

African ethnonyms and toponyms

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Report and papers
of the meeting of experts
organized by Unesco in Paris,
3-7 July 1978

Unesco

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Preface

In 1964 the General Conference of Unesco, as part of the Organization's effort to further the mutual understanding of peoples and nations, authorized the Director-General to take the necessary measures for the preparation and publication of a *General History of Africa*.

Activities in the early stages of the project (1965–70) in Africa and elsewhere consisted mainly of work on the collection of oral and written sources such as the *Guide to the Sources on the History of Africa*.

At the same time international scientific consultations were organized to consider the methodology of the project. This led to a number of recommendations made by meetings of experts held in Paris (1969) and in Addis Ababa (1970), which launched the second phase of the project, i.e. the preparation and drafting of an eight-volume *General History of Africa* under the sole intellectual and scientific responsibility of a scholarly body—the International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa.

This committee, under the statutes adopted by the Executive Board of Unesco in 1971, is composed of thirty-nine members (two-thirds of whom are African and one-third non-African) serving in their personal capacity and appointed by the Director-General of Unesco for the duration of the committee's mandate. The committee, at its first session, defined its task as follows: 'Although aiming at the highest possible scientific level, the history will not seek to be exhaustive and will be a work of synthesis avoiding dogmatism. In many respects, it will be a statement of problems showing the present state of knowledge and the main trends in research, and it will not hesitate to show divergencies of doctrine and opinion where these exist. In this way, it will prepare the ground for future work.'

The committee has decided to present the work in eight volumes, each containing some 750 pages, with illustrations, photographs, maps and line-drawings. The eight volumes are the following:

Volume I: *Methodology and African Prehistory* (Editor: Professor Joseph Ki-Zerbo)

Volume II: *Ancient Civilizations of Africa* (Editor: Dr Gamal Mokhtar)

Volume III: *Africa from the Seventh to Eleventh Century* (Editor: H.E. Mr Mohammed El Fasi)

Volume IV: *Africa from the Twelfth to Sixteenth Century* (Editor: Professor D. T. Niane)

Volume V: *Africa from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century* (Editor: Professor B. A. Ogot)

Volume VI: *The Nineteenth Century until 1880* (Editor: Professor J. F. A. Ajayi)

Volume VII: *Africa under Foreign Domination, 1880–1935* (Editor: Professor A. A. Boahen)

Volume VIII: *Africa since 1935* (Editor: Professor A. A. Mazrui)

Drafting of the volumes began in 1972 and is still continuing. In addition, scientific colloquia and symposia on related themes are being organized as part of the preparatory work.

The papers prepared for discussion and the exchanges of views on a wide variety of subjects at these meetings have provided valuable historical material which Unesco has now decided to make known as widely as possible by publishing it in a series entitled 'The General History of Africa: Studies and Documents'. The present book, the sixth in the series, contains the papers presented and a report of the discussions that followed at a symposium organized by Unesco on African ethnonyms and toponyms held in Paris from 3 to 7 July 1978.

Contents

Foreword	9
Introduction to the discussion of ethnonyms and toponyms, <i>Pathé Diagne</i>	11
Toponymy and ethnonymy as scientific aids to history, <i>Mohammed El Fasi</i>	18
Some toponyms and ethnonyms of Swaziland, <i>R. T. Zwinoira</i>	23
African ethnonymy and toponymy: reflections on decolonization, <i>Olabiyi Yai</i>	39
Some problems of African onomastics: toponymy, anthroponymy and ethnonymy, <i>Pierre Alexandre</i>	51
The standardization of the spelling of African names: toponyms and ethnonyms, <i>Robert Cornevin</i>	68
The transcription of ethnonyms and toponyms in Africa in relation to their historical study, <i>David Dalby</i>	80
A methodology for the study of migrations, <i>Cheikh Anta Diop</i>	86
Summary report of the meeting of experts	110

Appendices

1. A list of African ethnonyms, *Ivan Hrbek* 141
2. African toponymy: a bibliography 187
3. List of participants at the meeting of experts 197

Foreword

The meeting of experts on African ethnonyms and toponyms was convened by the Director-General of Unesco on a recommendation of the International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa.

The drafting of the various volumes has brought out the necessity, indeed the urgency, of establishing a standardized transcription of ethnonyms, anthroponyms and toponyms. The transcription of names varies from one language to another (English, French, Portuguese and other non-African languages) and shifts in pronunciation have given rise to confusion in situating peoples and tracing population movements. The committee therefore decided to consult specialists—linguists, ethnologists, historians, geographers, cartographers—who have been concerned with the problem of ethnonyms, anthroponyms and toponyms, with a view to reaching a consensus on a system of transcription for the *General History of Africa*. The purpose was to establish a standardized transcription which could be used in all African and non-African languages.

In addition, the experts were invited to examine population movements in ancient Africa in conjunction with the anthroponyms, ethnonyms and toponyms.

The committee felt that the work of this meeting could be an important step forward in the elucidation of the difficult historical and cultural problems which Africa poses in regard to languages and their classification and also concerning the migrations of ethnic groups and peoples.

There are many problems to which no satisfactory solution has yet been found. These are of a conceptual nature. They involve, in particular, terms such as 'tribe', 'ethnic group', 'people', 'nation', 'state', 'empire'. Foreign models and patterns of thought continue to serve as a reference and so distort and obscure Africa's history. The committee felt that this meeting could fill some of these gaps and work out a conceptual framework which would be based on the African socio-cultural environment itself and would thus bring about a clearer grasp of African reality.

The task of the meeting was threefold: first, to establish a uniform standardized system for ethnonyms, anthroponyms and toponyms for the

General History of Africa; second, to study the migrations and peopling of Africa; and third, to propose a programme of research for the publication of glossaries, lexicons and dictionaries of ethnonyms and toponyms, and the principles which should govern such work.

The Paris meeting was a step forward and a significant contribution to this important but hitherto neglected field of research on Africa. The quality of the papers submitted to the meeting anticipates the contribution that the *General History of Africa* will make towards filling this gap in African studies in the future.

Introduction to the discussion of ethnonyms and toponyms

Pathé Diagne

This paper is intended to serve as an introduction to a discussion on the theme of ethnonyms and toponyms. Time does not permit me to enter into the very detailed considerations which would be necessary to solve the problems raised here.

To organize a seminar on this topic was undoubtedly a wise decision. The recommendation of the International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa answers a need. We shall see below, however, that it deals only with the most urgent aspects of the problem and does not appear, at least in the project before us, to look beyond a limited context and field of research.

An overall approach to the problem

Onomastics, the study of names, which includes *ethnonymy*, the study of ethnic names, *toponymy*, the study of place-names, and also *anthroponymy*, the study of names of persons, plays a considerable role in the elucidation of the historical process. As a discipline, it is a branch of history. It provides raw material for linguists, geographers and specialists studying the development of cultures and civilizations and inter-cultural contacts.

But onomastics itself has to do with the wider problem of conceptualization.

If we use the various glossaries available, we can reconstruct the past and understand the present of civilizations by considering the concepts on which they are founded—their way of viewing real persons and objects or abstract ideas—and the vocabulary they use to represent their experience.

The writers of the *General History of Africa*, therefore, are faced at every level with difficulties of proper conceptualization. The general problem resides

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in the terms which are used to identify experience of a philosophical, psychological, historical, economic, political, social, geographical or spatio-temporal nature in African societies.

Africa lacks conceptual systems and precise explanatory frames of reference such as those on which the history of Western civilization relies, and which could be used in arriving at a synthesis.

Those who study African history not only rely upon foreign written sources but also on conceptual systems which are taken from another context and are not always suited to the case in hand. We continue to reason in terms of African 'feudalism', not *mansaya*, and to talk of the 'slavery system' rather than the *jonya* system. Therefore, not only do ethnonyms and toponyms create a problem, both of spelling and of meaning, but a substantial part of the vocabulary of African civilizations requires attention. Scientifically compiled dictionaries and scholarly works of reference are needed.

It is therefore essential that, beyond onomastic studies, the International Scientific Committee should work out an overall approach to the conceptual problems of compiling dictionaries and of lexicography inherent in the study of cultures whose history is being written. It should devise an appropriate system for spelling and for standardizing transcriptions.

Research topics

Much work has already been done on toponymy and ethnonymy. Collections and studies have been made, and many lists of place-names and ethnic names have been compiled. A number of maps have been drawn. This invaluable material is not always usable. It deals with facts which have recently come to light. It does not always provide information about the distant past. It has seldom been systematically processed so as to be comprehensible and usable in all contexts. The same terms occur with a variety of transcriptions and with different meanings. The greatest problem is that we have very few critical glossaries, not only for geographical expressions, such as that published in 1965 by the historian I. Baba Kaké, but for onomastics generally. A critical inventory and comparison of these various vocabularies would be a definite step towards identification, and, ultimately, transcription.

Method. Research begins with the identification of anthroponymic, toponymic and ethnonymic concepts and terms.

Field-surveys provide information about the name actually given to a place or an ethnic group. It often happens, however, that we have only written and not phonetic data. The Kingdoms of Marwa and Meroe or of Habar and Habir, Sanhaya or Sawaya are thus transcribed by Yakoubi in the *Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind*. We do not know how these names were

pronounced. The same author mentions a sovereign of Kanem, named Kuku, Kakiri or Kakata, according to the vocalization adopted. Thus each writer, according to his nationality, distorts terms to which he is unaccustomed. African ethnonymy, toponymy and anthroponymy therefore occur in at least two types of wording—*original wording*, supplied by the people who originated the concept, and *other wordings* derived from secondary sources. The original wording itself may vary.

Variants are possible within a single language and culture. The Wolof towns of N'Jurbel or N'Jasir are called Jurbel and Jasir in Wolof country beyond Walo. The patronymic Moodu has alternative forms Moodë, or even Moodi. The Wolof also call themselves Walaf or Wàlaf, depending on the region. Local writers themselves hesitate between Sonraay, Songhaay, Songhay and Songhoy.

Other wordings. These have various aspects.

The most common phenomenon arises from the names used by a neighbouring people or a co-extensive culture to designate a place or an ethnic group. The Soninke also call themselves Wangara, the Wolof are Waalo Waalo and the Kayoor Kayoar are Jolof Jolof. The Fulani in the same areas call themselves by similar names. To the Wolof, the Soninke is a Saraxulle, and the Pulo a Peul. The term 'Bassari' is not used by the peoples of that name. Their neighbours call them by it. They call themselves Tenda.

Foreign influence is also considerable. The Portuguese speak of the Jolofo, the Mandengo, the Bisago or the Kongo, etc. The French talk of Ouoloffes or Mandingues, whereas the English, whose pronunciation is more similar to the African, talk of the Jolof and of the Mandingos.

Other wordings thus lead either to the coining of new terms or to corruptions of original forms. We must therefore choose between the original Pulo-Fulbe, the Wolof form (Peul), the Zarma form (Bororo), the Arabic and Portuguese Fulaani and, in French, depending on the period, between Peul and Tulane. Sometimes the choice concerns Africanized terms of European origin. Should one write Lancados and Tangamaôs, as the Portuguese do, or Lansados and Tangamos?

Semantic identification is also a problem. It is impossible to say exactly what is the meaning of a great many geographical or ethnic terms that are transcribed in written texts.

For Maçoudi, Al Maqdisi and Ibn Said Charnati, *Zaghawa* means a country, like Ghana or Kanem; however, for E. Dimachqui it signifies the most ugly of the Sudanese peoples.

Monomotapa is a corruption of Mwane or Mwana Mutupwa. It is a title. The peoples over whom he reigned lived in the Manica or Manika, the Shadima, etc. However, most historical works speak of the Monomotapa Empire as if it were a state. The term 'Changamire' or 'Changamira' is used

in the same way, whereas initially it meant the Changa-Emir or Emir of Changa.

The River Kongo, the language Kongo (Kikongo) and Kongo as used for an ethnic group, as well as for an individual belonging to the group, raises not only a problem of spelling (Kongo or Congo), but also of identification and meaning.

So the terms for ethnic groups and places must first of all be collected and listed. They raise problems of identification, in other words of definition and classification. Only when this preliminary research has been carried out does the question of transcription arise.

Transcription

Two major problems must be solved: the choice of the form to be transcribed; the choice of the script or scripts to be used.

Choice of form. It would be legitimate to give priority and re-establish the original forms in their rightful place. However, these must be clearly identified. Between N'Degdaawur and Dëkkutuur, from which Tekruur and Tukuloor may be derived, there is a choice to be made. This is not always easy.

Sometimes the original form has itself given way, in the view of those who found it, to a more widely used form. The fortunes of Monomotapa have been such that it has tended to supersede, if not Mwanamotupwa, then at least Chidima, as the name of an empire. For ideological and historical reasons, the term 'Abyssinia' has yielded to 'Ethiopia'. The oral tradition of Tekrouur speaks of Ndaw where the Arab chronicles refer to Lel Lem or Mali, as do El Magribi or Idrissi. So the choice of form is still open to discussion, although the range of possibilities between which the choice is to be made are clear.

Choice of script. Whether a text is written in indigenous, Arabic, Latin or other characters, codification and standardization would be worth while. The work of codification undertaken by Unesco at the regional and continental levels has been a most valuable beginning.

I think that it will not be easy to find a simple phonetic system of writing which will cover the principal sounds found in the languages of the African continent. The Arabic script as used for writing the Arabic language, should be standardized. During our Unesco mission to Chad in 1976 we pointed out what could be done if the Arabic script were to be used for African languages. The Bamako meeting (1966) laid the foundations for the standardization of transcriptions of the Roman alphabet.¹

Participants at the seminar would do well to bear all these factors in mind. Discussion would then be straightforward, and subsequently a study

group would probably have no difficulty in proposing concrete solutions to all the problems involving the choice of form, interpretation of meaning and standardized transcription. The aim is to pave the way for the compilation of lexicons, glossaries or dictionaries of ethnonyms, toponyms and anthroponyms, more generally and to devise a conceptual framework which will make the facts of African history more readily comprehensible.

If, as a result of the discussions at the seminar, we succeed in gaining a clear idea of how to proceed in ethnonymy and toponymy, then this goal is within our grasp.

Onomastic material

These few examples will serve to illustrate a discussion of the problems posed by ethnonyms, toponyms and anthroponyms. In parentheses we show the graphic/phonetic origin of the term and of its variants, if any. The following abbreviations are used: *i*=indigenous; *n*=neighbouring people; *E*=English; *Ar*=Arabic; *F*=French; *P*=Portuguese; *Eur*=European.

Ethnonyms

Acholi (*i*), Ancoli, Ankoli, Akoli (*Eur*)
Ashanti (*i*), Achanti (*F*)
Bantu (*i*), Bantu, Bantou (*Eur*)
Bassari (*n*), Tenda (*i*), Bassari, Basari (*Eur*)
Baynunk (*i*), Bahuns (*E*), Bainouk (*F*)
Bedik (*i*), Konyagi (*n*), Koniagi, Kognagui (*Eur*)
Bornuan, Bornouan (*Eur*)
Borooro (*i*), Bororo (*n*), Pullo Buruure (*i*), Peul Bouroure (*F*)
Guro (*i*), Gouro, Gourou (*F*)
Kanembu (*i*), Kanembou (*F*), Kanuri (*i*), Kanuri (*E*), Kanouri (*F*), Kanori (*Eur*)
(Barth)
Katwa (*n*), Somali Maracatos (*P*)
Lwo (*i*), Luo (*Eur*), Lemtuna (*i*), Lemtouna, Lemtouna (*F*)
Mamprusi (*i*), Maprussi, Maproussi (*Eur*)
Mosi (*i*), Muusi (*n*), Mossi (*Eur*)
Sape (people of Sierra Leone), Zapes (*P*) (in Ortiz Fernandez)
Segugu (*i*), [Swahili Mosseguejos population] (*P*), Mosseguegues (*F*)
Targi, Tuwaarig (*i*), Tuareg (*E*), Touareg (*F*)
Zarma (*i*), Jarma (*n*), Djerma, Jerma (*E*)

Toponyms

Awadaghost (*i*), Awdaghost (*Ar*), Aoudaghost, Aoudaghost (*F*)
 Bawal (*i*), Baoul (*F*)
 Bayaka, Yaka (*i*), Jaga (*Eur*)
 Butwa (*i*), Butwa, Butua, Boutoua (*Eur*)
 Bwali (*i*), Boarie (Dapper), Buri (*Eur*)
 Danxome (*i*), Dahomey (*Eur*)
 Faza (*i*), Fasa (*Eur*)
 Fuuta Jaloñ, Futa Jallon (*E*), Fouta Djallon (*F*)
 Fuuta Tooro (*i*), Futah Tureh, Footo Toore (*Eur*)
 Gabu (*i*), Gaabu (*n*), Gabou (*F*)
 Ganna (*i*), Ghana (*Eur*)
 Gidimaxa (*i*), Gidimakha, Guidimakha (*Eur*)
 Ginné (*i*), Giné, Guiné, Ginneh (*Eur*)
 Gurma, Ngurma (*i*), Gourma, Ngourma (*F*)
 Hombori (*i*), Ombori, Hombori (*Eur*)
 Jolof (*i*), Jolof (*E*), Djolof (*F*)
 Kongo (*i*), Kongo, Congo (*Eur*)
 Lwanda (*i*), Luanda, Loanda (*Eur*), Louanda (*F*)
 Lwangu (*i*), Loango (*Eur*), Lovango (*P*), Louango (*Eur*)
 Mapungubwa (*i*), Mapungwe, Mapongwe, Mapougbe (*Eur*)
 Mfuka (*i*), M'Fouka (*Eur*)
 Mogadishu (*i*, *E*), Mogadiscio (*P*), Mogadisque (*Eur*)
 Moçambique (*P*), Mozambique (*Eur*)
 Mputu (*i*), Manputou, Mampoutou (*F*), Maputo (*P*)
 Mvita (*i*), Monbasa (*Ar*), Monbassa (*F*)
 Nkumbuu (*i*), qanbalu (*Ar*), qanbalu (*Eur*)
 Shaka (*i*) [town, Swahili], Chaka, Jaca, Jaka, Diaka (*Eur*)
 Shungwaya (*i*), Shungaya (*P*)
 Sonraay, Songhay, Songhoi (*i*), Sonkoy (*Eur*)
 Tombuktu (*i*), Tombuktu (*n*), Tombouctou (*F*)
 Walata (*i*), Oualata (*F*)
 Zimbabwe (*i*, *E*), Zimbaboué (*Eur*)

Anthroponyms

Aaaj Umar Fuutiyyu (*i*), Alzaj Umër, Aaaj Umaru (*n*)
 Askia Suleymaan (*i*), Askia Sulaiman (*E*), Aksia Souleymane (*F*)
 Askiyaa, Aski (*i*), Askia, Askia (*Eur*)
 Ayi Kushi [first sovereign of Accra (Acra, Akrah) 1500] (*i*), Ayi Koushi (*Eur*)
 El Bekri, El Bâcri, El Bakri, Al Bakari
 Ibn Batuta, Ibn Batouta, Ibn Hawqual, Ibn Houkal

Kankan (Kanko, Kanku), Musaa (*i*), Kankan Musa, Kankan Moussa (*F*)
Mansa Waali (*i*), Mäysa Waali (*n*), Mansa Ouali (*F*), Mansa wali (*E*)
Muhammaat (*i*), Mohamed, Mouhamed, Mohamet, Mahomet (*Eur*)
Ngola Kiluanji [King of Ndongo in about the year 1500] (*i*), Ngolo
Kilouandji (*F*)
Nzinga a Nkuwa (*i*), Alfonso (I) (*Eur*)
Sa mori (*i*), Saamoori, Sammoori (*n*), Samori, Samory (*Eur*)
Soni Aali Bër (*i*), Sooni A. Bar, Soni A. Ber (*Eur*)
Sunjata Keyta (*i*), Soundjata Keita (*F*)
Usmaan Dañ Foojo, Dañ Foode (*i*), Dom Fojo, Dan Fuddi (*n*), Usman Dan
Fojo (*E*), Ousmane Dan Fodio (*F*)

Note

1. *Meeting of a Group of Experts for the Unification of Alphabets of National Languages, Bamako, Mali, 28 February to 5 March 1966.* (Unesco doc. CLT/BALING/13.)

Toponymy and ethnonymy as scientific aids to history

Mohammed El Fasi

A knowledge of place-names (towns, mountains, rivers, lakes, springs and other geographical sites), the study of which is called toponymy, can be of great help to history because place-names seldom change. Even their phonetic evolution hardly ever leads to radical modifications and seldom affects the old pronunciation and spelling. It is for this reason that the study of place-names can reveal facts relating to the past and so yield information concerning the history, religion and civilization of the first occupants of the places concerned.

The same can be said for ethnonymy and eponymy, though to a lesser degree, for names of persons can change more readily. Then again, whole tribes may move from their original home and settle in other regions, sometimes a long way off. But this is exceptional.

Eponymy is directly related to ethnonymy inasmuch as tribes (particularly Arab and Berber ones) trace their genealogy to a common eponym, that is, to the ancestor who gave them their name.

My comments in this paper will be confined to the Maghrib, and will be particularly focused on Morocco.

First of all, it should be noted that the place-names are based on the Berber language. As I said earlier, the various civilizations which succeeded one another in this part of Africa did not leave any significant traces in its toponymy. It can even be said that at present there are practically no names of foreign origin to be found, except those of Phoenician or Carthaginian origin. These languages are closely related to Berber. The names of many towns and villages were changed by the French, but as these changes were not spontaneous, being imposed by the colonial power, the foreign names disappeared as soon as independence was proclaimed and the places reverted to their old names, which had never been forgotten by the inhabitants. The corruptions of certain names, however, still remain in common usage.

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To illustrate the above remarks I have drawn up a list of toponyms, with their origins and etymology:

Abarkan—‘black’ in Berber. The town of Berkane in Morocco is named after a saint called Sidi Mhammed Aberkane.

Acila—corrupted into Arzila. A charming little seaside resort south of Tangier. Founded by the Phoenicians, it was called Zili, from a Semitic root meaning ‘beauty’.

Agadir—Berber word current throughout the Maghrib. In Tamazigt and Zanātah it is pronounced ‘Ajdir’. It is the same word as the Arabic *jidār* meaning ‘wall’. The original meaning of Agadir is ‘wall’ or ‘enclosure’. Here the Berbers stored agricultural produce and for this purpose they erected fortifications. The most famous town of this name, Agadir in Morocco, was the scene of an earthquake in 1960 which killed a great many people.

Agulmam—‘lake’ in Berber, plural: *igulmamen*; diminutive: *tagulmamt*, plural: *tigulmamen*. Many lakes and other places bear these names, many of which have been corrupted by the French. The caravan centre of the Agadir region in Morocco, Agulmim, was called Goulimine, for instance.

Al-Araish—corrupted by the Spaniards into Larache. Important town on the Moroccan Atlantic seaboard between Rabat and Tangier; ‘*arā*’ish is the plural of ‘*arish*, meaning ‘hut’ in Arabic.

Al-Jadīda—Arabic word meaning ‘the new’. This is the name of the Moroccan town known by Europeans as Mazagan, after the Banu Mazg’anna tribe which inhabited this region of the Atlantic plains in the Middle Ages.

Al-Jazāir—‘the capes’—plural of *jazira*, meaning ‘island’, ‘peninsula’, ‘cape’. It is the Arabic word which, after corruption, gave Algiers and Algeria their names.

Al-Qasr al-Kabīr—corrupted by the Spaniards, became Alcazar-Quivir. Town on the Atlantic—famous for the decisive battle which took place in those parts in 1578 and which is known to the French as Bataille des Trois Rois, to the Moroccans as Battle of Wādial Makhazin and to the Spaniards as Battle of Alcazar-Quivir. Al-Qasr al-Kabir means ‘the Great Palace’ in Arabic.

Al-Qunaytira—‘the little bridge’ in Arabic. Important harbour and industrial centre 40 km from Rabat. Under the Protectorate it was known as Port-Lyautey. Its present name is Kenitra.

Anfa—a Berber word meaning ‘little hill’. The old name of Casablanca, today a district in that town.

Ar-Ribāt—meaning ‘the camp’—corrupted into Rabat by the French. This town, founded by the Almohades in the twelfth century to assemble their troops before proceeding to Spain, was for that reason called the Camp of Victory (Ribāt al-Fath).

Ar-Rommānī—rural centre in the vicinity of Rabat. The word means ‘pomegranate tree’. The French called it Camp Marchand.

Asafi—‘river’—corrupted by the French, became Safi. Town on the Atlantic seaboard of Morocco. The word has the same etymology as Fās.

As-Sawira—known as Mogador under the Protectorate, after a Berber name (Amogdoul) recorded as early as the eleventh century. Both appellations, the old one quoted by Al-Bakīr and the modern European one, come from a saint buried in this town, Sidi Magdoul. The present Arabic name means ‘little wall’ and not ‘little picture’, which is a near homophone.

Azemmour—name of a town situated on the Atlantic seaboard which has played an important role in the history of Morocco, especially under the Portuguese occupation of Mazagan (al-Jadīda). The word ‘*azemmour*’ means ‘wild olive-tree’ in Berber.

Azrou—meaning ‘rock’ in Berber. Name of a Middle Atlas town in Morocco. The present inhabitants, of the Ait Mguild tribe, do not know the meaning of the name of their town, however. This proves that they came from the south, driving to the north the former occupants, who called the rock ‘Azrou’.

Beni-Mellal. Situated in the Middle Atlas, this Moroccan town has a spring famous for the volume, quality and freshness of its water. It is the principal town of the province which bears its name. Its etymology is connected with the root ‘*mell*’ (see Melilla) meaning ‘white’. *Beni* means ‘sons’ in Arabic.

Chaouen (Iš-Šawen) is the name of an attractive town in the Rif. The name is derived from the word ‘*išš*’, ‘horn’ (‘peak’ in Berber), plural: *iššawen*. Many place-names in the Maghrib are formed from this word or its derivatives. In some dialects ‘*išš*’ is pronounced ‘isk’, plural: ‘iskawen’.

Daren—Berber name for the Atlas, arabicized. The authentic name is Adrār n’idrāren, meaning ‘mountain of mountains’.

Dukkāla (Doukkala). Name of a great plain on the Atlantic seaboard between Azemmour and Asafi. It is at the same time the name of the confederation of tribes inhabiting it. The word is derived from the Berber ‘*ddou*’ (under) and ‘*akāl*’ (land). Hence ‘lowland’ or ‘plain’.

Fās. The town founded by Idris I and his son Idris II on the site of a Berber locality. The origin of the name is a metathesis on *sāf*, abbreviation of ‘*isaffen*’, the plural of ‘*asif*’ meaning ‘river’. Corrupted by the Europeans, it became Fes and Fez.

Ifrane—plural of ‘*ifri*’ meaning ‘cavern’. The diminutive is ‘tifrit’, plural: *tifritine*. Many places bear names derived from this root, for example Ifrane, the important Moroccan winter and summer resort in the Middle Atlas.

Melilla. Town situated on the Mediterranean coast in the north-east of Morocco, still under Spanish rule, founded by the Phoenicians, who called it

Russ Addir (Cape of the Cliff). In all place-names the root *mell* means 'white', for example Tamellalt, Ait Mellul, Beni-Mellal, etc.

Oumm Arrabi—'giver of grass'. This is the name of the big river which waters the plains of Central Morocco and flows into the Atlantic Ocean at Azemmour. It is one of the rare cases in which an old Berber name has been replaced by an Arabic name. The Berbers called this river Asif wànsifen, 'the river of rivers', in the same way as they called the Atlas 'Adran n'idraren' ('mountain of mountains').

Salà—corrupted, became Salé. This name is derived from a Berber root meaning 'rock'. Chella, facing it on the left bank of the Bouregreg, took its name from the same root. It is the twin town of Rabat.

Sijilmàsa. Old name of the region (now known as Tafilalet) which was the cradle of the reigning dynasty in Morocco from the seventeenth century onwards. The town of Sijilmàsa played a very important role in the Middle Ages in trade relations between the African countries south of Morocco, especially Aoudagost, and the Mediterranean region, particularly the great metropolis, Fez.

Tadla—'sheaf of cereals' in Berber. This is an important town, for it is the economic centre of the whole of the Moroccan Middle Atlas region.

Tàfrawt—a 'flat' or 'hollow' in Berber—hence the various meanings taken on by this word: race-course, manger, alliance (from the fact that representatives of the tribes met in a place of this kind to conclude alliances). This is the name of a flourishing town in the Sous (Morocco), whose inhabitants emigrate to Europe to work.

Talmist—a 'spring' in certain Berber dialects, plural: *tilimsàn*—corrupted by the French in Algeria into Tlemcen.

Tanja—name of the town known in English as Tangier. It was founded by the Phoenicians, who called it Tinjis ('river current'). A river flowing into Lake Bizerta in Tunisia is called Tinja.

Tiffelt. Berber term for 'pepper'—a contraction of *tifelfelt*, borrowed from the Arabic *filfla*. Corrupted by the French, the name of this town in the vicinity of Rabat became Tiflet.

Timmel—'woman of the rampart' in Berber. Cradle of the great Almohade dynasty, where its founder, Ibn Tumart, is buried.

Tittawin—'the springs' in Berber. Plural of '*tit*'. Corrupted by the Spaniards, it became Tetuan, name of the capital of the former Spanish Protectorate in northern Morocco. Tàattiwin, another plural form, is the name of a village in Tunisia, where the President of the Republic of that country lived in exile under the French occupation.

Tizi—'pass' in Berber. Hundreds of places in North Africa bear this name.

Tiznit—'basket' in Berber. This is the name of an important town in

the Sous. It played a leading role at the time of the struggle of the great patriot Ma-al-aīnayn in the pre-colonial period.

Walili—Moroccan name of the Roman town known as Volubilis, corrupt form of *walili*, which means ‘bay-tree’ in Berber.

TABLE 1. Arabic or Berber names and the corresponding corrupt forms

Original name	Corrupt form	Original name	Corrupt form
Abarkan	Berkane	Fàs	Fes, Fez
Acila	Arzila	Oumm Arrabi	Oum eir rebia
Agulmam	Goulimine	Salà	Salé
Al-Araish	Larache	Talmist	Tlemcen
Al-Jazā’ir	Algiers, Algeria	Tanja	Tangier
Al-Qasr al-Kabir	Alcazar-Quivir	Tiffelt	Tiflet
Ar-Ribāt	Rabat	Tittawin	Tetuan, Tetouan
Asafī	Safi	Walili	Volubilis

TABLE 2. Moroccan localities whose names were radically changed by the French, then restored after independence

Moroccan name	Substitute name	Moroccan name	Substitute name
Al Gara	Camp Boucheron	As-Sawira	Mogador
Al-Jadīda	Mazagan	Azzuhaylija	Camp Christian
Al-Qunaytira	Port-Lyautey	Benslimane	Camp Boulhaut
Ar-Rommāni	Camp Marchand	Sidi Allal Al-Bahraoui	Camp Monod

Some toponyms and ethnonyms of Swaziland

R. T. Zwinoira

Introduction

Swaziland has a long and rich history which goes back in time to the Stone Age of southern Africa. Recent and current archaeological investigations have revealed the presence of Stone Age communities in various parts of the present Kingdom of Swaziland whose industries spanned thousands of years of continuous activity.

Evidence is still incomplete as to how, when, and why these Stone Age groups ceased to exist. All we know is that at some point in time (much later) the hunting and gathering San communities moved into Swaziland and settled under the shelter of the hills. Their occupation of the land is attested to by beautiful rock paintings, in excellent state of preservation.

The San inhabitants of Swaziland were followed by the Khoikhoi. These were pastoralists who supplemented their diet by hunting and gathering wild fruit. There is no readily identifiable evidence of their tenancy in Swaziland comparable in authenticity to the rock art of the San clans who arrived in Swaziland before them. Nor do we know whether, at some point in time, the San and Khoikhoi communities coexisted. All we can claim with some certainty is that the earliest ancestors of the present Bantu speakers were preceded by the San and Khoikhoi inhabitants.

It is with the descendants of the Bantu-speaking African occupants of Swaziland that the ethnonyms and toponyms of the kingdom are associated. To this linguistic category must be added also the intrusive foreign acquisitions of the colonial era in the form of Afrikaans and English place-names. The African ethnonyms and toponyms of Swaziland belong to the Nguni and Sotho branches of the Bantu languages.

I propose in this paper to deal with toponyms first and then with ethnonyms. I will not separate African toponyms from those of the intrusive European

languages; nor will I attempt to follow an alphabetical order in the discussion of these names.

Some Swazi toponyms

Swaziland. This toponym is derived from Mswati II, the greatest of the kingdom's warrior kings, who ruled from 1840 to 1868. He united the different clans of the land under his rule so successfully that the people came to be known as *bakamswati*, or 'the people of Mswati'. The European pioneers, who were then moving into the kingdom from Natal and the Transvaal, corrupted this expression into 'Swazis' laying the linguistic root for the anglicized term: Swaziland.

Used concurrently with the name Swaziland is the toponym *Kangwane*, the country of Ngwane. Many Africans, inside and outside Swaziland, prefer this name to the official one. The people call themselves *bakangwane*, or 'the people of Ngwane', after Ngwane III, who led a splinter group of a migrating section of the Bembo-Nguni from Tembeland, south of Delagoa Bay. It was Ngwane who first entered the land now known as Swaziland.

Shiselweni is the name of one of the four administrative districts of Swaziland running from east to west in the southern area of the kingdom. This district is very important historically because the Dlamini-Nguni (Emlangeni) crossed the Pongola River, in northern Natal, and came to settle in this area around 1750 under Ngwane III. The first Swazi royal residence—Zombodze—was built in this region. Another royal residence, Shiselweni, was established by Ndvungunye (the son of Ngwane III) in the same area; and Mbilaneni, the first burial place of Swazi kings in the region, is situated there.

Hhohho, another administrative district of modern Swaziland, is situated in the north-western section of the kingdom. A region of mountains and hills, undulating land and deep river valleys, with numerous archaeological sites, Hhohho became the centre of King Mswati's empire-building military campaigns in the 1860s. He died at his royal residence in the Hhohho District in 1868 and his body was removed to Mbilaneni in the Shiselweni District for burial. Today Hhohho has become a very important area in the economic growth of Swaziland. It has the Havelock asbestos mines, the Pigg's Peak forestry estates and sawmills, and the Ngonini citrus and tea estates. The Ngwenya iron mine is located in the southern part of Hhohho, and a few kilometres from Ngwenya, due east, is Mbabane, the national capital.

Manzini is the commercial and industrial hub of Swaziland, situated in the middle veld of the country east of Mbabane. It is also the name of a district. Manzini was named after a local chief (Manzini Motsa) who belongs to a

large group of Nguni and Sotho clans collectively known in Swazi history as *emakhandzambili* or 'those who were found ahead'. This category of Swazi clans preceded the *bembzabuko* or 'the true Swazi', and the *emafikamuva* (*labafikemuva*) or 'the late-comers'. The town of Manzini was known as Bremersdorp during the colonial occupation.

Mbabane is the administrative and judicial capital of Swaziland and the Hhohho District capital. Situated in the north-west of the kingdom, Mbabane is 19 km from the South African border. The town of Mbabane developed near a royal cattle kraal established by King Mbandzeni, grandfather of King Sobhuza II, and was named after Chief Mbabane Kunene, who lived in the area before the European settlers arrived.

Mhlambanyati is a small town situated about 16 km south of Mbabane and serves the Usutu Pulp Company's settlement in the Usutu Forest. While some observers have claimed that Mhlambanyati means in Siswati 'buffalo-crossing', there are others who argue that the name means 'the place where buffaloes bathe' or simply 'buffaloes' bathing place'. *Ukhuhlamba* means 'to bathe' in Siswati. It is reasonable, however, to suggest that a bathing place was also the crossing-point of these animals. In that case there is no conflict in the two interpretations as given above.

Mankayane means 'little steps', possibly an allusion to the hilly topography of the place which compels a man who is walking to take short steps up or down. A town of about 600 inhabitants, Mankayane is located in south-west Swaziland, about 30 km from the South African border. Before the consolidation of the six administrative districts of the kingdom into four, in 1963, Mankayane was both the name of the capital and of a district. Today this area forms part of the Manzini District.

Mhlume is an agricultural town of about 2,000 inhabitants, situated in the north-eastern part of the country. The town is the centre of a rich and vast farming region in which citrus orchards, sugar-cane fields and other commercial crops provide employment to thousands of permanent and seasonal workers. Mhlume means 'good growth', appropriately named because of the lush crops cultivated in this low veld area thanks to its irrigation system. The town was established by the Commonwealth Development Corporation after the Second World War, and is the site of the Mhlume Sugar Company Estate.

Mahamba is a Swazi border post and village between the Kingdom of Swaziland and South Africa, in the south-western part of the country. It owes its origins to two Wesleyan missionaries and a number of Basotho evangelists who arrived in the country in 1844 from a Wesleyan mission station at Mparani, near the Caledon River, in what is today the Orange Free State. The leader of the mission was Rev. James Allison.

As a result of an incident involving a Swazi royal regent—Malambule—and King Mswati II, military action ordered by the king forced many people,

including Malambule and the Wesleyan missionaries, to flee from Mahamba into Natal. Thus the area, which was known by a different name, came to be called Mahamba, meaning 'the runaways'. The deserted mission station was re-opened by Daniel Msimang in 1880, one of the evangelists who had come with Allison. Mahamba would seem to be the oldest European settlement in Swaziland.

Mafutseni is a small trading village in central Swaziland, located about 15 km east of Manzini on the main road from Mbabane to Siteki. It is a junction for the road leading north to Luve, Mliba, Balegane and Tshaneni in the Mhlume sugar-cane estates. In Siswati the term *mafutseni* means 'oil'. And when one says *emafutseni*, one is using a locative to indicate a place where oil is obtained. It is quite probable that many years ago the local peasant farmers were renowned producers of vegetable or animal oils to provide for their own needs as well as for those of their neighbours. My informants were not clear about the historical origin of the name.

Mlilwane is the main game reserve of the kingdom. It was originally located 18 km south of Mbabane, on the road to Manzini, through the beautiful Ezulwini Valley. The South African Wild Life Foundation bought and donated an adjacent 1,133 ha and the Anglo-American Corporation added an extra 142 ha. Another 2,185 ha was added to the reserve in 1971, bringing it still closer to Mbabane. Forming part of the Ezulwini Valley, the game reserve is set among a chain of mountains, one of which is called Mlilwane or 'little fire' because its iron content attracts lightning during the summer rains. The game reserve is a major tourist attraction.

Matsapha, 6 km due west of Manzini on the highway to Mbabane, is a fast-growing industrial centre of Swaziland. It is the intellectual and educational hub of the nation where the University of Botswana and Swaziland has one of its campuses. The Swazi National High School and the Royal Swazi Police College are located here. Matsapha also has an airport which provides a link with the rest of the world. It is served by the Maputo-Swaziland railway. The linguistic meaning of the term is obscure, but my informants say that the toponym refers to the collecting or gathering of something (fruit, clay, etc.) free of charge.

Siteki is the administrative headquarters of the Lubombo District, and its main town. It has a population of about 1,400 inhabitants. The name literally means 'the place of marriage'. During the colonial years the spelling of Siteki had been corrupted to Stegi, evidence of which is still plain in old African maps. Siteki is 610 m above sea level and enjoys good weather conditions. It is also surrounded by fertile land and is already a major food-producing district dominated by the Mhlume and Big Bend sugar-cane and citrus-fruit complexes.

Lomahasha is a border town situated on the Lubombo mountain ridge and in the north-eastern corner of the kingdom. Across the international

boundary with Mozambique is the town of Nomahasha, the Portuguese corruption of the same name. The town is named after Chief Lomahasha Mahlalela, a hereditary dignitary who played an important role in the boundary-demarcation negotiations at the end of the last century. There was a dispute at that time involving Great Britain, the Transvaal and Portugal over the demarcation of the border in the Lomahasha area. The dispute was finally resolved, after two decades, by an arrangement which gave Nomahasha—a Portuguese military garrison—to Mozambique.

Lavumisa is the name of a small town on the south-eastern border with South Africa. It got its name from the daughter of Zwide the Ndwandwe king. She settled there with her son, Tsekwane, a refugee like herself from Natal, following the punitive military action ordered by the Swazi king, Mswati II, against his half-brother, Malambule, who had stolen some royal cattle. On the colonial maps of Swaziland the place-name of Lavumisa is Gollel, an Afrikaans name. Lavumisa will be joined to the rest of Swaziland by a railway line under construction from Phuzumoya, to the north, linking the kingdom with Richard's Bay and Durban, in Natal.

Nhlambelo literally means 'the washing place'. It is a sacred enclosure or sanctuary found in the upper end of the cattle byre at the royal village of the Queen Mother (Indlovukati), which is also the ritual and national capital of the Swazi nation. This sacred place is used once a year during the *incwala* ceremony, at which time the king leads the nation in thanksgiving for the good harvest, fertility and health of all his people. In the normal run of things, calves of the royal herd are kept in the *enhlambelo* overnight, separate from the rest of the herd.

Nhlangano is the administrative headquarters of the Shiselweni District, situated in the southern part of Swaziland. The name Nhlangano comes from the Swazi verb *ukhuhlangana* or 'to get together', 'to meet'. As a noun it means 'a meeting' or 'a meeting-place'. The town is an agricultural collecting and distributing centre for the local farmers, and is also the location of the Swaziland Tobacco Co-operative. With the establishment of a forestry industry in the district, a sawmill has been built to process locally produced timber. The South African settlers of Afrikaner extraction who moved into the area during the nineteenth century called this farming town Goedgegun, which in translation means 'it went well'. No doubt this must have been a reference to their successful incursion there.

Bhunya is the name of a forestry town where the Usutu Pulp Mill is located. It is about halfway between Mbabane and Manzini, following the Mhlambanyati road through the Great Usutu River valley to Luyengo and Malkerns. Local informants say that the name of the town derives from a waterfall in the area which throws up a spray resembling smoke when viewed from a good distance. In Siswati *ukubhunya* means 'to give off smoke'. When

one says in Siswati *kuyabhunya*, one means 'it is smoking'; and to ask the question *kubhunyani lapa* means, in translation: 'What is smoking here?'—implying that something is burning. *Ukubhunyisela* means 'to cause to smoke' or 'to generate smoke'.

Purely by coincidence, the town of Bhunya has many smoke stacks that rise high into the air, releasing great quantities of smoke from the pulp factories. When the local inhabitants saw this they said, again, *kuyabhunya* or 'the place smokes'. The old and new interpretations have thus merged to maintain and promote a fitting toponym.

Etimbutini is an area about 15 km due east of Manzini. Etimbutini is geographically characterized by low-lying hills, valleys, brooks, and grasslands interspaced with shrubs. Apparently these shrubs are good for grazing goats. The noun *imbuti* means 'goat'. The plural form of *imbuti* is *timbuti*. *Etimbutini* is a locative which means 'the place of goats'. It is reasonable to infer that at some time in the past the Swazi peasants who occupied this area tended large flocks of goats. Things have changed since: the area has been penetrated by European farmers and many other non-Swazi individuals. It is also increasingly becoming peri-urban in character. Rest camps, designed to cater for the tourist industry, and country shops have moved in, driving the goats and their owners away.

Elwandle, south-east of Manzini and bound by the Mzimnene and Sidvokodvo rivers is, like the preceding term, the name of an area. *Luwandle* literally means 'the sea'. *Elwandle* means 'towards the sea'. The citizens of Swaziland who occupy this area are called Bemanti, a term which means 'people of the water'. Bemanti describes the clan which embraces the Mkatshwa, Nxumalo and Ndwandwe groups, all of them belonging to the *emafikamuva* classification of the Swazi nation. From this group are drawn the important officials responsible for the fetching of sacred water from certain rivers of the kingdom, and also from the sea, used by the king during the *incwala* ceremony. Members of this clan are a splinter from the Zidze nation.

Embekelweni was the royal administrative village of King Mbandzeni located a few kilometres north of Manzini, and not far away from Ludzidzini, to the south-west, in an area known as Ludzeludze. In the 1880s a postal and telegraph service, connecting Embekelweni and Steynsdorp in the Transvaal, was introduced. The village became the centre of political and economic activity with adverse effects on the independence and land rights of the Swazi nation. This was the period of the mineral and land concessions forced on the king.

Tembe is the name of a small river as well as the area through which it flows, in southern Mozambique, east of the Lubombo mountain chain. This river has given its name to an African people of the Bembo-Nguni group. The eponym of the royal clan of the Dlamini in Swaziland came from Tembeland many centuries ago. The Dlamini clan are still addressed as *bakatembe* or 'those

who hail from Tembe'. Culturally and historically therefore this area of Mozambique is part and parcel of the Swazi nation. During the decade of boundary demarcations at the end of the nineteenth century, the representatives of the Swazi king made repeated claims to the land east of the Lubombo mountains including the Tembe region unsuccessfully. Portugal claimed the area as its own.

