

Remarks on a few “polyplural” classes in Bantu

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The noun class systems in the Bantu languages is characterized by, among other things, the existence of a number of noun classes which pair into singular/plural pairings. These classes are most often referred to with a numbering system originally devised during the nineteenth century, and amended several times since then. Thus individual noun classes are commonly referred to with numbers in Bantu studies. For instance, the Swahili noun *kitabu* ‘book’ is classified as a class 7 noun, while its plural counterpart, *vitabu* ‘books’, is classified as a class 8 noun. Similarly for other nouns. (I am here ignoring “number-neutral” mass nouns and the like.) While there usually exists a small number of classes that do not pair, most noun classes do pair. Hence we can denote the noun class inventory of Swahili as a set of paired/nonpaired noun classes like: 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10, 11=14/6, 11=14/10, 15, 16, 17, 18.¹

Some of the plural classes pair with more than one singular class. Thus in Swahili, we can see that classes 6 and 10 pair with more than one singular class. I will refer to these as ‘polyplural classes’.² My aim here is to present some statistical data about these polyplural classes. The material covers 134 Bantu language varieties (detailed in the appendix-part below), and is largely copied from the data compilation in Maho (1999:275ff).³

¹ The notation ‘11=14’ indicates a class that has arisen from a merger of what historically used to be two separate classes.

² Let me hasten to apologize to all etymological purists for this Graeco-Latinate hybrid. My only excuse for choosing *poly-* rather than *multi-* is that the combination ‘polyplural’ sounds better. After all, this is not a Latin text, nor a Greek one, but English, and I find no reason to adhere to any romantic ideals about etymological correctness.

³ Contini-Morava (2001:129) notes that the studies carried out in Maho (1999) are on the whole “singularcentric”, a weakness I’m quick to agree with. Hopefully this contribution can be taken as a small counter-balance to that.

<u>Language</u>	<u>Cl. 2</u>	<u>Cl. 4</u>	<u>Cl. 6</u>	<u>Cl. 8</u>	<u>Cl. 10</u>
Bemba (M42)	(2)		6		10
Bobangi (C32)	2	4	6		10
Bongwe (B303)		4?			10
Chewa (N31)	(2)		6		
Ciokwe (K11)	(2)		6		10
Fang (A75)	(2)		6		
Fipa (M13)	2		6		10
Fumu (B77b)	2	4	6	8	
Gciriku (K332)	2		6		10
Herero (R31)			6		10
Kikongo (H16b)	(2)		6	8	10
Kikuyu (E51)			6		10
Kwangali (K33A)	2		6		10
Kwanyama (R21)			6		10
Lingala (C36d)	2		6		10=9
Luimbi (K12a)	(2)		6		10
Lwena (K14)	2		6		10
Makhuwa (P31)	(2)		6		
Matuumbi (P13)			6		10=9
Mbene/Basaa (A43a)			6		
Mbukushu (K333)	(2)	4	6		
Nen (A44)			6	8	
Ngombe (C41)	2		6		10
Nkutu (C73)					10
Nyamwezi (F22)	2		6		10
Rundi (D62)			6		10
Sira (B41)		4	6		10?
Sukuma (F21)		4	6	8	10
Swahili (G42)			6		10
Tumbuka (N21)	(2)		6		
Venda (S21)		4	6	8	10
Zezuru (S12)			6		10
Zulu (S42)		4	6	8=10	10=8

Table 1. Polyplural classes in a selection of Bantu languages

Table 1 summarizes the situation in a selection of the studied languages.⁴ As seen in the table, there is a hint of an implicational hierarchy stating something along the lines: “if any of the classes 2, 4 and 8 function as polyplural classes, then so do classes 6 and 10” (see also table 2 below). However, there are languages that appear to be clear exceptions to this, eg. Fumu (B77b), where classes 2, 4, 6 and 8 function as polyplural classes but not class 10. Likewise in the Mbene/Basaa (A43a), where we find polyplural classes 6 and 8 but no class 10, and Tsogo (B31), where we find polyplural classes 4 and 10 but not 6.

In Chewa (N31b), there is a similar situation. There we find polyplural classes 2 and 6, but not class 10. However, class 2 is here used as a plural class for classes 1 and 1a only; the latter a so-called subsidiary class to class 1. Presumably not my wisest decision, but I have nonetheless decided to exclude these instances from consideration here. Thus where class 2 functions as a plural class for classes 1 and 1a only, it will henceforth be ignored.

Tables 2 and 3 below show some numerical break-downs of the data, and as already indicated above, the most common polyplural classes are classes 6 and 10. Their geographical distribution is maximally wide within the Bantu area, that is, there does not seem to be any specific area(s) where they occur more richly than elsewhere. (The polyplural nature of classes 6 and 10 is in fact reconstructed for Proto-Bantu, so this is hardly surprising.)

Next in rank comes classes 2, 4 and 8 (see table 3).⁵ Somewhat disturbingly, there are some similarities in the distributions of these three classes, and it would seem likely that this is partially due to the distribution of good grammar descriptions. More specifically, the notable lack of central and central-eastern Bantu languages is much due to the lack of proper descriptive materials for these areas. Still, the general dialectological (or, areal linguistic) trends ought to be clear enough — one could hope, at least.

In a few languages, the less common polyplural classes seem to be semantically marked. Thus polyplural class 8 in Lozi (K21) occurs most commonly in class pairings used for augmentatives (see Gowlett 1989). In Kwangali (K33), polyplural class 2 is used with animates only (see Dammann 1957). This cannot, however, be made into a general principle. In most languages, polyplural classes carry no consistent semantic feature; at least none that is detectable from the literature.

