

A dictionary and grammatical outline of Chakali

Jonathan Brindle

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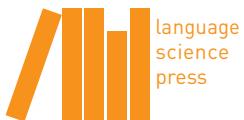
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Jonathan Brindle



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Preface

This book presents the first edited compilation of selected lemmas of a Chakali lexical database which I developed over the last 9 years, together with Chakali consultants, while being affiliated to the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim, Norway (2007-2011, 2012-2016), to the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana (2012), and to the University of Leuven, Belgium (2016-2017). In 2009 the first version was printed out and given to consultants to corroborate its content. Another version was distributed in 2011 in the community schools of Katua, Motigu, Ducie, and Gurumbele as part of an informal indigenous literacy awareness campaign.

The content of this book is based on some parts of my unpublished doctoral thesis (Brindle 2011) and recent publications. While the dissertation's appendix was expanded to make up the dictionary and the reversal index offered in the second and third parts of this book, the grammatical outline has been condensed and improved to make up the phonology and grammar sections presented in the fourth part. Although the grammar is written with an academic audience in mind, an audience interested in Grusi linguistic topics, it does not presuppose any knowledge of any particular linguistic theory. It should neither be compared to comprehensive grammars, as many aspects are not thoroughly covered, nor to pedagogical grammars, as it does not propose any prescriptive standards or exercises. Therefore the grammar lies beyond the scope of a typical dictionary grammar. To publish the data while time and funds were still available and Chakali is still relatively vibrant was felt most imperative.

For those who are sceptical about the time and energy spent on gathering and writing down linguistic knowledge for a non-literate community, my stand is that if comes a time where a significant minority of the Chakali-speaking community becomes literate, the language might have already changed considerably. So the material may contribute to its study or revival. Furthermore, I constantly receive strong recognition of the value of our work by Chakali people who migrated and long for things and situations of the past, and by the local authorities who can at last see that their language receives attention.

Making a dictionary is a never-ending task, but the consultants and myself are proud to present this book, the first on the Chakali language. Being a work in progress, there is much left to do in order to reach a substantial dictionary and grammar of the language. Nevertheless, it is my hope that there will be future work on Chakali lexicography and that it will be carried out mainly by those who speak the language.

Jonathan A. Brindle
Leuven, Belgium
March 2017

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This book has undergone several stages and has benefited from the suggestions and criticisms of many people. I would like to express my deep thanks to Mary Esther Kropp Dakubu (who is sadly no more), for her guidance, support, advice, and linguistic insight throughout the years. I wish to thank my wife Léonie, and friends and colleagues, Benjamin Waldron, Felix K. Ameka, Kaja Borthen, Albert Awedoba, Tyson Farrell, Lars Hellan, Jolanta Bachan, Rachel Selbach, Kenneth Mango, and Assibi Apatewon Amidu, who kindly suggested corrections, and commented on earlier versions. For his assistance with the cartography, thanks to Per Wirehn. I gratefully acknowledge the generous assistance John Rennison and Tony Naden have provided at different stages. Thanks as well to ALGaD Series' Editors and to Sebastian Nordhoff at Language Science Press for his editorial aid in preparing this book for publication.

Abbreviations - Part II & III

art	article	3.1.2.1
adv	adverbial	5.1, 5.2
ant	antonym	
BWA	British West African	
cf	cross-reference	
clf	classifier	3.10.2
comp	complementizer	2.5.2
conn	connective	2.5.1, 3.9
cntr	contracted form	
cntrvar	contracted variant	
cpx	complex	4.1.3
dem	demonstrative	3.7
Du	Ducie lect	
enum	enumerative usage	3.6.3
etym	etymology	3.2.6
foc	focus	3.8, 5.3
from	borrowed word	3.2.6
Gu	Gurumbele lect	
Ghsn	Ghanaianism	
hum+/-	(non-)human	3.3, 3.10.1
ideo	ideophone	5.5
ints	intensifier	3.4.1
interg	interrogative	3.3.4
interj	interjection	5.6.1
itr	iterative	4.2.3.6
Ka	Katua lect	
lit	literal meaning	
Mo	Motigu lect	
n	nominal/noun	3, 3.2
neg	negation	3.8, 4.2.2
num	numeral	3.6

Abbreviations

oldfash	old-fashioned, archaic	
ono	onomatopoeia	5.5
phr	phrase	
pl	plural	3.2.1, 3.3.1
pl.n	plural noun	3.2.1.8
pl.v	plural verb	4.3.2
poss	possessive	3.3.5
postp	postposition	2.6.4
pro	pronoun	3.3
propn	proper noun	3.2.5
pv	pre-verb particle	4.2
quant	quantifier	3.5
reflex	reflexive	3.3.6
rel.n	relational noun	3.2.7
sc	scientific name	
sg	singular	3.2.1, 4.3.2, 3.3.1
st	strong pronoun	3.3.1
syn	synonym	
synt	taboo synonym	5.4
Ti	Tiisa lect	
Tu	Tuasa lect	
Tp	Tampulma lect	
ultm	ultimately	3.2.6
usage	location of usage	
v	verbal/verb	4, 4.1
var	variant form	
wk	weak pronoun	3.3.1
1, 2, 3	first, second, or third person	3.3.1

Abbreviations - Part IV

A	subject of transitive clause
ABI	ability (modality)
ABST	abstract (semantic feature)
ADV	adverbial
AJC	adjunct
ART	article
BH	Gurumbele history narrative
C ₀	0 or more consonants
CB	Clever Boy story
CLF	classifier
cli	ISO 639-3 code for Chakali
CONC	concrete, animate, non-human (semantic feature)
COND	conditional particle
CONN	connective
CPS	Containment Picture Series
CRAS	crastinal tense (future tomorrow)
DEM	demonstrative
DISTR	distributive
DXL	locative deictic
DXM	manner deictic
E	extended argument
EXCL	exclamatory particle
EGR	egressive particle
Eng.	English
<i>etym</i>	etymology
EVC	extended verb complex
EXST	existential verb
FOC	focus
<i>from</i>	borrowed from
FUT	future
ga	non-human gender
gb	human gender
Gh. Eng.	Ghanaian English

GILLBT	Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation
<i>gl</i>	glossed as
HAB	habitual
HEAD	head of phrase
HEST	hesternal tense (past yesterday)
HUM	human (semantic feature)
IDENT	identificational verb
IMP	imperative
IMPS	impersonal
INGR	ingressive particle
<i>interj</i>	interjection
IPFV	imperfective aspect
ITR	iterative
LB	Law Breaker story
<i>lit.</i>	literal meaning
MOD	modality
NMLZ	nominaliser
NUM	numeral
O or OBJ	object of transitive clause
ONO	onomatopoeia
P	predicate
PFV	perfective aspect
PL or <i>pl</i>	plural
PoS	Part of Speech
POSTP	postposition
PRO	pronoun
PROP	property
<i>propn</i>	proper noun
PROX	proximal
PSED	possessed
PSOR	possessor
PSPV	Picture Series for Positional Verbs
PST	past
<i>pv</i>	preverb particle
PV	Pluractional verb
PY	Python story
Q	question word, phrase or intonation
QUAL	qualifier

Abbreviations

QUANT	quantifier
R	recipient
RECP	reciprocal
REL	relativiser
RELN	relational noun
S or SUBJ	subject of intransitive clause
SG or sg	singular
SPS	Support Picture Series
ST	strong pronoun
SWG	Southwestern Grusi
TAM	tense, aspect and mood
T	theme
TRM	topological relation marker
TRPS	Topological Relations Picture Series
t.z.	staple food. From Hausa <i>tuo zaafi</i> (see <i>kvv</i> in dictionary)
ultm.	ultimately
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
v	verb
WK	weak pronoun
*	ungrammatical expression (grammaticality)
*	Proto-form (reconstruction)
́	high tone
̀	low tone
̄	mid tone
̄̄	extra-low tone
̄̄̄	extra-short vowel
→, ←	synchronic derivation
- or]	morpheme boundary
[]	phonetic representation
[] _X	structure of type X
# or] _{wb}	word boundary
##	utterance-final boundary
σ	syllable type
μ	mora
] _σ	syllable boundary
X Y	either X or Y
(Y)	optional Y
(Y)	covert Y
< x	diachronic change

Part I

Introduction

1 General remarks on the language

Chakali (*tfàkálí*)¹ is a language spoken in seven communities in the Wa East District, Upper West Region of Ghana. It is currently classified into the Grusi Southwestern (or Western) subgroup of the Gur family, alongside Deg, Vagla, Tampulma, Kyitu/Siti, Phuie, Winyé, and varieties of Sisaala (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2014; Hammarström et al. 2016). These minority languages are spoken in northwest Ghana, southwest Burkina Faso, and northeast Ivory Coast. The languages Tampulma, Vagla, Deg, and Pasaale – a variety of Sisaala – are the closest to Chakali in terms of mutual intelligibility.

The area where the language is spoken is bordered to the east by areas inhabited by Waali (*wáálí*) and Bulengi (*búléŋjí*) speakers. These two languages are virtually undocumented languages, which, diachronically, can provisionally be classified as Western Oti-Volta based on folk linguistic factors. Waali, the language spoken in Wa and some surrounding villages (see Figure 1.1), can be considered to be the lingua franca of the Upper West Region of Ghana (Brindle 2015a). Bulengi, on the other hand, is the language of Bulenga (and some surrounding villages like Gilan, Chagu, and Dupari), a fast-growing town in terms of population and development. To the north, Chakali is bordered by Pasaale-speaking villages, and Kpalewagu, whose inhabitants maintain a Mande language known as Kantosi. Tampulma speakers are mainly found in some villages of the Northern Region, but a few villages to the west are within the Upper West Region's border (i.e. Holumuni and Belezing). To the south and southwest lie Vagla-speaking villages and the uninhabited Mole National Park.

¹ ISO 639-3: cli (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2016); Glottocode: chak1271 (Hammarström et al. 2016)

1 General remarks on the language

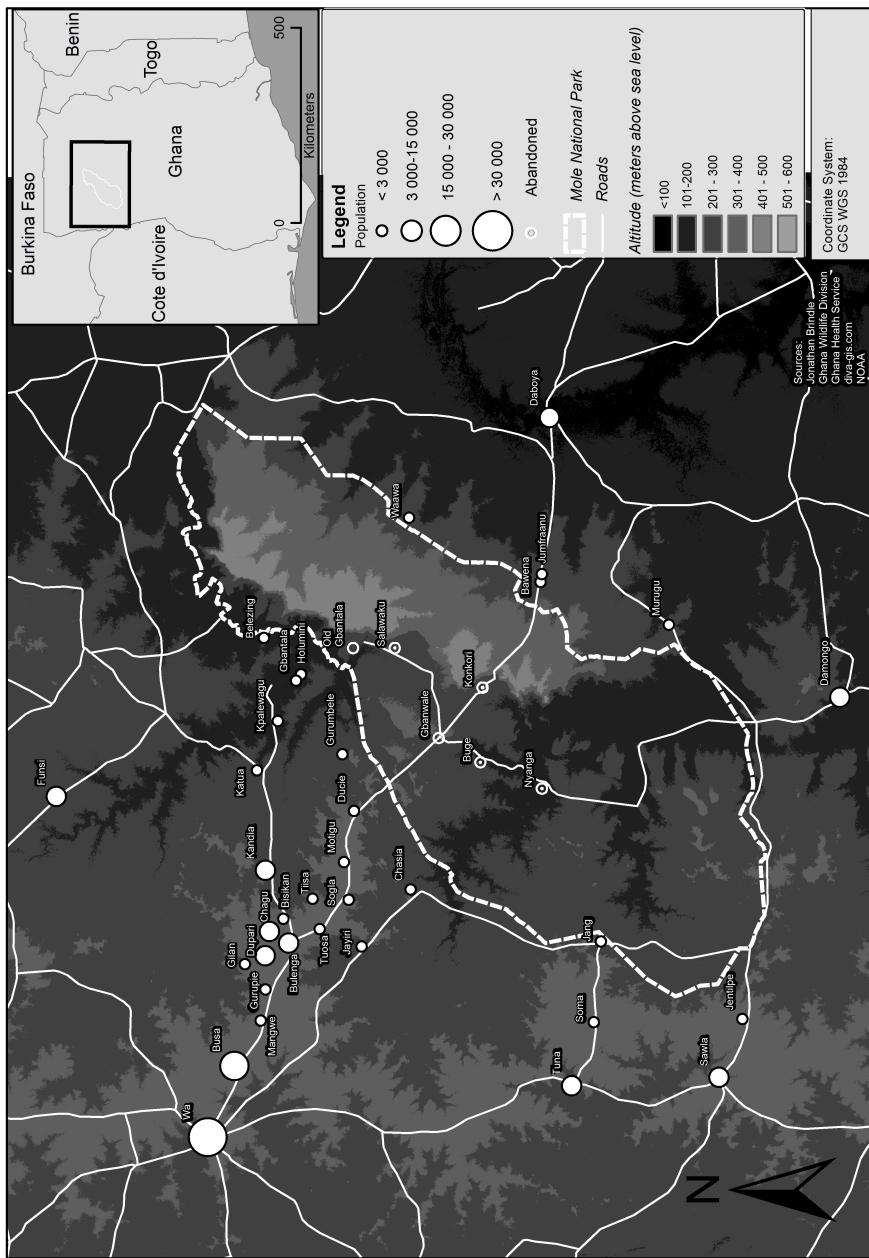


Figure 1.1: Chakali-speaking villages: Gurumbele, Ducié, Motigu, Sogla (variant spelling Sawla), Tuosa, Tiisa, and Katua (Reproduced from Brindle (2016))

1.1 Previous work

The late English anthropologist Jack Goody presented the first linguistic data on the Chakali language, namely 38 words gathered on August 29th, 1952, in Katua (Goody 1954: 33). He is responsible for the identification of the existence of the language and the people who speak it.² The passage reads:

I do not know of any previous record of the existence of the group speaking this dialect. Although now living entirely within the administrative district of Wa, there is in their midst the village of Kandia inhabited only by Guang-speaking Gonjas. The chiefship of Kandia was an important office in the Gonja political system. Either at the time of the arrival of the British military forces or a little before, during the course of a war between the State of Wa, allied with Bole, and the Yabumwura, the senior chief of Gonja, it fell within the orbit of Wa. The western section of the group comprising the villages of Chago, Bisikan, and Bulinga speaks Wala, i.e. the dialect of Dagari spoken within the State of Wa, and was certainly under the influence of the Chiefs of Wa before the European conquest. The Chief of Bulinga, the central village of this section, claims to have been a Kamboña (a semi-dependent war-chief) in relation to Wa. The eastern group of the Chakalle speak Chakalle and seem to have been under the suzerainty of the Gonja Chief at Kandia. This group consists of the villages of Katua, Tuosa, Sogla, Motigu, Chasia, Ducie and Gurumbele. (Goody 1954: 3)

Approximately ten years later, Chakali data is used to confirm the Grusi cluster in Bendor-Samuel (1965).³ The material, a list of 97 words, is said to have been produced by Mr. E. R. Rowland. His notes have not been located and remain unpublished. Manessy (1969a,b) reconstructs a *gurunsi commun* based on an average of 80 words from twenty-six Grusi languages. He uses only 36 Chakali words, all of them extracted from Bendor-Samuel (1965).

² There may be British and/or French colonial documents somewhere which mention *Chakali*. For instance, it is known that French Captain Louis Gustave Binger and his troop attacked some of Babatu's men in Ducie. Binger's reports were impossible to get hold of. Wilks (1989: 133) writes "Zabarima occupation of Ducie occurred probably early in May 1897".

³ Grusi as a language cluster has been defined and confirmed in several publications (Delafosse 1912; Köhler 1958; Bendor-Samuel 1965; Manessy 1969a,b; Kleinewillingshöfer 1997), but the term *Grusi* and its spelling variants (i.e. *Gurunsi*, *Grunshie*, *Gourounsi*, etc.) have always existed in the French and English colonial vocabulary without great unanimity on its designation (Tauxier 1921; 1924; Rattray 1932a,b; Nicolas 1952; Duperray 1984).

1 General remarks on the language

In 1974 and 1994, sociolinguistic surveys were carried out in the Chakali area by the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT), formerly Ghana Institute of Linguistics (GIL), which is the Ghanaian branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) (Reimer & Blass 1975; Tompkins, Hatfield & Kluge 2002). For these two surveys, the main goal was to investigate the need of Chakali language development and to assess Waali comprehension. No language data is offered in Tompkins, Hatfield & Kluge (2002), and Reimer & Blass (1975) could not be found at the GILLBT headquarters in Tamale when I visited in 2008, nor obtained from one of its authors, the late Regina Blass. In 1999, Ulrich Kleinewillighöfer spent a few hours in Wa with Godfrey Bayon Tangu (Kleinewillighöfer 1999). In this short period, he gathered approximately 150 words and from them inferred some generalizations on Chakali nominals. In 2001, a Brazilian known as Pastor Ronaldo worked with two language consultants in order to start a vernacular literacy project. The initiative came from the Evangelical Church of Ghana. Two illustrated booklets were written, aiming at adult literacy. The first booklet introduces the designed alphabet and the second consists of syllables and short sentences thematically organized. In 2005, Mary Esther Kropp Dakubu spent two days with an informant from Jayiri, gathering general information on Chakali (Dakubu 2005). Her intention was to investigate the situation on site for a possible documentation project. Due to the condition of the road, she was not able to reach the villages where Chakali is spoken by the majority of the inhabitants. Her unpublished report presents data which was believed to be representative of Chakali, but which transpired to be an idiosyncratic mix of Waali and Chakali, and some Bulengi, the language spoken in Bulenga and surrounding villages. Finally, there are other studies that deserve to be mentioned: Henry Seidu Daannaa, a native Chakali from Tuosa, presents a retrospective study of the practice of indirect rule which affected the social and political organization of Chakali during the colonial administration (Daannaa 1994); Cesare Poppi conducted anthropological research which focused on issues related to knowledge, secrecy, and initiation (Poppi 1993), and theoretical issues concerning the analysis of the representational status of masks, particularly the *Sigmaa* masks which are cornerstones in the Chakali belief system; finally, the work of Dougah (1966), Wilks (1989), and Salih (2008) are good overviews on the role of the Chakali land and people in the political and cultural history of Wa.

This was the complete list of work written on Chakali when I started the research in 2007. It shows that the language has been known to exist since 1954, yet very little work had been done, and much that was written remains unpublished. Since then, some work has been published or distributed locally (Kangani

& Brindle 2008a,b; Brindle 2008a,b; 2010; 2011; Brindle & Atintono 2012; Brindle 2015b; 2016).⁴

1.2 Chakali lects

With Chakali, three concepts can be identified. The term may be used to name a land, an ethnic group, or a language. However it would be wrong to assume that a member of the Chakali ethnic group or someone living in Chakali land necessarily speaks the language. This is what Goody describes when he writes: “[t]he Chakalle who inhabit the eastern part of the Wa district are split into those speaking a language of the Mossi group and those speaking a Grusi language. ‘Speaking a language’ refers to the tongue which dominates in the child’s play group; the eastern Chakalle who use a Grusi language in this context are in fact mostly bilingual. The common name for the group derives from a recognition of uniformity in other social activities.” Goody (1954: 2). It is crucial to keep in mind that the notions of land, ethnicity, and language are intricately interwoven. For instance, according to Daannaa (1994), *Chakali* consists of thirteen communities and their inhabitants: Bulenga, Tiisa, Sogla (variant spelling Sawla), Tuosa, Chagu, Motigu, Ducie, Katua, Bisikan, Kandia, Dupari, Gilan, and Gurumbele. By contrast, the sociolinguistic censuses which I carried out indicate that *Chakali* is the language of the inhabitants and forefathers of Tiisa, Sogla, Tuosa, Motigu, Ducie, Katua, and Gurumbele exclusively.

The collective demonym for the people of the latter seven villages literally translates to *ŋà ñmá kàà* (*lit.*) ‘I say that’, whereas that of the people of Buenga and surrounding villages translate to *ŋmíníŋ džɔŋ* ‘What is it?’. In this folk-sociolinguistic categorisation, the Waala are the *ŋ jé jàà* ‘I say that’.⁵

Another popular distinction is that of ‘black’ and ‘white’ Chakali: respectively, *tfákàlbúmmò* ‘Black Chakali’ is a notion which connotes with secretive individuals and possessors of powerful medicine. To the best of my knowledge, this is equivalent to what *ŋà ñmá kàà* represents. The notion of *tfákàlpømmá* ‘White Chakali’ corresponds, according to my ‘Black Chakali’ consultants, to talkative

⁴ All of the information used in Sections 1.2 and 1.3 are taken from Brindle (2015b), a work on the vitality of the Chakali language and culture.

⁵ Rattray (1932b: 525) writes that the Awuna, a Kasem dialect also known as Aculo (Naden 1989: 147), has earned its appellation based on a habit of “prefacing an observation with the words” *a wun a* ‘I say’. It is indeed the case that a Chakali can open a sentence with *ŋ à ñmá kàà*, ... ‘I say that, (...).’ To hear the Ghanaian English opening expression *à sé èè* ‘I say eh, (...)’ in Wa, with the last word being a complementiser introducing a new clause, is not unusual.

1 General remarks on the language

people who cannot hold back. They comprise the inhabitants of Bulenga, Dupari, Bisikan, Chagu, and Gilan, that is, those villages included in what Daannaa (1994: 2–3) identifies as Chakali people, minus the villages where the language is said to be indigenous. Obviously, if one asks the same question in Bulenga and surrounding villages one may get a different interpretation of the distinction between ‘black’ and ‘white’.⁶

Table 1.1: Collective Demonyms and associated villages

Demonym 1	<i>ṇ̩ ɳmá kàà</i>	<i>ɳmínfɪ dʒɔj</i>	<i>ṇ̩ jé jàà</i>
Demonym 2	<i>tfákàlbúmmò</i>	<i>tfákàlpòmmá</i>	–
Goody (1954: 2-3)	Eastern Chakali	Western Chakali	Waala
Village			
	Ducie	Bulenga	Wa
	Gurumbele	Dupari	Busa
	Motigu	Bisikan	Gurupie
	Sogla	Chagu	Loggu
	Tiisa	Gilan	Jayiri
	Tuosa		Chasia
	Katua		

Table 1.1 organizes the information for convenience. It also constitutes a hypothesis to be tested since the denominations do not necessarily map one-to-one, the Western Chakali and Waala would need to be extended, and discussions I had about these self-identifications were often confusing. For instance, some men interviewed in Tuosa in 2014 told me that Tiisa, Tuosa, and Katua are not *ṇ̩ ɳmá kàà*, but are *tfákàlbúmmò*.

All the Chakali lects are mutually intelligible. Still, each village is recognised to have a set of unique features. Examples of lectal variation are provided in

⁶ Goody (1954: 14–15) reports a ‘Black Waala’ and ‘White Waala’ division, the former being the dominated group, that is commoners and pagan, while the latter being the dominant group, that is members of the chiefly lineage and Muslim. Tony Naden (p.c.) confirmed to me the existence of ‘Black Dagomba’, with no correlative ‘White’, and suspected it to refer to the descendants of the original inhabitants in contrast to the aristocracy, therefore roughly Black = ‘commoner’ vs. White = ‘aristocracy’. In the case considered here, the interviews with ‘Black Chakali’ individuals tell us about the resources people have available for telling their world and creating an identity. Assuming that the connotation of the division black/white is ruled/ruler, dominated/dominant, or commoner/chief, then it appears that despite being labeled as ‘black’, one can exploit this sense of the concept in order to associate one’s group with more positive cultural implications. This social categorisation is in need of further study.

Brindle (2015b) and the dictionary includes some lectal usages, but one recurrent illustration of folk-dialectology is how each village would express ‘to eat yam’: Motigu, Gurumbele, Tuosa, Tiisa, and Katua ‘chew’ yam (*tie*), whereas Ducie ‘eat’ yam (*di*). And while ‘yam’ is pronounced *kpāāñ* in Motigu, Gurumbele, and Ducie, it is pronounced *pī* in Tuosa, Tiisa, and Katua. Thus, if someone says *tie kpāāñ*, he/she is easily identified as someone from either Gurumbele or Motigu. The expression *di kpāāñ* is typically uttered by someone from Ducie, and *tie pī* by someone from Tuosa, Tiisa, and Katua.

1.3 Language vitality

The number of Chakali speakers is close to 3500 individuals. It is spoken by all community members in Gurumbele and Ducie, and by the majority in Motigu and Katua. It is spoken to a lesser extent in Sogla, Tuosa, and Tiisa. In the other villages which are considered as parts of Chakali land, people speak a language similar to Waali, the language of Wa, or Bulengi, the language of Bulenga. Waali is known by the majority of Chakali speakers, but is used differently from community to community. Chakali is believed to be on the road to extinction: some believe that Waali and Bulengi are the languages which will be spoken throughout the whole of the Chakali villages in the coming decades.

Brindle (2015b) determines the vitality of Chakali by i) examining sociological and historical factors that may be seen as linked to the language’s vitality and responsible for language change, and ii) using the answers to the questionnaire developed in UNESCO (2003). It suggests a division of the Chakali villages into three groups, which are presented in Figure 1.2. Sogla, Tiisa, and Tuosa correspond to the villages where the intergenerational transmission is ineffective and where Waali is used in formal and informal domains. They are the endangered-1 villages (E1). Motigu and Katua correspond to E2 villages. In both villages, Waali is encroaching on Chakali in formal and informal domains. The situation is not alarming since Chakali is spoken by the majority and the intergenerational transmission is effective, but, as outlined in the survey (Section 2.2.2 in Brindle 2015b), given the average population size of the villages and the recent conversion to Islam of their youth, among other factors, it is worth considering that a language shift to Waali may take place within a short period of time. A. B. Sakara and H. S. Daanaa, both born in Tuosa and prominent Chakali figures, told me that Chakali was spoken by everyone in their village when they were children, i.e. in the 1950s and 1960s. There are no signs indicating that the same language replacement which took place in Tuosa cannot take place in Motigu and Katua. Finally,

1 General remarks on the language

Factors	Measures		
	E1	E2	E3
1. Intergenerational language transmission	severely endangered (2) [3484]	unsafe (4)	safe (5)
2. Absolute number of speakers	[severely endangered (2)]		
3. Proportion of speakers within the total population	highly limited domains (2) [inactive-minimal(0-1)]	dwindling domains (3) [no orthography available (0)]	multilingual parity (4)
4. Trends in existing language domains			
5. Response to new domains and media			
6. Materials for language education and literacy			
7. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use	[active assimilation (2)]		
8. Community members attitudes toward their own language	-	-	all members value their language and wish to see it promoted (5)
9. Amount and quality of documentation		[undocumented-inadequate (0-1)]	

Figure 1.2: Estimated degree of endangerment for the E1 {Tuosa, Tiisa, Sogla}, E2 {Katuua, Motigu} and E3 {Gurumbele, Ducie}. A value within square brackets applies to E1, E2, and E3 villages as a whole. The number in parentheses is a relative grade used in the language vitality assessment (see UNESCO 2003: 7)

the E3 villages, Gurumbele and Ducie, show the most effective intergenerational transmission of the Chakali language. Both villages also establish local alliances (i.e. marriage, common shrines, one assemblyman for both villages, etc.). Waali is spoken and understood, yet it is usually spoken in specific domains, essentially in official visits from the district or regional capital conducted by governmental bodies, and to Waali-speaking visitors, traders, or migrant farmers.

1.4 Data collection method

Nearly every year since 2007 I made a field trip to the Wa East District of Ghana, usually in the dry season, i.e. a period between February and May. Most of my stays were spent in a Chakali-speaking village. The linguistic data was gathered mainly in Ducie, and sociolinguistic surveys were conducted in Katua, Motigu, Sogla, Ducie, and Gurumbele. I had several overnight stays in Motigu, Gurumbele, and Wa, and a few day trips to Katua, Tiisa, Tuosa, and Sogla.

Different elicitation techniques were used to gather linguistic and encyclopedic data, most of them influenced by language documentation methods (see Lüpke 2009). The most authentic and natural data comes from impressionistic and manual auditory transcription of audio recordings involving events such as transactions at the market, meetings with elders, and interviews with commoners. In these cases wordlists were created out of the transcriptions. The least natural data are pieces of translation work or exchanges of information with consultants of the type ‘how do you say X’ or ‘what is X’ where X stands for an intended entity or proposition, using English or Chakali as the medium of communication. Translations from English to Chakali and from Chakali to English were performed through a collaboration with my main consultants, namely: Daniel Kanganu Karija (male, 58 Y.O., Ducie), Fuseini Mba Zien (male, 54 Y.O., Ducie), Awie Bakuri Ahmed (male, 31 Y.O., Gurumbele), and Afia Kala Tangu (female, 34 Y.O., Ducie). Small-scale quantitative studies required at times as many as 30 different speakers, all of them from Ducie. In such studies, the method of elicitation consisted of having a significant number of native speakers interpreting, identifying and expressing perceived stimuli, which provided me with a level of authenticity unattainable in (bilingual) elicitation of wordlists. The degree of consensus within the responses was interpreted as signalling core, secondary, or ‘accidental’ meaning. The same method was also useful in practical lexicography sessions when the discovery procedure involved taxonomies unknown to me. The domains of animals and plants required the identification of species and their associated pronunciation. A problem arises when the visual access to some

1 General remarks on the language

species is practically impossible, e.g. wild animals or seasonal plants. While working on the lexical database, many species were identified using illustrations. One known disadvantage with this approach to lexicon and grammar discovery is that standard stimuli face the problem of cross-cultural applicability. In the context of northern Ghana, unfamiliar items or scenes depicted cause disagreement in the overall description, if not confusion. Another obstacle is that pictures and illustrations may lack elementary features, such as texture, odour, size, etc., which are crucial for the identification of a species. For instance, arriving at a consensus when identifying species of snake has proved difficult since only illustrations and pictures found in Cansdale (1961); Trape & Mané (2006) were used. However, in the research context, I believe the most satisfactory data collection strategies were used. Needless to say, every piece of Chakali data in this book comes from my own transcription of speech.

2 User's guide

The book is divided into four parts: a general introduction, a Chakali-English dictionary, an English-Chakali reversal index, and a part containing grammar outlines. At a macrostructure level, the dictionary is followed by the reversal index. They both contain information extracted from a lexical database which I started collecting in 2007 using the software *Field Linguist's Toolbox*. The data was imported in *FieldWorks Language Explorer* (FLEx) in 2012. The entries appearing in the dictionary are made out of only a selection of entries and lexicographic fields/values available in the lexical database.

The passage from unwritten language to written language has the inevitable consequence of favouring a dialect. A literate native speaker of Chakali could easily identify from the entries that Ducie was the community where the majority of the data was collected. Corresponding expressions from other varieties of Chakali are present, when they exist, but more work is definitely needed. Addressing the issue of convention and standardisation will require a group of devoted contributors from distinct communities. There is no reason to treat the decisions taken in this book, especially regarding the orthography, as the standard. Despite the fact that the Ducie lect is not a “standard”, it is important to keep in mind that a set of forms was produced by the lexicographical practice, the location of data collection, and the idiolects of the consultants.

2.1 Chakali-English dictionary

The Chakali-English dictionary consists of over 3500 Chakali headword entries (a.k.a. lemmas). The transcription employs an alphabetic system motivated by the phonological description presented in Part IV. It uses a Latin alphabet supplemented with symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), so the spelling-sound correspondence is direct. A full list of orthography symbols used in the dictionary and some guidance to their pronunciations are displayed in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Dictionary orthography and other symbols

p	voiceless bilabial plosive	w	labio-velar approximant
b	voice bilabial plosive	j	palatal approximant
t	voiceless alveolar plosive	r	alveolar trill/flap
d	voiced alveolar plosive	o	close-mid back rounded
k	voiceless velar plosive	ɔ	open-mid back rounded
g	voiced velar plosive	e	close-mid front unrounded
?	glottal stop	ɛ	open mid front unrounded
kp	voiceless labio-velar plosive	u	close back rounded
gb	voiced labio-velar plosive	ʊ	near close near back rounded
f	voiceless labio-dental fricative	i	close front unrounded
v	voiced labio-dental fricative	ɪ	near close near front unrounded
s	voiceless alveolar fricative	a	open front unrounded
z	voiced alveolar fricative	ə	mid central
y	voiced velar fricative	[]	phonetic representation
h	voiceless glottal fricative	:	emphasis over or long segment
tʃ	voiceless postalveolar affricate	ˇ	extra short vowel
dʒ	voiced postalveolar affricate	Ҫ	syllabic consonant
m	bilabial nasal	ˇ	nasalized vowel
n	alveolar nasal	ˇ	low tone
ɳ	palatal nasal	ˇ	mid tone
ɳ	velar nasal	ˇ	high tone
ɳm	velar-labial nasal	ˇ	extra-low tone
l	alveolar lateral approximant		

For users accustomed to the literacy work of GILLBT¹ the correspondences in Table 2.2 identify the differences between the transcriptions: the one adopted in this book appears to the right side of the arrows.

Table 2.2: Correspondences of orthographies

ny	\leftarrow	n	ng	\leftarrow	ŋ
ch	\leftarrow	tʃ	i	\leftarrow	i, i
j	\leftarrow	dʒ	u	\leftarrow	v, u
y	\leftarrow	j	Vh	\leftarrow	Ṽ

¹ Reference is made to the literacy work on Vagla, Tampulma, and Pasaale of Marjorie Crouch, Patricia Herbert, Noah Ampen, Kofi Mensah, Mike Toupin, Vicky Toupin, Ian Gray, and Claire Gray.

The headwords are structured alphabetically although an arbitrary decision was taken to place the letter “dʒ” after “d”, “gb” after “g”, “kp” after “k”, “n”, “ŋm”, and “ŋ”, successively after “n”, and “tʃ” after “t”. All headwords are equal and appear at the left side of the column. Four representative entries of the Chakali-English dictionary are presented in Table 2.3.²

Table 2.3: Illustrations of dictionary entries

① fi ②[fi] ③ <i>num.</i> ⑤ten
① bʊzaal ② [bʊzāàl] ③ <i>n.</i> ⑧cf: bʊzimii. ⑤ Stone partridge, type of bird ⑨(<i>Ptilopachus petrosus</i>) ⑪ pl: bʊzaaleɛ.
① suɔŋbii ②[sùómbíi] ⑩ <i>lit.</i> shea.nut-seed ③ <i>n.</i> kidney ⑪ pl. <i>suɔŋbie</i> .
① kpa ②[kpà] ③ <i>v.</i> ⑧cf: paa; jvv₁. ④ 1. ⑤ take ⑥ <i>kpá à pár třeŋ</i> . ⑦ Give me the hoe. ④ 2 ⑤ to marry a woman ⑥ & <i>kpáv rà</i> . ⑦ He married her.

The convention is for an entry to start with a headword (①), which is immediately followed by its phonetic representation (②). This representation adds tones and other information on the pronunciation. Words which do not bear tones in the phonetic representation field are considered as either toneless or unresolved. The grammatical category (③) provides the word class of the headword. A headword may be accompanied by a literal translation (*lit.*) ⑩ to isolate the English meaning of each stem. In the literal translation field, a hyphen (-) separates stems and a full stop (.) joins spacing between English words. A plural form is provided for the majority of the nouns ⑪. Cross references (⑧) appear after the phonetic form and the part-of-speech. Variations to which different spellings or forms have to be assigned are placed after the phonetic form. It offers some lectal and generational variations in the following way: *var.* introduces a standard's variant and *var. of* sends the reader back to the headword treated as standard.

The meaning is represented in the following way: if the headword has only one sense, the part of speech immediately precedes the English definition (⑤). If the headword has more than one sense, a boldface number (④) enumerates the different senses. When Chakali is translated into English using many expressions, these are separated by a comma. If a word typically collocates with a semantic property or properties, this is explicitly stated using examples in the English

² The circled numbers are there for reference purposes only.

translation. For instance, the definition of the verb *zma* is given as ‘to drive, ride, or sit on e.g. bicycle, motorcycle, horse’. An example of usage (6) precedes its English free translation (7). Only verbal and functional words are backed up by example sentences. If literal and/or not easily translatable, the free translation contains further clarifications.

2.1.1 Capitalization

Despite the existence of case variants in the orthography, a decision was made in this dictionary to present the Chakali data in unispace, i.e. without capitalization rules. In the current state, there are many practical questions that need answers and an orthography development would need to consider issues beyond linguistic ones.

2.1.2 Prosody

The example sentences are all marked with diacritics which attempt to capture the intonation as I perceived it during the transcription work. The convention for marking tone is: high (ˊ), low (ˋ), mid (ˎ), and super-low (ˎˏ). An overview of tone and intonation is provided in Section 4.1. At this stage, the transcription and description of tone will require an analysis of considerable sophistication, something which deserves a separate study. There are several issues linked to doing the transcription by ear and lacking a more elaborated convention. For instance, due to the general F0 downtrends over the course of an utterance, the prosody on single words is easier to represent with this simple convention as opposed to longer expressions. Further, as they are not always perceived and/or transcribed, there is inconsistency in the tonal marking of consonants in syllable final positions.

2.1.3 Scientific name

To add the referential stability needed for future comparison between traditional and scientific taxonomies, scientific names appear in italics (9). References to scientific names of plants and trees were taken from Hawthorne & Jongkind (2006), scientific names of snakes from Cansdale (1961) and Trape & Mané (2006), and scientific names of birds from Borrow & Demey (2002).

2.1.4 Grammatical category

The grammatical categories (a.k.a word classes or parts of speech) used in the dictionary are elaborated in Part IV. They are distinguished using distributional and inflectional criteria.

2.1.5 Loans and their etymology

Loan words are given a source, and when necessary, the source's pronunciation and gloss are provided. If a gloss does not appear, it is assumed that the meanings in Chakali and in the source language are practically the same. Some origins are well-established, others are intuitive. The word *ultimately* (abbreviated as *ultm.*) may be placed prior to the source language to mean that the loan word might not have been borrowed directly from the speakers of the language with which the word is associated. For example, it is most likely that all English words entered Chakali through contact with speakers of other Ghanaian languages. Section 3.2.6 offers an overview of languages from which Chakali may have borrowed. References to etymologies are mainly taken from Newman (2007), Dakubu, Atintongo & Nsoh (2007), Baldi (2008), Dakubu (2009a), GILLBT (1980), Dumestre (2011), and Vydrine (2015). Besides language names as sources, expressions that are known to be found in other languages without necessarily being identifiable to one particular source are given various source values. Such items cross ethnic and/or geographical boundaries although they may not be known in other parts of the country. For instance, *Ghanaianism* (Ghsm) refers to an expression known to be found in most Ghanaian languages, and *Gur* refers to an expression that has been reconstructed for most Gur languages.

2.2 English-Chakali reversal index

The English-Chakali reversal index is a list of alphabetically organized English headwords (①). As shown in Table 2.4, the headword may be associated with more than one Chakali gloss entry (⑤).

English headwords are reduced to minimal terms in order to have the index easily searchable. Several English expressions can be associated with one Chakali word: for instance, all Chakali tree names get *tree (type of)* but only some have known English expressions associated to them, e.g. *Shea tree*. Each Chakali word is preceded by its word class (③). Since users are expected to look for English keywords, not all dictionary entries are found in the reversal index.

Table 2.4: Illustration of an English-Chakali reversal index entry

①grasshopper (type of)	③n.	⑤hɔ̃ð
	③n.	⑤tʃəlɪntʃɪɛ
	③n.	⑤kɔ̃kɔ̃lkɔ̃

2.3 Grammatical outlines

Part IV is divided into two sections. The first section presents a brief outline of the phonology. It is principally based on phonetic representations available in the lexical database. The phoneme inventory, syllable structures, and minimal pairs are identified. In addition, phonotactics and suprasegmentals are briefly discussed. The software *Dekereke* was used to investigate phonotactic generalizations and search for specific features and environments.³ Based on the transcriptions of various narrative types and controlled elicitation (Section 1.4), the second section, entitled ‘Gramm outline’ offers an overview of the essentials of word and sentence formations in the language, as well as topics of linguistic usages of cultural relevance. The glossing tags in the abbreviations list (page xiv) are for the most part equivalent to the conventions designed in Comrie, Haspelmath & Bickel (2008) and Haspelmath (2014). As a rule, a three-line morpheme-by-morpheme glossing for textual data is provided, but four lines may exceptionally appear. The first line is a representation of the object language, the second line consists of tags representing rough approximations of the morpheme in the object language (e.g. function, meaning, and part-of-speech), whereas the third line is a free translation capturing the general meaning conveyed in the object language’s line. An additional line can appear when details are not evident in the gloss, or when another level of analysis is intended. Small capital letters in the free translation may be used to represent a focused constituent. The non-overt expression of a feature is enclosed within round brackets. An interlinearized example may be accompanied by a reference to a particular corpus text or a situation in which the utterance was collected. Most examples are taken from elicitation data. Corpus sentences are mainly selected in three texts: the Python story (PY), the Clever boy story (CB), and the Law breaker story (LB). The three stories consist of oral third person traditional folk tales. The first was performed by Kotia Nwabipe and the other two by Daniel Kanganu Karija. They were recorded and

³ Thanks to its creator Rod Casali for his continual help.

transcribed in Ducie in 2007. The latter two are contained in the first appendix in Brindle (2011: 471-500). The corpus texts are not provided in this edition.

2.4 Abbreviations

Two alphabetically ordered lists of abbreviations are provided: a list to be used with Part II and Part III is given on page xi and a list to be used with Part IV is given on page xiv. The former list gives alongside the abbreviations and their meaning the section or sections of the grammar that cover the related topic.

Part II

Chakali-English dictionary

a

1a [à] *art.* the • à *bɔ̄ðná tʃtéŋjì à vií bá-rá báliè*. The goats have broken the cooking pots in two parts.

2a [à] *conn.* and, then • ò *fìì wíò à tʃá támá ká ó súwà, níŋ wā ò kpé-géó*. He was very ill and almost died, but now he is well. *ùù bié tʃú-ŋjá à kpáámá à lìtì kúó dì wáā à tʃéle, ámúŋ tʃɔ̄rìgì*. His child carried the yams from farm and fell on his way back, they were all smashed.

3a [à] (*foc. var. aa*) *pro.* non-human third person plural pronoun • *váá-wísé há wà líí, à há wà láli síé*. The puppies are not going out since they have not yet opened their eyes. *bà káá dì búúrè á sííú*. They will want them to grow bigger.

a bɔ̄níé ní [àbóníéñí] *cf:* *baníé* *adv.phr.* maybe, perhaps • à *bóníé ní déóŋ káā wàō*. Perhaps it is going to rain.

a jnuu ní [àjúúní] *lit.* head on (*var. jnuuni*) *conn.* therefore • ñ wà *kpa-gá sákìr, à júú ní ñ dì válà nàásá*. I do not have a bicycle, therefore I am walking.

aa (*foc. var. of a*)

ãã [Táá] *n.* bushbuck, type of antelope (*Tragelaphus scriptus*). *pl.* *ãã-ta*.

ããní [?áãní] *v.* to suspect someone of hiding something, or telling a lie • ñ *ããní tómá rá, ñ wáá bì kpá ññ*

fóòn tʃímóró. I suspect Toma, so I will not lend him my phone again.

ããnuuba [?áãnúúbá] *cf:* *nuui* *n.* suffering • *ŋmááŋjós ããnúúbá gáálíó àní òò wóléé ní*. Because of his family issues, Mangu's suffering abound.

aari [?áárfí] *v.* to harvest unripe food • *hámónà káá áárí móngósó rō*. Children will pick the premature mangoes.

aaríi [?ààrfí] *n.* grasscutter, cane-rat (*Thryonomys swinderianus*). *pl.* *aa-riie*.

abba [?ábbá] *interj.* express a reaction to an unpalatable proposition, with disagreement and unexpectedness. [*Ghsm*].

abé [?àbé] *n.* type of oil-palm tree *syn:* *benie* (*Elaeis guineensis*). (Akan <*abé*>). *pl.* *abesa*.

abie [ábié] *cf:* *awie* *nprop.* Awie (person's name). [*Ka*].

abluu (*var. of bluu*)

ai [?àí] *interj.* no, express denial or refusal • òò *kítj wäö? áí, òò wà kí-nijé wàà*. A: Was he able to come? B: No, he was not able.

aka [àká] *conn.* and, then • *wáá pñáá níí áká tñéj*. He drank water, then gave some to me. *kàlá káálí jàwá à-ká pièsì bùlèjà tñísà*. Kala went to the market and asked for the Bu-lenga station.

akraa [àkráà] *nprop.* Accra.

alahaadi [?àlàháádì] *n.* Sunday. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*lahàdi*>).

alakadee [?álákádéè] *n.* type of tree, cashew tree (*Anacardium occidentale*). *pl. alakadeise.*

alamòsa [?àlàmòsà] *n.* Thursday. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*àlhàmîs*>).

alarba [?àlàrbá] *n.* Wednesday. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*làràbâ*>).

albasa [?álăbásà] *n.* onion. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*àlbasâ*>). *pl. a-lebasasa.*

aléefù [?álééfó] *n.* vegetable amaranths, Gh. Eng. spinach, leaf used as soup ingredient to improve taste (*Amarantus Debius*). (ultm. Hausa <*àlayyàhō* ‘spinach’). *pl. aleefù.*

alibaraka [?àlìbárákà] *n.* reduce price in a transaction. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa).

aliè [álìè] *num.* two *Enum:* **pewà**. *pl. aliësa.*

aloro [álòrò] *num.* six *Enum:* **loro**. *pl. aloroso.*

alòspè [álòspè] *num.* seven *Enum:* **lòspè**. *pl. alòpesa.*

ame [?àmér] *interj.* so be it, Amen • *A:* *kúosō tíé já tsíá.* *B:* àmér. *A:* May God give us tomorrow *B:* So be it. (ultm. Hebrew ‘amen’).

amio (*var. of džebalanj*)

amíè [àmíè] *conn.* particle confirming a proposition that was stated or is contextually inferred as premise e.g. if so, in that case • *àmíè dì nàmíà wáá tòò à sìmáá nī i wáá*

dí? So, if there is no meat in the food you won’t eat? *dí bákúríí dí kòò dìà hán nī zàān, àmíè nà wàà tòò nī.* If Bakuri eats food in this house today, then I am not here (If I were to be here, he would not get a chance).

ammani [?ámmànī] *n.* whole tiny dried fish. (Akan <ámànī>). *pl. ammanise.*

amuŋ [àmùŋ] *cf:* **bamuŋ** *quant. all (hum-) •* *ṇ wà kín jàwà àmùŋ, à bá-níé tʃéjéø.* I did not buy all, some are left.

amɔnu [?àmɔnó] *n.* type of bush cat. (Tampulma). *pl. amonvsa.*

ana (*var. of aŋ*)

anaase [ànáásè] (*var.* **naasi**) *num.* four *Enum:* **naase**. *pl. a-naasesa.*

andrijàäwie [àndíjñää̤wíé] *lit.* who-house-poor-issue (‘whose house is poor of issues’) *nprop.* dog name.

andzelindže [?àndzèlindzé] *nprop.* eighth month. (Waali <àndzèlindzé>).

angum [?ángùm] *ono.* monkey’s scream • *àwíé gbià jàà wíí ángùm, ángùm, ángùm.* That is why the monkey sounds like angum, angum, angum.

anii [?áníí] *n.* African ebony, type of tree (*Diospyros mespiliformis*). *pl. ania.*

aní [àní] *conn.* (*var.* ¹**ni**) 1 and, conjunction which joins nominal • *ṇ*

ní ñ tſéná kàá kàálì wàà rā. Me and my friend will go to Wa. ñ jáá bín-sá màtséō àní fí. I am thirty years old. 2 with, particle which introduces an instrumental or a modifier phrase • ñ yméná dáá rá àní kàrántíē nī. I cut a tree with a cutlass.

ani a muŋ [ànáā mùŋ] *adv.phr.* in spite of, even though • ò wááwáó àní à mùŋ dí òò wííó. He came in spite of his illness.

annulie [?ánnú'líé] (*Gu. var. nää-nuule*) *n.* dragonfly (*Libelluloidea*). *pl. annulese.*

ansa [?ánsà] *interj.* 1 welcome • ánsà. àwóó. A: Welcome. B: Thank you. 2 thanks • ánsà, i lóngáó. Thank you, you made an effort.

apäää [?àpnäää] *n.* type of snake. *pl. apääna.*

apɔ [àpnɔ] *num.* five *Enum:* pɔ . *pl. apɔs.*

apmëna (*var. of ymëna*)

ap [?àý] (*var. ana*) *interrog.* who • àý ìì kà nà à tóó nī. Who did you see at the village?

aybuluŋ [?ámbúlùŋ] *cf. svamanziga* *n.* Black plum, type of tree (*Vitex doniana*). *pl. aybulugso.*

aykñti [?áyñktí] *n.* handkerchief, thin fabric intended for personal hygiene, such as wiping one's hands or face. (ultm. English <*handkerchief*>). *pl. aykitisa.*

aykñrɔ [áyñkóró] *n.* barrel, cask, drum container. (ultm. Dutch, via Akan <*anker*>).

aridžana [?àřidžánà] *cf. lél* *n.* heaven. (ultm. Hebrew, via Arabic and Mande <*aljanna*>).

aridžima [?àřidžímà] *n.* Friday. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*jum-màå*>).

¹**asibítı** [?ásibítı] *n.* 1 hospital. 2 yellowish powder medicine for healing sores used to be sold by Yoruba traders, no more available. [old-fash]. (ultm. English <*hospital*>). *pl. asibítisa.*

²**asibítı** [?ásibítı] *n.* Saturday. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*àsabàř*>).

asıı [?ásíí] *n.* type of tuber, Gh. Eng. Farafara potato, not farmed anymore (*Solenostemon rotundifolius*). *pl. asie.*

atalaata [?àtáláátà] *n.* Tuesday. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*tálâtà*>).

ataníë [?àtàníë] *n.* Monday. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*lítinín*>).

atoro [átòrò] *num.* three *Enum:* toroo . *pl. atoroso.*

¹**awa** [áwà] *dem.* particular • áwà té-bín nī, ò púysé. On that particular night, he disappeared. áwà kór tíj lèí ñ dí búúrè. That is not the chair I want. áwà tʃòpisíí tíj ò wà wáá-wá, tʃòjsá písíé òò wà. That day he did not come, he came the following day.

²**awa** [áwà] *pro.* non-human third person plural emphatic pronoun • áwà lèí bà fíí búúrè. It is not them they used to want.

awaa [áwáá] *pro.* non-human third person plural strong pronoun.

awie [áwié] *cf.* abie *nprop.* Awie (person's name).

awie [àwíé] *conn.* therefore • *bíná hágì jì kpáámá wíréó, àwíé nñ kàá tíéí ii kpààndùhó tñn nā.* This year

my yam harvest is good, therefore I will give you back your yam seedlings.

awoo [?àwóó] *interj.* reply to greetings, sign of appraisal of interlocutor's concerns • *i hágì?* àwōō. A: How is your wife? B: Thank you (she is good). (Gonja).

b

¹ba (*var. of bar*)

²ba [ba] *be,* (*foc. var. ¹baa*) *pro.* human third person plural pronoun • *gbòló fílílbá wā.* Gbolo looked at them. *báá wāā bājì.* They should come here. *wáá báà jírá ásiàmā.* As for this, they call it "red".

¹baa (*foc. var. of ba*)

²baa [baa] *cf.* **waa** *v.* to come. [*Ka*].

báá [báá] *cf.* **badzogv** *n.* type of Nile monitor lizard, usually found in or near water, darker and different stripes than *badzogv* (*Varanus niloticus*). *pl.* **báána**.

baabaasv [báábáásv] *n.* gonorrhoea. (Akan <*báábáásv*>). *pl.* **baabaasu**.

baabsvl [báábvl] *n.* Bible. (ultm. English).

baal [báál] *n.* *cf.* **nibaal** (*Pl. var. baalsa*) 1 male, man. 2 husband. *pl.* **baala**.

baalII [báálfí] *cf.* **bambiituna** *n.* bravery, manhood • *bá ní bá-wólfé bá tfágálè báálíí.* They and

their colleagues, they are going to show bravery.

baalsa (*Pl. var. baal*)

¹baaj [bááj] *n.* temper, anger • *ii bááj síiwóú.* Your temper has raised.

²baaj [bááj] *interrog.* what • *bááj i kàá búurè?* What do you want? *ò ñmá dí bááj?* She said what?

³baaj [bááj] *pv.* just, already, immediately, obligatorily, suddenly, to do without other alternative • *í wá bááj sájá dē.* You should just sit there. *bááj gíléú dé ní.* Just leave it there. *díj bááj jàá tòl.* The fire suddenly became flame. *ò tá bááj nàá wááó kékì.* He came just now.

⁴baaj (*cntrvar. bambaaj*)

⁵baaj [bááj] *cf.* **de** 1 *adv.* here • *àj káá wāā bááj?* Who is coming here? 2 *n.* a particular place or point visible and close to speaker • *mìm píítá háj báámà bí-rejòō.* These spots on my pants are black. *tíítàvètìí dáká i nàáttówá báá-*

mà nī. There are spots of mud on your shoes. *pl. baama*.

baari [bààri] *v.* to be burnt slightly
• à díj báárf nñ̄ róbákátásà, ḡ fó̄mì. The fire slightly burnt my plastic bowl, it is crooked.

baasi [bààsi] *v.* to carry over shoulder • báà báásí kpáámá kààlì dià rā. They have carried the yams to the house.

baatribí [báátèrbíí] *lit.* battery-stone *n.* dry-cell battery. (ultrm. English). *pl. báátèrbíá*.

baawa [bááwà] *n.* type of singing and dancing performance with percussion and male lead voice. *pl. baawa*.

babuolii [bàbùòlii] *cf:* **bolo** *n.* far place.

badaa [bàdáá] *n.* human limb. *pl. badaasa*.

badaare [bàdààrè] *n.* type of striped hyena *syn:* **kpatakpare;** **zepgor** (*Hyaena hyaena*). *pl. badaaresa*.

badaawise [bàdààwìsé] *n.* thin body by nature • ḡ jáá bàdààwìsétíiná rá. He is thin. ḡ kpágá bàdààwìsē ré. She is thin. *ant:* **badaazenie;** **pɔlii**

badaazenie [bàdààzénié] *n.* large size, something large • ḡ jáá bàdàzéníétíiná rá. He is large. à tágatà jáá bàdààzéníé ré. The shirt is large. *ant:* **badaawise**

badiga [bàdǐgá] *nprop.* Badiga, person's name.

badzögø [bádžögø] *cf:* **bää** *n.* Bosc's monitor, type of monitor lizard, rougher skin and usually shorter than *bää* *syn:* **gbaga** (*Varanus exanthematicus*). *pl. badzögøssa*.

badzögøbagena [bádžøybàyønà] *lit.* monitor.lizard-neck *n.* type of tree. *pl. badzögøbagenasa*.

bafɔrigñ [bàfɔrìgñ] *n.* cuts and abrasions on the skin. *pl. bafɔrigie*.

bafragugu [báfrágúgú] *n.* type of war drum, also used when hunters return with plenty of game. [*old-fash*]. *pl. bafraguguso*.

¹**baga** [bàyá] *adv.* in vain, nothing
• ḡ káálí tóópàtſigíí bàgá. I went to the central part of the village in vain. à báál bàgá t ðí tñjá ḡø nī. You will not get anything from the man you are following. bàgá mǎä sówáó. Anything that will come today will give us something (lit. *baga*'s mother is dead).

²**baga** [bàyá] *cf:* **bog** *n.* type of fibre. [Mo].

bagabaga [bàyábàyá] *ideo.* done for no reason, done anyhow, pointless, in vain • bàgábàgá ḡ kààlì kùó ḡ wà kín tóntómá. I went to farm in vain, I cannot work.

bagëna [báyéná] *n.* neck. *pl. bagënsa*.

bagënapøøgñ [bàgñpøógíí] *n.* lateral goitre, enlargement of the thyroid. *pl. bagënapøøgée*.

bagënbwa [bàgñbøá] *n.* hollow be-

hind the collarbone. *pl. bagensorii*

bagensorii [bàgñsórii] *n.* atlas vertebra, first cervical vertebra which supports the skull. *pl. bagensoree.*

bagentsugul [bàgñtsùgùl] *n.* dowager's hump, outward curvature of the thoracic vertebrae of the upper back. *pl. bagentsugulo.*

bagorii [bàgòrii] *n.* 1 location that is enclosed • ɳ zàgá ní à tñitñàbòá jáá bàgòrii rē In my yard the toilet is at the corner and is enclosed. 2 remote place, not easily accessible from the main road • mñm bñári dñá bàgòrii nì. My brother lives at a remote place. *pl. bagoree.*

baharaga [bàhárágá] *n.* 1 to make an effort, to be hard-working, or to do well • kálá bié bàhárágá jñúú nì, òò jàwà lózli. It is due to Kala's son hard work that he was able to buy a car. *ant:* bajɔra 2 zeal, enthusiasm.

bahiē [báhiē] *cf:* hīē *n.* old man. *pl. bahiēsa.*

bajonj [bájónj] *nprop.* Bayong, person's name.

bajɔra [bàjòðrà] *n.* lazy, discouraged • òò báál jáá bàjòðrátífná rá. Her husband is lazy. *ant:* baharaga¹

baketii [bákétií] *n.* broken part, usually body-part • ɳ néñ bákétií tñj kà wíò. My broken arm is painful. *pl. baketie.*

bakti [bákëti] (*var. bokti*) *n.* bucket. (ultm. English). *pl. baktise.*

bakuri [bákúrí] *nprop.* Bakuri, person's name.

bakpal [bákpál] *n.* naked. *pl. bakpalla.*

balalla [bàlállà] *n.* gaiety, happiness • bálállà dñá dé. I am happy. *pl. balalla.*

baleo [bàléò] *n.* epidemic. (Waali <bàléò).

baluu [bàlúù] *n.* balloon. (ultm. English). *pl. baluso.*

balovv [bálóv] *n.* 1 ethnic division, tribe • lòbì bálóv wáá tñò jà tfákàlì nì. The Lobi are not found in the Chakali area. 2 species • gbià bálóv àní fññ bálóv wàà válà. The monkey and the baboon do not live together. *pl. balovv.*

bambaaj [bómbááñ] *cntr.* ⁴**baaj** 1 *n.* trunk, loin, middle part of the body. 2 *reln.* middle of an object, in the midst of • ò dñá téébùl jñú bámbááñ ní. It is in the middle of the top of the table. ò téé tñwí bám-bááñ ná àká bñrà wàà. He reached half way and returned. *pl. bambama.*

bambaajnebii [bámbáannébií] *n.* middle finger *syn:* nebizeñii .

bambaajnebiwie [bámbááñnèbíwìé] *n.* ring finger.

bambii [bàmbíí] *n.* 1 chest. 2 tree trunk, refers to the piece used in

carving a large item, like a mortar. 3 condition or quality of being brave. *pl. bambie.*

bambiigeraga [bàmbíígérágà] *cf:* **bambiwnla** *n.* affliction and indisposition around the chest area.

bambiipṣṇj [bàmbíipṣṇj] *n.* chest hair. *pl. bambiipṣṇna.*

bambiitnna [bàmbíítífná] *cf:* **baaln** *n.* brave person *ant:* ḡngbiar .

bambileo [bàmbílèò] *n.* sternum. *pl. bambileono.*

bambiwnla [bàmbíwíflá] *cf:* **bambiigeraga** *n.* chest pains. *pl. bambiwnlsa.*

bamuŋ [bàmùŋ] *cf:* **amuŋ** *quant.* they all (hum+) • *nárá bániéé wáawáá, ká bàmùŋ léí.* Some people came, but not all.

baníe [báníé] *cf:* **a bóníe ní** *quant.* some • à *súómó bániéé wá bñwáá.* Some of the shea nuts are not ripe.

baníi [báníí] *n.* section of a community, geographical and social quarter. *pl. banie.*

banpeg [bámpèg] *n.* half of a seed or nut, e.g. kola. *pl. banpegnna.*

banwma [bànómwá] *n.* sickness, constant high temperature and malaise, not fever.

baŋðáluro [báŋðálúrò] *n.* type of flying insect that sucks blood, similar but smaller to a house fly.

baŋmaaln [báŋmáálñ] *lit.* place-talk *n.* place where a discussion takes

place.

baŋmēna (*var. of* ɣmēna)

baŋsiaŋ [bànsíáŋ] *n.* feeling uncomfortable with one's chest or heart.

baŋtʃɔɔwie [bántʃɔɔwìé] *n.* small trap, snare. *pl. baŋtʃɔɔwise.*

baŋtʃɔɔzeŋ [bántʃɔɔzèŋ] *n.* big trap. *pl. baŋtʃɔɔzene.*

baŋtʃɔɔ [bántʃɔɔ] *n.* gin trap. *pl. baŋtʃɔɔsa.*

bar [bár] *n.* (*var.* ¹ba) 1 section, area, site, part, portion, place • à *biniňáň tómbár dóá díá pátfigñ ní.* The lady's work place is inside the house. 2 chance • *bà wà tíém bár dí á jáá tfítsà.* They never gave me the chance to become a teacher. *pl. bara.*

bara [bárá] *n.* body • à *bié bárá nó-mááš.* The child's body is hot. *pl. barasa.*

baratʃøgoø [báråtʃøgøó] *lit.* place-spoil *n.* night *synt:* tebin; sankara .

barëgë [bärëgë] *v.* to be dormant, to have lost its function • à *gárágá bá-régé ɣñm bátón ní rā.* The sickness is dormant in my body. à *kpááň wòsíí bárëgëō,* ò wà bífwá, ò ká wà bí jàá hùór. The roasted yam is wasted, it is not cooked and it is not raw any more.

basaníi [básáníí] *n.* sitting place. *pl. basajee.*

basig [básig] *nprop.* Basig, male name related to *sigmaa*, follows

the child named *ŋmāāŋɔ* synt: *ŋmāāŋɔ; hasig*.

basɔŋ [bàsɔŋ] *n.* shade.

basɔna [bàsɔnà] *n.* happy, proud, excited • *dzímbàntɔ tʃɔpísíí jáá bà-sɔnà rā à tiè jà tɔ́tɔmâ*. The festival's days are days of happiness for our people.

batielii [bàtiélíi] *n.* where and when meat is eaten. *pl. batielise*.

batíɔ [bátíɔ] (*var. vatíɔ*) *n.* type of insect, similar to an ant, big and black. *pl. batíɔsa*.

batɔŋ [bàtɔŋ] *n.* body skin. *pl. batɔna*.

batſaaŋ [bàtſááŋ] *lit.* place-bright *n.* brightness *ant: birge*.

batſasie [bàtſásfè] *n.* rheumatism.

