

ROMAN STOPA

THE ORIGIN OF THE CLASSIFICATION OF NOUNS IN FUL

The problem of the Ful language is a difficult, but at the same time an interesting one, and what has to be stressed just at the beginning, its solution abounds in some far-reaching conclusions that are of primordial importance for African as well as for Indo-European languages ¹.

The Fula speak a language (Fulfulde) of the highest importance for the understanding of many African language problems, especially the noun classes of the Bantu. The great African authority the late Maurice Delafosse considered that Fulfulde was originally a negro language; in spite of the weight which must be attached to his opinion, the more recent and more probable point of view is that it represents a very old type of speech from which the hamitic languages have arisen. Adopting a metaphor of relationship, Fulfulde is not of the same generation as Berber or Somali, and they cannot be regarded as sister tongues; rather does Fulfulde belong to an older generation, perhaps the aunt or possibly the great-aunt, as Professor Werner has suggested. The most striking features in the structure of Fulfulde is a twofold class division applied to nouns. The first division is into four classes — persons, things, augmentatives, and diminutives — sex being expressed by the use of distinct words. The second class-division is into a relatively large number of classes, each marked by a different suffix, some authorities reckoning thirty-five and others an even larger number, while each class has its distinct pronoun which stands in a recognizable relationship to the suffix. But whereas in Bantu the words and therefore the things brought into each class seem often to form a heterogeneous mixture, in Fulfulde the purpose

¹ About the people itself, its mode of life and its history cf. C. G. Seligman, *Races of Africa*, London, 1939, pp. 150—154.

of the classes is much clearer, for the most part each containing names of a particular series of objects. Thus the suffix *-am* is essentially applied to liquids, e. g. *adiam*¹ (water), *kosam* (milk), the suffix *-hi* essentially applied to trees, the suffix *-re* to things in the mass, e. g. palm-nuts, rice, etc. Giving due weight to classes such as these and also to the vocabulary of the Bantu, Sir Harry Johnston put forward a view, which seems to be generally accepted, that the origin of the Bantu Languages is to be explained on the supposition that a language similar to Fula was that of a dominant group in the midst of Sudanic speaking peoples, the vocabulary of the latter being assimilated, and traces of the Fula-like mode of thought and expression persisting in the new group of languages which we speak of as Bantu. It may, indeed, be pointed out that Mbugu, a Sudanic language of East Africa, is in the course of acquiring Bantu class prefixes, though its roots are decidedly non Bantu.

Now, let us return to the first division of Ful nouns, viz. that into four classes of 1) persons, 2) things, 3) augmentatives and 4) diminutives.

This classification, which reminds in some respects that of Caucasian languages (some general appearance of objects as a criterion of division), is expressed by the difference of consonants placed at the beginning of the nouns, i. e.

1) The words denoting persons have Occlusives or Affricates in Singular, viz. *p*, *b*, *tj*, *dj*, *d*, *k*, *g*. The same consonants are characteristic for the beginning of the words denoting non-persons in Plural.

2) The words denoting non-persons have Fricatives at the beginning in Singular. The same consonants are characteristic for the words denoting persons in Plural, viz.: *f*, *w*, *s*, *y*, *r*, *h*, *w*. Thus, Pul- *o* „one Ful-man“ becomes Ful- *'bε* „Ful-men“, and *fa-'dε* „shoe“ becomes *pa-'dε* „shoes“.

3) The Augmentatives in Singular and the Diminutives in Plural are characteristic by a nasal consonant that appears before the voiced Occlusives of the classes 1) and 2); thus, *mba:lu* „sheep“ is the only word for „sheep“ in general, but as to its nasalized

¹ Mistaken for *ndi-am*.

form of the beginning of the word it is to be marked as the Augmentative; the respective Diminutive in Plural is also nasalized and sounds *mbal-on* „small sheep“ (pl.).

4) The Diminutives in Singular have no nasalization of the beginning Occlusive and the same refers to the Plural of the Augmentatives, e. g. *bal-el* „a small sheep“ and *ba:lél* „big sheep“ (pl.).