As mentioned, only classes 6 and 10 are commonly believed to have been polyplural already in Proto-Bantu, occurring in reconstructed pairings *5/6,

⁴ Where class 2 is given in parentheses, the singular classes involved are those of classes 1 and 1a only.

⁵ Also other classes may function as polyplural classes. See table 2 for details.

Cl. 2	Cl. 4	Cl. 6	Cl. 8	Cl. 10	Other classes	Languages
-	-	6	-	10	-	33
-	-	6	8	10	-	8
-	4	6	-	10	-	8
-	-	6	-	-	-	7
2	-	6	-	10	-	5 (+6)
2	4	6	-	-	-	4 (+5)
-	-	-	-	10	-	4
-	4	6	8	10	-	4
2	-	6	-	-	-	3 (+9)
2	-	6	8	-	-	3 (+1)
-	-	6	-	10=9	9=10	3
-	-	6	8	-	-	3
-	4	-	-	10	-	3
-	4	-	-	-	-	2
2	4=10	6	10=4	-	-	2
2	-	6	8	10	-	2 (+2)
2	4	6	-	10	-	2 (+1)
2	4	6	8	-	-	1 (+1)
-	-	-	8	10	-	1
-	-	6	8	10	14, 22	1
-	-	6	8=10	10=8	-	1
-	-	6	-	10=19	19=10	1
-	-	6	-	10	14	1
-	4=8	6	8=4	10	-	1
-	4	6	8	10	10a	1
-	4	6	8	-	-	1
-	4	6	-	-	-	1
-	4	-	8	-	5, 9	1
-	-	6	-	10	2a	1
-	4	6	-	-	2a	1
2	-	6	-	10=9	9=10	1
2	4	6	-	10	2a, 3, 13	1
(2)	4=6	6=4	-	-	-	0 (+1)
(2)	4	6	8	10	-	0 (+1)

Table 2. Number of languages with particular sets of polyplural classes.

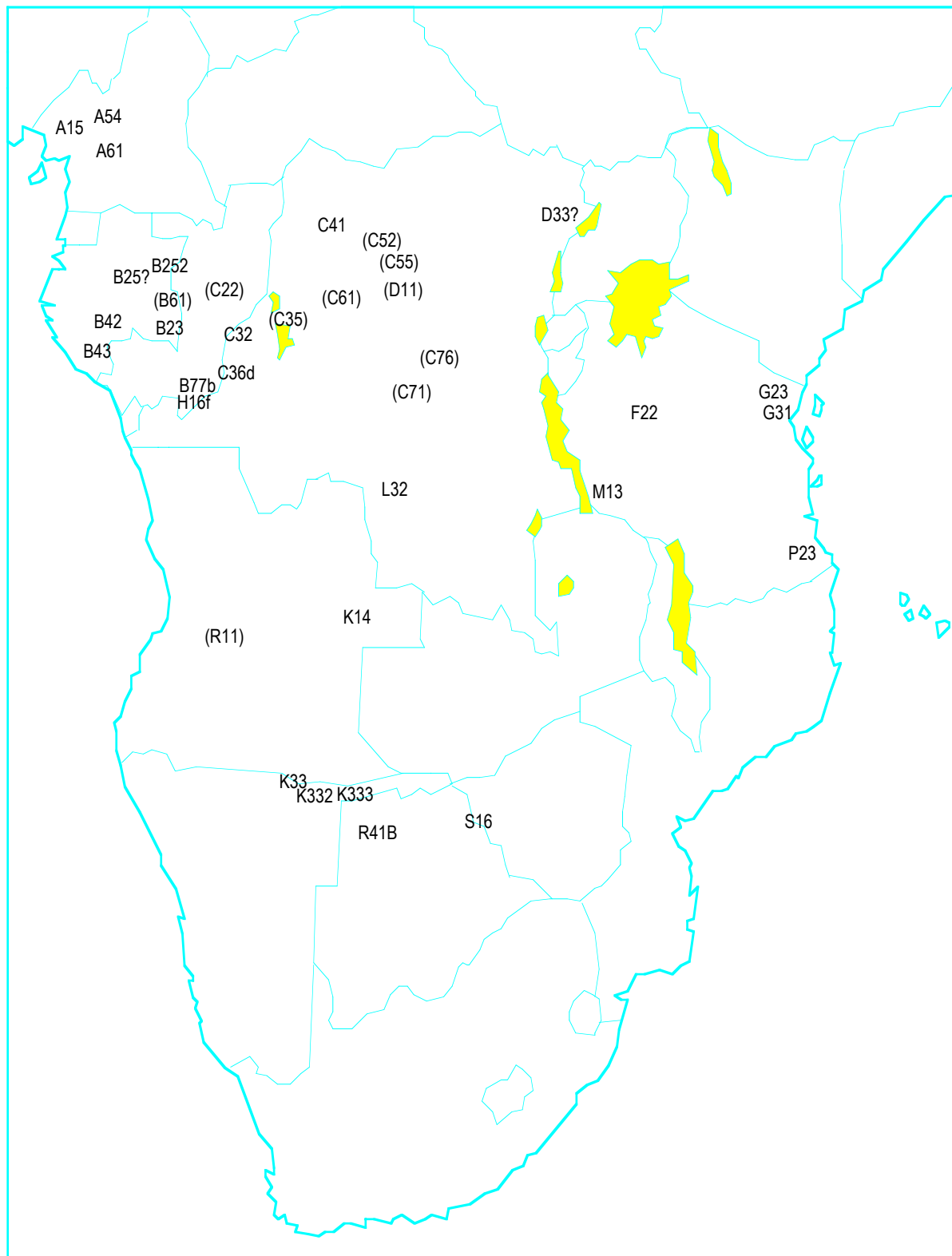
The numbers given in parentheses indicate languages where the singulars associated with "polyplural" class 2 are those of classes 1 and 1a only.

