyllable :—

Chwinya yom.
My heart is soft (i.e. I am glad).

Kot ochok.
The rain has ceased.

95. The third person plural may be used impersonally in the same way as the French *on*, e.g. *Gikoba*, they tell me, = I am told, I hear. *Kidi pa Odyek mam girego iye*, people do not grind on Odyek's grindstone.

96. A plural substantive may be followed by a singular verb, if the plural form of the substantive is used in a collective or general sense : the plural verb would correspond with the use of the definite article in English, which is further frequently represented by the pleonastic use of a personal pronoun, whether absolute or suffixed, in addition to a direct object :—

Dyegi oringo i awera.
Goats have run into the sorghum.

Dyegi giringo i awera.
The goats have run into the sorghum.

Atino opor ki lok wok.
Children are naturally talkative.

Atino gipor ki lok wok.
The children are talkative.

Nwang anyira onwango kidi pa Odyek.
Once upon a time some girls found the grindstone of Odyek.

Oneko gwok.
He killed a dog.

Oneke gwok.
He killed the dog.

En ka gwok otekoômno en ekwe.
And so the dog fetched the jackal.

97. Compound personal pronouns result from the combination of certain prepositions with the connective form :—

(*a*) *Ki* (with), which becomes *ked-* or, more rarely, *kod-* in compounds. *Keda*, with me; *kedgi*, with them.

An awoto kedi, I go with thee.

(*b*) *Gi* (on the part of), *r*, being interpolated for euphony before a vowel. This *gi* is probably to be referred to *gin* (thing), as is indicated by its use in Shilluk as a possessive pronoun, e.g. *gina* = mine. The pronoun thus formed is often used in verbal phrases without much apparent adition to the meaning, *Adagi gira* (I refuse for my part) is, for example, hardly any more forcible than *adagi* (I refuse):—

gira, I for my part.
giri, thou for thy part.
gire, he for his part.
giwa, we for our parts.
giwu, you for your parts.
gigi, they for their parts.

(*c*) *Ni* (to) is only used in the plural with the connective form of the pronoun, the absolute form being employed in the singular:—

owacho ni an, he spoke to me.
owacho nigi, he spoke to them.

(*d*) *Ken-*, a formation from which the adverb *keken* (only) is derived, is combined with the personal suffix to form a pronoun meaning "alone," "by oneself." The true Sudanian form would appear to be *ket*, which by nazalization has in Lango become *ken'-* and in Alur and Doluo *kend-*:—

ken'a, I by myself, alone.
ken'i, thou alone.
ken'e, he alone.
ken'wa, we alone.
ken'wu, you alone.
ken'gi, they alone.

POSSESSIVE

98. *Absolute Form*:—

mera, my; pl. *mega*.
meri, thy; pl. *megi*.
mere, his, hers, its; pl. *mege*.
mewa, our; pl. *megwa*.
mewu, your; pl. *megwu*.
megi, their; pl. *megi*.

99. The plural form, which, however, is rarely employed except in the first and third person singular, makes it improbable that this pronoun should be derived from the preposition *me*, "of," and it is doubtless to be referred to the Shilluk word *me* (property), which forms a similar pronoun (*mea*, etc.). The *g* formation of the plural conforms with the *g* formation in substantives. The pronoun always follows its substantive, and is the only form used when the possessive is in the predicate:—

Mam awilo gira, wil meri obetek.
I do not buy, your price is too dear.

Lim meri bongo.
It is not your property.

100. *Connective Form* :—

-na, -a, my.	*-wa,* our.
-ni, -i, thy.	*-wu, -u,* your.
-ne, -e, -'ere, his, hers, its.	*-gi,* their.

101. This form is used suffixed to substantives, but there is no absolute rule governing the selection of the various forms, euphony being the only discernible principle. Thus *dyel-na* (my goat), but *tyen'a* (my foot), *wiy-a* (my head). In actual practice the tendency, however, is to use the *-na* form for the first person, the *-i* form for the second, and the *-e* or *-ere* forms for the third. A final vowel elided before *-a, -i,* or *-e* is represented by the glottal stop, e.g. *pot'i* = *poto-i* (thy garden).

102. *-Ga* is occasionally used as the plural of *-na,* but none of the other persons is numerically distinguished. Only in the third person is the abbreviated form of the absolute possessive employed, and this form *-'ere* is mainly confined to terms of kinship and to the formation of ordinal numerals :—

Potoni [pot-'i] obor kwen ?
How far is your garden ?

Chwinya yom twatwal.
My heart is very glad.

Jobi oyi ki tunge.
The buffalo fights with its horns.

Dokwa gidwono duchu.
All our cows are dry.

kany'ere, its five, i.e. fifth.
omin'ere, his brother.
ngutu, your necks.

103. The following formations are irregular :—

chul, penis ; *chuna,* my penis.
pel, navel ; *pen'a,* my navel.
te, trunk (of tree) ; *tere,* its trunk.
ot, house ; *uda,* my house.
kom, body ; *koma* or *kuma,* my body.

104. Certain substantives, generally used as prepositions, when used in combination with the possessive suffix, form adverbs of place and motion. Such are *tung* (side, end ; at) ; *bang* (direction ; to, at, from) ; *bot* (side ; to, at) :—

tunga, to, at, from my home.
tungi, to, at, from thy home.
tunge, to, at, from his home.
tungwa, to, at, from our home.
tungwu, tungewu, to, at, from your home.
tunggi, tungegi, to, at, from their home.

It will be observed that *tunge*, the plural form of the substantive, may be employed in the second and third person plural. The other formations are, however, more common, but for the plural, the more usual locative is derived from another substantive, *tur*:—

turwa, at our home.
turwu, *turu*, at your home.
turgi, at their home.

Similarly, *banga*, *bangi*, *bange*, *bangwa*, *bangwu*, *banggi*; and *bota*, *boti*, *bote*, *botwa*, *botwu*, *botgi*.

Para and *pari* are occasionally heard with a similar locative meaning for the first and second person singular.

RELATIVE

105. *Ma* and *mu* are used indiscriminately for the relative pronoun, without any apparent difference in meaning or application. According to Mr. Grove, the Acholi reserve *mu* for the particular and *ma* for the general, but this distinction has not been observed in Lango. The latter is apparently the older form, as it occurs both in Shilluk and Nuer.

106. It is used either as the subject or object of a verb, and when used as the former the pronominal prefix of the verb is often omitted (in which case the relative and the verb are written as one word).

Especially is this the case when the verb is in the singular, and it is the regular rule with the third person singular. When the relative is the object of the verb, the pronominal prefixes are never omitted, but the relative is elided before the first and third persons singular. Often, but not necessarily, the verb takes the pronominal suffix in addition to the relative, and should the relative be governed by a preposition, the preposition follows the verb within the relative clause and is combined with the pronominal suffix:—

Jo ma giwoto Apach gidok tungegi.
The men who went to Apach have returned to their homes.

Ajwong maneko wode Adur.
It was Ajwong who killed Adur's son.

Atye ki kop m' amito koboni.
I have news which I want to tell you.

Palacha tyen'e ma riki anene bangi aworo?
Where is that knife with which I saw you yesterday?

Dyang ma locha okôkere kede cha gimito chamo.
They are going to eat that cow with which he ransomed himself.

Le ma lake okuku, mam bit.
An axe whose edge is blunt, not sharp.

107. *Mu* (less frequently *ma*) is frequently joined with *miyo* (to give, to cause, used impersonally), and sometimes with *keto* (to put), to introduce a sentence which is causally dependent on a previous sentence :—

Rwoda ochwanya mumiya woto.
I went because my chief summoned me.

Awinyo rwong nyingi, muketa bino pi kopno.
I heard rumours of your name, and therefore came on that business (lit. I heard . . . , which caused me to come).

108. Similarly, *mu* is joined with *mono* (to prevent) to introduce a negative sentence causally dependent on a previous sentence :—

Kichiki otwomo tyen'a mumona dwaro le.
I have cut my foot on a stump and therefore cannot go hunting with you (lit. I have. . . , which prevents me from . . .).

DEMONSTRATIVE

109. *Absolute Form.*—Pronouns always follow the substantives which they qualify :—

eno, pl. *eni*, this (of persons only).
man, pl. *meno*, this (of things only).
ngadi, so-and-so.
ngat, someone, anyone (far off).
ngato, someone, anyone (near at hand).
moro, pl. *mogo*, *moko*, some, other.
magi . . . *magi* . . . some . . . other. . . .
mukene, other (of a different kind).
muchel, other (of the same kind).
macha, that (of things only).

110. It will be observed that the last four are not true pronouns, but are relative formations. There is no genuine absolute form corresponding with the demonstrative pronoun "that," *macha* being the relative *ma* and the connective form *-cha*, and only being employed in the predicate or to denote particular emphasis. Similarly, *man* (this) is the relative *ma* and *en* (it), and by the Alur and Acholi is not infrequently thus pronounced *maën*.

111. *Moro* is commonly used to represent the indefinite article, e.g. *dyang moro*, a cow.

112. *Ngat* can also be used distributively as the singular of *magi*, which literally means "who-they," i.e. "there are those who" :—

Gipuro potogi ngat achel ngat achel.
They cultivate their gardens each man by himself.

Magi gingeo, magi gikwiya.
Some know, others are ignorant.

113. *Connective Form* :—

-ni, pl. *-gi*, this (of persons or things).
-no, this (of persons only).
-no, that (of things only).
-cha, that (of persons or things).
-'oro, other.
dyangni, this cow ; *danoni*, this man.
yengi, these trees ; *dakono*, this woman.
kidino, that grindstone ; *dyelcha*, that goat.
gin'oro, something, anything.
ngat'oro, someone, someone else, anyone.

114. With the negative *ngat'oro* and *gin'oro* mean "nobody" and "nothing" respectively :—

Ngat'oro mam onena, no one saw me.
Mam atin'o gin'oro, I am doing nothing.

115. With *lo* (person) *-ni* and *-cha* form what may be called absolute pronouns, as their use has become stereotyped : *loni*, this man ; *locha*, that man. *Loni* may also be used in the vocative signifying "you there !"

116. A substantive may carry both the possessive and demonstrative suffixes, the latter being appended last, e.g. *palanani*, this knife of mine.

117. In the case of a substantive qualified by an accusative relative clause, or by an adjective of relative formation, the demonstrative pronoun (if any) generally follows the last word of that clause :—

Yô ma gipuroni, this road which they dig.
Dano mungwaloni, this crippled man.
Dyang akwarni, this red cow (but also *dyangni akwar*).

INTERROGATIVE

118.

nga ? who ? whom ?
ngo ? what ?
ango ? what ? (interrogative adjective).
mene ? which ? of what sort ? (interrogative adjective).
adi ? how many ? (interrogative adjective).

119. The normal position of the interrogative is at the end of the sentence, the interrogative adjective following the substantive to which it refers. The interrogative, if it is the subject of the verb, requires a relative to precede the verb :

Imito ngo ?
What do you want ?

Pi ngo ?
On account of what ? Why ?

Ibino pi ngo ?
Why have you come ?

Nga mukelona gwenoni ?
Who has brought me this fowl ?

Nga mudonyo ot ? or *Mudonyo ot nga ?* } Who [is it] who enters the house ?

Dyegi adi tye bangi ?
How many goats have you ?

Bang adi ?
How many times ? How often ?

Jalcha wode kara nga mene ?
Is that man his son or his who (i.e. what relation of his) ?

Imito beyo kum yô mene ?
Which road are you going to follow ?

120. *Ango* is often combined with *kit* (nature, appearance, quality), to signify " what kind of . . . "

Lim ango cha ?
What property is that ?

Obedo kit dyang angoni, roya nyo twon ?
What kind of beast is this, a heifer or a bull ?

121. *Nga* is always used in the phrase " what is your (his, etc.) name ? " even if that to which the name is referred is an inanimate thing :—

Nyingi nga ?
What is your name ? (lit. your name [is] who ?)

Yatcha nyinge nga ?
That tree, what is its name ?

REFLEXIVE

122. This pronoun is formed by the combination of the substantive *kom* (body) with the possessive suffix. It is interesting to note that the Shilluk reflexive pronoun is formed in a similar way, viz. by the combination of *re* (body) and the possessive suffix :—

koma (*kuma*), myself.
komi (*kumi*), thyself.
kome (*kume*), himself, herself, itself.
komwa (*kumwa*), ourselves.
komwu (*kumwu*), yourselves.
komgi (*kumgi*), themselves.

Dyegi giberigo kumgi kum olam.
The goats are rubbing themselves against the fig tree.

123. Should the reflexive pronoun be the subject of the sentence, the same form (with the *u* throughout) is employed, preceded by the preposition *ki* (with), e.g. *kikuma*, I myself :—

En maneko apolicha kikuma.
It was he himself who killed that waterbuck.

ADJECTIVES

124. Adjectives follow the substantives which they qualify, have no distinction of gender, and only *duchu* (all), pl. *duch*, distinguish number. *Amon* (female) is used as the plural of *adako* (female), but these words are formed from unrelated substantives, and cannot be said to bear a grammatical relation to each other. Similarly, *aboicho* (tall) and *abecho* (beautiful) are rarely used with any but plural substantives, while *abor* (tall) and *aber* (beautiful) are used in the singular; but there are accidents due to a similar distinction of use in the verbs from which they are derived.

125. Adjectives of sensation and emotion are nearly all rendered by substantives and verbs, descriptive either of the emotion or of the part affected. *Kech oneka* (hunger kills me, i.e. I am hungry); *koyu omaka* (cold seizes me, i.e. I am cold); *chwinya kech* (my heart is bitter, i.e. I am disappointed); *koma lit* (my body hurts i.e. I am ill).

126. True adjectives are few: *duchu* (all), *nono* (empty), and possibly (for its derivation is not clear) *lung*, meaning "all" or "complete," and *akil'i*, "only," "genuine."

127. All other adjectives are verbal formations, and fall into two groups, both of which are capable of indefinite improvisation.

(*a*) Adjectives which are formed by prefixing the relative pronoun to the verb stem.[1] *Adako* (female), *anyako* (girlish), *amon* (female), and *achô* (male) are similarly formed from substantives:—

[1] In poetic and ritual Lango the prefix is often *ka*, e.g. *kangiro* = *angiru*.

mapwot, which is slippery, i.e. slippery.
madwong, which is big, i.e. big.
malot, which grows, i.e. long-haired.
marach, which is bad, i.e. bad.
mangech, which is dappled, i.e. dappled.
malim, which is sweet, i.e. sweet.

The modern tendency is to drop the initial *m* of the relative, and consequently it would be more usual to hear *apwot*, *adwong*, *alot*, *arach*, *angech*, *alim*. (Cf. Dinka, *adid*, large; *atit*, red; *ager*, white, etc.).

Piny apwot orete.
The slippery ground caused him to fall.

Wiye otwi alwar.
His hair is growing white.

(*b*) Adjectives which are either gerunds of verbs, or are formed on an analogous principle from verbs and substantives:—

atira, straight; from *tiro*, to straighten.
amola, brazen; from *mola*, brass wire.
alaka, inherited; from *lako*, to inherit.
aguti, embossed; from *got*, hill.
adyaka, wet; from *dyak*, to be wet.
ango? what? from *ngo?* what?
arwot, royal; from *rwot*, chief.
atem amola, a brass ring.
apena akita, kal mam iye, beans unmixed with grain

128. *Comparison of Adjectives.*—There is no regular method of comparing Lango adjectives, a periphrasis having usually to be adopted. The simplest method is by contrasting the two ideas between which the comparison is to be made, the intonation being usually sufficient to indicate the speaker's preference, which is often further indicated by the inclusion of the adverb *atika*, "assuredly," "certainly," in the conception preferred:—

Atika in ber, loni rach.
You are a better man than he (lit. assuredly you are good, he bad).

129. More usually, however, recourse is made to the verbs *loyo* (to overcome) or *kato* (to surpass):—

Okelo ongeyo twôdo le me loyo Ngulu.
Okelo is a better tracker than Ngulu (lit. Okelo knows how to track game to the overcoming of it).

Tongna achilo gira makato meri.
I can throw a spear farther than you (lit. I throw my spear which surpasses yours).

Achok abula okato ateda.
Baked potatoes are better than boiled (lit. baked potatoes surpass boiled)

130. There is a greater variety in the expression of the superlative degree, which is primarly marked by the addition of various adverbs of emphasis : *twal* or *twatwal* (very) ; *woko, wok, oko, o* (all variations of the same word meaning " outside," " utterly ") ; *matek* (strongly, very) :—

Lo apala wok cha, that is a very quarrelsome fellow.
Otum o, it is quite finished.
Maber twatwal, very good.

131. *Kwe,* an adverb derived from a verb *kwer,* " to be useless," means in the first instance " in vain," and hence "exceedingly," and is also used to indicate the superlative. The transference of idea can be traced in the following example :—

Ayenyo rwot kwe.
I looked in vain for the chief (promising a very protracted search).

132. The substantive *rach* (badness) used adverbially and its adjective *marach* (bad) are both idiomatically used to emphasize the idea contained in a verb or an adjective to a superlative degree. A similar idiom occurs in Shilluk, Dinka, Acholi, Alur and the Luo languages. Cf. Shilluk, *rach ki doch,* bad with goodness, i.e. exceedingly good. Dinka, *afiat,* good ; *afiat araag,* best :—

Lautolni enwang rach.
This cloth is very coarse.

Okoba kop madwong marach.
He spoke a terribly long time.

Dyel omio marach wok.
The goat is wonderfully fat.

133. The superlative may also be expressed by lengthening the vowel of the adjective and at the same time raising the tone ; or, more rarely, by reduplication, e.g. *manok,* few ; *manoknok,* very few.

134. A particle *mo* (an abbreviation of *moro,* some) is used only with *matidi* (small) to indicate the superlative :—

Loni obedo kan chon, atot matidi mo ?
Did he stay here long, or only a very short time ?

135. A frequent way of expressing the superlative is by a rhetorical question in the opposite direction :—

Bada lit matidi ?
Does my arm hurt a little ? i.e. It is very painful

Apwoyo matidi ?
I am very grateful ?

136. Mention should also be made of a very common idiom, whereby superlative pleasure may be indicated. *Apwoyo chon.* (I accept, or am glad long ago, i.e. I am very pleased.) The expression may be varied to show the intensity of the pleasure, e.g. *Kun pod' mam arwoneni, apwoyi rwoda.* (Before I ever saw you, I accepted you, my chief, i.e. I am very delighted indeed to see you.)

NUMERALS

137. CARDINAL

1, *achel.*
2, *aryô.*
3, *adek.*
4, *ngwen.*
5, *kany.*
6, *kany kape.*
7, *kany wiy' aryô.*
8, *kany wiy' adek.*
9, *kany wiy' ngwen.*
10, *tômon.*
11 { *tômon ape.* / *tômon wiy' achel.*
12, *tômon wiy' aryô.*
13, *tômon wiy' adek.*
14, *tômon wiy' ngwen.*
15, *tômon wiye kany.*
16, *tômon wiye kany kape.*
17, *tômon wiye kany wiy' aryô.*
18, *tômon wiye kany wiy' adek.*
19, *tômon wiye kany wiy' ngwen*
20, *atômon aryô.*
21, *atômon aryô wiy' achel.*
22, *atômon aryô wiy' aryô.*
30, *atômon adek.*
40, *atômon ngwen.*
50, *atômon kany.*
60, *atômon kany kape.*
70, *atômon kany wiy' aryô.*
80, *atômon kany wiy' adek.*
90, *atômon kany wiy' ngwen.*
100 { *atômon tômon.* / *tolgag* or *tol.*

138. ORDINALS

1st, *merachel.*
2nd { *meraryô.* / *aryône.*
3rd { *meradek.* / *adek'ere.*
4th, *ngwen'ere.*
5th, *kany'ere.*
10th, *tômon'ere.*

DISTRIBUTIVE

139. E.g. one by one, *achel achel* or *achel ked'achel.*

140. It will be observed that only 1 to 5 and 10 are primary numbers, the rest being compounded on that basis. Compound numerals are formed with the assistance of *wiye* (on top of it, in addition to it). Thus 17 is *tômon wiye kany wiy' aryô*, i.e. 10 in addition to it 5, in addition to it 2.

141. These numerals show considerable borrowings from Hamitic sources, *kany, ape* and *tômon* not being found in other languages of the same group. With *ape* (a Hamitic numeral meaning one,

but not used except in composition) *wiye* is not employed, but is replaced by the preposition *ki* (with), and even this preposition is entirely dropped to form the number 11, *ape* following *tômon* without any connecting particle. The form *wiy' achel* is less used than the form *tômon ape.*

142. Multiples of 10 are represented by *atômon*, i.e. *tômon* plus the prefix of abstraction, which also appears in *achel, aryô* and *adek*, but is absent in *ngwen* and *kany*. Sometimes, instead of using the regular numeral *atômon aryô, atômon adek*, etc., *dok* (= again) may be employed, *tômon dok tômon* (10 again 10, i.e. 20).

143. By the Jo Aber, and some of the Jo Moita, the Acholi numerals are not infrequently substituted; viz. *abich abichel, abiryô, aboro, abungwen, apar*, for the numerals from 5 to 10. The further numerals are formed as above, e.g. 11, *apar wiy' achel*; 17, *apar wiy' abiryô.* Multiples of 10 are represented by *pyer*; 20, *pye aryô*; 30, *pyer adek*, etc.

144. The Jo Burutok have to a small extent adopted the Akum numeral *ot* for 10, and it is heard used to form multiples of 10 up to 40: 20, *ot aryô*; 30, *ot adek*; 40, *ot ngwen.*

145. The numeral for 100, *tolgag* or *tol*, is not often employed, *atômon tômon* being preferred. But in actual practice it is unusual to indicate numerals beyond 50 in words, for any number beyond that and even generally for all numbers a code of signs being employed. *Tolgag*, it should be noted, literally means "a string of cowries," and came to designate 100 because cowries used to be thus sold in hundreds. Compare the Ateso *akwatat*, "string of beads," which is the term now used for 100.

146. *Wel*, which originally meant a broken twig, is now generally understood to mean 10, as in enumerating large numbers bits of stick piled into tens are employed. *Wel lwakni obedo adi?* How many men have you? (*lit.* How many tens of your people are there?)

147. Fractions are not recognized, but *kore* (lit. its chest) is used to designate approximately half. *Adupa opong kore*, the bag is half full.

148. Exactitude and approximation are indicated by the adverbs *lingling* and *chiti* respectively, both following the numeral. *Atômon aryô lingling*, 20 exactly; *kany kape chiti*, about 6.

149. Ordinal numbers are little employed, and there are no others used beyond those given above. The forms *aryône* (its 2) and

adek'ere (its 3) are preferred to *meraryô* (of 2) and *meradek* (of 3). There does not appear to be a form *achel'ere* in use.

150. The two methods of enumeration, the oral and the demonstrative, are almost invariably combined, e.g. *atômon adek, wiye otekobedo dang aman.* (Thirty, and in addition to it there are so many,—illustrating with the fingers the necessary number.)

Before stating a number Lango idiom nearly always indulges in the rhetorical question "how many ?" Thus, instead of saying *akelo dyegi ngwen* (I bring four goats), a Lango would say *akelo dyegi adi ?* . . . (pause during which he counts on his fingers) *dyegi ngwen.* (How many goats do I bring ? . . . four goats.) Similarly, numbers are often given to the nearest multiple of 10, the enumerator expecting his auditor to ask *wiye mam* ? (and on top of it none ?) whereupon he will reckon up the units. Or else the enumerator may himself add *wiye dang tye* (and on the top of it there is something, or as we say "odd"), to which the response is merely *adi* ? (how many ?).

151. The following is the code of numerical signs employed :—

One. Left hand folds over little finger of right.
Two. Left hand folds over little and third finger of right.
Three. Left hand folds over little, third and middle finger of right.
Four. Left hand folds over all fingers of right.
Five. Right hand closed, thumb inside the fingers.
Six. Right hand closed over little finger of left, which is open.
Seven. Right hand closed over little and third finger of left, which is open.
Eight. Right hand closed over little, third and middle finger of left, which is open.
Nine. Right hand closed over all fingers of left, thumb of left upright.
Ten. Both hands closed separately, thumbs inside.

152. There is an alternative system for the numbers 1 to 4. This is not so commonly used except for the number 4, which is preferred to the previous method.

One. Index finger of right hand upright, the rest bent and held down by the thumb.
Two. Index and middle fingers of right hand upright, the rest bent and held down by the thumb.
Three. Little, third and middle fingers upright, thumb bent over index finger.
Four. Right hand open ; fingers and thumb upright ; thumb by itself, fingers in two groups, index and middle together, third and little fingers together.

153. Multiples of 10 up to 100 are indicated by opening and closing the hands as for 10 up to the requisite number of times, at the same time moving the forearms up and down in front of the body.

VERBS

154. The verb is the most important part of speech in Lango, not only for the functions natural to it, but for the wealth of metaphor and colour which it imparts to the language. From the verb, too, as we have seen, are derived innumerable substantives, abstracts from the gerund and from the root, as well as *nomina agentis.*

155. This being so, it is unfortunate that the original form of the verb cannot be ascertained with certainty beyond the fact that the root was monosyllabic and has been modified by later accretions. It will be seen that the general rule is for neuter verbs to end in a consonant, and not infrequently the neuter verb corresponds with the root, e.g. *rach* (badness, to be bad). Active verbs invariably end in the vowel *-o*, which in many cases is dropped to form the passive. These facts suggest that the primitive form of the verb was the root, and that the neuter represented the prevailing and primitive mode of thought—corroborated to a certain extent by the extensive use of the middle to-day.

156. If this were so, it would follow that the final *-o* embodies an active or causative principle, but this cannot be admitted. Not only are there certain intransitive verbs which have this *-o* termination, but certain transitive verbs could not be explained, except as being earlier than the corresponding neuter form without the *-o*, e.g. *mito*, I want; *mit*, to be wanted, hence (the regular meaning) to be pleasant. Were *mit* the original form, *mito* could only mean "to make pleasant" or "to please," a meaning which it cannot bear.

157. In Shilluk, though the *-o* termination sometimes appears in the infinitive, according to Westermann it is definitely the sign of the present; but in Dinka and Nuer the tendency is to confine the *-o*, as in Lango, to the idea of causation. Thus in these languages several neuter verbs appear without the *-o* which in Lango and Shilluk carry the final vowel:—

Lango, *dwogo*, come back.	Shilluk, *duogo*.	Dinka, *dwok*.	Nuer, *jok*.
Lango, *dong'o*, become mature.	Shilluk, *dongo*.		Nuer, *dong*.
Lango, *ringo*, run.	Shilluk, *ringo*.	Dinka, *ryang*.	Nuer, *ring*.
Lango, *woto*, go.	Shilluk, *wito*.		Nuer, *ghet*.

158. Contrast also :—

tidi, be small.	Shilluk, *tido*.	
ye, to accept.	Shilluk, *yeyo*.	
ru, to dawn.	Shilluk, *ruwo*.	
to, to die.	Shilluk, *towo*.	Dinka, *twan*.
tu, to sprout.	Shilluk, *toyo*.	
tik, to smell bad.	Shilluk, *tigo*.	

159. It is clear, therefore that the *-o* termination is by no means necessarily active in effect, and the probability is that the final *-o* when added to a primitive root did nothing more than convert that root to verbal form, and only later became specialized as indicative of the present in Shilluk and as (generally speaking) indicative of the active in Lango. The active form of the verb will therefore be shown below (and in the vocabulary) in preference to the neuter or passive form, though the latter not infrequently corresponds with the root.

160. Intransitive verbs for the most part end in a consonant (e.g. *kech*, to be bitter; *ger*, to be fierce; *gol*, to be a simpleton; *ngech*, to be dappled; *put*, to be weak; *dak*, to migrate; *wok*, to go out), but in addition to the verbs given above the following forms with the final *-o* occur :—

becho (*beyo*), to be beautiful.
bedo, to sit.
bino, to come.
boicho, to be tall.
bône, to be bald.
buto, to lie down.
bwaro, to be lean.
chato, to be old.
chito, to go.
churo, to sigh.
dwôno, to be dry.
goro, to be crippled.
kumo, to grieve.
lelo, to rejoice.
mio, to be fat.
mwato, to be barren.
nin'o, to sleep.
ôlo, to cough.
pug'o, to become fat.
pur'o, to be mouldy.
riyo, to spend the day.
teo, to walk feebly.
tin'o, to be small.
toicho, to be soft.
tuko, to play.
twaro, to snore.
twero, to be able.
twolo, to be open.
welo, to travel.
weno, to visit.

161. Though the consonantal ending is the most frequent, intransitive verbs may end in vowels other than *-o*, e.g. :—

in a :—

a (*ya*), to come from.
kangara, to be tall.

in e :—

chwe, to be fat.
pye, to alight.
ye, to accept.
ywe, to rest

in i :—

dagi, to refuse.
dikeri, to pause.
li, to grow cold.
lwi, to grow tall.
pungni, to totter.
ti, to be old.
tidi, to be small.
twi, to sprout.
yi, to fight.

in -ô :—

lô, to be barren.
pô, to be mad.
twô, to be ill.
wô, to make a commotion.

in u :—

dau, to quarrel.
duru, to be pregnant.
ngiru, to be dusky.
numu, to be raw.
ru, to dawn.
tu, to sprout.

(Except when the final *-u* is obviously an integral part of the root, it may possibly be a modification of *-o*, as certain active verbs end in the vowel, e.g. *nyau*, to load down.)

162. Several verbs, though apparently neuter in meaning with a transitive form, should be none the less classed as transitive verbs, as they may be followed by an indirect object. Further, as every verb may be followed by its gerundive as a cognate substantive, it may even be argued that there are no neuter verbs in *-o*, as such a cognate accusative is always either expressed or implied, e.g. *abedo*, I sit; or *abedo abeda*, I sit a sitting:—

not'o, to combine with.
nyero, to laugh, laugh at.
rwenyo, to be lost to.
mon'o, to be unseemly to.
myero, to be fitting for.
twero, to be able, to be adequate to.
yuto, to darken, to bring darkness on.

Joni giweka ginot'o ki rwotcha.
These men leave me to combine with that chief.

Ginyerowu.
They laugh at you.

Yô orwenya.
The road is lost to me.

Gin arukani omon'i, mam omyeri.
Your costume is unfitted for you, it does not suit you.

Gitwero tichcha.
They are adequate for that work.

Piny oyutowa.
Darkness is falling on us.

163. A number of verbs have variant forms, generally due to nasalization of the root, but the object of this nasalization is not clear, as it does not apparently affect the meaning. In the Alur dialect nasalization is very general, e.g. *mbe* = *pe* (not); *nzira* = *jira* (victory cry); *ngo* = *ko* (not); *mbira* = *obira* (hibiscus), *undiek* = *odyek* (hyæna); but the other and earlier languages of the group afford no indication of the origin or *raison d'être* of this tendency, verbs nasalized in Lango showing no such aberration in Shilluk, for example, though certain verbs in Shilluk have double forms, of which the second form would appear to have been derived from a tense or mood of the first.

164. Analogous to this nasalization is the dentalization regular in Alur and Doluo. A few instances survive also in Lango :—

libdo or *lib'o*, to persecute.
lobdo or *lobo*, to follow.
ribdo (*rubdo*) or *rib'o* (*rub'o*), to mix.
nin'o, to sleep (cf. Alur, *nindo*).
[Cf. *awen'o* (guinea-fowl) ; Alur, *awendo* ; *bene* (also) ; Alur, *bende*.]

165. Subsequently, as with the dental, the nasal tended to be omitted, and is now represented by the glottal stop, both forms being in everyday use. *Dingo* (to make narrow) and *iko* (to arrange) have no glottal stop, and are clearly the original unnasalized forms. *Gweto* or *ngweto* (to abstract) and *belo* or *beluny* (to alight) are exceptional instances of nazalization, the usual forms of which are as shown below :—

bakno, bak'o, to dig.
bekno, bek'o, to pick up.
dingo, dingno, to make narrow.
iko, ikno, to arrange.
jakno, jak'o, to break.
kakno, kak'o, to split.
lamno, lam'o, to sacrifice.
langno, lang'o, to inform.
limno, lim'o, to obtain.
nangno, nang'o, to lick.
nyamno, nyam'o, to chew.
ômno, ôm'o, to fetch.
pugno, pug'o, to become fat.
tekno, tek'o, to mediate.
tengno, teng'o, to shake.
timno, tim'o, to do.
ryemno, ryem'o, to banish.
tumno, tum'o, to cut.
umno, um'o, to cover.
yokno, yok'o, to pound.
dwŏko, dwōg'o, to bring back (by intermediate *dwokno*).

166. Roots ending in *-j* commonly change the *j* to *y* in forming a verb, e.g. √ *goj*, verb *goyo*, to hit ; √ *mej*, verb *miyo*, to squeeze ; √ *ghoj*, verb *oyo*, to warm ; √ *yaj*, verb *ywayo*, to drag. On nasalization the *y* is generally dropped and represented by a glottal stop, which in some cases also affects the quality of the preceding vowel :—

bayo, ba'no, to throw.
biyo, bi'no, to squeeze.
boyo, bô'no, to wrap.
chiyo, chi'no, to slash.
choyo, chô'no, to scatter.
goyo, gô'no, to hit.
kayo, ka'no, to bite.
kwayo, kwa'no, to beg.
layo, la'no, to urinate.
loyo, lô'no, to overcome.
miyo, mī'no, to squeeze.
moyo, monyo, to look for.
oyo, ônyo, to warm.
oyo, onyo, to spill.
peyo, pē'no, to pull.
piyo, pi'no, to drill.
rayo, ra'no, to collect.
riyo, ri'no, to twist.
teyo, te'no, to incise.
royo, rôno, to insert.
tweyo, twe'no, to tie.
twoyo, twô'no, to dry.
uyo, un'o, to ferment.
wiyo, wi'no, to twist.
yeyo, ye'no, to lift.
yuo, yu'no, to drop.
ywayo, ywa'no, to drag.
yweyo, ywe'no, to sweep.

167. By a contrary process a few verbs formed from *-n* roots may have a collateral form by substituting *y* for *n*, just as in Bari

a passive verb is formed from a root ending in a suppressed *n* by adding a *y* and a vowel, e.g. Bari, *ta* (√ *tan*), to tell, passive *taya*:—

puno, to plaster; collateral form, *puyo*.
dino, to crush; collateral form, *diyo*.
ryeno, to stretch; collateral form, *ryeyo*.
bino, to come; imperative form, *biyi*.
rwano, to rub; collateral form, *rwayo*.

168. Variants due to the insertion of a semivowel, especially *w*, have no distinction of meaning, but are not so common as in the neighbouring languages of the group or even as in Shilluk. In these other languages also, where both forms of a word coexist, the addition of a semivowel does not affect the meaning, e.g. Shilluk *konyo* or *kwonyo*, to dig; *geto* or *gyeto*, to sacrifice:—

chôo or *chiewo*, to waken.
choyo or *chwoyo*, to throw.
chô'no or *chwô'no*, to throw.
chobo or *chwobo*, to stab.
gito or *gweto*, to abstract.
log'o or *lwog'o*, to loosen.
nēro or *nwiro*, to prefer.
podo or *pwodo*, to hit.
tum'o or *twomo*, to stab.
tu or *twi*, to grow.
bero or *byero*, to claim.
ik'o or *yik'o*, to bury.

169. Other coexisting forms are based on regular transmutations of vowels and consonants:—

dodo or *doto*, to libel.
ya or *a*, to depart.
gero or *gedo*, to build.
timo or *tiyo*, to do.
jinyo or *jonyo*, to cramp.
kiino or *ki'no*, to winnow.
nwango or *nwongo*, to find.
rach or *rech*, to be bad.
ramo or *remo*, to pain.
rib'o or *rub'o*, to mix.
weto or *wito*, to whittle.
dengo or *dingo*, to separate.
bocho or *bucho*, to miss.
chôro or *churo*, to push.
koko or *kuko*, to lament.
locho or *lucho*, to reverse.
moro or *muro*, to warm.
lobo or *lubo*, to follow.

170. What appears to be a derivative formation consists of the root with a suffix *-oro*. It comprises both transitive and intransitive verbs, and in the few existing examples this unusual suffix apparently carries no specific significance. This may be a diminutive or depreciatory termination derived from *moro*:—

chaporo (= *chapo*), to serve.
chuboro (= *chupo*), to warn.
logoro (cf. *loko*, to turn), to entwine.
jukoro (cf. *juk'o*, to pull out), to be ruffled.
lakoro (cf. *lako*, to inherit), to win back.
tagoro, to stagger.
takoro, to poise.
dokoro, to cross river.

171. In a few instances variations in form are accompanied by variations in meaning, but to so limited an extent that no generalization is possible. Similarly, in Shilluk the insertion of a semivowel in the stem is of frequent occurrence, often indicating a change of

tense, but rarely any change of meaning, as e.g. in *tengo* = to hew; *tyengo* = to hew a canoe.

Ôm'o and *twômo* are both derived from the same root, *ram*, but whereas in the former verb the initial *r* has been dropped and the glottal stop indicates nasalization, in the latter *t* has by a common transposition been substituted for *r*.

The former retains the root meaning "to fetch," while the latter has been specialized to the fetching of water, and means "to draw water":—

tum'o (to cut) and *twomo* (to stab), from √ *tam*.
tŏ (to die) and *twô* (to be ill), from √ *tan*.

In both these instances the semivowel again denotes specialization.

In the case of *logo* and *lwok'o* (root *lak*), however, the opposite appears to be the case, the latter with the semivowel being the general verb "to wash," while the former is specialized to the washing of the face and hands. In Shilluk both forms appear without any distinction of meaning. *Modo*, to chew; *mwodo* (*yen*), to collect fuel; *wero*, to sing; and *woro* (to praise), are derived from the one primitive root, the latter verb originally meaning "to sing songs of praise."

172. Westermann notes a few instances in Shilluk in which by turning the second consonant of the root into the corresponding nasal one a verb is formed indicating inceptive action, e.g. *rach* = to be bad; *renyo* = to become bad, act badly; *doch* = to be good; *donyo* = to become good, act well. As has been stated above, in the majority of cases nasalization implies no change of meaning in Lango, but a few examples exist which suggest that the original conception of the nasal was such as Westermann has found to be the case in Shilluk:—

dwong, to be big; *dong'o* (i.e. *dongno*), to become big.
tek, to be hard; *teg'o* (i.e. *tekno*), to become hard.
√ *puk*; *pugno*, to become formed.

TENSE

173. The following table contains all the moods and tenses employed by the Lango, but it will be observed that the indefinite tense is the basis of nearly all the other tenses of the indicative mood which are for the most part differentiated by temporal adverbs:—

Infinitive.	Indicative
Indicative.	Perfect.
Indefinite.	Past.
Present.	Narrative.
Imperfect.	Subjunctive.
Future.	Imperative.
Deferred future.	Gerundive

174. *The Infinitive.*—This is the simplest form of the verb, generally in intransitive verbs consisting of the unaugmented root. Many substantives, as we have seen, are formed from verbal roots, but not infrequently the infinitive itself may be used as a substantive without change, either as the subject or object of the verb :—

Bedo nono kun gin aruka mam okato ruko bongo machol.
Being naked when one has nothing to wear is better than wearing filthy rags.

It is really this function of a verbal noun which the infinitive fulfils in the formation of the perfect tense, e.g. *atyeko neno*, I have seen ; lit. I have finished the seeing. And similarly after verbs of motion—e.g. *awoto dwaro le* (I am going to hunt)—the infinitive, while expressing purpose, is actually a verbal noun governed by the verb of motion. This is indicated by the conjunction *ka*, which may precede the infinitive to express purpose, this *ka* being in origin identical with *ka* (= place), which is used to form the locative of nouns. Thus *awoto ka dwaro le* literally means "I go at-hunting game," clearly demonstrating that the infinitive should be recognized as a verbal noun :—

dak, to migrate ; *dagi*, to refuse ; *mako*, to seize.

175. *Indefinite.*—This is used more largely than any other tense, and loosely covers the present, the future and the past. It signifies imperfect or unfinished action, and its function is to describe an action or state, leaving the context to indicate the time. Customary actions or actions of habit are accordingly put naturally in this tense ; proverbs and colloquialisms will be represented by it, and generally its use may be said to be conversational rather than grammatical. So loose is it in its application that its functions cannot always be separated from those of the present, but a few grammatical distinctions are given under that tense. It is formed by adding the pronominal prefix to the infinitive. With the conjunction *kono* this form is used in conditional sentences with an apodosis either expressed or implied :—

Dyelna ma kono anyômo kede Oyo oywayo Abyeche.
My goat with which I should have married a wife Oyo has taken to Abyeche.

adak, I migrate.	*adagi*, I refuse.	*amako*, I seize.
idak, thou migratest.	*idagi*, thou refusest.	*imako*, thou seizest.
odak (*edak*),[1] he migrates.	*odagi*, he refuses.	*omako*, he seizes.
wadak, we migrate.	*wadagi*, we refuse.	*wamako*, we seize.
wudak (*udak*),[1] you migrate.	*wudagi*, you refuse.	*wumako*, you seize.
gidak, they migrate.	*gidagi*, they refuse.	*gimako*, they seize.

176. *Present.*—This tense was in origin a composite tense formed in conjunction with the indefinite tense of the verb *bedo* (to sit, to be), and indicates an action definitely in the present time. Thus the

[1] In subsequent examples the forms *o-* and *wu-* will alone be given, it being understood that *e-* and *u-* may be substituted.

original form of "I am arresting this man" would be *abedo mako loni*, the infinitive being treated as an accusative cognate in action with *abedo*. Subsequent usage has contracted the expression into one word, and *abedo* has been absorbed into the following infinitive, thus forming the present tense: *abedo mako* becomes *abemako*. The uncontracted use, however, is still largely continued, especially in the case of monosyllabic intransitive verbs; e.g. *obedo nok*, is used in preference to *obenok* (there are a few); *kot obedo chwe* is equally used with *kot obechwe* (it is raining). It is conjugated in the same way as the indefinite tense by changing the pronominal prefixes:—

abedak, I am migrating.
ibedak, thou art migrating.
obedak, he is migrating.
wabedak, we are migrating.
wubedak, you are migrating.
gibedak, they are migrating.

abedagi, I am refusing.
ibedagi, thou art refusing.
obedagi, he is refusing.
wabedagi, we are refusing.
wubedagi, you are refusing.
gibedagi, they are refusing.

abemako, I am seizing.
ibemako, thou art seizing.
obemako, he is seizing.
wabemako, we are seizing.
wubemako, you are seizing.
gibemako, they are seizing.

177. The tense is not very widely used, the indefinite being preferred unless a very accurate indication of present time is required. Its use as distinct from the indefinite may best be illustrated by examples, e.g. *kot ochwe*, rain usually falls; *koy obechwe*, it is raining now. Roughly, the distinction between the two tenses (considering only the present aspect of the indefinite tense) is the same as between the simple and compound present in English, between "I come" and "I am coming." This difference may be illustrated by a more complex example:—

ka ibino, chwinya oyom.
ka ibino, chwinya obeyom.

Both these sentences can be translated "When you come my heart is glad," but the former being indefinite in the apodosis has an indefinite colour throughout, and means "Whenever you come my heart is glad." The latter, however, definitely refers to present time, and freely rendered means "I am glad that you have come."

Similarly, *chwinya obeyom twatwal aneni* means "I am very pleased to see you," but *chwinya oyom twatwal aneni* makes a general statement and means "I am always glad to see you." It must be confessed, however, that colloquially there is a large amount of laxness in the use of these two tenses, and rhythm and euphony play a decided part in the selection.

The manner in which the verb *bedo* is absorbed by the infinitive following, with the result that it becomes only a tense-denoting prefix, is comparable with a similar occurrence in Acholi and Dinka, reference to which will be made under the future tense.

178. *Imperfect.*—This tense is indicated by the presence of *yam* before the indefinite tense, which as a rule in itself sufficiently fulfils the functions of the imperfect. That *yam* is an adverb indicating continuance in the past is indicated by its frequent occurrence in conjunction with *chon* (formerly), to mean "once upon a time":—

Tongna ma yam arom'o kode Omwa otero Abyeche.
My spear with which I used to fight Omwa has taken to Abyeche.

Okelo tye kwen ? . . . yam tye kan.
Where is he, Okelo ? . . . he was here.

yam adak, I was migrating.
yam idak, thou wast migrating.
yam odak, he was migrating.
yam wadak, we were migrating.
yam wudak, you were migrating.
yam gidak, they were migrating.

yam adagi, I was refusing.
yam idagi, thou wast refusing.
yam odagi, he was refusing.
yam wadagi, we were refusing.
yam wudagi, you were refusing.
yam gidagi, they were refusing.

yam amako, I was seizing.
yam imako, thou wast seizing.
yam omako, he was seizing.
yam wamako, we were seizing.
yam wumako, you were seizing.
yam gimako, they were seizing.

179. *Future.*—This tense is formed by the infinitive preceded by the indefinite tense of *bino*, to come. This form of the future is identical with the original future in Acholi and Alur, which has by usage been contracted in the same manner as the Lango present tense, the *abino* having become *abi-* prefixed to the verb, e.g. *dok* (to return) makes its future *abidok*. A similar contraction occurs in Dinka, e.g. *dui* (to strike), *yan b'dui* (I will strike), the future prefix being formed from the verb *ba* (to come); but it is never found in Lango. The future tense is only used of something in the not too proximate future; of an action contemplated in the very immediate future, even to the extent of a whole day, the indefinite tense is normally employed. Where in English we have "I am about to . . ." or "I am just going to . . ." or "will," referring to an action which is just coming to pass, this future is not used. Either the indefinite tense is employed, or the verbs *mito* (to wish or to be about to) or *woto* (to go):—

Dyegi abino twekoni diki macha.
I will get you the goats the day after to-morrow

But:—

Keng diki, biyi diki macha. . . . Abino.
Omit to-morrow, come the day after. . . . I will come.

Cheng omito yuto.
The sun is just on the point of setting.

Piny owoto yabere.
It is just on dawn.

abino dak, I shall migrate.
ibino dak, thou wilt migrate.
obino dak, he will migrate.

abino dagi, I shall refuse.
ibino dagi, thou wilt refuse.
obino dagi, he will refuse.

abino mako, I shall seize.
ibino mako, thou wilt seize.
obino mako, he will seize.

180. *Deferred Future.*—This tense denotes an anticipated action which till the time of speaking has not materialized, and corresponds with "not yet" in English. "Not yet" may be expressed by the use of the words *podi* (= still) and *mam* (= not), followed by the indefinite tense, or even by *podi* alone if the negative can be readily assumed from the general context; but the use of the deferred future tense in conjunction with the negative *mam* is more usual. It is formed by inserting *-rwo-* after the pronominal prefix of the indefinite tense, and is usually employed in the third person singular, though it can be used of other persons as well:—

Mam orwobino.
He has not yet come.

Amito dok kun cheng mam orwoteg'o.
I wish to return while the sun is not yet hot.

Locha onguka kun mam arwobayo tong.
He forestalled me while I had not yet thrown a spear.

mam arwodak, I have not yet migrated.
mam irwodak, thou hast not yet migrated.
mam orwodak, he has not yet migrated.

mam arwodagi, I have not yet refused.
mam irwodagi, thou hast not yet refused.
mam orwodagi, he has not yet refused.

mam arwomako, I have not yet seized.
mam irwomako, thou hast not yet seized.
mam orwomako, he has not yet seized.

181. *Perfect.*—To form this tense the infinitive of the verb is preceded by the indefinite tense of *tyeko* (to finish) or, more rarely, *daro* (to complete). This tense, which is very commonly employed,

is not interchangeable with the next tense, as it corresponds with the "has" tense in English, and indicates an action begun in the past and completed in present time :—

Kop otyeko ke oko.
The business has been quite finished.

Atyeko neno.
I have seen.

Gidaro modo yen.
They have gathered fuel.

atyeko dak, I have migrated.
ityeko dak, thou hast migrated.
otyeko dak, he has migrated.

atyeko dagi, I have refused.
ityeko dagi, thou hast refused.
otyeko dagi, he has refused.

atyeko mako, I have seized.
ityeko mako, thou hast seized.
otyeko mako, he has seized.

182. *Past.*—This tense is indicated by the particles *riki, nwong* (or *nwang*), *lem* and *chwain,* all of which may be further emphasized by the addition of *chon* (formerly). They are all doubtless adverbs of time, but apart from *chon* are not used independently of a verb. They precede the verb in the indefinite tense, *riki* being used of a more recent period than either *nwong* or *chwain.* Of these *chwain* nearly always refers to a very remote period, and *nwong* is largely used in folk stories with the connotation "once upon a time."

183. The verb *dong* (to be left, to remain over) is also attached by an idiomatic use to the indefinite tense of other verbs to indicate finality or past time, and the combination may accordingly be treated as another form of the past tense. In this sense *dong* is frequently replaced by *dang*, and abbreviated to *do* or *da.*

184. *Nwong* is probably derived from *nwango* (to find), the Acholi form of which (*nongo*) is used impersonally to form a past tense, e.g. *onongo in tie kan ?* It found you were where ? (i.e. where were you at that time ?) *Ma en obuto kede onongo pod tie bot wone* (when he slept with her it found her (i.e. she was) still with her father) :—

185. *Nwong arwenyo yô kara chok atuno potoni.*
I lost my way, and so arrived near your garden.

Jalcha nwang ochiko tol mere.
Once upon a time that man set a snare

Gin'oro ma chwain loni owilo.
Something which this man bought.

Palacha tyen'e ma riki anene bangi aworo ?
Where is that knife with which I saw you yesterday ?

Onoda anoda dikdik kum kopmere, ento an adagi gira, en dong owoto.
He importunes me daily on his affair, but I refuse, so he went.

An atyeko do.
I have quite finished.

But :—

Odong tunge.
He is left at home.

186. It should be noted that *dong* is also used timelessly as a mere particle of emphasis without much noticeable addition to the meaning, e.g. in the common greeting and farewell. *Morembe dong ; dong bedi* :—

Dyere do etyeko bal'e.
And so their friendship was destroyed.

187. *Narrative.—Ki,* not being strictly a conjunction, but a preposition, meaning " with," cannot be used to connect more than simple words. An enclitic *ka* is commonly used in narrative to connect clauses :—

En ka odyek bene owinyogi.
And the hyæna also heard them.

But even with this conjuctive enclitic the narrative tense is generally used ; without it its use is almost obligatory including as it does in its form the meaning " and." Its normal use is, therefore, in the second and subsequent sentences of a narrative, and it cannot normally stand at the beginning. In itself it is timeless, depending on the time of the leading verb, and may even be used with an imperative connotation.

188. By a curious use it is not infrequently employed in the apodosis of a conditional or temporal sentence without any idea of narration, a use consequent on the fact that the conditional and temporal conjunctions were substantival in origin and the protasis and apodosis were independent clauses parataxically contrasted.

189. The tense is formed by placing the infix *-toko-* or *-teko-* (varied for no other reason than euphony) after the pronominal prefix of the indefinite tense. This infix is sometimes contracted to *-to-* (e.g. *otogoye* = *otokogoye*), and with the pronominal prefix may be divided from the verb itself by the interposition of the subject or a resumptive particle :—

En ka atin obedo etekodong'o.
And the child stayed and grew up.

Eto apwô okobo dyere bang kich.
And the hare severed his friendship with the bee.

Eto dang chwero mô.
And so it distilled honey.

Giringo matek gitokomake.
They ran quickly and caught him.

En ka odwogo otonwango kidi mere obal'e, otopenyo . . .
And he returned and found his grindstone spoiled and asked . . .

Atômon adek, wiye otekobedo dang aman.
Thirty, and in addition there are so many.

Ka kot ochwe, pi otekopong kan bala ?
When it rains, does the water stand here ?

Iparo kop i chwinyi ; ka otyeko mwom i dogi, itokobo.
You consider the matter in your heart ; when it has reached your mouth then you speak.

Woti, ngiya gincha kacha itokela.
Go and look for that thing there and bring it to me.

atokodak, *atekodak*, *atodak* } and I migrated, etc.

atokodagi, *atekodagi*, *atodagi* } and I refused. etc.

atokomako, *atekomako*, *atomako* } and I seized, etc.

190. *Subjunctive.*—The tense has the following uses :—

(*a*) It supplies the persons of the imperative mood except the second, and even for the second person it is sometimes used as an expression of greater courtesy.

(*b*) It is used deliberatively, e.g. *akur ?* = am I to wait ?

(*c*) It is used in *oratio obliqua* and to express purpose, either without any conjunction or preceded by *wek*, the root of *weko* (to let). To express purpose after a verb of motion, however, the subjunctive is not used, but the conjunctive *ka* with the infinitive, or the infinitive alone, or the verbal noun. E.g. "I am going to fight," can be expressed by *awoto ka monyo*, *awoto monyo*, or *awoto mony*.

(*d*) Occasionally the subjunctive would appear to take the place of a present participle.

191. To form the subjunctive verbs ending in a consonant, or the vowels *-e*, *-i*, *-u*, *-ô*, make no change from the indefinite tense, except that whereas in the indefinite the stem vowel is low tone, in the subjunctive the vowel is high.

192. Verbs ending in *-ko*, *-lo*, *-mo*, *-ngo*, *-no*, *-nyo* and *-ro* form the subjunctive by dropping the final *-o*. Verbs in *-mo*, whose stem vowel is *a*, may also change the vowel to *e*, e.g. *chamo*, to eat; subjunctive *acham* or *achem*.

193. All other verbs in *-o* form their subjunctives by changing *-o* to *-i* for all persons except the first and second plural, which may alternatively change *-o* to *-u*; this *u* may be analogous to the *u* which indicates the future both in Shilluk and Masai; and with it should be compared Alur *wachithu* (let us go).

Verbs in *-a* are for the most part defective, but where there is a subjunctive it is formed by the addition of *-i*:—

194. *Chwô Ngulu ochwany rwodi duchu gibin.*
Send Ngulu to summon all the chiefs to come.

Koba kon'o awiny; an mam awinyo gira.
Tell me again that I may hear; I did not hear.

Weki awok gira.
Let me go out.

Chwinya obeyom twatwal aneni.
I am very glad at seeing you.

Wayabu wangwa.
Let us open our eyes.

Miya gin' oro aber dang ma anyom kede dako.
Give me something good that I may marry with it a wife.

Ber iiti piny.
You had better descend.

Uregi mayot, uwoti.
Grind quickly and go.

Kurunu, awoti ka ngwedo ochuga.
Wait, let me go to pick cherries.

Jago ogam dyel achel, achel omiyi won pacho.
Let the chief receive one goat, and one let him give to the village headman.

Akem ki kolo orweny oko.
Let discontent and indignation disappear.

Jocha gibedi kun adwogo.
Let those men wait while I return.

195. The following examples will illustrate the different formations:—

Adak, etc., *adági*, etc., *adaú*, etc., *amak*, etc., *adwogi*, etc., *abeyi*, etc., *akur*, etc., *abin*, etc., *atel*, etc., *agam*, etc., *akwang*, etc., *achwany*, etc., *abony*, etc., *arweny*, etc., *achwiny*, etc., *akuny*, etc.

196. *Imperative.*—The imperative consists only of the second persons singular and plural, as for all other persons the subjunctive is used. Verbs ending in consonants, or the vowels *-e*, *-i*, *-ô*, *-u*, make no change for the singular, but add *-unu* for the plural. Verbs ending in *-nyo* drop the *-o* for the singular and change *-o* to *-unu* for the plural.

Intransitive verbs in *-o* and verbs in *-a* may either drop *-o* or

change *-o* to *-i* for the singular, but all indicate the plural by *-unu*.[1]

Other verbs in *-o* change the final *-o* to *-i* for the singular and to *-unu* for the plural. If the verb is followed by an object, however, the *-i* is dropped in the singular,[2] except in the case of verbs in *-yo*, where the use of the *-i* remains optional.

Exceptions :—

ka'no (to bite), imperative *kany*.
chwoyo (to send), imperative *chwô*.
neno (to behold), imperative *nen*.
yweyi dyekal, sweep the courtyard.
mak pyera, hold me by the waist.
kwany anguch i ngabi, take down the halter from the peg.
nenunu atinoni, look at these children.
a malo or *ai malo*, get up.
chung or *chungi*, stand.
reginu moko, grind flour.

197. Examples : *dak* (pl. *dakunu*), migrate ; *dagi* (*dagunu*), refuse ; *dau* (*daunu*), quarrel ; *maki* (*makunu*), seize ; *biyi* (*biyunu*,) come ; *teli* (*telunu*), conduct ; *bony* (*bonyunu*), hasten ; *kuny* (*kunyunu*), dig.

198. *Gerundive.*—Sufficient has already been said on the gerundive under Section 19 *et seq.* to indicate its nature and scope. It is formed by prefixing and suffixing *a* to the root of the verb, and its functions may again be summarized as (*a*) gerundive, (*b*) participial or adjectival, (*c*) substantival. Verbs with collateral forms in *-no* and *-yo* prefer to employ the gerundive from the latter if it is to be used cognately with the principal verb, e.g. *chino achiya* (to slash a slashing) ; *twô'no atwoya* (to dry a drying) ; *twe'no atweya* (to tie a tying) :—

Owapo jocha awapa.
He followed those men a following.

Ijok'o dyang ajok'a bange, atot inyômo kede anyôma ?
Did you deposit the cow with him, or did you marry with it ?

kom abeda, a chair for sitting.
gin aruka, something for wearing.
dako alaka, an inherited wife.
kal arega, ground millet.
anin'a, somnolence.

VOICE

199. There are three voices, active, middle and passive, and though the active is the most commonly employed, the use of the

[1] *-i* and *-unu* are the personal pronouns *in* (thou) and *wun* (you) ; *-u* is also heard instead of *-unu*.

[2] Contrast Shilluk, where in the singular an *i* may be added or not at will, but is almost invariably added if the verb governs an object.

passive is by no means so repugnant as in some allied Nilotic languages, while the middle is extensively used, and by modern practice is tending to oust the passive from its proper functions. The middle is formed by changing the final *-o* of the active to *-ere*, the passive either by dropping the *-o* or by changing it to an *-e*, which with few exceptions is preceded by the glottal stop.

200. The middle in *-ere* is difficult of explanation, but is probably to be referred back to the Shilluk *re* = body, though in Alur *-ara* (also to be derived from *re*) is the passive termination. Such a derivation would be in keeping with the most characteristic connotation of the middle, i.e. reflexive, e.g. *loko* (to change), *lokere* (to change oneself); *deyo* (to throttle), *deyere* (to commit suicide); *twenyo* (to straighten), *twenyere* (to stretch oneself); *um'o* (to cover), *umere* (to cover oneself); *tim'o* (to do), *timere* (to give oneself airs).

201. The border line, indeed, dividing the reflexive from a state which is purely neuter is very narrow, and consequently the middle tends to become an intransitive mood, thus merging into the passive, with possibly a more inceptive distinction, e.g. *boko* (to redden); *bokere* (to redden oneself, to become red); *chyeko* (to shorten); *chyek* (to be short); *chyegere* (to diminish). Or again, there is no distinction in meaning between *jony* and *jonyere*, the passive and middle of *jonyo* (to cramp); *dubo* (to spoil) has no passive, which is supplied by the middle *dubere* (to be spoiled). So also *ryem'ere* (to be driven away), middle of *ryem'o*, which is even followed by the preposition *ki* (by), denoting the agent:—

Dano malokere madoko dako.
A man who is transformed and becomes a woman.

Otobedo ryemnere ki kwaich.
And he was driven away by the leopard.

Ochul dyegi aryô ma okôkere kede.
Let him pay the two goats with which he ransomed himself.

Omato kongo, omer, wange otobokere.
He drank beer, was intoxicated, and his eyes became bloodshot.

Wange olokere.
His eyes twist themselves (i.e. he squints).

Choto ma atin ojukere kede.
Mud with which the child smears himself.

202. The middle has, however, two other distinctive uses, the reciprocal and the potential, and it should be observed that even intransitive verbs may form a middle in the latter sense, e.g., *woto* (to go), *wotere* (to be passable). The reciprocal use is self-explanatory, but may most clearly be illustrated by the verb *nyômo*, which in the active means "to marry," of the man; in the passive (*nyôm'e*) "to be married," of the woman; in the middle (*nyômere*) "to marry one

another." Similarly, *kwongo* (to swear an oath); *kwongere* (to make mutual promises):—

Gimakere chinggi.
They grasp each other by the hand.

Gichobere ken'gi, wan mam iye.
They speared each other without our intervention.

203. By potential is meant the idea contained in the English *-able*. Thus *nyômere*, in addition to the meaning given above, may also mean "to be marriageable":—

Tong kot mam okôkere.
The rain spear may not be ransomed.

Dwane mam owinyere.
His voice is inaudible.

Yô owotere.
The road is passable.

Nam okwangere.
The lake can be crossed.[1]

Ngat madagi mam omakere kum tichni.
No one who refuses can be forced to this work.

204. The passive voice veers in meaning between a true passive and a neuter, denoting a habitual state or function rather than a particular situation arising from an external stimulus, e.g. *cheko* (to ripen), *chek* (to be ripened, to be ripe); *chwero* (to cause to leak), *chwer* (to leak); *daro* (to end), *dar* (to be ended); *keto* (to destroy), *ket* (to be destroyed); *tiro* (to straighten), *tir* (to be straight); *lyero* (to suspend), *lyer* (to hang).

205. Of the two forms of the passive there can be no doubt that the form which drops the final *-o* is the more historically correct. The final vowel is thus dropped in the Shilluk passive, e.g. *chamo* (to eat), *cham* (eaten); *fodo* (to beat), *fwot* (beaten). Alur and Doluo similarly drop the vowel. The form in *-e* is possibly a corruption of the middle, the glottal stop indicating a hiatus which may well stand for *-er-*. Though it cannot convey the meanings covered by the middle, this form of the passive more approximates to a reflexive connotation than the form without the vowel.

206. Nevertheless, whatever its origin, the form in *-e* is by now a true passive, and in a few cases both forms coexist without any apparent difference in meaning or usage, e.g. *gomo* (to bend), *gom* or *gome* (to be bent); *roicho* (to trip up), *roich* or *roiche*; *wil'o* (to sprain), *wil* or *wil'e*; *wôto* (to pull out), *wôt* or *wôt'e*; *loyo* (to melt), *lo* or *loye*; *lwok'o* (to wash), *lwok* or *lwok'e*; *mono* (to embroil), *mon* or *mon'e*:—

[1] *Kwangere* also means "to ferry oneself," i.e. "to swim."

Cheng dong ogur'e.
The sun is fixed (i.e. it is midday).

Lutkot obemeny.
Lightning is flashing.

Dwane orweye.
His throat is frayed (i.e. he is hoarse).

Orôn'e i yô.
He hid by the wayside.

Mola olwog'e i tyen'e.
The brass wire is loose on his leg.

COPULA

207. The copula "to be" is very often not rendered in Lango, but where it is necessary, the defective verb *tye* or the verb *bedo* is employed. *Tye* has only three tenses, the indefinite (*atye*, etc.), the imperfect (*yam atye*, etc.), and the past (*riki* or *nwong atye*), but only the indefinite is commonly used. In the third person singular *tye* stands by itself without the pronominal prefix, which is never used in that person. There is no infinitive; for that and the other tenses *bedo*, which properly means "to sit," is used in the sense of *tye* (to be). In conjunction with adverbs of quality and with adjectives which can only be used predicatively *bedo* is regularly employed. It predicates a state, whereas *tye* predicates locality:—

Okelo tye kwen? . . . Yam tye kan.
Where is Okelo? . . . He was here.

Amatcha obedo aruru.
That old woman is past child-bearing.

Nyok mubedo angech.
The he-goat which is dappled.

Wubedo wang tich adi?
How many gangs are you?

Wun atino papo?
(Are) you the children of one father?

Okanyanyo obedo ayugiyugi.
The beetle *okanyango* is straw-coloured.

208. The following forms of the personal pronoun include the verb "to be":—

ane, I am.
ine, thou art.
ene, he is, they are.
an ene, I am he.

Kuk jo awalu, "Gin ene."
Cry to the men of Awalu, "There are they."

209. There is no verb meaning "to have," which may be expressed by *tye* or *bedo*, used with the preposition *ki* (with), or by some periphrasis gives the required meaning :—

Atye ki kop ma amito koboni.
I have some news which I want to tell you.

Ibedo ki tong adi ?
How many spears have you ?

Dyegi adi tye bangi ?
How many goats have you ? (lit. are at your house).

Dokna gibedo ngwen.
I have four head of cattle.