This division, which is probably the result of some prefixation, is a problem by itself and it will not be discussed here. We may only add here, that some similar situation in classifying nouns is to be found in Avatime. Then, the „facultative“ *n* in !*Kũ* at the beginning of some clicking as well as non-clicking words could be quoted here too.

Some distant analogon as to the above mentioned sound shifting can be seen in the exchange of different clicks at the beginning of words in Bushman and Hottentot. Another similar process may be seen in the classification of Bushman nouns by means of the Pronoun of 3-rd Pers. Sg. and Pl. Thus, in !*Kũ* *ha* substitutes only persons „he, she“, *hasn* „they“, and *ga* „it“, pl. *gasn* „they“ substitute inanimate objects and animals.

At last in Bushman /*χam* (*S₁*) we have some similar discernment with certain words, the function of which could be compared with that of our Adjectives. Or, the suffixes of these words begin with *w*, *y*, *r* in Singular and with *k*, *t*, in Plural. Thus, we have

1) Singular	Plural
‘tall’ ! <i>χo:wa</i>	! <i>χo!χo:ka</i>
‘large’ ! <i>kuīya</i>	! <i>kuī!kuīta</i>
‘round’ <i>korekore:</i>	<i>kōritēnkōritēn</i>
‘short’ / <i>yri</i>	/ <i>ytēn</i>
‘small’ <i>ts'are:</i>	<i>ts'etēn</i>
‘little’ <i>Opwa</i>	- <i>ka !kaukēn</i>

2) *r* in Singular, in Plural *t* or *d*, which does not constitute any difficulty in comparison with the above process in Ful, because in Bushman there is no phonological distinction between voiceless and voiced consonants, both of them being only phonetic variants of the same phoneme.

Bushman	Hottentot & C _{1, 2}	(Kwa) &
S ₁ !ku 'man' (!kwi > -bi) S ₂ !kwa > ba 'man' N. bo:o + C ₂ /ne 'look + this'	khoi-b (khoë-b) 'man' C ₁ e-be, C ₂ xa-ba, xam 'he' C ₂ -m, N. -b 'he', S ₄ be 'man'	-kúá 'man, slave' -ba 'something, one' -bun-, -bal- 'man'
S ₁ mu:mu: 'ghost, to show' S ₂ /wa: 'ghost' S ₁ !gōa 'look about'	N. mǔ, C ₁ moo, C ₂ m, mu: 'to see'; N. bō:bō: 'to scatter around' < !go !go 'round'	[E. mumu 'dumb' mú 'id.']
Wuras: -//a (> ta, ra) Adjectives & Participles in S ₂ ; N ₁ dō 'male'	-!ǎ > -ra Partic. Praes.	[E. -lá forming Noun agents]
S ₁ di: 'to do', S ₆ o 'which' S ₁ -ko 'other', S ₁ xa? 'interrogative'; di < /ki 'kill'	N. di 'to do', -o 'so, as' N. di < /ki 'go out'	[E. di 'to exercise a function, to possess a quality, to be in a condition']
S ₁ ko 'other', S ₂ !go: 'bark' S ₂ !go:(dō) 'male'	N. kho-b, C ₂ kō: 'skin' S ₂ !go(dō) 'male', S ₅ da 'person' S ₁ /hav 'marry', N ₃ hən 'id.'	-kúá 'man, slave' -kuni 'man, husband'
S ₂ /kou < /kom 'skin'		
S ₁ !k'e, !e 'people'	(S ₁ /xam-ka !kwi 'Bushman')	[Sonin-ke] [Malin-ke]
S ₃ ba-twa 'Bushm. tribe' [S ₄ be 'man'];	S ₁ /xam-ka !ke 'Bushmen' S ₂ //v !ke 'Gordonia Bushmen'	-ba 'they' Pron. 3. Pers. Pl.
N -//ēi Cardinalia N ₁ = ≠ao //ēin por. ≠au kwe or Auen, also //k'au //en S ₆ = /nu //en (Upper Nosop)	-ni gen. c. Pl. N. //ēin 'they' gen. com. N. //ēi- 'he, she, it' + n(i) 'they' gen. c., N. /ni 'other'	Zandé = Nyam Nyam (they were cannibals): nyama 'eat, meat'
N ₁ !va:, !nwi 'big' N ₁ !ne: 'to bite' N ₁ !khá 'game'	N. !vá: 'to be bigger, to overcome, to master' N ₂ ga Pron. 3. Pers. Sg. for animals & things	-ba- 'broad, big thick'
S ₆ tam '(water) melon' N ₁ tãma 'melon'	N. //gami 'water' C ₁ ≠kam, /kxam 'mouth'	E. má 'herb, growing in moist places, used as medicine' E. a-mã 'vegetable'
C ₁ tsama 'melon'	C ₂ k'am-fa, N. am 'mouth'	