Languages with...	Totals	Percentage (N=134)
... polyplural 6	123	92%
... polyplural 10	94	70%
... polyplural 2 or (2)	24 (+23)	18% (35%)
... polyplural 4	38	28%
... polyplural 8	33	25%
... polyplurals 6+10	86	64%
... polyplurals 6+2 or 6+(2)	24 (+23)	18% (35%)
... polyplurals 6+4	31 (+1 with 4=6)	23%
... polyplurals 6+8	31	23%
... polyplurals 10+2 or 10+(2)	13 (+10)	10% (17%)
... polyplurals 10+4	22	16%
... polyplurals 10+8	21 (+1 with 8=10)	16%

Table 3. Numerical breakdown of the occurrence of polyplural classes.

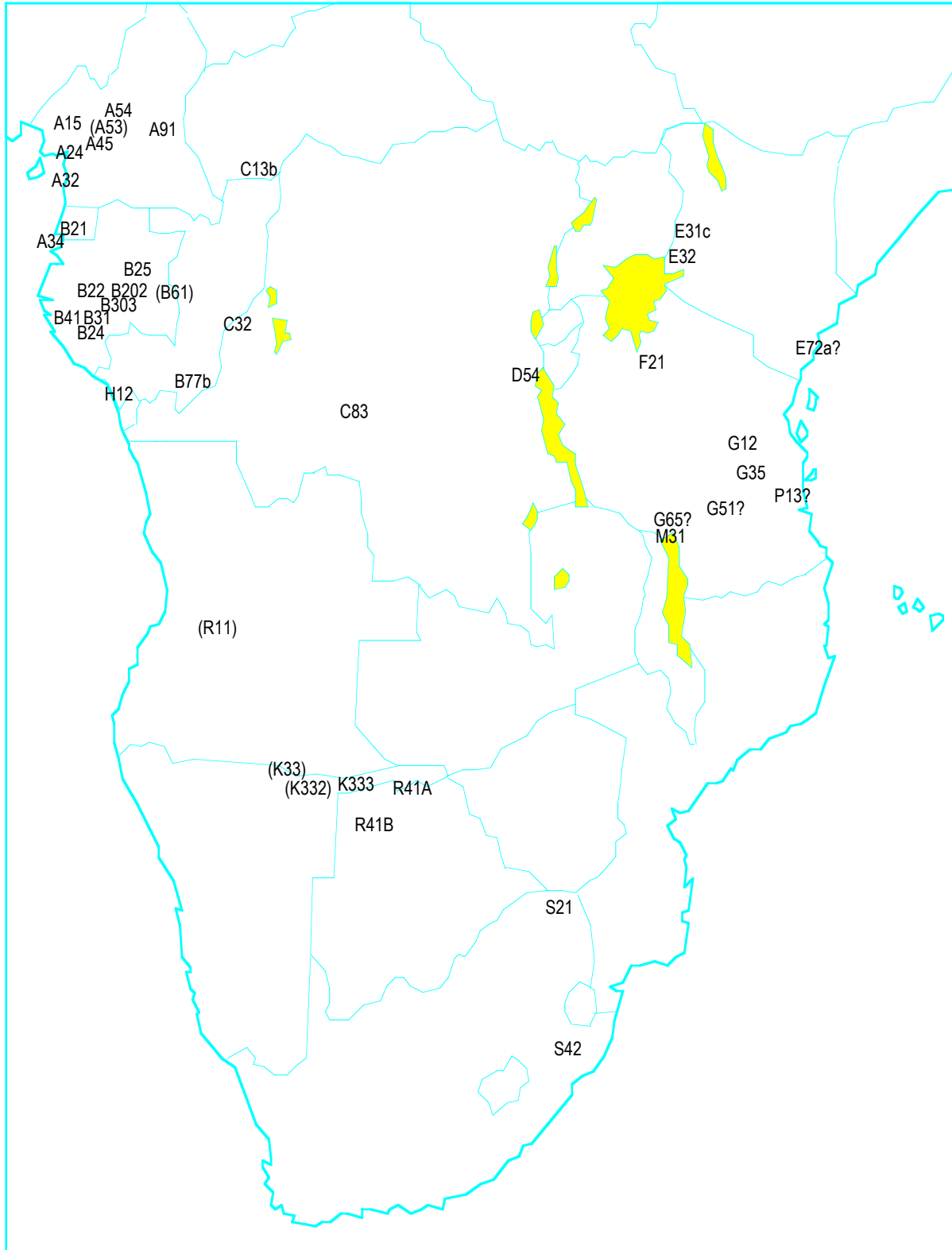
The numbers given in parentheses indicate languages where the singulars associated with “polyplural” class 2 are those of classes 1 and 1a only.