NEGATION

210. The commonest Lango negative is the Hamitic word *mam*, which is not used by any other of the Nilotic group. The Acholi *pe*, which is the same as the Shilluk *ba* or *fa* and the Alur *umbe*, is little used, and is confined entirely to the northern Lango, under Acholi influence. *Bongo* means literally "to be not," "to be without," "to lack," but is sometimes heard in the region of Atura used simply to represent "not" in imitation of the Paluo practice. The *ko* imitated by the Acholi from the Madi and by the Alur as *ungo* is never heard. *Podi* (still) is often used with *mam* to mean "not yet," and may even bear this meaning alone, e.g. *otyeko bino ? Podi.* "Has he come ? Not yet" (lit. he is coming still). The specific deferred future (i.e. not yet) tense has already been noticed. The negative precedes the verb, but on the rare occasion when used as a negative *bongo* follows the main verb. *Mam* may be emphasized by the enclitic *ta*, "no, by no means" :—

Mam awinyo gira.
I do not hear.

Kidi pa Odyek mam girego iye.
People do not grind on Odyek's stone.

Lim meri bongo.
It is not your property.

Arwenyo ; mam angeyo yô.
I am lost ; I do not know the road.

Yengi mam bor bala macha.
These trees are not so high as those.

Gichobere ken'gi, wan mam iye.
They speared each other in our absence.

Okwero bongo.
He does not refuse.

Ngat ma bongo dyel.
One who has no goats.

Awot'ere ongwedo ochuga ma mam omi'no wange.
Her comrade plucked cherries without shutting her eyes.

Oto kun podi mam orwotuno kan.
He died before arriving here (lit. while he had not yet arrived).

211. *Kwero* (to refuse) is frequently used instead of a negative without any connotation of refusal, and especially if the negative occurs in a relative clause. The use of *mono* (to prevent) in negation has already been discussed in Section 108 :—

Anyang okwero nywal.
Anyang has no children (refuses to bear).

Ngadi okwero bino.
So-and-so cannot come.

Jo ma gikwero myel'o gimato kongo.
Those who do not dance drink beer.

212. *Kwen* or *kwene* (where? in what point ?) is frequently used to express emphatic negation or strong disbelief by a rhetorical question :—

Pacho maido cha bor twatwal—bor kwen ?
That village over there is very far off—it is not ? (lit. far where ?).

Imito neka, rwot—kwene ?
You wish to kill me, chief—certainly not ?

Ini rwot kwen ?
You are no chief ?

Ingeyo kwene ?
You are totally ignorant ?

213. These negative particles are not used in prohibitions, which are expressed by the infinitive preceded in the singular by *kuri* and in the plural by *kurunu* or *kuru*. The formation clearly indicates that *kuri* and *kurunu* are imperatives of a verb *kuro*, which may (as in Shilluk) be a variant of *koro*, and mean "to guard against," i.e. "refrain from," "do not." It probably has no connection whatever with the Madi *ko* referred to above (Bari, *ako*), as *ko* cannot be used in prohibitions. A similar prohibitional *ku* occurs in Shilluk, appears in Alur as *kudi* and in Doluo as *kuki* (which may also be occasionally heard in north-west Lango). Compare also the use in Acholi of *gwok* (beware) and the subjunctive to express a prohibition :—

Kuri yi kode.
Do not fight with him.

Kuri dwaro lyech diki.
Do not hunt elephant to-morrow.

Kurunu woto rego bilo.
Do not you go to grind flour.

214. A prohibition implying the discontinuance of an action already begun is expressed by the imperative or subjunctive of *weko* (to leave off), followed by the infinitive. This use should not be confused with the use of *weko* and the subjunctive, in which case *weko* bears the meaning "to allow," e.g. *weki adony* (let me enter):—

Weki bwolona abwola.
Stop deceiving me.

Wekunu twak.
Stop making a noise.

Giwek paro ki chwinygi.
Let them not think in their hearts.

ADVERBS

215. Nearly all adverbs are derived from either substantives or verbs, as will be indicated below. They almost invariably follow the verb.

ADVERBS OF PLACE

216. Shilluk has three substantives denoting "place," *ka*, *keny* and *kun*, with apparently no difference in meaning, though all may be traced back to a primitive form *gar*. Like Alur and Acholi, Lango has only the one substantival form *ka* (pl. *kagi*), but the other forms are preserved in the derivative adverbs, just as in Alur both *kae* and *keny* mean "here." It would appear that in all these languages the tendency is to restrict a derivative in *u* to the connotation "there." The locative use of the substantive *ka* employed as a prefix (or often abbreviated to *a*-) has already been noted, and requires no further comment here.

217. *Kan*, here, hither (representing *ka-ni*, "this place," the demonstrative being more fully preserved by metathesis in the less used form *kain*).
kago, hereabouts.
kego, on this spot (more definite than *kago*).
kenyo, at this very spot; hence (used by Jo Aber only).
kacha, there, thither (representing *ka-cha*, "that place"; also *kaicha* and *kucha*).
kugo, thereabouts.
kun, there, thither. Distributively, *kan* . . . *kun* . . . (more rarely *kun* . . . *kun* . . .), here . . . there. . . .
kuno, there, thither.
karachel, together (= *ka-achel*, in one place).
ka mukene, elsewhere.
kanoro (= *ka moro*), elsewhere, somewhere.
kagini (*kagigi*), everywhere (= *kagi-ni* these places).
kwen ? (*kwene ?*) where ?

That this interrogative is undoubtedly derived from the same root *ka* is proved not only on internal evidence, but by the practice of allied languages. Compare Alur *kani* (= where ?) and Shilluk *keny*, which means both "here" and "where"? the intonation being the distinguishing factor, and Acholi *kan*, (here, where ?). Frequently by a species of reduplication *kwen* is emphasized by being preceded by *ka*.

angete, aside, to the side (subs. *nget*, side).
chen, back, behind.
chyege, nearly (? *chyeko*, to shorten).
chok (*chwok*), nearly.
loka, across.

(Derived from an obsolete substantive, *long*, "side," "direction," which still survives in Dinka; cf. also Shilluk, *loko*, "this side," as well as *long an*.)

The adverb can be, and usually is, qualified by the demonstrative suffixes *-ni* and *-cha*, to mean "on this side" and "on that side." It is never used of obstacles which have to be surmounted, but only of depressions and rivers. Thus it is not possible to say *amito kato lokacha* (I wish to pass to the other side) when speaking of a hill, but it would be necessary to use the preposition *nge* (behind).

malo, up, above, north. (Shilluk, *mal* = upper region, surface.)
pat, separately.
piny, below, down, on the ground. (Subs. *piny* = earth), *piny duchu*, everywhere.
ten'i, on that side, over there.
tur, on that side, over there.
woko (*oko*), out, outside. (Verb, *wok*, to go out.)
aber, north.
kidi, east.
moïta (*maïta*), south.
burutok, south.
tungto, west.
ngetpiny choke kidi, north-east, south-east.
ngetpiny choke tungto, north-west, south-west.

218. The adverbial use of the substantives *tung*, *tur*, *bang*, *bot*, has already been fully noted in Section 104, to which reference should be made.

219. *Pacho maido lokacha,*
The village which is visible across the valley.
Dok tye kuno.
The cattle are over there.
Kem kun.
Look there.
Dok chen.
Go back.

Biyi kan ; agul'i pi amito tero oko.
Come here ; I want to take the waterpots outside.

Yô orwenya kara chok atuno potoni.
I lost the way and nearly arrived at your garden.

Abemonyo kago, kago, kago.
I am looking all round here.

Abedo kan kego.
I stay at this very spot.

Abiruna tye kugo.
My stick is somewhere there.

To omako kuma kagini.
I am feeling ill all over my body.

Kumi oberami ka kwene ?
Your body is aching you where ? e.g. Where is the pain ?

ADVERBS OF TIME

220. Adverbs of time may either precede or follow the verb.

221. The day is not divided into definite periods corresponding to hours, but there is a more or less conventional terminology descriptive of the time which in default of an adverbial nomenclature may for convenience be here summarized with the approximate equivalents in hours. The terminology is naturally based on the position of the sun, and wishing to ask the time of the day one inquires *Cheng tye kwen ?* (Where is the sun ?), to which more often than not the answer will be *cheng tye ka man* (the sun is in this place) or *cheng odok kan* (the sun has retired here), the position of the sun being indicated by the raised arm. This method indeed is the only one available when it is desired to inquire at what time of the night an occurrence took place, the sun being replaced by the moon. *Kara okwalo dyangni kun dwe tye kwen ?* And he stole your cow when the moon was where ?) But in this case it is also necessary to bear in mind the date of the lunar month in order to appreciate the hour indicated by the moon's position :—

dyecheng, "in the middle of the sun" ; day.
odiko, in the morning.
obayi, the false dawn ; 5.15 a.m.
odiko chon or *odiko obayi*, very early in the morning ; 5.15 to 5.45 a.m.
kok gweno, "cock crow."
ruapiny, dawn ; *piny oru*, it dawns.
te piny owal akino, "the horizon is reddening" ; 5.45 a.m.
wokcheng, sunrise ; 6 a.m.
piny oyabere, odoko ler, "the land is opening out and becoming clear" ; 6.15 a.m.
nyango, morning ; 6.30 a.m.

manyango odoko lyet, "the morning is becoming hot"; 8–9 a.m.
cheng lyet, "the sun is hot"; 10 a.m.
cheng oteg'o, "the sun is ripening"; 11 a.m.
cheng ogur'e, "the sun is stationary"; 12 noon.
cheng tye i dipo, "the sun is in the courtyard"; noon.
abôra, "the time of lengthening shadows"; afternoon; 2–5 p.m.
cheng dok ayote, 3 p.m.
cheng ochato, "the sun is ageing"; 4–5.30 p.m.
otyeno, evening; 5.30–7 p.m.
cheng opedo wange, "the sun opens its eye"; 6 p.m.
arang cheng, "the sunset glow"; 6.15 p.m.
potcheng, sunset; 6.15–6.30 p.m.
piny orep arep, "the earth is shadowy"; twilight; 6.30 p.m.
owor, night.
dyewor, in the middle of the night; midnight.

222. *tin,* to-day. Emphatically, *tin aman,* this to-day; *tin atina,* to-day in its to-dayness; *cheng ma tin,* the sun which is to-day.
diki, to-morrow.
diki macha, that to-morrow, i.e. day after to-morrow.
diki machel, another to-morrow, i.e. any day later than *diki macha.*
aworo, yesterday.
aworo macha, day before yesterday.
dikdik, to-morrow–to-morrow, i.e., daily.

223. *abin,* long ago.
akwong (*akwongkwong, akwokwong*), first (verb, *kwong,* to be first).
anyoni, immediately.
awene? when?
chen, afterwards.

Strictly an adverb of place, meaning "back" or "behind," it is also used to mean "after." In this sense it is generally followed by the possessive pronoun *mere; chen mere,* "its back," i.e. "afterwards." It is frequently used in conjunction with *chon* to emphasize the meaning of the latter; *chen chon,* behind a long ago, i.e. very long ago.

chok, almost.
chon, formerly, of old. When used with the perfect tense *chon* may mean "already."
chwain, formerly. A more primitive form of *chon,* with which it is often joined for emphasis; *chwain chon,* "once upon a time."
chyege, almost.
kanati (obsolete), now; at this instant (*nat*).
koni (*kokoni*), now (probably = *ka-ni,* this place).
kon'o, again. But more usually the verb *dok* (to go back) is employed idiomatically to convey this meaning.
kwong, first; *kwong awene?* first when? i.e. since when?
mot, afterwards. (√ *mat,* to be slow.)
naka, since, formerly, ago; *naka chen chon,* since long ago; *nak' anaka,* for a long time.

Naka is used of duration, continuing from the past into the present, as contrasted with *chon,* which is of time completely past.

ngit, now (a subs. = time, and often further particularized—*ngit aman*, at once ; *ngitcha*, that time, then ; *ngitni*, this time, now).
podi, still.
pod' tôtô, very recently. More emphatically *chyege pod' tôtô*.
tutuno, recently.

224. *Loni obedo kan chon, atot matidi mo ?*
Did he stay here long or only a very short while ?

Atyeko kobi chon.
I told you long ago.

Koba kon'o awiny.
Tell me again that I may hear.

Nga kon'o ?
Who again ? i.e. who else ?

Onyômo dako pod' chok.
He married a wife quite recently.

Dok koba.
Tell me again.

Tômon dok tômon.
Ten and again ten.

Kwong kuri.
First wait, i.e. wait a little.

Dyang me naka cha.
The cow of [which we were speaking] the other day.

Anyang ma naka chen abedo kode.
Anyang with whom I have continued to live for a long time.

Atin podi oteo atea.
The child is still tottering in its walk.

Pap'i oto kun Ogwangaja pod' tye ?
Did your father die while Ogwangaja was still alive ?

ADVERBS OF MANNER

225. These adverbs, with the exception of *atika*, invariably follow the verb. Many adverbs of manner are formed from verbs and verbal nouns by the prefixing of the preposition *ki* (with) e.g. *kiber*, with goodness, well ; *kitek*, with strength, strongly. But while adverbs of such a nature may be improvised as well, idiomatic usage prefers the relative adjective. Thus *ringi matek* (run fast), not *ringi kitek ; woti mayot* (go quickly), or, even more simply, *woti yotyot*, not *woti kiyot*.

226. With this use may be compared the adverbial use of the gerundive, commonest naturally with verbs of motion :—

woto achepa, to go with a shuffling gait (*chepo*, to shuffle).
chung alongoro tyen, to stand cross-legged (*logoro*, to intertwine).

227. There is a fairly comprehensive class of descriptive or onomatopœic adverbs, the scope of which is perhaps best conveyed

by the German word *lautbilder*. They are frequently preceded by the preposition *ni* (with), indicating perhaps that they are verbal in origin:—

ni kang, motionless.
ni pim, fixedly.
niti, utterly.
ni weng, quite, utterly.
ni yuk, suddenly.
i rik, abruptly.
put, crosslegged; *bedo put*, to sit crosslegged.
rut, description of a scraping noise.
akwichikwichi, the noise of anklets when clashed in running
achir, staggeringly.
atagi (*agati*), unsteadily.
akukuru, slouchingly.

228. In addition to these adverbial formations the following may be noted. They are difficult of definite grammatical definition, as some of them are used (e.g. *aliro*) as adjectives and adverbs indiscriminately:—

abiro, upright.
akă, idly, accidentally.
akā, purposely.
akita, only (*kit*, manner).
aliro, upright.
aman, thus (*man*, this).
anda, truly, verily (Paluo, *ada*, truth). Used by Jo Aber only.
ata, idly, to no purpose, in vain, aimlessly.
ateni, truly.
atika, specifically, verily, certainly, assuredly (*tiko*, to specify).
atot, perhaps (*toto*, to hazard).
badbad, utterly. Used by Jo Aber only.
chutok (*chuchuto*), quickly, urgently.
donge, exceedingly (*dong'o*, to grow).
ebelebele, utterly, suddenly (*belo*, to put to flight).
benebene, entirely, quite.
kaman, thus (*ka man*, this place).
kameno (*kumeno*), thus, similarly (*ka meno*, these places).
karachel, together, utterly (*ka achel*, one place).
keken, only.
kon'o, again.
kur, pleasantly (*kur*, to smell pleasant), only used as adverb in conjunction with *ngwe*, to smell.
kwe, uselessly; very (*kwer*, to be useless).
mot, slowly.
mwa, in vain.
nedi? how?
nono, to no purpose, uselessly.
padachel, together, utterly (*pa achel*, of one).
pingo? on account of what? why?
pio, quickly.
rwok, very. Used by Jo Aber only.

tik, malodorously, unpleasantly (*tik*, to be malodorous). Used like *kur* with the verb *ngwe*.
twal (*twatwal*), very.
woko (*wok*, *oko*, *o'o*, *o*), utterly, excessively (*wok*, to go out).

229. *Ber inin ki ryeko.*
You had better sleep warily.

Atino opor ki lok wok.
Children chatter excessively.

Ton gweno awilo chenti achel keken.
I will buy your eggs at one cent apiece only.

Toro badbad.
To break to pieces.

En atika omito yi.
He is assuredly going to fight.

Apenyo rwot kwe.
I asked the chief in vain.

Obedo tungi kwe?
Did he stay with you long?

Ikobo akoba.
You talk talking, i.e. ceaselessly or fatuously.

Iwoto mot pi ngo? Awoto nono gira.
Why do you go slowly? I am just going (without a reason).

Imato kongo giri atot pi akita?
Will you drink beer or only water?

Ikobo ata.
You talk aimlessly.

Ogoya nono.
He struck me without reason.

Bony bino chuchuto.
Hasten your coming quickly, i.e., come quickly.

Ting yechni kaman.
Carry this load so.

Ibuto maber?
Have you slept well?

230. Repetition and a few other categories represented in English by an adverb may in Lango be expressed by special verbs, e.g. *ngwech*, to run fast; *dwir*, to do anything swiftly; *dwogo*, to come again; *dok*, to repeat (often used adverbially = again); *teko*, to do anything first; *mor'o*, to do something continuously; *dilo*, to rise early:—

Dwogi diki.
Come again to-morrow.

Idok koko.
You will lament again.

An mateko bino.
I came first.

Atin omor'o kok.
The child cries incessantly.

Diki wadilo adila.
To-morrow we shall start very early.

CONJUNCTIONS

231. *Ka.* A substantive, meaning "place," *ka* has a variety of derivative uses, which are due to a more primitive parataxical construction, much as in an earlier English "put case" might represent the conditional, or the conditional might not be marked at all, as is usual in so many proverbs. The original meaning of *ka* is most clearly indicated in its use to express purpose after verbs of motion, the motion implying as it were a local intention. Purpose may be expressed, as has already been noted, by the subjunctive (preceded or not by *wek*, root of *weko*, to allow), or after a verb of motion by the infinitive, the verbal noun or the infinitive preceded by *ka*, which converts the infinitive to a locative naturally dependent on a verb of motion :—

Awoto ka wako jo me dwaro le.
I am going to collect men for hunting.

Obino ka pido kop mere.
He came to state his cause.

232. Other derived uses of *ka* convey the meanings "if," "when," "whether." When it introduces a temporal or a conditional clause the apodosis is often indicated by the narrative tense of the verb, further demonstrating thereby the original parataxical method :—

Okwir, bur wang ka iwoto to.
Okwir, cover your eyes when you go to die.

Ka kot ochwe, pi otopong kan bala ?
When it rains, does water stand here ?

Nen ka dong owoto.
See whether he has quite gone.

Ka ingeyo giri, koba.
If you know, tell me.

Iparo kop i chwinyi ; ka otyeko mwôm i dogi, itokobo.
You consider a matter in your heart ; when it has reached your mouth, you speak.

233. *Cheng ma* (the day which) may be used to denote "when," if the time is past, and from this has evolved the use of the simple relative *ma* to introduce a temporal clause :—

Cheng ma wawok kede Lira oloya.
I cannot remember when we started from Lira.

Oyaich kede ma dong onyôme.
He put her with child after he married her.

234. *Kono, atot nyo.* Of this group *atot* is derived from *toto* (hazard), and means "perhaps," but is also used to mean "or," especially when used in conjunction with *nyo*, "perhaps," "or," when the two words may coalesce into *ato'nyo*. *Kono*, derived from *ka* (place), or the more primitive *kan*, which by the interpolation of a semivowel became successively *kwan*, *kon*, *kono*, means "perhaps," "whether," "or," and occasionally "if." It is further the particle used with the indefinite tense of the verb to indicate condition or contingency, just as *ka* itself is used to introduce the protasis of a conditional clause :—

Atot abino diki.
Perhaps I shall come to-morrow.

Kono in aminna, kono an anapo anapa in.
Were you my sister, I should give you a thrashing.

Kono imito weke aman ato'nyo imito tere.
Whether you want to leave it so or to take it.

Dyel ma kono anyômo kede.
The goat with which I would have married.

Kono riki ikoba, kono nwong apwoyo.
If you had told me, I should have accepted.

Kara wugoyere ki abiru, nyo wuyi ki tong?
Did you fight with sticks or spears?

235. *Kama*, the place which, i.e. where. The meaning is often further emphasized by the addition of *iye* (in it) :—

Riki achung kama yô ogik.
I stopped where the road ends.

Giromere kama wanwango iye lak lyechcha.
They fought at the spot where we found that ivory.

236. *Kun*, while. Originally also a variation of *kan* (place) and to this day *kun* exists in Shilluk with the latter meaning. Used with the indefinite tense it often supplies the place of a present participle :—

Okôlo wang, kun omaki, Odyek.
Odyek puts out your eyes, while he catches you (i.e. as soon as he catches. . . .).

Obino kun owero.
He came singing.

Locha onguk'a kun mam arwobayo tong.
He forestalled me while I had not yet thrown a spear (i.e. before I threw).

Gikwalo dyang kun won'ere onin'o.
They stole a cow while its owner slept.

Ilako chyegi bala kun Omara pod tye?
Did you inherit your wife while Omara was still alive?

Amito dok kun cheng mam orwoteg'o.
I want to return while it is not yet hot (i.e. before it gets hot).

Tin nindi adi kun otyeko to?
How many days is it to-day while he finished dying? (i.e. since he died).

It will be seen from the above examples that in addition to its meaning "while," *kun* is used to paraphrase "before" and "since," for which there are no precise conjunctions in the language. Similarly, *naka*, an adverb meaning "formerly," may be used to translate "since," if the time of the main clause signifies duration from the past to the present:—

Naka iwoto aweno abedo kan gira.
Ever since you went on your journey I have remained here.

237. *Kadi*, although, even if; so far as, even to; (with negative) not even. This is probably the same root as the Acholi *adi* (very nearly). Cf. (Mr. Grove's Acholi) *anongo bur wang kor adi apoto iye* (I found a hole in the middle of the road and nearly fell into it). The Bari *kedie* (nearly) is doubtless also related:—

Ogwang omako gweno kadi gwok gu.
The merekat catches the chicken, even to the dog also.

Bonyunu puro kadi kal dang, kadi nino dang, kadi waro dang.
Cultivate quickly even to millet, even to semsem, even to cotton.

Mam amiyi kadi achel.
I do not give you even one.

Mam angeyo kadi kwen awilo dyang.
I do not know even where to buy a cow.

Olong, kadi ineko, idok koko.
Olong, though you may kill, you will rue it hereafter.

Kadi abedo i tim, an aloyowu.
Though I live in the jungle, I am better off than you.

Rwodi giwinyo kop duchu kadi rach dang kadi ber dang.
Chiefs hear all cases, whether bad or good.

238. *Ni* introduces reported speech, whether in the third person or in the actual words of the speaker, i.e. a direct quotation. In a narration it is usual to omit even the verb ("he said," etc.) before the conjunction, and this use is not infrequently extended to ordinary conversation, when a preliminary *ni* does not appear to be necessary, but adds a certain emphasis, e.g. *kop ngo?* (what is the business?), but *ni kop ngo?* (I say that what is your business?), thus drawing attention to the speaker's urgency. *Nike* sometimes takes the place of *ni*, but there appears to be no definite rule on the matter:—

Odyek owoto kwen ?—ni owoto awota keken.
Where is Odyek going ?—(He says) that he is just going for a walk.

Apenyo ni dyangna tye kan.
I ask, "Is my cow here ?"

Apenyo ni gela.
I ask you to pay me.

E ka nyako mungwaloni etekobino kun owero nike "Awil, Awil, achô olwongi"; e ka Awil otekopenye ni "achô, achô ngoni ?" Aman aminne ni "Akal"; ni "woti ikobe akal nike 'Awil mam omito akal.'"
And this lame girl came singing that "Awil, Awil, a suitor calls you"; and Awil asked that "a suitor, what suitor is this ?" Thus her sister replied that "Reedbuck"; and she said that "go, tell reedbuck that 'Awil does not want reedbuck.'"

239. *Pame,* like:—

Piny odoko chol pame dyewor.
It is becoming dark as night.

By an ellipse the preposition *pa* (of) is used in a similar sense, suggesting a possible derivation for *pame*:—

Obepungni pa ngat mumer.
He is staggering the staggering of (i.e. like) a drunken man.

"Like" may also be expressed by the verb *chalo,* to resemble; but to denote similarity of size *rom* (to be equal) must be used:—

Gin muchalo man.
A thing like this.

Atil mam orom ki alop or *Atil ki alop mam girorom.*
A cob is not so big as a hartebeest.

A combination of both methods is sometimes employed:—

Ochalo pa dubo lobo duchu.
It is like ruining the whole country.

240. *Bàla,* like as. Probably derived from a Hamitic root signifying inversion or interchange, e.g. Ateso *akibelonori,* to exchange:—

Yengi mam bor bala macha.
These trees are not so high as those.

Tich opokere bala akobicha.
The work is to be distributed as I told you before.

Dany ngonyi bala ibedo i kom.
Bend you buttocks in the same way as you sit in a chair.

Often the relative may be used to express the required meaning:—

Kwany awera duchu ma chwinyi omi to.
Take all the durrha which your heart wants, i.e. as much as. . . .

241. The use of *mumiyo, muketo* (because, therefore) and *mumono* (therefore not) has already been explained in Sections 107 and 108, and only a few additional examples need here be given:—

Gin achalo man mam orwoneno gire mumiye ngwech.
He ran away because he had never seen anything like this.

Jagona oyako limna muketa bino boti.
My chief has robbed me and I have therefore come to you.

Gin mamiyogi tim'o kaman wakwiya.
We do not know why they act in this way.

Gilaro gigi nyako achel mumonogi ribere.
They are courting one girl and consequently cannot be reconciled.

It should be borne in mind that the preposition *pi*, on account of, cannot be used as a conjunction, though it can be employed in this sense by a periphrasis :—

Abino boti pi limna ma jago oyako.
I come to you on account of my property which the chief has looted (i.e. because the chief has looted my property).

The rhetorical question often used by the Alur to express cause is rarely employed :—

Abino boti pi ngo ? Jago oyako limna.
Why have I come to you ? The chief has looted my property.

242. *Keno*, for. This word is rarely used, and its origin is not clear ; it may be a variation of *kon'o* (again), as it is regularly used by the Paluo in the form *kendo* as an enclitic meaning " for."

243. *Ento*, but. By the Acholi *to* is used as a disjunctive enclitic meaning, " on the other hand." Compare *an achito ka tich in to ibed kan*, I am going to work, but you stay here (Grove). This *to* again appears in the narrative infix to the verb, *-to-*, *-toko-* or *-teko-*, which, though it has either a disjunctive or a conjunctive force, we have seen can be divided from the verb, e.g. *eto dang chwero mô.* Clearly then the particle *to* has been permanently joined to *en*, the personal pronoun " it," to form the conjunction *ento*, " but." The derivation of *to* is obscure, but to judge by the form of the infix a final *k* has been dropped, and it is possible that the original word was *dok* (to go back, to repeat), to the common and analogous use of which as an adverb meaning " again " reference has already been made :—

Ento rwodi muchalo man giberach.
But chiefs like this are bad.

Piny duchu obedo en achel, ento jo mogo ma gitye i akina akina atekere megi patpat.
The whole country is one, but peoples are divided into separate clans.

Okulo owoto keda, ento Ogwang odong pacho.
Okulo went with me, but Ogwang remained at home.

244. *Ka*, and. *Ka* is also used in this sense by the Shilluk, and is taken by Westermann to be a derivative use of *ka*, place. This is not very satisfactory, but no alternative explanation offers

itself. It cannot come first in a sentence, and is nearly always preceded by a personal pronoun (of which the final vowel is generally dropped); but this has not yet been completely stereotyped as in the case of *ento*, though *en* more often precedes than any other pronoun, and it is quite likely that *eka* will be its final form. It is nearly always followed by the narrative tense of the verb. In Lango *ka* only connects sentences, but by northern Acholi use it is occasionally extended to include the function of *ki*. Cf. *wanongo puragi ka kulgi ka apoligi* (we found hartebeest and wart-hog and waterbuck):—

E ka Awil otekowoto ki chware.
And Awil went with her husband.

En ka nyan mungwaloni owinyo kumeno otekokoko.
And the crippled girl heard in this way and cried out.

En ka jal leny omake.
And the man lost his temper.

Gin ka giyamo kaman.
And they conversed in this way.

Gin ka gitokogoyone gwok.
And so they beat the dog.

245. *Ki* (and) is a preposition meaning literally "with," and cannot therefore be used to connect sentences, its use being confined to connecting words and substantival phrases. The pronoun *gin* (they) is not infrequently combined with *ki* to indicate a close connection, and is sometimes even used alone. Before vowels *ki* may be elided, but more usually the prepositional form combined with the pronoun (*ked-* or *kod-*) is used, the pronoun being elided:—

Keti i dye ot ki dero.
Put it between the house and the granary.

Rwodi ki jegdi ki wegi pacho.
Rulers and chiefs and village headmen.

Kany k' ape.
Five and one.

Anyinge gin Atala.
Anyinge and Atala.

Gikayone gin kode atino.
They and the children ate it.

Apwô gin kede apuk.
The hare and the tortoise (lit. the hare they with it the tortoise).

246. *Gu*, also (. . . *gu* . . . *gu*, both . . . and . . .) always follows the word:—

Ogwang omako gweno kadi gwok gu.
The merekat catches a chicken, even a dog too.

247. *Bene*, also. It cannot start a sentence or a clause, and probably means no more than "quite." Cf. Dinka *eben*, Shilluk *bene*, Lango *benebene*, all meaning "entirely," "quite." When preceding the copula *ki* it has the meaning "both":—

Rwodi bene gipony jogi.
Let the chiefs also train their men.

Kech bene ki to opoto i kumwa.
Both famine and disease fell upon us.

248. *Kara*, a resumptive particle used chiefly by the Jo Aber to introduce a sentence, and meaning "well," "for," "again":—

Kara angeyo nedi?
And how then should I know?

Yô orwenya kara chok atuno potoni.
I lost my way and so nearly reached your garden.

Kara kwone dano tye kaman.
For man's disposition is such.

249. *Bála* is a particle of interrogation, and is placed at the end of an interrogative clause or sentence:—

Odyek tye kan bala?
Is Odyek here?

PREPOSITIONS

250. The majority of prepositions are derived from substantives, which will be indicated below in each case. Frequently, however, the use of a preposition, especially as concerns the remoter object, is avoided by employing the pronominal suffix to the verb. Similarly, the prepositions "before" and "after" are frequently contained in the verb itself or expressed by a verbal trope:—

Loni okecha.
He is unfair to me.

Yô orwenya.
The road is lost to me.

Oryem'o yora.
He drove my road, i.e. he came after me.

Atelo yore.
I conducted his road, i.e. I went before him.

Olunyo gamo yechna.
He took the load after me.

An ma kwongo bino, en olunyo ngeya gire.
I was the first to come, and he followed behind me.

Woti, ngiya gincha kacha, itokela.
Go, look for that thing there for me, and bring it to me.

251. *Akina* (? *kino*, to lie in wait), beside.

Obedo akinagi.
He sat beside them.

Ogero akina me kulu man atot akinacha ?
Is he building on this side of the river or on that ?

252. *Bang* (Shilluk *bang* = back, but also used prepositionally), to, at, in, with. It is used only with pronouns and proper names :—

Palacha tyen'e ma riki anene bangi aworo ?—Tye bang Okelo.
Where is the knife with which I saw you yesterday ?—It is with Okelo.

253. *Bot* (*but*, side ; *buto*, to lie on the side ; Shilluk *buto*, side), to, at, from. It is also only used with pronouns and proper names :—

Bota.
With me.

Bot loni.
With this man.

Riki aya bot Okelo.
I started from Okelo's.

Dok tye kwen ?—Tye bot Okelo.
Where are the cattle ?—With Okelo.

254. *Gi* (*gin*, thing), on the part of. It is used only with pronouns and colloquially very often adds little or no emphasis to the sentence :—

Adagi gira.
I refuse for my part.

Dyang tye kuno gire.
The cow, oh ! the cow is over there.

255. *I* (*ich*, belly ; cf. Shilluk *yey* = in, from *yech* = belly), in, on, into. Used in conjunction with *nyim* (face) or *wang* (eye), it means "in front of," "before" ; with *dye* (middle) it means "in the middle," "between" ; with *wiy-* (*wich*, head) it means "on top of," "above" ; with *ngony* (buttock) it means "underneath" ; with *kom* (body) it means "to" or "against." *Dye* and *wiy-* are, however, sometimes used prepositionally alone, e.g. *kany wiy' aryô* (five on top of it two, i.e. seven) :—

Kolo omaka i komi.
Anger seizes me against you.

Iparo kop i chwinyi.
You consider the matter in your heart.

Kwany anguch i ngabi.
Take the halter from the peg.

Bedo i kom.
To sit on a chair.

Bedunu i ngony yatcha.
Sit under that tree.

Gitweye i yat.
They bound him to a tree.

Keti i dye ot ki dero.
Put it between the house and the granary.

Tye i dyere.
It is in the middle.

Jok omyelo i wiye.
The spirit danced on his head.

Jang yat opoto i wiya.
The branch fell on my head.

Woti i nyima.
Go before me.

Akau man opoto i kulu mene?
Into what swamp does this stream flow?

Ye tye kwen ma aworo wabino iye?
Where is the canoe which yesterday we came in it (i.e. in which we came . . .).

256. *Kaka-* (*ka*, place), in place of, instead of. It is only used with the pronominal suffix:—

kakara, instead of me.
kakagi, in their place.
kakare, in its place, i.e. correctly.
ikobo kakare, you speak truly.

257. *Ki*, with, by, is freely used. It may be elided before a vowel, and when used with the pronominal suffix becomes *ked-* or *kod-*. *Bedo ki*, *tye ki* (to be with) are used in default of a verb meaning "to have." "Without" is not represented by a special preposition; either *ki* may be used preceded by a negative or a periphrasis may be employed, e.g. "he went without a spear": *mam owoto ki tong* (he did not go with a spear), or *owoto ki chinge nono* (he went with empty hands), or (best) *owoto abango tong* (he went being without a spear, from *bongo*, to be without):—

Oyi kode ki tong.
He fought with him with a spear.

Amito yamo kedi.
I want to speak with you.

Beyo ki piny.
To go by land.

Dwe ki dwe.
Month by month.

Dako oto ki ich.
The woman died with belly, i.e. at childbirth.

Waryem'ere ki jocha.
We were driven away by those people.

Locha ongecho wiya kede abiru.
He bruised my head with a stick.

Ber inin ki ryekoni.
You had better sleep with intelligence, i.e. warily.

258. *Kom* or *kum* (*kom*, body ; Shilluk *kwom*, back), to, at, in, against. It is sometimes used with the subject of a sentence for the sake of emphasis without its usual prepositional meaning :—

kum pacho, to the village, at home.
kum danocha, as for that man.
kum dyangcha otyeko to, as for that cow it is dead.
leny tye kum wangyô, game is on the road.

259. *Me* (Shilluk *me*, property), of, is only used of things. The partitive use of *me* before persons has already been considered in Section 83, but its other applications are very varied and can only be illustrated by examples :—

Kop me nindini.
An affair of these days, a modern affair.

Owinyo bilo me neko Obel.
He hears the war-whistle sounded for the killing of Obel.

Pi me lyet.
Water of heat, i.e. hot water.

Pi me mato.
Water for drinking.

Nyômna me won lim.
My marriage is for a wealthy man.

Me podi neko chware mam okok.
She did not cry out till her husband had been killed.

Ineko Okulo me chanwa.
You have killed Okulo by reason of our helplessness.

Jowa gigero pacho me dagowa.
Our men are building the village with a view to our migration.

Ekwe etodwogo ; me dwogo etodonyo te dero.
The jackal returned, and having returned it crept under the granary

Abino abina me tek chwinya.
I have come by reason of my courage.

Obedo me chuno twon.
He sat with his head bowed on his arms.

Onywalo me apailon.
She bore a child of illicit love.

Wun atino papo atot me ot achel ?
Are you half-brothers or of one house (i.e. by the same mother) ?

Me winyo awinyo gira.
As for hearing I hear.

Nwang gilaro nyako me nyôm.
They disputed over a girl on the question of marriage.

Me tyeko tweyone toke etokobo.
And after dressing his hair he said.

260. *Nge* (*ngech*, back ; Shilluk *ngach*, back), behind :—

Dok ngeya.
Go behind me.

Gigero nge kidicha.
They build behind that hill.

261. *Nget* (*nget*, side ; Shilluk *ngedo*, ribs), beside, close to :—

Chung ngeti.
Stand to your side, stand aside.

Gibechwinyo lum ma tye nget pacho.
They are burning the grass which is close to the village.

262. *Ni*, to, for, with :—

Amito koko duru ni loni.
I wish to lay a complaint against this man.

Owacho nigi.
He spoke with them.

263. *Pa*, of, is only used of persons. With two persons of the pronominal suffix it is used with the meaning "at the house of," *pari* (at thy village), *pare* (at his village) :—

Ajuta oringo pala pa Odyekawidi.
Ajuta runs from the knife of Odyekawidi.

Omiye woda doko angicha pa jo.
He caused my son to become a slave of men.

264. *Pi*, on account of. With the pronominal suffix it corresponds with the slang phrase "up to" :—

Tye pire en.
He is responsible.

Obedo pigi.
The responsibility is theirs.

Pi ngo ?
On account of what, why ?

Pi koyu.
On account of the cold.

Kech onekowa pi kal makwero chek.
Famine is killing us because our grain will not ripen.

265. *Te* (*te*, the base, under part), under, below :—

Ekwe odonyo te dero.
The jackal crept under the granary.

266. *Tung* (*tung*, side, end), to, from, at. Chiefiy used with personal pronouns and adverbs of place :—

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Iwoto tung nga ?
To whom are you going ?
Iya tung kwen ?
Where did you start ?
Tung kuno.
Over there.
Giwoto tungegi.
They went to their homes.
Tung cham.
To the left.
Tung chem.
To the right.

INTERJECTIONS

267. *Aa.* Exclamation of sorrow.
A'a. No.
Acho. Resumptive ; so then ; well then.
Ai-do-o. Exclamation of pain, surprise or sympathy.
Ape. Resumptive ; well then.
Ba. Particle emphasizing the word which it follows.
Bala. Particle of interrogation placed at the end of a sentence or clause.
Ber. It is well ; good.
Bo. Particle of interrogation suffixed to the sentence.
Dang (*dong*). Particle of emphasis.
Do. An abbreviation of the preceding. Resumptive ; an exclamation of emphasis or of grief. *Enimwa do ! chwarwa do !* Alas for Enim ! alas for our husband !
Ee. Exclamation of assent : ah !
E'e. Exclamation of sorrow.
E'yo (*I'yo*). Yes.
Loni. You there !
Mam. No ; *mam ta,* not at all, certainly not !
Nen. See ! behold !
Ochwi. Exclamation of triumph.
Okwech (*okwe*). Exclamation of pain or of triumph.
Otyô-ô-ô. Exclamation of surprise or appreciation.
Pe. No. (Used by Jo Aber and Jo Moita only.)
Titi titi. (Imitation of drumbeats.) Exclamation of triumph or joy.
We-e-e. Exclamation of surprise.

268. The following greetings are commonly used, and all of them may be emphasized by the addition of *ba* :—

Morem (*oreme*), good health !	*Morem* or *ane morem,* I am well.
Morembe ayom, good health softly !	*Ayom,* softly.
Itye ? How are you ?	*Atye,* I am well.
Itye maber ? Are you well ?	*Atye maber,* I am well.
Maber twatwal ? Very well ?	*Maber twatwal,* very well.
Twatwal ? Very ?	*Twatwal,* very.
Pacho ber ? Is the village well ?	*Ber,* it is well.

The morning salutation is usually :—

Ibuto (*ibuto ayom*) ? Did you sleep (softly) ? — *Abuto*, I slept.
Ibuto maber ? Did you sleep well ? — *Maber*, well.

Some of the western Jo Aber have adopted a Paluo greeting for the afternoon :—

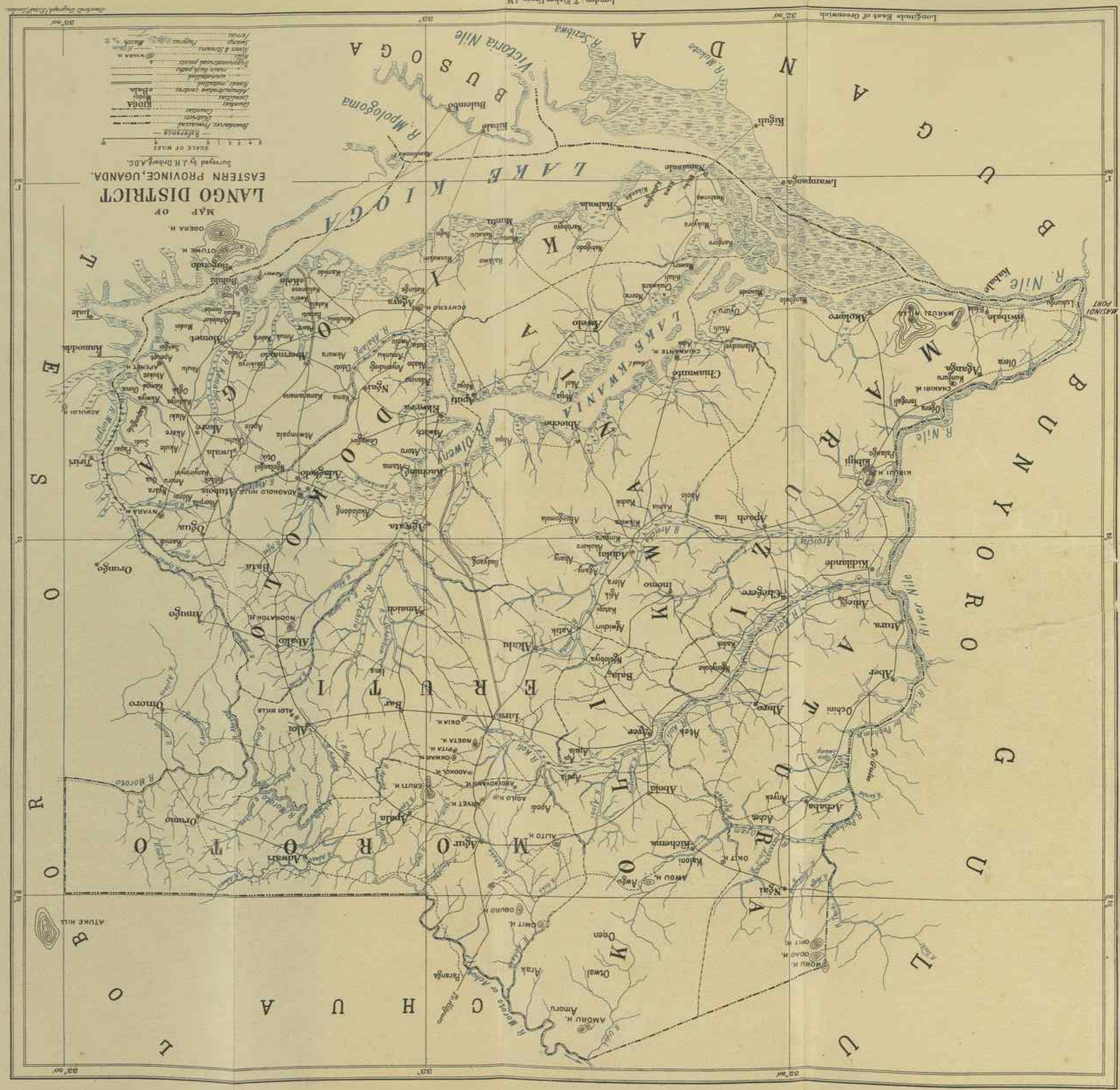
Iriyo nedi ? How have you passed the day ?
Ariyo, I have passed (or) *maber*, well.

269. Farewell is expressed in the following ways :—

(1) By one going to one staying.
Dong bedi, well, stay ; *dong abedo*, I stay then.
(2) By one remaining to one going.
Dong woti, well, go ; *dong awoto*, I go then.

270. Good-night by :—

Dong buti (*ayom*), then sleep (softly).
Abuto (*ayom*), I sleep (softly).


MAP OF
LANGO DISTRICT
EASTERN PROVINCE, UGANDA.
Surveyed by J. H. Driberg, A.D.C.
SCALE OF MILES
Longitude East of Greenwich
32°
London: T. Fisher Unwin, Ly
Lake Kioga
Lake Kwania
Victoria Nile
River Nile
R. Mpologoma
R. Nile
Masindi Port
Lake Bunyoro
Lake Mwitanzige
Lake Albert
Lake Edward
Lake Kivu
Lake Victoria
Lake Rudolf
Atube Hill
Ooera R.
Otuke R.
Nyara R.
Aswa R.
Omiro R.
Omoro R.
Omiro R.
Ayago R.
Ayago R.
Ayago

VOCABULARIES

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badly
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Abango

LANGO–ENGLISH VOCABULARY

NOTE. — *Derivations are enclosed in square brackets.*

A

A-. Pronominal prefix of the first person singular of verbs OL, to be tired; AOL, I am tired. [AN.]

A-. Locative prefix. ADOK, the place of cattle.

-A. (i) Suffix to verbs denoting the personal object, me or to me. MIYO, to give; MIYA, give me (for MIYI-A, the previous vowel being elided).

(ii) Possessive suffix to substantives, my, mine. RWOD-A, my chief.

(iii) Suffixed to certain prepositions to form pronominal adjectives, ME, of; ME-R-A, of me, mine; GI-R-A, for my part.

A. To come from, depart from, start from, to arise. IN IA KWEN? Whence have you come? AI MALO, get up. (Cf. the common form YA.)

Aa. Exclamation of sorrow.

A'a. No.

Ababa. Handguard of shield.

Abach. Throw, cast. [BAYO.]

Abadmŏ. = ADOPET, but restricted to war. [BAT, MO. So called from the analogy of hunting, as the second spear gets a shoulder of the game.]

Abak. Pl. ABAKAN. A large pot used for storing beer flour, a broken or cracked pot plastered over with earth.

Abaka. OT ABAK' ABAKA, house with a badly pitched roof, [BAKO.]

Abal. Pl. ABALI. A rope snare for guinea-fowl.

Abala. Kind of dance.

Abalachela. A ceremonial dance. [Cf. Acholi women's dance, GIJILA or LACHELA.]

Abaltak. Potsherd.

Aban. Chignon.

Abanga. Unseasoned food. [BANGO.]

Abanga. Idiocy. [BANG.]

Abangchet. Grasshopper. [BANGO, CHET.]

Abanget. Cormorant.

Aban'i. Pl. of ABANWA, *q.v.* OT ABAN'I, house of exorcization.

Abanwa. Person possessed by JOK NAM, exorcized person, medium or ministrant of JOK NAM. [BANO.]

Abapa. Slap. [BAPO.]

Abar. Rich, wealthy, plutocrat. [BAR.]

Abara. Crevice, headache. [BARO.]

Abata. A tree from which drums are made.

Abata. False accusation. [BATO.]

Abaya. Throw, cast. [BAYO.]

Abeda. Posture or act of sitting, idleness. [BEDO.]

Abela. Twig, withy, stick, stick or handle behind shield.

Abelwinyo. A wild plant bearing clusters of edible purple berries. An infusion of the leaves is used for chest complaints.

Abeno. = OBENO, *q.v.*

Abeny. Syphilis.

Aber. The most northerly of the Lango subdivisions, north.

Abera. Youthfulness. [BER.]

Abi. A long fine grass used in thatching houses.

Abila. Shrine.

Abil'a. Taste, tasting. [BIL'O.]

Abim. Fashion of hairdressing, the hair being allowed to grow long.

Abīn. Long ago.

Abina. Coming, advent. [BINO.]

Abino. Back between shoulder blades.

Abino. Pl. ABIN'I. Tall earthenware jar with a narrow mouth.

Abiribiri. Thyme, of which there are two varieties, one called ABIRIBIRI ME LELA, growing on rocky hills, and the other ABIRIBIRI ME BAR, growing in the lowlands.

Abiro. Upright, steady.

Abiru. Walking-stick.

Abiya. Pressure. [BIYO.]

Abobo. Hair skullcap.

Abobol. Dewlap.

Abocha. Miss, narrow escape. [BOCHO.]

Abŏgo. ARURU ME ABŎGO, solitary bee.
Aboi. Paunch, stomach.
Aboich. Sterile, impotent (of either sex). [BOICH.]
Aboicho. Tall (plural only). LONI ABOR, this is a tall man; JO ABOICHO, these are tall men. [BOICHO.]
Abok. Rheumatism.
Abōl. Pl. ABŌLI, bamboo.
Abola. Throw, cast (of spear). [BOLO.]
Aboma. Parchedness, a shrivelling up. [BOMO.]
Abong. Egret.
Abong. Herd, crowd.
Abor. Pl. ABOICHO. Tall, far. [BOR.]
Abora. Graze (with knife or spear). [BORO.]
Abora. Distance, length. [BOR.]
Abora. Ulceration. [BOR.]
Abôra. Afternoon, roughly between the hours 2–5 p.m. "The time of lengthening shadows." [BOR.]
Aboro. ABORO UM, septum.
Aborok. Cold in head, catarrh. [Probably in origin the same as ABORO, though now pronounced differently.]
Abotetong. Paspalum grass.
Aboya. Wrapping. [BOYO.]
Abuk. Earth oven for baking potatoes.
Abuka. Loquacity. [BUKO.]
Abula. Baked. ACHOK ABULA OKATO ATEDA, baked potatoes are preferable to boiled. [BULO.]
Abuleng. Red grasshopper, rarely eaten owing to its unpleasant smell.
Abunga. Chastisement. [BUNGO.]
Abur. The marriage dowry paid for a wife who has deserted her husband; the dowry paid by a man's deceased father, whose wife returns to her relations on his death. Frequently used in conjunction with JAMNO (property). ALOBO ABUR JAMNA PAPA, I am trying to recover the dowry paid by my father.
Abur. WI ABUR, site of deserted village. [Acholi, OBURU; Lugbwara, BURU or BORO, village.]
Abur. = ABUK, *q.v.*
Abura. A war name.
Aburo. = ABOROK, cold in head, catarrh.
Abuta. Sleeping, reclining. [BUTO.]
Abuyu. ? *Securidaca longeped unculata.*
Abwanga. Rout, flight, terror. [BWANGO.]
Abwangarot. A cultivated plant whose fruit provides "loofahs." Its fruit is also put on paths in the event of war in order to warn strangers that they go forward at their own risk.
Abwog'e. Stillbirth (of animals only). [BWOGO.]
Abwogo. MÔ ABWOGO, unclarified butter.
Abwola. Deceit, treachery, betrayal. [BWOLO.]
Abwori. Eland.
Abwot. Escape. Followed by infinite of that from which one escapes. ABWOT TÔ, an escape from death. [BWOT.]
Abyeb'i. Slander, malice. [BYEB'O.]
Abyela. The posture of being carried on the back. [BYELO.]
Achak. Sisera.
Achaka. Nomenclature. [CHAKO.]
Achaka. Loan. [CHAKO.]
Achala. Resemblance. [CHALO.]
Achalo. Source of river or stream.
Acham. Left, left-handed.
Achan. Pauper. [CHAN.]
Achan'a. Superimposition. [CHAN'O.]
Achanya. Dry banana leaves.
Achapan. Servant, attendant. [CHAPO.]
Achar. Depraved, wanton, of a bad disposition, whoreish. Used also of animals. [CHAR.]
Achara. Brightness. ACHARA MACH, firelight glow. [CHARO.]
Achata. Trade, barter. [CHATO.]
Achecho. Blackbird.
Achek. Door of bachelor's hut. (The word used by all the Lango except the JO BURUTOK, who use ACHIGA.)
Achĕka. Conversation. [CHĚKO.]
Achel. One. [CHALO.]
Achem. Right, right-handed.
Acheo. Amomum.
Achepa. A shuffling gait. WOTO ACHEPA, to shuffle. [CHEP.]
Achīda. Stain. [CHĪDO.]
Achiga. Door of bachelor's hut. (This word is only used by the JO BURUTOK, *vide* ACHEK.)
Achika. Cyst.
Achina. Fable, proverb. [CHINO.]
Achipa. Upright stakes for building framework of a house.
Achipan. Herd, used only of buck, elephants and buffalo.
Achipet. Spear butt.
Achir. With a staggering, drunken gait. WOTO ACHIR ACHIRA, to stagger.
Achira. Instability. [ACHIR.]
Achira. Row, orderly arrangement. [CHIRO.]
Achŏ. So then, well then. [Akum and Ateso, Aso.]
Achô. Male. TONG ACHÔ, spear with long socket.
Achŏba. Spearing, impaling. [CHŎBO.]
Achoda. Lupin.
Achŏda. Act of flirtation. [CHŎDO.]

Achog-. Jo ACHOG, husband's family.
Achoit. Holes or vents in an ant-hill, burrow.
Achok. Potatoes.
Achŏka. Libel. [CHŎKO.]
Achokalinga. Hammer-headed stork.
Achol. Dark, black. [CHOL.]
Achôli. A convolvulus.
Achora. A marsh grass from which salt is obtained by burning.
Achora. Glaucoma, rash. [CHORO.]
Achôra. A push, act of pushing, propulsion. [CHÔRO.]
Achŏt. Flirtation. [CHŎDO.]
Achuban. Funeral feast, funeral ceremonies, obsequies, period of mourning.
Achudany. Wizard.
Achudi. A kind of grass used in binding thatch into position.
Achudi. Protuberance, projection. ACHUDI DOK, pout; ACHUDI DEL, the stick-like projection into which a woman's girdle is fastened; ACHUDI DERO, the cup-like step on a granary; ACHUDI TUA, lid of a small granary (TUA); KOYO ACHUDI, to shave the head except for a top-knot. [CHUDO.]
Achuka. Hesitation, vacillation, uncertainty. [CHUK'O.]
Achula. Payment. [CHULO.]
Achulany. Pennant-winged nightjar.
Achuli. Stoat.
Achulimwech. Martin.
Achuma. At close quarters. CHOBO ACHUMA, to stab hand to hand.
Achuma. A war name.
Achuna. Having crossed horns, of cattle whose horns are artificially trained to this shape. [CHUNO.]
Achung. A war name.
Achung. Standing upright, upright. ACHUNG GWENO, a half-bred fowl. CHUNG.]
Achunga. The act of standing, stance. [CHUNG.]
Achungbot. Toad.
Achupa. Advice, instigation. [CHUPO.]
Achupan. December.
Achupen. A kind of grass.
Achur. Hawk.
Achūra. Sigh, groan. [CHŪRO.]
Achuru. = ECHURUK, *q.v.*
Achurum. = ICHURING, *q.v.*
Achut. Pl. ACHUTANG. Vulture.
Achuta. Assistance, reinforcement. [CHUTO.]
Achwal. The wedges inserted under the ABELA of a shield.
Achwala. Propulsion. [CHWALO.]
Achwao. Small insect which is an omen of death.
Achwaya. Message, errand. [CHWAYO.]
Achwē. Raining. ACHWE NGWEN, flight of termites rising from holes in the ground. [CHWĒ.]
Achwech. = DACHWECH, potter.
Achweya. Act of plaiting or of moulding pots. [CHWEYO.]
Achwi. Cupping horn. [CHWINO.]
Achwinya. Burning, conflagration. [CHWINYO.]
Achyen. = CHYEN, *q.v.*
Achyenakori. A clan of albinos.
Achyer. Pl. ACHYERANG. Star. ACHYER APUTE, shooting star.
Achyero. Fault in pupil of eye, iritis. [ACHYER.]
Adadang. = ADANGDANG, *q.v.*
Adako. Pl. AMŌN. Female. TONG ADAKO, spear with short socket; DOK AMON, cows including heifers, as contrasted with MEGE DOK, cows only. [DAKO.]
Adam. Brain.
Adana. The characteristic of man. IN WON PACHO? MAM, DANO ADANA. Are you a headman? No, just a man. [DANO.]
Adangadang. = ADANGDANG, *q.v.*
Adangdang. Tenor drum or flute.
Adange. Tenor flute.
Adanget. Hypodermis.
Adanya. Curvature. KOM ME ADANYA, native stool. [DANYO.]
Adapa. Patch, renovation. [DAPO.]
Adech. Strangulation, suicide. [DEYO.]
Adeda. Persistence. [DEDO.]
Adek. Three.
Adek'ere. Third.
Adeng. Labia minor.
Adepa. Gleaning, selection. [DEPO.]
Aderech. = ADERIT, *q.v.*
Aderit. Bushbuck.
Adeta. Ulceration. [DET.]
Adeye. Kind of snare. [DEYO.]
Adi. How many? IBEDO KI DOK ADI? How many cattle have you? BANG ADI? How many times, how often? TONG GWEN IWILO ADI? Eggs you sell (at) how many, i.e. at what price?
Adila. Very early, at dawn. [DILO.]
Adil'i. PURO POTO ADIL'I = PURO ADWEL, to cultivate a small garden for a small guerdon.
Adilo. = ODILO, *q.v.*
Adiltong. A tree, the juice of whose leaves is applied as a curative to spear wounds.
Ading. A wizard, less harmful than ACHUDANY.
Ading. Needle for working headdress. [DINGO.]

Adita. Pl. ADIT'I. Wicker basket.
Adobo. A marsh hibiscus used for manufacturing string.
Adoda. = ADOTA, libel. [DODO.]
Adoich. Name for girl baby of breech presentation. [DOICHO.]
Adokotum. A war name.
Adōla. Sore, festering wound.
Adomo. = EDOMO, *q.v.*
Adonga. Assault with closed fist. [DONGO.]
Adong'a. Growth. [DONG'O.]
Adonge. Bullock. [DONG'O.]
Adongni. Balance, remainder. ADONGNI KONGO, the balance of the beer left in the large pot after its distribution among the guests in little pots. [DONG.]
Adongo. Lango divinity. *Vide* JOK.
Adonya. Exit, entrance. [DONYO.]
Adopa. Repetition. [DOPO.]
Adŏpet. One who makes the second or third successful cast of a spear. [DOPO.]
Adŏta. Suckling. [DOTO.]
Adota. Libel. [DOTO.]
Adu. Hole or lair of aardvark.
Adua. Semen.
Adudu. November.
Adudu-Otukit. = ADUDU, November.
Aduku. Small wicker basket.
Aduku. Gun, rifle. [Kiswahilii, BUNDUKI.]
Adulkot. *Acacia campylacantha.*
Adum. (i) One who speaks a foreign language, Interpreter.
(ii) Treble flute, as it plays the air. [DUMO.]
Adungu. Plant, whose root is shredded for manufacturing string.
Aduno. Small. ATIN ADUNO, baby; GIN'ORO MIYA ADUNO TWATWAL, give me something, something quite small.
Aduny. (i) Taciturn, silent.
(ii) Banyoro, who were so called from their ignorance of Lango and consequent silence.
Aduoduot. Obsolescent. Cf. modern Lango ADUDU.
Adupa. Hide bag.
Aduru. = ODURU, fig-tree.
Adut'a. Present, reward. [DUT'O.]
Aduwa. WANG ADUWA, cast in the eye.
Adwa. = ADUA, semen. Frequently used as an epithet of abuse, especially in the following phrases: ADWA ONGOTI MYENI, may semen deflour your mother; ADWA I NGONY MYENI, semen in your mother's thighs; ADWA LYER, semen is hanging.
Adwala. Entanglement. [DWALO.]
Adwanya. Recantation, denial. [DWANYO.]
Adwara. Act of hunting. [DWARO.]
Adwaran. ? elder, old men. (*Vide* Rain Songs, *passim.*)
Adwe. A creeper, burned to procure salt.
Adwe. Species of semsem. *Vide* NINO.
Adwe. Of women, having their courses, menstruating. DAKO TYE ADWE. [DWE.]
Adwek. Mediator, truce-maker. [DWEKO.]
Adwek. Jasmine.
Adweka. Mediation, intervention. [DWIKO.]
Adwel. Worn-out hide or skin. PURO ADWEL, to cultivate for a poor man, who can only afford a little beer as a reward.
Adwôna. Drought. [DWÔNO.]
Adwong. Pl. ODONGI. Big, large, chief, senior, old man, elder. [DWONG.]
Adwong. = ATONG, a species of semsem. *Vide* NINO.
Adwong. Gardenia.
Adwora. Favouritism, partiality. [DWORO.]
Adyaka. Wetness, moisture. POD' ADYAKA, recently. (? metaph. from dew on the grass.) [DYAK.]
Adyebepar. A wild plant used as a vegetable.
Adyegi. Belonging to, or affecting, goats. PIPINO ADYEGI, a small hornet apt to attack goats at pasture. [DYEL.]
Adyel. Plover.
Adyela. Posture of being slung in a hammock. [DYELO.]
Adyep. Diarrhœa. [DYEBO.]
Agaba. Liana, wild creeper.
Agachi. Pl. of AGARA, *q.v.*
Agagi. = ADERIT, bushbuck. A hunting nickname.
Agak. Pl. AGAKAN. Crow.
Agala. Delay, procrastination. [GALO.]
Agala. Superiority in number, outnumbering. [GALO.]
Agalo. A tall grass with an oat-like head.
Agama. Acknowledgment, receipt. [GAMO.]
Agara. Pl. AGACHI. Dance bells.
Agat. Consecration ceremony. [GATO.]
Agati. = ATAGI, *q.v.*
Agea. Beginning. [GEO.]
Ageger. Mô AGEGER, old, dark honey.
Agela. Payment. [GELO.]
Agenga. Defence, guard. [GENGO.]
Ager. Fierce. TONG AGER, large-bladed spear. [GER.]
Agēra. YO AGĒRA, a made road as opposed to a casual path. [GERO.]
Agĕran. The cicatrices cut on the shoulder after killing an enemy. [GĔRO.]

Agik. End, boundary. [GIK.]
Agika. Act of ending, finish, completion. [GIK.]
Agilo. A small red-flowering plant whose seed is used as a poultice for yaws. It is fatal to grain crops.
Agira. Mashed up (of beans and other vegetables). [GIRO.]
Ago. Kind of flat, wooden trowel for hitting into shape the protruding edges of grass after thatching. [GOYO.]
Agoba. Deceit. [GOBO.]
Agŏgŏ. Chameleon.
Agogong. = AGONGGONG, mantis.
Agogot. Goat and sheep pox.
Agol. = GWUL, *q.v.*
Agol. Foolishly, like a fool: simpleton. [GOL.]
Agōla. Disinterment. [GŌLO.]
Agōla. Ambush. JOBI LE MAKETO AGŌLA, the buffalo is an animal that lays an ambush.
Agonggong. Mantis.
Agongomola. Dandy. [MOLA.]
Agonya. Freedom, release. [GONYO.]
Agonya. NYINGA OGONYO AGONYA, my name is just Ogonyo. (*Vide* Grammar, Section 26.)
Agor. = AKED, *q.v.* [GOR'O.]
Agoro. Cripple, invalid. [GORO.]
Agot. Wooden hoe for digging potatoes. Hence KWER ME AGOT, the bent-handled hoe used by neighbouring tribes.
Agulu. Pl. AGUL'I. Pot, jar.
Agunga. Act of stooping. [GUNGO.]
Agungkongo. A black and white beetle, the meeting of which is considered an omen of beer.
Agŭra. Fastening, blockading. [GŬRO.]
Aguruguru. A small house used exclusively for sleeping.
Aguti. Appertaining to a hill, hilly, embossed. PEL AGUTI, umbilical hernia; OBWOL AGUTI, species of mushroom with a boss on top. [GOT.]
Agwara. Trumpet.
Agwarchet. The light January rains. [GWARO, CHET.]
Agwata. Pl. AGWATI. Small calabash bowl.
Agwe. = OGWEGWE, *q.v.*
Agwech. Spurtle for stirring food when cooking.
Agwegwe. Like a lizard. ATIN OBEDO AGWEGWE, the child was like a lizard (of a four months' old miscarriage). [OGWEGWE.]
Agwenya. Scratching. [GWENYO.]
Agweta. Subtraction, diminution. [GWETO.]
Agwet'a. Sign, nudge. [GWET'O.]
Agweya. A kick, act of kicking. MYEL AGWEYA, kind of dance. [GWEYO.]
Agwich. AGWICH TYEL'O, ankle-bone.
Agwong. Invocation. [GWONGO.]
Agyeka. Hiccough. [GYEK.]
Aido-o-o. Exclamation of surprise, sympathy or pain.
Aika. Arrangement. [IKO.]
Aiyu. A wild herb, the top leaves of which are eaten as a vegetable.
Aja. Rattle used in religious ceremonies.
Ajag'i. Stilts.
Ajan. A kind of grass used for brooms.
Ajanga. Cat. (An Akum and Jopaluo word used occasionally by the Jo Burutok.)
Ajap. Belt worn by girls and brides.
Ajarapel. One who suffers from umbilical hernia, also of a woman enceinte. OBINO ATIN IYE AJARAPEL, she came to me heavy with child.
Ajeje. Honeybird.
Ajenga. Leaning, pawn, pledge. [JENGO.]
Ajere. Kind of dance.
Ajet. Goat droppings.
Ajia. Pl. of ADANA, *q.v.* ABEDO JI AJIA, I am no relation, just an inmate of the village. [JI.]
Ajogakot. = DABOLKOT, rain-maker. [JOK, KOT.]
Ajok. Wizard. [JOK.]
Ajok. Of, or appertaining to. JOK, divine, abnormal; ATIN AJOK, an abnormal child. [JOK.]
Ajok. Name given to a female child born with teeth. [JOK.]
Ajōk'a. Deposit. IN IJOK'O AJOK'A DYANG BANGE, ATOT INYOMO KEDE ANYOMA? Did you deposit the cow with him, or did it form part of a marriage dowry? [JŌK'O.]
Ajŏka. Seer, diviner, prophet, "medicine man." [JOK.]
Ajokan. = AJOKA, *q.v.*
Ajola. Supplication. [JOLO.]
Ajonya. Contraction, cramp. [JONYO.]
Ajoru. Pl. AJURANG. Whirlwind.
Ajŭk. A rubbing, smearing. [JŬKO.]
Ajūka. Refusal, prohibition. [JŪKO.]
Ajulu. Crest of birds, fashion of hair-dressing.
Ajur. Bud, small leaves which sprout after the first leaves have been picked.
Ajurang. Pl. of AJORU, *q.v.*
Ajut. Maimed, truncated, broken off. ONGWALO, OBEDO AJUT, he is lame, he is a cripple. [? JWATO.]
Ajwaga. = AJWOGA, *q.v.*
Ajwata. Chastisement. [JWATO.]
Ajwaya. Oribi. (Used by Jo Aber only.)