Bantu	Noun-suffix, Ful	Noun → Pronoun
-tu(-ntu) < (n) !kú 'man' mu-tua 'Bushman. slave' (t < t̥ < !k)	1. a) -o < -wo 'Man'	ba- Hausē '1 Hausa'; on pl. Hausa -wa; om Pul -o '1 Ful'
[Z. umu-ntu 'man'] [Z. 'bona 'to see']	b) -o < -owo Nomina agentis	djim-o 'singer'; on from yima (vgima) 'to sing' y may alternate with vg or y:ndj
[Swah. yimba 'to sing'] ta denominatiwe suf.	c) -do Participia	djimu -'do 'the singing (person)' on
B. -di, -ti(-thi) 'to do' B. -o < -ko 'he, which'	d) -djo Profession	sekaravke: -djo on 'the carpenter'
Z. -doda 'man' < !kəv !na S ₂ !kəv 'old man' S ₅ !konda 'old man'	e) -kə 'Man'	gor-kə 'man' on
ba-ntu 'men, people'	2. -'be 'Men' Plural to 1.	Ful-'be 'the Ful' 'be
ny-ama 'meat, animal' !ne-!koma (N ₂) wild an. /ni-xama N. 'wild an.'	2. a) -'en Plural to -djo	Namnam'en 'be 'Nyamnyam people' Hausankə'en 'the Hausa'
ba- Big animals [S ₁ xoro 'ox'] Swah. ma-ji 'water'	3. -ba (-wa, -'a) 'Big animals'	mau-ba 'elephant'; nga 'binga 'big child' vgaga 'whale'
Z. ama-nzi 'water'	4. -am 'Liquids'	ndi-am 'water'; 'dam maio, mao 'waters' 'bira-'dam 'milk'