*14/6, *15/6 and *9/10, *11/10, respectively (see Meeussen 1967). In this respect, it is interesting to note that most occurrences of polyplural class 2 are found in the rain forest area, polyplural class 4 is more prominent in the north-west while polyplural class 8 is mostly found in the lower north-west as well as the north-east (see maps 1-3 below). It is interesting because the just-mentioned areas are “older” as well as linguistically more diverse than other Bantu-language areas. The fact that the less common polyplural classes are found in these areas might be taken as support for them being post-Proto-Bantu developments. However, the same polyplural classes can be found also in other Bantu areas, such as the south-west and, in the case of class 4, the extreme south, specifically Zulu (S42) and Venda (S21). Perhaps this means that we can reconstruct other polyplural classes for Proto-Bantu than just the classes 6 and 10. There seems to be good reasons to do so for at least class 4. Based on Wolf’s (1971) reconstruction of Proto-Benue-Congo, we can assume Proto-bantu classes 4 and 10 to have originated from the same pre-Proto-Bantu class by way of a “split”. Thus the putative pairings *9/4=10, *15/4=10, *12/4=10, *14/4=10, *11/4=10 and *19/4=10 are believed to have existed in Proto-Benue-Congo (idem:52). Accepting this, we could (tentatively) reconstruct a polyplural function also for class 4 in Proto-Bantu, lending slight support for my own

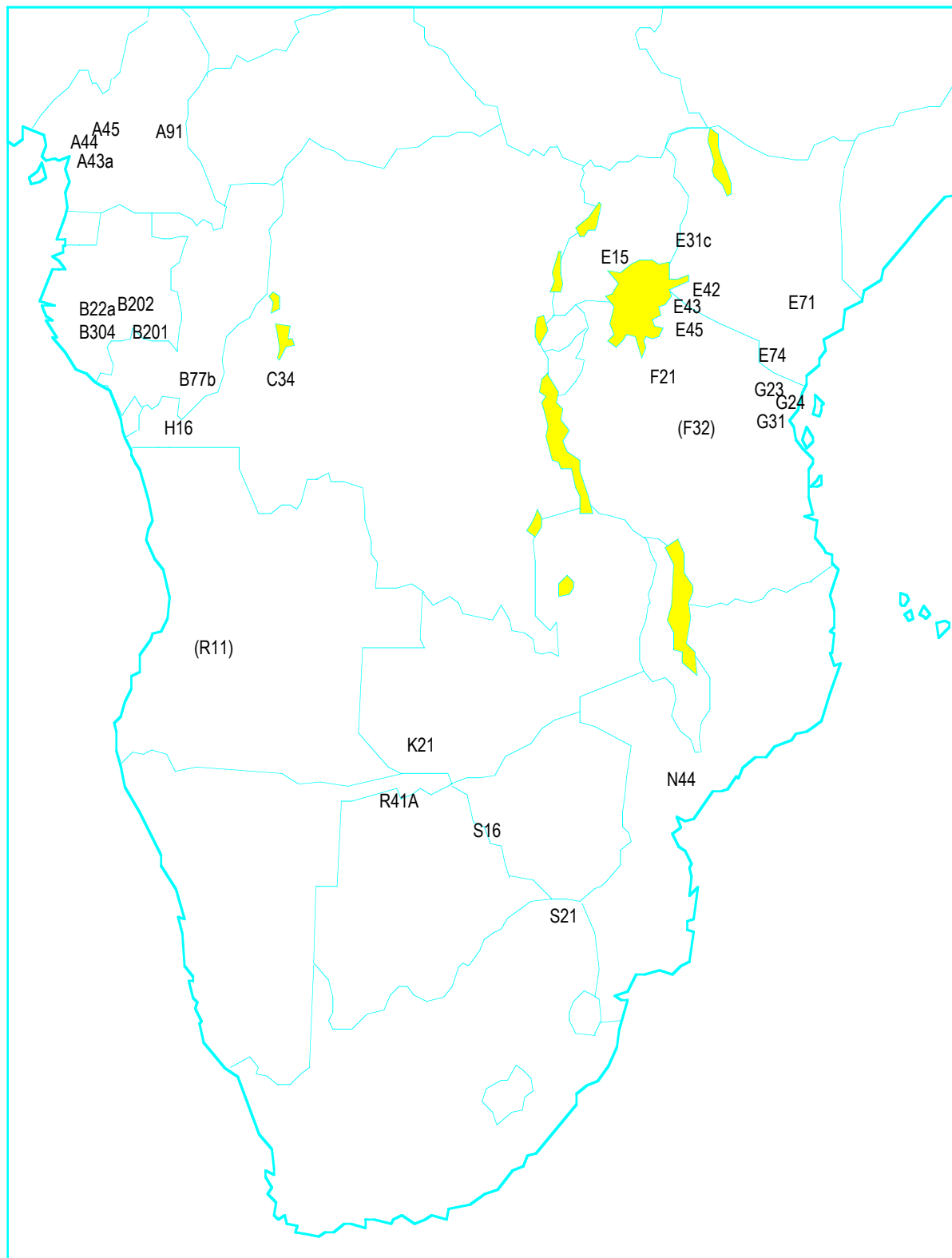


Map 1. Languages where class 2 is paired with more than one singular class.

Parentheses indicate languages where class 2 has merged completely with some other plural class. (I have excluded languages where *only* classes 1 and 1a use class 2 as a plural.)



Map 2. Languages where class 4 is paired with more than one singular class. Parentheses indicate languages where class 4 has merged completely with some other plural class.



Map 3. Languages where class 8 is paired with more than one singular class.

Parentheses indicate languages where class 8 has merged completely with some other plural class.

suggested Proto-Bantu occurrence of pairings *9/4 and *14/4 (see Maho 1999:260).