¹**batſvali** [bàtſvàlìi] *n.* sleeping or lying place • *làlii bátſvàlìi*. Corpse sleeping place (i.e. grave) *pl. batſvalee*.

²**batſvali** [bàtſválíi] *n.* race, running competition. *pl. batſvalee*.

bawa [báwà] *pro.* human third person plural emphatic pronoun • *à ló-líi wíé báwà tʃòà tò̄sà ní*. Because of the car issue, they slept in Tuosa.

¹**bawaa** [báwáá] [bówáá] *n.* energetic dance, singing and dancing for men and women.

²**bawaa** [báwáá] *pro.* human third person plural strong pronoun.

bawiiha [bàwiihá] *n.* 1 body pain • *ò líi kùó wàó bawiihá kpágáó*. He came from farm and he had body

pains. 2 laziness • *bàwiiháttiná wáá káálì kùó*. A lazy person does not go to farm.

ba?ɔrii [bà?ɔrìi] *n.* swelling. *pl. ba?ɔree*.

be (*var. of ba*)

begii [bégíi] *n.* heart. *pl. begie*.

bele [bèlè] *n.* type of African wild dog (*Lycaon pictus*). *pl. belese*.

belege [bélégè] *n.* drain in bathing area, soak-away system. *pl. belegese*.

bendiir [bénđìir] *n.* type of bird, African Sacred Ibis (*Threskiornis aethiopica*). *pl. bendiire*.

benie [béníè] *n.* type of palm tree *syn: abe* (*Elaeis guineensis*). *pl. bense*.

beŋ [bèj] *n.* law. *pl. benne*.

beso [bésò] *n.* type of yam. *pl. besoso*.

¹**bega** [bèyà] *v.* to go past the centre, of sun or moon, not in the middle of the sky • *à wòsà bégáó*. The sun has passed the centre, it is afternoon.

²**bega** [bèyà] *v.* to create the grave where the corpse will lie • *à péllé há wà bégá à bòàbié*. The burial specialists have not placed the small hole yet.

bel [bèl] *n.* 1 tool for scraping off adherent matter such as food on cooking recipient, originally made out of a piece of the *bel* nut. 2 type of tree (*Berlinia confusa*). *pl. bella*.

belege [bélégé] *v.* to dust, polish and wash with moist or dry rag, to clean a bowl of food by eating up the contents • *i wá pètì, zòò kà bélégé à diá.* When you finish, clean the room. *wà kpá kòò fàlá à bélégé.* Come and take the t.z. bowl and finish it.

belenti [bélentí] *n.* belt. (ultm. English). *pl. belementsa.*

bèhlíi [bèl líí] *n.* 1 person from Gurumbele. 2 lect of Gurumbele. *pl. belliie.*

bèma [bèmà] *v.* to tip a container down to slowly pour its contents • *bèmà sìntók já nñá sìj.* Tip the container so that we can drink.

bèj [bérj] (*Pl. var. benga*) *n.* type of tree. *pl. benna.*

benga (*Pl. var. bëj*)

bèjkpale [bèjkpálè] *n.* soya bean. (Waali <*bèjkpálè*>).

béra [bérà] *v.* to dry or to put to dry by hanging, spreading or placing on something • *à gár bérá à zágá ní.* The cloth is drying in the yard. *lúólí à kpòjkpónj ká bérà.* Remove the cassava from the water and dry it.

bëraa [béráá] *n.* poison. (Waali <*bëraa*>). *pl. berasa.*

bëv [bèv] *n.* laziness as applied to dogs • *à váá bëvná tsáwáá.* The lazy dogs are lying down. *pl. bevna.*

bibøj [bibøj] *n.* bad child. *pl. biboma.*

bidmìj [bìdímj] *cf:* *dìmj;* *mìdmìj;* *knìdmìj;* *wìdmìj* *n.* obedient, faithful or truthful.

bie [bié] *cf:* *hamõj;* *biswona* *n.* child. *pl. bise.*

biføla [bìfølá] *n.* baby. *pl. bifølsa.*

bígise [bígisé] *n.* signing, gesture, sign • *wónnó táá jáá bígísé.* Deaf language is signing.

bigisi [bígisi] *v.* to demonstrate • *bígisi kén tìj ò kà jáawá.* Demonstrate what he has done.

bii [bíi] *n.* 1 seed. 2 indispensable quality of something • *i bíi lítwáá* *ká tsá i pétíí.* Your essence is gone leaving almost nothing. *pl. bie.*

bil [bíl] *cf:* *bøø* *n.* closed grave, as a hole filled with soil. *pl. bille.*

bilaadølni [bilààdølñi] *cf:* *laa dø* *n.* child adopted by a relative. *pl. bilaadølnie.*

bile [bìlé] *v.* to put down or set down, especially of flat things • *kpá à tój bìlé à téébùl júú nì.* Put the book down on the table.

bileedi [biléédi] *n.* blade, refers specifically to the razor blade sold in shops which is mainly used to cut hair. (ultm. English <*blade*>).

bilesi [bìlësi] *pl. v.* to form and shape for food preparation • *bà bìlësi à kpúlikpúlí ré.* They shape the groundnut balls

biligi [bìlígí] *v.* to rub, to touch with affection • *à bié háj kàà biligí òò náál kinkán ná.* This child touches the grandfather with affection.

- bili [bílíf] *n.* white-tailed mongoose (*Ichneumia albicauda*). *pl. bili.*
- bilinsi [bílinsì] *v.* to tumble, to roll • à bíí bílísé tselé. The stone tumbled.
- bilolla [bílóllá] *pl.n.* parents.
- binbaal [bínibáál] *n.* young boy. *pl. binibaala.*
- binihääŋ [bínihääŋ] *cf:* sunjuru; tutor *cf:* tularwie; nihawie *n.* girl. *pl. binihääna.*
- binvaaŋ [búnðáŋ] *n.* handsome male. *pl. binvansa.*
- binvaaŋsiŋ [búnðánsíŋ] *lit.* gentleman-drink *n.* moribund celebration after harvest organized by young men • bvnvaaŋsiŋ jàà dí. We are celebrating the youth festival. [*oldfash.*] *pl. binvaaŋsinna.*
- bipɔlII [bipɔlfí] *n.* young man. *pl. bipɔlEE.*
- bipɔá [bipɔá] *lit.* child-rotten *n.* rude or spoiled child. *pl. bipɔáta.*
- ¹bire [bíré] *v.* 1 to be dark, to make dark • tté bár bíré ká jā káálí díá. Let it be dark before we go home. ò ká wá bí bíré ò ká wá bí síárrí. It is not yet totally black and not totally red. 2 to be black, to make black • à biè kpá dóyó bíré ñì díá mýj. The child used dirt to make my house black. (Gur ‘dark’).
- ²bire [bíré] *v.* to be abnormally unable to take or do, e.g. food, lessons, sleep • ò pàtsigíí bíréó ò wá kín à dí siimáà. She cannot take food the way she uses to.

- birge [bírægè] *n.* darkness • ñ wáá kin lìí bírgè hàn ní. I cannot go out in this darkness. *ant:* batfaaj
- birgi [bírígí] *v.* to delay, to keep long, to stay for a long time, or to last • à dúóŋ tíé jà bírgí kùò ní. The rain delayed us at the farm.
- birindiŋ [bíríndíŋ] *n.* sizeable road to which cars and lorries can access.
- biriŋ [bíríŋ] *n.* whole, full, totality • ààrifí bíriŋ dósá ñì díá ní. A whole grasscutter is in my house. *pl. biriME.*
- birisitɔv [bírísítɔv] *n.* non-local medicine for yaws sore.
- bisiketi [bísíkèti] *n.* biscuit. (ultm. English <biscuit>).
- bisɔona [bísɔóná] *cf:* bie; hamɔŋ *n.* child. [Ka]. *pl. bisɔonasa.*
- bisɔonbie [bísɔónbié] *cf:* hamɔwie *n.* small child. [Ka]. *pl. bisɔonbisi.*
- biviei [bívíé] *cf:* bivielII *n.* stubborn child. [Ka, Gu]. *pl. bivielIE.*
- bivielII [bívíèlÍ] *cf:* biviei *n.* stubborn child. *pl. bivielIE.*
- biwie [bíwié] *n.* youngest child.
- bí [bí] *itr.* iterative particle, conveys the repetition of an event • jà wíré jà kfná rá àká vålá gó dùùséé mýj nååváál bítörò. We undress and walk around the whole Ducie three times. ò bí kòòrè sàà ò díá rá. He rebuilt his house.
- bí [bí] *v.* 1 to fail to do • à ymíér júónj mááfà bí. The thief shot at me with

a gun but missed. 2 to fail to attend an event, to be overwhelmed, to estimate that one's situation cannot fulfil some demands • *bìnà hájì, dù-siè lúsínnisā hájì bín nà*. This year, this Ducie funeral, I cannot make it.

bia [bia] cf: *tɔɔ* n. settlement. [Ka].

bīā [bīá] n. duck. pl. *bīāsa*.

biage [bìàgè] v. to displace or move, to let someone or something pass • *kpàgà à kúr biàgè*. Move the chair to give a way. ḥà *bíágíjó ká tiè à báál tiwíí*. I make room and give the man the road.

biegì [bìègì] v. to move sideways, to change direction, Gh. Eng. to branch • *kúrí bífégiáá ká à lóslí wà kàálí*. Kuri shifted sideways and the car passed. *dì jà ká télè tiwíífárá-gàsá ḥà kàá bìègì néngál lā*. When we reach the junction, I will go left.

biel [bfèl] n. poisonous plant leaf, unused today, said to have been replaced by DDT. pl. *biela*.

bielí [bíélí] v. to be weak, unwell, and in need of assistance • à *hááj tíésíjáá à zíí bìelí*. The woman vomited and is now weak.

bieri [bíéri] cf: *kpiema* n. ego's senior brother. pl. *bierisa*.

biesí [bíésí] v. to go a distance and meet someone or reach something • *tʃòpìsì bímújì ḥà jáá bìesí kàálí ḥà sítòò rà*. Every day I go to my store.

¹**bii** [bíí] cf: *bɔi* n. stone. pl. *bia*.

²**bii** [bíí] v. cf: *siama*; *siari* 1 to be well cooked • *gílà óó márā bii*. Let

it be well cooked. ḵà *bíwáá*. It is cooked. ḵòò *márá bijòó*. It is well cooked. à *kpáámá bíí gáásóó* The yams are overcooked. 2 to be ripe, applicable to shea nuts and mangos • à *súómó bíwáá*. The shea nuts are ripe. 3 to turn into, in processing food • *zàájì à níkàníkà sàá wáá bii, jà kàá tfēsūù*. Today the flour from the grinding mill is not properly done, we will have to sieve it.

bibog [bífbóğ] n. type of tree. pl. *bibogna*.

bibwo [bífbóò] lit. stone-hole n. cave. pl. *bibwosa*.

biisi [bíísi] v. to narrate • *biisi ii tótíí*. Narrate your version of the story.

bizimii [bózímíí] cf: *buzaal* n. Stone Partridge, type of bird. [Gu]. pl. *buzimie*.

bila [bìlà] v. to try to solve worries and problematic issues • *ḥà bífá nààn biè tím wíé kúsiū*. I tried to solve my child's problems but failed.

bina [bìná] n. year • *wòsá ní áfiá bìn-sá máásé dñjá rà*. Wusa is as old as Afia. pl. *binsa*.

2bina [bíná] pl.n. excrement.

3bina [bìnà] v. to be old or experienced • *kálá wálánsè bfnáá, ḥpíúú-ní ḵà jàwà wálánsè fílíí*. Kala's radio is old, therefore he bought a new one. *kángánóó ká bfnáá dù-sèè níí tómá ní, bà brà kpáó, ḵà dí tómá*. Because Kanganu is experi-

enced with Ducie's water system, they took him back to work.

bimbilinsi [bimbilinsi] *lit.* excrement-tumble (*var.* **bimbiliŋkpogo**) *n.* Dung beetle (*Scarabidae fam.*). *pl.* **bimbilinsise**.

bimbiliŋkpogo (*var. of bimbilinsi*)

bintira [bintírà] *n.* type of closed single headed gourd drum. *pl.* **bitera**.

bintiratſiiŋ [bintíratſiiŋ] *cf:* **tſiiŋ** *n.* drum rattles for closed single headed gourd drum. *pl.* **bintiratſiiŋma**.

bintirawie [bintírāwìé] *n.* type of closed single headed gourd drum, smallest. *pl.* **bintirawise**.

bintirazeŋ [bintírāzèŋ] *n.* type of closed single headed gourd drum, largest.

bintuk [bintük] *n.* regular free range defecation location. *pl.* **bintukno**.

biŋbiel [bímbiéł] *n.* type of fish. *pl.* **biŋbiela**.

bira [bérà] (*var. bra*) *v.* to return, to turn back, to go backwards • *bírà à káálì*. Go back. *bírà àká tſáv*. Return and leave him.

birgí [bíṛḡí] *v.* 1 turn, change direction • *bíṛḡí iì sié tá tímúj ní*. Turn your face towards the east. 2 to change, transform, metamorphose, turn into • *à hááhíē bíṛḡí dōጀ*. The old lady turned into a python.

bital [bítál] *n.* any large flat stone, which can function as solar drying or threshing floor. *pl.* **bitala**.

biti [bítí] *cf:* **jolo** *v.* to empty by pouring, to pour all, to spill out, to pour in a stream, to scatter • *bítí à fálá níí tà*. Pour away the water that is in the calabash. *bítí iì kápósíè bilè*. Scatter you kola nuts on the ground.

brwie [bíwíé] *n.* small stone. *pl.* **brwiese**.

bizeŋ [bízéŋ] *n.* big stone. *pl.* **brzene**.

bluu [bălùù] (*var.* **abluu**) *n.* blue. (ultm. English <blue>). *pl.* **bluuso**.

bokti (*var. of bakti*)

¹**bolo** [bólò] *cf:* **babuolii** *v.* to be far • *mötigú wá bólō*. Motigu is not far. *ant:* **dvgšli**

²**bolo** [bóló] *v.* to remove yet leaving most, to skim • *bóló iì gündààbíí ñménj tñj tñēj*. Remove some of the thread from the holder for me. *bámùn ná kálá ká bólò à kápósifálá rá*. Everyone saw Kala remove nuts from kola container.

boloŋbɔɔtia [bólòmbɔɔtìà] *nprop.* name of a constellation.

bombo [bómbo] *n.* kicking and catching game played by your girls where leaves of *bombosɔɔri* tree are tied in a form of a ball.

bombosɔɔri [bómboṣɔɔrì] *n.* Rain tree (*Samanea saman*). *pl.* **bombosɔɔrie**.

bonso [bónsó] *n.* cup. (Waali <*bonsuo*>). *pl.* **bonsoso**.

bonti [bóntí] *v.* to divide and share
• *bóntí à nàmìá já tíè*. Divide and share the meat so we can eat.

boŋ [bón̩] *cf:* bugulie *n.* big water pot. *pl. boŋo.* [Tp.]

¹**boro** [bòrò] *v.* to be short • *à dáá bóróó*. The wood is short. *dùsíéléé tàá tìŋ ò jáá bòrò rò*. The language of Dicie; it is short (truncated). *ant: zeŋ pl. boroso.*

²**boro** [bòrò] *n.* portion • *má kpá à bár bóró à tífébá*. Give them some portion of land. *ṇ̩ díjò àká tfá à sìtmáá bòrò*. I ate but left some of the food. *pl. boroso.*

bowo [bòwò] *cf:* **tobou** *v.* to be insufficient • *tí tífé sìtmáá bòwò à pàràsá*. Do not let the farmers be short on food.

¹**bɔ** [bó] *v.* to pay • *bó ḷjì kàntsíma tíéŋ*. Pay me what you owe me.

²**bɔ** [bó] *v.* to be better than • *zàáj tómá bó dià tìŋ tómá*. Today's work is better than yesterday's work.

bɔg [bòg] *n.* *cf:* baga (*var. bɔkbil*) 1 type of tree (*Pseudocedrala kotschyii*). 2 fibre used to attach grass or tubers and to make *sigmaa* costume. *pl. bɔgna.*

bɔkbil (*var. of bɔg*)

bɔl [bòl] *n.* ball. (ultm. English). *pl. bɔlsa.*

bɔla [bòlà] *cf:* dʒigela *n.* elephant
synt: selzen; neñtuma (*Loxodonta cyclotis*). *pl. bɔlasa.*

bɔlakaj [bòlákàj] *n.* elephant trunk. *pl. bɔlakaya.*

bɔlapinj [bòlápínj] *n.* ivory. *pl. bɔlapinjā.*

bɔma [bòmà] *v.* 1 to be dangerous, to be bad • *ò bómáá kínkán*. He is a very dangerous person. 2 to be expensive • *à sákir jògùló bómáá*. The bicycle is expensive. 3 to be hot • *à mûró bómáá*. The rice is too hot. 4 to endow with power • *ò bómáá, kùòsánáá kà wà kínjéé kpágáá*. He is powerful, the buffalo was not able to catch him. 5 to be difficult • *bifòlà jníí bómáá*. Looking after a baby is difficult.

bɔna [bòná] *n.* loss • *ii diàtñná jògólí òò kpáámá à tfélè bòná*. Your landlord sold his yams at a loss. *ant: tona*

bɔŋ [bóŋ] (*var. bʷɔŋ*) *n.* bad. *pl. bɔma.*

bɔŋbɔwa [bómbówá] *n.* necessary item for a purpose, like ingredients for a recipe, tools for farming, or weapons for war. *pl. bɔŋbɔwasa.*

bɔɔbí [bòɔbí] *n.* type of undergarment. *pl. bɔɔbisa.*

bɔɔl [bòɔl] *n.* *cf:* **loŋbɔl** 1 oval shape • *zòò díá àká kpá kín tìŋ kà kíí bòɔl à wà tíéŋ*. Enter the house and get the thing that looks oval and bring it to me. 2 type of edible gourd found at the farm.

bɔrdia [bòrèdíá] (*var. bɔrindia*) *n.* plantain (*Musa paradisiaca*). (Akan <*bòɔdià*>). *pl. bɔrdiasa.*

bɔsa [bòsá] (*var. bɔss*) *n.* Puff adder, type of snake (*Bitis arietans*). *pl.*

bɔsasa.

bɔsv (var. of bɔsa)

bɔtii [bótíf] n. scooped ball of staple food, Gh. Eng. morsel. pl. bɔtie.

bra (var. of bira)

brige [brígè] n. type of snake. pl. brigese.

¹bugo [bùgò] v. 1 to make soft, to prepare animal skin for taking off fur, to stretch the skin of a new drum for a certain period by continuously beating it • à tìmpántié há wà búgó. The talking drums are not yet stretched. 2 to be drunk • ḥm̄j̄ māā há wà búgó múj̄. My mother has never been drunk. syn: ²dresi

²bugo [bùgò] v. of a chick, to be at a stage, after hatching, after approx. five days, when the feathers start to grow from the wings • nñ záàl téṣijōo ká à bisé há wà búgó. My fowl hatched but the chicks have not reached that stage.

bugomi [bùgòmì] v. to be stupid, to be unable to learn or to think well, to act without sense • té búgémí kék̄j̄. Do not be senseless.

bugulie [bùgèlíè] cf: boŋ n. big water pot made out of clay. (Waali). pl. bugulise.

bugumuŋ [búgú'múŋ] n. farm camp, including at least a hut, a cooking area, and a tree for shade. pl. bugumuno.

bugunso [bùgùnsô] n. stupidity.

bul (var. of bulo)

buleŋii [búléŋii] n. 1 lect of Bulenga.

2 person from Bulenga. pl. bulegee.

¹bulo [bùlò] (var. bul) n. type of tree. pl. buloso.

²bulo [bùlò] v. to seep out • à bùlùgò wá brà á bùlò nī. The spring is not producing water any more.

bulugo [bùlùgò] n. spring, place where water wells up. (partly Oti-Volta). pl. bulugoso.

bulumbunti [bùlùmbùnti] n. meat forbidden by Islamic law, slaughtered improperly.

bummo [búmmò] cf: jiriti n. black synt: doŋ². pl. bulunso.

bumo [bùmò] v. to precede • nàdígífí búmó zòvì ìì dià háj̄ ká bà kpá tīē. Someone was in your room before they gave it to you.

bundaana [bùndááná] n. rich. (Waali <bundaana). pl. bundaan-sa.

buŋbuŋ [búmbúnj] n. first • búŋbúŋní ḥ̄ fí wàà n̄ññ sīj̄. At first, I was not drinking alcoholic beverage.

buol [bùol] n. song. pl. buolo.

buolbuolo [bùòlbúóló] n. singer. pl. buolbuoloso.

buoli [bùòlì] v. to sing • té búólíí zàáj̄. Do not sing today. bà búóli búóló wó. They are singing songs.

buolnää [bùòlñää] n. song track, division of a song. pl. buolenääsa.

buro [búrò] v. to faint, to collapse from hunger or thirst • ḥv̄ pññjsi

kɔ̄sá ní à búró. He got lost in the bush and collapsed.

busunu [bùsúnù] *n.* type of flute made out of the horn. *pl. busunu-so.*

buter [bùtér:] *n.* turtle. *pl. butete.*

¹**buti** [bùti] *v.* to be confused • *ㄇㄞㄢ
bié gèrègá tiéjì bùti.* My child's sickness made me confused. *ㄇㄞ bútíó.* I'm confused.

²**buti** [bùti] *v.* to make soft and flat by levelling and ploughing • *bá tfí
ká bùti ㄇㄞ píkíétè tiéjì.* Tomorrow they will level my yam farm for me.

buu [bùú] *n.* silo, granary. *pl. buuno.*

¹**būū** [būú] *v.* to mix water and soil, or to make concrete • *būú hàglíí á
sàà díá.* Mix sand and build a house.

²**būū** [būú] *v.* to become alight, of fire being at its burning stage • *gìlà à
dííj būú.* Let the fire start burning.

buure [bùùrè] *v.* 1 to want • *bàáñ i
kà búúrè.* What do you want? 2 to acquire wealth • *ii néná búúré tfíá
rá.* Your father acquires wealth for the future. 3 to love, to make love • *ㄇㄞ búúrè à tòlòrwìè ré.* I love that young girl. *kàláá búúré hákúrí.* Kala made love to Hakuri. 4 to seek, look to for help or advice, to search • *ò búúré bòðná kàálí.* He searched for the goats.

buuta [būütà] *n.* kettle. (Hausa <*bütå*>).

buzonj [búzónj] *cf:* lubaal *n.* bachelor, widower. *pl. buzomo.*

bua (*var. of bwo*)

bubabie [bòàbié] *n.* smaller hole in a grave designed to slide the corpse in.

bubusa (*var. of bɔ̄sabɔ̄sa*)

budaw [bòdáð] *n.* type of snake.

bȭëibȭëi [bȭëëibȭëë] *ideo.* carefully, slowly • *dì sàå bȭëibȭëi.* Drive carefully. *dì ñmá bȭëibȭëi.* Talk slowly. (Waali <*bȭi*>).

bøi [bóì] *cf:* **bøi** *n.* stone. [Ka]. *pl. bøse.*

bukvørøra [bòkvrørá] *n.* type of medicine endowing hunters with supernatural power.

bøkpääñ [bókpääñ] *n.* type of wild yam. *pl. bøkpääma.*

bøla [bòlá] *v.* tasteless • *à áníí
bøláo.* The Ebony fruit is tasteless.

bumbor [búmbøṛ] *n.* dust.

bømsi [bømøsì] *v.* to stutter, to stammer • *ò wà bømsi, ò bááñ síiwó.* He is not stammering, he is angry and nervous.

bøntøøna [bøntøøná] *n.* *cf:* **kajajo** 1 porter, a person who carries things for somebody else in exchange of money • *hákúrí jáá bøntøøná rá kùmásí ní.* Hakuri is a porter in Kumasi. 2 location where porter jobs are exercised • *bà døá bøntøøná ní.* They are at the place to work as porters. *ò káálí bøntøøná.* She went to work as a porter. *pl. bøntøønasa.*

bønðā [bønðá] *n.* gentility.

bvn̩sh̩ [bvn̩sh̩] *n.* hippopotamus.
pl. bvn̩sh̩na.

bv̩ne [b̩v̩n̩é] *n.* treating others with respect • à pásítà kpágá b̩v̩n̩é rá. The pastor has respect for others. (Waali < bv̩ne).

bv̩ny [b̩v̩ny] *n.* load of items. *pl. b̩vn̩na.*

bv̩nya [b̩v̩nyà] *v.* to bend down • b̩v̩nyà à kpá à fálá tíéñ. Bend down and pick the calabash for me.

bv̩o [b̩v̩o] *n.* *cf.* bil (*var. bv̩a*) 1 hole. 2 open grave. 3 boundary, separation between portions of land. *pl. bv̩osa.*

bv̩oga [b̩v̩ogà] *cf.* pena *n.* moon. [Mo].

bv̩omanii [b̩v̩ománíí] *n.* leopard
synt: puwietiina; nebietiina (*Panthera pardus*). *pl. bv̩omanie.*

bv̩ona [b̩v̩ónà] *n.* electric light bulb. (ultm. English <bulb). *pl. bv̩onasa.*

bv̩otia [b̩v̩otíà] 1 *n.* bag • nàmmíí b̩v̩otíà. maize bag. 2 *num.* 200 old Cedis (= 2 Ghana Pesewas), from a bag of cowries in pre-coinage days • b̩v̩otíè mátēō àlìè àní fí. 10 000 old Cedis (= 1 Ghana Cedi) *pl. bv̩otiesa.*

bv̩otí [b̩v̩otí] *lit.* hole-closing
n. third day of first funeral, when

an animal sacrifice is made on the tomb.

¹bv̩ra [b̩vrá] *v.* to be dusty • à téébùl wà b̩v̩ríféé. The table is not dusty.

²bv̩ra [b̩vrá] *n.* fermenting substance, yeast. (Waali).

bv̩rindia (*var. of b̩ordia*)

bv̩riña [b̩v̩rínñà] *n.* Christmas. (Akan <b̩v̩rínñà).

bv̩sabv̩sa [b̩sàb̩sà] (*var. bv̩b̩ssa*) ideo. type of visual percept • à ní-híéé sípðnā dó b̩sab̩sà rā. The eye lashes of the old man are greyish-white.

bv̩sbie [b̩v̩sbíé] *n.* section of the grave where the corpse is inserted. *pl. bv̩sbise.*

bv̩šñ [b̩v̩šñ] *n.* goat. *pl. b̩v̩šna.*

bv̩sgbal [b̩v̩šmbál] *n.* he-goat, billy goat. *pl. bv̩sgbal.*

bv̩šñbie [b̩v̩šmbíé] *n.* young goat. *pl. bv̩šnbise.*

bv̩walie [b̩wálíè] *n.* type of African wild dog (*Lycaon pictus*). *pl. bv̩walisa.*

bv̩zaal [b̩zázál] *cf.* bñzimii *n.* Stone partridge, type of bird (*Ptilopachus petrosus*). [Du]. *pl. bv̩zaalee.*

b̩wɔŋ (*var. of b̩ɔŋ*)

d

daa [dáá] *n.* 1 tree. 2 piece of wood. 3 central core of an object • nàmmíí-dáá. maize cob *pl. daasa.*

daabāŋtolugu [dáábāŋtólúgú]
nprop. name of a major Gurumbele shrine.

daabii [dààbíí] *n.* hardest part of the log, located in the middle. *pl. daabie.*

daadugo [dààdùgó] *n.* type of insect. *pl. daadugoso.*

daahää [dààhäǟ] *n.* bitter tree • *nàà-sààrgbésà dää jáá dàahäǟ rā.* The Neem tree is a bitter tree.

daakðä [dààkðǟ] *n.* Senegal parrot, type of bird (*Poicephalus senegalus*). *pl. daakðäna.*

daakðäjalee [dààkðǟjäléè] *n.* Rose-Ringed Parakeet, type of bird (*Psittacula krameri*). *pl. daakðäjalesa.*

daakðäawoŋ [dààkðǟwòý] *n.* Brown-Necked parrot, type of bird (*Poicephalus robustus*). *pl. daakðäawonno.*

daakvñv [dààkvn̄v] *n.* staple dish, Gh. Eng. kenkey. (Akan <*dʒkvn̄v*>).

daakpuogii [dààkpúögíí] *n.* tree scar, bulge formed on a wounded area. *pl. daakpuogie.*

daakputii [dààkpútíí] *n.* cf: daamuŋputii 1 log meant for burning charcoal or firewood. 2 tree stump. *pl. daakputie.*

daalor [dáálór] *n.* hole in a tree. *pl. daaloro.*

daaluhii [dáálúhíí] *n.* wooden beam supporting the roofing structure. *pl. daaluhie.*

daaluto [dààlútō] *n.* tree root. *pl. daaluroso.*

daami [dààmì] *n.* self-denial, or blindly ignoring relevant informa-

tion • *bà ȡmá dí ȡ wáá dùsèē ñ kpá dààmì.* They told me to come to Dicie, but I ignored it.

daamuŋ [dáámúŋ] *n.* lit. tree-under 1 resting area. 2 location for initiation. *pl. daamuno.*

daamuŋputii [dáámúmpütíí] lit. tree-anus cf: daakputii *n.* tree stump. *pl. daamuŋputii.*

dääna [däàäná] *n.* mark on animal. *pl. däänasa.*

daanää [dáánäǟ] *n.* branch of a tree.

dääni [däàñi] *v.* 1 to mark domestic animals in order to identify and show ownership • *ññ píná dääñí õò sélé wó.* My father marked his animals. 2 to monitor someone closely • *kàlá káálí tiwíí rē ká ȡmá dí ȡ dääñí õò hâàŋ.* Kala travelled so he asked me to monitor his wife.

daanɔŋ [dáánɔŋ] *n.* fruit or seed of a tree • *bà ȡmá dí já dűü dáánɔnná.* They say we must sow seeds. *pl. daanɔna.*

daajuukpoŋpolo [dáájuúkpóŋkpòlò] cf: kpóŋkpóŋpaatfaktʃɔgii *n.* type of ant that lives in trees.

daajmëna (var. of daajmënköŋkoŋ)

daajmënköŋkoŋ [dààjmëŋkónkóŋ] (var. daajmëna) *n.* Fine-Spotted Woodpecker (*Campetherina punctuligera*). *pl. daajmenkoŋkonso.*

daapelimpé [dààpélímpé] *n.* wooden board. *pl. daapelimpesa.*

daapetii [dààpétíí] cf: pëtii *n.* bark. *pl. daapetra.*

daari [dààrì] *v.* to be half asleep
• *gìlà ìì tíjì tíjì ìì dááròò*. Leave your book, you are almost asleep.

daari [dáárfí] *v.* to take off the top, as in removing a dried layer of t.z. or porridge, leaves on the surface of the water, or as in shelling membrane from egg, to dig and scratch only the surface • *dáárfí à níí júú kindójó tíjì tà*. Remove the dirt on the surface of the water. *dáárfí à háglibúmmò tómá* dáárfí ò *díànnéé rā*, ò *wà bí gáttí*. Toma removed the layer of black soil. *tómá dáárfí ò díànnéé rā*, ò *wà bí gáttí*. Toma removed some soil in front of his door, it is no more heightened.

daasääär [dààsääär] *n.* carver. *pl. daasääära*.

daasiiga [dààsìigà] *n.* 1 of trees pushing, rubbing, or pressing each other, abrasion between branches • *tfágónnåå gbél kpágá dààsìigà rá*. Chagunaaa's fig trees are rubbing and pressing each other. 2 suicide • *à báál tá dààsìigà rá à sòwà*. The man hanged himself and died.

daasiama [dààsìàmá] *n.* type of tree. *pl. daasiansa*.

daasota [dààsòtá] *n.* type of tree (*Conaraceae*). *pl. daasòrasa*.

daatsuma [dààtòmá] *n.* chin. *pl. daatvmasa*.

daatfaraga [dààtfárágà] *n.* forked stick, branch. *pl. daatfaragasa*.

daazòvna [dààzòòná] *n.* 1 any spoon. 2 gourd ladle used to serve

soup or porridge *syn: fazej* . *pl. daazzewnasa*.

dabaara [dàbáárà] *n.* power of a shrine, spiritual power • *kòòlìi kpágá dàbááràsá kínkán ná*. Kuolii has a lot of power. *pl. dabaarasa*.

dabaga [dàbáyà] *cf: gaadin* *n.* garden.

dabuo [dàbúó] *cf: tshíë* *n.* deserted settlement • *lùóbânñ tómá líí dún-líúó dàbúó ró*. The people of the *lubanñ* section came from a place called *dunluo*. *pl. dabuoso*.

dadäí [dàdäíí] *n.* numbness, as in limbs falling asleep • *ù tféá ù néñ ní siì, dàdäíí kpágáò*. I slept on my arm, when I got up it was numb.

dadwoñ [dàdwoñ] *cf: dwana* *n.* evening, approx. 16:00 - 18:00, before darkness. *pl. dadwoñsa*.

¹**daga** [dàýá] *cf: kparaama* *v.* to be necessary • *à wà jáá dàgá dí ñý jáá jáàlífé*. It is not necessary that I become a Muslim. *à dágáó dí ñ dí siimáà tʃòpìsi bíimüñ*. It is necessary that I eat food every day.

²**daga** [dágà] *n.* box, usually belonging to a person who passed away and containing personal items. (ultm. Latin, via Hausa <*àdakå*>). *pl. dagasa*.

dagataa [dàgátáà] *n.* language of the Dagaaba.

dagaø [dàgáø] *n.* Dagaare person. (Waali). *pl. dagaabasa*.

dagboño [dàgbòñó] *n.* type of mouse

usually found in or around the house. *pl. dagbojoso*.

dalía [dálíè] *n.* cooking place. *pl. da-lisa.*

dalibosa [dálífbòá] *n.* inside of the three-stone stove. *pl. dalibosa.*

dama [dàmà] *v.* to disturb, trouble, or bother • *tíí dàmà nìñ tō-mā.* Do not disturb my work. (Hausa < *dàmà* ‘bother’).

damba [dàmbá] *nprop.* third month. (Waali < *dùmbâ*).

dambafulanaan [dàmbàfúlánáán] *nprop.* fifth month. (Waali < *dùmbàfúlánáán*).

dambakokoroko [dàmbàkòkòròkó] *nprop.* fourth month. (Waali < *dùmbàkòkòròkó*).

dambia [dàmbià] *n.* type of hyena. *pl. dambiasa.*

dampø [dámpø] *n.* reservoir, lake retained by a dam. (ultm. English < *dam*). *pl. dampøsa.*

dandafulee [dàndàfùlèè] *cf:* **zinza-puree** *n.* type of bat. [Mo]. *pl. dandafulese.*

dandafulii [dàndàfúlíí] *n.* small pieces of charcoal falling at the bottom of the coal-pot. *pl. dandafulie.*

dandapøsa [dàndàpøsà] (*var. pøna*) *n.* beard. *pl. dandapøsøsa.*

dansane [dànséñé] *n.* metal cooking pot. (Akan < *dàdíséñ*). *pl. dansane-sa.*

dansatfi [dánsátfi] *n.* smock without sleeves. (Hausa). *pl. dansatfise.*

dansatfiwie [dánsátfiwìé] *n.* smock without sleeves. (Hausa). *pl. dan-satfiwise.*

danta [dàntá] *n.* clan appellation, praise name, or title, used in identifying people who are members of a certain clan division • *i wòsá dán-tá káá jàà bááj?* What is your clan title? *pl. dantasa.*

dantig [dàntig] *n.* grinding bowl. *pl. dantigna.*

dapè [dàpjè] *n.* type of metal. (Waali < *dàpjè*). *pl. dapësa.*

dañgorugo [dàñgórúgó] *n.* dagger, a knife with a pointed blade slightly bent downwards.

dañii [dáñíí] *n.* wound • *à biè kpá kí-sié dó òvò tìntìj dáñíí rá.* The child wounded himself with his knife. (W. Oti-Volta < *dañ-*). *pl. dañie.*

dañkpala [dàñkpàlá] *n.* walking stick. (Waali < *dañkpali*). *pl. dañ-kpalsa.*

dañji sie [dáñjí sié] *cf:* **siidajña** *cpx.v.* to entertain, to make things interesting • *jírà hámónà bá wá dáñ-jí já síé.* Call the children to come and entertain us.

1dara [dárà] *n.* draughts, type of board game. (Waali < *dárà*).

2dara [dárà] *cf:* **møga** *cf:* **heñsi** *v.* to lie, to deceive • *nìñ píná ñmá dí ñ tí wàà dárà wíé.* My father said that I should not tell lies. *i dáráó!* You are lying!

daraga [dàràgá] *n.* reluctance, unwillingness • *dì i fí wà jáá dà-*

ràgàtſíná, i kàá pàrà à kùó pētūū záaŋ. If you were not reluctant, you would finish weeding the farm today. (Hausa).

datſibaal [dàtſibáál] *n.* brother in-law.

datſie [dàtſié] *n.* brother or sister in-law. *pl.* *datſiesa*.

datſiháaŋ [dàtſiháaŋ] *n.* sister in-law.

daware [dàwárè] *cf:* **zamba** *n.* action against the benefit or prosperity of someone • dàwárè wàá sáá tɔ́. Negative actions cannot build a community.

daworo [dáwòrō] *n.* type of bell used to alert people of an announcement, Gh. Eng. gong-gong. (Akan <*dawuro*>).

¹**de** [dé] *cf:* **baaj** *adv.* there • i ná lɔ́-lì rā dé nii? Do you see a car over there?

²**de** (*var. of* **di**)

de ni [dénì] *lit.* there-on *adv.phr.* upon this, thereupon • nikáná sáyéé à dì mérnà ziàŋ, déni ò báaŋ sií. Many people were sitting and laughing at Ziang, thereupon he became angry.

degeni (*var. of* **degni**)

degni [dègini] *v.* (*var.* **dejili**, **dejini**, **degeni**) 1 to put straight, to be straight, to unbend, to set in a direction • tié à pítſíŋ dègini. Let the yam mound row be straight. tié à ziáá déjíli. Let the wall be straight.

2 tolerant • à tóótiná wá dègini-jé. The landlord is not tolerant. 3 to be honest, faithful • à bié dégínijójóó ò kà kpá ḥmì molébíí à wá tíéŋ. The child is honest since he brought my money back.

deginii [déginií] *n.* straightness.

dembelee [dèmbélèè] *n.* place within the compound where fowls are kept. *pl.* **dembelese**.

dendil [dèndil] *n.* location outside the house but still within the village's or section's borders, where community or sectional events generally take place (e.g. funeral ground, dance floor, large meeting). *pl.* **dendile**.

dendilhíesi [dèndílhíësi] *lit.* outside.ground-vibration *n.* bull-roarer *syn:* **sigmawiilii**; **tebinsig-maa** .

dendilsanjana [dèndílsānjānà] *n.* someone who sits at home or stays at the village, who does not go to the farm.

dendilsigmaa [dèndílsígmàā] *lit.* outside.ground-Sigmaa *n.* type of dirge where men wearing masks and costumes perform during the day at the funeral ground.

deŋii [dénii] *n.* storing grain, like **siga** or **siwie**, with ash for conservation • sigá déŋii wáá tʃágáá. Preserving the cow peas will not keep them from going bad.

dejili (*var. of* **degni**)

dejini (*var. of* **degni**)

deŋsi [déŋsí] *v.* 1 to balance on head • à *biniháàŋ tʃ’ŋà níí à káá dèŋsí*. The girl carries water on her head without holding it. 2 to raise one’s body to gain height in order to see • *déŋsí pínè tókóró ní sááfi tʃ’rá dé*. Raise your body and look on the window frame, the key lies there.

deti [détì] *n.* date. (ultm. English). *pl. detise.*

¹**dèla** [délá] *v.* to rely on • ñ wàá *kìn dèlá ñìñì måáwiè ní*. I cannot rely on my aunt.

²**dèla** [délá] *v.* to sit and lean back • *sáyá à brà dèlá à kór ní*. Sit and lean back on the chair.

délembíi [délém̩bíí] *n.* stone of the three-stone stove. *pl. delembia.*

dënsí [dënsí] *v.* to stretch, pull, and press body parts • *dënsí ñìñ nébié tīeŋ*. Stretch my fingers for me (in order to crack a knuckle).

dënsí hogo [dënsí hógó] *lit.* stretch bone *v.* to exercise • *ì káá kòntì dí i wāā dënsí ìi hógó*. You will be weak if you do not exercise.

dëwa [dèwà] *v.* to set up the main structure of a flat-roofed mud house, with the forked poles and the cross beams in place, but without the mud • *ñ dëwá ñìñ dià rá ká ñ há wà júowó*. I finished with the house but I have not started with the roof mud.

di [dì] *v. cf. tɔga* 1 to eat • *bà wà dí siimáà záaŋ*. They did not eat food

today. 2 to be enskinned, to hold a chieftancy • à *báhié káá dí à kòró*. The old man will be enskinned. 3 to be sharp • à *kísié káá dí kinkán nā*. The knife is sharp. *ant: gbul*

di jawa [dí jàwā] *lit.* eat market *v.* to trade • ò *káálì ó ká dí mótičú já-wà*. She is going to trade at the Motigu market.

dibi [dibí] *v.* to ask for forgiveness using sober words *syn: ¹mɔsí¹*. (ultm. Gonja).

diebie [diébié] *cf. dʒebalaŋ* (*var. musi*) *n.* cat. (W. Oti-Volta ‘room-child’). *pl. diebise.*

dieke [dièkè] *num.* one *Enum of: dígimaja¹*.

diese [dísé] *n.* dream. *pl. diese.*

diesi [diésí] *v.* 1 to dream • *ñìñ háàŋ díi diésùù káá ñmā wíē*. My wife was talking while dreaming. 2 to inhabit spiritually, to live in, as when an ancestor spirit inhabits another body • *ñìñ måá díésí ñìñ biniháán nà*. I gave my late mother’s name to my daughter.

digilii [digìlìi] *n.* type of eel. *pl. digilie.*

digboŋ [dígboŋ] *n.* hunter rank of a person who has killed an elephant. (Gonja).

dindia [díndià] *n.* kitchen.

dintna [dintnà] *cf. díntʃääŋ* *n.* lantern, lamp. [Mo].

díŋ [díŋ] *n.* 1 fire • *tiè díŋ dí*. Feed the fire. à *díŋ márá à díū*. The fire

burns well. 2 electricity or light of cycle or lorry • *dùsèè ní díj wáá túó*. In DUCIE there is no electricity. já búúré dín né já tfáágí já báá-trì. We need electricity to charge our batteries. *pl. dinne*.

diŋbamɔsii [dím'bámɔsì] *lit.* fire-place-set.fire *n.* kitchen. *pl. diŋbamɔsie*.

diŋdaa [dindáá] *n.* firewood. *pl. din-daasa*.

diŋhala [dinhálá] *n.* charcoal fire.

diŋkímmɔnii [dínkímmɔnfí] *n.* device to carry fire. *pl. diŋkímmɔnie*.

diŋpaparee [dimpápàréé] *n.* fire spark. *pl. diŋpaparesa*.

diŋtɔl [dintɔ́l] *cf.* tɔl *n.* flame. *pl. diŋtɔlsa*.

diŋtʃääŋ [dintʃääŋ] *cf.* dintma *n.* lantern, lamp • *tsògò à díntʃääŋ*. Light the lantern. *pl. diŋtʃäänsa*.

diŋtʃääŋdaa [dintʃääŋdáá] *cf.* na-jelingbielie *n.* lamp holder. *pl. diŋtʃääŋdaasa*.

diŋtʃena [dintʃénà] *lit.* fire-friend *n.* Abyssinian Roller, type of bird (*Coracias abyssinicus*). *pl. diŋtʃen-sa*.

1dí [dí] *conn.* 1 if • *dí ò wáawáá, ñì ff nāō rà*. If he had come, I would have seen him. 2 when • *dí ñì wá kòò, ñì néndúl sii jáà lú-gúsúú*. When I get tired, my right eye vibrates.

2dr [dr] *comp.* that • *ñì wá láá dí dí gbòló kàá wàà*. I do not believe that Gbolo will come.

3dí [dí] *pv.* imperfective particle, in topic-marking strategy • *sígá rá ò dí tíè*. It is beans he is chewing. wáá ò dí káálí. It is to Wa he is going.

4dí [dí] *conn.* of doing simultaneously • *kpá siimá hájì dí káálí*. Take this food away!

5dí [dí] *cf.* diare (var. ²de) *pv.* yesterday • *i dí ná ñì ì biè rëë?* Did you see my son yesterday?

6dí [dí] *comp.* do, imperative particle • *dí tfó*. Run!

díá [díá] *n.* house. *pl. díisa*.

díá tñj (var. of diare)

díanñä [dianñä] *lit.* house-mouth *n.* door. *pl. dranñäsa*.

díanñäbøwie [dianñäbøwié] *lit.* house-mouth-hole-small *cf.* tokoro *n.* window. *pl. dranñäbuweise*.

diare [diarè] *cf.* dí (var. díá tñj) *n.* yesterday • *diarè tñj ò dí wá*. He came yesterday.

díatína [diàtíiná] *n.* landlord of a single compound. *pl. díusatvma*.

díatvma [diàtómà] *n.* group of people belonging to the same household. *pl. díatvma*.

1diesi [díesf] *v.* 1 to feed and rear animal • *à báàl kà díesí à bëëñ ná*. The man is feeding the goat. 2 to bring up, to take care of a child • *námùy wàà díesí à biè hájì*. No one takes care of this child.

diësi [dîësî] *v.* to be drunk • wáá nőž
síj diësi tʃòà gbél múj ní. He drank
alcohol and he is now lying drunk
under the tree. *syn:* ¹*bugo*²

digie [dígìè] *n.* 1 traitor. 2 type
of bird that alerts hunters about a
nearby animal. *pl.* *digesa*.

digu (*cntrvar.* *digimaŋa*)

diguituo [dígíftúò] (*var.* *sanduso*)
num. nine. *pl.* *diguituoso*.

digimaŋa [dígimáŋá] *cntr.* **digu**
1 *num.* one *Enum:* dieke . 2
num. someone • píési dígíí à búkù
jògùló. Ask someone the price of
the book. 3 *n.* same • já bárá tòŋ wá
jàà dígimáŋá. We do not have the
same skin. *pl.* *digimanasa*.

digina [dígìnà] *n.* ear. *pl.* *diginsa*.

digimbirinse [dígimbìrìnsé] *lit.* ear-
full *cf:* *wɔŋ* *n.* deafness.

digimbirinsetna [dígimbìrin-
sétfná] *cf:* *wɔŋ* *n.* person who
is hard of hearing.

diginbwa (*var. of* *maafadiginbwa*)

diginwñlh [dígìnwiłlfí] *n.* earache.
pl. *diginwñlie*.

diginlñlh [dígìnlñlfí] *n.* otitis. *pl.*
diginlñlie.

diginvienõõra [dígìnvìènõõrà] *lit.*
ear-refuse-hear *n.* reclusive person,
who does not participate, refuses to
take advice, who does not do what
he or she has been asked, told or is
expected to do. *pl.* *diginvienõõrasa*.

dígbelgvøs [dígbèl̩gú] *n.* Senegal
Coucal (*Centropus senegalensis*). *pl.*
digbelgvøsa.

dil [dííl] *n.* inhabitant who was
born and raised in the same com-
munity • págárá jáá dùsiè dííl
lá. Nyagari is an inhabitant of
Ducie. *pl.* *dilla*.

dinj [dííŋ] *cf:* *nídinj*; *kñjdinj*;
widinj; *bidinj* *n.* true, real, proper.
pl. *dima*.

dilumo [dílùmò] *n.* back room
where one keeps one's personal
items.

dini [díníf] *n.* soup, Gh. Eng.
light soup, mainly tomatoes, pep-
per, and water.

dinja [dínjà] *v.* to imitate • dààrt kínà
dinja nárá kínkánà. Daari can imi-
tate people very well. *syn:* ²*tfaasi*

dijøs [dín᷑s] *n.* someone's interest
and choice of lifestyle • nà díjøs síí-
maá ï dí wòhåå hán ní. This after-
noon I ate the food I like.

díra [díř:] *v.* to have a closed, re-
duced or small internal space • mñ
pàtſigíí wá dírá. My stomach has a
lot of space. à sìmá díráó. The bam-
boo stick is not hollowed, its cavity
is filled.

dísá [dísá] *n.* soup. *pl.* *disasa*.

dísugulii [dísùgùlì] *n.* multi-storey
building. *pl.* *disugulee*.

dítſvølh [dítſòòlñ] *n.* sleeping room.
pl. *dítſvølee*.

dobii [dóbíí] *n.* hail. *pl.* *dobie*.

dokagal [dòkágàl] *n.* rainbow.

dokeg [dókég] *n.* type of centipede (*Chilopoda*). *pl. dokege*.

dolo [dòló] *n.* largest roofing beam, first layer of flat roof. *pl. doloso*.

dondoli [dòndólí] *n.* fingerling, any fish that is very small and is at an early stage of development. *pl. dondole*.

donii [dóníí] *lit.* rain-water *n.* rain-water • *dóníí súóníjáñ*. The rain water is cold.

donj [dónj] *n.* 1 dirt • à *bisé káá dōsgì* *bàdón ní rē*. The children are playing in a dirty place. 2 black • à *gàr jáá ádōn nō*. The cloth is black. *synt: bummo*

donji [dónjí] *n.* dirtiness • à *biè tágátà dónjí tíj írī wáwérē*. The type of dirtiness on the child's shirt is not good. *ant: tʃääñi*¹

dojo [dònjò] *v.* to be dirty, to soil • *jàà níf ttè ñ só, ñ dójó kinkán nà*. Fetch water for me to bath, I am very dirty. *ant: tʃääñi*²

dojojai [dónjójái] *n.* menses *syn: nisɔnni; tʃagasii*.

dojotíma [dojotíma] *n.* unhygienic person.

doju [dònjú] *nprop.* twelfth month. (Waali <*dònjú*>).

dojumakuna [dònjùmákúná] *nprop.* eleventh month. (Waali <*dònjomákúná*>).

doga [dògà] *nprop.* Doga, shrine of the village Holumuni.

døgsí [dóyísí] *v.* to punish • *tíí døgsí à lâliiwié*. Do not punish the orphan.

døkta [dóyštà] *n.* doctor. (ultm. English). *pl. døktasa*.

dønii [dóníí] *cf: døsø* *n.* water accumulated from soaking, sieving, and dripping *døsø*.

¹**døŋj** [dóŋj] *n.* comrade, a person in one's social class, a mate. *pl. døŋya*.

²**døŋj** [dóŋj] *n.* enemy. (Waali <*døma* 'enemy'). *pl. døma*.

³**døŋj** [dóŋj] *n.* placenta • à *bié døŋj lííwáó*. The child's placenta is out. *pl. dønna*.

døŋjà [dòŋjà] *recp.* each other • à *nibáálá bàliè kpó døŋjā rà*. The two men killed each other. *lágàmì døŋjà*. Join them to each other.

døŋtíma [dóntíinà] *cf: tøgama* *n.* person of the same size, or same status fellow. *pl. døntínsa*.

døsí [dósí] *v.* to stalk, walk stealthily towards • *døsí kà kpàgà bøðj háj tíēj*. Walk stealthily and catch this goat for me. *nàljkpáánsá já døsí sél lé àká jùò*. Hunters normally walk stealthily towards animals before shooting.

draaba [dráábà] *n.* driver. (ultm. English).

dugo [dùgò] *v.* to infest, to ravage • à *nàmmíí dùgóú, tʃággíí zóóvá*. The maize was ravaged, weevils infested it.

dugun [dùgúŋ] *n.* spiritual location of a village section or division, place where people gather for rituals.

duguŋnɔ̄ā [dùgúnnɔ̄ā] *n.* entrance of a spiritual location. *pl. dugun-nɔ̄asa.*

duho [dùhó] *n.* seedling. *pl. du-hoso.*

dul [dúl] **1** *n.* right (side) *ant:* ¹gal¹. **2** *reln.* right • wáá tʃɔ̄à ii néŋ dül nī. It is on your right-hand side. *ant:* ¹gal² *pl. dullo.*

dulugu [dùlúgù] *n.* Abyssinian ground hornbill, type of bird (*Bucorvus abyssinicus*). *pl. duluguso.*

dundatuo (*var. of dunlatuo*)

dunlatuo [dùnlàtúò] (*var. dundatuo*) *n.* gall midge, type of insect (*Cecidomyiidae fam.*). *pl. dunlatoso.*

dujusi [dùŋùsì] *cf: zeŋsi* *v.* to limp • hèmbíí ré tawá ḥv̄ náá, àwíé ḥv̄ dì dýjúsì kék̄. A nail entered his leg, that is why he is limping like that.

duo [dúò] *n.* asleep • à biè dí tʃéá dúó wíwéré rē. The child slept well yesterday. *dúó kpágān nà.* I feel sleepy.

duon [dúòŋ] *n.* rain • à dúóŋ wāā-wāō. The rain has come. *pl. doso.*

duonkii (*var. of duonkiir*)

duonkiir [dúónkiír] (*var. duonkii, duonfjiir*) *n.* type of tree syn: *gbřákvl.* [Du].

duonjsɔ̄i [dúónjsɔ̄i] *cf: so duon* *n.* lightning initiation, mystic protection against lightning.

duonfjiir (*var. of duonkiir*)

duori [dùòri] *v.* to assist somebody in crossing a water body • kpá lōŋ dùòri sükú bísē. Take the calabash and assist the school children in crossing the river.

duoso [dùòsó] *n.* information • jálisá límáñj tíé dùòsó dí námùŋ tʃí vó-wà nɔ̄á. The Muslim imam gave the information that everybody should fast tomorrow. *pl. duosuso.*

dusee (*var. of dusie*)

duselii [dùsélíi] *n.* **1** person from Ducie. **2** lect of Ducie. *pl. duselee.*

dusi [dùsì] *v.* to put on or increase in weight and size • à báál hāñj tñj dù-sió. The man's wife has increased in weight.

dusie [dùsíé] (*var. dusee*) *n.* Ducie village.

duu [dúú] (*var. ¹zugo, nãäkpaa-zugo*) *n.* Lappet-Faced Vulture, type of bird (*Torgos tracheliotus*). *pl. duuno.*

dūū [dùū] *v.* to sow, to plant • bà ñmá dí já dūū dáánsná. They say that we must sow seeds. (Gonja <dù ‘plant yam’).

dv [d̄v̄] *v.* **1** to put on, to put in, to put bait in water, or something into water to make bad, to dip • já ká d̄v̄ nññ rā. We are putting bait in the water. *d̄v̄ b̄v̄rā sín nì.* Put the fermenting substance. **2** to seem, to

appear • à dɔ̄ kìù bà kà bùúríí dìsiè né. It seems that they are looking for you in Ducie. 3 to be • jìnìé ìì jéná kā dó. How is your father?

dɔv tɔv [dɔ̄ tɔ̄] cpx.v. to take care
• nñ dó à bié tóó rā. I am taking care of the child. ìì dó nñ kùò tím tóó rää. Are you taking care of my farm?

dɔa [dɔ̄à] v. (var. ¹dwo) 1 to be in, at or on, to be located • kípó dɔ̄s sìndìà ní. Kipo is in the bar. 2 to adhere to a religion • ò dɔ̄s járfí ní. He is a Muslim.

dɔana [dɔ̄àná] cf: dadɔoŋ n. evening • dɔ̄àná ní ñ kàá kàà-li diá. I will go to the house this evening. [Mo].

dɔani [dɔ̄àni] v. to greet in the evening • i wà dɔ̄ání má wòlëë? Didn't you greet your people?

dɔasi [dɔ̄àsì] pl.v. to arrange items in a certain way • kíná àjñ̄ àjñ̄ rā, à hääj̄ dɔ̄sì à tféléé. The woman arranged the tomatoes in groups of 5.

dɔgv [dɔ̄gύ] n. type of dance.

dɔgvli [dɔ̄gvli] v. to be near to • à báál dögöli dià ní rà. The man is near the house. dáánón tfóá dögöli à fàlá ní rà. A fruit lies near the calabash. ant: ¹bolo

dɔgvni [dɔ̄gvni] v. to chase away, to be after something or someone • dögöni à váá tå. Chase away the dog.

dɔgvsa [dɔ̄gvssá] [dɔ̄gvssá] n. condition similar to diarrhoea, but with little stool and more mucus.

dɔvhää [dɔ̄vhää] lit. bite-bitter n. type of snake syn: suonjdaawie .

dɔksa [dɔ̄yəsá] n. dysentery (*Amoebiasis*).

dɔkpene (var. of dɔkpene)

dɔkpene [dɔ̄kpènì] (var. dɔkpene) n. Royal python (*Python regius*). pl. dɔkpene.