Kwaluseni is the location of the second campus and of the administrative centre of the University College of Swaziland. The first campus and agricultural faculty of the college are situated at Luyengo, about 25 km from Kwaluseni. Many of my informants seemed to be uncertain as to the origin or meaning of the name. A few, however, suggested that the term Kwaluseni is derived from the verb *kwulusa* which means 'to graze' or 'to tend livestock'. *Kwaluseni*, the noun, would mean the 'grazing grounds'.

Kwaluseni was a second choice in this area to Ludzeludze which lies beyond a small stream. The choice was based on its proximity to the main Manzini–Mbabane road, the Matsapha industrial estate with its developed water, electricity and communications infrastructure, and on the natural good drainage of the place. His Majesty King Sobhuza II gave the land to the university free of charge.

Edwaleni is a common name in Swaziland and Natal. The term is derived from *idwala*, another noun, which means 'a rock'. Edwaleni is a locative meaning 'at the rock' or 'towards the rock'. This place-name is generally associated with river valleys where rocks abound, and, more often than not, these rocks are flat and large. Another noun, *litje*, is usually used to describe the rocks of a hill or mountain. The plural form of *litje* is *amatje*. *Ematjeni* is the locative form of *amatje*. Swaziland's main electricity-generating power station is situated at Edwaleni, about 8 km off the main road to Manzini.

Ezulwini is the place-name of one of the most beautiful valleys of Swaziland. It is also the scene of the great epic and historical drama in the formation of the Swazi nation. Ezulwini literally means 'the heavenly place'. A number of large and small rivers run through this valley, which stretches from the foothills of Mbabane eastwards to Manzini and curves southwards through the Malkerns farming estates to Luyengo. Sometimes called the Mbabane–Manzini corridor, the Ezulwini Valley is destined to become the heart of a future urban complex, with cultural institutions, entertainment facilities and royal residences. This valley is about 50 km long.

Sidvokodvo is the name of a river and a railway town of about 900 people in central Swaziland, 24 km south of Manzini. It is the largest town between Manzini and Hlatikulu further south, on the road to Nhlanguano. It has workshops of the Swaziland Railway, and is situated in an area good for cotton cultivation as well as the raising of cattle. Opinions vary from one informant to another as to the meaning or history of the toponym, except that it is the

name of a small stream that flows into the Usutu River. One informant explained that *idvokodvo* refers to a camp-site or a shelter made of tree branches and constructed by a regiment on the march, for temporary use. The same informant said that this term was also applied to a family or clan group on the move. The temporary shelters preceded permanent homes.

Other informants defined the toponym differently, and yet a connection in meaning is evident in both cases. According to this second explanation, the term *sidvokodvo* was associated with the abundance of reeds in the area. Reeds are a very important item in Swaziland because they are used to construct homestead reed shelters or, as they are sometimes called, windbreaks. Quite clearly, the idea of the camp-site shelter and that of the homestead reed windbreak are related. During the nationally famous 'reed dance' in Swaziland thousands of young girls bring enormous quantities of reeds from every corner of the kingdom to the Queen Mother at Lobamba, for the annual repair of her houses.

A third point of view concerning *Sidvokodvo* is that the toponym refers to the swampy nature of the area which renders some places risky for man and beast. I am more inclined to accept the first two explanations because they seem to agree with history and traditional custom.

Pigg's Peak is one of the modern towns of Swaziland with a population of about 2,000 people. The majority of the citizens of the town are Africans. Pigg's Peak is situated about 15 km by road east of the Transvaal border of South Africa, and in the north-western section of the Hhohho District.

Pigg's Peak forms the centre of one of the most scenic areas of Swaziland, with beautiful streams and waterfalls and a wide variety of Bushmen's rock paintings, notably at Nsangwini Shelter.

Before the 1963 administrative changes in the kingdom, Pigg's Peak was the headquarters and the name of the northernmost of the six districts, encompassing everything north of the Komati River. Since then the region has been merged with the old Mbabane District and is now known as the Hhohho District.

The town was named after William Pigg, an early prospector in Swaziland during the infamous concession period, who discovered gold on 26 March 1884 near the town named after him. This discovery led to the establishment of the Pigg's Peak mine, the richest source of gold in the history of Swaziland mining. The mine reached a depth of over 240 m below the summit of Pigg's Peak. Gold production was temporarily stopped during the First World War and was only resumed periodically after that, implying a decline in the reserves.

Bremersdorp, like Mbabane, had its origins around trading stores built by the European settlers who were flooding into Swaziland during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1885 Bob Rogers opened a store under a tent on the bank of the Mzimmene Stream 10 km from the royal village of Mbekelweni, due south. In the following year Bob Rogers was bought out by

Albert Bremer and W. Wallenstein, his partner, who had travelled all the way from Durban, Natal, in search of concessions from the Swazi king.

The two men built a trading store and a hotel on the old site of the tent. The land on which the store and hotel stood fell under the jurisdiction of Chief Manzini Motsa. For this reason the local Swazi inhabitants named the place Manzini.

J. S. M. Matsebula, the Swazi historian, states that many authorities on the ethnography of the kingdom disagree on the accuracy of the preceding point. These authorities argue that there were, in fact, three men in the area of this name. The first was the Swazi chief. Then there was a second man, Manzini Mkhathjwa. Third, there was a Portuguese owner of a refreshment stall by the name of Manzini or Mantini—synonymous words in the Nguni group of language. All three men lived in the vicinity of the present town.

Following the political turmoil of this period in Swaziland, the European settlers pressed for a voice in the national affairs of the kingdom. Thus a provisional government committee was formed in 1890 and established its headquarters in Bremer and Wallenstein. In this way Bremersdorp, as the European settlers now called the place, became the country's first colonial administrative capital. Power had shifted from Mbekelweni to Bremersdorp.

The modern town continued to be the base of the colonial administration until the South African (Transvaal Boer) government took over Swaziland from 1895 to 1899. The town was partially destroyed by a Boer commando raid during the Anglo-Boer War.

When the British took over the administration of Swaziland, following the cessation of hostilities in 1902, Bremersdorp lost its status as the colonial capital. The British moved the colonial capital to the high-veld town of Mbabane.

Big Bend, in the Swaziland low veld, takes its name from a semicircle the Great Usutu River makes as it finds its way between some hills towards a gap in the Lubombo mountain chain. The town is located in the Lubombo District sugar-producing central area. It has a population of about 3,000 and is an important road junction between Lavumisa, in the extreme south, and Siteki and Manzini.

Ngonini is the name of a small community in the northern corner of the country. The name is derived from another Siswati noun, *ingoni*, which means 'a curve [in the course of a river]' (see *Big Bend*, above). *Ngonini* is a shortened form of *engonini*, or 'at the river curve'. This particular curve is on the Umlumati (Lomati) River. The *Ngonini* area is noted for its citrus and lumber industries. It is also the site of a major irrigation scheme.

Oshoek, or 'ox-corner', owes its origins as a place on the map to the discovery of gold at Pigg's Peak and Forbes Reef, in the Komati River basin. European fortune-seekers, who had moved into the Barberton and Steynsdorp

areas of the eastern Transvaal, started another gold-rush following the news of the discovery of the metal in Swaziland.

In order to reach these two gold sites on the Swaziland high-veld, the fortune-seekers were forced to travel south along a high mountain ridge on the Transvaal side of the border, until they reached a gap through which they could enter the country. This point, where the horse wagon trail made a sharp turn eastwards into Swaziland, became known as Os-hoek or 'ox-corner'. The weary adventurers stopped to quench their thirst in a nearby pub run by Grosvenor Darke while their oxen grazed and rested.

The horse and wagon trail soon earned its own name: Concessionaire's Way. This was the trail from Steynsdorp, through the Oshoek mountain gap, to King Mbandzeni's administrative capital at Mbekelweni in the present Manzini area.

Hoedgegun was the Afrikaans colonial place-name of Nhlngano, the administrative headquarters of the Shiselweni District in southern Swaziland. *Hoed* in Afrikaans means 'good'. *Gaan* is a verb which means 'go'. *Gegun* is the past tense form of *gaan*. Put together *hoedgegun* means, literally, 'gone well' or 'all has gone well'. This must have been an allusion to a successful migration into Swaziland by a group of Afrikaans Boers.

Hlatikulu is a compound word. *Ihlatsi* in the local language means 'a bush', while *emahlatsi* is the plural form. *Ikhulu* refers to something big. *Ihlatsi khulu* would therefore mean 'a big bush'. Thus Hlatikulu is the product of a linguistic evolutionary process. When the British came to Swaziland they apparently established themselves at a high spot, next to an indigenous forest, before they occupied the country.

Today Hlatikulu is a town of about a thousand inhabitants. It is located in the south-central, Shiselweni District, near the scenic Grant Valley of the Mkondo River. Before the administrative changes of December 1963, Hlatikulu was the name of one of the six districts of the country. It is now part of the larger Shiselweni District.

Tshaneni is a town of several hundred people in north-eastern Swaziland, 8 km north-west of Mhlume and the same distance from the Mananga (Komati River) Bordergate. The toponym is a shortened form of *etshaneni* which means in translation 'at the rock'. There is a prominent rock at the site of the town. John J. Grotpeter, a researcher in Swaziland, was probably in error when he suggested that the place-name meant 'where the grass is'. There seems to have been confusion between two words: *etshaneni* (at the rock) and *etshanini* (at or towards the grass). Two experienced scholars, J. S. M. Matsebula of Swaziland and D. D. L. Makhatini of Zululand, agree that Tshaneni refers to a rock, and not to grass, as alleged by J. J. Grotpeter,

Balegane is a European corruption of the Siswati word *thalekani*. *Bhaleka* means literally 'to run away'. When the suffix *ni* is added to the root, the meaning

is altered and becomes 'you run away'. It is alleged that during the pre-colonial wars attackers fell upon a clan in this part of the country. Overwhelmed by superior odds, the order went out for the community to flee to safety. To commemorate this event, the order to flee became a group name. In time the name was given to the area as well. The change in spelling took place in our own time.

There are many place-names whose meanings have become obscure with time. Others, such as Ekuthuleni (place of peace), Lozithehezi (living among enemies), Helehele (breezy high ground), and Mliba (pumpkin runner), still retain their linguistic meanings although the historical circumstances which prompted the choice of these toponyms have faded into the misty past.

A few widely known ethnonyms of Swaziland

In turning to the ethnonyms of the clans of Swaziland, I will confine myself to the larger groups only due to the constraints imposed by time and space. The most appropriate starting-point would be the large and illustrious Dlamini clan. It is the Dlamini group who, through a succession of able, sometimes militant, but always diplomatic leaders, achieved the important goal of uniting disparate clans into a nation. These clans were divided by language, customs, political systems and historical antecedents. It was the Dlamini clan, together with its loyal following, who incorporated the pre-existing Sotho-Ntungwa clans (Emakhandzambili) and the Ndwandwe-Zulu late-comers (Emafikamuva) into a community with a common national will.

The Dlamini clan traces its genealogical history back to the middle of the sixteenth century when the Vhambo, or Bembo-Nguni, who lived in the vicinity of the Tembe River and the eastern side of the Lubombo mountains, started their southward migration to the southern area of the middle Pongola River.

The *sibongo* or clan name Dlamini (Dhlamini) is actually the name of the clan which rules Swaziland. The prefix term *Nkosi* is used as a royal *sibongo* and is added on to the ethnonym in order to acknowledge the fact that this clan produces Swazi royalty. *Nkosi* is also used as a *sibongo* by several other Swazi clans which are in effect subdivisions of the Dlamini clan over the centuries. For example, the Nkosi Ginindza and Nkosi Mamba, among others, were created in order to allow the King of Swaziland to marry a woman who otherwise would have been of his own clan, a Dlamini.

The Dlamini clan, and its subsidiary member clans, are known as *baka Tembe* (those from Tembe), a reference to the Tembe River from which their eponym originated. Other titles employed in the salutation of the Dlamini group of clans are: *Mlangeni*, *Weluhlanga*, *Hlubi lomuhle* and *Wena umhle kakhulu*.

The *Mdluli* clan, members of the Bemdzabuko group of the three Swazi national categories, is very important in the prescribed ceremonial and ritual roles of the nation. When a young king goes through the ceremony of acquiring his *tinsila* (two at any one time) one of them must be drawn from a well-known lineage of the Mdluli clan. The Mdluli *insila* (singular noun form) is the king's 'right-hand companion'.

An *insila*, in Swazi royal ritual, is a person who has been linked with the king in a special 'blood' ceremony. When the future king is approaching the age of puberty, the national councillors send for two youths of approximately the same age from the Mdluli and Motsa clans.

A ritual then takes place at the royal village which involves the making of incisions on each *insila* as well as on the young king in order to cause their blood to mix in the fresh cuts. Special medicine is then rubbed into the wounds. Into the cuts on the right side of the king is introduced the blood of the Mdluli *insila*, and into those on the left side of the King that of the Motsa *insila*. The theory behind the ritual is that any harm originally intended for the king will affect the *insila*, thus saving the king from injury or illness.

When the first pair of *tinsila* are old enough to marry, another two are chosen to take their place in the ritual. If needed, a third pair may be chosen. In all cases the right-hand *insila* must come from the Mdluli clan.

One of the most prominent members of the Mdluli clan was Queen Mother Gwamile, also known as Labotsibeni, principal wife to King Mbandzeni and grandmother to the present king. She died in 1925 after guiding the nation through a difficult period.

Another important Swazi clan is the *Magagula*. This clan is of Sotho origin and occupied the land near the Black Mbuluzi River at the time King Sobhuza I arrived from southern Swaziland and conquered it. According to contemporary oral traditions and the legends that gained wide currency, the Magagula clan was noted for its special potion used in rain-making. The legends relate that King Sobhuza I took most of this potion and entrusted it to the *Ndlovukazi* (Queen Mother), leaving only a little of it with the Magagula clan. The clan has remained important up to our time.

The *Ndwandwe* clan belongs to the Bembo-Nguni people who are closely related to the royal Dlamini clan of Swaziland. Separating from the group later to be known as the Swazi nation in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, they remained south of the Pongola River and occupied the land between the Pongola and Umfolozi rivers. Under the astute leadership of Zwide (Zidze), the Ndwandwe grew to become a strong and feared kingdom. As an act of diplomacy, King Sobhuza I asked for the hand of Thandile, Zidwe's daughter, in marriage. She became mother to the Swazi heir to the throne.

After the death of Zidze in battle against the Zulu regiments of Shaka, the Ndwandwe kingdom collapsed and the clans were either absorbed in the

new Zulu empire or scattered far and wide. Many war refugees fled to the land of Thandile, who became Queen Mother Lazidze of the Swazi nation. Thus the Ndwandwe, Nxumalo and Mkatswa clans of Swaziland came into being. The Jele clan of Zwangendaba and that of Soshangane migrated farther afield to avoid Shaka's military power.

The Ndwandwe clan of Swaziland has given the nation an illustrious line of Queen Mothers and, as Bemanti (People of the Water) and Belwandle (People of the Sea), they play a vital role in the *incwala* (ceremony of the first fruits) institution of the kingdom. Their sacred duty is to fetch river and sea water required in the conduct of the religious ceremony.

The Ndwandwe refugees, under the leadership of Madangala—a full brother of Thandile (Lazidze)—were given land on which to settle by King Sobhuza I in the Hhohho region, not far from the present Bhalekane. This place became known as Ebulandzeni (at the place of the in-laws). The descendants of Madangala still speak a dialect known as Singuni: a form of modified Natal Zulu. Another section of the Ndwandwe live at Elwandle, so-called because 'the people of the sea' occupy it. The Ndwandwe are part of the *emafikamuva* (the late-comers) to Swaziland.

Motsa is the name of one of the more significant clans of the kingdom principally because of the role this clan plays, as we observed earlier on, in the selection of one of the king's *tinsila*. Of Sotho-Pedi origin, the Motsa clan belongs to the first category of Swazi clans, namely the Emakhandzambili or 'those found ahead'. Apart from providing the king's first 'left-hand insila', the Motsa clan also provides the king's first 'left-hand queen'. This lady must, by custom, be the second in line of the king's wives.

The *Gama* clan belongs to the category of Swazi ethnic groups classified as Emakhandzambili ('those found ahead'), together with the Mnisi, Magagula, Mncina, Makhubu, Mashinini, Msimango, Motsa, Mahlangu, Gwebu, Bhembe, Zwane, Shongwe, Thabede, Shabalala, Maziya, Sifundza and Ngcamphalala. King Sobhuza I found these clans already settled in Swaziland when he arrived in the 1820s.

The Gama occupied the hilly country near the town of Mbabane, at a place called Dlangeni. When they had become fully incorporated into the Dlamini state structure under Sobhuza and his successors, the Gama were entrusted with the responsibility of custodians of the royal graves in the Mdzimba mountains. Legend also tells us that during the reign of Sobhuza I, the Gama gained a reputation for their ability to 'doctor' the Swazi regiments in preparation for battle. As a result of this Sobhuza decided to resettle some of the Gama near his administrative and military headquarters.

One of the clan names listed above under the Emakhandzambili was *Ngcamphalala*. J. S. M. Matsebula records that this clan, together with the Maziya and Sifundza, were part of the Embo-Nguni Bantu group whose

migrations had taken them to the Tembe River basin, on the eastern side of the Lubombo mountains. When Dlamini I and his brother, Hlubi, pressed farther on until they had reached the country to the south of the Pongola River, where the Bembo-Nguni further subdivided, the Ngcamphalala clan and a few others had remained in the Lubombo region.

For undisclosed reasons, this Nguni rearguard had drifted over the mountains to the western side of the Lubombo. It was while they were in this area that Sobhuza I, a descendant of Dlamini I, entered Swaziland two centuries later.

A Ngcamphalala informant stated that their clan name is a corruption of two words: *ingcamu* (provisions) and *iphelile* (exhausted or finished). It was a clumsy nickname given to them when their ancestors, short of food, were asking for help in a strange country. With time the two words were joined, necessitating a change in the acronym. First, their hosts in the new country simply referred to them as *baka Ingcamu iphelile* (those whose food provisions are exhausted); clearly showing a disinclination to learn their strange clan name.

The correct name was overshadowed by the nickname in the new country, and, with usage, evolved to become Ngcamphalala. All this, according to my informant, happened during the chieftainship of Mshikashika, who was then leader of the clan. The Ngcamphalala clan now occupies the land in the Big Bend and St Philip's Mission area. This is part of the Swaziland low veld.

The links between Swazi ethnonyms and toponyms and their relation to population migrations

The place-names and ethnonyms of Swaziland follow the general pattern of the nomenclature of other African regions, and, indeed, that of the rest of the world. Before the intrusion of the better-organized Dlamini clans into Swaziland during the middle of the eighteenth century, the region was the home of a constellation of small chiefdoms based on the clan principle of statehood. These were partly Ntungwa-Nguni and partly Sotho-Pedi. With the passage of time other clans, no doubt, grew out of a mixture of the two ethnic categories.

We saw at the beginning of this paper that the name Swaziland was a corruption of the name of the warrior king, Mswati II. The names of the two largest towns of the kingdom—Manzini and Mbabane—were derived from the first names of Chiefs Motsa and Kunene, respectively. Pigg's Peak comes from the name of the European settler, William Pigg, who discovered and initiated gold mining in the Hhohho district in 1884. Lavumisa was the name of a daughter of Zwide (the powerful king of the Ndwandwe) and mother of

Tsekwane; and now it is the name of the south-eastern border town. And Bremersdorp, the old official name of Manzini, was named after Albert Bremer, another European settler in Swaziland.

The links between ethnonyms and toponyms are obvious, judged by the few examples cited in the preceding paragraph. These links are closely related to the process of human migration in southern Africa. Furthermore, the ethnonyms and toponyms are also indices of the superordinate and subordinate roles assumed by different population groups over long periods of time.

It is also evident from the contents of this paper that the toponyms given by the Sotho-Pedi clans, who preceded the Dlamini group in Swaziland, have largely vanished, yielding place to the Nguni toponyms. Similarly, the vast majority of the prevailing ethnonyms of Swaziland are of Nguni extraction, clearly pointing to the social, political and economic success of the ruling Dlamini-Nguni clans over time.

The same phenomenon of change in names and population movements was demonstrated in the northward migration of men like Zwangendaba, Soshangane, Nxaba, Mzilikazi and Sebetwane from the core regions of the Nguni and Sotho societies during the nineteenth century. New place-names emerged in all those areas that were affected by these migrations. The pre-existing clan groups in the central African regions, who were affected most intensely by the new culture, wisely chose to adopt Nguni ethnonyms.

This cultural development was best demonstrated in south-western Rhodesia/Zimbabwe where the Shona clans adopted the Nguni custom of using the clan totem as a surname. Today many people who carry such surnames as Ndlovu, Mpofo, Ncube, Nkomo and Sibanda; and speak Sindebele are, in fact, Shona in origin. The toponym Ndebele is derived from the Sotho-Pedi dialects of the eastern Transvaal, through which Mzilikazi migrated.

Difficulties in the harmonization of the transcription of African names

Achieving harmony in the transcription of African ethnonyms and toponyms is a monumental task. First, time and circumstances have combined to erase the reasons behind the choice of many clan- and place-names. Second, human intervention in the form of wars and social integration has also obscured the original character of many African names. And third, the imposition of European culture and social ways on African societies through the colonial intrusion has had a profound impact on the nature and method of transcribing toponyms and ethnonyms in all African countries.

A few examples will suffice to demonstrate this point of view. In the early 1930s, the name of the present writer was written as follows: 'Zwinoira'.

In the late 1930s and throughout the 1940s, the first syllable was changed under a new official orthography and the name became 'Zinoira'. In the middle of the 1950s yet another change was introduced, as a result of the recommendations of a language Commission of Inquiry in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. The third version became 'Zvinoira'. Reasons of commercial economy were given to justify this change.

The most widespread clan-name in Swaziland is Dlamini. A few years ago the spelling of this name used to be Dhlamini. Clan-names in the Nguni group of languages such as Mtjali, Twala, Hlatjwako, Dliwayo, Mngometulu, Motsa and Mkhonta have all undergone transformation from the following forms: Mtshali, Thwala, Hlatshwayo, Dhliwayo, Mncomezulu, Mota (Motha) and Mkhonza. The list is endless.

Similarly the place-names of this south-eastern region of Africa have been subject to a process of evolution. The following names of places and rivers in Swaziland are illustrative of the difficulties encountered in the task of transcription. The names given in parentheses represent the old form of spelling: Ingwavuma (Gwevuma, Umgovuma, Inguvuma); Usutu (Uzuti, Lusutfu); Ngwempisi (Umquempisi); Lomati (Umkomazi); Umbeluzi (Umuluzi, Umwe-losi); Umtilane (Umtilaan); Mhlambanyati (Hlambaniati); Mozane (Hlozaan). These were all names of rivers recorded by Europeans. The following place-names are interesting: Swaziland (Zwazieland); Ludzidzini (Ludidi); Siteki (Stegi); Mankayane (Mankaiaan, Mankaiana); Lubombo (Lebombo, Lobombo); Mbabane (Embabaan); Gollel (Golela); Nomahasha (Namaacha, Lomahasha).

Suggestions for achieving harmony in transcription

The search for harmony in the transcription of African ethnonyms and toponyms is too big a task for the historians alone. The job calls for the co-operation of representatives of many disciplines, such as ethnographers, linguists, zoologists, botanists, sociologists, psychologists, geologists, geographers, archaeologists and palaeontologists. And even with this interdisciplinary team many clan names and place-names would still defy any solution.

Ideal answers to this problem are beyond our reach. But there is great scope for positive results provided the necessary teamwork in the writing of African history is generated. In the case of Swaziland a good look at the nineteenth-century migrations of both the African and European groups is essential to an understanding of the evolution and transformation of clan-names and place-names.

African ethnonymy and toponymy: reflections on decolonization

Olabiya Yai

Since it is a continent with an economy largely dominated by foreign interests, Africa is today lagging behind other continents in intellectual and research activities. Our universities and research institutions are sometimes African only in name. Even when their research programmes are designed by Africans and aimed at meeting the needs of African populations, which is more of an exception than the rule, they are rarely conducted in African languages. Scientific discourse on Africa takes place almost always in non-African languages, which increases all the more our intellectual dependence.

The unavoidable consequence of this unfortunate situation is that Africa contributes to the metalinguistic wealth of European science. What has come to be rightly called African studies brings new concepts into the established sciences of Europe, America and elsewhere, which renews and sometimes develops the subject-matter content of these sciences. Hence, in ethnology, sociology, medicine and linguistics, new concepts have been introduced after a detailed study of African societies, past and present, and are now a part of the basic vocabulary of these sciences.

It would be unwise, however, to limit the scope of the subject of discussion to the fundamental problem of metalanguage. The evil is more pervasive, more general, so deep-rooted that we are unaware or only superficially aware of it, which amounts to the same thing. It even extends to African proper names and we know the significance which names have in many African civilizations.

The very name that is given to the continent, Africa, and which no African would dream of changing today, was in fact given to it by non-African powers. This is the measure of the seriousness of the situation: Africa does not yet have a name, or no longer has one. We are called, we are named just like a child is given a name and who, like a child, do not have a say in the

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choice of our own name. It is in this context that the problem of ethnonyms and toponyms in Africa should be seen.

It goes without saying that a *General History of Africa*, if it is to be a history of African peoples which aims at scientific truth, cannot content itself with observing a state of affairs and blessing it. In other words, decolonization is required. Recent African history is not lacking in the all too frequent, hasty, unfortunate and clamorous 'decolonization' of ethnic names and place-names. We would like to suggest a few basic principles which should govern the real decolonization of African ethnonyms and toponyms.

A glance at the map of Africa shows that many of the names of African countries are of non-African origin such as Sierra Leone, Cameroon, Liberia, the Ivory Coast, Cape Verde, Upper Volta, South Africa, Nigeria, etc., to mention only a few.

History books are full of names of countries and nations which are so different from the names which the inhabitants of the countries use for them that they are locally incomprehensible.

Nevertheless, without an accurate designation of African peoples and the places where they have lived in the past, and in the absence of an accurate system of transcription, there is no satisfactory way of describing the population movements and migrations in pre-colonial Africa. Migrations took place on a wider scale than historians would have us believe despite physical and climatic factors and the low level of technology in Africa to which the historians give an exaggerated importance.

It would be a daring enterprise to attempt to give an overall view of the phenomena of migrations in Africa on the basis of ethnonyms and toponyms. Historical studies in African linguistics, in spite of significant progress achieved over the last few decades, have not yet brought about the conditions which would be necessary for such an enterprise to be fruitful.

Therefore, we shall deal only with the study of an individual case of this type, in the hope that it will serve as a paradigm and that future research, based on the suggestions briefly outlined here and concerning a wider cultural area, will make it possible to arrive at a greater degree of generalization.

Our microstudy deals with the people who are called the Yoruba. When travelling around the land of the Yoruba and in the territories occupied by their neighbours, it is not uncommon to note the recurrence of certain place-names and ethnic names.

If we combine data from oral tradition and the findings of historical linguistics, it would be possible to suggest that the cradle of Yoruba civilization is to be found to the north or north-east of the territory at present occupied by them. The *oriki* genre (unsatisfactorily translated into English as 'praise poetry' and into French as *devise*) provides valuable information on certain

lineages such as the Olukoyi, Ojè, Olowu and Olufe, their occupations, and their geographical location. Oral literature provides evidence that these various lineages make up most of the various ethnic groups which form a sizeable part of the Yoruba nation today. Let us give a few examples. Ifè is recognized as having been the capital of the Yoruba country since the earliest times. Apart from the various Ifè referred to in *Ifà* divinatory poetry (Ifè Onàyè, Otu Ifè, etc.), there are several other places which bear the same name today in Nigeria, in the People's Republic of Benin and in Togo. In every case, the name designates a place, a language and an ethnic group.

The same can be said of Ado which is supposed to have been the birth-place of Orùnmilà, the Yoruba deity of divination. Is this the Ado in Ekiti territory, Ado-Odo in the Egbado region or Ado Ibini (now Benin City)? Similar questions arise with regard to Ketu, Sàbèé, Oyo, Ajasè, which are to be found both in Nigeria and in the People's Republic of Benin and each of which designates at the same time a town, an ethnic group and a territory.

The question arises, therefore, of the direction in which the migrations occurred. Which was the ethnic group that gave birth to the others and where was its original homeland? What was the route it followed?

These are the enigmas which scholars of African history are faced with and which linguistics, through a careful study of ethnonyms and toponyms, can help to solve.

With regard to Yoruba, there are a number of linguistic factors which provide an indication of the direction of the migration.

First, the determiner *ilé* or *orilé* when prefixing or suffixing a toponym, in accordance with certain syntactic and/or euphonic rules, probably indicates the origin. *Ilé* means 'house', with the connotation of 'estate' or home, therefore origin. Although there are several examples of *Ifé* in Yoruba territory, there is only one *Ilé-Ifé*. Similarly, several Ketu are to be found in Nigeria, but there is only one *Ilé-Ketu*, in the People's Republic of Benin. Other illustrations of this abound.

Second, determiners such as *àgo* (camp), *oko* (farm), *egan* (field), and *ode* (outside, exterior) when prefixing or suffixing an ethnonym or a toponym indicate that it is always a case of re-creation, therefore a destination or stage in migration. All these terms contrast with *ilé* as localities of secondary importance, implying a departure from the house (origin). Thus, there is Agodoyo (camp which has become New Oyo) to designate the town of Oyo and the surrounding area after the destruction of Old Oyo (Oyo *Ilé*) by the Fulani warriors.

Lastly, some Yoruba migrants were assimilated into non-Yoruba populations. This phenomenon of osmosis of various ethnic groups resulted in a population which was more or less bilingual.

Toponyms could therefore survive the total integration of the Yoruba

population by host ethnic groups. This would seem to have been the case with regard to the Igbominà Yoruba group assimilated by the Mahi population in the central region of the People's Republic of Benin. Gbomina, the name of the ethnic group, serves through aphaeresis as a toponym, concurrently with the Mahi toponym (Glazoué).

In most cases, hybrid toponyms and ethnonyms were formed which remain as historical evidence even after the cultural assimilation of the incoming Yoruba migrants. There are, therefore, cases of toponymy based on a linguistic mixture, i.e. the name of the Yoruba ethnic group plus a determiner in another language, e.g. *kome*=district; Nago=Yoruba. Thus Nagokome; and cases of toponymy in the form of a linguistic calque, i.e. the Yoruba toponym is translated into the language of the surrounding population. In this case, the Yoruba toponym may survive and the local population, bilingual more often than not, may use both names, e.g. Idààsà Iqbo (the equivalent of 'Idààsà-underwood' in English) translated into Fon and assimilated phonologically in the form of Sasa zume (=Dasa in the forest, known administratively today as Dassa-Zoume in the People's Republic of Benin).

The analytic approach in relation to the Yoruba outlined above, although brief, provides, nevertheless, a clear indication of the method to be followed if linguistic science is to be used for tracing the migration patterns of African peoples through toponyms and ethnonyms. It would certainly be of interest to apply this method to specific cultural areas so as to account for the identity of toponyms and ethnonyms, semantic similarities and correspondences between ethnonyms and toponyms in different cultural areas and phonological and semantic correspondences between ethnonyms and toponyms from areas culturally and geographically remote but where it could be presumed that relations of profound historical significance existed.

First of all, certain conditions must be created for such an analysis to be possible. The harmonization of the transcription of African ethnonyms and toponyms poses many problems, some of which are fortunately quite unreal.

It should be again recalled that this harmonization is essentially a problem of decolonization. One does not have the means to use toponyms and ethnonyms to clarify the historical phenomenon of migration in pre-colonial Africa except through a twofold process of decolonization. First, through an analysis in depth of the authenticity of African names, and second, through the choice of an appropriate transcription system for African languages which reflects at one and the same time the specific characteristics of each and the unity of all.

In-depth decolonization

We stated earlier that Africa no longer has an indigenous name. This is simply due to the fact that colonization confers on the colonizer the psychological inclination to see a right or duty to exploit, and which J. L. Calvet has so aptly called 'the right to give a name'. And thus, thanks to exploitation, Africa was given a Gold Coast, a Cameroon, several Guineas, a Sudan, etc. Africans unwittingly became Togolese, Bushmen or Boschimans, Bantus, Kaffirs, and so on. The colonizer gave names to places and peoples on hearsay, therefore in a very rough-and-ready fashion, if he did not re-christen them in an altogether fantastic manner.

It would be wrong to think that the right to give names was a phenomenon contemporaneous with European colonization. African peoples themselves on occasion, either through contempt and/or a superiority complex, gave a nickname to a neighbouring people and the territory it inhabited. The European settlers sometimes merely recorded and subsequently popularized such nicknames through the workings of officialdom, especially when such names had been coined by peoples who assisted them in their colonizing venture. Furthermore, before any transcription of African names is undertaken, it would be fitting to give back to places and peoples their authentic names, which means giving back to every African race the name it uses to designate itself and the region in which it lives. The right to decide on one's own name is a natural, inalienable right of all peoples.

Once this first stage of decolonization has been achieved, it will then be possible to undertake the task of decolonizing and harmonizing the transcriptions of African ethnonyms and toponyms.

Formal decolonization

The haphazard, occasionally whimsical nature of the transcription of African toponyms and ethnonyms is most disconcerting. The same names vary from one publication to another and even from one page to the next within the same publication. These variations may be such as to cast doubt, in some cases, on the quality of the historian's work. On more careful examination, however, it has to be admitted that the situation could hardly be otherwise. How, indeed, could one expect a minimum of harmonization in the spelling of African names when dealing with historians who are as remote from each other in terms of time, distance, training, inspiration, aims and temperament as Cavazzi, Burton, Caille, Horton, Koelle, Ajayi and Obenga, for example? There are numerous obstacles in the way of harmonization of transcriptions of African ethnonyms and toponyms. Let us look at just a few of them.

The nationality of the historian is one factor. The same name will be written differently according to whether the historian is British, German, French, Portuguese, Dutch, Italian, etc., or an African educated in the language of a colonizing power who has the inclination for reforming a spelling which he feels to be faulty.

The fact that historical discourse on Africa has almost invariably been in non-African languages and has had a history of its own constitutes in itself an obstacle.

Every country possesses a tradition in the transcription of African ethnonyms and toponyms. Although they may be aware of the work of historians of Africa in other countries, there is an overriding allegiance of the historians to the traditions and orthographical standards of their own countries. As 'the written word is carved in stone', a defective system of transcription of ethnic names and place-names, even though its inaccuracy may be widely recognized, always has a repressive effect and becomes imposed on generations of scholars.

It was only in the 1930s that real progress took place in linguistics in the matter of transcription; in other words, at a time when the traditions of transcription of African ethnonyms and toponyms had already been firmly established.

The historian of pre-colonial Africa, an explorer, a merchant, a missionary or even a professional historian, had rarely received a rudimentary training in linguistics. His transcription of African names was therefore necessarily an amateur one, with distorting features whose causes were threefold.

First, his own mother tongue, which he used for transcribing African names. Often, the spelling systems of European languages were not suitable for an accurate transcription of African names, since European languages possess phonological systems which are typologically very remote from those of African languages.

Second, lack of first-hand information. Historians transcribed African names, not after direct inquiries made of peoples who were the bearers of the names, but after collecting information from neighbouring peoples or on the basis of information supplied by persons originally from these neighbouring areas.

Third, the linguistic and racial prejudices of the historian and the absence of any motivation for the harmonization of transcription systems for African ethnonyms and toponyms.

In view of the fact that the authors of historical studies on Africa were not themselves Africans, it is hardly surprising that they did not perceive the political and scientific value of harmonizing various methods of transcription. Now that the peoples of Africa have regained what Césaire has called their 'right to decide', the harmonization of transcriptions of African names has become a political and scientific necessity.

Before suggesting a number of guidelines for the harmonization of transcriptions of African ethnonyms and toponyms, I would like to give a sample of African names taken from works on African history written in English, French and Portuguese. It is hoped that these examples will suffice to show the reader the chaos in ethnonymy and toponymy which I deplored earlier on. They also illustrate the problems briefly mentioned above.

TABLE 1. English, French and Portuguese renderings of African names

English	French	Portuguese
Aja	Adja	Ajà
Hausa, Hawsa	Haoussa	Ussà, Auça, Hauça
Ashantee, Asante, Ashanti	Achanti, Ashanti	Axante, Achanti
Bambara, Baumana	Bambara	Bambara
Borno, Bornu	Bornou	Bornu
Jolof, Djolof	Jolof, Ouolof	Jolof, Yelofe
Damargu, Damergu	Damerghou	—
Grusi	Gourounsi	Gurunxi, Grunce
Twi	Twi	Odji, Tshi
Songhai	Sonrhai, Songhay	—
Wagadu, Wagadugu	Ouagadougou	Uagadugu
Bamun	Pa'mom, Bamoun, Pahouin	Bamun
Manika	Manica, Manika	Manice
Monomotapa, MonoMwana, Mutapa, Mwene Mutapa	Monomotapa	Banacutuba
Zimbabwe, Symbaoë	Zimbabwe, Zimbaboué	Zimbabue
Benguela, Pangela	Benguela	Benguela
Benguèla, Pangela	Benguela	Benguela
Arada	Allada, Arda, Ardres	Ardra
Fante, Fanti, Fantee	Fanti, Fante	Fante
Ketu	Kétou	Kéto, Ketu, Queto
Ijesha, Ijesa	Jecha, Ijecha	Igexà, Gexà, Igesà
Benin, Bini	Bénin	Benim
Makalanga	Karanga	Calanga
Zanzibar	Zanguebar, Zanzibar	—
Whydah	Ouidah, Whydah	Ajuda
Sosso, Susu	Soussou	Susu
Nupe, Tapa	Tapa, Noupé	Nupe, Nifé, Nufé
Cabinda, Kabenda	Cabinda	Cabinda
Kàsands, Kasanji	Cassanges	Cassanges, Kasanje, Kasanzi
Ewe, Ewhe	Evé, Ewé	Evé, Ehwé, Ewé

Suggestions for the harmonization of African ethnonyms and toponyms

First, let us repeat once again that at the present stage in the history of the peoples of Africa, the harmonization of transcriptions of place-names and ethnic names is one aspect of the overall struggle for decolonization. Consequently, any proposal for harmonization should be viewed unequivocally in terms of decolonization.

Second, every nation has the right to be called by the name by which it designates itself.

Third, place-names should be designated by names employed by local populations for them. In territories which two African nations share, each designating the same places differently, both names should be retained, one of which could be written in brackets.

Let us now examine the options open to us in the task of harmonizing ethnonyms and toponyms.

The straightforward adoption of the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet could be envisaged. The IPA has the advantage of being internationally recognized in scientific circles. The major drawbacks are, first, that its adoption would constitute a 'linguist's solution' to the problem, as it would assume that every historian or indeed every reader of the *General History of Africa* was acquainted with phonetics. A second drawback is that the IPA symbols are not simple, since they have numerous diacritical signs. As the main concern of those who fostered the IPA was not harmonization of African names, it is not surprising that these symbols do not answer the current need for simplicity and uniformity in transcription of African names. This solution will therefore be discarded.

Another possible solution could be the adoption of the symbols of the Africa Alphabet of the International African Institute (IAI), as laid down in Memorandum No. I, entitled *Practical Orthography of African Languages* (Oxford University Press, 1930). They have the advantage of being simple and practical and give proof, on the part of those who devised them, of a degree of familiarity with some of the peculiarities of African languages. The IAI's proposals, however, date back to 1930. In the words of the authors, 'it is hardly necessary to add that there still remain many African sounds for which we are not yet in a position to make recommendations' (p. 7). Research in African linguistics has advanced considerably since 1930, and a number of independent African states have come into existence during the last two decades, adding a new dimension in the approach to the transcription of African languages. Thus a third option suggests itself and of which we approve and which comprises the following: (a) the transcription of African names in the official alphabet if one exists; (b) the promotion for the whole of Africa of

a stock of symbols (a single alphabet) for the transcription of ethnonyms and toponyms in those African languages which do not yet possess an alphabet and/or an officially recognized orthography of their own.

This proposal needs further explanation in so far as it would seem to be based on two apparently contradictory principles. Why not stick to the principle stated above which calls for harmonization on a continental scale? Is not the very essence of harmonization rejected by transcription in existing alphabets? The answer is that harmonization of transcriptions constitutes a decolonizing act as mentioned earlier and it can only reflect the inconsistencies and the different levels of development of the political and cultural struggle in present-day Africa.

How could Unesco impose a transcription system on a Member State that already has an alphabet and a standardized orthography for its official language, especially when no provision is made in the law for its revision or improvement?¹ Consequently, for such languages as Swahili, Hausa, Fon, Tamasheq, Songhay, etc., proper names and technical terms relating to regions where they are spoken would be transcribed in their respective official spellings. The principles stated above, although theoretically contradictory, are empirically reconcilable and convergent. In actual fact, languages with an alphabet and a standardized spelling are few in Africa. Furthermore, the alphabet and spelling system of these languages are generally adequate in relation to their phonological systems and will not raise any significant difficulties for harmonization with other African languages. The simplicity of their graphic systems can be accounted for either by the fact that their phonological scope is relatively simple in relation to that of the descriptors which, moreover, have a basic linguistic structure as in the case of Yoruba and Swahili, or because their alphabet being recent, it was preceded by descriptive phonological research, often conducted in collaboration with Unesco experts as in the case of Songhay, Fon, Tansheq, etc.

In conclusion, one can say that our proposal respects the sovereignty of states while providing for effective harmonization.

Now that the justification for our proposal has been outlined, the time has come to state the fundamental principles for an all-African continental alphabet. Our intention, here, is to put forward a few clear principles, without entering into technical details. Although there is a shortage of reliable scientific information on most of the languages of Africa, which means that a cautious approach is called for, we already have many more facts at our command than the linguists of the generation that established the basis of the Africa alphabet in 1930. What we already know of African languages, both in terms of their origin and their typology, already allows for a certain number of generalizations and at any rate guarantees the scientific character of a stock of symbols for the whole African continent. Furthermore, thanks to Unesco, we inherit the

results of two decades of research and experiments in the field, concerning the transcription of African languages, in which African linguists participated.² Simplicity and African unity must be the guiding principles for the harmonization of African names. A stock of symbols should be constituted with the following characteristics: there should be a symbol for every phoneme (this principle will adjust the diaphones for dialectal continuity); the symbols should be optimally distinct from each other and the list should avoid diacritical signs wherever possible; the same phoneme will be symbolized by the same grapheme in all the African languages where it is found.

Some problems of morphosyntax

Problems of harmonizing the transcriptions of African ethnonyms and toponyms, contrary to what etymology suggests, are not limited to the grammatical category of nouns. The names of countries and, especially, of peoples in Africa, when used as determinants of another noun, are likely to undergo morphological modifications in accordance with the grammatical rules of the European language in which a given historical document is written. This is particularly true of Romance languages, which require agreement in gender and number. Here, the question of decolonization arises yet again. Should the determinants remain invariable or should they vary in accordance with the grammatical rules of European languages? In other words, should we speak, for instance, of *une armée danxoméenne*, of *la patrie oulove* in French or of *los Kalabariés* (singular, Kalabari) in Spanish?

In a publication on African ethnonyms in Brazil, a Brazilian linguist stated the problem quite unequivocally by referring to the orthographical agreement between Brazil and Portugal in 1943. The 1943 Orthographical Agreement recommended that commonly used proper names of foreign origin should be assimilated into Portuguese, wherever possible, in accordance with established standards for common nouns, but with due consideration to forms already established by common usage.³ An illustration of this is to be found in the example of *as linguas bantas* (the Bantu languages), where the masculine singular form is *banto*.

To avoid any arbitrary assimilation and anarchical processes likely to misrepresent African ethnonyms and toponyms, we would recommend that the original African name be retained. Accordingly, it would be advisable to say: the Yoruba, *la nation Wolof*, *les langues bantu*, *los Kalabari*, instead of: the Yorubas, *la nation oulove*, *les langues bantoues*, *los Kalabaries*, or *los Calabaries* as common usage dictates.

One must take into account another aspect of the problem. An African

language, on account of its grammatical structure, can require a prefix or a suffix, for example, as is the case in languages with classes. Here again, the identity of the African peoples must be respected. Scholars writing the history of a nation should acquire at least a rudimentary knowledge of its language. This is an ethical obligation and a sign of respect for the peoples of Africa. Accordingly, it would be preferable to speak of Kikongo rather than of the Congolese language, and to refer to a Mukongo instead of a Bacongo or a Congolese, etc.

It should not be forgotten, however, that such practices would be little more than temporary solutions, at best of a somewhat makeshift nature. The real solution to the problems of morphosyntax lies in the conduct of scientific discussion *in* the African languages themselves, which would have the effect of making our suggestions quite superfluous, which for the time being may well be regarded as harshly nationalistic.