Ajwia. Hiss. [JWIO.]
Ajwinya. Suction. [JWINYO.]
Ajwoga. = AJOKA, *q.v.* [JWOK.]
Akă. Idly, vaguely, to no purpose. BEYO ME AKĂ, to go carelessly.
Akā. Intention, purpose. ME AKĀ, purposely, deliberately.
Akado. Plaintain-eater.
Akak. Large, full-grown (of animals). AKAK LYECH, a full-grown elephant.
Akaka. = AKĂ. JO OKOBO AKAKA, people speak at random.
Akakaliro. Urethra.
Akal. Pl. AKALANG. Reedbuck.
Akali. Young female of animals.
Akam. Untenanted snail shell.
Akana. Privacy, secret. [KANO.]
Akane. TONG AKANE, spear with socket split to one side, as contrasted with TONG, which has the socket split in a line with the midrib.
Akang. Goat that dies of old age. [KANG.]
Akanga. A withering-up. [KANG.]
Akangamoi. A war name.
Akangara. Tall. [KANGARA.]
Akanya. Fortitude, bravery. [KA'NO.]
Akap. Pancreas.
Akapel. (Of goats) red with white shoulders.
Akar. JO AKAR, Lango name for the Jopaluo (Chopi).
Akara. Bifurcation. AKARA YAT, fork of tree; AKARA YÔ, crossroads. [KARO.]
Akata. Progression, excellence, pre-eminence. [KATO.]
Akau. Stream, tributary.
Akech. Bitter. AWAL AKECH, a bitter, i.e. a new calabash bowl. [KECH.]
Akech. Hungry, hungrily. [KECH.]
Akecha. Bitterness, resentment. [KECH.]
Aked. Small grooved stick for stencilling clay pots. [KEDO.]
Akeda. Plaiting. [KEDO.]
Akedi. Rope of plaited grass used for tying bundles of firewood. [KEDO.]
Akejo. A tree whose leaves are applied as a curative to sprains and bruises.
Akekeda. With an effort, with difficulty. AWOTO AKEKEDA, I went with difficulty, though tired out.
Akela. Act of bringing. [KELO.]
Akem. Sullenness, obstinacy, disdain. [KEM.]
Akena. Spigelian lobe of liver.
Akengpur. A pygmy crocodile found in the Moroto River.
Akenoling. A war name.
Akeo. Father's sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter's daughter, sister's daughter (m.s.)
Akeo. Pea.
Akere. A tree much used for rafters in building.
Akerekeret. Woodpecker.
Aketa. Putting down, destruction. [KETO.]
Akil'i. Only, pure, unadulterated. KAL AKIL'I, millet only, i.e. not mixed with semsem; WAN LANGO AKIL'I, we are the veritable Lango. [Cf. AKILING—probably the same word.]
Akiling. Unshafted (of spear, axe, knife, hoe, razor, etc.). [Bari, GELENG, alone.]
Akina. By the side of, beside. OBEDO AKINAGI, he is sitting beside them; OGERO AKINA ME KULU MAN, ATOT AKINA CHA? Has he built on this or that side of the river?
Akina. Wariness, stealth, treachery. [KINO.]
Akino. Game trap.
Akino. CHAPO AKINO, to serve, attend on. KAL OPONG ALECH AKINO, grain is stored to overflowing; CHUNG ALIRO AKINO, to stand upright; ANWIR AKINO MAN, I prefer this; ONY AKINO MATEK ITODWOGO, run very fast and return; NOK AKINO, come near; TE PINY OWAL AKINO, the horizon is reddening; ACHWOB' ANGET' AKINO, I threw my spear to the side.
Akira. Aspersion, sprinkling. [KIRO.]
Akirok. In showers (obsolete). [KIRO.]
Akita. Only, unadulterated, unembellished. WOTO AKITA, to go naked; APENA AKITA, only peas. [? KIT.]
Akita. A plant cultivated for sanitary purposes.
Akŏba. Removal, transportation. [KŎBO.]
Akōba. Speech. [KŌBO.]
Akochewan. Buffalo. (Hamitic word used only in the rain ritual.)
Akoda. Barbed. *Vide* TONG.
Akoka. Lamentation. [KOKO.]
Akôka. Ransom. [KÔKO.]
Akokochal. A war name.
Akôla. Herding, pasturing, tending livestock. [KÔL'O.]
Akōlo. Obstinate, bad-tempered. [KŌLO.]
Akŏma. Lameness. [KŎMO.]
Akomol. (Of goats and cattle) cream-coloured with white patches, dappled.
Akong. Spring, pool.
Akongomer. Rope, game snare.
Akonya. Help, assistance. [KONYO.]
Akora. Custody. [KORO.]
Akore. Hoop, coil. TWOL ODOLO AKORE, the snake coils itself up.
Akore. Coloured.
Akorelinga. *Vide* AKORE and ELINGA.
Akoroin. Kind of tree.

Akorokoro. Snail, snail shell. CHINY AKOROKORO, snail.
Akorom. Water lily.
Akosiwan. = AKOCHEWAN, *q.v.*
Akoya. Separation, division. [KOYO.]
Akoyabwor. Gladiolus.
Akukuch. Goat scab.
Akukuru. Slouching, slovenly, stooping. LONI OBEDO AKUKURU, this man is a sloven; WIYE OBEDO AKUKURU, his head is bowed.
Akula. Bow, deflection. [KULO.]
Akulukuloich. = AKULUKULUT, *q.v.*
Akulukulu. = AKULUKULUT, *q.v.*
Akulukulut. Fish-eagle.
Akum. The "Kuman" tribe.
Akuma. Grief, sorrow. [KUMO.]
Akungkung. Red pigeon.
Akuno. Straight (of a spear shaft only).
Akunya. Digging, the act or quality of digging. [KUNYO.]
Akur. Short-legged fowl.
Akŭra. Dispersal, scattering. [KŬRO.]
Akure. A wild root, from which glue is extracted for smearing on the inside of a cracked pot.
Akuru. Sheath of spear or knife.
Akuta. Blowing, blast. BILO ME AKUTA, a whistle for blowing. [KUTO.]
Akwaka. Embrace. [KWAKO.]
Akwakwar. Pink, reddish. [KWAR.]
Akwala. Theft. [KWALO.]
Akwana. Ochre, red chalk.
Akwa'na. = AKWAYA, request. [KWA'NO.]
Akwanga. Crossing. [KWANGO.]
Akwangi. Species of millet. *Vide* KAL.
Akwangotum. A war name.
Akwanya. Choice, selection. [KWANYO.]
Akwar. Red. [KWAR.]
Akwara. Graze, scratch. [KWARO.]
Akwara. Species of mushroom.
Akwarakwara. Species of tree bearing a round, hard fruit, used as a hockey ball.
Akwaro. Pl. KIKWAYO. Son's daughter, daughter's daughter.
Akwat. Herdsman. [KWAYO.]
Akwaya. Small piece of broken calabash, shaped and used for smoothing the inside of a pot by scraping.
Akwaya. Request. [KWAYO.]
Akweji. Sparrow.
Akwel. = KONGO, *q.v.* (Cipher language.)
Akwera. Refusal, abstention, tabu. ATIN ME AKWERA, a baby who is born after previous babies have died; NYING ME AKWERA, class of names given to such babies. [KWERO.]
Akwichikwichi. The sound of anklets clashing against each other when running fast. Hence adverbially, RINGI AKWICHIKWICHI, run fast.
Akwila. Palsy, rigor, shivering. [KWIL.]
Akwinkwin. = EKWINKWIN, *q.v.*
Akwoka. Sweating. [KWOK.]
Akwong. At first. [KWONG.]
Akwonga. Oath, imprecation. [KWONGO.]
Akwor. Enemy. [KWOR.]
Akwŏta. Back-biting, slander. (Cipher language.) [KWŌTO.]
Akwōta. Swelling, inflation. [KWOTO.]
Akwoyo. Sand-coloured, russet, dun. [KWOYO.]
Akyel'a. Act of fencing. [KYEL'O.]
Alagi. Kind of earring.
Alaka. Inheritance, transference. [LAKO.]
Alal. = ADONGNI KONGO, balance of beer left in big pot.
Alam. Rare, scarce. [LAM.]
Alam'a. Invocation. [LAM'O.]
Alanya. Outstripping, defeat. [LANYO.]
Alany'a. Insult, derision. [LANY'O.]
Alara. Claim, dispute. [LARO.]
Alari. Jugular vein.
Alaro. Trefoil.
Alata. Stroll, walk. [LAT.]
Alau. Vetch, eaten as a vegetable.
Alaugot. Scoparium, broom.
Alebi. Darter.
Alech. = ILECH, *q.v.*
Alega. Looseness. [LEGO.]
Alek. Pestle.
Alel. Joy, rejoicing. [LELO.]
Alela. Joy, gladness. [LELO.]
Alele. Flood water. [LAL.]
Alelebu. Kingfisher.
Alelech. Flood water. PI ALELECH, very shallow water which splashes in walking. [LAL.]
Alem. Hornless. JALCHA WIYE OBEDO ALEM, that man is hornless, i.e. he has not fastened on his head-dress. [LEM.]
Alem. A war name.
Alenga. Kind of tree.
Alepa. CHAK ALEPA, fresh milk.
Alera. Cleanness. [LĚR.]
Aleya. Alternation. [LEYO.]
Alib'a. Following, shadowing, surveillance. [LIB'O.]
Alibi. Smooth (of pots). [? LĪYO.]
Alibi. = ALEBI, *q.v.*
Alibilibi. Of neutral tint, grey.
Alibor. Gull.
Alibor. Grey, from bird of same name.
Aligiti. Tiger lily.
Alil. ALIL MACH, the black ends of burned grass.
Alila. Importunacy. [LILO.]
Alim. Sweet. KONGO ALIM, unfermented beer. [LIM.]
Alim'a. Visit. [LIM'O.]
Aling. A store for beans and ground-nuts.
Alinga. = ELINGA, *q.v.*

Alinga. Silence, quiescence. [LING.]
Alingo. KONGO ALINGO, fermented beer.
Alira. A section of the Acholi tribe.
Alira. Finch.
Aliro. Upright, straight, steady.
Aliro. Kind of spear. *Vide* TONG.
Alirok. = ALIRO, *q.v.*
Aloba. Blister. [LOBO.]
Aloba. The quality of earth, earthiness. [LOBO.]
Aloban. Pl. of ALOP. Hartebeeste.
Alodi. A herb.
Alogoro. CHUNG ALOGORO TYEN, to stand with crossed legs. [LOGORO.]
Aloka. Variation, alteration. [LOKO.]
Alonga. Œdema, swollenness, puffiness. [LONGO.]
Alongaït. Cowardly, craven, lozel, lazy. GWOK OBEDO ALONGAIT, OKWERO DWARO LENY, the dog is a coward, it refuses to hunt.
Alongo. Sufferer from hydrocele or elephantiasis. [LONGO.]
Alongonyong. Lines on the skin due to the folding of the flesh.
Aloni. This man's. [Possessive of LONI, *q.v.*]
Alonyo. Rich, wealthy. [LONY.]
Alop. Pl. ALOBAN. Hartebeeste.
Alora. Revolution. [LORO.]
Alota. Sprouting, growing up. [LŎT.]
Alot'a. Shave, hairdressing. [LOT'O.]
Alote. ALOTE MACH, cinders.
Aloya. Conquest, defeat. [LOYO.]
Alubayo. "Road follower." *Vide* rain song, p. 255.
Alucha. Reversal. [LUCHO.]
Aluch'a. Bewilderment. [LUCH'O.]
Alugaluga. Green pigeon.
Alugaluga. A plant whose root is cut up and threaded with beads into a necklace by lovers.
Alugturu. Flute.
Alugutu. Maimed.
Aluk. PI ALUK (*vide* ALUKA PI), vadose water oozing from the ground.
Aluk. DYANG ALUK, a cow with one horn turned up and the other down, with drooping horns (as buffalo).
Aluka. Illicit intercourse. [LUK.]
Aluka. Oozing moisture. ALUKA PI, water oozing from ground owing to springs. [LUK.]
Alukakore. With dun brow and drooping horns.
Alukangoli. With white brow and drooping horns.
Aluny. A species of rat, also called ATECHO.
Alunya. Supplanting. [LUNYO.]
Alur. ODYEK ALUR, small species of hyæna. (Cf. ALUR in the Alur language = hyæna).
Alura. Pressure. [LURO.]
Aluru. Pl. ALURANG. Quail.
Aluta. Immersion. [LUTO.]
Alutokwon. = OLUTOKWON, *q.v.*
Alwak. Crowded. [LWAK.]
Alwedi. Pl. of ALWET, *q.v.*
Alwek. An obsolete war name.
Alwenya. War, strife. [LWENYO.]
Alwera. Barrenness. [LWERO.]
Alwet. Pl. ALWEDI. Reaping-ring.
Alwia. Escape. [LWI.]
Alwiny. Grebe. [LWINY.]
Alwinya. Immersion, diving. [LWINYO.]
Alwiya. Whistle. [LWIYO.]
Alwoka. Escort. [LWOKO.]
Alwonga. Summons. [LWONGO.]
Alwóra. Fear, respect. [LWÓRO.]
Alwòra. Avoidance, circumvention. [LWÒRO.]
Alyam. Tail ornament worn by men.
Alyech. Elephantiasis. [LYECH.]
Alyek. Species of millet. *Vide* KAL.
Alyela. Shave. [LYELO.]
Alyera. Suspension. [LYERO.]
Alyera. Chilli.
Alyeralyet. Small pink fly.
Amachanik. = AMOJANIK, *q.v.*
Amada. Medical treatment. [MADO.]
Amagoro. Unpopulated country, wilderness.
Amaka. Seizure, captivity. YAT AMAKA, stick for holding in one's hand, walking-stick. [MAKO.]
Amalech. Pl. AMALET'A, *Tragelcphus Spekei.*
Amalet'a. Pl. of AMALECH, *q.v.*
Amalik. = AMALECH, *q.v.*
Aman. Thus, in this way. [MĂN.]
Amana. Circumvention, subterfuge. [MANO.]
Amara. = OMARA, *q.v.*
Amaro. Pl. AMARI. Mother's sister's daughter.
Amat. = KIMAT, *q.v.*
Amatchak. Young of snake called MAM'A, *q.v.*
Amata. Drink. [MATO.]
Amaya. Robbery, deprivation. [MAYO.]
Ame. Hæmorrhoids.
Amĕd'a. Increase. [MĔD'O.]
Amegu. Pl. of AMIN, *q.v.*
Amel. Pl. AMELIN, patch of burnt grass.
Amele. = OMELE, *q.v.*
Amenya. Flash, effulgence. [MENYO.]
Amera. Drunkenness. [MER.]
Ameri. GWENO AMERI, black and white chicken used in rain ceremony.

Amin. Pl. AMEGU. Sister, stepsister, father's brother's daughter; WOT AMIN, sister's son; NYA AMIN, sister's daughter; AMIN TOTO, mother's sister.

Amina. Spiral, twist. WEL ME AMINA, a medicinal bracelet of metal with a twist; TONG ME AMINA, the spear sacred to JOK NAM. [MINO.]

Aming. Generally reduplicated AMINGAMING, *q.v.*

Aminga. Folly. [MING.]

Amingaming. A small species of winged termite, not eaten, as it is believed to cause deafness if eaten.

Amio. Fat. [MIO.]

Amira. Kind of sorghum.

Amĭya. Gift. [MĬYO.]

Amĭyu. Hæmaturia.

Amô. Leaf blight on sorghum.

Amôchanga. Patches of grass burnt in September or October to provide fresh grass for cattle during the dry season.

Amoching. Rhinoceros.

Amojanik. TWON AMOJANIK, a very large bull.

Amok. Shoes.

Amoka. Trapping, snaring. [MOK'O.]

Amoko. Species of mushroom.

Amoko. Normal. PEL AMOKO, a small umbilicus, as contrasted with PEL AGUTI.

Amōl. Flood, current. [MŌL.]

Amola. Brazen. ATEM AMOLA, a brass ring. [MOLA.]

Amola. Species of semsem.

Amolchet. = AGWARCHET, *q.v.* [MOLO, CHET.]

Amomol. Lizard.

Amōn. Pl. of ADAKO. Female, *q.v.* [MON.]

Amōna. Prevention, hindrance. [MŌNO.]

Amōne. Malice, feud. [MONO.]

Amonga. Whisper. [MONGO.]

Amono. = KAMONO, *q.v.*

Amonya. Raid. [MONYO.]

Amônya. Swallowing, gulp. [MÔNYO.]

Amony'a. Search. [MONY'O.]

Amor. Pl. AMORANG. Duiker.

Amora. Thunder. [MOR.]

Amora. Heating, warming, bubbling. [MORO.]

Amoramor. Fawn-coloured. [AMOR.]

Amorang. Pl. of AMOR, *q.v.*

Amorung. = AMOCHING, *q.v.* Used only in rain ceremonies.

Amota. Salutation, greeting. [MŌTO.]

Amu. Pl. AMUE. Sister's husband (woman speaking), husband's brother, husband's sister's husband, wife's sister, wife's brother's wife.

Amuge. *Vide* AMUK.

Amuji. = AMOCHING, *q.v.*

Amuk. Dark-bodied, of cattle and goats which have dark backs and shoulders. If, however, the colour is rather patchy the plural form AMUGE is used. NYWOK MAKWAR MABEDO AMUGEMUGE, the red he-goat with black patches on its back and shoulders.

Amuko. A war name.

Amul'a. Crawling. [MUL'O.]

Amule. Flute.

Amulo. A war name.

Amunga. Concealment, subterfuge. [MUNGO.]

Amuru. Pl. AMURUTA. Hip, thigh; portion of marriage dowry paid to the bride's stepbrothers, so called from the division of the wedding bull, by which these stepbrothers receive a shoulder at the feast.

Amwata. Barrenness, infecundity (of persons or crops). [MWATO.]

Amwokan. Pl. of MWOK, *q.v.*

Amwola. Obedience, submission. [MWOL.]

Amyeka. Choice, preference. [MYEKO.]

Amyel'a. Dancing, trembling. [MYEL'O.]

Amyem. Pl. AMYEMANG. Oribi. (Used by all except Jo Aber.)

Amyen'a. Kneading. [MYEN'O.]

An. I, me.

Anaka. Duration or continuity of time, eternity. NAKA ANAKA, for a long time, of old, for ever. [NAKA.]

Anam. Pl. JONAM. Munyoro. [NAM.]

Ananga. A tree. ? Species of fig.

Anapa. Assault, buffet. [NAPO.]

Anaya. Wont, custom, experience. [NAYO.]

Anda. Truth, truly. (Rarely used except by the western Jo Aber, who have borrowed the word from the Jopaluo.) [Acholi, ADA.]

Ane. I am.

Aneka. Feud, destruction, slaughter. [NEKO.]

Anekapeta. A war name.

Anekere. Enemies, enmity. [NEKO.]

Anena. Observation. [NENO.]

Aneo. Relationship on the mother's side. [NEO.]

Anepa. Softness, pliability. [NEP.]

Anera. Parchedness, desiccation. [NERO.]

Aneto. Forestalled. ATIN ANETO, a child whose mother before he is fully weaned bears another child. [NETO.]

Angad'a. Extension. [NGAD'O.]

Angadi. Of so-and-so. [NGADI.]

Angak'a. Splitting, crushing. [NGAK'O.]

Angala. Disdain, discourtesy, disregard, hypocrisy. [NGALO.]

Angama. Yawn. [NGAMO.]

Angech. Dappled. [NGECH.]

Angechakore. Dappled, but with a plain coloured brow.
Angenyotum. A war name.
Angete. To the side, out of the straight. [NGET.]
Angicha. Slave.
Angicha. Invention. [NGICHO.]
Angida. Shower, drizzle. [NGIDO.]
Angīn'a. Concentration, gathering together, swarming, swarm of bees. [NGĪN'E.]
Angĭn'a. Anointing. [NGĬN'O.]
Angiranyang. Black with cream-coloured back. [ANGIRO, ANYANG.]
Angiro. Dark-coloured. [NGIRŬ.]
Angiru. = ANGIRO, *q.v.*
Angĭya. Recognition. [NGĬYO.]
Ango. Interrogative adjective of NGO, what ?
Angoli. White-browed.
Angolomony. A war name.
Angolong. River.
Angonya. A turning back, recantation. [NGONY.]
Angota. Sexual intercourse. [NGOTO.]
Angoye. String, cord (obsolete).
Angoye. Annoyance. [NGOYO.]
Anguch. String, cord, rope.
Angudi. Inattentive, self-willed, stubborn, intractable.
Anguka. Forestalling, previousness, precipitancy. [NGUK'O.]
Anguna. Truncation. [NGUNO.]
Angunya. Dappled black and white (of cattle).
Angura. Species of sorghum.
Angura. Sullenness, unfriendliness, hostility. [NGUR.]
Angwal. Paralysis. [NGWAL.]
Angwala. Paralysis. [NGWAL.]
Angwecha. Running. [NGWECH.]
Angweda. Picking, plucking. [NGWEDO.]
Angwengwe. A plant with fragrant leaves like patchouli in scent. [NGWEYO.]
Angwenya. Pinch, irritation. [NGWENYO.]
Angweya. Scent. [NGWEYO.]
Anin'a. Somnolence, sleep. [NIN'O.]
Anin'o. ? Sleepy. [NIN'O.]
A'no. To tell fables.
Anod'a. Repetition, importunacy. [NOD'O.]
Anok. Goat pen.
Anŏka. Paucity. [NŎK.]
Anōka. Approach, propinquity. [NŌKO.]
Anono. A wild convolvulus. Its leaves are eaten cooked with the leaves of the pea AKEO.
Anŏta. Bleeding (surgical). [NŎTO.]
Anot'a. Faction, party, alliance. [NOT'O.]
Anud'a. Brewing. [NUD'O.]
Anumu. Raw, unripe. [NUMU.]
Anwanga. = ANWONGA, *q.v.*
Anwata. Limp. [NWAT.]
Anwira. Preference. [NWIRO.]
Anwonga. Finding, discovery. [NWONGO.]
Anyaka. Fruition. [NYAK.]
Anyako. Girlish. [NYAKO.]
Anyam'a. Chewing. [NYAM'O.]
Anyang. The colour of sorghum stalks, cream, yellow. [NYANG.]
Anyap. Idle, idler. [NYAP.]
Anyapa. Idleness. [NYAP.]
Anyeka. Envy, jealousy. [NYEKO.]
Anyeko. Co-wife, husband's brother's wife. [NYEKO.]
Anyen. New. [NYEN.]
Anyer. Pl. ANYERI. Edible rat or vole.
Anyera. Laugh. [NYERO.]
Anyeta. Emission. [NYETO.]
Anyige. KAL ANYIGE, grain threshed, but not ground. [NYIK.]
Anyira. Pl. of NYAKO, *q.v.*
Anyiri. Pl. of NYAKO, *q.v.* (This form used by Jo Aber only.)
Anyô. Measles.
Anyob'a. Stirred without mashing (of vegetables). [NYOB'O.]
Anyôma. Marriage. [NYÔMO.]
Anyonga. Crouching, act or posture of sitting on haunches, lassitude. [NYONGO.]
Anyongaleng. A war name.
Anyoni. Immediately.
Anyoya. Boiling. TEDO ME ANYOYA, to cook by boiling ; ANYWAGI ME ANYOYA, boiled maize. [NYOYO.]
Anywagi. = NYWAGI, maize.
Anywaka. Co-operation, partnership. [NYWAKO.]
Anywala. Fecundity, fruitfulness. [NYWALO.]
Aôla. Cough, bronchitis. [ÔLO.]
Aonya. A pouring, mixing, combination. [ONYO.]
Aorech. Womb.
Aota. GOIN MAM, OGERO OT AOTA, it is not a shed, he is building a proper house. [OT.]
Apachet. Hypodermis.
Apaïlon. Pl. of APAYO, *q.v.* (i) Girl friends.
(ii) Illegitimate intercourse. ONYWALO ME APAILON, she bore a child out of wedlock.
Apak. Solo, recitative. [PAK'O.]
Apak. NYING ME APAK, nickname = APAKA. [PAKO.]
Apaka. Nickname. [PAKO.]

Apaka. Act of sharpening, sharpness. APAKA PI, waves. [PAKO.]

Apake. Pointed stake, used for supporting hunting-nets. [PAKO.]

Apala. Quarrelsome. LO APALA WOK CHA, that is a very quarrelsome fellow. [PALO.]

Apam. Fashion of hairdressing, the head being closely shaved all over.

Apama. OT APAMA, a house built after the old fashion with a mud wall built inside the ACHIPA. [PAMO.]

Apama. Wall of house. [PAMO.]

Apanga. WANG APANGA, a squint.

Apar. Ten. (Used by Jo Aber and less often by Jo Moita.)

Apar. Instep.

Apara. Thought, meditation. [PARO.]

Apayo. Pl. APAILON, *q.v.* Girl friend, lover, betrothed.

Ape. Well then, entirely, for ever. APE WOTI, well go; WOTI DANG APE APE, go for good and do not return.

Ape. One. Never used by itself, but only in conjunction with KANY to make the numeral 6 (KANY KAPE = KANY KI APE), and with TÔMON (TÔMON APE = 11).

Apeka. Weight, heaviness. [PEK.]

Apeke. Semsem and millet cakes, food for journey.

Apel. Trumpet.

Apel. An orchis, so called because its sap is used for rubbing on the trumpet APEL.

Apel. Charred by lightning. Hence also of colour, e.g. DYANG APEL, a cow with black streaks on the flanks.

Apela. Transfixion. [PELO.]

Apele. A class of impotent men, who are treated as women.

Apelo. A war name.

Apelo. = ADERIT, *q.v.* (obsolete).

Apelpel. Tail of swarm of locusts.

Apena. Pigeon peas, of which there are two kinds differentiated by the adjectives ANGECH and ATAR, *q.v.*

Apena. A war name.

Apenyjulu. = APINYJULU, *q.v.*

Apeta. Of spreading horns. [PETO.]

Apetan. Stairway, ladder. [PETO.]

Apika. Jejunum.

Apikichit. Forearm, calf of leg.

Apil. Name given to a male baby after previous children have died. *Vide* ATIN ME AKWERA.

Apili. Feminine of APIL, *q.v.*

Apililiong. Cooked ETOKE, *q.v.*

Apiny. Earthy. JO APINY, the dead. [PINY.]

Apinyjulu. Hoopoe.

Apiriti. A wild plant whose leaves are eaten with NGOR.

Apita. Kind of dance.

Apiya. MACH APIYA, fire made by drilling with fire-stick. [PIYO.]

Apôa. Lunacy, idiocy. [PÔ.]

Apobo. = EPOBO. Ash-tree.

Apŏdo. Lesser bustard.

Apoich. Mud, especially the mud and filth in a cattle kraal.

Apok. Pl. APOKAN. Sprat.

Apok. A tree (? *Cordia unyorensis*) much used for beehives and drums.

Apōka. Division, distribution. [PŌKO.]

Apŏko. APOKO PI, drinking vessel. APOKO LAICH, bladder.

Apōko. Division, portion. [PŌKO.]

Apōla. Abundance. [PŌL.]

Apōli. Waterbuck.

Apôl'i. Skylark.

Apongpong. *Candelabrum euphorbia.*

Aponya. Tuition, instruction. [PONYO.]

Apopong. = APONGPONG, *q.v.*

Apora. Arrangement, supposition. [PORO.]

Apua. Dust.

Apuk. Tortoise.

Apukapuk. Small beetle.

Apumbiro. Very small (of animals). ATIN KUL POD' APUMBIRO, a young wart-hog still quite small; APUMBIRO LYECH, a small elephant.

Apuny. The feast which concludes a period of mourning after a funeral. Called in full APUNY ME GONYO TOL, the feast of untying the funeral string. [PUNYO.]

Apupu. Hedgehog.

Apupu. A small dandelion whose leaves are eaten medicinally.

Apura. Act of cultivation. [PURO.]

Apuruku. Weeds.

Apurukuch. Infectious skin rash, craw-craw.

Apute. Falling. [POTO.]

Aputiro. Wart-hog. A word only used in the rain ceremonials.

Aputok. A tree.

Apwô. Hare.

Apwoda. Assault, chastisement. [PWODO.]

Apwoich. = APOICH, *q.v.*

Apwot. Slender, slippery, smooth. PI APWOT, narrow river or arm of lake. [PWOT.]

Apwoya. Acceptance, gratitude. [PWOYO.]

Apwoyo. = APWÔ, *q.v.*

Apwuru. Dust.

Apyeda. Bewilderment, confusion, bewitchment. [PYEDO.]

Apyema. Obstinacy, obduracy. [PYEM.]

Apyila. Submission, peace. [PYILO.]

Arab. Prayer. [RABO.]
Araba. NINO OBEDO ARAB' ARABA, of young semsem.
Aracha. Badness, evil. [RACH.]
Aran. Clerk. [Ki-Swahili, KARANI.]
Arang. ARANG CHENG, sunset.
Aranga. Examination, observation. [RANGO.]
Aranga. Broad bean.
Arap. = ERAP, *q.v.*
Arāt. Amusement, pleasantry. NYING ME ARAT, nickname. [RATO.]
Arata. Jesting, pleasantry. [RATO.]
Arech. Cicatrization.
Arecha. = ARACHA, *q.v.* [RECH.]
Arega. Grinding. KAL ME AREGA, millet ground to flour. [REGO.]
Arĕma. Deficiency, insufficiency. [RĔMO.]
Arĕma. Blood-coloured. [RÉMO.]
Areng. Stubble of millet after reaping.
Arep. Duskiness, insubstantiality, airiness. [REP.]
Ari. Crossways, aslant.
Ariga. A form of hunting in which the game is driven by a circle of men. [RIKO.]
Ariko. "Apron" of metal links worn by unmarried girls and new brides. [Didinga, RIKA.]
Aringa. Running. [RINGO.]
Aripo. A large species of winged termite.
Arita. Load or bundle of grain.
Arityel'o. Putties. [RIYO, TYEN.]
Ariya. A war name.
Ariyu. A war name.
Aroba. Robbery. [ROBO.]
Arôd'a. Dispute, emulation. [RÔD'O.]
Arŏk. KWER ME AROK, straight-handed hoe.
Arōk. Hump (of cattle).
Arŏm. Equalling, like. GIN AROM MAN, a thing as big as this. [RŎMO.]
Arŏma. Equality. [RŎMO.]
Arôma. Encounter, meeting. [RÔMO.]
Aromyô. Crossways. [RÔMO, YÔ.]
Arop. A war name.
Arŏta. Espial, reconnaisance. [RŎTO.]
Arudi. Small species of hyæna.
Aruka. Worn, wearing apparel. GIN ARUKA, things for wearing. [RUKO.]
Arum. Pl. ARUMING. Hunting area, a style of hunting. [RUMO.]
Arum. Hornbill.
Aruma. Surrounding. [RUMO.]
Arun. Pl. ARUNE. Year.
Arupape. A large trumpet.
Aruru. ARURU ME APENA, aphis. ARURU ME ABŎGO, solitary bee.
Aruru. Past the climacteric, of old women. KIMATCHA OBEDO ARURU, that old woman is past child-bearing.
Arut. Twin birth, twins. BEL ARUT, a species of sorghum, the grain of which grows in pairs along the stalk; NINO ARUT, a species of semsem, so called because the four divisions of the pod are subdivided into twos; MYEL ME ARUT, ceremonial dance after twin birth.
Arut. Fashion of hairdressing, the hair being shaved in patches.
Arutarut. Small species of mushroom.
Arwa. Fishing basket.
Arwata. OT ARWATA, a house whose wall is constructed of mud rammed into a wooden framework.
Arwot. Princely, like a chief. [RWOT.]
Aryek. Wise, intelligent. [RYEK.]
Aryem'a. Rout, dispersal. [RYEM'O.]
Aryeya. Extension, row. [RYEYO.]
Aryiya. Uniformity, "dressing." [RYIYO.]
Aryô. Two.
Aryône. Second.
Aryong. = ERYONGET, crowd, company.
Ata. To no purpose, vainly. IKOBO ATA, you speak idly.
Atabara. A smooth, flat ironstone or gneiss clearing in the grass, on which rain stands. PI ATABARA, rain water standing on a laterite sheet.
Atadang. Pl. of ATAT, *q.v.*
Atagi. With a staggering gait. WOTO ATAGI BALA NGAT MAMER, to stagger like a drunken man.
Atai. = ATA, *q.v.*
Ataka. A broad woman's "tail," trimmed along the edge with metal insets.
Atakara. Francolin.
Atakora. CHUNG ATAKORA, to stand with spear at the throwing position. [TAKORO.]
Ataloka. Rainbow, rainbow-coloured, variegated.
Atamtam. A savoury dish compounded of minced duodenum, liver, lung, stomach, and mixed with porridge and semsem.
Atanga. Extension. [TANGO.]
Atap. JO ATAP, a Lango name for the Jopaluo.
Atapana. Half-bred fowl. [Derived from Lango form of name TUFNELL, who first introduced the species at Kibuji.]
Atar. White. GIN ATAR, GWENO ATAR, the white thing, the white chicken, i.e. European; GIN ATAR OMIYI PENYO DYANG KAN, it is the European who enables you to ask about your cow here. [TAR.]
Ataro. On the back, reclining, supine. BUTO ATARO, to lie on one's back.
Atat. Pl. ATADANG. Rafter. [TADO.]

Atatam. = ATAMTAM, *q.v.*
Ateba. With cut or notched ears (of cattle and goats). [TEBO.]
Atĕch. Prefixed to the name of a dead person, "the late." ATECH NGADI, the late so-and-so.
Atēch. Cutting, incision, bleeding. [TEYO.]
Atecho. Species of house-rat.
Ateda. Cooked, boiled. [TEDO.]
Atek. Pl. ATEKAN. Pipe.
Atek'a. Alliance, reconciliation, mediation. In the phrase ATEKERE ATEK'A it is redundant, merely emphasizing the idea contained in ATEKERE. [TEK'O.]
Ateke. Peg.
Atekere. Ally, clan, friendly community. IN LANGO BALA ATOT AKUM ?—AN ? ATEKEREWA WABEDO WAN LANGNI, AN MAM AKUM. Are you a Lango or Akum ?—I ? Our tribe we are Lango, I am not an Akum. [TEKO.]
Ateltel. Woodpecker.
Atem. Pl. ATEMAN. Finger-ring.
Atemoling. A war name.
Ateni. Truth, in truth, really, truthfully.
Atenwich. Pillow. [TENO, WICH.]
Atera. Act of carrying, porterage. [TERO.]
Aterang. Pl. of ATERO, *q.v.*
Aterany. Bride, a term applicable till the woman bears a child.
Atere. The name given to the Lango by certain Karamojon tribes.
Atero. Pl. ATERANG. Arrow.
Atet. Smith. ATET TONG, spearsmith. [TETO.]
Ateta. Metallurgy. [TETO.]
Atetel. = ATELTEL, *q.v.*
Atida. Lango divinity. *Vide* JOK.
Atĭka. Malodour. ONGWE TIK ATIKA MARACH, it has an abominably bad smell. [TIK.]
Atika. Specifically, verily, certainly. Often used in two contrasted clauses to emphasize the speaker's preference. Reduplicated form, ATIKATIKA. EN ATIKATIKA OYI, he will assuredly fight; ATIKA IN BER, LONI RACH, you are a better man than he is. [TIKO.]
Atil. Pl. ATILONG. Cob.
Atila. Pupil of eye.
Atilawang. 25-cent piece.
Atilong. Pl. of ATIL, *q.v.*
Atima. = ATIMU, *q.v.*
Atimu. Drum. *Vide* BUL.
Atin. Pl. ATINO. Child, young of all animals. ATIN GWENO, chicken; ATIN ROM'O, lamb. Also used as a diminutive prefix: ATINGOT, child of a hill, i.e. stone; ATIN KIDI, the small grindstone; ATIN BUL, small drum. [TIN.]
Atina. "To-day-ness." TIN ATINA, to-day and no other. [TIN.]
Atingating. A wild plant whose leaves and berries are eaten. A decoction of the leaves is rubbed on the chest for bronchitis.
Atinga. Lifting, carrying. [TĬNGO.]
Atino. Pl. of ATIN, *q.v.*
Atin'o. Small, young. NGOR ATIN'O, small beans; TYEN'A OTO ATIN'O, my foot is dead small, i.e. is somewhat cramped. [TIN'O.]
Atira. Laburnum.
Atira. Straight, lengthways. [TIR.]
Atira. Fashion of hairdressing.
Atita. Explanation, disquisition. [TITO.]
Atitin'o. = ATIN'O. *q.v.*
Atô. Invalid. [TWÔ.]
Atoï. = KWON, *q.v.* (Cipher language.)
Atoitoi. A tall grass with oat-like spray at top.
Atolom. = ETULOK, marabout stork.
Atômon. Multiple of 10. ATÔMON ARYÔ, 20; ATÔMON TÔMON, 100. [TÔMON.]
Atong. Species of semsem. *Vide* NINO.
Atong. ATONG TÔL, hymen.
Atong'a. Act of felling or cutting, calumny. [TONG'O.]
Atonggwen. MÔ ATONGGWEN, new "egg-coloured" honey. [TONG, GWENO.]
Atongkwon. Tonsils.
Ato'nyo. Perhaps, or. KONO IMITO WEKE AMAN, ATO'NYO IMITO TERE, whether you wish to leave it so, or to take it. [ATOT, NYO.]
Atornam. Jetty, landing-stage. [TÔRO, NAM.]
Atoro. Sternum, chest, torso. DOK ATORO, xiphisternum.
Atoro. A fashion of hairdressing.
Atoron. = ATORO, sternum.
Atoroora. Causeway, embankment. [TORO, ORA.]
Atot. At a hazard, at a guess, perhaps, or. [TOTO.]
Atoto. *Pistia stratiotis.*
Atot'a. The act of taking honey from a hive. [TOT'O.]
Atubara. An uncommon tree whose bark is chewed as an aphrodisiac.
Atubu. Dragon-fly.
Atuda. Junction, knot, splice. [TUDO.]
Atudo. = ETUDOK, *q.v.*
Atudo. = ATUBU, dragon-fly.
Atuket. = TUA, granary.
Atula. Large-headed, epithet of buffalo
Atula. Sudden death. [TULO.]
Atum. Bow.
Atuma. Completion. [TUMO.]
Atune. = ATWIN, *q.v.*

Atunya. Hunting synonym for a lion. [Same root as ENGATO. Cf. Iteso, ENGATUNY.]
Atur. ATUR KI ATUR, this way and that [? TUR.]
Atur'e. Flower, blossom, spray. [TUR'E.]
Atuta. Depth. [TUT.]
Atwaicha. An insulting epithet or nick-name. [TWAICH.]
Atwaka. Noise, commotion, hubbub. [TWAK.]
Atwanya. A drawing back, retraction. [TWANYO.]
Atwanyara. Kind of dance. [TWANYO.]
Atwap. ATWAP ANYANG, mirage, heat haze.
Atweya. Bondage. [TWEYO.]
Atwilo. A cord second in stoutness only to AKONGOMER.
Atwin. Young shoot of grass or plant. [TWI.]
Atwitwi. = AWIWIT, *q.v.*
Atwôda. Tracking. [TWÔDO.]
Atwola. Characteristic of a snake. MAM NYEL'O, TWOL ATWOLA, not a python, just an ordinary snake.
Atwôma. Act of drawing water. [TWÔMO.]
Atyam. A war name.
Atyet. = DATYET, *q.v.*
Aucha. Jettison. [UCHO.]
Awain. A war name.
Awal. Large calabash bowl.
Awala. Hoop.
Awala. = AGARA, bells.
Awala. Kind of dance.
Awalach. Without pigment, albino. CHINGA OBEDO AWALACH, my hands are white.
Awalu. = OWALU, *q.v.*
Awalu. AYOM AWALU, large and darker species of patas monkey.
Awana. Wounding, act of wounding, wound, weal. [WANO.]
Awanga. Conflagration. [WANGO.]
Awangi. Small species of mushroom.
Awany. Supplication, entreaty. [WANYO.]
Awanya. Meanness, avarice. [WANY.]
Awapa. Pursuit. [WAPO.]
Awara. Pygmy goose.
Awara. Redemption. [WARO.]
Awaro. Web-footed. WINYO MA TYEN'E AWARO, a bird which is web-footed. [AWARA.]
Awati. House-rat.
Awaya. Shrub with edible berries.
Awaya. Four-leaved clover, chewed as a cure for sore throat.
Awele. Pl. AWELI, dove. AWELE ALUGALUGA, green pigeon; AWELE AKUNGKUNG, red pigeon.
Awĕli. Large lupin, administered as a drug to sick cattle and goats.
Awelo. Stranger, guest. [WELO.]
Awelo. = OWELO, *q.v.*
Awen. Pl. of AWÊN'O, *q.v.*
Awene. When ?
Aweno. Travel, sojourning in foreign parts. WOTO AWENO, to travel. [WENO.]
Awên'o. Pl. AWEN. Guinea-fowl.
Awera. Species of sorghum. *Vide* BEL.
Awi. Appertaining to a head. AWI KI AWI, with head on high, head to head. [WICH.]
Awi. Cattle-pen, kraal.
Awichere. OT AWICHERE, a house with a good slope to its roof.
Awil'a. Sprain, dislocation. [WIL'O.]
Awilakot. Erythrina.
Awino. Pl. AWIN. A small fish.
Awinwinyo. Large grasshopper eaten except by people suffering from ulcers.
Awinya. Perception. [WINYO.]
Awirawira. A small water beetle, which darts about in circles. [WIRO.]
Awitwit. = AWIWIT, *q.v.*
Awiwit. Plover.
Awobe. Pl. AWOBI. Unmarried man, bachelor. Also used of young male animals. AWOBE DYEL, kid.
Awola. = AWULA, witchcraft.
Awong. Multitude.
Awor. Glutton. [WOR.]
Awora. Greed, gluttony. [WOR.]
Aworo. Yesterday. AWORO MACHA, day before yesterday, any day about a week previously.
Aworon. A quinquennial festival. [WORO.]
Awôt. Wrestling. [WÔTO.]
Awota. Journey. [WÔTO.]
Awote. Pl. AWOTI. Fellow traveller, friend. [WÔTO.]
Awôte. = AWATI, *q.v.*
Awoyodyang. Mushroom which grows in a cattle kraal. [WOYO, DYANG.]
Awula. Pl. AWULANG. Hairs on tails of animals. AWULA DYANG, a switch made of a cow's tail.
Awula. Magic, witchcraft. A magic drug said to be prepared from the poison of snakes. [WULO.]
Ayaba. Opening, revelation. [YABO.]
Ayaka. Pillage. [YAKO.]
Ayal'a. Propitiation. [YAL'O.]
Ayăma. Flirtation, assignation. [YĂMO.]
Ayanya. Insult. [YANYO.]
Ayaro. A wild plant.
Ayea. Acknowledgment, acceptance, belief. [YE.]
Ayeng. To repletion. CHAMO AYENG, to eat one's fill. [YENG'O.]

Ayeng'a. Repletion, surfeit. [YENG'O.]
Ayenya. Search. [YENYO.]
Ayeny'a. Boiling (of water). [YENY'O.]
Ayep. Forked stick for opening roof of granary, prop. [YABO.]
Ayêr. Species of semsem. *Vide* NINO.
Ayera. Choice. [YERO.]
Ayeta. Insult, abuse. [YETO.]
Ayeya. Porterage. [YEYO.]
Ayeyo. Lifting on high. AYEYO WICH, with a high head, proud; JOBI OWOTO AYEYO WIYE, the buffalo goes with head on high. [YEYO.]
Ayil. Itch. [YILO.]
Ayilayila. Nettle. [YILO.]
Ayita. Pl. AYITANG. Squirrel. *Sciurus Leucimbrinus.*
Ayok'a. Feint. [YOK'O.]
Ayom. Pl. AYOMANG. Patas monkey.
Ayom. Soft, peaceful. MOREMBE AYOM, good greeting! BUTI AYOM, sleep softly, well. [YOM.]
Ayongwe. A war name.
Ayote. CHENG DOK AYOTE. ? About 3 p.m.
Ayupa. A fitting. [YUP'O.]
Ayuta. Darkness. [YUTO.]
Aywaya. Traction, dragging. [YWAYO.]
Aywe. A wild plant.

B

Ba. An intensive particle attached to verbs and to the greeting OREME. TINGI BA, come, lift it up.
Baba. = Father, in baby language.
Badbad. Utterly, to pieces. Used with TORO, to break. (A Jopaluo word, occasionally used by Lango living near Jaber).
Bai. = OBAYI, *q.v.*
Bako. To ram down, cause to sag. BAKO MOKO KONGO. One of the stages in beer-making. After the flour has been stirred to a thick paste, it is put into the pot called ABAK, when it is rammed hard down with the fist and dried. Midd. BAKERE, to sag. OT OBAKERE ABAKA, the house has a badly-pitched roof. Pass. BAKE, to sag. OT OBAKE ABAKA (same meaning).
Bak'o. To dig deep, below the surface soil. BAK'O DOK, to be talkative, to make excuses, to keep asking, to importune, entreat; ABAK'O DOGE, AOL, I kept entreating him and am weary.
Bakno. = BAK'O, *q.v.*
Bála. Particle of interrogation placed at end of phrase or clause. ODYEK TYE KAN BALA? Is Odyek here?
Băla. Like. YENGI MAM BOR BALA MACHA, these trees are not so tall as that.
Balakuku. Wooden dancing-shoes.
Balo. To harm, ruin, destroy. IBALO TYEN KOPNI, you are damaging the course of this case. Pass. BAL'E, to go bad, be destroyed, to err.
Bang. Direction, to, at. TYE BANGA, it is at my house.
Bang. Time, occasion. BANG ADI? How often?
Bang. To be an idiot.
Bango. To eat food without seasoning or relish. Used of porridge without vegetables or gravy (BANGO KWON), or of meat without porridge (BANGO RINGO or BANGO DEK).
Banja. Debt. CHAMO BANJA, to borrow; CHULO BANJA, to repay a debt. [Luganda EBANJA.]
Bano. To prophesy, give an oracle. Pass. BANE, to be possessed by JOK NAM, to be in a trance.
Ba'no. = BAYO, *q.v.*
Bapo. To slap with the flat of the hand, to mortgage, pledge (from the ceremonial slapping of a cow so pawned).
Bar. Pasturage, open grassy space near village. DYEL ME BAR, the goats killed after a seduction; AWOTO BAR, I go to the privy. [BARO.]
Bar. To be rich.
Baro. To crop grass, to graze, to tear, split. DYEGI OBARO LUM, goats crop the grass short; WIYA OBEBARA, my head is splitting me, i.e. I have a headache.
Bat. Arm, shoulder of animal.
Bata. BATA ACHOL, laburnum.
Bati. Ten-cent piece.
Bato. To accuse falsely or without evidence. The preposition KI (with) precedes the person accused.
Bayo. To throw.
Be. = BA, intensive enclitic.
-Be-. Tense infix denoting the definite present. *Vide* BEDO.
Bech. All.
Becho. To be beautiful, of good quality, well-featured.
Bedo. To sit, to be, to cease, to remain. WABEDO KAN, we are sitting here. ABEDO ABEDA, I am just sitting, i.e. I have no business. NYOK MUBEDO ANGENGECH, the he-goat which is dappled. WEK TEK OBEDI, let there be an end of force. BEDO KI . . . to have. IBEDO KI TONG? Have you a spear? Used as a salutation:—(*a*) Greeting. IBEDO or IBEDO MABER, are

Bedo—*continued*
you well? Answer: ABEDO, I am. (*b*) Farewell. DONG BEDI, be or stay (if the other person is staying where he is). Answer: ABEDO, I am. BEDO is also used as an auxiliary verb to form a definite present tense. KOT OBEDO CHWE, it is raining. But more often a contracted form -BE- is used for this purpose between the pronominal prefix and the main verb. [KOT OBECHWE.]

Bekno. = BEK'O, *q.v.*

Bek'o. To grope for, to glean, to pick up with fingers, to hatch (used of a hen picking off fragments of shell from newly hatched chickens). JOCHAN GIBEK'O OBOT KAL, paupers glean the millet leavings.

Bel. Sorghum, of which there are many kinds. BEL, the BEL, the head of grain being bunched together; BEL AWERA, the head spraying out; BEL ARUT, the grain growing in pairs along the stalk; BEL AMIRA, very red sorghum; BEL ANGURA, grain bunched together like BEL; BEL EKOTO, young, unripe sorghum; BEL ODWAKA, white sorghum.

Bĕlo. To drive away, put to flight, banish. TÔ OBELO JO I PACHO, disease has banished the people from the village. Pass. BĔLE, to be put to flight, to run. BELE NGWECH, to run as fast as possible (without any connotation of fear).

Bēlo. BĒLO TYEN, to put out foot, as of a bird coming to rest after flight; BĒLO NENO, to look round suddenly

Bĕl'o. = TWANYO, to draw back.

Bel'o. BĒL'O CHOGO, to break a bone with spear.

Beluny. To alight from flight (of birds).

Bene. Also. It cannot start a sentence or clause.

Ber. To be good, beautiful. BER, it is well (signifying assent and dismissal).

Ber. Goodness. [BER.]

Ber. To be young. POD' BER ABERA AMAN, he is still young, i.e. not yet an AWOBE.

Bero. = BYERO, *q.v.*

Beyo. To go, to pass by. BEYI KAN, pass this way.

Beyo. To be beautiful.

Bido. To dampen, moisten. Pass. BID'E, to be damp, saturated.

Bilo. One of the stages in the preparation of beer.

Bilo. Pl. BILI. War whistle, flute, wind instrument. MIN BILO, base flute; ATIN BILO, treble flute; BILO ME NGONYAMUTO, bamboo flute with four stops; NYING BILO, motif of air; KUTO, GOYO BILO, to blow whistle.

Bil'o. To taste, to have sexual intercourse. Pass. BIL'E, to be tasted.

Bim. = OBIM, *q.v.*

Bimere. To behave like a baboon, to wear a baboon skin. [OBIM.]

Bīno. To come. Used also as an auxiliary verb to form the future tense. ABINO WINYO KOPNI DIKI, I shall hear your case to-morrow.

Bi'no. = BIYO, to squeeze. BI'NO CHWAO, to squeeze out tamarind juice.

Binyo. To twist, spin. BINYO WARO ME CHIP, to twist cotton threads for woman's apron; BINYO YER WICH, to twist women's hair into ringlets.

Bit. Small spear, often used for fishing. [Cf. Shilluk, BET.]

Bito. To sharpen. Pass. BIT, to be sharp, to be accurate. CHINGE OBIT, TONG MAM OBAYE PINY, his hand is accurate, he does not throw his spear to the ground.

Bito. To break, split, snap, hull. BITO MAIDO, to shell ground-nuts. Pass. BIT'E, to snap, split in two. TONGNA OBIT'E, my spear shaft is broken in two.

Bit'o. To cajole, to entice. BIT'O RECH, to catch fish with baskets; BIT'O TONG, to make a spear enticing, i.e. to give it attractive powers by magic ceremonial.

Biye. Pl. BIYETI. Ant-hill, termite.

Biyo. To squeeze, press, crush. BIYO LAUTOL, to wash clothes.

Bŏ. Pl. BŌI. Hunting-net. CHIKO BO, to set up net, to hunt with nets; BO TYEM, spider's web.

Bo. = BOYO, bean leaves.

Bo. Interrogative particle suffixed to a sentence.

Bocho. To miss. TONG OBOCHE, the spear missed him; KOP OBOCHO ITA, the affair missed my ear, i.e. I did not hear of it.

Boda. Full-grown ambatch, ambatch floats for swimming.

Bodo. BODO WI, to distract, worry, annoy.

Bōi. Pl. of Bŏ, *q.v.*

Boich. To be impotent, sterile.

Boicho. To be tall (used only in the plural).

Bokachel. A herb.

Boke. Leaves of trees, green potato tops. Used as plural of POT, *q.v.* BOKE IT, lobe of ear.

Bokechet. A plant whose leaves are worn for sanitary purposes by mothers in the small of the back when carrying babies. [BOKE, CHET.]

Boko. To discolour, to redden. TABA OBOKO LAKI, tobacco discolours one's teeth. Midd. BOKERE, to be or become red. GIN MUBOKERE, red things; OMATO KONGO, OMER, WANGE OTOBOKERE, he drank beer and was intoxicated and his eyes became bloodshot.

Bol. Spear-shaft. [BOLO.]

Bolo. To throw. BOLO NGWECH, to run fast; BOLO IP, to lash tail (of animal); BOLO TONG, to lay egg; BOLO NYERO, to laugh.

Bomo. ? *Landolphia florida.* [Luganda, KABOMBO.]

Bomo. To parch up, shrivel. Pass. BOM, to be parched. KAL OBOBOM ABOBOMA, the millet is shrivelled up for want of rain.

Bongo. To feel, feel for.

Bongo. Pl. BONG'I. BONGO KICH, beehive.

Bongo. To be without, to lack, to be deficient. NGAT MA BONGO DYEL, one who has no goats. Used occasionally as a negative. OKWERO BONGO, he does not refuse; LIM MERI BONGO, it is not your property.

Bongo. Cloth, clothes. BONGO YAT, bark-cloth.

Bôno. To be bald on the front of the head. WIYE OBÔNO, he is bald-headed.

Bô'no. = BOYO, to wrap up.

Bonyo. Pl. BONY'I. Locust.

Bonyo. To hasten, hurry. BONY BINO, hasten your coming, i.e. come quickly; JALCHA MAM OBONYO KOPNE, that man does not hurry with his case.

Bor. To be far, to be tall. PACHONI OBOR KWEN? How far is your village?

Bor. Ulcer.

Bora. Pl. BURE. Cat.

Boro. = BARO, to graze.

Boro. To cover the eyes, to blindfold. OKWINAKITENG, BOR WANGI, KA IWOTO TO, OKWIRAKITENG, cover your eyes when you go to die.

Bot. = BUT, side. Used chiefly as a preposition, often with the pronoun suffixed. To, at, from, = French *chez.* BOT-A, with me, at my house. BOT NGA? At whose village? BOT LONI, with this man; ABINO BOTI, I have come to you; RIKI AYA BOT OKELO, I started from Okelo's.

Bōto. To break the soil, leaving the clods and grass in situ, to turn up the grass. BOTO DEK, to eat DEK (*q.v.*) without porridge (just as when turning up the grass one does not disturb the earth).

Boto. To cause to swell up, to puff up, inflame. Pass. BOT, to be inflamed, swollen up. TYEN'E OBOBOT, his leg is swollen up.

Boyo. Leaves of NGOR (beans). BOYO AONYA, leaves cooked and mixed with semsem, etc.

Boyo. To wrap.

Bua. = ARUM, hunting area. (Used only by the Jo Burutok.)

Bubu. Large species of rat. (*Thryonomys Swinderenianus.*)

Buche. Pl. of BUR. Holes. The reduplicated form BUCHEBUCHE or BUBUCHE has a diminutive force. YO OBEDO BUCHEBUCHE, the road is rough, full of little holes.

Bucho. = BOCHO, to miss. TONG OBUCHA, the spear missed me; BUCHO MATEK, to miss narrowly.

Buch'o. To aggravate, annoy. CHYEGE OBOBUCHE, his wife kept worrying him.

Bujo. To pluck a fowl.

Buk. Smithy. ECHURU BUK, airpipe of bellows; AGULU BUK, bellows' pots; LAU BUK, bellows; YEN BUK, bellows' handles. [BUKO.]

Buko. To threaten, to attack. ODYEK OBUKO MORO, Odyek is destroying biting ants.

Buko. To cause to flutter, to sacrifice, to hallow, sanctify. Pass. BUK, to flutter. GWENO OBUK I WI DURU, the chicken scratches on the midden.

Buko. To press the bellows. BUKO KOP, to be chatty, talk incessantly, gabble.

Bul. Drum, of which there are MIN BUL, big base drum; ADADANG, tenor drum; ATIN BUL, small treble drum. Made from the wood of the following trees: ABATA, ETEK, OPOK, YAO and YAGO. Slang term for wife.

Bulapwô. "Hare's drum," toadstool. [BUL, APWÔ.]

Bulo. To smoke, bake, roast. BULO TONG I MACH, to smoke a spear in the fire in order to remove bloodstains.

Bung. Forest.

Bungo. To beat, thrash.

Buô. = BWOYO, froth.

Bur. Pl. BUGE or BUCHE. Hole, pit, trench.

Bure. Pl. of BORA, *q.v.*

Buro. To drive away, order away, be hostile to, be prejudiced against. ATYEKO WOTO PI KOPNO, RWOT ETOBURA, I have been on this business, but the chief dismissed me.

Buru. Ashes. NGOTO BURU, to lie with ashes, i.e. to be too poor to possess a wife.

Burutok. South, the most southerly section of the Lango tribe.

But. Side. BUT KIDI, side of a hill. Its collateral form BOT is used as a preposition = to, at.

Buto. To lie down, to sleep. BUTO KI . . . to have sexual intercourse; GWENO OBUTO TONG, the hen is sitting; BUTO ADEK, to sleep, i.e. wait three (days); KWONG WABUT ADEK WATOWOK, let us wait three days before going; BUTO ATARO, to lie on the back. Used as the morning salutation. IBUTO? or IBUTO MABER? Have you slept? Answer: ABUTO. Also farewell in the evening. DONG BUTI, sleep well. Answer: ABUTO.

Bwango. To put to flight, rout, terrify, alarm.

Bwaro. To be lean, scraggy (of animals only).

Bwogo. To bear stillborn, to miscarry. Pass. BWOG'E, to be stillborn (of animals only).

Bwolo. To betray, deceive, cheat.

Bwom. Wing.

Bwong. Immature female. BWONG GWENO, pullet; BWONG DYEL = AKALI DYEL, young she-goat.

Bwoto. To cause to miss or to escape, to desert, to disown. JOCHA GIBWOTE, MAM DANOGI, those men disown him, he is not one of them. Pass. BWOT, to escape. When followed by the infinitive has the meaning "almost," "nearly." ABWOT POTO, I all but fell.

Bwoyo. To overcome, rule, be master, overlord. BWOYO PINY, to overpower the country; RWOT MUBWOYI, your overlord, your chief.

Bwoyo. Froth, foam, bubbles.

Byeb'o. To slander.

Byelo. To sling on the back, carry slung on the back.

Byemi. Dissention, civil war. [Lunyoro, OBWEMI.]

Byen. BYEN WANG, eyelid.

Byero. To claim, to claim hide or skin of animal killed at hunt, to select a particular opponent from the enemy.

Byeru. Placenta (of animals).

C

-Cha. That. DANOCHA, that man; LOKACHA, on that side; KACHA, there.

Chabichabi. A pot for storing beer.

Chak. Milk. CHAK ALEPA, fresh milk; CHETO, curdled milk.

Chako. To call by name, to name.

Chalo. To be like, to resemble. GIN MUCHALO MAN, a thing like this.

Cham. Pl. CHEM. Food. WANG CHAM, combination of clans which feast together, dining club. [CHAMO.]

Chamno. = CHAMO, *q.v.*

Chamo. To eat. CHAMO BANJA, to borrow; NWANG OCHAMO LIMNA, he ate my property, i.e. misappropriated it; CHAMO LOBO, to eat the country, i.e. to conquer or administer; CHAMO KER, to rule; TÔ OCHAMO, death eats up (of a slow, wasting disease); OYO OCHAMO, PINY OCHAMO, = to die. Subjunctive, ACHAM or ACHEM.

Chan. To be poor.

Chan. Poverty, trouble, distress, helplessness. [CHAN.]

Chango. To heal. Pass. CHANG, to be healed, to recover.

Chāno. To persecute. TO POD' OCHANO LOCHA, he is at the point of death.

Chan'o. To pile up, heap one on another.

Chanyo. To hit, knock, hammer.

Chapo. To serve. DANO MABEDO BOTE MACHAPO AKINO EN, a man who lives with him and serves him.

Chaporo. To engage oneself to, to be servant to.

Char. To be depraved, dissolute, vagabond, wanton.

Chareng. = CHWAR, husband. A term of affection only used by the wife.

Charo. Depravity, worthlessness, wantonness. [CHAR.]

Charo. To lighten, to dazzle. DWE OCHARO PINY, the moon lights the earth; CHENG OCHARO WANGWA, the sun dazzles our eyes.

Chato. To trade with, to hawk for sale or barter. CHATO NYOM, to hawk a marriage, i.e. to look for a suitable husband for one's daughter or sister.

Chato. To be old, feeble with years, to be stiff-jointed, to improve in health after illness. IYE ODYEBO WOK, AMAN OCHATO, he was suffering severely from dysentery, but is now recovering (lit. his sickness is now growing feeble);
CHENG OCHATO, the sun is setting.

Chayo. To despise, insult.

Cheko. To ripen, to bring to maturity. CHENG MACHEKO KAL, it is the sun which ripens the millet. Pass. CHEK, to be ripe, to be fully cooked, to be ready.

Cheko. CHEKO KOP, to chat, to converse lightly or amusingly; CHEKO WER, to compose a song, to sing the solo part.

Chem. Pl. of CHAM, *q.v.*

Chen. Behind, back, afterwards. DOK CHEN, go back; CHEN MERE, afterwards.

Cheng. Sun, day. WOKCHENG, sunrise; POTCHENG, sunset; CHENG OGURE, the sun is stationary (i.e. midday); CHENG TYE KWEN? Where is the sun, i.e. what time is it? CHENG ADI? How many days? CHENG OCHATO, the sun is setting; CHENG LYET, the sun is hot, i.e. from 9 a.m.; CHENG OTEGO, the sun is full grown, i.e. midday; CHENG DOK AYOTE, 3 p.m.; ARANG CHENG, 6 p.m.; CHENG OPEDO WANGE, 6 p.m.; CHENG OYUTO, 6.30 p.m.

Chep. To shuffle the feet in walking, to trot with a shuffling gait. CHECHEP ACHECHEPA, to slouch.

Chero. Imported salt. [Lunyoro, NSERO.]

Chero. To revive from a trance. Pass. CHERE, to recover from trance.

Chet. Fæces, ordure. CHET ETOKE, the dry residue of ETOKE after it has been pounded and squeezed; CHET LELA, slag.

Cheto. Curdled milk.

Chi. Wife. CHI PA NGADI, wife of so-and-so; CHI-LIM, property-wife, i.e. the wife whom one marries with the dowry paid to marry one's sister; CHI PAPO, stepmother; CHI OMIN PAPO, father's brother's wife; CHI NERO, mother's brother's wife; CHI-WOT, son's wife; CHI OMIN, brother's wife.