¹**dɔma** [dɔ̄mà] v. to bite • à ól dɔ̄máñ nā. The mouse bit me.

²**dɔma** [dɔ̄má] cf: nídɔma n. soul or spirit contained in most organisms. pl. dɔmasa.

dɔmii [dɔ̄míf] n. bite.

dɔniä [dɔ̄niä] n. world. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*dūniyā*>).

dɔnkafuuri [dɔ̄nkáfùrì] lit. bite-and-blow n. insincerity, hypocrisy.

dɔnna [dɔ̄nnâ] n. behaviour or attitude • bà dɔ̄nná háj̄ bà kà dójé nñj̄ tfómáð. The behaviour that they display is bad.

dɔnsi [dɔ̄nsì] pl.v. to bite • à váá kà dúnsi à bié gíláó òò bárá múj̄ jàà pèmpélíé. The dog bit the child and his body is full of marks.

dɔnsii [dɔ̄nsíí] n. type of maggot found on dogs but also on filthy places. pl. dɔnsie.

dɔŋmɛŋ [dɔ̄ŋméñ] n. type of Red-lined snake (*Bothropthalmus lineatus*). pl. dɔŋmësa.

dəŋməŋbummo [dəŋmém'búmmò]

n. type of green-lined snake (*Hapsidophrys* gen.). *pl.* *dsgmeybulunso.*

dəŋmənsiama [dəŋmēnsìàmá]

n. type of green-lined snake (*Hapsidophrys* gen.). *pl. desymesiansa.*

dəŋgal (*var. of dəŋgal*)

døntʃø [døntʃó] *n.* state of a person
when his or her soul has left *syn:*
näähääta.

dɔŋwie [dɔŋwié] *n.* type of snake.
pl. dɔŋwie.

¹dva (*var. of dva*)

2²dɔ̄ [dɔ̄ɔ̄] *v.* to fetch water in large quantity, specifically at a well or river • ḷ ymá ñ ká dɔ̄ɔ̄ nñp pòl ní. I want to fetch water from the river.

³**dəʊ** [dɒð] *cf.* kāð *cf.* dənɪ n. sold as grey, crushable solid, liquefied and used as soup ingredient, but formerly used in the making of gun powder. *pl.* **dəʊs**.

⁴**dɔɔ** [dɔɔ̄] *n.* animal offering to a shrine • *niñ dɔɔ jáá piésíí rē*. My of-

d₃

dʒaa [dʒàá] *adv.* unknowingly, unexpectedly, something not complying with one's assumption • *dʒáá, kén nè, dórñá dō*. So this is how the world is. *káásim, dʒàá i kpá háán nā*. Kasim, it was unknown to me that you got married. (Waali).

dzaabíridža [džáábírídžà] *n.* mixture

ferring is a sheep.

dɔ̄ga [dɔ̄d̄gá] *n.* play • *hàmónà kàà búúrè dɔ̄gá.* Children are fond of playing.

d̥w̥agi [d̥w̥d̥g̥i] *v.* to play • à *biniháàŋ*
àní ò *ts̥ensá* káá *d̥ɔ̥ɔ̥gi* zágá ní. The
girl and her friends are playing in
the yard.

dòsì [dòsì] v. cf: **pømmi** 1 to quench, extinguish a fire, to put out • *dòsì* *díŋ háŋ*. Quench this fire. 2 to erase, clean, or cancel • *dòsì* *tì náánàsfè tñn tà à dìànññ nì*. Erase your foot prints by the door. à *tétsà gílá bà dòsì à sévbñññ rā*, ká ò *sé-wá á fñlëë*. The teacher made them clean the old writing and he wrote a new one. 3 to blink, with one or two eyes • *dòsì síí*. Close an eye.

dăšă [dăšă] (*Pl. var. dăsta*) *n.* African rock python (*Python sebae*). *pl. dăšsa.*

dṄgala [dṄgala] (*var.* dṄngala)
n. type of snake. *pl.* *dṄgalsa*.

of kinds, people or items • *nibú-dzáábíridzásá ká sānā dé nì*. People from many different ethnic groups are sitting there. *pl. dzaabiridzasa*.

džaana [džáánà] *n.* door mat.
(Waali <*džaana* ‘door mat’).

džaanjää [džáánjää] cf: filii *n.* bearing tray to carry load made with the fi-

bre of the climber *tfinie*. *pl.* **dzaa-ŋāāsa**.

dzabelaj [dʒàbèlàn] *n.* henna (*Lawsonia inermis*).

dzagala [dʒàyàlà] *n.* a third person referred to in a conversation, but not named. (Waali <*dzegala*>).

dzanII (*var. of genII*)

dzanse [dʒánsè] *n.* type of dance. (ultm. English <jazz>).

dzebuni [dʒèbùnì] *nprop.* Jebuni, person's name.

dzebalaj [dʒèbálàn] *cf:* diebie (*var. amio*) *n. cat.* [*Gu*]. (Gonja).

dzebère [dʒèbèrè] *n.* porridge made out of cassava flour and boiled water.

dzebugokpørgII [dʒébúgòkpórgíí] *n.* gunpowder container. *pl.* **dzebugokpørgie**.

dzedzeri (*var. of gegera*) *..*

dzeffé [dʒèfè] *n.* land-clearing period in the rainy season when the grasses are well grown and thick, crucial step for growing yam. *pl.* **dzèfèssá**.

dzeffebummo [dʒèfèbúmmò] *n.* farm land with a considerable amount of moisture in the soil. Usually within August and September.

dzeffepømma [dʒèfèpømmá] *n.* dry farm land, or land with little moisture in the soil, usually in October and November.

dzenII (*var. of genII*)

dżeręga [dżèręgá] *cf:* gęregę *n.* sickness, disease. *pl.* **dżeregasa**.

dżergu [dżérgíí] *n.* sick and weak person. *pl.* **dżergie**.

dżetı [dżètì] *n.* lion *synt:* **nuzeñtrına**. *pl.* **dżetisa**.

dzigela [dʒigèlà] *cf:* bòla *n.* elephant. [Mo].

dżinedzine [dżinèdżinè] *ideo.* (*var. ginegine*) 1 sky appearance that suggests rain • à *tiimúj dżinèdżinè*. The east is not clear. 2 type of visual percept, mixture of colours • à *dámpønīj dżinèdżinè*, à *wà wéré zàáj*. The dam water is greyish and greenish, it is no good today.

dziendɔŋ [džiéndɔŋ] *n.* a twin, one of a pair of twins. *pl.* **dziendɔya**.

dziensa [džéñsá] *n.* twins. *pl.* **dziensa**.

dziéra [džírá] *n.* sieve or sifter, made out of woven screen, mainly for flour. (Waali <*dziéra*>).

džifa [džífà] *n.* pocket. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*aljifu* 'sheath').

džiga [džígà] *v.* to be mature, to master, to be brave, to be good at something • *pél lé tíj kà džigá*, wáá káá ūū lálfíí. The burial specialist who masters his work, he is the one who buries the corpse.

džigisi [džigísì] *v.* to act or say proudly • *dráábà háj kàà džigísì ní lóóli mílímíí ní*. This driver is proud of driving a car. à *bipølífí džigísíjáó*

dí ñ kàá kìn páráó, ñ pàrà kùsì ká tñj. The boy said proudly that he could farm but failed and ran away.

dzimbentv [džímbèntv] *nprop.* first month. (Waali <*džímbèntj*>).

dzogo [džógó] *n.* character or attitude • zàáj hámòná *dzogó* wá wírē. The character of today's children is not good. *pl. dzogoso*.

dzoñkoho [džòñkohò] *n.* false accusation. *pl. dzognkohoso*.

dzora [džòrà] *n.* type of plant with soft stem, used by children in a game with the same name • já ká

jágásí *džòràsá*. Let us go play the game (Waali <*džòra*>).

džudžumo (*var. of džumodžumo*)

džumburo [džùmbúrò] *n.* soup ingredient, also used as medicine for new mothers. (Waali <*džùmbúri*>). *pl. dzumburuso*.

džumodžumo [džùmòdžùmò] (*var. džudžumo*) *ideo.* type of visual percept • tiimúj dó *džùmòdžùmò ró*. The east appears very dark and has a menacing colour.

džwɔŋ [džwɔŋ] *n.* hammock. *pl. dzwɔŋ*.

e

eeka [?éékà] *n.* acre. (ultm. English).

eesi [?éési] *n.* acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), a dis-

ease of the human immune system caused by infection with human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). (ultm. English).

ɛ

éε [?éé] (*var. õõ*) *interj.* yes, expresses affirmation.

egla [?èylá] *n.* jaw. *pl. eglasa*.

embeli [?émbélí] *n. cf: siebii* 1 shoulder. 2 wing. *pl. embele*.

embeltfugul [?émbéltfùgùl] *n.* shoul-

der joint. *pl. embeltfugulo*.

ensí [?ènsi] *v.* to squeeze, to twist, to press • ènsí lùmbúrò níi tiè ññ bié. Squeeze the orange juice for your child. ènsí à kintfàgàsíè à bérà. Twist the washed clothes and dry them.

f

faa [fàà] *n.* ancient • kérñ fñ wàà jáá fàà ní. This was not done in those

days. nín nà fàà tómà fñ jáá. This is what the ancestors used to do.

[Tp].

fāā [fāā] v. 1 to do by force, do harshly • ḥ kpá bááj tʃìàsì ḥò gář fāā. I tear her cloth by force angrily. tʃòsím písá fāā, sìi wá. As soon as the day breaks, get up and come. 2 to depend on others cunningly and abusively • à báál fāā ḥò tʃèná dí díù. The man depends on his friend abusively all the time for eating. 3 to draw milk from • fó-láhááj kàà fāā n̄?il lá. The Fulani woman draws milk from the udder of the cow. 4 to press out • má ká fāā kàlá kínsój ḥò nāápégíí ní à níf múj lìi. You should go and press out the pus out of the swelling on Kala's leg.

faal [fáál] (var. faatɔma, ²faara) n. ancestor • fáálá fíí lāáré tó-ná. Our grandparents used to wear skins. pl. faala.

faamí [fààmì] v. 1 to grab hold of, as in wrestling, to put arm around • à báál fāamí ḥò dñtífná lúrò bà lógií ní. The man grabbed the testicles of his enemy during wrestling. 2 to be tight • à nààtàòpúró fáamí n̄n nàà-sá wá. The shoes are tight for my feet.

¹faara [fáárà] n. Father, title given to Roman Catholic priest, may be extended to ministers of other denominations. (ultm. English <father>).

²faara (var. of faal)

¹faari [fààrì] v. 1 to plaster or smear • iì sèléménté kánáō i kàá fāarì iì

díä? Is your cement enough to plaster your house? 2 to rub along, to scrape against • à lóólisá àliè wá fāarì dñjá báàn ní. The two cars scraped against each other right here.

2faari [fáárfí] v. to be between, to put between • à kàrántíē fáárfí à láv ló-gún ní. The cutlass is between the side of the farm hut.

faasí [fàásì] v. to be careless, negligent, to not be serious • dí i fáásì à lóóli káá tʃá kàálí ká tʃá. If you are negligent the car will leave you.

faasii [fáásíí] n. carelessness.

faatɔma (var. of faal)

fabummo [fàbúmmò] n. type of gourd, used to mix local medicine.

fakelíia [fákèlíè] n. broken piece of gourd. pl. fakelisa.

fakiine [fákìiné] (var. fatfine) n. index finger. pl. fakiinese.

fala [fàlā] cf: kapɔsifala cf: loŋ n. section of a gourd used as container for liquid. pl. falasa.

falabii (var. of fobii)

falanej [fàlánéj] lit. calabash-arm n. gourd stem. pl. falanese.

falinj [falinj] n. low land.

falinjbusa [falinjbusá] n. valley. pl. falinjbusa.

fapɔmma [fápɔmmá] n. small gourd used to drink or to fetch water from containers.

fataga [fàtágá] *n.* big gourd used as bucket, the biggest natural container *syn: gbentaga*.

fatfine (*var. of fakiine*)

fawie [fòwié] (*var. fowie*) *n.* type of gourd, used to drink locally brewed alcoholic drink.

fawietuna (*var. of vognihíe*)

fazeŋ [fázéj] *n.* type of oblong gourd, used to fetch soup or porridge *syn: daazvuna*². *pl. fazeyéē*.

**fa

ul** [fà?úl] *lit.* calabash-navel *n.* gourd node. *pl. fa

ulo*.

¹felfel (*var. of felfel*)

²felfel [félfél] (*var. ¹felfel*) *ideo.* manner of movement, as a light weight entity, applicable to leaves, animals and humans • ḵ tʃjèō kààlì fél-fél. She ran away, lightly.

¹fega [fègà] *v.* to stir soup and porridge • fègà kùbíi tiè à gérégíí. Stir the porridge for the sick person.

²fega [fègá] *n.* stirring-stick used for porridge and soup. *pl. fegasa*.

fela [fèlà] *v.* to push down grass, to flatten, to bend down grain stalks • pèò dí fèlà jàmmíí múj bilè hág-líí nì. The wind has bent down all the maize to the ground.

ferigí [férígfí] *cf.* fetí 1 *pl.v.* to loosen up tight muscles or joints by gently pressing on them • à biè férígí ḵv jéná bárā rā. The child pressed his father's body. 2 *pl.v.* to dial or type on phone or computer keys • làà ñìn fóòn à férígí lísí ñìn námbà. Take my

phone and find my number. 3 *v.* in the process of making *gaarii*, to put weight and press hard with some stones on cassava mash placed in a porous bag • pàà bíé férígí à kpòj-kpòj. Take some stones and put them on the cassava.

feríi [féríí] *n.* aerial yam (*Dioscorea bulbifera*). *pl. feréee*.

fetí [fétí] *v.* *cf.* férígí 1 to press lightly • fétí ñìn nèbíwié tîèj. Press my little finger for me. fétí à tój mårá téébùl jñū nì, pèú tí wá kpäō kààlì Hold the paper on the table, so the wind will not take it away. 2 to weight something down • zòrò bít fétí ìì díá tsénsi nì. Pick a stone and put it on top of your metal roof.

fi [fí] *num.* ten. *pl. fise*.

fidalíà [fidálà] *num.* twelve.

fidaloro [fidálòrò] *num.* sixteen.

fidalópe [fidálòpè] *num.* seventeen.

fidanaase [fidànáásè] *num.* fourteen.

fidajɔ [fidájɔ] *num.* fifteen.

fidatoro [fidátòrò] *num.* thirteen.

fididígíi [fididígíí] *num.* eleven.

fididígíituo [fididígíítùù] *num.* nineteen.

fidiñmémentel [fidíñmémentel] *num.* eighteen.

fiel [fiél] *n.* hollow grass. *pl. fiele*.

file [fiíl] *n.* initiation for new hunters.

fiise [fiísé] *v.* 1 to scrape off • fíísé disá tà ìì népíél nì. Scrape off the

soup on your palm. 2 to wipe • ɳ fīñsè ɿṇṇ mún nò. I wiped my buttocks.

filii [fīñi] *cf: džaaŋjāā* *n.* tray carved in wood. *pl. filie.*

¹**finii** [fīñi] *ints.* little, a bit of • tīéj jīsá tāj finii. Give me a little bit of salt. tāmá finii ò fī sówá. He came very close to die.

²**finii** [fīñi] *n.* type of punishment which only the authoritative figure and the individual are aware of the offence • bādijó wáá būñ-rē òò hāñj, kēj wīē ò dō ò fīñi, ò tʃó. Badingu does not like his wife, that is the reason he punishes her: she left him.

fio [fīo] *ideo.* absolutely not • ɳ wàá lāà kēj fíó. I will not agree with this at all.

fire [fīrè] *v.* to be barren, applies only for animals • à nāñ hāj wārā wà fīré. This particular cow is not barren.

fí [fī] (*var. fīi*) *pv.* particle referring to a past time and asserting that the actuality or possibility of the event in the past is not existing at the time of the utterance • ɳ fīí kāà-lì kùò ró àká ɿṇṇ bárá wá lēmā. I would have gone to the farm, but I am not well. ò fī jáá ɳ tṣítṣá rā. He was my teacher.

fiebí [fīebí] *v.* 1 to pound lightly, especially grains to remove their husk, to mill • má jáá mūrō àkà fīà-bé wàà. You fetch the rice, pound

it and bring it back. 2 to whip, to strike with cane, rope or stick • ò kàà fīebí à bié rē. He will whip the child. (W. Oti-Volta <febi>).

fieri [fīerí] *cf: gbiasi* *v.* to remove a little part of a whole, to cut and remove a small piece of meat and eat it for tasting • ɳ zímá dí i fíerí nñ nàngúrúñ hán nā. I know that you cut and removed a part from my piece of meat. à báál fíerí ɿṇṇ mó-lèbí tīj bòró ró. The man removed part of my money.

fīi (*var. of fī*)

¹**fīi** [fīí] *n.* type of fish. *pl. fīña.*

²**fīi** [fīí] *v.* to urinate • à bisé káá fīí fīññi ðì dō sùkúù zíá ní. The children urinate on the school wall.

³**fīi** [fīí] *v.* to bud, to bear flowers • súómó fīñwāð tʃ̄písá àñmènà hāj. The shea trees have flowers these days.

fīl (*var. of tɔðfīl*) *n..*

fīli [fīli] *v.* 1 to aim at with gun or catapult • nñ bié káá fīli gér õò vrà. My child is aiming at the lizard to kill it. 2 to look at, to stare at, with the purpose of showing disagreement or with anger • pínéé ìì kàà fīléj kēj? Why do you peek at me like that?

fīññi [fīññi] *n.* urine • ɳ fīí fīññi. I will urinate. *pl. fīññisa.*

fīññitforo [fīññitfòrò] *n.* 1 bilharzia, a blood fluke (*Schistosomiasis*). 2 cystitis (chronic).

filiŋfintu [fílìŋfíntí] *n.* type of Roundleaf bat, very small in size and usually found around buildings (*Hipposideros gen.*). *pl. filiŋfintie.*

fínñ [fímní] *lit. out-middle n.* harassment. *pl. fínñé.*

fira [fífrà] *v.* to force someone to do something • *fírà ìi bié ó káálí sùkúù.* Force your child to go to school.

fírigí [fírígì] *v.* to put more effort into an activity • *má fírigí já pëti à tómá.* Put more effort so we can finish the work.

fírigv [fírígvò] *n.* short burial dance performed when the corpse is lying on the funeral ground and during weeping. *pl. fírigvosa.*

fíri [fíríí] *n.* force • *hàmójí fíríí wàá tiè ó zímà náhíé.* Forcing a child will not make him clever.

fo (*var. of foo*)

fobii [fóbíí] (*var. falabii*) *pl.n.* type of gourd seed. *pl. fobie.*

folo [fòlò] *v.* to get loose, to detached • *ìṇiṇ pàbíí fólo lií òò dáá ní.* My hoe blade detached from its shaft.

foo [fóó] (*var. fo*) **1 conn.** unless, if not • *fó ò kà wáawá, dí à lèf já wàá ñmá à wíé.* Unless he comes, we will not talk about the issues. **2 conn.** must, have to, as something is necessary in order for something else to happen • *dí i kàá jàwà móto fóó wàá ní.* If you want to purchase

a motorbike, you must do it in Wa. **3 v.** to be already done • *ì fí ñmá dí ñ tíéó kàdáási ká ù fójòō làà dígíí ñ tñéná pé ní.* I would have given him a paper but he already got one from my friend. *i kà fójē dòà dé, à wíé kàá kòòròò.* If you are there already, the problems will be solved.

foole (*var. of fuoli*)

foon [fóón] *n.* mobile telephone. (ultm. English <phone>). *pl. foonso.*

foonjmej [fóónjmej] *lit. phone-rope n.* telephone line, network. (partly ultm. English).

foori [fòòrìi] *n.* type of monkey. *pl. fooree.*

foosi [fòòsì] *v.* to slip • *ò fóósí tsé-lè.* He slipped and fell.

footuo [fòòtùò] (*var. fuotuo*) *n.* soup without salt.

foro [fòòrò] *v.* to be proud, to boast • *à hääjí kàà fórò kínkán nà.* The woman is boasting a lot.

2 foro [fòòrò] *v.* to scald, to blanch, to put in hot water in order to remove feathers from a chicken or shell from grains • *tíé niinójí ñ dó ñìñ záàl àká fòrò.* Give me hot water so I put my fowl in and remove the feathers.

1 foti [fótí] *v.* **1** to do a slip of tongue, to say accidentally • *ñìñ nòá fótijé ñ tñágàlì à lúhò.* I announced the death by a slip of tongue. **2** to drop inadvertently • *à záhál fótijé lií ñìñ néj ní tsèlè háglií ní.* The egg

dropped from my hand and fell to the ground.

fotí [fòti] *v.* to survive death • *kòdzó làlìwìè tñj fótijó*. Kojo's orphan survived. *syn:* piti

foto [fótò] *n.* picture. (ultm. English). *pl. fotoso.*

fowie (*var. of fawie*)

fɔfta [fɔftà] *n.* lung. (Gonja <*fɔtf* 'breathe'). *pl. fɔftasa.*

fɔftwìla [fɔftfwílå] *n.* lung pains.

foga [fɔgà] 1 *nprop.* Foga, person's name. 2 *n.* spendthrift, person who spends lavishly.

fogol [fɔyɔl] *n.* 1 type of grass which resembles sorghum, found near bodies of water. 2 maize tassel. *pl. fɔgøla.*

fogolí [fɔyɔlì] *v.* to rub between hands using the palms, like in spreading cream or relieving pain or itch, or to dry or remove dust from the hands • *fɔgɔlì ñì nésē à hɔlì*. Rub your hands for them to dry.

fogosi [fɔyɔsf] *v.* 1 to make less, to remove to ease • *lùgùsi à kpáámá bòrò káá fóngosí à vìì ní*. Remove some of the yams so there is less in the bowl. 2 to alleviate by having tasks taken by others • *párásá dí wáá ñì kùò ró ñì tómá fóngosì*. Yesterday farmers came to my farm and alleviated my work.

fɔgbaan [fɔyèbáán] *lit.* out-middle

n. lane between houses, alley. (Vagla <*fɔg*). *pl. fɔgbaama.*

fɔln [fólíí] *n.* new.

foma [fómá] *v.* to collect and press together, like in making a rice ball or a portion to put in the mouth • *fɔmá à sígá bòró wá tñéj ñì tiè*. Press some of the beans and bring it for me to eat.

fɔna [fònà] *n.* to be rough and dry • *dì ñì sò níí ì bárá wáá fònà*. If you bathe your skin will not be rough. *hìrè à kpáámá lágá dì à lèí à káá fònà*. Dig the yams quickly, if not they will dry up.

fɔnà [fòná] *n.* strength • *ò wá kpágá fɔnjá*. She does not have strength. *à-íj káá kìn kálà ñménj kà kpágá fɔnjá zááñ?* Who can make a strong rope these days?

fɔnjatìna [fònjàtíná] *lit.* strength-owner *n.* strong person.

fɔnfɔñ [fònñfɔñ] *ideo.* new, at an early stage • *lòjì hájì fɔñfɔñ ní, ò fì tñj kíñkān nà*. When this car was new, it had much speed.

fɔra [fɔrà] *v.* 1 to stuck, choke, block a flow, or close an opening with dirt or clay • *zíná àkà fɔrà à dáá-lór*. Go up and block the hole in the tree. 2 to be narrow • *à diànuñ fɔráñ, kàtásàzèj wáá kìn zòò*. The door is narrow, the basin cannot enter.

fɔri [fɔríí] *n.* narrow • *nàmbùgò wáá kìn zòò bòfɔrríí*. The aardvark

cannot live a narrow tunnel. *ant: pɛnni*

fɔ̄sɪ [fɔ̄sí] *v.* to get or collect by force, to seize, to swindle • ḵ fɔ̄sɪ à bié mō̄ngò à dí. She took the child's mango and ate it. i fɔ̄sí nā àní bɔ̄žtìà fí ní. You swindled twenty pesewas from me.

fɔ̄ti [fɔ̄tì] *v.* 1 to have a choked nose and cannot breath • kábirimē kpágá ɻ̄m̄ bié ḵ mìssá fɔ̄ti. My child has catarrh, her nose is choked. 2 to tie or wrap in small packages • fɔ̄ti síkírī tié bá jáwà. Tie the sugar in packages for them to buy.

fɔ̄ð [fɔ̄ð] *n.* baboon (*Papio anubis*). *pl. fɔ̄ta.*

fɔ̄wa [fɔ̄wà] *v.* to wrap • à hááñ fɔ̄wá mòlèbié ḵ gárnðá ní. The woman wrapped money into the edge of her cloth.

fuful [fùfúl] *n.* burnt grass ash.

fugusi [fùgùsì] *v.* 1 to fool by pretence • à bìnibáàl kàà fúgúsì nárá kínkán nà. The boy fools people a lot. 2 to express a threat against or give indications of taking hostile action against • ɻ̄n bíéri fúgúsín nō dí ɻ̄ tí wá ɻ̄má à tíé námùñ. My brother threatened me not to tell anyone.

fulumi [fùlùmì] *v.* to cheat, to fool, to deprive of by cheating • námùñ wàá kín fùlùmì ɻ̄m̄ mǎá búñj háj. Nobody can deprive me of my mother's goat.

fujfuluj [fùjfùlùñ] *n.* cheating • kàlá káá dí fùjfùlùñ kíná rá. Kala is a cheat. ɻ̄ wá jáá fùjfùlùñ nibú-lùñ. I am not a cheat.

fuoli [fùòli] (*var. foole*) *v.* to whistle • ɻ̄ fúólí fùòlō rō. I whistled. i wáá kín fùòli tòó pàtʃígíí ní. You cannot whistle in the village.

fuolo [fùòló] *n.* whistle. *pl. fuoloso.*

fuori [fùòri] *v.* 1 to strip a plant from its leaves by pulling along the stem • fùòri à kpáásà tā. Strip the leaves out of the cane. fùòri à mǐá páátsàgà tā à ná sìi. Remove the guinea corn leaves so they can grow. 2 to lose weight through sickness or fatigue and be thin • kàlá wílā háj tíé ḵ fùòri. The sickness of Kala made him thin.

fuosi [fùòsì] *v.* to eat with a spoon porridge or soup-like liquids • ḵ fúósí kùbíí ré. She ate the porridge.

²fuosi [fùòsì] *v.* to escape out of a grip of another person • bà kpágá à ɻ̄míér rá àká ḵ fùòsì tñ. They caught the thief but he escaped.

fuotuo (*var. of footuo*)

furusi [fúrúsí] *cf:* tsumo 1 *pl.v.* to take small sips • à tíí nõmáñ, ḵ dí fúrúsí. The tea is hot, he is sipping. 2 *v.* to sniff in, to draw phlegm into nose • hámónà káá fúrúsí mìssá. Children are fond of drawing their phlegm back into their nose.

fū̄ [fū̄] *v.* to burn to charcoal, to burn food • wòsá fū̄ hálá

rá. Wusa burnt charcoal. *i sìlmáá káá fūūī.* Your food will burn.

fūūī [fūūí] *n.* burning • *à lúlíí fūūí wá bɔmā.* The burning of medicine is not difficult.

fuuri [fùùri] *v.* to blow • *ɔ fúúrí à díj dòsì.* He quenched the flame by blowing it.

fõ [fõ] *v.* to prepare a skin in order to eat or to use for drum skin • *kùò-rubáníí tómà fõ tóy ná à pú gàn-gànjá rá.* People from the Kuoru section prepared the skin and covered the drum.

fõã [fõá] *cf:* **pømma** *n.* type of ash used as white paint, can also be used to describe something greyish-white • *kà lfsí tágtafõá à dí káálí sùkúù.* Take the greyish-white shirt and go to school.

føføgée [føføgéè] *n.* type of tree (*Grewia hookerama*). *pl. føføgesa.*

føføl [føføl] *n.* Gold Coast Bombax, or bush Kapok, type of tree (*Bombax buonopozense*). *pl. føføla.*

føga [føgà] *v.* 1 to be light • *à té-kpágár bónná fógáó.* The load of the pregnant woman is light. 2 to foam • *à kòwiè káá fógáó.* The soap makes foam.

føl [føl] *n.* 1 type of climber plant whose leaves are plucked for soup ingredient. 2 soup ingredient. *pl. følla.*

føna [fønà] *v.* to shave • *fõj bá fí kpá à fónà núpóná.* They used to shave with a shaving knife.

fõnti [fõntì] *v.* to peel off by hand a fruit or a seed, after being roasted or not • *fõntì lùmbúrò já dí.* Peel the orange so we eat. *fõntì mán-sá.* Crack the groundnut.

fõj [fõj] *n.* shaving knife • *fõn ná.* It is a shaving knife. *pl. fõnna.*

fõnfõgvøl [fõnfõgvøl] *n.* foam • *ymènsónná dísā kpágá fõnfõgvøl lā.* The wet okro soup makes plenty of foam.

fõøli [fõølí] *v.* of a swelling, to decrease or shrink, to be reduced in size • *ɔv nàásá tìy fõølijáá.* His legs are contracted.

fõømi [fõømì] *v.* to dent, to be crooked, to be broken • *à díj báá-rí ñì róbákátásà, ɔ fõømi.* The fire slightly burnt my plastic bowl, it is crooked.

fõøra [fõørá] *n.* path between buildings or space between mountains.

fõra [fõrà] *v.* to throw with a hand • *bádžøgø fõrá kálá púù lúdí.* Ba-jogu threw a stone at Kala's head and made a hole.

fõrigì [fõrigì] *v.* to scratch, to be bruised • *i káá tséle ñì náá fõrigì.* You will fall and your leg will be bruised.

fõrv [fõrv] *v.* to take off meat from the bone • *fõrv à nàmíá ká kpá à hó-gó tíéj.* Take off meat and give me the bones.

fõtì [fõtì] *v.* to fill holes, to block a hole or space, to plug (many), to repair a leaking roof by filling holes

and cracks • à māsīn zīnjéé̄ fō̄tī à zīé̄ rá. The mason went up and filled the holes between the roof and the wall. à dūónj wá pētī, jà kāá fō̄tī à sāl lā. When the rain stops we will repair the roof. kā lōgā nābíná wà tīéj ý fō̄tī ḥ tāwà nō̄á. Go scoop some cow dung for me to seal my tobacco container.

fō̄ō̄ [fō̄ō̄] *n.* lower back. *pl.* *fō̄ō̄na*.

fō̄ō̄fō̄ō̄ [fō̄ō̄fō̄ō̄] *n.* light cloth, such as material like linen, mosquito net

g

gaabu [gààbù] *n.* dried and pressed onion leaves. (Hausa). *pl.* *gaa-buso*.

gaadin [gáádin] *cf.* **dabaga** *n.* garden. (ultm. English).

gaafra [gááfō̄rā] *interj.* express excuse when interrupting or disturbing. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*gāfařā*>).

gaali [gààlì] *v.* 1 to be over or placed over something, to cover partially, to bend over partially • à tōn ní, iì gāálì kēj̄, mārà à pínè. The skin, you are over and above it like that, just look carefully. *tf* gāálí à bōà ní kēj̄. Do not bend over the hole like that. 2 to abound • ḥn̄ tōmá gāá-líó. My work is too much.

gaani [gàànì] *v.* to swagger • tí gáání à dō ḥ ní iì fō̄yá wíé. Do not swagger in front of me because of your power.

or head gear. *pl.* *fō̄ō̄fō̄ō̄sa*.

fō̄ō̄ra [fō̄ō̄rá] *n.* type of food, made out of millet, normally sold in a ball form. (Hausa).

fō̄ō̄sí [fō̄ō̄sì] *v.* to insert air in a balloon, or as a sick person increases in size • ḵ fō̄ō̄síj̄ó. He increased in size from sickness or poisoning. ḵ fō̄ō̄sí nāžffīnīlōj̄ ḵ bērēḡt bō̄l. He blew a cow's bladder into a football.

gāānígāāní [gāāñigāāñi] *ideo.* cloud state suggesting coming rain • à tāá-lá dō gāānígāāní. The clouds are gathering to produce rain.

gaari [gáári] *v.* to wind thread on sticks, to wind a small intestine on a finger or a stick • gáári ñmēj̄ tiéj̄ ý órā ḥn̄n̄ pátá. Wind the thread for me so I can sew my pants.

gaarii [gààríí] *n.* type of food made from cassava tubers. (Akan <*gàli*>. *pl.* *gaariise*.

gaasí [gáásí] *v.* to pass by way of, to pass through • iì gáásí dé ní rē, brà wàà. You passed the place, come back. bīnsá fí kà gáásij̄ē, ḵ wàà. He had come ten years ago.

gagamí [gàyámí] *n.* hallucination. *pl.* *gagamisa*.

gagatin [gàgàtín] *n.* type of lizard (Gekkonidae). *pl.* *gagatime*.

gagati [gàyàtì] *v.* for dogs, to at-

tempt to bite yet barely scratching or pinching the target • à váá wā dómítí, ḵ gágátíí rā. The dog did not bite you, he barely pinched you.

gagtri [gáyéti] *n.* type of shrub. *pl. gagtisa.*

gaha [gáhà] *n.* virgin land for farming.

¹**gal** [gál] **1** *n.* left (side) *ant:* **dul¹**. **2** *reln.* left • wáá tṣòà tì néy gál ní. It is on your left hand side. *ant:* **dul²** *pl. galla.*

²**gal** [gál] *n.* unripe quality of a fruit or nut • bòlà kínàà dí mõngògál-lá. An elephant can eat unripe mangoes. *syn:* **hema²** *pl. galla.*

1gala [gálá] *n.* farm space measurement, one quarter of an acre. *pl. galasa.*

2gala [gálá] *v.* **1** to go over and across, pass something or somewhere, to step over an obstacle • à báál gál-lá hágliikíní ní rà. The man went over the snake. **2** to exceed, to be more than • nñ tṣèná zéyíí gálá nñ ní rà. My friend's height exceeds mine.

galanya [gálanjá] *cf:* **galanjvør** *n.* madness, craziness.

galanjvør [gálanjvør] *cf:* **galanya** *n.* mad person. *pl. galanzvóra.*

galiŋga [gálinḡá] *reln.* middle • ḵ té-lé tìwī galiŋgà rà àká bìrà wàà. He reached half way and returned. [Mo, Ka, Tu, Ti]. *pl. galinḡasa.*

galiŋgaa [gálinḡáà] *n.* type of bird,

Pied Crow (*Corvus albus*). *pl. ga-lingenḡasa.*

gama [gámá] *v.* to put and join together, gather together items that were spread • gámá à kpààndùgò móújì lágàmì dójá ní à láó ní. Gather all the yam seedlings together in the farm hut.

gana [gànà] *v.* **1** to be in a state of severe pain • à bié fòdú kàá gànà àní tòṇkpégé ní. The child's back will be in severe pain with the hard work. **2** to weed under the millet or guinea corn when the plants are well matured • nñ há wàà gánà mññ mññ. I have not started weeding under my guinea corn.

ganagana [gànàgànà] *ideo.* to be under-ripe and still stiff and hard • tí tótí à móṇgò nójì ḵ há dó gànàgànà. Do not pluck the mango fruit, it is still stiff.

1gantal [gàntál] **1** *n.* back, dorsum *ant:* **swo¹** *syn:* **habwo**. **2** *n.* follow • nñ gántál tórmà jáá bálíè wá. I have two siblings younger than me. **3** *reln.* back, behind • wáá dórá à fálá gántál ní. It is behind the calabash. *pl. gantala.*

2gantal [gántál] *n.* outside.

gantal lóha [gàntál lóhà] *cf:* **lgantál** *n.* backtalk • wòsá gántál lóhá ká-nádú. The back-talking of Wusa is too much.

gantalbaanhog [gàntálbáánhók] *n.* spine, vertebral column. *pl. gantalbaanhogo.*

gantalgou (*var. of kɔŋ*)

gaŋ [gáŋ] *n.* rabies.

gaŋabulo [gàŋjàbúló] *n.* arthritis.

gaŋgaarʊs [gáŋgáárʊs] *n.* lost opportunity, loosing a skill or capacity by doing something different • ïj píná bié vté sùkú káálí, ò wàá kín bì pàrà, ò zí tsélè gáŋgáárʊs. My brother refuses to continue schooling and cannot work at the farm any more, he is now at loss. *pl. gaŋgaarʊsa*.

gangalarí [gàŋgàlári] *cf:* piŋgaasi *n.* pickaxe. (Waali <gàŋgàlári ‘pickaxe’).

gaŋganj [gàŋgànj] *n.* type of dance.

gaŋganja [gàŋgàŋjá] *n.* long and double-headed cylindrical drum beaten with curved sticks. *pl. gaŋganasa*.

gaŋjí [gàŋjí] *v.* to appear uneven and unexpected against a background • sòtá gáŋjí nàáppíél ní, tsútí tā. Part of the thorn appears on the sole of my foot, pull it out. páánvò gáŋjí ìi dží-fà ní, lògà tfeñ. Bread appears out of your pocket, cut some for me.

gapvømma [gàpømmá] *n.* woven cotton cloth. *pl. gapvønsa*.

¹**gar** [gár] *n.* single piece of cloth covering the body. *pl. gata*.

²**gar** [gáár] *n.* timber stable. *pl. gara*.

¹**gara** [gàrà] *v.* 1 to pierce through • tóbí gárá òvè émbélíí ní. An arrow pierced through his elbow. 2 to lie across • hágliíkíñj tsvá gárà à tíwíí

ní. A snake lies across the road. 3 to lead and exceed others in achievements, to do more than others • mìn párá gárà à bimibáál lā. I achieved more farm work than the boy.

²**gara** [gàrà] *v.* to omit, to miss out, to skip • ò jàà gárà kùò káálí rá. He usually skips going to the farm.

garaga (*var. of geregá*)

garamfɔɔ [gàrámfɔɔ] *n.* gramophone. [*oldfash*]. (ultm. English).

garisi [gárisí] *v.* to burp • à hááŋ píñjáð à zí gárisí. The woman was satisfied and then burped.

garinjzajee [gářinjzànjéè] *n.* bearing device made out of a fork of a tree branch. *pl. garinjzaysa*.

garisi [gárisí] *v.* to trip and stumble • kálá gárisí dáá rá à tsélè. Kala tripped over a stick and fell.

garnvá [gárnvá] *n.* edge of cloth, used by women to wrap coins, kola nuts, and other items.

garsɔɔr [gàsɔɔr] *lit.* cloth-weaver *cf:* sñásvør *n.* weaver. *pl. garsɔɔra*.

garzagatu [gàrzáyátíí] *n.* rag. *pl. garzagatia*.

gatí [gátfí] *v.* to be high, to be raised • lésí ìi délémbíí tñj õ gátfí. Chock your stove stone so it is properly high. à báál sáá òvè díá tsíñsí bàgátíí ní rā. The man built his house on top of a higher ground.

gatigati [gàtigàtí] *ideo.* scattered • dùù à nàmmíí gätigatí. Sow the corn one by one here and there.

gatōlī [gàtṓlī] *n.* cover cloth, used to cover the body.

gatuolie [gàtúólìè] *n.* Hen Harrier, type of bird (*Circus cyaneus*). *pl.* **gatuolise**.

geem [géém] *nprop.* game reserve, specifically Mole National Park. (ultm. English <game>).

ger [gèrf] *n.* type of lizard (*Agama*). *pl.* **gete**.

gere [gèrè] *v.* of food which is hard to digest for the stomach and not being properly processed • à nà-miňá géréó iŋiŋ pàtsigíí ní. The meat is undigested in my stomach. bótigéréè tómá tīesí. The morsel Toma vomitted was undigested.

gerege [gérégè] *n.* tip of arrow. *pl.* **geregese**.

gegera [gègérà] *cf.* **gegeta** (*var.* dʒe-džerí) *n.* type of monitor lizard found in rocky area. *pl.* **gegerasa**.

gegeta [gègétà] *cf.* **gegera** (*var.* ge-getí) *n.* type of monitor lizard. [Mo]. *pl.* **gegetasa**.

gegetí (*var. of* **gegeta**)

gena [gènà] *v.* to be fool or stupid • bà dià níhiňé tìy géná kínkān nà. The elder in their house is very stupid.

genie [gènňé] *n.* type of skin rope used to tie head load. *pl.* **gensa**.

genii [géníí] *cf.* **kintſuma** (*var.* dʒe-nii, džanni) *n.* fool *ant:* nahňé; si-ilalla. *pl.* **genie**.

genna [gènná] *n.* foolishness.

gəŋeli (*var. of* **gəŋene**)

gəŋene [géŋéné] (*var.* **gəŋeli**) *v.* to stagger, to stumble, like the way an intoxicated person walks • wáá ká gēŋenē à wáá kékj. He is the one coming and staggering.

gərəga [gèrègá] *cf.* **dzerega** (*var.* ga-raga) *n.* sickness, disease. [old-fash]. *pl.* **geregasa**.

gərəge [gèrègè] *v.* to be sick • tíí tìè à nàmňá i káá gérègè. Do not eat that meat, you will be sick.

gərəgií [gérégíí] *n.* sick person. *pl.* **geregie**.

gime [gímè] *v.* to rush somewhere or towards someone • pórúsòsò lóz-li gímé kààlì kùòrùbáníí. The police car rushed towards the chief's section.

gimii [gímíí] *n.* hill gradient or side.

ginegine (*var. of* **džinedzine**)

girime [gírimé] *n.* respect, courtesy • báà kpáú gírimé ré. They respect him. (Waali <girima>).

gí [gí] *v.* to cross a border, a river, or a frontier • ï gí à gój ná. I crossed the river.

gila [gílā] *v.* 1 to allow, let, or permit

• gílā í zímà. Let me know. 2 to stop doing an activity • gílā kékj tìy i káká jáà, ï wáà būrū. Stop what you are doing, I do not need it any more.

gila tīε [gílā tīè] *lit.* let give *cpx.v.* to forgive • kúòsó káá gílā jà wíbómá tīē jā. God will forgive us for our sins.

gila zima [gilà zímà] *lit.* let know
cpx.v. to prove • *gílájì zímà dí i lèí.* Prove to me that you are not the one.

girii [gíríí] *cf:* *lēhēe* *n.* cheek skin and flesh. *pl. giriia.*

gítí [gítí] *v.* 1 to cut, to pull apart, to break, especially for rope like items • *kpágà à ɻyméjì gítí à diàndǎ nī.* Break the rope that is across the door. 2 to experience a network cut, when the mobile contact becomes non-existent • *ò ɻymá wíē dí tíé òò kpíémá ò fóonýméjì gítí.* While she was talking to her sister, the line cut.

go [gó] *v.* to gather close or around, to surround, to enclose • *à ɻyméjì gō à dáá rā.* The rope is round the tree. *à váá dósí à bié bárámúj góù.* The dog bit the child all over his body.

¹**gogo** [gógó] *n.* type of ant. [Mo]. *pl. gogosi.*

²**gogo** [gògò] *v.* to hit with the finger tips, knuckle, or with a stick • *à tfí-tfásá fíí já gögò jà púúnó rō.* The teachers used to knock our head.

gogosíama [gógósíàmá] *cf:* *haglóbisíansa* *n.* type of ant. [Mo].

golemí [gòlémí] *v.* to be crooked, to twist or be twisted, to move with a contorted motion, as snake, worm or like a twisted rope • *à pólójì dáj-kpálá gólémíjōō.* The blind man's walking stick is twisted.

golií [gólíí] *n.* type of grass (*Sporobolus pyramidalis*). *pl. golee.*

gongobiri (*var. of gongobiridaa*)

gongobiridaa [gòngòbíridàà] (*var. gongobiri*) *n.* desert date, type of tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). *pl. gongobiridaasa.*

gojo [gónjò] *cf:* *gojonɔŋ* *n.* type of tree (*Nauclea latifolia*). *pl. gojoso.*

gojonɔŋ [gónjònóŋ] *cf:* *gojo* *n.* type of fruit. *pl. gojonɔna.*

gojtoga [gòntógà] *n.* type of tree. *pl. gojtogasa.*

gool [góòl] *n.* goal. (*ultm. English <goal*). *pl. goolso.*

goro [gòrò] *v.* 1 to be crooked, to bend down, to be curved or hooked • *gòrò ìì néjì ń́á ná.* Bend your arm so I can see. *kòkòlèntébié jáá kìn-gòréé wō.* Fishing hooks are bent and curved things. 2 to be dishonest • *à báál gòrōō àní òò wíkpágéé nī.* The man is dishonest whatever he does. 3 to circle • *bà góró à dià rá.* They enclosed the house (with a fence or people stood around it)

golewiegvs [gòléwìègó] *n.* snail. *pl. gòlewiegvusa.*

gomina [gómìnā] *n.* governor. (*ultm. English*).

gomənanti [góm̄nántì] *n.* government. (*ultm. English*).

gɔŋ [gónj] *n.* 1 river. 2 type of plant. *pl. gɔya.*

gɔŋbɔɔ [gòmbòó] *n.* river path,

where the water flows. *pl. gɔjbaasaa.*

gɔjnāā [gònnāā] *lit.* river-leg
n. branch of a river.

gɔjnōā [gònnōā] *n.* river bank.

gɔjwie [gòjwié] *n.* stream, small river. *pl. gɔjwise.*

gɔjzeŋ [gón'zén̩] *n.* large river. *pl. gɔjzene.*

gɔjzeŋii [gón'zén̩íí] *n.* long river. *pl. gɔjzeŋiē.*

gɔrigi [gòrìgi] *v.* to bend outward, to be bowed • *ii bié nààsá kàá gɔrigi.* Your child's legs will be bowed.

gulonjulonj [gùlóngùlónj] *ideo.* circular, round shape • *kóyakólábíí mānyā dó gùlóngùlónj.* The grinding stone always has a round shape.

gundaabii [gündààbíí] *cf:* ọmedaa
n. distaff, spindle for spinning cotton (without thread). *pl. guñdaabie.*

gunnääsintʃawmuŋ [gúnnääsíntʃáú múŋ] *lit.* person.name-tree-under
nprop. name of a place on the old Dicie-Wa road, closer to Dicie.

guno [gùnó] *n.* cotton. (Gur). *pl. gunso.*

guñmeh [gùñmeh̩] *n.* cotton thread.

guori [gúórí] *cf:* kapɔsiɛ *n.* kola nut. [Mo, Ka, Tu, Ti]. (Hausa <guori>).

gurba [gùrèbá] *n.* fibrous waste, product of beating the plant *piel*, used to choke the gunpowder in a gun barrel.

guro [gùrò] *v.* to gather together items like shea nuts, maize, or groundnut • *máwá gùrò à tfúónó, à díóŋ kàá būürè.* You gather together the shea nuts, rain is threatening.

gurpe [gúrpé] *n.* pin, may be used to decorate a gun. *pl. gurpese.*

gurugi [gùrùgi] *v.* 1 to grab a person firmly, by force • *tómá wá gùrugi ḵò māábié à kààlì sùkúù.* Toma came and grabbed his brother and went to school. 2 to rape • *bà wàà gúrúgi háánà dùsiè ní.* There are no rape cases in Dicie.

gusi [gúsí] *v.* to nod, up and down • *ị́ ọmá wíē tīēò ḵò gúsi ḵò púúù.* I talked to him and he nodded his head.

guti [gùti] *v.* to coil, to roll up, to rewind, to fold • *síí gúti ii kà-lèŋ tñí.* Get up and roll up your mat. *kpágà à kàlèŋ gúti.* Roll up the mat. *gúti à ọméj̩ dó ii púr ní.* Roll up the rope and put it in your farm bag.

gutugu [gùtúgù] *n.* type of yam. *pl. gutuguso.*

guugi [gùùgì] *v.* to roam, to go back and forth • *má ná à tfíntàànfi tfóá háglií ní à gúúgi.* See the earth worm on the ground not going anywhere.

guurii [gúúríí] *n.* type of ant. *pl. guuree.*

¹gva [gòà] (*var. gva*) *v.* to dance • *bà gúá báwáá rá lúsínnàsá tñí ní.* They

danced *bawaa* at the funeral.

²gva [gòá] *n.* dance. *pl. gvana.*

gvagvar [gvàggvár] *n.* dancer. *pl. gvagvara.*

gvma [gòmá] *n.* 1 hump on the back.
2 supernatural creature which lives
in the bush. *pl. gvensa.*

gvmatina [gòmátfíná] *n.* hunch-
back, person with a humped back.
pl. gmatoma.

gvmpéra [gòmpérà] *n.* type of
climber. *pl. gvmperasa.*

gb

gba [gbà] *quant.* also, too • *i gbà*
kàá kààlòò. You too will go. (North.
Ghsm <*gbá* ‘also, even, self’).

gbaa [gbáà] *v.* to keep and control
animals, to herd • *kà gbàà à pié-
sié.* Go watch the sheep.

gbaani [gbáání] *v.* to crawl • *à bifòlá
há wàà gbáani.* The baby does not
yet crawl.

gbaani [gbàànì] *v.* to add sugar or
salt in addition to the amount al-
ready contained in the dish or drink
• *má tíéj jiísá ý gbáánì.* Pass the salt
I will add some more.

gbaar [gbáár] *n.* herder • *ìnì bié jáá
nìgbáár rá.* My son is a cowherd. *pl.
gbara.*

gbaasi [gbáásí] (*var.* ²gbiasi) *v.* to
take or collect from several places
• *ìnìfér zóó nì diá à gbiásì nì dià*

gvo (*var. of gva*)

gvoree [gòòréè] *n.* spotted grass-
mouse (*Lemniscomys striatus*). *pl.
gvoresa.*

gvosi [gòòsì] *v.* to rehearse and prac-
tice for an activity having a climax,
to warm up, to build up • *dògò
gòrá já gòòsòò àká gòà.* The dugu
dancers rehearse and practice be-
fore the dance. à *bòòlmájáná káá
gòòsòò ká tfálisì bà kàá püllí.* The
football players are warming up be-
fore they start.

kíná mūj lìì. The thief entered my
house, took some items and left.

gbaga [gbàgà] *n.* type of moni-
tor lizard • *i kójá à kiì tòtfááñj-
gbágà.* You are as thin as a dry sea-
son monitor lizard. *syn:* **badzogv**
(*Varanus*). [*Mo*]. (Waali <*gbaga*).
pl. gbagase.

gbagala [gbágàlá] *n.* type of cloth for
elders. [*oldfash*].

gbagba [gbàgbá] (*var.* **gbegbe**)
n. duck. (ultm. Hausa, via Waali
<*gbagba* ‘duck’). *pl. gbagbasa.*

gbambala [gbàmbálà] *n.* albino. *pl.
gbambalasa.*

¹gbajasa [gbánjásá] *n.* expectation • *ì
nòò à mòlibié gbajásá rá.* I expect
the money.

²gbajasa [gbánjásá] *n.* inarticulate
noise produced by the body or com-

ing from cars or planes at a distance.

gbajasi [gbàjáṣì] *v.* to touch • *gbàjáṣì ḥṇ júú nò, ḥò wíñ.* Touch my head, it is hurting me.

gbangbaŋ [gbàmgbàŋ] *n.* harmattan. (Gonja <gbàŋgbàŋ>).

gbaraga [gbárágá] *nprop.* 1 name of a god owned by some people in Dicie's *Gbwijwɔlee* section. 2 medicine which protects against the taboo of having two burial specialists working together if they both have an affair with the same woman.

gbarmi [gbàrmì] *v.* to attempt to catch and fail, to try to arrest someone to no avail • *à pòlísì gbármúú rā.* The police failed to arrest him.

gboge [gbègé] *cf.* *zajsa* *cf.* *kontii* *n.* early farm preparation, just after bush burning, involving clearing the land and cutting trees. [Mo].

gbel (*var. of gbél*)

gbeliŋ [gbélíŋ] *n.* hour, time • *gbélin sé átōrò mánjá kékì.* It is three o'clock. *pl. gbelinse.*

gbeliŋe [gbélíŋé] *n.* small bell worn around the waist by the last born of the dead at his or her first and last funeral. *pl. gbeliyse.*

gbeliŋgbí [gbélíŋgbí] *n.* type of bird. *pl. gbelingbisa.*

gberegilegii [gbérègìlégíí] *n.* type of plant, its ashes can be used in making *dwo.* *pl. gberegilegee.*

gbegbè (*var. of gbagba*)

gbél [gbél] (*var. gbél*) *n.* type of tree (*Ficus elasticoides*). *pl. gbelala.*

gbelmuŋ (*var. of zamparagui*)

gbena [gbéná] *n.* type of bean. *pl. gbena.*

gbenii [gbéníí] *n.* 1 red-coloured stone. 2 pinkish colour • *à gbéníí díjòō.* The pinkness is reached. *pl. gbenii.*

gbentaga [gbéntàyá] *n.* big gourd used as bucket, the biggest natural container *syn:* *fataga*. *pl. gbentagasa.*

gbentagasí [gbéntágásì] (*var. sijumme*) *n.* type of plant. *pl. gbentagasisa.*

¹**gbéra** [gbérà] *n.* sponge used to wash one's body. *pl. gberasa.*

²**gbéra** [gbérà] *v.* to soak soil for the preparation of bricks used as building material • *báá gbérà hàglíí à téjésì háglibié.* They are going to soak soil and make bricks.

³**gbéra** [gbérà] *v.* to be crippled from the waist downwards • *lóóli júò ḥò gbérà.* He was crippled as a result of a car accident.

gbérii [gbéríí] *n.* cripple. *pl. gberie.*

gbesa [gbésà] *n.* chewing stick. *pl. gbesasa.*

gbetara [gbétárá] *n.* shallow pond found in the bush. *pl. gbetarasa.*

gbeti [gbétì] *v.* to be unable to learn, act, or demonstrate correctly • *ṇṇ*

bìnìhááj tìn gbétíjóó. My daughter is unable to learn correctly.

gbetie [gbètíè] *n.* clumsy person. *pl. gbetisa.*

gbiegie (*var. of gbiekie*) *n..*

gbiekie [gbìékìè] (*var. gbiegie*) *n.* Black Kite (*Milvus migrans*). *pl. gbiekise.*

gbieli [gbíélí] *v.* to shout out the items one is selling • àjy káá gbiéli nòò? Who is shouting out her oil?

gbinti [gbíntí] *v.* to kneel • nìhááná bániè já gbínti òò báál sòò ní ká kpá niìnòòlífí tíéò. Some women kneel in front of their husbands before giving them water.

gbíñ [gbíñ] *cf: nengbíñ* *n.* bracelet. *pl. gbinne.*

gbíngbíñ [gbíngbíñ] *ideo.* crowded • à dìà sú gbíngbíñ àní nárā. The house is full of people.

gbíã [gbíã] *n.* monkey *synt:* **nengaltríma**. *pl. gbíana.*

gbíakaníè (*var. of kaníè*)

gbíakvòl [gbíàkòl] *lit.* monkey-t.z. *n.* Wild custard apple, type of tree *syn:* **duoñkiir** (*Annona senegensis*). *pl. gbíakvlsa.*

¹**gbiasi** [gbíàsì] *pl.v. cf: fieri* 1 to adjust a share, to harmonize an amount • jàwá tómà zòò dì gbíásì kíná kinjògùléé tómà pé nì. The market owners entered the market and collected their tokens from the sellers. 2 to pluck or pick the top shoot of bean leaves • gbiásì à sígá

núú nò, já kpá tòjá dísá. Pluck bean shoots, we will make soup.

gbiasi (*var. of gbaasi*)

gbíásíama [gbíàsíàmá] *n.* red patas monkey (*Erythrocebus patas*).

gbíásòòníà [gbíásòòníà] *n.* Drongo, type of bird (*Dicrurus genus*). *pl. gbiásòònisa.*

gbíatii [gbíàtii] *lit.* monkey-Akee.tree *n.* type of tree (*Agelaea paradoxa*). *pl. gbíatise.*

gbínti [gbíntí] *v.* to over-prune by cutting away too many leaves on a plant • dì i gbínti à sígá, i káá kpóó wá. If you continue over-pruning your cow peas, you will kill them.

gbol [gbòl] *n.* type of skink (*Scincidae*). *pl. gpollo.*

gbolo [gbòló] *nprop.* Gbolo, person's name.

gboñ [gbóñ] *n.* type of tree. *pl. gboñyo.*

gborobii [gbòròbíí] *cf: safibii* *n.* key. (Waali <gbòròbíí>). *pl. gborobie.*

gbugo [gbùgò] *v.* to be plentiful, to be over-abundant • sììmáá gbùgò bá wò bà dí ká víè. The food was plentiful for them, they ate but refused some.

gbul [gbùl:] *n.* blunt, dull *ant:* **di**³. *pl. gbullo.*

gbulo [gbùlò] *v.* to be blunt • à kísié gbúlóó. The knife is blunt. (Gonja <gbíl>).

gburugulugee [gbùrùgùlúgée] *n.* tadpole. *pl. gburuguluguso.*

gbvsgvsl [gbvgyvsl] *n.* heavily used area where activities are carried out, where ground becomes hard and sandy, and no grass grows for many years.

gbvsgvslmuŋ [gbvgyvslmūŋ] *n.* farm area for resting in the shade.

gbvsktɔk [gbvgytɔk] *ideo.* thick • *tíē à kùbíí gbóŋjà gbvsktɔk.* Let the porridge be very thick.

gbvŋja [gbvŋjà] *v.* to be thick, thicken, to be dense, usually used

to describe the texture of a liquid • *tíē à kùbíí gbóŋjà.* Let the porridge be thick.

gbvŋwɔlɛɛ [gbvŋwóléɛ] *nprop.* section of Ducie. (Tampulma <*nig-bvŋwɔlɛɛ* ‘dense family’).

gbvɔrɪ [gbvɔrɪ] *cf:* **taari;** **iiri** *v.* to rush at, to move towards something rapidly and with force • *à váá gbvɔrì kààlì à píésí pé rē.* The dog rushed at the sheep.

h

¹ha [ha] *pv.* yet, still • *ò há wà wáá-wá.* He has not yet come.

