= Nafaanra =

Nafaanra (sometimes written Nafaara , pronounced [nafã?ra]) is a Senufo language spoken in northwest Ghana , along the border with Ivory Coast , east of Bondoukou . It is spoken by approximately 61 @,@ 000 people . Its speakers call themselves Nafana ; others call them Banda or Mfantera . Like other Senufo languages , Nafaanra is a tonal language . It is somewhat of an outlier in the Senufo language group , with the geographically closest relatives , the Southern Senufo Tagwana ? Djimini languages , approximately 200 kilometres (120 mi) to the west , on the other side of Comoé National Park .

The basic word order is subject ? object ? verb , similar to Latin and Japanese . Like other Niger ? Congo languages it has a noun class system where nouns are classified according to five different genders , which also affects pronouns , adjectives and copulas . The phonology features a distinction between the length of vowels and whether they are oral or nasal (as in French or Portuguese) . There are also three distinct tones , a feature shared with the other Senufo languages . Nafaanra grammar features both tense and aspect which are marked with particles . Numbers are mainly formed by adding cardinal numbers to the number 5 and by multiplying the numbers 10 , 20 and 100 .

= = Geography and demography = =

Nafaanra is bordered by Kulango languages to the west , while Deg (a Gur language) and Gonja (Kwa) are found to the north and east . The closest eastern neighbour is the Mande language Ligbi , whose speakers are also called Banda) which , like Nafaanra , is an outlier to its own family . Southeast and south of Nafaanra and Ligbi , the Akan language Abron (also Bron or Brong) is spoken .

The Nafana people live in the north @-@ west corner of the Brong @-@ Ahafo Region of Ghana , concentrated mainly in Sampa (capital of the Jaman North district) and Banda . There are two dialectal variants of Nafaanra : Pantera of Banda , and Fantera of Sampa . Bendor @-@ Samuel gives a 79 % cognate relationship on the Swadesh list between the two dialects , meaning that they have many basic words in common . The Banda dialect is considered central . The terms " Fantera " and " Pantera " come from other peoples and are considered pejorative by the Nafana .

The Nafana people say that they come from a village called Kakala in Ivory Coast . Their oral history says that some of their people are still there , and if they go back they will not be allowed to leave again . They arrived in the Banda area after the Ligbi people , who came from Begho (Bigu , Bighu) to the area in the early 17th century .

Many Nafana are bilingual in Twi , the regional lingua franca , to some extent . According to SIL , 50 % of the people are able to " satisfy routine social demands and limited requirements in other domains " , while 20 % are able to speak Twi " with sufficient structural accuracy and vocabulary to participate effectively in most formal and informal conversations on practical , social , and occupational topics " . The remaining 30 % are either able to maintain only very simple face @-@ to @-@ face conversations on familiar topics (15 %) or unable to speak Twi at all (15 %) . 15 ? 25 % of the Nafana people are literate in Twi , whereas only 1 ? 5 % are literate in Nafaanra .

Nafaanra is the second language of the approximately 70 Dompo people living in the close vicinity of Banda . Dompo is their first language , thought to be extinct until a field work trip of Blench in 1998 proved the contrary .

= = = Classification = = =

Maurice Delafosse was the first linguist to mention Nafaanra , calling it " a much dispersed Senufo tribe " in 1904 . Westermann in his classification of West @-@ African languages , also grouped Nafaanra with Senufo , apparently based on the word list found in Rapp . This classification is confirmed by Bendor @-@ Samuel , who bases his internal Senufo classification on the comparative word lists in Swadesh et al .

It is less clear which particular Senufo branch Nafaanra is related to most closely . Bendor @-@ Samuel gives a 60 % cognate relationship on the Swadesh list with " Tenere " (a western Senari dialect) , 59 % with " Central Senari " (the Senari dialect spoken around Korhogo) , and 43 % with the non @-@ Senufo languages Mo (or Deg) , Kabre (or Kabiye) , and Dogon . The relatively low scores of about 60 % point to a rather distant relationship . Likewise , Mensah and Tchagbale establish an intercomprensibility factor of 38 % with " Tyebaara " (Senari) , concluding that Nafaanra is only distantly related to this dialect . Nafaanra has been tentatively linked to Palaka (Kpalaga) by Manessy , whereas Mills suggests a relation with the southern Tagwana ? Djimini branch .