As for the other polyplural classes 2 and 8, without additional (independent) support, like Wolf’s data with regard to class 4, there seems little reason to reconstruct them as polyplural in Proto-Bantu. However, their wide occurrence across the Bantu area strongly suggest that their use as polyplural classes must have sprung into existence fairly shortly after the Proto-Bantu stage.

The numerical values given in table 3 suggest a primary split between poly plurals 6 and 10, on the one hand, and the rest, on the other. A possible secondary split may be seen between polyplural class 2, on the one hand, and 4 and 8, on the other. The numbers for class 2 change slightly depending on whether or not one includes languages where the pairings involved are those of 1/2 and 1a/2 only. There are indications that the use of class 2 as a polyplural class has increased considerably in post-Proto-Bantu times, especially in the western Bantu area, where pairings like 9/2, 14/2, 5/2, 11/2, etc., are fairly common (Maho 1999:233f).

One rationale behind the use of polyplural classes would be a desire to “streamline” the noun class systems, that is, by keeping down or even decreasing the number of plural choices.⁶ Thus if we assume class 4 to have had a polyplural function in Proto-Bantu, its current decrease in the modern languages may be accounted for by it having been ousted, so to speak, by its competitors, classes 6 and 10.⁷

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⁶ In fact, an increased use of polyplural classes may well be one of the driving forces behind the considerably reduction that we can see in some noun class systems, such as Kako (A93) and Amba (D22), where most noun class affixes have disappeared from use leaving only a few semantically marked markers for grammatical number and animacy (for details, see Maho 1999:127ff).

⁷ We could hypothetically also argue for an opposite process. By eliminating the use of polyplural classes, a language could organise its noun class system so as to consist of a set of unique singular/plural pairings, thereby making it consistent and systematic. However, there seems to be little evidence for such opposite developments, unless we count considerably simplified noun class systems such as the one found in Pol (A92a), where we find pairings 1/2, 5/6 and 7/8 only (Guthrie 1971:33). On the other hand, it is reasonable to assume a prior stage where the use of polyplural classes has been fairly considerable in Pol.

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APPENDIX — POLYPLURAL CLASSES IN BANTU LANGUAGES

The sources are listed at the end.

A15 **Manenguba: Myenge; Akoose** (Hedinger 1987)

1/2; 1a/2; 3/2
3/4; 14+19C/4
5+13C/6; 7/6; 14+19C/6

" **Manenguba: Elong; Mwahed; Mkaa'; Mwaneka** (Hedinger 1987)

1/2; 1a/2; 3/2
3/4; 14+5C=13C=19C/4
5+13C=14C=19C/6; 7/6; 14+5C=13C=19C/6

" **Manenguba: Ekanang** (Hedinger 1987; Richardson 1957)

1/2; 1a/2; 3/2
3/4; 14+5C=19C/4
5+14C=19C/6+13C; 7/6+13C; 14+5C=19C/6+13C

A24 **Duala** (Ittmann 1939; Helmlinger 1972)

5/6; 9/6

A32a **Banoo** (Adams 1907)

3/4; 14/4

A32b **Bapoko** (Adams 1907)

3/4; 14/4

A43a **Mbene/Basaa** (Dimmendaal 1988; Skolaster 1914)

5/6; 9/6; 15+3C/6
7/8; 9/8

- A44 Nen/Tunen** (Dugast 1967; 1971)
 3=11/6; 5/6; 9/6; 14=20/6
 7/8; 14=20/8
- A45 Nyo'on** (Richardson 1957)
 3/4; 5/4; 14/4
 5/6a; 14/6; 19/6?
 7/8; 14/8
- A53 Bafia** (Guarisma 1969; Guarisma & Paulian 1986)
 1/2; 1a/2
 3/4=6; 3a/4=6; 5/6=4
- A601 Tuki** (Guarisma & Paulian 1986)
 3/6a; 5/6a; 14/6
- A62 Yambasa** (Paulian 1986)
 5/6a; 1/6; 14/6; 15/6
- A75 Fang** (Raponda-Walker 1950/1995)
 1/2; 1a/2
 5/6; 9/6
- A91 Kwakum** (Guthrie 1971)
 3/4; 5/4; 9/4
 3/5; 5/5
 3/9; 5/9; 7/9; 8/9; 9/9
 5/8; 7/8
- B11 Myene** (Jacquot 1983)
 1=3=11=14=15/6; 5/6
 1=3=11=14=15/10=19; 9=8/10=19
- B201 North Ndasa** (Jacquot 1983)
 1/2; 1a/2
 5/6; 9/6; 11/6; 11a/6; 14a/6
- " **South Ndasa** (Jacquot 1983)
 1/2; 1a/2
 5/6; 9/6; 11/6; 13/6
 7/8; 19/8
- B202 Sighu** (Jacquot 1983)
 1/2; 1a/2
 3/4; 5/4; 11/4
 5/6; 7/6; 9/6; 11/6; 14/6
 7/8; 11/8
- B21 Seki(yani)** (Jacquot 1983)
 3/4; 1/4
 5/6; 5a/6; 7/6; 9/6; 11/6; 14/6; 14a/6
 9/10; 5/10; 11/10
- B22a Kele** (Jacquot 1983)
 1/2; 1a/2
 3/4; 7/4
 3/6; 5/6; 9/6; 11/6; 14/6; 14a/6
 7/8; 19/8
 9/10; 11/10