²ha [há] *v.* to hire • *já há lóólı́ káálì à líuhó rō.* We hired a car to go to the funeral.

hā [há] *v.* to hate • *ṇ̄ hā ḥṇ̄ tʃitʃà rā.* I hate my teacher.

hää [hää] *v.* 1 to open one’s mouth, to contribute to a topic of discussion • *ziàng hää ḥò nȫä rā à wíé bá-ŋmáálíí nī.* Ziang contributed during the discussion. 2 to lift one’s arm high as if to hit something or someone • *hää iì néŋ māŋyū.* Raise you hand and beat him.

hääbuura [hääbúurà] *n.* chasing women.

haalı [háálı] *conn.* yet, still • *ò jíráó sāŋjā müŋ, häälì ò há wà wááwá.* He called her a long time ago, yet she has not come. *kàlá wāā ḣ̄ pé rē hää-*

lì díàrì müŋ. Kala has been with me since yesterday. *ṇ̄ búúré mółèbíé bìrgì hááli ḣ̄ há wà nää.* I struggled to get money for some time but still have not got any.

haamii [häämíi] *n.* boredom • *hää-míí kpágā kürü rē, ò dí wà kíŋ wàá wáá.* Kuri was bored because he could not come to Wa yesterday.

hääŋ [hääŋ] *n. cf:* **nihääŋ** 1 woman. 2 female. 3 wife. *pl. hääna.*

haari [hääri] *v.* to deprive • *ò háári ḣ̄n̄ kóó tå.* She deprived me of my t.z. *sòú háári ḣ̄n̄ mäǟ tå.* Death deprived me from my mother.

hääsa [hääsá] *n.* husk, chaff or any particle to be separated from the grains themselves.

hääsi [hääsí] *v.* to yawn • *nídígí-márjá wáá hääsi.* No one yawns alone.

hāāsii [hāāsíí] *n.* 1 bitterness • *kīn-hāāsíí rà*. It is something bitter. 2 to be annoyed • *nīhāāsíí rè jáá à bāál*. That man easily becomes annoyed.

hāāsí [hāāsì] *v.* to be bitter • *nàà-sààrsítjtsáá bíé hāāstjáá*. The Neem seeds are bitter.

habɔɔ [hàbɔɔ] *n.* back *syn:* ¹gantal¹. *pl.* *habɔɔna*.

hagasi [háȳsì] *n.* type of candy. (ultm. English <hacks ‘candy brand’).

hagla [hàȳslá] *n.* ground, soil, sand, earth *syn:* *haglī*.

haglibie [hàylibìé] *cf.* solibie (*var.* ¹minīā) *n.* type of ant *syn:* ²minīā. *pl.* *haglibise*.

haglibii [hàylibíí] *n.* mud or earth block used as building material. *pl.* *haglibie*.

haglibisiansa [hàglfbìsiànsá] *cf.* gogosrama *n.* type of ant. *pl.* *haglibisiansa*.

haglibummo [hàȳlóbúmmò] *n.* type of soil.

haglī [hàȳlī] *n.* ground, soil, sand, earth *syn:* *hagla*; *tagla*. *pl.* *haglia*.

haglijøgsii [hàgljøgøsíí] *n.* soft ground.

haglikij [háylíkìñ] (*var.* tuur) *n.* snake. *pl.* *haglikina*.

haglikpeg [hàglíkpég] *n.* hard ground.

haglmøgvøl [hàglmøvøl] *n.* type of soil, without stones and roots, light and loose.

haglitfää [hàȳlítfää] *n.* sandy soil.

hähīë [hähíë] *n.* old woman. *pl.* *hähīëta*.

hajonj [hájóñ] *nprop..*

hakila [hákilà] *n.* thought, argument • *mìm máásí tʃɔ sùkúù ní rè, tṇ māá tíéj hākilà*. I once ran away from school, but my mother advised me to go back. *pl.* *hakilasa*.

hal [hál] *n.* egg. *pl.* *hala*.

hala [hàlå] *cf.* *piga* *v.* to fry something on a hot surface using fat • *t kàá kìñ hàlå kpààn nà*. Can you fry yam?

halinguomii [hálíngùòmíí] *cf.* *nõõ-manier* *n.* millipede, underground pest which bores into yam tubers to feed (*Myriapoda*). *pl.* *halinguomie*.

halií [hálíí] *n.* frying • *kpààñhà-líí*. Fried yam.

hamba [hámbarà] *n.* hammer. (ultm. English <hammer>). *pl.* *hambasa*.

hambag [hámbarák] *n.* type of tree (*Pistostigma thonningi*). *pl.* *hambaga*.

hambajala [hámbarájálá] *n.* lying flat and facing the sky. *pl.* *hambajala*.

hambara [hámbarà] *n.* barrenness, lack of reproductivity attributed to male or female. *pl.* *hambarasa*.

hamɔnanãš [hàmónánãš] *n.* assassin bug (*Reduviidae*). *pl.* **hamɔnanãšna**.

hamōŋ [hàmōŋ] *cf:* bie; bisɔ̄na *n.* child, not old, junior relative to others. *pl.* **hamɔ̄na**.

hamɔ̄wie [hámɔ̄wíè] *cf:* bisɔ̄nbie *n.* small child, from birth to approx. 5 years old. *pl.* **hamɔ̄wise**.

handɔ̄ŋmìisa [hándómmì̄sá] *n.* jealousy.

handɔ̄ŋ [hándòŋ] *n.* co-wife, Gh. Eng. woman's rival. *pl.* **handɔ̄sa**.

hanzoŋ [hánzónŋ] *cf:* luhääŋ *n.* unmarried young woman. *pl.* **hanzomo**.

haŋ [hàŋ] *dem.* this • iì nésé hámà, á-wéj ká kpàgà fñjá? Which of your hands has most strength? *pl.* **hama**.

hantſele [hántſélē] *cf:* liegu *nprop.* Motigu shrine, water source where the animate god lives.

hara [hàrà] *v.* to lock • kpàgà ñì ñì dìà-néšà hárà tìèø. Lock my door for him. *ant:* ¹lala¹

haradìa [hàràdìá] *n.* prison. *pl.* **haradìsa**.

haraha [hàrähá] *n.* inexpensive, cheapness, low price. (Hausa, ultm. Arabic <àřāsā ‘cheapness’).

hariŋi [hàriŋì] *v.* to try, to do with all your might, to do seriously, to make an effort • hárígì páásí iì téésì ní. Try to pass your test. óó hárígì à pàrà kùó. He should try to have a farm.

hasig [hásíg] *nprop.* Hasik, female name related to *sigmaa*, follows *ŋmāñŋ* *synt:* *ŋmāñŋ*; **basig**.

hasuwɔ̄ŋ [hásuwɔ̄ŋ] *n.* woman who recently gave birth. *pl.* **hasuwɔ̄na**.

hăwie [háwíè] *n.* 1 ego's junior brother's wife. 2 ego's most recent wife. *pl.* **hăwise**.

hĕhĕse [hĕhĕsè] *n.* announcer. *pl.* **hĕhĕsese**.

¹**hele** [hélē] *n.* type of squirrel *synt:* **muŋzeŋtīma**. *pl.* **helese**.

²**hele** [hélē] *v.* to bend back one's head • hélé iì púù. Lift your head up.

³**hele** [hélē] *v.* to send someone specially to do one's errand, Gh. Eng. to message someone • ní hélé bá tʃí kpá iŋñí pátá à lìt dùséé wà třéŋ. I am going to send them to fetch my trousers tomorrow.

hembii [hèmbíí] *n.* metal nail. *pl.* **hembie**.

hĕsee [hĕséè] *n.* message. *pl.* **hĕsee**.

hĕsi [hĕsí] *v.* to announce, to beat a drum to announce • tóótííná ŋmá dí bá hĕsí má ká pàrà kùó. The landowner says they announced that you should go and work at the farm.

hem̄a [hémá] *n.* 1 young, as in physically not mature • ŋmááŋé bié há jáá bihémíí rá. Mangu's child is not yet fully grown. 2 to be unripe • já dìà mágòngóná hémáš à há wà síárí. The fruits of our mango tree are

still hard, they are not yet ripe. *syn:*
²gal

hembie [hèmbìé] *n.* small bowl. *pl.* *henwise.*

hembola [hèmbòlá] *n.* medium size bowl. *pl.* *hembolas.*

hena [hèná] *n.* bowl. *pl.* *hensa.*

hēj [hēj] *n.* arrow. *pl.* *hema.*

hengbaa [hènggbàá] *n.* type of clay bowl, container used to stir shea butter. *pl.* *hengbaana.*

hejsi [hèjsí] *cf:* *dara* *v.* to lie, to tell untruth • à biè héjsí wíé dó ḷṇ nòdā ní rà. The child lied to me.

hiési [hìèsí] *v.* 1 to rest, to relax • kà sáŋá dáámún ní hiési. Go sit under a tree and rest. 2 to breathe • dì hiési dīgii dīgii. Breathe slowly.

hiésipugo [hìèsipùgó] *n.* asthma.

hīí [hīí] *cf:* *vaan* *n.* hind leg of an animal. *pl.* *hīí.*

hire [hírè] *v.* to dig, to take out sand, to dig up new planted yams • kà hírè nàŋà tīē bā. Dig some gravel for them. mìm biè káálí kùó ó ká hírè kpàànñléé. My son has gone to dig the new yams.

hirii [híríí] *n.* digging.

hīé [hīé] *cf:* *bahié* *v.* to age, to grow old, to be older than • míj híé. I am older than you. i lèf híéj. You are not older than me. *ant:* *wie*

¹**hiéna** [hìéñá] *n.* family or blood relationship • jìnñé wòjò hiéñá kā vàlà tñsài ní? What is Wojo's blood relation in Chasia? dì hiéñá wíé lèi,

i wàá kím zòð ñò tóó ní. Without family relations, you cannot live in your village. *pl.* *hiéna.*

2hiéna [híéñá] *n.* ego's father's sister. *pl.* *hiénsa.*

híéj [híéj] *n.* relative by maternal and paternal descent • i híéj ká jàà bááñ? Who is your relative? wàá ní kpágúrí ní ñò híémbá dòà. In Wa, my relatives are in Kpaguri. *pl.* *híémba.*

híéra [híérá] *n.* appetite, craving, or an absence that creates a desire • ḷṇ bírgíjé ḷ wà bí nà ḷṇ bié ò híérá dí jáy. It is a long time since I have seen my child and his absence affects me. kóó híérá kpágá à bié. The child has a craving for t.z..

híéri [híéri] *v.* to be enthusiastic, to be voracious • bátón káá híéróó. Baton is a voracious meat eater.

híési [híésí] *v.* 1 to be old • ḷṇ jíná híésijòó. My father is old. 2 to be ripe, to be mature, applicable to banana, yam, and plantain • à kpáámá híésijàó. The yams are mature and ready to dig up.

hīhī [hīhī] *n.* bank of mud and reeds forming pond to contain and catch fish. *pl.* *hīhīna.*

1hīí [hīí] *interj.* exclamation expressing disapprobation of an action carried out by someone else.

2hīí [hīí] *v.* to slam into someone to prevent his or her action • té hīí. Don't slam into me. ówà hīí nā. It is she who prevented me.

hīṣa [hīṣá] *n.* shyness, respectfulness • *hīṣa kpágvórá rā.* She is shy (Shyness has her). ḷv̄v̄ ́mà hīṣá rá. She is shy (She fears shyness).

hīṣi [hīṣí] *v.* to dry up • à *pòl níí hīṣi sjɔv̄.* The water from the river has dried up.

¹hil [híl:] *n.* witch. *pl. hila.*

²hil [híl] *n.* drought.

hila [hílá] *n.* in-law. *pl. hilasa.*

hilbaal [hilihbáàl] *n.* father in-law. *pl. hilbaala.*

hilhääñ [hilihääñ] *n.* ego's mother in-law. *pl. hilhääna.*

híŋ [híŋ] *pro.* second person singular strong pronoun • ñ *zímáð dí híŋ kpéti à pár.* I know that it is you who broke the hoe.

hita [hitá] *n.* witchcraft • wáá *kpóv̄ àní hitá ní.* He killed him with witchcraft.

hīð [hīð] *n.* type of trap, operated by a stone, various branches, grass, and shea nut as bait. *pl. hīta.*

hīwa [hīwà] *v.* 1 to trap • ḷ *dè hīwá hēlē ré.* Yesterday he trapped a squirrel. 2 to put charm or spell on something to affect someone.

hog [hóg] *n.* bone. *pl. hogo.*

hogo [högò] *cf:* əgilí *v.* to have nausea • à *pàtſígfí hògò káá dɔgɔsí à gérégíí rá.* The nausea is disturbing the patient.

hogul [hóyúl] *cf:* holíŋ *n.* cockroach. *pl. hogulo.*

hogulummo [hògùlbúmmò] *n.* type of cockroach, larger than *hogul.*

hogulpømma [hògùlpømmá] *n.* type of cockroach.

hol [hól] *n.* type of tree (*Afzelia bella*). *pl. holo.*

holbii [hólbii] *n.* *Afzelia bella* seed. *pl. holbie.*

holíŋ [hólíŋ] *cf:* *hogul* *n.* cockroach. [*Mo, Ka, Tu, Ti.*] *pl. holmo.*

holnónpetíi [hólñónpètìi] *n.* *Afzelia bella* seed shell.

höhöla (*var. of holahöla*)

höl [hól] *n.* piece of charcoal. *pl. høla.*

holahöla [hòlahòlá] (*var. höhöla*) *ideo.* type of visual percept, yellowish colour • i *kógláából̄ tñj há dó hòlahòlá, tñè ó síárfí ká í tñtí.* Your paw-paw is still unripe, let it ripen before you pick it.

hölíi [hólíí] *lit.* charcoal *n.* Sisaala person. *pl. høle.*

hōsí [hōsí] *v.* 1 to shout or to cry out at someone • *hōsí à bié dí ó brā wàà.* Shout to the child that he must come back. 2 to give forth thunder • i *nōð à dúoyí hōsí rää?* Did you hear the (rain) thunder? 3 to rebuke, to criticize, to speak harshly to • ḷ *ȝmá wiē dí tñé à bié ré káá hōsí.* He talks harshly to the child.

hōð [hōð] *n.* type of grasshopper. *pl. hōsa.*

huor [hùór] *n.* raw • à nànhùór ká-náá̄. The raw meat is abundant. à nàmìé múj jáá áhùòr rō. All the meat is raw. *pl. huoto.*

hur [húr:] *n.* inevitably, unavoidably
• húr mùn nō ò fí jáà wāā báàŋ. He always to come here. húr ḥ káá bì bilè kùò rō. I will inevitably start farming again.

hūusi [húúsí] *v.* to shout, the kind of vocalization that travels a long distance, mainly done in the bush • à pápátá káá káálì díá áká húúsí jírà òvò tògómà. The farmer goes home and shouts to alert his colleague.

hóla [hólā] *v.* to be dry, to dry • ḥnì tsúónó héláá ḥ káá sòágì. My shea nuts are dry enough to pound

i

i (*var. of ii*)

ii [?íi] *v.* to praise, to speak highly of
• íi kúòsó. Praise God.

íí [?íí] *v.* to push out, in childbirth • dì íí. Push!

iiri [?ííri] *cf.* **gbosori; taari** *v.* to rush at somebody in anger • wòsá ká páá ùù zómó, gbòló íírijé káálì òvò pé ré. When Wusa insulted him, Gbolo rushed at him in anger.

iko [?íkò] *cf.* **wɔsakuolo** *interj.* praise name and title for the **wɔsakuolo** clan.

ile?ile [?ílè?ílè] *ideo.* type of visual percept • káálì jàwá áká jàwá sóm-

them. tìè à nàmìé hóla. Let the meat be dry.

hóllí [hólíí] *n.* drying • jòòkpóŋ-kpóŋhóllíí bómáá̄. The drying of rainy season cassava is difficult. *ant:* **sɔoni**⁵ *pl. hɔlìe.*

hɔŋ [hɔ̄ŋ] *cf:* **pur** *n.* gear, equipment for a trade or activity, including all items required to take along for the day, the stay or the journey. *pl. hɔnna.*

hɔɔr [hɔ̄ɔr] *n.* stranger. *pl. hɔɔra.*

hɔɔrakaalí [hɔ̄rákáálíí] *n.* sixth day of a second funeral.

hɔɔ [hɔ̄ɔ] *v.* to blow a wind instrument • mìn báál káà hɔɔ bùsúnù rō wíwíré. My husband plays the flute very well.

màá tíŋ ká dó ilé?ilé. Go to the market and get dawadawa balls that are dark in colour.

indži [?índži] *n.* engine. (ultm. English).

irii [?íríi] *n.* type, ethnic group, property, colour • ni?íríí wèj ká jàà jà náá tíŋ? To which group of people does our grandfather belong? bááŋ íríi i ká búúré? What type do you want? tágátá pòmmá, ásiàmá àní sísáá ḥ kpágà, íríi wèj i ká búúré? I have white, red, and yellow shirts, which colour do you want? (Waali). *pl. irie.*

ise [isé] *n.* 1 type of insect which likes the sweat of human beings, produces a thick substance sweeter than honey called *ise*, but tiny in quantity. 2 thick substance produced by an insect called *ise*. *pl. ise.*

I

i [í] (*var. i*) *pro.* 2.sg. (you) • *bà búúrè ff kúúñ*. They want you to be tired.

íá [?íá] *n.* guinea worm. *pl. íasa.*

íwa [ííwà] *pro.* second person singular emphatic pronoun.

ijé [?íjé] *cf:* *ijela* *interj.* praise name and title for the *ijela* clan.

ijela [íjélà] *cf:* *ijé* *nprop.* clan found in Gurumbele.

íl [?íl] *n.* breast. *pl. ila.*

íla [?ílà] *v.* to take care, to watch, to guard, to protect against • *má ká ílà*

j

íja [ja] (*var. ¹jaa*) *v.* to do • *tfɔpìsì bfí mùñ ò já jáò*. He does it every day. *pìnìé ï kà jää?* What did I do?

²ja [ja] (*var. je*) *pro.* first person plural pronoun • *já káálít*. Let us go (non-initiated action). *já káálíjéó*. We went.

¹jaa (*var. of ja*)

²jaa [jàà] *v.* 1 to fetch water, to dip out liquid • *jàà níí tiè ý põñ*. Fetch water and give it to me. *jàà pé*. Fetch

isi [?ísi] *cf:* *wɔsasiile* *interj.* title and praise name for the *wɔsasiile* clan.

ito [?ítò] *cf:* *itolo* *interj.* praise name and title for the *itolo* clan.

itolo [ítóló] *cf:* *ito* *nprop.* clan found in Gurumbele.

nàmmíí kùò ní. Go and take care of the maize at the farm.

íle [?ílè] *cf:* *wɔsaleela* *interj.* title and praise name for the *wɔsileela* clan.

ílnõä [?ílnõà] *n.* nipple. *pl. Inõäsa.*

ítsa [?ítṣà] *cf:* *wɔsatfaala* *interj.* praise name and title for the *wɔsifaaala* clan.

íwé [?íwè] *cf:* *wɔsawíila* *interj.* praise name and title for the *wɔsiwíila* clan.

and add more. 2 to take grains in quantity • *jàà nàmmíí ká tiè ìì hilà-háàñ*. Take some maize for your female in-laws.

³jaa [jáá] *v.* 1 to be • *ò jáá ïñì jíiná rá*. He is my father. 2 to be equal • *kínálíè i kpá pè àliè ní, à jáá ànáá-sè*. Two plus two equals four.

⁴jaa [jáà] *pv.* indicate action that occurs regularly, repeatedly, or habitually • *ò jáá káálí kùò ró tfɔpìsì bíí*

múj. He goes to the farm every-day. *táájú jáà té gér ré.* Tangu eats lizard regularly.

¹jaari [jààrì] *v.* to be lazy, be untrustworthy, be useless • *ṇṇà háàj jáárí jáó.* My wife is lazy and unable to work.

²jaari [jààrì] *v.* to scatter on the ground • *bééj bítí à jàmmíj jáàrì à zágá ní.* A goat knocked the maize over and scattered it in the house.

jaga [jàyà] *v.* 1 to hit, to knock • *hákúrí jágá váá tā.* Hakuri knocked the dog away. *ṇṇà káá jágíj tōbī.* I will hit you with my arrow. 2 to put down brusquely • *tí wá kpà à bónsó jágà háglii.* Do not put the cup down brusquely.

jagasi [jàyàsí] *pl.v.* to hit • *à sáñpés-ná jágásí pō à dāā ní.* The porcupine quills hit the tree and stuck in it.

jala [jálá] *v.* cf: *pō* (*var.* *jeła*) 1 to sprout, to burst, to explode, to perspire • *à lóól kóbà káá já-lá.* The car tire will burst. *pétrorž-bágálán jálá dín nē.* The container exploded. *ò jálá wilij né.* She perspires. 2 to germinate, to push up earth, sprout • *ṇṇà sígá tìj ṇṇà dörwó-wó à jálijjóó.* The cow peas I sowed have sprouted. 3 to rise (sun) • *síi, wòsá jálijjóó.* Get up, the sun is up.

jalası [jálásí] *v.* 1 to sit and lean back, to be slanted, to relax on • *à bié sájá òò píná kór ní ká brà ká jálásí.* The child sat on his father's chair and leaned back. 2 to depend on, to rely

on • *gbóló ṇmá dí ò jálásí ṇṇà ní dí ṇṇà káá tíéó láàbákó dùhó.* Gbolo said that he relies on me to give him yam seedlings.

jalie (*var. of jarie*)

jarata [járátá] (*var. parata*) *ints.* very clear or proper white • *à jàmmíssáò káà tólláò járátá.* The maize flour is very white.

jarie [járié] (*var.* *jalie*, *wizaama*) *n.* Muslim. (*ultm.* Hausa). *pl. ja-risa.*

jarri [járí] *n.* Islam.

jasanjabœsi [jásáñábœsi] *lit.* we-sit-slowly ('Let's keep peace') *nprop.* dog name.

¹jawa (*var. of jøwa*)

²jawa [jáwà] *pro.* first person plural emphatic pronoun • *jáwâ wà kín kààlì à líhò.* We were not able to go to the funeral.

jawaa [jáwáá] *pro.* first person plural strong pronoun.

jawadiir [jávdiir] cf: *jøwa* *n.* trader, seller. *pl. jawadiire.*

jege [jègè] *v.* to shake from hunger or some sicknesses, feeling difficulty in moving • *ò tsárfíjóó, òò bárá dí jégè.* She has diarrhoea and is dehydrated, her body is shaking.

jegisi [jégísí] *pl.v.* to rock or shake back and forth, to calm a crying baby by shaking • *kpá à bié sàgà ii nààsá ní à dí jégísí.* Put the child on your lap and continue rocking her.

¹jele [jélē] *v.* to crow • à zímbáál jé-lèū. The cock crowed.

²jele [jélē] *v.* to bloom, to produce and bear flowers • Ჩጀὴ máŋsa káá jélēù. My groundnuts are blooming.

jelii [jélíi] *n.* blooming, flower • bà wàà párà máŋsijéléè pàtſigff. We do not weed under blooming groundnut plants. *pl. jelee.*

jerisi [jérísí] *v.* to shake up by being surprised • kàlá nő̄d mááfawílē à jérísí. Kala heard a gun sound and was shaken up.

je (var. of ja)

jela (var. of jala)

jiriti [jírití] *cf:* bummo *ints.* very black • à hääñ, Ჩጀὴ sàálíi tñj bírèō jí-rítí. The woman, her stirred t.z. is very black.

jibii [jíbíi] *n.* grain of salt.

jiesi [jiësí] *v.* to pamper someone • tíí jíësí ii bisé. Do not pamper your children.

jira [jírà] *v.* to call • kà jírà à báàl dí ó wàà. Call the man and tell him that he should come.

jirigi [jírìgì] *pl.v.* to call people one after the other • gó à tó̄s jirigi à ní-hiësā báá lágámì à kúórù dìà ní. Go around the village and call the elders for them to meet at the chief's house.

jiri [jíríi] *n.* calling. *pl. jirie.*

jisa [jíṣá] *n.* salt. *pl.jisasa.*

joguli [jòyঁłì] *v.* to sell • jògùlì ñ sá-kir tñj à bó i kàntfinsá. Sell your bicycle and pay your debts.

jogulibøj [jòyঁłibóঁj] *n.* high price, expensive • jògùlibój pñüü ní, Ჩጀὴ kín jáwúú. Because it is expensive, I cannot buy it.

jogulii [jóyúlíi] *n.* selling. *pl. jogulie.*

jogulilej [jòyঁłiléj] *n.* moderate price, cheap • wòjò kpágá jògùlilej ná, à júú ní ñv pàtùrúù pétí. Wojo had a moderate price, therefore his petrol got sold.

jogulo [jòyùló] *n.* price • à sákìr jò-gùlò lémáá. The price of the bicycle is low. *pl. joguloso.*

¹jolo [jóló] *cf:* bitri *v.* to pour but leave some in the container • jóló sítj tíēō. Pour some drink for him.

²jolo [jóló] *cf:* sampentie *n.* farming and gardening with raised beds.

jon [jóñ] *n.* slave. *pl. joso.*

jøgsí [jóyঁsí] *v.* 1 to be soft • à bié bátñj jøgøsjàø. The baby's skin is soft. *ant:* kpege¹ 2 to not yet be set, to not be set properly • à hääñ kóø tñj jøgøsjàø. The woman's t.z. is not set properly.

jørótø [jórátó] *ideo.* in a line or straight manner • bàà tfónsi fùòlí rē jörótø. They are joined in a line.

jøsí [jósí] *v.* to trot • jósí kààlì bírín-díj ká wàà. Trot to the main road and come back.

jɔ̄sɪ [jɔ̄sɪ] *pl.v.* to buy • *ɪ̄n búúrè*
 íí jɔ̄sɪ kpáámá ní jàmmíé rá à jà-wá ní. I want you to buy yam and maize at the market.

¹jɔ̄wa [jɔ̄wà] (*var.* **¹jawa**) *v.* to buy
 • *kààlì jɔ̄wá ká jɔ̄wà kánsá à wà t̄eŋ*. Go to the market and buy me bean cakes.

²jɔ̄wa [jɔ̄wá] *cf:* jawadiir *n.* market.
pl. jɔ̄sə.

jugii [júgíí] *n.* heavy • *kpáâmbénsè júgíí káálí kpáâijwótò*. Yam tubers are heavier than yam seedlings. *pl. jugee.*

jugo [jùgò] *v.* 1 to weigh, to be heavy • *kàlá júgó bàwólfé bámbáán ní*. Kala is the heaviest among his colleagues. 2 to be valuable • *kàlá wíymáhá júgó kààlì bàmùy tó-tié*. Kala's speech is more valuable than the others.

julullu [júlúllú] *ints.* very cold • à *píawātà sówónjåñž júlúllú*. The water

sachet is freezing. (Gonja).

¹juo [jùò] *v.* 1 to throw away, to fight, to put someone down in wrestling • *bákúrí júó dindáá tà*. Bakuri threw the firewood away. *dzébúní àní òò háàj jáá júòü*. Jebuni and his wife are always fighting. 2 to roof with mud • *jùò ii diá ká jòò zòò*. Roof your house before the rainy season.

²juo [jùó] *n.* fight. *pl. juoso.*

jɔ̄linjdòòla [jɔ̄linjdòòlà] *lit.* rainy.season-fetch.location *nprop.* location south of Ducie.

jvɔ̄ri [jvɔ̄ri] *v.* to be weak • *òò bié bá-rà káá jvɔ̄ri òò gárágá júú ní*. The body of her child is weak because of his sickness.

jvɔ̄sa [jvɔ̄sá] *n.* spirit entering someone and making her/him show unusual behaviour.

¹jvɔ̄ [jvɔ̄] *cf:* kpa *v.* to marry (a man)
 • *ò jvɔ̄rò rā*. She married him.

²jvɔ̄ [jvɔ̄] *n.* rainy season.

k

¹ka [ka] *conn.* (*var.* **¹kaa**) 1 and, then
 • *kààlì ká wàà*. Go and come. *kàà-lì ká bìrà wàà*. Go, then come back. *kàlá káálí jàwá ká jàwà mú-rò rō*. Kala went to the market and bought rice. 2 but • *ɳ káálí́ ká ɳ wà náò*. I went but I did not see him.

²ka [ka] *cf:* wa *pv.* convey the process to the end point of an event • à *váá kà dōnsí à bié*. The dog bit

the child. à *váá kàà dōnsí à bié*. The dog bites the child.

¹kaa (*var. of ka*)

²kaa [káá] *interrog.* where about, how about • *káà à kpúlikpúli?* Where is the groundnut ball? *káà ii jí-nà?* How is your father?

³kaa [káá] *pv.* will • à *vàà kàá dōnsí à bié*. The dog will bite the child.

⁴kaa [káá] *conn. or • já kárími, káá já káálì kúó.* Let us read, or let us go to the farm. *i káálì wàà rā zááy káá tʃíá?* Are you going to Wa today or tomorrow?

kaabaako [káábáákò] *cf: mamaatfi interj.* expression of surprise, of shock.

kaabi [káábí] *v. to curse, to communicate with a shrine for the down-fall of someone • káábí tiè vóg ó kpó iì dɔŋ.* Ask the shrine to kill your enemy.

kaafra [kááfrà] *n. unbeliever or pagan.* Used also as an insult towards a person who does not worship God, who is not a Muslim. (Hausa, ultm. Arabic <*kaafira* ‘any non-believer in Islam’).

kaakie [kààkíè] *n. type of tree (*Zanthoxylum zanthoxyloides*).* *pl. kaakiesa.*

kaakumo [kààkumò] *cf: kogumie n. donkey.* *pl. kaakumoso.*

kaalí [kààlì] *v. 1 to go towards • já káálí sùkúù rō.* We went to school. *2 to surpass, to exceed • wáá káá-líj.* He is better than me. *wùsá káá-lí kálá bátʃóólíi ní.* Wusa is better than Kala at running.

kaara [káárá] *n. meal where bean flour is poured directly into the stew.*

¹kaasi [kààsì] *v. to clear one’s throat, to eject by coughing • ɳ káásí kàà-sibíi tà.* I brought up a phlegm from my throat. *à báál hàŋ sáŋjá à káásòò*

tʃɔpì bíí múj. This man just sits and clears his throat every day.

²kaasi [kààsì] *v. to coil • kààsì à ɳméj.* Coil the rope.

kaasibii [kààsibíi] *n. phlegm, from the chest.* *pl. kaasibie.*

kabirime [kábìrimē] *n. catarrh.*

kabil [kábil] *n. horn flute.* (Gonja <*cabul*). *pl. kabila.*

kadaasi [kàdáásì] *cf: tɔŋ cf: piipa n. paper.* *pl. kadaasisa.*

kafuura [kàfúúrà] *n. camphor, moth balls (*Cinnamomum camphora*).* (ultm. Arabic, via Gonja <*káfür* ‘camphor’).

kaga [kàyà] *v. to cross or be across something, to choke, to prevent • à hók kágá ɳɳ lilebòò ní.* The bone has choked my throat.

agal [káyál] *cf: naakpaaga n. farm space measurement, twice as big as a naakpaaga.* *pl. kagala.*

kagale [kàyàlè] *v. to lie across, to put across • ɳméj kágálé à dàà-kpùtíí ní.* A rope lies across the tree stump. *kpàgà à dáá kàgálè à tí-wíí.* Place the stick across the road.

kagba [kàgbà] *cf: pintfige n. straw hat.* *pl. kagbasa.*

kagbaama [kàgbààmà] *n. porridge made out of mashed yam and water.* (Gonja <*kigbama*).

kajajo [kájájò] *cf: buntsoona n. porter.* (Hausa <*kaaja kaaja-joo* ‘load-load’).

kaka [káká] *n.* toothache. (Gonja).
pl. kaka.

kakanɔɔ [kàkánɔɔ] *n.* sugar cane. (Waali <*kakanɔɔ*). *pl. kakanɔɔsa.*

¹**kala** [kàlá] *nprop.* 1 Kala, person's name. 2 Buge village shrine.

²**kala** [kàlà] *v.* to make a rope • *báhíé-ṣà kálá ñmésà à jógóli.* Elders make ropes to sell.

kalémazol [kàlémàzól] *n.* sweet potato tuber (*Ipomoea batatas*). *pl. kalemazzla.*

kaléŋ [kàlèŋ] *n.* mat. (Gonja <*kalaj*). *pl. kaleŋsa.*

kaléŋbileŋéē [káléŋbílèŋéē] *n.* adjuster used to support and stabilize cooking pots. *pl. kaleŋbileŋse.*

kaléŋgbögvti [káléŋgbögvti] (*Gu.* var. *tſiirikaleŋgbögvti*) *n.* type of wasp. *pl. kaleŋgbögvtisa.*

kaléŋtſia [kàlèŋtſá] *n.* unwashed portion of the body where water has not touched. *pl. kaleŋtſiasa.*

kaléŋvilime [kàlèŋvilmé] *n.* whirlwind. *pl. kaleŋviliŋse.*

kalie [kálíé] *cf.* *tſelii* *n.* tomato. [*Ka*].

kalpaaga [kàlèŋàágá] *n.* farm land which has been used for two years in a row and lies fallow.

kamboro [kámbořò] *n.* half • *tí páá-sí à kpááj míúj, lògà óvò kámbořò bilè.* Do not peel the entire yam. Cut half and leave the rest. *pl. kamboroso.*

kamsí [kámsí] *v.* 1 to blink repeatedly • *hàglíí zòòùù síté ò dì kám-sí.* Some sand got in his eyes so he is blinking. 2 to make a hand motion signalling to come • *kám-sí à wòj tfeñ.* Make a gesture to the deaf person to come. (Safaliba <*kamsi*).

¹**kana** [kánà] *n.* arm ring. *pl. kanasa.*

²**kana** [kànà] *v.* to be abundant, to be many, to be big, to be plenty • *ná-rá kàá kànà à lúdéndil ní rē.* People will be numerous at the funeral ground. *ñì tótí wá kānā.* My share is not big.

kandria [kàndíá] 1 *n.* north. 2 *nprop.* Kandia village.

kaníé [káníé] (var. *gbíakaníé*) *n.* African green monkey (*Cercopithecus aethiops*). *pl. kansa.*

kankíma (var. of *kantſíma*)

kansii [kánsíí] *n.* bean cake. *pl. kan-sa.*

kanteø [kántëø] *n.* Standard-Winged Nightjar, type of bird (*Macrodipteryx longipennis*). *pl. kanteøsa.*

kantige [kántigé] *n.* part or function of stomach which grinds the food.

kantſangulumo [kàntſangúlumó] *cf.* *sar* *n.* ball of pumpkin seed paste.

kantſíma [kàntſímá] (var. *kankíma*) *n.* debt, or bill for a communal contribution. *pl. kantſinsa.*

kapaaga [kàpnáágà] *n.* retaliation, feud, complaint • *kpàgà i kàpnáá-*

gà dì káálì díá, ñ wà zímá wíí müŋj. Take your complaint with you and go home, I do not know anything about it.

kapeti [kàpètì] *n.* patience • *dí kàpñti.* Be patient. (Gonja, ultm. Arabic <*kapeti*>).

kanja [kàŋjá] *n.* 1 part of the upper back. 2 piece of meat of the upper back of an animal, usually given to women. *pl. kayasa.*

kangbeli [káŋgbéli] *n.* cerebro-spinal meningitis (CSM) (*Meningococcal meningitis*). (Waali <*kangbeli*>).

kanjkabulo [káŋkábülò] *n.* ulcer that will never heal.

kanjñi [káŋñjí] *v.* to compete • *à kàràŋbisé káá kāŋñí dñjá wā.* The students are competing with each other.

kapala [kàpálà] *cf:* **kapalasɔŋ** *n.* fufu, staple food. (Waali <*kapala*>).

kapalasɔŋ [kàpàlásɔŋ] *cf:* **kapala** *n.* cold, left-over fufu usually eaten in the morning.

kapenta [kápéntà] *n.* carpenter. (ultm. English). *pl. kapentasa.*

kaputi [kàpùti] *n.* pillow. (Gonja <*kaputi*>). *pl. kaputuso.*

kapɔsìe [kàpɔsìè] *cf:* **guori** *n.* kola nut (*Cola*). (Gonja <*kàpúfè*>). *pl. kapɔsìe.*

kapɔsifala [kàpɔsifàlá] *cf:* **fala** *n.* kola nut container or its content

- *bìtì ñ kàpɔsifàlá tìj bilè hàglí ní jà nà.* Scatter you kola nuts on the ground so we can see.

karansiin [kàrànsiün] *n.* kerosene, lantern oil. (ultm. English <*kerosene*>).

karantie [kàrántiè] *n.* cutlass. (Akan <*karantie*>). *pl. karantiesa.*

karaŋbie [kàràŋbié] *n.* student. (partly Oti-Volta). *pl. karaybise.*

karatſi [kàràtſí] *n.* person who has received a formal education, e.g. officer, teacher. (ultm. English <*clerk* ‘clerk’). *pl. karatfise.*

karifa [kàrifá] *cf:* **tìja** *n.* responsibility. (Gonja).

karima [kàrìmá] *cf:* **tʃitʃa** *n.* teacher. (ultm. Arabic <*karima*>).

karimi [kàrìmì] *v.* to read • *kàràŋbi-káná wàá kìn kárímí wíwíré.* Many students cannot read well. (ultm. Arabic <*qirā'a*>).

karimii [karímfí] *n.* learning by reading. (ultm. Arabic).

kasí (*var. of tʃasí*)

kasíma [kásímá] *n.* corpse dressing uniform consisting of a hat, trousers, smock and a cloth.

katasa [kàtásà] *cf:* **tasa** *n.* type of bowl. (Gonja <*katasaŋ*>). *pl. katatasasa.*

katasazeŋ [kàtásàzèj] *n.* basin. *pl. katasazenëẽ.*

katiere [kàtíférè] *n.* canoe paddler or someone helping to cross a body of water. (Gonja).

katuo [kótóó] *nprop.* Katua village. (<*kɔtʃvɔ* ‘bush-lie.down’).

katuoñi [kàtóólífí] *n.* 1 person from Katua. 2 lect of Katua. *pl. katuo-lee.*

katſal [kátſál] *n.* type of tree (*Danielia oliveri*). *pl. katſala.*

katſalkpujiimuj [kátfálkpùñjìmùñ] *nprop.* place name in Ducie.

katſig [kàtſíg] *n.* Martial Eagle, type of bird (*Polemaetus bellicosus*). *pl. katſigne.*

katſiguol [kátfígkúól] *lit.* eagle-t.z. *n.* African Hawk Eagle, type of bird (*Hieraæetus spilogaster*). *pl. katſiguolo.*

katſiguolsiañ [kàtſígkùolsiáñ] *n.* Bonelli’s Eagle, type of bird (*Hieraæetus fasciatus*). *pl. katſiguolsiama.*

kăõ [kăõ] *cf: dwo* *n.* saltpetre, potassium nitrate, Gh. Eng. kanwu, used a thickening agent for the preparation of soups and stews. (Ghsm). *pl. kăõ.*

kawaa [kàwáá] *n.* pumpkin plant. *pl. kawaasa.*

kawaadadag [kàwààdādāg] *n.* ring-worm (*Tinea corporis*).

kegemé [kègémè] *v.* to be uneven, to be on one side, to become asymmetric • *ò kpágá òò nõá kégémè.* She turned her lips to the side. à *hág-libí háj kégéméõ.* This mud block is uneven.

kelembi [kélém̩bi] *n.* pen, a hollow grass stalk that is sharpened to a

point and dipped in ink to write with. (Hausa, ultm. Arabic <*alkalamí*).

ken (*var. of keŋ*)

keŋ [keŋ] (*var. ken*) *adv.* like that, that, so • *záàŋ òò tàá káá zéné kékj.* Today he is talking loudly like that. à *hááj ñmā dí, këëŋ?* The woman said: “Is that so?”. *jínéá ñ kàá fíiléy kékj?* Why do you peek at me like that? *gbélinsé átōrò máŋá kékj.* It is three o’clock.

keŋe [kéŋé] *v.* to be tipped, to lean to one side, to incline • *à dáá kékjé kákàli tiimúŋ nó.* The tree leans towards the east. *a zíá kékjéjõõ.* The wall is not straight.

kere [kérè] *n.* to be under-sized, to fail to thrive • *hil gílá ñ sígá kérè kùò ní.* Drought has affected the growth of my cow peas. *pòdzíémà kpágá třá ságà ù biè ní, ù kérè.* Pojiama had successive pregnancies. That is why her child fails to thrive.

keregi (*var. of kerigi*)

kerigi [kérígí] (*var. keregi*) *pl.v.* to break many, to be broken • *kérígí dààsá dó díŋ ní.* Break firewood and put it into the fire. *kündúú-gù tívíí kòdórógòsó müj à kérégí-jé.* The bridges on the Kundugu road are broken.

kesi (*var. of t̩sesi*)

keti [kèti] *v. cf: kp̩eti* (*var. t̩seti*) 1 to break • à *hááj néj kétijō.* The woman’s arm is broken. *kétí kpāā-sà tīēj.* Cut a branch and make a

whip for me. 2 to pick from a living plant, especially for maize • ḷ káálí kúó ᵏ ká kētī nàmmíí. He went to the farm to pick a maize cob.

kie [kìé] *n.* half of a bird, one part of a bird which has been divided into two. *pl. kiete.*

kiesi [kìèsi] *n.* to be few, relative to an expectation, to be more than one or once but not many • ḷ àkráá káálí kíésijóó. My trips to Accra are few. nárá tñi kà káálí à míntiŋ bà wà kíésijé, àwíé jà wà sá-ŋgëë. Those who were to attend the meeting were too few, so we did not hold it.

kiesii [kíésíí] (*var. t̄fiesii*) *n.* type of bird. *pl. kiesie.*

kiesimunluo [kíésímúnlùó] *lit.* bird-back-? *n.* type of plant. *pl. kiesi-munlusó.*

¹**kii** [kìi] 1 *conn.* like, as • i ́mà kii gbiá. You fear like a monkey. 2 *v.* to be like, to resemble • pà-tásè wà wíré kii hámónà káá dì pññá. Akpeteshie is bad for children to drink. jà bárá tóŋ wá kii dñyà. Our skin is not the same.

²**kii** [kíí] (*var. t̄fii*) *v.* to forbid, to refuse, to place under a taboo and abstain from • ḷ kíí ãã rā. I place under a taboo and abstain from the bushbuck. ùù kii lúdéndilsíñ ná. He places under a taboo drinking at the funeral ground.

³**kii** [kìí] *cf. t̄fiir* *n.* taboo. [*Gu*].

kiige [kììgè] *v.* to move to a better position • kììgè ᵏ kór tñj, wòsá káá wāō. Move your chair, the sun is coming.

kiini [kììnì] *v. (var. t̄fiiini)* 1 to bring out, remove • kììnì ᵏ lágà pàtſígíí kí-ná múj bilè. Bring out everything that is in your bag and put it down. 2 to take up the last of food, to clean a bowl • zòd̄ ṭmñ mñå pé ᵏ kpá nñ kòd̄ fálá tñéé í kíinì. Go to my mother she will give you my t.z. bowl so you can finish it.

kiir (*var. of t̄fiir*)

kiiri [kììri] *v.* to breathe with difficulty, because of asthma or exertion • ù kíírùü. She is breathing with difficulty.

kil [kíl:] *n.* dance-floor.

kilimie [kílímìè] *cf. t̄fimmää* *n.* pepper. [*Ka*].

kimmää (*var. of t̄fimmää*)

kisi [kísi] *v.* to bless, to protect, to save from suffering • wòsá káá kí-síí. God will protect you.

kisie [kísíé] *n.* knife. *pl. kisise.*

kiasi [kìàsí] (*var. t̄fiasí*) *v.* to tear apart, to be torn • à hááj gár kíá-síjó. The woman's cloth is torn.

kíe [kìè] *v.* to collect a contribution • dùsééléé já kíe mòlèbié bó ásibí-tí wòt̄fimáñ. The people from Ducie collected a contribution and paid the watchman of the clinic.

kiemr [kìèmì] (*var. t̄fiemr*) *v.* to make noise • ḷ wàà búúré námùŋ

ktèmì báàn ní. I do not want anybody to make a noise here.

kieŋj (var. of tʃieŋj)

kieŋi (var. of tʃieŋi)

kíirii [kíiríi] cf: tʃíirii *n.* type of wasp. *pl. kíirie.*

kilee [kílèé] (var. kilie) *n.* Booted Eagle, type of bird (*Hieraetus pennatus*). *pl. kilesa.*

kileesiāŋ [kílèësíáŋ] *n.* Booted Eagle, type of bird, smaller than *kilee* and reddish (*Hieraetus pennatus*). *pl. kileesiama.*

kilie (var. of kilee)

kima (var. of tʃima)

kimpìigii [kímpìigíi] lit. thing-mark
n. broom *synt: tʃää*. [*Gu*].

¹**kin [kíñj] cf: kin- (var. kinj)** *n.* thing. *pl. kina.*

²**kin [kinj] v.** to be able, can or could •
òv wáá kin wáá. He is not able to come. ìv káá kinj káálòó. You may go. òv kinj wáö? àí, òv wá kinjíé wáá. A: Was he able to come? B: No, he was not able.

kin- [kin] cf: kin classifier particle for concrete entity.

kinbaŋ [kimbaŋ] cf: kimbəŋ *n.* bad thing. [*Ka*].

kimbírñj [kimbírñj] *n.* whole.

kimbəŋ [kimbóŋ] cf: kinbaŋ *n.* bad thing.

kindiili [kíndíilí] cf: siiimaa
n. meal. *pl. kindiilie.*

kinduho [kíndùhó] *n.* offspring.

kinkpagasii [kínpágàsíi] *n.* prey.
pl. kinkpagasie.

kinlarii [kínlárii] *n.* piece of clothing. *pl. kinlaree.*

kinliemii [kínliémíi] *n.* hanging object, ornament or piece of jewellery attached to a necklace or bracelet. *pl. kinliemee.*

kinpaatsag [kímpàátsák] lit. thing-leaf *n.* greenish thing. *pl. kinpaatsaksa.*

1kinsøŋ [kínsóŋ] *n.* something cold.

2kinsøŋ [kínsóŋ] *n.* highly infected swelling full of pus.

kintʃiagni [kíntʃágíi] *n.* fragile, something easily breakable. *pl. kintʃiagee.*

kintʃvali [kíntʃvalíi] *n.* mat or mattress. *pl. kintʃvalee.*

kintʃoma [kíntʃómá] cf: genii
n. dirty or bad thing, may also be used to refer to an unappreciated person.

kinwílii [kínwílíi] *n.* sore, a skin lesion or wound. *pl. kinwilee.*

kinzeŋ [kínzéj] n. big thing. *pl. kinzenee.*

kinzíni [kínzíñíi] *n.* horse. *pl. kinzinee.*

kinzíñjii [kínzíñjíi] *n.* long thing. *pl. kinzijee.*

kimmaŋana [kímmánjáná] *n.* drummer. *pl. kimmaynesa.*

kinj (var. of kin)

kindimj [kíndíñj] cf: dímj; nídñj;
wídñj; bídñj *n.* valuable thing.

kīŋkaŋ [kīŋkáj] *quant.* many, much, abundantly • *dúó tʃōāt kīŋkàŋ wà wéré*. Sleeping too much is not good.

kīŋkuree (*var. of kīŋkurugie*)

kīŋkurokɔɔrii [kīŋkùròkɔɔrìi] *n.* calculator, computer. *pl. kīŋ-kurokɔɔrie.*

kīŋkurugie [kīŋkùrùgíè] (*var. kīŋ-kuree*) *n.* enumeration, number • *ᵻṇᵻṇ bié kàá zìgítì kīnkùrùgíè rē*. My child will learn how to count.

kīrīsaal [kīrīsààl] *n.* wasp's nest.

kīrimá [kīrimá] *cf:* **nakañ** *cf:* **nakpafugul** *n.* tsetse fly (*Glossina*). *pl. kīrīnsa.*

kīrimamómpusa [kīrimámómpùsà] *n.* witchweed (*Striga*).

¹**ko** [kó] *adv.* too, as well • *i kó, wáà*. You too, come. *à já nōmåñ bá jírà jà kó*. If they (the issues) are serious, they call us too.

²**ko** [kó] *conn.* or • *kó dì i wàá kàà-li?* Or you will not go? *ná kóó, kó dì i wàá dì?* There is t.z., or you will not eat? (Hausa <*kō*'*kō*'>).

kodorogo [kòdórógò] *n.* bridge. (Waali <*kodoriko*>). *pl. kodoro-goso.*

kogii [kógií] *n.* protection.

kogo [kògò] *v.* to hold and keep from falling by supporting or protecting • *kpá ii néj kògò à téébùl juú à sì-biè tí wá bilinsi tsélíí*. Put your hand

on the table top so that the beans do not roll and fall.

kogulii [kóglíí] *n.* farm measurement. [*Gu*].

kogulinpaa [kóglíimpàà] *n.* morning glory plant, type of climber (*Ipomoea mauritiana*).

kogumie [kóglomíè] *cf:* **kaakumo** *n.* donkey. [*Mo*].

kokobeg [kòkòbég] *n.* shell of palm nut. *pl. kokobege.*

kokoduro [kókódúró] *n.* ginger. (Akan <*kákádòrò* 'toothache-medicine'). *pl. kokoduroso.*

kokolentebii [kòkòlèntébíí] *n.* fishing hook. *pl. kokolentebie.*

kokolun [kòkólún] (*var.* **perega**) *n.* boat. *pl. kokolunso.*

kokorowie [kòkòròwíé] *n.* type of drum beaten with straight sticks.

kole [kòlé] *nprop.* Kole, person's name.

kolo [kòlò] *v.* to carry under one's arm • *ii bíérì ká kòlò kpáámá dì wāā*. Your brother is coming with yams under his arm.

kolokolo [kòlókòló] *ono.* turkey. (Gonja <*kolokolo*>). *pl. kolokoloso.*

kolopötí (*var. of kôlpötí*)

konsiaŋ [kónsián] *n.* Laughing dove (*Streptopelia senegalensis*). *pl. kon-siama.*

konti [kòntì] *v.* to put one's arm around • *dì púpùtíína kpáì kpá ii né-še à kóntúú, dí á lèí i kàá tsélè*. If

a motorcycle rider picks you, put your arms around him otherwise you will fall.

kontii [kɔntíi] *cf: gbege cf: zaŋsa* *n.* early farm preparation, just after bush burning, involving clearing the land and cutting trees. [*Gu*].

koŋ [kóŋ] *cf: kpálimaalige* *n.* Kapok, type of tree (*Ceiba pentandra*). *pl. komo*.

koŋbugul [kómbúgúl] *n.* Rock Dove, type of bird (*Columba livia*). *pl. koŋbugulo*.

konjelemiĩ [kónjèlémíi] *n.* Bruce's Green Pigeon, type of bird (*Treron waalia*). *pl. koŋjelemiẽ*.

koŋkogulepɔmma [kóŋkoyúlèpɔm má] *n.* Cattle Egret, type of bird (*Bubulcus ibis*). *pl. koŋkogulepɔ-konsa*.

koŋkoliilikoo [kóŋkòlílikòô] *ono.* cock-a-doodle-doo, sound of the rooster.

koŋpɔlŋ [kóŋpólp̩] *n.* Vinaceous Dove, type of bird (*Sreptopelia vinacea*). *pl. koŋpɔlma*.

koŋzaazug [kónzázúg] *n.* Red-Eyed Dove, type of bird (*Streptopelia semitorquata*). *pl. koŋzaazuguno*.

kor [kór:] *n.* seat, bench, chair. (ultm. Arabic <*kursii* 'chair'). *pl. koro*.

koro [kòrò] *n.* chieftanship. *pl. koro*.

korumbora [kòrùmbórà] *n.* dusty weather.

kotaal [kótàál] *n.* asphalt, bitumen. (ultm. English <*coal tar*).

koti [kótí] *v.* to die prematurely • ጀጀ binibáál tìŋ kótijō. Her son died prematurely.

kɔba [kábà] *n.* tyre. (ultm. English <*cover* 'cover'). *pl. kɔbasa*.

kɔbinii [kóbínñí] *n.* type of cloth used by elderly men, made out of thick cotton and dyed with the bark extract of *walaŋzaŋ*. [*oldfash*]. *pl. kɔbinię*.

kɔglaabwl [kóyʃláábwl] *n.* papaya, paw-paw (*Carica papaya*). *pl. kɔg-laabwlsa*.

kɔgɔlɪ [kògɔlli] *v.* 1 to come loose • ጥጀ jíŋ kágóljɔ́č ká há dɔ́d dé nì. His tooth is coming loose but it is still there. 2 to be broken or damaged but still functional and not totally collapsed, used especially for buildings • à zíč há kágɔlí kén nì. The wall is still standing like this.

kɔgɔsɔg [kòyɔsɔg] *ideo.* rough • à gér bárá dó níŋ kágɔsɔg. The lizard's skin is rough like this. *ant:* *soloŋ-soloŋ*

kɔkɔ [kòkò] *n.* former farm land, which has lost its yield potential. *pl. kɔkɔsa*.

kɔkɔla (*var. of kɔlakɔla*)

kɔkɔlikɔ [kòkòlíkò] *n.* type of grasshopper. *pl. kɔkɔlikɔsa*.

íkɔla [kòlà] *v.* 1 to be loose • ምም pá-tá káá kɔlān nà. My pants are too loose for me. 2 to notice yet to ignore • i síí kɔlá ñ tɔ́ŋtɔmíé. You

have looked over the work I have done and it is not up to your expectations. 3 to defeat • à níhiɛ̄ gèrègá tíjì kóláó rā. The elder's sickness killed him.

²kɔla [kólá] *v.* to sharpen a grinding stone • má ká kɔlà nɔnnà. You go and sharpen the grinding stones.

kɔlakɔla [kólàkólà] (*var.* kɔkɔla) *ideo.* type of visual percept, light grey colour • zákòlákòlà wàà zóó dùsiè jáwà, à jáá kiùr ré. Light grey fowls are not allowed in the Ducie market, it is a taboo.

kɔlbaa [kólíbáá] *cf:* pírintɔa *n.* bottle. (ultm. Hausa <*kwalabā*>). *pl.* kɔlbaasa.

kɔlli [kólíí] *n.* *cf:* zul 1 stem or stalk of millet and guinea corn. 2 second year of a new farm land. *pl.* kɔlie.

kɔlɔlɔ [kólíló] *ideo.* 1 smooth and fine, like the texture of finely ground flour • kòtì à sàs á bíf kólíló. Grind the flour finely. 2 to appear unhealthy, to be thin, weak, or frail, especially children • wágítí mùñj òò já bààj dé kéj kólíló. He always appears weak and frail.

kɔlɔŋ [kólɔŋj] *cf:* vil *n.* deep hole in the earth for getting water. (Waali <*kɔlɔŋ*>). *pl.* kɔlɔŋsa.

kɔlpɔti [kólɒpti] (*var.* kolopɔti) *n.* metal cooking stove. (ultm. English <*coal pot*>). *pl.* kɔlpɔtisa.

kɔmbɔŋja [kómboŋjá] *n.* Ashanti person. *pl.* kɔmbɔŋasa.

kɔmñá [kómñá] *n.* guinea corn that has been soaked, left to germinate, then dried.

kɔmñákpári [kómñákpái] *n.* first day of second funeral where the guinea corn is presented.

kɔmñápnari [kómñápnárfí] *lit.* malt-grind *n.* funeral activity which takes place on the second day of a second funeral where the malt is ground.

kɔntì [kóntì] *v.* to be physically weak, due to sickness and/or old age • i kàá kɔntì dí i wáá dénsì ii hógo. You will be weak if you do not exercise.

¹kɔntɔŋ [kóntóŋ] *n.* fairy synt: puziñtuna . (Mande <*kɔnkɔma* 'evil spirit'). *pl.* kɔntɔma.

²kɔntɔŋ [kóntóŋ] *n.* soup ingredient made out of baobab seeds, substitute for other non-available ingredients to make the soup thicker.

kɔŋ [kóŋj] (*var.* gantalgbou) *n.* cobra synt: niitiuna . *pl.* kɔŋa.

kɔŋja [kóŋjá] *v.* to be thin, to become thin and skinny because of sickness • wiflá gfláó òò kɔŋja. Sickness made him thin. tʃɔpítsà àgymènà hájì nì kɔŋja kímkán nà. These days I am getting thin and skinny.

²kɔŋja [kóŋjá] *n.* comb of a rooster.

kɔŋkɔŋ [kóŋkóŋ] *ono.* can or tin. (North. Ghsm).

kɔŋkɔŋgi [kóŋkɔŋgí] *n.* type of fish. *pl.* kɔŋkɔŋgee.

kɔɔ (*Mo. var. of kɔwa*)

kɔɔti [kɔɔtì] *n.* court. (ultm. English <*court*).

kɔpul [kɔpùl] *n.* type of grass (*andropogon gayanus*). *pl. kɔpul.*

kɔps [kɔpɔ̄] *n.* cup • *tʃìà dɔá kɔpɔ̄ nì.* There is a fly in the cup. (ultm. English <*cup*). *pl. kɔpsa.*

kɔr [kɔ́r:] *n.* thick, dense forest • à *kɔ́r pénáá̄ñ.* The forest is large. *pl. kɔr.*

kɔrigí [kɔ́rígí] *v.* to cut a throat • *kà kɔ́rígí à náá̄ñ tiè à báál.* Go and slaughter the cow for the man.

kɔsa [kɔsá] *n.* 1 bush • *kɔsásélé wá bráà wàà diá làgálágá hájì.* Bush animals do not come to the village any more. 2 grass • *kɔsá wá pñ ñì sàl ní.* Grass does not grow on my roof. *pl. kɔsasa.*

kɔsabirijuoni (*var. of kɔsagbegbe*)

kɔsagbegbe [kɔságbègbé] (*var. kɔsabirijuoni*) *n.* Spur-Winged Goose (*Plectropterus gambensis*). *pl. kɔsagbegbesa.*

kɔsakij [kɔsákij] *n.* bush thing. *pl. kɔsakina.*

kɔsanáñ [kɔsánáñ] *lit.* bush-cow *n.* buffalo (*Syncerus caffer*). *pl. kɔsanáñna.*

kɔsasel [kɔsásél] *n.* bush animal. *pl. kɔsasele.*

kɔsasúú [kɔsásúú] *n.* bush guinea fowl. *pl. kɔsasúúno.*

kɔsí [kɔsí] *v.* to be overgrown, to be thick • *tí wá tiè à kùó dí kɔsí.* Do not let weeds take over the farm.

kɔta [kótà] *n.* a measure unit for akpeteshie, approx. 3-4 oz • *ṇ tʃèná jáwá pàtààsè kótà tíén ná.* My friend bought me a glass of akpeteshie. (ultm. English <*quarter*).

kɔwa [kɔwá] (*Mo. var. kɔɔ*) *num.* hundred. (Oti-Volta). *pl. kɔwsa.*

kɔwia [kɔwìá] *n.* soap. *pl. kɔwisa.*

kɔzóór [kɔzóór] *lit.* bush-enter-agent *n.* someone in the diaspora, expatriate • *kàlá jáá kɔzóór rá.* Kala is in the diaspora.

kube [kùbé] *n.* coconut. (Akan <*kùbé*). *pl. kubese.*

kubii [kùbíí] *n.* porridge. *pl. kubie.*

kugdaabii [kùgdààbíí] *n.* rib. *pl. kugdaabie.*

kugso [kùgsó] *n.* rib cage. *pl. kug-soso.*

kulo [kúló] *v.* to tilt, or to be tilted and likely to fall • *kpá káléybjílèjéé̄ lésí à dálíà, dí à léí à vií kàá kú-ló.* The pot is tilted, take the adjuster to support it.

kummi [kùmmì] *v.* to grip an object, to hold in the palm of one's hand • *ṇ já kpá ñì mòlèbié kùmmùū.* I usually hold my money in my hand.

kummii [kúmmíí] *n.* fist. *pl. kum-mie.*

kumpii [kúmpíí] *n.* thorny spear grass. *pl. kumpii.*

kundinja [kündinjà] *n.* person with physical abnormalities who is cognitively normal • *kündinjá òò lòlá.* She gave birth to a deformed child. *pl. kundijasa.*

kuntunbṣa [kúntúnbṣà] *n.* bundles of grass for roofing, especially for the farm hut. *pl. kuntunbṣasa.*

kuntuj [kùntúŋ] *n.* blanket. (ultm. Hausa <*kuntu*). *pl. kuntunso.*

kuŋkuksiéŋ [kúŋkùksíéŋ] *nprop.* uninhabited area south of Ducie's sections Lobani and Zingbani.