Chibo. To put down, hand over property formally to another.

Chibwô. Lion. (A Jopaluo word rarely used. Cf. Acholi, LABWOR.)

Chido. To stain.

Chido. CHIDO WANG, to stare at fixedly.

Chid'o. To scrape, wipe. CHID NINO I KIDI, wipe the semsem off the grind-stone.

Chid'o. To shave the head after the fashion known as ATIRA.

Chiego. To shut, stop up. CHIEGO OT, to shut the door.

Chieo. Boundary.

Chiero. To forbid, prevent. ACHIERE KODE, I forbade him from it, i.e. I refused it him.

Chiewo. = CHOO. Pass. CHIEWE. (Rarely heard save on the Akum border.)

Chik. Snare. [CHIKO.]

Chik. Command, order, instruction. [CHIKO.]

Chikichikiju. Dab-chick.

Chiko. To command, instruct, bid farewell. CHIKO IT, to listen attentively; DONG CHIKI, farewell. Midd. CHIKERE, to agree, to arrange terms of bargain or contract.

Chiko. To snare, set a snare. CHIKO BO, to set up hunting-nets; CHIKO RECH, to trap fish.

Chik'o. To press down, pack tightly (in a bag).

Chil'i. Iron wire.

Chilim. "Wife-dowry." A marries B's daughter for three head of cattle. With these B marries, but B's daughter leaves A, and B may then replace her with his wife, who is A's CHILIM, wife of the dowry.

Chilo. To throw, throw at.

Chilo. Dirt of body.

Chimo. To point at.

China. A tree from which the ABELA of a shield is made.

Ching. Hand. NGUT CHING, wrist; NYAKO CHING, finger; ANYIRA CHING, fingers; CHINGA BIT, my hand is sharp, i.e. I am a sure throw; CHING LYECH, trunk of elephant.

Chino. To tell fables, to speak in proverbs.

Chi'no. To cut with a knife, to slash.

Chiny. Entrails. CHINY AKOROKORO, snail.

Chip. Apron worn by women, made of cotton threads.

Chiro. To put in a row, to arrange. [Ateso, ASIRAKINI.]

Chiro. To variegate, dapple, brand.

Chiti. Perhaps, about. KANY KAPE CHITI, about six.

Chito. To go. DAKO OBECHITO, the woman is menstruating.

Chiyo. = CHI'NO, *q.v.*

Chô. = CHIEO, boundary. WANG CHÔ, boundary line.

Chô. Pl. of DACHÔ, *q.v.*

Chŏbo. To spear, impale, stab. BADA OCHOBA ACHOBA, my arm is stabbing me, i.e. it is throbbing; CHŎBO UM, to flick the nose by way of insult. Metaph. CHŎBO NGETE, to spear to the side, i.e. to shuffle in one's statement, to lie, to prevaricate. Midd. CHŎBERE. GICHŎBERE KENGI, WAN MAM IYE, they speared each other without our intervention.

Chōbo. To arrive.
Chochol. A marsh grass.
Chŏdo. To flirt with, to court.
Chōdo. To break, snap, sunder. WINYO OCHŌDO TOL, the bird escapes the snare: OCHODO DYERE, he broke off his friendship. Pass. CHOT, to be broken, severed. WAR OCHOT, the sandal-strap is broken.
Chōg. Pl. of CHWARO. Husband. JO PA CHOG, husband's family.
Choga. Castor oil tree.
Chōgo. Bone.
Choich. Sowing of seed. [CHOYO.]
Choichodo. Puff-adder.
Chok. Near, almost.
Chōk. To be finished, to come to an end. KOT OCHŌK, the rain is over. TERE LE POD OBINO? MAM, OCHOK, Are the animals still coming? No, they are finished.
Chŏko. To libel, malign. CHŎKO DOK, to give evidence against, to conspire in calumniating.
Chôko. To gather together, assemble. Midd. CHÔKERE, to be gathered together, to assemble.
Chol. To be dark, dark-coloured, black, to be overgrown. PINY OCHOL, the earth is black, i.e. night has set in; YO OCHOL, the road is overgrown.
Cholo. To strain at stool. CHOLO DAKO, to assist a woman at childbirth, to cause to "bear down."
Chôm'o. To implant, infix, to haft an axe or knife, to shaft a spear. CHÔM'O LUM I POTO, to plant grass in a garden (a ceremonial scapegoat).
Chon. Formerly, long ago, already.
Chōn'e. To sit meditating, as if in distress. [? CHUNO.]
Chong. Knee. GOYO CHONG, RUMO CHONG, to kneel.
Chô'no. = CHOYO, *q.v.*
Chôo. To arouse, awaken. Pass. CHÔ, to wake up.
Chor. = ACHUR, hawk.
Chor. Scum or slime on water.
Choro. Game of "BAO."
Choro. To glaze, to afflict with a rash, to suffuse. EKODO OYEL'O NGADI, MAM ORWOCHORO KUME DUCHU, small-pox has attacked so-and-so, but has not yet spread over his whole body. Pass. CHOR. WANG OCHOR ACHORA, to suffer from glaucoma, to be glazed (of eyes), to be glazed (as of metal or glass which has been breathed upon), to break into a rash or eruption.
Chôro. To push, shove.
Chŏt. Sexual intercourse, flirtation. [CHŎDO.]
Chōto. Mud.
Chōto. To make sticky, adhesive. Pass. CHŌT, to be sticky, glutinous, to adhere.
Chōto. To dig (potatoes).
Chotok. = CHUTOK, *q.v.*
Choyo. To throw, scatter, to sow seed.
Chuboro. = CHUPO, *q.v.*
Chuchuto. Quickly.
Chudo. To cause to protrude or project. CHUDO DOK, to pout, to point with the lips; CHUDO WANG, to stare.
Chudo. To harpoon, to stab downwards with spear or harpoon, to guess. CHUDO ATA, to stab at random.
Chug'o. Pl. CHUG'IN. A small ant.
Chuk. Charred wood, ember. Slang phrase: CHUK MACH = MĀN, testicles.
Chuk'o. To confuse, to make to hesitate, to bewilder. Midd. CHUKERE, to be in two minds, undecided, to hesitate, to waver.
Chul. Penis. In conjuction with the possessive suffix the L disappears, e.g. CHUL-NA becomes CHUNA.
Chula. Island, patch of grass ringed off to be burnt separately.
Chulo. To close, stop up, pay a debt. CHULO BANJA, to pay a debt; CHULO LUK, to pay compensation for fornication. Pass. CHUL'E, to be stopped, to be closed.
Chumo. To stab. Midd. CHUMERE, to be within striking distance. [Cf. CHÔM'O.]
Chung. Chaff of grain.
Chungo. To cause to stand, to set in position. Pass. CHUNG, to stand, stand up, stand still, to go surety for; CHUNG ALIRO, to come to a sudden stop, to stand still.
Chuno. To twist, to curve artificially. CHUNO TUNG DYANG, to shape the horns of cattle; NGAT MABEDO ME CHUNO TWON, one who sits with his head on his arms which are clasped round his knees (like a DYANG ACHUNA).
Chupo. To prompt, advise, instigate secretly.
Churo. To push to one side. ETOCHURE TUNG AMAN, and he pushed him aside. Pass. CHURE, to be pushed aside. KOT MAN OBECHURE KUCHA, this rain is being driven there by the wind. [Variant of CHÔRO.]
Chŭro. To warn.
Chūro. To sigh, groan.
Churuchuru. Sandfly.

Chuto. To summon to one's aid, to cause to come to one's assistance, to send help. Pass. CHUT, to go to help, to reinforce.
Chut'o. To eat sparingly where there is only a little food.
Chutok. Quickly.
Chwa. = CHWAO, *q.v.*
Chwain. Formerly. Used with the aorist tense to indicate past time. GIN MA CHWAIN LONI OWILO, what this man bought.
Chwak. CHWAK TWANG, sharp "needles" of cat-fish.
Chwalo. To push, propel.
Chwang. To be acid.
Chwa'no. = CHWAYO, *q.v.*
Chwanyo. To call, summon.
Chwao. Tamarind.
Chwar. = CHWARO, husband.
Chwar. Pl. CHWARI. Human tick.
Chwardwe. "Husband of the Moon," Mars.
Chwaro. Pl. CHŌG. Husband.
Chwayo. To send on an errand, to commission. Imperative, CHWAYI or CHWANY.
Chwĕ. To be fat.
Chwē. To rain. KOT OCHWĒ, it is raining; NGWEN OCHWĒ, termites are issuing from the ground.
Chwero. To make, to leak, to ooze, to squirt. Pass. CHWER, to leak. CHWINYA CHWER, my heart leaks, i.e. I am sorrowful.
Chwero. To polish. CHWERO LAK, to scrape teeth with knife to remove decay.
Chwer'o. To shave down, to whittle.
Chweyo. To plait, mould.
Chwich. Bleeding. [CHWINO.]
Chwilo. To reconcile, forbid.
Chwino. To bleed (surgically).
Chwiny. Heart. CHWINYA YOM, my heart is soft, i.e. I am glad; CHWINYA CHWER, my heart leaks, i.e. I am sorrowful; CHWINYA WANG, my heart burns, i.e. I am very distressed; CHWINYA TUM, my heart is finished, i.e. I have fainted; CHWINYA OMORE, my heart bubbles, i.e. I pant for breath; CHWINYA OKWERO (ODAGI), my heart refuses, i.e. I refuse; CHWINYA KECH, my heart is bitter, i.e. I am angry, resentful; CHWINYA OMITO (OPWOYO), my heart desires (accepts), i.e. I want; CHWINYA OPOTO, my heart falls, i.e. I faint, lose hope; KAYO CHWINY, to bite one's heart, i.e. to be brave; ÔM'O CHWINY, to fetch one's heart, i.e. to pluck up courage, to be enthusiastic;
Chwiny—*continued*
CHWINYA OGOYA, my heart hits me, i.e. I am discontented; CHWINYA TEK, my heart is strong, i.e. I am brave; CHWINYA LYET, my heart is hot, i.e. I am mean; RIBO CHWINY, to mingle hearts, i.e. to converse intimately.
Chwinyo. To set alight, to write.
Chwir. Rainy season.
Chwiri. Water-rat.
Chwŏbo. = CHŎBO, to spear.
Chwoin. Promontory, isthmus.
Chwok. = CHOK, *q.v.*
Chwôno. = CHWOYO, *q.v.*
Chwon'o. To prompt.
Chwoyo. = CHOYO, *q.v.*
Chwoyo. = CHWAYO, *q.v.* Imperative, CHWÔ.
Chyege. Near, almost.
Chyek. Wife.
Chyeko. To shorten. Midd. CHYEGERE, to become short, diminish. Pass. CHYEK, to be short.
Chyelo. To throw at, to hit a mark. [Variant of CHILO.]
Chyel'o. To roast nuts and semsem.
Chyen. Ghost.
Chyeno. To haunt.
Chyero. Iritis. [ACHYER.]

D

Da-. Prefix to nouns denoting person. [DANO.]
Da. = DANG, also, then. DA . . . DA . . . both . . . and . . .
Dabolkot. Rain-maker. [DANO, BOLO, KOT.]
Dacho. To spatter. ODACHO CHOTO I WIYE, he spattered mud on his head.
Dachô. Pl. CHÔ. Male.
Dachwech. Potter.
Dachyen. = CHYEN, ghost.
Dado. To keep open. DADO DOK, to gape. Pass. DAD'E, to be open.
Dagi. White clay used in pottery.
Dagi. To refuse, deny.
Dago. Migration. [DAK.]
Dagoro. Invalid, cripple. [GORO.]
Dajwok. Pl. JUJWOGI. Wizard. [JWOK.]
Dak. To migrate, move house.
Dako. MON (pl. of MIN, supplies the plural). Female, married woman, wife.
Dakol. Pl. JUKOL. Captive, prisoner. [KOL.]
Dakōlo. Curmudgeon, obstinate, bad-tempered man. [KŌLO.]
Dakony. Helper, assistant. DAKONY KOP, witness. [KONYO.]
Dakwal. Thief. [KWALO.]

Dakwang. Ferryman, paddler. [KWANGO.]
Dakwat. Herdsman. [KWAYO.]
Dakwŏ. Pl. JUKWŏ. Thief. [KWŏ.]
Dakwor. Pl. JUKWOR. Enemy. [KWOR.]
Dalim. Rich man. [LIM.]
Dalwor. Pl. JULWOR. Coward. [LWORO.]
Damôkor. Slang term = wife.
Damwiru. Slave, peasant. [Acholi, MERU = foreigner. Kihaya, OMUIRO, slave.]
Dang. Particle of emphasis. AMITI MIYA GIN MABER DANG MA ANYOM KEDE DAKO, I want you to give me something—something good, mind you—with which I may marry a wife.
Dang. To cry out in pain or fear, to be in confusion.
Dano. Man, person.
Danyap. Idler. [NYAP.]
Danyo. To bend, to curve. DANY NGONYI BALA IBEDO I KOM, bend your buttocks as if to sit in a chair.
Dapo. To patch (of a spear), to pierce and pass just under the skin without entering the flesh, to graze.
Daro. To bring to an end, finish, complete. TIN NINDI ADI KUN GIDARO KWERO? How many days is it since they finished refusing (i.e. agreed)? Pass. DAR, to end, to stop.
Daro. To separate.
Dar'o. To await, wait for.
Daryeb. Cover of granary. [RYEBO.]
Datet. Metal-worker, smith. DATET TONG, spearsmith; DATET PALA, cutler. [TETO.]
Datô. Invalid, sick man. [TWô.]
Datyet. Seer, soothsayer. [TYETO.]
Dau. To quarrel.
Daum. Cover of granary or pot. [UM'O.]
Dawor. Pl. JUWOR. Glutton. [WOR.]
Dedo. To persist. DEDO WANG, to look fixedly at, to be angry with, to have a grievance against; IDEDO WANGI KUMA PI NGO? Why are you staring at me? DEDO KOP, to importune; ODEDOWA TICH, he keeps worrying us with work; DEDO MONY, to keep waging war.
Dek. Relish, seasoning, vegetables.
Dekdek. Bait for fishing.
Del. Skin, leather belt, whip.
Dengo. To part, to separate, to strain, pass through a sieve. DENGO TE OT, to clear grass near house; DENGO ARUM, to ring off a hunting area to break the fire; DENGO WICH, to dress hair; DENGO PEL, to rub the umbilical cord of a baby with feather to cause it to fall off.
Deng'o. To cause to swell out. DENG'O ICH, to be portly. Pass. DENG, to be swollen. LOCHA NGUTE DENG TWATWAL, that man is very thick-necked.
Depo. To glean, to select.
Dero. Pl. DERANG. Granary.
Det. To spread, become chronic (of disease), to be ulcerated.
Deyo. To throttle, strangle, hang. Midd. DEYERE, to hang oneself, to commit suicide (whatever the means). Pass. DEYE, to be hanged.
Dikdik. Daily, often, always. [DIKI.]
Dikeri. To pause. KWONG DIKERI, wait a little.
Diki. To-morrow. DIKI MACHA, day after to-morrow.
Dilo. To get up very early, awake at daybreak, to set out on a journey at dawn.
Dilo. To pack, to press down.
Dingno. = DING'O, *q.v.*
Ding'o. To make narrow. Pass. DING, to be narrow.
Dino. To crush, squeeze, press, geld, castrate. DINO DOK, to squeeze the mouth, i.e. to be silent or to impose silence; DINO WANG, to wink; DINO LUM, to press down grass in order to clear a path.
Dipo. Threshold. CHENG TYE I DIPO, the sun is in the threshold, i.e. it is straight above, it is midday. [Cf. Acholi, DI, clean stamped ground; DIPU, dancing ground; DI OT, floor of house.]
Dipo. To flog, to thrash with a thick stick. Contrast JUATO.
Diro. To push.
Dit. To be big, important.
Diyo. = DINO, *q.v.*
Do. Speech, language. DO NAM, Lunyoro; DO ACHOLI, the Acholi language. [DOK.]
Do. = DONG. Well then! Also used as an exclamation of sorrow.
Dô. Weeds. OWEKO POTO BUTO KI DO, he leaves his garden full of weeds. [DOYO.]
Dobo. Leprosy.
Dodo. = DOTO, *q.v.*
Dogaryô. Two-mouthed ceremonial pot. [DOK, ARYô.]
Dogola. Porch, doorway. ATEKEREWA ACHEL, ENTO DOGOLA OPOKOWA, we are of one clan, but of different maternal descent (i.e. step-relations). [DOK, GOLA.]
Doicho. To reverse, invert.
Dŏk. Mouth, lip, beak, language, spout, edge. DOK MACH, groin; DOK ATORO, xiphisternum; DOK KULU, bank of river; DOK NAM, lake shore.

Dok. To go back, return, repeat. IDOK KOKO, thou returned to lament, i.e. thou lamentest again.

Dok. Again. DOK KOBA, tell me again. TÔMON, DOK TÔMON, ten and again ten. [DOK.]

Dōk. Pl. of DYANG, *q.v.*

Dōkapwô. Pl. of DYANGAPWÔ, *q.v.*

Dŏkaryô. Slowworm. It is believed to have two heads, hence its name. [DOK, ARYÔ.]

Dokika. Inner doorway.

Doko. To become. AMUNGAMUNG OLOKERE, ODOKO NGU, Amungamung has been transformed and has become a wild beast.

Dokoro. To cross (river).

Dōlo. *Colobus guereza.*

Dôlo. To fold. Pass. DOL'E, to be folded, coiled (as a snake).

Dong. To be left, to remain over or behind. ODONG TUNGE, he has been left at home. ODONG ADI? How many remain over? Also used adverbially as a particle of finality. ATYEKO DONG, I have quite finished; DONG BEDI, well good-bye.

Donge. Exceedingly. [DONG'O.]

Dongo. To hit with the closed fist, to box.

Dongo. Maturity. [DONG'O.]

Dong'o. To be old, full-grown, to become large, to grow.

Donyo. To go in or out. CHENG ODONYO OKO, the sun has risen.

Dony'o. To admit, to let in or out. GIBEDONY'O DYEGI I OT, they are letting the goats into the house.

Dopo. To repeat, to throw the second or third spear, to finish off man or animal. DOPO AMURU, to repeat the haunch, i.e. to throw the second spear at animal, thus being entitled to its haunch; DOPO OGURU, to throw the third spear, thus being entitled to the backbone; DOPO KOP ADOPA, to go over the same story again and again.

Doro. To throw spear under the shield, as contrasted with CHILO and BAYO, which are used to describe throwing over the shield.

Doto. To libel, malign.

Dŏto. To give suck, to suckle. Pass. DŎT, to suck.

Dot'o. To loosen. Pass. DOT'E, to be loose. TONG ODOT'E, the spear shaft is loose.

Doyo. To weed.

Dubo. To spoil, destroy. Midd. DUBERE, to be spoiled, ruined.

Duchu. Pl. DUCH. All, every. PINY DUCHU, everywhere.

Dug'o. To raise a weal.

Dul. Pl. DULI. Log, wooden pillow.

Dula. = DERO, granary.

Dumo. To speak a foreign language, to interpret.

Dunge. = DONG'O, to increase.

Dunyo. To stir up dust, disturb. Pass. DUNY, to be stirred up.

Dupo. To make a circuit, go round in a detour, to follow the course of a river or road.

Duro. To crowd, fill, gather in a heap. Pass. DURE, to be numerous, heaped, crowded. TIM ODURE AMOCHING KEKEN, the bush is full of rhinoceros only.

Duru. To be pregnant (of animals).

Duru. Cry of alarm, accusation. GOYO DURU, to accuse; KOKO DURU, to raise cry of alarm; IGOYO DURU NI LONI? Do you accuse this man? [Cf. Lunyoro, NDURU.]

Dut'o. To present, award.

Dwalo. To entangle. DWALO KOP, to confuse the issues. Pass. DWALE, to be entangled. TOL ODWALE, the string is entangled.

Dwan. Larynx, voice.

Dwanyo. To recant, deny. GIDWANYO ME AKA, they deny on purpose.

Dwar. Hunt. [DWARO.]

Dwaro. To hunt, to stalk, to desire, want.

Dwe. Pl. DWETI. Moon, month. DWE TYE I DYE KAL, the moon is in the courtyard, i.e. it is in its first quarter; DWE OMONYO OGWAL, the moon has swallowed the frog, i.e. it is full moon; DWE OGERO ODE, the moon is building its house, i.e. has a halo or corona; DWE OPOR, it is new moon.

Dweko. To mediate, separate fighters, quiet a quarrel.

Dweti. Pl. of DWE, *q.v.*

Dwir. To be swift, to excel in swiftness. Hence (1) to be a good fighter; (2) a good dancer; (3) a coward; (4) a good cultivator.

Dwōgo. To come back.

Dwŏg'o. = DWOKO, to return, bring back.

Dwŏkno. = DWŎKO, *q.v.*

Dwŏko. To bring back, to send back. DWÔKO KOP, to answer.

Dwok'o. To rub pounded semsem on grindstone.

Dwol. Flock of sheep or goats.

Dwolo. Unmelted fat of animals.

Dwong. To be big.

Dwongno. To point at or to hit with bent finger (by way of insult).

Dwongo. To frighten without cause, to deceive.
Dwongo. Large basket.
Dwôno. To be dry. DYANG GIDWÔNO DUCH, all the cows are dry of milk; KULU ODWÔNO, the river has dried up.
Dworo. To favour, be partial to.
Dwoyo. To twist awry, lop-sided. Pass. DWOYE, to be awry.
Dyako. To moisten, to wet. Pass. DYAK, to be wet, damp, saturated.
Dyang. Pl. DOK. Cattle. MIN DYANG, cow; ROYA DYANG, heifer; TWON DYANG, bull; ADONGE DYANG, AROYE DYANG, ox; MEGE DOK, cows; DOK AMON, cows and heifers; NYAKO ODONYO DYANGNA, the girl entered my cattle, i.e. came to be my wife without being asked; DYANG AMOJANIK, large bull; MEREKWA, bull.
Dyangapwô. Pl. DOKAPWÔ. "Cattle of hares"—small red centipedes which are always found together in large numbers.
Dye. Middle. DYECHENG, daytime; I DYE, in the middle of, between; I DYERE, in its middle, i.e. in the middle; KETI I DYE OT KI DERO, put it between the house and the granary.
Dyebo. To have diarrhœa. DYEBO REMO, to have dysentery.
Dyecheng. Day, daytime. [DYE, CHENG.]
Dyegi. Pl. of DYEL, *q.v.*
Dyekal. Courtyard.
Dyel. Pl. DYEGI or DYEGE. Goat. NYWOK DYEL, he-goat; AWOBE DYEL, young he-goat; MIN DYEL, she-goat; AKALI DYEL, BWONG DYEL, young she-goat; ADONGE DYEL, OROYE DYEL, gelded goat; ATIN DYEL, kid.
Dyelo. To sling, to carry slung on pole or in hammock.
Dyenyo. To twist, to beat down grass. Pass. DYENY, to be curved, twisted.
Dyero. Friend, friendship.
Dyewor. Night.
Dyibo. DYIBO NGWECH, to run swiftly (of several people running swiftly), to shake out into a line.

E

E-. Third person singular pronominal prefix to verbs. He, she, it.
-E. Pronominal suffix to verbs. Him, her, it.
-E. Possessive suffix. His, her, its.
Ee. Ah!
E-e. Exclamation of assent.
E'e. Exclamation of sorrow.
Ebelebele. Utterly.
Ebeneg. Young ambatch tree.
Ebibiny. An odorous wild plant.
Ebitak. Congenital idiot.
Ebol. Bursitis.
Ebu. Fig.
Ebu. = ODYEK, hyæna. Only used in rain songs.
Ebubuch. A species of erythrina.
Ebuge. Ulcer, carbuncle.
Ebur. Pl. EBURANG. Milk-pail.
Eburka. A species of randia with a poisonous, white sap, whose leaves are decocted and applied to cure yaws.
Ebwuroko. Orchis, whose root is put into milk in order to curdle it.
Ebyong. = KWORO, acacia. Only used in rain songs.
Echakan. Civet cat.
Echalut. Harpoon, fishing-spear.
Echaujok. Duodenum.
Echelu. = ECHALUT, *q.v.*
Echilech. Fishing-ground.
Echima. Dappled black and white (of cattle).
Echina. Funeral feast.
Echipet. Spear-butt.
Echoich. War-whistle.
Echoich. Pl. ECHOICHAG. Porcupine. YER ECHOICH, porcupine quills.
Echuru. = ECHURUCH, *q.v.*
Echuru. ECHURU BUK, airpipe leading from bellows to furnace of smithy.
Echuruch. A flowering plant, a decoction of whose root is drunk as a cure for hydrocele.
Echuruk. Ball of feathers, and hair affixed to the ABELA of a shield, and sometimes worn on the head.
Echurung. Fish-basket.
Edago. Pool, swampy soil.
Edau. Palate of mouth.
Edèke. Dysentery, plague, rinderpest, chicken cholera.
Ediding. East Coast fever.
Ediki. Leech.
Edoket. Ford. [DOKORO.]
Edomo. Small calabash flask for unguents.
Edug'u. = ODUG'O, *q.v.*
Egwapet. Eland.
Egwel. Large (of animals only). EGWEL KUL, large wart-hog, a hunting nickname for lion.
Egwili. Noose, snare.
Ejikijikit. Drizzle.
Ekeokeo. Aloe.
Ekesan. ? Young man. *Vide* rain songs.
Ekim. Species of field-rat.
Ekŏdo. Smallpox.
Ekôkit. Ransom, redemption. [KÔKO.]

Ekokom. Pl. EKOKOME. Vulture.
Ekokowach. OGWANG EKOKOWACH, white-tailed merekat.
Ekol. Dappled black and white.
Ekore. Pl. EKORI. Giraffe.
Ekore. Datura.
Ekoto. Young, unripe sorghum.
Ekuna. Early morning mist. PINY OKETO EKUNA, it is hazy.
Ekwang. April.
Ekwanga. Thistle.
Ekwaro. = KWORO, serval.
Ekwe. Pl. EKWEANG. Jackal.
Ekwikwin. = EKWINKWIN, *q.v.*
Ekwinkwin. Epilepsy, possession.
Eladu. Papyrus.
Elagi. Kind of bracelet.
Elago. Rope of plaited grass.
Elau. A wild herb used as a vegetable.
Ele. A clan ceremony of initiation. [LEYO.]
Elech. Squirrel.
Elemu. Indigestion.
Elemu. A fruit-tree, probably of the Irvingia species.
Elili. Pl. ELILANG. Otter.
Elinga. Russet and cream, reddish and white, white with black patches (of cattle and goats).
Elinga. Fishing-basket.
El'o. To open, reveal, uncover. EL'O WI TUA, to open the top of a food store; EL'O KOP, to reveal one's business.
Elokit. Hip, hip-joint.
Eloto. Pl. ELOTI. Drumstick.
Elwa. *Cholorophora excelsa*, Bath.
Elyôni. Plant with a large tuberous root, eaten in time of famine. A different species is used as a stimulant and eaten by lions for the same reason before going hunting.
Ēm. Muscle at back of thigh, thigh.
Emany. Liver.
Ememek. Pangolin.
Emeo. Mongoose.
Emir. Hippopotamus.
Emuk. A tree from which small charms are cut.
Emunyuru. KWORO EMUNYURU, OGWANG EMUNYURU. Only used in rain songs.
En. He, she, it, him, her.
Enanga. Fig.
Ene. He is. AN ENE, I am he.
Engato. Pl. ENGATANG. Lion. [Ateso, ENGATUNY.]
Engur. Species of field-rat.
Eno. Pl. ENI. This (of person).
Ento. But.
Enyamit. Generic term for male relations on brother's side, i.e. nephews.
Enyang. = ANYANG, cream-coloured.
Eper. Species of field-rat.
Epet. A clan ceremony of initiation.
Epet. Wild hunting-dog.
Epetpet. Shoulder-blade.
Epiyu. Gall-bladder.
Epobo. Pl. EPOBAN. Elder-tree.
Epōn. Temperament, nature, characteristic.
Epunka. Duodenum.
Eputok. Mahogany.
Eputol. = EPUTOK, *q.v.*
Erap. Ibis.
-'Ere. His, her, its.
Eremit. A bragging invocation used by one who has warded a spear with his shield. Should one start a quarrel, the other may ask in a deprecating way, "LONI, IN IPYEM KEDA PI NGO? EREMITA TYE ADI?"—"You then, why do you vie with me? How many EREMITS have I?"—i.e. "How often have you even hit my shield?"
Erenga. Small hunting area. DWAR ME ERENGA, a type of hunting in which game is driven by a circle of hunters.
Ererek. Strike.
-Eri. Thy.
Eriata. Kind of grass.
Erisa. = KWAICH, leopard. Only used in rain songs.
Ero. To undertake, to do an appointed task. AN AWOTO ERO TICH KUCHA, I am going to undertake the work there.
Er'o. To provoke, challenge.
Eruru. Aphis.
Eryamita. ERYAMITA KI JIGIJIGI. ? Driving and confused drizzle. *Vide* rain ceremonies. [? RYAM'O.]
Eryeng. = KUL, wart-hog. Only in rain songs.
Eryonget. Company. IBINO ERYONGET ADI? How many companies strong are you?
Etaktak. Species of termite.
Etau. Heart (of animals).
Etek. Tree, probably *Khaya anthotheca*.
Etinyu. Jaw-bone.
Etiron. With horn at charge (of rhinoceros). [TIR.]
Etit. Spleen.
Etiti. Mahogany.
Etodu. Red dragon-fly.
Etōgo. A clan festival. [? TOK.]
Etok. = KITOK, a form of head-dress.
Etoke. = TOKE, *q.v.*
Etoktok. Woodpecker.
Etŏku. Goundou, eczema, sarcoma, cancer.
Etŏl. Pl. ETŎLI. Fibrous tumour on hip.

Etômoro. Sausage insect.
Etop. Venus. (Used by the Jo Aber and Jo Moita sections of the tribe.)
Etudo. = ETUDOK, duck.
Etudok. Duck.
Etukiri. Owl.
Etŭku. Zebra.
Etūku. Goose.
Etulemany. Anthrax.
Etulok. Marabout.
Etwal. Neck of spear.
Etwiyu. A plant from which salt is obtained.
Euku. Lung.
Euna. Spear-butt.
Ewer. Vegetable dish, platter, bailer for canoe. [WERO.]
Ewor. = AWORON, a quinquennial festival. [WORO.]
E'yo. Yes.

G

Gad'o. To eat excessively, to gourmandize.
Gǎgi. Pl. GÀ'GI. Cowry.
Gako. To divert, turn aside, to pass by the side. GAKO DYANG I YO, to drive cattle off the road; KOP OGAKO ITA, the affair passed my ear, i.e. I did not hear of it; IGAKO KOPNA, you avoid my business. Pass. GAK, to turn aside, to diverge, to stop, avoid, to go to stool.
Galo. To cause to delay, to pass the time, to occupy. GIGALO WANGGI, they occupy their eyes, i.e. they are just whiling the time away; AN ABEDO KENA, NGAT MAGALO KEDE WANGA MAM, I am alone with no one to keep me company; YATNI ATORO ME GALO KEDE CHINGA, I break off this stick to occupy my hands. Pass. GAL, to delay, procrastinate.
Galo. To outnumber. JONI GIGALO AGALA AN; KONO NGAT ACHEL, KONO MAM OLOYA, these men outnumbered me; had I only one opponent, he would not have got the better of me.
Gamo. To receive, accept; to acknowledge salutation; to join in the refrain of a song. GAMO DOK, to listen, to reply.
Gang. Village. Only used in the phrase WOTO I NGE GANG, to go to the back of the village, i.e. to go to stool.
Garagara. Chameleon.
Gato. To consecrate, to bless.
Gayo. GAYO WANG, to have or to use the evil eye, to "overlook."
Ge. Pebble.
Gedo. = GÊRO, to build.
Gelo. To separate from a herd, hence to pay (but not of a debt, which is CHULO). GELO DANO MATO, to pay the blood penalty.
Gem. To protrude. KAL OPONG ILECH AKINO, GIUM OGEM MALO, the millet is full to overflowing, the lid of the granary protrudes above.
Geng. Very virulent type of rinderpest.
Gengo. To ward off, prevent, forbid. GENGO WANG, to shade the eyes. Midd. GENGERE, to defend oneself.
Geno. To be confident, trust in, hope.
Geo. To begin, to be the first. OGEO CHOBA, he was the first to spear me. (Only used by Jo Burutok under Akum influence.)
Ger. To be fierce, wild.
Gĕro. To cicatrize the shoulder after killing an enemy.
Gēro. To dig lightly on the surface, to clear a road.
Gêro. To build. GÊRO NYÔM, to build a marriage, i.e. to build one's wife's house, to marry; GÊRO NINO, to stack semsem for drying.
Gi-. Pronominal prefix to verb, third person plural. GI-BINO, they come.
-Gi. Pronominal suffix to verb. Them. LWONGGI, call them.
-Gi. Possessive suffix. Their. DOK-GI, their cattle.
Gi. On the part of. Often joined with the possessive suffix: GIRA, for my part; GIGI, for their part; ADAGI GIRA, I refuse for my part; DYANG TYE KUNO GIRE, the cow—oh, the cow is over there.
Gicha. Charm, amulet.
Gicham. Food. [GIN, CHAMO.]
Gido. A lake grass.
Gid'o. To tickle.
Gikidi. Cellulitis.
Giko. To bring to an end. Pass. GIK, to end, stop, cease.
Gin. Thing. GIN MERE, his thing, contracts to GIRE. KIT GIN NGO? What kind of thing? GIN ARUKA, things to wear.
Gin. They, them.
Gin. And. ANYINGE GIN ATALA, Anyinge and Atala.
Gin'oro. Something, anything. [GIN, MORO.]
Gipo. To graze, cutting the skin.
Gire. = GIN MERE, his thing.
Giro. To sneeze.
Giro. To stir food, to mash.

Gito. To put aside. (? = GWETO.) GIT ACHEL CHA, KEL ARYO, put that one aside and bring the other two.

Gium. Cover. [GIN, UM'O.]

Gŏbo. To scrape. GŎBO LOBO, to scrape off mud.

Gōbo. To deceive, lie. [Acholi, GOBA, lying, deceitful.]

Gôga. Field granary.

Gogot. = AGOGOT, *q.v.*

Goin. OT GOIN, a shed, temporary building, kitchen.

Gok. Xiphisternum.

Gōk. = GWOK, shoulder.

Gol. To be a simpleton.

Gola. Porch.

Golo. To level, to smooth surface of ground.

Gōlo. To dig a hole, to disinter, to gather ground-nuts.

Gôlo. Bent needle—the thorn of *Acacia campylacantha*—used for cicatrization, fish-hook, gaff.

Gomo. To bend. Midd. GOMERE, to bend oneself, to be flexible, pliant. Pass. GOM or GOME, to be bent, crooked.

Gongo. To make a circuit. GONGO MOLA to coil a brass gorget round one's neck.

Gono. To make crooked. GONO PI, to make water crooked, i.e. to avoid water by taking a crooked course round it. Pass. GONE, to be crooked.

Gô'no. To beat, hit. GO'NO or KOKO DURU, to raise the cry of alarm, to accuse; GO'NO KAL, to thresh millet; GO'NO NYIG LWET, to snap the fingers; GO'NO BILO, to blow a whistle; GO'NO RUT, to bear twins.

Gonyo. To loosen, undo, set free. Pass. GONYE, to be free. Midd. GONYERE, to be secluded (of a woman at child-birth).

Gor. Water-lily.

Gor. Mongoose.

Goro. To be infirm, crippled.

Gor'o. To cicatrize.

Gŏt. Pl. GŌTE. Hill. ATIN GOT, stone.

Goyo. = GÔ'NO, to beat, hit. GOYO JIRA, to raise the cry of victory. Midd. GOYERE, to hit one another, to fight. IGOYERE KI YAT, ATOT IYI KI TONG? Did you fight with sticks or spears?

Gu. Also.

Gu. Laterite.

Gub'o. To taste.

Gudo. To strike.

Gulo. To bend, extrude. Pass. GUL, to be bent, be rounded. TONG OGUL AGULA, MAM OPELO, the spear bent and did not pass through; NYAKO PODI OGUL AGULA, the girl is still young, her breasts are rounding.

Gum. Luck, fortune. (Only used by the Jo Aber under Acholi influence.)

Gungo. To stoop, bow down, to receive a mate (of cattle). ROYA AROM' KAN OTWERO GUNGO TWON NEDI? How can a heifer of this size receive a bull?

Gŭro. A hollow nitch over the inner door of a house, in which the small pot of seasonings is kept.

Gŭro. To peg down, fasten. GURO ARIGA, to set up the hunting-nets for ARIGA; GURO DANO I OT, to confine a man to his house, cut off his retreat; AGURE I OTOGO KEDE DAKO, I caught him in the house with the woman; GURO LE, to capture an animal; GURO TONG, to stick spear in ground; PI OGURE, the water is standing; GURO LAU, to peg out a skin.

Gūro. To stir vegetables.

Gūr'o. To transfix. Pass. GŪR'E. CHENG OGŪR'E, the sun is stationary.

Gwala. Venus. (The word used by the Jo Kidi and Jo Burutok sections of the tribe.)

Gwanda. Cassava.

Gwaro. To rake, to clear away grass which has been dug up and left to dry, to scratch, to shave the head.

Gwayo. To scrape, to set on edge.

Gwe. Constipation.

Gwel. Anointing. [GWELO.]

Gwelo. To anoint; to nudge with finger.

Gweng. Pl. GWENGI. Rock, stone.

Gwēno. Pl. GWĔN. Fowl. TWON GWENO. cock; AWOBE GWENO, cockerel; MIN GWENO, hen; BWONG GWENO, pullet; ATIN GWENO, chicken; TONG GWENO, egg; AKUR, short-legged fowl; ATAPANA, half-bred fowl; OWIYO, fowl croup.

Gwen'o. To gnaw.

Gwenyo. To scratch. Midd. GWENYERE, to scratch oneself.

Gwenyu. Itch, goat and sheep scab. [GWENYO.]

Gwèto. To subtract, deduct, abstract, depose.

Gwét'o. To beckon, sign, nudge.

Gweyo. To kick.

Gwiyo. To bark.

Gwobere. To be coiled in a tree (of snakes).

Gwōk. Shoulder.

Gwōk. Pl. GWOGI. Dog. The rope used in the game TOTO OKOTO; slang term of affection for child.

Gwoko. To look after, beware of.

Gwong. War or hunting cry.

Gwongo. To invoke, cry one's war or hunting cry.

Gwul. Corner, angle, fork of tree.
Gyek. To hiccough.
Gyer. = JYER, *q.v.*

H

Ha. Exclamation used in ritual songs.
Hai. Exclamation used in ritual songs.

I

I. In. I NYIM, in front of; I DYE, in the middle of, between, among. [ICH.]
I-. Second person singular pronominal prefix to verbs. Thou. I-MITO, thou wantest.
-I. Pronominal suffix to verbs. Thee. AKOB-I, I tell thee.
-I. Possessive suffix. Thy. CWAR-I, thy husband.
Ibeleny. A red-wood tree, bearing an edible fruit.
Ich. Hypergastrium, belly, womb, pregnancy. TYE KI ICH, to be pregnant; ICH OPOTO, the belly falls, i.e. she has miscarried; DAKO OTO KI ICH, the woman died in childbirth; IYA OMITO, I want; IYA ODAGI, I refuse; IYA WANG, I am vexed; IYE ODWOGO, she has miscarried; LIM TYE IYE, dowry has been paid for her.
Ichim. Mimosa.
Ichina. Fable, proverb, riddle. [CHINO.]
Ichuring. Weaver-bird.
Ichwilit. Pl. ICHWILANG. Roan.
Ido. To be visible. YAT OIDO ADWONG CHA, that tree looms up large; PACHO MAIDO LOKA CHA, the village visible over on the other side.
Igi. = (i) ICH-GI, their stomachs. *Vide* ICH. (ii) I-GI, in them. *Vide* I.
Iit. Scorpion.
Ijumara. Nettle.
Ijut. Blow, stroke. [JWATO.]
Ikno. = IKO, *q.v.*
Iko. To arrange, settle, put in order. Midd. IKERE, to arrange oneself, to get better, to recover (from illness), to settle down, to take up a comfortable position.
Ik'o. To bury.
Ilech. Overflow, surplus.
Ilit. Acceptance of challenge to guess a riddle. *Vide* KOICH.
Imat. = KIMAT, *q.v.*
In. Thou, thee.
Ine. Thou art.
Inege. A plant used in the process of cupping.
Ip. Tail.
Ipwal. Large intestine.
Irerek. = EREREK, *q.v.*
Iro. = ITO, smoke.
Iro. To bewitch.
It. Ear. IT KWOT, points of shield. A favourite expression of abuse if a man does not listen when addressed—ITI ODING BALA TOL TOTI? Are your ears as narrow as your mother's vagina?
Itele. A kind of vetch, whose stem is used in basketry.
Itiling. Kingfisher.
Ito. Smoke.
Ìto. To climb down, descend.
Ít'o. To climb up, ascend. CHENG OIT'O AMAN, the sun is so high.
Itutu. = KITUTU, *q.v.*
Iwa. = (i) ICH-WA, our stomachs. *Vide* ICH. (ii) I-WA, in us. *Vide* I.
Iwu. = (i) ICH-WU, your stomachs. *Vide* ICH. (ii) I-WU, in you. *Vide* I.
Iya. = (i) ICH-A, my stomach. *Vide* ICH. (ii) I-A, in me. *Vide* I.
Iye. = (i) ICH-E, his stomach. *Vide* ICH. (ii) I-E, in him. *Vide* I.
Iyeye. *Agapornis*, love-bird.
Iyi. = (i) ICH-I, thy stomach. *Vide* ICH. (ii) I-I, in thee. *Vide* I.
I'yo. = E'YO, *q.v.*

J

Jago. Pl. JEGDI. Leader of a company or detachment; chief.
Jai. Hemp. [Luganda, ENJAI.]
Jakno. To tear off, jerk off, to break off the green branch of a tree.
Jak'o. = JAKNO, *q.v.*
Jal. Pl. JO, JI. Man. JALCHA, that man.
Jalo. To leave at or for, to resign to, to forsake. AN AJALONE TICH OTIYI GIRE KENE, I leave the work to him that he may do it by himself; OJALONI WOT, he let you go; WAJALO ONYANG OWOT KENE, we are leaving Onyang to go by himself.
Jamno. Property, things (plural only). ABUR JAMNO, property paid to marry a wife.
Jang. Branch of tree. [? JAKNO.]
Jangere. To sway, stagger, dance drunkenly.
Jany. To branch, bifurcate. Used also insultingly of a man with tumours on both hips.
Jarangu. Spook, goblin, were-leopard. [JAL, NGU. Cf. Acholi, JONGU.]
Jegdi. Pl. of JAGO, *q.v.*

Jegejege. A spider-like insect.
Jengo. To cause to lean, to recline against, to pledge, pawn. Midd. JENGERE, to lean against.
Ji. = JO, *q.v.*
Jigijigi. Drizzlingly. *Vide* EJIKIJIKIT.
Jing. To be firmly built, compact, close-grained, to be cramped.
Jinyo. = JONYO, *q.v.*
Jira. Cry of victory. GOYO JIRA, to raise the cry of victory. [Arabic, ZAGHRITAH, pl. ZAGHARIT, corrupted to ZIRALIT. Cf. Alur, MZIRA.]
Jo. Pl. of JAL. Men, people.
Jŏbi. Pl. JŌBI. Buffalo. LWANGNI JOBI, tabanus.
Jōbi. Bud. YAT OKETO JOBI, the tree is breaking into bud.
Jôbo. To gather into a heap with one's hands.
Jok. God, deity. Different manifestations known as ATIDA, ADONGO, LANGO, NAM, ORONGO, OMARARI. AGULU JOK, two-mouthed pot used in sacred ceremonies; PÊRU JOK, platform erected at certain ceremonies; Yô JOK, the road of JOK, i.e. a village site which is attended by sickness; NYWALO JOK, to bear twins; JOK OLWOKE KUME, JOK bathed him, of a beautiful person.
Jŏko. To tire. TICH OJOKA, the work tires me.
Jōk'o. To deposit, entrust to.
Jolo. To stretch out the hands to receive a gift.
Jōlo. To go out to meet, to escort.
Jôlo. To collect.
Jōn. Hood (of snake). JONE OKWOT, its hood is expanding.
Jonam. Pl. of ANAM. Banyoro.
Jonyo. To cramp, freeze, shrivel up, shrink. KOYU OJONYA, I am cramped with cold. Midd. JONYERE, to be frozen, cramped, shrivelled up. KOMA OJONYERE, I am cramped. Pass. JONY, to be shrunken, curled up, shrivelled up. BOKE MERE OJONY AJONYA, its leaves are all curled up.
Joro. To pacify, mediate.
Juano. To smooth a rough edge, to rub. JUANO WANG BUR OBEDI LWER, to rub away the frayed edges of the ulcer.
Jujwogi. Pl. of DAJWOK, *q.v.*
Jŭko. To rub, smear. LOBO MA GIJUKO KEDE OGWAL, mud with which they smeared the frog. Midd. JUKERE, to smear oneself. ATIN OJUKERE KEDE, the child smears himself with it.
Jūko. To prevent, keep off, ward off, hinder, forbid.
Juk'o. To take out by handfulls.
Jukol. Pl. of DAKOL, *q.v.*
Jukoro. To be ruffled, standing on end, sticking up (of hair).
Jukwô. Pl. of DAKWO, *q.v.*
Jukwor. Pl. of DAKWOR, *q.v.*
Jul. To be morose.
Jul. Grief.
Julo. JULO TONG I KWOT, to hold spare spears in the hand which is holding shield.
Julwor. Pl. of DALWOR, *q.v.*
Jumi. KOT OKETO JUMI, of a steady, persistent rain; PINY OKETO JUMI, of a cloudy, overcast and threatening day.
Juwor. Pl. of DAWOR, *q.v.*
Jwato. To hit with a small stick, to cane.
Jweng. JWENG ANYWAGI, fringe of maize.
Jwinyo. To suck. ABEDO JWINYO TING KONGO AJWINYA, I am sucking at the dregs of beer.
Jwio. To whistle. Midd. JWIERE, to hiss (like a snake).
Jwok. = JOK, *q.v.*
Jwomo. To wash hands.
Jyer. To move slightly back or sideways, to make room.

K

Ka. Pl. KAGI. Place. KA MUKENE, elsewhere; KA-CHA, that place, there.
Ka. In order to, for (of purpose).
Ka. When, if, whether.
Ka-. Locative prefix. KATWAT, place for herding, pasturage.
Ka. And (connecting sentences only). EN KA OWOTO, and he went.
Kabedo. Place to sit in or on, space, chair. [KA, BEDO.]
Kabo. To pick up, take up, take off. KAB LAUTOL I WIYI, take off the cloth on your head.
Kabuto. Place for sleeping in, bed. [KA, BUTO.]
Kacha. There, that place, thither.
Kachok. Potatoes. KACHOK MWA, cassava.
Kachôkere. Place of assembly, conventicle. [KA, CHÔKO.]
Kadi. So far as, not even, although. MAM ANGEYO KADI KWEN AWILO DYANG, I do not know even where to buy a cow; KADI ACHEL, not even one.
Kado. Salt.
Kad'o. To cause to stick. Pass. KAD'E, to adhere.
Kagigi. = KAGINI, *q.v.*
Kagini. Everywhere. TO OMAKO KOMA KAGINI, my whole body is falling ill.

Kago. Hereabouts. MONYO KAGO, KAGO, KAGO, to look round about there.
Kaich. Bite; harvest. [KAYO.]
Kaicha. There, thither. = KACHA.
Kain. = KAN, *q.v.*
Kak. Cry of wild cat.
Kaka. In place of, instead of. KAKARA, in my place; KAKAGI, in their stead. [KA.]
Kakal. Courtyard. DWE TYE I DYE KAKAL, the moon is in the middle of the courtyard, i.e. it is in its first quarter.
Kakare. In its place, correctly, rightly. [KA, -E.]
Kakno. To drug, to administer medicine by force.
Kako. To cleave, split, part, to slander, backbite. Pass. KAK, to bifurcate, diverge, be cloven. JO MAN KAK GIBEYO KAN, JO MAN KAK GIBEYO KUN, JO MAN GIBEYO I DYERE, this division goes there, that division there, and these men in the middle. KAKO AWAL, to split a gourd; KAKO POTO, to distribute a garden into strips for labourers to dig up.
Kak'o. = KAKNO, *q.v.*
Kaku. Stalk blight on sorghum.
Kakwat. Pasturage. [KA-, KWAYO.]
Kal. Courtyard.
Kal. Millet. KAL ODOKO NGEYE OGWALAGWAL, the grain is reaching maturity. OKAMA, a millet planted towards end of dry season in order to mature early; OYOKA, a whitish millet has the largest yield; AKWANGI, a white millet has the second largest yield; ODYERA, dark red millet; OYAPOICH, light red millet with slender head; ALYEK, similar to ODYERA.
Kalamata. Darnels.
Kal'i. Sudanese ground-nut.
Kaliro. = ALIRO, *q.v.*
Kalo. To jump over, step over. KALO MACH, to step over fire (proverb), i.e. to do a thing fruitlessly, to no purpose; ONEKO DYELNA ME KALO MACH, he killed my goat for no reason; ABAYO TONG ME KALO MACH, I throw my spear in fun or in practice; NGWECH ONGOT ME KALO MACH, Ngwech has become a harlot.
Kama. Where. [KA, MA.]
Kaman. Thus, in this way. [KA, MAN.]
Kamdeng. Dung-beetle, stag-beetle.
Kameno. Thus, in this way (already mentioned). [KA, MENO.]
Kamono. = KAMENO, *q.v.*
Kan. Here, hither.
Kăna. = KAMA, *q.v.*
Kāna. Donkey, mule.
Kanachel. = KARACHEL, *q.v.*
Kanati. Now (obsolete). [NAT.]
Kang. To be withered up, to be a skeleton. DANONI OJONY, OBEDO KANGKANG, this man is shrivelled up, he is a mere skeleton.
Kang. Cry of the red pigeon.
Kang. NI KANG, motionless.
Kangara. To be tall.
Kangga. Water-wagtail.
Kangiro. = ANGIRO, dusky, dark-coloured.
Kangkang. Tin-roofed house. [Onomatopæic.]
Kano. To entrust, deposit, hide, keep. KANO KOP, to keep a matter secret.
Ka'no. = KAYO, to bite. KA'NO CHWINY AKA'NYA, to bear with fortitude.
Kanoro. Somewhere, elsewhere. [KA, MORO.]
Kany. Five. [Turkana, EKANY = hand.]
Kany. Imperative of KAYO, *q.v.*
Kany'ere. Fifth.
Kany kape. Six.
Kape. KANY KAPE, six. [KI, APE.]
Kapel. Trumpet.
Kapwô. Pl. KAPWÔPWÔ. Butterfly. [PÔ.]
Kara. Well, then, again, for. KARA ANGEYO NEDI? And how should I know? (Used principally by the Jo Aber and Jo Moita.)
Karachel. Together. [KA, ACHEL.]
Karalang. Warrior ant.
Karaleng. Vetch.
Kare. Time, end, season. KAR' NGO? When? KAR' ENO, even so.
Karo. To bifurcate, to make an angle or crotch, to fork, to sit with the legs bent back.
Katalang. = KARALANG, *q.v.*
Katin. = ATIN, *q.v.*
Kato. To pass, surpass, overcome.
Kato'nyo. Perhaps, or [KA, ATOT, NYO.]
Kayo. To bite, reap. KAYO CHWINY, to be brave, to endure pain bravely; MOICH OKAYE, she is in pain of parturition. Imperative, KANY.
Kech. To be bitter, to be bitter towards, to treat harshly. LONI OKECHA, he is unfair to me; IYA KECH, I am disappointed.
Kech. Hunger, famine.
Ked-. With (in conjunction with a pronominal suffix). [KI.]
Kedo. To plait.
Kedo. To cicatrize, to stencil.
Kego. On this spot. ABEDO KAN KEGO, I sit on this very spot.
Keken. Only. [KEN-.]

Keko. To deafen. WEK KEKO ITA, stop deafening me.

Keko. To open slightly. Pass. KEK, to be slightly open, to be ajar. (Variant of KWEKO, *q.v.*)

Keko. (WAR), to cut sandals.

Kelo. To bring.

Kemo. To stare at, look at. Pass. KEM, to stare, to be sullen.

Ken-. Alone. Only used with the pronominal suffix. KEN'A, by myself, I alone. Or adverbially when reduplicated.

Ken'a. I myself, alone. [KEN-.]

Kendo. Cooking stones.

Kene. Pl. of KENO, *q.v.*

Ken'e. He, she, it, alone. [KEN-.]

Keng. To omit a day, to delay. KENG DIKI, BIYI DIKI MACHA, leave out tomorrow, come the day after.

Ken'gi. They alone. [KEN-.]

Ken'i. Thou alone. [KEN-.]

Kenken. = KEKEN, *q.v.*

Keno. For.

Kèno. Pl. KÉNE. Gourd.

Ken'wa. We alone. [KEN-.]

Ken'wu. You alone. [KEN-, WU.]

Kenyo. Hence, there (used by Jo Aber only).

Keo. To disperse. Pass. KE, to be dispersed, to stop, end. KOP OTYEKO KE, the business is finished; KOT OBEKE, the rain is ending.

Ker. Dominion, power, authority, chieftainship.

Kere. To be weak, helpless, undeveloped. ATIN POD' OKERE, the baby is still unformed.

Kerekere. Lango nickname for the Akum tribe.

Kerem. Clearing in wood or forest. (Only used in songs.)

Kero. To cluck (of hens).

Keto. To put, put down, destroy, overturn, to give, to cause. AWINYO RWONG NYINGI MUKETA BINO PI KOPNI, I heard the rumour of your name, which caused me to come on this business; YAMO OKETO OT, the wind blew down the house; KETO MUTO, to darken; KETO JOK, to vanquish the deity. Pass. KET, to be destroyed.

Keu. Bamboo.

Ki. (i) With, by. YI KI TONG, to fight with spears; BEYO KI PINY, to go by land. Before vowels I elides. YI K'ATERO, to fight with arrows. With the pronominal suffix KI becomes KO or KE, with D inserted for euphony. KI-A, with me, becomes KE-D-A or KO-D-A. AMITO YAMO KEDI, I wish to talk with you.

Ki—*continued*

(ii) And. Used to connect words only, not sentences.

Ki-. Adverbial prefix. KITEK, strongly. Lit. with strength.

Ki-. Personal prefix to verbs in ritual songs. AWALU KITEM I BAI, the crane starts at daybreak.

Kibanga. = OBANGA, species of fish.

Kiber. Well, properly. [KI, BER.]

Kibot. Example.

Kibu. = EBU, fig-tree.

Kich. Pl. KICHE. Bee. MÔ KICH, honey; BONGO KICH, beehive; RWOT KICH, queen bee; OBARU KICH, beeswax.

Kich. Orphan. KICH ANGADI MA TO OWEKO, so-and-so's child whom his death has bereaved.

Kichenge. Inner wall of house, party wall. [Luganda, EKISENGE.]

Kichiki. Obstacle, stump of tree. KICHIKI OTWOMA TYEN'A, a stump has cut my foot. [GIN, CHIKO.]

Kichô. = ACHÔ, male.

Kicholi. Finch.

Kidep. Flea. = KITEDEP.

Kidi. Rock, small rocky hill. KIDI ME TYEKO PALA, whetstone; KIDI ME REGO, grindstone; ATIN KIDI, top or smaller grindstone.

Kidi. East; the easterly section of the Lango tribe.

Kid'o. = GID'O, *q.v.*

Kieo. Boundary, line of division.

Kiino. To sift grain by tilting the winnowing-mat on edge and gradually shaking the grain to the ground.

Kijang. Fishing-basket.

Kika. Door.

Kikum-. Self. Used with the pronominal suffix. KIKUMA, I myself; KIKUMGI, they themselves. [KI, KOM.]

Kikwayo. Pl. of OKWARO and AKWARO, *q.v.*

Kimat. Old woman past childbearing. Term of courtesy or endearment irrespective of age or relationship, "mother." [√ MAT = slow.]

Kinga. A fashion of hairdressing.

Kino. To be careful or wary, to catch by stealth or trick, to lie in wait for.

Ki'no. = KIINO, *q.v.*

Kirach. Badly, excessively. [KI, RACH.]

Kirijakija. The word used conventionally in folk-tales to represent the cry of guinea-fowl.

Kiro. To asperse, sprinkle.

Kiroich. Sheath, scabbard. [GI, ROYO.]

Kit. Kind, species, manner, custom. KIT GIN NGO? What kind of thing? KIT DYANG NGO, ROYA ATOT TWON?

Kit—*continued*
What kind of beast is it, a heifer or a bull ?
Kitedep. Flea.
Kitek. Strongly, tightly. [Ki, Tek.]
Kitekun. Chicken flea.
Kitiber. Pains after parturition. Kitiber oreme, she was in pain.
Kitilang. A black bean.
Kitôdi. Wild plantain, *Musa ensete.*
Kitok. Head-dress. [Gin, Tok.]
Kitonge. Lump, small piece, fragment. Kitonge moko, a lump of dough; Kitonge lobo, a clod of earth.
Kitutu. Cuckoo.
Kiya. All night through till dawn.
Kiyakiya. Anything exceedingly white. Gin atar kiyakiya, something of dazzling whiteness.
Kiyo. = Kino, *q.v.*
Kŏbo. To remove, transport. Apwô etokobo dyere bang kich, so the hare broke off his friendship with the bee.
Kōbo. To speak, say, tell.
Kod-. With. *Vide* Ki.
Kŏdi. Seed, species, nature. Kodi yat, seeds of a plant; Kodi gin ni, a thing like this.
Kŏdi. A ritual word for grass on which the blood of a slaughtered goat has fallen.
Kog'o. The quick of the finger-nail.
Koich. Challenge given by one desirous of propounding a riddle. *Vide* Ilit.
Koich. Separation. [Koyo.]
Koko. Pea.
Koko. To lament, mourn, wail, groan. Koko duru, to raise the alarm, to accuse. Ikoko duru nga ? Amito koko duru ni loni. Whom do you accuse ? I wish to accuse this man.
Koko. Cry, shout, lamentation.
Kôko. To redeem, ransom, buy back. Midd. Kôkere, to redeem oneself, to be held to ransom. Dyegi aryô ma okôkere kede, the two goats with which he ransomed himself; Tong kot mam okôkere, a rain spear may not be held to ransom.
Kokoni. Now, immediately. [Koni.]
Kôkoro. Bicycle. [? Akore.]
Kol. Log, stocks. Ot kol, prison.
Kolkol. Tong opelo kolkol, the spear pierced through without touching a bone.
Kōlo. To anger, to stimulate, excite.
Kōlo. Indignation, spleen, bad temper.
Kôlo. To blind, put out eyes.
Kôlo. Papyrus mat.
Kôl'o. To extract or thorn jigger.
Kôl'o. To herd, drive to pasture, to hand over stock as a marriage dowry. Kol'o tyen kop maber, to drive an argument to a clear conclusion. Ikôl'o lim adi ? What dowry did you pay ?
Kŏm. Pl. Kōme. Chair. Kom me adanya, native stool.
Kōm. Body. Kuma or Koma, my body; Koma okwe, my body is at rest, I am contented; Koma tye, my body is, i.e. I am still ill; Koma oweka, my body has left me, I have recovered from illness; Koma yot, my body is light, I am well. Kume yot ? Mam, kume pod tye kede. Is he well ? No, his body is still with him, i.e. he is still in pain.
Kom. At, against. *Vide* Kum.
Kŏmo. To assist a limping or lame man, to support. Pass. Kom, to be supported, to limp.
Kondo. =Kon'o, *q.v.*
Kongo. Beer. Kongo alim, unfermented beer; Kongo alingo, fermented beer.
Kongo. Log of wood used as a bench.
Kongo. Cry of jay.
Koni. Now.
Kôno. To bend forward. Tigi okono ite, beads force forward his ears.
Kōno. Feathers of birds, feather busby.
Kono. Whether, if; particle indicating the conditional. Kono ikoba, kono nwong apwoyi, if you had told me, I should have accepted you; Kono imito weke aman, atot imito tere, whether you wish to leave it so, or to take it; Dyelna ma kono anyomo kede oyo oywayo abyeche, my goat with which I would have married Oyo has taken to Nabieso.
Kon'o. Again. Nga kon'o ? Who else ? Koba kon'o awiny, tell me again that I may hear.
Konyo. To help, assist, defend. Midd. Konyere, to help oneself, to assist each other. Euphemistic synonym for Layo, to make water.
Kōp. Matter, affair, business. Ibino pi kop ngo ? Kop mam, abino abina keken ? On what business have you come ? I have no business, I have just come; Kop oloyi, the judgment is against you; Ngolo kop, to decide a case, to give judgment. [Kōbo.]
Kŏr. Basket for setting eggs.
Kōr. Chest, breast. Goyo kōr, to strike the breast, i.e. to give a present; Ogoyo korwa maber, omotowa maber, he gave us a handsome present and greeted us sincerely; Kore, its chest, i.e. breast-high, half; Kore adupa,

Kōr—*continued*
half a bag; OPONG KORE, it is half full; KOR TONG, neck of spear socket.

Koro. To imprison, guard, wait for, watch for.

Koro. To scratch, roughen, chap. LWIT OBONYO OKOKORO CHINGA, the locusts' feet have scratched my hand.

Korokoro. = AKOROKORO, snail.

Kot. Rain, thunder, lightning. LUT-KOT, lightning; KOT OCHWE, it is raining; KOT ONGIDO ANGIDA, it is drizzling; KOT OCHOK, KOT OKE, it has stopped raining; KOT ONEKE, lightning killed him; KOT OMORE, it thunders.

Kŏti. = KODI, seed.

Koyo. To isolate, to separate, to ring off grass as a fire-break, to weed, to dress hair. KOYO ANYWAGI, to weed a maize field.

Koyo. Gouge for scraping hides.

Koyo. = KOYU, *q.v.*

Koyu. Cold. KOYU OMAKA, I am cold.

Kraich. Conventional representation of the cry of the bird AKADO.

Kuch. To be quiet, to be at peace. (Used by Jo Kidi only.)

Kucha. = KACHA, *q.v.*

Kucho. To disturb, derange.

Kud'i. Insect.

Kudo. To forge metal links.

Kugo. Thereabouts. MONYO KUGO, KUGO, KUGO, to look about there.

Kuko. = KOKO, to lament, *q.v.*

Kuku. To be blunt.

Kŭl. Cattle kraal.

Kūl. Pl. KULI. Wart-hog.

Kulo. To turn down, bow, deflect. KULO WANG, to bow the head.

Kulo. To peel.

Kulu. Marsh, swamp.

Kum. To, at, in. KUM PACHO, to or in the village, at home; OCHOYO LOBO KUME, he threw mud at him. Often used at the beginning of a sentence before substantive for emphasis. KUM DANOCHA, as for that man; KUM DYANGCHA OTYEKO TO, as for that cow it is dead.

Kumeno. = KAMENO, *q.v.*

Kumo. To grieve, to sit sorrowing, to sit with chin on knee.

Kun. There, thither. KUN . . . KUN, here . . . there.

Kun. While, since. KUN OTUCHU POD TYE, while Otuchu was still alive. TIN NINDI ADI KUN GIBINO? How long is it since they came?

Kuno. There, thither.

Kunyo. To dig a hole.

Kupa. Small winged termite, very palatable and the only variety which is eaten raw.

Kur. To be pleasant, to smell pleasant.

Kur. Pleasantly. Only used with NGWE, to smell.

Kŭro. To scrape about, to scatter, disarrange. BILONA DYANG GIKURO AKURA KI TYENGI, the cattle are scattering my beer flour with their feet.

Kuro. ? = KORO, to guard. The imperative KURI (pl. KURUNU) is used, followed by the infinitive to introduce a negative imperative. KURI WOTO, guard against going, i.e. do not go.

Kurobach. Whip, kurbash.

Kuto. To blow. KUTO MACH, to blow up a fire; KUTO BILO, to play flute.

Kutu. Thorn.

Kwaich. Pl. KWAICHANG. Leopard.

Kwako. To embrace.

Kwalo. To steal.

Kwang. Ferry, ford, crossing. [KWANGO.]

Kwango. To ford, cross a river. Midd. KWANGERE, to swim.

Kwano. To count, to read.

Kwa'no. = KWAYO, to beg, *q.v.*

Kwanyo. To choose, pick up, take away.