Dead languages (such as Ancient Egyptian, for instance) constitute a special case, for which there is no basis for any radical decolonization. It is to be hoped, however, that African specialists in these areas (Egyptology, for instance) will seek to concert their efforts and take a united stand in relation to their colleagues from other continents so as to impose transcription methods that are as plausible as possible in scientific terms. What must be avoided in all circumstances is the allegiance on the part of the individual African scholar to the traditions of the colonial power, whose language he happens to use, by accident of history.

Another special case of this kind is the question of the transliteration of Arabic in Latin script. Wherever this is required, a special effort should be made to ensure that the Latin spelling renders the Arabic sounds as near to the original as possible.⁴

In this field too, traditional practice needs to be reviewed.

With a view to solving all these problems, together with any others which may arise in the process of drafting the *General History of Africa*, we would like to suggest that a five-member Commission of African Linguists be set up to advise the International Scientific Committee. The task of the commission would be to help the committee to ensure an accurate transcription or retranscription of ethnonyms and toponyms, in accordance with the principles put forward in these pages, after they have been discussed and amended by the committee. A commission composed of five members may appear to be too large, but this size is quite justified in view of the breadth and diversity of African languages and the fact that few specialists can boast of more than a somewhat superficial knowledge of the intricacies of African linguistics outside their own cultural area. The composition of the commission could be as follows: an Arabist and Egyptologist; a linguist specialized in the languages of the west coast of Africa, Songhay and Mandé; a specialist in the Kwa and

Voltaic languages; a specialist in the Bantu languages; a linguist specialized in the Khoi and unclassified languages.

The members of the commission should preferably be bilingual (with English and French at least, and possibly Italian and Portuguese) and should have some experience of Unesco meetings on the problems of literacy in African languages.

It is our belief that if the work of the commission is guided by the principles of decolonization and African unity to which we have given considerable emphasis throughout this paper, the International Scientific Committee could be legitimately proud of a transcription of ethnonyms and toponyms which comes up to the expectations of the peoples of Africa at this stage in their history.

Notes

1. My own opinion differs somewhat from that which has been put forward here. With regard to the problems of transcription, I have stated earlier and would repeat again that the masses in Africa have been excluded from all the theoretical and practical discussion of orthography. As Alfa I. Sow so rightly pointed out in his *Langues et politiques de langues en Afrique noire, l'expérience de l'Unesco* (Paris, Éditions Nubia, 1977): 'There is virtually no African language today, including the leading vehicular languages, which can yet claim to possess a well-established orthography, which could endure strict critical examination' (p. 27). It should be added that the aim should be to *create* an orthographical tradition rather than reform spelling systems, because if the problem is studied strictly from the point of view of the African masses, then no language whatsoever has ever been subjected to daily use to such a degree that it could be said to have reached a point of no return of orthographical development. Nevertheless, one may well ask what influence the masses have on the decisions taken by the ruling élites in Africa? Here lies the root of the problem.
2. For further information, consult the excellent publication edited by Alfa I. Sow (op. cit.). An example of harmonization on a regional scale is encountered in the findings of the Séminaire Régional de Normalisation et d'Harmonisation des Alphabets des Langues de la Sous-région Comprenant le Dahomey, le Ghana, la Haute-Volta, le Niger, le Nigéria et le Togo, published in a special number of the *Bulletin de la Commission Nationale Dahoméenne pour l'UNESCO*, 1976.
3. Yeda Pessao de Castro, '*Etnônimos africanos e formas occorrentes no Brasil*', *Afro Asia*, Salvador (Brazil), Centre for African and Oriental Studies, Universidade Federal da Bahia, 1968.
4. Arabic has been deliberately excluded from discussion in this paper as Arab Africa constitutes a uniform cultural entity, at least as regards the problems which concern us in this instance, that is to say, it possesses a common written language with a traditionally homogeneous transcription system. In our view, the problems of Arab Africa stand apart from those of Black Africa. Furthermore, the author of this paper, being quite illiterate in Arabic, does not feel in any way competent to deal with such a topic. The fact remains, however, that the principles of decolonization underlined here are valid for all of Africa.

Some problems of African onomastics: toponymy, anthroponymy and ethnonymy

Pierre Alexandre

The official 1:500,000 map of Cameroon in use before independence showed, on the main road from Yaoundé to Bafia, a large village with the resounding name of Ambadaboum, which was peculiar for never having existed in living memory. That it remained on the map may have been due to administrative inertia, to the peculiar sense of humour of some draughtsman or to carelessness. In any case, the example is typical of certain practices which, although in decline for some years, have by no means altogether disappeared. We cannot hold topographers and cartographers alone responsible for them, unless they themselves assume de facto responsibility by refusing to co-operate with social scientists, and in particular with linguists. Even if this co-operation existed in fact it still would not in itself be sufficient to resolve delicate problems, with political and sometimes even international implications.

Problems of toponymy will be sketched at three levels of analysis: countries; towns and regions; physical features and designation of localities or villages. There are no fundamental differences between these three levels—from the strictly linguistic point of view. This is a practical approach which corresponds to the scale of existing maps (from the world atlas to the large-scale battle-map) and to the political and other decisions which have been taken or will be taken at these three levels. It will be agreed, for example, if only from the point of view of chancelleries and the editorial offices of the world press, that it is more important to take note of the change of name from Dahomey to Benin than it is to know whether the name of a Cameroonian village is spelt Nkoltutu or N'Koletoutou.

As regards names of states, they can be divided into three main categories, with others classified as being in an intermediate or mixed situation.

First there are purely African names, some of which designate modern states corresponding exactly or almost exactly to pre-colonial national entities, e.g. Lesotho, Rwanda and Burundi. In other cases the name of the modern

state is that of a larger historical entity: thus present-day Mali represents only the core or heartland of the medieval empire of the same name. Conversely, the historical entity whose name has been revived or retained may only correspond to a part of the modern state: this is the case with Dahomey (now Benin) and Uganda. We must also note that these names are neither purely African nor purely local. 'Dahomey' is a French distortion of the Fon name 'Danhomé'; 'Uganda' is the name in Kiswahili (but not in Luganda) for the kingdom of Buganda. Lastly, and with similar reservations, historical names are applied to states which were not, or were only marginally, a part of the historical entities of the same name. Thus Benin, which is named after the Edo-Bini kingdom, is situated entirely outside the historical frontiers of that kingdom, and Ghana, of which only the northern part seems to have come under the sovereignty of the ruler thus named by medieval Arab authors. Here again we are dealing not with purely African names but with one of the mixed terms referred to above.

On the other hand some states have purely European names either inherited from the colonial period, such as Ivory Coast and Rhodesia (whose African name is Zimbabwe), or altered since, such as the Central African Republic and the Republic of the Upper Volta. There is not much to say about them from the linguistic point of view, and we will not dwell on them here.

The most frequent case is that of Europeanized African names or Africanized European names. There are many examples—too many for all to be mentioned. 'Sudan' is an Anglicization of part of the Arabic phrase, *Bilād as-Sudān* ('country of the blacks'); 'Senegal' is no doubt a Gallicization of the Berber Sanhaja; and 'Cameroun', 'Cameroon', or 'Kamerun' (the spelling has political overtones) comes from the Portuguese Rio dos Camarões, 'crayfish river'. 'Zaire' no doubt comes from the Portuguese version of the Kikongo *nZadi*; and 'Nigeria' is an Anglo-Latinization of an uncertain etymon, perhaps Arabo-African. 'Tanzania' is an Anglo-Bantu composite word formed from 'Tanganyika' and 'Zanzibar', respectively Europeanized Bantu and Europeanized Arabo-Bantu (?). The series 'Guinée' and 'Guinea' represents the Romanization of an uncertain etymon, probably Berber. The list once again is incomplete. These Eurafrikan names have one feature in common: they are generally accepted by the authorities and the inhabitants of the countries concerned. Eurafrikan names raise rather more problems than the purely European names. The main problem relates to international usage, the postal service being an example.

This problem really is common to all the three categories of names. In other words, should an English-speaking person writing to Abidjan put 'Ivory Coast' on the envelope rather than 'Côte d'Ivoire'? Is a French-speaking journalist who writes 'Liberia' (or Libéria) and 'Nigeria' (or Nigéria) entitled to gallicize 'Tanzanie' and 'Ouganda' despite the departure from locally

accepted spellings? European usage varies. Traditionally, it tends to ignore the national spelling of the country's name, thus España/Espagne/Spain/Spanien/Spagna; England/Angleterre/Inghilterra/Inglaterra and so on. On the other hand modern usage, in France at any rate, tends in certain ideological circumstances to prefer the vernacular forms: thus Kampuchea for Cambodge (Cambodia), Bangladesh for Bengale (Bengal), and even Kamerun (a spelling which in fact is either German or phonetic) for Cameroon. International agreements on postal deliveries stipulate the use of the Roman alphabet for international services and the usage of the country of origin for geographical terms. Some countries, however, reject or have rejected these usages, for instance Kemalist Turkey, where letters addressed to 'Stamboul' (and *a fortiori* to 'Constantinople') were thrown away.

As regards large towns and perhaps to a lesser extent major administrative divisions (regions and provinces), the situation is very similar to that obtaining for names of states, and the same classification applies, namely: (a) *purely African names* such as Bujumbura, Kigali, Ouagadougou, Kinshasa, etc.; (b) *European (or Euramerican) names* such as Monrovia, Freetown, Libreville, Port-Gentil, Porto-Novo, Lagos, etc. (also *Arabic names* such as Dar es Salaam); (c) *deformed African names*, in all probability, for the majority of large towns: Dakar, Cotonou, Yaoundé, Nairobi, Mogadishu, etc. (for example the old name 'Usumbura' (Kiswahili) instead of 'Bujumbura' (Kirundi)).

As regards the administrative divisions, we can often distinguish between European-invented names, on the one hand, which are usually linked to a geographical feature or sometimes have an ethnic reference, and traditional African names on the other, which are often names of a pre-colonial socio-political entity, at times partly Europeanized.

Examples of the first type include such areas as Cap Vert (Senegal), Estuaire (Gabon), Bahr-el-Ghazal (Sudan) and Haut Mbomou (Central African Republic) which carry a geographical reference; and Bafia and Bamiléké (Cameroon), are names with an ethnic reference. The second type includes Barotseland (Anglicization of Balozi) in Zambia, Bunyoro and Ankole in Uganda, and Ashanti (Anglicization of Asante) in Ghana. As regards administrative divisions, it is often hard to know where to place them in our three-level classification, especially when they are designated by the name of their principal town (we fall back to the category 'large towns') or by an African geographical term, which takes us to the following category, namely villages or physical features (mountains and rivers, etc.).

As regards villages and small settlements, the names shown on maps are often very close to the real African names, allowance being made for errors of transcription, which often stem from phonological differences between the language of the cartographer and that of the inhabitants. An example is Palimé and Bafilo in Togo, where the initial letter has been rendered by a

simple bilabial stop /p/ or /b/ because the appropriate labiovelar phonemes /kp/ and /gb/ do not exist in German, English or French. Errors can also arise from a change in the ruling colonial power. Whereas the German Jaunde (the Basaa/Mbéne name for Ewondo or Yewondo ethnic group) quite correctly became the French Yaoundé, on the other hand Anecho, in which the German *ch* rendered the vernacular /x/ reasonably well, is somewhat unrecognizable in French, where the same digraph represents a /š/ sound unknown in the local phonology. Quite a common cause of toponymic error is the fact that when a cartographer asks 'What villages is this?' he may receive a reply on the lines of 'It's mine' or 'It's my home' or 'It is Mr someone's' or 'It's Mr someone's home'. This is in fact the origin of the Cameroonian toponyms Nanga Eboko (which should actually be spelt Nnanga), Lolodorf (a fine Afro-European example) and Wongan ('ours', actually *enwongan*). In any case, these names do sometimes correspond to a specific social reality, in which the villages, or rather the relatively ephemeral communal dwelling-places, actually bore the name of their founder, or of the chief of the lineage group which lives there. This is particularly common among nomadic and semi-nomadic societies, even when they have become sedentarized. It may also happen that a village has two different names belonging to different languages. This is found *inter alia* in the former empire of Sokoto, where the Fulani or Hausa name of a place often differs from its 'pagan' one, which is the one used by the indigenous inhabitants from a serf or subject ethnic group. It thus happens that the maps quite wrongly show places with more than one name as two places.

Major geographical features, especially large rivers, lakes or mountain chains, almost always have more than one name, often with no obvious relationship between them. To say nothing of the Nile or the Niger, even a small coastal river of no great length such as the Rio Campo-Ntem has three or four names for different stretches of its course. Hence the need for arbitrary names designating their whole course from source to mouth, without distinguishing one bank from the other—the Congo for the right bank of the Zaire, or perhaps the Zaire for the left bank of the Congo. All the great watercourses now have such names, either European (Nile), Afro-European (Senegal, and perhaps Niger) or Europeanized African (Congo/Zaire and Zambezi/Zambéze). The question is less straightforward for the lakes, to which the European explorers gave European names (now rejected). They also tended to be unlucky when they tried to use vernacular terms, resulting in 'Lake Lake' (the former Nyasa) and 'Lake Victoria Lake' (the former Victoria Nyanza). It is rather like Mount Kilimanjaro, which should be either Mount Njaro or Kilima Njaro, but not 'Mount Mount Njaro'. The trouble with nearly all the great lakes is that the choice of an agreed name presents both an international and an inter-ethnic problem: the former Lake Victoria comes

under the sovereignty of three states, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania, and in each of the three has several names according to the ethnic groups living on its shores. The solution here must be found in the diplomatic sphere rather than in the academic sphere. It is a matter for the Organization of African Unity or for regional organizations.

For less-important places and geographical features the situation is similar to that of villages, i.e. the names shown on maps usually (subject to the reservations above) give a not too imprecise rendering of the local names. I have related elsewhere the anecdote about the sketch map of the itinerary of the Cottes mission (1912), on which a whole series of rivers and streams on the United Republic of Cameroon/Gabon border were called 'Dilo', 'Silo' or 'Sidilo'. It is only fair to say that the 1:200,000 map published by the French Institut Géographique National has not repeated this splendid solecism. Unfortunately many of its corrections are pretty well incomprehensible or unusable because of the particularly disconcerting character of the Fang language to the ear of an ordinary Frenchman, even an engineer-geographer. The point of course holds good for the other place-names in the same area, and again emphasizes the importance of not leaving toponymy entirely to professional topographers.

For an orthodox linguist (which I am not) the only orthographical problem would be choosing between a phonetic alphabet, which is more immediately and internationally available and quicker to introduce, and a phonemic alphabet, which is more scientific and keeps closer to the inner structure of each of the languages used. The only possible alphabet to adopt would be the Jones and Passy International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), which is used today in the great majority of scientific publications and for the initiated is an invaluable, not to say indispensable, working and reference tool. For the uninitiated, unfortunately (which means virtually all literate human beings), it ri'menz a 'litl mis'tiriəs o 'ivən, disk'sztiŋ. In other words it remains a little mysterious and even disconcerting. The objection admittedly has little force for those languages which have not yet been transcribed. People would learn to read directly in this alphabet, and each language would only use those characters in it which correspond to its own particular phonetics or phonology. Comprehensibility, or rather international direct access, would still not be improved in any real sense, given the material difficulties involved and their financial implications. IPA type is very costly, the matrices are available in only a very few foundries, and the conversion of Linotype machines and typewriters is delicate and calls for a high level of technological competence. All these factors work against its use, even in the so-called developed countries.

These were the drawbacks which led the International African Institute, since its creation, to search for a 'practical alphabet for African languages', and to consider the simplification of the IPA, resulting in the publication in 1930

of the alphabet called Africa. It has not the same scope for meticulously refined accuracy as the Jones and Passy alphabet, but its relative simplicity makes it much easier to use, and has made it a great success among Africanists, especially non-linguists or rather non-professional linguists. It has, however, only been adopted for everyday use in a few languages, again because of typographical and typewriting problems related to the use of some special characters which are lacking in normal type-faces and keyboards. Thus it is impossible with a normal typewriter to spell correctly texts in languages as important as Ewe, Lingala or Yoruba. After nearly half a century of experience with the Africa alphabet, the IAI is now drawing up new orthographic proposals; they aim to achieve not so much absolute uniformity or standardization as a system of clear, logical correlations such as would make it possible to move easily from one script to another (including the Arabic script), and particularly to establish regular equivalences between Roman and non-Roman scripts which would be clear enough, indeed obvious enough, to allow people to use the alphabet without first having to take a diploma in phonetics or general linguistics.

In any case, the majority of alphabets currently used in Africa or about Africa use only Roman letters. As for spelling, this may be divided into two categories according to whether it uses these letters with a value identical or near to that of the IPA and Africa alphabets, or keeps for them either exactly or approximately the value which they share in the alphabet of the colonizer's or transcriber's language.

The spellings of the first category were advocated and used officially by the British and Belgian colonial powers, but not without some inconsistencies of detail. For example in Ghana, while 'Coomasie' became Kumasi, Accra remained Accra (whereas we would expect 'Akra'). Similarly the Kongo, or rather the Bakongo, still live on the banks of the Congo, not the 'Kongo'. It is also quite apparent that even the use of di- or trigraphs, and sometimes even of tetragraphs (e.g. *nkpw*), did not necessarily achieve absolute precision of phonetic representation, especially since the choice of symbols itself was inevitably influenced by the transcriber's habits of speaking and hearing. Nevertheless, satisfactory approximations were reached which are quite homogeneous and also in general very close to the official spellings in the written local languages. Anyway, a literate Rwandese and a literate Sierra Leonean, seeing the word 'Ubangi' on a Belgian or English map, both pronounced it something like oo-bung-ee [ubaŋi], and not who-ban-jeet [hubāzīt] as a Senegalese would or er-bun-ri [æbanri] or [æbandi] as a South African would.

The tendency towards orthographic assimilation can be seen in South Africa, where for example a grapheme like /g/ is used with its Dutch value of a fricative rather than its international value of a plosive; and in the countries under Portuguese or French cultural influence where 'Cunene' for [Kunene]

and 'Ogooué' for [Ogowe], to mention only two waterways are more or less recognizable when so spelt. French influence has been widespread in this connection, particularly for ethnonyms. In the eighteenth century the Recollets of Canada and Louisiana turned the Tsiow Indians into the Sioux, making them share the *x* of the plural with *chou*, *pou*, *hibou*, *caillou* and *genou*. Since then, Kabrè (more properly Kabiyé) women have become Cabraises in French, and the Fulani have become *Peulhes* or *Peuhles* according to the whim of the writer. The influence of French printers has given Conakry (why not Konakri or Conacry?) a *y*, originally purely typographical, on the pattern of Nancy, Neuilly, Clamecy, etc.

Without wishing to exaggerate the difficulties caused by these practices, it must be said that they lead to confusion and sometimes to awkward areas of uncertainty, especially when the spelling adopted bears little relation to the local pronunciation. Without being unduly optimistic about the prospects for general agreement on the unification of spellings, we may suggest some principles, as general and pragmatic as possible, to mitigate these difficulties.

First of all we must realistically take account of existing facts and situations, but without exaggerating their degree of permanence. There has been enough change in long-accepted names in recent years for there to be no surprise over it, even if it does not always work to reduce the confusion. But irrespective of any possible future changes, the first criterion where toponyms are concerned is still the locally accepted practice, i.e. the spelling adopted by the national authorities. So long as the Government of Benin, for example, accepts the spelling 'Cotonou' for its capital, I have no reason to spell it either 'Kotonou' or 'Cothonoux'. The fact remains, however, that few countries have drawn up systematic, reasonably comprehensive lists of toponyms that are authoritative as regards spelling; and that in most cases local usage is only settled for important places and geographical features (and even then not always). Anyone who doubts it has only to compare several maps of the same area. In these circumstances what is needed is to decide anew on general principles. I will suggest two.

The first is to keep the local spelling when it is settled and actually used. (The adjective 'local' is here a euphemism for 'tribal', the latter having become something of a dirty word; but this is, of course, what is really meant.) In other words if in a given country there exist one or more languages written in a script accepted by its users, there is no reason to use another for place-names, subject, however, to one important practical consideration of a typographical nature: some alphabets use non-Roman phonetic characters (e.g. the epsilon and reversed 'c', or the /ŋ/ for the velar nasal) which the other languages of the country do not use, either because they do not have the corresponding sounds (e.g. the five vowels in Kikongo as against the seven in Lingala) or because they adopt a different convention (e.g. a circumflex or tilde to mark

a closed vowel). In such cases it will be advantageous to adopt at the national level a code of equivalence which only uses Roman characters, while retaining the phonetic scripts at the regional level.

The second principle is to use Roman characters in a way which is as near as possible to the international systems, i.e. in Africa the Africa alphabet rather than the IPA; this anyway entails only a few differences (e.g. *y* instead of *j* for the palatal semi-vowel, *j* being kept for the apical affricate or the palatalized stop). This avoids the use both of special phonetic signs and also of the spelling tradition of the colonial power. No one should suppose, however, that it would be easy to arrive at a transcription valid for the whole continent. It would be a big step forward even to identify areas of similarity, as it were, i.e. to reach a situation in which even if the same sign cannot be used everywhere to denote the same sound (the theoretical ideal of international alphabets), it is still used only for sounds which are sufficiently close for it to remain identifiable. To go back to the example of the letter *j*, used in Africa alphabet for /dž/ (as in English 'John'), it may be necessary in a given language (e.g. Comorian) to give it its French value of /ž/; but it would be kept in the digraph *dj*, where it would demonstrate the kinship or closeness of the two phonemes. On the other hand it would perhaps be better to avoid it for the palatalized apical in certain languages, for which despite common usage etymology should suggest a preference for *dy* (e.g. Swahili *jambo*, etymon *di-ambo*).

While it is not in fact important here to go into the practical details implicit in the application of these general guidelines to every language and country, nevertheless it is important to emphasize the need to get them accepted at international, and first at Panafrican, level. This may lead to political friction, here and there, sometimes related to considerations which are extra-African. Here we leave the field of toponymy, to enter into the much wider field of unification, and that of linguistic boundaries. It is worth noting in passing, however, that the requirements of air navigation—maps and radio communication aids—demand a quick solution to the problem of matching the spelling of place-names with their pronunciation.

That is about the only immediate practical application that comes to mind. Incidentally, it is amusing to note that, in principle, an international decision was arrived at on this point before the Second World War: the 1:1,000,000 map known as the 'international map' or the 'air map', was intended to have a unified transcription system for place-names when issued. It has still not come out. Tourists, pilots, journalists and perhaps officers of the General Staff probably suffer more from this delay than do the Africanists. Not that the latter show no interest in place-names. Indeed, their study can be very useful, as an additional tool for social studies, as much as it is for geography, if not more. But it is here that rough approximative transcriptions used for practical purposes must give way to exact scientific transcriptions,

the only ones that are useful for etymological and comparative studies, the interest in which is not confined to linguists alone.

On the whole place-names raise questions for historians and anthropologists rather than provide them with answers. They are sometimes puzzling questions, as for example when it comes to ascertaining whether a particular supposed historical toponym really was a place-name. The classic case here is that of Ghana, which seems most likely to have been (like Monomotapa) a royal title rather than the actual name of a kingdom as a territorial entity. Mali, on the other hand, seems etymologically to have meant 'royal domain', 'king's land'; and this is meaningful, and throws light on the nature of the kings' power, when we find that the geographical cradle of the founding Keyta dynasty was actually in the little canton of Kangaba. Kitara, the archetypal kingdom of the present-day lacustrine Bantu states (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries), has been fairly precisely localized between Lake Albert and Lake Victoria, whereas at one time it was thought to have been purely legendary. Conversely, it is more or less established that the kingdom of Engong, the scene of the Fang epic tales, existed (contrary to what early observers thought) only in the collective imagination of the so-called 'Pahouin' group. Was Ife, the Yoruba national sanctuary, the Ufa (Ophir) of King Solomon's mines, as Frobenius asserted? Is it not merely the memory of it, a name, brought from Nubia and the Nile valley with a later migration?

This last question, to which no definite reply has yet been given, brings to mind two phenomena which are equally significant although the results of opposite processes: the transporting of toponyms, and vestigial toponyms. Neither phenomenon is in any sense peculiar to Africa. An example so obvious as to need no amplification is the United States, with New York, Cambridge and even Athens as against Narragansett, Chicago and Tallahassee. African examples are often just as clear, and if they are not as striking that may simply be due to our lack of concern for the meanings of their names. To speak only from my own personal experience, in the same linguistic area of Cameroon, I know one place called 'on the other side of the river' although there is no river of any kind near by, and several whose names mean nothing in Bulu. 'On the other side of the river' is a case of transporting a toponym: the river is the Sanaga, about 120 miles north-east, and the name is a souvenir of the crossing of that river during the great migration around the beginning of the nineteenth century. As regards the meaningless names, they are vestiges inherited from the peoples displaced by this invasion: I was able to identify two as Mvumbo (A-81) and one as probably Ikota (B-25). These were the only semi-material signs I could find to identify the former peoples of the area. Some duplicate place-names probably represent the simultaneous occurrence of both phenomena: thus I know some Kotokoli villages (in Togo) such as Ajeidé/Tyirityiri where double names reflect the identity of, and to some

extent the rivalry between, the lineages. The toponym used by the dominant lineage, descended from the eighteenth-century conquerors, represents for the dominated native lineage an import and that of the dominated represents a vestige. The situation is further complicated in its meaning by the fact that all the inhabitants use the native vestigial toponym during agricultural rites and the imported toponym during chieftaincy rituals.

Hence we need to study carefully the meanings of place-names, and their linguistic form. Even when they seem obviously descriptive, such as 'ford across such and such a river', 'little hill', etc., they are often in an archaic form by comparison with the modern language; and this is obviously of interest to the linguist. Research workers in other disciplines will no doubt be more interested in names commemorating an event that took place at a given spot, the memory of an outstanding person or the practice of an activity now non-existent (for example Bagamoyo, approximately 'heartbreak', because that was where slaves were loaded). Royal sanctuaries and battlefields *inter alia* often have very significant names. And so do the erstwhile ethnic and professional quarters of pre-colonial, and even colonial, towns (for example, the Dakar district of Brazzaville: why Dakar?).

On another level, the comparative study of toponymy in a series of related languages (toponyms are often archaic in character) offers a possible source of diachronic investigation and at the same time it provides data about migrations. An example is the Cameroonian series Yom/Lom/Nyong/Nlong for names of waterways. This is not the place to go into details, but I think I can say that it provides evidence of almost archaeological validity about the itinerary of the Fang migration.

Anthroponymy has some features in common with toponymy, in particular the often archaic character of anthroponyms by comparison with words in the present-day language. But it is far more closely linked to cultural patterns and social structures, and consequently shows the most profuse diversity.

The problem of standardization of spelling is easily resolved for the simple reason that (at any rate in my opinion) it does not or should not arise. We do not compel all the Smyths and Smythes of this world to change their names to Smith (or Blacksmith); and equally we should not object if Diawara is also spelt Jawara, Djaouara or Dyawara. These variants could even be said to be useful, in that they make it easier to differentiate families and to look people up in telephone directories. The rule here is to respect the habits and wishes of the people concerned, and not lapse into the absurd and despicable, like the journalist who regularly writes N'Krumah instead of Nkrumah on the grounds that the latter spelling 'is not French' (this is not racialism: the same newspaper used to write Kroutchev instead of Khrushchov, on the same grounds—though not Aisénoir for Eisenhower). French colonial assimilationism

reached one of its high points in Equatorial Africa with spellings like Aubame and Opangault (or, in the field of place-names, Maumegnies for the Fang *ma'an menyin* 'crossroads'. However, if the people thus named agree to it, it is above all their business or that of their fellow citizens, but it is certainly not that of foreigners, whether expert or not. We will therefore no longer dwell on it.

Moreover, the above statement covers only a small part of the field of anthroponymy. The prevailing ideas concerning personal names in Europe, even in their most complex forms (e.g. Hugues-Enguerrand Nompar de Caumont la Force, Ivan Ivanovitch Popov or Maria del Pilar Fernandez de Lopez) are of a childlike simplicity, compared to some African systems, which have to bring in not only forenames, patronyms, clan names, surnames, pseudonyms and nicknames, but also ideas with no precise equivalent elsewhere such as 'praise names', 'drum names', 'day names', 'greeting names', 'rank names', 'secret names' and 'mottoes'. The inverted commas are quite necessary here, for these attempts at translations give only a very imperfect idea of the vernacular terms. Indeed, one of the first tasks to be undertaken is a descriptive census, as comprehensive as possible, of the various systems of giving, transmitting and using personal names. This would make it possible to classify these systems and perhaps mark them on the map so as to compare their distribution with that of other cultural features.

Some correlations seem self-evident and even trivial (in the logico-mathematical sense of the word). So it is with the spread of Arabic names, along with Islam. But after uttering this virtual truism, there remains the rest. How, for example, do these names combine with pre-Islamic systems if they do not exclude them? Why are they greatly distorted in West African but not in East African languages? Why is the name of a particular prophet common in one region and not in another? Is there a correlation on the one hand between certain categories, either social (lineages, castes, etc.) or family (eldest, twin, etc.), and on the other the bearing of certain Arabic names? Even the forms given to these names may in some cases give a clue to the linguistic (or ethnic) origin of the proselytizers and their level of Arabic culture: thus Mamadu for Muhammad, Birama for Ibrahim and Fusini for Husain would seem to indicate diffusion among the uneducated, whereas the occurrence of little-distorted compounds such as Saif'uddin (pop.: Sayfu), Abdurrahman (pop.: Ramani, Derman) and Abubakar (pop.: Bakari, Bakaru) would be a sign of diffusion among the educated—as would the use of almost correct forms of titles such as *shaykh* (*shehu*, *seku*), *khalifa* (*alfa*), *mu'allim* (*malam*, *malum*), etc. It is worth mentioning in passing that there is very often no exact correspondence between the pronunciation of the local forms of these Arabic names and their spelling, the latter being simply the regular spelling in classical Arabic.

An equally fruitful field of investigation is royal names and titles. The

name taken on accession in many societies alludes to the state of the realm at the time, to the circumstances of the succession, or else to what could be called the new sovereign's election manifesto. It is quite common for honorific or praise names (mottoes) alluding to later events to be added to this coronation name; more rarely a funeral name, summing up, as it were, the character of the reign. In several societies this nomenclature is symbolized by material objects (linguist staffs, sculptures and so on) preserved in the national treasury. Recitation of these names accompanied by exhibition of these emblems constitutes a sort of summary of the history of the dynasty; but the strictly allusive character of the symbols usually makes it very difficult for the uninitiated to understand, despite (or perhaps because of) its social importance. It is all the more difficult to study because the royal names include a high proportion of rare and/or archaic words, often also used in the form of double or triple puns.

Even ordinary proper names are very often archaic forms of modern ordinary names, and sometimes of more complex expressions. This means that they have a meaning, even if it is not always consciously perceived at once (any more than that of the English Smith or the French Dupont). This is not, however, necessarily true for all the proper names used in a given society. Alongside anthroponyms with obvious or easily discoverable meanings we find a stock of names which now have no discernible meaning. This situation is often a sign of a composite ethnic origin: the incomprehensible stock comes from the language originally spoken by the socio-historical category (whether invaders or invaded) that was linguistically assimilated during the formation of the social amalgam. It would be interesting to see whether the names that seem unrelated to the ordinary local lexicon turn up in identical or cognate forms in neighbouring societies. In this way we might discover historical situations comparable, for instance, to that of the Scottish clans of French or Anglo-Norman origin, distinguishable by their Romance names in a Celtic or Germanic linguistic milieu (e.g. Campbell, Fraser, Taylor, etc.). One example among others is the Mandingo family or clan names (Taraoré, Fofana, Konaté, etc.) found among Gur- or Kwa-speaking peoples in Ghana, Togo and Benin. It was from this situation that I. Wilkes was able to discover the existence and reconstruct the distribution of the vast network of Wangara commercial guilds which has covered the greater part of West Africa for nearly ten centuries.

As regards anthroponymy's potential contribution to anthropological and historical research, we can only mention, albeit all too briefly, some other suggestions and some possibilities that have already been explored. In societies with long genealogies or with age-groups cyclical anthroponyms can be used to arrive at the dating of certain events. Discrepancies in titles and other anomalies of nomenclature can be used to detect dynastic accidents and

incidents suppressed by the official history. Analysis of the nicknames and surnames given to some Europeans can throw light on various details of colonial history (the classic example is 'Mbula matadi' Stanley, but there are hundreds of others). An enormous amount remains to be done. The necessary pre-condition is the proliferation of monographs, and African researchers, starting with traditional scholars, are much better placed to write them than their foreign colleagues. Here, as unfortunately in so many areas of African studies, time is short. It is to be feared that laws and decrees about authenticity may not suffice to perpetuate the knowledge, or even the memory of systems whose traditional functional complexity does not fit in well with those arising from current socio-cultural and economic changes.

Ethnonyms often have much in common both with anthroponyms—being obviously names of people—and with toponyms—being marked on maps and often applied to places. French, lacking the nominal suffix-land, tends particularly to use the latter procedure: thus *le pays Mossi*, *le pays Bamiléké*, as against the English Zululand and Yorubaland.

An ethnonym may be cautiously defined as a collective anthroponym. Caution is called for here because of the political problems with political repercussions which could arise if the wrong word is used for the community designated by a given ethnonym. The term 'tribe' is ill-defined, and objectionable nowadays. As for 'nation', the boundaries of the pre-colonial historical nations only rarely coincide with those of present-day states. Clan? Fraction? Group? Sub-group? Even supposing that anthropologists were in agreement, they would still have to agree with the people concerned, and the latter among themselves, which is always far from being the case. Take, for example, the ethnonym 'Yoruba', accepted in Nigeria both by the members of this culture and by their fellow-citizens from other groups: the French colonial administration, out of sheer devilry, called them Nagots (feminine Nagotes!) in Dahomey/Benin and Anans in Togo. Again, on another level and using the opposite procedure, wanting to embrace under one name the various components of the Bantu A-70 linguistic group, I chose deliberately to use the old-fashioned French term 'Pahouin'. I was anxious neither to seem to favour one of the component groups (e.g. the Fang or the Beti) more than the others, nor to conform to the usage that has dominant political overtones in each of the three countries where the 'Pahouin' live. My decision led to a virtually complete agreement among the people concerned to reject the term I used, but not to suggest another.

We shall not deal here with clan names proper, for in the last analysis they are anthroponyms, and therefore subject to the same rules as ordinary personal names. Thus a French-speaker will write *les Keyta* or *les Diop*, like *les Stuart* or *les Bourbon*. Here, for once, accepted French usage is nearer to

scientific habits (see below) than English usage, which usually indicates the plural, thus 'the Macleods' or 'the Joneses', as some African languages including Bantu ones also do.

Close examination of an ethnic map of Africa reveals the presence of a number of non-existent peoples, and likewise the absence of existing peoples. A great many mistakes and a variety of solecisms by early cartographers have been perpetuated with the result that some peoples have ended up by getting used to two names: the one by which they call themselves and the administrative or official name. This in Togo the bi-Kpemkpem-b are officially the Konkomba, and their bi-Tyam-b neighbours are officially the Basari. In northern Cameroon there are the so-called Tuburi (or Toupouri) and the Banana, both of which cover several distinct groups. Or there are the 'Bondjo' of Central Africa, a distortion of the French *bonjour* applied to fishermen and sailors on the river. In some cases such erroneous names have acquired a certain validity, owing to the fact that they make it possible to use a single word for a group of people aware of being culturally akin but without a common ethnonym (see 'Pahouin', above). An example is 'Sara', originally a pejorative term in Chad's Arabic lingua franca and now a common ethnonym accepted by a number of peoples in southern Chad. Another is 'Bamiléké', a pseudo-Bantu word coined by the German explorers as a result of a mistake in interpretation: it is claimed by the mountain people of western Cameroon in preference to the Wes Kos 'Glafis' (from the English 'grassfield'), which is also regarded as pejorative.

Pejorative terms are common among names in use today, so much so that their original meaning sometimes gets forgotten. 'Sara', mentioned above, meant something like 'savage' or 'pagan', just like 'kirdi', 'habe', 'kafir' and 'berber'. 'Fulani', used by English-speakers to designate the Fulbe, is similarly an Arabic-Hausa pun on the Arabic *fulān*, 'so-and-so' or 'such-and-such'; but it is no longer felt to be so by the majority of those who use it. The mechanism by which these insulting terms were originally adopted is simple: the explorer or geographer asks someone from another ethnic group (inclined to be hostile): 'Who are those people?', and receives a reply equivalent at best to 'Krauts', 'Yanks', 'Chinks', etc., and at worst to 'a bunch of nitwits'. It is important to note here that the ethnonyms selected for everyday use are very often not at all those the peoples concerned give themselves, but those their neighbours give them, often in a lingua franca rather than a local language. Thus for the Fulani, while English-speaking usage is Arabic-Hausa, French-speaking usage—Peul and its variations—is originally Wolof. The Lunda call themselves 'Ruund'; which is unpronounceable for their neighbours; 'Urundi' and 'Warundi' are Swahili for 'Burundi' and 'Barundi/Abarundi'; 'Cabrais' (*sic*) is a distortion of the Tem *kaburé* for 'Kabiyé', and so on—the examples are too numerous to cite.

The solution that naturally comes to mind is, of course, simply to use

the ethnonym that the people concerned give themselves. The objection of accepted usage does not invalidate it; after all, the popular press in a few months gets used to calling Bengal Bangladesh and Ceylon Sri Lanka. The difficulty is much more of a linguistic one. In 1960 a major French newspaper blandly reported rioting between 'Kikongos and Bacongos' (!) in Leopoldville; and the only people in France who were amused or irritated at this piece of news were Bantu specialists and people who spoke Kikongo. I myself was naïve enough to try to explain to the author of the article the difference between *mu/ba-* and *ki-* in this language, but with no success, I must admit. (What if it had been Ganda!) This one example among many demonstrates the wisdom of the rules laid down in 1930 by the IAI and since followed in nearly all the learned journals, namely: do not use Indo-European gender or number markers; do not show the affixes, but only the radicals or nominal stems; use the international script known as the Africa alphabet for languages without a recognized spelling. These principles are admittedly only easy to apply in the Bantu (not 'Bantou') languages, and even then not always. For instance, the term 'Bantu' itself, reduced to its stem, gives *'ntu'*, which only a minority of authors use. Nevertheless it is still sensible and convenient to write 'a Ganda, some Ganda, the Ganda language, Ganda customs' rather than risking the choice between Muganda, Baganda, Luganda or Kiganda. We can even accept 'Ganda country' or 'Ganda kingdom' concurrently with Buganda. 'Lozi'—the accepted spelling—is to be preferred to 'Rotse', despite Barotseland; and, contrary to established usage and despite the absence of a standardized spelling, 'Ruund' is to be preferred to Lunda, since the latter form is in fact Luba. But what of, for example, the Banen of Cameroon? Their ethnonym is nothing but the adjective 'tall'; 'Munen' is 'tall' ('human being' being understood), but the stem alone, with no class prefix, can only mean 'idea of tallness', without any indication of what it applies to. French-speaking Banen reject the use of 'Nen' alone, preferring the solecisms 'a Banen' and 'the Banen language', approximately equivalent to 'one men' or '*un chevaux*'. Another thorny problem is that of the Banyamwezi, with a neutralized prefix (*-mw-*), a back prefix augmentative (*-nya-*) and a series of class prefixes (*mu-*, *ba-*, *ki-* and *bu-*). The rule above would leave us with 'Ezi', and omission of the class prefix would give 'Nyamwezi', which is the solution most usually adopted to distinguish the ethnonym from the common noun '*mwezi*' (moon). But for a superficially identical structure, *Mu/ba/ki-nya-rw-anda*, it is 'Rwanda' and not 'Nyarwanda' that is used.

Even though examples of this kind could be multiplied, the overall structure of Bantu languages lends itself reasonably well to the application of the IAI rules. The same does not hold good with other linguistic groups, in which class markers (West Atlantic and Voltaic) and gender and number markers (Chado-Hamitic, Cushitic and Nilotic) produce changes in stems and

radicals such as to make them unrecognizable or barely recognizable by non-specialists (including, as a matter of fact, Bantu specialists). We have several times already mentioned the case of the Fulbe (Fulani), always taking care to use this ethnonym in the plural so as to avoid a wrong initial consonant. The rule about the omission of the class affix would give 'Ful' (which is the German usage); whereas in fact the singular of the ethnonym has an initial /p/, whence the Franco-Wolof 'Peul' and the Franco-Fulfulde 'Poulot, Poulote' (!), now obsolete. In the Gur or Voltaic group, a single Mossi is a Moaga, several are Mose, and they speak Moré; the IAI rule would give 'Mo' (or Mō?) which nobody accepts. In Hausa and related languages, and also in Nilotic and Cushitic, there are extremely complex internal inflexions liable to baffle even non-specialized linguists. We can, therefore, for languages of this type, put forward practical proposals consisting, by and large, of the following:

1. Apply the IAI rules (stem or radical without affixes) when the basic stem is easy to isolate: e.g. one or some Hausa and the Hausa language (Chado-Hamitic); one or some Tyam and Tyam (Gur) culture, and so on.
2. If this is impossible, choose a form with its affix or affixes and use it as invariable. In this case we would take *either* the form most widely accepted in anthropological and historical usage (for example the plural Mose > Mosi, rather than the singular) *or*, if there is no predominant usage, the form of the singular/personal/masculine/subject.
3. If all else fails, when an arbitrary usage is old enough and adequately recognized, accept it, but standardize it precisely and explicitly. It will sometimes be best in such cases to Europeanize the term fairly and squarely so as to underline its foreignness, e.g. a Peul (French feminine singular Peule), Peuls (French feminine plural Peules); or again (contrary to my own custom) the Bantoux (like the Sioux). This should be altogether exceptional, and should never be applied to an ethnonym newly introduced into the learned literature, like the deplorable recent French example of the Iks, Ike (for an Ik woman).

It goes without saying that all this applies only to certain subjects or in certain contexts. It does not apply, first of all, to a work in linguistics and related fields or to anthropological studies, the rule for both being to reproduce in written form as accurately as possible the language of the people studied including, of course, its onomastics. The same holds good, for obvious reasons, for comparative works of all kinds, whether diachronic or synchronic, in which a meticulously accurate transcription is needed in order to bring out both the similarities and the differences.

Apart from that, as regards modern names we should adopt:

1. The written national usage when it is well established, e.g. 'Accra', not 'Akra', 'Kinshasa', not 'Kinsasa', etc.

2. Similarly, established personal usage, e.g. 'Tchicaya', not 'Cikaya', 'Sékou Touré', not 'Seku Turé', etc.
3. The spelling usually used for written languages, e.g. 'Swahili', not 'Souaheli', 'Bulu', not 'Boulou', etc.
4. Failing an accepted spelling, a simplified phonetic spelling as close as possible to that of the IAI (Africa alphabet).

In the last case, however, we must take technical considerations into account (the make-up of type-faces and keyboards for printing machines and typewriters) and avoid as far as possible the use of special or even uncommon signs. The problem is generally easier with consonants, where digraphs can be used (e.g. ng or ng' for ŋ, ny for ɲ, etc.) than with vowels, where differences of openness (ɔ/O, e/ε), position (lateral/central) and nasalization (a/â, ɔ/ɔ̃, etc.) are difficult to notate without special signs. It would be possible, for example, to double the vowel (aa, ee, etc.) to indicate length; to use accents and subscript diacriticals for openness (e closed, è open; ô closed, o open, etc.), position (ö central) and nasalization (â); or else to use for this purpose consonants not otherwise used (h in a language without aspirates, x in a language without an unvoiced back fricative, etc.). The tones would be notated only when their absence would be liable to lead to misunderstanding (for example, in Lingala: *moto/motó*, 'person/head'). On all these points one or more Panafrican or regional agreements are necessary, using as a basis the conventions already agreed upon and in particular the version of the Africa alphabet now being revised. This goes beyond a mere question of onomastics.

For historical names we should retain either the accepted Romanizations for names written in Arabic script (Arabic, Hausa, Swahili, etc.), while noting when necessary differences in currently accepted spellings (for example: disappearance of the *'ain* and the *hamza* from Arabic proper names absorbed into Swahili), or where the exact or approximate pronunciation of names not belonging to a written language is known, a spelling derived from the IPA/Africa system, as indicated above.

It would be desirable now, on the basis of the work already done (for example, the map and list of the peoples of West Africa by J. C. Froelich/CHEAM and the map and list of languages by Dalby/IAI), to draw up three comparative catalogues giving the various known forms of ethnonyms and glossonyms, toponyms and historical anthroponyms. In other words: the actual vernacular form (as used by speakers of the language); the vernacular forms used by neighbouring peoples; the forms used in lingua francas; the Europeanized forms, whether official or not; the transliteration of any names in Arabic script.

These catalogues should be accompanied by concordance tables of the various generic terms (often artificial) used by specialists to designate groups of culturally and/or linguistically related peoples: for example: 'Mandé/Manding/Mandingue/Mandingo', 'Pahouin/Pamue/Pangwe'.