- B22b North Ngom/Ungom** (Jacquot 1983)
1/2; 1a/2
3/6; 5/6; 9/6; 11/6; 14a/6; 19/6
- " **South Ngom** (Jacquot 1983)
1/2; 1a/2
3/4; 7/4
3/6; 5/6; 9/6; 11/6; 14/6; 14a/6
- B22c Bubi** (Jacquot 1983)
5/6; 10/6; 11/6
9/10; 11/10
- B23 Mbangwe** (Jacquot 1983)
1/2; 1a/2; 3/2
3/6; 5/6; 9/6; 11/6
- B24 Wumvu** (Jacquot 1983)
3/4; 5/4
5/6; 9/6; 11/6; 14a/6
- B25 Kota** (Jacquot 1983)
1/2; 1a/2
5/6; 9/6; 11/6; 14/6
- B251 Sake** (Jacquot 1983)
1a/2a; 3/2a
3/4; 5/4
3/6; 5/6; 9/6; 11/6; 14a/6
- B252 Mahongwe** (Jacquot 1983)
1/2; 1a/2; 14a/2
5/6; 7/6; 9/6; 11/6; 19/6
- B303 Bongwe** (Raponda-Walker 1937)
3/4; 5/4?
9/10; 11/10
- B304 Pinji** (Jacquot 1983)
3/4; 3a/4
5/6; 9/6
7/8; 19/8
7/10a; 9/10a; 11/10a; 19/10a
9/10; 9a/10; 11/10
- B31 Tsogo** (Jacquot 1983)
3/4; 5/4
9/10; 11/10
- B41 Sira** (Raponda-Walker 1936)
1=3/4; 5/4
5/6; 14/6
9/10; 13/10?
- B52 Ndjabi** (Muroi 1989)
5=11/6; 9=10/6; 11=5/6; 14/6
- B77b Fumu/Ifumu** (Calloc'h 1911)
1=3/2; 1a/2; 14/2
1=3/4; 5/4; 15/4
5/6; 9=10/6; 14/6
7/8; 19/8

- C102/3 Ngando-Kota** (Richardson 1957)
 3/4; 5/4
 5/6; 9/6; 14/6
 1a/10; 3/10; 7/10
- C32 Bobangi** (Whitehead 1899)
 1/2; 1a+7C=9C/2; 5/2; 7+1aC=9C/2
 3/4; 5/4; 11/4
 5/6; 9+1aC=7C/6; 11/6; 14/6
 9+1aC=7C/10; 11/10
- C34 Sakata** (Tylleskär 1986/1987)
 5+11C/6; 11+5C/6; 14/6
 5/8; 7/8
 9+1C/10; 11+5C/10
- C36d Lingala** (Guthrie & Carrington 1988)
 1=3/2; 1a/2; 9=10/2
 1=3/10=9; 7/10=9; 9=10/10=9; 11/10=9
 5/6; 11/6; 14/6
- C41 Lingombe** (Motingea 1988)
 1/2; 1a/2; 3/2; 5/2
 5/6; 14/6
 9/10; 3/10
- C61 Mongo-Nkundo** (Welmers 1973)
 9/10; 11/10
- C73 Nkutu** (Hove 1911)
 7/10; 9/10; 11/10
- C83 Bushong** (Vansina 1959)
 1/2; 1a/2
 1a/10; 9/10; 11/10
 3/4; 11/4
 5/6; 7/6; 9/6; 14/6
- D11 Mbole** (Rop 1971)
 1/2=6; 1a/2=6(?); 5/6=2
 9/10; 11/10
- D25 Lega** (Botne & Salama-Gray 1994)
 5/6; 9+4C/6; 14/6; 15/6
 9+4C/10; 11/10
- D331 Vanuma** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
 1/6; 3/6; 5/6; 11/6; 14/6; 14a/6
- D41 Konzo** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
 5/6; 15/6
 7/10; 9/10; 11/10
- D51 Hunde** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
 5/6; 9/6; 11/6; 15/6
 9/10; 11/10
- D61 Kinyarwanda** (Kimenyi 1979)
 5/6; 15/6
 9+4C/10; 11/10

- D62 Kirundi** (Ménard 1908)
5/6; 9+4C/6
9+4C/10; 11/10
- E12 Tooro** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
5/6; 14/6; 15/6
9=10/10=9; 11/10=9
- E13 Nyankore** (Taylor 1985)
5/6; 9+4C/6; 11/6; 14/6; 15=17/6
9+4C/10; 11/10
11/14; 12/14
- E15 Luganda** (Cole 1967)
5/6; 9/6; 15/6
5/22; 20/22
7/8; 1a/8
9/10; 11/10; 1a/10
12/14; 1a/14
- E16 Soga** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
5/6; 14/6; 15/6
9=10/10=9; 11/10=9
- E31a Gisu** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
5/6; 14/6; 15/6
- E31c Bukusu** (Blois 1975)
3/4; 3a/4
5/6; 14/6
7/8; 12/8
9/10; 11/10
- E32 Hanga** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
3/4; 20/4
5/6; 14/6; 15/6
9/10; 11/10
- E341 Xaayo** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
5/6; 15/6
9/10; 11/10
- E412 Isuxa** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
5/6; 14/6
9/10; 11/10
- E42 Gusii** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
5/6; 14/6; 15/6; 20/6
7/8; 12/8
9+4C/10; 11/10
- E43 Koria** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
5/6; 11/6; 14/6; 15/6; 20/6
7/8; 12/8
9/10; 11/10
- E45 Nata** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
5/6; 15/6; 20/6
7/8; 12/8
9/10; 11/10