Kwar. To be red.

Kwaro. Ancestor, father's father, mother's father, husband's father, husband's father's brother.

Kwaro. To graze, glance off (of spear).

Kwayo. To pasture livestock.

Kwayo. To beg, request, ask for, beseech, borrow.

Kwĕ. Cry of jackal.

Kwē. Uselessly, idly, to no purpose, very. MABER KWE, very good; OBEDO TUNGI KWE? Did he stay very long with you? OPIDO KWE, he pleaded in vain; AYENYO RWOT KWE, I looked in vain for the chief. [KWER.]

Kwei. Pl. of KWER, *q.v.*

Kweko. To open slightly or carefully. KWEKO WANG, to look with half-closed eyes.

Kwen? = KWENE, where?

Kwene? Where? TYE KWENE (where is it?) often contracts to TYEN'E.

Kweo. To make cool, to pacify. Pass. KWĔ, to be cool, to be at peace, to recover from illness. WIYI POD OBARI? AMAN OKWE. Does your head still ache? It is now well. KOMA OKWE, I am contented. PINY OKWE, the country is at peace.

Kwer. Pl. KWEI. Hoe. KWER ME AGOT, bent-handled hoe; KWER ME AROK, straight-handled hoe; IP KWER, tang of hoe.

Kwer. To be useless, vain, to no purpose.

Kwer. A thing refused, totem, prohibition, avoidance, clan. KWER MA GIKWERO, the thing which they refuse; ME KWER, illicit, forbidden; OBINO KWERNA, he came to my clan. [KWERO.]

Kwero. To refuse, deny. TONG OKWERO CHINGA, the spear refuses my hand, i.e. I cannot hit the mark; OKWERO BINO, he refuses to come, i.e. he has not come (no definite refusal being indicated).

Kwil. To shiver, to be cold. KUMA OKWIL AKWILA, I have ague.

Kwir. Poison.

Kwiya. To be ignorant. AKWIYA GIRA, I do not know.

Kwŏ. Theft.

Kwô. To be alive.

Kwogo. Reputation, good name, adornment.

Kwòk. Perspiration.

Kwòk. To perspire.

Kwóko. To putrefy. Pass. KWÓK, to decay. RINGO OKWÓK, the meat is bad.

Kwoko. Hoof.

Kwon. To leave, leave off, refuse, avoid, be capricious.

Kwŏn. Porridge.

Kwōn. Nature, disposition, character, mannerism.

Kwoneyo. Sansiviera.

Kwong. A tuberous plant used in the AWORON festival.

Kwong. First. KWONG KURI, wait a little. [KWONGO.]

Kwongo. To begin. Pass. KWONG, to be the first to. . . .

Kwongo. To promise, to take a solemn oath, to imprecate, to swear that one will not do a thing. KWONGO LUTKOT, to imprecate lightning; KWONGO PAPO MATÔ I PINY, to swear by one's dead father. Midd. KWONGERE, to make mutual promises (of the prohibitionary promises of lovers).

Kwôno. To sew.

Kwor. Murder, enmity, feud, act of war. ACHULO KWOR APAPA, I avenge my father's murder.

Kworo. Serval.

Kworo. A large tree with edible berries.

Kworo. To winnow, to separate chaff from grain.

Kwŏt. Pl. KWŌDI. Shield. Parts of shield: OGURU, ABELA, ACHWAL, ABABA, ECHURUK, IT, *q.v.* POK'O KWOT, to make a shield.

Kwŏto. To break wind, to backbite, to use cipher language.

Kwōto. To inflate, swell up, to expand. Pass. KWOT, to be swollen, inflated.

Kwoyo. Sand.

Kyel. Fence, stockade. [KYEL'O.]

Kyel'o. To fence in, to erect fence.

Kyer. To tremble, quiver.

L

Labolo. Pl. LABOLI. Banana.

Ladwong. Old man, chief. [DWONG.]

Lagô. Piece of shaped wood used for fretting patterns on the outside of jars.

Lagwegwe. = OGWEGWE, *q.v.*

Laich. To be broad, to be loud. DWANE LAICH, he has a loud voice; KOP MALAICH, a loudly delivered speech.

Laich. Urine. LAICH ARACH = ADWA, semsem. KOT OCHWE LAICH TWON, it rains bull's urine, i.e. a light shower (a bull urinating less than a cow); WOTO LAICH, to urinate. [LAYO.]

Lajwok. *Calotropis procera.*

Lak. Tooth, edge. LAK LYECH, ivory; LAK TWOL, snake's tooth, i.e. young, undeveloped maize; LE MA LAKE OKUTU, an axe whose edge is blunt; LAK KWER, tooth of hoe, i.e. the mark made by hoe in the ground.

Lakan. A plant.

Laklyech. A climbing plant with leaves curved like elephant's tusks—hence the name.

Lakrget. Ribs, side, flank.

Lako. To receive from another, inherit. Pass. LAK, to be received, to be passed on, to be inherited, to creep from one to another. MACH OLAK ALAKA I LUM, fire spreads in the grass; TWOL OLAK I PINY, the snake creeps along the ground; OGABA OLAK OIT'O YAT, the convolvulus creeps up the tree.

Lakoro. To win back, recover (as a point lost at a game).

Lalo. To disperse. Pass. LAL, to be scattered, to overflow. DYEGI GILAL, the goats are scattered.

Lam. To be rare.

Lamer. Drunkard. [MER.]

Laming. Fool. [MING.]

Lamno. = LAM'O. *q.v.*

Lam'o. To invoke, adjure, consecrate. KOT, ALAM'I ICHWE, rain, I invoke thee to fall; LAM'O WAR, to take the auspices by sandals.

Lanak. Dentist. [NAKO.]

Landi. Semsem. (Only used by the north-western Lango under Jopaluo influence).

Langere. To be heavy, big, tough, immobile.
Langet. = LAKNGET, *q.v.*
Langnet. = LAKNGET. Flank, side.
Langno. = LANG'O, *q.v.*
Lang'o. To bring news, report.
Lango. Pl. LANGNI. The Lango tribe.
Lango. Hazel.
Langogo. Chameleon.
La'ni. Pl. of LAU, *q.v.*
La'no. = LAYO, *q.v.*
Lanyo. To outstrip, excel, exceed.
Lany'o. To insult, deride.
Lao. Spittle. NGULO LAO, to spit quietly; NYETO LAO, to squirt out the spittle.
Lapi. LAPI MACH, fire-sticks. Known respectively as DAKO, the stick with a slot, and CHWARO, the stick for drilling.
Laro. To hurry, to enter into rivalry with, to claim, to dispute, to be the first to. . . . WULARO KOP ACHEL NEDI? How do you dispute the same claim? WALARO PITO WARO, we were the first to plant cotton; KA KOT OCHWE WALARO OT, when it rains we hurry indoors; NWANG GILARO NYAKO, they were rivals in the girl's affections.
Laro. Threshing-floor. LARO JOK, a bare patch in the "bush" on which no grass grows.
Lat. To stroll, to go for a walk.
Latin. = ATIN, *q.v.* (Only used by Jo Aber.)
Lau. Pl. LA'NI. Skin. LAU NYAR, skin apron worn by men; LAU NGONY, woman's tail.
Lautol. Cloth. [LAU, TOL.]
Layo. To urinate.
Lĕ. Pl. LĒYE. Axe.
Lē. Pl. LENY or LEGO. Animal.
Lebdyang. Stonecrop.
Lēch. Place of short grass. = BAR, *q.v.*
Lechwich. = LYEWICH, shame, disgrace.
Lego. Pl. of LE, *q.v.*
Lego. To loosen.
Lek. Cricket.
Lek. Courtyard, compound.
Lek. Dream, apparition. [LEKO.]
Leko. To cause to dream, to haunt, to dream of. Pass. LEK, to dream.
Leko. To hit with a small stick, to drive cattle.
Lela. Gneiss, iron.
Lêla. Neuritis.
Lelo. To rejoice.
Lem. To be hornless, not to wear a bead head-dress.
Lem. Cheek.
Lem. Formerly; sign of past tense.
Lenga. = ALENGA, *q.v.*
Lengo. = ALENGO, a plant of the thistle order.
Lengo. To place awry, to cause to slope. Midd. LENGERE, to be aslant, awry.
Leny. Colic, stomach-ache, anger.
Leny. Pl. of LĒ, *q.v.*
Lep. Tongue. LEP TONG, point of spear.
Lēr. To be clear. YÔ OLĔR, the road is clear.
Lēr. Vein, artery, muscle. LĒR YAT, root of tree.
Lēye. Pl. of LĔ, *q.v.*
Leyo. To wave, to hand on from one to another, to share, to exchange. WUN ARYÔ WULEYI YECHNI ACHEL, you two share this one load.
Li. To grow cold (of beer only).
Libdo. = LIB'O, *q.v.*
Lib'o. To follow, to shadow, haunt, persecute.
Lido. To hurt. Pass. LIT, to be in pain.
Lid'o. To tighten. Pass. LID'E, to be tight.
Lik. To be poverty-stricken, to wear no ornaments, to be deserted by one's subjects. JO GIYA BOT RWOT; KONI OBEDO BALA WANGE LIK, the men leave their chief; he is now like a pauper.
Liklik. Species of euphorbia.
Lilo. To sift grain. LILO KOP, to press a suit, importune.
Lim. Goods, property, gain, wealth. [LIMO.]
Lim. To taste sweet. NGAT MA DOGE LIM, one whose mouth is sweet, i.e. a good improviser at song.
Limno. = LIM'O, *q.v.*
Limo. To gain, obtain, get. Midd. LIMERE, to be obtainable. KODI YATNI OLIMERE KWEN? Where is this kind of tree obtainable?
Lim'o. To pay a visit, to examine, look at. OBINO LIM'A ALIM'A, he has come to visit me; WOTI ILIM TOLNA, go and look at my snare.
Ling. To be quiet, silent, peaceful, quiescent. OTEM OTING, the village is in mourning; TÔ OLING, the disease has abated.
Lingling. No more nor less, exactly. ATÔMON ARYÔ LINGLING, exactly twenty.
Liro. To cut away the skin from a wound, to cut in strips, to circumcise.
Lĭyo. To pour out slowly or carefully, drop by drop. LĬYI CHINGA, pour water slowly on my hands.
Líyo. To smooth.
Lŏ. Pass. of LOYO. to melt.

Lō. Pl. LWAK. Man, person. LONI, this man; LOCHA, that man; LO MUCHEL, someone else. (Rarely used except as given.)
Lô. To be barren (of cattle).
Lobdo. = LOBO, to follow.
Lobo. Earth, soil.
Lobo. To follow, pursue, listen to, obey. Midd. LOBERE, to follow one another.
Lobo. To blister. LYET CHENG OLOLOBO TYEN'A ALOLOBA, the heat of the sun has blistered my feet.
Locha. That man. [LO, CHA.]
Locho. = LUCHO, *q.v.*
Lōgo. To wash hands or face.
Log'o. = LWOG'O, *q.v.*
Logoro. To grip, crossing legs or arms, to entwine, to entangle, to pass through or between, to insert. LOGORO TONG I TYEN LE, to pass spears between the feet of a dead animal (ceremonial practice).
Lŏk. Handle of axe or knife.
Lōk. Statement, word.
Lŏka. Across, beyond. LOKANI, on this side; LOKACHA, on that side.
Loko. To change, alter, turn round, reverse. OLOKO KOP KOMA, he turned the affair on to me, i.e. he libelled me; LOKO KOP, to converse with, argue with. Midd. LŎKERE, to turn oneself round, to be transformed. WANGE OLOKERE, his eyes are turned round, i.e. he squints.
Lôlo. To fatigue, to protract. ILÔLO KOPNI, you are making a very tedious story of it.
Long. To be changeable, to veer (of wind).
Longo. To be swollen, to suffer from hydrocele. TERE OLOLONGO ALOLONGA, its root is swollen out (of an orchis).
Longo. Hydrocele.
Loni. This man, "you there." [LO, -NI.]
Lô'no. = LOYO, *q.v.*
Lony. To be rich.
Lony. Wealth.
Lonyo. To clean, brighten. Pass. LONY, to be clean, white, to glisten, reflect light.
Lonyo. To take off, to undress.
Lòr. To descend.
Loro. To roll, to close a kraal door by rolling in logs.
Lōt. Stick, club. LOT KWON, stick for stirring porridge.
Lŏt. To sprout, grow up. DYEL MALOT, goat with long hair.
Lot'o. To shave the head.
Loyo. To conquer, defeat, rule, to melt. LOYO WANG, to put out the eyes; KOP OLOYI, the judgment is against you; LOYI KI PI, melt it with water. Pass. LOYE or LO, to be overcome, to be melted, to ooze. PE OLOYE, hailstones melt; MÔ MERE OLO OKO, its juice is oozing away.
Lubo. = LOBO, to follow.
Lucho. To turn inside out, reverse, to cross, to alternate. ALUCHO YO KI OMIN'A ALUCHA, KUN EN OBINO TURWA, AN AWOTO TURGI, I crossed with my brother, he coming to my house, while I went to his.
Luch'o. To neutralize, bewitch, bewilder.
Ludi. Pl. of LUT. Lung-fish, *q.v.*
Lugulugu. A marsh grass.
Luk. To hold illicit intercourse with a woman. OLUK ALUKA, MAM OYACH KEDE, he had intercourse with her, but did not put her with child; OBEDO LUK ALUKA, MAM LUK YACH, it was illicit intercourse, but not impregnation.
Luk. Illegitimate intercourse.
Luk. ? To ooze.
Luk'o. To repound the large pieces of AMOLA and ETOKE which have been sifted after the first pounding.
Luko. To retrace one's steps. NGADI MA OWOTO DANG OLUKO DWOGO KAN, the man who went has turned and come back. KA IWOTO, AN ALUKO AGIK KWEN? If you go, when am I to stop and come back?
Lum. Grass.
Lung. All, complete. [Cf. Bari, LING.]
Lung. Slope, incline. [LUNGO.]
Lungo. To make to slope, incline, to tip over. Pass. LUNG, to slope, to be on a slope. Midd. LUNGERE, to slope.
Lunyo. To supplant, take the place of. WALUNYO WANG KAKAGI, we take their place; NYAKO MA DOK OLUNYO ALUNYA MANYEN, the girl who has just supplanted your first wife.
Luro. To press down, crush down. Pass. LURE, to be pressed down.
Lut. Pl. LUDI. Lung-fish, *Protopterus æthiopicus.*
Lut. = LŌT, *q.v.*
Lutkot. Lightning, thunder. [LUTO, KOT.]
Luto. To put on, put in, put forward, immerse. LUTO TIG'O WIYI, wear beads on your head; ITEKORWAKO MAN ITOLUTO MACHA WIYE, you wear this and put the other on top of it; LUTO DOK, to pout.

Lwak. Pl. of Lo, *q.v.* Fellowship, company, crowd. Twon lwak, leader; Atin lwak aloni, the lad is of the same age as this one.
Lwala. Red earth.
Lwángni. Pl. Lwàngni. Fly.
Lwar. To be white-haired.
Lweny. Battle. [Lwenyo.]
Lwenyo. To fight, go to war.
Lwero. To cut off branches, to strip off leaves, to whittle a piece of wood. Pass. Lwer, to be stripped of leaves. Yat olwer, the tree is bare of leaves; Dako eno olwer, this woman is barren. Also of a man, to be impotent. Locha koni olwer, jo mere gityek, that man is deserted by all his men.
Lwet. Pl. Lwit. Finger-nail, claw. Lwet yat, branch, root of tree.
Lwi. To grow or be tall.
Lwi. To escape. Euphemistically, to die. Woda olwi, my son is dead.
Lwil. Whistling teal.
Lwinyo. To immerse. Pass. Lwiny, to sink, to dive.
Lwit. Pl. of Lwet, *q.v.*
Lwiyo. To whistle.
Lwobo. To pile up one on top of another.
Lwog'o. To loosen, to slacken. Midd. Lwogere, to be loose. Pass. Lwog'e, to be loose. Anguch olwog'e, the rope is slack; Mola olwog'e i tyen'e, the brass wire is loose on his leg.
Lwoich. Mist.
Lwoko. To accompany, escort, speed guest.
Lwok'o. To wash. Pass. Lwok or Lwok'e, to be washed, wash oneself, to bathe.
Lwongo. To call, summon, call by name.
Lwor. Fear. [Lworo.]
Lwóro. To fear, to respect.
Lwòro. To go round, fly round, avoid.
Lyech. Pl. Lyechi. Elephant. Lak lyech, tusk, ivory; Ching lyech, elephant's trunk.
Lyedi. Razor.
Lyel. To catch alight, to blaze up.
Lyel. Grave, funeral.
Lyelo. To shave, cut hair.
Lyer. Support. Lyer nino, fence for stacking semsem.
Lyerngony. Coarse synonym for the flower Agilo.
Lyero. To hold or fasten up, suspend. Pass. Lyer, to be suspended, to hang down.
Lyet. Heat. Lyet chwiny, meanness, selfishness.
Lyeto. To heat. Pass. Lyet, to be hot. Chwinye lyet, his heart is hot, i.e. he is mean or selfish.
Lyewich. Shame.

M

Ma. Who, whom, which.
Mabech. Beautiful, all. [Becho.]
Maber. Good, well. [Ber.]
Mach. Fire. Chwinyo mach, to light a fire; Kuto mach, to blow up a fire; Menyo mach, to make a fire blaze up; Neko mach, to put out a fire; Dog mach, groin; Wang mach, iliac line; Chuk mach, testicles; Mach môn'o, lamp.
Macha. That. [Ma, Cha.]
Macha. Diki macha, the day after tomorrow; Aworo macha, the day before yesterday.
Machen. Subsequent. [Ma, Chen.]
Machol. Dark-coloured, black. [Ma, Chol.]
Macholapel. Dark with a few white spots.
Machel. Which is one, i.e. another, other. [Ma, Achel.]
Madi. The Madi tribe.
Mado. To treat with medicine, dress a wound.
Madot. Suckling. Atin madot, baby; Dyel madot, kid.
Madwong. Great, large. [Ma, Dwong.]
Magi. Which are they, i.e. some, other. Magi . . . magi, some . . . others. Magi gingeyo, magi gikwiya, some know, others are ignorant.
Maido. Pl. Maidoi. Ground-nuts.
Mäita. = Möita, *q.v.*
Mako. To seize, capture, hold, catch.
Makwakwar. Reddish, light red, pink, yellow.
Makwar. Red, bright-coloured. [Kwar.]
Malaich. Broad, wide, spreading, creeping (of plants). [Ma, Laich.]
Malakwang. A cultivated plant producing grain resembling buckwheat. Both the grain and the leaves are eaten. As a slang term = Tōl, vagina.
Malo. Up, above, north.
Malo. Menstrual discharge. Tye malo, to menstruate.
Malot. Long-haired. [Lot.]
Mam. No, not.
Mam'a. Mamba.
Mǎn. Pl. Meno. This. [Ma, En.]
Mān. Testicles.
Mano. To circumvent, go behind. Mano nge dano, to go round behind a man; Mano kop amana, to use a subterfuge; Mano kop koma, to libel.
Manyango. Morning, about 8–9 a.m. Manyango otyeko lyet, the morning has become warm.

Marach. Bad, very. OKOBA KOP MADWONG MARACH, he spoke a terribly long time; DYEL OMIO MARACH WOK, the goat is wonderfully fat. [RACH.]

Maro. Wife's mother.

Maro. To love, desire excessively. Pass. MER, to be friendly, to be on good terms with.

Matar. White. [TAR.]

Matek. Strong, very. TONG OBOCHE MATEK, the spear just missed him; GOYI MATEK, hit hard.

Matidi. Small. [TIDI.]

Mato. To drink. MATO TABA, to smoke; MATO JAI, to smoke hemp.

Mato. To score a goal at hockey. (? = MATO, to drink, from the hypothetical stake of a cow, whose milk the winners will drink.)

Maülu. Raven.

Mayo. To deprive of, seize, rob.

Mayot. Light, quick. [YOT.]

Me. Of (preceding things only).

Mĕd'o. To increase. Pass. MED'E, to be increased.

Mega. Pl. of MERA. My.

Mege. = MEGI, pl. of MIN, *q.v.*

Megi. Pl. of MIN, *q.v.*

Megi. Pl. of MERI.

Megi. Their. [ME, GI.]

Mene. Which? IMITO BEYO KUM YÔ MENE? Which road do you wish to take?

Meno. Pl. of MAN. This.

Menyo. To make to flash. MENYO MACH, blaze up the fire; MENYO LAK, to flash the teeth, i.e. show the teeth. Pass. MENY, to flash, to be bright. LUTKOT OMENY, lightning is flashing.

Mer. To be intoxicated, drunken.

Mēr. Pass. of MARO, *q.v.*

Mera. Pl. MEGA. My. [ME, -A.]

Merachel. First. [ME, ACHEL.]

Meradek. Third. [ME, ADEK.]

Mere. Pl. MEGE. His, its. [ME, -E.]

Merekwa. Very large bull.

Meri. Pl. MEGI. Thy. [ME, -I.]

Metagira. In cipher language = AGIRA.

Mewa. Pl. MEGWA. Our. [ME, -WA.]

Mewu. Pl. MEGWU. Your. [ME, -WU.]

Mid'a. Ichthyosis.

Midi. Minnow.

Milo. Pl. MILI. Charcoal.

Min. Pl. MEGI or MEGE or MON. Female that has given birth, mother; applied also to indicate size (used of animals, etc., not of persons, except in a few conventional insults). MIN DYANG, cow; MIN BUL, bass drum; MIN BIYE, queen termite; MIN BILO, bass flute; MIN PI, Nile.

Ming. To be deaf, to be foolish, act foolishly.

Mino. To twist.

Mi'no. To squeeze, press. MIYI WANG, shut your eyes; MI'NO CHING, to clench the hand. Pass. MI'NE, to be pressed, to be tightly closed, clenched.

Mintong. A war name.

Mio. To be fat. DYEL OMIO MARACH WOK, it is a wonderfully fat goat.

Miri. = MILO, *q.v.*

Miritit. Mimosa.

Mito. To want, desire, to be about to. AMITO NGAT'ORO OBIN KAN, I want someone to come here; CHENG OMITO YUTO, the sun is about to set. Pass. MIT, to be desirable, sweet, pleasant.

Mĭyo. To give, to cause. MĬYO BANJA, to lend. Midd. MIYERE, to exchange presents.

Mĭyo. = MI'NO, *q.v.*

Mŏ. Enemy. ATYEKO NEKO MO, I have killed my man, i.e. I am a full warrior; NYING ME MO, war name.

Mŏ. Used with MATIDI as a superlative. LONI OBEDO KAN CHON ATOT MATIDI MO? Did he stay here long or only a very short time? [MORO.]

Mô. Fat, oil. MÔ CHAK, cream; MÔ DYANG, butter; MÔ ABWOGO, unclarified butter; MÔ NINO, semsem oil; MÔ RINGO, fat; MÔ CHOGO, marrow; MÔ KICH, honey; MÔ JOK, leprosy; MÔ ARUT, ashes (ceremonial); MÔ ATONGGWEN, fresh honey; MÔ AGEGER, stale honey.

Modo. To bite, chew, to pain. KUMA OMODA DUCHU, my body is aching all over.

Mod'o. Kikuyu grass, French grass.

Môdu. A shrub with magic qualities which avert rain.

Mogo. Other.

Moich. To thunder, explode. LUTKOT OMOICH, it is thundering.

Moich. Puerperal pains. MOICH OKAYE, MOICH OREME, she is in pains of childbirth. [MOIJ'O.]

Moij'o. To twist.

Möita. The section of the Lango tribe lying roughly between the River Koli and Lake Kwania.

Mok. To be lean, to grow thin.

Mŏko. = MOGO, *q.v.*

Mŏko. Pl. Mug'i. Flour, powder.

Mŏko. To light a fire.

Mŏk'o. To entangle, to trap, to snare. Pass. MOK, to be entangled, to be stuck, to be trapped, to take root (of plants). LE OMOK I OWICH, the animal is caught in the snare. Midd. MOKERE, to stick, adhere.

Mola. Pl. MOLE. Brass-wire, bracelet. MOLA IT, earring; MOLA BAT, armlet.
Mōlo. To cause to flow, to carry down in flood. Pass. MOL, to flow, to be in flood.
Mom. = MAM, *q.v.*
Mōn. Pl. of MIN, but used as pl. of DAKO, *q.v.*
Mongo. To whisper. (KOP is the object expressed or implied.)
Mōno. To forbid, prevent. DIKI ADWARO LE MUMONA WOTO KEDI, tomorrow I am hunting which prevents me (i.e. therefore I cannot) from going with you.
Mono. To embroil. Pass. MON'E or MON, to be at feud, to be enemies.
Mono. Unseemliness, unsuitability. GINGOLO LAU PI MONO MERE, they cut the skin aprons on account of their unsuitability, i.e. otherwise they would be unsuitable. [MON'O.]
Môno. To spread out.
Mon'o. To be unfitted to, unsuitable for, be unseemly. GIN ARUKANI OMON'I, MAM OMYERI, your costume is unseemly, it does not suit you.
Môn'o. Nubi, European, foreigner.
Monten. Lesser intestine.
Mony. Battle, army, raid. WON MONY, leader. [MONYO.]
Monyo. To go to battle, make a raid.
Monyo. A tree bearing inedible fruit.
Mony'o. To look for, search.
Mônyo. To swallow.
Mor. To thunder. KOT OMOR AMORA, it thunders.
Morem. Greeting. ANE MOREM, I am well. [OREME.]
Moremba. = MOREM, *q.v.*
Morembe. = MOREM, *q.v.*
Moro. Pl. MORI. Brown biting ants.
Moro. Pl. MOGO. Other, some. BOLA MORO, throw me some.
Moro. To warm, to heat, to cause to bubble. MOR PI, boil water; MOR DEK, warm up the food; ATINO DONG GIMORO KOP, children keep babbling. Pass. MOR'E, to bubble, boil. PI OMOR'E ODOKO LYET, the water is bubbling, it is becoming hot; PI MAMOR'E, waterfall, rapids; CHWINYA OMOR'E, I pant for breath; KUMA OMOR'E AMORA, I am panting.
Mor'o. To repeat, persist (followed by infinitive). ATIN OMOR'O KOK, the child keeps crying.
Mōt. Slowly, gently, afterwards.
Mŏto. Forceps, tooth extractor.
Mōto. To greet, salute.
Moyo. = MONY'O, *q.v.*
Mu. Who, whom, which.
Mubô. *Ornithodorus moubata.*
Muchel. Other. LO MUCHEL, someone else. [MU, ACHEL.]
Mug'i. Pl. of MOKO. Flour.
Mukene. Other, of another kind, different. [KEN-.]
Mukere. = MOKERE, midd. of MOK'O, *q.v.* To be steadfast. MUKERE NGWECH, to be steadfast in running, i.e. to run fast; YAT OMUKERE I LOBO, the tree has taken root.
Muket-. = MUMIY-, *q.v.* *Vide* KETO.
Muko. To tear up, to knock out teeth. Pass. MUK, to be torn or knocked out.
Mulo. To feel, touch.
Mul'o. To crawl.
Mumiy-. Which causes to, i.e. therefore or because. *Vide* MIYO. RWOT OCHWANYA MUMIYA WOTO, the chief called me and therefore I went.
Mumōn-. Which prevented me, . . . i.e. therefore . . . not. *Vide* MONO.
Mungo. To conceal.
Mur. Intimate word for vagina.
Muro. = MORO, to warm.
Muti. Old man. [MU, TI.]
Mŭto. = MŎTO, *q.v.*
Mūto. Darkness. KETO MUTO, to darken.
Muwire. Round. [MU, WIRO.]
Mwa. In vain.
Mwa. Foreigner, European, Muganda
Mwat. Lameness.
Mwatang. To stumble, to be lame.
Mwato. To be barren, unfruitful. KAL OMWATO AMWATA, the millet has failed.
Mwodo. = MODO, *q.v.*, but generally restricted to breaking off dry branches for fuel.
Mwok. Pl. AMWOKAN. Aardvark.
Mwok. Hypogastrium of females.
Mwol. To be obedient, gentle.
Mwômo. To expel. Pass. MWÔM, to be expelled, to rush out from.
Mwôno. To seal, fasten, plaster.
Mworo. To cut hair. MWORO OBIYA, pull up grass for thatching.
Myeko. To prefer, select in preference, choose.
Myel. Dance. [MYEL'O.]
Myel'o. To dance, to tremble. MYEL'O BUL, to dance the drum dance; MYEL'O KOT, to dance for rain; KUMA OMYEL'O AMYEL'A, I am trembling.
Myen. = MIN, mother. Only used in the abusive phrases—ADWA ONGOT MYENI and ADWA I NGONY MYENI.
Myen'o. To knead.
Myeri. Village, group of villages, settlement. (Used as pl. of PACHO.)

Myero. To be fitting for, be suitable for, be a match for. OLUK OMYERE JOBI, Oluk is a match for the buffalo.

N

-Na. Pronominal suffix. Me.
-Na. Possessive suffix. My.
Nadi. = NEDI, *q.v.*
Naka. Since (of time), formerly, continuously. NAKA CHEN CHON, since long ago. Used of duration continuing from the past in the present.
Nako. To extract tooth.
Nam. Wide expanse of water, lake, large river.
Nangno. = NANG'O, *q.v.*
Nang'o. To lick, to lick fingers, to eat. BIYI, NANG DEK, come and eat some vegetables.
Napo. To hit with closed fist, to buffet.
Nat. Time, instant.
Nayo. To know by experience, to be experienced in. NAYO KI, . . . to be accustomed to.
-Ne. Pronominal suffix. Him, her, it.
-Ne. Possessive suffix. His, her, its.
-Ne. Is. ANE, I am; ENE, he is.
Nedi. How? Of what kind? ITUNO KAN NEDI? How did you reach here? POTONI OBOR NEDI? How far is your garden? OCHAL NEDI? What is he like?
Nekno. = NEKO, *q.v.*
Neko. To kill, destroy, break. NEKO MACH, to extinguish a fire; NEKO WANG, to blind. Midd. NEKERE, to be at feud.
Neno. To see, behold. Used elliptically as a threat. WUBINO NENO, you will see (the consequences). Pass. NEN, to appear, to be seen.
Neo. Relations on the mother's side collectively.
Nep. To be soft, unformed, flexible ATIN OTO POD NEP, the child died as a baby.
Nêro. Maternal uncle; allied or similar species of animal or plant. NERO NINO, wild semsem; NERO ABONG, pseudo-egret.
Nĕro. To scorch, wither. CHENG ONERO KAL, the sun has withered the millet. Pass. NER, to be scorched, withered.
Nēro. = NWIRO, *q.v.* (obsolete form).
Neto. ATIN ONETO, a child who suffers from lack of milk owing to the birth of a second before it is fully weaned.
Nga? Who? MUDONYO OT NGA? Who entered the house? NYINGI NGA? What is your name?
Ngabi. Peg. KWANY ANGUCH I NGABI, take the rope off the peg. [NGAPO.]
Ngadi. So-and-so.
Ngado. To trim with a knife, to pare.
Ngad'o. To stretch. NGAD'O NGUT, to crane one's neck.
Ngako. Pelican.
Ngako. = GAKO, *q.v.*
Ngak'o. To split, break up, crush. (Especially of peas and beans).
Ngalo. To treat with disdain or disregard, to mock.
Ngalura. Kidneys.
Ngamo. To open wide, to yawn; to ripen, to flower. KAL ONGAMO, the heads of millet are opening out.
Ngapo. To hang up, suspend.
Ngat. = NWAT, *q.v.*
Ngat. A certain person, someone, anyone (when the person is at a distance). NGAT MUKENE, someone else; GIPURO POTOGI NGAT ACHEL NGAT ACHEL, they cultivate each man his own garden.
Ngato. A certain person, someone, anyone (when the person is near at hand).
Ngat'o. To perform the dance of victory, to triumph.
Ngat'oro. Anyone. [NGAT, MORO.]
Ngayo. To prise apart, to force open. AKOBI KOP IN ITONGAYE IDWOKO KOP TENGE, I tell you the business, but you brush it aside and go on a side issue.
Nge-. The form of NGECH (back) when followed by the possessive suffix. NGEYA, my back; NGEGI, their backs.
Nge. Behind, beyond. NGE-GANG, privy. [NGĒCH.]
Ngĕch. *Varanus niloticus.*
Ngech. Back (of man). NGEYA, my back.
Ngecho. To bruise. LOCHA ONGECHO WIYA KED ABIRU, he bruised my head with a stick. Pass. NGECH, to be bruised, to be dappled.
Ngedi. Pl. of NGET. Hoe.
Ngeny. To snarl.
Ngeo. To know, recognize. NGEO followed by infinitive = to know how to. Midd. NGERE, to recognize each other, to be knowable.
Nger. Pl. NGER'I. Monkey (*Cercopithecus*).
Ngerach. NGERACH IT, Mastoid area.
Ngeri. Conie, hyrax.
Nget. Side, edge.
Nget. Pl. NGEDI. Old worn-down hoe.
Nget. To the side, at the side, beside. CHUNG NGETI, stand aside. [NGET.]
Nget. = NGIT, *q.v.*

Ngetpiny. Side of the earth, i.e. a direction not true north, south, east or west. NGETPINY CHOKE TUNGTO, N.W. and S.W.; NGETPINY CHOKE KIDI, N.E. and S.E. Any vague direction. DOK TYE NGETPINY KUCHA, the cattle are over there.

Ngeyo. To become used to, accustomed to. Midd. NGEYERE, to be accustomed to each other, to be familiar.

Ngich. To be cold.

Ngicho. To reflect, invent. AN ANGICHO I CHWINYA GIRA, MAM NGAT OKOBA, I thought of it myself, no one told me.

Ngido. To cut up into strips or small pieces, to mince, to rain in showers, to be showery, to drizzle. Pass. NGIDE, to be cut up, to crumble.

Ngil'i. (Pl. only.) Residue, small fragments. NGIL'I MACH, sparks; DONG NGIL'I MORO, there is very little left.

Ngil'o. To pick or tear with fingers, to rip up.

Ngin'o. To rub with oil, to anoint. NGIN'A NGEYA, anoint my back. (Only used of semsem oil, WIRO being used of any other oil.)

Ngin'o. To gather together. Pass. NGIN'E, to be gathered together, to be concentrated, to swarm (of bees). JO ONGIN'E KUM LOCHA MATEK, they are gathered thickly round that man.

Nginynginy. Pl. NGINYNGINYI. Small tree ant.

Ngiru. To be dark-coloured.

Ngit. Time. NGIT AMAN, at once; NGIT CHA, that time; NGITNI, now; NGIT'I (= NGITNI), perhaps.

Ngiyo. To become acquainted with, recognize. NGIYO KI . . . to be familiar with, accustomed to.

Ngiyo. To look for. WOTI, NGIYA GINCHA KACHA TOKELA, go and look for that thing there for me and bring it me.

Ngo? What? IKOBO NGO? What do you say?

Ngoko. To cause to vomit. Pass. NGOK, to vomit, to break into flower or grain; BEL ONGOK, the sorghum is beginning to form its grain.

Ngolo. To cut, cut off, cut out; to decide a case; to separate cattle in a herd; to cut a firebreak round the hunting area.

Ngolomugi. *Neoparra Africana.*

Ngony. Buttock, flank. DYANG ME NGONY AMIN, the cattle paid to marry one's sister; NGONY BUNG, undergrowth of forest. Used adverbially to mean "under." NGONY YAT, in the shadow of the tree.

Ngony. To turn back.

Ngonyakara. Earwig. [NGONY, AKAR.]

Ngonyamuto. Kind of flute.

Ngŏr. = AMOCHING, *q.v.*

Ngor. Pl. NGORE. Beans. Generally called NGOR ATIN'O (small beans), or (because the seed was first obtained from the Jopaluo) NGOR LUÔ.

Ngor. To buzz, drone.

Ngot. Sexual intercourse. [NGOTO.]

Ngoto. To have sexual intercourse.

Ngotowang. Small biting fly.

Ngoyo. To annoy. Pass. NGOYE, to be annoyed.

Ngu. Beast of prey, dangerous animal or reptile.

Nguk'o. To forestall. LOCHA ONGUK'A KUN MAM ARWOBAYO TONG, he forestalled me before I threw a spear. Pass. NGUK, to be forestalled. ATIN ONGUK ANGUK'A, the child is forestalled, i.e. the mother is again enceinte before it is weaned.

Ngulo. To spit.

Nguno. To cut off, truncate, break, cripple. NGUNO BAT, to cut off an arm; NGUNO YAT, to break off a branch. Pass. NGUN, to be cut off, crippled. CHUL ONGUN, to be circumcised.

Ngur. To be sullen, badly disposed to, to grumble.

Ngut. Neck, nape of neck. NGUT CHING, wrist; NGUT TONG, neck of spear.

Nguto. To teach, instruct, to reprimand. Pass. to be reprimanded, to repent, to leave off.

Ngwal. Sinovitis, paralysis.

Ngwalo. To cripple. Pass. NGWAL, to be crippled, paralysed. LEBNE ONGWAL, his tongue is crippled, i.e. he stammers.

Ngwĕ. Sore due to jiggers.

Ngwech. To run fast.

Ngwech. Running.

Ngwedo. To pluck, pick.

Ngwen. Pl. NGWENI. Winged termites.

Ngwen. Four.

Ngwen'ere. Fourth.

Ngwenyo. To pinch, irritate. MAM ORWONGWENYO NGAT'ORO, he has not yet irritated anyone.

Ngweto. = GWETO, *q.v.* (Used by JO BURUTOK only.)

Ngweyo. To smell, to discover witchcraft. Pass. NGWĒ, to smell. NGWE KUR, to be fragrant; NGWE TIK, to smell unpleasant; KOP MERI ONGWE, your affair smells, i.e. I refuse to listen to it.

Ni. To, for, with. AMITO KOKO DURU NI LONI, I wish to bring a case against

Ni—*continued*
this man. NI NGO? With what, i.e. how? KOP OBEDO NI NGO? How does the matter stand? NI KANG, motionless; NI TI, silently.

Ni. That (introducing *oration obliqua*). APENYO NI DYANG NA TYE KAN, I ask "Is my cow here?" ODYEK OWOTO KWEN?—NI OWOTO AWOTA KEKEN. Where is Odyek going?—(He says) that he is just going for a walk. Frequently introduces a question. NI KOP NGO? (I say) that "what is your business?"

-Ni. Pronominal suffix. Thee.

-Ni. Possessive suffix. Thy.

Nike. = NI, *q.v.*

Nindo. Pl. NINDI. Day. NINDINI, these days, now.

Nino. Pl. NIN'I. Semsem. Different species: ADWE, AYER, ARUT, ATONG. LYER NINO, fence for drying semsem.

Nin'o. = NINDO, *q.v.*

Nin'o. To sleep.

-No. That (of things), this (of persons).

Nŏ. Bare, naked. [NONO.]

Nod'o. To repeat. NOD'O POTO, to resow a garden where the crop has failed; NOD'O KOP, to importune; OBINO PI BANJA DIKDIK: ONODA ANODA KUM KOP MERE, he comes to borrow every day: he worries me with his affairs.

Nŏk. To be few.

Nōko. To bring near. Pass. NŌK, to approach, come near.

Nōnŏ. Empty, idle.

Nōnŏ. Free, gratis, to no purpose.

Noto. To suck, to bleed (surgically).

Not'o. To follow a leader, combine with, to be of so-and-so's part. JONA GIWEKA GITONOT'O KI RWOTCHA, my men leave me and join that chief.

Nud'o. To stir or brew beer or gruel.

Numu. To be raw, unripe.

Nuro. To weigh down. Pass. NUR, to be weighed down, to nod, to be sleepy.

Nwang. = NWONG, *q.v.*

Nwang. To be hard, tough. RINGONI NWANG RACH, this meat is abominably tough.

Nwango. = NWONGO, *q.v.*

Nwat. To go slowly or haltingly, to limp, especially if due to a wound; to walk on stilts.

Nwiro. To cause to prefer, to attract. Pass. NWIR, to prefer. ANWIR ANWIRA WANGA, I prefer so far as I can see.

Nwong. Adverb indicating past time.

Nwongo. To find, to meet.

Nwôno. To repeat, to rub semsem on grindstone after it has been pounded.

Nwoyo. = NWÔNO, *q.v.*

Nya. Daughter, father's brother's son's daughter, brother's daughter, husband's brother's daughter, co-wife's daughter, sister's daughter. NYA OWAYO, husband's sister's daughter; NYA ORO, wife's brother's daughter; NYA AMU, wife's sister's daughter.

Nya-. Diminutive prefix. NYAKIDI, small grindstone.

Nyach. Framboesia.

Nyak. To bear fruit.

Nyako. Pl. ANYIRA. Girl, maiden. NYAKO (ANYIRA) CHING, finger.

Nyal. = NYWAL'I. (This form only used by the JO ABER.)

Nyamagara. A reed from which drinking tubes are made.

Nyamin. Pl. NYUMEG. = AMIN, *q.v.* (Only used by JO ABER.)

Nyamno. = NYAM'O, *q.v.*

Nyam'o. To chew.

Nyan. Girl (younger than NYAKO). Used also as a term of affection or courtesy to an older girl.

Nyang. Crocodile.

Nyang. Edible stalks of two species of sorghum, AMIRA and ANGURA.

Nyang. To be slow, slack, dilatory.

Nyango. Shortly after dawn, about 6.30 a.m.

Nyap. To be lazy, idle.

Nyar. Udders of animals.

Nyar. Hypogastrium (of male). LAU NYAR, skin apron.

Nyaro. To cut grass.

Nyatin. Pl. NYOTIN'O. = ATIN, *q.v.* (Used by JO ABER only.)

Nyau. To pull down by weight, to load down, to bend down.

Nyaworo. = AWORO, *q.v.* (Only used by JO BURUTOK.)

Nyayo. To make to abound. Pass. NYA, to abound.

Nyeko. To envy, to be jealous.

Nyel'o. Python.

Nyen. To be new.

Nyenye. Cockroach.

Nyer. Young boy. (Used by the JO ABER only.)

Nyero. To laugh, to laugh at.

Nyero. Laughter. BOLO NYERO, to laugh.

Nyeto. To cause to spurt out, to squirt out. NYETO CHAK or NYETO DYANG, to milk; NYETO LAU, to spit. Pass. NYET'E, to spurt out.

Nyigmon. Calthrop.

Nyig'o. To move slightly. Pass. NYIK, to be moved slightly. NYIK KAN, come here; NYIK CHEN, move back a little.

Nyik. Fruit. NYIK TONG, cartridge.

Nyim. Face, appearance. I NYIM, in front of; I NYIMA, in front of me.

Nying. Name. NYINGI NGA? What is your name? TEKO NYING, CHAKO NYING, to name; NYING ME PEL, navel, i.e. birth, name; NYING ME ARAT, nickname; NYING MO, war name; NYING ME AGWONG, name of invocation.

Nyo. Perhaps, or.

Nyô. Creases or lines on hands, wrist, etc. WANG NYÔ ME BAT, the fold opposite the elbow.

Nyobere. To be weak, to stagger. NGAT ONYOBERE IGI, one of them is staggering.

Nyob'o. To knead, stir.

Nyodo. Embryo. OT NYODO, womb; NYODO OPOTO, NYODO ODWOGO KAN, NYODO OONY, to miscarry; NYODO OTEGO, the embryo is developing, i.e. the woman is approaching confinement.

Nyŏk. Pl. NYŌGI. He-goat.

Nyôm. Marriage. PENYO NYÔM, to ask in marriage; GERO NYÔM, to build house for a wife. [NYÔMO.]

Nyômo. To marry. Midd. NYÔMERE, to marry one another. Pass. NYÔM'E, to be married (of woman).

Nyongo. To cause to squat, to tire. Midd. NYONGERE, to crouch, to feel tired, worn out. KUMA ONYONGERE ANYONGA, I am quite worn out.

Nyong'o. To soften skin by rubbing and crumpling.

Nyono. To tread, trample on.

Nyonyo. To cramp, to crumple. Pass. NYONY, to be cramped.

Nyotin'o. Pl. of NYATIN, *q.v.*

Nyoyo. To boil vegetables without stirring, to cook termites whole without pounding.

Nyugnyu. Pleiades.

Nyuka. Gruel of flour and water.

Nyumeg. Pl. of NYAMIN, *q.v.*

Nyuto. To show, to teach. ATINO GIWOTO TUNGI INYUTIGI KOP, the children go to you that you may teach them.

Nywagi. Maize. JWENG NYWAGI, fringe on maize cobs; NYWAGI LAK TWOL, young, undeveloped maize.

Nywako. To share an act, to do something in common, to join in, to cooperate. NYWAKO YÔ, to follow the same route.

Nywal'i. Rust. NYWAL'I OCHAMO LEB TONG, rust is eating into the spear head.

Nywalo. To be fruitful, to give birth, to bear. NYWALO TONG, to lay eggs. Pass. NYWAL'E, to be born.

Nywaro. To insult, disregard.

Nywat. To limp. [Variant of NWAT.]

Nywenyo. Metal, iron.

Nywinyu. Ringworm.

Nywok. = NYŎK, *q.v.*

Nywol. Hammer.

O

O-. Pronominal prefix, third person singular. He, she, it. O-KOBO, he says.

Ŏ. = OKO, utterly. OTUM O, it is quite finished.

Ô. Place for warming oneself, the OTEM. [OYO.]

Obalangiyu. Large species of hyæna.

Obanga. Species of fish.

Obar. September.

Obaru. OBARU KICH, beeswax.

Obat. Yam.

Obayi. At dawn. ODIKO OBAYTI, very early in the morning.

Obei. Pl. of OBER, *q.v.*

Obeno. Skin used for slinging baby on mother's back.

Ober. Pl. OBEI. Mosquito.

Obim. Baboon.

Obira. Hibiscus employed in the manufacture of string.

Obiru. = ABIRU, *q.v.*

Obiya. Dendraspis.

Obiya. Spear-grass.

Obô. Pl. OBŌCHE. Yam.

Oboayom. Violet.

Obōche. Pl. of OBO, *q.v.*

Obodowiya. Small termite.

Obŏgo. Foxglove.

Obol. Pl. OBOLI. Bamboo.

Obong. Hoof, pad.

Obot. A hollow reed from which flutes are made.

Obot. Remainder, balance. APENYO OBOT LIMNA MA RIKI ODONG, I ask for the balance of my property which was left; OBOT KAL, the unripe grain left at the first reaping.

Obuja. Large calabash flask for unguents.

Obulukuch. Tussocks or hummocks of grass in swamps.

Obuto. Drinking-cup only used in rain ceremonies.

Obwol. Mushroom. OBWOL ARUKA, large mushroom; OBWOL AGUTI, large pink mushroom with a central boss; OBWOL AKWARA, small mushroom similar in appearance to AGUTI; AMO-

Obwol—*continued*
KO, small pink mushroom; OROROT, small white mushroom; AWANGI, very small white mushroom; OTELTOL, a white fungoid mushroom which grows on trees; AWOYODYANG, a mushroom which grows in cattle kraals.

Obwolo. A tree whose leaves are often inserted in the roofs of houses as a specific against the ravages of termites.

Ochala. = ORYIRI, bulrush. Only used by the Jo Moita. [Lunyoro, BISARO.]

Ochanga. Necklace, especially of ostrich egg discs.

Ochau. = OCHEO, Amomum, *q.v.* (This form used by the Jo Aber only).

Ochauayom. A blue flower, a favourite food of monkeys.

Ochaunya. Rat-tailed grass.

Ochec ho. = ACHECHO, *q.v.*

Ochege. Bulrush, burned for salt.

Ocheke. Kind of grass, drinking-tube made from that grass.

Ocheo. Amomum.

Ocheo. A ring with a metal prolongation used both as a scratcher and a tooth-pick.

Ochôboro. A wild herb, eaten as a vegetable.

Ochôga. Wild plant.

Ochogo. = CHOGA. (*Ricinus communis.*)

Ochoich. = ACHOIT, *q.v.*

Ochok. Solanum.

Ochōk. Goldfinch.

Ocholi. A wild plant.

Ochône. Blight affecting sorghum grain.

Ochuga. Cherry.

Ochwau. = CHWAO, tamarind.

Ochwê. Creeping plant with a yellow, edible fruit.

Ochwi. Exclamation of triumph.

Ochwicha. Edible leaves of the marrow OKONO.

Ochwichi. Stink ant, Ponera ant.

Ochyene. Flying grasshopper. [Luganda, ENSENENE.]

Oda. My house. *Vide* OT.

Ode. His house. *Vide* OT.

Odéke. Boil, bubo.

Odekere. = ODÉKE. (Used by Jo Burutok only.)

Odeo. Lump, small piece, fragment. ODEO MOKO, lump of dough.

Oderu. Winnowing mat.

Odi. Thy house. *Vide* OT.

Odiko. In the morning, next morning. ODIKO CHON, early in the morning; ODIKO OBAYI, at daybreak.

Odilo. *Landolphia owariensis*, Beauv; kidneys; hockey ball.

Odimodim. Small species of field rat.

Odir. Cricket.

Ô'do. = YOK'O, to pound.

Odoich. Name given to boy baby of breech presentation.

Odok. Resin, gum, exudation, sap. ODOK YAT, resin; ODOK KICH, beeswax.

Odol. Headpad of twisted grass. [DOLO.]

Odom. Occiput.

Odōn. Adductor magnus muscle.

Odongi. Pl. of ADWONG, *q.v.*

Odug'o. A tree commonly used for building and planted in the OTEM.

Oduk. A species of tree.

Oduk. In cipher language = TŌL, vagina.

Odunge. May. [KECH DANG ODUNGE, hunger has increased, i.e. the scarce period between the old and the new crops.]

Odunyo. Kind of grass.

Oduro. Dung heap, refuse heap, midden.

Oduru. Fig-tree.

Odwaka. Species of sorghum. *Vide* BEL.

Odwong. Gardenia.

Odwongmon. Species of lizard, similar in colouration to a snake, whence its name as "women-frightener." [DWONGO, MON.]

Odyek. Pl. ODYEKAN. Hyæna. ODYEK ARUDI, small species of hyæna. ODYEK OBALANGIYU, large species of hyæna.

Odyera. Species of millet. *Vide* KAL.

Ogabu. Pumpkin.

Ogada. Bamboo.

Ogali. Tree. [Luganda, MUGALI.]

Ogaru. Bamboo-like reed.

Oger. Long-bladed spear.

Oger. = OGERPACHO, *q.v.*

Ogere. Ladybird.

Ogerpacho. Sparrow. [GERO, PACHO.]

Ogili. Parroquet.

Ogita. Metal studs on the ATAKA, *q.v.*

Ogo. = OGOGO, *q.v.*

Ogŏde. Rake.

Ogogo. Plant with edible fruit.

Ogok. Herring.

Ogol. Eaves of house. TE OGOL, near the house.

Ogole. Pl. OGOL'E. Kite.

Ogore. Crab.

Ogoro. Large termite.

Ogoro. Water-beetle.

Ogoro. Crane.

Ogu. Laterite.

Ogul. Metal bracelet.

Ogulokwirchak. Marsh plant with red flowers containing a white sap (hence CHAK), which is bitter to the taste like that of the tree OKWIR.

Oguru. Backbone, spine, fin of fish, midrib of shield and of spear-blade.

Ogwa. Fishing-basket.

Ogwal. Pl OGWALI or OGWALAGWALI. Toad, frog. OGWALAGWAL, frog; OGWAL BAT, biceps; DWE OMONYO OGWAL, the moon has swallowed the frog, i.e. it is full moon; KAL ODOKO NGEYE OGWALAGWAL, the grain is becoming froggy on the back, i.e. spotted like a frog, is growing to maturity.

Ogwang. Large metal earring worn by women, women's anklet.

Ogwang. Pl. OGWANGI. Merekat. OGWANG EKOKOWACH, white-tailed merekat; OGWANG OWOWOR, black-tailed merekat; NINO ODOKO TYEN OGWANG, the semsem turns merekat-foot, i.e. becomes parti-coloured, begins to ripen.

Ogwangarwot. Marsh mallow.

Ogwe. Flea. (An Akum word only used by the Jo Burutok.)

Ogwe. Subterranean ant-hill with surface vent holes.

Ogwegwe. Pl OGWED'I or OGWEDIGWEDI Lizard, *Gecho*.

Ogwegwen. ORETE OGWEGWEN—a wrestling term—he fell locked face to face on his side. [GWENO.]

Ogwil. Pl OGWILI Love-bird, *Agapornis*.

Ogwil. Ivory breast ornament.

Oich. Pl. of ORO. Wife's brother. JO PA OICH, wife's family.

Ojibu. Wasp.

Ojok. Name of male child born with teeth.

Ojor. Lake fly.

Ojwê. Shin of animal.

Ojwin. Wagtail.

Ojwin. Stern of canoe.

Okak. Wild cat.

Okama. Species of millet, *Vide* KAL.

Okame. Large mussel

Okango. Species of tree. ? *Gardenia Enneamera*, Schwft.

Okanyango. Scarab beetle.

Okau. = AKAU, *q.v.*

Okecho. = AKEJO, *q.v.*

Okego. A white-flowering tree, largely used in making spear-shafts.

Okelokel. Thistle.

Okelokelo. Large biting ant.

Okelomani. Seminal duct.

Okeo. Father's sister's son, father's brother's daughter's son, sister's son (m.s.).

Okeu. Bamboo.

Okinyo. Termite destructive to houses.

Ŏkŏ. Outside, utterly, entirely. [WOKO.]

Okodokodo. Mauve-flowering mimosa.

Okok. False egret.

Okok. Termite. OKOK TUK, small termite; OKOK OBODOWIYA, small termite; OKOK ARIPO, big termite; OKOK OGORO, big termite; OKOK OKUPA, small evening termite; OKOK ETAKTAK, black termite; OKOK AMING, small termite; OKOK OKINYO, house termite.

Okokom. = EKOKOM, *q.v.*

Okōli. Calabash drinking-cup.

Okol'o. Millepede.

Okom. = OGUL, heavy metal wristlet.

Okong. Scarab beetle.

Okong. Pandanus.

Okongo. Pl. OKONGE. Jay. [Onomatopœic.]

Okono. Vegetable marrow. Its leaves are known as OCHWICHA.

Okoto. Hoop used in the game of TOTO OKOTO.

Okuk. Stickleback.

Okumbere. Coot.

Okuna. Species of field-rat.

Okupa. Kind of termite.

Okutagwe. An acacia whose leaves are burnt and inhaled as a specific against meningitis.

Okutalwi. Kind of acacia. [OKUTU, LWIYO.]

Okutu. Thorn tree, thorn.

Okutu. Wooden hoe, digging-stick.

Okwaro. Pl. KIKWAYO. Son's son; daughter's son, descendant.

Okwe. = OKWECH, *q.v.*

Okwech. Exclamation of pain or triumph.

Okwijir. Kind of bird.

Okwil. River mussel.

Okwir. Tall tree with a bitter sap.

Okwĭr. Martin. Often OKWIROKWIR.

Okwír. Jay.

Okwodo. Pl. OKWOD'I. Tick. OKWODO NAM, *Ornithodorus moubata*.

Okworo. = KWORO, tree with edible berries.

Okwoto. Thorny. OBAT OKWOTO, thorny, yam-like plant.

Olal. Mimosa (white-flowering).

Olam. Pl. OLAMI. Sycamore tree.

Olech. Weevil.

Olere. Flute.

Olich. In cypher language = CHUL, penis.

Oligo. Pipe-stem euphorbia. (*Lycopodioides*.)

Olik. Pl. OLIKIN. Bat.

Oliki. Gudgeon.

Olimo. Cherry.

Ōlo. To tire. Pass. ŌL, to be tired.

Ôlo. To cough.

Olô. Hemorrhoids.

Olŏk. Pl. OLŌK'I. Grape vine.

Olokoro. Œsophagus.

Oloto. Shin-bone.

Olugi. Tadpole.
Olugturu. Dance flute.
Olukturu. = OLUGTURU, *q.v.*
Olunga. Small fish-basket.
Olutokwon. Prunus tree, from which spurtles are made. [LUTO, KWON.]
Olwe. In cipher language = PI, water.
Olwedo. Pl. OLWED'I. Lilac.
Olweru. Grass snake.
Olwet. Flute.
Olwinyu. Tapeworm.
Omagi. Nsambya.
Omai. Exclamation of pain or surprise.
Omara. Croton.
Omaran. Ribs.
Omarari. God of plague. MYEL OMARARI, dance to avert plague.
Omaro. Pl. OMARI. Wife's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband, mother's sister's son.
Omaru. June. [The month when food is ready and you make friends (MARO).]
Omataila. Sirius.
Omeja. Dendraspis.
Omegu. Pl. of OMIN, *q.v.*
Omele. Pl. OMELI. *Glossina morsitans*; *G. Pallipedes.*
Omen. Coffee tree. [Lunyoro, MUMWANYI.]
Omida. Thyme.
Omin. Pl. OMEGU. Brother, father's brother's son (also WOT OMIN PAPO), step-brother. OMIN PAPO, father's brother; NYA OMIN PAPO, father's brother's daughter; NERO OMIN, mother's co-wife's brother; CHI OMIN, brother's wife; WOT OMIN, brother's son.
Ômno. = ÔM'O, *q.v.*
Omô. Slave, captive of war.
Ôm'o. To fetch. ÔM'O CHWINY, to be enthusiastic.
Omoijok. Large red caterpillar.
Omoin. Purple convolvulus.
Ômjok. Tubercular leprosy. [Mô, JOK.]
Omola. = AMOLA, *q.v.*
Omolokony. = OLOTO, shin.
Omor. Pl. OMORI. Caterpillar.
Omor. Minnow.
Omorotot. Python. (Used only by Jo Burutok.) [Ateso, EMOROTOT.]
Omoto. = ATOTO, *Pistia stratiotis.*
Omuk. March. [YEN OMUKERE DUCH, all plants take root.]
Omule. Flute.
Omwamwa. Thrush.
Ongeng. Baganda.
Ôno. ÔNO MACH, to warm oneself by fire. [Variant of OYO.]
Ô'no. = OYO, to spill.
Ononot. Burrs. [NOTO.]
Onyam. ONYAM WANG, temple.
Onyang. *Glossina palpalis.* Generally reduplicated ONYANYANG.
Onyang. = AKAL, reedbuck. (Ceremonial word.)
Onyeng. = KUL, wart-hog. (Ceremonial word.)
Onyiri. Bulrush, burned to obtain salt.
Onyo. = OYO, *q.v.* Pass. ONY.
Onyogo. Pl. ONYOGI. Louse.
Ŏ'ŏ. = OKO, utterly.
Opal. River mussel.
Opego. Pl. OPEG. Bush pig.
Openo. Crested eagle.
Opere. Kind of dance.
Opeto. Acacia.
Opi. Bahima.
Opilo. Streaked, striped.
Opilo. Small species of rat.
Opindiri. An insulting and indecent expression only used by women and small children. [? OPINE.]
Opine. Clitoris.
Opio. Asthma.
Opō. October.
Opok. Insect marked on back with a large St. Andrew's cross.
Opoko. O. TONG, socket of spear. [Variant of APOKO.]
Opoolong. = OPO, October. [LONG.]
Opopong. = APONGPONG, *q.v.*
Opul. Small, blue and red lupin.
Opuno. White earth eaten by goats.
Opuny. Heel.
Opuo. Black clay used for plaster.
Opurokony. Small of foot.
Opyopyo. Mongoose.
Ora. Swamp. (Only used by Western Lango.)
Oranga. = ARANGA.
Oranga. Sterile. (Used of a young woman only.)
Orara. O. MADWONG, February; O. MATIDI, January. [The months of burning grass, RARA being the noise of the fire.]
Ore. Tree frog.
Oreme. A plant with magical healing properties; hence, greeting.
Orenge. Foot.
Oreô. Thirst, desire, concupiscence.
Oret. August. [The month of wind. YAMO ORETO YEN, wind blows over the trees.]
-'Oro. Some, any. [MORO.]
Oro. Pl. OICH. Wife's father, wife's brother, son's wife's parents, daughter's husband, sister's husband (man speaking); ORO CHWAR, co-wife's relations (woman speaking).

Oro. Dry season.
Oro. To send person on errand, to employ.
Orô. ORO DYANG, ox. [ROYO.]
Orŏk. KWER ME OROK, long straight-handled hoe.
Orokoroko. Tree from which the musical instrument, OLWET, is cut.
Orongo. Lango Divinity. *Vide* JOK.
Ororo. Long, thin, deadly snake. [Direka, KEROR = snake.]
Orōrōt. Species of mushroom.
Oroye. Gelded, castrated. [ROYO.]
Oruka. Small kind of mushroom.
Oryang. Yellow-flowering mimosa.
Oryô. A tree, a branch of which if waved round the head and thrown behind you at someone will magically cause the latter's death.
Ot. Ten. (Only used by the Jo Burutok.)
Ot. Pl. UDI. House. DWE OGERO ODE, the moon is building its house, i.e. has a halo or corona; OT NYODO, uterus; OT TET, smithy.
Otaich. Pl. OTAICH'I. Headpad, circular game snare of thorns.
Otak. OTAK IT, cartilage of ear.
Otegakori. Prickly aloe.
Oteltōl. Species of mushroom.
Otem. Resting and eating place in courtyard.
Oteo. Cuts made for purpose of bleeding. [TEYO.]
Otêre. Dried potatoes. [Lunyoro, BITERE.]
Otigo. Stonecrop.
Otigo. Wild semsem.
Otikok. July.
Otit. Firefly.
Otit. Pl. TITI. *Phœnix reclinata*, Jacq.
Otitini. Mouse.
Otôgo. Pl. OTÔGIN. Bachelor's hut.
Otuba. Bark-cloth tree. [Luganda, MUTUBA.]
Otule. Flute.
Otum. Spear with short, worn-down blade.
Otwilo. A plant (both wild and cultivated) from which salt is obtained by burning.
Otwinyo. Mucus. [TWINYU.]
Otwongo. Grasshopper.
Otyen. Elbow.
Otyèno. Evening, about 5.30–7.0 p.m.
Otyer. Cattle bird.
Otyô-ô-ô. Exclamation of surprise or appreciation.
Owak. = ABATA, tree.
Owalu. Crested crane (*Balœrica Gibbericeps*).
Owangatar. Laburnum.
Owayo. Father's sister, brother's wife (woman speaking), husband's sister. [WAYO.]
Owelo. Oak.
Owich. Trap.
Owilakot. Erythrina.
Owiyo. Fowl croup.
Owô. Young borassus palm, fronds of full-grown palm. [Wô.]
Owor. Night.
Owôwô. Sword grass.
Owowor. OGWANG OWOWOR, black-tailed merekat.
Owuyu. Puff-adder (*Bitis arietans*).
Oyado. Leguminous tree with yellow flowers.
Oyapoich. Species of millet. *Vide* KAL.
Oyengo. Earthquake. [YENGO.]
Oyo. To spill, upset, pour away. Pass. OYE, to be upset, to run away (of liquid).
Oyo. To bask. OYO MACH, to warm oneself by fire.
Oyo. Rat, mouse.
Oyo. Baganda.
Oyoka. Species of millet. *Vide* KAL.
Oyoyo. Caterpillar.
Oyuko. Water-rat.

P

Pa. Of (of persons).
Pa. Like. OBEPUNGNI PA NGAT MUMER, he is staggering like a drunken man. This PA is probably only the preposition "of," and is to be explained by an ellipse. OBEPUNGNI (PUNG) PA, . . . he staggers the staggering of . . .
Pach. To grow or become red. PINY OPACH, the country is reddening, i.e. shortly before sunrise.
Pacho. Pl. PACH'I. Village.
Pado. Broken calabash bowl.
Padachel. Together, entirely. KONI PADACHEL, now at once.
Paicho. To shell, strip. PAICHO POKE, to strip off bark from a tree; PAICHO TOL, to shred string.
Pako. = RATO, to give a nickname of affection. [Lunyoro, MPAKO.]
Pako. To dazzle. CHENG OPAKO WANGA, the sun dazzles my eyes.
Pako. To sharpen, whet on stone.
Pak'o. To sing the solo or recitative.
Pala. Pl. PAL'I. Knife.
Palala. Ochre (from swamps).
Palo. To be quarrelsome. LONI, IN IMITO PALO KEDA? You there, do you wish to pick a quarrel with me?
Pame. Like, as. AWOTO PAME DYEWOR, I go like night.

Pamo. To mud walls of house, to mud granary, to bridge.

Pano. To conceal crime, especially murder.