The standardization of the spelling of African names: toponyms and ethnonyms

Robert Cornevin

The transcription of African toponyms and ethnonyms into European languages (English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese) and Afrikaans (Cape Dutch), Arabic, Berber, Amharic, raises a number of problems for research workers.

Variations in European languages in the designation of peoples

Anyone reading books about ethnic groups that straddle several countries must be able to recognize the corresponding forms used by German, French, English, Portuguese and Italian transcribers. This holds good not only for elementary transcriptions such as the Peul (Fulbe or Fulani); Adamaoua or Adamawa; the Boscimanos (or Bushmen) of the Kalahari; the Evhé (Ewe in German and English) of Togo and Ghana; the Haoussa (Hausa or Hawsa) of Niger and Nigeria; the Basuto (Sotho) of Lesotho and South Africa; and the Tchouana (Tswana) of Botswana, Bophuthatswana and South Africa.

These are minor difficulties arising from differences of pronunciation in European languages; nevertheless, they lead to inaccuracies. Thus the missionaries of the Norddeutsche Mission Gesellschaft (North German Missionary Society) of Bremen, who went to work in Ghana in 1847, spelt Ewe (on the basis of German phonetics) first Ewhe, then Ephe and finally Ewe (as in German Weben, as suggested by Father Henry Kwakume).¹ English speakers pronounced the *w* as in 'wedding' whereas the slight aspiration between the *v* and the *e* would suggest the spelling *evhé* in French.²

The English pronunciation 'ayway' denotes a different ethnic group in the Akplahoué or Parahoué district of the People's Republic of Benin; here *éhoué*, meaning 'the low ones', is the name given to commoners as a class.³

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Foreign and indigenous names

Such are the differences in the pronunciation of well-known ethnonyms. Still worse, colonizers often gave ethnic groups different names from those they use for themselves, and also from those given to them by colonists in adjoining countries. Thus the Somba of northern Dahomey, whose indigenous name is Be Tammaribé ('the good masons'), were called Tamberma by the Germans in Togo. Similarly the Gurma of Nakitindi Laré and Kpana in Togo bear the German name for the ethnic group which the French in Upper Volta and Dahomey called Gourmantché. All the Togo Gurma claim a common ancestry at Nougou (Fada N'Gourma).

Some ethnic names bestowed by European travellers are utterly unknown in the area. A famous example is that of the Niam-Niam, described by Schweinfurth: the name came from *niam* (meat), which was what the Azande (Zande in Zaire and Sudan) shouted when they went hunting—and not only for animals, so malicious rumour has it. Some authors maintain that they practised cannibalism.

The remote bush peoples discovered at the end of the last century by the early explorers and their African helpers were often given names reflecting their 'savage' state, the phrase they most often used, or their social status, at the time of European colonization.

Thus in the north of what is now the People's Republic of Benin, the Niende were so called from the beginning of the sentence meaning 'I say that'.

The Berba of Dassari and Gouandé, in the extreme north of that country, owe their name to their primitive state when the first Europeans arrived (*berba* meaning 'man of the bush').

The Tankamba were former Mossi slaves who were bartered for oxen. Hence their name, from *tambi*, 'that which is sold', *tankamba* meaning 'he who has been bought'.

The Yowa (sing. Yodo) of the Djougou district were dubbed Pila-Pila by foreigners, from the Yod greeting *pima*.

The Dendi in their travels through northern Togo and Dahomey gave ethnic groups names sometimes chosen for their uncomplimentary nature.

Count Zech, later to become Governor of Togo, in his notes on Togo and its hinterland wrote of the Tem:

This area is therefore called *coto koli*, this being a name taken from the Dendi language spoken north of Borgu on the banks of the Niger. Dendi established itself as a result of the very active trading that developed between Dendi country and the Togolese hinterland.⁴

In fact the term 'Kotokoli' is an insulting nickname used by the Dendi of Djougou, who had been robbed by unscrupulous Temba. When the Dendi

merchants were going back to Djougou laden with goods bought from the Temba, Temba ambushed them and took back the goods; hence the term 'give and take back', from *koto* (to hold or recover) and *kolim* (to collect). Tem, on the other hand, is the indigenous name, which is of course preferred by the Tem.⁵

Toponyms

While names of ethnic groups show a great variety of transcriptions, toponyms are not far behind. There are many and varied examples of mistakes made in maps.

In a remarkable article on African toponymy,⁶ Lieutenant-Colonel de Martonne pointed out the difficulties. Speaking of the border between what were then the colonies of French Sudan (present-day Mali) and Mauritania, and the difficulty of locating reference points, he wrote:

Mauritania put forward *Guelb-el Abd* as one of these points of particular importance from its point of view; whereas Senegal insisted on a water-hole shown on the route maps as *Galibalabidi*.

A lot of argument was needed to get it agreed that these two dissimilar looking names denoted one and the same point, viz. a peak (*guelb*) whose silhouette seen from the north is familiar to Moorish guides, and a pond just at the foot of it, where the Tukulor coming from the south have, from time immemorial, been in the habit of watering their herds.

A closer look would have indicated that there was no need for the argument, for the same word had of course been recorded both by the Mauritanian officers and by the administrators in the French Sudan. The second word has exactly the same syllables as the first, or at least the same consonants followed by linking vowels, which are always indistinct in the local pronunciation and has therefore been written down differently.

In the example given by Lieutenant-Colonel de Martonne, the French officials in Mauritania and the French Sudan had written down the same place-name differently.

Topographical howlers provide a good source of light relief for the weary research worker. Some examples from the Maghrib are well known. For example: 'What is this wadi called?' asks the topographer. '*Manarf* [I don't know]', replies the guide; and Wadi Manarf goes down on the map. 'What is the highest *koudiat* [peak] around here?' '*Shut* [look]', replies the *goui de*, pointing in a certain direction; and down goes Koudiat Shut, which will not be easy to identify later on.⁷

Robert Delavignette⁸ reports a similar kind of mistake:

An administrator may even get the name of the village wrong. Seeing a village in the distance, the Administrator of T—— in Niger asked the interpreter its name. Mishearing the question, the latter replied '*babou moutane*' ('There is no one there'). In 1922 the tax register for the sub-district duly approved by the Governor in Council included the name of a new, empty village, 'Babou Moutane'.

The Académie des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, at its meeting of 18 April 1928, heard a paper by Charles Meunier on 'The Toponymy of Native Names for Use on Maps'.

In his paper the author wrote:

One of the weakest points of French cartography is toponymy. We cannot in any case expect to get good results when different departments in the same administration use different spellings for the same name. Thus Korhogo is so spelt by the Native Affairs Department in the colony of Ivory Coast, but it is spelt 'Koroko' by the postal service. The name appears in the latter form in documents published by the International Bureau in Berne, whereas the Yearbook of the Governorate General of French West Africa gives 'Korhogo'.

It was of course difficult to settle on logical, rational spellings for indigenous place-names, particularly for names that were new to us such as, for example, those of places in the mandated territories.

After much research, Delafosse managed to give most of them a final form: thus by analogy with Malinké, Soninké and others he settled on Kabré. Some people later took to spelling it Cabrais, which makes no sense linguistically.

In Togo, a circular laid down guidelines for the French transcription of names shown on German maps which at present form the basis for our cartography and which gave no indication of the values of certain letters in the German alphabet. The result is that some people settle the problem in their own way, and names written by Germans and French sometimes have a German form.

In Cameroon the name Lolodorf was kept, apparently in order not to make the indigenous inhabitants change their habits. But immediately after the agreement of 4 November 1911, under which we gave up 250,000 square kilometres of our Equatorial Africa to the Germans, the latter lost no time in rechristening the outpost of Carnot, which had been so called for almost twenty years, as Manbéré. In the same country, the German spelling Ebolowa (which should have been changed to Ebolova) was kept, because the name is apparently pronounced Ebolovoua. If so, it should be so spelt, as has been done in the case of Vavoua in Ivory Coast.

For a long time, of course, the expressions *manarf* ('I don't know'), *plaine d'afout* (plain between two dunes), *Région de l'Oudje* (edge of an erg) and Plateau de Tampokotsa (Plateau Plateau) appeared (or still appear) on our maps of the Sahara and Madagascar. We gradually came to know more about the geography of those countries, and rid our work of most of these solecisms and pleonasms. Unfortunately, this state of affairs did not last and since the end of the war this kind of toponymy has partly reappeared and even increased. Thus Tinghert (Tinr'ert) has become Tinguert.

For all these reasons, it would seem that in the general interest the time has

come to remedy this state of affairs by drawing up the simplest possible rules for phonetic transcription. Learned bodies concerned with geography, the governments of our colonies, protectorates and mandated territories, and various individuals, principally ethnologists, should compile a little book containing the necessary guidelines, and by way of example, a gazetteer of the main places in Arabic- and Tamashek-speaking countries, Black Africa and elsewhere.⁹

Next Henri Labouret described the difficulties met with by early topographers arriving in an unknown hostile country. But, he went on:

In peaceful areas already explored the obstacles to be overcome are no less. The inhabitants are suspicious, and at first refuse to give the least bit of information. When they finally agree to do so, the fragmentary details wrung out of them are passed on to the European through an interpreter, a rifleman, a servant, sometimes a bearer, usually by someone alien to the country who unconsciously changes what is said to him. The nomenclature thus obtained is further distorted by transcription that varies with each individual.

A fair copy of the itinerary is sent to a central office at the headquarters of the civil or military region; during operations it goes to the commanding officer of the column, to be entered on a general map. The work is done by officers, non-commissioned officers and civil servants. Although good draughtsmen, they are often unfamiliar with the ethnography of the area. They may inadvertently designate a single people by two or three synonyms (if this population appears at different places on the map) and thus give the impression that the names stand for different tribes. Mandé appears on the same map side by side with Malinka and Mandingo, no attempt is made to inform the reader that the Mandingo family is subdivided into three main ethnic branches, Malinke, Bambara and Dyula.

Owing to this same lack of precision the term 'Peul' seems to the layman to be different from Fulbe, although the latter is in fact the regular plural of Pullo, the French version of which is Peul. Some documents also give the impression that the Fulah of Futa Djalon are pure-blooded Peul, whereas in fact they are the offsprings of inter-breeding between conquering Peul and indigenous inhabitants. If the area he is dealing with adjoins British possessions, the conscientious cartographer thinks it proper to enter on the sheet the names of tribes under British authority, hence he marks down the Fulani, thus giving the same people a fourth name.

In the case of a people with a historic past, such as the population of ancient Ghana for example, the uncertainty is no less: these people are called Sarakole, Soninke or Marka, with nothing to show that these names represent the same population.

But these are well-known names; there are others less known concerning whom there is greater confusion. On the borders of Liberia and French Guinea there is a tribe whose members call themselves Kpele (plural Kpelena); but their neighbours the Gola call them Akpede, whereas the Gbunde in the same area call them Kpelese and the Manianka call them Kperese or Gberese. We have chosen this last foreign term, which appears on our maps in the slightly distorted form of Guerzé to denote the Kpele.¹⁰

Paul Bourdarie (1864–1950), founder in 1906 of *Revue Indigène*, at that time Permanent Secretary of the French Academy, which he had helped to set up, and who was also a professor at the Collège Libre des Sciences Sociales, suggested the setting up of

a small committee consisting for example of Mr Lévy-Bruhl, Dr Verneau, Mr Julien and Mr Capus (if they are willing), plus Mr Labouret and Mr Meunier as ethnographer and topographer respectively. This committee first of all was to draw up general rules, taking account of what has just been said here.

The proposal was at once adopted.

These were very eminent people: Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857–1939), who took a passionate interest in the so-called primitive societies; Dr Verneau (1852–1938), to whom we owe a number of standard works on the races of man; Gustave Julien (1870–1936), and E. Capus, experts on Madagascar. Henri Labouret (1878–1959), professor at the École des Langues Orientales and the École Nationale de la France d’Outre-mer, was one of the most qualified men for this task. His works include *Tribus du rameau lobi*, *Les Manding et leurs langues*, *Les paysans d’Afrique occidentale* and *La langue des Peuls ou Foulbé*.

However, the committee does not seem to have worked effectively.

In 1948 Raymond Mauny, head of the Archaeology and Prehistory Department at the Institut Français (later ‘Fondamental’) d’Afrique Noire (IFAN), Dakar, raised the problem in the leading organs of the West African press.¹¹

Some years later Maurice Houis, head of IFAN’s Linguistics Department, drew up a plan for an investigation into the meaning and structure of toponyms.¹²

However, the first major work, serious and well-documented, was that of Louis Ferdinand Flutre, then a professor at the Faculté des Lettres of Dakar, who at first published, as a preliminary account, the toponyms of the territories of former French West Africa.¹³ This impressive work gave the etymology of 1,650 toponyms, and included thirteen pages on those derived from history or legend (pp. 113–26). This book has a large bibliography containing toponymic information (pp. 24–7).

Geographical and administrative problems

The transcription of names on explorers’ maps is sometimes quite fanciful; it represents a phonetic rendering conveyed by an interpreter, often ignorant of the language, who improvised in order not to lose face in the eyes of the white

officer or administrator. Furthermore most African languages have a tonality which requires diacritical signs for transcription into French.

The colonial administration set up administrative districts embracing several cantons or villages. The names of villages were of course sometimes wrong, but the lists in the *Official Gazette* gave them legal existence. Hamlets, according to regulations, were not listed in the *Official Gazette*. They were, however, included in the census tables. These hamlets sometimes became bigger than their parent villages, and sought to sever their ties with them in order to escape the oppressive authority or exorbitant demands of the chief.

In former French Africa the questions concerning the setting up and naming of villages were subject to the power of territorial Assemblies after the promulgation of the 1946 Constitution.

Toponymy and African history

In their lectures at the École Nationale de la France d'Outre-mer and the École des Langues Orientales, Maurice Delafosse (1870–1926) and Henri Labouret emphasized the relationship between toponymy and history. André Basset (1895–1956), the eminent professor of Berber languages, also drew attention to the importance of toponymy as a historical point of reference:

Newcomers speaking a different language, sometimes, introduced new place-names, but more often (through laziness or not), if they did not provoke an exodus of all the previous inhabitants, and were only too happy to make the work of the subject population contribute to their own welfare, they were content to put themselves on top and simply adopted the place-names in use before their arrival. In this way place-names often survived successive changes of language, and remain as evidence of the various superimposed linguistic strata.

They then become an essential part of information concerning the past on regions and periods, about questions on which proper historical documents, are lacking altogether.¹⁴

In Black Africa toponymy is often related to a historical event. Thus many villages derive their names from difficulties met in migration. Boukoundjib, in Bassari District, is a community of Atchem origin (present-day Ghana), whose members, on their way from the Kumasi area, suffered from hunger (*oukoun*=famine; *djin*=to get). The Akebu, wandering across the mountains of central Togo, collapsed exhausted near a waterhole saying *kougnohou* ('it is better to die').

Toponymy also clarifies the history of land, its settlement and vegetation. Thus Nampoach comes from *nam* and *pwa* (forest), which indicates that this savannah country, ravaged by bush-fires, was formerly a forest and that the

Nam drove out the Lamba (a neighbouring people of northern Togo) who previously occupied the land.

In the canton of Katchamba (Bassari District, northern Togo) there is a village called Gbangbale, inhabited by Komba; it owes its name to its first inhabitants, who had a reputation for being quarrelsome (*bangbal*='they hit').

In a study of Konkomba toponymy, I found 9 toponyms out of 73 with a historical or legendary origin, which is not much.¹⁵

This low proportion is no doubt due to the high degree of fragmentation in migrant clans.

Others were of various origins: religious (2), ethnic (2), patronymic (5), customary (3), topographical—named after the configuration of the ground (11), hydronymic (9); some toponyms followed the names of plants (16), of animals (12); finally, some villages were named after craftsmen (potters, weavers).

Traditions relating to migration in Togo and Dahomey (present-day People's Republic of Benin)

These traditions are much richer in historical toponyms.

The Ewe, at the end of their migration from Tado, arrived at a place they called *Ihoua* (*néte* trees) *Tché* (to stay) meaning 'I want to stay here under the *néte* tree'; this gave Nouatché, which the Germans spelt Nuatja, and this was subsequently read as Nuatja by the French when they arrived at Nuatja station in August 1914.

Nuatja has had various names: Amedzofé (place of birth), Glimé (in the walls), Agbogbomé (in the doors), and Kpomé (in the oven) to show how hot it was under the tyranny of King Agokoli. This monarch took cruelty to the point of putting thorns in the clay to be kneaded and trampled for building the wall, whence the many foot injuries. We know the story of how the exodus took place one night: the laundry and dish water was carefully saved up by the women who poured it on the wall to soften it, while the tom-tom beat to drown out the noise of the preparations for departure; and then the breach was made in the wall.

The clans then followed various itineraries. First the Ho, then the Ako-viévé, finally the Bé, who to cover their tracks scattered millet seeds, so that the pigeons coming to eat the seeds would erase their footprints. This is why the Bé have put a taboo on pigeons.

The exodus from Nuatja left its mark on toponymy. Chief Wenya of the Anlo and Somé who was old and felt tired, sat down by the side of the road and said: 'I cannot go on any more, I am staying here. I am curling up [*me nlo*].' That was the origin of the name of the town of Anlo in Ghana.

Bafilo (northern Togo) is another example. At the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century, Gonja warriors were coming back from Djougou to Tamalé (northern Ghana) via Sémeré. Although tired, having marched through mountainous country, they did not dare to ask their chief Mama if they could rest. Then his horse stopped to urinate. The warriors seized the opportunity to stop and rest, and finding the area pleasant they set up a camp which they called Gobangafol, from *banga* (horse) and *mbofol* (urine). This name with the passage of time became Gobafilo then still latter Bafilo.

The *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* gives Koubafolo, whereas British authors spell it Kagbaful.¹⁶

A toponym often originates from a historical fact:

Kolibantan ('Koli's silk-cotton tree') is a place in Niani Ouli, named after a silk-cotton tree under which Koli Tengnella supposedly rested at the time of his march on Futa Toro in the sixteenth century.

Aribinda (Dori District) comes from the Songhay *har* (man) and *windi* (enclosure). Having come from Ouallam near Gao, a walled town, the Songhay built an enclosure round their new home, hence the name *Aribinda* (people from a walled village).

The etymology of *Cotonou* is disputed. One suggested derivation is from *ku* (death) and *tonu* (lagoon), i.e. 'death lagoon'. Another is from *Okotonou* (bank of the lagoon called Okou).

Oumar Ba, technical adviser at the Mauritanian Institute of Scientific Research, recalls derivations for certain toponyms:

Bakel (Senegal) comes from the fact that the Ndiaye (of the Wolof), on their way from Djolof, whenever they felt homesick, used to say to their minstrel '*Bakelène*' (beat the tom-tom).

Boghé (Mauritania) is a misspelling of the Fulpolde *bokké*, meaning baobab forest. The trees having disappeared, the name remains.

Matam (Senegal) supposedly comes from *matama* (to pay cash). Slaves sold by the Fulani on credit, sometimes ran away or died of exhaustion. The purchaser would then refuse to pay, protesting that the goods were faulty and then the frustrated sellers would refuse to sell on credit—hence the name *matam*.

Tichitt was founded by the ancestor of the Ahel Moulaye, 'Abd al Mu'min. This patriarch, who was blind when leading his people in migration, sniffed a pinch of moist clay at this predestined place and cried '*tü chutu*' (this suits me). This expression, in a distorted form, gave its name to Tichitt.

Colonial toponymy

The colonial powers gave names to places on maps and in official gazettes which were not always the same as the indigenous names.

According to the constitution of the French Fourth Republic the territorial assemblies were responsible for land-use planning, and therefore for new rural settlements, and for deciding the correct spelling of their names.

We shall not dwell on the names of outposts such as Carnotville and Bismarckburg. These outposts (a hut, a garden, some fruit trees and a site for the flagpole) have been reclaimed by the bush. The place-names have remained on the maps but as regards Bismarckburg in Adele country in Togo, which was an administrative post from 1884 to 1894, the ruins themselves have long since disappeared and nothing remains but some lemon trees and a few rows of pineapple bushes. The place is Adado Hill, and nobody knows Bismarckburg any more. Doernigsliche (Mount von Doernig, the latter being a person who for ten years put his mark on the life of the German outpost at Atakpamé) never sank into the local collective consciousness. The hill (about 700 metres high) is called Loboto. On the other hand the François Pass, which owes its name to the explorer Curt von François (1852–1931), was not renamed by the French.

In Zaire most of the places named by the Belgians have resumed their earlier African names: Leopoldville (Kinshasa), Stanleyville (Kisangani), Elisabethville (Lubumbashi), Coquilhatville (Mbandaka), etc.

Standardization difficulties

These are genuine difficulties and the staff of the French National Geographical Institute have attempted to resolve the problem.

In maps of Africa the French spelling is used for French-speaking countries and the English spelling for English-speaking countries.

National authenticity campaigns have been carried on in Zaire, Chad and Togo aimed at the substitution of indigenous names for place-names of foreign or colonial origin.

The basic principles now adopted are those which Lieutenant-Colonel de Martonne had proposed: 'To determine how names should be transcribed so that French readers will pronounce them suitably and in a manner comprehensible to the indigenous inhabitants.'¹⁷

When maps were drawn up at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the present century, schooling had not generally reached the bush. Interpreters were people from the coastal areas or from areas surrounding the capital, who often did not know the languages of the interior. This resulted in a great

number of mistakes. When the maps were redrawn in certain parts of Africa on the basis of aerial surveys, it was sometimes possible to set up place-name committees in the main town and administrative centre of the district comprising—in addition to the National Geographical Institute's surveyors—representatives of the administration, the missions, and the various ethnic groups.

The accepted method in the former French colonies was to use the French alphabet, strictly in accordance with the instructions given in the *Notice géographique et vocabulaire des noms et expressions topographiques les plus usités*, published in 1912 for Madagascar; *Règles de transcription des noms indigènes suivies de vocabulaire arabe et berbère*, drawn up by Morocco in 1917 and the *Note provisoire sur la toponymie en AOF*, published in 1925.

The elementary principle is to use simple, standardized, ordinary spelling. However, misspellings in use for many years have also become established.

To what extent is it possible to standardize English, Portuguese and French spellings?

Linguists enjoy the role of correctors of spelling. But actually the problem only arises in respect of maps to be used in multilingual editions. In other cases, it is best to keep to the spelling to which the readers are already accustomed.

For the *General History of Africa*, I suggest the following: a list be drawn up of the toponyms, ethnonyms and proper names used in the *History*; a list be given of various spellings appearing in school textbooks, local maps and the national press, as well as in English, French, Portuguese, Arabic, etc.

This juxtaposition might possibly suggest an intermediate solution.

But my own preference is for keeping separate spellings for the English, French and Arabic editions.

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The transcription of ethnonyms and toponyms in Africa in relation to their historical study

David Dalby

Introductory remarks

As they do in other parts of the world, ethnonyms and toponyms represent an important, and as yet largely untapped, source of historical evidence for the tracing of population movements in Africa.

In Bantu Africa, for example, forms of the ethnonyms Nguni and Ndebele reflect the extent of the northward migration of southern Bantu-speaking peoples in the nineteenth century. The widespread occurrence of the ethnonym Tonga, among the south-eastern Bantu, may provide evidence of migrations in the same area at an earlier period. From West Africa, one may cite the example of the toponym Manding, which was applied originally and still applies today to the hilly country on the borders of Guinea and present-day Mali. Like the toponym Rome in Europe, variants of the name Manding were carried far and wide with the advance of the Empire of Mali. Mali itself is derived from the name Manding.

In the case of toponyms, the names of physical features—such as rivers and mountains—often provide evidence that a different language was spoken in an area before the language spoken there today gained currency. People conquering a new area frequently supply the names of settlements from their own language, but retain previously existing names for physical features. In Europe, physical features often bear Celtic names in areas long since vacated by the Celts—the name of the River Avon being an example in England. In Africa, similar situations certainly occur, although still requiring historical and linguistic analysis. Several river and mountain names in the present Temne-speaking area of northern Sierra Leone do not appear to be Temne in origin, for example, although their ultimate origin has yet to be determined.

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Important work needs to be undertaken in the study of place-name elements, especially terms relating to settlements and topographical features. The geographical distribution of the Manding settlement terms *-dugu* and *-bugu* is a source of information, for example, on the ultimate extent of Manding-dominated communities in West Africa.

A further area in which detailed research is needed is in the field of 'foreigners' names'. The names which ethnic groups apply to each other frequently reflect situations in earlier periods of history: the Temne of Sierra Leone, for example, refer to the Mende as *Mëni*, a form of the name *Mani* which occurs in Portuguese accounts of Sierra Leone long before the appearance of the form *Mende*. In Europe, the French use of *allemand* for 'German' reflects the former importance of the Allemanic tribe along the Rhine.

The historical study of ethnonyms and toponyms in Africa must be based on the scientific recording and transcription of the names involved. Some system of orthographic harmonization is therefore needed to avoid the wide variations of spelling to which so many names have been subjected in the past.

Many cases of wide fluctuation in orthography can be found among African ethnonyms, of which the following two may be cited as examples from West Africa: Banyum, Banhun, Banyun, Bagnoun, Banyung, Banyuk, Bainuk, Bainouk; Doghosie, Dorhossie, Dorosie, Dorhosyé, Doyosye, Doghohe.

In general, toponyms show somewhat less fluctuation of orthography than ethnonyms, perhaps because they constitute fixed points of reference on maps. Variations frequently occur, however, in cases where a toponym is cited in the context of different languages, e.g. Muqdisho (Somali), Mogadishu (English), Mogadiscio (Italian), Mogdischu (German). At the same time, toponyms often become fixed in forms which are inaccurate. We have an example of two towns in Sierra Leone, Magburaka and Matotaka, recorded regularly in these forms, although actually called Magborka and Matotoka.

The harmonization of ethnonyms and toponyms in Africa

Ethnonyms (ethnic names) and toponyms (place-names) must of necessity be considered within the context of proper names in general, including language names and personal names. Personal names may become place-names, and vice versa, personal names (especially clan and family names) may overlap with ethnic names, ethnic names may be applied to languages, and language names to ethnic groups.

A dilemma exists in the search for the harmonized transcription of both ethnonyms and toponyms. On the one hand, there is the need for a simple, consistent international spelling, as an aid to general reference and gazetteering.

On the other hand, there is the need for a precise and accurate rendering of each name in its language of origin, as an aid to onomastic study.

Further problems, relating especially to Africa, include the multiplicity of African languages and their subsidiary dialects; the recording of names by Europeans without adequate linguistic knowledge, often using informants foreign to the area concerned; the existence of distorted names in historical documents (both European and Arab); the occurrence of transitory place-names (for example, based on the name of the current head of a clan or family); the use of prefixes in many African languages; and the difficulty of equating place-names with specific points on aerial surveys.

From the historian's standpoint, the same duality of need exists as outlined above. There is the need for a standard gazetteer of names, for geographical and personal reference, but also the need for the detailed onomastic study of names where they contain—or may contain—information of historical interest.

It is of fundamental importance that problems of harmonizing the transcription of African names should be viewed in the context of the harmonization of the orthographies of major African languages. In the latter case, one is dealing with the establishment of consistent and efficient systems of writing within individual languages, and as far as possible between neighbouring languages, while in the former case one is dealing with the establishment of systems of writing for the citation of African names in isolation or within the context of an international language.

The systems of writing used for African languages and for African names have inevitably reflected the orthographies introduced by former colonial powers for the transcription of their own European languages. Even today, qualities of vowel in African languages tend to be distinguished in 'francophone' countries by the use of French accents (e.g. ò, è or ó, é), whereas 'anglophone' countries use diacritics more readily available on English typewriters (e.g. ø, ø); similarly j and c(h) are usually given values close to their English value in 'anglophone' countries, but not normally in 'francophone' countries. At the level of names, there is even more divergence between 'anglophone' and 'francophone' practice, since established ethnic, place- and personal names have often conserved their old 'amateur' spellings even where more modern, scientific orthographies have been established for the language in question.

This last point, relating to conservatism, should not be neglected in any approach to the harmonization of the orthography of names. Just as reforms in the established orthography of an individual language are liable to encounter resistance from 'traditionalists', there is likely to be reaction against changes in the familiar spelling of names, especially personal names. This can be overcome, if it is demonstrated that the newer form is more in harmony with the historical origin or literal meaning of the names concerned.

In previous discussions on the transcription of African languages and nomenclature, the major issue has been the selection and standardization of characters necessary for languages whose inventory of phonemes cannot be readily catered for by the individual letters of the unmodified Roman alphabet. In such cases, one is inevitably faced with the conflicting advantages and disadvantages of: (a) introducing diacritics to modify Roman letters (e.g. è, ò); and/or (b) using Roman digraphs (e.g. sh, gb); and/or (c) supplementing the alphabet with non-Roman letters (e.g. ɔ, η); and/or (d) giving unconventional phonemic values to existing Roman letters e.g. q.

The debate on this subject has continued for over a century, and valid objections have been made to each of the above alternatives: (a) diacritics have the disadvantage that they are frequently omitted in writing, that they require back-spacing on most typewriters, and that they often require special printer's type; (b) digraphs have the disadvantage that they break the convention of one symbol per phoneme, that they increase the length of individual words (especially where they occur in clusters), and that they may lead to confusion with natural sequences of the letters involved; (c) non-Roman letters have the disadvantage of appearing 'exotic' and of being absent from most typewriters and printing machines; (d) unconventional phonemic values have the disadvantage of confusing readers moving from one language to another.

In practice, choices among the above alternatives have frequently been made for local, pragmatic reasons, as exemplified by the 'francophone'/ 'anglophone' divergences mentioned above. Important attempts have been and are being made to increase the degree of harmonization of orthographies in Africa, both within individual languages and between neighbouring languages, but it is realistic to recognize that alternative methods of supplementing the standard Roman alphabet are likely to coexist for the foreseeable future. Given this fact, it would seem valuable to establish a recognized set of alternative transcriptions for the most common phonemes occurring in major African languages. Such an international system would provide, as far as possible, one to one equivalents between letters of the Roman alphabet (unmodified, with diacritics, or in the form of digraphs), special letters (as used in IAI's Africa alphabet) and letters of the Arabic alphabet.

The draft proposals cover suggested standardized equivalents (Roman, Africa alphabet and Arabic) within an International Orthography for the Transcription of African languages and nomenclature (IOTA).

If adopted, after suitable expansion and revision, IOTA would provide established alternatives for the transcription not only of textual material in individual languages but also of proper names cited in isolation, including ethnonyms and toponyms. There is no reason, for example, why è and ε, 'b and ʙ, or sh and ʃ, should not be regarded as orthographic/typographic variants of the same letter in an international African alphabet, just as g and ǵ

exist as variants in the conventional Roman alphabet, or as *ö* and *oe* exist as variants in the German alphabet.

In a paper submitted to the Unesco meeting on the Transcription and Harmonization of African Languages (Niamey, 1978), it has been proposed that the initial framework of reference for IOTA be established on the basis of the phonemic inventories of the thirteen languages spoken in Africa by an estimated 10 million or more, including both first- and second-language speakers. Excluding English and French, these languages include: Amharic, Arabic, Fulbe, Hausa, Igbo, Lingala, Mandingo (Malinké-Bambara-Dyula), Nguni (Xhosa-Zulu-Swati-Ndebele), Oromo, Rwanda-Rundi, Swahili, Tswana-Sotho, Yoruba. Although these languages represent only a small proportion of the total number of languages in Africa, they are distributed relatively evenly throughout the continent and exemplify a large proportion of the individual orthographic problems which arise in Africa. At the same time, the areas they cover are often of particular interest from the viewpoint of the historical study of toponyms. The relatively recent spread of several of these languages has inevitably led to the submergence of other languages for which the only remaining evidence is likely to be found in surviving toponyms.

In the case of the transcription of individual languages, the IOTA system would mean simply that the form of a particular element (or 'letter') could vary within an orthography according to practical needs or restraints: hence *te* and *tè*, for example, or *ʃa* and *sha*, would be variant ways of writing or printing the same basic letters in a specific language.

The varying phonetic and phonemic inventories of individual languages make it of course impossible to provide any absolute phonetic or phonemic values for each line of equivalents in the IOTA proposals. This problem can be overcome by using the actual sound systems and established orthographies of the thirteen major languages listed above as an initial framework of reference for IOTA. In the case of isolated proper names, however, the problem is less straightforward, since a collection of names from different African language areas cannot by definition relate to a single phonological system. For this reason, a clear distinction must be made between the precise application of IOTA (or any other system of transcription) to proper names from a *specific language*, and the application of the system to proper names in general.

In the case of transcriptions of proper names from within a specific language, it may sometimes be necessary to record *more* phonological detail than in general texts from the same language. In particular, if tone marks are omitted from texts written in an African language, as is frequently the case, the context will normally resolve any potential ambiguities. Context cannot assist even a native speaker, however, if there are two or more possible ways of pronouncing the tones of an unfamiliar name and hence of establishing its etymology. For the purposes of onomastic study, therefore, and of establishing

precise and accurate gazetteers of names within individual languages or local areas, it will frequently be necessary to add tone marks to the orthography used.

In the case of establishing consistent spellings for names on an Africa-wide basis, however, it may be desirable to record *less* phonological detail than is normally required for the transcription of the individual languages involved. For any international gazetteer, or index of names, it is clearly impractical for special non-Roman letters to be employed (e.g. η, ς, etc.), and alternative diacritics and/or digraphs therefore need to be employed. Even the use of diacritics can undermine the practical value of such a list, especially if used too extensively, and in practice diacritics are frequently omitted from international maps and gazetteers. In the recent provisional edition of the *Language Map of Africa and the Adjacent Islands* (IAI, 1977), for example, language names have been established on the basis of the most convenient Roman transcription of the speakers' own names for their languages, with the use of diacritics kept to a minimum. For the subsequent, definitive edition, it is proposed to use diacritics and digraphs more consistently, however, following the IOTA system. Diacritics will clearly have more value, and be regarded more seriously, if they form part of an established international system of orthographic conventions.

The task involved in the scientific recording and study of proper names in Africa is immense. It requires co-ordination not only on the international plane, but also among specialists in different disciplines, including historians, geographers, sociologists and linguists. On the one hand, work needs to progress in the establishment of preferred, standardized forms for African proper names occurring frequently in written documents such as place-names, ethnic and language names, personal names. On the other hand, work needs to be undertaken wherever possible towards the establishment of detailed gazetteers of proper names occurring within individual languages and/or local areas.

A methodology for the study of migrations

Cheikh Anta Diop

In this paper a methodological standpoint is adopted. Ethnohistorians are usually wary of applying their theories to actual cases, and confine themselves to putting forward general ideas.

We would like to help in filling this gap by showing how in the absence of archaeological data, or written records, it is possible in some special cases to use linguistic, ethnic (ethnonyms and toponyms) and socio-political data to reach virtual certainty in reconstructing Africa's past.

We aim to show that in relatively recent times a first wave of migrants from the shores of Lake Albert and the Nubian hills (the area inhabited by the Nuer, Shilluk and Dinka) reached Senegal following the corridor made by the tenth and twentieth parallels north, while another wave of migrants from the same Great Lakes area followed the course of the Zaire to its mouth and spread out along the coast, but could not go farther than the Cameroon and the Niger Delta. The peoples of the Gulf of Benin from southern Nigeria to southern Ivory Coast (Ibo, Yoruba, Oyo, Ewe, Akan, Agni, Baoulé and so on) also arrived from the east at an earlier date. They must have felt the pressure of the newer migrations, which probably caused secondary population movements westwards along the Atlantic coast, the evidence of which seems to be indicated in the cultural unity of this area compared with the differences in physical type and clan names which are to be found in the Sahel to the north.

Linguistic data

An undisputed linguistic relationship between two geographically remote groups of languages can be relevant for the study of migrations. A grammatical (or genetic) relationship, if clear enough, is never an accident. Thus the comparative table of verb forms in Ancient Egyptian, Coptic and Walaf (the language of the

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Senegalese group in West Africa, generally spelt ‘Wolof’) shown in Table 1 indicates the existence of cultural contacts, the nature of which remains to be determined, between the Nile Valley and coast of West Africa. There is the same suffix conjugation, the same morpheme (n) for the past in the same place,

TABLE 1. Comparison of verb forms

Egyptian	Coptic (Sahidic dialect)	Wolof
<i>Kef</i> =to grasp, to take; to deprive (of something) ¹	<i>keh</i> =to tame	<i>kef</i> =to seize its prey
<i>Present</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Present</i>
<i>kef i</i>	<i>keh ei</i>	<i>kef na</i>
<i>kef ek</i> (2nd pers. masc.)	<i>keh ek</i> (2nd pers. masc.)	<i>kef nga</i> (2nd pers. masc. & fem.)
<i>kef et</i> (2nd pers. fem.)	<i>keh ere</i> (2nd pers. fem.)	<i>kef na</i> (3rd pers. masc. & fem.) <i>kef ef</i> } impersonal <i>kef es</i> }
<i>kef ef</i>	<i>keh ef</i> }	
<i>kef es</i>	<i>keh es</i> }	
<i>kef n</i>	<i>keh en</i>	<i>kef nanu</i>
<i>kef ton</i>	<i>keh etetû</i>	<i>kef ngen</i>
<i>kef sen</i> ²	<i>key ey</i>	<i>kef nañu</i>
<i>Past</i>	<i>Past</i>	<i>Past</i>
<i>kef ni</i>	<i>keh nei</i>	<i>kef (on) nâ</i>
<i>kef (o) nek</i> (2nd pers. masc.)	<i>keh nek</i> (2nd pers. masc.)	<i>kef (on) nga</i> (2nd pers. masc.)
<i>kef (o) net</i> (2nd pers. fem.)	<i>keh nere</i> (2nd pers. fem.)	<i>kef (on) na</i> (3rd pers. masc. & fem.) <i>kef (on) ef</i> } impersonal <i>kef (on) es</i> }
<i>kef (o) nef</i>	<i>keh nef</i> }	
<i>kef (o) nes</i>	<i>keh nes</i> }	
<i>kef (o) nen</i>	<i>keh nen</i>	<i>kef (on) nanu</i>
<i>kef (o) n ten</i>	<i>keh neteten</i>	<i>kef (on) ngen</i>
<i>kef (o) n sen</i> ²	<i>keh ney</i> ³	<i>kef (on) nañu</i>

1. R. Lambert, *Lexique hiéroglyphique*, p. 129, Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1925.
 2. A. de Buck, *Grammaire élémentaire du moyen égyptien*, Leiden, 1952.
 3. A. Mallon, *Grammaire copte*, 3rd ed., pp. 207-34, Beirut, 1926.

and the same pronominal suffixes for the third person singular (impersonal) in all three languages. This cannot be due to chance, for specific similarities are involved.¹

TABLE 2. Comparative morphology

Ancient Egyptian	Wolof
<i>Masculine singular</i>	<i>Singular (invariable)</i>
<i>pw (ipw)</i> = this, that (dem. adj.)	<i>bw</i> = this, that (dem. adj.)
<i>pwy (ipwy)</i> = this (specific determinative)	<i>bwy</i> = this one, which is
<i>pn (ipn)</i> = this one	<i>banē</i> = that one; <i>nē, ni, nā</i> = over there
	<i>bāle</i> = that one; <i>lē, li, lā</i> = this, that (neut. pron.)
<i>pf (ipf)</i> = that one	<i>bafē</i> = that one; <i>fe</i> = there, over there
<i>pfa (ipfa)</i> = that one	<i>bafa</i> = that one; <i>fā</i> = over there
<i>pfy</i>	<i>bafi</i> = this one; <i>fi</i> = here
<i>Pa (iPa)</i> = this, that (dem. adj.)	<i>bā</i> = that one
<i>Feminine singular</i>	
<i>tw</i> = the one	<i>tw</i> = there
<i>twy</i> = the one (specific determinative)	<i>twy</i> = there, where
<i>tn</i> = this one	<i>tané, talē</i> = over there
<i>tf</i> = that one	<i>tafē</i> = over there
<i>ta</i> = that one	<i>tafā</i> = over there
<i>ta</i> = this, that (dem. adj.)	<i>ta</i> = over there

TABLE 3. Neuter singular demonstratives

Egyptian	Wolof
<i>nu</i> = this, that (dem. adj.)	<i>nā</i> = like this; this, that (dem. adj.)
<i>nn</i> = this one; this (neut. pron.)	<i>lā</i> = this, that
<i>nf</i> = that one; (that neut. pron.)	<i>nanē, nalē, lalē</i> = this, that (dem. adj.); the one, that one; there
<i>nfa</i> = that one; that (neut. pron.)	<i>nafē, nafalē, lafē, lafalē</i> = that one; that (neut. pron.)
<i>na</i> = this, that (dem. adj.), the one	<i>nafa, lafa</i> = that one; that (neut. pron.)
	<i>na</i> = this, that (dem. adj.), the one

Wolof having lost the desinential feminine in *t*, the Egyptian feminine demonstratives beginning with *t* have all without exception become adverbs of place, although they have retained all the other phonemes inherited from their former functions (*wy*, *n*, *l*). This makes it possible to identify their origin.

The actual plural of the demonstratives fell into disuse in Middle Egyptian, and was replaced by the neuter of the demonstrative pronoun followed by a word in the genitive which could be either singular or plural; for example, *nn n (j) st* (that (neut. pron.) of woman/women, these women).

TABLE 4. Plural forms

Ancient Egyptian	Wolof
<i>nw (+n)</i> =these, those (dem. pron.)	<i>nw ne</i> =those ones; <i>nw</i> =these, those (dem. pron.)
<i>un (+n)</i> =these, those (dem. pron.)	<i>nanēnē, nanalē, nanē, nale</i>
<i>nf (+n)</i> =these, those (dem. pron.)	<i>nafē, nafalē</i>
<i>nfa (+n)</i> =these, those (dem. pron.)	<i>nafa</i>
<i>na (+n)</i> =these, those (dem. pron.)	<i>nana</i> =those ones; <i>na, nalē</i> =those ones

However, the most typical and the most unexpected similarity is between the archaic plural demonstratives and the Wolof demonstratives (Table 5).

They are derived from *pw*, *pn* and *pf* respectively.

TABLE 5. Ancient Egyptian and Wolof demonstratives

Ancient Egyptian	Wolof
<i>Old feminine plural</i>	
<i>iptwt</i> =these ones	<i>batōta</i>
<i>iptw</i> =these, those	<i>batw</i> =this one
<i>iptn</i> =these ones	<i>batné, batalé</i> =that one
<i>iptf</i> =these ones	<i>batafé</i> =that one, over there

These Wolof forms have become masculine singular demonstratives. For the plural, Wolof adopted the recent form of the Ancient Egyptian *nw*, with palatalization of the Egyptian initial nasal.

The phonetic explanation of the transition from the Egyptian to the Wolof forms is simple: the form (*pw*)→*ipw* shows how the Egyptian unvoiced bilabial stop (*p*) became voiced in an intervocalic position, becoming *b* in Wolof.

According to the law of phonetic equivalents which I have established, Egyptian *n* corresponds to Wolof *l*; thus the Egyptian demonstrative *pn* corresponds to two synonymous Wolof demonstratives existing side by side in that language: *pn*→*bané*→*balé* (*n*→*l*). It is to be noted that this consonant shift is not yet complete in Wolof. Moreover Egyptian had no special sign for rendering the liquid *l*. Instead it used *r* and more rarely *n*.

Definition and origin of the African class languages

African languages with a variable number of consonants which can all replace the *p* of the Egyptian demonstrative *pw* without change of meaning are called class languages. I have shown that nominal classes were already latent in Ancient Egyptian.²

Regular sound equivalences such as those set out in Table 6 lend support to the idea of a genealogical relationship: (*n*)→Egyptian initial→(*l*) in Wolof.

TABLE 6. Sound equivalences

Egyptian	Wolof
<i>nad</i> =to ask	<i>lad</i> =to ask
<i>nah</i> =to protect	<i>lah</i> =to protect
<i>nebt</i> =tress	<i>let</i> =tress
<i>tef-net</i> (compound word)=the being who has been spat out; the goddess who came out of the saliva of the god Ra	<i>tef-nit</i> =to spit out a human being <i>tef-lit, tefli</i> =spittle

These laws of phonetic equivalents are more fully set out in pp. 71–84 of my *Parenté génétique de l'égyptien pharaonique et des langues négro-africaines*. The evidence of linguistic facts justifies continuing the demonstration. Several West African languages such as Wolof, Dyula and Serer (Senegal) are class languages like the Bantu languages, which seems to indicate a migration.

Ethnic data

Toponyms and 'ethnonyms'

Clan names in Black Africa are still to a large extent ethnic indicators.

Figure 1 gives a synoptic view of clan names common to the Senegalese and to peoples in other regions of Africa—Upper Nile, Chad, Zaire, Cameroon, Congo, etc.