- E51 Kikuyu** (Benson 1964; Bennett et al. 1985)
 5/6; 14/6; 15=17/6
 9/10+8C; 11/10+8C
- E54 Tharaka** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
 5/6; 15/6
 9/10; 11/10
- E55 Kamba** (Whiteley & Muli 1962)
 5/6; 15/6; 11=14+3C/6
 9/10+8C; 11=14+3C/10+8C
- E62 Chaga** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
 5/6; 11=14/6; 12/6
 9/10; 11=14/10
- E71 Pfokomo** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
 5/6; 14/6; 15/6
 7/8; 12/8
 9/10; 11/10
- E72a Giriyama** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
 3/4; 5a/4
 5/6; 14/6
 9/10; 11/10
- E74a Dabida** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
 5/6; 14/6; 15/6
 7/8; 12/8
 9/10; 11/10
- E74b Teri** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
 5/6; 14+3C/6
 7/8; 12/8
 9/10; 11/10
- F21 Kesukuma** (Batibo 1985; Richardson 1966)
 3/4+9C; 11/4+9C
 5/6; 7/6; 11/6; 12/6; 14/6; 15/6
 7/8; 15/8
 9+4C/10; 11/10; 14/10
- F22 Kinyamwezi** (Maganga & Schadeberg 1992)
 1/2; 1a/2; 5/2; 9+4C/2
 3/6; 5/6; 7/6; 9+4C/6; 11/6; 12/6; 14/6; 15/6
 9+4C/10; 11/10; 14/10
- F31 Nilyamba** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
 5/6; 14/6
 9/10; 11/10
- F32 Rimi** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
 5/6; 7/6
 7/8=10?; 9/10=8?; 11/10=8?
- F33 Langi** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
 5/6; 14/6; 15/6
 9/10; 11/10
- G11 Gogo** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
 9/10; 11/10

- G12 Kagulu** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
3/4; 14/4
9/10; 11/10
- G23 Shambaa** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
1/2; 12/2
5/6; 21+5C/6
7/8; 12/8
9/10; 14/10
- G24 Bondei** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
7/8; 12/8
9/10; 11/10; 14/10
- G31 Zigula** (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993)
1/2; 12/2
5/6; 11/6; 14/6
7/8; 12/8
9/10; 11/10
- G41 Tikuu** (Tucker & Bryan 1957)
5/6; 14/6
9/10; 11/10
- G42 Unguja** (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993)
1/2; 1a/2
5/6; 11=14/6
9/10; 11=14/10
- G43 Phemba** (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993)
3/4; 5/4a
5/6; 9/6; 14/6
9/10; 11/10
- G44a Ngazija** (Lafon 1991)
9+4C/10+8C; 11+3C/10a+8C
- G44D Maore** (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993)
1/2; 1a/2
5/6; 14=11/6
- H10A Kituba** (Swift & Zola 1963)
1=3/2; 1a/2; 9/2
5/6; 1a/6; 11/6
- H12 Vili** (Ndamba 1977)
3=1/4; 14/4
5/6; 14/6; 15/6
9/10; 11/10
- H16b Central Kikongo** (Laman 1912)
1/2; 1a/2
5/6; 11/6; 14/6; 15/6
7/8; 9/8; 11/8
9/10; 11/10
- H16c Kiyombe** (Clercq 1907)
1/2; 1a/2
5/6; 11/6; 13/6; 14/6; 15/6
7/8; 19/8
9/10; 11/10

- H16f Laadi** (Jacquot 1967; 1982)
 1/2; 5/2
 5/6; 11/6; 14/6; 15/6
 7/8; 19/8
- H21 Kimbundu** (Homburger 1925)
 5/6; 11/6; 13/6; 14/6; 15/6
- K11 Ciokwe** (White 1944)
 1/2; 1a/2
 5/6; 14+3C/6; 15a+5C/6
 9+4C=8C/10; 11/10
- K12a Luimbi** (White 1944)
 5/6; 14/6
 9/10; 11/10
- K13 Luchazi** (White 1944)
 5/6; 14/6
 9/10; 11/10
- K14 Lwena** (White 1949)
 1/2; 1a/2; 9+4C/2
 5/6; 1/6; 1a/6; 14+3C/6
 9+4C/10; 11/10
- K21 Silozi** (Gowlett 1989)
 5/6; 9/6; 11/6; 14/6
 3/8; 5/8; 7/8; 11/8
 7/10; 9/10
- K33 Rukwangali** (Dammann 1957; Kloppers 1994)
 1/2; 9/2; 11/2; 12/2
 3/10=4?; 9/10=4?; 11/10=4?
 5/6; 11/6; 14/6
- K332 Rugciriku** (Möhlig 1967)
 1/2; 1a/2; 12/2; 15/2
 3/10=4?; 9/10=4?
 5/6; 11/6; 14/6
- K333 Thimbukushu** (Fisch 1977)
 1+9C/2; 1a+9C/2; 9+1C/2
 3/4+10C; 14/4+10C
 5/6; 1a+9C/6; 10+4C/6; 11/6; 14/6; 15/6
- K42 Subiya** (Davey 1965)
 1a/2a; 9/2a
 5/6; 11/6; 14/6; 15/6
 9/10+8C; 11/10+8C
- L11 Pende** (Gusimana 1972)
 5/6; 11/6; 14/6; 15/6
 9/10; 11/10
- L32 Kanyok** (Mukash-Kalel 1982)
 1/2; 9+3C=15C/2; 11/2
 5/6; 9+3C=15C/6; 11/6; 14/6; 15+3C=9C/6
 9+3C=15C/10+4C; 11/10+4C