Pany. Pl. PANYI. Mortar. ALEK PANY, pestle. Slang term for wife.

Papako. = PAKO, to dazzle.

Papo. Father, father's brother, stepfather. OMIN PAPO, father's brother; CHI PAPO or CHI OMIN PAPO, father's brother's wife; WOT OMIN PAPO, father's brother's son; NYA OMIN PAPO, father's brother's daughter.

Parachan. REGO PARACHAN, to shuffle one's feet, technical term in game of TOTO OKOTO.

Pare. At his village. DYANG TYE PARE, he has the cow. [PA, -E.]

Pari. At thy village. [PA, -I.]

Paro. To suppose, think, to brood over, to regret. KOPNI MAM APARO, I am not thinking about this affair, i.e. I think light of it, I am not worrying about it.

Pat. In one place, by itself. PAT . . . PAT, . . . in one place, . . . in another place, separately.

Payo. To adze, to construct of wood, to shape wood.

Pĕ. Hailstones.

Pē. No, not. (Used only by the Jo Aber and Jo Moita.)

Pedo. To open (more widely than KWEKO), to unfold. KWEKI, PED WANEN, open it, open it widely that we may see; PED MALACH WANEN, open it widely that we may see; CHENG OPEDO WANGE, the sun opens its eye, about 6 p.m., because during the day its face is invisible owing to the glare.

Pek. To be heavy.

Peke. = APEKE, *q.v.*

Pel. Umbilicus, core of ulcer. NYING ME PEL, birth name.

Pelo. To pierce through, transfix.

Pem. Bridge. [PAMO.]

Pe'na. = PELNA. *Vide* PEL.

Pe'ne. = PELNE. *Vide* PEL.

Pe'ni. = PELNI. *Vide* PEL.

Pen'o. To select.

Pē'no. = PEYO, *q.v.*

Peny. To get a firm hold on, to become deep-rooted, to become endemic (of disease).

Penyo. To ask, inquire; rarely, to ask for. PENYO NYOM, to ask in marriage.

Perege. Water-rat. (An Akum word only used by the Jo Burutok.)

Pero. To pass time. Pass. PER (of time), to pass. ORO MERE OPER ADI? How many of its years have passed, i.e. how long ago was it?

Pero—*continued*

Pêru. The substructure of a granary, a table-like structure or platform used for ceremonial purposes.

Peto. To spread out, to make a log staircase.

Peyo. To pull, to lead a blind man with a stick.

Pi. Pl. PII or PIK. Water, juice, gravy. PI WANG, tear; PI OTERE, water has taken him, i.e. he is drowned; PI ATABARA, rain-water standing on an exposed laterite sheet; PI ALELECH, very shallow water which splashes in walking; PI APWOT, narrow river or arm of lake; PI ALUK, vadose water oozing from the ground.

Pi. On account of. PI NGO? On account of what? Why?

Pido. To plead a case, to argue. PIDO KI, to accuse.

Pigi. On their account. [PI, -GI.]

Piko. To fill. PIK PI I AGULU, fill the pot with water; PIK ADUPA KI WARO, fill the bag with cotton.

Pilalich. In cipher language = Mô, fat, butter.

Pim. NI PIM, fixedly, motionless.

Pimo. To scalify, make scabrous. To OPIPIMO TYEN'E BALA ME TYEN LYECH, disease scalified his leg like an elephant's (of a man with elephantiasis).

Pino. Pl. PINI. Hornet. PIPINO ADYEGI, a small kind of hornet apt to attack goats.

Pi'no. = PIYO, *q.v.*

Piny. Pl. PINYE. Country, earth, world, climate. BEYO KI PINY, to go by land; PINY ORU, day is dawning; PINY OYABERE, ODOKO LER, the country is opening up and becoming clear, i.e. it is dawning; PINY OYUTO, darkness is setting in; PINY OPYILO APYILA, the country is at peace; TE PINY, the horizon; TE PINY OWAL AKINO, the horizon is reddening.

Piny. Below, down, beneath. KETI PINY, put it down.

Pio. Quickly.

Pipino. Reduplicated, and more usual, form of PINO, hornet.

Pira. On my account, on my responsibility. OBEDO PIRA, the responsibility is mine. [PI, -A.]

Pire. On his account. TYE PIRE EN, it is up to him, he is responsible. [PI, -E.]

Piri. On thy account. [PI, -I.]

Piro. To cause to decay, to decompose.

Piro—*continued*
Pass. PIRE, to rot, to be eaten by insects.

Piro. To desire excessively, to lust after. APIRO MAKONI, I greatly want to catch you.

Pit. Upbringing, education, sustenance. [PITO.]

Pito. To rear a young child or animal, to foster.

Pito. To plant.

Piwa. On our account. [PI, -WA.]

Piwu. On your account. [PI, -WU.]

Piyo. To drill. PIYO MACH, to make fire with fire-sticks.

Pô. To be mad, light-witted.

Podi. Still, not yet.

Podo. = PWODO, *q.v.*

Poi. Pass. of POYO, to remind.

Pōko. To divide, distribute. Midd. POKERE, to share with one another.

Pŏko. Pl. PUG'I. Rind, shell, husk, skin, bark.

Pok'o. POK'O KWOT, to make a shield.

Pol. Corns.

Pōl. To be many, abundant.

Pol. POL YE, paddle.

Polo. Pl. POL'I. Sky, clouds.

Pongo. To fill. Pass. PONG, to be full. KA KOT OCHWE, PI OTOPONG KAN BALA? When it rains is the water full up here? NYAKO DONG OPONG, the girl is full, i.e. her breasts are developed and she is of marriageable age.

Pono. To conceal. Pass. PONE, to be concealed.

Ponyo. To teach.

Pŏr. DWE OPOR, it is new moon.

Pôr. To fly, to jump, to elope (of a woman). WINYO OPÔR KI BWOMBE, the bird is flying with its wings; LONI OPÔR KI LOK WOK, this man flies with his speech, i.e. speaks excessively fast.

Poro. To arrange, aim, measure, weigh, attempt, test, illustrate, counterfeit. PORO KOP MABER, to arrange one's statement well; APORO KOBI, I am trying to tell you; NINO OPORO WIYE, the semsem has arranged its head, i.e. is in full flower; MAM APIDO GIRA, APORO KOP APORA, I am not arguing, but am merely supposing a case; LYECH OPORO KUNYO, the elephant tried to dig. Pass. PORE, to be correct, smooth, exact, well-ordered.

Poron. Counterfeit, resemblance. [PORO.]

Pot. Leaf. POT TONG, blade of spear; POT ACHOK, potato tops.

Potcheng. Sunset. [POTO, CHENG.]

Poto. Madness. POTO OMAKE, he became mad.

Poto. To fall. AKAU MAN OPOTO I KULU MENE? Into what river does this stream fall? IYE OPOTO, her stomach fell, i.e. she gave birth prematurely.

Poto. Pl. POT'I. Garden, cultivation.

Poyo. To remind. Pass. POI, to remember.

Poyu. Weal, scar.

Pôü. = POYU, *q.v.*

Pu. A ceremonial interjection representing expectoration.

Puch. Sinew, tendon.

Pug'i. Pl. of POKO, *q.v.*

Pugno. = PUG'O, *q.v.*

Pug'o. To become fat, to become formed, to become black (of a young baby).

Pul'o. Plant with a tuberous root which is put in milk to curdle it.

Pum. The sound of a soft, loose substance falling to the ground, like ashes.

Pungni. To stagger, totter.

Puno. = PUYO, *q.v.*, to plaster.

Punyo. To go out of mourning, to celebrate the feast APUNY.

Pur. Cultivation. [PURO.]

Pur. PUR KWER, handle of hoe.

Pur-r-r. The sound of a sudden flapping of wings. WINYO OTUK PUR-R-R, the bird flew up with a sudden flutter.

Puro. To break up land, to cultivate.

Pur'o. To be rusty, mouldy.

Put. To be weak, to totter (of small children trying to walk).

Put. BEDO PUT, to sit cross-legged.

Puto. To uproot, pull out, pluck a fowl. PUTO IB DYANG, PUTO CHIP, to pull out hairs from a cow's tail, to pull out threads from a woman's apron—both for purposes of witchcraft.

Puyo. To curdle, to churn milk.

Puyo. To plaster or wash wall of house with black mud, to cowdung the floor.

Pwaich. Adverb of disgust, representing the sound of expectoration.

Pwodo. To hit, thrash, thresh.

Pwono. To pick fruit, beans, cotton, etc. Pass. PWON, to be picked, to be weaned.

Pwot. To be slender, slim, well-proportioned, slippery. OT MA WIYE PWOT, house with a well-pitched roof; PINY MAPWOT ORETE, the slippery ground upset him.

Pwoyo. To accept, thank, acknowledge, approve. Midd. PWOYERE, to be glad, rejoice. CHWINYA OPWOYERE, I am overjoyed; APWOYO PYERI, I approve thy back (the usual overture to a flirtation).

Pwŭno. Pl. PWUN'I. Bushpig. [Lunyoro, MPUNO.]
Pye. To alight, to jump.
Pyedo. To annoy, worry, confuse, drive mad or crazy.
Pyelo. To go to stool, to defecate.
Pyem. To be obstinate, quarrelsome, argumentative. OPYEM MATEK KWE, he is very obstinate.
Pyem. Obstinacy.
Pyen. Pl. PYENE. Hide.
Pyer. Back. WANG PYER, waist.
Pyer. Multiple of ten. PYER ARYÔ, two tens, i.e. twenty. (Used by Jo Aber and less often by Jo Moita.)
Pyeto. To sift, winnow (by throwing grain up on a mat, as contrasted with KIINO and LUK'O, in which method the grain is allowed to fall off a slope, leaving the chaff behind).
Pyilo. To lie down flat, to be in good order, at rest. PINY MABECH OPYILO APYILA, the whole country is at peace.

R

Rabo. To pray.
Rach. To be bad, evil, dirty.
Rach. Badness, evil. Used adverbially as a superlative. LAUTOLNI NWANG RACH, this cloth is very coarse. Cf. use of MARACH.
Rai. Pl. of RAO. Hippopotamus.
Ramno. = RAMO, *q.v.*
Ramo. To pain, hurt. KUMA OBERAMA, my body is hurting me, i.e. I am in pain.
Rango. To look at, examine, observe, inspect.
Ra'no. To collect, gather together.
Rao. Stubble, stalks of burnt grass.
Rao. Pl. RAI or REI. Hippopotamus.
Rato. To jest, to be familiar with. ARATE KEDE ARATA EN KA OKELO KOP ME ANGOYE, I was just flirting with her and she became peevish; NYING ME ARAT MA JO GIRATO KEDE, a nickname by which men exhibit their familiarity.
Rayo. = RA'NO, *q.v.*
Rech. Pl. RECHI. Fish. BITO RECH, CHIKO RECH, to trap fish; CHUDO RECH, to harpoon fish. (By the Jo Burutok RECH is often used in a restricted sense after the Akum practice to specify roach.)
Rech. = RACH, to be bad.
Redo. To cry out, exclaim, to shout, make a noise, to trumpet (of elephants). ARED'E OKULO, I shouted for Okulo.
Rego. To grind.
Reg'o. To dig on the surface, to break surface soil. REG'O PARACHAN, to make one's mark at the game TOTO OKOTO.
Rei. Pl. of RAO. Hippopotamus.
Rĕmo. To fail, not to be enough for. KWEI OREMOGI, these are not enough hoes for them. Pass. REM, to be deficient, to fall short.
Remo. = RAMO, *q.v.*
Rēmo. Blood. DYEBO REMO, to suffer from dysentery; REMO OCHWER, blood leaks, i.e. I bleed.
Rep. To be thin, soft, insubstantial, to be dusky. PINY OREP AREP, it is twilight; NGAT MA DOGE REP, one who has a light mouth, i.e. a good improvisor of song.
Reto. To throw down, upset. Pass. RET'E, to be thrown down, to fall, to drop.
Ribdo. = RIB'O, *q.v.*
Ribiribi. Swiftly.
Rib'o. To blend, reconcile, mix, mingle. RIB'O CHWINY, to mingle hearts, i.e. to converse intimately. Midd. RIBERE to be reconciled with, to make a truce, to be mixed, confused.
Rid'o. To bring together, to tighten, to approximate, to squeeze in, to put in close order. TWEYI RID'I, tie it up and pull the knot tight; RID'I KWON MATEK, knead the flour into a thick paste. Pass. RID'E, to be closed, in close order, to be contiguous, to coalesce. LAKE ORID'E, his teeth grew together (filling up the gap left by extraction); PI MAM ORWORID'E, the water has not yet reached the top of the vessel, i.e. is not yet boiling.
Rigo. = REGO, to grind, to rub. DYEGI GIBERIGO KUMGI KUM OLAM, the goats are rubbing themselves against the fig tree.
Rii. Pl. of RIU, *q.v.*
Rik. Abruptly. AGIK I RIK, I came to an abrupt standstill.
Riki. Sign of the past tense. RIKI IWOTO KWEN? Where did you go? JO MU RIKI GIWOTO ABYECHE, the men who went to Abyeche.
Riko. To drive game.
Ringo. To run, run away.
Ringo. Flesh, meat.
Ri'no. = RIYO, to twist.
Riri. WANGE ORIRI, he squints.
Ririyo. Reduplicated, and usual, form of RIYO, to look for.
Riu. Pl. RII. Giraffe. (Used by Jo Aber only.)

Riyo. To twist, coil spirally.

Riyo. To look for diligently.

Riy'o. To spend the day. IRIY'O ? or IRIY'O NEDI ? How have you spent the day ? i.e. Good afternoon !

Robo. To rob, take by force.

Roborobo. Flabby, loosely knit.

Rôcha. = ROYACHA. *Vide* ROYA.

Rōd'a. = ADERIT, bushbuck. (Used by Jo Aber and in ceremonials only.)

Rôd'o. To quarrel over, to dispute about. GIRÔD'O LE ARÔD'A, they quarrel about game.

Roich. Snare. KETO ROICH, to lay a snare.

Roich. To slough skin (of snake).

Roichi. Pl. of ROYA, *q.v.*

Roicho. To tie a rope round leg of cow, to trip up. ROICHI DYANG GIWOT TURWA, halter the cattle that they may go with us home ; WEK ROICHO KOP, stop tripping up the case, i.e. confusing the issues ; KOP OROICHA, the affair has tripped me up, i.e. I have forgotten about it ; NYINGI OROICHA, I have forgotten your name. Pass. ROICHE or ROICH, to be haltered, to be tripped up, to be misled.

Rŏko. To stuff, to poke in, to scoop out, to clean by rubbing, especially the inside of a hollow implement ; to remove pith or core of wood.

Rŏmo. To make equal or alike, to suffice. RINGO OROMOGI DUCHU, there is enough meat for all. WAROMO CHÔ AROMA, we made the awakening equal, i.e. we woke up at the same time. Pass. ROM, to be like, to be equal, to be evenly matched. DYANG OROM KWEN ? How big is the cow ? DUCHU GIROROM, they are all alike ; ROM KI . . . to be the same size as. . . .

Rômo. To meet. Midd. RÔMERE, to meet one another.

Rŏm'o. Pl. RŏM'I. Sheep. NYOK ROM'O, ram ; MIN ROM'O, sheep ; ATIN ROM'O, lamb ; AWOB' ROM'O, he-lamb.

Rōm'o. To fight. Midd. RŌMERE, to fight one another. WAROMERE KEDGI, we fought with them.

Rôno. = ROYO, *q.v.* To insert, put in, hide. Pass. RÔN'E, to be put in, to hide, to make an ambush. ORÔN'E I YÔ OTEKOLOB'E MOMOT, he hid by the roadside and followed him slowly.

Rŏp'o. To patch a hole in the bottom of a basket or calabash.

Roromo. Reduplicated form of RŏMO, *q.v.*

Rŏto. To look for, spy out, track, scout.

Roya. Pl. ROICHI. Heifer. ROYACHA, that heifer, is colloquially contracted to RÔCHA. Used sometimes by Jo Burutok after the Akum to designate a young calf of either sex.

Royo. To insert, put in, hide. TONG OROYE I LUM, he hid the spear in the grass.

Roy'o. To geld, castrate.

Ru. To dawn. PINY ORU, the day dawns ; PINY OTYEKO RU, the day has dawned.

Ruapiny. Daybreak. [PINY, RU.]

Rubdo. = RUB'O, to mix.

Rub'o. To recover from a sprain. RWAYI MATEK, BADE OTOBINO RUB'O, massage vigorously and his arm will recover from the sprain.

Rub'o. = RIB'O, *q.v.*

Rud'e. To bear twins. MIN DYEL ORUD'E, the goat has borne two kids.

Rud'o. To rub smooth, clean, polish. RUD'O LAK, to brush teeth ; RUD'O I ATEK, to clean out a pipe.

Rudu. Crumbs of dry porridge.

Ruko. To call, cry (of animals). DYANG ORUKO KOKO MATEK, the cow is lowing vigorously ; AWALU ORUKO KIYA, the crane screeches without ceasing.

Ruko. To dress, wear ornaments or clothing. Midd. RUKERE, to dress oneself.

Rumo. To surround.

Rumo. RUMO CHONG, to kneel.

Rupo. To whisper to, advise secretly.

Rut. Onomatopœic adverb indicating a scraping noise. GIN MATIMO RUT I OT OCHALO BALA DANO, there is something making a scraping noise in the house, it sounds like a man.

Rut. Pl. RUDE. Twins.

Rwako. To put on, put over, put in. RWAKO OCHEKE I YATERE, to return a drinking tube into its container.

Rwano. To rub, massage.

Rwato. To mud the wall of a house by ramming wet earth in the wooden framework.

Rwato. To meet.

Rwayo. = RWANO, *q.v.*

Rwenyo. To be lost, to be lost to. YÔ ORWENYA, the road is lost to me, I have lost my way.

Rweyo. To rub, to fray. Pass. RWEYE, to be rubbed, frayed. DWAN'A ORWEYE, my throat is frayed, i.e. I am hoarse, have lost my voice.

-Rwo-. Verbal infix indicating the deferred future tense ; used with MAM to mean not yet. OBINO, he comes ; MAM OBINO, he has not come ; MAM ORWOBINO, he has not yet come.

Rwodi. Pl. of RWOT, *q.v.*

Rwodo. To break out in a rash or pimples. KUMA ORWODO, I am covered with a rash.

Rwŏk. Very. (Used by Western Lango only under Jopaluo influence.)

Rwong. Rumour, report. AWINYO RWONG NYINGI MUKETA BINO PI KOPNI, I came on this business as I heard the rumour of your name.

Rwōt. Pl. RWODI. Chief. RWOT KICH, queen bee; TWON RWOT, paramount chief.

Ryamno. = RYEM'O, *q.v.*

Ryam'o. = RYEM'O, *q.v.*

Ryebo. To superimpose, to cover.

Ryek. To be wise, intelligent.

Ryeko. Intelligence, wisdom. [RYEK.]

Ryek'o. To slit. RYEK'O OT, to unthatch a roof; RYEK'O RECH, to split fish for drying; RYEK'O TOK, to cut off bead head-dress.

Ryemno. = RYEM'O, *q.v.*

Ryem'o. To drive away, disperse, rout. RYEM'O YO, to drive the road, i.e. to follow quickly on a person's heels. Midd. RYEM'ERE, to be driven away. RYEM'ERE KI . . . to be driven away by . . .

Ryeno. = Ryeyo, *q.v.*

Ryenyo. To make to shine. RYENYO LAK, to make teeth to shine, i.e. to show one's teeth, to grin. Pass. RYENY, to shine. CHENG ORYENY, the sun shines.

Ryeyo. To stretch, stretch out. RYEYO TYEN, to stretch out one's feet, to recline. Pass. RYEYE, to be stretched out, to lie down, to be extended in a straight line. RYEYEUNU ARYEYA, stand you in a row; RYEYO MACH, to stretch out fire, i.e. to light a long line of fire in burning grass.

Ryiyo. To put in a row. Pass. RYIYE, to stand or to be in a row. [? Variant of RYEYO.]

T

Ta. Intensive particle after negatives only. MAM TA! By no means!

Taba. Tobacco.

Tabo. Pl. TAB'I. Jar, bowl.

Tado. To build the wooden framework of a house, to apply rafters.

Tago. Large jar which has been cracked and roughly plastered over, a large piece of potsherd, small pot in which porridge and rats are cooked.

Tagoro. To stagger.

Tako. To bleed by cupping, especially with reference to poisoning and stomach-ache. AWOTO TAKO LOCHA, I am going to treat that man.

Tako. Potsherd. TAKO PEL, the shard in which the umbilical cord of a baby is placed.

Takoro. T. TONG, to poise spear for a throw.

Tal. To be withered up, to be bald. WIYE OTAL, he is bald; BADE OTAL, his arm is wasted away with disease; YAT MATAL CHA, that leafless tree.

Tamo. To weigh, balance, gauge, try, test. TAMO TONG, to poise a spear; TAMO KOP, to ponder, consider.

Tang. To be tainted, sour. KOP MERE TANG TANG MAM OPORE MABER, his statement is prejudiced, it does not carry conviction.

Tanga. Ceremonial mixture of flour and water used at twin-birth ceremonies.

Tango. To stretch out, to extend. TANG CHINGI, stretch out your hand, palms upwards.

Tar. To be light-coloured, white.

Tar. Whiteness, rejoicing, end of mourning. LYELO WICH ME TAR, to shave the head when coming out of mourning.

Tarabuch. Fez.

Tato. Father's mother, mother's mother, husband's mother.

Tayo. RECH OTAYO PI, the fish are rising.

Te. The under part. TERE OROM KWEN? How big is the base of the tree trunk? TERE LE POD' OBINO? MAM, OCHOK. Is the tail of the herd still passing? No, they have finished.

Te. Under, beneath. TE DERO, under the granary.

Tebo. To cut notches in, as ears of cattle.

Tedo. To cook.

Teg'o. To become developed, to harden, to ripen, to reach maturity. ANYWAGI OTEG'O, the maize is filling out; DAKO MATEG'O MACHOLO, a mature woman acts as midwife.

Teg. Peg.

Tek. To be strong, stubborn, difficult, hard, expensive. WIL OBETEK, the price is dear; CHWINYA TEK, I am brave.

Tek. Strength, power, force, violence, stubbornness. TEK CHWINY, bravery.

Tekeleng. Large grasshopper.

Tekno. = TEK'O, *q.v.*

-Teko-. Verbal infix, indicating the narrative tense.

Teko. To initiate, to be the first to . . .

Tek'o. To mediate, to separate fighters, to conciliate.

Telo. To pull. TELO YO, to pull the road, i.e. to guide. Pass. TEL'E, to be pulled, extended. CHUL ETEL'E, the penis is extended, i.e. erect.

Tem. To be an idiot, to be daft.

Temo. To start, to begin. AWALU OTEMO I BAI, the crested crane starts at dawn; GWENO OTEMO KOKO, the fowl starts crowing.

Temo. = TAMO. To weigh, to test the weight, to aim. TEM INEN, weigh it and see; TEMO KOP, to consider a matter.

Teng. Flank, side. BEYI TENGI, pass along the side.

Tengno. = TENG'O, *q.v.*

Teng'o. To shake, to beat out, to drive game by beating the grass. TENG'O NINO, to beat semsem in order to remove the grains.

Tengpat. Wild plant.

Ten'i. On that side, over there.

Teno. To lay down, to cause to recline. Pass. TENE, to lie down, recline.

Te'no. = TEYO, *q.v.*

Teo. To walk badly or feebly. ATIN POD' OTEO ATEA, the child is still learning to walk; ATIN DONG OTEO WOT, the child can now totter along.

Tepo. To tup.

Ter. Load, any movable property. [TERO.]

Tero. To take, carry.

Teto. To forge, to work in metal.

Teyo. To make incisions for bleeding.

Tĭ. NI TI, utterly. PINY OLING NI TI, the land is absolutely quiet.

Tĭ. To be old.

Tich. Work, occupation. [TIYO.]

Tidi. To be small.

Tĭgo. Pl. TĬG'I. Bead.

Tik. Beard, chin, prow of canoe.

Tik. Malodorously. OTCHA ONGWE TIK, that house has an unpleasant smell.

Tĭko. Door.

Tiko. To specify, to indicate.

Tiko. To deceive by specious promises.

Til. = ATIL, *q.v.*

Tim. Waste land, "bush."

Timno. = TIM'O, *q.v.*

Tim'o. To do, to act, to affect. ITO OTIM'O WANGA, the smoke is affecting my eyes. Midd. TIMERE, to give oneself airs.

Tin. To be small.

Tin. To-day. TIN AMAN, this very day; CHENG MA TIN, the sun which is to-day, i.e. to-day; TIN ATINA, this day and no other.

Ting. Beer dregs.

Tĭngo. To lift up, carry. Midd. TĬNGERE, to carry oneself, to rise, to slope up (of ground).

Tĭngo. To accuse falsely, to libel.

Tino. To blister. PUR KWER OTITINO CHINGA, the hoe handle has blistered my hand.

Tino. To fence in.

Tin'o. To be small.

Tipo. Shadow, shade, spirit, soul.

Tir. Stave, spear shaft.

Tiro. A swamp grass.

Tiro. To straighten, to erect, put upright. Pass. TIR, to be straight, to lie straight or lengthways, to be erect, upright.

Tĭti. Conventional rendering of drum-beats.

Tĭti. Pl. of OTIT, *q.v.*

Tito. To explain.

Tiyo. Old age. [TI.]

Tiyo. To do, work. TIYO TICH, to work; TIYI KAMAN, do like this; TIYI KAMACHA, do like that.

-To-. = -TEKO-, *q.v.*

Tŏ. Jackal. (Used by Jo Aber only.)

Tŏ. To die. DOGE OTO, he is dumb ITE OTO, he is deaf; WANGE OTO, is blind.

Tô. Sickness, disease. ITWÔ TÔ NGO. What is the matter with you? [TWÔ.

Tôbi. Yeast.

Toicho. To be soft, unformed, immature ATIN POD' OTOICHO, MAM ORWOTEGO, the child is still soft, it has not matured.

Tojo. To hit. TOJO PINY, to dig deeply.

Tŏk. Pl. TŌK. Occiput, head-dress. TWEYO TOK, to dress the hair; TOK OGOL, back of house.

Toke. Grain of the plant MALAKWANG.

Tokno. = TOK'O, *q.v.*

-Toko-. = -TEKO-, *q.v.*

Toko. To "mount" tails, etc., with brass, to fit a fly switch to a handle, to ornament.

Tŏko. To hatch eggs.

Tok'o. To serve up food. AGWATA ME TOK'O DEK, small bowl for scooping up food from pot and serving into the AWAL.

Tŏl. Cord, string, one hundred (vide TOLGAG).

Tōl. Vagina.

Tōla. Chaff, husks of AMOLA.

Tolgag. String of cowries, i.e. one hundred (cowries being strung in hundreds). [TOL, GAGI.]

Tôl'o. To warm, to dry fish.

Tōm. Pl. TUME. Harp.

Tômon. Ten.

Tong. Pl. TONGI. Spear, the socket of which is split in line with the midrib; rifle, cornea of eye. TONG GWENO, egg; NYIK TONG, cartridge; TAMO TONG, to poise a spear; ETWAL, KOR, NGUT, T., neck of spear; LEP T., point; OGURU, midrib; OPOKO T., socket; POT T., blade; BOL, TIR T., shaft; ACHIPET, EUNA T., butt; T. OGER, large-bladed spear; T. ACHO, spear with long socket; T. ADAKO, spear with short socket; T. AKANE, spear with socket split on one side.

Tong'o. To cut, hew, chop, fell tree; to slander, calumniate. TONG'O POTO, to blaze the area of a garden to be cultivated; OTONG'A DOK OTONG'A, he kept on insulting me.

Tôno. To drip.

Toogol. = TOK OGOL. *Vide* TOK.

Top. To go bad, putrid.

Tōro. To break, destroy. TORO NGUT, to break the neck, i.e. to bow head in shame. Pass. TOR, to be broken. BADE OTOR, he has broken his arm.

Tôro. To stamp or hit floor to get the mud smooth; to build an embankment.

Tōt. To be many, numerous. (Only used by Jo Burutok and Jo Kidi.)

Tōt. The game TŌTO OKOTO. [TŌTO.]

Tôt. Pl. TUTE. Boring-beetle.

Toto. Mother, step-mother, father's brother's wife, father's wife, mother's sister. AMIN TOTO, mother's sister.

Tōto. To spear the hoop in the game TOTO OKOTO.

Tôtô. POD' TÔTÔ, very recently.

Tot'o. To take honey.

Tôü. = TOYU, dew.

Toyu. Dew.

Tu. To grow up, to sprout (of plants).

Tua. Store for semsem and beans.

Tubo. To pervert, to instigate quarrel, to be ringleader. IN ITUBO JO, you are egging the men on. Midd. TUBERE, to come to blows, to quarrel with (KI).

Tucho. To bore a hole, to lance a boil. Pass. TUCH, to burst open, to be worn through.

Tucho. To make known, to proclaim, inform.

Tudo. To join together, to know, to splice.

Tugo. To release the spring of a trap. Midd. TUGERE, to be released, to fly up.

Tugo. To frighten, alarm, to cause to fly up suddenly. Pass. TUK, to fly up suddenly, to spring away, to spring up.

Tugu. Pl. TUGE. Borassus palm.

Tuk. A species of termite, ant-hill inhabited by that species, hearthstones which generally utilize these ant-hills. MIN TUK, queen termite.

Tuko. To play, jest.

Tula. Owl.

Tula. Trench, culvert.

Tulo. To kill instantaneously. TO OTULE ATULA, he died at once.

Tume. Pl. of TOM, *q.v.*

Tumno. = TUM'O, *q.v.*

Tumo. To finish. Pass. TUM, to be finished, ended.

Tum'o. To cut, amputate.

Tun'a. = TŌLNA. *Vide* TŌL.

Tun'e. = TOLNE. *Vide* TŌL.

Tung. Horn.

Tung. Pl. TUNGE. End, side, branch of family, to, from, at. IWOTO TUNG NGA? To whom are you going? RIKI IYA TUNG KWEN? Where have you come from? TUNG KUNO, there; TUNGA, at my house; GIWOTO TUNGGI, they are going to their houses; TUNG CHEM, right; TUNG CHAM, left.

Tungegi. = TUNGGI, to or at their homes. [TUNG, -GI.]

Tungewu. = TUNGWU, to or at your homes. [TUNG, -WU.]

Tungto. West. [TUNG, TO.]

Tun'i. = TOLNI. *Vide* TŌL.

Tuno. Breast.

Tun'o. To reach, arrive.

Tur. On that side, over there.

Tur'e. To break into blossom, to flower.

Turo. = TÔRO, *q.v.*

Turu. = TURWU, *q.v.*

Turwa. At or to our home.

Turwu. At or to your home.

Tut. To be deep.

Tut. Pus.

Tute. Pl. of TÔT, *q.v.*

Tuti. Dais.

Tuto. Pot with hole in the bottom for filtering salt.

Tutu. Cry of cuckoo.

Tutuno. Recently.

Tuwa. = TURWA, *q.v.*

Twaich. Onomatopœic adverb representing the sound of a liquid falling to the ground, and particularly of semen leaving the penis. [TWAIJO.]

Twaicha. An insulting epithet. [TWAIJO.]

Twaijo. To throw down, to let drop.

Twak. To make a noise, hubbub, to bubble (of boiling water), to thunder, to threaten (of rain). KOT OTWAK ATWAKA, MAM OCHWE, the weather is threatening, but there is no rain.

Twaka. Gum, resin.

Twal. Very.

Twang. Pl. TWANGI. Catfish.
Twanyo. To draw back.
Twaro. To "flush" or "walk up" game, to drive out of hiding. Pass. TWARE, to be flushed, driven out. WINYO GITWARE GITOWOT, the birds have flown away in alarm.
Twaro. To snore.
Twatwaicha. = TWAICHA, *q.v.*
Twatwal. Reduplicated form of TWAL, *q.v.*
Twech. Binding, bondage. [TWEYO.]
Tweko. To send to or for, to obtain for a purpose. DIKI ABINO TWEKONI DYEGI, I shall get you the goats tomorrow.
Twe'no. = TWEYO, *q.v.*
Twenyo. To straighten, to stretch out. Midd. TWENYERE, to stretch oneself. TWENYERE KI . . . to fight a duel.
Twero. To be able, to be powerful, to be a match for.
Tweyo. To bind, fasten, imprison. TWEYO TOK, to dress hair.
Twi. = TU, *q.v.*
Twinyu. To blow or wipe nose. UM ATIN OLUK, MAM ITWINYU ? The child's nose is wet, don't you wipe it ?
Twô. To be ill.
Twôdo. To track, to spoor.
Twol. Pl. TWOLI. Snake. TWOL KOT, worm; LAK TWOL, snake's teeth, i.e. unripe maize.
Twolo. To be open or ajar, to be hollow, to be in extended order. TE DWONGO OTWOLO, there is a hole in the bottom of the basket.
Twomo. To stab, to pierce with spear, to converse with. TWOMO DOK, to hit or to poke a person's mouth by way of insult.
Twômo. To draw water.
Twŏn. Pl. TWŌNI. Male of animal, bull. Used also adjectivally to imply magnitude. TWON LWAK, bull of the crowd, i.e. war leader, general; TWON RWOT, bull chief, overlord; TWON CHING, thumb; TWON POTO, an enormous garden; TWON TONG, a large spear; TWON LOT, bludgeon.
Twôno. To refuse to give what is due, to grudge. TWÔNO CHAM, to be inhospitable.
Twô'no. = TWOYO, *q.v.*
Twontong. A war name.
Tworo. Sedge, moss, fungoid growth, lichen, urticularia.
Tworo. Sisal, used in the manufacture of rope.
Twoyo. To dry, to burn grass or goats' dung to obtain salt. Pass. Twô, to be dry.
Tyako. To cut up meat into portions for distribution, to apportion. Pass. TYAK, to be cut up into portions, to be apportioned.
Tyang. Stalk of sorghum, except the two species known as AMIRA and ANGURA.
Tye. To be. ITYE ? How are you ? Good day ! ATYE, I am well; TYE KI, to be with, to have.
Tyeko. To finish. Used also as the auxiliary perfect tense. OTYEKO LWI, he has run away. Pass. TYEK, to be finished.
Tyek'o. To sharpen, to whet.
Tyel'o. Pl. of TYEN, *q.v.*
Tyem. Spider. Bŏ TYEM, spider's web.
Tyen. Pl. TYEL'O. Foot, leg, stalk of all plants to which NYANG and TYANG don't apply. TYEN KOP, foot of the matter, i.e. meaning, significance. Also used prepositionally to mean "in place of." DYANGNI ACHULO TYEN DYEGINI ATOMON ADEK, I pay this cow to represent your thirty goats; PURO KAL I TYEN NINO, to cultivate millet in place of (i.e. where there was) semsem.
Tyeng. T. KIDI, a small round stone used for smoothing the surface of a grindstone.
Tyengo. To smooth down the surface of a grindstone.
Tyero. To flake off. Pass. TYER'E, to break away in flakes.
Tyeto. To divine, to mediate with JOK. TYETO WAR, to divine by sandals.
Tyetyem. Reduplicated and usual form of TYEM, *q.v.*

U

-U. = WUN, *q.v.*
Ucho. To throw away, throw down.
Udi. Pl. of OT. House.
Udu. Pl. UDE. Ostrich.
Ugo. To wash out mouth with water, to rinse.
Uk'o. To pour, to upset.
Um. Nose. UM CHONG, *Bursa patallæ.*
Umno. To cover, thatch.
Um'o. = UMNO, *q.v.* to cover. Midd. UMERE, to cover oneself, to be covered.
Uno. Cord.
U'no. = UYO, *q.v.*
Ŭnŭ. = WUN. Generally only used after the imperative plural.
Uro. To wonder at, to marvel, to be amazed. DANO BECH GIURO, all men were astonished.

Uuro. To inflame. TYEN'A OUURA, my foot inflames me, i.e. is inflamed.
Uyo. To ferment grain.

W

Wa-. Pronominal prefix to verbs. We.
-Wa. Pronominal suffix to verbs. Us.
-Wa. Possessive suffix. Our.
Wach. Onomatopœic of the sound of a spear in flight; cry of the merekat.
Wach. Statement, speech. POR WACHNI KIBER, arrange your statement well. [WACHO.]
Wacho. To speak, tell. WACHO NI . . . to speak to.
Wach'o. To cast a spear. [WACH.]
Waich. Gland.
Waich. To be sour. KONGONI WAICH, this beer is sour.
Wako. To gather together. AWOTO KA WAKO JO ME DWARO LE, I am going to get men for hunting.
Wal. To grow red. TE PINY OWAL AKINO, the horizon is reddening.
Walo. To boil. Pass. WAL'E, to bubble, boil. PI OBEWAL'E, the water is boiling.
Wal'o. To repair thatch of a roof, to make a busby (KONO) of feathers.
Wan. We, us.
Wang. Eye, face, stop of flute. WANG OT, eye of house, i.e. window; PI WANG, tear; WANG PINY, eye of firmament, i.e. Milky way. Used prepositionally with the possessive adjective. TYE WANGA, it is in front of me. Often used idiomatically before other substantives without any appreciable difference in meaning, though it sometimes appears to carry a distributive force. WANG TICH, labour group; WUMYEL'O WANG MYEL ADI? How many different dances do you dance? WANG BOR, ulcer; WANG YÔ, road; WANG TULA, drain, culvert; WANG MACH, groin; WANG CHÔ, boundary; WANG APANGA, WANG ADUWA, kinds of squint; WANG CHAM, congregation of clans which eat the ETŌGO feast together.
Wang. Burning, the annual burning of the grass, year. [WANGO.]
Wangdyang. Metal earring, metal ring worn on hat, fashion of hairdressing.
Wangkach. Junction of a side path or entrance to house with the main path.
Wangmach. Groin.
Wango. To burn. Pass. WANG, to be burned. CHWINYA WANG, my heart is burned, i.e. I am sad.
Wangpiny. Milky way.
Wangtich. Group or association of men for cultivation. WUBEDO WANGTICH ADI? How many groups are you, i.e. How big is your village?
Wangyô. Road, path.
Wano. To wound, to draw blood.
Wany. To be mean, stingy.
Wanyo. To outwit, to cheat, to beg for food by silent appeal.
Wapo. To follow, pursue.
War. Pl. WAR'E. Sandal.
Waraga. Letter, book. [Arabic.]
Waro. Cotton.
Waro. To redeem, ransom, fetch back.
Waro. To lessen. WARO WIYE, to take something off the top.
Wat. Family, relations.
Wayo. To drag away, remove.
We. Semi-digested matter from the intestines of animals.
Wē. Rest. [YWE.]
We-e-e. Exclamation of surprise, introduction to rhetorical question.
Wegi. Pl. of WON, *q.v.*
Wek. Conjunction of purpose, followed by subjunction.
Weko. To leave, to leave off (used with the infinitive), to allow (used with the subjunctive), to remit, to release. WEK ADONY, let me enter; WEKI PWODE, stop hitting him.
Wek'o. To carry, to move the position of an object.
Wel. Twig, broken stick, number (owing to numeration by twigs). WEL LWAKNI OBEDO ADI? How many men have you?
Wel. WEL ME AMINA, medicinal bracelet.
Welo. To travel, go on a journey, to be a stranger or guest.
Weng. Completeness. NI WENG, completely, utterly. APURO DANG NI WENG, I have dug to the best of my ability; POTO OBEDO MABER NI WENG, the garden is at its best; GINCHA OTUM NI WENG, that thing is quite finished; TO ONEKO JO NI WENG, death has wiped out the population.
Weno. To go on a visit, to live in a foreign country, to be a guest.
Wer. Pl. WERE. Song. [WERO.]
Wero. To sing. WERO TIPO, to charm away a spirit by incantation.
Wero. To scoop up, to dip. WERO PI, to scoop up water, to bale; WERO RECH, to dip for fish.
Wet. Armpit.
Weto. = WITO, *q.v.*
Wi. Top. WI TIM, top of grass, i.e. distant ridge; KANY WIYE ARYÔ, 5

Wi—*continued*
on top of it 2, i.e. 7; WI ABUR, site of deserted village.

Wich. Head, head of swarm of locusts, company, following. WIYA WIL, my head is sprained, i.e. I forget.

Wichere. OT OWICHERE, the house has a well-pitched roof. [Cf. Shilluk, WIJO, to make the roof of a house.]

Wil. Exchange, sale, barter. IBALO WIL, you spoil the market; MAM AWILO GIRA, WIL MERI OBETEK, I do not buy, your price is too high; WIL YOT, the price is cheap.

Wilo. To barter, to exchange, to buy, to sell IWILO ADI? For what price do you sell? TONG GWENO AWILO CHENTI ACHEL KEKEN, MAM AMEDO, I will pay a cent an egg, no more.

Wil'o. To twist, strain, sprain, dislocate Pass. WIL or WIL'E, to be sprained, to faint. WIYA OWIL, my head is sprained, i.e. I forget, I am careless.

Wino. Pl. WIN'I. Bristles of wart-hog, tail hairs of elephant, whiskers of catfish, hair of giraffe's tail.

Wino. Placenta (not of animals).

Wi'no. = WIYO, to twist.

Winyo. To hear, listen, understand, to perceive, notice (of any sensory perception). AWINYE NGWE, I noticed it smelling.

Winyo. Pl. WINYI. Bird, guardian spirit, luck. WINYO KUME TYE, WINYO KUME BER, WINYO OCHAME, i.e. he is lucky; WINYO KUME RACH, WINYO MERE OTO, i.e. he is unlucky.

Wiro. To twist, divert, to cause to go round, to spin round, revolve. WIRO KOP KUME, to twist the matter on to a person, to libel. Pass. WIRE, to make a circuit. YÔ OWIRE, it is a roundabout road.

Wir'o. To smear, to rub in ointment.

Witim. Ridge of uncultivated land, skyline. [WI, TIM.]

Wito. To whittle, to sharpen a stick.

Wiyo. To twist, to spin. WIYO TOL, to make string; WIYO WICH, to dress hair (of women).

Wô. To make a hubbub or commotion, to be noisy. WEKI WÔ AWÔA, stop that noise.

Wo. Adder.

Wŏk. Utterly. [WŎKO.]

Wōk. Now, at once. WŌK'I, this now, immediately.

Wōk. To go out, to rise (of sun). REM'A OWOK, my blood goes out, i.e. I bleed.

Wōkcheng. Sunrise, east. [WOK, CHENG.]

Wŏko. Outside, utterly.

Won. Pl. WEGI. Owner, possessor. WON PACHO, village headman.

Wor. Night.

Wor. To be greedy, gluttonous.

Woro. To respect, praise, extol.

Wot. Son, father's brother's son's son, brother's son, sister's son (w.s), husband's brother's son. WOT NERO, mother's brother's son; WOT OWAYO, husband's sister's son; WOT AMU, wife's sister's son.

Wot. Journey. WOT OLOYE, he cannot walk the distance. [WŌTO.]

Wōto. To go, to walk, to be about to. PINY OWOTO YABERE, it is close on dawn. Midd. WŌTERE, to be goable. YO OWŌTERE, the road is passable.

Wôto. To pull out, draw out. WÔT PALANI, draw your knife; WÔT LUM I DOGGOLA, pull out some grass over the doorway. Pass. WÔT or WÔT'E, to be pulled out, to slip away. Midd. WÔTERE, to pull at one another, to struggle, to wrestle.

Woyo. Dung (of cattle).

Wu-. Pronominal prefix to verbs. You.

-Wu. Pronominal suffix to verbs. You.

-Wu. Possessive suffix. Your.

Wulo. To poison, to bewitch.

Wun. You.

Y

Ya. To come from, to start from, to arise. WUYA KWEN? Where have you come from? YA MALO, get up.

Yabo. To open, reveal. YABO WANG, to open the eyes; YABO DERO, to uncover a granary; CHENG OYABO AYABA AMAN, the sun is so far risen. Midd. YABERE, to uncover oneself, to be uncovered. PINY OYABERE ODOKO LER, the horizon is uncovering and growing light.

Yago. Pl. YAG'I. Kigelia.

Yai. Pl. of YAO, *q.v.*

Yai. = YA, *q.v.*

Yaicho. To impregnate. Pass. YAICH, to be pregnant.

Yaich. Pregnancy.

Yako. To plunder, to enslave.

Yal'o. To propitiate, to make a propitiatory present.

Yam. Talk, conversation. [YĂMO.]

Yam. Particle indicating the imperfect tense. YAM TYE KAN, he used to be here; YAM AKOBE, I was telling him.

Yăm o. To converse with (KI), to flirt with, to make an assignation, to conspire, to speak secretly.

Yāmo. Air, wind. KOP MAN BALA YAMO, these words are like wind, i.e. trivial.
Yango. To skin, to flay.
Yanyo. To insult.
Yao. Pl. YAI or YAYI. Bassia Parkii, shea-butter-nut.
Yaro. To spread out, to level. YARO CHING, to open out the hand flat; WARO OCHEK ME YARO, the cotton is ripe to bursting.
Yat. Pl. YEN. Tree, wood, firewood.
Yat. Medicine.
Yayi. Pl. of YAO, *q.v.*
Ye. Pl. YETE. Canoe.
Ye. To accept, acknowledge, believe, assent.
Yech. Load. [YEYO.]
Yecho. To rend, tear. Pass. YECH, to be torn.
Yeko. To rattle, to avert by rattling an AJA. IGAL YEKO OMARARI, you delayed in averting Omarari.
Yel'o. To afflict, torment (especially of diseases in initial stages). EKODO OYEL'O NGADI, MAM ORWOCHORO KUME DUCHU, smallpox has attacked so-and-so, but has not yet spread over his whole body.
Yen. Pl. of YAT. Tree.
Yengo. To shake. Midd. YENGERE, to be shaken. YAT OBEYENGERE, the tree is waving about; PINY OYENGERE, the earth quakes.
Yeng'o. To fill. Pass. YENG, to be full, replete, surfeited.
Ye'no. = YEYO, *q.v.*
Yenyo. To look for.
Yeny'o. To boil, ferment. Pass. YENY, to boil.
Yer. Pl. YERI. Hair, feather. YER OCHOICH, porcupine quills.
Yero. To choose.
Yete. Pl. of YE, *q.v.*
Yete. Intensive particle. MAM ATWERO DONYO YETE, it is quite impossible for me to enter; WEK AN ADONY YETE, let me in.
Yeto. To abuse, insult.
Yeyo. To lift up, to carry on the head, to place on the head.
Yi. To fight. YI KI . . . to fight against. . . .
Yi. War, battle.
Yik'o. = IK'O, to bury.
Yilo. To irritate. Pass. YIL, to itch. [Variant of YEL'O.]
Yito. = WITO, *q.v.*
Yô. Path, road, kind, sort, nature. AKARA YÔ, crossroads; NYIGE MAM OCHALO NYIG ENANGA, OBEDO YORE, its seed is not like that of the tree ENANGA, it is of a different kind.
Yog'o. To loosen. Pass. YOG'E, to be loose.
Yokno. = YOK'O, *q.v.*
Yok'o. To pound.
Yok'o. To feint. YOK'O TONG, to make a feint; KA IYOK'E, . . . if you feint at him.
Yom. Prepuce.
Yom. To be soft. CHWINYA YOM, my heart is soft, i.e. am glad; CHWINYA YOM ANENI, I am glad to see you.
Yōn. To be downcast, disheartened.
Yot. To be light, easy, fast, to be cheap, to be well, in good health. KUME YOT? Is he well? WIL YOT, the price is cheap.
Yug'e. = NYUGNYU, Pleiades.
Yugi. Refuse, rubbish.
Yuk. NI YUK, suddenly. APUK ODWOGO NGUTE NI YUK, the tortoise draws in its head with a jerk.
Yuk'o. To misappropriate.
Yung'o. To shake. Midd. YUNGERE, to shake, to sway.
Yu'no. = YUO, *q.v.*
Yuo. To drop, throw down, throw at. AN MAM AYUE ORYÔ, I did not throw the ORYÔ at him.
Yup'o. To fit. YUP'O TONG, to fit a spear with a shaft; YUP'O TIGO, to thread beads; YUP'O OT, to repair thatch.
Yuto. To darken, to benight. PINY OYUTO, the earth is darkening, i.e. night is coming on; PINY OYUTOWA, the earth is darkening us, i.e. we shall be caught by night.
Yut'o. To snatch. AYUT'O ABIRU I CHINGE, I snatched the stick from his hand.
Yuweyo. To breathe.
Yuyo. To scrape, graze. YAT OYUYO TYEN'A, a tree grazed my foot.
Ywa'no. = YWAYO, *q.v.*
Ywayo. To drag.
Ywe. To rest.
Ywech. Broom. [YWEYO.]
Ywe'no. = YWEYO, *q.v.*
Yweyo. To sweep, to stroke, to brush.

ENGLISH—LANGO

NOTE.—*Where more than one Lango word is given as the approximate equivalent of the English, references should be made to the Lango-English Vocabulary, in order to ascertain the distinction and the correct word to be employed.*

A

Aardvark. Mwok.
Abate, to. Ling.
Abet, to. Pano.
Able, to be. Twero.
Abnormal. Ajok.
Abound, to. Nya ; pōl.
About. Chiti.
Above. Malo.
Abruptly. Rik.
Abscess. Bor.
Absolutely. Ni ti.
Abstention. Akwera.
Abstract, to. Gweto.
Abundance. Apola.
Abuse. Ayeta.
Abuse, to. Yeto.
Acacia. Adulkot ; opeto ; okutagwe.
Accept, to. Gamo ; pwoyo ; ye.
Acceptance. Apwoya.
Accompany, to. Lwoko.
Account of, on. Pi.
Accusation. Duru.
Accuse, to. Pido ; goyo duru. FALSELY, bato ; tingo.
Accustomed, to be. Nayo. TO BECOME, ngeyo.
Ache, to. Lit.
Acid, to be. Chwany.
Acknowledge, to. Gamo ; pwoyo ; ye.
Acknowledgment. Ayea.
Across. Loka.
Act, to. Timo.
Add, to. Med'o.
Adder. Choichodo ; owuyu ; wo.
Adhere, to. Chot ; kad'e ; mokere ; not.
Adjure, to. Lam'o.
Admit, to. Dony'o.
Adornment. Kwogo.
Advent. Abina.
Advice. Achupa.
Advise, to. Chupo.
Adze, to. Payo.
Affair. Kop.
Affect, to. Timo.
Afflict, to. Yel'o.
After. Chen ; nge.
Afternoon. Abôra.
Afterwards. Chen mere ; mot.
Again. Dok ; kon'o.
Against. Kom.
Agapornis. Iyeye.
Age, old. Tiyo.
Aggravate, to. Luch'o.
Ago. Naka ; chon ; abīn.
Agree, to. Chikere.
Ah ! Ee !
Aim, to. Poro ; temo.
Air. Yamo.
Ajar, to be. Twolo.
Alarm. Alwora. CRY OF ALARM, duru.
Alarm, to. Bwango ; tugo.
Albino. Awalach.
Alight, to. Pye.
Alive, to be. Kwô.
All. Bech ; duchu ; lung.
Allegiance. Anot'a.
Alliance. Ateka.
Allow, to. Weko.
Ally. Atekere.
Almost. Chok ; chyege.
Aloe. Ekeokeo ; Otegakori.
Alone. Ken-.
Already. Chon.
Also. Bene ; da ; gu.
Alteration. Aloka.
Alter, to. Loko.
Alternate, to. Lucho ; leyo.
Alternation. Aleya.
Although. Kadi.
Altogether. Karachel.
Always. Dikdik.
Ambatch. Boda ; ebeneg.
Ambush. Agola.
Amomum. Ocheo.
Among. I dye.
Amputate, to. Tum'o.
Amusement. Arata.

Ancestor. Kwaro.
And. Ka . . . ; ki . . .
Anger. Leny.
Anger, to. Kō-lo.
Angle. Gwul.
Animal. Lē ; ngu. AARDVARK, mwok. BABOON, obim. BUFFALO, jobi. BUSHBUCK, aderit. BUSHPIG, opego. CIVET, echakan. COB, atil. DONKEY, kana. DUIKER, amor. ELAND, egwapat, abwori. ELEPHANT, lyech. GIRAFFE, ekore. HARE, apwô. HARTEBEESTE, alop. HIPPOPOTAMUS, rao. HUNTING DOG, epet. HYÆNA, odyek. JACKAL, ekwe. LEOPARD, kwaich. LION, engato. MEREKAT, ogwang. MONGOOSE, emeo; gor; opyopyo. MONKEY (*Cercopithecus*), nger ; (*Colobus guereza*), dolo ; (patas), ayom. MULE, kana. ORIBI, amyem. OTTER, elili. PANDANUS, okong. PANGOLIN, ememek. PORCUPINE, echoich. REEDBUCK, akal. RHINOCEROS, amoching. ROAN, ichwilit. SERVAL, kworo. SITATUNGA, amalech. SQUIRREL, ayita ; elech. STOAT, achuli. WATERBUCK, apoli. WART-HOG, kūl. WILD CAT, okak. ZEBRA, etuku.
Ankle. Agwich.
Anklet. WOMAN'S, ogwang.
Annoyance. Angoye.
Annoy, to. Bodo wi ; buch'o ; ngoyo ; pyedo.
Anoint, to. Gwelo ; ngĭn'o ; wir'o.
Anointing. Gwel.
Another. Machel.
Ant. Chug'o. BITING, moro. LARGE BITING, okelokelo. PONERA, ochwichi. TREE, nginynginy. WARRIOR, karalang. WHITE, okok.
Anthill. Biye ; ogwe ; tuk.
Anthrax. Etulemany.
Anyone. Ngat'oro.
Anything. Gin'oro.
Apart. Pat.
Aphis. Aruru.
Apparel. Aruka.
Apparition. Lek.
Appear, to. Nen.
Appearance. Nyim.
Apportion, to. Tyako.
Approach, to. Nōk.
Approve, to. Pwoyo.
Approximate, to. Rid'o.
April. Ekwang.
Apron. MEN'S, lau nyar. WOMEN'S, chip. METAL, GIRL'S, ariko.
Argue, to. Pido.
Arise, to. A.
Arm. Bat.
Armlet. Mola bat.
Armpit. Wet.
Army. Mony.
Arouse, to. Chôo.
Arrange, to. Iko ; poro. IN ROWS, chiro.
Arrangement. Aïka.
Arrive, to. Chōbo ; tun'o.
Arrow. Atero.
Artery. Lēr.
As. Bàla ; pame.
Ascend, to. Ít'o.
Ashes. Buru.
Ask, to. Penyo.
Aslant. Ari.
Assault. Adonga ; abapa ; apwoda.
Assemble, to. Chôko.
Assent, to. Ye.
Assist, to. Konyo.
Assistance. Akonya.
Assistant. Dakony.
Assuredly. Atika.
Asthma. Opio.
At. Bang ; bot ; kom ; tung.
Attempt, to. Poro.
Attendant. Achapan.
Attract, to. Bit'o.
August. Oret.
Authority. Ker.
Avarice. Awanya ; lyet chwiny.
Avert, to. Yeko.
Avoid, to. Lwòro.
Avoidance. Alwòra ; kwer.
Await, to. Dar'o ; koro.
Awaken, to. Chôo.
Award, to. Dut'o.
Awry, to be. Lengere.
Axe. Lĕ.

B

Baboon. Obim.
Baby. Atin aduno.
Bachelor. Awobe.
Back. Ngech. *Adverb*, chen.
Backbite, to. Kwŏto.
Backbone. Oguru.
Bad. Marach.
Bad, to be. Rach.
Badly. Kirach.
Badness. Rach.
Bag. Adupa.
Bahima. Opi.
Bailer. Ewer.
Bait. Dekdek.
Bake, to. Bulo.
Baked. Abula.
Balance. Adongni ; alal ; obot.
Balance, to. Tamo.
Bald, to be. Tal ; bôno.
Bale, to. Wero.

Ball. Odilo.
Bamboo. Obol; okeu; ogada.
Banana. Labolo. DRY LEAVES, achanya.
Banish, to. Belo; ryem'o; buro.
Bank. Dok.
Banyoro. Jo Aduny; Jo Nam.
Barbed. Akoda.
Bare. No.
Bark. Pŏko.
Bark, to. Gwiyo.
Barren, to be. Mwato. OF CATTLE, lô.
Barrenness. Amwata.
Barter. Wil.
Barter, to. Wilo.
Base. Te.
Bask, to. Oyo.
Basket. Adita; aduku; dwongo. EGG, kŏr. FISHING, arwa; ogwa; echurung; elinga; kijang.
Bat. Olik.
Bathe, to. Lwok.
Battle. Lweny; mony; yi.
Be, to. Tye; bedo.
Bead. Tigo.
Beak. Dok.
Bean. Kitilang. SMALL, ngor. BROAD, aranga.
Bear, to. Nywalo. FRUIT, nyak. TWINS, rud'e; gô'no rut; nywalo arut.
Beard. Tik.
Beast. Ngu.
Beat, to. Bungo; gô'no. GAME, teng'o.
Beautiful. Maber.
Beautiful, to be. Ber; beyo.
Beckon, to. Gwet'o.
Become, to. Doko.
Bed. Kabuto.
Bee. Kich. QUEEN, rwot kich. SOLITARY, aruru me abogo.
Beer. Kongo. FERMENTED, kongo alingo. UNFERMENTED, kongo alim.
Beeswax. Obaru kich.
Beetle. Agungkongo; apukapuk. BORING, tôt. WATER, awirawira; ogaro. DUNG, kamdeng. SCARAB, okanyango; okong.
Befit, to. Myero.
Before. I nyim.
Beg, to. Kwayo.
Begin, to. Kwongo; teko.
Behind. Chen; nge.
Behold, to. Neno.
Believe, to. Ye.
Bell. Agara.
Bellows. Lau buk.
Belly. Ich.
Below. Piny.
Belt. LEATHER, del. GIRL'S, ajap.
Bend, to. Gomo; gulo; danyo.
Beneath. Piny; te.
Benight, to. Yuto.
Beseech, to. Kwayo.
Beside. Akina; nget.
Betray, to. Bwolo.
Betrayal. Abwola.
Betrothed. Apayo.
Between. I dye.
Beware, to. Gwoko.
Bewilder, to. Chuk'o; luch'o.
Bewitch, to. Iro; wulo.
Beyond. Loka; nge.
Bhang. Jai.
Biceps. Ogwal bat.
Bicycle. Kôkoro.
Bifurcate, to. Kak; jany.
Bifurcation. Akara.
Big. Adwong.
Big, to be. Dit; dwong.
Bind, to. Tweyo.
Bird. Winyo. DOVE, awele. DUCK, etudok. FRANCOLIN, atakora. GOOSE, awara. GUINEA-FOWL, awên'o. LESSER BUSTARD, apŏdo. GREEN PIGEON, alugaluga. RED PIGEON, akungkung.
Birth. Nywal. STILL, abwog'e.
Bite. Kaich.
Bite, to. Kayo; modo.
Bitter. Akech.
Bitter, to be. Kech.
Bitterness. Akecha.
Black. Achol.
Black, to be. Chol.
Blackbird. Achecho.
Bladder. Apoko laich. GALL, epiyu.
Blade. Pot.
Blast. Akuta.
Blaze, to. Lyel.
Bleed, to. Remo ochwer. SURGICAL, chwino; noto; tako.
Blend, to. Rib'o.
Bless, to. Gato.
Blind, to. Kôlo wang.
Blind, to be. Wang oto.
Blindfold, to. Boro wang.
Blight. Amô; kaku; ochône.
Blister, to. Lobo; tino.
Blood. Rēmo.
Bloody. Arema.
Blossom. Atur'e.
Blossom, to. Tur'e.
Blow. Abapa; abunga; adonga; ijut.
Blow, to. Kuto. WHISTLE, kuto, gô'no bilo. BELLOWS, buko. NOSE, twinyu.
Bludgeon. Twon lot.
Bluff, to. Tiko.
Blunt, to be. Kuku.
Body. Kōm.
Boil. Odéke.
Boil, to. Moro; nyonyo; walo; yeny'o; tedo.
Boiled. Ateda.
Bondage. Atweya; twech.

Bone. Chogo.
Book. Waraga.
Borassus. Tugu. YOUNG, owô.
Bore, to. Tucho.
Borrow, to. Chamo banja.
Bottom. Te.
Boundary. Chô; agik.
Bow. Atum.
Bow, to. Kulo.
Bowl. Tabo. CALABASH, agwata; awal. BROKEN, pado.
Box, to. Dongo; napo.
Boy. Nyer.
Bracelet. Elagi; mola; ogul. MEDICINAL, wel me amina.
Brag, to. Timere.
Brain. Adam.
Branch. Jang. FAMILY, tung.
Branch, to. Jany.
Brass. Mola.
Brave, to be. Tek; kayo chwiny.
Bravery. Akanya.
Brazen. Amola.
Break, to. Bito; chōdo; nguno; neko; ngak'o; toro. WIND, kwoto.
Breast. Kōr. FEMALE, tuno.
Breathe, to. Yuweyo.
Brew, to. Nud'o.
Bride. Aterany.
Bridge. Pem.
Bridge, to. Pamo.
Brighten, to. Lonyo.
Brightness. Achara.
Bring, to. Kelo; ôm'o. BRING BACK, dwōg'o; dwŏko. BRING NEAR, nōko.
Bristle. Wino.
Broad, to be. Laich.
Brood over, to. Paro.
Broom. Ywech.
Brother. Omin.
Bronchitis. Aôla.
Bruise, to. Ngecho.
Brush, to. Yweyo; rud'o.
Bubble. Bwoyo.
Bubble, to. Mor'e; wal'e.
Bubo. Odéke.
Bud. Jobi.
Buffalo. Jŏbi.
Buffet. Anapa.
Buffet, to. Dongo; napo.
Build, to. Gêro. BUILD FRAMEWORK, tado.
Bull. Twon.
Bullet. Nyig tong.
Bulrush. Onyiri; ochala; ochege.
Bundle. Arita.
Burgeon, to. Keto jobi.
Burn, to. Wango.
Burning. Wang.
Burr. Ononot.
Burrow. Achoit.
Bursa. Um.
Bursitis. Ebol.
Bury, to. Ik'o.
"Bush." Tim.
Bushbuck. Aderit.
Bushpig. Opego.
Business. Kop.
Bustard. Apodo.
But. Ento.
Butt. Echipet; euna.
Butter. Mô chak. UNCLARIFIED, mô abwogo.
Butterfly. Kapwôpwô.
Buttock. Ngony.
Buy, to. Wilo. BUY BACK, kôko.
Buzz, to. Ngor.
By. Ki.

C

Cajole, to. Bit'o.
Calabash. Agwata; awal. DRINKING-CUP, okōli.
Calf of leg. Apikichit.
Call, to. Lwongo; chwanyo. OF ANIMALS, ruko.
Calotropis. Lajwok.
Calthrop. Nyigmon.
Calumniate, to. Tong'o.
Calumny. Atong'a.
Cancer. Etoku.
Cane, to. Jwato.
Canoe. Ye.
Captive. Dakol; omô.
Capture, to. Mako; gŭro.
Carbuncle. Ebuge.
Careful, to be. Kino.
Carry, to. Tingo; tero; wek'o. ON HEAD, yeyo. ON BACK, byelo.
Cartilage. Otak.
Cartridge. Nyig tong.
Cassava. Gwanda.
Cast. Abach; abola.
Cast, to. Bayo; bolo; wach'o.
Castor-oil plant. Choga.
Castrate, to. Dino; roy'o.
Cat. Bora; ajanga. WILD CAT, okak.
Catarrh. Aborok.
Catch, to. Mako.
Caterpillar. Omoijok; omor; oyoyo.
Catfish. Twang.
Cattle. Dok.
Cause, to. Mĭyo; keto.
Causeway. Atoroora.
Cease, to. Gik; weko.
Cellulitis. Gikidi.
Cent. Chenti. TEN CENT PIECE, bati; TWENTY-FIVE CENT PIECE, atilawang.
Centipede. Dyangapwô.
Certainly. Atika.