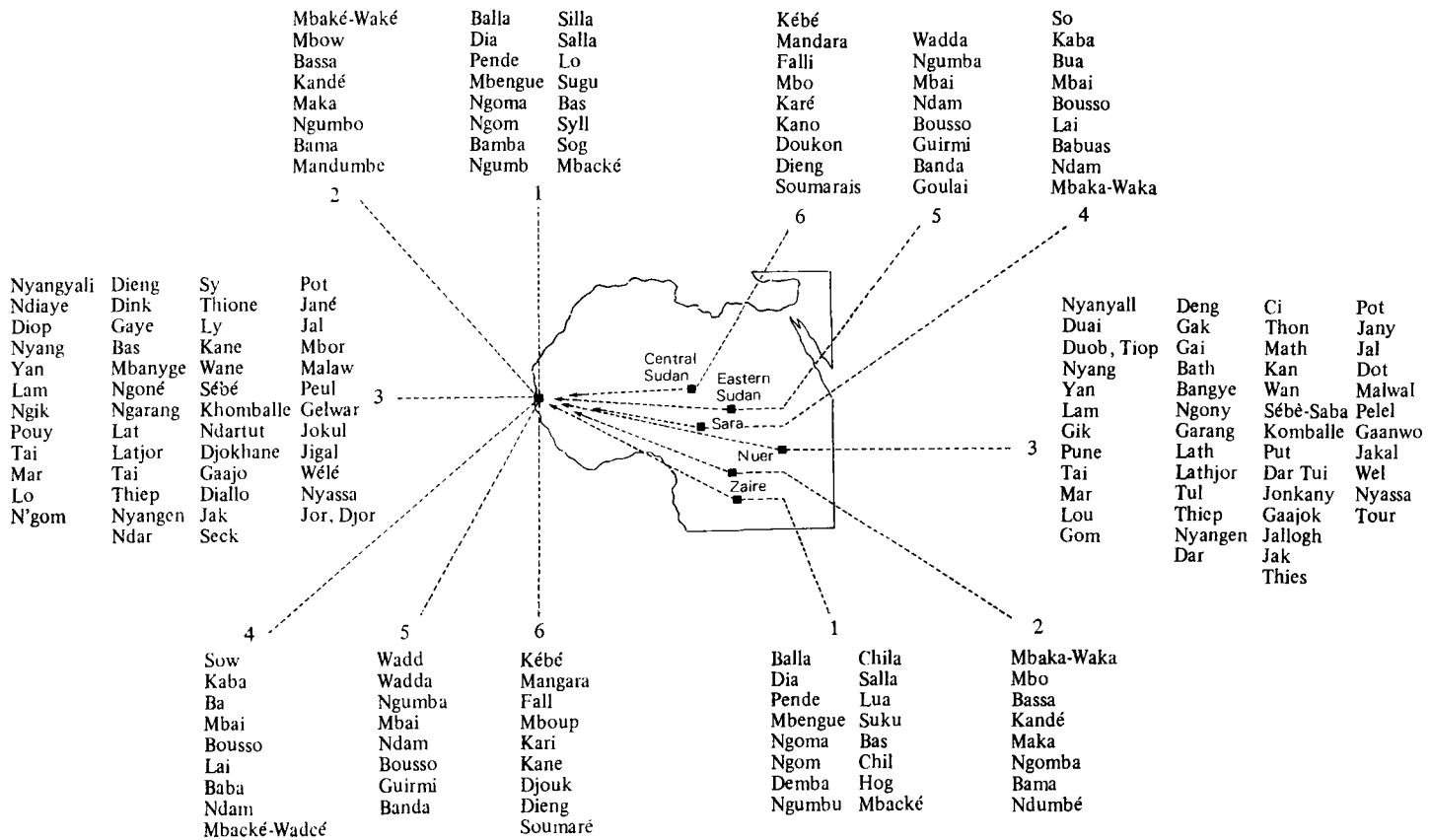


FIG. 1. Formation of the Senegalese people on the basis of 'ethnonymy' and toponymy. The comparison is between names in boxes with the same number, as between point of departure (e.g. Upper Nile, box 3) and point of arrival (e.g. Senegal, box 3).

It is noticeable that Senegalese ethnic names are concentrated in a very small area, such as the Nubian hills and the banks of Lake Albert, among the Nuer, Kao, Nyaro, Dinka (whose real name is Dieng)³ and Shilluk, a region straddling Uganda, southern Sudan and Kenya. Toro and Nioro are both 'ethnonyms' and also toponyms in Uganda and Senegal. The old kingdoms of Nioro (or Bu-Nyoro) and Toro, terms which also designate tribes living in the areas mentioned above, are in Uganda, on the banks of Lake Albert and to the south-west of it.

In West Africa there is a Nioro in Macina in Mali, between the Upper Senegal and the Niger, a Toro or Futa Toro, an area on the Senegal River inhabited by the Fulani and the Tukulor, and lastly a Nyoro in the Rip in south-eastern Senegal.

In antiquity the Ancient Egyptians called the inhabitants of the high plateaux along the Nile Valley in Upper Egypt the Kao Kao (*Kao* means 'high', 'height', 'upper part', 'top', in Ancient Egyptian).

Today a Kao Kao tribe is to be found inhabiting an area of the same name in the Nubian hills. Tucker studied the language of this tribe, which is becoming extinct (there are now probably 1,200 of them left), and found a close relationship with ancient Egyptian.⁴ The notation IK^a used by the author to designate this tribe shows how urgent it is to standardize the spelling of names in African anthropology.

According to the *Ta'RiKh al-Sūdān*,⁵ the medieval city of Gao on the bend of the Niger was really called Kao Kao→Gao Gao→Kaoga. Sâdi tries in vain to explain the origin of this name on the basis of popular etymology which assimilated the sound of the word to the sound of the royal tom-tom.

The present inhabitants of Kayor (better spelt Kajor) and Baol in Senegal (the hinterland as opposed to the coast) are called Kao Kao, with the same meaning as the corresponding Egyptian term: *Kao Kao* means 'highlander' in Wolof; *Kao* means 'high', 'top', 'upper parts', etc. (identical meaning to that in Ancient Egyptian); *Kao ga* means 'the country of the Kao Kao', 'the heights' (Wolof).

Now the region so designated is a plain. It would therefore seem that the Kao Kao of Senegal retained the place-name of their birthplace on the Nile. In support of this hypothesis it is worth pointing out that the Ancient Egyptians called the coastal dwellers of what is now Cyrenaica, west of the Nile Delta, the Lebu. From the nineteenth Egyptian dynasty under Merenptah and Ramses III (twelfth century B.C.) onwards, at the time of the invasion by the sea people, the Indo-European groups defeated by Egypt were driven back west of the delta; and white Lebu or 'Tamhou' came to coexist with the black Lebu, the first occupants of the land in what is now known as Libya. These first whites were the Proto-Berbers; there is no demonstrable relationship between them and the prehistoric race of the Ibero-Maurusians.

To sum up, the Egyptians called both the black and the white people of the Mediterranean coast west of the delta Lebu, and the inhabitants of the high plateaux along the Nile Kao Kao. These two terms recur in the ethnic situation in Senegal today: the coastal people of the Cape Verde peninsula (off Dakar) are called Lebu and what is more they have in their language the vestigial term *Lebu khonkh bop* (red-faced Lebu=white Lebu) which they can no longer explain and which would also seem to indicate that they coexisted in the past with a pale-skinned race.

The Lebu in turn probably first came down from north to south and then forked off westwards as far as the Atlantic.

In Senegal the term 'Kao Kao' is in general applied to all the inhabitants of the hinterland, away from the seaboard. Those of the Kao Kao who live in the Kayor area are also called Ai Jor→Ajor=the Jor, and Jor-Jor, the latter term being used more particularly by the coastal Lebu to designate the inhabitants of the hinterland. Now the Jour tribe is found among the Nuer and Dinka (Dieng). But the *Ta' RiKh al-Sūdān* also reports the existence of the Berber tribe of Ajor.⁶ Anthropological data suggest that this is only a coincidence: the comparison we have carried out of the Wolof and Berber languages showed no genetic relationship.

It is remarkable to find among the Nuer, Dieng (or Dinka), Shilluk, Kao Kao, Nioro, Nyaro and Toro of the Upper Nile the typical traditional names of northern Senegalese ethnic groups (Wolof, Fulani, Tukulor and Serer) (see Table 7).

TABLE 7. Names of ethnic groups of the Upper Nile and northern Senegal

UPPER NILE	SENEGAL
<i>Nuer</i>	<i>Fulani</i>
Kao, IK ^a	Ka
Bari	Bari
Jallogh	Jallo
Ndorobo	Torobé
Pelel	Pelel
<i>Nuer</i>	<i>Tukulor</i>
Kan	Kan
Wan	Wan
Ci	Sy
Lith	Ly
Thiam	Thiam
Malwal	Malaw (Laobé first name)

Nuer

Dieng (i.e. Dinka and related tribes)
 Duai
 Tiop, Duob
 Nyang
 Yan
 Lam
 Gik
 Puok
 Tai
 Nyanyali
 Mar
 Lou, Leau
 Gom
 Deng, Dieng
 Gak
 Gai
 Bath
 Banyge
 Garang
 Lath
 Lathjor
 Tiep
 Tul
 Kombolle
 Put
 Dar
 Dar tut
 Cieng Nyagen (village of the
 Niang-Cieng=village in Nuer)
 Jokany
 Gaajok
 Jallogh
 Jak
 Kong
 Jung
 Cam
 Badeng
 Thiec
 Pot
 Jany
 Ngunzok
 Jal
 Nueny (toponym) (village)

Wolof

Dieng
 N'Diaye
 Diop
 Nyang
 Yan
 Lam
 Ngik
 Pouy
 Taï
 Nyangyali
 Mar
 Lo
 N'Gom
 Dieng
 Gak
 Gai
 Bâs
 M'Banyge (first name)
 Garang (Wolof first name)
 Latir
 Latdjor, Lat(ir) Djor
 Tiep (old village)
 Tul (town)
 Khombolle (town)
 Put (town)
 N'Dar (town)
 N'Dar Tut (toponym)
 Nyangen = village of the Nyang

 Jokhané
 Gaajo
 Jallo
 Jak
 Kong
 Jong
 Thiam (?)
 Badiane (?)
 Seck (?)
 Pôt (Lebu first name)
 Jané
 Ngundj
 Jal
 Niani (toponym from the Upper
 Senegal/Niger)

Yang
 Juan, Jékagne
 Bul
 Dhong
 Bor
 Tut nyang
 Nyajang
 Dhor Dieng=de Dieng

Kai
 Lith
 Malwal
 Pelel
 Wol
 Lak
 Gaanwar
 Jikul
 Wel
 Thior
 Dier
 Jman, Jmem
 Kan
 Thon
 Nyassa (Lake) (toponym)
 (southern Africa)

Yan
 Jañ
 Mbul (name of a historic town)
 Ndong
 Mbor
 Nyang
 Nyanang (toponym)
 Dieng (real name of the Dinka), Dior
 Dieng (woman's name)

Gaï
 Liss
 Malaw
 Peul (?)
 Wole (Nigerian name)
 Lak
 Gelwar (?) (*n*→*l*)
 Jokul, Jigal
 Wélé
 Jor or Djor (woman's first name)
 Dieri
 Jim (man's first name)
 Kan
 Thione
 Nyasse (?)

SOUTHERN ZAIRE

Balla
 Dia
 Pende
 Mbengue
 Ngoma
 Ngom
 Bemba
 Ngumbu
 Chila
 Salla
 Lua
 Suku
 Bas
 Chil
 Hog
 Mbacké

SENEGAL

Balla (man's first name)
 Dia
 Pende
 Mbengue
 Ngoma
 Ngom
 Bamba (man's first name)
 Ngumb
 Silla
 Salla
 Lo
 Sugu
 Bâs
 Syll
 Sôg
 Mbacké

NORTHERN ZAIRE

Yela
 Mbacka-Waka
 Bassa
 Ba
 Mbo
 Ngomo
 Maka
 Ngoundi
 Rama
 Ndumbé

 Kandé
 Ngumba
 Bamba
 Benga

EASTERN SUDAN

Wadda
 Gabu
 Mbaï
 Ndam

 Bousso
 Guirmi

 Banda
 Goulai

Sara

Mbaï
 Lai
 Ndam
 Kaba
 Bua
 Babuas
 Mbacka-Waka, Bwaka-MBaka

SENEGAL

Yela
 Mbacké-Waké
 Bassa
 Ba
 Mbow
 Ngom
 Maka (name of town)
 Ngoundj
 Rama (woman's first name)
 Mandumbé (man's first name), Ndumbé
 (woman's first name)
 Kandé
 Ngumba (name of town)

 Mbengue

SENEGAL

Wolof

Wadd, Wadda (man's first name)
 Ngabu (name of village in Baol)
 Mbaï
 Ndam (name of village, after the clan
 name)
 Bousso
 Guërmi (noble, member of the reigning
 dynasty)
 Banda (man's first name)
 Guilaï (man's first name)

Mbaï
 Lai
 Ndam
 Kaba
 Ba
 Baba
 Mbacké-Wacké

NORTH-EAST AFRICA

Sungor (in the Sennar)
Sine (Sennar plain)

SENEGAL

Singor-Sidar (Serer)¹
Sine (name of a fertile swampy area in Senegal)

CENTRAL SUDAN

Kéba
Mandara
Falli
Mbum
Karé
Kano (name of town)

SENEGAL

Kéba
Mangara
Fall
Mboub
Karé
Kane

CENTRAL SUDAN

Doukon
Dieng

SENEGAL

Djouk
Dieng

CHAD

So (legendary people of the Sao)

SENEGAL

Sow (Laobé)

IVORY COAST (NORTH)

Lo

SENEGAL

Lo

SIERRA LEONE

Mende
Capi
Tend

SENEGAL

Mendi
Capi (toponym)
Tend

1. Popular etymology has this derived from the Portuguese *Senhor*, meaning 'Mr'. In Ancient Egyptian 'Sire' means 'mud' or 'muddy earth'.

It will be seen that the Ndam, the Mbacké and the Bouso probably came as a group from the same area, which lends colour to the ancestral kinship they claim in Senegal.

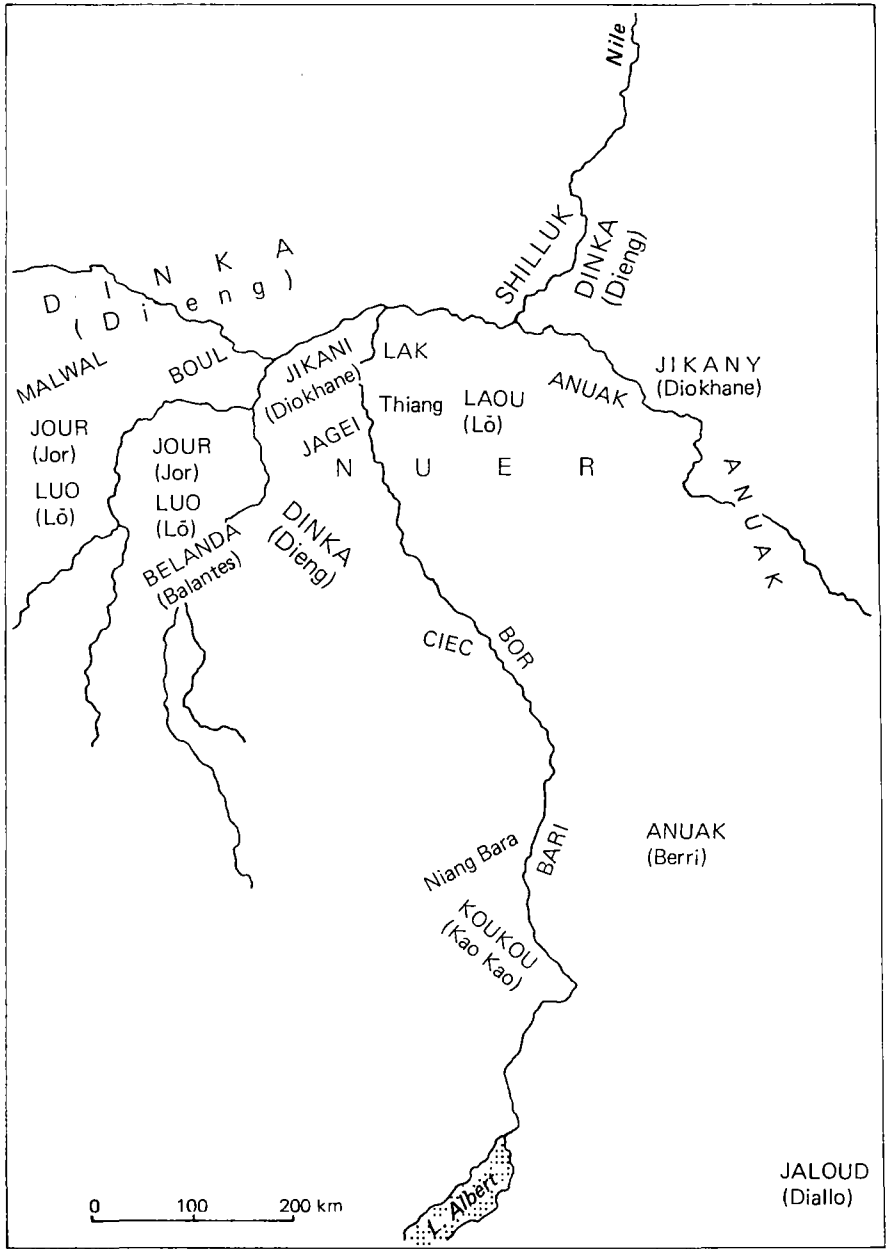


FIG. 2. The Senegalese people's birthplace on the Nile

Clan names of the Fungur, a neighbouring tribe of the Kao and Nyaro in the Nubian hills (the latter now number only 2,000 persons) with Senegalese names:

Kombole	Khombole (Senegalese toponym)
Ballo	Balla (first name)
Koli	Koli (first name)

<i>Tullushi names</i>	<i>Senegal</i>
Tullusi	Tûl (name of village)
Karé	Karé
Kawé	Ka
	Kao Kao
Kasselo	Kassé

When comparative studies are well advanced, it might be possible to investigate the laws governing variations in 'ethnonyms' from one language to another on the basis of sound equivalents, as in Peter→Pierre. For example:

Ogot (Kenya)→Ogo (Senegal)→Oboté (Uganda) (?)
 Boyt (Kenya)→Boy (Senegal)
 Kiporo (Kenya)→Kipré (Ivory Coast)→Kheper (Ancient Egyptian) (?)
 Mati (Senegal)→Maat (Ancient Egypt)
 Aatou (Senegal)→Atum (Ancient Egypt).

The importance of studying vestigial terms in a language, and the information which this can yield

In addition to the Wolof term 'red-faced Lebu'='pale-skinned Lebu' already dealt with, there is *ndoh um ñw̄l*, a vestigial term in Wolof meaning literally 'water of the river', 'water of the black one' (*ñw̄l* meaning 'black'). Now the Nile of mythical times, at the beginning of cosmic creation, was called '*nwn*' (muddy, completely black primeval waters). So it can be said with virtual certainty that: Egyptian→*nwn*→*ñw̄l* (Wolof).

In the Wolof phonetic system the velar vowel *w* palatalizes the nasal *n*, and because it is long the final nasal of the word tends to be dissimilated to *l*. In the presence of an identical short back vowel, the initial *n* is palatalized without the final *n* changing to *l*, e.g. *nwn* (we, us)→*ñwn* (we, us) (dialect of the town of Saint-Louis), Egyptian *nwn* (those)→*ñwne* (those there) (Wolof). Exception: *n̄wn*=*n* (Arabic) because introduced into Wolof recently by

scholars.⁷ *Anw* is the ethnic name of Osiris and the first inhabitants of Egypt; it is written with a pillar. Wolof *enw* (*yenw*) means 'carry on the head': (*k*)*enw* =pillar.

According to Ptolemy the name 'Gannaria' denotes a cape on the north coast of what is now Mauritania, in latitude 29°11' North, exactly on a level with the Canary Islands which was the home of the ancient Canarii. In Wolof *ganâr* means Mauritania.

This term, unknown to the Arabs or Berbers, is probably derived from the Latin root mentioned above. The mystery is in what period and as a result of what contacts or relationship it came into Wolof.

These facts suggest some contact or relationship between Wolof and Romanized populations in North Africa at the end of antiquity.⁸ Whether we are justified in assuming *gannaria*, *ganâr*, *ganah* (ancient African kingdom) is a question that must give us pause.

Socio-political structure

The study of the social structures of the tribes of the Upper Nile Valley sheds new light on those of West African peoples. We speak of the clan, while emphasizing the absence in Black Africa of the Indo-European patriarchal clan, characterized by the absolute authority of the paterfamilias, who has the power of life and death over his wife and children and can sell them, bury his daughters alive or throw unwanted healthy babies on the rubbish heap.⁹ The man receives a dowry from his wife, instead of bringing her one.

In Africa the typical pattern has been the matriarchal clan (absolute matriarchy), which developed to give rise to bilateral filiation.

Nuer society provides us with the missing link between absolute matriarchy and the patrilineal system. It shows us the exact stage at which the child, though bearing a personal name by order of birth in relation to the mother, begins more and more to be called by the name of his (maternal) clan. We see clan proper names come into being. Matrilocal marriage is the rule. A Nuer explained to Evans-Pritchard that the child bears the name of its mother's clan as long as the marriage is matrilocal, filiation then being matrilineal; but if the situation is reversed during the mother's lifetime and she joins her husband's clan (patrilocal marriage), filiation becomes patrilineal and the child changes its name and henceforth bears that of its father's clan.¹⁰ We see in the making the very material and historical conditions that gave rise to the two systems, matriarchal and patriarchal, which cannot be accounted for by any structuralist theory despite Evans-Pritchard's predilection for this doctrine. Inheritance, filiation and kinship—everything stems from the situation of the spouse who remains in his or her clan. The fact remains, however, that men created the two types of

clans in the course of adapting to their environment. They devised the Indo-European patriarchal clan in a nomadic environment and the matriarchal clan in a sedentary environment. This latter type of clan goes through the following phases:

Stage 1. Absolute matriarchy. Following the institution of exogamy as a result of the emergence of the taboo against incest, a man marries outside his clan but does not live in his wife's clan. He has no rights over his children, who do not inherit from him. The right of inheritance is the material aspect of kinship. Society recognizes no kinship or any social link between him and his children: he is genitor, not pater. His son inherits from his maternal uncle, who is the social father and seems to have had the power of life and death over his nephew. This situation is the opposite of that to be found in the Indo-European clans, where, until the reforms of Solon, the children of two sisters had no kinship link even among settled populations. The little Kamdang tribe (1,500 persons), which is related to the Tullushi Nuba, has a strictly unilateral system of matrilineal filiation.¹¹

Stage 2. Matrilocal marriage. The husband is admitted to and can live in the wife's clan. Virtually everything stems from the mother. The situation is almost unchanged except for private ownership of certain property and objects.

Stage 3. Bilateral filiation in certain cases. The man brings the dowry (a survival from matriarchy)¹² but takes his wife into his clan. Filiation becomes patrilineal, as we saw above. Many traces of the former matriarchy survive: but filiation becomes bilateral. This stage 3, which is often mistaken for a patriarchal regime in the Indo-European sense, is unknown in Black Africa. Among the Tullushi Nuba, who apparently practise patriarchy, the individual is nevertheless identified through his mother's clan: a child is called by the mother's clan name rather than by its personal name.¹³ It is to be noted that abduction (*gef* in Wolof) marks the transition from matrilocal to patrilocal marriage.

Division of labour: castes

The study of Nuer and Nubia society is of interest in more than one respect. At the clan stage in an embryonic form, we already see the division of labour and the inheritance of function which in the subsequent monarchical phase will lead to the caste system in areas such as West Africa. A desire to establish a social equilibrium leads to one Nuer clan hereditarily providing the grain priest, another the rain-maker, yet another the 'King'-maker, others still the lion or leopard specialist, witch doctor, or healer. If such a society requires territorial

defence against enemies, a military aristocracy emerges, and the pre-existing division of labour gives rise to a caste system—or at any rate to social stratification, for manual labour comes to be disdained when compared with the risks involved in the profession of arms. But for there to be a real caste system there must also be prohibitions affecting the blacksmith, the manual worker par excellence; this seems to be a direct legacy from Pharaonic Egypt, where until the late epoch iron working was surrounded by considerable superstition. In the temples, priests who came to touch iron instruments had to purify themselves. Here we see the transition from a clan society to a Wolof- or Kayor-type monarchic state.

Thus there were probably two types of stratified societies in Black Africa, one without castes (Central Africa, the Gulf of Benin and southern Africa) and the other with castes (West Africa, Ghana, Mali, Songhay, the Upper Nile Valley, etc.), the latter stemming more directly or at a later period from Pharaonic Egyptian society.

Totemism, related to the paternal clan, exists both in West Africa (Senegal) and among the Nilotic peoples.¹⁴

According to Nadel, a semi-totemic link exists among the Nuba (Nyaro and Kao Kao) between a human being and an animal (always a predatory animal).¹⁵ Changes during migrations in the totem related to a given 'ethnonym' need to be studied.

Witchcraft exists and as in Senegal is mainly connected with the mother's clan.¹⁶ The power of witchcraft is greater and more threatening when kinship is matrilineal, which means that already at the clan stage people have some idea, true or false, of the role of the father and of the mother in the conception of the child.

The conception of witchcraft is the same in Uganda and in Senegal; the witch eats human beings. The concrete manifestation of kinship among Nuba (Nyaro and Kao Kao) takes the form of being allowed to share (*mbok* in Wolof) in the funeral repast. Be it noted that the same holds good in Wolof society in Senegal, where the term for 'kinship' etymologically means 'sharing': *Bok* means 'to share something with someone, particularly a meal'; *mbok* means 'a relative, a person with whom one formerly shared the funeral repast'.¹⁷ The restrictive qualification 'funeral' is introduced here by the writer since, according to Nadel, only clans related by kinship links can eat together, other clans being excluded, which would fit in well with the meaning of the Wolof root, which is also unrestricted. I have introduced it here because these repasts are known initially to have had a religious character.

The wife remains all her life linked to her natural family, which is the most tangible social reality, and returns to it in the event of widowhood unless she marries a brother of her deceased husband, in other words, levirate operates among the Nuba (Kao Kao). The man brings the dowry, and his age-group

helps him build a hut for his parents-in-law, which is an indication of latent or previous matriarchy.

The custom of ritual sharing of meat, so common in West Africa (Senegal), is found among the Nuer: the *gaatnaca* clan owes a hind leg to the Thiang clan and a foreleg to the Jimen clan and the *gaat dila Buli* clan. The Jaalogh (Jallo) clan shares with the Kwe clan.¹⁸ The Jibuthni are the people who cut the scrotum of animals. Each family also has its *gwan buthni*, a distant relative in charge of ritual, particularly the slaughtering of animals.¹⁹ He must receive a ritually fixed amount of meat. It is possible to be a *gwan buthni* for several families at once; and a family may also have more than one *gwan buthni*. The latter is probably the forerunner of the West African griot (*gewel* in Wolof): the shift *n*→*l* appears to occur in the words. The original function in Nuer society must have changed gradually under the monarchic regimes of the Sahel. Note *buti* (to cut up an animal), in Wolof. Among the Nuer the *gam* is the hunter who gives the second spear-thrust, to help the chief hunter, the *koc*, who gives the first thrust to kill an elephant. For this he receives the left tusk, the chief hunter receiving the right tusk.²⁰ In Wolof *gam* or *gamou* is a serious relationship, through marriage, while *kal* is a joking relationship.²¹

Other common features

The mythical hero of the Shilluk is called Nykang, which seems to be merely a variant of the clan name Nyang so widespread among the Nuer. The Dieng (Dinka) live in symbiosis with the Nuer and the Shilluk. It is perhaps no accident that a joking relationship exists between the Dieng and the Nyang of Senegal, who are *kal* or *gamou*.

If anyone infringes the code of honour, the Wolof say that he is excluded from the legendary order of the Lak (or Lag), the allusion being to an order of knighthood of bygone days which did not take questions of honour lightly. Actually no Wolof is able to say when or where this Lak community existed. We are therefore compelled to connect it with the Nuer tribe of the Lak; but further investigation would be needed to see whether this tribe's warlike knightly traditions justify the legends current in Wolof society.

The Lak tribe of the Upper Nile just referred to must not be confused with the Laka tribe among the Sara, situated on the Wolof's hypothetical migration route.²² This latter was formed from fragments of small groups with dialectal variations so pronounced that the dialects are mutually incomprehensible.

The Wolof word *lakâ* (to be foreign, to speak a language other than Wolof, a foreign or incomprehensible language), seems to sum up and reflect this situation.

The Nuer clan of the Gaanwar brings to mind the Gelwar (Serer or Mandingo) of Senegal (*n*→*l*): Dar tut (Nuer personal proper name). *Tut* = the bull, the ancestor.

In Ancient Egyptian *tut* refers to the miniature portrait statuette of the deceased or the ancestor.

In Wolof *tut* means 'small'. Hence the name of the Ndar Tut quarter in Saint-Louis, Senegal, could well have quite a different and remote origin from that ascribed to it by most people or by popular etymology. Dar is a very common name among the Nuer, where Tut Nyang and similar words occur. *Tut* is a particle that can go with any other clan name. Latjor, Djor Dieng, etc., are other complex proper names also found in Senegal. The former can be broken down as follows: Lathir son of Dior, whence Lathir Dior→Lath(ir) Dior→Lathjor.

Note also: *gol* (hot ash fire (Nuer)); *gel* (hot ash fire (Wolof)); *taw* (the big elders' meeting hut (Kao and Nyaro)); *taw* (the elder (Wolof)); *Jit* (scorpion (Nuer)); *Jit* (scorpion (Wolof)); *Nyal* (the cow in the sky (Nuer)); *Nyal* (sistrum or gong (Wolof), symbol of Hathor, the cow in the sky, etc.).

But the Nuer language differs from Wolof in structure and vocabulary.²³ The latter is probably more akin to the language of the Kao Kao, which Tucker studied and which is fairly close to Ancient Egyptian; but further research is required to support this theory.

In the same area of the Upper Nile the Anuak tribe is still found. This brings to mind the Anu, a black race which peopled Egypt in early historical times; its name was often represented in early Egyptian texts by three vertical strokes or pillars, the whole being regarded as an ethnic feature.²⁴

A section of the Ndaou and Ngony tribes of southern Africa also seems to have emigrated to the west: Ngoné is a woman's first name in Senegal, and Ndaou is a fairly common Serer and Wolof name. The same is true of the Ndorobo, found east of Lake Victoria and north-east of the area occupied by the Nuer: the Torobé turn up among the Fulani and Tukolor, whilst Dorobé is the name of a dynasty of Fulani origin in the Kayor kingdom in Senegal. Similarly Sogno is the name of a Zairian tribe and a Kayor dynasty. Lastly, one of the most unexpected names is Mbacké (Senegal); with its variant 'Waké' it is also found in Zaire, where these names are borne by whole villages of pygmies and other ethnic groups.

Ngoy denotes the area on the right bank of the Lower Zaire, where it also serves as a clan name. In Senegal Ngoy is both a toponym and an ethnonym.

The Anuak are descended from Guila, second brother of Nyckang, the mythical ancestor of the Shilluk.²⁵ Guilé is a Senegalese place-name made famous by the Battle of Guilé (at the foot of the tamarind tree in Guilé) between the Kayor and the Djoloff, supposedly the furthest point reached by the Shilluk, Dieng and Nyang (Nuer) tribes of the Nile.

The Berri live around Mount Lépool (Upper Nile), and must not be confused with the Beir or the Bari. Bari is a Fulani name, while Beir is the

typical local name for Gorée Island. But it is also the name of a fruit whose shape might suggest the outline of that island in popular imagination.

The Jaluo, Jalloh (Jallo is a Senegalese Fulani name) and Gaya (Gaye, Senegal) live on the banks of Lake Victoria.

The Ndaou and the Séna (Serer names in Senegal) live side by side south of the Zambesi near the shores of the Indian Ocean.

The Ciec or Seck live among the Dieng or Dinka. The Pual or Pul are Nuer. The Kombolle and the Pelel are Nyaro matrilineal clans.

The Kombole, the Put and the Tull (Tullushi?) are found side by side in Senegal, if the proximity of the Senegalese towns of these names is anything to go by (and bearing in mind the role for the founding of settlements according to which they are usually named after their founder). The toponyms of these towns are the 'ethnonyms' of extinct tribes.

The Lu or Luo (Lo in Senegal and northern Ivory Coast) are Nuer living in Dieng (Dinka) territory east of the Nile.

The names Kwezi (Zaire and Ghana), Banza (eastern Sudan and Togo), Wole (United Republic of Tanzania and Nigeria) and Kipré (Ivory Coast and Kenya), which are not found in the Sahel zone, suggest that an early migration from the east first brought peoples to the Gulf of Benin, and that later a second one from the Upper Nile followed (a) the valley of the Zaire down to the sea and (b) a route roughly parallel with the Tropic of Cancer and south of it as far as the Atlantic (see Fig. 1). The first migration was trapped, in a way, by the second and held by it in a pincer grip. Hence the physical anthropological affinities between the peoples of the Zaire basin and those of the savannah, Senegal in particular, and the difference of physical type as between the Gulf of Benin and the Sahel region.²⁶

Lastly, there are some names that are very rare in Senegal. For example, Wasar is the name of a Serer dignitary very well known in history—Wasar Ngom; etymologically his name means 'to scatter', and popular etymology explains this meaning by reference to his generosity. But we know that the Pharaonic word for Osiris, god and father of the Egyptian nation, whom his jealous brother Seth cut up into pieces and scattered, was Wser (translated by Egyptologists as 'mighty'—though they give no etymology for it). Osiris is the Greek form of this African root, altered beyond recognition.

This relationship brought out by toponyms and 'ethnonyms' between the various regions mentioned above cannot be explained by massive population movements in the colonial period (the Marchand expedition from the Congo to the Nile (Fashoda), Brazza and the Senegalese Sergeant Malamine, the landing of a cargo of Senegalese in Gabon during the time of the slave trade, the sending of Senegalese troops at the time of the conquest of Niger, etc.).

The reason is that maps such as Robert Vigony's and many other documents show that the tribes had settled earlier in the regions in question.

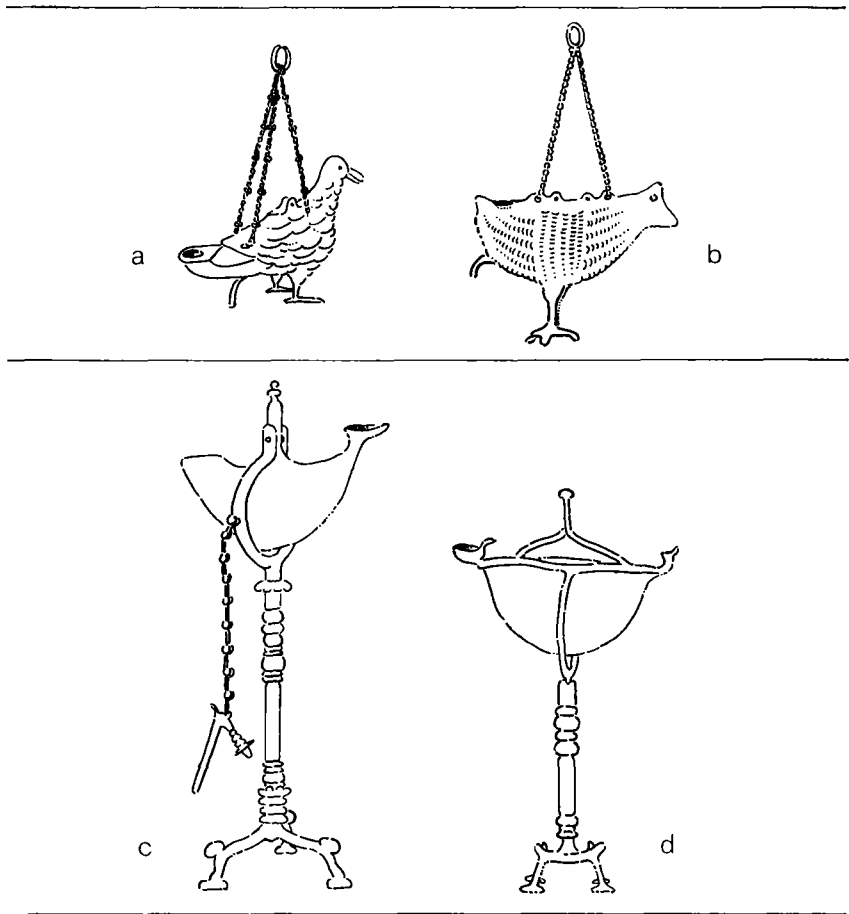


FIG. 3. Two Byzantine lamps from Egypt found at Firka ((a) and (c)), and two copies found in an ancient grave in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) ((b) and (d)). Approximate scale one-fifth (after A. J. Arkell, *A History of the Sudan*, Fig. 23, London, 1955).

The small metal weights (H-shaped pieces of iron), graded in size, which in the same period (seventh century A.D.) served as coins at Kissale, show beyond doubt that this civilization was in close contact with Zimbabwe, which at a later period used similar H-shaped moulds to cast molten metal.²⁷

The giant Nilotic physical type has survived in northern Senegal in Djoloff, the cradle of the Nyang, Ndiaye, etc. Certain features of their material culture such as agricultural implements are identical.²⁸

In studying the stratification of the population, i.e. the successive waves of migrations, the idea of an 'indicatory artefact' might be very cautiously used, although the tendency is to abandon it. By this we mean a distinctive residual item found in graves, always present in one category of grave and always absent in another. Then it would only be a matter of carbon-dating, where possible, to establish the stratification. The Lake Kissale (Zaire) people (an Iron Age civilization dating from the seventh century A.D.), were always buried with a small pebble in the mouth, as I was able to see at the Lubumbashi exhibition. The fact that this practice existed in Senegal itself among the Wolof, where it is dying out under the influence of Islam, is an invaluable archaeological clue. This custom may, moreover, have been inherited from ancient Egypt (the ritual of opening the mouth of the deceased), for it was in the same part of Zaire that a statuette of Osiris dating from the seventh century B.C. was found *in situ*.²⁹

Aerial photography

This technique may make it possible to reconstruct the density of the ancient road network. Several flights need to be made at sunrise or sunset, when the rays of the sun are slanting. This procedure is applicable to the savannah and the desert. The differential growth of the vegetation, or the differential evaporation of the morning mist, bring out clearly the ground-plans of buried buildings, ancient towns, the borders of ancient agricultural areas, archaeological sites which are invisible from the ground, protohistoric tracks, old roads, etc. Each African country could carry out a programme over its own territory, and then all that would be needed would be some co-ordinating body to draw up a general map of Africa on the basis of the results. Infra-red tests could be carried out. Prehistoric and proto-historic land use, the intensity of inter-African relations, i.e. the extent of trade before the advent of writing, etc.—all apparently insoluble problems—could be successfully studied by this method.

This brief survey should show us the absurdity of our ethnic prejudices. The mingling of African peoples has long been a fact. The barriers we erect between other Africans and ourselves are symbolic only of the depth of our

gnorance of Africa's ethnic past. A paper such as this, while illustrating a method suited to African history, should (without leaving scientific ground) help to break down the psychological barriers that ignorance erects in our minds and start a dynamic, continent-wide united campaign.

Notes

1. For fuller details of the linguistic relationship between Ancient Egyptian and Wolof, see my book: *Parenté génétique de l'égyptien pharaonique et des langues négro-africaines*, Dakar, Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Université de Dakar, 1976.
2. *Parenté génétique de l'égyptien pharaonique . . .*, op. cit., pp. 3 et seq., 385-7.
3. 'The Dinka between the Bahr and the White Nile are called Jieng or Jang. The Arabs turned this into Denkawi, and the Europeans reduced the Arabic name to Dinka. They have no great chief or king like the Shilluk, and are not in any sense a nation, but a large number of independent tribes.'—H. Baumann and D. Westermann, *Les peuples et les civilisations de l'Afrique*, p. 267, Paris, Payot, 1948.
4. A. N. Tucker, 'Fringe Cushitic', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (University of London), Vol. XXX, Part 3, 1937, pp. 655 et seq. See also the reviews *Atome*, No. 248, November 1967.
5. Es-Sa'di, *Ta'RiKh al-Sūdān*, 2nd ed., pp. 6 et seq., Paris, Maisonneuve, 1964.
6. 'Ajour: Berber tribe of the Zenagha'—*Ta'RiKh al-Sūdān*, op. cit., pp. 38, 214. This tribe still lives in Mauritania, and would warrant a special study. Could it have come from the Tassili-n-Ajjer at the same time as the other black Ajour peoples of the same name?
7. *Parenté génétique de l'égyptien pharaonique . . .*, op. cit., p. 87.
8. See *Parenté génétique de l'égyptien pharaonique . . .*, op. cit., p. 86.
9. See A. Diop, *Unité culturelle de l'Afrique noire*, Paris, Présence Africaine, 1960.
10. Evans-Pritchard, 'Parenté et communauté locale chez les Nuer', A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde, *Systèmes familiaux et matrimoniaux en Afrique*, p. 483, Paris, PUF, 1933.
11. F. Nadel, 'Filiation bilatérale dans les Monts Nuba', in Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, op. cit., p. 465.
12. Among Indo-Europeans the woman brings the dowry, which is a survival from nomadic patriarchy. (See Diop, op. cit.)
13. Nadel, op. cit., p. 453.
14. Baumann and Westermann, op. cit., p. 172.
15. Nadel, op. cit., p. 442.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 449.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 437.
18. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 477.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 478-9.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 477.
21. To cause harm to a *gamou* is to bring down a curse upon oneself.
22. Although they may have a common origin. See *Bulletin de l'IFAN*, Vol. XXXV, series B.
23. Father J. P. Crazzolaro, *Nuer Grammar*, Vienna, Anthropos, 1933.
24. See Lord 'Tera Neter', reproduced as Plate XIV in A. Diop, *Antériorité des civilisations nègres: mythes ou vérité historique*, Paris, Présence Africaine, 1967.
25. Baumann and Westermann, op. cit., p. 267.

26. We know, however, that these migrations must have taken place before 1455 for according to Ca da Mosto the Senegalese people, the Wolof in particular, were already there. An IFAN mission to the Upper Nile would be of the utmost scientific importance.
27. Basil Davidson, *Old Africa Rediscovered*, London, Victor Gollancz, 1965.
28. Baumann and Westermann, op. cit., p. 269.
29. *Revue coloniale belge*, Vol. 214, 1954, p. 622.

Further reading

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Summary report of the meeting of experts

Introduction

The meeting was opened by Mr M. Makagiansar, the Assistant Director-General for Culture and Communication, who, speaking on behalf of the Director-General of Unesco, underlined the importance that Unesco attaches to the proposals put forward by the International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa with regard to symposia and meetings of experts and to their effective implementation. The present meeting was of great importance in that it marked the beginning of a return to scientifically authenticated traditions in respect of African ethnonymy and anthroponymy. Mr Makagiansar also emphasized the 'liberating' effect, in the world context, of the effort made by Unesco through this project to restore to Africans their cultural identity. He welcomed the experts and expressed the hope that their collective endeavour would be fully successful.

The meeting of experts appointed a Bureau constituted as follows: H.E. Mr El Fasi, Chairman; Professors Cheikh Anta Diop, Ivan Hrbek and Alpha Sow, Vice-Chairmen; and Professor J. Devisse, Rapporteur.

It then adopted the following agenda:

1. General discussion on African ethnonyms, anthroponyms and toponyms.
2. Problems in the standardization of spellings and transcriptions.
3. Ethnonyms, anthroponyms, toponyms and population movements in Africa.
4. Programme for the publication of glossaries, lexicons and dictionaries.

The participants' attention was also drawn to the work entitled *Handbook of Ethnic Units in Sub-Saharan Africa*, by Dr Renate Wente-Lukas of the Frobenius Institute, Frankfurt am Main, as being of relevance to the discussions at the meeting.

General discussion on African ethnonyms, anthroponyms and toponyms

The importance of the proposals contained in Professor P. Diagne's report was recognized by all the experts, who endorsed some of them. However, no

substantive discussion followed concerning the development of a conceptual vocabulary specific to African societies. Various symposia to be organized at the request of the International Scientific Committee would consider this question again, particularly in connection with the preparation of Volume VIII of the *General History of Africa*.

The general discussion provided the participants with an opportunity to appraise the different points of view and to take note of the information needed in their collective task. At no time did the subtle divergence between the 'maximalist' and the 'possibilist' points of view, which had appeared in the discussion papers, constitute an obstacle in drawing up proposals for submission to the International Scientific Committee.