Bushman	Hottentot & C _{1, 2}	Kwa &
[S ₁ //geri-tən-ti 'bird' (large); kx'ari 'bird, small'] S ₆ !kari 'to fly'	C ₁ zera 'bird' C ₂ tʃara-ba 'bird' N ₂ !gai, N ₁ !kà-ú 'to fly away'	pi, pil < !kari 'to fly'
S ₅ //kan-!a 'horn' S ₆ //kã 'id.' S ₃ //kəla, S ₄ //kəra 'nail'	C ₁ n//gaare 'horn' N. //vā:-b 'horn' C ₁ /gare, C ₂ //k'əro 'nail'	E. ga-glāglā: 'hard, strong' San. koro-ngo 'long-horn cattle' Kanuri ngara 'bush-cow'
S ₅ //kai, xari 'finish' S ₁ bāi 'id.', S ₂ !xav 'full' N ₃ dzili 'to fill'	Na. !ari 'go away' -!ari in „Double Verbs“ means 'to do completely, entirely'	pa(-i) 'be full'
S ₆ ○pwoi, ○pwe 'tree' C ₁ hi/kwa (/kwa- 'son') C ₂ hi:ja 'bush, tree'	N. hai-b 'tree', hais 'bush' C ₁ hii, jii 'tree' C ₂ hi: -ba 'tree'	-gi, -gil- (-git-) 'tree' -ti, -tu 'tree' [N. -ti (-di) Suf. of Subst. Pl.]
S ₄ ≠num, S ₂ !nwe 'stick' N ₁ !gāi, N ₂ !kap 'wood' N ₁ !gāi, N ₂ dan 'root'	N ₁ !ké, !kāi, N ₂ !khe 'stick' N ₂ !ku-be 'root' C ₁ dzoa, N. !hōa-s 'stick'	-li- 'root', -ki, -ku 'yams' -lu- 'handle' -luà 'wood'
S ₁ ○ho:, S ₂ ○bo: 'bush' S ₆ ○pwe: 'tree' S ₄ ○pwoa: 'wood'	N. /hom-á-s 'bush' N. //hoë-s 'vessel of wood' C ₁ /hoo 'wood'	-pá, -pú- 'bush' -pi, -pá 'grass' -pú 'field'
N ₃ //gòba, //goa:, //da 'leaf' N ₂ !gwā 'leaf'	C ₂ /kwa 'child' C ₂ -kwa, N. -da 'small', Diminutives	Guang ká 'to cut' Guang káká 'to cut into pieces'
S ₅ !kw'e, S ₆ !oé 'one' N _{1, 3} /neé, N ₂ /é 'one'	N. /gamí-ros 'star'	E. de 'one' dé, lé 'one'
S ₁ //ki 'liquid', e. g. !khwa //ki 'water's l.' = 'rain' N. //kéi 'to pinch', dei-b 'milk'	N ₁ !gú: 'belly' N. !gove-b < !gom!e- 'id.'	-lí 'millet' -li- 'root, vein' lí 'to eat'

Bantu	Noun-suffix, Ful	Noun → Pronoun
γala < !ga !ga 'to stretch' [S ₅ !ka: 'to stretch']	5. -gal (vgal) 'Birds'	gero-gal 'fowl'; vgal we:l-a (mbe:l-a) 'to fly' sol:-ndu, pl. tjo:li 'bird'
γala 'nail, claw' Her. on-jara 'nail'	6. -gal (vgal) 'Instruments'	djodir-gal 'seat'; vgal ho'da (ko'da) 'to sit' wala:du, pl. gala:'di 'horn'
-ile 'Bantu Suffix' to build the „Perfectivum“.	7. -al Infinitives	and-al 'knowing'; vgal 'knowledge'
-ti 'tree' Her. omu-ti 'tree'	8. -hi Trees	bume-hi 'mimosa'; ki
ki- Pref. of Nouns (Objects of wood)	9. -ki (Objects of wood)	le-ki 'tree'; ki be'di-ki 'a stick for drum' le-ki 'tree, medicine'
Pedi phaphi 'wood' -pipi 'handle' Her. otji-hua 'bush'	10. -ho, -hə Shrubs	gamba-ho ko 'a tall grass' N./gāb < /gamba 'grass'
ka- (-ka) Diminut. Her. oka-ndu 'small man'	11. -ko Leaves	ha:ko 'leaf' ko Hau. haki 'grass'
γo-ti (γota) 'star' Duala venge-ti 'star'	12. -re Singles	hode-re 'star'; nde Hau. taura-ro 'star' Hau. tamra-ro 'id.'
ili- 'Liquids, or one out of two' Duala di-bum 'belly' Cf. 12.	13. -ri Singles	nam-ri 'meal'; ndi djami-ri 'millet' ni-ri, nib-ri 'meal of millet'