¹**kuŋkuŋ** [kúŋkùŋ] *n.* brain. *pl. kuŋ-kunno.*

²**kuŋkuŋ** [kúŋkúŋ] *n.* highland.

kūŋsūŋ [kúŋsúnŋ] *cf:* **ziezie** *n.* tough and resistant object, tough person. *pl. kūŋsūŋ.*

¹**kuo** [kùó] *n.* farm. *pl. kuono.*

²**kuo** [kúó] *n.* roan antelope (*Hippotragus equinus*). *pl. kuoto.*

kuodu [kùòdú] [kòdú] *n.* banana. (Akan <*kvèdú*). *pl. kuoduso.*

kuokuo [kùòkúò] *n.* cocoa (*Theobroma cacao*). (ultm. Spanish, via English).

kuolie [kúólíè] *n.* type of tree (*Anogeissus leiocarpus*). *pl. kuoluso.*

kuonihřē [kùòníhřē] *n.* person in charge of decisions over farm land. *pl. kuonihřeta.*

kuori (*Mo. var. of kuoru*)

kuoru [kùórù] (*Mo. var. kuori*) *n.* chief. *pl. kuoruso.*

kuorubanii [kùòrùbáníí] *lit.* chief-section *nprop.* section of Ducie.

kuosi [kùòsì] *v.* to stir, to mix • *kùòsì à sígá dó à vii ní.* Stir the beans in the pot.

kuoso [kúòsó] *cf:* **wusa** *n.* supreme God, unseen creator, above everything. (<*kùórù wòsá*).

kuosonuu [kùósònúù] *lit.* god-head n. sky.

kuosozima [kùósòzímá] *lit.* god-know *nprop.* dog name.

kuotinna [kùòtínà] *n.* farm owner.

kuotuto [kùòtútò] *cf:* **tundaa;** **tuto** *n.* farm mortar. *pl. kuotutoso.*

kurii [kúríí] *n.* counting.

kuro [kùrò] *v.* to count • *kpá mòlèbié wàà ḥ kùrò.* Bring the money for me to count. (Gonja <*kàrigá*).

kurungboŋ [kúrúŋgbòŋ] *n.* hunter rank of a person who has killed a human being. (Gonja).

kuruso [kúrúsò] *n.* trousers, Gh. Eng. pantaloons, hand-sewn piece which accompanies a smock.

¹**kusi** [kùsì] *v.* to be unable, do in vain • *bà dóngóníŋ kùsì.* They chased me but were unable to catch me. ḥ *káá-lí à kùó kùsì.* I could not go to the farm.

²**kusi** [kúsí] *v.* to steam, to cook something by letting steam pass over it

• *kpòj kpòj kúsíjè* ñ dì búúrè. I like steamed cassava. *kúsí gààrí tiè hóórá*. Steam

kuu [kúù] (*var. kuubummo*) *n.* Pel's Fishing owl, type of bird (*Scotopelia peli*). *pl. kuuso*.

kúú [kúú] *v.* to take excessively to the surprise of others • *mìn bisé kúú nà nñéttì*. My children took a lot out of my pomade container.

kuubummo (*var. of kuu*)

kuudiginsa [kúúdígìnsá] (*var. zaanj-gberi*) *n.* White-Faced owl (*Ptilopsis leucotis*). *pl. kuudiginsasa*.

kuukuu [kúùkúù] *n.* small insect leaving traces in sand like tunnels. *pl. kuukuuso*.

kuusiaŋ [kúúsián] *n.* type of owl. *pl. kuusrama*.

kuuwolie [kúúwóliè] *n.* type of owl.

köl [kól] *cf: kow* *n.* staple food (t.z.). [Ka].

kwlombwl [kwlòmbwl] *n.* improper, fuzzy, not clear • à báál fótósó té-nyésié dó kwlòmbwl. The man's pictures are not clear. *pl. kwlombwls*.

kwma [kómà] *v.* to cut off a head, to top millet, gourd, rice or guinea corn, to harvest • má ká kómà mū-rō. Go harvest some rice. *bátón káá kómà miá ní kísìè rē*. Baton is harvesting guinea corn with a knife.

kwŋkwlbi [kóŋkólébí] *n.* grinding stone of 5-10 cm. diameter, used especially to grind charcoal or gun powder. *pl. kwŋkwlbia*.

kwole [kwlé] *v.* to be lethargic, to be inactive or not energetic, to be weak from sickness • *tí wá tiè ì biè kóólé*. Do not let your child be inactive. à báál kàà wíjò, àwíé ò kwlé. The man is suffering, that is why he is weak.

kwołi [kwlí] *nprop.* Sawla shrine.

kwołli [kwlí] *n.* thin, skinny or bony person.

kwořee [kwlré] *n.* cloth weaver's workshop. *pl. kwořesa*.

kwoři [kwlri] *v.* 1 to make • *já wáá kinkwɔři lóólt*. We can't make cars. 2 to prepare food, to cook • *òò kóóři siimáá rā*. She is preparing food. 3 to repair • *kwlri ñì sákir tīēj*. Repair my bicycle for me. 4 to solve an issue • *ò kóóři à wíé pé-tùù*. She solved the issues. 5 to perform a ceremony in connection with a fetish • *ò káá kààlì vógtíi-ná pé rē àkà kwlri òò wíé*. She will go to the priest and raise her issues. 6 to develop a community • *námùj wá wáā kwlri já tóò*. Nobody comes to develop our community.

kwoři [kwlři] *v.* to express dissatisfaction over a performance below standard • *dzahíní wá kínři gòà, bá wóléé kóřsóó*. Jahini could not dance as expected, his colleagues expressed their dissatisfaction.

kwra [kwlà] *v.* to be different • *ñì váá kórla ì váá ní rà*. My dog is different from your dog.

kwrkII [kwlrekí] *n.* difference.

(Gonja <kór>).

kṣv̥gbāñv [kṣv̥gbāñv] *n.* type of tree (*Dracaena arborea*). *pl.* **kṣv̥gbāñvosa**.

kṣv̥mbvra [kṣv̥mbvra] *n.* fog.

kṣtī [kṣtī] *v.* *cf:* **tiisi**; **naari** 1 to skin, to cut an animal into pieces • *lágálá-gā hán nī* ḷ **kṣtī** à áá **pētī**. I have just finished skinning the antelope. 2 to grind very fine with a smooth stone or the finest grinding at the mill, for food or medicine preparation • *ññ níná kótí à lúlí ré*. My father ground the medicine.

kṣtora [kṣtórá] *n.* thick porridge made of maize dough.

kṣv [kṣv] *cf:* **kṣv** *cf:* **zakṣv** *cf:* **kṣvṣoŋ** *cf:* **kṣvṣva** *n.* staple food, Gh. Eng. t.z.. (ultm. Hausa <tuo zaafi ‘very hot’). *pl.* **kṣvla**.

kṣv̥ [kṣv̥] *v.* 1 to tire, to be tired physically • ḷ **kṣv̥w̥d̥**. I am tired. 2 to wonder • à **kṣv̥** ḷ **nà dí** ò **káá wáō**. I wonder if he will come. 3 to be upset • ḷ **káá kṣv̥ dí** i **víé** ññ **wí-ymáhá háj**. I will be upset if you refuse my advice. 4 to surprise, to be unexpected • à **káá kṣv̥ hákúrí ré** dí **ùù biè háj** **sówá**. Hakuri will be surprised to lose her daughter.

¹kṣv̥ri [kṣv̥rī] *v.* to snore • **tíí kṣv̥rī** **ká ḷ tfúó dūò**. Do not snore so I can sleep.

kp

kpa [kpà] *v.* *cf:* **paa** *cf:* **jv̥v**

²kṣv̥ri [kṣv̥rī] *v.* to be almost rotten • **bákúrí** **lóó nàmíá tīj** **kóv̥rī-jóó**. Bakuri’s hartebeest meat is almost rotten.

³kṣv̥ri [kṣv̥rī] *v.* to stink, almost getting rotten • à **nàð dí sówāō**, àwíé òv̥ **nàmíé kṣv̥ri**. The cow died yesterday, therefore its meat stinks.

kṣv̥sa [kṣv̥sá] *n.* tiredness • òv̥ **kṣv̥sá tīj** **nā kpūú kék̥**. His tiredness killed him.

kṣv̥sɔŋ [kṣv̥sóŋ] *cf:* **kṣv̥tṣva** *cf:* **kṣv** *n.* cold t.z., usually eaten in the morning.

kṣv̥tṣva [kṣv̥tṣvá] *lit.* t.z.-lie *cf:* **kṣv** *cf:* **kṣv̥sɔŋ** *n.* staple food left-overs for the morning. *pl.* **kṣv̥tṣva**.

kṣv̥ii [kṣv̥i] *n.* t.z. stirring pot.

kṣzaa [kṣzàà] *cf:* **tisie** *n.* woven basket with guinea corn stalks. *pl.* **kṣzaasa**.

kṣzaakpái [kṣzààkpái] *cf:* **kṣzaalimmii** *n.* funeral event happening on the first day of the second funeral where the items left by the deceased are transferred to the heir.

kṣzaalimmii [kṣzààlimmíí] *lit.* basket-glance *cf:* **kṣzaakpái** (*var.* **kṣzaapinii**) *n.* funeral event where the family heads look at the items left by the deceased.

kṣzaapinii (*var.* of **kṣzaalimmii**)

1 take • **kpá à pár tīēj**. Give me

the hoe. 2 to mark the beginning or commencement of an action • à d̄éé kpá kàjklàjì kàjklàjì. The python started crawling rapidly. 3 to marry (a woman) • ḡ kpávì rà. He married her.

kpa jug [kpá júg] *lit.* take weigh *v.* to respect • bà kpá júg tiè bà kàrámá rá. They respect their teacher.

kpa su [kpá sù] *lit.* take full *v.* to respect, to honour someone fully because of mutual respect • bà kpá sù d̄íjá wā. They respect each other.

kpa ta [kpá tà] *cpx.v.* *lit.* take drop 1 to stop • kpá iì sìjñv̄há hájì tā. Stop this drinking habit of yours. 2 to drop • kpa a bii ta. Drop the stone.

kpa wa [kpá wà] *lit.* take come *cpx.v.* to bring • kpá à kpáájì wà. Bring the yam.

kpaa [kpáá] *n.* type of dance, performed by women only. *pl.* *kpaa*.

kpaakpuguñ [kpáákpúgúñ] *n.* type of stone. *pl.* *kpaakpugumo*.

kpaakpuro [kpáákpúrò] *n.* tortoise. *pl.* *kpaakpuruso*.

kpaambilii [kpáàmbilíi] *n.* cooked yam. *pl.* *kpaambilie*.

kpaamparii [kpáàmpàrìi] *n.* portion of a yam farm. *pl.* *kpaamparee*.

kpaanâä [kpáánâä] *n.* type of dance, formerly for warriors and hunters.

kpââni [kpââni] *v.* 1 to hunt for killing • ḡ bíérí hájì kàà kpââni. His brother hunts. 2 trail, look

for something and walk about from place to place • bá ká kpââni fóíl à kùò nî. They are going to search for certain leaves at the farm.

kpâânsii [kpâânsíi] *lit.* yam-eye (*var.* kpââsíi) *n.* yam stem. *pl.* *kpâânsie*.

kpâânugul [kpâânúyùl] *n.* yam flesh.

kpââñ [kpââñ] *cf:* *pII* *n.* yam. *pl.* *kpââma*.

kpââñbââñ [kpââñbââñ] *n.* very large yam. *pl.* *kpââñbââja*.

kpââñbeje [kpââñbénè] *n.* medium size yam. *pl.* *kpââñbejese*.

kpââñbímíi [kpââñbímíi] *n.* old yam, remaining from last harvest. *pl.* *kpââñbímie*.

kpââñbuso [kpââñbùsò] *n.* boiled yam eaten without stew. (partly Akan <buso).

kpââñduho [kpââñdùhó] *cf:* **kpââñwou** *n.* yam seedlings. *pl.* *kpââñduhosò*.

kpââñfólíi [kpââñfólíi] *n.* new yam, harvested at an early stage. *pl.* *kpââñfólíe*.

kpââñhiredaa [kpââñhíredáá] *n.* wooden stick used as tool for digging yams, replaced today by cutlass.

kpââñlaø [kpââñláø] *n.* yam hut. *pl.* *kpââñlawá*.

kpââñnii [kpâânníi] *cf:* *sieribile* *n.* water-yam (*Dioscorea alata*). *pl.* *kpââñnita*.

kpāājnūdīsa [kpāānnídfísà] *n.* soup in which grated water-yam was added for thickness.

kpāānjpētī [kpāānjpētí] *n.* outer skin or peel of yam. *pl. kpāānjpētīe.*

kpāānjpōsā (*var. of kpāānjtṣogī*)

kpāānjtṣogī [kpāāntṣòyì] (*var. kpāānj-pōsā*) *n.* spoiled yam. *pl. kpāā-tṣogee.*

kpāānjwou [kpāānjwóù] *cf:* **kpāānjduho** (*Mo. var. kpāāwōdī*) *n.* yam seedlings, second product of the plant.

kpaasa [kpáásà] *n.* wooden whip. *pl. kpaasasa.*

kpāāsíi (*var. of kpāānsii*)

kpaasi [kpàásì] *v.* 1 to nail, knock • *kpáásí hēmbíí zīñ nī.* Knock the nail in the wall. 2 to warn • *bà kpáásín nà nñ báál wīé.* They had warned me about my husband. (Waali <*kpááhè*>).

kpāāwōdī (*Mo. var. of kpāānjwou*)

¹**kpaga** [kpàýà] *v.* 1 to have, possess • *wōsá kpágá à bōl lā.* Wusa has the ball. 2 to catch, to grab • *wōsá kpágá à bōl lā.* Wusa caught the ball. *bà kpágá à ymíér rā.* They caught the thief. 3 to hold, to take • *ò kpágá kpáásà rā.* He held the whip.

²**kpaga** [kpàýà] *n.* type of arm-ring worn by men. *pl. kpagasa.*

kpaga bambii [kpàýà bàmbíí] *v.* to have courage • *kàlá wà kpágá bàmbíí.* Kala is not courageous.

kpaga huor [kpàgà húór] *v.* to take care of a guest or a stranger • *jāá wàá gílā í kpágà húór.* Poverty will not allow me to take care of guests.

kpaga kaalī [kpàgà káálì] *lit.* have go *cpx.v.* to hold on, keep • *wáá i káá báàj jòò à kpágà káálì i mibòà bá-pétīì.* It is him you shall marry and hold on until the end of your life.

kpagal [kpáýál] *n.* tick, insect found mostly on animals (*Ixodida*). *pl. kpagala.*

kpagasi [kpàýåsì] *pl.v.* to catch (many) • *ò kpágásí à zálíé rā.* I caught chickens.

kpaleŋ (*var. of kpaleŋkpaleŋ*)

kpaleŋkpaleŋ [kpáléŋkpáléŋ] (*var. kpaleŋ*) *ideo.* entirely • *bà zóó à báál diá à ymíè è mòlèbíé múj kpá-léŋkpáléŋ.* They entered the man's room and stole all his money.

kpaligé [kpàlìgè] (*var. kpaligii*) *n.* baldness.

kpaligii (*var. of kpaligé*)

kpalimaalige [kpàlímààlìgè] *cf:* **kon** *n.* flower of the *fufsl* tree. *pl. kpali-maaligese.*

kpamamuro [kpàmàmúrò] *n.* type of yam. *pl. kpamamuroso.*

kpambria [kpàmbíà] *n.* linguist, chief's spokesman. (Waali <*kpambrie*>).

¹**kpānna** [kpànnà] *n.* lead, heavy grey metal. *pl. kpānna.*

²**kpānna** [kpànnà] *n.* type of mollusc. *pl. kpānna.*

kpantii [kpántíí] *n.* sickness with unknown cause where the patient becomes very thin.

kpaŋja [kpàŋjà] *v.* to freeze, to be cold • *dúój tūgō à báál ḥ lìi kùó, ḥ wà kpàŋjà*. The rain beats the man on his way back from the farm, he came back freezing.

kpaŋkpagtii [kpánkpáẙtíí] *n.* Namaqua dove (*Oena capensis*). *pl. kpaŋkpagtra*.

kpaŋkpamba [kpánkpámbá] *n.* type of cloth. *pl. kpaŋkpambasa*.

kpaŋkpáŋ [kpánkpáŋ] *cf. nɔma ints.* very hot • *nɔmà kpáŋ-kpáŋ*. very hot.

kpāŋkpāŋ [kpáŋkpáŋ] *ideo.* interrupting, energetic talk weak in content • *i kpágá nɔ̀à kpāŋkpāŋ bà-gá*. You talk too much (and the content is somehow weak) for nothing.

kpaŋkpáŋlérié [kpánkpáŋléríé] *n.* Black Saw-wing, type of bird (*Psalidoprocne pristoptera*). *pl. kpaŋkpáŋlérié*.

kpara [kpárá] *v.* to be adjacent and similar to one another • *kúrí ní ḥ bíéri kùó kpárá dójá ní*. Kuri's and his brother's farm are beside one another.

kparaama [kpàráámà] *cf. daga n.* necessity • *dúó tʃɔář jāā kpáráámà rā*. To sleep is necessary. (Waali).

kpasadʒɔ [kpàsàdʒɔ] *n.* type of yam. *pl. kpasadʒɔsa*.

kpatakpale [kpàtákpálé] *n.* type of hyena *syn: badaare; ²tɔ̄ɔ synt: tebintiṇa*. *pl. kpatakpalesa*.

kpatʃakpatʃa [kpàtʃàkpàtʃà] *ideo.* type of texture, thoroughly wet from immersion in water • *à dúój wāāwā à kùòtíwíí tʃɔ̄à níí kpàtʃàkpàtʃà*. It rained and the path to the farm was thoroughly wet.

kpe [kpé] *v.* to crack and remove a seed from a shell, especially for gourd seeds • *à hááj kpē fóbíí àká tɔ̄ŋjà disá zááj*. The woman cracked the calabash seeds to prepare soup today.

kpege [kpégé] *v.* 1 to be strong, to be hard • *à rɔ́babáktì wà kpégé*. The plastic bucket is not strong. *à hááj wà kpégé à juú ní ḥ wà kɔ́zírì sìimáà*. The woman has her menses therefore she is not cooking. *ant: jɔ̄gsí¹* 2 to overcome, to cure, to be able • *dì ḥ wá kpēgē ḥ káá kàálì kùmásí ré*. If he recovers, he will go to Kumasi.

kpegii [kpégíí] *n.* hard, solid, or rigid. *pl. kpegie*.

kpekpe [kpékpè] *n.* type of grasshopper. *pl. kpekpe*.

kpeŋŋé [kpéŋŋé] *v.* to sprain, to wrench the ligaments of a joint, to dislocate a joint • *ɔ̄ɔ̄ émbélí kpéŋŋé*. His shoulder is dislocated.

kpere [kpérè] *cf. mamaatʃi v.* to be unusual and unexplainable • *à báál wīē kpérē, ḥ já kpā diŋhál lá lilè*. The man's behaviours are un-

usual and unexplainable, he takes burning charcoal and swallows it.

kperii [kpèrìi] *n.* unusual and unexplainable • *nikpèrìi wàà tòò dùsiè ní*. People with unusual and unexplainable behaviours are not found in Ducie.

kperii [kpéríi] *n.* gizzard. *pl. kperee.*

kpesi [kpésí] *v.* to break off a little of an extremity • *kpésí à dindáá dò*. Break off the firewood to leave the burning part in the fire. *kpésí à páránðásá táká tāmā dò*. Repair my hoe by cutting the weak end then lightly hammer it.

kperigí [kpérígf] *pl.v.* to break off • *ȝménṣà kpérigí móŋgò pààtṣágá à wà sùgùli*. Mensa broke off some mango leaves and brought them to boil. *kpérigí à záál émbélíí à wà tiébā*. Break off the fowl's wing and give it to them.

kpesè [kpèsè] *v.* to be expected, imagined, or likely to happen • *ní-híé kùó káálíí wá bí kpèsè*. Going to the farm for the elderly men is not as it was. *nihálóllá dójójáí kpésíjáú*. The menstruation of fertile women is regular. *párrí wá jāā wí-kpésíí*. Farming is not something likely to happen without effort.

kpéti [kpétí] *v. cf: keti* 1 to pick during harvesting when the plant has already been felled • *kpétí nàmmíí wà tīēj ý wásì tiè*. Pick a maize cob and give it to me to roast and eat.

2 to crack and break • *à báál délà à kúr ní, ḥvò kpétí*. The man leaned on the chair and it broke.

kpibii [kpíbii] *n.* louse. *pl. kpibii.*

kpinitfuu [kpínítʃúù] *nprop.* seventh month. (Waali <*kpínítʃúù*>).

kpinitfuumaaŋkuna [kpínítʃúùmààn kúná] *nprop.* sixth month. (Waali <*kpinitfuumaaŋkuna*>).

¹**kpiemá** [kpíémá] *cf: bieri* *n.* ego's senior sibling. *pl. kpiensa.*

²**kpiemá** [kpíèmá] *n.* ego's senior sister, or also used as a polite form of addressing a woman. *pl. kpiensa.*

kpísí [kpísí] *v.* to sneeze • *tíēj tòwà ý dó ȝnì̄ mibòàsá ní à kpísí*. Give me tobacco to put in my nostrils to sneeze.

kpogo [kpógò] *n.* hard swelling of the cheek or the thigh. *pl. kpo-goso.*

kpogulo [kpógùlò] *n.* dish made of soya beans. (Waali <*kpógùlò*>).

¹**kpoluŋkpoo** [kpólúŋkpòò] *n.* type of tree (*Sterculia tragacantha*). *pl. kpoluŋkpooso.*

²**kpoluŋkpoo** [kpólúŋkpòò] *n.* Eastern Grey Plaintain-eater (*Crinifer zonurus*). *pl. kpoluŋkpooso.*

kponno [kpònnò] *n.* type of yam. *pl. kponnoso.*

kpoŋ [kpòj] *nprop.* Kpong village, abandoned settlement between Ducie and Motigu.

kpõŋkpõŋ [kpõŋkpõŋ] *n.* cassava (*Manihot esculenta*). *pl.* **kpõŋkpõŋso**.

kpoŋkpoŋbzazimbie [kpõŋkpoŋbzàzimbé] *n.* wood warbler (*Phylloscopus sibilatrix*). *pl.* **kpoŋkpoŋbzazimbise**.

kpõŋkpõŋdaa [kpõŋkpõŋdáá] *n.* cassava plant.

kpõŋkpõŋhvlii [kpõŋkpõŋhvlií] *n.* peeled and dried cassava. *pl.* **kpõŋkpõŋhvlié**.

kpõŋkpõŋjiŋa [kpõŋkpõŋjíŋá] *n.* lumps and particles in cassava flour that do not pass through a sieve, normally given to fowl.

kpõŋkpõŋpaatſag [kpõŋkpõŋpàát ják] *n.* cassava leaf. *pl.* **kpõŋkpõŋpaatſaga**.

kpõŋkpõŋpaatſaktſogii [kpõŋkpõŋpàtſàáktségií] *lit.* cassava-leaf-spoil *cf.* **daapuuukpoŋkpolo** *n.* disease transmitted by a type of ant. Affected plants show leaves reduced in size and twisted (*Cassava mosaic disease*).

kpõŋkpõŋpetii [kpõŋkpõŋpétíí] *n.* cassava peel. *pl.* **kpõŋkpõŋpetie**.

kpõŋkpõŋpømma [kpõŋkpõŋpøm má] *n.* white cassava.

kpõŋkpõŋsiama [kpõŋkpõŋsiàmá] *n.* red cassava, *bantse* in Akan.

kpõŋkpõŋte [kpõŋkpõŋté] *n.* dried cassava. (Akan <*kòkònté*>).

kpõŋkpõŋzvøl [kpõŋkpõŋzvól] *n.* cassava tuber. *pl.* **kpõŋkpõŋzvøla**.

kpoŋo [kpõŋò] *v.* to be stained and very dirty • óò kùò tómá tíé óò kìn-làréé *kpoŋò*. His farm work made his clothes stained and very dirty.

kpotokporogo [kpòtòkpòrògó] *n.* buttress, log which supports a wall from collapsing. *pl.* **kpotokporogoso**.

kpulii [kpúlíí] *n.* spherical object. *pl.* **kpulie**.

kpulikpulii [kpúlííkpúlí] *n.* fried ball made of ground nut paste. (Hausa <*kulikuli*>). *pl.* **kpulikpulie**.

kpuluŋo [kpùlùŋjó] *n.* to make an exit in a group • ól tíŋ kà té sõõ màŋà *kpùlùŋjó* kéj, bá wà kín náõ *kpò*. The mouse that came out first was not killed. *pl.* **kpulunso**.

kpuŋ [kpúŋ] *n.* body joint. *pl.* **kpuŋo**.

kuŋkpulintselese [kpùŋkpúlìntfélé sé] *cf.* **tsetselese** *n.* a person who has epilepsy.

kuŋkpuluŋso [kpùŋkpúlùŋsó] *cf.* **tsetselese** *n.* epilepsy.

kpuogii [kpúögíí] *n.* protruded as a consequence of healing, bulge formed on a wounded area • à príŋ dáá *kpágá* *kpúögíí* ré. The mohagony has bulges. *pl.* **kpuogie**.

kputi [kpútí] *v.* to demolish • má *kpútí* à *dáá háj* *zàáj*. Demolish this house today.

kpo [kpó] *v.* 1 to kill • *nàŋkpááj ká kpō nànsá à wà télè*. A hunter went and killed meat and came back. à *nibáálá bálle kpó dōŋjā rà*. The two men killed each other. 2 to overtake or overwhelm, as with perceptual stimuli, to affect strongly • *jítsá kpójéč*. It is too salty. 3 to cut yam from its plant and leave the tuber in the ground for the second harvest • *kpó kpááj dō*. Cut the yam and leave it in the yam mound.

kpr [kpór] *cf.* *síŋpumma* *n.* type of palm tree (*Borassus aethiopum*). *pl.* *kpota*.

1

la (*var. of ra*)

laa [làà] *v.* 1 to take something from a source, to receive • *làà iì mòlibíí tótíí*. Take your share of money. 2 to take a road or a direction • *kùlkpój tìwíí ḥàkàà kàálì wàá*. I took the Kulkpong road to go to Wa. ḥàkàà kùó ká wàà. I am going to the farm and will come back. 3 to answer, to respond to, to reply • ḥàkàà lìà iì jíríí rā. I will attend to your call. 4 to agree with (collocate with *nɔñã*) • *bà lìà nɔñã nī*. They agreed. 5 to yield well (for plants) • ḥòm mǐá lááwóó. His guinea corn yielded well.

laa di [làà dí] *lit.* collect eat *cpx.v.* to believe • ḥàkàà kúosō díū. I believe in God. *nárá báñíé wá lāā tōtññā*

kpora [kpòrà] *v.* to pick fruits • ḥàkàálì kùó ó ká kpòrà sínkpilíí. He is going to the farm to pick some wild fruits.

kporgii [kpórgíí] *n.* type of small gourd, often used as a medicine container. *pl.* *kporgie*.

kporii [kpòríí] *n.* gallbladder. *pl.* *kporee*.

kporinii [kpòríñíí] *n.* bile.

kposi [kpòsì] *v.* to singe off feathers with fire • *má kpósi à záàl tìè bá tóŋjá*. You singe off the fowl so they can cook.

dì. Some people do not believe the landlord.

laa do [làà dó] *lit.* collect put *cf.* *bi-laadvlii* *cpx.v.* to adopt • ḥàkàà bié dòò. I adopted a child. ḥàkàà bìniháàj bié, ḥàkàà lìà wà dó. I will adopt my sister's child.

laa soñ [làà són] *n.* to be famous • *zìèŋ búlí nàálójó lìásóñ dùsìe nī bùlèŋè páálòvò nī*. Zieng is famous for his singing performance in Ducie and Bulenga.

laaboko [lààbòkò] (*var.* *laariboko*) *n.* type of yam. *pl.* *laabokosa*.

laadimii [láádímíí] *n.* worries, disturbances • *zìàŋ mǎá ládímíí wàá pētī dì ù bisé háj wà líí kòsá wàà*. The worries of Ziang's mother will not stop until her children re-

turn from the bush. *syn: nimisa*

¹laanfia [láánfià] *n.* good health • *bà kpágá láánfiá rā.* They are in good health. *ant:* ¹wii (Hausa, ultm. Arabic <*lāfiyā* ‘health’).

²laanfia [làànfià] *n.* pineapple.

laari [lààrì] *v. cf: vɔwa; lije* 1 to wear, to dress, to put clothes on • *lààrì iì sùkúù kíná.* Wear your school dress. 2 to rub, as in rubbing oil over t.z. for it not to harden • *lògà n̄d̄ ì lògà à kóó.* Take some oil and smear the top of the t.z. 3 to paint • *bà tfí kàá lògà n̄n diá pénti rē.* They will paint my house tomorrow. 4 to touch and feel, as a blind person feeling objects and people • *nólmá kpá bà nésē dì lògà nará bárā.* Blind people use their hands to feel other people.

laaribokó (*var. of laabokó*)

laasi [láásí] *v.* to separate people fighting, to calm someone down • *láásí bé à jùòsó ní.* Separate them from their fight.

¹laga [lágà] *v.* to hang, to suspend • à *džðjñ lágá à dáá bámbááj ní.* The hamok is hanging from the middle of the trees. *kpá iì lógà lágà à dáá ní.* Hang your bag on the tree.

²laga [làyá] *v.* to do fast, quickly • *wàà lágá.* Come now and fast. *hí-rè à kpáámá lágá dì à léí à káá fñná.* Dig the yams quickly, if not they will dry up. *ant: ssɔni⁴*

lagalaga [làyálàyá] *ideo.* quickly • *lágálágá hán ní ò wàà bááj.* He came

here just now.

lagale [láyálé] *v.* to taste for testing using the tip of the tongue • *làà dóá lágálē nà.* Taste the saltpetre and see.

lagamí [làyàmì] *v.* 1 to gather things or people together • *jírà má wóléé míùj má wá lágamí já sájá.* Call all your people to gather for a meeting. 2 to partner in dance • à *bí-nihááj àní à binibáál káá lágamí gòà.* The boy and the girl will dance together.

lagamí [làyámí] *n.* meeting *syn: mintij.*

lagasi [làyásì] *cf: lalaga pl.v.* to be spotted, to be speckled, to put spots on, to apply at places • *lágásì à bà?òrìi.* Apply the medicine on the swollen places. à *bóómání lágásí-jéó.* The leopard is spotted.

lagingasí [làyíngààsí] *n.* type of climber. *pl. lagingasia.*

lal [lál] *n.* war. *pl. lala.*

¹lala [lálá] *v.* 1 to open • ò *lálà à díà-nñáá rā.* She opened the door. *ant: hara; tɔ³* 2 to wake up • à *biè há wá lálà à báál dùó ní.* The child has not yet woken the man up.

²lala [lálá] *v.* to scratch, to be brushed off, to brush off with quick movements • à *sígmààjúù lálàgásá lá-líjòó báán ní.* The colour on the head of the Sigmaa was scratched.

lalaga [lálágá] *n. cf: lagasi* 1 plumage, spot(s), mark on some-

thing • *sùù lálágásá wàá kìy kù-rò*. The colors of a guinea fowl cannot be counted. 2 spiritual weapon used to protect new farm. *pl. Lalagasa.*

lalasa [lálàsá] *n.* infertile piece of land. *pl. Lalasa.*

laleekpakparee [láléékpákpáréé] (*var. larekpakparee*) *n.* White Helmet-shrike, type of bird (*Prionops plumatus*). *pl. Laleekpakparesa.*

lalíi [lálíf] *n.* 1 corpse • *tí bf wàà ɔ-mà lálíi mūj*. Never fear a corpse again. 2 ancestor • *dùsiè láléé kāá týjà ñ ní rà*. The ancestors of Lucie are guarding me. *pl. Lalie.*

laliwie [lálíwíé] *cf: niñãš; sulumbie* *n.* orphan, person having no living parents.

lambaraga [lámbarågá] *n.* veil. (Waali <*lambaraga*). *pl. Lambaragasa.*

laŋgbé [láŋgbé] *n.* 1 Rufous Scrub Robin (*Cercotrichas galactotes*). 2 good singer. *pl. Langbesa; Langbesa.*

1laŋsí [láŋsí] *1 pl.v.* to gather bit by bit, to collect from place to place • *à nárá káá laŋsí*. The people are gathering. *laŋsé à tóø níhíësá, bá wá lágamì*. Gather the village elders, they have to meet. 2 *v.* to scatter • *laŋsé à díy tā*. Put out the fire.

2laŋsí [láŋsí] *v.* to obstruct, to choke, to go the wrong way • *à disá láŋséñ ná*. The soup caused me to choke

(as it passed through the wrong tube, not the oesophagus).

laŋzaj [lánzáj] *n.* outskirts of a village, outside and near a village • *i nàð tñí dísá lánzaj ní*. Your cow is at the outskirts of the village.

larekpakparee (*var. of laleekpakparee*)

1law [láú] *n.* farm hut. *pl. Lawa.*

2law (*var. of lɔv*)

le (*var. of ra*)

lenti [lèntí] *v.* to lick • *à váá kàá léntí ìì kòv fálá*. The dog is licking your t.z. bowl.

leŋsi [léŋsí] *v.* to move back and forth one's neck in dancing, seen especially in *zungwa* • *zungòà gôár káá leŋsí bágéná*. The dancer is moving his neck back and forth.

lerete [lérété] *ideo.* as in moving or running fast • *ò tfjòv lérété*. She ran fast.

lesi [lésí] *v.* to chock, to prevent movement • *lésí ìì délémbíí tñí ò gátí*. Chock your stove stone so it is properly high. *kpá à bíí lésí à lóó-lí*. Take a stone and prevent the car from moving.

ieu [lèú] *n.* chamber pot for elderly or disabled people. *pl. Ieuno.*

lebwa [lèbùá] *n.* saline soil. *pl. Lebwasá.*

ledaa [lèdáá] *n.* 1 mandible, lower jaw. 2 flintlock hammer. *pl. Leidaasa.*

¹**leħeę** [lèħéę] cf: **girii** *n.* entire cheek bone. *pl.* **leħesa**.

²**leħeċċa** [lēħéċċa] *n.* wooden spoon. *pl.* **leħesas.**

lēí [lél̩] neg. not, negation with scope over nominals • à *diébié háj̩ lēí, hán nā tíé i nàmìà tñíj̩*. It is not this cat, it is that cat that ate your meat. *dí káálì lágálágá háj̩, dí à lēí i káá tñíj̩a mūŋ*. Go right away, if not you will follow us.

ləl [lə́l] cf: aridzana n. line of ancestors.

lélíepoŋ [lélíépón] *n.* type of cricket, smaller than *poy* and found in the house. *pl. IelIepogo.*

lémá [lèmà] v. 1 to be good or pleasant, Gh. Eng. to be sweet • *ìpùn mǎā tóyá dilémá rá*. My mother cooks delicious soup. à *kpáájì lémáá*. The yam is sweet. 2 to be nice, to be good • *tì mür wá lémā*. Your story is not good.

lèma na [lèmà nā] *v.* to taste • *ò lémá à dísá rā nà.* He tasted the soup.

lèmana [lèmàná] *n.* food sample to taste and try. *pl. lèmanasa.*

lémíi [lémíí] *n.* 1 good, nice, pleasant.
2 sweet.

lēmsí [lémsí] *cf: leŋ* *pl.v.* to taste food from all the pots, to try to get as much as possible from many places • *tíí lēmsí à vííné múŋ disà-sá*. Stop tasting the soup here and there from pot to pot.

¹lɛŋ [lèŋ] *n.* enjoyment. *pl.* **lɛŋ.**

²Ieŋ [lén] cf: sungoro cf: lemsi
n. long pole used to reach fruits in trees. pl. Ieq.

lē̄jsi [lé̄jsf] v. to crane the neck up
• ḷ lē̄jsì ḷ bāgēnā rā ó ná. She
cranes her neck to be able to see.

lérété [lérétē] *ideo.* good taste, sweet enough • à *dísá márá dó lérété.* The soup tastes good enough. ḥ *jíná wáá dí kinlérétsā.* My father does not eat sweet stuff.

lésírije [lésírijé] *n.* tradition, culture.
pl. Iésírijései.

leúra [léúrá] *n.* door hinge. (Waali
<*levra*). *pl.* **leúrasa**.

lewalewa [léwáléwá] *ideo.* thin, light
and easily breakable • à fálá dór lé-
wáléwá. The calabash is thin.

lie [lié] (var. lie ni) 1 *interrog.* where
 • *lié nī i kà kpágúú.* Where did you catch it? 2 *n.* part, segment of a whole • *à bőñj líé pē bà kà tíéí?* Which part of the goat did they give you?

lie ni (*var. of lie*)

liegu [liègù] cf: **hajtsele** *nprop.* Mottigui shrine, in the form of a living monitor lizard.

liemi [lìèmì] *v.* to suspend, to be suspended • *píej káá liémì téébùl júú ní*. The piece of cloth is hanging from the table. à *mõjgòný káá liémì òò dáá júú ní*. The mango fruit is hanging down from its tree.

lienj [liéj] *n.* 1 type of climber.
2 fruit of the *lienj*. *pl. lienj.*

ligili [lígílí] *v.* to make repairs and restoration, like to seal the cracks of a building or mend a dress • à tílà *ligili* à bié pátá rá. The tailor mended the child's trousers. *bùùrè sèléméntè* à wà *ligili* ìì zágá. Find cement and seal the cracks in your yard.

liile [líilé] *v.* to pour off carefully, separating the clean from the dirty • *lílé à níí tà ká gílà à mûró*. Pour off the water and leave the rice there.

liiri [lìirì] *v.* 1 to rub gently • *lìirì ìì bié näǟ tìy*, ò káá sôônôò. Rub you child's leg, it will relieve the pain. 2 to pamper a child • *tí wâà líiri ìì bisé ká bá já nárâ*. Do not pamper your children, so that they can stand on their own.

liise [líísé] *n.* thought. *pl. liisese*.

liisi [lììsì] *v.* 1 to remember, to remind • ò *lísúú òò kântfímá wíé wá*. He reminded him about his debt. 2 to wish, to hope • *kálá líísí dí ò tfí káá kâálí wâà rá*. Kala hopes that he will go to Wa tomorrow. 3 think • *ṇ lísíje dí diàrè ò dí wâà*. I thought that he came yesterday.

¹lile [lilè] *v.* to swallow • *dóó ká lile hálá ḷ sôó ní*. The python is swallowing eggs in front of me.

²lile [lillé] *n.* throat.

lilebôa [lilèbôá] *n.* opening of the throat. *pl. lilebôasa*.

lilesi [lìlísì] *pl.v.* to swallow (many) • à dôó lîlésí kîñkáná rá à dô ò pâtsígíí ní. The python swallowed diverse things in his stomach.

limaan [límâàñ] *n.* imam, prayer-leader. (ultm. Arabic). *pl. limâän-sa*.

lime [límè] *v.* to be submerged, to sink • *tiè à záhálá límè níí ní á márà biì*. Let the eggs be submerged for them to cook well.

limmi [lìmmì] *v.* to peep at, to glance at • *lìmmì à tókóró nâ sùkùù bísé*. Peep at the school children through the window.

limpeu [lìmpèù] *n.* fan to blow fire, usually made out of *korvgbâjw*. *pl. limpeuso*.

linje [línjé] *v. cf. vowa; laari* 1 to dress up, to put clothes on • à *nâñkpááj líjé òò títâärâ râ*. The hunter is wearing his hunting smock. [*oldfash*]. 2 to cover and be concealed • *lítjé à dâásá pâtsígíí ní, jâ wáá kín náō*. He is concealed by the tree leaves, we cannot see him.

lieri [lìerì] *v.* 1 to glide close to the ground • *kâtfíg wá lieri à záál ká ò wâ kín kpágâō*. The eagle glided towards the fowl but could not catch it. 2 to come close but miss • *mááfâbíí wá lieri ùù púù*. A bullet came close but missed his head.

lîi [lìi] *v. cf. zwø* 1 to go away, to go out • *lîi dèndíl kâ kpá ḷṇ dây-kpâlá wà tîēj*. Go outside and get my walking stick. 2 to leak out of

a broken container, to flow out • à viisiàmá káá lī́ð. The drinking pot is leaking. à póm̄pi kàá líí nī́rā. The water flows in the pipe. 3 to shine
 • wòsá káá lī́ kíñkán nā. The sun is shining a lot. 4 to originate from
 • ð lff dúsèe rē. She is from Ducie.

Immaaja [lìmmànjá] *cf.* kɔŋja *n.* dry season. [Gu].

lísí [lísí] *v.* *cf.* mɔt̄i *cf.* lugusi 1 to remove from somewhere, to take off or out • lísí nàmíá tī̄j. Remove some meat and give it to me. lísí à kpàáñtʃgñí tā. Remove that spoiled yam. 2 to subtract • lísí àliè à līí àn̄j nī. Subtract two from five. 3 to choose • bá káá kàálí sɔglá rá áká lísí sɔnnàsá. They will go to Sawla to choose their girlfriends.

lo (*var. of ra*)

lobanii [lóbānī] (*var.* luolibanii) *nprop.* section of Ducie.

lobi [lòbi] *n.* Lobi people or language. *pl.* lobise.

1logo [lògò] *v.* to be half-full, not containing all its capacity • à sìnví i ká kpájéé tī̄j kéj, ù lóngóó. The pot you gave me is not containing all its capacity.

2logo [lóngò] *n.* prop to support a head-load when unaccompanied, to not have to lift it up again • bá ká tfóñjá nàmíá bá wá māyá lóngò rō tiwíi nī. As they carried the meat, on the way, they put their load at a height to rest. *pl.* logoso.

3logo [lóngó] *v.* to be smooth, to make smooth • bá zì káá lóngó à zágá rá àní sèléméntè. They will then smooth the yard with cement.

logologobii [lògólògòbíí] *n.* stone used as a smoothing instrument when applying cement. *pl.* logologobia.

logumoanaase [lóyúm?ànáásè] *n.* square.

loguŋ [lóngún] 1 *n.* rib. 2 *reln.* side • wáá tʃvà à fálá lóngun nī. It lies on the side of the calabash. *pl.* logumo.

logunbembel [lóngúmbémbéél] *n.* half side or part of something.

lololo [lólólò] (*var.* lolunjloluj) *n.* type of flower. *pl.* lololoso.

lolunjloluj (*var. of lololo*)

lomo [lòmò] *v.* 1 to tie, to be knotted • ð lómőú. It is tied up. ð wá márá lòmò. It is not tied well enough. *ant:* puro 2 to be in an early stage of pregnancy • ð lómó pènsá àliè. She is two-month pregnant.

lompoo [lòmpóò] *n.* tax. (French <*l'impôt* 'tax').

loŋ [lòńj] *cf.* fala *n.* gourd, type of vine fruit (*Lagenaria sp.*).

loŋbøl [lómboł] *cf.* bøł *n.* oval non-edible gourd, often turned into a container. *pl.* loŋbøla.

loŋkpɔrgii [lónkpɔrəgii] *n.* small gourd, medicine container for a farmer or hunter. *pl.* loŋkpɔrgie.

loŋji [lónjŋí] *v.* 1 to jump from branch to branch, from tree to tree • à gbiá lóŋji dàásá dí káálì. The monkey jumps from tree to tree and is going away. 2 to be contagious • tágatſúuné gérégá káá lóŋnyúú. Measles is contagious.

loŋo [lónjò] *n.* hourglass-drum beaten with a curved stick. *pl. loŋoso.*

loŋodaa [lónjòdáá] *n.* curved drumming stick. *pl. loŋodaasa.*

loŋpoglii [lónjpöyəlū] *n.* type of tree (*Strychnos spinosa*). *pl. loŋpoglee.*

loŋwie [lòòwìé] *n.* wooden flute. *pl. loŋwise.*

loori [lòòrì] *v.* to wither, to hang limp and lacking rigidity • dàásá múnj nō lóórì gbàngbàng nī. All the trees wither during the season of harmattan.

looto [lòòtó] *n.* intestine. *pl. looto*
toso.

lootowie [lòòtòwìé] *n.* small intestine. *pl. lootowise.*

lootozeŋ [lòòtòzéŋ] *n.* big intestine. *pl. lootozenee.*

lor [lór] *n.* natural cavity in wood, holes for insects or animals. *pl. lo-ro.*

loro [lòrò] *num.* six *Enum of: aloro .*

loroto [lórótó] *ideo.* very sweet, sugary • à tū dó lórótó rō. The tea is very sweet.

lotoremunj [lòtórémúnj] *n.* head of mandible, lower back extremity of

the jaw bone. *pl. lotoremuno.*

lo [ló] *v.* to insult, to talk behind a person's back • ḷ zímá dí i ló ññì gántäl lā. I know that you talked behind my back.

lɔga [lóyà] *n.* 1 bag used by farmers and hunters *syn: pur .* 2 pouch made by women around their waist in front to keep small items. *pl. lɔ-gasa.*

lɔga [lòyà] *v.* to claw, to scratch • lògà ḷv bárá tīēō ḷv sángbéná káá tòrigì. Scratch his body, the craw-craw is itchy.

lɔga [lòyà] *v. cf: teŋe* 1 to scoop • lògà kóó tīēŋ. Take some 2 to cut, to cut the rotten part of a tuber, to cut a piece in order to give away • ḷ lògà gbésà rā. I am cutting a chewing stick. lògà kpáán tiè ii bié. Cut a piece of yam for your child.

lɔgantal [lògàntäl] *cf:* gantal lɔha *n.* backtalking.

lògisi [lògësi] *pl.v.* to scoop, to cut morsel • ḷ lògisi bótizéníé ré. He scoops big morsels.

lɔja [lójà] *n.* lawyer. (ultm. English).

lɔŋja (Mo. var. of lɔɔŋja)

lɔlı [lójlı] (var. lɔɔlı) *n.* car, vehicle. (ultm. English <lorry). *pl. lɔɔlisa.*

lɔɔligberbii [lójłigbèrbíí] *n.* car key. *pl. lɔɔligberbie.*

lɔɔlimilima [lójłimílmá] *n.* car driver. *pl. lɔɔlimilimasa.*

lɔɔlmunzsalunzva [lójłimùnzàlún zà] *n.* semi-trailer, articulated ve-

hicle, Gh. Eng. articulator. [old-fash].

lɔ̄lisäǟr [lóólisäǟr] *n.* car driver. *pl. lɔ̄lisäǟra.*

lɔ̄ri (*var. of lɔ̄lī*)

lɔ̄sii [lósíí] *cf:* **níd̄sma** *n.* human ghost, a dead person is believed to return home after burial. Believed to be imported concept from Sisaala. *pl. lɔ̄sie.*

lɔ̄s [lóð̄] (*var. ²law*) *n.* hartebeest (*Alcelaphus buselaphus major*). *pl. lɔ̄ta.*

lubaal [lúbáàl] *cf:* **buzorj** *n.* widower.

ludendil [lúdéndil] (*var. luhodendil*) *n.* funeral ground. *pl. Iudendile.*

ludi [lúdí] *v.* to make a hole in something • *lúdí à kùbé.* Make a hole in the coconut.

¹lugo [lúgò] *v.* 1 to bore a hole, to hollow out • *dààsäǟrá lúgó dáá rá à säǟ timpántié.* The carvers hollowed out a tree and carved talking drums. 2 to change one's name • *ùù lúgó òv̄ són ná.* He changed his name. 3 to withdraw one's words • *ŋ̄ lúgó ñìñ nñǟ rā.* I withdrawn my words.

²lugo [lúgó] *n.* 1 animal trail or tracks. 2 way of doing or process of something or someone • *ò lúgó jáá báj̄.* Here is his way. *bà hiè̄j̄ lúgó ré kér̄j̄.* That is the way they are related. *pl. lugoso.*

¹lugusi [lúgùsí] *cf:* **lisí** *pl.v.* to remove items from a container •

lúgùsí kpäǟmá à vii ní. Remove yams from the pot. *lúgùsí kpäǟmbilfè kòzää ní à tīēō.* Remove the cooked yams from the basket and give them to him.

²lugusi [lúgúsí] *v.* to rinse out mouth • *jàà níí lúgúsí ìì nñǟ.* Take some water and rinse your mouth.

³lugusi [lúgùsí] *v.* 1 to be lumpy • *à kápálà lúgúsijó.* The fufu is lumpy. 2 to be different in a set, to be an outsider • *ŋ̄ jáá nibúlúgúsí rē zágà tím ní ñ̄ kàà zóó wàà ní.* I am an outsider at the house that I am staying in at Wa.

⁴lugusi [lúgúsí] *v.* to throb, to vibrate, to pulsate, to have eye spasms • *ìì pól káá lúgüsí.* Your vein pulsates. *dì ñ̄ wá kòð̄, ñ̄ ñ̄ néndúl sii jáá lúgúsúú.* When I get tired, my right eye has spasms.

⁵lugusi [lúgúsí] *v.* to cause someone's laughter • *lúgúsí à bié ò mō̄mà.* Make the child laugh.

luguso [lúgúsó] *pl.n.* lumps in staple food.

lugb̄sa [lúgb̄bá] *n.* armpit. *pl. lugb̄sasa.*

lugb̄sapuŋ [lúgb̄bápøŋ] *n.* armpit hair. *pl. lugb̄sapuna.*

luhäǟŋ [lúhäǟŋ] *cf:* **hanzoŋ** *n.* widow not yet ready to remarry due to funeral customs. *pl. Iuhäǟna.*

¹luho [lúhò] *n.* funeral. *pl. Iuhoso.*

²luho [lúhó] *n.* Double-spurred Francolin (*Francolinus bicalcaratus*). *pl.*

luhono.

luhodendil (*var. of ludendil*)

luhokvɔrn̩ (*var. of selekpɔn̩*)

luhosiaŋ [lùhòsíáŋ] *n.* White-throated Francolin (*Francolinus albogularis*). *pl. luhosrama.*

lulibii [lúlí'bí] *n.* drug pill or capsule. *pl. lulibii.*

lulibummo [lúlibúmmò] *n.* local medicine, such as a concoction made from plants and trees.

lulibummojaar [lúlibúmmòjáár] *cf:* **patfakjaar** *n.* healer, herbalist, or traditional doctor. *pl. lulibummojaara.*

lulii [lúlíí] *n.* medicine. *pl. Iulie.*

lulisav̩ [lúlisàó] *n.* powder or undissolved particles of medicinal agents, usually mixed with a liquid for oral administration.

lulo [lùlò] *v.* to leak • à *diá káá lülòō*. The house is leaking. *nn̩ disá müj nō à lólò tā*. All my soup leaked out.

lumbu [lùmbù] *n.* hall *syn: zantſagalŋ̩*. (Gonja <*lamu*>).

lumburo [lùmbúrò] *n.* orange. (ultm. Arabic <*lémún*>). *pl. Iumburoso.*

lumo [lùmò] *cntr. luŋ̩* *n.* area situated at the back, furthest away from the entrance • *hàmónà, má ká sāŋjá láv̩ límò nī*. Children, you go and sit at the back of the hut.

lunvŋ̩ [lúnvŋ̩] *lit.* funeral-hot *cf: lusinna* *n.* first funeral, fast fu-

neral, at a person's death. *pl. lunv̩n̩ma.*

luŋ̩ (*cntrvar. lumo*)

luŋ̩ [lùŋ̩ò] *v.* to be deep • à *bòá lúŋ̩oō*. The hole is deep. *má hírè à bòá ú lùŋ̩ò*. You dig the hole so it is deep. *ant: tisi*

luo [lùó] *cf: tra; lóla* *n.* pregnancy • *bà kpágásí lüōnā wā* They are pregnant. [*Gu*]. (Tampulma). *pl. luona.*

luoli [lúólí] *v.* to pull out an item from liquid • *hááná kàà káálí kùò rō bá ká lüöli kpòjkpóy*. Women are going to farm, they will remove the cassava from water to dry it.

luoliban̩ (*var. of loban̩*)

luore [lùörè] *v.* to shed, pour forth, or fall off • à *dààsá pààtságá müj lúöréó*. All the leaves fell off.

lurigi [lúrigí] *cf: lutí* *v.* to puncture many times, to make holes in something • *diŋpápàrèṣá lúrigí nn̩ jíná tágàtā rā*. Sparks made holes in my father's shirt.

luro [lúró] *n.* scrotum or testicle. *pl. luruso.*

lurobii [lùròbíí] *n.* testicle. *pl. Iurobie.*

luro?ɔr̩ [lúrò?ɔr̩íí] *n.* orchitis.

lusinna [lúsínnà] *lit.* funeral-pito *cf: lunvŋ̩* *n.* last funeral, integrated funeral, or second funeral, usually referred to using the plural form *lusinnasa* as the celebration gathers one than *lali*. *pl. lusinnasa.*

luti [lútí] *cf.* lurigi *v.* to puncture, to make a hole in something • *lútí nɔ̄yíl kóŋkɔ̄ŋ*. Make a hole in the milk tin.

luto [lùtó] *n.* root. *pl. Iutoso.*

løga [løgà] *v.* 1 to forge and shape iron • *lølötá káá løgà prégà*. A blacksmith is forging finger bells. 2 to struggle or strive, to be engaged with a problem or a task • *løgà já péti já tómá làgá nì*. Strive, so we can finish our work fast. 3 to wrestle • *hàm̄wísè jáà løgà dèndíl ní rē*. Children usually wrestle outside.

¹løgii [løgíi] *n.* iron. *pl. Iøgee.*

²løgii [løgíi] *n.* wrestling.

løl [løl] *n.* biological relation, family tie • *jìnñé mā løl kà dø? ò jáá ññ híéé ná biè rē*. A: How are you related? B: He is my aunt's child. *pl. Iøla.*

løla [lølå] *cf.* luο; *tia* *v.* to bear, to bring forth, to give birth • *kpàgà nñ*

M

m (*var. of n*)

ma [mà] *pro.* second person plural pronoun • *ñ súmmùū má ná jñú-wéríí*. I pray for you to succeed.

mää [mää] *n.* mother. *pl. määma.*

määbie [määbìé] *n.* 1 brother or sister younger than ego. 2 cousin younger than ego, child of an aunt or uncle. *pl. määbise.*

määbiewaatelepusiŋ [määbìewäätè

hääŋ kààlì ásibítì ó ká lòlì. Take your wife to the hospital to give birth.

lølii [lølíf] *n.* giving birth • *ò lølíf kpégéò àwíé ò dì pémà*. Her delivery is hard that is why she groans. *pl. lølie.*

løløta [lølötá] *cntr.* **løta** *n.* blacksmith. *pl. Iøløtasa.*

løøŋ [løøŋ] *n.* mane, hair on the neck of a mammal. *pl. Iøøma.*

løøŋa [løøŋá] *cf.* Immaŋa (*Mo. var. loŋa*) *n.* dry season.

løøri [løøri] *v.* to sneak, to move stealthily with agility • *løøri ká jínè ná à wøtsimäß kàà tfóá dùò rò*. Sneak and check whether the watchman is asleep.

løpe [løpè] *num.* seven *Enum of aløpe.*

løsa [løsá] *n.* hunger • *løsá kpágáñ ná*. I am hungry.

løta (*cntrvar. løløta*)

lèpúsíŋ *lit.* sibling-will.not-reach-meet.me *n.* type of snake *syn:* suøŋ-daawie .

määbinibaal [määbìnìbáàl] *n.* male cousin of female ego.

määbinihääŋ [määbìnìhääŋ] *cf:* **määbise** *n.* female cousin of male ego.

määbise [määbìsë] *cf:* **määbinihääŋ** *n.* maternal lineage.