Most of the experts were aware of the need to proceed with caution. Several of them stressed that care should be taken not to disturb or disrupt life and everyday habits unnecessarily, and also that account should be taken of practices endorsed by international usage. Several authors had in fact expressed similar points of view in their papers. These cautious attitudes in no way signified any reservations in regard to the intentions or wishes of the International Scientific Committee or any desire on the part of the experts to leave things as they were. On the contrary, the experts unanimously went along with the committee's proposals. They simply put forward differing shades of opinion in the interpretation of a significant number of actual examples and expressed the hope that the committee would not let itself be trapped in rigid and unrealistic positions. While sharing this point of view, a minority voiced the hope that the committee would, on the contrary, request an additional effort on the part of the readers and users of the *General History of Africa* in all the fields covered by the onomastics specific to African languages. The *General History of Africa* should be exemplary from this point of view and should stimulate reflection on African languages, their socio-cultural content and those elements of conceptualization which do not fit into foreign models.

These differences in viewpoint did not at any time bring the work to a halt. Finally, two different approaches to the work at hand were adopted.

The first approach was essentially a practical one and was designed to solve the problems that would be encountered by the International Scientific Committee in its efforts to adapt a script for the transcription of African languages for use in various volumes of the *General History of Africa*. A constant attempt was made to find solutions that would be acceptable 'from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic' and from the North to the South.

Second, the experts wished to propose a more ambitious and longer-term project to the Director-General and to the committee, taking into account the committee's intentions and decisions, without, however, overlooking the priority which has to be accorded to the drafting of the planned volumes of the *General History of Africa*.

In the proposals that follow, it has not always been possible to separate the two goals.

The experts first stated their views on the decisions taken in 1975 (during the meeting of the committee in Cotonou):¹

The Bureau noted—and deplored the fact—that little progress has been made in regard to international standardization of the transliteration of African names, despite repeated requests from the African States and the Committee itself.

Consequently, the Bureau adopted four decisions, which it does not consider wholly satisfactory, to deal with the present anarchical situation:

The names of African peoples and languages are invariable and do not conform to the rules for forming the plural in European languages.

Customary spellings in English and in French shall be kept, in particular those of geographical names, internationally known, and officially recognized by States.

Some scientific names in the two basic editions shall be standardized as satisfactorily as possible with reference to the IAI transliterations.

For Arabic names, the system of transliteration shall be that of the *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*.

The experts approved the first and last decisions but expressed reservations concerning the other two points.

As regards the second point, they considered that as this *General History of Africa* was intended primarily for African readers, it was desirable, in every case, to use the exact terms by which African societies and cultures, both past and present, designated places, social groups, individuals and institutions, according to the methods of transcription described below, but without of course running the risk of clashing with any state.

With respect to the final point, the meeting of experts adopted a system of transcription and proposed rules for its use in the *General History of Africa*.

A constant theme during discussions was that in future volumes of the *General History of Africa*, scientifically established transcriptions of all the terms pertaining to the historical onomastics of African cultures should be used, provided that they could be determined in the course of the publication of the volumes. This has both short-term and long-term consequences.

In the short term the editors of volumes currently being written should be asked to draw up, as rapidly as possible, a list of all terms that need to be correctly transcribed in a definite form or to be given a precise definition. Of the terms involved, toponyms and the names by which social groups refer to themselves or are referred to by others were retained. The meeting rejected the use of the term 'ethnonyms' since anthropologists and other specialists find it difficult to reach agreement concerning the definition to be given to it and which, in any case, seldom corresponds to African social reality or to terms designating specific institutions of African societies.

For Volumes I and II, the work will be done on the basis of the index or, to prevent any delay in the printing of the volumes, on the basis of lists compiled by the editors of the various volumes.

Once these terms have been collected together, they will be submitted to specialists in linguistics, so that they can be correctly transcribed in accordance with the rules laid down in this report.

For the long term, and with a view to working out an overall policy and achieving the objectives set out in this report, the experts proposed the following.

The current situation regarding the re-establishment of African onomastic terms varies a great deal from one region to another. Generally speaking, as far as transcriptions are concerned, the anarchic situation deplored by the committee still prevails, and the meeting provided an opportunity for examining specific examples of it; furthermore, as a result of excessive recourse to socio-cultural models alien to Africa, terms borrowed from the European historical vocabulary have come to be used rather than terms of significance for African societies. The experts proposed measures for solving the problem posed by the term 'ethnonyms' and other unsatisfactory terms.

The situation with regard to toponyms, while appearing to be satisfactory in countries such as Liberia or Madagascar, is critical in the countries of southern Africa and often not good in various other parts of the continent. Toponyms, generally, more clearly than other terms, are a more or less direct expression of forms of colonial dependence to which the African peoples are still subject, to a greater or lesser degree. It is thus more or less obvious that this question, like the broader one of onomastics as a whole, is of great political importance.

On the basis of these considerations the meeting of experts arrived at the following conclusions:

1. For the *official* names of states, capitals and regions, it is difficult to intervene in anything other than *transcription* when authentic African names are involved in providing *explanations* for the reader when changes occurred in the course of history (e.g. Ghana, Benin, etc.).
2. Vast opportunities for work present themselves in every country at levels where no symbolic considerations, or state policies or decisions, are involved.
3. It should be suggested to each state, the African universities and research institutes, that they draw up an exhaustive list of toponyms and ethnonyms within their national boundaries, along the lines of what has been achieved in Liberia. In this connection, the experts noted with satisfaction the assurance given to the effect that the University of Swaziland was intending henceforth to devote a large part of the activities of its Institute for African Studies to work of this kind.

These lists should provide a basis for all future scientific work, and for the efforts made by the International Scientific Committee to establish the working tools described in this report. The value of these lists will depend on the extent to which a number of methodological requirements are complied with, which are valid in every case, irrespective of the scope of such lists. The requirements are as follows:

The form of the term considered must be established on the basis of usage in the society to which it refers, to the exclusion of the terms used by neighbouring social groups to designate that society. The example of the Bassari (Senegal) mentioned in one of the papers was referred to again during the discussions. The form of the term considered should be chosen in the light of the knowledge of all the folk traditions relating to its etymology, and which too should be recorded.

The validity of current usage should be critically examined. The example of the Liberian town of Sakonemai is particularly relevant and instructive. A historical file, so far as it is feasible, relating to the term should be constituted. Linguists specializing in the language concerned should have a part in correctly establishing the term and in scientifically studying its etymology, even if the form adopted clashes initially with accepted ideas.

If these precautions are not taken, there is a danger that terms whose correctness is doubtful or ill-founded will be perpetuated with all the rigour of linguistic scrupulousness. Interesting examples were given in this connection concerning southern Africa.

In certain cases—the example of Awadaghost was pointed out—there exist several historically valid ways of writing an African place-name or personal name. Mention was also made of rapid changes of name, for historical reasons, in some places, given their economic, strategic or religious importance. In all such cases, the spelling chosen should be the one that seems, on scientific evidence, to be the most acceptable, without dogmatically banishing the other forms, each of which has its own historical value.

For the *General History of Africa* and in subsequent work, a list of toponyms, ethnonyms or anthroponyms that should be avoided on account of their pejorative connotations should be compiled. However, these disused terms should be conserved as elements of historical information.

Choices of a more directly linguistic nature will have to be made. Should one say ‘the Kongo’ or ‘Bakongo’, ‘the Kongo language’ or ‘Kikongo’? Should the plurals or the variable forms of African or Arabic terms be used? Or should half-way solutions be adopted, and if so, which ones? The meeting did not succeed in establishing a clear-cut position in regard to these points.

On a point of detail, the experts proposed that one of the divergences studied be eliminated through adoption of the form ‘mansa Kanku Musa’.

The experts were aware of the immensity and difficulty of the task involved. They were fully aware of the fact that each case will have to be examined on its own merits and that there could be no question of replacing one form of cultural authoritarianism or reductionism by another. They were on that account all the more anxious that the work that they were proposing should be taken up by Unesco and the International Scientific Committee. The experts emphasized that a great deal of courage and good working tools were required for this research, on which a start has to be made virtually everywhere. The idea, for instance, that only an exhaustive, retroactive and regularly updated bibliography can, at least in the fields that the experts were called upon to consider, provide a means of achieving the desired progress was repeated many times. Likewise, in order for this long and exacting task to be performed, it is necessary to continue drawing on the combined input of various branches of knowledge, as was the case during the meeting.

Attempt to establish a standardized transcription

Initial discussion brought out the complexity of the problems involved in this field as well.

The meeting set up a subcommittee composed of the following six experts: P. Diagne, E. Dunstan-Mills, C. Seydou, A. Sow, A. Tucker and R. Zwinoira. The subcommittee's task was to put forward specific proposals concerning the following two questions: (a) choice of an alphabet for valid transcription of all African languages; (b) the writing of terms relating to Black African cultures using Arabic characters.

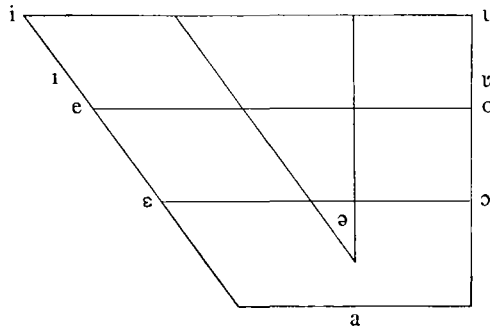
It was agreed that the rules laid down should be applied, initially, in the drafting of the *General History of Africa*; they should be explicit so that they can be easily learned by historians and be as economical as possible from the point of view of their practical implementation—typing and printing, etc.

The subcommittee submitted a document incorporating the Bamako and Cotonou proposals to the full expert's meeting^a which, after discussion and amendment, approved it. The proposals, as amended, are reproduced here.

Vowels

I	i	as in English 'beat' French 'si'	I	l	as in English 'bit'
		<i>bito</i> , to soak (Iwo)			<i>bit</i> , to taste (Lwo)
		<i>ki</i> , to greet (Yoruba)			<i>iri</i> , to creep (Igbo)

E e	as in French 'été' <i>kelo</i> , to bring (Lwo) <i>ke</i> , to cry (Yoruba)	O o	as in French 'haut' <i>bo</i> , to peel (Yoruba) <i>koro</i> , to curse (Lwo)
Ɛ ɛ	as in English 'bet'/French 'fête' <i>kelo</i> , to plant (Lwo) <i>bɛ</i> , to jump (Yoruba)	U u	as in English 'book' <i>ukwu</i> , foot/leg (Igbo) <i>guro</i> , to whittle (Lwo)
A a	as in French 'patte' <i>gba</i> , to sweep (Yoruba) <i>gara</i> , leg-bell (Lwo)	U u	as in English 'moon'/French 'ou' <i>ku</i> , to die (Yoruba) <i>guro</i> , to hit a peg (Lwo)
Ɔ ɔ	as in French 'bonne' <i>kɔ</i> , to teach (Yoruba) <i>kɔɔ</i> , to pursue (Lwo)	Ɛ/Ě ə/ě	as in French 'que' <i>fəm</i> , white clay (Fang)



Where vowel symbols that are more central are required, a peripheral vowel symbol may be used with an umlaut.

For example: \ddot{i} *mbī*, goat (Dwe)
 \ddot{a} *rāth*, king (Shilluk)
 \ddot{u} (approximately as in French 'tu')
atü, tree (Dwe)

Aspirated vowels in a language may be indicated by adding an *h* immediately after the vowel concerned. For example, in Dinka, *tem* means 'to cut something' but *tehm* means 'to cut' (intransitive).

Nasalization will be represented by *V+n*. For example, in Yoruba, *ku* means 'to die' but *kun* means 'to be full'. However, if the phonemic system of a particular language does not allow this representation, and confusion with the sequence vowel+alveolar nasal must be avoided (e.g. in Shilluk *pan* means 'village'), then the diacritic (̃) may be used, e.g. *ũ*, *ẽ*, etc.

Diphthongs: *aw*, *wa*, *ay*, *ya*, etc., are preferred to *au*, *ua*, *ai*, *ia*, etc.

Long vowels are to be indicated by doubling the vowel symbol, for example: *baabaa* (Hausa, indigo); *baana* (Ganda, children); *gwaa* (Ijaw, to mix).

Tone

Tone marks to be used where necessary to avoid confusion:

Two-tone (á=high; à=low)

Examples: *ákwá*, to cry (Igbo)

ákwà, cloth (Igbo)

kùsìbá, to spend the day (Luganda)

òkùsìbà kùlúngì, to spend the day is good (Luganda)

Three-tone (é high; ε mid; è low)

Examples: *ó bé*, he jumped (Yoruba)

ó be, he is ahead (Yoruba)

ó bè, he asks for pardon (Yoruba)

Falling tone (^)

Examples: *lê*, animal (Lwo)

bââná, children (Luganda)

Rising tone (˘)

Example: *sǎ*, hour (Lwo)

Consonants

The consonants, classified in alphabetical order, are reproduced in both their capital and lower-case form; each sign is followed by a phonetic definition of the sound it represents. Finally, examples chosen from a number of languages illustrate their use, generally in initial or medial positions.

B	b	<i>Voiced bilabial stop</i> <i>bar</i> bar (English/French) <i>bo</i> to peel (Yoruba) <i>baabaa</i> indigo (Hausa) <i>ku-ba</i> to steal (Nyanja)	Bv	bv	<i>Voiced labio-dental affricate</i> <i>ku-bvana</i> to be possible (Shona) <i>ku-bvala</i> to clothe, to dress (Nyanja)
ʼB	ʼb	<i>Voiced implosive bilabial</i> <i>ɓawnaa</i> buffalo (Hawsa) <i>ɓaawo</i> back (Fulfulde) <i>ɓa</i> house (Moru-Madi) <i>uku-bala</i> to relate (Zulu)	C	c	<i>Voiceless palatalo-alveolar affricate</i> (as in French 'thèque' and English 'church') <i>caaca</i> game (Hausa) <i>caak</i> milk (Dinka)
Bh	bh	<i>'Aspirated' b</i> <i>uku-bhala</i> to write (Zulu) <i>ku-bhara</i> to write (Shona) <i>ibhe</i> to cut up into small pieces (Igbo)			<i>Voiceless palatal stop</i> <i>oce</i> water tub (Urhobo) <i>macindu</i> roofs (Nyanja)

C c	<i>Dental click</i> (closely resembling English 'tut-tut') <i>ukucima</i> to extinguish (Zula)	Di di	<i>Voiced lateral fricative</i> <i>uku-dlula</i> to pass through (Zulu)
Ch ch	<i>Voiceless aspirated palatalo-alveolar affricate</i> (closely resembling English 'church-hill') <i>chindu</i> roof (Nyanja) <i>chandha</i> hand (Venda)	Dz dz	<i>Voiced alveolar fricative</i> <i>dzal</i> juice (Tiv) <i>tadza</i> to stretch (Moru-Madi) <i>ku-dzala</i> to fill (Nyanja)
D d	<i>Voiced alveolar plosive</i> <i>dame</i> dame (English/French) <i>daawaa</i> sorghum (Hausa) <i>ide</i> to write (Igbo) <i>udi</i> to forge (Moru-Madi)	F f	<i>Voiceless labio-dental fricative</i> <i>fadaa</i> quarrel (Hausa) <i>mafahla</i> twins (Sotho) <i>fo</i> to jump (Yoruba)
D d'	<i>Voiced alveolar implosive</i> <i>daa</i> sound (Hausa) <i>dacce</i> gum arabic (Fulfulde) <i>ludi</i> to dig (Moru-Madi) <i>ku-da</i> to wish (Shona)	Fh fh	<i>Voiceless labial fricative</i> (as when blowing out a candle) <i>fhu</i> bone (Ewe) <i>ufho</i> throat (Urhobo) <i>mafhatha</i> twins (Venda)
D d	<i>Arabic emphatic ض</i> <i>daraba</i> to strike (Arabic) <i>damaanun</i> guarantee (Arabic) <i>arḍun</i> land, country (Arabic)	G g	<i>Voiced velar plosive</i> <i>golo</i> river (Moru-Madi) <i>ku-genda</i> to go (Ganda)
Ḍ ḍ	<i>Voiced retroflex plosive</i> <i>ḍa</i> hair (Ewe) <i>gaadḍ</i> to attain (Somali)	Gg gb	<i>Voiced labio-velar plosive</i> <i>gbe</i> to carry (Yoruba) <i>gbe</i> egg (Lugbara)
Dh dh	<i>Voiced interdental plosive</i> (very much as in the word 'width') <i>dhal</i> to disobey (Dinka) <i>dhandha</i> large hand (Venda) <i>Voiced dental fricative</i> (like the 'th' in 'that') <i>dhayfu</i> weak (Swahili) <i>Voiced aspirated alveolar plosive</i> (very much as in 'handhold') <i>idhe</i> to emit a hollow sound (Igbo)	Gh gh	<i>Voiced aspirated velar plosive</i> <i>igha</i> to thread (Igbo)
		Gɣ ɣɣ	<i>Voiced velar fricative</i> <i>ngɣɔ</i> stranger (ɲwe)
		ɣ ɣ	<i>Voiced velar fricative</i> (similar to Arabic غ) <i>aya</i> war (Igbo) <i>way</i> stream, watercourse (Tiv) <i>ke-ya ke-yeey</i> to drink water (Pokot)

H h	<i>Voiceless glottal fricative</i> <i>hikka</i> this year (Fulfulde) <i>ku-ha</i> to give (Nyororo)	L l	<i>Voiced lateral</i> <i>liddi</i> fish (Fulfulde) <i>ololo</i> bottle (Igbo) <i>lulu</i> cotton (Nupe) <i>oku-lala</i> to stretch out (Zulu)
Ḥ ḥ	<i>Voiceless pharyngeal fricative</i> (similar to Arabic ح) <i>libaah</i> lion (Somali) <i>sihino</i> tooth <i>Voiceless lateral fricative</i> (as in Welsh 'Llanelli') <i>ahla</i> fire <i>uku-hlala</i> to sit down (Zulu)	M m	<i>Voiced bilabial nasal</i> <i>madaraa</i> fresh milk (Hausa) <i>mimi</i> I (Swahili) <i>amanzi</i> water (Zulu)
J j	<i>Voiced palatalo-alveolar affricate</i> (as in 'judge') <i>jaa</i> red (Hausa) <i>uku-jija</i> to stretch out (Zulu) <i>Voiced palatal stop</i> <i>jambo</i> greeting (Swahili) <i>oja</i> soap (Urhobo)	Mb mb	<i>Pre-nasalized b</i> (very much as in 'lumber') <i>mbaalu</i> sheep (Fulfulde) <i>embizzi</i> wild pig (Ganda)
K k	<i>Voiceless velar stop</i> <i>ke</i> to cry (Yoruba) <i>kukyi</i> thorn (Moru-Madi) <i>ku-koka</i> to pull (Nyanja)	Mgb mgb	<i>Pre-nasalized gb</i> <i>tomgbo</i> canoe (Moru-Madi) <i>mgbogo</i> warthog (Zande)
Ḳ ḳ	<i>Velar ejective/glottalized stop</i> <i>kaafaa</i> leg, foot (Hausa)	Mp mp	<i>Pre-nasalized p</i> (very much as in 'hamper') <i>impi</i> army (Zulu) <i>empya</i> courtyard (Ganda)
Kh kh	<i>Voiceless aspirated velar stop</i> (very much as in 'monkhood') <i>uku-khala</i> to shout (Zulu) <i>ku-khoka</i> to bet on (Nyanja)	Mv mv	<i>Pre-nasalized v</i> <i>kɔmvɔ</i> nose (Moru-Madi)
Kp kp	<i>Voiceless labio-velar stop</i> <i>kpa</i> to engender, to produce (Nupe) <i>okpu</i> hat (Igbo)	N n	<i>Voiced alveolar nasal</i> <i>njar</i> to faint (Dinka) <i>u-nama</i> to polish (Venda)
Kx kx	<i>Voiceless velar affricate</i> <i>kxa</i> pangolin (ɲwe) <i>kxomo</i> ox/cow (Tswana)	Nd nd	<i>Pre-nasalized d</i> (as in 'tender') <i>nda</i> he (Moru-Madi) <i>ndagba</i> frog (Zande) <i>hannde</i> today (Fulfulde)
		Ng ng	<i>Pre-nasalized g</i> (very much as in 'anger') <i>nga</i> thing (Moru-Madi) <i>ngaari</i> ox (Fulfulde)
		Nh nh	<i>Voiced interdental nasal</i> <i>nhiar</i> to love (Dinka) <i>nyonh</i> to weaken (Shilluk) <i>nhama</i> meat (Venda)

Nj nj	<i>Pre-nasalized j</i> (as in 'danger') <i>njati</i> buffalo (Nyanja) <i>enjala</i> famine, hunger <i>inja</i> dog (Zulu)	Q q	<i>Retroflex click</i> <i>iqaqqa</i> cat (Zulu) <i>ho-qaqqa</i> to be ugly (Sotho)
Nk nk	<i>Pre-nasalized k</i> (as in 'banker') <i>ku-nka</i> to go (Nyanja) <i>enkofu</i> guinea-fowl (Ganda) <i>inkabi</i> ox (Zulu)	R r	<i>Voiced alveolar flap</i> (as in French 'rat') <i>risku</i> luck, wealth (Fulfulde) <i>bāraa</i> begging (Hausa) <i>rarua</i> to tear (Swahili)
Nt nt	<i>Pre-nasalized t</i> (as in 'banter') <i>ntawi</i> time (Nyanja) <i>entamu</i> pot (Ganda) <i>intombi</i> daughter (Zulu)	ʀ ʀ	<i>Voiced retroflex flap</i> <i>ɾawaa</i> dance (Hausa) <i>āfi</i> poison (Moru-Madi) <i>ɾurimi</i> tongue (Venda)
Ny ny	<i>Voiced palatal nasal</i> (as in French 'pagne') <i>nyaya</i> help! (Efik) <i>anya</i> eye (Igbo) <i>nyay</i> crocodile (Dinka)	Rh rh	<i>Voiceless alveolar flap</i> <i>urhobo</i> the Urhobo language (Urhobo)
ŋ ɲ	<i>Voiced velar nasal</i> (as in 'singing') <i>ɲa</i> who? (Dinka) <i>eɲɲaɲa</i> hornbill (Ganda)	S s	<i>Voiceless alveolar fricative</i> <i>siido</i> joke (Fulfulde) <i>so</i> to knot (Yoruba) <i>ku-sora</i> to attack (Shona)
P p	<i>Voiceless bilabial stop</i> <i>paabi</i> toads (Fulfulde) <i>upe</i> scar (Urhobo) <i>ku-paka</i> to daub (Nyanja)	ʃ ʃ	<i>Arabic emphatic</i> ص <i>ʃayfun</i> summer (Arabic) <i>ʃabrūn</i> patience (Arabic) <i>baʃura</i> to observe (Arabic)
Pf pf	<i>Voiceless labio-dental affricate</i> (as in German 'Apfel') <i>pfumo</i> javelin (Shona/Venda) <i>ku-pfinya</i> to press (Nyanja)	Sh sh	<i>Voiceless palatalo-alveolar fricative</i> <i>shagba</i> well-off, rich (Tiv) <i>she</i> to do (Yoruba) <i>ku-shora</i> to scorn (Shona)
Ph ph	<i>Voiceless aspirated bilabial stop</i> <i>phaka</i> shelf (Nyanja) <i>upho</i> throat (Urhobo)	Sv sv	<i>Voiceless labialized alveolar fricative</i> <i>ku-svika</i> to arrive (Shona)
Q q	<i>Voiceless uvular stop</i> (resembling Arabic ق) <i>hlaqwa</i> body (Iroquois) <i>laqəl</i> bees (Bilin)	T t	<i>Voiceless alveolar stop</i> <i>taalol</i> story (Fulfulde) <i>ite</i> to prepare the soup (Igbo) <i>uku-tenga</i> to swing, to rock (Zulu)

T̥ t̥	<i>Arabic emphatic</i> ط <i>taala</i> to grow longer, to be extended (Arabic) <i>talaba</i> to seek, to ask for (Arabic) <i>tabiibun</i> doctor (Arabic)	V v	<i>Voiced labio-dental fricative</i> <i>voh</i> weapon (Venda) <i>uvi</i> to splash about (Urhobo) <i>kuva</i> to leave (Ganda) <i>izivatho</i> clothes (Zulu)
F f	<i>Voiceless retroflex stop</i> <i>ta</i> to suit (Herero)	Vh vh	<i>Voiced bilabial fricative</i> <i>evhe</i> the Ewe language (Ewe) <i>evhe</i> goat (Urhobo) <i>mavhoh</i> arm (Venda)
Th th	<i>Voiceless dental stop</i> (very much as in 'eighth') <i>thin</i> present (Nuer) <i>Voiceless dental fricative</i> (like 'th' in 'thin') <i>theluji</i> snow (Swahili) <i>Voiceless aspirated alveolar stop</i> (very much as in 'ant-hill') <i>ithe</i> to wake up (Igbo) <i>uku-thenga</i> to exchange, to swap (Zulu) <i>ku-themba</i> to count on (Nyanja)	W w	<i>Voiced labio-velar</i> <i>waandu</i> monkey (Fulfulde) <i>iwe</i> to take (Igbo) <i>liwa</i> elephant (Moru-Madi) <i>wo</i> to carry (Yoruba) <i>ku-wala</i> to shine (Nyanja)
		X x	<i>Voiceless velar fricative</i> (as in German 'acht') <i>exa</i> dance/game (Urhobo) <i>xonye</i> mother (Lotuho) <i>xo-xana</i> to refuse (Tswana)
		X̣ x̣	<i>Lateral click</i> <i>ixoxo</i> frog (Zulu)
Tl tl	<i>Voiceless lateral affricate</i> (very much as in 'bottle') <i>tloma</i> hill <i>ho-tla</i> to come (Sotho)	Y y	<i>Voiced palatal</i> <i>yaasi</i> outside (Fulfulde) <i>yi</i> to turn (Yoruba) <i>ky-yigga</i> to hunt or to drive away (Ganda) <i>uku-ya</i> to go (Zulu)
Tlh tlh	<i>Voiceless aspirated lateral affricate</i> <i>ho-tlhetlha</i> to trot (Sotho)	Y' y'	<i>Palatalized glottal stop</i> <i>yaayaa</i> children (Hausa) <i>oya</i> horn (Moru-Madi) <i>yiyam</i> blood (Fulfulde)
Ts ts	<i>Voiceless alveolar affricate</i> (as in 'tsetse') <i>tsav</i> supernatural power (Tiv) <i>tsebe</i> ear (Sotho) <i>ku-tsetsa</i> to make laugh (Nyanja)	Z z	<i>Voiced alveolar fricative</i> <i>zama</i> to become (Hausa) <i>iza</i> meat (Mor-Madi) <i>ku-zaza</i> to talk at great length (Shona) <i>muzwa</i> rope (Venda)
Tsh tsh	<i>Voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate</i> <i>ho-tshela</i> to cross (Sotho)		

Z	z	Arabic emphatic ظ zahara to appear (Arabic) zanna to think, to believe (Arabic) zafira to succeed, to obtain (Arabic)	Zv	zv	Voiced labialized alveolar fricative zvino now (Shona)
Zh	zh	Voiced palatalo-alveolar fricative (like French 'jupe') ozha suffering, grief ku-zhazhata to raise one's voice (Shona) u-zhaka to break (Venda)	'	'	Glottal stop/voiceless glottal stop 'ibbi fig tree (Fulfulde) saa'aa good luck (Hausa) ɣutu' person (Bari) kwaalo'o widow
			ɕ	ɕ	Voiced pharyngeal fricative (like Arabic ع) 'un to eat (Somali) kii' to return

With indexers in mind, we propose the following order for the complete alphabet:

Capitals

A	B	Ḃ	Bh	Bv	C	Ĉ	Ch
D	Ḍ	Ḑ	Ḑ	Dh	Di	Dz	E
ɛ	ɛ/Ē	F	Fh	G	Gb	Gh	Gɣ
ɣ	H	Ḥ	Hl	I	I	J	K
K	Kh	Kp	Kx	L	M	Mb	Mgb
Mp	N	Nd	Ndz	Ng	Nh	Nj	Nk
Nt	Ny	Ŋ	O	ɔ	P	Pf	Ph
Q	Q̣	R	R	S	Ṣ	Sh	Sv
T	Ṭ	Ṭ	Th*	Tl	Tlh	Ts	Tsh
U	U	V	Vh	W	X	X̣	Y
Y	Z	Zh	Zv	'	ɕ		

Lower case

a	b	ɓ	bh	bv	c	ç	ch	d
d	d	ɗ	dh	dl	dz	e	ɛ	ə/ë
f	fh	g	gb	gh	gɣ	ɣ	h	ḥ
hl	i	ɪ	j	k	ƙ	kh	kp	kx
l	m	mb	mgb	mp	n	nd	ndz	ng
nh	nj	nk	nt	ny	ŋ	o	ɔ	p
pf	ph	q	q	r	ɾ	s	ʃ	sh
sv	t	ɸ	ɸ	th*	tl	tlh	ts	tsh
u	u	v	vh	w	x	ɣ	y	y
z	zh	zv	'	'				

In certain languages, e.g. Nyanja and most southern African languages, *th* represents an *aspirated stop*, in others, for example Swahili, Kikuyu and Lwo, it represents a *dental fricative*.

Gemination is represented by doubling the consonant symbol: e.g. in Ganda *ekkubo* means 'road', but *amakubo* means 'roads'.

Labialization is represented by *w* following the consonant symbol: *kw*.

Palatalization is represented by *y* following the consonant symbol, for example *ky*. Thus the distinction between *j* and *dy* can be made if necessary in some languages.

A *syllabic nasal* may be marked by a following ' if it is thought necessary to distinguish between two types of sequences in a language.

The following practical measures were proposed concerning the use of this alphabet for the transcription of all African onomastic terms likely to be of use in the *General History of Africa*:

The authors of chapters currently being written will be invited to provide a phonetic version of all African terms, including those relating to socio-cultural institutions, whenever they are unsure how to transcribe them. Final revision of the transcriptions will be entrusted, as in other cases, to specialists.

This alphabet with phonetic correspondences will, as far as possible, be reproduced in the volumes of the *General History of Africa*, in the reference versions and in the translations and abridged versions, to guard against difficulties in reading.

This alphabet will be used by translators of the versions of the *General History of Africa* to appear in African languages, in accordance with the decisions taken by the International Scientific Committee in Nairobi.

It is recommended that the sounds represented by each of the signs adopted be recorded on minicassettes. The cassettes may be made available to authors and translators.

After further discussion concerning the second objective assigned to the subcommittee, and after modifying its composition, the experts entrusted this new subcommittee with the task of establishing an alphabet parallel to the previous one.

The following three principles were laid down:

African names should not be distorted phonetically when they are transcribed in Arabic script any more than when they are transcribed in Roman script.

It was consequently requested that the subcommittee study the most suitable and least difficult manner of adapting Arabic script.

It should be recommended that, in the versions translated into Arabic, a transcription of the word in question be inserted in parentheses in accordance with the Latin system of writing adopted by this meeting.

The second subcommittee presented to the plenary meeting the following working paper.

<i>Vowels</i>	<i>Short</i>	<i>Long</i>	<i>Final</i>
i	—̣	يـ	يـ
ɪ	—̣̣	يـِ	يـِ
e	—̣̣̣	يـِـ	يـِـ
ɛ	—̣̣̣̣	يـِـِ	يـِـِ
a	—̣̣̣̣̣	اـ	اـ
ɔ	—̣̣̣̣̣̣	وـ	وـ
o	—̣̣̣̣̣̣̣	وـ	وـ

Vowels	Short	Long	Final
ʊ	_____ >	_____ >و	_____ >و
u	_____ >	_____ >و	_____ >و
ə/ë	_____ ٨	_____ ٨	_____ ٨س

Second proposal for ε and e

e	_____ ء	_____ ءي	_____ ءس
ε	_____ ٣	_____ ٣ي	_____ ٣س

Nasal vowels: Use of the principle of *tānwin*

ī	_____ ٲ	_____ ٲي	_____ ٲس
ī	_____ ٲ	_____ ٲي	_____ ٲس
ē	_____ ٲ	_____ ٲي	_____ ٲس
ē	_____ ٲ	_____ ٲي	_____ ٲس
ā	_____ ٲ	_____ ٲا	_____ ٲا
ō	_____ ٲ	_____ ٲو	_____ ٲو
ō	_____ ٲ	_____ ٲو	_____ ٲو
ū	_____ ٲ	_____ ٲو	_____ ٲو
ū	_____ ٲ	_____ ٲو	_____ ٲو
õ/ë	_____ ٲ	_____ ٲي	_____ ٲس

For diphthongs و and س will be used surmounted by a *sukūn*: $\text{وُ}, \text{سُ}$

Second proposal for nasal vowels:

<i>Vowels</i>	<i>Short</i>	<i>Long (internal)</i>	<i>Final (long)</i>
ĩ	ِٲ	ِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲ
ĩ	ِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲِٲ
ẽ	ِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲِٲِٲ
ẽ	ِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲِٲِٲِٲ
ã	ِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲِٲِٲ
õ	ِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲِٲِٲ
õ	ِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲِٲِٲ
ũ	ِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲِٲِٲ
ũ	ِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲِٲِٲ
õ/ẽ	ِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲِٲ	ِٲِٲِٲِٲِٲ

Consonants

<i>Consonants</i>	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Internal</i>	<i>Final</i>	<i>Isolated</i>
b	ب	ب	ب	ب
b	ب	ب	ب	ب
c	چ	چ	چ	چ
c	چ	چ	چ	چ
ch	چھ	چھ	چھ	چھ
d	د	د	د	د
d	د	د	د	د
q	ض	ض	ض	ض
dh	ذھ	ذھ	ذھ	ذھ
dl	ذل	ذل	ذل	ذل
dz, j	ج	ج	ج	ج
f	ف	ف	ف	ف
fh	فھ	فھ	فھ	فھ
g	گ	گ	گ/گی	گ
gb	گب	گب	گب	گب
ɣ	غ	غ	غ	غ
h	ھ	ھ	ھ	ھ
h	ح	ح	ح	ح

<i>Consonants</i>	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Internal</i>	<i>Final</i>	<i>Isolated</i>
hl	هَد	هَد	هَر	هَر
j (see dz)				
k	ك	ك	ك	ك
k̄	ك̄	ك̄	ك̄ (ك̄ ≠ ك)	ك̄
kh	كَه	كَه	كَه	كَه
kp	كَب	كَب	كَب	كَب
l	ل	ل	ل	ل
m	م	م	م	م
n	ن	ن	ن	ن
ny	نَح	نَح	نَح	نَح
ŋ	غ	غ	غ	غ
p	پ	پ	پ	پ
ph	پَه	پَه	پَه	پَه
q	ق	ق	ق	ق
q̄	ق̄	ق̄	ق̄	ق̄
r	ر	ر	ر	ر
ʀ	ر̄	ر̄	ر̄	ر̄

<i>Consonants</i>	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Internal</i>	<i>Final</i>	<i>Isolated</i>
s	س	س	س	س
sh	ش	ش	ش	ش
t	ت	ت	ت/ة	ت
ṭ	ط	ط	ط	ط
th	ث	ث	ث	ث
tl	ث	ث	ث	ث
ts	ض	ض	ض	ض
v	ف	ف	ف	ف
vh	ف	ف	ف	ف
w	و	و	و	و
x	خ	خ/ح	خ/ح	خ
<u>x</u>	خ	خ/ح	خ/ح	خ
y	ي	ي	ي	ي
y	ي	ي	ي	ي
z	ز	ز	ز	ز
zh	ز	ز	ز	ز
'	ء	ء	ء	ء
'	ع	ع	ع	ع

Prenasalization will be shown in each case by a *nūn* ن , undotted but surmounted by a *sukūn* ْ. For example:

<i>Consonants</i>	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Internal</i>	<i>Final</i>	<i>Isolated</i>
mb	مْب	مْب	مَب	مَبْ
mp	مْپ	مْپ	مَپ	مَپْ
nd	مْد	مْد	مَد	مَدْ
ng	مْگ	مْگ	مَگ	مَگْ
nj	مْج	مْج	مَجْج	مَجْجْ
nk	مْک	مْک	مَکْک	مَکْکْ
nt	مْت	مْت	مَت	مَتْ

Digraphs will be used in the case of labialization and palatalization; a و or a ی will be added after the labialized or palatalized consonant marked by a *sukūn* and the و or the ی will carry the vowel signs.

In view of the difficulties involved in finding additional diacritical marks that can easily be used to show tones, it was decided not to transcribe them, particularly since there is small likelihood of there being pairs of toponyms, ethnonyms or anthroponyms distinguished from each other solely by tonal differences.

The reduplication or doubling of consonants will be indicated by a *tashdid* (W) as below:

ll	لّ	لّ	لّ	لّ
mm	مّ	مّ	مّ	مّ
nn	نّ	نّ	نّ	نّ

Example:

Fulbe	فُلْبُ or فُلْبُ	Fulbe
Acoli	أچل	Acholi
Abangba	أَبَنْبُ or أَبَنْبُ	
Ngbandi	نْگْبَنْدِ or نْگْبَنْدِ	
Ja	ج	Dia
Jalunke	جَلَنْكِ or جَلَنْكِ	Dyalonke
Gurunsi	گُرُنْسِ or گُرُنْسِ	Gunrunsi (Grusi)
Gā	گَنْ or گِ	Gan
Cɔrɔŋ	چَرَع	Tyorong
Ijaaliba	عَالِب	Ngâliba
Faŋ	فَع	Fang
Kinshasa	کِنْشَس	
Nwakshot	نْوَکْشَت	Nouakchott
Dogondutse	دْکَنْدُصْ or دْکَنْدُصْ	Dogondoutchi

It was recommended that information be collected on the work carried out in this field by research institutions in each of the African countries and outside the continent.

Ethnonyms, anthroponyms, toponyms and population movements in Africa

The discussion was preceded by an introduction by Professor Sheikh Anta Diop, based on the paper submitted by him.

In reply to questions raised by the experts, Professor Sheikh Anta Diop made the point that, since the Cairo Symposium,³ there was no longer any question of there being linguistic convergences that were more or less amenable to demonstration, but rather a genetic affinity between Pharaonic Egyptian and the African languages. Pharaonic Egyptian contained dialectal variants, an example of which was singled out by Professor Diop.

In order to provide further material in support of this idea, each link in the demonstration should of course be scrutinized very carefully. To this end, the meeting recommended that a systematic survey be undertaken in the regions inhabited by the Shilluk, the Nuer and the Jeng ('Dinka').

The migration studied in Professor Diop's working paper was 'recent', in any case earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century, but later than the wave of migration from the north to which Professor Diop had earlier drawn attention and concerning which further information of importance had recently been provided by archaeological studies.

Professor Cornevin congratulated Professor Sheikh Anta Diop on the fact that, once again, he had revealed himself to be a source of interesting hypotheses. The meeting recommended that, following the line traced out in that important paper, detailed studies be continued to establish parallels between series of linguistic, cultural, archaeological and social facts that were all too often studied separately. A new path had thus been indicated for the exploration of Africa's remote past and it could not be disregarded, even though, as Professor Sheikh Anta Diop had recognized, such reconstructions were bound to be to some degree working hypotheses which would need to be progressively developed.

A programme for the publication of glossaries, lexicons and dictionaries

The experts first endeavoured to define an overall framework for the work to be carried out.

First, it is important that, as far as possible, the index of each volume should contain authenticated African onomastic terms, in their correctly transcribed versions.

It is, unfortunately, unlikely, at least for the first few volumes, that this

policy could be fully applied. It is therefore highly desirable that there should be a 'General Index' covering all the eight volumes, which should contain the standard transcriptions, in alphabetical order, of all the terms used in the eight volumes of the *History*. The entry for each term in the index should also contain the forms previously used and the synonyms of the term. There should be a system of cross-references so that the reader can, on the basis of synonyms and earlier usages, easily locate the final standardized form of the term. Carefully compiled, the 'General Index' would, in itself, serve as a good working and research tool for the users of the *History*.

It would be extremely useful, when the indexes are being prepared, to benefit from the experience of Mrs Johnson in the preparation of the *Cambridge History of Africa Index*.⁴

The experts expressed the hope that a far more ambitious policy will be pursued by the International Scientific Committee, based on the results already obtained, for the drafting of the *General History of Africa*.

On the basis of the proposals put forward at the end of the first plenary meeting of the International Scientific Committee (Paris, 1971), the experts recommended the publication of a volume on African onomastics, a volume relating to the terms used for designating African socio-cultural institutions and a biographical dictionary.

The experts considered that it was no longer possible, without further examination, to use words whose meaning had appeared to be ambiguous in the course of the discussions. This was true, for instance, of words like 'ethnonyms', 'clans', 'tribes', 'kingdoms', 'empires', 'feudalism', 'state', 'nation', etc. They accordingly expressed the wish that a very substantial effort be made to conceptualize, and hence define, African terms which are better suited for describing the socio-cultural situations which the African peoples have experienced or are experiencing.

In the meantime, the experts suggested that care be taken to avoid the use of words inherited from the period when African history was written from the outside with the help of alien concepts, not to mention older motivations that sometimes show lack of understanding or contempt towards the peoples of Africa, their history and their institutions.

Terms that are considered not very appropriate could, at first, be used with inverted commas, such as the term 'ethnonyms', for which no satisfactory definition could be found by the experts. This term could in fact be replaced by various types of circumlocution and the same is true in many other cases.

Reference work on African onomastics

The situation varies greatly and the variations are related to the terms involved, the regions of the continent and the scientific work already done. It will no doubt be necessary to go very far in certain cases, rejecting, definitively, certain

terms originating from abroad (Bantu) or in clarifying other terms whose use has now become ambiguous (e.g. Dyula, Tukolor).

The proposed volume should be in three sections: toponyms, anthroponyms and ethnonyms. The following criteria were suggested as a basis for selection: first, all ethnonyms should be recorded; second, toponyms should be selected in accordance with their recognized importance in the history of the African peoples—there can obviously be no question of compiling a catalogue of all the toponyms in use throughout the continent; third, all anthroponyms should also be given a firm definition.

Divided into sections, the work should still form a unified whole with certain terms appearing in several of the sections, and should contain an extensive cross-referencing system.

Homogeneity should be ensured by the fact that a single working group would be entrusted with the preparation of the work and by virtue of the rigorous methods to be employed by that group. Each term selected should be the subject of research work consisting of the following: a bibliographical survey; review of archival holdings; review of oral traditions; interviews with groups which use the terms in question.

The experts did not hide the fact that such surveys are often fraught with problems. They do not present any major difficulties in a period or against a background of decolonization or liberation. But there are likely to be problems at the time of nation-building, and when relations between ethnic groups within a state are in the process of elaboration. Once again, everything that touches on African onomastics may also touch on serious political issues.

Linguistic and historical criticism should, in all cases, enable the most appropriate term to be selected, without neglecting all the other terms recorded during the survey and which should benefit from the critical and bibliographical information necessary for their comprehension.

The discussions revealed the importance of showing three types of variation for each term: (a) those that it has undergone within the group using it; (b) those that have occurred in neighbouring groups and (c) those that it has undergone outside Africa. In each case, it will be of the utmost interest to retrace the historical evolution of each variant of the term or name.

In preparing the work, an effort should be made to establish generic headings, so as to guard against the excessive dispersion of information. A comprehensive system of entries, with cross-references to the generic heading, should enable the user to locate with ease the required information.

Following this discussion, the experts recommended that members of the working group and of the International Scientific Committee should get in touch with those responsible for organizing the international congresses on onomastics, which are held every two or three years, and where considerable attention is devoted to African onomastics.

Reference work on African institutions

This volume, similar in form to a dictionary, should give clear definitions of institutional terms specific to African societies, without seeking artificially to equate these institutions with each other but also not omitting to show any resemblance or similarity between them.

Biographical dictionary

The biographies to be included in this work would of course be of persons mentioned in the *General History of Africa*.

The experts recommended that contacts should be maintained with the *Encyclopaedia Africana*, a representative of which could be invited to a future meeting of the International Scientific Committee to study practical ways of attaining close co-operation. In any case, the committee should take the initiative as far as the preparation of this volume is concerned. A survey of the many publications relating to this field and currently available or in preparation throughout the world could be useful.

For Volumes I and II, the Bureau should draw up with the editors of the various volumes a list of the names to be selected and designate authors to write the entries. These should include a comprehensive bibliography.

The following criteria are proposed for selecting the names of personalities to be included: that they have, irrespective of their social position, played an important role in African history, and are now deceased.

Concerning working methods proposed for the preparation of the first two works of reference, the experts recommended that a working group be appointed as soon as possible with responsibility, under the authority of the International Scientific Committee, to prepare the two works of reference. This should be a small working group. It should be representative of the various regions of the continent and of the various fields of research involved. The working methods of the group could be determined by the Director-General of Unesco and by the International Scientific Committee.

Its task will be as follows: (a) to give the volume editors and the International Committee all the necessary help in putting into final form the indexes and the transcriptions in the various volumes and (b) to prepare, on a long-term basis, in agreement with the International Scientific Committee and its Bureau, the two major scientific reference works described above.

For the immediate future the proposals put forward elsewhere in this report could be referred to the symposium scheduled to be held in Ouagadougou in May 1979,⁵ in accordance with the preparation of Volume VIII.