Bushman	Hottentot & C _{1, 2}	Kwa
S ₄ ≠ku:, S ₁ tu: 'mouth' S ₁ tū:, S ₂ /kou < /kom, S ₅ t'ym, S ₆ t'um 'skin'	S ₁ !nu-ntu 'ear' N. //khā-b < //khama- 'moon'	dó 'one'
S ₁ /ké: 'to call'	N. ne: 'this'	E. tè 'to be once or somewhere', Bassa de(re) 'id.'
S ₁ //k'e: 'time'	C ₂ /ní, /ne 'this'	-la- (Mossi da-re) 'day'
N. nari 'to-day'	N. //di-b > de- (>re-) 'time'	
(S ₅ /k'an 'shade'), S ₁ ti, di 'to do'	N. som-i 'shade'	(S ₄ ti, N ₁ /ni, C ₂ /ni 'this')
S ₅ /um, S ₄ som 'shade' N ₂ //khōa 'shade'	N. !hōu 'to lie in the shade' C ₁ som 'shade'	(S ₁ ti, N. t/i 'thing') -ni-, -nini 'shade, soul'
	N. -di, N. ti 'here, this'	
S ₃ gā: 'grass' S _{1, 2} /ke: 'grass' N. /ga: 'small'	C ₁ dhōa 'grass' N. /gā-b 'grass' C ₂ /gā-fa 'grass'	lá 'this, he' lá 'to make', cf. IE. -lo-
S ₅ //k'u:i 'body'	C ₁ /gwii 'body'	E. nu 'exterior (body)' (N ₁ /nó 'skin')
S ₄ soru 'body'	N. /kù: 'draw out (woods, nails)'	
S ₆ /kōnu 'finger'	C ₂ /khōnu, N. /kunu 'fin- ger'	
S. !xōē, ti, S ₂ !xoi 'place'	N. !a:s 'place'	
S ₁ /e: 'in, enter', N ₃ /e: 'id.' S ₃ //xē: 'inside', S ₅ t/i: 'id.'	C ₂ //ai-fa, C ₁ ≠kai-e 'place' N ₂ ndōa 'at, near by'	
S ₁ dom, S ₆ /um 'throat'	N. dom-i 'throat, voice, way'	E. dome 'the under part or region, un- der, down'
N ₃ dom 'id.', N ₁ dum 'ri- verbed'		
S ₅ ≠abo 'have' (N. ≠ám 'over, on')	C ₁ t/som 'feel, touch, have' C ₁ !gam !gam 'feel about', N. ≠gára 'suck marrow out of the bones'	E. to 'property', -to 'owner'

Bantu	Noun-suffix, Ful	Noun → Pronoun
-ulu- 'one of many'	14. -ru Singles	nob-ru 'ear'; ndu leu-ru 'moon'
Her. oru-tu 'body'		
Sw. nda 'the interior, belly'	15. -nde	in-nde 'name' nde
(nda-ni 'there-in')	Things, (sectors of time)	na-la-nde 'this-day-time= day'. hande 'to-day'
Hau. da 'once upon a time'		
cf. -re, -ri, -ru	16. -ndi	'dou-di < 'dom-di < ndi
Sw. ki-vu-li 'shade'	Things	< /'(h)om-di 'shade' N. som-i 'id'.
-le in Sw. Dem. Pron., e. g. kitu kile 'that thing'	17. -ndo Things (small)	fu-'do 'grass' ndo cf. N. !ū 'graze'; N. -da > -ro Dimin.
-tu 'mouth, face'	18. -ndu	rawa-ndu 'dog' ndu
Sw. ki-tu 'thing'	Things (and ani- mals)	ho-ndu 'finger';
Sw. nde (nje) 'outside', the exterior, from'	19. -de (-rde)	django-rde 'school' nde
	Locatives	nde 'and, then, as' Hau. ma-kara-nta 'school'
	20. -'dom (Demonstrati- vum 'this, that') Abstracta from Adj. & Verbs	fofei-'dom 'breathing' dom this = 'living creature'
	21. -djom	djom- 'owner' —
Hau. 'bar-go 'marrow in bones'	Cf. 20. yara (ndjara) 'to drink'	djardo-djom 'vessel to drink out of it'