- māābōōñ** [māābōōñ] *n.* ostrich (*Struthio camelus*). *pl.* **māābōōña**.
- maafa** [mááfà] *n.* gun. (ultm. Arabic <*midfa*> ‘gun, canon’).
- maafabī** [mááfàbíí] *lit.* gun-stone *n.* bullet. *pl.* **maafabia**.
- maafadaa** [mááfàdáá] *lit.* gun-wood *n.* gun stock. *pl.* **maafadaasa**.
- maafadigrna** [mááfàdígígná] *lit.* gun-ear *n.* flintlock frizzen.
- maafadignb̄sa** [mááfàdígínb̄sá] *lit.* gun-ear-hole (*var.* **diginb̄sa**) *n.* flintlock pan.
- maafaluro** [mááfàlúrò] *lit.* gun-testicle *n.* gunpowder container.
- maafamundaapīă** [mááfàmùndàà p̄ň] *lit.* gun-back-stick-open *n.* gun baton, butt and stock of a gun. *pl.* **maafamundaapīăna**.
- maafapeñ** [mááfàpéñ] *lit.* gun-penis *n.* gun trigger.
- maafatuo** [mááfàtúò] *lit.* gun-bow *n.* gun barrel.
- māāhīē** [māāhīē] *n.* *cf:* **māāwie**
1 ego's mother's senior sister.
2 ego's step-mother, if the woman is older than the biological mother. *pl.* **māāhīēma**.
- maali** [máálí] *v.* to blister, to cause a blister to form on • à *dítj* *tógsíñ* òò *bárá mūj* *máálí*. The fire burned him and all his body blistered.
- māānsiñ** [māānsfì] *n.* machine. (ultm. English <*machine*>).
- maasi** [mààsì] *v.* 1 to be earlier or already, Gh. Eng. ever • i kà *máásí*

kààlì bélèé dì ñ wàà tòó. The time you went to Gurumbele, I was not there. ñ *máásí bigisì tīēt kék* *tìy* *bà kà jáó*. I have already demonstrated to you how to do it. 2 to be enough, in satisfactory state, to be right amount or size • à *máásí kék*, *tíy brà jólíi*. It is okay like that, stop pouring. ò *máásí kpō kírinsá wá à-ká ná bár pàrà*. He killed enough tsetse flies to get a chance to the farm. 3 to fit, to be worthy • *nààt-wá hámà, áwèmē kàá mààsì nàà-sá?* These sandals, which of them would fit my feet? 4 to be equal, to make equal or even • *nibúlúmmò múj wà māásí dójà*. Human beings are not equal. *wòsá ní áfiá bìnsá* *máásí dójá rà*. Wusa is as old as Afia.

maataa [mààtàà] *n.* glue from the *katſal* tree, used in trapping birds.

māāwie [māāwié] *n.* *cf:* **māāhīē**
1 ego's mother's younger sister.
2 ego's step-mother, if the woman is younger than the biological mother. *pl.* **māāwise**.

magsí (*Gu. var. of maŋsi*)

maka [mákà] *n.* Mecca • *bákúríí ní hâtōj* *ká kâálí bà* *mákàsá* *ká wàà à wà tìè bà bisé tágàtà* *wíréé*. Bakuri and Hatong went to Mecca, come back, and gave nice shirts to their children. *pl.* **makasa**.

mamaatfī [màmáátfī] *cf:* **kaabaako**
cf: **kpere** *interj.* expression of surprise. (Hausa <*måmåkî*> ‘surprise’).

mana [máná] *n.* elastic made out of tyre inner-tube. *pl. manasa.*

mandwɔgii [mándwɔgíí] *n.* type of mouse. *pl. mandwɔgee.*

mankani [mànjkàní] *n.* cocoyam (*Colocasia esculenta*). (Akan <màjkèní). *pl. mankanise.*

mankir [mánkèr:] *n.* type of yam. *pl. mankire.*

mapāš [mápāš] *n.* dwarf mongoose (*Crossarchus obscurus*). *pl. mapāšsa.*

mapāštuogu [mápāštúogú] *n.* slender mongoose (*Herpestes sanguineus*). *pl. mapāštuoguso.*

¹**maŋa** [máŋjá] *v.* cf: **tugo; t̄fasi** 1 to beat, slap, strike, or hit • ḵ māŋjá dáká rá. He fought someone. bá māŋjá dáká rá. They exchange blows. 2 to kick a football • ḵ māŋjá à bɔɔl dó tókóró ní. He kicked the ball in the window. 3 to cause a plant to change appearance, usually caused by drought stress • híl t̄f̄ŋjá, à mūrō māŋjá. Due to drought, the rice changed appearance.

²**maŋa** [máŋjá] *n.* only • ìi māŋjá káká kíŋ wàà. Only you can come.

maŋgbíŋ [máŋgbíŋ] *n.* giant pangolin (*Manis gigantea*). *pl. maggbimna.*

maŋkisi [máŋkísí] *n.* matches. (ultm. English <matches>).

maŋsii [máŋsíí] *n.* groundnut. *pl. maysa.*

maŋsijelii [máŋsíjélii] *n.* groundnut flower. *pl. mayasijelee.*

majſi [májſí] *v.* (Gu. var. magſi) 1 to measure • mājſí ḷṇ zíŋzíŋ tīēj. Measure my height for me. 2 to doubt, to wonder about • bá wà mājſí dí ḷ wàà tūó dùsiè ní. They do not doubt that I'm not in Ducie.

¹**mara** [márá] *v.* 1 to adhere, to append, to glue, to be fixed on • à fótò mārá à zíří ní. The picture is on the wall. 2 to be unable to say due to being silenced by others, being talked down • kípó nɔá mārá wíé, bá wó-léé ymā wíé díù. Kipo was unable to talk, his companions talked before and over him.

²**mara** [márá] *pv.* to do well, to be properly done • ḵ wà mārá jàà. He did not do well. à fótò mārá mārā zíří ní rà. The picture is well fixed to the wall. ḵ mārá t̄f̄ŋjá. It is standing well.

³**mara** [márá] *v.* to destroy with fire • kààlt kúó kà mārā píé pátſigíí dāā-sà. Go to the farm and burn the trees in the yam field.

⁴**mara** [márá] *n.* to commit suicide • kípó zóó mārá sòwà. Kipo killed himself. bá zòò mārásá à sòti. They killed themselves. *pl. mara.*

maragí [márágí] *pl.v.* to adhere, to be fixed on • t̄f̄ňásá káká mārágí à nàmpɔá ní. Flies are on the rotten meat. nì píná káká mārágí kàrán-tièsá rá. My father is fixing the cutlass handles.

masi [màsí] *pl.v.* to beat • māsí à kínrinsá múŋ kpó. Beat all the tsetse

flies to death.

matseo [màtſéó] *num.* twenty. *pl. matsewo.*

mawa [máwà] *pro.* second person plural emphatic pronoun • *bà lí-sì máwà rā, ká gilà máwâ.* They choose you (people here), but left you (people there) (with gesture).

mawaa [máwáá] *pro.* second person plural strong pronoun.

meeli [mééli] *n.* mile. (ultm. English).

meesin [méisìn] *n.* mason. (ultm. English).

mēŋ [mèŋj] *n.* dew, mist. *pl. mēŋ.*

mēŋjí [ménjŋjí] *v.* 1 to sieve by turning the container sideways • *kpá à falá wà mēŋjí jàmmíí.* Take the calabash and sieve the maize. 2 to balance from one side to another in walking • *à hááj válá mēŋjí à wāā.* The woman walks balancing towards us.

mérékéte [mérékétē] *n.* woven mat made of guinea corn stalks. *pl. mē-reketesa.*

miidaa [mììdáá] *n.* space between the eyebrows. *pl. miidaasa.*

miimi [míímì] *n.* shrub with pinkish flower bundles (*Bougainvillea glabra*). *pl. miimise.*

miiri [mììrì] *v.* to dive, to swim under water • *ziàj mírí níí à kpágà jínéé.* Ziang dived and caught fish.

minti [míntì] *n.* minute. (ultm. English). *pl. mintisa.*

mintij [míntìj] *n.* meeting *syn: lagamii.* *pl. mintinse.*

misi [mísí] *v.* to whisper • *ò mísi wíē dó ùù bié dígíná ní.* He whispered into his child's ear.

misiri (*var. of wúzaandia*)

mita [mítà] *n.* metre, measure of length. (ultm. English). *pl. mitasa.*

mī̄biwaø [mī̄bíwáó] *lit.* guinea. corn-matured *n.* type of beetle (*Lucanidae fam.*). *pl. mī̄biwaø.*

¹**mī̄** [mī̄] *n.* guinea corn, used in making porridge, t.z. and brewing *sijstama* (*Sorghum*). *pl. mī̄.*

²**mī̄** [mī̄] *v.* to send out a current of air out of the nose to eject phlegm • *mī̄ iì mī̄sá tà.* Blow the phlegm out of your nose.

³**mī̄** [mī̄] *n.* gun front sight. *pl. mī̄na.*

mī̄bøá [mī̄bøá] *n.* 1 nostril. 2 life • *ìñ mī̄bøá fí bírgí.* May I live long! *wòsá tíéí mī̄bøá zéjéé.* May God give you long life. *pl. mī̄bøasa.*

mī̄fötui [mī̄fötíí] *n.* nasal congestion.

mī̄jaln [mī̄jálíí] *n.* nose bleed, epistaxis, common for some in harmattan.

mī̄ni [mī̄ní] *v.* to betray • *bákúríí mī̄níñ tié òv jíná.* Bakuri betrayed me by telling his father.

mī̄sa [mī̄sá] *n.* nose • *mī̄ mī̄sá.* Blow your nose. *pl. mī̄sasa.*

mila (*var. of mma*)

milimí [mìlìmì] *v. cf: sāā* 1 to turn, to twist • ḡò *milimí* ḷṇ̄ *nén nē*. She is twisting my arm. 2 to drive, to steer a vehicle • ḷṇ̄ *wāā kìn milimí lóslí*. I cannot drive a car.

milimí [mìlímí] *n. turning, driving* • à *pómpìmílmí bómáñ*. The pumping of the bore hole is tedious.

mimbii [mímbíí] *n. guinea corn grain. pl. mimbie.*

mína [mìnà] *v. (var. mila)* 1 to attach • *mìnà à yméjì ú kpégè*. Attach the rope to make it strong. 2 to turn something around something else • *làà áŋkítì à milà à kísiedáá*. Take the handkerchief and put it around the handle of the knife. 3 to twine around something, to be twisted • *tiè ii bié kpágà à kpáájssíí mína dàā*. Let your child twist the yam dial around the stick. 4 to cross fingers or legs • *wáá ká sāŋā à kpágà ḡò nààsá mína dóŋjá*. It is her sitting with the legs crossed.

1minfá (*var. of haglibie*)

2minfá [mìnfiá] *n. type of ant syn: haglibie . pl. minsá.*

minzoga [mínzogá] *n. guinea corn chaff.*

minymena [míŋméná] *lit. guinea.corn-okro cf: nammí* *n. maize. [Gu].*

min [míŋ] *pro. first person singular strong pronoun • míñ ná*. I am the one.

misi [mísí] *v. to sprinkle • bà mísi*

à *báál lúlúí rē*, ḡò *síi*. They sprinkled medicine on the man, he recovered.

mísiama [mísiàmá] *n. guinea corn, reddish type.*

molebii [mòlbíí] *n. money. (Oti-Volta <libie ‘cowrie’). pl. molebie.*

molebipómma [mòlèbipómmà] *n. cowrie.*

momuj [mòmùj] *n. appendicitis.*

mȭgo [mȭngò] *n. mango (*Mangifera indica*). (ultm. Tamil, via Portuguese). pl. mȭngoso.*

mò [mó] *v. to mould, to shape, to sculpt with clay • ḷṇ̄ nàhá káá mò vii ré*. My grandmother is moulding a cooking pot.

mòmðä [mòmðå] *n. type of fish. pl. mòmðána.*

1môna [mȭnà] *v. to carry embers or fire • mònà díj wàà*. Carry the fire here.

2môna [mȭná] *v. to snatch, to find something dead or lost by someone, to take something found dead • ḷṇ̄ píná móñá néjtññá rā*. My father snatched a dead elephant.

3môna [mȭnà] *v. to be used to, to be familiar with • ḷṇ̄ móñá sigáári júááí ní rā*. I am used to smoking cigarettes. *ḷṇ̄ móñá dèndíl sáŋjíí ní rā*. I am used to sitting outside the house.

møy [mój] *n. vulva, vagina. pl. móna.*

møyrsøy [mòjprój] *n. female pubic hair. pl. moyrsøna.*

mɔŋsugo [mɔŋsùgò] *n.* uterine fibroids. *pl. mɔŋsugoso.*

mɔŋtuosii [mɔŋtúosíí] *lit.* vagina-pick.fast *n.* type of spider. *pl. mɔŋtuosie.*

mɔŋzíg [mɔŋzíg] *n.* clitoris. *pl. mɔŋziga.*

¹**mɔsí** [mósí] *v.* 1 to plead with explanations and complaints • à hááŋ wā mɔsí dí ò wà kpágá siimáà. The woman came and complained that she had no food. *syn:* dibi 2 to mourn, to lament • à hááñà dì mɔsí à sówíí wíé tsòjsá wà písì. The women were mourning the death until the morning.

²**mɔsí** [mósí] *v.* to make and start a fire • mósí díj. Start a fire.

mota [mótá] *n.* behaviour resulting from one's upbringing • dì ḷì bié móta káá wiré à lfí ḷì pé rē. My child's good behaviour come from me. *pl. motasa.*

mötigii [mötígíí] *n.* 1 person from Motigu. 2 lect of Motigu. *pl. motigee.*

mufu [múfú] *interj.* exclamation signalling surprise • mífú, bààŋ kíŋ i tà búurè báán ní? Ah, what do you want in here?

muhíë [mùhíë] *n.* tigernuts (*Cyperus esculentus*). (Akan <mbwe).

mul [mùl] *n.* food that has not been prepared correctly • kòmùl ḷì hááŋ dí sàà. Yesterday my wife's t.z. was badly cooked.

munii [múníí] *cf.* tiwii *n.* road. [Ka].

muno [mùnò] *n.* pair • nàtòmúnó á-tòrō bákúrí kpàgà. Bakuri has three pairs of sandals. *timpànmúnó álìè dárá dùsiè ní.* Dicie has two pairs of talking drums.

¹**muŋj** [mùŋj] *quant.* all, everything • à zágásá muŋj tíé à kùórù rō kpáámmá fí. All the houses gave ten yams to the chief. ḷì zímá sígmáá mún nó. I know everything about Sigmaa.

²**muŋj** [múŋj] 1 *n.* buttocks. 2 *n.* meaning • ùù muŋj ká jāā? What is its meaning? 3 *reln.* base, under • wáá tsòà à fálá mún ní. It lies at the base of the calabash. *pl. muno.*

muŋkaaj [mùŋkááŋ] *n.* buttock. *pl. muŋkaama.*

muŋputii [mùmpútíí] *n.* anus. *pl. muŋputie.*

muŋtii [mùntíí] *n.* intergluteal cleft, butt crack. *pl. muŋtie.*

muŋtuolie [mùntùolié] *n.* type of shrub. *pl. muŋtuoluso.*

muŋtso [mùntòó] *n.* saliva. *pl. muŋtsoa.*

muŋzaŋ [mùnzàŋ] *n.* tail of fish or birds. *pl. muŋzanna.*

muŋzentíma [mùŋzéntíñá] *lit.* back-big-owner *n.* type of squirrel *synt:* ¹hele .

murisi [múrísí] *v.* to stifle one's laughter, laugh with restraint • à báàl sááři tsèlè, hàmónà dì múrísí. The man slipped and fell, the children stifled their laughter.

muro [múró] *n.* rice. *pl. muro.*

murobii [mùròbíí] *n.* grain of rice. *pl. murobie.*

murpetii [mùrpétíí] *n.* rice chaff. *pl. murpetie.*

musi (*var. of diebie*)

mūsooro [mùsóóró] *n.* clove, food ingredient used for the taste and smell of porridge and soup (*flower buds of Syzygium aromaticum*). (Waali).

muuri [múúrí] *v.* to cover completely with a cloth • à hááñ míú-rí ùù púù àní lámbàràgá ní. The woman covered her head with a veil. jáláhááñà já mūrī bà bárá múñ ká tsā bà síé. Muslim women cover their entire body except their face.

mv [mó] *v.* to take away virginity • ii bié mó ññ bìnìhááñ. Your son took my daughter's virginity.

mõä [mõá] *adv.* before • ñ dí sìimää mõá ká jà káálí tòmá. Let me eat before we go to work. tñjá kéñ mõá há té káálí. Wait there, do not go yet.

mvg [mõg] *n.* sea, big river. *pl. mvg-na.*

mvgga [mõgà] *cf: dara* *v.* to lie, to deceive • ññ sùkúù bié mógáñ à lñà mòlèbíé dí. My child, the one who goes to school, deceived me and used the money. [Gu].

mvgnõä [mõgõnõá] *n.* shore, beach.

mvgvsi [mõgõsì] *v.* to suck out a liquid • hámñnà jáà mvgvsi móngò ká

kpá à bíé à jùò tá. Children generally suck mangoes and throw away the seed.

mvgzimbie [mòyzímbié] *lit.* riverbird *n.* Barbet, type of bird (*Lybiidae family*). *pl. mvgzimbise.*

møl [møl] *n.* ripe stage of a fruit, especially shea nuts and mangos • sùòmmøl lá. It is a ripe shea nut. sùòmmølá rá. It is ripe shea nuts. *pl. msla.*

¹**møma** [mømà] *v.* 1 to laugh, to smile • ø kóré sìimáà káá mømà. She is preparing the food while laughing. 2 to be opened and ripe (of Akee apples) • à tñ mómañ. The Akee apple is opened.

²**møma** [mømá] *n.* laughter.

mømíi [mømíí] *n.* laughing.

mømøñ [mømøñ] *n.* prolapse of rectum.

mør [mõr:] *cf: møra* *n.* story. *pl. mora.*

¹**møra** [mõrà] *v.* to stop water from spilling out while being carried • lñà fálá mõrà ññ nñ tíñ à tí wàà tñi. Take a calabash (and put it in the basin) to avoid the water from spilling (while you carry the basin on your head).

²**møra** [mõrà] *cf: sianí* *cf: mør* *v.* to tell a story • tébín hàn nñ ñ káá mõrà mórá wá. Tonight I will tell stories.

mussaa [móssáá] *nprop.* Musa, person's name.

mɔsɪ [mɔsí] *v.* to rain gently • à dúòj wáá pétūū à káá mɔsí. The rain has eased off but it still falls lightly.

mɔtì [mɔtì] *cf: lisí* *v.* to spit, to remove from mouth • dí í mɔtì kpú-líkpúlì tà. Spit the candy out.

mɔtɔl [mɔtɔl] *n.* West African mole

N

n [n̩] (*var. m, ñ*) *pro.* first person singular pronoun • bàà jááō dí ñý tfé-lè. They are doing everything for me to fail.

¹**na** [ná] *v.* 1 to see • ñ ná dí ḥò wíkpágíè wíréó. I see that his behaviour are good. 2 to feel, to perceive • tágà à disá dí ná jiisá nőwáá. Dip your finger and taste it to see. 3 to caution, to tell someone to avoid danger • ná, tí wàà káálì à jùò-síbár. Exercise caution, do not go to the fighting ground.

²**na** (*var. of nar*)

³**na** (*var. of ra*)

nāā [nāā] *n.* 1 leg. 2 process, way, manner • ḥ bùòlnāāsá ré kékì. That is the way she sings. *pl. nāāsa.*

nāāibaambaj [nāābíbáámbáŋ] *n.* middle toe. *pl. nāāibaambajsa.*

nāāibaambajwie [nāābíbáám-báŋwíé] *n.* fourth toe. *pl. nāāibaambajwise.*

nāābii [nāābíí] *n.* toe. *pl. nāābie.*

rat (*Cryptomys zechi*). *pl. mɔtɔlsa.*

mɔvri [mɔvrí] *v.* to be dissolved, to dissolve, to erode • à jiisá há wà mórí à disá ní. The salt has not dissolved in the soup. à diá tféléó à zíá múj móórí. The house got destroyed and now the walls are eroded.

nāābikajkawal [nāābíkàŋkàwál] *n.* big toe. *pl. nāābikajkawala.*

nāābiwie [nāābíwíè] *n.* little toe. *pl. nāābiwise.*

nāābiziŋji [nāābízíŋjí] *n.* index toe. *pl. nāābiziŋje.*

nāāgbanjahog [nāāgbáŋjáhòk] *n.* tibia. *pl. nāāgbanjahogo.*

nāāgbanje [nāāgbáŋzèŋjé] *n.* limping in a way to avoid the heel.

nāāhāāta [nāāhāātá] *lit.* leg-bitter *n.* state of a person when his or her soul has left *syn: dɔŋtʃo.*

nāāhūfowie [nāāhūfówíè] *n.* knee-cap. *pl. nāāhūfowise.*

nāāhūū [nāāhúú] *n.* knee. *pl. nāāhūūno.*

nāājéle [nāājéléè] *n.* cracked and dried skin, usually on and around the heels.

nāākeliŋke [nāākélíŋké] *n.* hopping on one leg, usually due to pain on the other.

nāākorbṣa [nāākɔrbɔá] *n.* hollow and bend of the knee. *pl.* nāā-korbṣa.

naakpaaga [nāākpāàgā] *cf:* kagal *n.* smallest farm space measurement. [*oldfash*]. *pl.* naakpaagasa.

nāākpaazugō (*var. of duu*)

nāākputi [nāākpútí] *n.* leg amputated.

naal [náàl] *n.* ego's grandfather. *pl.* naalma.

naalbilie [nāálbilie] *n.* ego's maternal or paternal great-grandfather • ḥn̄ nāálbilie líí dùsiè rē àkà sájá mòtigù nī. My great-grandfather moved from Ducie to settle in Motigu.

nāālomo [nāālómó] *n.* nāālonjo, pilinsii 1 type of idiophone, hollowed and dried gourd used as percussion instruments. 2 type of dirge featuring dancing and playing of seed rattle, called nāālúmé in Bulenga.

nāālonjo (*var. of nāālomo*)

naaltulo [nāáltulō] *n.* ego's great-grandfather of any rank. *pl.* naatuloso.

nāālumo [nāālùmó] *n.* heel. *pl.* nāā-lumoso.

nāānasii [nāānàsif] *n.* footprint. *pl.* nāānasie.

nāānawəsii [nāānàwósíí] *n.* groin, pelvis. *pl.* nāānawəsie.

nāāni [nāānì] *v.* to be similar • ii né-pítíí hájì àní ḥn̄ kíjì nāāní dójá nī rà. Your ring and mine are similar.

nāānuule (*Gu. var. of annulie*)

nāāpégii [nāāpégíí] *n.* thigh. *pl.* nāā-pegié.

nāāpiél [nāāpíél] *n.* foot. *pl.* nāāpiéla.

nāāpiélgantál [nāāpíélgàntàl] *n.* top of the foot.

nāāpiélpatṣigii [nāāpíélpàtsígíí] *n.* sole of the foot.

nāāpol [nāāpól] *n.* Achilles tendon. *pl.* nāāpolo.

naasaara [nāàsáárá] (*var.* nansaa-raa, naasaarpvemma) *n.* Caucasian person, may also apply to non-Africans generally. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*nasaara* 'Nazarenes (Christians)'). *pl.* naasarasa.

naasaarbaal [nāàsààrbáàl] *n.* white, Caucasian man. *pl.* naasaarbaala.

naasaardaa [nāàsààrdáá] *n.* Neem tree *syn:* naasaarsintʃav; naasaargbésa (*Azadirachta indica*). *pl.* naasaardaasa.

naasaargbésa [nāàsààrgbésà] *n.* type of tree *syn:* naasaardaa .

naasaarhääŋ [nāàsààrhääŋ] *n.* white, Caucasian woman. *pl.* naasaarhääna.

naasaarlulii [nāàsààrlúlíí] *n.* non-local medicine, such as pills and other packaged medicine.

naasaarpvemma (*var. of naasaara*)

naasaarsintʃav [nāàsààrsíñtʃáó] *n.* Neem tree *syn:* naasaargbésa; naasaardaa .

naasartaa [nààsàrtàá] *n.* foreign language, especially one spoken by non-African people.

naase [náásé] *num.* four *Enum of anaase*.

nääsii [nààsíí] *n.* prominence on the outer or inner side of the ankle. *pl. nääsie.*

naasi (*var. of anaase*)

näätnna [nààtfná] *cf: niéra* *n.* ego's mother's brother. *pl. näätnnsa.*

näätɔø [nààtɔó] *n.* shoe, sandal. *pl. näätɔøsa.*

näätɔøkɔɔr [nààtɔøkòór] *n.* shoemaker. *pl. näätɔøkɔɔra.*

näätɔøsíñgirigisa [nààtòøsíñgírgígsá] *n.* car-tyre sandals, *dakvada* in Waali.

näätɔwa [nààtówá] *n.* pair of shoes.

näätuto [nààtùtò] *lit.* leg-mortar *n.* elephantiasis of the leg.

näätfig [nààtfíg] *n.* claw. *pl. näätfige.*

näätfigii [nààtfígíí] *n.* calf. *pl. näätfigee.*

näätfög [nààtfög] *n.* ankle. *pl. näätföguna.*

nääval [nààvàl] *n. lit.* leg-walk 1 circuit or route being walked • *kàlá káálí áfíá pé rè näävàl bòliè.* Kala has been to Afia's twice. 2 pace or stride. *pl. näävalsa.*

nääwal [nààwàl] *n.* any relatively large sore on the body. *pl. nääwalla.*

nahã [nàhá] *n.* ego's grandmother. *pl. nahâma.*

nahâbilie [nàhâbilìè] *n.* ego's great-grandmother.

nahîë [náhîë] (*var. nehië*) *n.* sense, practical wisdom *ant: genni.*

najelingbielie [nájélinjbièliè] *cf:* *dintfääñdaa* *n.* lantern which uses rolled cotton and shea oil. *pl. najelingbielise.*

nakaw [nàkàó] *cf: nakpafugul* *cf:* *kırıma* *n.* tsetse fly. [*Tp.*] [*Gu.*]

nakeliŋ [nàkélíŋ] *n.* type of tree. *pl. nakelima.*

nakodol [nàkòdól] (*var. nokodol*) *n.* type of tree (*Rhodognaphalon brevicuspe*). *pl. nakodolo.*

nakuŋ [nàkúŋ] *n.* jathropha, type of plant (*Jatropha curcas*). *pl. nakuŋ.*

näkpaazugo [nàkpaázùgò] *n.* type of vulture *syn: zaarhîë* (*Gyps africanus; Necrosyrtes monachus*). *pl. näkpaazugoso.*

nakpafugul [nàkpàfúgúl] *cf: nakaw* *cf: kırıma* *n.* tsetse fly. [*Mo.*]

nakpagtii [nàkpáyætíí] *n.* type of tree (*Detarium microcarpum*). *pl. nakpagtria.*

nama [nàmà] *v.* 1 to press and smooth with a heated iron • *nàmà ñà tágàtà tíéj.* Iron my shirt for me. 2 to pulverize, to make or become like powder, to press horizontally and moving forwards and backwards, like in rubbing back and forth a kola nut on a grater

• ḍò hāáŋ káálí nòj dí ɔ́ ká nàmà miáá. Her wife has gone to the mill to grind flour.

namba [námbà] *n.* number. (ultra. English <number>). *pl.* *nambasa*.

nambera [námbèrà] *n.* cooked meat for sale at the market.

namiá [nàmiá] (*var.* *namiē*) *n.* meat, flesh. *pl.* *nansa*.

namiē (*var. of* *namiá*)

nampuniiwila [nàmpúnííwílā] (*var.* *nampunwila*) *n.* muscle pain.

nampunwila (*var. of* *nampuniiwila*)

namuŋ [námùŋ] *quant.* everyone, anyone • *pìèsì námùŋ dí lié pē dùùsié tíwíi kà dòà.* Ask anyone where Ducie road is. zááŋ *námùŋ kààlì kúó.* Today everyone should go to the farm. *námùŋ wà tòò dìà ní.* There is no one in the house. *námùŋ mᾶá líisé dí ù bié wéréú.* Everyone's mother thinks he is a good boy.

nanbugo [nàmbùgò] *n.* aardvark (*Orycteropus afer*). *pl.* *nanbugoso*.

nandala [nàndálá] *n.* type of worm, hairy, seen on rotten meat. [*Gu*].

nānhuor [nàñhùór] *n.* raw, coarse meat.

nanpunii [nànpúníí] *n.* flesh.

nansaaraa (*var. of* *naasaara*)

nansielii (*var. of* *sie*)

nantɔŋii [nàñtɔŋíí] *n.* boiled meat.

naŋfenta [nànféntá] *n.* bits of meat scraped with a knife, removed from an animal skin being dried.

naŋguruŋ [nàngúrún] *n.* measured piece of meat for sale. *pl.* *naŋgúrúmó*.

naŋgɔɔŋ [nàŋgɔɔŋ] *n.* millet ergot (fungi) disease (*Claviceps*).

naŋjogul [nàŋjóyúl] *n.* butcher. *pl.* *naŋjogulo*.

naŋkpâalmj [nàŋkpâálfiŋ] *n.* meat hunting period • ḷṇṭi bíárè káálí *naŋkpâálfiŋ.* My brother went hunting for meat.

naŋkpâāŋ [nàŋkpâāŋ] *n.* hunter. (Gonja <ŋ-kpâŋ ‘hunt’). *pl.* *naŋkpaysa*.

naŋzima [nàŋzimà] *n.* knowledge.

naŋzinna [nàžzinnà] (*var.* *wizimii*) *n.* wise person. *pl.* *naŋzinnasa*.

nāñ (*var. of* *nɔð*)

naparapirii [nàpàràpìrìí] *n.* type of tree (*Ximenia americana*). *pl.* *na-parapiree*.

nar [nár] (*var.* ²*na*) *n.* person. *pl.* *nara*.

nara [nárá] *pl.n.* people • tóó hàn ní bá wàà kpá nará. In this village they don't kill people. *nará há wà wāawā, bá tìwíi zíñjáč.* The people have not come yet, their road is long.

narabwo [nárábwo] *lit.* people-hole *nprop.* cave located north of Ducie.

nasāāŋ [nàsáāŋ] *cf.* *nasata* *n.* joking partner, Gh. Eng. playmate,

person with whom one can violate some social rules and take belongings from. *pl. nasāāna.*

nasata [nàsátà] *cf: nasāāj* *n.* relation between kin members where two parties can mock playfully one another. Relation may be with ego's grandparents, ego's father's sister's children, or ego's mother's brother's children • *já jáá nàsátá rā.* We are playmates.

nasí [nàsì] *v.* to step on something with a foot • *tí wá nàsì ñàñ kìn-wilíi.* Do not step on my sore.

nasíe [nàsíè] *n.* thunder • *nàsíè h̄-siāō.* The thunder booms.

nasol [nàsól] *n.* type of tree (*Grewia carpinifolia*). *pl. nasollo.*

nāō [nàō] *cf: nōō* *n.* cow. *pl. nāō.*

naṣpija [nàṣpijá] *n.* type of insect. *pl. naṣpijəna.*

nbuoŋj [ṇbúoŋj] *n.* hunter rank of a person who has killed a buffalo. (Gonja).

ne (*var. of ra*)

nebietíma [nébiétífná] *lit.* fingers-owner *n.* leopard *synt:* bɔɔmanii; juwietíma.

nebii [nébíí] *n.* finger. *pl. nebie.*

nebiifetíi [nébíifetíi] *n.* fingerprint. *pl. nebiifetie.*

nebikaŋkawal (*var. of nebikaŋkawal*)

nebikaŋkawal [nébíkàŋkàwál] (*var. nebikaŋkawal*) *n.* thumb. *pl. nebikaŋkawala.*

nebikaŋkawalnanpunii [nébíkàŋkà wàlnànpúníi] *lit.* thumb-flesh *n.* ball of the thumb (*Thenar eminence*).

nebipetíi [nébípētíi] *n.* fingernail. *pl. nebipetie.*

nebisunu [nébísùnū] *n.* little finger *syn:* nebiwie . *pl. nebisunuso.*

nebiwie [nébíwíé] *n.* little finger *syn:* nebisunu . *pl. nebiwise.*

nebizeŋji [nébízéŋjíi] *n.* middle finger *syn:* bambaŋnebii .

nebiníi [nèbíníi] *lit.* hand-old *n.* experienced person. *pl. nebiníe.*

negøma [négómā] *n.* elbow. *pl. negønsa.*

negbaŋja [négbáŋjá] *n.* interior or crevice of an elbow. *pl. negbaŋsa.*

nekpeg [nékpég] *cf: siitíma* *n.* quality of someone who is never ready to help *ant:* sɔŋtiíma . *pl. nekpege.*

nekpegíi [nékpégíi] *n.* biceps. *pl. nekpegeε.*

nekpun [nékpúrj] *n.* any joint along the arm (finger, elbow, shoulder). *pl. nekpuño.*

nej [néj] *n.* arm, hand. *pl. nese.*

neŋbakpagíi [némbàkpágíi] *n.* handle. *pl. neŋbakpageε.*

neŋgaltíma [néŋgáltífná] *lit.* arm-left-owner *n.* monkey *synt:* gbiā .

neŋgbíj [néŋ^tgbíj] *cf: gbíj* *n.* wrist ring.

neŋtíma [néŋtífná] *lit.* arm-owner *n.* elephant *synt:* bɔla; selzeŋ .

nepiel [népíél] *n.* hand. *pl. nepiela.*

nepielgantal [népiélgàntàl] *n.* back of the hand.

nepielpatṣigii [népiélpàtṣigíi] *cf:* netisiŋ *n.* palm of the hand.

nepitii [népítíi] *n.* finger ring. *pl.* nepicie.

nepol [népól] *n.* arm vein. *pl.* nepolo.

netisiŋ [nétísíŋ] *cf:* nepielpatṣigii *n.* lowest part of the inner surface of the hand. *pl.* netisime.

netfug [nétsúg] *n.* wrist. *pl.* netfuguna.

nezejeetíma [nézénjéétína] *lit.* hand-long-owner *n.* thief *syn:* ñmíēr.

néesi [néési] *n.* nurse. (ultm. English <nurse>).

nehíē (*var. of* nahíē)

nigimi [nígìmì] *v.* to disappear or vanish by magic, usually the effect of a special medicine • kòsánáž dógvíñ nàykpāāñ ùù nìgimi. The buffalo chased the hunter, he vanished into thin air.

nigimii [nígímíi] *n.* spiritual disappearance, possible only after taking a special medicine.

nigimiilulii [nígímíílúlíi] *n.* disappearance medicine, when one faces danger.

nikana (*var. of* nar)

¹**ni** (*var. of* ani)

²**ni** [ní] *postp.* locative particle.

nr- [ní] classifier particle for human entity.

nibaal [níbáál] *cf:* baal *n.* man. *pl.* nibaala.

nibəŋ (*var. of* nibubəŋ)

nibubəŋ [níbúbóŋ] (*var.* nibəŋ) *n.* bad person *ant:* nibuwerii . *pl.* nibubəma.

nibubummo [níbúbúmmò] (*var.* nibummo) *n.* African, black skinned person. *pl.* nibubulunso.

nibudñŋ (*var. of* nidiñŋ)

nibukamboro [níbúkámbòrò] *lit.* person-half *n.* untrusty and undependable person. *pl.* nibukam-boroso.

nibukperii [níbúkpéríí] *n.* 1 person who has unusual and exceptional behaviours. 2 person with conformations and deformities. *pl.* nibukperee.

nibukpør [níbúkpóř:] *n.* murderer. *pl.* nibukpura.

nibummo (*var. of* nibubummo)

nibupääsií [níbúpnääšíi] *n.* person with some extraordinary powers performing action hard to believe.

nibupömma [níbúpömmà] (*var.* ni-pömma) *n.* sincere and honest person.

nibusiama [níbúsíámá] (*var.* nisia-ma) *n.* reddish skinned person, atypical skin colour.

nibutſääŋ [níbútſääŋ] *n.* fair-skinned person. *pl.* nibutſääma.

nibuwerii [níbúwéríí] *n.* honest and sincere person *ant:* nibubəŋ; si-itüma . *pl.* nibuweree.

nibuzoŋ (*var. of nizoŋ*)

nídígimaŋa [nìdígimáná] *n.* lonely person.

nídíŋ [nìdíŋ] *cf.* díŋ; kíŋdúŋ; wídúŋ; bidíŋ (*var.* níbudiŋ) *n.* truthful, helpful, generous, trustworthy, or faithful person • iŋníŋ bíári jáá nídíŋ ná. My brother is a truthful person. *pl.* nídiŋa.

nídóma [nìdòmá] *cf.* lósiŋ *cf.* dóma *n.* soul or spirit of a human being.

níera [níérá] *cf.* näätiŋa *cf.* niéri *n.* ego's mother's brother. [Gu]. (Gonja). *pl.* nierasa.

niéri [níérí] *cf.* níera *v.* to collect meat from the maternal side during funerals or after a successful hunt, especially the neck part • ii nààtiinsá kàá wā niéri à nàmiá bágé-ná. Your uncles will come and take away the neck (of the animal).

níesa [níësá] *n.* needle for sewing clothes. *pl.* níesasa.

nígsia [nìgſfá] *n.* Spotted blind snake. *pl.* nígásísá.

nihääŋ [nihääŋ] *cf.* hääŋ *n.* woman.

nihälvlla [nihálvllá] *n.* fertile woman. *pl.* nihälvllasa.

nihäsii [nihäsii] *cf.* nípage *n.* character of someone who easily gets angry.

nihäwie [nihåwíè] *cf.* binihääŋ; tulorwie *n.* young girl. [Gu].

nihëš [níhëš] *n.* elder. *pl.* nihëta.

nihëslŋj [níhëslŋj] *n.* tenure, time which a most senior fellow holds

office as head of a group • níhëslŋj wà télé bákúrí áká ò sòwà. Bakuri never got tenure because he died too early.

níi [níi] *n.* water. *pl.* níita.

níibata [nìibátá] *n.* bravery.

níibuluŋ [nìibúlùŋ] *n.* human being. *pl.* níibulumo.

níihä [nìihá] *n.* bitter water.

níijogulo [nìijóyúló] *n.* water seller. *pl.* níijoyuloso.

níiluŋ [nìilúŋ] *n.* deep part of a body of water • nìilúŋ né néñ nē, nìitísíí kó wáá néñ nē. Here is deep, here is shallow.

níinðálíi [nìinðálíi] *n.* drinking water, potable water.

níipagan [nìijáyàŋ] *n.* sour and fermented water, from added substance, such as corn flour or tree extract.

níipagosa (*var. of níipoksa*)

níipoksa [níijóysâ] (*var.* níipagosa) *n.* thirst • níjpóksâ kpágŋ ná. I'm thirsty.

níipuuugbaŋbulii [níipúúgbàŋbúlíi] (*var.* níipuukaŋkiiri) *n.* Whirligig beetle, black beetle which swims on surface of water (Gyrinidae). *pl.* níipuuugbaŋbulie.

níipuukaŋkiiri (*var.* of níipuuugbaŋbulii)

níipvarvii [nìipvàrvíi] *n.* drinking pot. *pl.* níipvarviine.

níipala [nìipálá] *n.* running water, continuously flowing.

nippəm̩ma [nìppəmmá] *n.* 1 liquid coming out of a swelling which is lanced. 2 sap of a tree.

nīsii [nìssíí] *lit.* water-eye *n.* bottom, deepest part of a river. *pl.* **nīsie**.

¹**nīsota** [nìssótâ] *n.* jaundice.

²**nīsota** [nìssótâ] *n.* puerperal or childbed fever.

nītaaq [nìttáàñ] *n.* pond created by a river drying out. *pl.* **nītaana**.

nītiina [nítííñá] *lit.* water-owner *n.* type of snake *synt:* kɔŋ .

nīkaníka [nìkàníkà] *n.* powered corn-mill. (Hausa, via Akan <nikàníkà>).

nīmīsa [nímísà] *n.* worries or disturbances *syn:* laadimii .

nīpage [nìpjágé] *cf:* **nīhāsii** *n.* character of someone who easily gets angry. [Mo].

nīpāõ [nìpjáð] *cf:* lalīwie; sulumbie *n.* someone having no living parents or relatives • *nīpāõsá wá kpāgā hīémbá*. Parentless people are those without living blood relatives. *pl.* **nīpāõsa**.

nīj [nìj] *adv.* like this, this, so • *híj jáá nīj*. Did you do this? à gèr bárá dó *nīj kògòsòg*. The lizard's skin is rough like this. *lié i kà tárà, káá jāā nīj?* From where are you getting your support to be boasting like this?

nīpəm̩ma (*var. of* **nībupəm̩ma**)

nīsiama (*var. of* **nībusiama**)

nīsōnii [nísóníf] *n.* menses *syn:* dojajar; **tfagasi** .

nīvietaali [nìvìètálíí] *n.* person who is rejected or sacked from a family or a work group. *pl.* **nīvietaale**.

nīzōj [nìzòj] (*var.* **nībuzōj**) *n.* weak person.

nīñāwajahoo [nìñáwàjàhóò] *lit.* my-mouth-not-do-hoo ('I will not open my mouth again') *prop.* dog name.

no (*var. of* **ra**)

nokodol (*var. of* **nakodol**)

nokun [nòkúñ] *n.* type of tree. *pl.* **nokun**.

nōgar [nògár:] *n.* cattle pen, enclosure for confining livestock. *pl.* **nōgara**.

nōgbar [nògbár] *n.* cowherd. *pl.* **nōgbara**.

nōlor [nòlòf:] *n.* heifer, cow that has not given birth. *pl.* **nōloto**.

nōmbukutii [nòmbukútíí] *n.* type of grinding stone, used for the last grinding stage of guinea corn flour.

nōmbutiisii (*var. of* **nōjbuñaarni**)

nōna [nònà] *v.* to bear fruit (one or many) • *súómó wá nōnā bìnà háj*. The shea did not fruit this year.

nōnii [nòníf] *n.* cow that has given birth. *pl.* **nōnita**.

¹**nōj** [nòj] *n.* 1 type of grinding stone for flour. 2 grinding activity area

• nɔŋ ní ñ dì káálì. I am going to the grinding area. *pl. nɔnna.*

nɔŋ [nɔŋ] *n.* fruit. *pl. nɔna.*

nɔŋja [nɔŋjà] *v.* 1 to love, to like • *bì-lóllá mújì nɔŋjá bà bisé ré.* All parents love their children. 2 to carry on one's back • *ò wà bìrà à nɔŋjá ùù bié.* She does not carry her child any more.

nɔŋbuluj [nɔmbúlúj] *n.* type of grinding stone for flour.

nɔŋbupaarn [nɔmbúpáárñ] (*var. nɔmbutiisii*) *n.* type of grinding stone, used for the first grinding stage of guinea corn flour.

nɔŋbutiisii [nɔmbútíísì] *n.* type of grinding stone, used for the first grinding stage of flour.

nɔpiŋa [nɔpìŋá] *n.* type of insect (*Lycagidae*). *pl. nɔpiŋasa.*

nãš [nãš] *cf. nãš* (*var. nãš*) *n.* cow. *pl. nãšna.*

nɔwal [nɔwál] *n.* bull.

nɔwalee [nɔwáléè] *n.* bull calf.

nɔwii [nɔwíí] *n.* calf. *pl. nɔwie.*

nɔ?rɔŋ [nɔ?rón] *n.* type of climber (*Acalypha neptunica*). *pl. nɔ?rɔma.*

nuhõ (*var. of nuhũ*)

nuhũ [nùhú] (*var. nuhõ*) *n.* grandchild. *pl. nuhũnië.*

nuui [nùù] *cf. ãānuuba* *n.* suffering • *à káá nūū.* You will suffer!

nɔã [nɔš] 1 *n.* mouth. 2 *reln.* entrance, orifice • *ŋméjtél síí bílè ùù*

kùó tíwíí zéj nɔš à ní. Spider went to establish his farm by a main road. *pl. nɔšsa.*

nɔš dígrimaŋa [nɔš dígrimaŋá] *lit.* mouth one *v.* to agree • *bá jáá nɔš dígrimaŋá à sùmmè dóŋá.* They should agree and help each other.

nɔšapømma [nɔšapømmá] *n.* lack of reserve or control, of someone who cannot keep secrets, who cannot hold back • *ì kpágá nɔšapømmá rá.* You exhibit no reserve. *ì jáá nɔšapømmatífná rá.* You are someone who cannot keep secrets.

¹nɔštína [nɔštífná] *lit.* mouth-owner *n.* dog *synt:* vaa .

²nɔštína [nɔštífná] *n.* indiscreet person, tattletale, or someone who cannot keep secret.

nɔšatšvar [nɔšatšvör] *n.* mouth mark, tribal or accidental scar. *pl. nɔšatšvara.*

nɔdígimaŋa [nɔdígimaŋá] *lit.* mouth-one *n.* cooperative group or society.

nɔga [nɔgà] *v.* to grate, to grind, to chip into pieces • *nɔgà kápúsië, ñ wà kpágá jíŋá.* Grate the kola nut, I have no teeth.

nɔgvøl [nɔgvøl] *n.* fleshy part and relative texture of the core or centre of a tuber or fruit, usually less hard than its surrounding layer. *pl. nɔgvøl.*

nɔheŋ [nɔhéŋ] *lit.* mouth-arrow *n.* lytta, firm cartilage lying along

the median ventral surface under the tip of the dog's tongue which is usually removed at an early stage as it is believed to prevent the animal to eat or grab a prey properly.
pl. nshema.

nshög [nshók] *n.* thrush, contagious disease caused by a fungus.

nshma [nshmá] *v.* cf: **kpaŋkpaj** 1 to be hot, to burn by heat • *tiè à níí nshmá.* Let the water be hot. 2 to be active.

nshmanshma [nshmánshmá] *lit.* hot-hot *ideo.* fast, in a hurry • *jàà nshmá-nshmá, já káálì díá bárá tí bíríjé.* Do it fast so we go home before the darkness.

nshmí [nshmí] *n.* hot.

nshnnshŋ *n.* (var. of **nshŋ**) 1. 2. 3 *syn:* **tsshra** . 4.

nshŋ [nshŋ] (var. **nshnnshŋ**) *v.* to be hot • *níinshŋ nā.* It is hot water. *bánshŋ wá kín à sáŋjá.* It is not easy to sit at a hot place.

nshor [nshɔr] *n.* chaff.

nshra [nshrà] *v.* to be pierced by a tiny device, like a splinter or needle • *kín nshrā òò nébíí.* He got a splinter in his finger.

nshtunii [nshtúníí] *n.* lip. *pl. nshtunie.*

¹**nshɔ** [nshɔ] cf: **nshɔlɔgɔsii** *n.* shea butter, oil, grease or fat. *pl. nshɔta.*

nshɔ [nshɔ] *v.* 1 to hear, to listen • *i nshɔ à báál òò wíijmáhá rää?* Do you hear the man talking? 2 to perceive, to sense • *à jiisá nshɔ à disá rää?* Is the salt enough in the soup?

nshɔkpuogohēna [nshɔkpùògòhèná] *lit.* mouth-bulge-bowl *n.* type of insult, describing the person as having big lips. *pl. nshɔkpuogohēna.*

nshɔlɔgɔsii [nshɔlɔgɔsíí] cf: **nshɔ** *n.* shea butter ball. *pl. nshɔlɔyεsshie.*

nshɔma [nshɔmá] *n.* scorpion. *pl. nshɔnsa.*

nshɔmainer [nshɔmáníér] *lit.* scorpion-uncle cf: **halinguomii** *n.* type of millipede (*Myriapoda*). *pl. nshɔmáníérsá.*

nshɔmí [nshɔmí] *v.* to complain to oneself • *nshɔmíí wáá kín kòòrè à wíé.* Complaining to oneself cannot solve the problems.

nshsuo [nshsùó] *lit.* mouth-curse cf: **suo** *n.* curse • *nshsùó tshé ñò tshmá wáá káálì sshòò.* It is because of the curse that your work is not going forward. *pl. nshsuo.*

nshtítíi [nshtítíí] *n.* pomade, body cream.

nshzolɔŋ [nshzólkóŋ] *lit.* mouth-enter-back-area *n.* tongue. *pl. nshzolkshma.*

nwa [ṇwà] *pro.* first person singular emphatic pronoun.

n

nā [ná] *v.* 1 to defecate • *tózén nī bá wàà nā bína dèndíl ní.* In big towns they do not defecate outside. 2 to lay eggs • *níysé káá nā hálá rá, ká óvwà wà nā.* Fish lay eggs, but this one does not. 3 to rust • *niñ sákìr nájáð.* My bicycle is rusty.

nāá [náá] *n.* poverty.

nāá [náá] *v.* 1 to be lacking, to be short of • *gbòló nāá dindàásá rá ò dià ní.* Gbolo is short of fire wood in her house. 2 to be poor • *kùòrùsó wà nāáwā.* Chiefs are not poor. *àáj ká nāá wíé?* Who has no problem?

naabi [náábí] *v.* to expose, to reveal the guilt or wrongdoing of someone • *bá náábì ziàjì níkáná báán ní.* Ziang was exposed in the midst of people.

naari [nààrì] *cf:* **kotri**; **tiisi** *v.* to grind roughly by breaking slightly, only stage for malt and first stage for making flour • *nààrì kòmíá tòjá sítì.* Grind the malt for brewing.

nāássii [náássíí] *n.* unexpected, unanticipated and extraordinary • *nibúnáássii jááí, i kà gílá sìjnòhá ká jàá jálíé.* You are an extraordinary person, you left the drinking habit and became a Muslim. *dúónj dí tt-nā, pènáássíí dígíí dí láláð tà.* The clouds were threatening, but an unexpected wind took them away.

nadwa [nàdówá] *n.* garden egg, egg-plant (*Solanum melongena*). *pl.* **na-**

dwasa.

naga [nágà] *v.* 1 to be sour • *à dójá hájì nágáð.* That soup ingredient is fermented. 2 to be harsh • *à báál nágáð.* The man is harsh.

nagami [náyámí] *v.* to ferment • *tiè à kùbíí nágámí.* Let the porridge ferment.

nagasi [náyásì] *v.* to heat a cut or wound using hot water or a hot cloth in order to protect from infection • *nágásì hákúrí náàbíí tʃízððr tí wà kpágóð.* Heat the wound on Hakuri's toe so that it does not get infected.

nagenpentii [náyémpéntíí] *n.* hedgehog (*Erinaceinae subfam.*). *pl.* **nagenpentie.**

nagee [nágéé] *n.* 1 fermented liquid which can be produced by various plants and trees, but specifically *nagnj* • *nágíí kpágá nágéé rá.* The plant *nagnj* contains fermented liquid. 2 sour • *wáálá káá dí nágéé kðv.* The Waalas eat sour t.z.

nagi [nágí] *n.* anger.

nagimbii [náyimbíí] *n.* 1 seed of *nagnj*. 2 type of snake *syn:* **suon-daawie**. *pl.* **nagimbie.**

nagnj [náyín] *n.* type of plant. *pl.* **nagima.**

nář [nář] *n.* rust.

nakpate [nákpàtè] *cf:* **tʃøbiel** *n.* grain

weevil (*Ferrisia virgata*). pl. **jakpate**.

jalsí [jálsí] v. to shine by polishing or washing • à biè tití nőő òò bátóy dì jásí. The child rubbed herself with oil; her skin is shining.

jamékasa [jàmékàsà] n. scissors. (Gonja <*makasi*>). pl. **jamékasasa**.

jammibii [jàmmibíí] n. maize seed. pl. **jammibia**.

jammidaa [jàmmídáá] n. maize cob.

jammii [jàmmíí] cf: **miymena** n. maize. pl. **jammie**.

nammpetíi [námmíptíí] n. maize husk.

janvugii [jànvugíí] n. child unable to manage without help in order to use his or her potential. pl. **janvggee**.

janja [jànjà] v. to eat staple food with meat only, without the soup • bà fìi janja kóó rá hólà páálòò ní. They used to eat t.z. and meat without soup in the Sisaala land.

jāñja [jàñnjà] n. laterite, type of soil, rusty-red colouration, used on road or for mud floors and roofs.

¹**janjí** [jànjí] v. to be worse • à báál gárágá tití janjijáð. The man's sickness is worse.

²**janjí** [jànjí] v. to be about or hang out at a place for a reason • à biè káá janjí námíá bátiélíí ní. The child hangs around the place where people eat meat.

janjsí [jànjísí] v. to do something with joy and happiness • òò bárá káá janjsòò, ò káá kààlì kúó ká dí kápálà. He is excited, he will go to the farm and eat fufu.

janju [jànjù] cf: **janjuwólee** interj. praise name and title for the clan *janjuwólee*.

janjuwólee [jànjùwóléé] cf: **janju** nprop. clan found in Gurumbele.

jāð [jáð] n. poor person. pl. **jāðsa**.

negeke [néégéké] ideo. very little portion of something bigger • òò bán dí kéj nēgēkē. It is just so little.

jenjaan [jénjáàñ] n. worm which infests the stomach. pl. **jenjaaysa**.

neesi [jéësí] v. to warm up moderately, like the heat of early morning sun or sitting beside a fire • à díj káá jéësín ná. The fire warms me up. à wósá káá jéësòò. The sun is warm moderately and not severe.

negeke [néégéké] n. greedy and stingy behaviour.

jësa [jësà] n. malnourished child, a child with a reduced growth rate. pl. **jësasa**.

newá [jéwá] num. two *Enum of: alie*.

jiise [jíisè] v. to only see part of something while the rest is hidden • ò píisé òò píjá rá. He showed his teeth in a concealing way. sàpúhié zíj píisé ò bòà nòá ní. The tail of the pouched rat is appearing from the entrance of his hole.

pine [nìnè] *v.* 1 to take care of, to watch • màrà *juínè* ɳìɳì dàbágà dì ɳì wá kààlì. Take care of my garden while I am away. dì *juínè* ʈjì kpáá-má. Look after at my yams. 2 to depend on, to rely on • ɳì *juínè* iì síé ní. I depend on you.

pinee [nínéɛ] *n.* fish. *pl.* *piŋse*.

piñiē (*var. of* **piñiē**)

¹pinne [nínne] (*var.* **piŋine**) *n.* caretaker. *pl.* *piŋísé*.

²pinne [nínne] *n.* someone with great timing, who knows the movement of others and always shows up at the right time for food and other enjoyments but never for labour.

piñtſige [níntſigè] *cf:* kagba *n.* hat, cap, Muslim hat. *pl.* *piñtſigese*.

piŋine (*var. of* **pinne**)

piŋ [nìŋ] *n.* type of sore, usually on head, ears or lips. *pl.* *piŋ*.

piŋhal [nìŋhál] *n.* fish egg. *pl.* *piŋ-hala*.

piŋhog [nìŋhòg] *n.* fish bone.

piŋ?ɔrri [nìŋ?ɔrri] *n.* dental abscess. Swollen jaw, painful tooth, with difficulty eating or chewing.

piñma [nìñmà] *v.* to show silent resentment, to make a face, to frown • ɖì ɳìñmá wié dì tìēŋ nà àká *piñma*. While he was speaking to me, he was frowning.

piña [nínà] *n.* father. *pl.* *piñama*.

piñabie [nínábìé] *n.* 1 ego's father's children of a different mother.

2 ego's father's brother's children. *pl.* *piñabise*.

piñabise [nínábísé] *cf:* **piñawóle** *n.* children of a paternal line.

piñawóle [nínáwóléé] *cf:* **piñabise** *pl.n.* members of a paternal relation.

piñiē [nìnìɛ] (*var.* **piñiē**) *interrog.* how, what, why • *piñiē* iì hiɛsí kàà púgò kékì? Why are you panting like this? *piñiē* iì jéná kā dó. How is your father? *piñiē* ɳì kà jää? What did I do?

piŋpaŋ [nìŋnàj] *n.* ascaris, intestinal parasitic roundworm. *pl.* *piŋansa*.

piŋpaŋa [nìŋnàŋ] *cf:* patṣigihää *n.* wickedness, wicked and deliberate act towards someone • ɖì kpágá piŋpaŋá. He is wicked. *pl.* *piŋpaŋasa*.

piŋ [nìŋ] *n.* tooth. *pl.* *piŋga*.

piŋdaa [níndáá] *n.* horn. *pl.* *piŋdaa-sa*.

piŋhië [nìŋhíɛ] *n.* 1 ego's father's senior brother. 2 ego's step-father, if the man is older than the biological father. *pl.* *piŋhiësa*.

piŋtielii [nìŋtiélü] *n.* back tooth, molar and premolar. *pl.* *piŋtielee*.

piŋvaa [nìŋváà] *n.* canine tooth. *pl.* *piŋvasa*.

piŋwie [nìŋwié] *n.* 1 ego's father's junior brother. 2 ego's step-father, if the man is younger than the biological father. *pl.* *piŋwise*.

ŋɔ̄ [nɔ̄] *num.* five *Enum of:* apɔ̄ .

ju^gma [júyámā] *n.* camel. (Mande, via Waali <júyámā>). *pl. ju^gmasa.*

ju^ttí [jòtì] *n.* 1 any nut or bolt. 2 flintlock locking screw. (ultm. English <nut>).

ju^birintuⁿa [júbírítíiná] *lit.* head-full-owner *n.* blind *synt:* ju^lvñj .

ju^bbɔ̄j [júbój] *n.* bad luck.

ju^do^j [júdój] *n.* abused person, someone whose reputation has been discredited. *pl. ju^doyo.*

ju^kpal [júkpál] *n.* baldness. *pl. ju^kpalla.*

ju^kpaltuⁿa [júkpáltíiná] *n.* bald headed. *pl. ju^kpaltvma.*

ju^kpeg [júkpég] *n.* stubbornness.

ju^kpulii [júkpúlii] *n.* head of animal without a neck. *pl. ju^kpulee.*

ju^perii [júpéríi] *cf.* p^era *n.* type of hairdressing. *pl. ju^perie.*

ju^pro^j [júpój] *n.* head hair. *pl. ju^prona.*

ju^pro^ssa [júpórsà] *n.* soft spot on an infant's skull (*Fontanelle*). *pl. ju^pro^ssasa.*

ju^sorj [júsój] *v.* to have good luck • à bié ju^sumōõ, ò kà páási ò téé-sì. The child had good luck, he passed his test.

ju^u [júù] 1 *n.* head. 2 *reln.* top of • wòjò d^zá à b^zéj ju^u nì. Wojo is on top of the big rock. *pl. ju^uno.*

ju^uudor [júúdóř] *lit.* head-put-agent *n.* hypocrite. *pl. ju^udora.*

ju^ufugo [júúfúgò] *n.* frontal headache.

ju^uuni (*var. of a juu ni*)

ju^uwawii [júuvówíi] *n.* plaiting the hair, type of hairdressing.

ju^uwerii [júwéríi] *n.* success.

ju^uwietuⁿa [júwíétíiná] *lit.* head-small-owner *n.* leopard *synt:* bu^o-manii; nebietuⁿa .

ju^uwila [júwíflá] *n.* headache.

ju^uzeñtuⁿa [júzéñtíiná] *n.* lion *synt:* d^zetí .

ju^uzíñtuⁿa [júzíñtíiná] *n.* fairy *synt:* 1k^onto^j .

ju^o [jó] *cf.* jala *v.* to germinate, seen individually • ò wà ju^ojéé. It did not germinate.

ju^oā [jóá] *v.* 1 to drink • ñ ju^oá níí rá. I drank water. 2 to smoke • ñ wàá kⁱⁿj ju^oá ju^oásá. I cannot smoke.

ju^oasa [jóásá] *n.* smoke.

ju^oasi [jóásí] *n.* type of girl initiation ritual which upon completion allows young female to see a masquerade.

ju^og [jóg] *n.* crocodile. *pl. ju^oga.*

ju^ognii [jóggíi] *n.* smoking away insects. *pl. ju^ogee.*

ju^olvñj [jólkój] *n.* blind • p^olk^ómá ká nù wié kínkàn nà. Blind people can hear better (than others). *synt:* ju^birintuⁿa *pl. ju^blvma.*

ju^ommi [jómmí] *cf.* d^zosí *v.* to close one's eyes in order not to be able to see • p^ommi iì s^zé. Close your eyes.

ju^onsi [jóñsí] *v.* to get lost, to lose sight of • iì k^{ar}ántiè p^oñjsí kùò t^íwíí ní. Your cutlass got lost on the

farm road. ᶠὸ vāá ɲóŋsi̩ð. His dog is lost.