It would be desirable that the findings of the symposium to be organized by the University of Paris-I on the theme 'States and societies in Africa' in 1979 be communicated to the International Scientific Committee.

Two further proposals were put forward but the meeting did not take

any decision on them: first, the preparation of a systematic bibliography of articles dealing with onomastics and terms relating to African institutions; and, second, the preparation of a theoretical work on the problems of African onomastics, although it was repeatedly stated that in this field it is not easy to define the levels at which various terms are to be used and that important theoretical work of thought and reflection was probably needed in this field.

Until such time no doubt distant that the works on African onomastics and on terms relating to African institutions have been completed, attention should be given to efforts already made, outside Africa, in order to determine the largest possible number of ethnonyms. Mrs Wenté-Lukas gave the experts a brief account of the research undertaken in this field by the Frobenius Institute in Frankfurt am Main. Mrs Ceccaldi explained the policy followed by the Centre for African Studies of the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales*, Paris, in this same field of research.

Research results have been published and work is in progress on the following countries: Nigeria, United Republic of Cameroon, Chad (Frobenius Institute); Ivory Coast (1974), People's Republic of Benin (October 1978), Togo (1979), United Republic of Cameroon (1980) (Centre for African Studies).

No doubt similar work is in progress in Africa and elsewhere which deserves to be known. Professor Cornevin gave a few examples concerning the 'Bantuphone' peoples.

Any other business

The Unesco Secretariat consulted the experts present at the meeting on the question of the translations into African languages of the abridged version of the *General History of Africa*.

In regard to Kiswahili and Hausa, languages which the committee has already selected, the experts recommended getting in touch, for instance, in the case of Kiswahili, with the Commission for the Swahili Language of the University of Dar es Salaam and in the case of Hausa, with the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (Nigeria), Bayero University College, Kano (Nigeria), University of Sokoto, Sokoto (Nigeria), and with UNAZA (Zaire).

The method adopted for the translation into African languages could be the same as that chosen by the subcommittee for translation into Arabic: translation of each volume by two persons residing in the same country and revision by a third person in another country, who will be responsible for checking that the final content of the work is consistent with the standard edition of the *General History of Africa*.

The experts recommended that the committee consider the possibility

of translations into Mande and into Zulu, in addition to the languages which have been already selected. In both these cases a considerable number of potential readers are involved.

Recommendations

The meeting of experts made the following recommendations to the Director-General of Unesco and, through him, to the African Member States and the International Scientific Committee.

Urgent need for the collection and critical study, in Africa, of toponyms, anthroponyms and ethnonyms

This problem is not limited to any particular place. The solutions that have been found for it, since independence, have been more or less satisfactory according to the region concerned. It is desirable that efforts to collect material and make a scientific study of terms pertaining to African onomastics be continued or initiated, under the conditions laid down by the experts.

This question presents itself in a particularly acute form in the southern regions of the continent, where all names and terms in question are still deliberately camouflaged by the policy of the white minorities. The meeting of experts expressed the desire that special support be given to the efforts undertaken by universities and research workers in Unesco Member States, for research on this region of the African continent.

Proposal for the recasting of the programme planned by the International Scientific Committee

The meeting of experts on ethnonyms and toponyms recommended: (a) that the project originally envisaged be extended in such a way as to include a survey of all the African onomastic heritage representative of cultural and historical values; (b) that a systematic inventory be made of the names of institutions referred to in the different volumes (the names should be correctly transcribed and if necessary accompanied by a concise and scientific explanation).

The meeting considered that the publication of the proposed reference works (general dictionary of African onomastics and dictionary of African political, social and religious institutions) would usefully supplement the studies already carried out by providing an overall view of African societies and peoples with reference to their social changes, cultural mutations, population movements, and inter-group relations.

*Translation, from Arabic, of texts relating to the history
of non-Arabic-speaking zones of the African continent*

It was recommended that translators should not omit any indications given in the reference documents used by them relating to the vocalization of African names, as set down by Arabic-speaking travellers or merchants (e.g. Ibn Battuta). Such indications constitute valuable historical material.

Scientific mission in Nuer, Shilluk and Dieng (Dinka) country

The task of carrying out a detailed survey which would serve to supplement, for this region, the initial findings presented by Professor Cheikh Anta Diop in his paper, should be entrusted for a period of six months to a multidisciplinary team working in the Sudan with Unesco and university support. This survey should result in an exhaustive and definitive onomastic compilation of ethnonyms, toponyms and anthroponyms in the three communities and could possibly throw light on migratory patterns.

Notes

1. See *Final Report of the Meeting of the International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa* (Unesco doc. SHC/75/CONF.612/3).
2. Meeting of Experts for the Unification of Alphabets of National Languages, Bamako, Mali (28 February to 5 March 1966); Regional Seminar on the Harmonization and Standardization of the Alphabets of the languages of Ghana, Togo, Upper Volta, Nigeria and Benin, held at Cotonou, Benin, from 21 to 23 August 1975.
3. *The Peopling of Ancient Egypt and the Deciphering of Meroitic Script*, Paris, Unesco, 1978. (The General History of Africa: Studies and Documents, I.)
4. J. D. Fage and R. Oliver (eds.), *Cambridge History of Africa*, 8 vols., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 8 vols.
5. Meeting of Experts on the Methodology of Contemporary African History, Ouagadougou, 17-22 May 1979.

Appendices

1. A list of African ethnonyms

Ivan Hrbek

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Ababde		Beja	Sudan
Abangba	Bangba	Sere-Mundu	Zaire
Abasango	Sango	Ngbandi	Zaire
Abe	Abbe, Abbey	Baule	Ivory Coast
Abichu		Galla	Ethiopia
Abri	Abrinya	Bakwe	Ivory Coast
Abu Ghusum		Dajo	Chad
Abu Gimuk		Hill Nubians	Sudan
Abulu	Aeberu	Mangbetu	Zaire
Abure	Abouré	'Lagoon'	Ivory Coast
Abu Sharin		Maba	Chad
Acheron		Koalib	Sudan
Achipeta		Chewa	Mozambique
Acholi	Gan, Gang, Shuli, Makjuru		Uganda, Sudan
Adangbe	Adangme, Danmeli	Ga	Ghana, Togo
Adansi		Akan	Ghana
Adele		Togo	Togo, Ghana
Adio	Adyo, Makaraka	Azande	Sudan
Adja	Adya, Adsa, Adza, Anfue	Ewe	Benin, Togo
Aduma	Duma	Nyabi	Gabon
Afar	Adal, Danakil, Dankali		Djibouti, Ethiopia
Afema		Baule	Ivory Coast, Ghana
Afu	Afo, Afao, Eloi	Idoma	Nigeria
Afusare	Hill Jarawa	Jarawa	Nigeria

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Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Afutu	Abutu, Awutu	Gonja	Ghana
Agaro		Berta	Sudan
Agaw	Agau		Ethiopia
Age	Ague	Videkum	United Republic of Cameroon
Agni	Anyi, Anya, Ani	Akan	Ivory Coast, Ghana
Agonlinu		Fon	Benin
Ahanta	Anta	Baule	Ghana
Ahlo	Bogo	Togo	Togo
Aimasa	Aymasa	Kunama	Ethiopia
Aivu	Aiwu, Aywu	Lugbara	Uganda
Aizi	Aisi	Bete	Ivory Coast
Aizo	Aizangbe	Fon	Benin
Aja	Adja, Gbaya	Kreish	Sudan
Ajumba	Ajoumba	Mpongwe	Gabon
Aka	Asua	Pygmies	Zaire
Akan			Ghana, Ivory Coast, Benin, Togo
Akany-Jok	Akani-Djok	Dinka	Sudan
Akebu	Ekpevö, Egbetebe	Togo	Togo, Ghana
Akele-Guzay	Akkeleguzai	Tigrai	Ethiopia
Akim		Akan	Ghana
Akpafu	Apafu, Mawu	Togo	Togo
Akposso	Kposo, Kposso	Togo	Togo, Ghana
Akunakuna	Akurakura	Ibibio	Nigeria
Akwa (I)	Akua	Fipa	Malawi
Akwa (II)	Akoua	Mboshi	Congo
Akwapim	Akwamu	Akan	Ghana
Alaba		Sidamo	Ethiopia
Aladian	Aladjan, Aladyan, Alladian	'Lagoon'	Ivory Coast
Alagwa	Alawa, Wasi	Iraqw	United Republic of Tanzania
Alga		Ometo	Ethiopia
Ali	Gbee	Gbaya	Central African Republic
Aluer	Alwer, Alouer	Dzing	Zaire
Alur	Joalur, Alulu, Luri		Zaire, Uganda
Aluru		Lugbara	Uganda
Amap	Amo	Jerawa	Nigeria
Amba	Bamba	Komo	Zaire
Ambo (I)	Ovambo, Owambo		Angola, Namibia
Ambo (II)		Nyanja	Malawi

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Ambo (III)	Kambon-Senga	Bemba	Zambia
Ambuela	Wambuela, Mbuele, Mbwela	Nkoya	Angola
Amhara	Amara		Ethiopia
Anaguta	Naguta	Jarawa	Nigeria
Anang	Anan, 'Kalabari'	Ibibio	Nigeria
Andembu	Batembo	Ambundu	Angola
Andone		Bete	Liberia
Angas	Kerang, Karagma		Nigeria
Angba	Ngelima	Ngombe	Zaire
Angoni	Ngoni, Mazitu, Gwangara		United Republic of Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia
Angul	Ngul, Ngoli	Dzing	Zaire
Animere		Tem	Togo
Ankwe	Kemai, Kemay	Angas	Nigeria
Antumba		Nyanja	Malawi
Anuak	Anywae, Anwak		Sudan, Ethiopia
Anufo	Anufom, Tyokossi, Chokosi, Ando	Akan	Togo, Ghana
Anyaki		Bidyogo	Guinea-Bissau
Anyang	'Knogulin', 'Okui'	Ekoi	United Republic of Cameroon, Nigeria
Anyanga		Gonja	Ghana
Are	Ari, Baka, Bako, Shangoma	Sidamo	Ethiopia, Sudan
Argobba			Ethiopia
Ari	Abiji	'Lagoon'	Ivory Coast
Aringa		Lugbara	Uganda
Aro	'Ara'	Ibo	Nigeria
Arusha	Arusa, Il-Arusa	Masai	United Republic of Tanzania
Arusi	Arussi	Galla	Ethiopia
Asa-Aramanik		Iraqw	United Republic of Tanzania
Ashanti	Asante, Asanti		Ghana
Asi		Muzgu	Chad
Assaorta	Asaorta	Saho	Ethiopia
Assumbo	Asumbo, Azumbo	Ekoi	Nigeria
Asu	Shambala	Shambala	Kenya
Attie	Atchi, Akye, Atye	'Lagoon'	Ivory Coast
Atyoti	Achioti, Akyoti	Gonja	Ghana

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Auen	Kaukau, Koko	San	Botswana
Auni	Awni	San	Namibia
Auo	Awuo	San	Botswana
Aushi	Waushi, Ushi	Bemba	Zambia
Avatime	Awatime, Kedemonye, Kanema	Togo	Togo, Ghana
Avikam	Brinya, Mbrignan	'Lagoon'	Ivory Coast
Awieso		Tikar	United Republic of Cameroon
Awimeri		Manbutu	Zaire
Awiya		Agaw	Ethiopia
Aworo	Oworo, Akanda	Yoruba	Nigeria
Awuna (I)	Aculo	Grusi	Ghana
Awuna (II)	Anlo, Anhlo	Ewe	Togo
Aymellel		Gurage	Ethiopia
Azande	Zande, Sande, Bazenda		Sudan, Zaire, Central African Republic
Azene		Hausa	Nigeria
Azer	Ajer, Masiin	Soninke	Mali, Mauritania
Azimba		Malawi	Malawi
Azza		Tubbu	Chad
Ba		Bakwe	Ivory Coast
Babaju	Babadjou, Babadju	Bamileke	United Republic of Cameroon
Babile	Bajabili	Galla	Ethiopia
Babur	Pabir	Bura	Nigeria
Bachama	Gboare	Bata	Nigeria
Bade	Bedde		Nigeria
Badyar[a]	Bajar, Badyaranke, 'Padsade', Pajade, Padjade	Tenda	Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Senegal
Bafumbum		Tikar	Nigeria
Bafussam	Bafusam	Bamileke	United Republic of Cameroon
Bafut	Bafu, Mfut, Bapet, Bafia, Bufu	Tikar	United Republic of Cameroon
Baga	Barka, 'Boloes', 'Zape Boulones', Baele [Bailo]		Guinea-Bissau, Guinea
Bagam	Param	Maka	United Republic of Cameroon
Bagba		Gbaya	Central African Republic

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Bagirmi	Barmamge		Chad
Bagreig		Burun	Sudan
Bai	Bare, Bari	Ndogo-Sere	Sudan
Baia	Mbaia, Baya, Mbaya	Banda	Central African Republic
Bainuk	Banyun, Bañuun, Banhiin, Banhün, Banyon, Banyung		Senegal, Guinea-Bissau
Bajuni	Gunya, Badjuni, Bagiuni, Watikuu	Swahili	Somalia, Kenya
Baka	Baaka, Baaca, Baca	Bongo- Bagirmi	Sudan, Zaire
Bako	Are	Sidamo	Ethiopia
Bakum	Bakom, 'Kum', 'Kom'	Maka	United Republic of Cameroon
Bakwe			Ivory Coast
Balante	Belante, Bulanda, Balangas, Brassa, Bolenta		Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Senegal
Bambara	Bamana, Bamananke		Mali
Bamenyam	Bamenya, Bamenju	Bamileke	United Republic of Cameroon
Bamileke			United Republic of Cameroon
Bamum	Mum, Shupaman		United Republic of Cameroon
Banda	Gbanda		Central African Republic, Chad, Zaire
Bandi	Mambona		Liberia, Guinea
Bandia	Bandya, Abandiya	Azande	Zaire
Bandjoun	Banjun	Bamileke	United Republic of Cameroon
Bandobo	Ndob, Burukem		United Republic of Cameroon
Banen	Penin	Duala	United Republic of Cameroon
Banggot	Bangangte, 'Bayong'	Bamileke	United Republic of Cameroon
Bangi	Bangui	Ngbandi	Central African Republic
Bangubangu		Luba	Zaire
Barabaig		Tatog	United Republic of Tanzania
Baraguyu		Masai	Kenya

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Barareta	Wardai	Galla	Kenya
Barawa	Mbarawa	Jarawa	Nigeria
Barea	Baria		Ethiopia
Barentu		Galla	Ethiopia
Bereshe	Gungawa	Kambari	Nigeria
Bari			Sudan, Uganda
Bariba	Barba, Borgawa, Bogung, Bargu, Borgu		Benin, Togo, Nigeria
Baron	Ron	Angas	Nigeria
Barumbi	Odyalombi	Mangbetu	Zaire
Barwe Tonga		Tonga	Mozambique
Basa (I)	Bassa	Gere	Liberia
Basa (II)	Koko, Mwele	Duala	United Republic of Cameroon
Basa (III)	Basange, Kakanda, Ibara	Nupe	Nigeria
Basari (I)	Bassari, Basar, Alian, Ayan, Biyan, Ayon	Tenda	Senegal, Guinea
Basari (II)	Bassari, Tobote, Bitchembi	Gur	Togo, Ghana
Baseda	Ouindji-Ouindji, Winji-Winji	Tamba	Benin
Basketo		Ometo	Ethiopia
Bata			Nigeria, United Republic of Cameroon, Chad
Batanga		Duala	United Republic of Cameroon
Baule	Baoule	Akan	Ivory Coast
Baya	Banu, Gbanu	Gbaya	Central African Republic
Bayot		Dyolo	Guinea-Bissau
Bazanचे	Bansatye	Gonja	Benin
Beja	Bedja, Bedawiye, Bedawir		Sudan, Ethiopia
Bekwi	Bekoui	Pygmies	Gabon
Belanda	Beer-Landa, Bare	Lwoo	Sudan
Bele		Gola	Liberia
Bemb	Bembe, Babemb'	Teke	Congo
Bemba	Babemba, Wemba, Mvemba		Zambia, Zaire
Bembe	Wabembe	Rega	Zaire
Bena	Wabena		United Republic of Tanzania

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Bende	Wabende	Nyamwezi	United Republic of Tanzania
Berba		Somba	Benin, Togo, Upper Volta
Beria		Banda	Central African Republic
Berta	Shangala, Banu Shangul		Sudan, Ethiopia
Besorube		Somba	Benin
Betammaribe		Somba	Benin, Togo
Bete (I)	Betegbo		Ivory Coast
Bete (II)	Mbete	Boki	Nigeria
Beti		Fang	United Republic of Cameroon
Betyabe		Somba	Benin, Togo
Betye		Baule	Ivory Coast
Bhaca	Bhaka	Nguni	Republic of South Africa
Biafada	Bidyola, 'Beafares'		Guinea-Bissau
Bideyat	Beri, Ana	Zaghawa	Chad, Sudan
Bidio	Bidyo	Kinga	Chad
Bijago[s]	Bidyogo, Bidsogo, Biyago		Guinea-Bissau
Bijuki	Bidjuki	Maka	United Republic of Cameroon
Bili	Babili, Pere	Komo	Zaire
Bilin	Belin, Bogos	Agaw	Ethiopia
Binga (I)	Babinga		Zaire
Binga (II)	Chala [Caala], Byna	Bongo	Sudan, Central African Republic
Bini	Edo		Nigeria
Birifor	Birifon, Birafo	Mosi	Upper Volta, Ghana
Biri-Gamba	Bwiri	Ndogo-Sere	Sudan
Birked	Birgid, Kadjara, Murji, Murgi	Dajo	Chad, Sudan
Biom	Biroom, Burum, Shosho, Kibo		Nigeria
Bisa	Babisa, Wisá	Bemba	Zambia
Bisharin	Besaran, Bisariab	Beja	Sudan
Bliss		Dyolo	Senegal, Gambia
Boa	Bua, Bwa	Bagirmi	Chad
Bobangi	Bangi, Rebu		Zaire, Congo
Bobo	Bua, Bwa		Upper Volta, Mali

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Bobogbe		Bobo	Mali
Bobwa	Boboua, Waga, Wadye	Bete	Ivory Coast
Bodo	Dembo	Turi	Sudan
Boeno	Tenda Boeni	Tenda	Guinea
Bofi	Gbofi	Gbaya	Central African Republic
Bogwi	Bogoui	Bete	Ivory Coast
Boki	Nki, Waaneroki	Tiv	Nigeria
Bolemba	Wangata	Mongo	Zaire
Bolewa	Bolea, Fika, Pika	Bade	Nigeria
Bolgo		Bagirmi	Chad
Bolia	Buuli	Mongo	Zaire
Bolo	Lupolo	Mbundu	Angola
Boma	Baboma	Sakata	Zaire
Bomwana		Tembu	Republic of South Africa
Bondei		Shambala	United Republic of Tanzania
Bongili	Bongiri, Bukongo		Congo
Bongo		Bagirmi	Sudan
Boni	Waboni, Langulo, Walangulo		Kenya, Somalia
Bonna	Bonda	Baule	Ivory Coast
Booli		Mongo	Zaire
Boor	Bor, Ambe-Rodi, Mverodi	Ndogo	Sudan
Boran	Borana	Galla	Kenya, Ethiopia
Bowili	Bawurinya	Togo	Togo
Boyeta		Mongo	Zaire
Boyeu		Bwa	Zaire
Bozo	Sorko, Sorogo	Songhay	Mali
Bram	Brame, Buramo[s], Bola, Mankanya, 'Bran'	Manjak	Guinea-Bissau
Briama	Bulyama	Loma	Liberia
Brong	Abrong, Bono	Gonja	Ghana
Bubi	Ediya, 'Fernandian'	Duala	Equatorial Guinea
Budu	Budu-Nyari	Ndaka	Zaire
Budukwa	Boudou Kwa	Bakwe	Ivory Coast
Buduma	Yedina	Kotoko	Chad
Buela		Ngombe	Zaire
Buem	Bouem	Togo	Togo, Ghana
Buguli	Burugi	Grusi	Upper Volta

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Builsa	Kanjaga	Grusi	Ghana
Buka	Bouka	Banda	Central African Republic
Bukongo	Bongiri, Bongili		Congo
Bukusu	Babukusu	Luyia	Kenya
Bulala	Balala, Lis[i]	Bagirmi	Chad
Buldiit		Koma	Sudan
Bulom	Bullom, Bulem, Bullun, Kafu, Sherbro, Amampa, Mampua	Kisi	Sierra Leone
Bulu (I)	Bolo, Bawo, Bao	Fang	United Republic of Cameroon
Bulu (II)	Sheke	Fang	Gabon
Bum		Tikar	United Republic of Cameroon
Bume		Murle	Ethiopia
Bundunke	Bondunke	Fulbe	Senegal
Bungomek		Kalenjin	Kenya
Bura	Huwe		Nigeria, United Republic of Cameroon
Buram		Koalib	Sudan
Burji		Sidamo	Ethiopia
Buru	Mbru	Banda	Central African Republic
Burun	Lange	Lwoo	Sudan, Ethiopia
Burungi	Mbulunge	Iraqw	United Republic of Tanzania
Busa	Busano, Boko, Bisano, Busagwe, Bisa		Nigeria, Benin
Busanse	Bisano	Samo	Upper Volta
Butawa	Mbutawa		Nigeria
Bute	Wute, Wutere		United Republic of Cameroon
Bviri	Wiri, Veri, Birigamba	Ndongo	Sudan
Bwa (I)	Boa, Bua, Baboa, Ababwa		Zaire
Bwa (II)	Bali	Ngombe	Zaire
Bwaka	Bouaka, Ngbaka, Mbaka	Sere-Mundu	Zaire, Congo, Central African Republic
Bwile	Babwili, Aanza	Bemba	Zambia
Chabe	Shabe, Save	Yoruba	Benin, Nigeria
Chagga	Chaga, Jagga, Wajagga		United Republic of Tanzania

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Chala	Tshala, Shala	Tem	Togo
Cham	Chamba, Tchamba, 'Thiamba'	Tem	Togo, Benin
Chamba	Sama, Dima, Dingi		Nigeria, United Republic of Cameroon
Chang	Dshang	Bamileke	United Republic of Cameroon
Chara	Shara, Ciara	Ometo	Ethiopia
Chawai	Chawe, Chawi, Atsam	Birum	Nigeria
Cheke	Mubi, Gude	Bata	Nigeria
Chewa	Cewa, Achewa, Acewa	Malawi	Malawi
Chibbak	Kibaku	Margi	Nigeria
Chikunda		Malawi	Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique
Chishinga		Bemba	Zambia
Chivanda		Umbundu	Angola
Chivula		Umbundu	Angola
Chokwe	Cokwe, Wachokwe, Bachoko, Shioko, Kioko, Djok, Tsiboko, Tchiboko, Atuchokwe		Angola, Zaire
Chonyi		Nyika	Kenya
Chopi (I)	Lenge	Tsonga	Mozambique
Chopi (II)	Jopalwo, Jopadhola	Acholi	Uganda, Kenya
Chuka	Suka	Kikuyu	Kenya
Chwambo	Chuabo, Chuambo, Lolo	Makua	Mozambique
Daarod	Darod	Somali	Somalia
Daba		Mandara	United Republic of Cameroon
Daburu	Ndulu	Banda	Central African Republic
Dadaru	Kedin	Hill Nubians	Sudan
Dafing	Dafe	Dyula	Upper Volta, Ghana
Dagari	Dagaaba	Mosi	Upper Volta
Dago	Dajo, Dadju, Tagu, Koska		Sudan, Chad
Dagomba	Dagbamba, Ngwana		Ghana
Dahalo		Iraqw	Kenya
Dair	Taminyi	Hill Nubians	Sudan
Dakakiri	Dakarawa, Chilila	Kambari	Nigeria
Dakpa	Dakoa, Dakwa	Banda	Central African Republic

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Damara	Bergdamara, Tama, Dama		Namibia
Dan	Gé, Yakuba, Gio	Samia	Ivory Coast, Liberia, Guinea
Dangalit		Mubi	Chad
Darasa	Darassa	Sidamo	Ethiopia
Daza	Dazagada, Gor'an, Kreda	Tubbu	Chad, Niger
Dé	Dewoi	Gola	Liberia
Deforo		Kurumba	Upper Volta
Delo	Lelo, Tribu, Ntribu	Tem	Togo, Ghana
Dendi	Dendawa	Songhay	Benin, Niger
Dia	Jia, Djia, Jiya, Badia, Bajia, Badjia	Sakata	Zaire
Dibo	Zitako, Ganagana, 'Esitako'	Nupe	Nigeria
Didinga		Murle	Sudan
Dietko		Kanuri	Chad, Niger
Digil	Dijil	Somali	Somalia
Digo		Nyika	Kenya, United Republic of Tanzania
Dinka	Jiaan, Jang, Dieng		Sudan
Dir		Somali	Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia
Djado	Jado, Dyado, Toda-Brauya	Tubbu	Libya
Dje	Je, Holli	Yoruba	Benin, Niger
Djegel	Jegel	Dajo	Chad
Djerma	Zarma, Zerma, Dierma, Jerma, Zabarma, Dyabarma	Songhay	Niger, Nigeria
Djok	Badjok, Jok	Chokwe	Zaire
Dlamini	Dhlamini	Swazi	Swaziland
Dodos	Dodoth, Dabosa, Topoza	Karamojong	Uganda
Doe		Shambala	United Republic of Tanzania
Dogohe	Dogosie, Dorosye	Lobi	Upper Volta
Dogon	Dogo, Dogom, Habe/Kado, Tombo		Mali, Upper Volta
Dompago	Legba	Tem	Togo
Dondo	Badondo	Kongo	Congo

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Dongo	Dango	Kreish	Sudan
Dongola	Danakla, Dongolawi	Nubians	Sudan
Dongotono		Lotuko	Sudan
Dorobo	Okiek	Nandi	Kenya, United Republic of Tanzania
Dru	Druna	Lendu	Zaire
Duala	Douala, Diwala, Duela		United Republic of Cameroon
Duka	Dukawa, Hune	Kambari	Nigeria
Dukpu		Banda	Sudan, Central African Republic
Dundul[in]	Dangalit, Dangalaet	Bagirmi	Chad
Duru		Masa	United Republic of Cameroon
Duruma	Doroma	Nyika	Kenya
Dyakhanke	Diakhanke, Jahaanke	Soninke	Senegal, Gambia, Guinea
Dyallonke	Dyallonke, Yalunke, Dyalonka, 'Dsalunka'	Susu	Guinea, Sierra Leone
Dyamala		Senufo	Ivory Coast
Dyan	Dian, Dya	Lobi	Upper Volta
Dyariso	Dyarisso, Diarisso	Soninke	Mali
Dyawara	Diawara, Jawara	Soninke	Mali
Dyé	Ngam-Ngam	Gur	Togo, Benin
Dyola	Djola, Diola, Yola, Jola, Joola		Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau
Dyongor	Jongor, Djonkur, Djunkun		Chad
Dyula	Diula, Dyulanke, Wangara, Juula, Dioula		West Africa
Dzing	Badzing, Idzing, Ding		Zaire
Ebe	Abewa, Agalati	Nupe	Nigeria
Efik			Nigeria
Egba		Yoruba	Nigeria, Benin
Egedde		Idoma	Nigeria
Egon	Abegon, Megon	Jerawa	Nigeria
Egwa	Egoua	Bete	Ivory Coast
Eikusi		San	Botswana
Ejagham		Ekoi	Nigeria
Ekiti	Eki, 'Ki'	Yoruba	Nigeria
Ekoi	Yako, Iyako, 'Eafen'		Nigeria
Ekonda	Baseka	Mongo	Zaire

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Elgeyo	Keyo	Kalenjin	Kenya
Elgoni	Koni, Kony	Kalenjin	Kenya
Elwana		Pokomo	Kenya
Embu		Kikuyu	Kenya
Endo	Kepleng, To	Kalenjin	Kenya
Eregba	Regba	Tiv	Nigeria
Esa	So, Soko	Ngombe	Zaire
Eton			United Republic of Cameroon
Etulo	Utut	Idoma	Nigeria
Eunda		Ambo	Namibia
Evale		Ambo	Namibia, Angola
Ewalue	Oule	Baule-Anyi	Ghana
Ewe	Ewegbe, Bubutubi, Bayikpe, Evhé		Togo, Ghana, Benin
Ezha		Gurage	Ethiopia
Fajelu	Fajulu, Padhola, Pojulu	Bari	Uganda, Sudan
Fala	Bakka	Maba	Chad
Falasha	Kayla	Agaw	Ethiopia
Fang	Pangwe, Pahouin, Pahuin		United Republic of Cameroon, Gabon
Fanti	Fante		Ghana
Feroghe	Feroge, Kaligi, Kaliki	Sere-Mundu	Sudan
Fiadija	Fiadidja, Fedicca, Fedikka	Nubians	Sudan
Fipa	Wafipa		United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia
Flup	Felup, Fulup, Huluf, Uluf, Karon	Dyola	Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau
Fo	Bafo, Bafau	Duala	United Republic of Cameroon
Fokeng	Bafokeng	Tswana	Republic of South Africa, Botswana
Folo	Foro, Folona	Senufo	Ivory Coast
Fon	Fongbe, Djedji, Fo		Benin, Togo
Fony	Fogni	Dyola	Senegal, Gambia
For	Fora, Fur, Furawi, Konjara		Sudan
Fulbe	Peul, Peulh, Fula, Foula, Fulanke, Afuli, Filani, Fellata, Bafilache, Fuulbe		West Africa

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Fuliro	Fulero	Rwanda	Zaire
Fungwe		Malawi	Zambia
Ga (I)	Gan	Adangbe	Ghana
Ga (II)	Gan, Ganlobi	Lobi	Upper Volta
Gafat		Gurage	Ethiopia
Gala		Nyamwezi	United Republic of Tanzania
Galaganza		Nyamwezi	United Republic of Tanzania
Galla	Oromo		Ethiopia, Kenya
Gaminuin	Bondelswaarts	Khoi	Namibia
Gan	Gbenuganne	Kwene	Ivory Coast
Ganawuri	Aten, Etyen, Jal	Katab	Nigeria
Ganda	Baganda		Uganda
Ganguella	Nganguela		Angola, Zaire, Zambia
Ganza	Gwami	Koma	Sudan
Ganzi		Pygmies	Congo
Garanganza	Galaganza, Yeke	Nyamwezi	United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire
Gawaar		Nuer	Sudan
Gawada		Sidamo	Ethiopia
Gawar		Daba	United Republic of Cameroon
Gayi	Uge, Alege	Boki	Nigeria
Gbaba	Baga	Banda	Central African Republic
Gbande	Gbandi, Bandi	Gerze	Liberia
Gbari	Gwari, Gwali, Goali, Gbali	Nupe	Nigeria
Gbaya	Baya, Igbaka, Manja		Central African Republic, Congo, Zaire, United Republic of Cameroon
Gbe	Ge-Sikon	Kru	Liberia
Gbende	Bindi	Banda	Central African Republic
Gbongo	Bongo	Banda	Central African Republic, Sudan
Gbunde	Kimbuzi	Gerze	Liberia
Ge (I)	Gen, Gege, Genge, Mina	Ga	Togo, Benin
Ge (II)	Gbe, Gema [Dan]	Kru	Liberia
Gedabuursi	Gadabursi, Gedabursi	Somali	Somalia
Geleba	Marle	Sidamo	Ethiopia
Gengele	Bagengele	Komo	Zaire

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Gengle		Mumuye	Nigeria
Gere			Liberia, Ivory Coast
Gere-Kpaan		Gere	Ivory Coast
Gerze	Kpwele, Kpelle, Gbeze		Guinea
Gesera	Bagesera	Rwanda	Rwanda
Gibwa		Bete	Ivory Coast
Gidar		Daba	United Republic of Cameroon
Gien	Tchien, Kien, Tye, Tie, Tyen	Gere	Liberia
Gieta		Gurage	Ethiopia
Gimini	Djimini, Jimini	Senufo	Ivory Coast
Gimirra		Sidamo	Ethiopia
Ginga		Ambundu	Angola
Giryama	Giriama	Nyika	Kenya
Gishu	Gisu, Bagishu, Wugusu, Masaba	Luyia	Uganda
Gisiga		Daba	United Republic of Cameroon
Gisima		Loma	Liberia
Godye	Go	Bete	Ivory Coast
Gogo	Wagogo		United Republic of Tanzania
Gola (I)	Gula, 'Gora'		Liberia, Sierra Leone
Gola (II)	Gori	Mumuye	Nigeria
Gonja	Guang, Ngbanya, Gbanya		Ghana
Gonzoro	Gbanzoro	Senufo	Ivory Coast
Goran	Goraan, Dagorda	Tubbu	Chad
Gorowa	Goroa, Fiome, Fiomi	Iraqw	United Republic of Tanzania
Gosha	Wagosha		Kenya, Somalia, Ethiopia
Gowa		Tonga	Zambia
Grebo	Krepo, Trepo	Bakwe	Ivory Coast, Liberia
Griqua	Griquas	Khoin	Republic of South Africa
Grusi	Grunsi, Grunshi, Gurensi, Guren, Guresa		Ghana, Upper Volta
Gu	Gun, Egun	Ewe	Benin
Gudji	Guji	Galla	Ethiopia
Guin	Gouin, Mbwe	Lobi	Ivory Coast, Upper Volta
Gula		Banda	Chad

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Gulfei	Malbe	Kotoko	Chad
Gumuz		Koma	Ethiopia
Gun	Gunu, Popo, Djede	Ewe	Benin, Nigeria
Gurage			Ethiopia
Gurmanche	Gurmanshe, Gurmantche, Binumba, Bimba	Mosi	Upper Volta, Togo, Ghana
Gusii	Abagusii, Kisii, Abakisii	Luyia	Kenya, United Republic of Tanzania
Gwa	Agwa, Akwa, 'Aquia', Mbato		Ivory Coast
Gwai		Muzgu	Chad
Gwamba		Tsonga	Republic of South Africa
Gweno		Chagga	United Republic of Tanzania
Gwere	Bagwere	Luyia	Uganda
Gyo	Gio	Dan	Liberia
Ha	Baha, Waha, Abaja, Abaha		United Republic of Tanzania
Hadendoa	Hadendowa, Hodendowa	Beja	Sudan
Hadya	Gudella, Gudela	Sidamo	Ethiopia
Hadza	Hadzapi, Kindiga, Hatsa, Kangeju, Tindega	San	United Republic of Tanzania
Hamasién		Tigrái	Ethiopia
Hanya		Nyaneka	Angola
Harari	Adari		Ethiopia
Hausa	Hausa, Hausawa, Afuno		Nigeria, Niger
Havu	Bahavu	Rwanda	Zaire
Hawiya	Hawiye	Somali	Somalia, Ethiopia
Haya	Bahaya, Ziba, Baziba, Aiba		United Republic of Tanzania
Hehe	Wahehe		United Republic of Tanzania
Hemba	Bahemba	Luba	Zaire
Her		Dyola	Senegal
Herero	Ovaherero		Namibia, Botswana, Angola
Hewe		Malawi	Malawi
Higi	Kamun	Bata	Nigeria

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Hima	Bahima	Nyoro	Uganda
Hina	Hunna, Pilimdi	Tera	Nigeria
Hinda	Bahinda		Uganda
Hinga	Ovahinga	Nyaneka	Angola
Hlanganu	Shangaan, Soshangan, Machangana, Amatchanganu	Tsonga	Mozambique
Hlengwe		Tsonga	Mozambique
Hlubi		Zulu	Republic of South Africa
Holo	Baholo	Kongo	Angola
Holoholo		Luba/Rega	United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire
Hona	Huene	Tera	Nigeria
Huambo	Wambu	Umbundu	Angola
Hula	Popo	Fon	Benin
Hum		Teke	Zaire
Humbe	Wahumbe		Angola
Hunde	Bahunde	Rwanda	Zaire
Hungaan	Bahunanna	Kongo	Zaire
Hungu	Bahungu, Mahungo	Kongo	Angola
Hurutse	Hurutshe, Bahurutse	Tswana	Republic of South Africa
Hutu	Bahutu		Rwanda, Burundi
Hwane	Hwale	Bakwe	Ivory Coast
Hweda	Hwida, Ouida, Peda	Fon	Benin
Hwela	Huela, Wuela, Weela	Vai	Ivory Coast
Ibibio	Agbishera		Nigeria
Ibo	Igbo		Nigeria
Idasha	Dassa, Dasha	Yoruba	Benin
Idaw Aish	Id or Aich, Dowich	Arabs	Mali, Mauritania
Idoma	Okpoto, Arago		Nigeria
Ife		Yoruba	Nigeria
Igala			Nigeria
Igara		Nupe	Nigeria
Igbira	Egbura, Egbira, Kotokori	Nupe	Nigeria
Igbiri	Pugbiri, Gure-Kahugu	Biom	Nigeria
Igwadaren		Tuareg	Mali
Ijaw	Ijo, Ije		Nigeria
Ijebu	Idjebu, Dsebu, Idsebu	Yoruba	Nigeria
Ijesha	Idjesha, Idsesa, Igesa	Yoruba	Nigeria
Ikoma		Pokomo	United Republic of Tanzania, Kenya

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Ikulu	Ankulu	Katab	Nigeria
Ikwo		Ibo	Nigeria
Ila	Baila	Tonga	Zambia
Illa	Igbona, Igbomina	Yoruba	Nigeria
Imbangala	'Kasandsi', 'Kasanje'	Luba	Angola
Indri	Inderi, Yandirika, Ndiri	Feroqe	Sudan
Indundulu		Lozi	Zambia
Ine Chibingu	Cibingu	Lunda	Zaire
Ingassana	Tabi, Metabi	Berta	Ethiopia, Sudan
Ipagero		Lwo	Uganda
Iramba	Wairamba, Nyiramba, Nilamba, Yambi	Nyaturu	United Republic of Tanzania
Irangi	Warangi, Rangi, Langi, Wachangi	Nyaturu	United Republic of Tanzania
Iraqw	Mbulu, Wambulu		United Republic of Tanzania
Irigwe	Aregwe, Aregwa, Rigwe	Katab	Nigeria
Irreganaten		Tuareg	Mali
Isa	Issa, Iise	Somali	Djibouti, Somalia
Ishaaq	Issak, Ishak, Ishaak	Somali	Somalia
Isubu	Subu, Su, Isuwu	Duala	United Republic of Cameroon
Itcha	Icha	Yoruba	Benin, Togo
Itesio	Elgumi, Wamia	Teso	Kenya
Itsekiri	Jekri, Djekri, Dsekiri, Warri, Owerri, Awerri, Iwere		Nigeria
Ittu		Galla	Ethiopia
Iullemmiden	Oullimiden, Ioullemmeden	Tuareg	Mali, Niger
Iwa		Kinga	Zambia, United Republic of Tanzania
Iyala	Yala	Tiv	Nigeria
Iyembe		Mongo	Zaire
Jaba	Djaba, Dsaham, Ham	Katab	Nigeria
Jaga	Djaga		Angola, Zaire
Jagei		Nuer	Sudan
Jarawa	Jar, Djarawa, Djar, Dsarawa		Nigeria
Jasing		Mbum	United Republic of Cameroon

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Jera	Djera, Diera	Tera	Nigeria
Jerawa	Djerawa		Nigeria
Jere		Angoni	United Republic of Tanzania
Jeto	Dieto	Banda	Central African Republic
Jibana		Nyika	Kenya
Jibawa		Jukun	Nigeria
Jie	Jiye, Djie, Die, Djiwe, Adji, Aji, Ngie, Ngijiye	Lango	Uganda, Kenya
Jiji	Wajiji		United Republic of Tanzania
Jimma		Galla	Ethiopia
Jita	Wajita	Luyia	United Republic of Tanzania, Kenya
Joluo	Luo, Djur, Jur, Nife		Kenya, United Republic of Tanzania, Sudan
Jonam		Alur	Uganda
Jonga		Tsonga	Mozambique
Jongor		Mubi	Chad
Jukot		Alur	Zaire
Jukun	Djukun, Dsuku, Kwararofa, Urapang, Appa		Nigeria
Jumjum	Wadega	Maban	Sudan
Jumu	Djumu, Dsumu	Yoruba	Nigeria, Benin
Junguru		Banda	Central African Republic, Sudan
Jur	Djur, Juur	Nuer	Sudan
Kaa	Bakaka	Duala	United Republic of Cameroon
Kabre	Kabiemba, Kabrema, Kuare, Kabrais	Lamba	Togo, Benin
Kachichere		Katab	Nigeria
Kadle	Kandere	Senufo	Ivory Coast
Kadugli	Dhalla		Sudan
Kaffa	Kafficho, Gongga	Sidamo	Ethiopia
Kagoro (I)	Agwolok	Katab	Nigeria
Kagoro (II)		Bambara	Mali
Kaguru	Guru, Kagulu	Sagara	United Republic of Tanzania
Kaiku	Bakaiku	Komo	Zaire

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Kajakse		Mubi	Chad
Kajanga	Kajangan	Maba	Chad
Kaje	Baju	Katab	Nigeria
Kaka	Yaka	Maka	United Republic of Cameroon, Congo
Kakanda	Shabe, Kakanja	Nupe	Nigeria
Kakonda	Kilombo	Umbundu	Angola
Kakwa	Kuakuak		Uganda, Sudan, Zaire
Kalanga (I)		Shona	Zimbabwe, Botswana
Kalanga (II)	Bakalanga	Rega	Zaire
Kalanga (III)	Bakalanga	Luba	Zaire
Kalenjin	Kalendjin		Kenya
Kalongo	Kalunka	Bambara	Mali
Kalundwe		Luba	Zaire
Kamasia	Tuken	Kalenjin	Kenya
Kamba (I)	Akamba, Wakamba, Kaamba		Kenya
Kamba (II)	Bakamba, Nsuku	Kongo	Congo
Kambari	Ewadi, Yauri, Kambali		Nigeria
Kambata	Kambatta, Kombatta	Sidamo	Ethiopia
Kambe		Nyika	Kenya
Kami		Zaramo	United Republic of Tanzania
Kamir	Khamir, Hamir	Agaw	Ethiopia
Kamta	Khamta	Agaw	Ethiopia
Kamuku	Jinda, Majinda, Kenji	Kambari	Nigeria
Kanakuru	Dera	Bede	Nigeria
Kanembu		Kanuri	Chad, Nigeria, Niger
Kango (I)	Bakango	Bwa	Zaire
Kango (II)		Ngombe	Zaire
Kaninkom	Tum	Katab	Nigeria
Kanuri			Nigeria, Chad, Niger, United Republic of Cameroon
Kanyok	Kanyoka, Kanioka, Kanyika	Luba	Zaire
Kaonde	Bakaonde, Kahonde		Zambia
Kara	Karagwe	Luyia	United Republic of Tanzania
Karaboro	Koroma	Senufo	Ivory Coast
Karamojong	Karimojong		Kenya, Uganda

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Karanga (I)	Makaranga	Shona	Zimbabwe, Mozambique
Karanga (II)		Maba	Chad
Kare	Akare, Akari, Akhale, Bakare		Zaire, Central African Republic
Karekare		Bede	Nigeria
Kari	Kali	Mbum	United Republic of Cameroon
Karko	Kitoniri	Hill Nubians	Sudan
Kasanga	Kasange, Cassanga, Ihage	Balante	Senegal, Guinea-Bissau
Kasele	Akasele	Gurma	Togo
Kasena	Kasuna, Kasonbura, Kasonse, Kasm	Grusi	Ghana, Upper Volta
Kashioko		Chokwe	Angola
Kashmere	Kachmere	Maba	Chad
Kasongi		Umbundu	Angola
Katab	Tyap, Atyap		Nigeria
Katcha	Ka-Dolubi	Kadogli	Sudan
Katla	Akalak	Kadogli	Sudan
Katwa		Bajuni	Kenya, Somalia
Kaudle		Gosha	Somalia
Kauma		Nyika	Kenya
Kawendi	Wenakawendi	Bemba	Zambia
Kayla	Falasha	Agaw	Ethiopia
Kebbi			Niger, Nigeria
Keiga	Aigan	Kadogli	Sudan
Kela	Bakela	Mongo	Zaire
Kele	Bakele, Nkele, Kalai		Gabon, Congo
Keliko	Madi	Moru-Madi	Zaire, Sudan
Kemant		Agaw	Ethiopia
Kenga	Tienga, Kienga, Tchienga	Busa	Niger, Nigeria
Kenge		Umbundu	Angola
Kentu	Etkye	Jukun	Nigeria
Kerewe	Bakerewe		United Republic of Tanzania
Kete	Bakete	Luba	Zaire
Ketu		Yoruba	Benin
Kgaga		Pedi	Republic of South Africa
Kgalagadi		Tswana	Botswana
Kgatla		Tswana	Republic of South Africa, Lesotho