- L52 Lunda** (White 1944)
1/2; 1a/2
5/6; 14/6
9/10; 11/10
- M13 Fipa** (Struck 1911)
1/2; 1a/2; 5/2
5/6; 7/6; 9/6; 14/6; 15/6
9/10; 11/10
- M42 Icibemba** (Sambeek 1955)
5/6; 9+4C/6; 14/6; 15/6
9+4C/10; 11/10; 14/10
- M54 Lamba** (Doke 1933; 1963a)
5/6; 9+4C/6; 11/6; 14/6; 15=17/6
9+4C/10; 11/10
- N21 Tumbuka** (Vail 1971)
1/2; 1a/2
5/6; 11/6; 12/6; 14+3C/6
- N31a Nyanja** (Price 1946)
1/2+6C; 1a/2+6C
5/6+2C; 1a/6+2C; 7/6+2C; 9+4C/6; 14+3C/6+2C
7/10; 9+4C/10
- N31b Chewa** (Hullquist 1988; Mchombo 1998)
1/2+6C; 1a/2+6C
5/6+2C; 14/6+2C
- N43 Nyungwe** (Torrend 1914; Martins 1991)
1/2; 1a/2
5+11C/6; 11+5C/6; 14/6
- N44 Sena** (Moreira 1924)
1/2; 5/2
5/6; 7/6; 14+3C/6
7/8; 12/8
- P13 Matuumbi** (Odden 1996)
5/6; 3+14C/6; 9=10+8C/6; 11/6
9=10+8C/10=9+8C; 11/10=9+8C; 14+3C/10=9+8C
- P21 Yao** (Richardson 1967)
5/6; 11/6; 14/6
9+4C/10; 11/10
- P23 Makonde** (Guerreiro 1963)
1/2; 9/2
3/4; 14/4
5/6; 14/6
9/10; 11/10
- P31 Makhuwa** (Woodward 1926; Pires Prata 1960)
1/2; 1a/2
1/6; 5/6; 14=15=17+3C/6
- R11 Umbundu** (Schadeberg 1990)
3=14/4=8+10C; 7/4=8+10C; 14=3/4=8+10C
5/6; 3=14/6; 11/6; 14=3/6; 15/6
9/10+4=8C; 11/10

- R21 Kwanyama** (Turvey et al. 1977)
 5/6; 11/6; 15/6
 9+8C/10+4C; 11/10+4C
- R22 Ndonga** (Viljoen et al. 1984; Fivaz 1986)
 5/6; 11/6; 14/6; 15/6
 9/10+4C; 11/10+4C
- R23 Kwambi** (Homburger 1925)
 5/6; 15/6
 9/10; 11/10
- R31 Herero** (Booyesen 1982; Viljoen & Kamupingene 1983)
 5/6; 14/6; 15/6
 9/10; 11/10
- R41A Caprivi Yeyi** (Gowlett 1992)
 3/4; 15/4
 5/6; 1a/6; 3/6; 9a/6; 11/6; 14/6; 15/6
 7/8; 1a/8; 11/8; 14/8
 9/10; 1a/10; 9a/10; 11/10
- R41B Ngamiland Yeyi** (Sommer 1995; Sommer & Vossen 1992)
 1/2; 1a/2; 9/2; 14/2
 1a/2a; 9/2a
 3/4; 7/4; 11/4
 5/6; 1a/6; 3/6; 7/6; 9/6; 11/6; 12/6; 13/6; 14/6; 15/6
 9/10; 1a/10; 3/10; 5/10; 7/10; 11/10; 12/10; 14/10; 15/10
 11/3; 14/3
 12/13; 3/13
- S12 Zezuru** (Fortune 1955; 1957)
 5/6; 1a/6; 3/6; 11/6
 9/10; 11/10
- S16 Kalanga** (Vossen 1991/1992; Doke 1954)
 1/2; 7/2
 5/6; 9/6; 11/6; 15/6
 7/8; 9/8
- S21 Venda** (Poulos 1990; Ziervogel et al. 1981)
 3/4; 1/4; 9/4
 5/6; 1/6; 9/6; 11/6; 14/6; 20/6; 21+5C/6
 7/8; 20/8
 9/10; 11/10
- S31 Tswana** (Cole 1955/1975)
 5/6; 3/6; 9/6; 14/6
 9/10; 7/10; 11/10
- S32 Northern Sotho** (Ziervogel 1969; Lombard 1985)
 5=11/6; 9/6; 14/6
 7/10; 9/10
- S33 Sesotho/Southern Sotho** (Doke & Mofokeng 1957; Guma 1971)
 5/6; 14/6
 5/10; 7/10; 9/10
- S41 Xhosa** (Louw 1978)
 5/6; 9+4C/6; 11/6
 7/10; 9+4C/10; 11/10

- S42 Zulu** (Doke 1963b)
3/4; 1/4
5/6; 1/6; 9/6
9/10; 7/10; 11/10
- S43 Swati** (Ziervogel & Mabuza 1976; Taljaard et al. 1991)
5/6; 9/6; 9a/6; 11/6
9/10; 7/10; 11/10
- S44 Ndebele** (O'Neil 1912; Pelling & Pelling 1974)
5/6; 9/6
9/10; 7/10; 11/10
- S51 Tshwa** (Doke 1954)
1/2; 1a/2
5/6; 14/6
9/10; 11/10a
- S54 Ronga** (Doke 1954; Quintão 1951)
1/2; 1a/2
5/6; 14/6
9/10; 11/10

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