= = Sounds = =

= = = Vowels = = =

Nafaanra has seven oral and five nasalized vowels . A difference in vowel length can make a difference in meaning , as in s? , " to go " , vs. s?? , " fetish " or o , " we " vs. oo , " we will " . Similarly , the phonemic contrastiveness of nasalization can be seen in sii , " to be giving birth , " vs. s?? , " to build " . The vowel system closely resembles that of other Senufo languages . It is like the two Northern Senufo languages Supyire and Mamara in having only five nasal against seven oral vowels . In the orthography , nasalization of vowels is marked by adding the letter " n " after the vowel .

= = = Consonants = = =

In the table below , orthographic symbols are included between brackets if they differ from the IPA symbols . Note especially the use of " j " for IPA [?] and the use of " y " for IPA [j] , common in African orthographies .
The consonant system of Nafaanra is fairly similar to that of other Senufo languages . Nafaanra has only one attested palatal fricative , / ç / , occupying an intermediate position between the Northern Senufo languages (Mamara , Supyire) that have both / ç / and its voiced counterpart / ? / , and the Central and Southern Senufo languages (e.g. Karaboro , Senari , Djimini) that have no palatal fricatives at all .

= = = Tone = = =

Like the other Senufo languages , Nafaanra has three contrastive tones : High , Mid and Low . Tone is normally not marked in the Nafaanra orthography . Examples are :
kúf? ? " yam " (High @-@ Low)
dama " two pesewas (coin) " (Mid)
mà?à " rope " (Low)
The Mid tone sometimes has a rising feature , the High tone sometimes is subject to downstep (a tonal process resulting in a High tone being realised lower than a preceding High tone) , and an upstep is also found . The " rising feature " of Mid may be related to the fact that two different Mid tones are found in some other Senufo languages (e.g. Sucite and Supyire) . The High tone downstep (signified by a raised exclamation mark) occurs in the following context :
we ! s? (he FUT go) " he will go " .
It is likely that the tonal lowering seen in this particular example is related to the low tone nasal prefix found in future tense constructions in some other Senufo languages . In fact , Supyire shows a similar phenomenon in future tense constructions with a direct object (in other future tense constructions , a low tone nasal is found) . In general however , downstep is more widespread than in Supyire ; a similar phenomenon is found in Palaka , Tagwana , and Djimini .
An upstep is found in the imperative tense of high tone verbs :

ki t? (it close) " close it ! "

= = Grammar = =

The Nafaanra syllable comprises a vowel and a maximum of three consonants . A nasal consonant may occur as a syllable on its own , in which case it is called a syllabic nasal . The basic syllable structure can be rendered as (C1) (C2) V (C3) , with a preference for CV and CVV . Position C1 may contain any consonant , although word @-@ initial / r / does not occur . Position C2 may contain only trills (/ r /) or approximants (/ w , l , j /) . Position C3 may contain only nasals (/ m n ? ? /) , in which case the syllable as a whole is nasalized .

Senufo languages have a typical Niger ? Congo noun class (or gender) system . Suffixes on nouns mark membership of one of the five noun genders . Pronouns , adjectives and copulas reflect the noun gender of the nominal they refer to . Although none of the sources on Nafaanra provides any details , it can be inferred from a brief word list given by Jordan that the Nafaanra noun class system resembles that of other Senufo languages .

The basic word order in Nafaanra is subject ? object ? verb , as can be seen in the following sentence :
bibil? ná pé nya (boys PAST them see) " The boys saw them "

= = = Personal pronouns = = =

Jordan lists the following list of pronouns , commenting , " Although the pronoun system appears quite simple , it becomes complicated because all the tenses are shown by a combination of pronoun plus particle . "

= = = Tense and aspect = = =

Tense and aspect in Nafaanra are generally encoded in two places : in preverbal particles and on the verb form . Nafaanra has past , recent past , and future tenses and continuative aspect . In a simple sentence , the order of the various constituents can be rendered as follows : SUBJECT ? (NEGATION) ? (TENSE) ? (ASPECT) ? VERB . When the negative suffix -n is present , no fusing of preverbal particles takes place . Nafaanra additionally expresses some tense / aspect matters by use of certain time adverbs and auxiliary verbs .