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Khasonke	Kassonke, Xaasonke	Malinke	Mali
Khoikhoin	'Hottentots'		Namibia, Botswana
Khomani	Komani	San	Botswana
Kibet		Dajo	Chad
Kichugu		Kikuyu	Kenya
Kiga	Bakiga	Rwanda	Uganda
Kikuyu	Gikuyu, Akikuyu, Wakikuyu		Kenya
Kilba	Ndirma	Margi	Nigeria
Kilir	Dselana	Somba	Benin
Kimbu		Nyamwezi	United Republic of Tanzania
Kinga (I)	Kenga	Bagirmi	Chad
Kinga (II)	Wakinga	Nyakyusa	United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia
Kingolo		Umbundu	Angola
Kipeyo		Umbundu	Angola
Kipsigis	Lumbwa	Kalenjin	Kenya
Kipsorai	Sore	Kalenjin	Uganda
Kipungu	Watyipungu	Nyaneka	Angola
Kisama	Quissama, Guisama	Umbundu	Angola
Kisi (I)		Matengo	United Republic of Tanzania
Kisi (II)	Kissi, Gii, Gisi, Assi, Den, Gizi, Gizima		Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone
Koa	Bakoa	Pygmies	Gabon
Koalib		Tagoi	Sudan
Koko	Bakoko, Kogo, Bakogo	Basa	United Republic of Cameroon
Kola	Bakola	Pygmies	United Republic of Cameroon
Kololo	Makololo	Sotho	Zambia, Malawi
Kom	Bikom, Bamekom	Tikar	United Republic of Cameroon
Koma (I)		Chamba	United Republic of Cameroon
Koma (II)	Gokwom, Burun	Gumuz	Sudan, Ethiopia
Koma (III)	Komasan	San	Namibia
Kome		Koalib	Sudan
Komo	Bakomo, Kumu, Babira		Zaire
Komono		Lobi	Upper Volta
Kongo	Congo		Zaire, Angola, Congo

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Koni	Bakoni	Pedi	South African Republic
Koniagi	Konagi, Avoene, Awoene, Awohe, Azene, Coniagui	Tenda	Guinea
Konjo	Bakonjo, Nande, Banande, Yira, Baira		Zaire, Uganda
Konkomba	Kpunkpamba, Kpankpama, Kokwamba, Konko	Gurma	Ghana, Togo
Kono (I)	Konno, Koso, Kondo	Vai	Sierra Leone
Kono (II)		Kpelle	Guinea, Liberia
Kono (III)	Gbongo	Bongo	Sudan, Central African Republic
Konongo		Nyamwezi	United Republic of Tanzania
Konso-Geleba		Galla	Ethiopia
Koranko	Kuranke		Guinea, Sierra Leone
Korekore	Kolekole	Shona	Zimbabwe
Korokoro	Munyo	Pokomo	Kenya
Kosa	Akosa	Lunda	Zaire
Kosi	Kossi, Bakosi, Nhalemoe	Duala	United Republic of Cameroon
Kosso	Koso	Mende	Sierra Leone, Liberia
Kota	Bakota, Bisi Kota [Kora]		Congo, Gabon
Kotafon		Fon	Benin
Kotoko	Makari, Moria, Mamaka, Bala		Chad, United Republic of Cameroon
Koyra		Ometo	Ethiopia
Kpaya	Banda-Banda, Banaa-Kpaya	Banda	Sudan, Central African Republic
Kpelle	Kpele, Kpese, Gerze, Gbeze, Gbrese, Pessi		Liberia
Krachi		Gonja	Ghana
Kran	Pan	Gere	Ivory Coast, Liberia
Krawi	Krawo	Gere	Liberia
Kreish	Kresh, Kreich, Gbaya-Ndogo, Kpara, Kpala		Sudan, Central African Republic
Krim	Kim, Kimi, Akima	Bulom	Sierra Leone
Krongo		Kadogli	Sudan
Kru	Krao, 'Krumen', Krou		Liberia, Ivory Coast

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Kuba	Bakuba, Bushong		Zaire
Kuke	Koke	Bagirmi	Chad
Kukuruku		Bini	Nigeria
Kukuya		Teke	Zaire, Congo
Kukwa			Congo
Kukwe		Nyakyusa	United Republic of Tanzania
Kulango	Kolambio, Ngorafo, Nkoramfo, Koulanko		Ivory Coast
Kumam	Akum	Lango	Kenya, Uganda
Kunama	Baza, Bazin, Badin		Ethiopia
Kunante	Kunat	Balante	Guinea-Bissau
Kundu	Bakundu, Abo	Duala	United Republic of Cameroon
Kung	!Kung	San	Namibia
Kunyi	Bakunyi	Kongo	Congo
Kupa	Ekupu	Nupe	Nigeria
Kurama	Akurmi	Biom	Nigeria
Kuri	Kakaa	Kotoko	Chad
Kuria	Bakuria	Luyia	Kenya, United Republic of Tanzania
Kurjinna		Kachmere	Chad
Kurumba	Fulse, Foulse, Kuruma, Kouroumba	Mosi	Upper Volta
Kusasi	Kusase, Kusanse		Togo, Ghana, Upper Volta
Kuseri	Usuri, Msirr	Kotoko	Chad, United Republic of Cameroon
Kusii	Guzii		United Republic of Tanzania
Kusu	Bakusu	Mongo	Zaire
Kusuvulu		Sara	Chad
Kutew	Zemper, Zumper, Mbarike	Tiv	Nigeria
Kutinn		Chamba	United Republic of Cameroon
Kutsu	Bakutsu	Mongo	Zaire
Kutu (I)	Khutu	Zaramo	United Republic of Tanzania
Kutu (II)	Bakutu, Nkutu	Mongo	Zaire
Kuturmi	Ada	Kajuru	Nigeria
Kuvale	Kuwale, Cuale, Quale	Herero	Angola

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Kwangari	Ovakwangari	Ambo	Angola
Kwange	Bakwange	Komo	Zaire
Kwangwa		Lozi	Zambia
Kwanyama	Cuanhama, Kuanyama, Cuanyama	Ambo	Angola
Kwara		Agaw	Ethiopia
Kwavi		Chaga	United Republic of Tanzania
Kwele	Bakwele	Maka	Congo
Kwena	Bakwena	Tswana	Botswana
Kweni	Guro, Gouro		Ivory Coast
Kwere	Bakwere	Shambala	United Republic of Tanzania
Kweze	Kwese, Bakweze, Bakwese	Kongo	Zaire
Kwiri	Bakwiri, Baakpe	Duala	United Republic of Cameroon
Kwisi		Herero	Angola
Kyama	Eltrie	'Lagoon'	Ivory Coast
Laka	Lag	Sara	Chad
Lala	Balala	Bemba	Zambia, Zaire
Lali		Teke	Congo
Lalia	Dzalia	Mongo	Zaire
Lamba (I)	Losso, Legba, Lama	Kabre	Togo
Lamba (II)	Balamba	Bemba	Zambia
Lambya	Lambwa	Kinga	United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia
Landuman	Landima, Landoma, Kokoli	Baga	Guinea
Langa	Laga	Dyalonke	Sierra Leone
Langbase	Alangbase	Banda	Zaire
Lange	Bachilenge, Bashilenge	Luba	Zaire
Lango (I)	Miro, Umiro		Uganda
Lango (II)		Lotuko	Sudan
Lebu (I)	Lébou	Wolof	Senegal
Lebu (II)		Koalib	Sudan
Ledha	Baledha	Lendu	Zaire
Lefana	Lelemi	Togo	Togo, Ghana
Lele (I)		Kisi	Guinea, Liberia
Lele (II)	Bajilele, 'Wongo'		Zaire
Lemba	Balemba, Malepa, Namgeni	Sotho	Republic of South Africa

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Lembwe		Sanga	Zaire, Zambia
Lendu	Walendu, Bale, Balegu		Zaire
Lengola	Balengola		Zaire
Lenje	Lengi	Tonga	Zambia
Lesá	Balesa	Sakata	Zaire
Lese	Walese	Moru	Zaire
Lete	Date	Gonja	Ghana
Leya		Tonga	Zambia
Liaro		Kisi	Guinea
Ligbi	Tuba	Vai	Ivory Coast
Likpe	Bakpele	Togo	Togo
Limba	Yimbe	Kisi	Sierra Leone
Linja		Rwanda	Zaire
Lobi			Upper Volta, Ivory Coast
Logba (I)	Legba, Banugba, Akpana	Togo	Togo, Benin
Logba (II)		Gonja	Ghana, Benin
Logolo	Abalogoli, Walako	Luyia	Kenya
Logon	Loron, Loma, Lorhon	Kulango	Ivory Coast
Logone	Langwane	Kotoko	Chad, United Republic of Cameroon
Lokele		Mongo	Zaire
Loko	Lokko, Londoro, Landogo	Mende	Sierra Leone
Loma	Looma, Tooma, Toma, Buzi, Logoma, Laoma		Liberia (Loma), Guinea (Toma)
Lombi	Balombi, Barombi	Duala	United Republic of Cameroon
Lombo	Balombo	Ngombe	Zaire
Lomotwa		Luba	Zaire
Lomwe	Lolo, Nguru, Ngumu, 'West Makua'	Makua	Mozambique, Malawi
Lomya		Lozuko	Sudan
Longe-Longe		Rwanda	Zaire
Longuda	Ajitora, Nungu-Raba	Biom	Nigeria
Lou		Nuer	Sudan
Lotuko	Otuko		Sudan
Lovedu	Balovedu, Lobedu		Republic of South Africa
Lozi	Balozi, Barotse, Barozi, Luyana		Zambia

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Lua	Balua	Kongo	Zaire
Luba	Baluba		Zaire
Luchazi	Waluchazi, Lucazi, Mulochazi, Luksage, Balojash		Angola, Zambia
Lue	Barwe	Duala	United Republic of Cameroon
Luena	Waluena, Lwena, Lubalo, Lovale, Balubalo		Angola, Zaire
Lugbara	Andreleba, Lugori, Lugwari, Luguaret, Lakkara		Uganda, Zaire
Luguru	Ruguru, Guru, Waluguru		United Republic of Tanzania
Lu-Gwuran		Koalib	Sudan
Luumbe	Luwimbi, Lwimbe, Waluumbe	Umbundu	Angola
Lukolwe	Balukolwe	Nkoya	Zambia
Lulua	Bena Lulua	Luba	Zaire
Luluba	Olugbo	Moru-Madi	Sudan
Lumbu (I)	Balumbu	Nyabi	Congo
Lumbu (II)	Nanzela	Tonga	Zambia
Lunda	Balunda, Alunda, Aluunda, Arund		Zaire, Angola, Zambia
Lundwe		Tonga	Zambia
Lungu (I)	Adong	Katab	Nigeria
Lungu (II)		Fipa	Zaire
Lushange	Baushanga	Nkoya	Zambia
Luyi	Alui, Luano	Lozi	Zambia
Luyia	Baluyia, Luhya, Abaluhya		Kenya, United Republic of Tanzania
Lwer	Lori	Dzing	Zaire
Lwo	Lwoo, Luo		Sudan, Kenya, Uganda
Ma	Amadi	Mba	Zaire
Maba	Mabaa, Bura Mabang, Moba		Chad, Sudan
Maban	Guro	Luo	Sudan, Ethiopia
Mabinja		Ngombe	Zaire
Mabudu		Komo	Zaire
Machcha	Mecha, Lieka, Galla Wollega	Galla	Ethiopia

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Madi	Keliko	Moru-Madi	Uganda, Sudan, Zaire
Maele	Emaele	Mangbetu	Zaire
Mahi		Fon	Benin
Maji		Sidamo	Ethiopia
Majugu		Ndogo-Sere	Zaire
Maka			Congo, Gabon, United Republic of Cameroon
Makere	Amakere	Mangbetu	Zaire
Makonde			United Republic of Tanzania, Mozambique
Makua	Makoa, Makuwa, Makwa, Mato, Meto, Makwai		Mozambique, Malawi
Malagasy	Malgaches		Madagascar
Malawi	Marawi, Malavi, Maravi		Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique
Malbe	Gwalakwe	Kotoko	United Republic of Cameroon
Mambila	Nor	Jukun	Nigeria
Mambwe		Fipa	United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia
Mamprusi	Mampulusi, Mampele, Mampoursi		Ghana, Togo, Upper Volta
Mampukush	Goba	Yeye	Angola
Mamvu	Mamwu, Momfu	Mangbutu	Zaire
Mandara	Wandala		United Republic of Cameroon, Nigeria
Mandingo	Malinke, Mandinka		West Africa
Mandyak	Manjak, Manjaku, Manyagu, Kanyop, Sarar		Guinea-Bissau
Manga (I)	Munio	Kanuri	Niger, Nigeria
Manga[ya] (II)	Buga, Bugwa, Moingayat	Sere-Mundu	Sudan
Manganja		Malawi	Malawi
Mangbai	Mambai	Mbum	United Republic of Cameroon, Chad
Mangbele (I)		Mangbetu	Zaire
Mangbele (II)		Mundu-Ngbaka	Zaire
Mangbetu	Monbuttu, Monbattu		Zaire
Mangbutu	Wambutu	Moru	Zaire

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Mangisha	Mangicha, Manguicha	Fang	United Republic of Cameroon
Mangwato	Bamangwato	Tswana	Botswana
Mankaya	Bola, Brame	Mandyak	Guinea-Bissau
Mano	Manon, Maa, Mamia	Dan	Liberia, Guinea, Ivory Coast
Manya	Manyanka	Mande	Liberia
Manyema			Zaire, United Republic of Tanzania
Manyika	Manika, Manica	Shona	Zimbabwe
Mao	Anfillo	Sidamo	Ethiopia
Marachi	Maraci	Luyia	Kenya
Marakwet		Kalenjin	Kenya
Mararit	Abiri, Abii, Abu Sherib	Mimi	Chad
Marba	Marfa	Masalit	Chad
Margi		Bura	Nigeria, United Republic of Cameroon
Marka	Markanka, Dafing	Soninke	Mali, Upper Volta
Masa	Banana, Massa	Muzgu	Chad, United Republic of Cameroon
Masaba	Bamasaba	Gishu	Kenya
Masai	Il-Masai		Kenya, United Republic of Tanzania
Masalit	Masara, Massaalit	Maba	Chad, Sudan
Maseko		Angoni	United Republic of Tanzania, Malawi
Mashasha	Machacha	Nkoya	Zambia
Masmaje		Mubi	Chad
Matabele	Matabele, Ndebele, Amandebele		Zimbabwe
Matakam	Wula	Mandara	United Republic of Cameroon
Matambwe		Makonde	United Republic of Tanzania
Matchioko	Machioko	Chokwe	Zaire
Matengo		Kinga	United Republic of Tanzania
Matubi	Matumbi	Makonde	United Republic of Tanzania
Mau (I)		Kalenjin	Kenya
Mau (II)	Mauka	Mandingo	Ivory Coast

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Mauri	Maouiri, Mawri, Arewa	Hausa	Nigeria, Niger
Mawia		Makonde	United Republic of Tanzania
Maya (I)		Sanu	Upper Volta
Maya (II)		Bura	Nigeria
Mayogo		Mundu	Zaire
Mba	Mbayi, Mbaye, Bamanga		Zaire
Mbailundu	Bailundu	Umbundu	Angola
Mbala (I)	Bambala	Kongo	Zaire
Mbala (II)	Bambala	Kuba	Zaire
Mbamba (I)	Bambamba	Kongo	Angola
Mbamba (II)	Bambeiro	Ambundu	Angola
Mbanja	Ambanja	Banda	Zaire
Mbata	Bambata	Kongo	Zaire
Mbati	Isongo	Ngiri	Central African Republic
Mbembe		Jukun	Nigeria
Mbeti	Mbete, Mbere, Ambere, Bumbete, Obamba		Congo, Gabon
Mbole	Bambole	Mongo	Zaire
Mbondongo	Bondongo	Ambundu	Angola
Mboshi	Amboshi, Baboshi, Bochi		Congo
Mbudza		Ngala	Zaire
Mbugu (I)	Bubu, Ngbugu	Banda	Central African Republic
Mbugu (II)	Va-Maa	Iraqw	United Republic of Tanzania
Mbugwe	Wambugwe	Nyaturu	United Republic of Tanzania
Mbui	Ombe	Mbundu	Angola
Mbuin		Lobi	Upper Volta
Mbuja		Ngombe	Zaire
Mbuli	Bambuli	Mongo	Zaire
Mbum	Bum		United Republic of Cameroon
Mbundu	Ambundu, Bambundu, Ambuun, Mbuni		Angola, Zaire
Mbuti	Bambutu	Pygmies	Zaire
Mbuun	Ambuun, Mbunda, Babunda, Bambunda	Dzing	Zaire

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Mbwela		Luena	Zaire
Medje	Meje, Emeeje	Mangbetu	Zaire
Mekan	Ti shana	Murle	Sudan, Ethiopia
Mende	Kosso		Sierra Leone, Liberia
Menemo	Bameta	Videkum	United Republic of Cameroon
Meru (I)	Mweru	Kikuyu	Kenya
Meru (II)		Chaga	United Republic of Tanzania
Metyibo	Vetre	'Lagoon'	Ivory Coast
Mfengu	Amafengu, Fingo	Zulu	Republic of South Africa
Midob	Tidda	Nubians	Sudan
Mijurtein	Mijurteyn, Majertejn	Somali	Somalia
Mimi	Mututu, Andang	Maba	Chad
Minungo	Minungu	Chokwe	Angola, Zaire
Minya	Minyanka, Minianka, Folo	Senufo	Mali
Mitaba	Bamitaba	Ngiri	Zaire
Mitsogo	Apiji, Apidji	Nyabi	Gabon
Miza	Moru-Miza	Moru	Sudan
Mmani	Mani, Mendenyi, Mandenyi	Bullom	Guinea, Sierra Leone
Moba	Mowan		Togo, Ghana
Mober	Mavar, Mafur	Kanuri	Nigeria, Niger
Mogambo	Meyamo	Videkum	United Republic of Cameroon
Mongo			Zaire
Monjombo	Nzombo	Mundu	Central African Republic
Moru	Madi		Sudan, Zaire, Uganda
Morwa	Asolio, Moroa, Morua	Katab	Nigeria
Moshi		Chaga	United Republic of Tanzania
Mosi	Mose, Mossi		Upper Volta, Ghana
Mpangu	Bampandu	Kongo	Zaire
Mpondo	Pondo	Zulu	Republic of South Africa
Mpondomise		Xhosa	Republic of South Africa
Mpongwe			Gabon, Congo
Mput	Amput, Putu	Yanzi	Zaire
Mubi	Monjul, Mondjul		Chad
Muenyi	Mwenyi	Lozi	Zambia
Mumbake	Nyongnepa	Chamba	Nigeria

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Mumuye			Nigeria
Mundu	Omundu		Zaire, Sudan
Murle	Murule, Beir, Irenge		Sudan, Ethiopia
Musgoi	Muzgoi	Daba	United Republic of Cameroon
Mushikongo	Muchikongo, Bashikongo	Kongo	Zaire
Mussorongo		Kongo	Zaire
Muzgu	Musgu, Mulwi	Masa	United Republic of Cameroon, Chad
Mvedere	Vidri	Banda	Central African Republic
Mwa	Mwe	Kweni	Ivory Coast
Mwamba	Lungulu	Nyakyusa	Malawi
Mwera (I)		Makonde	United Republic of Tanzania
Mwera (II)		Nyanja	United Republic of Tanzania
Mwila	Muila	Umbundu	Angola
Mwimbi		Kikuyu	Kenya
Naka	Banaka, Noko	Duala	United Republic of Cameroon
Nalu	Nanu, Nanun	Baga	Guinea, Guinea-Bissau
Nama	Naman	Khoi	Namibia
Namnam	Nabdam	Mosi	Ghana
Nandi			Kenya, Uganda
Nankanse	Gurense, Frafra	Mosi	Ghana, Upper Volta
Naron	Aikwa	San	Botswana
Natimba	Natimba, Tayaba	Somba	Benin
Natyoro	Natioro	Senufo	Upper Volta
Naudemba	Losso	Mosi	Togo
Nautuba	Boulba, Bulba, Tuyaub	Bariba	Benin, Togo
Ndaka	Ndaaka	Komo	Zaire
Ndali		Kinga	United Republic of Tanzania
Ndamba	Wandamba, Gangi	Hehe	United Republic of Tanzania
Ndau	Ndaw	Shona	Mozambique, Zimbabwe
Ndaza	Undaza		Gabon
Nde	Mbofon, Ekamtulufu	Ekoi	Nigeria
Ndebele		Nguni	Republic of South Africa
Ndembo		Luchazi	Angola, Zambia, Zaire

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Ndembu	Dembo	Kongo	Zaire
Ndendeule	Ndendehule, Mbunga	Angoni	United Republic of Tanzania
Ndengereko	Ndengerego, Ndengerero	Zaramo	United Republic of Tanzania
Ndengese	Bonkese, Bonkesse	Mongo	Zaire
Ndenyae	Ndenyenufwe	Baule	Ivory Coast
Ndogo		Sere	Sudan
Ndombe	Mundombe	Herero	Angola
Ndonde		Makonde	United Republic of Tanzania
Ndonga	Ovandonga	Ambo	Angola
Ndopa	Ndokua	Banda	Central African Republic
Ndulu	Nduru, Ondulu, Onduru	Umbundu	Angola
Ndut	Ndoute, Nduut	Serer	Senegal
Ndzabi	Bandzabi, Badzebi		Congo
Neyo	Wihiri	Bete	Ivory Coast
Ngaja	Ngadza	Banda	Central African Republic
Ngala	Bangala		Zaire, Congo
Ngalangi	Galange	Umbundu	Angola
Ngambwe		Umbundu	Angola
Ngamo	Ngamaya	Bade	Nigeria
Nganda	Wanganda	Nyaneka	Angola
Ngandu	Bangandu, Mongandu, Bolo	Mongo	Zaire
Nganu	Gara	Baule	Ivory Coast
Ngazija			Comoros
Ngba	Bangba, Bangbwa	Bwa	Zaire
Ngbandi	Angbandi	Banda	Zaire, Central African Republic
Ngemba	Bapinji, Bapindji	Videkum	United Republic of Cameroon
Ngindo		Matengo	United Republic of Tanzania
Ngiri			Central African Republic, Congo, Zaire
Ngizim	Ngodsin	Bade	Nigeria
Ngola	Ndongo	Mbundu	Angola
Ngombe			Zaire
Ngomwia		Iraqw	United Republic of Tanzania

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Ngonde Ngulgule	Njalgulgule, Nyoolge, Bege, Gulgule, Gulgulai	Nyakyusa Dajo	Malawi, Zambia Sudan
Ngulu (I)	Nguru, Nguu	Zigua	United Republic of Tanzania
Ngulu (II)	Nguru, Ngumu	Lomwe	Mozambique
Ngumbi	Ovakumbi	Nyaneka	Angola
Ngumbu	Wenangumba	Bemba	Zambia
Ngungulu	Bangungulu	Teke	Congo
Nguruimi	Ngurimi	Luyia	United Republic of Tanzania, Kenya
Ngwaketse Ngwane	Bangwaketse Amangwane	Tswana Nguni	Botswana Republic of South Africa, Swaziland
Ngwato	Bamangwato	Tswana	Botswana
Nibelai	Billai	Turkana	Kenya
Niellim	Luwa	Bagirmi	Chad
Niende		Gurma	Benin
Nindi	Mafiti	Angoni	United Republic of Tanzania
Njai	Nzay, Nzanyin	Bata	Nigeria, United Republic of Cameroon
Njelu		Angoni	United Republic of Tanzania
Njinju		Teke	Congo
Nkole	Nkore, Nyankole, Banyankole, Ankole		Uganda
Nkoya	Bankoya		Zambia
Nkumbe	Nkumbi	Nyaneka	Angola
Nkundo	Bankundo	Mongo	Zaire
Nkunya		Gonja	Ghana
Nsaw	Nso, Banso	Tikar	United Republic of Cameroon
Nsenga		Malawi	Zambia
Nsongo	Songo	Mbundu	Angola
Ntandu	Ntaandu, Bantaandu, Musetandu	Kongo	Zaire
Ntomba (I)	Lontomba	Mongo	Zaire
Ntomba (II)	Matumba	Mongo	Zaire
Ntum	Ntoum, Ntumu, Ntoumou	Fang	United Republic of Cameroon

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Nuer	Naadh, Naath, Tog Naadh		Sudan
Nunuma Nupe	Nuruma, Nibulu Nupechizi, Nupesizi, Agabi, Abawa	Grusi	Upper Volta Nigeria
Nwa Nyabi Nyabwa Nyakyusa	Noua Banyabi Wanyakyusa, Sokile, Konde, Nkonde	Kweni Bete	Ivory Coast Congo Ivory Coast United Republic of Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia
Nyala Nyali Nyamang Nyamasa Nyambo Nyamwanga	Abanyala Banyali, Banyari Ama Wanyambo	Luyia Kordofan Bambara Nyoro Fipa	Kenya Zaire Sudan Mali Uganda United Republic of Tanzania
Nyamwezi	Wanyamwezi		United Republic of Tanzania
Nyaneka	Wanyaneka, Ovanyaneka, Nhaneca		Angola
Nyanga Nyangbo Nyangia Nyanja Nyanyembe	Banyanga, Nianga Batrugbu Nyangiya, Upale Wanyanja	Konjo Togo Teso Malawi Nyamwezi	Zaire Togo Uganda Malawi United Republic of Tanzania
Nyaturu	Wanyaturu, Arimi, Lima, Toro, Turu		United Republic of Tanzania
Nyemps Nyengo (I) Nyengo (II) Nyenyege Nyepu Nyiha	Njemps, Tyamus Buamu, Bouamou Nypho	Masai Ambuela Lozi Bobo Bari Kinga	Kenya Angola, Zambia Zambia Upper Volta Sudan United Republic of Tanzania
Nyika	Wanyika, Miji Kenda, Nika		Kenya
Nyole	Nyuli, Banyole, Banyuli	Gwere	Kenya

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Nyominka	Niominka	Serer	Senegal
Nyoro	Banyoro		Uganda
Nyungwe		Malawi	Mozambique
Nzakara	Anzakara	Azande	Central African Republic
Nzari	Banzari, Bandzala	Dzing	Zaire
Nzima		Akan	Ghana
Obamba	Mbete	Nyabi	Gabon, Congo
Odopop	Erorup	Ibibio	Nigeria
Ometo	Ometto	Sidamo	Ethiopia
Omoo		Lugbara	Uganda
Ondo		Yoruba	Nigeria
Onitcha		Ibo	Nigeria
Orkoma	Somba		Benin
Orlam		Khoïn	Namibia
Oshopong	Eshupum	Jarawa	Nigeria
Ouni	Topnaar	Khoïn	Namibia
Oyo		Yoruba	Nigeria
Pade	Padebo, Palipo	Grebo	Liberia
Padhola	Badama	Lwo	Uganda
Padzulu		Lugbara	Uganda
Pallaka	Kpalaya, Falafala	Senufo	Ivory Coast
Palwo	Paluo	Lango	Uganda
Pambia	Apambia	Azande	Sudan, Zaire
Pande	Njeli, Ndjeli	Ngiri	Congo
Pangwa		Kinga	United Republic of Tanzania
Pape	Panon	Chamba	United Republic of Cameroon
Pare	Wapare, Asu		United Republic of Tanzania
Pari	Fari	Anuak	Sudan
Pedi	Bapedi	Sotho	Republic of South Africa
Pende	Bapende		Zaire
Pepel	Papel, Papei	Mandyak	Guinea-Bissau
Pere	Kper	Mbum	United Republic of Cameroon
Pilapila	Yom	Somba	Benin
Pimbwe	Mpimbwe	Fipa	United Republic of Tanzania
Podokwo	Podogo	Mandara	United Republic of Cameroon

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Podzo		Makua	Mozambique
Pogoro	Wapogoro		United Republic of Tanzania
Pojulu	Fajulu, Fadjulu	Bari	Sudan
Pok	Lago	Kalenjin	Kenya
Pokomo	Wakopomo		Kenya
Pongo	Arringeu	Kambari	Nigeria
Popoi	Bagunda, Amapopoi	Mangbetu	Zaire
Punu	Bapunu, Pounou	Nyabi	Congo, Gabon
Rabai		Nyika	Kenya
Rahanweyn	Rahanwein, Mirifle	Somali	Somalia
Raya	Azebo	Galla	Ethiopia
Rega	Barega, Lega, Walega		Zaire
Rendili	Rendile, Rendille	Galla/Somali	Kenya
Ribe	Rime	Nyika	Kenya
Rinda	Linda	Banda	Sudan, Central African Republic
Rindri	Nungu	Jerawa	Nigeria
Roka	Baroka		Republic of South Africa
Rolong	Barolong	Sotho/Tswana	Republic of South Africa, Botswana
Ronga	Baronga	Tsonga	Republic of South Africa, Mozambique
Rongo	Rungu, Orungu	Mpongwe	Gabon
Rufiji	Rufigi		United Republic of Tanzania
Rundi	Barundi		Burundi
Rungu	Lungu	Fipa	United Republic of Tanzania
Rungwa		Fipa	United Republic of Tanzania
Ruri	Kirori	Nyamwezi	United Republic of Tanzania
Rwanda	Banyarwanda, Ruanda		Rwanda, Zaire
Sab		Somali	Somalia
Safwa		Kinga	United Republic of Tanzania
Sagara	Sagala	Zaramo	United Republic of Tanzania
Saho	Shiho		Ethiopia
Sa ka ta	Basakata		Zaire
Sala Mpasu		Lunda	Zaire

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Sama	Kisama	Mbundu	Angola
Sambiu		Ambo	Angola
Sambu		Umbundu	Angola
Samburu	Sampur	Masai	Kenya
Samia	Basamia	Luyia	Uganda, Kenya
Samo	Samoro, Sanu, Samogo, Ninisi		Upper Volta, Mali
San	Bushmen		Republic of South Africa, Namibia, Botswana
Sandawe		Khoi	United Republic of Tanzania
Sanga (I)	Luba Sanga	Luba	Zaire
Sanga (II)		Umbunde	Angola
Sango	Sangu, Ror	Hehe	United Republic of Tanzania
Sankura	Zara	Bobo	Upper Volta
Santrokofi	Bale	Togo	Togo
Sanye	Wasanye, Ariangulo	Iraqw	Kenya
Sao	Saw, So, Sso		Nigeria, Chad
Sapo	Sapan, Pan	Gere	Ivory Coast
Sara	Majingai	Bagirmi	Chad
Sebei	Sapei, Sapiny, Kamechak	Kalenjin	Uganda
Sefwi	Assaye	Baule	Ivory Coast, Ghana
Segeju		Nyika	United Republic of Tanzania, Kenya
Senga	Asenga	Bemba	Zambia
Senufo			Mali, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast
Sere	Seri, Shere, Ba-Siri	Mundu	Sudan, Zaire, Central African Republic
Serer	Sereer		Senegal
Shambala	Washambala, Shambaa, Sambara, Sambala		United Republic of Tanzania
Shi	Bashi, Nyabungu	Rwanda	Zaire
Shila	Bashila, Awasira	Bemba	Zaire, Zambia
Shilluk	Cholo, Sholo		Sudan
Shinasha	Gonga	Sidamo	Ethiopia
Shinje		Pende	Zaire
Shinshe	Bashinshe	Ambundu	Angola
Shira		Nyabi	Gabon
Shoby		Rwanda	Rwanda

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Shogale		Berta	Ethiopia
Shona	Mashona		Zimbabwe
Shu	Chu	Kongo	Zaire
Shubi	Bashubi	Ha	United Republic of Tanzania
Shuwa Arabs	Shewa, Showa, Shoa	Arabs	Chad, Nigeria, United Republic of Cameroon
Sidamo			Ethiopia
Sikon		Basa	Liberia
Sillok	Fecaka, Fechaka	Berta	Sudan
Sisala	Debe	Grusi	Ghana, Upper Volta
Soga	Basoga		Uganda
Sokwele		Bete	Ivory Coast
Soli	Sodi	Tonga	Zambia
Solongo	Basolongo	Kongo	Zaire
Somali	Somaal		Somalia, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Kenya
Somba	Tamari, Tamaba, Some, Tamberma		Benin, Togo
Somo	Bessom	Gbaya	United Republic of Cameroon
Somono		Bambara	Mali
Songé	Basongé, Songyé	Luba	Zaire
Songhay	Songhoi, Sonray, Songay		Mali, Niger
Songola	Basongola	Rega	Zaire
Songwe		Ngonde	Zambia, United Republic of Tanzania
Soninke	Sarakole, Sarawule		West Africa
Soruba	Biyobe, Miyobe	Lamba	Togo, Benin
Sotho	Sutu, Soto, Basuto, Basotho		South African Republic, Lesotho
Ssu-Ghassi	Zuoase	San	Namibia
Sua	Basua		Zaire
Suamle		Kweni	Ivory Coast
Subia	Basubia, Subiya		Zambia, Namibia, Botswana
Suku	Wasuku	Pende	Zaire
Sumbwa		Nyamwezi	United Republic of Tanzania
Sundi	Basundi, Nsundi	Kongo	Zaire, Angola
Sungor	Asongor, Songor	Tama	Chad, Sudan

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Suk Sukuma	Pokot, Kimukon, Upe Wasukuma		Kenya, Uganda United Republic of Tanzania
Sumbwa	Mweri	Nyamwezi	United Republic of Tanzania
Suri	Surma, Shuro	Murle	Ethiopia, Sudan
Susu	Soso, Sosso, Soussou		Guinea, Sierra Leone
Sutu		Matengo	United Republic of Tanzania
Swaga		Konjo	Zaire
Swaka		Bemba	Zambia
Swahili	Waswahili		East Africa
Swazi	Amaswati, Amaswazi, AmaNgwane, Ngwane		South African Republic, Swaziland
Taabwa	Tabwa, Itawa	Bemba	Zaire
Tabi	Metabi, Ingassana	Berta	Sudan, Ethiopia
Tafi	Bagbo	Togo	Togo
Tagba		Senufo	Ivory Coast
Tagoi	Tagoy	Koalib	Sudan
Tagwana	Tagbona, Tagouana	Senufo	Ivory Coast
Talensi	Talis	Mosi	Ghana
Tama	Tamok		Sudan, Chad
Tamba (I)	Tamaba, Taneka, Kiamba, Dzamba	Somba	Benin
Tamba (II)		Mbundu	Angola
Tamprusi	Tampolem, Tampolense, Tampluma	Grusi	Ghana
Tangale	Kumba	Bade	Nigeria
Tangbabu	Tombaggo	Banda	Central African Republic, Sudan
Tarak	Boit	Burun	Sudan
Tatog	Tatoga, Taturu	Nandi	United Republic of Tanzania
Taveta		Pokomo	United Republic of Tanzania, Kenya
Tawana		Tswana	Botswana
Tayaba	Natimba	Gur	Benin
Teda	Tedagada, Brawiya Guezebida		Chad, Niger
Tege	Batege, Tee, Atee, Tegué	Teke	Congo

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Tegeesye		Kulango	Ivory Coast
Teita	Taita, Wateita, Wataita		United Republic of Tanzania, Kenya
Teke	Bateke, Tyo, Ateo, 'Anzika'		Congo, Gabon, Zaire
Tem	Temba, Kotokoli, Kiamba		Togo, Benin
Tembu	Thembu, Amathembu	Xhosa	Republic of South Africa
Temne	Atemne, Timne, Timene, Timmannee, Timannee		Sierra Leone
Tenda	Tanda		Senegal, Guinea
Tenda Boeni	Tanda Boeny	Tenda	Guinea
Tenda Mayo	Tanda Maio	Tenda	Guinea
Tepeth		Teso	Uganda
Tera	Nyamashi	Hausa	Nigeria
Terik	Nyangori, Nyengori	Kalenjih	Kenya
Teso	Iteso, Tezo		Uganda
Tetela	Batetela		Zaire
Teuso		Teso	Uganda
Tewi	Tepo	Bakwe	Ivory Coast
Tharaka	Taraka	Segeju	Kenya
Thiang		Nuer	Sudan
Tiapy	Tiapi, Chapi, Tyapy, Tapesi, 'Sapi', 'Sapes', 'Capes'	Baga	Guinea
Tie	Gien, Tye	Kran	Liberia
Tigong	Tukun	Jukun	Nigeria
Tigrai	Tigray		Ethiopia
Tigré			Ethiopia
Tikar	Tikali, Langtumu		United Republic of Cameroon
Tima	Lomuriki	Katla	Sudan
Tiv	Tiwi, Munshi, Midsi		Nigeria
Tlaping	Batlapping, Tlhaping	Tswana	Republic of South Africa, Botswana
Tlaro	Batlaro, Tlharo	Tswana	Republic of South Africa, Botswana
Tlokwa	Batlokwa	Tswana	Republic of South Africa, Botswana
Tofinu	Tofini	Fon	Benin

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Togbo	Atogbo	Banda	Sudan, Central African Republic, Zaire
Toldie		Gola	Liberia
Tonga (I)	Batonka, Toka		Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi
Tonga (II)	Shengwe	Tsonga	Mozambique
Tongwe		Nyamwezi	United Republic of Tanzania
Topoka	Tofoke	Ngombe	Zaire
Topoza	Toposa, Daboso, Dodos, Dodoth	Teso	Kenya, Uganda
Toro	Batoro		Uganda
Totela	Batotela	Tonga	Zambia
Tow	Tou, Batow, Batou	Sakata	Zaire
Tribu	Ntribu, Delo, Lelo	Tem	Togo, Ghana
Tsaam	Batsaam, Tsamba	Kongo	Zaire
Tsaangi		Nyabi	Congo
Tsayi	Tsaye, Batsayi, Batsaya	Teke	Congo
Tschogo	Chogo	Rwanda	Rwanda
Tsong	Songo, Masongo, Basongo	Yanzi	Zaire
Tsonga	Thonga		Mozambique, Republic of South Africa, Zimbabwe
Tswa	Tsonga		Mozambique
Tswana	Cwana, Abetswana, Bechuana		Botswana, Republic of South Africa
Tsweni	Chweni	Pedi	Republic of South Africa
Tuareg	Tuaregs, Touaregs, Imoshagh, Imoshar		Mali, Niger, Upper Volta
Tubu	Toubou, Tibbu, Tubbu		Niger, Chad
Tugen		Kalenjin	Kenya
Tukuler	Tokolor, Toucouler, Toucouleur, Hal-Pularen		Senegal, Mali, Guinea
Tulama	Galla Shoa	Galla	Ethiopia
Tumbuka	Tumbuku, Timbuka, Watumbuka		Malawi
Tumbwe	Batumbwe	Luba	Zaire
Turi	Joturi	Lwo	Sudan
Turka	Turuka, Tourka, Gbe	Lobi	Ivory Coast, Upper Volta

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Turkana	Ni-Turkana		Kenya, Sudan, Uganda
Tururi	Ndore	Mbum	Chad, United Republic of Cameroon
Tusia	Tousia, Tousian	Senufo	Ivory Coast
Tuta		Ngoni	United Republic of Tanzania
Tutsi	Tuti, Batutsi, Batuti		Rwanda, Burundi
Twa (I)	Batwa		Zaire
Twa (II)		Bemba	Zambia
Tyasale		Baule	Ivory Coast
Tyefo	Tieforo, Cheforo	Senufo	Upper Volta
Udio	Udyo	Banda	Central African Republic
Uduk	Kwanim-pas	Koma	Sudan
Ukelle		Tiv	Nigeria
Ukualuthi	Ovaukualuthi	Ambo	Namibia
Umbundu	Ovimbundu, Banano		Angola
Unga	Baunga	Bemba	Zambia
Unguja		Swahili	United Republic of Tanzania
Ura	Bauchi	Kambari	Nigeria
Urhobo		Bini	Nigeria
Urumba	'High Lugbara'	Lugbara	Uganda
Vai	Vay, Vei, Vu, 'Gallina', Vehie		Liberia, Sierra Leone
Vedere	Nvedere, Vedre, Vidri	Banda	Sudan, Central African Republic
Venda	Bavenda, Bavesma		Republic of South Africa, Zimbabwe
Videkum	Burrikem, Mbudikem, Tivirkum		United Republic of Cameroon
Vigue	Vige	Senufo	Upper Volta, Ivory Coast
Vili	Bavili, Loango, Fioti		Congo, Zaire, Angola
Vinza		Nyamwezi	United Republic of Tanzania
Vora	Vera	Banda	Central African Republic
Vongu	Bavungu	Kinga	United Republic of Tanzania
Vusei		Matakem	United Republic of Cameroon
Waaba		Mubi	Chad
Waba	Yoabou	Gur	Benin

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Wada	Wadda	Banda	Sudan, Central African Republic
Wadi	Moru-Wadi	Moru	Sudan
Waja	Wadja	Biom	Nigeria
Wala	Ala	Mosi	Ghana
Wallo		Galla	Ethiopia
Wanji		Kinga	United Republic of Tanzania
Wara		Senufo	Upper Volta
Wardai	Barareta	Galla	Kenya
Wasa		Banda	Sudan, Central African Republic
Wasulunke	Ouassoulounke	Mandingo	Guinea
Watchi	Ouatchi	Ewe	Togo, Benin
Watta	Wayto	Galla	Ethiopia
Wawa		Bute	United Republic of Cameroon
We		Tonga	Zambia
Weima		Loma	Guinea
Wemenu	Ouemenou, Dekanmenu	Fon	Benin
Wenja	Bawenja, Baenya	Rega	Zaire
Were	Pereba	Chamba	Nigeria
Wile		Mosi	Upper Volta
Wobe		Gere	Ivory Coast
Wogo		Songhay	Niger
Wolamo	Uolamo	Sidamo	Ethiopia
Wolof	Oulof, Valaf		Senegal, Gambia
Wongo	Bawongo, Njembe	Kuba	Zaire
Woro	Oro	Kreish	Sudan
Woyo	Ngoyo	Kongo	Zaire
Wuasin-Kishu	Uasin-Kishu	Masai	Kenya
Wumbwu		Kota	Gabon
Wumu		Teke	Zaire
Wundu		Banda	Sudan, Central African Republic
Wunsi	Ghulftan	Hill Nubians	Sudan
Wura		Lugbara	Uganda
Wuri	Ewodi	Duala	United Republic of Cameroon
Wute	Bute, Wutere		United Republic of Cameroon

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Xhosa	Kosa, Khosa, Amakhosa, Amakosa		Republic of South Africa
Yache		Idoma	Nigeria
Yagba		Yoruba	Nigeria
Yailima		Mongo	Zaire
Yajima		Mongo	Zaire
Yaka (I)	Bayaka	Kongo	Zaire, Congo, Angola
Yaka (II)	Bayaka	Teke	Congo
Yaka (III)	Bayaka	Pygmies	Congo
Yako	Yakö, Okam	Ibibio	Nigeria
Yakoma		Ngbandi	Central African Republic
Yalikoka		Lokele	Zaire
Yalnas		Bagirmi	Chad
Yambasa		Fang	United Republic of Cameroon
Yamma	Jinjero, Janjero	Sidamo	Ethiopia
Yangele		Gbaya	United Republic of Cameroon
Yanzi	Yansi, Yans, Yey, Bayanzi	Dzing	Zaire
Yao	Wayao		Mozambique, United Republic of Tanzania, Malawi
Yaokanja		Lokele	Zaire
Yaunde	Ewondo, Ewonde		United Republic of Cameroon
Yedina	Yedena, Buduma, Kuri		Chad
Yejju		Galla	Ethiopia
Yeke	Bayeke	Nyamwezi	Zaire
Yele	Bayele	Pygmies	Zaire
Yergum	Appa	Tiv	Nigeria
Yesum	Yesoum	Fang	United Republic of Cameroon
Yeye	Wayeye, Yeyi, Koha		Namibia, Botswana
Yjakpa	Ayakpa	Banda	Zaire
Yofu		Mumuye	Nigeria
Yoli		Senufo	Upper Volta
Yombe (I)	Bayombe, Mayombe		Congo
Yombe (II)		Malawi	Malawi
Yoruba	Nago		Nigeria, Benin, Togo, Ghana
Yowa	Yoba, Yom, Pila-pila	Gur	Benin

Usual name	Other spellings and/or names	Related to	Located in
Yulu	Binea	Bongo	Sudan, Central African Republic
Zaghawa	Beri		Chad, Sudan
Zaki	Lui	Lugbara	Uganda
Zala		Ometo	Ethiopia
Zanaki		Luyia	United Republic of Tanzania, Kenya
Zaramo	Wazaramo, Dzalamo		United Republic of Tanzania
Zela		Luba	Zaire
ZeZuru	Wazezuru	Shona	Zimbabwe
Zigua	Wazigua, Zigula	Shambala	United Republic of Tanzania
Zimba	Wazimba	Rega	Zaire
Zinza	Bazinza, Jinja, Bajinja		United Republic of Tanzania
Zombo	Nzombo, Bazombo	Kongo	Zaire
Zongo	Songo, Nsongo	Kongo	Zaire, Angola
Zulu	Amazulu		Republic of South Africa
Zway		Gurage	Ethiopia

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