Chaff. Chung; tōla.
Chair. Kabedo; kom.
Chalk. Akwana.
Challenge, to. Er'o.
Chameleon. Agogo.
Change, to. Loko.
Chap, to. Koro.
Character. Kwon.
Characteristic. Epon.
Charcoal. Milo.
Chastisement. Abunga; ajwata; apwoda.
Cheap, to be. Yot.
Cheat, to. Bwolo; wanyo.
Cheek. Lem.
Cherry. Ochuga; olimu.
Chest. Atoro; kōr.
Chew, to. Nyam'o; modo.
Chief. Adwong; jago; rwot.
Chieftainship. Ker.
Chignon. Aban.
Child. Atin.
Chilli. Alyera.
Chin. Tik.
Choice. Akwanya; amyeka.
Choose, to. Myeko; yero; kwanyo.
Chop, to. Tong'o.
Chopi. Jo Paluo; Jo Akar; Jo Atap.
Chronic, to be. Peny.
Churn, to. Puyo.
Cicatrization. Agĕran; arech.
Cicatrize, to. Gĕro; gor'o; kedo.
Cinder. Alote mach.
Circumcise, to. Liro; nguno.
Circumvent, to. Mano.
Civet. Echakan.
Claim. Alara.
Claim, to. Byero; laro.
Clan. Atekere.
Claw. Lwet.
Clay. WHITE, dagi. RED, palala.
Clean, to. Lonyo. CLEAN TEETH, chwero.
Clean, to be. Lĕr.
Clear, to be. Lĕr.
Cleave, to. Kako.
Clench, to. Mi'no.
Clerk. Aran.
Climate. Piny.
Climb, to. UP, it'o. DOWN, ìto.
Clitoris. Opine.
Close, to. Chulo. EYES, FIST. mi'no.
Cloth. Bongo; lautol. BARK CLOTH, bongo yat.
Cloud. Polo.
Clover. Awaya.
Club. Lōt.
Cluck, to. Kero.
Coalesce, to. Rid'e.
Cob. Atil.
Cock. Twon gweno.
Cockerel. Awobe gweno.
Cockroach. Nyenye.
Coffee. Omen.
Coil, to. Dôlo; riyo.
Cold. Koyu. IN HEAD, aborok.
Cold, to be. Koyu omako; ngich; kwil.
Cold, to grow. Li.
Colic. Leny.
Collaborate, to. Not'o.
Collect, to. Chôko; jôlo; ra'no.
Colobus. Dolo.
Colour. Kit; yer kom.
Come, to. Bino. COME BACK, dwogo; luko. COME FROM, a. COME IN, donyo. COME NEAR, nōk. COME OUT, wōk.
Command. Chik.
Command, to. Chiko.
Commotion. Atwaka.
Compact, to be. Jing.
Companion. Awote.
Company. Eryonget; lwak; wich.
Complete. Lung.
Complete, to. Daro; tyeko.
Completely. Ni weng; ni ti.
Completion. Agika.
Compose, to. SONG, cheko.
Compress, to. Bako; chik'o.
Conceal, to. Mungo; pono; kano.
Concealment. Amunga.
Concentrate, to. Ngīn'o.
Conciliate, to. Tek'o.
Concupiscence. Oreô.
Conduct, to. Peyo; tero; lwoko.
Confident, to be. Geno.
Conflagration. Achwinya; wang; mach.
Confuse, to. Chuk'o.
Congest, to. Yeng'o.
Connive, to. Pano.
Conquer, to. Bwoyo; loyo; chamo lobo
Conquest. Aloya.
Consecrate, to. Gato; lam'o.
Consecration. Agat.
Consent, to. Ye.
Consider, to. Tamo kop; paro.
Conspire, to. Chŏko dok; yamo.
Constipation. Gwe.
Continuously. Naka.
Contract, to. Jonyo. TO AGREE, chikere.
Contraction. Ajonya.
Conventicle. Kachôkere.
Conversation. Acheka; yam.
Converse, to. Yamo; cheko kop.
Convolvulus. Achôli; anono; omoin.
Cook, to. Tedo.
Cooked. Ateda.
Cool, to. Kweo.
Co-operate, to. Nywako.
Co-operation. Anywaka.
Coot. Okumbere.
Copulate, to. Ngoto.
Cord. Uno; tŏl; anguch; atwilo.
Core. Pel.

Cormorant. Abanget.
Corner. Gwul.
Corns. Pol.
Correct, to be. Pore.
Correctly. Kakare.
Cotton. Waro.
Cough. Aôla.
Cough, to. Ôlo.
Count, to. Kwano.
Counterfeit. Poron.
Counterfeit, to. Poro.
Country. Piny.
Courage. Tek.
Court, to. Chodo.
Courtyard. Lek; dyekal.
Cover. Daryeb; gium.
Cover, to. Umno.
Cow. Min dyang.
Cowardly. Dalwor; alongaït.
Co-wife. Anyeko.
Cowry. Gagi.
Crab. Ogore.
Cramp. Ajonya.
Cramp, to. Jonyo; nyongo.
Crane. Ogoro. CRESTED, owalu.
Craven. Alongaït.
Crawcraw. Apurukuch.
Crawl, to. Mul'o.
Crazy, to be. Pô.
Cream. Mô chak.
Creep, to. Lak; mul'o.
Crest. Ajulu.
Cricket. Lek; odir.
Cripple. Agoro.
Cripple, to. Ngwalo; nguno.
Crippled, to be. Goro; ngwal.
Crocodile. Nyang. PYGMY, akengpur.
Crook, to. Gono.
Crop, to. Baro.
Cross, to. Dokoro; kato.
Cross-roads. Akarayô; arômyô.
Crosswise. Ari.
Croton. Omara.
Crouch, to. Nyongere.
Croup. Owiyo.
Crow. Agak.
Crowd. Lwak.
Crowd, to. Duro.
Crumb. Rudu.
Crumble, to. Ngide.
Crumple, to. Nyonyo.
Crush, to. Biyo; dino; luro; ngak'o.
Cry. Koko.
Cry, to. Koko. CRY OUT, dang; redo. OF ANIMALS, ruko.
Cuckoo. Kitutu.
Cultivate. Puro.
Cultivation. Pur; poto.
Culvert. Tula.
Cunning, to be. Ryek.
Cup. Apŏko.
Curdle, to. Puyo.
Cure, to. Chango.
Curmudgeon. Dakolo.
Current. Amol.
Curve, to. Danyo.
Curse, to. Kwongo.
Custom. Kit.
Cut. Oteo.
Cut, to. Ngolo; tum'o; tong'o. CUT GRASS, nyaro. CUT INTO PIECES, ngida. CUT MEAT INTO PORTIONS, tyako. CUT OFF, lwero; nguno.
Cyst. Achika.

D

Dabchik. Chikichikiju.
Daily. Dikdik.
Dais. Tuti.
Dampen, to. Bido.
Dance. Myel. DIFFERENT DANCES, abala; abalachela; agweya; ajere; apita; atwanyara; awala; opere.
Dance, to. Myel'o.
Dandelion. Apupu.
Dandy. Agongomola.
Dappled, to be. Ngech.
Dare, to. Twero.
Dark. Achol.
Dark, to be. Chol.
Darken, to. Yuto.
Darnel. Kalamata.
Darter. Alebi.
Datura. Ekore.
Daughter. Nya.
Dawn. Adila; obayi; wokcheng.
Dawn, to. Ru.
Day. Cheng; dyecheng; nindo.
Dazzle, to. Charo; pako.
Dead, the. Jo apiny. "THE LATE," atech.
Death. Tŏ.
Deaf, to be. It oto; ming.
Deafen, to. Keko.
Debt. Banja.
Decay, to. Piro; topo.
Deceit. Abwola; agoba.
Deceive, to. Bwolo; gōbo.
December. Achupan.
Decompose, to. Piro.
Deduct, to. Gweto.
Deep, to be. Tut.
Defeat. Alanya.
Defeat, to. Loyo; lanyo.
Defecate, to. Pyelo.
Defence. Agenga.
Defend, to. Konyo; gengo.
Deficiency. Arĕma.
Deficient, to be. Bongo; rem.
Deflect, to. Kulo.
Deity. Jok.

Delay. Agala.
Delay, to. Galo.
Delicate. Apwot.
Dendraspis. Obiya; omeja.
Dentist. Lanak.
Deny, to. Dagi; kwero; dwanyo.
Depart, to. A.
Depose, to. Gweto.
Deposit. Ajok'a.
Deposit, to. Jōk'o; kano.
Depraved. Achar.
Depravity. Charo.
Deprive, to. Mayo.
Depth. Atuta.
Derange, to. Kucho.
Deride, to. Lany'o.
Derision. Alany'a.
Descend, to. Ìto; lòr.
Desert, to. Bwoto.
Desiccation. Anera.
Desirable, to be. Mit.
Desire. Oreô.
Desire, to. Maro; mīto; dwaro; piro.
Despair, to. Chwiny opoto.
Despise, to. Chayo.
Destitute, to be. Lik.
Destroy, to. Balo; keto; neko; tōro.
Detour, to make. Dupo.
Develop, to. Teg'o.
Dew. Toyu.
Dewlap. Abobol.
Diarrhœa. Adyep.
Diarrhœa, to have. Dyebo.
Dig, to. Tŏ; lwi.
Different. Mukene.
Difficult, to be. Tek.
Dig, to. Puro. DIG DEEP, bak'o; tojo piny. DIG FOR, gōlo. DIG HOLE, gōlo; kunyo. DIG LIGHTLY ON SURFACE, gēro; reg'o. DIG POTATOES, chōto. BREAK SURFACE CLODS, boto.
Diminish, to. Gweto.
Diminution. Agweta.
Dip, to. Wero.
Dirt. Chilo.
Dirty. Achol.
Dirty, to be. Rach; chol.
Disarrange, to. Kŭro.
Discolour, to. Boko.
Discontented, to be. Chwiny ogoyo.
Discourtesy. Angala.
Discovery. Anwonga.
Disdain. Akem; angala.
Disease. Tô. ANTHRAX, etulemany. ASTHMA, opio. BRONCHITIS, aôla. BURSITIS, ebol. CANCER, etoku; CARBUNCLE, ebuge. CAST IN EYE, wang aduwa. CELLULITIS, gikidi. CONSTIPATION, gwe. CRAWCRAW, apurukuch. CYST, achika. DIARRHŒA, adyep. DYSENTERY, edèke. ELEPHANTIASIS, alyech. EPILEPSY, ekwinkwin. ECZEMA, etoku. FRAMBŒSIA, nyach. GLAUCOMA, achora. GOUNDOU, etoku. HÆMORRHOID, ame. olô. HERNIA, UMBILICAL, pel aguti. HYDROCELE, longo. ICHTHYOSIS, mid'a. INDIGESTION, elemu. IRITIS, achyero. ITCH, ayil. LEPROSY, mô jok; dobo. MEASLES, anyô. NEURITIS, lêla. PARALYSIS, angwal. PLAGUE, edèke. RHEUMATISM, abok. RINGWORM, nywinyu. SARCOMA, etoku. SMALLPOX, ekŏdo. SORE, adōla. SQUINT, wang apanga. SYNOVITIS, angwal. TAPEWORM, olwinyu. TUMOUR, etol. ULCER, bor.
Dish. Ewer.
Disheartened, to be. Yōn.
Disinter, to. Gōlo.
Dislocate, to. Wil'o.
Dislocation. Awil'a.
Dismiss, to. Buro.
Disown, to. Bwoto.
Disperse, to. Keo; lalo; ryem'o.
Disposition. Kwon.
Dispute. Alara.
Dispute, to. Laro; rôd'o.
Disregard, to. Nywaro.
Dissention. Byemi.
Dissolute, to be. Char.
Distance. Abora.
Distract, to. Bodo wi.
Distress. Chan.
Distribute, to. Pōko.
Distribution. Apōka.
Disturb, to. Dunyo; kucho.
Dive, to. Lwinyo.
Diverge, to. Kak.
Divert, to. Gako; wiro; loko.
Divide, to. Pōko.
Divine. Ajok.
Divine, to. Tyeto.
Diviner. Ajoka.
Division. Apōka.
Do, to. Timo; tiyo.
Dog. Gwok. WILD HUNTING DOG, epet.
Dominion. Ker.
Donkey. Kana.
Door. Achek; achiga; kika; tiko.
Doorway. Dogola; dokika.
Dove. Awele.
Down. Piny.
Downcast, to be. Yōn
Drag, to. Ywayo.
Dragon-fly. Atubu.
Drain. Tula
Draw, to. Peyo; ywayo. DRAW WATER, twômo. DRAW OUT, wôto.
Dream. Lek.
Dream, to. Lek.

Dregs. Ting.
Dress, to. Ruko. WOUND, mado. HAIR, MEN'S, tweyo. HAIR, WOMEN'S, wiyo.
Drill, to. Piyo.
Drink, to. Mato.
Drip, to. Tôno.
Drive, to. Ryem'o. DRIVE AWAY, belo; buro; ryem'o. DRIVE CATTLE, leko; kôl'o. DRIVE GAME, riko; twaro.
Drizzle, to. Ngido.
Drone, to. Ngor.
Drop, to. Yuo; twaijo. NEUT., ret'e; poto.
Drought. Adwôna.
Drowsy, to be. Nur.
Drug, to. Kakno.
Drum. Bul. TREBLE DRUM, atin bul. TENOR DRUM, adangdang. BASS DRUM, min bul. LONG DRUM, atimu. DRUMSTICK, eloto.
Drunkard. Lamer.
Drunkenness. Amera.
Drunken, to be. Mer.
Dry, to. Twoyo; tôl'o.
Dry, to be. Dwôno; twô.
Duck. Etudok.
Duiker. Amor.
Dumb, to be. Dok oto.
Dun. Akwoyo.
Dung. Chet. CATTLE, woyo. GOAT, ajet.
Dunghill. Oduro.
Duodenum. Echaujok; epunka.
Dusk. Arep.
Dusky, to be. Rep.
Dust. Apua.
Dysentery. Edèke.
Dysentery, to have. Dyebo remo.

E

Eagle. Ekokom. CRESTED, openo.
Ear. It.
Early. Chon. EARLY IN MORNING, adila.
Earring. Mola it. WOMAN'S, ogwang; wangdyang.
Earth. Lobo. RED EARTH, lwala.
Earthiness. Aloba.
Earthquake. Oyengo.
Earwig. Ngonyakara.
East. Kidi; wokcheng.
East Coast Fever. Ediding.
Easy. Mayot.
Easy, to be. Yot.
Eat, to. Chamo; nang'o
Eave. Ogol.
Eczema Etoku.
Edge. Dok; lak; nget.
Educate to Pito
Education. Pit
Egg. Tong.
Egret. Abong. PSEUDO-EGRET, okok.
Eland. Abwori; egwapet.
Elbow. Otyen.
Elder. Adwong.
Elephant. Lyech.
Elephantiasis. Alyech.
Elope, to. Pôr.
Elsewhere. Kan'oro.
Embank, to. Tôro.
Ember. Chuk.
Embossed. Aguti.
Embrace. Akwaka.
Embrace, to. Kwako.
Embroil, to. Mono.
Embryo. Nyodo.
Emerge, to. Donyo.
Employ, to. Oro.
Empty. Nono.
Enclose, to. Tino.
Encounter. Arôma.
End. Agik.
End, to. Daro; tumo.
Endemic, to become. Peny.
Endurance. Tek.
Enemy. Dakwor.
Enlarge, to. Med'o.
Enmity. Kwor; anekere.
Enslave, to. Yako.
Entangle, to. Dwalo; mok'o.
Entanglement. Adwala.
Enter, to. Donyo.
Enthusiastic, to be. Ôm'o chwiny.
Entice, to. Bito.
Entirely. Oko.
Entrails. Chiny.
Entrance. Adonya.
Entreat, to. Kwayo; bak'o dok.
Entrust, to. Jōk'o; kano.
Entwine, to. Logoro.
Envy. Anyeka.
Envy, to. Nyeko.
Epilepsy. Ekwinkwin.
Equality. Arŏma.
Equalize, to. Rŏmo.
Erect, to. Tiro.
Err, to. Bal'e.
Errand. Achwaya.
Erythrina. Awilakot; ebubuch.
Escape. Abocha. FROM CUSTODY, alwiya.
Escape, to. Bwot; lwi.
Escort, to. Jōlo; lwoko.
Eternity. Anaka.
Euphorbia. CANDELABRA, apopong. PIPESTEM, oligo.
European. Gin atar; môn'o; mwa.
Evening. Otyeno.
Every. Duchu.
Everywhere. Piny duchu; kagini.
Evil. Rach.

Evil, to be. Rach.
Exactly. Lingling.
Examine, to. Lim'o : rango.
Example. Kibot.
Exceed, to. Lanyo.
Exceedingly. Donge.
Excel, to. Lanyo ; kato.
Excessively. Kirach.
Exchange. Wil.
Exchange, to. Leyo ; wilo.
Excite, to. Kōlo.
Exclaim, to. Redo.
Exit. Adonya.
Expand, to. Kwōto.
Expel, to. Mwômo.
Expensive, to be. Tek.
Experience. Anaya.
Experienced, to be. Nayo.
Explain, to. Tito.
Explanation. Atita.
Explode, to. Moich.
Extend, to. Tango ; ryeyo.
Extinguish, to. Neko.
Extol, to. Woro.
Extract, to. Kôl'o. TEETH, nako.
Extrude, to. Gulo.
Exudation. Odok.
Eye. Wang.
Eyelid. Byen wang.
Exude, to. Chwero.

F

Fable. Ichina.
Fables, to tell. A'no ; chino.
Face. Nyim ; wang.
Faction. Anot'a.
Fæces. Chet.
Fail, to. Rĕmo.
Faint, to. Chwiny otum.
Fall, to. Poto ; ret'e. FALL SHORT, rem.
Falling. Apute.
Familiar, to be. Ngeyere.
Family. Wat.
Famine. Kech
Far, to be. Bor.
Farewell, to bid. Chiko.
Fast, to be. Yot.
Fasten, to. Tweyo ; gŭro ; mwôno.
Fat. Dwolo ; mô.
Fat. Adjective, amio.
Fat, to be. Chwe ; mio.
Father. Papo ; baba.
Fatigue, to. Lôlo.
Favour, to. Dworo.
Favouritism. Adwora.
Fear. Alwóra.
Fear, to. Lwóro.
Feather. Kono ; yer.
February. Orara madwong.
Feel, to. Bongo ; mulo.
Feint. Ayok'a.
Feint, to. Yok'o.
Fell, to. Tong'o.
Female. Adako ; min. YOUNG FEMALE OF ANIMALS AND BIRDS, akali ; bwong.
Fence. Kyel.
Fence, to. Tino ; kyel'o.
Ferment, to. Uyo ; yeny'o.
Fermented. Alingo.
Ferry. Kwang.
Ferryman. Dakwang.
Fertile, to be. Nywalo.
Fetch, to. Ôm'o. FETCH BACK, waro.
Feud. Kwor.
Few, to be. Nŏk.
Fez. Tarabuch.
Fierce. Ager.
Fierce, to be. Ger.
Fifth. Kany ere.
Fig. Ebu ; enanga ; oduru.
Fight, to. Lwenyo ; rōm'o ; yi.
Fill, to. Piko ; pongo ; duro ; yeng'o.
Fin. Oguru.
Finch. Alira ; kicholi.
Find, to. Nwongo.
Finish, to. Daro ; tyeko ; giko ; tumo.
Fire. Mach.
Firefly. Otit.
Fire-stick. Lapi mach.
Firewood. Yen.
First. Kwong. AT FIRST, akwong.
Fish. Rech.
Fish, to. Chiko ; bito ; wero rech.
Fish-eagle. Akulukulut.
Fishery. Echilech.
Fissure. Abar'a.
Fit, to. Yup'o ; toko.
Five. Kany.
Flabby. Roborobo.
Flake, to. Tyero.
Flank. Laknget ; ngony ; teng.
Flash. Amenya.
Flash, to. Menyo.
Flask. LARGE, obuja. SMALL, edomo.
Flay, to. Yango.
Flea. Kidep.
Flesh. Ringo.
Flexible, to be. Gomere.
Flirt, to. Chodo ; yamo.
Flirtation. Chot.
Float. Boda.
Flock. Dwol.
Flog, to. Dipo.
Flood. Alele.
Flood, to. Mōlo.
Flour. Moko.
Flow, to. Mōl.
Flower. Atur'e.
Flower, to. Tur'e.

Flush, to. Twaro.
Flute. Bilo; olwet; olere; alugturu; amule; otule. TREBLE FLUTE, atin bilo; adum. TENOR, adangdang. BASS, min bilo. BAMBOO FLUTE, bilo me ngonyamuto.
Fly. Lwangni. DRAGON-FLY, etodu. LAKE FLY, ojor. FIREFLY, otit. SANDFLY, churuchuru.
Fly, to. Pôr.
Foam. Bwoyo.
Fold, to. Dôlo.
Follow, to. Lobo; wapo; lib'o.
Food. Cham.
Fool. Laming.
Foolish, to be. Ming.
Foolishly. Agol.
Foot. Tyen; orenge. SMALL OF FOOT, opurokony.
For. Kara; keno.
Forbid, to. Chiero; chwilo; mōno.
Force. Tek.
Force apart, to. Ngayo.
Forceps. Mŏto.
Ford. Kwang; edoket.
Ford, to. Kwango; dokoro.
Forearm. Apikichit.
Foreigner. Môn'o; mwa.
Forest. Bung.
Forestall, to. Nguk'o.
Forestalled. Aneto.
Forge, to. Kudo; teto.
Forget, to. Wich owil.
Fork, to. Karo.
Fork (of tree). Akara yat; gwul.
Formerly. Chon; chwain; naka; lem.
Fornicate, to. Luk; ngoto.
Fornication. Luk; ngot.
Forsake, to. Jalo; weko; bwoto.
Fortitude. Akanya.
Fortune. Gum; winyo.
Foster, to. Pito.
Four. Ngwen.
Fowl. Gweno. HALF-BRED, achung gweno; atapana.
Foxglove. Obŏgo.
Fragment. Ngil'i; odeo; kitonge.
Fragrant, to be. Kur.
Frambœsia. Nyach.
Francolin. Atakora.
Fray, to. Rweyo.
Free, to. Gonyo.
Freely. Nono.
Freeze, to. Jonyo.
Friend. Awote; dyero.
Friendly, to be. Mer.
Frighten, to. Dwongo.
Frog. Ogwal. TREE FROG, ore.
From. Bot; tung.
Froth. Bwoyo.
Fruit. Nyik.
Full-grown. Mateg'o. OF ANIMALS, akak.
Funeral. Lyel; achuban. FUNERAL FEAST, echina.
Fungus. Tworo.

G

Gaff. Gôlo.
Gain. Lim.
Gain, to. Limo.
Gape, to. Dado dok; ngamo; twolo.
Garden. Poto.
Gardenia. Adwong; okango.
Gather, to. Chôko; jôbo; wako; ra'no. GATHER GROUND-NUTS, gōlo.
Gauge, to. Tamo.
Gecko. Ogwegwe.
Geld, to. Dino; roy'o.
General. Won mony; twon lwak.
Gentle, to be. Mwol.
Gently. Mot.
Get, to. Limo. GET UP, a.
Ghost. Chyen.
Giraffe. Ekore.
Girl. Nyako; nyan.
Girlish. Anyako.
Give, to. Mīyo. GIVE BACK, dwŏko.
Glad, to be. Chwiny oyom.
Gladiolus. Akoyabwor.
Glance off, to. OF SPEAR, kwaro.
Gland. Waich.
Glaucoma. Achora.
Glaze, to. Choro.
Glean, to. Bek'o; depo.
Glisten, to. Lony.
Glossina. MORSITANS, PALLIPEDES, omele. PALPALIS, onyang.
Glow. Achara.
Glow, to. Pach.
Glutinous, to be. Chōt.
Glutton. Dawor.
Gluttonous, to be. Wor.
Gluttony. Awora.
Gnaw, to. Gwen'o.
Gneiss. Lela.
Go, to. Woto; chito; beyo. GO BACK, dok. GO BEFORE, telo yô. GO FOR WALK, lat. GO BEHIND, mano. GO DOWN, ìto. GO IN, donyo. GO NEAR, nōk. GO OUT, donyo; wōk; mwôm. GO TO MEET, jōlo. GO UP, ít'o.
Goat. Dyel. HE-GOAT, nyok.
Goblin. Jarangu.
God. Jok.
Goldfinch. Ochōk.
Good. Maber.
Good, to be. Ber.
Goodness. Ber.

Goods. Lim.
Goose. Awara; etūku.
Goundou. Etoku.
Gourd. Keno.
Gourmandize, to. Gad'o.
Graceful. Apwot.
Granary. Dero; gôga.
Grape. Olok.
Grass. Lum. DIFFERENT KINDS: abi; abol; abotetong; achora; achudi; achupen; agalo; ajan; atoitoi; chochol; eriata; gido; lugulugu; mod'o; obiya; ochaunya; ocheke; odunyo; owôwô; tiro.
Grasshopper. Otwongo; abangchet; abuleng; tekeleng. FLYING, ochyene.
Gratis. Nono.
Gratitude. Apwoya.
Grave. Lyel.
Gravy. Pik.
Graze. Abora; akwara.
Graze, to. Baro; gipo; kwaro; yuyo.
Great. Madwong.
Great, to be. Dwong.
Grebe. Alwiny.
Greed. Awora.
Greedy, to be. Wor.
Greet, to. Moto.
Greeting. Oreme.
Grey. Alibilibi.
Grief. Jul.
Grieve, to. Chwiny ochwer; kumo.
Grin, to. Ryenyo lak.
Grind, to. Rego.
Grindstone. Kidi; tyeng.
Grip, to. Logoro.
Groan. Achura.
Groan, to. Churo; koko.
Groin. Dok mach; wang mach.
Grope, to. Bek'o.
Ground. Piny.
Ground-nut. Maido. SUDANESE, kal'i.
Grow, to. Dong'o; lŏt. OF PLANTS, tu.
Growth. Adong'a.
Grudge, to. Twôno.
Gruel. Nyuka.
Grumble, to. Ngur.
Guarantee, to. Chung.
Guard, to. Koro.
Gudgeon. Oliki.
Guess, to. Chudo.
Guest. Awelo.
Guide, to. Telo yô; nyuto yô.
Guinea-fowl. Awên'o.
Gull. Alibor.
Gulp. Amônya.
Gum. Adok; twaka.
Gun. Aduku.
Gut. Puch.

H

Hæmatopota. Amiyu.
Hæmorrhoid. Ame; olô.
Haft, to. Chôm'o.
Hailstone. Pe.
Hair. Yer.
Halter. Anguch.
Halter, to. Roicho.
Hammer. Nywol.
Hammer, to. Chanyo.
Hand. Ching.
Handguard. Ababa.
Handle. AXE, KNIFE, lŏk; HOE, pur.
Hand-to-hand. Achuma.
Hang, to. Deyo. HANG UP, ngapo.
Hard. Matek.
Hard, to be. Nwang; tek.
Harden, to. Teg'o.
Hare. Apwô.
Harm, to. Balo; dubo.
Harp. Tōm.
Harpoon. Echalut.
Harpoon, to. Chudo.
Hartebeeste. Alop.
Harvest. Kaich.
Hasten, to. Bonyo.
Hatch, to. Bek'o; toko.
Haunt, to. Chyeno; leko.
Have, to. Tye ki; bedo ki.
Hawk. Ogel.
Hawk, to. Chato.
Haze. Ekuna.
Hazel. Lango.
He. En.
Head. Wich.
Headache. Abar'a wich.
Head-dress. Kitok. FEATHER, kono.
Headpad. Odol; otaich.
Heal, to. Chango.
Healthy, to be. Yot.
Heap. Oduro.
Heap, to. Chan'o; duro.
Hear, to. Winyo.
Heart. Chwiny. OF ANIMALS, etau.
Hearth. Kendo.
Heat. Lyet.
Heat, to. Lyeto; moro.
Heaviness. Apeka.
Heavy, to be. Pek; langere.
Hedgehog. Apupu.
Heel. Opuny.
Heifer. Roya.
Help. Akonya.
Help, to Konyo.
Helper. Dakony.
Helpless, to be. Kere; chan.
Helplessness. Chan.
Hemp. Jai.
Hen. Min gweno.

Hence. Kenyo.
Her. En.
Herd. Achipan; abong.
Herd, to. Kwayo; kôl'o.
Herdsman. Akwat.
Here. Kan; kego.
Hereabouts. Kago.
Hernia. Pel aguti.
Herring. Ogok.
Hesitate, to. Chukere.
Hew, to. Tong'o.
Hibiscus. Obira; adobo.
Hiccough. Agyeka.
Hiccough, to. Gyek.
Hide. Pyen. WORN-OUT, adwel.
Hide, to. Kano; mungo; pono.
High, to be. Bor.
Hill. Got; kidi.
Hilly. Aguti.
Him. En.
Hinder, to. Jūko.
Hindrance. Amona.
Hip. Amuru. HIP-JOINT, elokit.
Hippopotamus. Rao.
His. Mere.
Hiss. Ajwiya.
Hiss, to. Jwiere.
Hit, to. Gô'no; pwodo; tojo. HIT WITH CLOSED FIST, dongo; napo. HIT WITH STICK, jwato. HIT WITH SMALL STICK, leko. SLAP, bapo. HIT MARK, chyelo.
Hither. Kan.
Hive. Bongo.
Hobble, to. Teo.
Hoe. Kwer. WOODEN, agot okutu. WORN-OUT, nget.
Hold, to. Mako. HOLD UP, lyero.
Hole. Bur.
Honey. Mô kich. FRESH, mô atong-gwen. OLD, mô ageger.
Honeybird. Ajeje.
Hoof. Obong.
Hook. Gôlo.
Hoop. Awala; okoto.
Hoopoe. Apinyjulu.
Hope, to. Geno.
Horizon. Te piny.
Horn. Tung. FOR CUPPING, achwi.
Hornbill. Arum.
Hornet. Pino. SMALL VARIETY, pipino adyegi.
Hornless. Alem.
Hornless, to be. Lem.
Hostile, to be. Buro.
Hostility. Angura.
Hot, to be. Lyet.
House. Ot. FOR SLEEPING ONLY, aguru-guru. BACHELOR'S, otôgo.
How? Nedi? HOW MANY? Adi? HOW OFTEN? Bang adi?
Hull, to. Bito.
Humanity. Adana.
Hummock. Obulukuch.
Hump. Arok.
Hundred. Tolgag.
Hunger. Kech.
Hungrily. Akech.
Hunt. Dwar.
Hunt, to. Dwaro.
Hunting area. Arum; erenga.
Hurry, to. Bonyo; laro.
Hurt, to. Lido; ramo.
Husband. Chwaro.
Husk. Chung; pŏko; tōla.
Hut. Ot. BACHELOR'S, otôgo.
Hyæna. Odyek. LARGE SPECIES, aba-langiyu. SMALL, alur; arudi.
Hydrocele. Longo.
Hymen. Atong.
Hypergastrium. Ich.
Hypocrisy. Angala.
Hypodermis. Adanget; apachet.
Hypogastrium. OF MALES, nyar. OF FEMALES, mwok.
Hypothesis. Apora.

I

I. An.
Ibis. Erap.
Ichthyosis. Mid'a.
Idiocy. Abanga; apôa.
Idiot. Ebitak.
Idiot, to be. Bang; tem.
Idle. Anyap.
Idle, to be. Nyap.
Idleness. Abeda; anyapa.
Idly. Akă; ata; kwe.
If. Ka; kono.
Ignorant, to be. Kwiya.
Ill. Atô.
Ill, to be. Twô.
Illustrate, to. Poro.
Immature, to be. Toicho.
Immediately. Anyoni; kokoni; wōk'i.
Immerse, to. Lwinyo; luto.
Immersion. Aluta; alwinya.
Impale, to. Chobo.
Implant, to. Chôm'o.
Important, to be. Dit.
Importunacy. Anod'a.
Importune, to. Bak'o dok; lilo kop; nod'o kop.
Impotent. Aboich; apele.
Impotent, to be. Boich.
Imprecate, to. Kwongo.
Imprecation. Akwonga.
Impregnate, to. Yaicho.
Imprison, to. Koro; tweyo.
In. I; kum. IN FRONT OF, i nyim. IN MIDDLE OF, i dye.

Inattentive. Angudi.
Incise, to. Teyo.
Incline. Lung.
Increase, to. Měd'o.
Indicate, to. Tiko.
Indigestion. Elemu.
Indignation. Kōlo.
Infecundity. Amwata.
Infertile, to be. Mwato.
Infirm, to be. Goro.
Infix, to. Chôm'o.
Inflame, to. Boto; uuro.
Inflate, to. Deng'o; kwōto.
Inflation. Akwota.
Inform, to. Lang'o; tucho.
Inherit, to. Lako.
Inheritance. Alaka.
Initiate, to. Teko.
Inquire, to. Penyo.
Insect. Kud'i.
Insert, to. Logoro; royo.
Inspect, to. Rango.
Instability. Achira.
Instant. Ngit.
Instantly. Ngit'i; wōk'i.
Instead. Kaka-; tyen.
Instep. Apar.
Instigate, to. Chupo; tubo.
Instigation. Achupa.
Instruct, to. Nguto; chiko.
Instruction. Chik.
Insubstantial. Arep.
Insult. Alany'a; ayanya.
Insult, to. Chayo; lany'o; nywaro; yanyo; yeto.
Intelligence. Ryeko.
Intelligent. Aryek.
Intelligent, to be. Ryek.
Intend, to. Mito.
Intention. Akā.
Interpret, to. Dumo.
Interpreter. Adum.
Intervention. Adweka.
Intestine. Chiny. LARGE, ipwal. SMALL, monten.
Intimate, to be. Mer.
Intoxicated, to be. Mer.
Intractable. Angudi.
Invalid. Agoro; datô.
Invent, to. Ngicho.
Invert, to. Doicho.
Invocation. Agwong.
Invoke, to. Gwongo; lam'o; kwongo.
Iritis. Achyero.
Iron. Chil'i; lela; nywenyo.
Irritate, to. Ngwenyo; yilo.
Irvingia. Elemu.
Island. Chula.
Isolate, to. Koyo.
Isthmus. Chwoin.
It. En.
Itch. Ayil; gwenyu.
Itch, to. Yil.
Its. Mere.
Ivory. Lak lyech.

J

Jackal. Ekwe.
January. Orara matidi.
Jar. Agulu; abino; chabichabi; tago.
Jasmine. Adwek.
Jawbone. Etínyu.
Jay. Okongo; okwír.
Jealous, to be. Nyeko.
Jealousy. Anyeka.
Jejunum. Apika.
Jerk off, to. Jakno.
Jest, to. Tuko; rato.
Join, to. Tudo.
Journey. Wot.
Joy. Alel; tar.
Judge, to. Ngolo kop.
Juice. Pik.
July. Otikok.
Jump, to. Kalo; por; pye.
June. Omaru.
Jungle. Tim.

K

Keep, to. Kano.
Kick. Agweya.
Kick, to. Gweyo.
Kidney. Ngalura; odilo.
Kigelia. Yago.
Kill, to. Neko.
Kind. Kit; yô.
Kindle, to. Chwinyo.
Kingfisher. Alelebu; itiling.
Kite. Ogole.
Knead, to. Myen'o.
Knee. Chong.
Kneel, to. Goyo chong; rumo chong.
Knife. Pala.
Knock, to. Chanyo; goyo. KNOCK OUT, muko.
Knot. Atuda.
Knot, to. Tudo.
Know, to. Ngeo. BY EXPERIENCE, nayo.
Kraal. Awi; kul.
Kumam. Jo Akum; Jo Kerekere.

L

Labour. Tich.
Laburnum. Atira; bata achol; owangatar.
Lack, to. Bongo.
Ladder. Apetan.

Ladle. Agwech.
Ladybird. Ogere.
Lair. Adu.
Lake. Nam.
Lamb. Atin rŏm'o ; awobe rŏm'o ; akali rŏm'o.
Lame, to be. Kŏm ; goro.
Lameness. Akŏma ; mwat.
Lament, to. Koko.
Lamentation. Akoka.
Lance, to. Tucho.
Land. Piny.
Landia. Eburka.
Landolphia. Bomo ; odilo.
Language. Dok.
Large. Adwong. OF ANIMALS, akak.
Large, to become. Dong'o.
Larynx. Dwan.
Lash. Del.
Lash, to. Goyo ; jwato. LASH TAIL, bolo ip.
Late, to be. Gal.
Laterite. Ogu.
Laugh, to. Nyero ; bolo nyero.
Laughter. Nyero ; anyera.
Lay, to. Keto. LAY DOWN, teno. LAY EGG, bolo tong.
Lazy. Anyap ; alongait.
Lazy, to be. Nyap.
Lead, to. Peyo ; telo.
Leader. Jago ; twon lwak ; won mony.
Leaf. Pot.
Leak, to. Chwer.
Lean, to. Jengere.
Lean, to be. Mok. OF ANIMALS, bwaro.
Leave, to. Weko ; kwon ; bwoto. LEAVE OFF, weko.
Leech. Ediki.
Left. Acham.
Left, to be. Dong.
Left-handed. Acham.
Leg. Tyen.
Length. Abora.
Lengthways. Atira.
Leopard. Kwaich.
Leprosy. Mô jok ; dobo.
Let, to. Weko. LET IN, OUT, dony'o.
Letter. Waraga.
Level, to. Golo ; yaro.
Liana. Agaba.
Libel. Abata ; achŏka ; adota.
Libel, to. Chŏko ; doto ; tíngo ; mano (wiro) kop kum dano.
Lichen. Tworo.
Lick, to. Nang'o.
Lid. Achudi.
Lie down, to. Buto.
Lift, to. Tingo ; yeyo.
Light. Mayot.
Light, to. Chwinyo ; kuto ; moko ; menyo.
Light, to be. Yot.
Lightning. Lutkot.
Like. Pame ; arŏm ; bàla.
Like, to be. Chalo.
Lilac. Olwedo.
Lily. TIGER, aligiti. WATER, akorom ; gor.
Lily-hopper. Ngolomugi.
Limp, to. Komo ; nwat.
Lion. Engato.
Lip. Dok.
Listen, to. Winyo ; chiko it ; gamo dok.
Little. Matidi.
Live, to. Kwô.
Liver. Emany. SPIGELIAN LOBE, akena.
Lizard. Amomol ; odwongmon.
Lo ! Nen !
Load. Yech ; ter.
Load, to. Nyau.
Loan. Banja.
Locust. Bonyo.
Log. Dul ; kol ; kongo.
Long, to be. Bor.
Long-haired. Malot.
Look, to. Kemo ; neno. LOOK AFTER, gwoko ; koro. LOOK AT, lim'o ; rango. LOOK FOR, ngīyo ; mony'o rŏto ; yenyo.
Loosen, to. Dot'o ; gonyo ; lwog'o ; lego ; yog'o.
Loot, to. Yako.
Loquacious, to be. Bak'o dok ; buko kop.
Loquacity. Abuka.
Lose, to. Rwenyo.
Loud, to be. Laich.
Louse. Onyogo.
Love, to. Maro.
Lover. Apayo.
Low, to. Ruko.
Luck. Gum ; winyo.
Lump. Kitonge ; odeo.
Lunacy. Apôa.
Lung. Euka.
Lung-fish. Lut.
Lupin. Achoda ; aweli ; opul.
Lust after, to. Piro.

M

Mad, to be. Pô.
Madness. Poto.
Maggot. Kudi.
Magic. Awula.
Mahogany. Eputok ; etiti.
Maiden. Nyako.
Maimed. Ajut ; alugutu.
Maize. Nywagi.
Makindu. Otit.
Male. Dachô. OF ANIMALS, twon.
Malice. Abyeb'i ; amone.

Malign, to. Choko; doto.
Mallow. Ogwangarwot.
Malodour. Atika.
Malodourously. Tik.
Mamba. Mam'a.
Man. Dano; ıal; lo.
Manner. Kit.
Mannerism. Kwon.
Mantis. Agogong.
Many, to be. Pōl.
Marabout. Etulok.
March. Omuk.
Mark. Poyu.
Marriage. Nyôm.
Marrow. Okono. MARROW LEAVES, ochwicha.
Marry, to. Nyomo.
Mars. Chwardwe.
Marsh. Kulu.
Martin. Okwìr.
Marvel, to. Uro.
Mash, to. Giro.
Mashed. Agira.
Massage, to. Rwano.
Mat. PAPYRUS, kôlo. WINNOWING, oderu.
Match, to. Myero; rŏmo.
Matter. Kop.
Mature, to. Cheko. NEUT., teg'o.
Maturity. Dongo.
May. Odunge.
Me. An.
Mean, to be. Wany; chwiny olyet.
Meaning. Tyen kop.
Meanness. Awanya; lyet chwiny.
Measles. Anyô.
Measure, to. Poro.
Meat. Ringo.
Mediate, to. Dweko; tek'o.
Mediation. Adweka.
Mediator. Adwek.
Medicine. Yat.
Medium. Abanwa.
Meet, to. Nwongo; rômo; rwato.
Melt, to. Loyo.
Menstruate, to. Tye malo.
Menstruous. Adwe.
Merekat. Ogwang.
Metal. Nywenyo.
Midden. Oduro.
Middle. Dye.
Midrib. Oguru.
Migrate, to. Dak.
Migration. Dago.
Milk. Chak. FRESH, chak alepa. CURDLED, cheto.
Milk, to. Nyeto.
Milkpail. Ebur.
Millepede. Okol'o.
Millet. Kal.
Mimosa. Ichim; miritit; okodokodo; olal; oryang.
Mince, to. Ngido.
Mingle, to. Rib'o.
Minnow. Omor; midi.
Mirage. Atwap.
Misappropriate, to. Chamo; yuk'o.
Miscarry, to. Bwogo; ich (nyodo) opoto.
Miss. Abocha.
Miss, to. Bocho.
Mist. Ekuna; lwoich.
Mix, to. Rib'o.
Mock, to. Ngalo.
Moisten, to. Bido; dyako.
Moisture. Adyaka; aluka pi.
Mongoose. Emeo; gor; opyopyo.
Monkey. PATAS, ayom; CERCOPITHECUS, nger; COLOBUS GUEREZA, dolo.
Month. Dwe.
Moon. Dwe.
Morning. Manyango. IN THE MORNING, odiko.
Morose, to be. Jul.
Mortar. Pany.
Mortgage, to. Bapo; jengo.
Mosquito. Ober.
Moss. Tworo.
Mother. Toto. OF ANIMALS, min.
Mould, to. Chweyo.
Mouldy, to be. Pur'o.
Mountain. Got.
Mourn, to. Koko.
Mouse. Oyo; otitini.
Mouth. Dok.
Move, to. Tero. MOVE SLIGHTLY, nyig'o.
Mow, to. Nyaro.
Mucus. Otwinyo.
Mud. Apoich; choto.
Mud, to. Rwato; pamo.
Mudfish. Lut.
Muganda. Mwa; Ongeng; Oyo.
Mule. Kana.
Murder. Kwor.
Muscle. Lēr. ADDUCTOR MAGNUS, odōn.
Mushroom. Obwol.
Mussel. BIG, okame. SMALL, opaı; okwil.
My. Mera.

N

Nail. Lwet.
Naked. No; akita.
Name. Nying.
Name, to. Teko nying; chako nying.
Nape. Ngut.
Narrate, to. A'no.
Narrow, to be. Ding.
Nature. Epon; kwon; kodi; yô.
Navel. Pel.
Near. Chok; chyege.
Neck. Ngut. OF SPEAR, etwal.
Necklace. Ochanga.

Net. Bo.
Nettle. Ayilayila; ijumara.
Neuritis. Lêla.
Neutralize, to. Luch'o.
New. Anyen.
New, to be. Nyen.
Night. Owor.
Nightjar. Achulany.
No. A'a; mam.
Nod, to. Nur.
Noise. Atwaka.
Noisy, to be. Twak; wô.
Nomenclature. Achaka.
Noose. Egwili.
North. Aber; malo.
Nose. Um.
Not. Mam.
Notch, to. Tebo.
Notice, to. Winyo.
Nourish, to. Pito.
November. Adudu.
Now. Koni; nindini; wōk.
Nsambya. Omagi.
Nubi. Môn'o.
Nudge, to. Gwelo; gwet'o.
Number. Wel.
Numerous, to be. Pōl; tōt.
Nurture, to. Pito.

O

Oak. Owelo.
Oath. Akwonga.
Obduracy. Apyema.
Obey, to. Lobo; mwol; winyo.
Observe, to. Rango.
Obstacle. Kichiki.
Obstinacy. Akem; pyem.
Obstinate. Akolo.
Obstinate, to be. Pyem.
Obtain, to. Limo; tweko.
Occasion. Bang.
Occiput. Tok; odom.
Occupation. Tich.
Occupy, to. Galo.
Ochre. Akwana. SWAMP, palala.
October. Opo.
Œdema. Alonga.
Œsophagus. Olokoro.
Of. PERSONS, pa. THINGS, me.
Often. Dikdik. HOW OFTEN? Bang adi?
Oil. Mô.
Old. Adwong; muti.
Old age. Tiyo.
Old, to be. Chato; ti.
On. I wi.
One. Achel; ape.
Only. Keken; akil'i; akita.
Ooze, to. Chwero.
Open, to. El'o; pedo; yabo. OPEN slightly, kweko.
Open, to be. Twolo.
Or. Nyo; ato'nyo.
Orchis. Ebwuroko; apel.
Order. Chik.
Order, to. Chiko.
Ordure. Chet.
Oribi. Amyem.
Ornament, to. Toko.
Orphan. Kich.
Ostrich. Udu.
Other. Machel; moro; mukene.
Otter. Elili.
Our. Mewa.
Outside. Oko.
Outstrip, to. Lanyo.
Outwit, to. Wanyo.
Oven. Abuk.
Overcome, to. Bwoyo; kato.
Overflow. Ilech.
Overturn, to. Keto.
Owl. Tula; etukiri.
Owner. Won.
Ox. Merekwa; amojanik.
Oxpecker. Otyer.

P

Pacify, to. Dweko; joro; kweo.
Pack, to. Dilo; piko.
Pad. Obong.
Paddle. Pol.
Paddler. Dakwang.
Pain, to. Modo; ramo.
Palate. Edau.
Palsy. Akwila.
Pancreas. Akap.
Pandanus. Okong.
Pangolin. Ememek.
Pant, to. Chwiny omore.
Papyrus. Eladu.
Paralyse, to. Ngwalo.
Paralysis. Angwal.
Parch, to. Bomo.
Pare, to. Ngado.
Parroquet. Ogili.
Part, to. Dengo; kako.
Partial, to be. Dworo.
Partiality. Adwora.
Paspalum. Abotetong.
Pass, to. Beyo; kato. PASS TIME, pero; galo.
Pasturage. Bar; kakwat.
Patch. Adapa.
Patch, to. Dapo; rŏp'o.
Path. Wangyô; yô.
Paucity. Anoka.
Paunch. Aboi.
Pauper. Achan.

Pause, to. Dikeri.
Pawn. Ajenga.
Pawn, to. Bapo ; jengo.
Pay, to. Gelo ; chulo.
Payment. Agela ; achula.
Pea. Akeo ; koko. PIGEON PEA, apena.
Peaceful. Ayom.
Peaceful, to be. Ling.
Peasant. Damwiru.
Pebble. Ge.
Peel, to. Kulo.
Peg. Ateke ; ngabi.
Peg down, to. Gŭro.
Pelican. Ngako.
Pen. GOAT, anok.
Penis. Chul. ← MBORO
People. ~~Jo.~~
Perceive, to. Winyo.
Perhaps. Atot ; nyo ; ato'nyo ; chiti.
Permit, to. Weko.
Persecute, to. Lib'o.
Persist, to. Dedo.
Persistance. Adeda.
Person. Dano ; lo.
Perspiration. Kwòk.
Perspire, to. Kwòk.
Pervert, to. Tubo.
Pestle. Alek.
Pick, to. Ngwedo ; pwono. PICK UP, bek'o ; kabo ; kwanyo.
Piece. Odeo.
Pierce, to. Chŏbo ; twomo.
Pig. Opego.
Pigeon. RED, akungkung. GREEN, alugaluga.
Pile, to. Lwobo ; chan'o.
Pillage. Ayaka.
Pillow. Atenwich.
Pinch, to. Ngwenyo.
Pink. Akwakwar.
Pipe. Atek.
Pistia stratiotis. Atoto.
Pit. Bur.
Pith. Nyang.
Pith, to. Rŏko.
Place. Ka.
Placenta. Wino. OF ANIMALS, byeru.
Plague. Edèke.
Plait, to. Chweyo ; kedo.
Plant. Yat.
Plant, to. Pito.
Plantain. Kitôdi.
Plantain-eater. Akado.
Plaster, to. Mwôno ; pamo ; puyo.
Platform. Pêru.
Platter. Ewer.
Play, to. Tuko. PLAY FLUTE, kuto bilo ; goyo bilo.
Plead, to. Pido.
Pleasant, to be. Mit ; kur.
Pleasantry. Arata.
Pledge, to. Bapo ; jengo.
Pleiades. Nyugnyu ; yug'e.
Pliant, to be. Gomere.
Plover. Adyel ; awiwit.
Pluck, to. Ngwedo ; pwono ; puto. PLUCK FOWL, bujo.
Plunder, to. Yako.
Plurality. Alwak.
Plutocrat. Abar ; dalim.
Point. Lep.
Point, to. SHARPEN, pako. POINT AT, chimo ; dwongno.
Pointed. Apaka.
Poise, to. Tamo ; takoro.
Poison. Kwir.
Poison, to. Wulo.
Poke, to. Rŏko.
Polish, to. Chwero ; rud'o.
Ponder, to. Tamo kop.
Pool. Akong ; edago.
Poor, to be. Chan ; lik ; ngoto buru.
Porch. Gola.
Porcupine. Echoich.
Porridge. Kwŏn.
Porterage. Atera ; atinga.
Possess, to. Tye ki ; bedo ki.
Possessor. Won.
Pot. Agulu ; abak ; tabo. SALT, tuto. CEREMONIAL, dogaryô.
Potato. Achok. DRIED, otêre.
Potsherd. Abaltak ; Tako.
Potter. Achwech.
Pound, to. Ô'do ; yok'o.
Pour, to. Uk'o. POUR AWAY, oyo. POUR DROP BY DROP, lĭyo ; POUR IN, OUT, oyo.
Pout. Achudi dok.
Pout, to. Chudo dok.
Poverty. Chan.
Powder. Moko.
Power. Tek ; ker.
Powerful, to be. Twero.
Pox. GOAT AND SHEEP, agogot.
Praise, to. Woro.
Pray, to. Rabo.
Prayer. Arab.
Precede, to. Telo yô ; teko.
Precipitancy. Anguka.
Pre-eminence. Akata ; alanya.
Prefer, to. Nwir ; myeko.
Preference. Amyeka ; anwira.
Pregnancy. Ich ; yaich.
Pregnant, to be. Tye ki ich ; yaich. OF ANIMALS, duru.
Prejudiced, to be. Buro.
Prepuce. Yom.
Present, to. Dut'o.
Presently. Mot.
Press, to. Bujo ; dino ; mi'no. PRESS DOWN, bako ; chik'o ; dilo ; luro.
Pressure. Abiya.

Prevent, to. Chiero; jūko; gengo; mono.
Prevention. Amona.
Price. Wil.
Princely. Arwot.
Prise apart, to. Ngayo.
Prison. Ot kol.
Prisoner. Dakol.
Privy. Nge-gang.
Proclaim, to. Tucho.
Procrastinate, to. Gal.
Prohibition. Ajuka; kwer.
Projection. Achudi.
Promise, to. Kwongo.
Promontory. Chwoin.
Prompt, to. Chupo; chwon'o.
Prop. Ayep.
Propel, to. Chwalo.
Properly. Kiber.
Property. Lim; jamno.
Prophesy, to. Bano.
Prophet. Ajoka.
Propitiate, to. Yal'o.
Propulsion. Achôra.
Protract, to. Lôlo.
Protrude, to. Chudo. NEUT., gem.
Protuberance. Achudi.
Proverb. Ichina.
Provoke, to. Er'o.
Prow. Tik.
Prunus. Olutokwon.
Publish, to. Tucho.
Pull, to. Telo; peyo. PULL UP GRASS, mworo. PULL OUT, puto; wôto.
Pullet. Bwong gweno.
Pumpkin. Ogabu.
Pure. Akil'i.
Purpose. Akā.
Pursue, to. Lobo; wapo.
Pursuit. Awapa.
Pus. Tut.
Push. Achôra.
Push, to. Chôro; chwalo; diro.
Put, to. Keto. PUT DOWN, chibo; keto. PUT IN, luto; royo; rwako. PUT IN ROW, ryiyo. PUT ON, luto; rwako; ruko. PUT OUT FIRE, neko mach. PUT OVER, rwako. PUT UPRIGHT, tiro.
Putrefy, to. Kwóko; top.
Putrid. Matop.
Putties. Arityel'o.
Python. Nyel'o.

Q

Quail. Aluru.
Quake, to. Yengere.
Quarrel, to. Dau; tubere; rôd'o.
Quarrelsome. Apala.
Quarrelsome, to be. Palo; pyem.
Question, to. Penyo.
Quick. Mayot.
Quicken, to. Bonyo.
Quickly. Chuchuto; pio.
Quiescence. Alinga.
Quiet, to be. Ling; kuch.
Quill. Yer.
Quiver, to. Kyer; myel'o; yengere.

R

Race. Ngwech.
Race, to. Ngwech.
Rafter. Atat.
Raid. Mony.
Raid, to. Monyo.
Rain. Kot. LIGHT JANUARY RAINS, agwarchet.
Rain, to. Chwe.
Rainbow. Ataloka.
Rainmaker. Ajogakot; dabolkot.
Rake. Ogode.
Rake, to. Gwaro.
Ram. Nyok rŏm'o.
Ram down, to. Bako.
Ransom. Ekôkit.
Ransom, to. Kôko; waro.
Rapids. Pi amor'e.
Rare. Alam.
Rare, to be. Lam.
Rat. Oyo. FIELD-RAT, ekim; engu; eper. SMALL FIELD-RAT, odimodim; HOUSE-RAT, awati; okuna. SMALL HOUSE-RAT, opilo. WATER-RAT, chwiri; oyuko; perege. EDIBLE VOLE, anyer. THRYONOMYS, bubu.
Rattle. Aja.
Rattle, to. Yeko.
Raven. Maülu.
Raw. Anumu.
Raw, to be. Numu.
Razor. Lyedi.
Reach, to. Tun'o.
Read, to. Kwano.
Really. Ateni.
Reap, to. Kayo.
Rear, to. Pito.
Recant, to. Dwanyo.
Recantation. Adwanya.
Receive, to. Gamo; lako.
Recently. Podi adyaka; podi tôtô; tutuno; aworo macha.
Recitative. Apak.
Recite, to. Pak'o.
Recline, to. Tene; ryeyo tyen.
Recognize, to. Ngiyo; ngeo.
Reconcile, to. Chwilo; rib'o.
Reconciliation. Ateka.
Reconnaissance. Arŏta.

Recover, to. Lakoro; waro. RECOVER HEALTH, chang; ikere.
Red. Akwar.
Red, to be. Kwar.
Red, to become. Pach; bokere; wal.
Redden, to. Boko.
Redeem, to. Kôko; waro.
Redemption. Ekôkit.
Reed. Obot; ogaru.
Reedbuck. Akal.
Reflect, to. Ngicho.
Refusal. Akwera.
Refuse. Yugi.
Refuse, to. Dagi; kwero.
Regret, to. Paro.
Reinforce, to. Chuto.
Reinforcement. Achuta.
Rejoice, to. Chwiny oyom; lelo; pwoyere.
Relation. Wat. FOR SPECIFIC RELATIONSHIPS, *vide* p. 176 *seq.*
Release. Agonya.
Release, to. Weko; gonyo.
Relish. Dek.
Remain, to. Bedo; dong.
Remainder. Adongni; alal; obot.
Remember, to. Poi.
Remind, to. Poyo.
Remit, to. Weko.
Remove, to. Kŏbo; wayo.
Rend, to. Yecho.
Repay, to. Chulo banja.
Repeat, to. Dok; dopo; nod'o.
Repent, to. Ngut.
Repetition. Adopa.
Repletion. Ayeng'a.
Reply, to. Gamo dok; dwoko kop.
Report. Rwong.
Report, to. Lang'o.
Reprimand, to. Nguto.
Reputation. Kwogo.
Request. Akwaya; kwaich.
Request, to. Kwayo.
Resemblance. Achala; poron.
Resemble, to. Chalo.
Resentful, to be. Chwiny okech.
Resentment. Akecha.
Residue. Ngil'i; obot.
Resign, to. Jalo.
Resin. Odok; twaka.
Respect. Alwóra.
Respect, to. Lwóro; woro.
Rest. We.
Rest, to. Ywe.
Re-thatch, to. Yup'o; wal o.
Retraction. Atwanya.
Return, to. Dok; luko.
Reveal, to. E'lo; yabo.
Reverse, to. Doicho; loko.
Revolve, to. Wiro.
Rheumatism. Abok.
Rhinoceros. Amoching.
Rib. Laknget; omaran.
Rich. Abar; alonyo.
Rich, to be. Bar; lony.
Riddle. Ichina.
Ridicule, to. Ngalo.
Rifle. Aduku.
Right. Achem.
Right-handed. Achem.
Rightly. Kakare.
Rigor. Akwila.
Rind. Pŏko.
Rinderpest. Edèke; geng.
Ring. EARRING, mola it; alagi. FINGER-RING, atem. REAPING-RING, alwet.
Ringworm. Nwinyu.
Rinse, to. Ugo.
Riot, to. Twak.
Rip, to. Ngil'o.
Ripen, to. Cheko; teg'o.
Rise, to. A. OF SUN, wōk.
Rival, to. Laro.
River. Angolong.
Road. Yô; wangyô. MADE ROAD, yô agéra.
Roan. Ichwilit.
Roast, to. Bulo. NUTS AND SEMSEM, chyel'o.
Rob, to. Mayo; robo.
Robbery. Amaya; aroba.
Rock. Gweng; kidi.
Roll, to. Loro.
Root. Lēr.
Rope. Akongomer; anguch; atwilo. OF PLAITED GRASS, akedi; elago.
Rot, to. Pire; top.
Roughen, to. Koro.
Rout. Abwanga; aryem'a.
Rout, to. Belo; bwango; ryem'o.
Rub, to. Juano; rigo; rweyo; rwano; rud'o; wir'o.
Rubbish. Yugi.
Ruin, to. Balo; dubo.
Rule, to. Bwoyo; loyo; chamo ker.
Rumour. Rwong.
Run, to. Ringo; ngwech; bolo ngwech; bele ngwech.
Rupee. Rupia.
Rush out, to. Mwôm.
Russet. Akwoyo.
Rust. Nywal'i.
Rust, to. Pur'o.

S

Sacrifice, to. Buko.
Sag, to. Bakere.
Sale. Wil.
Saliva. Lao.
Salt. Kado. IMPORTED SALT, chero.

Salutation. Amota.
Salute, to. Moto.
Sanctification. Alam'a.
Sand. Kwoyo.
Sandal. War.
Sandfly. Churuchuru.
Sansiviera. Kwoneyo.
Sap. Odok.
Sarcoma. Etoku.
Saturate, to. Bido.
Savoury. Atamtam.
Say, to. Kōbo.
Scab. GOAT AND SHEEP, akukuch ; gwenyu.
Scabbard. Akuru ; kiroich.
Scalify, to. Pimo.
Scar. Poyu.
Scarce. Alam.
Scarce, to be. Lam.
Scatter, to. Choyo.
Scoop, to. Wero. SCOOP OUT, rŏko.
Scoparium. Alaugot.
Scorch, to. Nĕro.
Scorpion. Iit.
Scout, to. Rŏto.
Scrape, to. Chĭd'o ; gwayo ; gŏbo ; kŭro ; yuyo.
Scratch, to. Gwenyo ; koro.
Scream, to. Dang.
Screech, to. Ruko.
Scum. Chor.
Seal, to. Mwôno.
Search. Amony'a ; ayenya.
Search, to. Mony'o ; yenyo.
Season. Kare. DRY, oro. RAINY, chwir.
Seasoning. Dek.
Second. Aryône.
Sedge. Tworo.
See, to. Neno.
Seed. Kodi.
Seek, to. Yenyo ; mony'o.
Seer. Ajoka ; datyet.
Seize, to. Mako ; mayo.
Select, to. Depo ; myeko ; pen'o.
Self. Kikum-.
Selfishness. Lyet chwiny.
Sell, to. Wilo.
Semen. Adwa ; laich arach.
Semsem. Nino.
Send, to. Oro ; chwayo. SEND BACK, dwŏko. SEND FOR, tweko. SEND TO, tweko.
Separate, to. Dengo ; gelo ; koyo.
Separately. Pat.
Separation. Koich.
September. Obar.
Serval. Kworo.
Servant. Achapan.
Serve, to. Chapo. SERVE FOOD, tok'o.
Set, to. Keto. SET TRAP, chiko.
Settle, to. Iko.
Settlement. Myeri.
Sever, to. Chōdo.
Sew, to. Kwôno.
Shade. Tipo.
Shadow. Tipo.
Shadow, to. Lib'o.
Shaft. Bol ; tir.
Shake, to. Yung'o ; teng'o ; yengo.
Shame. Lyewich.
Share, to. Leyo ; nywako ; pokere.
Sharpen, to. Bito ; pako ; wito ; tyek'o.
Shave. Alyela ; lyel.
Shave, to. Chīd'o ; gwaro ; lyelo ; lot'o ; mworo.
She. En.
Shea-butter-Tree. Yao.
Sheath. Akuru ; kiroich.
Shed. Goin.
Sheep. Rŏm'o.
Shell. Pŏko. SNAIL, akam ; akorokoro.
Shell, to. Bito ; paicho.
Shield. Kwŏt.
Shin. Oloto ; omolokony. OF ANIMAL, ojwê.
Shine, to. Ryeny.
Shiver, to. Kwil.
Shoe. Amok. DANCING, balakuku.
Shorten, to. Chyeko.
Shoulder. Gwok. SHOULDER BLADE, epetpet. OF ANIMAL, bat.
Shout, to. Koko ; redo.
Shove, to. Chôro ; loro.
Show, to. Nyuto.
Shread, to. Ngil'o ; paicho.
Shrike. Ererek.
Shrine. Abila.
Shrink, to. Jonyo.
Shrivel, to. Bomo ; jonyo.
Shut, to. Chiego.
Sick. Atô.
Sick, to be. Two.
Sickness. Tô.
Side. Laknget ; nget ; but.
Sift, to. Kiino ; lilo ; pyeto.
Sigh. Achura.
Sigh, to. Churo.
Sign, to. Gwet'o.
Significance. Tyen kop.
Silence. Alinga.
Silent. Aduny.
Silent, to be. Ling.
Simpleton. Agol.
Simpleton, to be. Gol.
Since. Kun.
Sinew. Puch.
Sing, to. Wero.
Sink, to. Lwinyo.
Sinovitis. Ngwal.
Sirius. Omataila.