ŋm

ŋma [ŋmá] 1 *v.* to say, to speak • ḡ ŋmá dí à bóni̩̩ ní i káá wàð. He said that you might come. ḣ ŋmáj̩ tì̩ ḷù̩ hááñ dí ó tóŋjá námáñ. I told my wife to cook the meat. 2 *pv.* to want, desiderative mood particle that expresses an intention • ḣ ŋmá ȶ káálì dúsèè tſá. I want to go to Ducle tomorrow. ḣ ŋmá ḷ ztññáð. I want to know. ḣ ŋmá ȶ káálì jàwá. I want to go to the market.

ŋmáñŋ [ŋmáñŋ] *nprop.* Mangu, person's name, male or female, must precede *Basig* or *Hasig* synt: *basig*; *hasig*.

ŋmaara [ŋmáàrâ] *n.* type of bad spirit taking the form of light, seen only at night. (Waali <ŋmáàrâ 'something that crosses').

ŋmalíŋŋm̩i̩ð [ŋmálíŋŋm̩i̩ð] *n.* Purple Heron (*Ardea purpurea*). *pl.* **ŋmalíŋŋm̩sa**.

ŋmedaa [ŋmédàà] *cf.* *gundaabii* *n.* distaff, spindle for spinning cotton (with thread on).

¹ŋmena [ŋmènà] *v.* 1 to cut • ḣ ŋméná dáá rá. I cut a tree. à káranti̩ ñméná ḷ náá rá. The cutlass cut my leg. 2 to bite • dž̩ báàñ ŋméná à kpá jùò. A python just bit her and she fell. 3 to harvest, to dig out old

ŋõ̩ð [ŋõ̩ð] *v.* to come in a crowd • bámùñ wà góruú ɲõ̩ð. They came around him in numbers.

yams planted • já káálì kúó à ŋmènà kpáámá. Let us to the farm and dig yams.

²ŋmena [ŋmèná] *n.* chisel. *pl.* **ŋme-nasa**.

³ŋmena [ŋmènà] *v.* to ignite • ŋmènà díñ dó dálíbðá ní. Light a fire in the stove.

⁴ŋmena [ŋmènà] (*var.* **aŋmena**, **baŋmena**) 1 *interrog.* how much, how many • àŋmènáá i kà kpágasi? How many of them did you catch? 2 *n.* amount, a certain number • ŋmènà tótí i kàà búúrè? How large of a share do you want?

¹ŋməŋ [ŋméŋ] *n.* okro. *pl.* **ŋmena**.

²ŋməŋ [ŋméŋ] *n.* rope. *pl.* **ŋmesa**.

ŋməŋhɔlɪ [ŋméŋhɔlî] *n.* dried okro. *pl.* **ŋməŋhɔlɛe**.

ŋməŋsɔŋ [ŋmèŋsóŋ] *n.* fresh okro.

ŋməŋtɛl [ŋméŋtél] 1 *n.* spider. 2 *num.* eight. *pl.* **ŋməŋtela**.

ŋmiire [ŋmíirè] *v.* to become furrowed or wrinkled due to ageing • à hâhíñ sié ŋmíiréó. The old woman has a wrinkled face.

¹ŋm̩i̩̩ [ŋm̩i̩̩] *v.* to steal • à biè ŋm̩i̩̩ní nà, ànúúní ḷ wà kpágá mó-lèbíé. The child steals from me, so I do not have money.

ŋmī̑ɛ [ŋmī̑ɛ] *n.* theft • **ŋmī̑ɛ wà wírē.** Theft is not good. wàà ní **ŋmī̑ɛ dòà kàálì dùsié.** There are more thefts in Wa than in Ducie. *pl. ŋmī̑ɛ.*

ŋmī̑ɛři [ŋmī̑ɛři] *n.* stealing • **kòɔṛì i mò-lèbíé dó i dzífà nī, tóó hàj ŋmī̑ɛři wá wírē.** Put your money well in your pocket, the stealing in this town is bad.

ŋmī̑er [ŋmī̑er] *n.* thief *syn: nezejeetína.* *pl. ŋmī̑era.*

ŋmī̑erí [ŋmī̑erí] *v.* to melt • **à dóbíé ŋmī̑erí làgá nī.** The hail melts fast. **ŋmī̑erí nōó tīēj ñ hálà nà-miá̑.** Melt the butter for me to fry the meat.

ŋmī̑esi [ŋmī̑esí] *v.* to swear • **ñ ŋmíá-sí áá̑.** I swear by the bushbuck.

ŋmī̑esie [ŋmī̑esíe] *n.* oath, Gh. Eng. swear. *pl. ŋmī̑esisa.*

ŋmī̑ri [ŋmī̑ri] *v.* to heal and close a laceration or a wound • **i pèmpél tím**

ŋmífríjé tóó. Your sore has closed up.

ŋmōnaŋmōna [ŋmōnàŋmōnà] *ideo.* type of visual percept, of dull colouration • **bòsá dó ŋmōnà-ŋmōnà rá.** The Puff adder skin is a patterning and mixing of ground colours (blackish, dark-brown, etc.).

ŋmōvri [ŋmōvri] *v.* to grumble, mutter discontentedly • **à báál bísé káá ŋmōvri wíé dià nī.** The man's children are grumbling in the house.

ŋmōvri [ŋmōvri] *v.* 1 to chew thoroughly leaving little • **à váá kàà ŋmōvri à hógó ré.** The dog is chewing on the bone. 2 to remove or take more than expected or agreed upon • **hádígíí káálí i kúó àkà ŋmōvri i lóyó múj kàálí.** A woman went to your farm and collected almost all your gourd containers away.

ŋ

ŋ (*var. of n*)

O

oi [?óí] *interj.* expression of surprise, absence of expectation, or pain exclamation.

ol [?ól] *n.* type of mouse. *pl. olo.*

oluplen [?ólùpléñ] (*var. oripere*) *n.* airplane. (ultm. English <aero-plane>).

ombul [?ómbúl] *n.* type of mouse. *pl. ombulo.*

onsiaŋ [?ónsíáŋ] *n.* type of mouse found in the bush. *pl. onsiama.*

ontolee [?óntoléé] *n.* type of mouse, smallest of all types. *pl. ontolese.*

onzasii [?ónzásíí] *n.* type of mouse.

õõ (*var. of* õõ) *n.*

C

õgilí [?õylí] *cf:* tlesi *cf:* hogo *v.* to eject a particle from the throat, or having an urge to vomit because of it • *jíy়hòg kpágá ññ̄ lilébòá ñ̄ dì ɔgí-lí.* A fish bone is stuck in my throat and I feel like vomiting.

õla [?õlå] *v.* to decay, on its way to rot • *bà kpá à tóy bilåø òv̄ ñlå.* They kept the skin until it was nearly rotten.

õma [?õmå] *v.* to fear, to be afraid • *tí bfí wåà ɔmå lálíí müj.* Never fear a corpse again.

õnsi [?õnsi] *v.* to scare, to threaten, to talk harshly • *hámón wåà ɔnsi níhíëtä.* A child does not threaten elders.

õngbia [?õngbiá] *n.* fearfulness.

õngbiar [?õngbiár] *n.* coward *ant:* bambiituna . *pl.* ɔngbiara.

P

paa [påà] *pl.v.* *cf:* kpa **1** to take, to collect or gather up several things • *kà paa bíná hámå tå.* Go and take these faeces away. **2** to marry women • *mòtígié káá paa dùséléé bí-nihááná rå.* The men from Motigu marry women from Ducie.

paamää [påàmåå] *n.* type of tree (*Combretum aphanopetalum*). *pl.* paamääna.

oripere (*var. of* oluplen) *n..*

õolí [?õõlì] (*var.* ɔolí) *v.* to not be clean as in washing one's body, clothes or cooking utensils without soap • *ìì níí tífì ìì kà sójè kékì ìì ɔólí-jáó.* You are not clean despite the bath you took.

¹ɔra [?ɔrà] *v.* to cause to swell up, to swell up through infection, to be bloated • *íá ɔrá òò nén nì.* Guinea worm swollen his hand. *ìnì nääá ɔ-ráó.* My leg is swollen.

²ɔra [?ɔrà] *v.* to sew • *hákúrí kàá kìy ðrà gár rá.* Hakuri can sew clothes.

ɔsi [?ɔsì] *v.* to suck on breast • *kà làà ìi bié ó ɔsì il.* Go and get your child so she can suck on your breast.

ɔti [?òti] *pl.v.* to swell • *zìèn nàà-sá mún nääá ɔtjé.* Zien's legs are swollen.

paani [páání] *v.* to make loose, to become less tight, to open • *páání à lógà í ná òv̄ pátigfí.* Open the bag wider so I can look inside. *máná ò kpá vòwà à dààsá, àwíé à bùjì dì páání kékì.* He used an elastic to tie the firewood, that is why the load is loose.

paaní [páání] *v.* to put the blame on someone • *bà pääññì ní ká ñ wà jáá*

wíí müŋ. They put the blame on me but I did not do anything. (Waali <paǎná ‘blame’).

paanɔ̃ā [pàànɔ̃ā] *n.* most extensive labour, typically planned to be carried out early • nñ tʃòðsìmpàànɔ̃ā jáá báj. My early labour is right there.

paanɔ̃o [páànɔ̃o] *n.* bread. (Akan, ultm. Coast Portuguese <páànõõ).

¹**paasi** [pààsí] *v.* 1 to peel with a knife • pààsí kpááj sùgùlì já dí. Peel a yam and boil it so we can eat. pààsí à sàpúhié púná müŋ tā. Peel off the hair of the rat. 2 to scoop out, like staple food from a pot to bowls • à kóó wá kānā ñ kàá pààsí hènsá átòrò. The t.z. is not abundant, I can scoop it up to three bowls. 3 to weed on surface without digging the soil • pààsí sígá pàtfigíí. Weed the grass around the bean plants.

²**paasi** [páásí] *v.* to pass an exam • bàmùŋ pàásí à téésí rā. Everyone passed the examination. (ultm. English <pass).

paati [pááti] *n.* political party. (ultm. English).

paatʃag [pààtʃák] *n.* leaf. *pl. paa-tʃaga.*

paatʃakjaara [páátʃàyjáárà] *n.* healer. *pl. paatʃakjaarsa.*

paatʃaranɔ̃ɔŋ [pààtʃàrànɔ̃ɔŋ] *lit.* take-barter-cow *n.* type of bird, very small, moves in group, can hatch up to 20 at a time. *pl. paa-tʃaranɔ̃ɔna.*

pabii [pàbíí] *n.* hoe blade. *pl. pabie.*

paga [pàyà] *v.* to do intentionally, without a particular reason • ñ págá vièõ dí ñ wàá kààlì dùséé záàj. I intentionally refused to go to Ducie today.

pagbétíí [pàgbéttíí] *cf. patila* *n.* small hoe. [Gu].

pakri [pákri] *n.* park, field, football field • mólpákì ní dùséé wá bōlō. Mole national park and Ducie are not far from one another. (ultm. English <park).

¹**pala** [pàlà] *v.* to flow • à góŋ pálà káá-lì tiijnúú rò. The river flows to the west.

²**pala** [pálá] *n.* fowl tick. *pl. pala.*

pama [pámá] *v.* to load a gun, to cock • pámá à mááfà tīēj. Load the gun for me.

panti [pàntì] *v.* to fall short of a target • ñ pfná káá būürè mákà káálíí ká ò mòlèbié pàntì. My father wishes to go to Mecca but his money is too short.

pañ [pánj] *n.* molar. *pl. panya.*

pañbaníí [pánjbáníí] *lit.* molar-section *nprop.* section of Ducie.

pañ?ɔrìí [pán?ɔrìí] *n.* gingivitis.

papata [pápátá] *n.* farmer. *pl. papatësa.*

par [pár:] *n.* hoe. *pl. para.*

para [pàrà] *v.* to farm, to weed • tʃà-káléé káá pàrà kpáámá kìnjáj. The Chakali people farm a lot of yam.

parage [pàràgɛ] *v.* to be dependent on someone else's facilities, or share someone else's belongings • ᵻñì māábié párágé ñí ní ᵻñì hääñ ní rā. My brother lives with me and my wife. ᶠòò binihääñ párágé ᶠòò hílá díndäñ ní. Her daughter shares the kitchen with her in-law.

parakun [pàrákùñ] (*var.* perekɔ) *n.* pig. (Akan, ultm. Coast Portuguese *<prokoo>*). *pl.* *parakunso*.

parasa [pàràsá] *pl.n.* temporary farm workers.

parasi [pàràsì] *v.* to crackle, noise made by burning charcoal or fire • à díj káá párásì. The fire is crackling.

parata (*var. of jarata*)

parísumii [pàràsúmíi] *n.* asking for help at the farm, gathering people for a farm work and thanking them with small remuneration.

pasi [pàsì] *v.* to shade by taking leaves or grass and putting them on yam mounds and weigh down with some soil • bá wà pásí ñìñ kpáámá, à júú ní à wà jéééé. They did not shade my yam, therefore they did not germinate.

pasita [pásítà] *n.* pastor. (ultm. English).

pata [pátá] *n.* trousers, pants, or underpants *syn:* píitɔ . *pl.* *patəsa*.

pataasi [pátáásì] *n.* locally distilled alcoholic spirit. (ultm. Ga *<àkpètèfi>* 'to keep out of sight').

pati [pàti] *v.* of a fowl flouncing around and fluttering after being

slaughtered, or when it feels danger • à kílìè káá túù à záál pátíó ᶠò bìrà zàà kààlì. When the eagle was coming down, the hen jumped up and down and the eagle flew away. à zákórigíí pátíjé à wà zòò nàsá pátfígn. The slaughtered fowl flapped the wings and came in between my legs.

patiisa [pàtíísà] *n.* curtain used to subdivide rooms. (ultm. English *<partition>*).

patila [pàtilá] *cf:* pagbètì *n.* small hoe. *pl.* *patilasa*.

paturuu [pàtùrúù] *cf:* petro *n.* fuel. (ultm. English *<petrol>*).

patsakjaar [pàtʃàyåjáár] *cf:* lulibummojaar *n.* traditional healer, herbalist. *pl.* *patsakjaara*.

patfigbummo [pàtʃígbúmmò] *n.* liar, person who is not truthful, not transparent, or secretive.

patfighää [pàtʃíghää] *cf:* jíjája *n.* wickedness.

patfigu [pàtʃígfí] *1 n.* abdomen, belly. *2 n.* intrinsic properties that characterise someone • ᶠòò pàtʃígfí bíréò. He is not truthful and sincere. ᶠòò pàtʃígfí pólíjàò. She is open and truthful. *3 reln.* inside • wáá dòà à fàlá pàtʃígfí ní. It is inside the calabash. *pl.* *patfigee*.

patfigu gbanjasa [pàtʃígfí gbánjsá] *lit.* stomach noise *n.* colic pain.

patfiguisunno [pàtʃígsúnñò] *n.* ascite, accumulation of fluid in the ab-

dominal cavity caused by advanced liver disease or cirrhosis.

patfigipømma [pàtʃígípømmá] *n.* generous, fair and plain person.

patfigitøra [pàtʃígitørá] *n.* gratefulness, happy.

patfigtøgsa [pàtʃígtøgåsá] *n.* sadness, grief, depression.

patfigwiila [pàtʃígwìllà] *n.* stomach ache. *pl. patfigwiila.*

pawie [pàwìé] *n.* small hoe used for weeding. *pl. pawise.*

pazenj [pàzèj] *n.* big hoe used for ploughing. *pl. pazene.*

pe [pé] *n.* by someone's or some thing's location, end, side, place or limit • *ñmñ bisé müj nō tfójéē kàà-lì bà måà pé.* All my children have run to their mother. à *kàpósiè dòá ùù pé nī.* The kola nuts are by him.

¹**pel** [pél] *n.* third and top layer of wooden beams in roofing structure.

²**pel** [péj] *n.* sexton, burial specialist who has been initiated to carry out the activities related to corpse manipulation. *pl. pelle.*

peleñ [pèléñ] *n.* breeze. *pl. pelema.*

peligi [pélígí] *v.* 1 to separate from each other • *bákúrí pélígí ñò hää-nà dòñá nī rā, ñò hääwíe dòà wàà nī.* Bakuri separated his wives, the youngest lives in Wa now. 2 to unroll a mat or unfold blanket • *pélígí kùntúy bilè à tsvà.* Unfold the blanket and lie down.

pelor [pélòf] *n.* lamb.

pembal [pèmbál] *n.* ram.

pemballøøj [pèmbálløðj] *lit.* male.sheep-neck.hair *n.* type of grass.

pembelee [pémbéléè] *n.* ram lamb.

penni [pènñ] *cf:* *piesii* *n.* ewe, a female sheep.

penteñ [pén téñ] *ideo.* clear, as in seeing or hearing • *ñ ná à báál là pén-téñ.* I saw the man clearly.

penj [pénj] *n.* penis. *pl. pene.*

penþøøj [pèmpðj] *n.* male pubic hair. *pl. penþøsna.*

peomää [pèómää] *lit.* wind-mother *n.* type of insect, similar size to a cricket.

peopeo (*var. of peupeu*)

pere [pèrè] *n.* to separate from a group and continue on his or her own • *ò ní ò jnína wá bf lágàmt, ù péré ù kùò rō.* He and his father are no more together, he separated and he is now on his own.

peti [pétí] *v.* to finish, to stop • *já pétijöö.* We are done. *mìm pàtùrúù kàà pétüü.* My petrol is finishing. à *dúój há wà pétijé.* The rain has not yet stopped.

petro [pétrò] *cf:* *paturuu* *n.* fuel. (ultm. English <petrol>).

peu [pèú] *n.* wind. *pl. peuno.*

peuli [péúlí] *v.* to let an area become much larger and wider • *já tíè à zùngvà kíl pélí.* Let the dancing

floor be wider. *péúlí ìì mǐákuō ɔ ná kānà*. Make your guinea corn farm much larger for you to get more.

peupeu [péùpéù] *cf:* *pømma* (*var. peopeo*) *ints.* very white • *pømmà péùpéù*. Very or pure white.

peusi [pèùsì] *v.* to winnow, separate grain from chaff using the wind only • *à tómá jáá dí í péusì mûró, zúló, mǐá àní jàmmíí*. The work is that you should winnow rice, millet, guinea corn and maize.

pewo [pèwò] *v.* to blow with instrument to revive • *kpá à limpèù à pèwò à díy dò*. Take the fan and blow on the fire.

pé [pé] *v.* to add to, to increase • *jà kùòrù báníí péjèē à jàà báníé à lòpè*. Our chief's section was added to make seven sections.

pegṣi [pèyèṣì] *v.* to split up, to crack, to cut open • *pègṣì à kápósiè bárá bálíè*. Split the kola nut into two parts.

pela [pélá] *v.* to lean on with own support • *ymíérá dí pélá bákúrí zià ní à dí pígsúú*. Yesterday thieves were leaning against Bakuri's wall spying on him.

pëma [pèmà] *n.* to groan, to make sounds of effort or pain • *kàlá pínā tñrá dià ní dí pëmà, dí òò pòògá líí-wá*. Kala's father lies in the room and groans, he has a strangulated hernia.

pëmpel [pèmpé] *n.* mark, wound, sore, or bite. *pl. pëmpela*.

pëmpiamii [pémplàmíi] *n.* fibrous meat. *pl. pëmpiamie*.

pén [pèn] *n.* pen. (ultm. English). *pl. pensa*.

¹**pëna** [pèná] *cf:* *bwøga* *n.* moon. *pl. pensa*.

²**pëna** [pènà] *v.* 1 to be wide • *ìì dìà-nñá wà pénà*. Your door is not wide. 2 to be hollow • *à gànqgàndáá pátñ-gñí wá märä pénà*. The inside of the drum is not hollowed enough.

pénii [péníí] *n.* wide *ant:* *fɔri* .

pënj [pènjì] *cf:* **pëpënj** *v.* to farm in the *pëmpënj* period • *à tfá pënsá á-lñé ká já pënj*. In two months we will start farming.

pëypeglímpe [pèmpèyølímpe] *n.* butterfly. *pl. pëypeglímpeza*.

pëpënj [pèpènjá] *cf:* **pënj** *n.* farming period for sowing, between April and June.

péra [pèrà] *cf:* **pupérii** *v.* to weave rope or hair • *tíéŋ bòk íñ pérà síg-máá ñméj*. Give me fiber to weave a mask rope.

përegá (*var. of kokolunj*)

përekõ (*var. of parakun*)

përete [pèréte] *n.* dish, plate. (ultm. English <plate>). *pl. peretesa*.

pési [pésí] *v.* to slap, smack, or zap • *pésí kàlá tiéj*. Draw the attention of Kala for me. *zónjgöréé márà ìì gántàl ní, íñ pésí tiéj*. There is a mosquito on your back, I am going to zap it.

pétidindagal [pétídindáyál] *n.* layer in-between, as egg shell membrane and orange pith.

pétii [pétíí] *cf. daapétii* *n.* bark, cover, outside, part that is protecting and covering the actual item. *pl. petie.*

pewà [pèwà] *v.* to grill meat in order to dry or cook it • *nàdígíí wá tìè nànpèwù*. Some people do not eat smoked meat. *pèwà à áá námìá*. Grill the bushbuck meat. *syn: wiisi¹*

pewii [péwíí] *n.* smoking or grilling meat.

piel [piél] *n.* type of plant. *pl. piel.*

piesii [piésíí] *cf. penii* *n.* sheep. *pl. piesie.*

pigsi [pigsì] *v.* to spy • *tí válà à pigsi à hááj*. Do not go and spy on the woman.

pii [pií] *n.* yam mound. *pl. pie.*

piili [piílì] *v.* to start • *bì piílì*. Start again. *gbàngbàj kàá píilì tótfááj gántál nī*. Harmattan will start after the *tótfaaŋ* season.

piimusa [píímísa] *lit.* yam.mound-nose *n.* part of yam mound.

piipa [píúpà] *cf. kadaasi* *cf. tɔŋ* *n.* paper. (ultm. English).

piipelée [píipélée] *n.* small yam mound leaning against another yam mound, built for matching the *piimusa* on the opposite line. *pl. piipelesa.*

pikiete [píkiété] *n.* old yam field where the mounds are open and yams have been removed.

pile [pilè] *v.* to roof with grass or zinc • *kòsá ñ kpá pilè à diá*. I covered the house with grass. (Oti-Volta).

pillinsii (*var. of nālomo*)

pini [pínì] *n.* safety pin. (ultm. English <pin>). *pl. pinise.*

pinti [píntì] 1 *pl.v.* to pick up from the ground • *píntì tsúónó tíēj*. Pick up shea nut seeds for me. *píntì mòlèbié hámà tíēj*. Pick up that money for me. 2 *n.* whole process of shea harvest, from the picking to the storage.

pipi [pípí] *ints.* very early morning • *diàri tʃòðsìn pípí ðí liì*. Yesterday he left very early in the morning.

piregi [pirègi] *v.* to take by surprise • *ñ ká pírègūñ dí ù kétí nñ ðiánñá*. I took him by surprise while he was breaking my door to enter my room.

pisi [písí] *v.* to shake • *písí dōŋō tà i juú nī*. Shake the dirt out of your hair. *dí i wà písí bárá tòntómá, bárá káá bíréí rē kùò nī*. If you do not shake up at work, you will not get the chance to complete the farm work.

piti [pítí] *v.* to survive • *à gérégíí wàá pítí*. The sick person will not survive. *syn: ²foti*

pitieteo [pítíétéo] *n.* Bearded barbet,

type of bird (*Lybius dubius*). *pl. piteteoso.*

pitiipajà [pítíípnàñà] *n.* type of tree (*Ficus sur*). *pl. pitiijnayasa.*

pitiisolo [pítíísòlò] *n.* type of tree (*Ficus conraui*). *pl. pitiiisoloso.*

pitʃəŋ [pítʃóŋ] *n.* row or line of yam mounds. *pl. pitʃənṣa.*

př [pří] *v.* to be fed up with the same matter, or the same food • ḷv̄ hāáŋ příč rā ànf ḷv̄ st̄yŋøhá ní. His wife is fed up with his drinking habit.

přā [přá] *n.* to open slightly, or to hold down the eyelid • přá ii síí à džktà ná. Pull the skin away from your eye for the doctor to see. kálá přá ḷv̄ nɔ̄á rá, ḷ ná ḷv̄ píyá. Kala slightly opened the mouth and I saw his teeth.

přāní [přání] *v.* to open or make wide a little more within certain limits • bá přāní dūsèè tíwī rē. They widen the Dicie road. přání ii lógànɔ̄á ḷ ná. Open your bag a little more for me to see. *syn: węga*

priasi [přásì] *v. cf: vugà (var. priesi)*
1 to ask • à hāáŋ píásí ḷv̄ báàl dí lié ḷ ká káálì. The woman asked her husband where he was going. 2 to investigate, to soothsay • ḷ ká přásí ná bááŋ ká tié ḷ dí wí. I shall soothsay to know what makes me sick.

priawata [píawátà] *n.* water sachet. (ultm. English ‘pure water’).

přeŋ [píéŋ] *n.* piece of fabric. *pl. přema.*

přesi (var. of priasi)

přga [pígà] *cf: hala* *v.* to fry with no other ingredients than oil and salt • wà làà zímbié háj pígà já tíé. Come and take this fowl meat and fry it for us to eat.

přgu [pígú] *n.* frying • zápřgéè álíè ḷ vóğ dí dí. My shrine takes two fried fowls. *pl. pígee.*

při [píí] *cf: kpääŋ* *n.* yam. [Ka]. *pl. pra.*

¹při [pří] *v.* to mark items or livestock • má při má bář körà. You should mark your share differently from each other.

²při [pří] *v.* to soak items in water for a length of time • kpà kindónjó dó níí ní á pří, ká í dí tfágāsí. Take the dirty items and soak them, you will be washing them.

přigí [píigí] *pl.v.* to make lines or marks, to mark a field or cut a face, to draw a line • kùòrù bisé jáà píigí bá bárá rá. People from the chief’s family usually make marks on their body. píigí à bié gríí áká dò lúlíí. Cut the child’s cheek then apply medicine.

přilí [píílfí] *v.* to tear carefully, to pull apart or into pieces • píílfí kàdáášé támá tíéŋ. Tear a piece of paper for me.

přitoč [píítóč] *n.* underpants *syn: pata.* (Akan <píótó>). *pl. píitóčsa.*

pila [pílā] *v.* to hit down repeatedly, to compact by hitting • já fíí pílā sàl

lā. We used to compact our roof top by hitting repeatedly on its surface.

piŋa [piŋà] *v.* to be satisfied, with food or information, to be full • ḥ dí kōtō kinkán nà, ḥn píŋáň. I ate a lot of t.z., I am satisfied. ḵ wà nődőň piŋà. He did not hear the information to his satisfaction.

piŋgaasi [píŋgāāsì] *cf.* gaŋgalarí *n.* pickaxe. (ultm. English).

piŋisi [píŋišì] *pl.v.* to be satisfied with food, to satisfy one's appetite • à bőňná píŋisí àní à siimáá rā. The goats are satisfied with the food. à lúhó bár nárá mūj píŋtsfjéň. All people at the funeral are satisfied.

pira [pírə] *v.* to injure or wound • dí i lít à dáapnúú tfèlè, i káá pírář. If you fall from the tree you will be injured.

piraago [pírəágō] *n.* big needle for large size food sacks. *pl.* *piraagoso*.

pirintwa [pírintvá] *cf.* kɔlbaa *n.* bottle. (Akan <péntvá>).

pisa [písá] *n.* grass mat. *pl.* *pisa*.

pisi [písì] *v.* to scatter, disappear, or vanish, to spread or come out, e.g. day, season • námùŋ pisi ḥn sii ní. People should disappear from my presence. pisi à kpɔ̄ŋkpɔ̄ŋ tā à bíf ní à hólà. Spread the cassava on the rock to dry. tfɔ̄bsí káá písiř. Morning is breaking.

piti [pítí] *n.* refers to a fowl used as blood sacrifice. [*oldfash*]. *pl.* *pitië*.

1po [pó] *v.* to divide into parts • kà pó à lójó àní fálásá. Go and divide the calabash into parts.

2po [pó] *v.* to take mud out of a pond • já káálí pó větří à gój ní. Let us go and take mud out of the pond.

pogo [pógó] *n.* guinea corn, whitish type.

1pol [pól] *n.* vein. *pl.* *polo*.

2pol [pòl] *n.* place where water is fetched from for drinking or household work. *pl.* *pollo*.

poleme [pòlémè] *v.* to do in a hurry, to rush, to hasten • má pólémè já káálí diá, dúónj kàá búruū. Hurry so we can go home, the rain is threatening.

polpiesii [pòlpíésíi] *lit.* water.source-sheep *n.* Black-and-white colobus, type of monkey (*Colobus*). *pl.* *polpiesie*.

pomo [pómó] *v.* to knock bark off • zàáŋ bisé káá pómō dààsá bàgábà-gá. Today's children are removing the bark off trees anyhow.

pombo (*var. of zinahɔ̄ň*)

pontii [póntíi] *n.* liniment tree (*Securidaca longepedunculata*). *pl.* *pontie*.

pon [pón] *n.* cricket, type of insect. *pl.* *pomo*.

ponpoglii [pómpòyɛlìi] *n.* type of tree. *pl.* *ponpoglie*.

ponpogo [pòmpógò] *n.* type of tree (*Ficus trichopoda*). *pl.* *ponpogoso*.

poruso [pòrúsò] *n.* police. (ultm. English). *pl. porusoso.*

¹pɔ [pó] *v.* cf: tɔð 1 to insert, to plant, to transplant, to set upright in ground, to pierce • ɳ pɔ dāā rā. I planted a tree. hembíi pɔ dāā nī, fōtò lágà. A picture hangs from a nail on a pole. 2 to aim at with a gun • làà mááfà pɔ ɳ nà dí i kàá kín jùò mááfà rā. Take the gun and aim so I see whether you can use a gun. 3 to protect, to keep in case of emergency, to trap or catch for securing • pɔ à diàñðá, bððñj ná ɳ dì búúrè ɳ kpágà. Keep the door, I want to catch a goat. bà bððñj dígíímájá bà kà kpajèè pɔ bā tñntñj. They rely on the only goat they have. à bié márá pɔ à góól lō, àwíé bà wà kñj dí bë. The child has protected the goal well so the others could not win.

²pɔ [pó] *v.* to make a sacrifice for twins to survive • bà pɔ dzéénsá rá. They sacrifice for the twins to survive.

pɔi [póí] *n.* planting • dáápɔí wéréó. Tree planting is good.

pɔla [pòlà] *v.* to be fat • nññ níhíëtññá pɔlá kààlìj. My senior is fatter than me.

pɔlli [póllí] *n.* fat • à nihápɔlíè fí hámà múnáā wāāwā. All those ten fat women came. *ant:* badaawise *pl. polie.*

pɔmpí [pómpì] *n.* hand pump, water pump. (ultm. English <pump>). *pl. pɔmpisa.*

pɔmpivigii [pómpivigü] *lit.* pump-move.up.and.down *n.* borehole. (partly ultm. English <pump>).

pɔntøle [póntøliè] *n.* spleen.

pɔntɔrɔtñá [póntɔrɔtñá] *n.* type of gourd seed. *pl. pɔntɔrɔtñása.*

pɔntṣa [póntṣà] *n.* puncture in tyre. (ultm. English <puncture>).

pɔŋ [póñ] *n.* pound, introduced in BWA currency. (ultm. English <pound>).

pɔtì [pótí] *v.* to damage a container or a head to its non-functioning, to crush-and-spoil • tñj júō bìà, à nñññðòrvíj kàá pɔtì. Stop throwing stones, the drinking water pot will be damaged. à lññññ zñj ù pñúù pɔtì. The car crushed his head.

prega [pérégà] *n.* iron castanets, finger bell. *pl. pregasa.*

¹prñj [prñj] *n.* type of Mahogany (*Khaya senegalensis*). *pl. prima.*

²prñj [prñj] *n.* type of fish. *pl. prima.*

¹pu [pú] *v.* 1 to cover, as in covering a drum with a skin • ɳý pú ɳñññ bìn-tífrà. I am going to cover my drum. 2 to lie on stomach • pú i kintñðà-líí ní. Lie on your stomach in your bed.

²pu [pú] *v.* to drink water straight from stream • má pú nññ níj ká já kààlì. Drink from the stream then we go.

pugo [pùgò] *v.* to pant, to breathe rapidly in short gasps, as after exertion • jñññíè i hiësí kàà púgò

kéj? Why are you panting like this?

pugo [pùgò] (*var. puguli*) *v.* to nurse seeds • *hákúrí wàá pùgò tñímmåáá bìná háj.* Hakuri will not nurse pepper seeds this year.

puguli (*var. of pugo*)

pul [púl] *n.* type of river grass. *pl. pul.*

pulisi [pùlìsì] *v.* to cool down, to dilute by pouring in cold water • *pùlisi níti tìè ii báál s5.* Cool down the hot water for your husband to bath.

pumii [púmii] *n.* 1 hiding • *à nàj-kpàñhíé púmii núúnì géemtúmà wà kín kpágóó.* Because of the hiding of the experienced hunter, the rangers could not catch him. 2 incubation • *zál púmii há wà télé.* The incubation period has not started yet. *pl. pumie.*

pumo [púmó] *v. cf: sogoli* 1 to hide by squatting or getting down to the ground • *ṇ ná à bòòmáníí rá à tòù púmó.* When I saw the leopard I hid. 2 to sit on eggs for incubation • *à záál kàà púmó ḵò hálá ní.* The fowl sits on its eggs to hatch.

pumpuniina [pùmpúnìñà] *n.* stomach. *pl. pumpuniinasa.*

puoli [pùòli] *v.* to be thin, to be watery • *à kùbíí púólíó.* The porridge is thin.

puoti [púótí] *v.* 1 to report, to tell others about one's situation, to let others know • *zìèŋ káálí à lágámíí*

bár rá à wà púótí tiè à tóó nára mūj. Zieng went to the meeting and came to report to the people of the community. 2 to confess witchcraft action • *à báál púótíó dí wáá kpós à bié.* The man confessed that he killed the child.

pupu [púpù] *n.* motorbike. [*old-fash.*] *pl. pupuso.*

pupuree [púpùréé] *n.* cowpea aphid (*Aphis craccivora*). *pl. púpùresó.*

pur [púr:] *cf: hōj* *n.* farmers' and hunters' bag, originally made out of skin, may refer to any bag *syn: 1løga¹.* *pl. puro.*

puro [pùrò] *v.* to untie • *᷇ púró à bòòñ ná.* She untied the goat. *ant: vɔwa¹; lomo¹*

purusi [púrúsí] *v.* to mash, to pound lightly • *púrúsí kpááj dō váà óó dí.* Mash some yams for the dog to eat.

pusi [pùsì] *v.* 1 to meet, to reach or to join someone • *dì válà àkà pú-súú.* Walk and get to her. 2 to tell someone to keep an item or money given or returned politely by the giver, and owned and refused by the recipient • *kàlá, pùsì à mòlibié tíj ᴗ kà tñímí kēj.* Kala, keep the money I lent you.

puuri [púúrí] *v.* to reduce in quantity or in height • *à kóvííñðǻ múj nō púúrijé.* The rim of the t.z. pot has been reduced by being chipped over and over.

pv [pó] *v.* to spit • *pó tā.* Spit it out. *ᵻ wáá kín pó mūŋtò̄sá nññ dià nī.* You cannot spit in my room.

pôâ [pôâ] *v.* to be rotten • *bóntí à nà-miâ, àwíé lèi ḵ kâá pôâ.* Share the meat, if not it will rot.

pval [pôál] *n.* liver. *pl. pvalsá.*

pôipôř [pôipôř] *ideo.* stinky, of a bad smell • *᷊ sô̄rì kinkán nâ pôipôř.* It smells too bad.

pôla [pôlá] *cf.* *tôla* *v.* to be white • *nñ nââtôwá wâ bî pôlâ.* My shoes are not white anymore. [Mo, Ka, Gu].

pôlapôla [pôlápôlá] *ideo.* pointed, sharp • *hêmbíí nôâ dô pôlápôlá kâá-lí kisié nôâ.* The tip of a nail is more pointed than the tip of a knife.

pôlpôl [pôlpôl] *ideo.* high water pressure or flow caused by rain • *dúój wââwâ, à kùogôj dì pâlâ pôlpôlpôl.* The rain came so the river at the farm overflowed.

pôlzimbal [pôlzimbál] *n.* Ross's Turaco, type of bird (*Musophaga rossae*). *pl. pôlzimbala.*

pômma [pômmá] *cf.* *fôä* *cf.* *tôla* *cf.* *peupeu* *n.* white • *᷊ bô̄ná müj nâ jáá ápôlônsá.* All the goats are white. *bôléní jáá tfâkâlpôlônsá rá.* People from Bulenga are white Chakali. *pômmá péùpêù.* Very or pure white. *jâ kpágâ gâpômmá rá, ḵ jáá tôlâs nñj péópéó.* We have a

white cloth, it is white, very white.
pl. pôlvnsa.

pôna (*var. of dandapôsa*)

pôntí [pôntí] *v.* to be squashed by stepping on or running over • *᷊ lôz-lí násí zâäl pôntí tiwîi nî.* The car drove over a fowl, it was squashed on the road.

pônj [pônj] *n.* 1 hair. 2 feather. *pl. pôna.*

pôoda [pôódâ] *n.* cosmetic powder. (ultm. English <powder>).

pôoga [pôögá] *n.* hernia.

pôogi [pôögì] *v.* to not be self-sufficient, still immature or juvenile, and in need of care-giving • *᷊ bié háj há pôogijêô.* This child is still in need of support.

pôrôsi [pôrôsí] *v.* to make a derogatory sound with the lips • *wôsá nôâ wâá kín pôrôsi.* Wusa is unable to make those derogatory sounds with the lips.

¹**pôti** [pôti] *n.* to make a mistake, to deviate from a normal procedure • *᷊ ñménâ sîgì rê kâ pôti àmôô lááj.* When I sang Sigu I deviated and Amoa took over.

²**pôti** [pôtí] *v.* to spread a message about the death of someone • *tim-pântié tfâkâléé kpá à dì pôtí lú-hò.* The Chakali use talking drums to spread the news of a death.

R

ra [ra] (*var. re, ro, ³na, ne, no, la, lo, le, ¹wo*) *foc.* focus particle • *wojò kpágá gèrègá rá.* Wojo has a sickness.

re (*var. of ra*)

ro (*var. of ra*)

røbagalan [røbàgàlàn] *n.* large plastic bottle, reused oil container typi-

cally used for fuel. (ultm. English <*rubber gallon*>).

røbakatasa [røbàkàtásà] *lit.* rubber-bowl *cf:* *tasa* *n.* plastic bowl. (partly ultm. English <*rubber*>).

røbarøba [røbàrøbà] *n.* light, plastic covered motorbike. (Waali <*røbarøba*>).

S

saa [sàà] *v.* to prepare or cook, Gh. Eng. stir, porridge, or t.z. • *sàà kóó já dí.* Prepare t.z. so we can eat.

sãã [sãã] *n.* axe. *pl. sããna.*

2sãã [sãã] *v. cf: mlimi* 1 to carve, to sharpen • à *sããrá sãã tutó ró.* The carver carved a mortar. 2 to drive a car or a motorbike, to row a boat • ï wà *zímá lóólì sããñ.* I do not know how to drive a car. 3 to build • *bà tñf káá sãã dià rã.* Tomorrow they will build a house.

saabii [sáábìì] *n.* shaggy rat (*Dasyurus (incomitus or rufulus)*). *pl. saabie.*

sããdiilii [sããdílìì] *n.* type of sharp hoe for carving. *pl. sããdiilee.*

sããgbulie [sããgbùlié] *n.* type of hoe which functions as an axe to dig tree stumps or termites. *pl. sããgbuluso.*

saakir [sáákìr] [sáákìrì] *n.* bicycle. (ultm. English). *pl. saakirma.*

saal [sààl] *n.* 1 building, may refer as well to a community as a whole, involving everyone • *dùsiè sããl mùñ nãã bá káá pòmpì zóngòrò-só lúlíí.* They will spray chemicals against mosquitoes in the whole of Dicie. *mòtigù sããl mùñ wà káálí nòdígfmánjá tómá.* Not all the Motigu people attended the communal work. *tsítfá dià sáál tin wà kpégé.* The teacher's building is not strong. 2. *pl. saal.*

sããní [sããní] *v.* to play, to joke among *nasããñ*, playmate • *já káá kìn sããní dñjá rà.* We can joke with each other. *dàbáábá wàá kìn sããní tfákáléé.* The Dagaaba people are not playmates to the Chakali people.

saari [sáárfí] *v.* to slip, to be slippery • *dúóñ wāāwāō tìwíí dì sáárfí.* The rain came, the road is slippery.

saasi [sáásí] *v.* to grind in order to obtain paste, e.g. groundnut

and shea • à bíf háj wáá kín sáá-sí nõõ. This stone cannot grind to make paste.

sāātʃɔŋ [sāātʃɔŋ] *n.* adze, type of very sharp hoe used for carving the inside of a mortar or a drum.

sabaan [sábáán] *n.* flat house roof top. *pl. sabaama.*

safibii [sáfibii] *cf:* **gborobii** *n.* key. (Akan <*safē*, *safōwá*>).

safokala [sáfókàlà] *nprop.* shrine of Bulenga village.

saga [sàyà] *v.* *cf:* **tʃua**; **suguli**; **tɔŋa**
1 to sit on, to be on, to lie on top of • à bíf ságá à kór juú nī. The stone is on the bench. 2 to fall on, e.g. responsibility, blame • à sòmbój káá ságā ìì nī. The blame will fall on you.

sal [sál] *n.* flat roof. *pl. salla.*

saleŋgojo [sàléŋgònjà] *n.* type of praying mantis (*Mantidae*). *pl. sa-leŋgojoso.*

salij [sálíŋ] *n.* gold. *pl. salima.*

¹**sama** [sàmà] *v.* to wash body parts • sàmà ìì síé àní ìì bárá múŋj. Wash your face and your body.

²**sama** [sàmà] *v.* to commit adultery • ìì sámáõ. You committed adultery. dì lúhó wā kpø, bà jáà sámà kíjkáj. Whenever there is a funeral, they commit adultery.

sambalkuso [sámbálkùsò] *n.* type of grass (*Rottboellia cochinchinensis*). *pl. sambalkuso.*

sambalnaja [sámbáljnàjá] *n.* type of grass (*Rottboellia exaltata*). *pl. sambalnaja.*

samkpajtuluju [sáñkpájtlùñjù] *n.* type of hamerkop, type of bird (*Scopus umbretta*). *pl. sañkpajtu-lujuso.*

sampentie [sámpéntié] *cf:* **jolo** *n.* farming and gardening with raised beds. [Gu].

sampil [sámpíl] *n.* wooden tool used to beat a surface in order to compact it. *pl. sampila.*

sanduso (*var. of digntuo*)

sankara [sáñkárá] *n.* night *synt: tebin; baratʃgɔv*. (Vagla, Tam-pulma <*sajkara* ‘dead of night’).

sanlare [sànlárè] *n.* child of a previous relation adopted by the new husband. *pl. sanlaresa.*

sansanbie [sànsànbìé] *n.* a child whose father cannot be identified due to the mother having several partners. *pl. sansanbise.*

sansandugulii [sànsàndùgùlìi] *n.* type of caterpillar. *pl. san-sandugulee.*

sansandugulibummo [sànsàndùgúlííbúmmò] *n.* type of caterpillar.

sansandugulihjhola [sànsàndùgúlí hjhòlá] *n.* type of caterpillar.

sansanduguliinier [sànsàndùgúlíi níéř:] *n.* type of caterpillar.

sansanna [sànsánná] *n.* prostitution • sànsánná wáá tūò dùsèè nī. There

is no prostitution in Dicie. (Waali <*sènsénnâ*). *pl. sansannasa*.

sanziŋ [sànzíŋ] *n.* ladder. *pl. sanzisa*.

saŋ [sánj] *n.* crested porcupine (*Hystrix cristata*). *pl. sama*.

¹**saŋja** [sánjá] *v.* 1 to sit • à báál sáŋjà à kór ní. The man sat on the chair. 2 to settle • bà sáŋjà mòtigù háglíf ní. They settled and lived in Motigu.

²**saŋja** [sánjá] *n.* time, period, moment, occasion • sáŋjá tìn ní, dùùsiè níí wíé fí bōmāñ. In those days, water used to be hard to get by in Dicie. jáwà sáŋjá tīŋ, já fiì ómà níhiɛsā wà. During our time, we feared the elders. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*saa'a*>).

saŋja lie (*var. of saŋja weŋ*)

saŋja weŋ [séŋwéŋ] (*var. saŋja lie*) interrog. when • séŋwéŋ i kà wàà? When did you come?

saŋjasí [sánjáší] *lit.* to sit many times *v.* in the process of taking a wife, to let the woman stay at the man's house for a week • báà sáŋjásí à hááŋfólfí rá. They are preparing the new wife.

saŋgbajduglee [sáŋgbáŋdúgúlèè] *n.* type of hamerkop, type of bird (*Scopus umbretta*). *pl. saŋgbajduglese*.

saŋgbena [sáŋgbéná] *n.* craw-craw.

saŋgbereŋma [sàŋgbèrèmà] *n.* yaws. (Waali <*sangurima*>).

saŋgbonj [sàŋgbòj] *n.* Purple Heron, type of bird (*Ardea purpurea*). *pl. saŋgbonno*.

sàŋkumsoŋa [sâŋkùmsóná] *cf:* tolipaatsag *n.* fresh leaves of young baobab which does not bear fruit. *pl. sàŋkumsoŋa*.

saŋkpantuluŋ [sàŋkpàntúlúŋ] *n.* type of tree. *pl. saŋkpantulumo*.

saŋkpantzigil [sâŋkpáŋzýfl:] *n.* beauty spot or mole. *pl. saŋkpantzigila*.

saŋjammmi [sánjámammí] *n.* cut of meat located at the back of a porcupine.

saŋpoŋ [sánjpóŋ] *n.* porcupine quills. *pl. saŋpoṇa*.

sapete [sàpétè] *n.* ceiling of a traditional house. *pl. sapetese*.

sapuhíẽ [sàpúhíè] *n.* pouched rat, giant rat (*Cricetomys gambianus*). *pl. sapunso*.

sar [sár] *cf:* kantsaŋgulomo *n.* gourd seed, not peeled. *pl. sara*.

sarabii [sárábíí] *n.* gourd seed, kernel. *pl. sarabie*.

sásara [sásáár] *n.* 1 carver. 2 vehicle driver. *pl. sásara*.

sasibii [sásibíí] *n.* type of grinding stone used in the making of shea butter. *pl. sasibia*.

saŋ [sàó] *n.* flour or powder.

sel [sél:] *n.* animal. *pl. sele*.

selekpoŋ [sélékpóŋ] *cf:* siŋwaasi *(var. luhokvɔrni)* *n.* funeral event

taking place on the fourth day of a second funeral where animals are killed and meat is shared among relatives of the deceased.

selemente [sèléméntè] *n.* cement. (ultm. English).

selzenj [sèzèn̄] *lit.* animal-big *n.* elephant *synt:* bòla; neñtina . *pl.* **sezeneē**.

sepambi [sépāmbì] *cf:* taøgara *n.* chickenpox. (Gonja).

sejsegelie [séjsegéliè] *n.* play activities for children including chasing, wrestling, singing, among others.

seweree [sèwèrèé] *n.* pure or unused • à nàmíá wá jāā nàysèwèrèé, bà wà kórigijé. The meat cannot be consumed, it has not been slaughtered properly. wàà jáwà kínlàréé mùŋ wà jāā kínsèwèrìsé. The clothing at the Wa market are all second-hand. *pl.* **sewerese**.

1sel [sél] *n.* wood shaving. *pl.* **selá**.

2sel [sél] *n.* herbal medicine for treating suspected leprosy. *pl.* **selá**.

sellí [sèlli] *v.* to reduce by sharpening, or cut with a razor • sèlli né-bípètìē tièŋ. Cut my fingernails.

señebii [séñébii] *n.* second layer of roofing structure. *pl.* **señebie**.

sereka [sérékà] *n.* voluntary alms, gift. (ultm. Arabic <*sadaka*>).

setia [sètià] *n.* steering wheel of a car or handle bar of a bicycle or motorbike. (ultm. English <*steer*>).

sev [sèóʷ] *n.* death.

1sèwa [séwá] *v.* to write • *níkáná wàá kin séwá.* Many people cannot write. (ultm. Arabic <*safha* ‘paper’).

2sèwa [séwà] *n.* talisman in the form of a waistband. *pl.* **sewasa**.

3sèwa [sèwà] *v.* to hunt by searching in the bush • já ká sèwà bùùrè àà-rié. Let us go and hunt grasscutters.

sibihalii [síbhálfi] (*var.* siwihaln) *n.* fried bambara bean. *pl.* **sibiha-lie**.

sibii [síbii] (*var.* siwii) *n.* bambara bean (*Vigna subterranea*). *pl.* **sibia**.

sidi [sídí] *lit.* eye-eat *n.* disrespect • tí ñjmá sídí wié dí tíé níhíësá. Do not talk with disrespect to elders.

sie [síé] *n.* face. *pl.* **siese**.

sie viigi [síé viìgi] *cpx.v.* *lit.* eye turn 1 to faint • háglikíŋ dómá ñìñì mǎábié, ò síéviigì. A snake bit my brother, he fainted. 2 to get lost • tó-má káálí kùó, ò síé kà viìgi. Toma went to the farm and got lost.

sielii [síelií] *n.* perforated pot used for washing dawadawa seeds. *pl.* **sielie**.

sierebile (*var. of* sieribile)

sieribile [síéribilé] *cf:* kpäñjnii (*var.* sierebile) *n.* water-yam. (Waali).

sierie [síéríé] *n.* witness. (ultm. Arabic <*shahida*>).

sigaari [sigáári] *n.* cigarette. (ultm. English). *pl.* **sigaarise**.

¹sige [sìgè] *v.* to mark • *sìgè à dáá ñyñménà*. Mark the wood for me to cut it.

²sige [sìgè] *n.* unsure • *ñjáá sìgè rē à bisé wááí wíé*. I am not sure about the children's coming.

sigi (*var. of sigu*)

sigii [sìgìi] *n.* suffering, misery • *ñjñ sìgìi gáálíó*. My suffering is abundant. *ií bájòbrá tíé ñ dí dí sìgìi hárj*. Because of your laziness, I am suffering.

sigisi [sìgìsì] *v.* to catch breath, as in crying • *à hááj wíi pétùù à káá sìgisi*. The woman finished crying and was catching her breath.

sigitaa (*var. of sigu*)

sigu [sìgù] *cf:* sigmaa (*var. sigitaa, sigi*) *nprop.* alternate language used in connection with funeral dirge and ancestors praise.

¹sii [síí] *n.* 1 eye. 2 sprout • *ñámmí-síí*. Maize sprout or stem. 3 greedy • *ò kpágá síí kínkán nā*. He is very greedy. *pl. sie*.

²sii [síí] *v.* 1 to raise • *síí tñíjá*. Get up and stand. 2 to relocate by changing settlement or farmland • *bá fí-rán nā ñ síí kúò fñlíf*. They forced me to move, so I went to create a new farm. 3 to grow • *ñj mídúlïë tñj sííwóú*. The guinea corn I sowed has grown.

³sii [síí] *n.* dance performed by men, especially by Tampulma, hardly seen today.

⁴sii [síí] *n.* appearance, type, or sort

- *síí bááj ká jääō?* What type is it? *gärwéj síí ì kàà búúré à gátá múní ní?* Which type of cloth do you like among all the cloths? *pl. sie*.

sii baraga [síí bárágà] *n.* inability to sleep • *síí bárágà kpágán nà*. I cannot sleep.

sii bire [síí bírè] *lit.* eye black *v.* to be dizzy • *ññ síé káá bírè dí ñ noðá nõðásá*. I will be dizzy if I smoke.

siibii [sííbíí] *n.* eyeball. *pl. siibie*.

siidañja [síídáñja] *cf:* dañji sie *n.* entertainment.

siidi [síídì] *n.* cedi, current Ghanaian currency, divided into 100 pesewas. (Akan <*sedi* 'cowrie shell').

siikojo [sííkónjò] *n.* eyebrow. *pl. siikojo*.

siilalla [sííllállà] *n.* knowledgeable person *ant: genii*. *pl. siilallasa*.

siinaara [síínáárà] *n.* soothsayer *syn: vovota*.

siinii [sííníí] *n.* tear. *pl. siinuita*.

siinomatima [síínómátiíñá] *lit.* eye-hot-owner *n.* fearless and careless person, also a polite way to refer to a mad person. *pl. siinomatoma*.

siipvñ [síípóñ] *n.* eyelash. *pl. siipvñna*.

siipvñwile [síípóñwilé] *n.* entropion, a condition in which the eyelid rotates inward, causing abrasions on the cornea of the eye.

siitma [síítífná] *cf: nekpeg* *n.* miserliness, stinginess • *ìjáá siitfná rā ká iŋ bérì wà dó kékìj*. You are stingy, unlike my brother. *ant: nibuwerii siitøj* [síítøj] *n.* eyelid. *pl. siitøna*. **sikiri** [síkírì] *n.* sugar. (Akan/Ga, ultm. English <*sikyiri/sikli*>).

silter [sílíér] *n.* furtive glance, manner of covertly looking at somebody from the corner of the eye • *ṇ kà tṣíjà ḥ diànñá ní, bánié kpá sílíér rá dí pínéj nē*. I was standing at my door and some people looked at me covertly from the corner of their eye. *pl. siltera*.

silogto [sílógtò] *n.* eye discharge. *pl. silogto*.

simisi [símísí] *v.* to take pity on • *ṇ símísí i ní bìrgì àká i wà zímá*. I pitied you for a long time but you did not know.

simøj [símój] *lit.* eye-vagina *n.* caruncle, inner corner of the eye (*lacrinal caruncle*). *pl. simøna*. **sinahã** [sínahâ] *n.* extra-natural visual power.

sinsige [sínsígè] *n.* throat spasm • *sínsígè kà jáá à bié*. The child has throat spasms.

sipumme (*var. of gbentagasi*)

singeta [síngétà] *n.* type of yam. *pl. singetasa*.

siŋsigirii [síŋsígíríí] *n.* type of hyena. *pl. siŋsigiree*.

siri [sírì] *n.* ready, looking forward to, anxious • *ṇ jáá sírì rē dí ý káálì*

dùùsié. I'm anxious to go to Ducie. (Hausa <*siri* 'ready').

sisrama [sísisàmà] *lit.* eye-red *n.* seriousness. *pl. sisransa*.

siwihaln (*var. of sibihaln*)

siwii (*var. of sibii*)

siwila [síwíflá] *n.* conjunctivitis.

sia [síá] (*var. ¹síe*) *n.* teasing, mocking, imitating in a way to make fun of someone • *à báál kàà jáá ùù bísé sìá rā*. The man makes fun of his children. *ìì sìá tíé bááj kpágay*. Your teasing makes me angry. *ṇṇ tṣená jáá jáá nárá sié rā*. My friend has been mocking people.

síā [síà] (*var. síē*) *v.* to respond to a call, to pay attention to • *ɔ̄ síá-wōō*. She responded. *ṇ síā ɔ̄ɔ̄ jíríí tín nà*. I responded to his call.

síama [síàmá] *n.* *cf:* **bii**; **síari** *cf:* **tsúitʃū** 1 red • *kíŋ kà síárl míú-míú, wáá wíí jáá kínsíàmá*. When something is very red, this thing is (called) red. 2 ripe (be) • *mán-gòsiànsá sú jāwá*. There are many ripe mangoes at the market. *ánsíà-má wá bì tòò sájà hájì*. There is no more ripe ebony fruit at this time. *pl. siansa*.

síani [síání] *cf:* **mora** *v.* to tell a proverb or story • *tébín hàn ní kàá síání sìansá wà*. Tonight I will tell proverbs.

síaniā [síáníā] *n.* proverb. *pl. sìàn-sá*.

síari [síàri] *v.* *cf:* **bii**; **síama** 1 to be red, reddish • *à táálá síáriōō*. The

clouds have turned reddish. 2 to be ripe, e.g. paw-paw, pepper, mango, tomato, and *siŋkpilii* • *tiè à tfélié siári*. Let the tomatoes be ripe.

sie (var. of **sia**)

sie [sìè] (var. **nansiehn**) *v.* for fresh meat, to have a substandard quality, with no blood content, a lightweight and watery • *sèlgárigíí nàmìá káá siè*. The meat of sick animal has a substandard quality. à *nàὸnámìá síewáá*. The cow meat has a substandard quality.

siẽ (var. of **sifá**)

siebii [sìèbíi] *cf:* **embeli** *n.* butchered wing of a bird or a fowl. *pl.* **siebie**.

sifra [sífrá] *n.* second month. (Waali <*sífrá*>).

sig [síg] *n.* cowpea. *pl.* **siga**.

sigera [sìgərà] *n.* type of climber (*Rhigoicarya racemifera*). *pl.* **sigerasa**.

siggongo [sìg̃góngó] *n.* cooked bean with membrane, plucked early before harvest.

sigmaa [sígmàá] *cf:* **sigu** *n.* funeral tradition deploying masquerade. *pl.* **sigmaasa**.

sigmaazimbie [sígmààzímbié] *n.* type of bird. *pl.* **sigmaazimbise**.

sigmawiilii [sígmàwìllíi] *n.* bull-roarer *syn:* **dendilhřesi;** **tebinsig-maa**.

sigpaatjag [sìg̃pààtʃák] *n.* fresh bean leaf *syn:* **swosa** . *pl.* **sigapaa-tjaga**.

sigpømma [sìg̃pømmá] *n.* white bean.

sigsıama [sìg̃sìàmá] *n.* red bean.

sigbummo [sìg̃búmmò] *n.* black bean.

sílli [síllí] *v.* to strip off fibrous bark • *síllí bòk wà ttéj ñ vówà kpáá-má*. Strip off some fiber for me to tie yams together.

siimaa [sìimáà] *cf:* **kindiilii** *n.* food. (Waali). *pl.* **siímsà**.

siimaadìa [sìimáádià] *n.* food storage room.

síla [sílà] *v.* to lay one's head on something • *sílà kàpùtì nī*. Lay your head on the pillow.

síma [símá] *n.* bamboo. *pl.* **simasa**.

simbötii [sím'bótíi] *n.* third day of second funeral where the ground malt is boiled.

sína [sìnà] *v.* to soak • *kpá à mìá sínà*. Take the guinea corn and soak it.

sinløg [sínløg] *n.* location where men repair the ritual artefacts and dress for performing *sigmaa* • *bí-ná mìy bá já kààlì sínłøg rà*. Every year they go to the place where they make and repair the costumes.

sinløg [sínløg] (*Mo.* var. **sinløg**) *n.* vomit and bile • *òò tíásé sónløg rā*. She is vomiting a yellowish substance.

sínpøäi [sín'þøäí] *n.* fifth day of a second funeral.

sintøg (var. of **tøg**)

smtsgv (*var. of tɔgi*)

sinj [sìnj] *n.* alcoholic drink, Gh. Eng. pito. *pl. sinna.*

sinjbiilii [sìmbìilii] *n.* fermented pito.

sinjbotti [sìnbōtī] *n.* first boiling of the malt in pito preparation.

sinjböl [sìmböł] *cf.* **sinjsama;** **sinjhūor;** **sinjtsaara** *n.* remaining of *sinjtsaara*, after a night in its container, much sweeter than other *pitos*.

sinjgilingi [sìnggìlìŋgí] *n.* crazy chick disease, also used to describe dizziness among human (*Encephalomalacia*).

sinjgbegliŋj [sìngbèyélíŋj] *n.* chameleon (*Chamaeleonidae fam.*). *pl. sinjgbegliŋjsa.*

sinjgbegliŋnebie [sìngbèyélíŋnēbié] *lit.* chameleon-fingers *n.* type of grass whose tip resembles the chameleon's front legs. *pl. sinjgbegliŋnebie.*

sinjhūor [sìnhūòř] *cf.* **sinjböl;** **sinjsama;** **sinjtsaara** *n.* pito served before fermentation.

sinjkpal [sìnjkpàł] *n.* not wearing beads on the waist • *ø kpágá sijkpál lā.* She does not wear beads on her waist.

sinjkpilii [sìnjkpìlìi] *n.* type of tree (*Copaisera salikouna*). *pl. sinjkpile.*

sinjvshā [sìnjvshá] *n.* drinking habit, alcoholism.

sinjpømma [sìmpømmá] *cf.* **kpor** *n.* palm wine.

sinjsagal [sínsáyál] *n.* 1 descending position among siblings • *øø sín-ságál bútorò jááj̄.* After him, I am the third. 2 remaining • *ịj kpàän-dùgó tsé túṣù àní sín-ságál kálá pé nī.* I have a thousand and something yam seedlings left with Kala.

sinjsama [sínsiàmá] *cf.* **sinjböl;** **sinjhūor;** **sinjtsaara** *n.* pito, local fermented drink brewed from guinea corn.

sinjtog [sìntók] *n.* pito pot • *à bőđđy tʃíágí nñà sìntógsá múj̄ nō.* The goat broke all my drinking pots. *pl. sinjtogsá.*

sinjtsaara [sìntjáará] *cf.* **sinjböl;** **sinjsama;** **sinjhūor** *n.* pito sieved after boiling the malt.

sinjtsaw [sìntjááč] *n.* type of tree (*Lannea acida*). *pl. sinjtsawa.*

sinjvii [sìnvìi] *n.* drinking pot made out of clay *syn:* ²**tog**. *pl. sinjviine.*

¹**sinjwaasii** [sìnjwáásíi] *n.* second boiling of the malt in pito preparation.