Bushman	Hottentot & C _{1, 2}	Kwa
S. !kē-ī//au 'true' N ₁ !gei-χa 'medicine man'	N. gā:-χa 'clever, wise' N. !hána-na 'gardens' N. !harà-b 'girded place, pen for cattle'	-ga 'place'
S ₅ gome //gai, N ₂ gomi-de (d < d̥ < //g) 'cow' C ₁ //kwè:ba, C ₁ kwé, S ₄ /kē, S ₆ //ē, S ₄ //koi 'sun'	N. !anìb, !vanìb 'side'	-ga- 'side' -gui-, -guin- 'sun'
S ₂ !go:, S ₃ //go:, N _{1, 2, 3} //go:, N ₃ //gò: 'male' N. χo: kha < !ko-kha 'cheeks'	N. //gò:b 'bull' C ₁ !khao 'spear' S ₂ !kənov < !kov !kov 'cheeks'	Gurma gə-bə 'hole' Mossi bə-ko 'hole' Gbari bwobwo 'no-strils'
S ₅ gu:, ku: 'sheep' N ₂ !gu: !gu: 'ant (small)'	N. gu:s 'sheep' C ₁ d̥u 'sheep' N. χu- 'thing, goat'	-guáni 'goat, sheep'
S ₁ /kao, S ₂ /nau 'hill' S ₂ //kāla, ka 'say'	N. !nomi-s 'hill' S ₅ /nyle 'stone'	-guè- 'voice, speech' -ta-, -tali 'stone' Ba. -tali 'stone'
N ₂ /g'əa(/g'a) 'the eye' N ₃ /g'əm, gu:, !gwa 'seize' N ₃ //ka, S ₁ da: 'to make'	N. !nari 'to steal' N. !na 'to overcome, to master'	Cf. Nr 17.
N ₁ !gò:, N ₃ //go: 'spoor'	N. !gũ 'go on footprint'	-kua- 'foot' -kua- 'way' kú 'join, with, and'
S ₁ ɔari, //ale 'child' S ₃ ɔari 'little'	C ₂ /k'ari, N. ≠kari 'small' cf. 'birds'	
S ₅ ɔpuəni 'children' S ₁ !kaukn 'id.' S ₂ /gwa, pl. /gwenjn 'child'	N. /gōan (/gō:n) 'children' N. /go:ni 'id'.	
N ₁ !naa 'large' S ₂ !na 'big, large' S ₁ !keri 'large'	N. !na 'to be stronger, bigger, to overcome' C ₂ !kau 'tall'	bà 'broad, thick, big' N. !góre-b 'zebra'
S _{1, 3} ɔho: 'wood' N. -χa Adjectives of multitude, greatness, opulence	C ₁ /hoo 'wood' N. /hom-as 'bush'	

Bantu	Noun-suffix, Ful	Noun → Pronoun
-yanga 'doctor', medicine man' (Hau. ma-gani 'medicine') -ya, nga 'outside'	22. -nga	gə:nga 'truth'; nga gar-ka 'garden'
Sw. ngombe mke 'cow' Sw. u-pa-nde 'side' (Hau. ba-ki 'side')	23. nge	nagge 'cow'; nge bange 'side' na:nge 'sun'
Kaf. um-boko 'trunk, snout' S ₁ !gaxo 'trunk'	24. -ngo	dima-ngo 'stallion'; ngo ba-ngo 'spear' wa-buko 'cheek'
-vuli (mbuli) 'goat' -yú (ngu) 'sheep'	25. -ngu Small animals	mbal-u 'sheep' ngu nangu 'ant'
-vula < !gu-la 'speak' Kaf. in-du-li 'hill' Kaf. uku-//kela (-tjela) 'tell'	26. -ngol	ko-ngol 'voice'; ngol do-ngol 'hill' go-ngol 'story'
Cf. Nr 17.	27. -ol Verbal Nouns	ngi-'ol 'seing' — nang-ol 'catching' nga'd-'ol 'making'
uku- Infinitives	28. -ugo Infinitives	yi'ugo 'to see' — nang-ugo 'to catch' wa'd-ugo 'to make'
	29. -ngel Diminutives	haire 'stone'; ngel Dim. ka:'yel 'small stone'
	30. -koñ (-hoñ) Plural to 29.	mba:l-oñ 'small sheep' koñ ka:'yoñ 'small stones'
	31. -wa Augmentatives	ngelo:ba 'camel' — ngelo:bawa 'big camel'
	32. -ho Plural to 31.	pl. ngelo:baho 'big camel' —