Sisal. Tworo.
Sisera. Achak.
Sister. Amin.
Sit, to. Bedo. OF HENS, buto.
Sitatunga. Amalech.
Six. Kany kape.
Skin. Del; lau. WORN-OUT, adwel.
Skin, to. Yango.
Skullcap. Abobo.
Sky. Polo.
Skylark. Apôl'i.
Skyline. Witim.
Slacken, to. Lwog'o.
Slander. Abyeb'i; akwota.
Slander, to. Byeb'o; tong'o.
Slant, to. Lengere.
Slap. Abapa.
Slap, to. Bapo.
Slash, to. Chi'no.
Slaughter. Aneka.
Slave. Angicha; damwiru; omô.
Sleep. Anin'a.
Sleep, to. Buto; nin'o.
Slender. Apwot.
Slender, to be. Pwot.
Slime. Chor.
Sling, to. ON BACK, byelo. IN HAMMOCK, dyelo.
Slippery. Apwot.
Slippery, to be. Pwot.
Slit, to. Ryek'o.
Slope. Lung.
Slough, to. Roich.
Slovenly. Akukuru.
Slowly. Mot.
Slush. Apoich.
Small. Aduno; matidi. OF ANIMALS, apumbiro.
Small, to be. Tidi.
Smallpox. Ekodo.
Smear, to. Jŭko; wir'o.
Smell, to. Ngweyo.
Smith. Atet.
Smithy. Buk; ot tet.
Smoke. Ito.
Smoke, to. Mato.
Smooth. Alibi.
Smooth, to. Juano; liyo.
Smooth, to be. Pore.
Snail. Akorokoro.
Snake. Twol.
Snap, to. Bito; chōdo.
Snare. Chik; roich. DIFFERENT KINDS: abal; adeye; akongomer; egwili; otaich.
Snare, to. Chiko; mok'o.
Snarl, to. Ngeny.
Snatch, to. Yut'o.
Sneeze, to. Giro.
Snore, to. Twaro.
So. Aman; amono.
So-and-so. Ngadi.
Socket. Opoko.
Soft. Ayom.
Soft, to be. Yom; nep; toicho.
Soil. Lobo.
Solanum. Ochok.
Solo. Apak.
Some. Moro.
Someone. Ngato.
Something. Gin'oro.
Somewhere. Kan'oro.
Somnolence. Anin'a.
Son. Wot.
Song. Wer.
Sore. Adōla; ngwĕ.
Sorghum. Bel. UNRIPE, ekoto.
Sorry, to be. Chwiny ochwer.
Sort. Yô; kodi; kit.
Soul. Tipo.
Sour, to be. Waich; tang.
Source. OF RIVER, achalo.
South. Burutok.
Sow, to. Choyo.
Space. Kabedo.
Spark. Ngil'i mach.
Sparrow. Akweii; ogerpacho.
Spatter, to. Dacho.
Speak, to. Kōbo; wacho.
Spear. Tong. WORN DOWN, bit; otum.
Spear, to. Chobo.
Species. Kit; kodi.
Specifically. Atika.
Specify, to. Tiko.
Speech. Dok; kop; wach.
Spend day, to. Riy'o.
Spider. Tyem.
Spill, to. Oyo.
Spin, to. Binyo; wiyo.
Spine. Oguru.
Spiral. Amina.
Spirit. Tipo. GUARDIAN SPIRIT, winyo.
Spit, to. Ngulo lao; nyeto lao.
Spittle. Lao.
Spleen. Etit.
Splice. Atuda.
Splice, to. Tudo.
Split, to. Baro; kako; ngako; bito; ryek'o.
Spoil, to. Dubo.
Spook. Jarangu.
Spoor, to. Twôdo.
Spout. Dok.
Sprain. Awil'a.
Sprain, to. Wil'o.
Sprat. Apok.
Spread, to. Môno; peto; yaro.
Spring. Akong.
Sprinkle, to. Kiro.
Sprout, to. Lŏt; tu.
Spurt, to. Nyet'e.

Spurtle. Agwech.
Spy, to. Rŏto.
Squeeze, to. Biyo; dino; mi'no. SQUEEZE IN, rid'o.
Squint. Wang apanga.
Squint, to. Wang olokere; riri.
Squirrel. Ayita; elech.
Squirt, to. Chwero; nyeto.
Stab, to. Chobo; chudo; chumo; twomo.
Stagger, to. Jangere; pungni; tagoro.
Stain, to. Boko; chido.
Stairway. Apetan.
Stake. Achipa; apake.
Stalk. Tyang. EDIBLE, nyang.
Stalk, to. Dwaro; twôdo.
Stammer, to. Lep ongwal.
Stamp, to. Tôro.
Stance. Achunga.
Stand, to. Chung. STAND IN ROW. ryiye.
Star. Achyer. SHOOTING STAR, achyer apute.
Stare, to. Kemo; chido wang; chudo wang; dedo wang.
Start from, to. A.
Statement. Lōk; wach.
Stave. Tir.
Steady. Aliro.
Steal, to. Kwalo.
Steam, to. Nyoyo.
Steer. Adonge dyang; aroye dyang.
Stencil, to. Kedo.
Step over, to. Kalo.
Sterile. Aboich. OF YOUNG WOMEN, oranga. OF GOATS, akang.
Sterile, to be. Boich.
Stern. Ojwin.
Sternum. Atoro.
Stick. Abela; abiru; lōt. DIGGING STICK, okutu.
Stick, to. Mokere.
Stickleback. Okuk.
Sticky, to be. Chot.
Still. Podi.
Stillborn, to be. Bwog'e.
Stilts. Ajag'i.
Stimulate, to. Kōlo.
Stingy, to be. Wany.
Stir, to. Nyob'o. VEGETABLES, gúro.
Stoat. Achuli.
Stockade. Kyel.
Stocks. Kol.
Stomach. Aboi.
Stomach-ache. Leny.
Stone. Gweng. COOKING STONES, kendo.
Stonecrop. Lebdyang; otigo.
Stool. Kom me adanya.
Stoop, to. Gungo.
Stop. Wang.
Stop, to. Giko; keo. STOP UP, chulo.
Store. Aling; tua; dero.
Stork. Achokalinga.
Straight. Aliro; atira.
Straighten, to. Tiro; twenyo.
Strain, to. Wil'o.
Stranger. Awelo.
Strangle, to. Deyo.
Strangulation. Adech.
Streaked. Opilo.
Stream. Akau.
Strength. Tek.
Stretch, to. Ngad'o; ryeyo. STRETCH OUT, tango.
Strife. Alwenya.
Strike, to. Goyo; gudo.
String. Tŏl; anguch.
Strip, to. Paicho; lwero.
Striped. Opilo.
Stroke. Ijut.
Stroke, to. Yweyo; mulo.
Stroll, to. Lat.
Strong. Matek.
Strong, to be. Tek.
Strongly. Kitek.
Stubble. Rao.
Stubborn. Angudi.
Stubborn, to be. Tek.
Stuff, to. Rŏko.
Stump. Kichiki.
Subsequent. Machen.
Subterfuge. Amunga.
Subtract, to. Gweto.
Subtraction. Agweta.
Suck, to. Jwinyo; noto.
Suckle, to. Doto.
Suckling. Madot.
Suffice, to. Rŏmo.
Suffuse, to. Choro.
Suicide. Adech. TO COMMIT SUICIDE, deyere.
Suit, to. Myero.
Sullen, to be. Ngur; kem.
Sullenness. Akem; angura.
Summon. Chwanyo; lwongo.
Summons. Alwonga.
Sun. Cheng.
Sunder, to. Chōdo.
Sunrise. Wokcheng.
Sunset. Arang cheng; potcheng.
Superimpose, to. Ryebo.
Supervise, to. Gwoko.
Supine. Ataro.
Supplant, to. Lunyo.
Support. Lyer.
Support, to. Komo; tĭngo.
Suppose, to. Paro.
Surety. Ajenga.
Surfeit. Ayeng'a.
Surpass, to. Kato; lanyo.
Surplus. Ilech.

Surround, to. Rumo.
Surveillance. Alib'a.
Suspend, to. Lyero; ngapo.
Sustenance. Pit.
Swallow. Achulimwech.
Swallow, to. Mônyo.
Swamp. Kulu; ora.
Swarm. Angīn'a.
Swarm, to. Ngīn'o.
Sway, to. Jangere; yungere.
Swear, to. Kwongo.
Sweat. Kwòk.
Sweat, to. Kwòk.
Sweep, to. Yweyo.
Sweet. Alim.
Sweet, to be. Lim.
Swift, to be. Dwir.
Switch. Awula.
Swollen, to be. Longo; kwōt.
Sycamore. Olam.
Syphilis. Abeny.

T

Tabanus. Lwangni jobi.
Tabu. Kwer.
Taciturn. Aduny.
Tadpole. Olugi.
Tail. Ip. WORN BY MEN, alyam. WORN BY WOMEN, lau ngony; ataka.
Tainted, to be. Tang.
Take, to. Tero; game. TAKE AWAY, tero; kwanyo. TAKE HONEY, tot'o; TAKE OFF, kabo; lonyo. TAKE ROOT, mok. TAKE UP, kabo; tìngo.
Talk. Yam.
Talk, to. Yamo.
Talkative, to be. Bak'o dok; bako kop. TALK BEHIND A PERSON'S BACK, kwŏto.
Tall. Abor; akangara.
Tall, to be. Bor; kangara.
Tall, to grow. Lwi.
Tamarind. Chwao.
Tapeworm. Olwinyu.
Taste. Abil'a.
Taste, to. Bil'o; gub'o.
Teach, to. Ponyo; nguto.
Teal. Lwil.
Tear. Pi wang.
Tear, to. Baro; ngil'o; yecho. TEAR OUT, muko. TEAR OFF, jakno.
Tell, to. Kōbo; wacho.
Temperament. Epon.
Temple. Onyam.
Tempt, to. Bit'o.
Ten. Tômon; apar; ot.
Tend, to. Kwayo.
Tendon. Puch.
Termite. Okok. WINGED, ngwen; DIFFERENT SPECIES: aming; aripo; etaktak; kupa; obodowiya; ogoro; tuk.
Terrify, to. Bwango.
Test, to. Poro; tamo.
Testicle. Man; chuk mach.
Thank, to. Pwoyo.
That. Cha; macha. CONJUNCTION, ni; nike.
Thatch, to. Umno; wal'o.
Thee. In.
Theft. Kwŏ.
Their. Megi.
Them. Gin.
Then. Ape; da; do.
There. Kacha; kun; kenyo.
Thereabouts. Kugo.
They. Gin.
Thief. Dakwal; dakwo.
Thigh. Amuru; em.
Thin, to be. Rep.
Thin, to grow. Mok.
Thing. Gin.
Think, to. Paro.
Third. Adek'ere; meradek.
Thirst. Oreô.
This. Măn. OF PERSONS ONLY, eno.
Thistle. Ekwanga; okelokel.
Thither. Kacha; kun.
Thong. Del.
Thorn. Kutu.
Thorny. Okwoto.
Thou. In.
Thrash, to. Bungo; dipo; pwodo.
Thread, to. Yup'o.
Threaten, to. Dau; buro. OF RAIN, twak.
Three. Adek.
Thresh, to. Gô'no; pwodo.
Threshing-floor. Laro.
Threshold. Dipo.
Throttle to. Deyo.
Throw. Abach; abola.
Throw, to. Bayo; bolo; choyo; doro. THROW AT, chilo; yuo. THROW AWAY, ucho; THROW DOWN, reto; twaijo; ucho; yuo.
Thrush. Omwamwa.
Thumb. Twon ching.
Thunder. Kot; amora kot.
Thunder, to. Moich; mor; twak.
Thus. Aman; amono.
Thy. Meri.
Thyme. Omida; abiribiri.
Tick. GRASS, okwodo; HUMAN, chwar; ORNITHODORUS MOUBATA, mubô; okwodo nam.
Tickle, to. Gid'o.
Tie, to. Tweyo.

Tighten, to. Lid'o; rid'o.
Tightly. Kitek.
Till, to. Puro.
Time. Bany; kara; ngit.
Tire, to. Jŏko; lôlo; nyongo; ōlo.
To. Bang; bot; kum; tung. CONJUNCTION, ka.
Toad. Achungbot.
Toadstool. Bulapwô.
Tobacco. Taba.
To-day. Tin.
Together. Karachel.
To-morrow. Diki. DAY AFTER TOMORROW, diki macha.
Tongue. Lep.
Tonsil. Atongkwon.
Tooth. Lak.
Toothpick. Ocheo.
Top. Wich.
Torment, to. Yel'o.
Tortoise. Apuk.
Totem. Kwer.
Totter, to. Pungni. OF CHILDREN, put; teo.
Touch, to. Mulo.
Tough, to be. Nwang; langere.
Track, to. Rŏto; twôdo.
Trade. Achata; awila.
Trample, to. Nyono.
Transfix, to. Gūr'o.
Transparent, to be. Rep.
Transport, to. Kŏbo.
Trap. Akino; owich.
Trap, to. Chiko; mok'o.
Travel. Aweno.
Travel, to. Welo.
Treachery. Abwola.
Tread, to. Nyono.
Tree. Yat.
Trefoil. Alaro.
Tremble, to. Kyer; myel'o.
Trench. Bur; tula.
Tribe. Jo; atekere.
Tributary. Akau.
Trick, to. Kino; bwolo.
Trim, to. Ngado.
Trip, to. Roicho.
Triumph, to. Ngat'o.
Trouble. Chan.
Trowel. Ago.
Truly. Ateni.
Trumpet. Agwara; apel; arupape.
Trumpet, to. OF ELEPHANTS, redo.
Truncate, to. Nguno.
Truncated. Ajut.
Trunk. OF ELEPHANT, ching lyech.
Trust, to. Geno.
Truth. Anda; ateni.
Try, to. Poro; tamo.
Tube. DRINKING, ocheke.
Tuition. Aponya.
Tumour. Etol.
Tup, to. Tepo.
Turn, to. Loko. TURN UPSIDE DOWN, doicho. TURN INSIDE OUT, lucho.
Tusk. Lak lyech.
Tussock. Obulukuch.
Twenty. Atômon aryô.
Twig. Abela; wel.
Twin. Rut.
Twist. Amina.
Twist, to. Binyo; chuno; dwoyo dyenyo; mino; moij'o; wil'o; wiro.
Two. Aryô.

U

Udder. Nyar.
Ulcer. Bor.
Ulceration. Abora.
Umbilicus. Pel.
Unadulterated. Akil'i; akita.
Uncover, to. El'o; yabo.
Under. Ngony; te.
Undergrowth. Ngony bung.
Understand, to. Winyo.
Undo, to. Gonyo.
Undress, to. Lonyo.
Unembellished. Akita.
Unfair, to be. Kech.
Unfasten, to. Gonyo.
Unfermented. Alim.
Unfitted, to be. Mon'o.
Unfold, to. Pedo; yaro.
Unformed, to be. Nep.
Unite, to. Rib'o.
Unpleasant. Tik.
Unripe. Anumu.
Unripe, to be. Numu.
Unseemliness. Mono.
Unseemly, to be. Mon'o.
Unshafted. Akiling.
Unsteadily. Atagi.
Unsuitability. Mono.
Unsuitable, to be. Mon'o.
Unthatch, to. Ryek'o.
Up. Malo.
Upbringing. Pit.
Upright. Aliro; achung.
Uproar. Twak; wô.
Uproot, to. Puto; mworo.
Upset, to. Oyo; uk'o; reto.
Urethra. Akakaliro.
Urinate, to. Layo; woto laich; konyere.
Urine. Laich.
Us. Wan.
Useless, to be. Kwer.
Uselessly. Kwe.
Uterus. Ot nyodo.

Utricularia. Tworo.
Utterly. Oko; badbad; ni ti; ebelebele.

V

Vagabond. Achar.
Vagina. Tōl.
Vaguely. Akā.
Vainly. Ata; mwa.
Valueless, to be. Kwer.
Varanus. Ngech.
Variation. Aloka.
Veer, to. Long.
Vegetable. Dek.
Vein. Lēr. JUGULAR, alari.
Venus. Etop; gwala.
Verily. Atika.
Very. Twal; marach; kwe.
Vetch. Alau; itele; karaleng.
Vex, to. Pyedo.
Vigorously. Kitek.
Village. Pacho; myeri. DESERTED VILLAGE SITE, wi abur.
Vine. Olok.
Violence. Tek.
Violent, to be. Tek.
Violet. Oboayom.
Visible, to be. Ido.
Visit, to. Lim'o; weno.
Voice. Dwan.
Vole. Anyer.
Vomit, to. Ngok.
Vulture. Achut.

W

Wagtail. Ojwin.
Wail, to. Koko.
Waist. Pyer.
Wait, to. Kuro.
Wake, to. Chô.
Walk. Lat.
Walk, to. Woto; lat. WALK FEEBLY, teo.
Wall. Kichenge.
Want to. Mito; dwaro.
Wanton. Achar.
Wanton, to be. Char.
Wantonness. Charo.
War. Yi; lweny. CIVIL WAR, byemi.
War-cry. Agwong.
Ward off, to. Gengo.
Warm, to. Moro; tôl'o.
Warn, to. Churo.
Wart-hog. Kūl.
Wary, to be. Kino.
Wash, to. Lwok'o. WASH HANDS, jwomo. WASH HANDS OR FACE, lōgo. WASH CLOTHES, biyo.
Wasp. Ojibu.
Water. Pi.
Waterbuck. Apôli.
Water-wagtail. Kangga.
Wave, to. Leyo.
Waver, to. Chukere.
Way. Yô.
We. Wan.
Weak, to be. Kere; put.
Weal. Poyu; awana.
Wealth. Lim; lony.
Wealthy. Abar; alonyo.
Wean, to. Pwono.
Wear, to. Ruko.
Weary, to. Ōlo.
Weary, to be. Nyongere.
Weaverbird. Ichuring.
Web. Bŏ tyem.
Web-footed. Awaro.
Wedge. Achwal.
Weed, to. Doyo.
Weeds. Dô; apuruku.
Weevil. Olech.
Weigh, to. Poro; tamo. WEIGH DOWN, nuro.
Weight. Apeka.
Well. Kiber. RESUMPTIVE, achŏ; ape; kara.
Were-leopard. Jarangu.
West. Tungto.
Wet, to. Dyako.
What? Ngo?
When. Ka.
When? Awene?
Where. Kama.
Where? Kwene?
Whet, to. Pako; tyek'o.
Whether. Ka; kono.
Which. Ma; mu.
Which? Mene?
While. Kun.
Whip. Del; kurobach.
Whirlwind. Ajoru.
Whisker. Wino.
Whisper. Amonga.
Whisper, to. Mongo.
Whistle. Bilo. WAR-WHISTLE, echoich.
Whistle, to. Jwio; lwiyo. BLOW WHISTLE, kuto bilo.
White. Atar.
White, to be. Tar.
Whiteness. Tar.
Whittle, to. Chwer'o; lwero; wito.
Who. Ma; mu.
Who? Nga?
Why? Pi ngo?
Wide, to be. Laich.
Wife. Chi; chyek; dako. SLANG, bul damôkor.
Wild, to be. Ger.

Wilderness. Amagoro.
Win, to. Loyo; lanyo. WIN BACK, lakoro.
Wind. Yamo.
Window. Wang ot.
Wing. Bwom.
Wink, to. Dino wang.
Winnow, to. Kworo; pyeto.
Wipe, to. Chĭd'o.
Wire. BRASS, mola. IRON, chil'i.
Wisdom. Ryeko.
Wise. Aryek.
Wise, to be. Ryek.
Wish, to. Mito.
Witchcraft. Awula.
With. Ki; ni.
Withdraw, to. Twanyo.
Wither, to. Nĕro.
Withered, to be. Tal.
Withy. Abela.
Witness. Dakony kop.
Wizard. Ajok; achudany; ading.
Woman. Dako. OLD, kimat. YOUNG, nyako.
Womb. Aorech; ot nyodo.
Wonder, to. Uro.
Wood. Yat.
Woodpecker. Akerekeret; ateltel; etoktok.
Word. Lōk.
Work. Tich.
Work, to. Tiyo.
World. Piny.
Worm. Twol kot. SLOWWORM, dokaryô.
Worry, to. Bodo wi; pyedo; buch'o.
Worthlessness. Charo.
Wound. Awana.
Wound, to. Wano.
Wrap, to. Boyo.
Wrapping. Aboya.
Wrestle, to. Wôtere.
Wrestling. Awôt.
Wrist. Ngut ching.
Wristlet. Okom.
Write, to. Chwinyo.

X

Xiphisternum. Dok atoro; gok.

Y

Yam. Obô; obat.
Yawn. Angama.
Yawn, to. Ngamo.
Yaws. Nyach.
Year. Arun; wang; oro.
Yeast. Tôbi.
Yellow. Anyang.
Yes. E'yo.
Yesterday. Aworo. DAT BEFORE YESTERDAY, aworo macha.
You. Wun.
Young. Atin'o.
Young, to be. Ber.
Your. Mewu.
Youth. Awobe.
Youthfulness. Abera.

Z

Zebra. Etuku.

FABLES

ICHINA[1]

LYECH KI AGOGO

NWANG gilaro nyako me nyôm. Nwang pi otwô, e ka toto anyako otekokelo nyare, etokobo ni, "Ngat matucho pi wek oger nyakoni." Lyech do otokoporo kunyo pi, pi otokoloyone, mam enwange. Agogo otokoporo etotucho pi. Me daro tucho pi etokokele toto anyako pi, etomato. En ka etokotingo nyako etotero gero. En ka lyech etokobino lib'o agogo, etokobo ni, "Wan chen wayenyo pi ma oloyowa. In irach, itowoto nwango pi, itokogero dako maber." Etoneke agogo. Ma dong otyeko neke enwango dako otyeko yaich. Dako dang ma nwong oyaich onywalo achô: en ka atin obedo etekodong'o. Me tyeko dong'o tot'ere okobo ni, "Ma nwong oneko pap'i lyech." En ka etowoto bang mwok. Mwok etekogolo adu. E ka agogo etekolwongo ogole etokobo ni, "In, ogole, woti, wag jo ma gibin myel'o bul." Me tyeko wako jo gitekomyel'o bul etokochwaye ogole ni, "Woti, iryeyi mach." En ka ogole etoryeno mach, en mach etekowang. En ka lyech etekoneno mach etokobo ni, 'Kara wangcha ngo?" Etokobo agogo ni, "Apua me tyenwu." Mach do otyeko nekogi. En ka agogo etokoyut'o bul otokochwale i adu mwok. En ka toko mach obino etokowangogi lyechi duch ki leny, gin ka gitokoto. Mwok dang kede agogo etekodonyo oko, etokobo ni, "Aa, man dang kop otum: atyeko chulo kwor apapa." Man otoko dong gik.

FABLES

THE ELEPHANT AND THE CHAMELEON

ONCE upon a time there were rival suitors to a girl. There was a drought, and the girl's mother brought her daughter and said, "Whoever bores water let him marry this girl." So the elephant tried to dig for water, but the water overcame him and he did not find it. Then the chameleon tried and bored water. After he had bored water he took the water to the girl's mother and she drank. And he thereupon lifted up the girl and took her away in marriage. But the elephant, however, came and followed the chameleon privily, and said, "Formerly we looked for water which overcame us. Thou wast a rascal and wentest and didst find water, and so hast married a beautiful wife." And he killed the chameleon. When he had killed him, he found that the woman was enceinte. So the woman who was enceinte bore a male child, and the child lived and grew up to maturity. After he was fully grown his mother said, "He who killed thy father was the elephant." And he went to the aardvark. And the aardvark dug a hole. Then the chameleon called a kite and said, "Thou, O kite, go, gather people to come and dance the drum dance." When he had gathered the people they danced, but he then despatched the kite, saying, "Go and please make a line of fire." So the kite made a line of fire and the fire burned. And the elephant saw the smoke of the fire and said, "Now what is that burning?" But the chameleon replied, "It is the dust from your feet."

[1] Italicised letters in the Lango version are elided.

And so the fire killed them. But the chameleon snatched up a drum and pushed it into the hole of the aardvark, after having entered himself. And so the fire came and burnt up all the elephants and animals, and they died. Then the aardvark came out, and with him the chameleon, and he said, "Ah me! well, this business is finished; I have avenged my father's murder." This then was the end.

APWÔ GIN KEDE APUK

Apuk etokobo nike apwô obin limne, e ka apwô etowoto. Me tyeko woto etekoyenyo kidi me rego kwe. Etokobo ni, "Kwong yweyi dyekal mera, wek an abuti itekopor i koma." Etekobuto otorego kal i kore. Me daro rego kal i kore, apuk etotede kede apwô; apwô dang etekochamo. Etokolwoke apwô, odok. En ka apwô etochike ni, "In dang i bin tunga," e ka apuk etekowoto. Ka apuk owoto, en dang okobo ni, "In, yweyi dyekal," etoywe'no dyekal. Apwô dang etobuto piny. Me buto piny etoonyo kal i kume: me onyo kal i kume etoketo kidi me rego, e ka etorego. Kume obedo yom ma eloyone apwô. Apwô da pi lit kume etekolworo. Apuk etokobo ni, "Kwong kela aporoni." Apuk etobuto e ka etokodaro rego i kume. Me rego i kume etomyen'o kwon. Me daro myen'o etokobo ni, "Apuk, biyi cham." Apuk etekokobo ni, "Gin ma wok an arego an mam achamo gira." Etokolwoke apuk mawoto akech, mam ochamo. Dyere do otyeko bal'e.

THE HARE AND THE TORTOISE

The tortoise told the hare to come and visit her, and the hare went. On her arrival the tortoise looked for the grindstone, but in vain. So she said, "First sweep my yard that I may lie down, and thou try on my body." So she lay down and (the hare) ground millet on her chest. After the millet had been ground on her chest, the tortoise cooked with it a meal for the hare; the hare then ate it. She escorted the hare on her way and returned. But the hare invited her, "Thou also, pray come to my house," and the tortoise went. On her arrival (the hare) in her turn said, "Thou sweep the yard," and she swept the yard. Then the hare lay down. On her lying down (the tortoise) sprinkled millet on her body, and after sprinkling millet on her body, she applied a grindstone and ground. Her body was soft, and this was too much for the hare. So the hare, on account of the pain, was afraid. And the tortoise said, "First bring it to me that I may try for thee." So the tortoise lay down and (the hare) ground all the millet on her body. After grinding on her body she kneaded porridge. After kneading she said, "Tortoise, come and eat." But the tortoise said, "What I have just ground I certainly do not eat." So she escorted the tortoise, who went away hungry and did not eat. And their friendship was destroyed.

KICH KI APWÔ

KICH etokobo ni, "Apwô, did*i* ibin tweyona toka." Apwô etokobino, etokotweyone toke. E ka kich etokolwok'o tabo, e k*a* etokoít'o malo bala yat man ma obed*o* iye, kun tabo tye piny, eto dong chwero mô. Etokotede apwô etokogur*e* i nino e k*a* apwô etokochamo. En d*o* otyeko cham, etolwok*e*, etokobo ni, "In dang ibin tunga itweyina toka." E ka dang etowoto. Kich dang etotweyone toke: me tyeko tweyone tok*e*, etokobo ni, "In chen iteda mô, an dang aporo tedi meri." En d*a* etokolwok'o tabo: me tyeko lwok'o tabo etekoít'o malo. Yam eít'o mal*o* e k*a* etekola'no laich. Me tyeko la'no laich, etokokobo ni, "Bil'i, nen ka en omit." Etobil'o, etokobo ni, "Man laich." Kich etokokob*o* apwô ni, "Mô oloyi: ber iìti piny wek an apori." Etokokobo ni, "Kwong lwok tabo an dok apori." Ka apwô otyeko lwok'o tabo, en kich etekoít'*o*, etochwero mô. Etokobo ni, "Kwong dok ibil," e ka otokobil'o, etokobo ni, "Man dang mit." Eto' odok ket*o* iye nino, etokobe kich ni, "Dong icham." Kich etokwero ni, "A'a, mam an achamo," e ka kich etowoto, mam ochamo. Eto apwô okŏbo dyere bang kich.

THE BEE AND THE HARE

THE bee said, "Hare, please come tomorrow to dress my hair." So the hare went and dressed his hair. Then the bee washed a bowl and climbed up, as it were, this tree in which he sat, while the bowl was on the ground, and distilled honey. And he cooked it for the hare and stirred in it sesame, and the hare ate it. So he finished his meal and (the bee) escorted him away; and (the hare) said, "Thou also, pray come to my house to dress my hair." With that he went. And the bee, moreover, dressed his hair, and after dressing his hair he said, "The other day thou didst cook me honey; I also will essay to cook thee thine." So he washed a bowl, and after washing a bowl he climbed up. He was trying to climb up, and urinated. On urinating he said, "Taste, see if it is pleasant." And (the bee) tasted and said, "This is urine." And the bee said to the hare, "Honey is beyond thee; it were best thou come down that I may try for thee." And he said, "First wash the bowl that I may try for thee." When the hare had washed the bowl, the bee climbed and distilled honey. And he said, "First taste please in your turn," and he tasted, and said, "Yes, this is pleasant." Then he once more put sesame in it, and told the bee, "Pray eat, then." But the bee refused. "No, I do not eat," and the bee went without eating. So the hare broke off his friendship with the bee.

APWÔ KI NYEL'O

APWÔ etodok mako dyere ki nyel'o, en ka nyel'*o* etokobo ni, "In, dyera, biyi limna,"[3] e k*a* apwô etokowoto. Me tyeko woto nyel'o etowoto mok'o ngwen. Me tyeko mok'*o* etobin*o* i dyekal etokobo ni, "Kwong yweyi dyekal," e k*a* etoywe'no dyekal. Etokobo ni, "Kwany abiru," etokokwany*o* abiru etogoyone nyel'o. Me goye, en do ongok ngwen etokotedo ngwen etokomiy*e* apwô, m*a*

THE HARE AND THE PYTHON

THE hare next struck a friendship with the python, and the python said, "My friend, come and visit me," and so the hare went. On his arrival the python went to catch termites, and after catching them he came into the yard and said, "First sweep the yard," and (the hare) swept the yard. Then he said, "Take up a stick," and (the hare) took up a stick and hit the python. On being hit then

etokochamo. Me tyeko chamo, etokowoto: ento ekobo ni, "In dang, nyel'o, ibin," e ka nyel'o etowoto. Etokowoto etekotweyone toke apwô. Me tyeko tweyone toke, en apwô etokobo ni, "Yweyi dang dyekal," etoywe'no dyekal. Etokobo ni, "Mak abiru," etokogoyone. Etogoye, ngwen mam odonyo. Etokobo ni, "Dok med'i," etomed'o goyone, etokoloyone ngwen. E ka nyel'o etokobuto, apwô dang etogoyone, e ka nyel'o otongok ngwen. Etotedo etolwongo nyel'o ni, "Dong biyi, cham ngwen." E ka nyel'o etokwero ni, "Gin ma wok atim'o mam dok achamo." E ka nyel'o etodok, dyere etokobal'e.

he vomited termites and cooked the termites and gave them to the hare, who thereupon ate them. When he had finished eating he went away, but said, "Thou also, python, pray come," and the python went. So he went and dressed the hare's hair. After his hair was dressed the hare said, "Then sweep the yard," and (the python) swept the yard. And he said, "Take a stick," and he hit him. So he hit him, but the termites did not come out. So (the hare) said, "Do it again," and he continued to hit him, but the termites defeated him. Then the python lay down, and the hare hit him, and the python vomited termites. So (the hare) cooked them and called the python, "Come then, eat termites." But the python refused, saying, "What I have just done I do not eat again." So the python went home, and their friendship was destroyed.

EKWE KODE GWOK

En ka gwok etekowoto ômno en ekwe i tim, etekokobo ni, "Wan wachamo gin amit kum pacho; wun mabedo i tim wuchamo ngo?" Gwok etokwanyo chogo ma jo gichamo etokomiyone ekwe, ekwe etochamo. En ekwe edok kwong i tim: e ka gwok etokobo ni, "Diki dok idwogi." Ekwe etokodwogo: me dwogo etodonyo te dero, e ka gwok etokowoto kama jo gichamo iye. Gin ka gitogoyone gwok. En ka ekwe enenogi goyo gwok matek: gwok da obedo koko, ekwe etekoya angwech etokoringo, ni, "In, dyera, ikobo ni ichamo gin amit, in ma gigoyi arom man!" Ekwe dang oneno lot ma gigoyo kede gwok, mam dok obino, etekokobo ni, "An, kadi abedo i tim, an aloyowu."

THE JACKAL AND THE DOG

The dog went to fetch the jackal in the bush and said, "As for us, we eat pleasant food at home; you who live in the bush, what do you eat?" And the dog took a bone which the men had eaten and gave it to the jackal, and the jackal ate it. The jackal first returned to the bush; but the dog said, "Come back again tomorrow." So the jackal came back, and after coming back crept under a granary, and the dog went to the place where the men eat. And they thereupon beat the dog. And the jackal saw them beat the dog soundly; and the dog sat howling, but the jackal arose in a hurry and ran away, saying, "Thou, my friend, sayest that thou eatest pleasant food, thou to whom they give such a beating!" So the jackal saw the stick with which they beat the dog and did not come again, but said, "I, even if I live in the bush, I am better off than you."

APWÔ KI KWAICH

Apwô dok etokoteko bang kwaich, etokobo ni, "In kwaich, wanek totowa." Kwaich etokoye ni, "Wawotu nekogi." E ka apwô etokotwe'no pany, etoyeyo pany etowoto bolo pany i pi. E ka kwaich etotwe'no tot'ere. etokoluko dwogo. E ka kwaich etokobuto akech; en ka apwô tote etotede, apwô etekochamo. En ka odiko mere kwaich etekobino libdo tote apwô, etobino nwange, etodok. E ka kwaich eto dang kobe apwô ni, "Wawotu yenyo gicham i tim," etokoweke i tim kuno, etobino neko tote apwô, etokokuto mach, etekoôno. Apwô etekodwogo etekoneno tot'ere matyeko to, ebeling alinga. Etobedo kum tung ma iro odok: en dong okoko. Kwaich etokopenye ni, "In do, ikoko ngo awot'a?" e ka etokobo ni, "Ito otim'o wanga." E ka kwaich etekokobo ni, "In ibwola ni 'ito.' Chen in iboyo pany, irete i pi, mumiya neko tota. An dang aneko toti." E ka etokobe kwaich ni, "Aa, wan dang wadong chan. Wawotu kwalo dyel, wawotu neke." Kwaich etekoneko dyel, etokojôlo remo mere i agwata, etokoparo i chwinye ni, "Abino oyo kom apwô," apwô etekobape, etekoono kome kwaich, etekobedo ryemnere ki kwaich. Apwô otekowoto laro achoit: me largo achoit etokopelo i ngeye kucha. Kwaich etokobedo kunyo doge achoit ma wok apwô odonyo iye. Apwô etokolib'ere, etokowoto kwanyo pur, etokobino libde kwaich. E ka kwaich ogungo golo bur, apwô etochwobe ngonye ki pur etoneke kwaich oko. Ka otyeko neke aman, etekodok pacho. Jo me pacho gitokopenye ni, "Iweko kwaich ni tye kwen?" E ka etokobo ni, "Aweko kwaich kun oryamno gin'oro malaro biye, aweko en kwaich kun obekunyo." Gin gitokokobo ni, "Terwa iye," etokotingo jocha etokotero. Etokochiko jo i wangyô ni, "Wun kwong bedunu kan wek atel yô kan: wun kwong kurunu, wapunu ngeya chen." En ka apwô etekopwono ochok aryô etobolo ochok i achoit kum yô ma en otyeko pelo tung kucha. Gin

THE HARE AND THE LEOPARD

The hare started again with the leopard and said, "Thou leopard, let us kill our mothers"; and the leopard agreed, saying, "Let us go and kill them." So the hare tied up a mortar and carried the mortar and went and threw the mortar into the water; but the leopard tied up his mother, and went back the same way. So the leopard went to sleep hungry, but the hare's mother cooked him food and the hare ate. On the next morning the leopard came stealthily following the hare's mother, found her, and went back; and the leopard said to the hare, "Let us go and look for something to eat in the bush," and he left him there in the bush and came and killed the hare's mother, lit a fire and sat warming himself. And the hare returned and saw that his mother was dead, but remained quite silent. And he sat on the smoky side of the fire and began to cry. The leopard asked him, "Now, why art thou crying, my friend?" And he said, "The smoke is affecting my eyes." But the leopard said, "Thou deceivest me with the word 'smoke.' But lately thou didst wrap up a mortar and threw it into the water, and so I killed my mother. Well, I have now killed thine." And (the hare) said to the leopard, "Alas, then, as for us we are left destitute. Let us go and steal a goat, let us go and kill one." So the leopard killed a goat and collected its blood in a calabash bowl, thinking in his heart, "I shall pour it over the hare"; but the hare slapped him and it was spilled over the leopard, and the hare was chased by the leopard. So the hare went hurrying into a burrow, and having hurried into a burrow, came through behind on the far side; but the leopard sat digging at the mouth of the burrow into which the hare had just entered. The hare then crept away and went and fetched a hoe handle and came up quietly behind the leopard. Now the leopard was stooping down to dig out a hole, and the hare thrust the handle up his funda-

ka jo ma gilobo yore gitekotun'o: en dang onyutogi ni, "Nen wang kwaich cha." Gin ka jo gibedo kunyo. Kun jo gibekunyo, en apwô oputo yer kume etokonyutogi etekokobo ni, "Ber wukuny kitek twal: nen, kwaich tye ka machok." Naka gikunyo, gitokochwobo kum ochok. Dong gityeko chwobo kum ochok, otekokobo ni, "Wun wupenya kwaich: wun wukwiya ka kwaich oneko tota?" Jo da gitokoya, gitokodok gitokobo ni, "Man, ma ineko kwaichcha, ichulo kede toti bala?"

ment, and so killed the leopard outright. When he had killed him in this way, he returned home; but the villagers asked him, "Where didst thou leave the leopard?" And he said, "I left the leopard chasing something which hurried into an ant-hill; I left the leopard digging." So they said, "Take us to him." And he took those people and conducted them, but on the road bade them, "First sit you here that I may precede you; wait a little, then follow after me." Then the hare plucked two solanum berries and threw the berries into the burrow down the tunnel by which he had passed out the other side. And the men who were following him arrived, and he showed them, saying, "See, the eyes of the leopard yonder," and so they began to dig. While they were digging, the hare pulled out some of his fur and showed it to them, saying, "You had best dig very hard: see, the leopard is quite close." So they went on digging and reached the solanum berries. After they had reached the berries (the hare) said, "You asked me for the leopard. When the leopard killed my mother did you not know?" So the people arose and went back, and said, "With the killing of yonder leopard, then, dost thou avenge thy mother?"

APWÔ KI PIPINO

Apwô gimako dyerogi ki pipino, en ka pipino otekowacho ni apwô ni, "Mak pyera wek ateri malo." En ka pipino otekowacho ni apwô ni, "Mak pyera matek, kuri kwanyo chingi." Apwô otekomako pipino i pyere, otowero ni, "Mako pipino ma koni ochot kara nwang," pipino otekotere i polo, gitekodonyo i polo. Gidonyo gitekobedo kwe, apwô otekowero kon'o muchel, "Titi, titi, dong, dyera, oru: dong wawoti." Pipino otekodwogo piny otokobo ni apwô ni, "In apwô, wek tek obedi, wek pyem obedi." Kop otekoloyone apwô.

THE HARE AND THE HORNET

The hare and the hornet became friends, and the hornet said to the hare, "Hold my waist that I may take thee up." And the hornet said to the hare, "Hold my waist tightly, do not remove thy hands." So the hare held the hornet by the waist, and sang, "I hold the hornet, who will now break asunder, however tough." But the hornet took him to the sky, and they entered into the sky. They entered in and stayed there a long while, and the hare sang again another song: "Hurrah! the dawn is breaking, my friend; then let us go" So the hornet returned to earth and said

to the hare, "Thou hare, let stubbornness cease, let obstinacy cease." Thus did the event prove the hare wrong.

THE CHERRY-PICKERS

ANYIRA nwang giwoto ngwedo ochuga gitekokobo ni awotegi ni, "Ber wangwedi ochuga kun wamiyi wang." Awotigi muchel gitekongwedo ma mam gimi'no wanggi: gin ka gingwedo mubokere, ento en ongwedo manumu. En ka etokobo ni, "Dong, anyira, wayabu wangwa," etekoneno nike me awot'e mubokere: en ka otekokobo ni, "Awot'a, kurunu: awoti ngwedo maber." Awot'e gitekokobe ni, "Woti," kara gibwole, gitekowoto gigi, gitekopyelo chet. En ka openyo ni "Wutye?" chet otokogamo doge ni "Watye," kara chet magamo doge. En ka otekowapo awot'e, etekowero:

ONCE upon a time girls went to pick cherries, and said to one of their comrades, "Let us pick cherries with our eyes shut." Now the rest of her comrades picked without shutting their eyes, and they picked red cherries, but she picked hers unripe. And she said, "Girls, let us open our eyes," and she saw that those of her comrades were red. So she said, "My comrades, wait: let me go and pick some good cherries." And her comrades said, "Go," whereas they deceived her and went their ways and defecated. Then she asked, "Are you there?" And the dung replied, "We are," but it was the dung which replied. So she followed her comrades and sang:

"Awoto ki anyiracha: giweka i ochuga:
Gimiya dong i wi chet ki wi lela,
Chet okoko alurukok,
Alurukok okok i wi lela."

"I went with those girls: they left me at the cherries:
They made me stay on the dung and on the gneiss,
The dung cried Fa-la-la-la,
Fa-la-la-la was cried on the gneiss."

Etekobino otekochobo i kulu. Kulu ka otekorete otekoô'no ochuga mere, otekochibo rech paka ochuga mere. En ka nyako otekowero:

And she came and arrived at a marsh, and the marsh caused her to fall and upset her cherries, and gave her a fish in exchange for her cherries. So the girl sang:

"Nenunu, kuluni ooyo ochugana:
Ochugana akwanyo i wi lela, kama anyira giweka.
Awoto ki anyiracha: giweka i ochuga:
Gimiya dong i wi chet ki wi lela,
Chet okoko alurukok,
Alurukok okok i wi lela."

"Behold ye, this marsh upsets my cherries:
My cherries I got on the gneiss, where the girls left me.
I went with those girls: they left me at the cherries:
They made me stay on the dung and on the gneiss,
The dung cried Fa-la-la-la,
Fa-la-la-la was cried on the gneiss.'

Kulu dang otekomiyone rech, ogole otekoyut'o rech. En ka nyako otekowero:

The marsh then gave her a fish, but a kite snatched the fish away. So the girl sang:

"Nenunu, ogoleni oyut'o rechna:
Rech akwanyo bang kulucha maoyo ochugana:
Ochugana akwanyo i wi lela, kama anyira giweka.
Awoto ki anyiracha: giweka i ochuga:
Gimiya dong i wi chet ki wi lela,
Chet okoko alurukok,
Alurukok okok i wi lela."

"Behold ye, this kite snatches my fish:
My fish I got from that river which upset my cherries:
My cherries I got on the gneiss, where the girls left me.
I went with those girls: they left me at the cherries:
They made me stay on the dung and on the gneiss,
The dung cried Fa-la-la-la,
Fa-la-la-la was cried on the gneiss."

Ogole otekochibo kono. En ka nyako etokonwango awobe mamyel'o ki atur'e obiya: en ka awobe etekoneno kono ber etekolaro kono, kono etekotor oko. En ka nyako otekowero:

So the kite gave her a feather. And the girl found a boy who was dancing with a spray of grass: and the boy saw that the feather was pretty and tried to take the feather, and the feather was utterly broken. So the girl sang:

"Nenunu, awobeni otoro konona:
Kono akwanyo bang ogolecha mayut'o rechna:
Rech akwanyo bang kulucha maoyo ochugana:
Ochugana akwanyo i wi lela kama anyira giweka.
Awoto ki anyiracha: giweka i ochuga:
Gimiya dong i wi chet ki wi lela,
Chet okoko alurukok,
Alurukok okok i wi lela."

"Behold ye, this boy breaks my feather:
My feather I got from that kite that snatched my fish:
My fish I got from that river which upset my cherries:
My cherries I got on the gneiss where the girls left me.
I went with those girls: they left me at the cherries:
They made me stay on the dung and on the gneiss,
The dung cried Fa-la-la-la,
Fa-la-la-la was cried on the gneiss."

Awobe otekomiyone abela. En ka nyako etokowoto etokonwango kama jalcha opwodo dyang ki chune. En ka nyako etekonyere ni. "Pingo ipwodo dyang ki chuni? Abiru mam?" En etekomayo abela en jalcha, etekogoyo kede dyang, abela etekotor. En ka nyako otekowero:

So the boy gave her a withy. And the girl went and found a place where a man hit his cow with his penis. And the girl laughed at him. "Why dost thou hit thy cow with thy penis? Hast thou no stick?" Then that man seized her withy and hit his cow with it and the withy broke. So the girl sang:

"Nenunu, jalni otoro abelana:
Abela akwanyo bang awobecha matoro konona:
Kono akwanyo bang ogolecha mayut'o rechna:
Rech akwanyo bang kulucha maoyo ochugana:
Ochugana akwanyo i wi lela kama anyira giweka.

"Behold ye, this man breaks my withy:
My withy I got from that boy who broke my feather:
My feather I got from that kite that snatched my fish:
My fish I got from that river which upset my cherries:
My cherries I got on the gneiss, where the girls left me.

Awoto k*i* anyiracha: giweka i ochuga:
Gimiya dong i wi chet ki wi lela,
Chet okok*o* alurukok,
Alurukok *o*kok i wi lela."

I went with those girls: they left me at the cherries:
They made me stay on the dung and on the gneiss,
The dung cried Fa-la-la-la,
Fa-la-la-la was cried on the gneiss."

Jalch*a* otekomiyone chak. En ka nyak*o* etekonwango kam*a* atino gimato woyo dyang: atino gitolaro chak mere, chak otekooy*e* oko. En ka nyak*o* otekowero:

So the man gave her milk. And next the girl found a place where the children drank cattle-dung: and the children tried to take her milk, but the milk was all upset. So the girl sang:

"Nenunu, atinoni gionyo chakna:
Chak akwanyo bang jalcha mator*o* abelana:
Abel*a* akwanyo bang awobecha matoro konona:
Kon*o* akwanyo bang ogolecha mayut'o rechna:
Rech akwanyo bang kulucha maoy*o* ochugana:
Ochugana akwanyo i wi lela kam*a* anyira giweka.
Awoto k*i* anyiracha: giweka i ochuga:
Gimiya dong i wi chet ki wi lela,
Chet okok*o* alurukok,
Alurukok *o*kok i wi lela."

"Behold ye, these children upset my milk:
My milk I got from that man who broke my withy:
My withy I got from that boy who broke my feather:
My feather I got from that kite that snatched my fish:
My fish I got from that river which upset my cherries:
My cherries I got on the gneiss, where the girls left me.
I went with those girls: they left me at the cherries:
They made me stay on the dung and on the gneiss,
The dung cried Fa-la-la-la,
Fa-la-la-la was cried on the gneiss."

Gitekomiyone lyedi. En ka nyak*o* otekonwango kama gilyelo wigi k*i* abaltak, etekonyero ni "Pingo ilyelo k*i* abaltak?" otekomayo lyedi mere, lyed*i* otekotor. En ka nyak*o* otekowero:

So they gave her a razor. And next the girl found a place where they shave their heads with a potsherd, and she laughed. "Why dost thou shave with a potsherd?" and the man seized her razor and the razor broke. So the girl sang:

"Nenunu, danoni otoro lyedina:
Lyed*i* akwanyo bang atinocha maonyo chakna:
Chak akwanyo bang jalcha mator*o* abelana:
Abel*a* akwanyo bang awobecha matoro konona:
Kon*o* akwanyo bang ogolecha mayut'o rechna:
Rech akwanyo bang kulucha maoy*o* ochugana:
Ochugana akwanyo i wi lela kam*a* anyira giweka.

"Behold ye, this man breaks my razor:
My razor I got from those children who upset my milk:
My milk I got from that man who broke my withy:
My withy I got from that boy who broke my feather:
My feather I got from that kite that snatched my fish:
My fish I got from that river which upset my cherries:
My cherries I got on the gneiss, where the girls left me.

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Awoto ki anyiracha: giweka i ochuga:
Gimiya dong i wi chet ki wi lela,
Chet okoko alurukok,
Alurukok okok i wi lela."

I went with those girls: they left me at the cherries:
They made me stay on the dung and on the gneiss,
The dung cried Fa-la-la-la,
Fa-la-la-la was cried on the gneiss."

Gitekomiyone dyang. En ka nyako etowoto etekonwango kama gikayo chogo ki gwogi, etekokobo ni, "Makunu dyangni, wukayi." Gitekoneko dyang mere, gikayone gin kode atino. En ka nyako otekowero:

So they gave her a cow. And the girl next went and found a place where they eat bones with the dogs, and she said, "Take you this cow and eat it." Then they killed her cow and ate it, they and their children. So the girl sang:

"Nenunu, joni gineko dyangna:
Dyang akwanyo bang danocha matoro lyedina:
Lyedi akwanyo bang atinocha maonyo chakna:
Chak akwanyo bang jalcha matoro abelana:
Abela akwanyo bang awobecha matoro konona:
Kono akwanyo bang ogolecha mayut'o rechna:
Rech akwanyo bang kulucha maoyo ochugana:
Ochugana akwanyo i wi lela kama anyira giweka.
Awoto ki anyiracha: giweka i ochuga:
Gimiya dong i wi chet ki wi lela,
Chet okoko alurukok,
Alurukok okok i wi lela."

"Behold ye, these men kill my cow:
My cow I got from that man who broke my razor:
My razor I got from those children who upset my milk:
My milk I got from that man who broke my withy:
My withy I got from that boy who broke my feather:
My feather I got from that kite that snatched my fish:
My fish I got from that river that upset my cherries:
My cherries I got on the gneiss, where the girls left me.
I went with those girls: they left me at the cherries:
They made me stay on the dung and on the gneiss,
The dung cried Fa-la-la-la,
Fa-la-la-la was cried on the gneiss."

Gitekomiyone gwok paka dyang mere. En ka gwokni etekoneko dano, gitekomake en won gwok. En ka nyako etekokobo ni, "Teraunu i bar apyeli." Gitokobe ni, "Dong gak kenyo." En ka okobo ni, "Chetna ongwe rach: agak kama bobor." Otekolwi kenyo pi lworo kwor dano ma gwok oneko.

So they gave her a dog in exchange for her cow. Then this dog killed a man, and they arrested her as the owner of the dog. And the girl said, "Take me to the pasturage that I may defecate." And they told her, "Well, go aside here." But she said, "My dung smells offensive: let me go aside at a distance." So she escaped from there, fearing vengeance for the man whom the dog had killed.

THE ENCHANTED GUINEA-FOWL

JALCHA nwang ochiko tol mere otekooro nyare ni, "Woti ilim tolna kun an owoto pur." Nyare otekowoto limno

A CERTAIN man once upon a time set his line, and sent his daughter saying, "Go and look at my line while I go to

tol. Onwango awên'o makere, awên'o otekowero nike, "Nyani, nyani, kirijakija, ibino timno ngo ?" Aman pa nyako ni, "Abino limno owich." Awên'o otekopenye nike, "Owich pa nga ?" E ka nyako otekokobe ni, "Abino limno owich apapa." E ka awên'o otekokobe nike, "Woti ikobe paponi ni akelo tigo matar ki rom'o atar wek ba ogonya." Nyakono otekodwogo otokobe pap'ere, en pap'ere otekoyete nyare nike, "In atin arach," otekodok chwa'no wode. Wode dang otekowoto limno tol apap'ere, en dang onwango awên'o i tol. Awên'o otekopenye, otekopenye kun owero, nike, "Nyeri, nyeri, kirijakija, ibino timno ngo ?" Aman pa nyer nike, "Abino limno tol apapona": e ka awên'o otekokobo nike, "Woti ikobe paponi, akelo gweno matar ki rom'o atar ki tigo matar wek ba ogonya." En ka nyer otekodwogo, etokobe pap'ere kamono. En jal otekochwa'no chyege. Chyege dang onwango awên'o: awên'o dang okwane kop bala ma wok ekwong kwanoni atinocha. En ka jal leny omake, otekowoto gire ken'e otekonwango awên'o i tol. Awên'o otekokwane wer bala macha: en jal otekomako awên'o matek, awên'o otekokobone nike, "Kadi imaka, maka: otyeno kan amako mera," otekokele pacho otekobuje. En ka awên'o otekokobe nike, "Kadi ibujona, buji: otyeno kan abujo mera." Otekotede, en ka awên'o okobe nike, "Kadi iteda, teda: otyeno kan atedo mera." Gitede, otekochek, otokochwanyo jo, jo gitokobino chem, gichamne awên'o ma gitedoni. Gilelo ki alel anin'o gitekotokno awên'o: awên'o etekotuk ni pur, jono gidong ki alel. Kono riki omake ryeko me tero tigo matar ki rom'o ki gweno matar, kono chwain omodo awên'ono. Man nwang awên'o pa jok.

dig." So his daughter went to see the line. She found a guinea-fowl caught in it, and the guinea-fowl sang, "Little girl, little girl, *kirijakija*,[1] what have you come to do ?" Then said the girl, "I have come to look at the snare." And the guinea-fowl asked her, "Whose snare is it ?" And the girl said, "I have come to look at my father's snare." And the guinea-fowl said to her, "Go and tell thy father that I will bring a white bead and a white sheep that he may let me go." So that girl came back and told her father, and her father abused his daughter, saying, "Thou art a bad child," and next sent his son. So his son went to look at his father's line, and he too found the guinea-fowl in the line. And the guinea-fowl asked him, asked him in song, "Little boy, little boy, *kirijakija*, what have you come to do ?" Thus said the boy, "I have come to look at my father's line." And the guinea-fowl said, "Go and tell thy father that I will bring a white chicken and a white sheep and a white bead that he may let me go." So the boy came back and told his father in those words. Next the man sent his wife. His wife then found the guinea-fowl, and the guinea-fowl addressed her in the same terms as he had used to the children. Then anger overcame the man, and he went himself and found the guinea-fowl in the line. The guinea-fowl addressed his song as before; but the man seized the guinea-fowl firmly, and the guinea-fowl said to him, "Though thou seizest me, seize me: here in the evening I shall seize mine." So he brought him and plucked him. But the guinea-fowl said to him, "Though thou pluckest me, pluck: here in the evening I shall pluck mine." So he cooked him, and the guinea-fowl said to him, "Though thou cookest me, cook me: here in the evening I shall cook mine." They cooked him and he was ready; so he summoned people, and people came for food, that they might eat the guinea-fowl which they

[1] A conventional representation of the guinea-fowl's cry.

had cooked. They rejoiced with a careless joy and served up the guinea-fowl; but the guinea-fowl flew up with a sudden flutter, and those men were left with their joy. If he had been wise enough to take the white bead and the sheep and the white chicken, he would have eaten this guinea-fowl. This was the guinea-fowl of god.

THE SPOOK'S HOUSE

ANYIRA nwang giwoto mwodo yen, gitekonwango wich lum, kara dano eno. Ma dong gidaro mwodo yen, kot otekobino, gin ka anyira gitekobino gwok i gôga, kara ot pa jarangu eno. Gitekoneno oko, gitoneno wich lum kun ochung oko. Nyako achel oteko ni, "Nen, wich lum ochung oko": gin ka anyira gitowero nike, "Nen, nen, lum ochung oko." En ka wich lum etogamo wer nike, "Lum odoko dano." Gin ka anyira gitowoto pacho, en jarangu etolubdogi otekowero nike, "Ochwiochwi! wun woki ukobo nike man ot pa lum, kara odoko dano." Jarangu dang otolo'no anyira.

SOME girls went to collect fuel and found a stook of grass, whereas really it was a man. When they had collected fuel the rain came, and the girls came and took shelter in a granary, but really it was a house of a spook. And they looked out, and they saw the stook of grass standing up. One of the girls began, "Behold, a stook of grass is standing up." And they sang, "Behold, behold, the grass is standing up." And the stook of grass joined in the song, "Grass has become a man." So the girls went home, but the spook followed them and sang, "Aha! just now you said that this was a house of grass, whereas it has become a man." So the spook got the better of the girls.

THE WIFE OF THE COLOBUS

NWANG jalcha onywalo anyira mere aryô: achel chwain ongwalo, achel nwang ber matwal. En ka nyako maber otekokobo ni, "An amito achô maber," en ka nyan maberno chwain nyinge Awil. E ka akal otekokôl'o dyang etekochwa'no nyako mungwaloni ni, "Woti ikobe aminni." E ka nyako mungwaloni otekobino kun owero nike, "Awil, Awil, achô olwongi." E ka Awil otekopenye ni, "Achô achô ngoni?" Aman aminne ni, "Akal." Ni, "Woti ikobe akal nike, 'Awil mam omito akal: Awil omito chware dolo.'" E ka leny gin duch nyakono obwoyogi. E ka dolo otekokelo dok tômon wiye aryô, otochwa'no nyako mungwalono ni, "Woti ich-

ONCE upon a time a certain man had two daughters: one was crippled, but one was very beautiful. Now the beautiful girl said, "I want a handsome husband," and this beautiful girl's name was Awil. Then the reedbuck drove his cattle, and sent this crippled girl saying, "Go and tell thy sister." And this crippled girl came singing, "Awil, Awil, a man calls thee." And Awil asked her, "A man, what kind of man is this?" Thus said her sister, "Reedbuck." She replied, "Go, tell reedbuck that 'Awil does not want reedbuck: Awil wants the colobus for her husband.'" So this girl rejected all the animals. Then the colobus brought twelve head

wanye Awil." Awil etekopenye ni, "Nyinge nga muchwanya?" Ni, "Dolo muchwanyi." Ni, "Okelo lim adi?" Ni, "Dok tômon wiye aryô." Ni, "Wot*i* ikobe dolo okel lim." En ka dolo otekokelo lim i dyekal, e k*a* Awil otekowoto ki chware dolo. Nyako dang mungwalon*i* otekowapo amin'ere Awil, en k*a* Awil etekoryamne amin'ere mungwalon*i* nike, "Dok chen: in irach: ingwe dang, ingwe," otekodwokno chen. En nyako mungwalon*i* odok dwogo wapogi, gitekotun'o pacho ki nyan mungwaloni. En dang otun'o kodg*i* i pacho, e k*a* Awil otekodonyo i ot pa dolo, gitekobuto ginin'o. En dolo otekopako pala kun okobo nike, "Atyek'o palanani acham ki nyan aber, mukwero jo duch." E ka nyako mungwalono etekokoko: aman p*a* amu mere nike, "Ikoko ngo?" nike, "Bur oramna: tuwa kun gikelo pi k*i* awal." En dolo otekowoto i kulu k*i* awal okel pi, otekoonyo i wang bur. En k*a* amin'ere otekonin'o, en dolo otyek'o palane nike, "Apako palanani acham ki nyan aberni, mukwero jo duch." Amin'ere mungwalocha otekokoko, dolo otekopenye ni, "Ikoko ngo?" Ni, "Tuwa kun giôm'ona pi ki pany." Dolo dang owinyo amono, otokwanyo pany otokowoto i kulu. En nyako mungwalon*i* okobone aminae nike, "Chwari dolo omito chami: ber in dang inin ki ryekoni." E ka dolo odwogo, okelo pi ki pany, otekoonyo i bur. E k*a* amin'ere otekonin'o: dok dolo otyek'o pala, otokowero ni, "Atyek'o palanani acham ki nyan aber, mukwero jo duch." En ka nyan mungwalon*i* owinyo kumeno otokokoko. En ka dolo owinyo kun amu mere okoko, amu mere otekokobe ni, "Tuwa kun giôm'ona pi ki kijang." En dolo otekowoto ômno pi ki kijang. E k*a* Awil otekobyelo amin'ere mungwaloni, mu chwain ekobe ni, "Ingwe," gitekoringo. E ka dolo odwogo nono, obedo lol'e ki pi, mam okelo pi, otokonwango ot nono. En ka dolo okwanyo tyeng kidi otekoba'no i yô manyen: tyeng mam ogudo gin'oro. Odok kwanyo tyeng otekobaye i yô machon: en ka tyeng owoto goyo ogwang me tyen

of cattle, and sent this crippled girl, saying, "Go and call Awil." And Awil asked, "What is his name who calls me?" "Colobus calls thee." "How much dowry does he bring?" "Twelve head of cattle." "Go and tell colobus to bring the dowry." So the colobus brought the dowry into the courtyard, and Awil went with her husband the colobus. This crippled girl also followed her sister Awil, but Awil drove away this crippled sister of hers, saying, "Go back: thou art a dirty girl: thou dost smell then, thou dost smell," and she turned her back. This crippled girl returned again and followed them, and they reached the village together with this crippled girl. She arrived with them in the village, and Awil entered the house of the colobus, and they laid down and slept. Then the colobus sharpened his knife, saying, "I sharpen this knife of mine to eat with it a beautiful girl who refuses all men." And this crippled girl cried out: and thus spake her sister's husband, "Why dost thou cry out?" "My ulcer hurts: at home they fetch water with a calabash." So the colobus went to the river with a calabash to fetch water and poured it on the ulcer. But her sister slept, and the colobus sharpened his knife saying, "I sharpen this knife of mine to eat with it this beautiful girl who refuses all men." And that crippled sister of hers cried out, and the colobus asked her, "Why dost thou cry out?" "At home they fetch me water with a mortar." So the colobus listened in this wise and took up a mortar and went to the river. But this crippled girl said to her sister, "Thy husband the colobus is about to eat thee: thou hadst best sleep warily." Then the colobus came back, brought water with the mortar and poured it on the ulcer. But her sister slept. Again the colobus sharpened his knife and sang, "I sharpen this knife of mine to eat with it a beautiful girl who refuses all men." And this crippled girl heard in this wise and cried out. And the colobus heard his wife's sister cry out, and his wife's sister said, "At home

Awil, e ka dolo otekowero ni, "Awil, Awil, iringo ngo?" Aman pa Awil ni, "Aringi in: imito chamona." Amin mungwaloni otekokobe nike, "Ringi matek." En ka Awil otekokobo ni. "Tyen'a, kwichikwichi: tyen'a, konya. Tota onyobdo kongo mapongo chabichabi." En ka dolo dong okobo nike, "Chwain akôl'o dok tômon wiye aryô." En ka Awil oringo ototun'o bot tot'ere, gitekopido kop maloye dolo. E ka papo pa Awil okunyo bur i ot otekopeto wiye lau. Gitekokobo ni dolo ni, "Biyi imati kongo." Kara i bur gikuto iye kuno mach, gigamo lau, gipeto i wiye bur me tye iye machno. En ka dolo obino, obedo i lau, otekopoto i bur. Papo pa Awil otekonekno dolo. Ginka gitoyeto Awil mu chwain oryamno amin'ere ni, "Ingwe," nike, "nen ba, mam okonyi?" En ka Awil otekongut otekomaro amin'ere.

they fetch me water with a basket." So the colobus went to fetch water with a basket. But Awil lifted on to her back this crippled sister, to whom she had formerly said "Thou dost smell," and they ran away. However, the colobus returned empty-handed; he was tired of the water and did not bring water, and found the house empty. So the colobus took a grindstone and threw it down the new road: the grindstone hit nothing. Once more he took up a grindstone and threw it down the old road: and the grindstone went and struck Awil's anklet, and the colobus sang, "Awil, Awil, why dost thou run away?" Thus said Awil, "It is from thee I run: thou desirest to eat me." But this crippled sister said, "Run fast." And Awil said, "My foot, hasten: my foot, help me. My mother brews a jar full of beer." And the colobus said, "I drove twelve head of cattle." So Awil ran and reached her mother's house, and they argued the matter and found the colobus guilty. So Awil's father dug a pit in the house and spread a skin over it. And they said to the colobus, "Come and drink beer." However, in the pit they lit a fire, and they took a skin and spread it over the pit in which was that fire. So the colobus came, sat on the skin, and fell into the pit. And the father of Awil killed the colobus. But they rebuked Awil, who had driven away her sister with the words, "Thou dost smell," saying, "Lo then, did she not save thee?" Thus Awil repented and loved her sister.

THE HYÆNA'S GRINDSTONE

NWANG anyira ginwango kidi pa odyek gitokobo ni totogi ni, "Wanwango kidi maber." En ka totogi etokobogi ni, "Lilunu: kuru woto rego bilo, kara ot pa odyek." Chwain tye dano mungwalo matye i ot pa odyek, otekowinyogi kun girego i kidi otekowero nike, "Regunu mayot: ngit'i obino chamnowu ayeng. Kidi pa odyek mam girego iye: uregi mayot wutowoto."

ONCE some girls found the grindstone of the hyæna, and said to their mother, "We have found a good grindstone." But their mother told them, "Go on winnowing: do not go and grind flour, for it is the house of the hyæna." Now there was a cripple living at the hyæna's house, and he heard them grinding on the grindstone and sang, "Grind quickly: he will come im-

Anyira gitekodok pachogi. En k*a* odyek odwog*o* otonwango kidi mer*e* obal'e, otopenyo dano mungwaloni ni, "Nga murego i kidinani ?" Ngat mungwal*o* otokokwero ni, "Mam aneno dano ma rego iye." En k*a* odyek oteko dar'o kidi mere, gin anyira gitodok dwogo rego i kidino. En ka dano mungwalon*i* owinyogi kun girego otekowero ni, "I kidi p*a* odyek mam girego iye : uregi mayot, uwoti." En k*a* odyek bene owinyogi kun girego otekowero ni, "Adwa, adwa, adwa ! nga malwongowu bino rego i kidina ?" Odyek otekomodogi duch.

mediately to eat you till he is full. People do not grind on the hyæna's stone : grind quickly and go." So the girls returned home. But the hyæna came back and found his stone spoiled, and asked the cripple, "Who has ground on this stone of mine ?" But the cripple denied and said, "I saw no one grinding on it." So the hyæna hid and watched his stone, and the girls came back to grind on that stone. And this cripple heard them grinding and sang, "People do not grind on the hyæna's stone : grind quickly and go." But the hyæna also heard them grinding and sang "*Adwa, Adwa, adwa* ![1] Who called you to come and to grind on my stone ?" So the hyæna ate them both.

[1] An expression of abuse. *Vide* Vocabulary.

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