Past tense is marked by the preverbal particle ná (high tone , as opposed to the low tone continuative particle) . Future tense is marked by the particle wè . Simple sentences without a preverbal tense particle are interpreted as recent past (sometimes called immediate) . If aspect marking is absent , simple sentences are generally interpreted as completive .
kòfí ná s? ? (Kofi PAST go @-@ completive) " Kofi went " ? PAST
kòfí wè s? ? (Kofi FUTURE go @-@ completive) " Kofi will go " ? FUTURE
kòfí s? ? (Kofi go @-@ completive) " Kofi just went " ? RECENT PAST (no marking)
Continuative aspect (sometimes called progressive) denotes an action that is ongoing or repetitive . Continuative aspect is usually marked both by a preverbal particle nà (low tone) and by a change of the verb form . The verb s? ? , " go " used in the sentences below has the continuative form síé . In sentences where both past tense particle ná and continuative particle nà are present , they combine to give the fused particle náà . In sentences in the recent past tense , the preverbal continuative particle is omitted and continuative aspect is shown only on the verb .
kòfí náà síé (Kofi PAST + CONT go @-@ CONT) " Kofi was going " ? CONT + PAST
kòfí wè nà síé (Kofi FUT CONT go @-@ CONT) " Kofi will be going " ? CONT + FUTURE
kòfí síé (Kofi go @-@ CONT) " Kofi is going " ? CONT + RECENT PAST
Two classes of verbs can be differentiated on the basis of their behaviour in aspectually marked sentences . One class of verbs has two aspectually distinct forms , as seen in the above example sentences . Another class of verbs does not distinguish aspect ? one and the same form shows up in both completive and continuative aspect . In sentences in the recent past tense , this gives rise to

ambiguity since the preverbal continuative particle is omitted there . Thus , the sentence kòfí blú can be interpreted in the following two ways :

 kòfí blú (Kofi swim @-@ CONT) " Kofi is swimming " ? CONT + RECENT PAST
 kòfí blú (Kofi swim @-@ completive) " Kofi just swam " ? RECENT PAST (no marking)

 Considerable fusion takes place between pronominal subjects and the preverbal particles . For example , ná " PAST " fuses with pé , " they " , to produce prá s? ? (they @-@ PAST go @-@ completive) , " they went " , and wè " FUTURE " fuses with pé in píè s? ? (they @-@ FUTURE go @-@ completive) , " they will go " .

= = = Questions = = =

 Questions can be formed in several ways in Nafaanra . Basic yes ? no questions are constructed by adding a sentence @-@ final question marker rá . Constituent questions (sometimes called Wh @-@ questions or question word questions) are doubly marked . They contain a sentence @-@ initial question word and are marked with a sentence @-@ final question marker hin .

 u pan rá (he come Q) " Has he come ? " ? basic yes ? no @-@ question
 ?gi wra nya hin (what he + PAST see Q) " What did he see ? " ? constituent question

= = = Numbers = = =

 The cardinal numbers without tonal marking are presented below ; where possible , the tone pattern is added based on the list in Rapp . Some Supyire correlates are given for comparison . Numbers six to nine are derived by adding the numbers one to four to k?? , " five " , by means of the conjunction na .

 The numbers 11 ? 19 are formed by adding 1 ? 9 to 10 by means of the conjunction mb? , e.g. k?mb?nunu , " eleven " , k?mb?kun? , " fifteen " . In the tens and higher , the Nafaanra and Supyire systems diverge . Multiplication of fulo , " twenty , " and addition of k? , " ten " , (by means of the conjunction ná) is used to form the 30 ? 90 tens . Perhaps surprisingly , there are considerable differences between Rapp (1933) and Jordan (1980) here . In Rapp 's 60 , 70 and 80 , féle seems to be used to mark ten , which conjoined with 6 , 7 and 8 forms 60 , 70 and 80 .