Bushman	Hottentot & C _{1, 2}	Kwa
	C ₁ ≠kam 'nest' N. ≠kari, /ga: 'small'	
S ₁ ti, pl. tikantikən 'thing', N ₁ /ne, N ₃ /nà, N. nã, !nãĩ 'to bite'	N. -ti Plural of Nouns Fem.; -n(i) Pl. of Nouns gen. com.	-ni, -nin- 'tooth' San. /ni 'eat meat (bite)'
S ₂ !ne, !nãĩ 'many' S ₄ //k'ari, S ₅ !χai 'many'	C ₂ kχ'e:s, N. ei-s 'face' San. de 'many'	

Singular

Emphatic form

Plural

'Korana' !kwara

!kwarakən

!kwatən!kwatən

'jackal' -kəro

-kərokən

-kətən-kətən

'pipe' !χəro

!χərokən

!χətən!χətən

'larynx' -!həre

-!həretən

!hatən!hatən

3) We may mention here, that some substantial words in very frequent use, having different forms in Sg. and in Pl.; could create the psychological basis for the distinguishing of the beginning of the word in the above outlined way, e. g.: /χam- Bushman !kui 'man' : !k'e 'men'.

However, the best view on this problem in Ful will be given when we mention a similar process in Avatime, where we have prefixes as well as suffixes of the classes of Nouns, e. g. o-bu-ie, pl. ba-bu-ba 'fetish', ku-je, pl. ba-je 'shadow'. Or, probably some similar procedure took place in Ful with the difference, however, that in the moment, when new distinctions expressed by suffixes came into existence, the prefixes fell off, and the stem of the word, that was formerly in the interior of the word and had a fricative consonant, now appeared at the beginning of the word.

Now, let us go over to the system of classes of Nouns expressed by suffixation and let us try to explain the origin of Ful suffixes in the respective words of Hottentot-Bushman.

Bantu	Noun-suffix Ful	Noun → Pronoun
Cf. 11.	33. -ka	saka 'nest of the weaver (bird)' ka
Cf. S ₄ //há 'child', //ká //n 'children'; N ₂ sn 'eye, to see', e. g. ha 'he', hasn 'they'	34. -'di(i, dji) Plural to 2, 22, 23, 26, 12, 13, 17	gelo:'di 'camels' (gelo: 'di ba 'camel')
	35. 'de Plural to 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 23.	le'de 'trees' (leki 'tree') 'de

CONCLUSIONS

The lists of words given nearby illustrate the way, in which the suffixes of noun classes in Ful arose out of the respective words of H.-B. Some of these words took the function of suffixes already in H.-B., e. g. the Ful suffixes -'de, -'di for Plural are also used in /χam-Bushman with the same function, viz. to denote Plural with certain nouns. To be sure they have not the mark of injection with them, i. e. the sign of the glottal stop before *d*. Two suppositions therefore may be forwarded here: either Bleek did not notice the difference between the pronunciation of *d* and 'd, or there are no Injectives beside injective Click Blocks in Bushman. The second alternative seems to be more probable, because neither Doke, one of the best phoneticians on the territory of Bushman, nor the others including the author of this article noticed the presence of injective consonants like 'd in any Bushman language.

And no wonder, the Click-Blocks, even those with the marked injection like 'g hold still good in Bushman genuine phonetic system and they do not betray any tendency to become spontaneously Injectives. This may happen only, when the change of culture (hoe-cultivation, cattle breeding) occurs or some other factor intervenes and gives the necessary impulse to start a new kind of pronunciation. This points, of course, to a connexion or

at least to some Bushman substratum of the Hamitic family as well as of Bantu. The phonetic system of Ful compared with that of Bushman leads to the same conclusion. Besides, it is somewhat similar to the phonetic system of Hausa, which originating equally in Bushman — the tabular form of the correlation of Bushman Click Blocks with the phonemes of some important languages of Africa shows it clearly enough — went through the evolution that resembles substantially that of Ful.

Some of the Ful suffixes are to be identified with the respective prefixes of Bantu nouns. Thus, the Ful suffix *-dam* to denote liquids and things occurring in a mass can be easily detected in the Bantu prefix *ama-*, *ma-* or *am-* for liquids and small things occurring in a mass. Its source and that of Ful *-dam* is in the Nama-Hottentot word for water *//gam-i* and the correspondence *//g : 'd > 'd* is quite regular. In the respective table *//g* participates in the lateral injective cluster of Click Blocks (*//g : //k : //'*), which in Ful underwent the same evolution as */g : /k : /'*, because Ful did not produce the manifold lateral series like Zulu or Kafir, where we have beside *l* also the laterals *ɬ*, *ɖ*, and *ʒ*, *z*. In this respect Ful went another way of sound evolution than the phonetic systems of the Caucasian languages did, where we have Ejectives (they are called here supraglottal or abruptive sounds) like in Ful, but no Injectives. There is a highly developed series of Laterals instead, in which Caucasian languages resemble some Bantu ones. At any rate we may add here, that any phonetic system, where there exists some manifold series of Laterals, awakes the suspicion, that they derive from some clicking source similar to the phonetic system of Bushman.

What we have said about *-dam* refers equally to the suffix *-ki* for trees, deriving from some Bushman *!ké* (*!k* participating in the expiratory Click Block cluster *!k : !kh : !'*) and producing the Bantu prefix *ki-* for things (originally tools made of wood). In Bushman *⊙pwoi > * /ki* (connected with the Nama *hei-b < /khei-* „bush“) was transformed into *ki* or *ti* meaning „thing“. The same is to be mentioned about the Ful suffix *-ba < !na* (cf. Bushman *!na* „to be big, large“, Na. *!ná* „to be bigger, stronger, to overcome“) that determines in Ful the Augmentatives, and in Bantu the class of Persons Plural.

S. J. GASIOROWSKI

HISTOIRE DES FORMES DÉCORATIVES DE QUELQUES TISSUS ORIENTAUX DE CRACOVIE

AVANT-PROPOS

Le but du présent travail est d'esquisser l'histoire des motifs ornementaux de quelques tissus orientaux du Musée Czartoryski à Cracovie. Les uns de ces motifs sont très anciens parce qu'employés dès l'antiquité ou même dès les temps préhistoriques du Proche Orient, les autres avaient une vie beaucoup plus courte. Or, je cite des spécimens des objets d'art pré-musulmans qui démontrent la continuité des formes décoratives orientales, et, d'autre part, leur variabilité et leur mutabilité. Quelques-unes de ces formes sont fréquentes, les autres sont plus rares. Ce sont les deuxièmes qui m'intéressent le plus. Je m'efforce de distinguer leurs types à travers les âges, et, s'il y en a, leurs variantes, ainsi que leur fonction dans la décoration. Dans deux cas je me sers, partiellement, de mes études antérieures sur l'ornementation ancienne. Mais, d'aucune manière je ne prétends pas que j'ai épuisé le thème.

Les tissus décrits sont tous musulmans, excepté un seul, fait en Europe sous l'influence orientale. Je les ai mentionnés dans une courte notice dans les Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres, de l'an 1952 (*Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*, tom, LIII (1952), nr 3, p. 121 sqq.).

TAPISSERIE

Satin. Hauteur 2,85 m, largeur 0,63 m. Fond d'une couleur entre celle de la framboise et celle de la cerise. Dessin olive-vert, bleu, jaune ou jaune-or. Musée Czartoryski à Cracovie. N° de