 Rapp (1933) compares the Nafaanra numerals for three (táár?) and hundred (lafaa) with eta and ke @-@ lafa from Mpre , a hitherto unclassified language from Ghana . It should be noted however that Mpre eta is Kwa @-@ like (cf . Brong esã , Ga et?) , whereas the Nafaanra form táár? is transparently related to the forms found in the other (non @-@ Kwa) Senufo languages (e.g. Supyire tàànrè) . Nafaanra lafaa " hundred " is a typical Kwa numeral and is most probably borrowed from one of the surrounding Kwa languages (cf . Dangme làfá , Gonja kì @-@ làfá , Ewe alafá) . Rapp 's implication of affinity between Mpre and Nafaanra seems therefore unwarranted at this level .

 Morphophonological alternations occur here and there , most notably the reduction of kún? , " five " to k? ? ? ? (preserving the tone pattern) and the change from lafaa to laf?? in the hundreds .

= = = Colour words = = =

 The three basic colour words of Nafaanra are : w?? , " black " , finge , " white " , and ?i? , " red " . As with adjectives in Senufo languages , the form of the colour words reflects the noun class of the noun that is modified .

 w?? ? ki w? " it is black "
 finge ? ki fninge " it is white "
 ?i? ? ki ?ina " it is red "
 The cognate forms in closely related Supyire are -?y?- , " red ; warm colored " , and -fyìn- , " white ; light colored " , in Supyire . These adjectives are related to the respective verbs fíní?? ? , " be white ; whiten " and ?áá?á , " be red ; redden " , which in turn are causative forms of the now defunct verbs fini , " be white " and ?ana , " be red " .

= = Sample sentences = =

Sample Nafaanra sentences from the SIL :
mùùrà kà ní ?àà mè gbú mè é nyìè t? ? ? ? mè kí lóó
story some I want and @-@ FUTURE beat and @-@ FUTURE your ear put and @-@ FUTURE it hear
" I want to tell a story for you to hear . "
y? ? ngè nà kòmó ?drá
true that hyena hide @-@ completive
" It 's true that the hyena hid himself . "
ké b?è kà kpáhù wá
it day some frog not @-@ there
" On a certain day the frog wasn 't here . "
?rè ?nà pè kúú
he not @-@ CONT them kill @-@ CONT
" He wasn 't killing them . "
ná múúrò ?nà kàà mà ná yo mà
if fish you @-@ PAST @-@ CONT chew @-@ CONT you @-@ not past say @-@ completive that
" If you had been eating fish you would not have said that . "

= = Research = =

There is relatively little published on or in the Nafaanra language . The first linguistic publication to mention Nafaanra is Delafosse (1904) , containing some notes on the Nafana people and a fairly extensive comparative Senufo word list , though it lacked any proper tonal marking . Rapp (1933) is an appendix to an article on the Kulango language containing a German @-@ Nafaanra (Nafana @-@ Sprache) word list of around 100 items , gathered during a stay of four hours at Sampa . Rapp notes in passing that special attention was paid to the marking of the tones .
After a period of silence on Nafaanra , Painter (1966) appeared , consisting of basic word lists of the Pantera and Fantera dialects . The SIL linguist Dean Jordan published an article on Nafaanra discourse in 1978 , and together with his wife Carol Jordan has produced a translation of the New Testament , which appeared in 1984 . Kropp @-@ Dakubu 's 1980 West African language data sheets vol II contains a few pages on Nafaanra put together in the late seventies by Dean and Carol Jordan , including a phonology , a list of nouns , a list of pronouns , a list of numbers , and some example sentences ; tones are not marked . A more detailed phonology of Nafaanra by Jordan , also containing a Swadesh list , appeared in 1980 . Several books of Nafana folk tales have been published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics . Mensah and Tchagbale in their 1983 linguistic atlas of Ivory Coast include a comparative Senufo word list of about 120 items ; Nafaanra is present under the name " Nafara of Bondoukou " . An orthography of Nafaanra , lacking tonal marking , is included in Hartell (1993) . The area where Nafaanra is spoken has been the subject of recent archaeological @-@ anthropological studies (Stahl 2004) .