²**sinjwaasii** [sìnjwáásíi] *lit.* drink-pour.libation *cf.* **selekpwii** *n.* fourth day of a second funeral.

sira [sìrà] *v.* 1 to assemble, to meet together • *bàmùj̄ káálf wàá à kà sìrà.* They all went to Wa and met there. 2 to call for a confidential meeting • *bà sírá à bipòlíí rā,* *øø hääšbūūrà wié.* They called the young man for a confidential meet-

ing because of his habit of chasing women.

sisi [sisi] v. 1 to sharpen a blade • má ká sisi ññ kisié wá ttè. You should go and sharpen my knife for me. 2 to wash by brushing, with sponges or brush • niháññá má wá kpā ññ kóvíiné sisì. Women should come and wash my t.z. pots.

sisia [sisíè] n. Tamarind, type of tree (*Tamarindus indica*). pl. *sisisa*.

sitaani [sítáání] n. evil. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*shaidan*>).

sítɔɔ [sítɔɔ] n. store, shop. (ultm. English <*store*>).

sodža [sódžà] n. soldier. (ultm. English).

sogoli [sòyòlì] v. cf: **pumo** 1 to hide, to conceal from view, to disappear or hide behind • nibáálá mújì válà à búúríí, sògòlì. All the men are looking for you, hide. 2 to bury • bà há wá ságólí à lálí. They have not yet buried the corpse.

sokie [sòkìé] n. type of tree (*Abrus precatorius*). pl. *sokiete*.

¹**sol** [sól:] ideo. in the clear, to be without blame or debt • já ká biìsì à wíé rá, ñí líwáó sól. After our judgement, I was fully acquitted. já nòdígímájá párrí ní, hámónínná májá sól wá dí kàntímá. In our farming group, only the youngest did not owe anything.

²**sol** [sól] n. type of fish. pl. *solo*.

solibie [sòlíbìé] cf: **haglibie** n. type of ant. [Gu].

solisí [sólísí] v. to smooth • à kápén-tà sósísi à téébùl píú rò. The carpenter smoothens the top of the table.

soloŋsoloŋ [sólóŋsólóŋ] ideo. smooth • fúnà ò púpóná mújì tā ká ò dó sólóŋsólóŋ. Shave all his hair so his head is smooth. ant: **kɔgɔsɔg**

sontogo [söntògó] n. base element for supporting and holding still a big clay water container. pl. *sontogoso*.

sosolii [sòsólíí] n. slippery place found in the bush and on roads during the rainy season.

sɔ [sò] v. to wash one's body • i kàá sò nñ rää? Will you bath?

sɔ duɔŋ [sò dùòn] lit. bath rain cf: **duoŋsɔi** v. to receive mystic protection against lightning • i sò dùón nòð? Have you taken the lightning initiation?

sòbummo [sòbúmmò] n. Black thorn, type of tree (*Acacia gourmaensis*). pl. *sɔbulunso*.

sòbɔl [sòbòl] n. shovel. (ultm. English).

sɔgilíi [sóyílíí] n. 1 person from Sawla. 2 lect of Sawla. pl. *sɔgilee*.

sɔglá [sòglá] nprop. Sawla, village situated between Tuosa and Motigu.

sɔgbíari [sógbíári] n. person who never attempted to dance. pl. *sɔgbíarisa*.

sɔkoro [sòkòrò] n. type of tree (*Clausena anisata*). pl. *sɔkoroso*.

səkəsii [səkəsíí] *n.* defilement, unhygienic nature • *kɔtiá wáá dì səkəsii siimáà*. Kotia does not eat unhygienic food. *ṇjì wàà bùúrè səkəsii hááñ sítj*. I do not want this woman's unhygienic pito. (Waali < *səkəhii*).

səmporee [sómpòréé] *n.* type of frog. *pl. səmporesa*.

səmpɔrlilese [sómpɔrlilèsè] *lit.* frog-swallow *n.* Egg-eating snake (*Dasypeltis scabra*). *pl. səmpɔrlilesise*.

sənñé [sònñé] *n.* 1 fever, health condition as a result of cold weather. 2 malaria.

sənna [sónná] *n.* lover. *pl. sənna*.

səntʃøga [sònñtʃøgá] *lit.* name-spoil *n.* defamation, the act of tarnishing somebody's image.

səntʃøgatiina [sònñtʃøgátiíná] *n.* defamer.

¹**søŋ** [sój] *n.* (var. *søsøŋ*) 1 cool, cold • *niñsøŋ káá nìññój ì dì bùúrè?* Do you want cool or hot water? 2 fresh or wet • *kùórù kùó kpáámá wá bī kpágà pààtfáksóná*. The yams at the chief's farm do not have fresh leaves anymore. *dàásóná wàá kiŋ móñí dìŋ*. Wet wood cannot catch fire. *pl. səna*.

²**søŋ** [sój] *n.* name. *pl. səna*.

søñbøŋ [sòmbøŋ] *lit.* name-bad *n.* reputation • *gáánà bisé fì láá søñbøŋ nàgírià nī, bà dóngní bá tà*. Ghanaians had a bad reputation in Nigeria, so they were deported.

søŋgięgii [sònñgíégíí] *n.* nickname. *pl. sɔŋgięgrie*.

søñtuna [sónñtíiná] *n.* generous and helpful person whose intention is to be known *ant:* *nekpeg*.

səpømma [sòpømmá] *n.* White thorn, type of tree (*Acacia dudgeoni*). *pl. səpslønsa*.

søra [sòrà] *v.* to leak with a narrow flow • *níí láá zíí sòrà à tūú diá*. Some water leaked along the wall inside the house.

sørii [sórií] *n.* type of frog.

søsiama [sòsiámá] *n.* Red thorn, type of tree (*Acacia hockii*). *pl. səsiansa*.

søsøŋ (var. of *søŋ*)

søta [sótá] *n.* 1 thorn. 2 type of tree. *pl. sərasa*.

su [sú] *v.* to be full, to fill • *à fàlá sújòò*. The calabash is full.

su hääŋ [sú hääŋ] *v.* to be inexperienced with men, to be a virgin • *ṇjì bìnñhääŋ wà zímá báàlsá, ù sú hääñ nà*. My daughter doesn't know men, she is still a virgin.

sug [sùg] *n.* type of tree (*Grewia lasiodiscus*). *pl. suguno*.

suglo [súgló] *nprop.* Suglo, person's name.

suguli [sùgùli] *v. cf:* *saga; tʃsa; tɔŋa* 1 to cook by boiling • *sùgùli kpááñ já dí*. Boil yam for us to eat. 2 to be on • *niññé ì kà súgúláá mààsè kékj*? Why are you putting them on top of each other like this? *hènáá*

súgúlí téébùl núú bāmbāān nī. A bowl is on the center of a table.

sukuu [súkúù] *n.* school. (ultm. English). *pl. sukuuso.*

sulee [súlēē] *n.* shilling (12 pence) of BWA currency, old ten-pesewa coin. (ultm. English, via Hausa).

sulumbie [súlùmbié] *cf:* lalìwie; nípjāñ *n.* orphan. [*Ka, Gu*].

sumbol [súmból] *n.* chimney, hole in the roof covered with a large flat stone. *pl. sumbolo.*

summe tuu [súmmè tùù] *cpx.v.* to be predisposed by God, requested to God • *bié viè kíslíí jáá nñ sùm-métúú ré.* Not giving birth to a child is my destiny. wíwéréé ò *súmmè liì kúòsó núú tùù.* She asked God for goodness.

sungoro [súngórò] *cf:* leŋ *n.* long pole with a hooked end designed to reach and catch dead branches and pull them down. *pl. sungoroso.*

sungruru [súngúrú] *cf:* tular; binihääñ *n.* young girl who can get married and has never given birth. [*Gu*]. (Mande). *pl. sun-gurunso.*

suo [sùò] *cf:* nəvəsuo *v.* to curse, to invoke misfortune upon • *dì i wàà jáá wíwíré ìì mäǟ käǟ sùò nòò̄ tíéí.* If you do not do well your mother will curse you.

suon [súón] *cf:* t̄suoñ *n.* Red Shea tree (*Vitellaria paradoxa*). *pl. suo-mo.*

suoñbeña [súómbéñà] *n.* type of tree, similar to the shea tree but without edible fruits. *pl. suombəñasa.*

suoñbigariga [súömbigárígá] *n.* kidney stones.

suoñbii [sùómbíí] *lit.* shea.nut-seed *n.* kidney. *pl. suoñbie.*

suoñdaawie [sùöndááwíé] *lit.* shea.nut-stick-small *n.* type of snake *syn:* pagimbii²; mäǟ-biewaatelepusiñ; dshäǟ . *pl. suoñ-daawise.*

surum [súrúm] *cf:* t̄serim *n.* silence, quietness • à tóó̄ mūñ jáá sú-rúm. The village is silent. má jáá sú-rúm. Be quiet. *ant:* t̄fíama¹ (Hausa <*shirū* ‘silence’).

susumma [súsúmmá] *n.* beggar. *pl. susummasa.*

susummana [súsúmmáná] *n.* helper. *pl. susummanasa.*

süū [sùú] *n.* Helmeted Guinea Fowl (*Numida meleagris*). *pl. sūūno.*

süūhal [sùuhál] *n.* guinea fowl egg. *pl. sùuhala.*

suuter [súútéř] *n.* leader. *pl. suu-tere.*

sva [sòá] *n.* relation of age mate • kí-pó wá jáā ñ̄ sòá. Kipo is not my age mate.

¹**sõȭā** [sõȭā] *v.* to weave • kpágáá sõȭā kälèŋ t̄t̄ēl. Kpaga wove a mat for you.

²**sõȭā** [sõȭā] *n.* sense of smell • há-dòmā wáá nõȭ sõȭā. Haduma cannot smell.

svagṛ [sòàgì] *v.* to pound lightly, in order to remove hard shell from grain or nut • ḥñ tṣúónó hóláó ḥà káá sòágì. My shea nuts are dry enough to pound them.

svamanziga [sòàmànzígá] *cf:* aŋbuluŋ *n.* fresh leaves of black berry, used in preparing a meal bearing the same name usually consumed in the morning.

svaní (*var. of svənī*)

sə̄asvər [sò̄ásvór] *cf:* garsə̄vər *n.* weaver. *pl.* sə̄asvəra.

svawalí [sòàwálíí] *n.* person of in same age group. *pl.* svawalee.

sō̄ēē (*var. of ſō̄ēē*)

svaga [sògà] *v.* to court, to seek another person's love or pay special attention to people to win their favour • jáá wàá kìn sògà hááñ. Poor people cannot court women. bá já sògà hááñá rá, à ná hádfíj kpà. They court women in order to select the right one to marry. kálá káá būrè ḥmááñjó rá, ká ḵ wà zímá háášōgíi. Kala loves Mangu, but he does not know how to court women. dùséélée káá sògà dàabàjtólúgú bá káálì dáámúj. People from Ducie go to court the people of the shrine since they wish to go to the initiation.

svgvli [só̄gō̄lí] *v.* to forget • ḥà só̄gō̄lí ḥñm̄ mòlèbíí tā dìà ní. I forgot my money in the house.

svl [só̄l:] *n.* *cf:* svmmāä *cf:* svṣkpulii *1* African locust bean tree, Gh. Eng.

dawadawa tree (*Parkia sp.*). *2* porridge made out of the locust bean. *pl.* svlla.

svlbii [sòlbíí] *n.* dawadawa seed *syn:* tʃíí. *pl.* svlbie.

svlimi [sòlímì] *cf:* svmmi *v.* to beg. [Ka, Ti, Tu].

svlnɔ̄j [sòlnòj] *n.* dawadawa fruit. *pl.* svlnɔ̄na.

svlsaw [sìsáò] *n.* *1* dawadawa flour. *2* yellowish.

svma [sòmà] *v.* to have luck • ḵ káálí ó ká làà ḵ mòlèbíé ká sómá wá tñjá ḵ ní, ḵ wà náá. He went to collect his money but he was unlucky, so he did not get it.

svmmāä [sòmmàä] *cf:* tʃíí *cf:* svl *n.* food flavoring, made out of fermented dried dawadawa seeds. *pl.* svmmāäsa.

svmmi [sòmmì] *v.* *cf:* svlimi *1* to borrow • ḵ súmmé ḥñm̄ pár rá. He borrowed my hoe. *2* to help, to assist • báwáá súmméjá sää jà diá. They helped us to build our house. *3* to beg • wàà ní níkáná káá súmmé. In Wa many people beg.

svmpøa [sòmpøà] *n.* three pence in BWA currency, old 2½ pesewa coin. (Akan).

svnkare [só̄nkáré] *nprop.* ninth month. (Waali <só̄nkáré>).

svnløg (*Mo. var. of svnløg*)

svṣkpulii [só̄ṣkpúlíí] *cf:* svl *n.* flower of the dawadawa tree. *pl.* svṣkpulee.

svøla [sø̃lā] *n.* locally woven cotton cloth. *pl. svølasa.*

svøni [sø̃nī] *v.* (*var. svani*) 1 to be cold • à kpāñj sø̃nijāñ. The yam is cold. 2 to be quiet, soft, low-toned or hushed • ñmá à wíé dí sø̃nī. Speak with softer voice. 3 to be happy • tññp bárá sø̃nijāñ. I am happy. 4 to be slow • ñ sø̃nijāñ à kíná séwñ ní. I am slow in writing the things. *ant:* ²laga 5 to be wet • mññ wiliñ tté ññn tágatá sø̃nī. My perspiration makes my shirt wet. *ant:* hølli

svøra [sø̃brá] *n.* scent or odor • à jí-néé sø̃brá wá wérē. The scent of the fish is not good.

svøri [sø̃rì] *v.* 1 to smell • ññ sø̃rí õv nññ, õv sø̃brá wá wírē. I smelled his mouth, its smell bad. à nññtitü kàà sø̃rí bùmbál púú rō. The rubbing pomade smells like the head of a he-goat. 2 to emit an unpleasant odor, to stink • ññ námíñ tñj kàà sø̃rì kññ kímpññ. Your meat stinks like something rotten.

svøsa [sø̃bsá] *n.* white bean leaf *syn: sigpaatfag*. *pl. svøsa.*

svøsanñ [sø̃bséññ] *n.* 1 stock of boiled bean leaves. 2 greenish colour. 3 Emerald snake (*Gastropyx smaragdina*). [Gu].

svøti [sø̃tì] *pl.v.* to die • já náalmà tñj kà júó báabàátù, bámùñ sútjé kàà-lí ká tñjéjá. Our grandfathers who fought Babatu, they all died and left

us behind.

svøv [sø̃v] (*var. ¹sø̃v*) 1 *n.* front *ant:* ^¹gantal¹. 2 *n.* precedent • ñ sø̃v tó-mà jáá bálle wā. I have two siblings older than me. 3 *reln.* front • wáá tñjøà à fálá sôõ ní. It lies at the front of the calabash. *pl. svøva.*

¹sø̃v (*var. of svøv*)

²sø̃v [sø̃v] *v.* to be quiet, to order for quietness, as used when a child is crying or when pacify a quarrel • tñj bùolññ, sø̃v ññ nññ, nárá káá tñjá dññ rō. Do not sing and be quiet, people are sleeping.

svøwa [sø̃wà] *v.* 1 to die • à náñkpáñj jññ à lúlíí ré àwíé ò wà sôwá. The hunter drank the medicine that is why he did not die. 2 to be ragged • à gär sôwáó. The cloth is ragged.

svøwakandikuro [sø̃wákándíkùrò] *lit.* die-and-I-become-chief *n.* type of parasitic plant. *pl. svøwakan-dikuroso.*

¹svøwí [sø̃wí] *n.* dying • ò sôwí bññ ní, nárá pílí dí wí. As he was dying, people started crying.

²svøwí [sø̃wí] *n.* corpse, not yet buried • já ká hírè sôwí bòá. Let us go and dig the grave for the corpse. *pl. svøwie.*

ʃø̃ɛ̃ɛ̃ [ʃø̃ɛ̃ɛ̃] (*var. sø̃ɛ̃ɛ̃*) *interj.* exclamation expressing a disrespectful attitude towards what is being said and the one saying it. (Ghsm <ʃñññ).

t

¹ta [tá] *v.* 1 to let free, let loose, leave, or abandon • *kpá ṣà nég tà*. Leave my hand (let me go). à *bééj tá ùù biè rē*. The goat abandoned its kids. 2 to initiate for burial specialization • *bàà tá à báálà pél ni*. They initiate the men for them to become burial specialists.

²ta [tá] *v.* to share a proverb • à *níhíé tā siènñé*. The elderly person shared proverbs.

³ta [tá] *v.* to exist • *bààj tà?* What is it? *áj tà?* Who is it?

ta døña [tá dónjà] *v.* to agree in the act of departing or taking leave • *já tá dñjā rā*. We have agreed and left each other. ḡ *ní ḡ hääj tá dñjā rā*. He and his wife divorced.

taa [táá] *n.* language. *pl. taata*.

taal [tál] *n.* cloud. *pl. taala*.

taali [táàlì] *v.* to drench and overflow, to contain too much liquid as what is required • *ní táálí ìì mûró ní, jàà ní bórò à káá máásè*. There is too much water in your rice, take some out and it will be fine.

taantuni [tántúni] *n.* stem borer caterpillar. (Waali). *pl. taantuni*.

tãññ [tááññ] *nprop.* Tangu, person's name.

¹taari [tààrì] *v.* cf: *gbvori*; *iiri* 1 to rush at or towards • ḡ *tááríjé kâàlì ḡ ká mânjōō rā bá kpágvó*. He rushed to beat him but they held him. 2 to

spin into a thread • ḡ *káá tààrì à gù-nó ró*. She will spin the cotton.

²taari [tààrì] *v.* to creep • *kawáá báàj tààrì kékj*. A pumpkin just crept like that. à *fála táárí télè à dâa râ*. The calabash creeps to the tree.

taarø [táárø] *n.* at all times, always • *táárø múnâä, ḷ já dâà dìà nî bâgábâgá*. At all times I sit in the house doing nothing. ḡ *válâ ḷ dìà-nôâ râ táárø*. She always passes in front of my door. *pl. taarøsa*.

taavii [táávii] *n.* tobacco pipe. *pl. taavise*.

taga [tàyà] *v.* to dip or touch with a finger in order to taste • *tágâ à disá dí nâ, à jiisá nôôwâôô?* Dip a finger in the soup to see, is the salt enough?

tagla [tàyəlá] *n.* ground, soil, sand; earth *syn: haglñ* . [*oldfash*].

taja [táájâ] *n.* catapult. (ultm. English <tyre>). *pl. taajasa*.

takatfuune [tàyàtfúúnè] *n.* measles. (Waali).

takta [tàyətâ] *n.* shirt. *pl. taktasa*.

tala [tâlâ] *v.* to stretch, to hand up to • *tâlâ ìì néj*. Stretch your hand.

talala [tâlâlâ] *ideo.* flat • à *téébùl púú dô këj tâlâlâ*. The table top is flat.

talimi [tâlîmì] *v.* to move with difficulty because of pain or malformation • *májá hâglífkñ dâa ḡ tfòâ*

dì tálímì. I hit a snake with a stick, it was lying and moving with difficulty.

¹tama [támá] *cntr. taŋ quant. small, few • támá finíi ḥ káá kàálòō.* He will be leaving in a moment. *támáā ḥ tʃélé.* A little more and he would have fallen.

²tama [támá] *v. to hammer metal lightly • támáá támà ii kísie-nñá.* Toma hammered your knife.

tamāā [támáā] *n. hope.*

tambø [támbø] *n. absorbent cloth material used as nappy syn: tṣaŋtſul.* (Waali). *pl. tambøsa.*

tamputie [tämpútíe] *n. malt that has been boiled, when strained results in smytſaara.*

tangarafø [tángàráfø] *n. telegraph.*

tantaanII [tántàànñI] (*var. tintaanII*) *n. earthworm. pl. tantaanæ.*

tantama [tántámá] *ideo. a little, Gh. Eng. small-small • jáá tómà tán-támá.* Let us work a little bit. *à báhié wà bráà ná tántámá múj.* The old man cannot see a little anymore. *òò nñá nñí rà tárítámá.* He drinks water slowly.

taŋ (*cntr var. tama*)

taŋkama [tánkámá] *n. show-off, a person who makes a vain display of himself.* (Hausa).

tapulsa [tápùløsá] *n. burnt wood or charcoal ash. pl. tapulsa.*

tara [tàrà] *v. 1 to support oneself in order to do something • lié i kà tà-*

rà, káá jää nñj? From where are you getting your support to be boasting like this? 2 to stand firmly on feet. (Waali < tare).

tarage [tärágè] *cf: tatì pl.v. to pull continuously, to stretch • ii táragé ñì nébú ré.* You pulled my finger. *à bő̄ñj wáá láà dí ï táragóó wàà díá.* The goat does not want me to drag it home. *à bő̄ñj wáá láá ï táragóó wàà díá.* The goat does not accept me pulling it to the house.

tasa [tásà] *cf: røbakatasa cf: katasa n. iron bowl, water basin. (ultm. Arabic, via Coast Portuguese <taça 'cup'). pl. tasasa.*

tasazeñ [tásázéj] *lit. bowl-big n. headpan, metal bowl or basin, used to carry construction material (e.g. sand, stones, etc) or water. pl. tasazene.*

tateñ (*var. of tetéñ*)

tatì [tátì] *cf: tarage v. to pull, to stretch, to suck out • ñì píná dó ñyméj bő̄ñj bágéná ní ï tátì wàà díá.* My father put a rope around a goat's neck, I pulled it to the house. *tátì à pàtùrúù áljkõrò pàtñígñi ní tíéj dó ïn móto ní.* Suck out fuel from the drum for me to put in my motorbike. *bèlifléé ták tñj ò já tátòò.* The language of Gurumbele; it pulls (stretches, lengthens).

taøgara [táøgàrà] *cf: sepambi n. chickenpox (Varicella).* (Waali <táøgàrà).

tawa [tàwà] *cf: tɔsi (var. ¹tɔwa) v. to*

inject, to prick or pierce slightly • *ṇwàá tāwā à hèmbíí, ḷ ́m̤b̤ñ*. I will not take the injection, it scares me.

te [té] *v.* to be early, to get up early
• *i téjòō.* You are early. *tfòòsá pisi*
òò báàl tìy té lâlâ à hâàñ dí ó sii duó
ní. Early the next morning the hus-
band woke up the wife from sleep.

tebin [tébín̩] *n.* night, approx. 18:00 onward up to dawn • *bàáŋ jà káá dì tébín ní?* What will we eat this evening? *synt:* baratʃɔ́go; sankara *pl.* *tebinse.*

tebinsigmaa [tébínsígmàá] *n.* night funeral performance, type of dirge usually associated with the bull-roarer *syn:* **sigmawiilii;** **dendil-hiësi**.

tebintīna [tébíntīnā] *n.* type of hyena *synt:* kpatakpalɛ .

teebul [téébùl] *n.* table. (ultm. English <table>). *pl.* **teebulso**.

¹tele [tèlè] v. to reach, to arrive at destination • já káálì sáŋjá télèō. Let's leave, the time has reached.

²**tele** [téle] *v.* to stand or lean against
 • à sànzítì télè zíé nī. The ladder leans against the wall. dáá télè kòzàà nī. A stick leans on a basket.

telegi [télégí] *pl.v.* to stand or lean against • *pàà à dààsá télégí à zíé ní.* Take the sticks and make them lean on the wall. *pàà à dààsá tñj kà télégì à zíé ní këj liì dé.* Take off the sticks that are leaning on the wall.

temii [témii] *cf. tii* (*Gu.* var. *tsemii*)
n. type of army ant. *pl.* *temiē*.

tempilie [témpilié] cf: tuolie *n.* type of cooking pot. [Gu].

tejé [tènjè] v. cf: **lóga** 1 to cut • **tfén-sí ré téjé** ḵò nāā. The zinc cut her foot. **ṇ ré téjé gbésà rā.** I am cutting off a chewing stick. 2 to take a picture • **jirà fótòdráábà** ó wá **tējēn fótò.** Call the photographer so he can come and take a picture of me. 3 to hinder, to stop • **lúhō lífí tfásíá à wà téjé** **ṇ tiwii** **ṇ wà káálí kùó.** A funeral came up in Chasia, it hindered me from going to the farm.

tejesi [tèñësi] *pl.v.* to cut off many or into pieces, to form mud bricks for construction • *iì téjésí à nà-mià ràà?* Did you cut the meat? *bà há wà téjésí à hàglíbié pëti.* They are not yet finish making the mud bricks.

teŋtən [téntéŋ] *n.* single, alone, only
• *kpā̄ñ dígimájá téŋtēŋ* ï ꝑ *kpàgà*. I
have one yam only.

teo (*var. of tou*)

tesí [tési] *v.* 1 to crack and remove shea nuts from the shell • *tsúónó* *ṇà dì tésí*. I am cracking and removing shea nuts. *syn:* *tṣagí* [*rare*]. 2 to hatch • *à zál tésiō*. The fowl has hatched. *sùú wàā kìn tésí ḵò há-lá*. A guinea fowl cannot hatch its eggs.

teteñse [tètèñsé] *n.* night blindness,
believed to be due to vitamin deficiency.

teu [tèú] *n.* warthog (*Phacochoerus africanus*). *pl. téte.*

teukaj [téùkáj] *n.* warthog ivory.
pl. teukaya.

téesi [téésì] *n.* test, examination.
(ultm. English *<test>*).

téhëë (*var. of tehëë*)

tehëë [tèhëë] (*var. tehëë*) *n.* oribi
(*Ourebia ourebi*). *pl. tehëësa.*

tekpagar (*var. of tækpagar*)

tél [tél] *n.* page or sheet • *lísí ñì búkù tél dígímájá tiëŋ.* Remove a sheet from your book and give it to me.
pl. tela.

tesiama [tèsiàmá] *n.* red-flanked duiker (*Cephalophus rufilatus*). *pl. tesiansta.*

tetëí [tètëí] (*var. tateí*) *n.* flintlock leather pad. *pl. tatëína.*

tibii [tíbíí] *n.* Akee tree seed. *pl. tibie.*

tie [tíé] *v. cf. tʃagamí* 1 to chew, Gh. Eng. to chop meat • *òò mååwié tíj dí à tiè nàmíá.* Her stepmother ate and chewed the meat. 2 to cheat or to swindle someone • *ñì hílá tíén nē à mólibíí bábontí nì.* My in-law cheated when money was shared.

tigiti [tígítì] *n.* ticket, in public transport or to register oneself as seller in a market. (ultm. English *<ticket>*).

tigsí [tiyìsì] *v.* to gather, to group in a uniform way • *dùséléé tfí káá tigsí dýjá rā à kòðrè lùsínnásá.* Tomorrow, the people of Ducie will gather and prepare the last funeral

rites. *súmméj tigisi kpòjkpòjnpàtfígá háj.* Help me to group and arrange these cassava leaves.

¹**tii** [tíí] *cf: temii* *n.* type of ant. [Mo].
pl. tie.

²**tii** [tíí] *n.* Akee tree (*Blighia sapida*).
pl. tise.

³**tii** [tíí] *v.* 1 to make a visible trace, such as a line or spot, to indicate a location • *kà tii bá tñj já káá sàå à díá.* Go mark where we will build the house. 2 to make a mark with medicine on body part or wall for protection • *làà lúlíí tii ñì émbélíwiíllí.* Take some medicine and mark you affected shoulder.

⁴**tii** [tíí] *n.* any hot drink, e.g. tea, coffee. (ultm. English *<tea>*). *pl. tiise.*

tiijagii [tíijágíí] *n.* type of bird. *pl. tiijagie.*

tiila [tíílá] *n.* sewing machine. (ultm. English *<tailor>*).

tiime [tiimè] *v.* to treat, to cure • *ò tímé ñì gárágá rá.* He cured my disease. (Waali *<tiim ‘medicine’*).

tiimuñ [tiimúñ] (*var. wijalii*) *n.* east. (Tampulma *<trenie muñ ‘land bottom’*).

tiine [tíiné] *v.* to insist • *níhësä ñjmá à wíé pétúú, ká bá hàmónà háá tñnē à wóymáhää.* The elders are finished with the matter but their children still insist.

tiijuu [tíijúù] (*var. witselii*) *n.* west. (Tampulma *<trenie juu ‘land head’*).

tiiri [tììrì] *v.* to manipulate and rub vigorously by pressing hard with one or more fingers and drag
• wà *tiiri* mì näǟtfóg *tíéj*, o *kpéj-yjò*. Come and rub my ankle, it is dislocated.

tiisa [tíísà] *n.* station. (ultm. English).

tiisaali [tíísáálí] *n.* 1 person from Tiisa. 2 lect of Tiisa. *pl.* *tiisaalee*.

tiise [tììsè] *v.* to help, to support • *tíiséj já párà kùó*. Help me cultivate a farm. *hámà kà zì péjèè áwáá zí jā tiisè háj*. These (two fingers) are then added, and they come to support this one (finger).

tiisi [tíísí] *cf:* *kɔtrí*; *naari* *v.* to grind, finer than *jaari* but more rough than *kɔtrí* • *kà tíísí sàó wàà já sáá kōó*. Go grind some flour and come back so we can prepare t.z.

tile [tilé] *n.* forehead. *pl.* *tilese*.

timpaanii [timpááníí] *n.* boiled bean cake dish made from bambara bean flour. (Hausa <*tùbá:ní:*>).

timpannii [timpànníí] *cf:* *timpan-wal* *n.* female talking drum, with the lowest pitch of the two. (partly Akan <*atumpan*>). *pl.* *timpannita*.

timpantii [timpántíí] *n.* talking drum beaten with curved sticks. *pl.* *timpantie*.

timpanwal [timpànwál] *cf:* *timpan-nii* *n.* male talking drum, with the highest pitch of the two. *pl.* *timpanwala*.

tindaana [tìndāānā] *cf:* *tɔstma* *n.* landlord. (Waali).

tinti [tíntí] *v.* to nag, to put pressure on or remind somebody to his or her irritation • ò *bíarí kàà tím-tíú dí* ò *jñá sít kinkán nà*. His brother reminds him about his excessive drinking to his irritation.

tintuolii [tíntùòlìi] (*var.* *tuntuolii*) *n.* African grey hornbill, type of bird (*Tockus nasutus*). *pl.* *tintuo-luso*.

tiŋ [tíŋ] *n.* spear. *pl.* *time*.

tisie [tìsié] *cf:* *kuzaa* *n.* woven basket with guinea corn stalks. [*Ka*, *Ti*, *Tu*].

titʃa (*var. of* *tʃitʃa*)

tiwii [tiwíí] *cf:* *munii* *n.* road. *pl.* *tiwie*.

tiwiibaglengeregie [tiwíibāŋlēŋgèrè gíè] *n.* type of lizard. *pl.* *tiwiibaglengeregise*.

tiwiitsaraga [tiwíítsárágà] *n.* junction. *pl.* *tiwiitsaragasa*.

tí [tí] *neg.* not • *tí káálíí*. Do not leave!

tíà [tíà] *n.* *cf:* *luo*; *løla* 1 pregnancy • *wáá dóó tñà*. He impregnated her. 2 foetus. *pl.* *tesa*.

tíε [tíè] *v.* 1 to give, to deliver • *kpá òò pár tìèò*. Give him his hoe. ñ *wá bì ñmá wílmùj tìè ññ jíná*. I won't tell anything to my father again. 2 to allow, to let • *tìè à níí nñmà*. Let the water be hot.

tiekpagar [tíékpáyáf] (var. te-kpagar) *n.* pregnant woman. *pl. tiekpagara.*

tiesí [tíésí] *cf. əgílì* *v.* to vomit • *nàntfòmá* i tiè à tíesí. It is bad meat you ate and vomited.

tiesié [tíésíé] *n.* vomit.

tiga [tigà] *v.* to rub hard by pressing on one place, to massage an area to relieve pain and encourage blood flow • *tigà nìti tilé dō, bà fórán bírá.* Rub my forehead, I have been stoned. òò màá tígá à biē tilé, àwíé òò wà bí òrà. The mother massaged the child's forehead so that it does not swallow.

tigimi [tìyími] (var. tirimi) *v.* to stamp on with feet • *kòsānáñ kpágá nàñkpāñj à ttigímí dō hág líf ní.* The buffalo caught the hunter and stamped on him.

tiglaa [tígláa] *n.* type of yam. *pl. tiglasa.*

tina [tìná] *n.* owner, person characterised by, or in possession of. *pl. tóma.*

tiisa [tíssáà] *nprop.* Tiisa village.

titaa [tíftáà] *n.* African Yellow Warbler, type of bird (*Chloropeta palustris*). *pl. titasa.*

til [tíl] *n.* sap, resin, gum from tree-bark. *pl. tila.*

tila [tílá] *quant.* minute, extremely small, tiny measure of something • *ṇ súmmé páànòò, à hááñ bááñ lógoó tfláá kékj títéj.* I begged for

bread, the woman just gave me a little. ḷì búúré i nőő tín ná tíláá kékj. I need just a bit of your cream.

timpitie [timpítíé] *cf. tojsi* *n.* from *kɔnmíñ*, guinea corn which has been cooked and brewed for *sijstama*, Gh. Eng. pito.

tina [tìnà] *v.* to lower, to form rain-threatening cloud • *sìi, já zóó díá dūój kàà tínà.* Raise up, we should go to the house because the clouds are forming rain. té káálíí, dúój kàà tínáñ. Do not go, the rain is threatening.

tináñ [tínáñ] *n.* cloud state, gathering of clouds.

tintaanii (var. of tantaanii)

tintaaraa [tíntááráá] *n.* woven smock used for battles or hunting, fortified with protective medicine, believed to be bullet-proof. *pl. tin-taarasa.*

tintin [tíntin] *n.* 1 self • à bisé zénjésíjéó bà kákì kíñ jìnè bà títinsá rá The children are old enough to take care of themselves iì bíérí dí ḷì kántsimá rá, òò tintin ná ḷì dí búúré dí ó wáá. Your brother owes me, I want him to come himself. 2 use to emphasise the person or thing being referred to • à kín tintin dósá ùù pé. The thing itself is with him. à sìnhááñ tintin wàà tòó. The woman in charge of the pito, she herself is not there. *pl. tintinsa.*

tij [tij] *art.* the • à báál tij té lálá òò hááñ dí óó síí dūó ní. The husband

woke the wife up early.

¹tījā [tījà] *v.* 1 to follow • *dí káá-lí làgálágá háj*, *dí à lèf i káá tījā mūj*. Go right away, if not you will follow us. 2 to obey • *zìàj kàà tījā dààbàñtólúgú ní, ñ síí ní rē*. Ziang is obeying the shrine Daabangtolugu, I witnessed it.

²tījā [tījà] *cf:* karifa *n.* responsibility • *híg tījá à kùò páríí*. Your responsibility is the weeding of the farm. *bátój tījá à vórg nífwáásíí*. Libation is the responsibility of Batong. *pl. tījasa*.

tīngbéhëë [tīngbéhëë] *n.* type of rope trap made of warthog hair to trap birds feeding on pepper plant. *pl. tīngbéhësa*.

tírmí (*var. of tīgimi*)

tísí [tísí] *v.* to be shallow • *à bòà wá tísíjé, ù lújòò*. The hole is not shallow, it is deep. *à gój tísíjé kínkān nà*. The river is too shallow. *ant: lujo*

títi [títi] *v.* to rub or massage with or without applying a liquid or oil • *wà títí nà fòòd, òò wíòò*. Come and massage my lower back, it is painful.

togo [tógò] *n.* smock with sleeves.

toguni [tógúní] (*var. tonjini*) *v.* to squat • *à diébié tógúní kàlèj ní*. The cat squats on the mat.

tokobii [tókóbíí] *n.* double-edged knife, sword. (Hausa <*takobi*>). *pl. tokobie*.

tokoro [tókóró] *cf:* dianñábøwie *n.* window. (Hausa <*tágá*>, *takwaro*).

tolibii [tòlibíí] *n.* baobab seed. *pl. tolibia*.

tolii [tòlií] *n.* baobab, type of tree (*Adansonia digitata*). *pl. tolee*.

tolipaatsag [tòlípààtják] *cf:* sãŋkum-sôna *n.* leaf of baobab. *pl. tolipaatsaga*.

tolög [tòlög] *n.* quiver, portable case for holding arrows. *pl. tolögsa*.

tomo [tòmó] *cf:* tṣuomonaatowa *n.* type of tree. *pl. tomoso*.

tonjini (*var. of toguni*)

toño [tònò] *v.* to take off, as a load on head or a pot off the fire • *kpàgà nà ní já tónò*. Hold the water container with me so we can put it down.

tonjsi [tònjsì] *v. cf:* timpitie 1 to drip • *à dúój kàà tónjsi háglií ní*. The rain is dripping on the ground. 2 to sieve by letting drip, like when placing the *timpitie* in a basket to gather the lighter ‘pito’ • *à tím-pítíé káá tōjsùù*. The malt is being sieved.

toro [tóró] *n.* type of gecko. *pl. toroso*.

toroo [tòròò] *num.* three *Enum of atoro*.

totii [tótíí] *n.* share of a set or version of a story • *ii mólibíí tótíí níj ní*. Here is your share of money. *bìisì ii tótíí*. Narrate your version of the story. *pl. totie*.

tou [tóù] (*var. teo*) *interj.* exclamation expressing agreement or understanding, or a ritualised transition in a discourse • ñ nódó ò kà láá dí téò à tságálíjé dí ò láá nòdá ní rā. I heard him accepting with téò, it shows that he has agreed. (Hausa <tô>).

tɔ [tó] *v.* *cf.* **tɔjige** 1 to cover • *kpá ktíj tɔ kóyökóŋ háj*. Take this thing and cover that metal box. 2 to wear, to close a cloth on body • *kpá gář tɔ*. Take a cloth and cover yourself. 3 to close • *tó ìi síé*. Close your eyes. *tfɔpɔsí tíj ï kàá tɔ ïñj síé*. The day of my death (lit. the day I will close my eyes). ò tó à diànòdá rā. She closed the door. *ant:* ¹*lala*¹ 4 to imprison • *bà tó ïñj mǎábié dià ní, dí nàmíé ò kpó géem ní*. They imprisoned my brother for poaching in the protected area. 5 to hoe to form yam mounds • à báál tó ùù pié *tíj mùj nō*. The man has completed making his yam mounds. 6 to protect, as in God covering the whole world • *kùósò tó dórñá mūj*. God protects the whole world.

tɔbou [tóbóù] *lit.* community-insufficient *cf.* **bowo** *n.* non-resident, people from a different community • *tóbóútɔmà* People from another community have stolen the chief of Dicie's cow. *tóbóúnár wáá lɔgà sìimáá jñú*. A non-resident does not scoop food from the central top of the bowl. *pl.* **tɔbouso**.

tɔg [tòg] *n.* ammunition pouch. *pl.* **tɔgna**.

tɔg [tóg] *cf.* **tɔgi** (*var. sintɔg*) *n.* clay pot generally containing local beer *syn:* **sinyii**. *pl.* **tɔga**.

tɔga [tòyà] *cf.* **di** *v.* to set fire to, to make charcoal • *má tíí tɔgà kòsà díj*. Do not put fire to the grass. *námùj wàá tɔgà hòlá dùsèè ní*. No one makes charcoal in Dicie.

tɔgama [tòyɔmà] *n.* *cf.* **dɔŋtuina** 1 namesake, someone who shares the same name as somebody else. 2 comrade, colleague, or fellow, someone who shares an activity with somebody else • à pápátá káá *káálì diá áká húúsí jírà òò tɔgá-mà*. The farmer goes home and shouts to alert his colleague. *pl.* **tɔgamasa**.

tɔgɔfa [tòyɔfà] *n.* six pence in BWA currency, old 5 pesewa coin. (Akan).

tɔgɔlì [tòyɔlì] *v.* to be loose, not tight • *tiè à ïménj tɔgɔlì*. Let the rope be loose.

tɔgɔsi [tògɔsi] *v.* to burn, as hot food or drink burning the mouth • à *kù-bíí nómáñ à káá tɔgɔsi ìi nòdá*. The porridge is hot, it will burn your mouth.

tɔgɔmì [tògɔmì] *v.* to consider someone or some ideas • *ï ïmá wié dì tiéø, ká ò wà tɔgɔmìj*. I was talking to her but she did not mind me.

tɔhíë̃ [tóhíë̃] *cf.* **dabuo** *n.* old community, in terms of settlement prece-

dence over others. *pl. tɔhi̩ɛta.*

²tɔhi̩ɛ [tɔhi̩ɛ] *n.* midnight.

tɔr [tɔí] *n.* closing • à bié wáá búúrè à diàñdáa tɔi, dí wílīj déá dé. The child does not like the door to be closed, he is sweating.

tɔlatɔla [tɔlátlá] *ideo.* lukewarm • à níí dó tɔlatɔlā, i wá bī pùlisì. The water is lukewarm, you do not need to cool it with cold water.

tɔma [tòmà] *nprop.* person's name, names someone who obeys a *tɔmii*, acquired in one's lifetime or from one's father.

tɔmii [tòmíi] *n.* acquired reptile idol. *pl. tɔmie.*

tɔmósø [tómósø] *n.* day before yesterday, or day after tomorrow.

tɔmósø gantal [tómósø gāntàl] *n. phr.* day after tomorrow or day before yesterday • tɔmósø gāntàl kàá jáà à läríbá. The day after tomorrow is Wednesday. tɔmósø gāntàl tín ní jáá àsíbítí. The day before yesterday was Saturday.

tɔna [tòná] *n.* profit *ant:* bɔna . *pl. tɔnasa.*

tɔŋ [tóŋ] *n. cf:* kadaası *cf:* piipa *1* animal skin. *2* book. *3* paper. *pl. tɔna.*

¹tɔŋà [tòŋà] *cf:* saga; tʃva; suguli *v.* to cook food in water, to boil • à nàntɔŋfí kánáð. The boiled meat is abundant. tɔŋà kpááñ já dí. Cook Yam so we can eat.

²tɔŋà [tòŋà] *n.* sickness related to a consequence of under-aged marriage • tǎáñjó há wà téle hǎáñ kpágíí, ká kpá hǎáñ tɔŋà kpágáó. Tangu was not mature enough to marry, he got married and he got the sickness.

tɔŋfentídaa [tònfen̄tídáá] *n.* peg placed at the edge of an animal skin to stretch it in the drying process. *pl. tɔŋfentidaasa.*

tɔŋíi [tóŋíi] *n.* boiling, brewing • sín-tɔŋíi bómáð. Pito brewing is difficult.

tɔr [tòrí] *n.* skin disease of a dog, with hairless spots and rashes.

tɔrigí [tórígí] *cf:* tɔtí *pl.v.* to pluck, to pick fruits or beans • bà káálí kɔsá bá ká tɔrigí sítkpilfí. They went to the bush to pluck fruits. má káálí ñ kùò ká tɔrigí máñsá. Go to my farm and harvest the groundnuts.

tɔsí [tòsí] *cf:* tawa *pl.v.* to pierce many times • òò ká zóó à sòrisá, à tósí òò tágátá mùñ lürígúù. When he entered the thorns, they pierced all over his garment.

tɔta [tòtá] *n. cf:* tʃagbariga *1* palm leaf fiber, used in making mat. *2* type of palm tree bearing non-edible fruit (*Raphia*). *pl. tɔta.*

¹tɔtí [tótí] *cf:* tɔrigí *v.* to pluck, to pick a fruit • tɔtí liéñ tiéñ. Pick the vine's fruit for me.

²tɔtí [tótí] *v.* to sprout, to come out (as leaves), to bud • tʃálisí jàwàsá álīé, ñ

tʃímaā ū káá tɔtɔs. Wait two weeks, your pepper will sprout.

tɔtɔsa [tótóṣà] *n.* debate, misunderstanding, argumentation • ḷ nōd à tótóṣā rā àká ḷ wà pējēē. I heard the debate but I am not part of it.

tɔtʃaanj [tótʃáánj] *n.* season spanning from September to November.

tɔtʃaaŋbummo [tótʃáambúmmò] *n.* season or transition period from September to mid-October immediately following the rainy season when the fully matured, thick grass in the bush begins to diminish in density and drying up because of the gradual reduction of rain at this period.

tɔtʃaaŋsiama [tótʃááŋsiàmá] *n.* season or transition period spanning from mid-October to November identified by the end of the rain and the grass turning yellow. The quantity of rain usually reduces drastically, so the grasses begin to dry up leading to bush burning and related activities.

tɔs [tóð] *cf:* bia *n.* settlement, village or community. *pl.* **tɔsa**.

tɔskpurgii [tòðkpúrəgíí] *n.* tobacco container.

tɔspaaſfaga [tòðpàatʃáyá] *n.* tobacco leaf.

tɔspatſigii [tòðpàtʃígíí] *n.* inside the village, within its inhabited limits.

tɔspval [tòðpóàl] *lit.* community-liver *n.* prominent community

member. *pl.* **tɔspvalsa**.

tɔssav [tòðsà] *n.* powdered tobacco, snuff.

tɔssii [tòðsíí] *n.* 1 village's centre, the busiest place of the village. 2 prominent community member.

tɔstuna [tòðtííná] *cf:* tindaana *n.* land owner, landlord. *pl.* **tɔðtómà**.

tɔvɔgzimbie [tòvõgžimbíé] *n.* Hoopoe, type of bird (*Upupa epops*). *pl.* **tɔvɔgzimbise**.

¹tɔwa (*var. of tawa*)

²tɔwa [tòwà] *n.* tobacco. *pl.* **tɔssa**.

tɔwie [tòwíé] *n.* small village. *pl.* **tɔ-wise**.

tɔzeŋ [tòzéŋ] *n.* town. *pl.* **tɔzenéē**.

tradža [tǎrádžà] *n.* trousers. (ultm. English). *pl.* **tradžasa**.

tufutufu [tùfútùfú] *ideo.* lacking starch • à kàpálà dó tufutufu, ḷ wà zúgó. The fufu lacks starch, it is soft.

tugo [tùgò] *v.* *cf:* **maya**; **tʃasi** 1 to beat a person or an animal • bà túgó dónjā. They fought each other. 2 to pound with sharp movements • ḷ tágò kàpálà rā. She pounds the fufu.

tugosi [tùgòsí] *pl.v.* to beat • ḷ tágósí à biè ré. I beat the child (more than once, over a short period of time). **džimbànti** wózóðri nibáálá já tágòsí kàpálásā rā. In those days at Jimbanti, men used to pound fufu.

tugul [túgúl] *n.* type of mouse. *pl. tugulo.*

tük [tuk] *n.* guinea fowl nest. *pl. tukno.*

tulaadi [túlààdí] *n.* perfume, body-oil, Gh. Eng. pomade. (Hausa <tùràrē>).

tulemi [tùlèmì] *v.* to do by mistake, to make a mistake • *kálá túlémi kpá* ḡò tṣèná tágátà. Kala took his friend's shirt by mistake.

tulor [túlór:] *n.* cf: **sunguru**; **binhääñj** 1 young girl who can get married and has never given birth. 2 very beautiful girl, married or not. *pl. tuloro.*

tulorwie [túlòrwíé] cf: **binhääñj**; **nihäwie** *n.* young girl.

tundaa [tündáá] cf: **tundaaboro** cf: **tuto**; **kuotuto** *n.* pestle, pounding stick. *pl. tundaasa.*

tundaaboro [tündààbòrò] *lit.* pestel-portion cf: **tundaa** *n.* piece of pestle, various usage at home. *pl. tundaaboruso.*

tuntuolii (*var. of tintuolii*);

tuntuolisıama [túntùlísıàmá] (*var. tutukosokɔɔ*) *n.* Red-billed hornbill, type of bird (*Tockus sp.*).

1tuo [túò] *n.* shooting bow. *pl. toso.*

2tuo [túò] *v.* to not exist, to not be there • ḡò wàà tuo. He is not there.

tuolie [túólíé] cf: **tempilie** *n.* type of cooking pot.

tuosi [tùòsì] *v.* 1 to add an amount or items after a deal is closed • à jà-

wàdírè wā jáà túósì kínmùŋ. The sellers never add any amount or items. 2 to pick or take fast • *tʃá kà tòòsì mòlèbié wàà*. Run and go pick the money and come back.

tuosii [túósíí] cf: **tuoso** *n.* added amount of goods by a seller after a closed transaction, Gh. Eng. dash • ḡò jísá túósíí wáá *lísí*. Her added amount of salt is insufficient.

tuoso [tùòsó] cf: **tuosii** *n.* added amount, Gh. Eng. dash. *pl. tuo-soso.*

tupu [túpù] *n.* tyre innertube. (ultm. English <tube>). *pl. tupuso.*

turo [túrō] *v.* 1 to move or rub back and forth by pressing on a hard surface • *kpá* ḡò nàtáá túrò à sèléméntè, dónjó *lísí*. Rub your shoe against the cement to remove the dirt. 2 to go in and out a place over a certain period of time • *mìmì mââbié bááj sìi*, ḡò já báàj à túrò kùò rō tʃɔpìsì bíf-mūŋ. Every day, immediately my brother gets up, he always go to the farm.

turuŋkaa [túrúŋkáà] *lit.* Europe-car *n.* car. (partly Hausa, partly English).

tusu [túsù] *num.* thousand. (Oti-Volta). *pl. tususo.*

tuti [tùtì] cf: **zaga** *v.* to push upwards or forwards, to shove • *tùtì à lóólì ḡò sìi*. Push the car for it to start.

tuto [tùtò] cf: **tundaa**; **kuotuto** *n.* mortar. *pl. tutoso.*

tutosii [tùtūsíí] *n.* centre of a mortar, around the smallest concentric ring.

tutukɔkɔ (*var. of tuntuolisama*)

tuu [tùù] *cf: zina* *v.* to go down, to descend, to come low • ɳ túú dià rā. I went down to the house. *kpá tuu*. Put it down.

tuubi [túúbí] *v.* 1 to repent, to change from evil doing to a better lifestyle • kàlā túúbijō, órwà bírà à ɳmíé. Kala has repented, he does not steal any more. 2 to convert to one of the modern religions • à vég-tíiná wàá kìn túúbí tseétfi ní. The priest cannot convert to Christianity. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*tubaa* ‘change one’s religion’).

tūubii [tùùbíí] *n.* bee. *pl. tūubie.*

tuur (*var. of haglikinj*)

tuuri [tùùri] *v.* 1 to drag • háglikiná jáà túúri à kinkpàgàsíe. Snakes usually drag their prey. 2 to move like a snake, lateral undulation locomotion • à džé túúrijé zòò dià pátsgí ní. The python crawled and entered the house.

tuuti [túúti] *ideo.* repeatedly • tómá jiná ɳmájéé dì tíéó túúti dí ó té wàà zòò géèmkvòjsá. Toma’s father tells him repeatedly not to enter the national park.

tv [tó] *v.* to accompany someone or a group to a place for a purpose • bà dì tó hákúríí ká tiè òò báál là. Yesterday they accompanied Hakuri to her future husband.

tɔa [tòò] *v.* 1 to deny • ò tóó ñ wíjymáhá tìn nā. He denied your words. òò jiná píéséò dí ò wà káá-lí kùó, ò tòà nòá. His father asked him whether he went to the farm, he denied having been there. ò ɳmájáñ káá tòà. She is talking and denying. ɳ ɳmá hákúríí ɳmíé ɳm mòlèbií, ò tòò I said Hakuri stole my money and she denied. 2 to argue • hamónà àní níhiésá wàá kìn tòò džyà. Children and elders cannot argue.

tɔã [tòá] (*var. tɔõ*) *n.* sheath, knife close-fitting case. *pl. tɔãna.*

tɔasi [tòàsi] *v.* to pick out, to pick up • tòàsi bíé átòrò tíēj. Pick three stones for me.

tɔgi [tóngí] *cf: tɔg* (*var. sintɔgv*) *n.* clay pot used for local beer. [Mo]. *pl. tɔgisi.*

tɔgvísí [tóngvísí] *v.* to become weak, to become powerless • dzèbùnì wà dí siimáà dì píjá à tóngvísí. Jebuni is always underfed, that is why he became weak.

tɔl [tòl] *cf: diŋtɔl* *n.* flame. *pl. tɔla.*

tɔla [tòlá] *cf: pɔla cf: pɔmma* *v.* to be white • sùùhálá wáá tò-lá. Guinea fowl eggs are not white.

¹**tɔma** [tòmà] *v.* to work • ɳ wáá tòmà tómá zááj. I will not work today.

²**tɔma** [tòmá] *n.* work. (Oti-Volta). *pl. tɔmasa.*

³**tɔma** [tòmà] *pl.n.* people.

⁴**tɔma** [tòmà] *v.* to send someone • tó-mán ý kááli dùùséé. Send me to

Ducie.

tombar [tómbar] *n.* location where one usually works. *pl. tombara.*

tontfoma [töntfómá] *n.* work badly done. *pl. tontfomsa.*

tɔ̄š (*var. of tɔ̄ā*)

tɔ̄lēe [tɔ̄lélè] *n.* 1 person who loses at a game, competition, or challenge • *džebùní jáá tɔ̄lēé à kùò bá-pàrfí nì.* Jebuni was the loser at the farm work. 2 weak person • *súgló wáá kíná lögà, ḵ jáá tɔ̄lēé rā.* Suglo cannot wrestle because he is a weak person.

tɔ̄nī [tɔ̄óní] *v.* to stretch • *gùmátfí-ná wàá kìn tɔ̄nī.* A hunchback person cannot stretch.

tɔ̄nīā [tɔ̄ónfâ] *n.* type of genet (*Genetta spp.*). *pl. tɔ̄nsa.*

tɔ̄nīi [tɔ̄ónfí] *n.* act of stretching.

tɔ̄ra [tɔ̄râ] *n.* trouble, problem *syn: nunnvñ³.* *pl. tɔ̄rasa.*

tɔ̄saa [tɔ̄sáá] *nprop.* Tuosa village.

tɔ̄saal [tɔ̄sáál] *n.* person from Tuosa. *pl. tɔ̄saala.*

tɔ̄saalii [tɔ̄sáálí] *n.* lect of Tuosa.

tɔ̄ri [tɔ̄rì] *cf: tʃì* *v.* really, certainly: verbal which puts emphasis on the

tʃ

tʃa [tʃá] (*var. tʃé*) *v.* to remain, to be left over, to be stranded, to dwell • *᷊ fìi wiò à tʃá támá ká ᷊ sówà, níŋ wā ḵ kpégéó.* He was very ill and

event, the event is a priority for the speaker and must happen • *ṇ tóri kàá tÙgíí rē.* I will beat you. [Mo].

tɔ̄rigi [tɔ̄rigì] *v.* to itch • *zóy-gòréé dómíŋ, ḣṇm̄ bárá dì tórigì.* Mosquitoes bit me, my body is itching.

tɔ̄si [tɔ̄sí] *v.* to move over • *tósi wà kàálì néndúl.* Move over to the right.

¹**tɔ̄š** [tɔ̄š] *v. cf: pɔ* 1 to be inserted or to insert, to wear shoes or clothes from the waist downwards • *à hèmbíí tɔ̄š à dáánñj ní.* The nail pierced the fruit and is now in it. *kpá ḥ píftóš tɔ̄š.* Wear your underpants. 2 to thread beads or needle • *làà niɛsá tɔ̄š třej.* Take this needle and insert it for me.

²**tɔ̄š** [tɔ̄š] *n.* type of hyena *syn: kpatakiale.* *pl. tɔ̄nsa.*

³**tɔ̄š** [tɔ̄š] *n.* honey. *pl. tɔ̄šta.*

tɔ̄šfíl [tɔ̄šfíl] (*var. fíl*) *n.* bee's sting. *pl. tɔ̄šfílsa.*

tɔ̄vni (*var. of zvvní*)

tɔ̄vri [tɔ̄vri] *v.* to tighten, to draw close • *tɔ̄vri à ȳméj dó à piésí bágé-ná ní, ḵ tógljáá.* Tighten the rope on the sheep's neck, it is loose.

almost died, but now he is well.

tʃāā [tʃāā] *n.* broom *syn: kimpingi.* [Du]. *pl. tʃāāna.*

tſaagṛ [tʃáágí] *n.* to charge an electric appliance • dùsèè ní jà wà kpágá díŋ dí tſaagṛ jà fóón. In Dicie we do not have electricity to charge our phones. (ultm. English <charge>).

tſaandırı [tʃáándırı] *n.* candle. (ultm. English).

tſääni [tʃäǟnì] *v.* 1 to be bright, to shine • à díà pátſigíř tſäǟníř. The room is bright. *ant:* doŋii 2 to be clean, to be pure • à nɔ̄?il tſäǟníř. The cow milk is pure. *ant:* doŋo

tſaŋtſiŋj [tʃááŋtſiŋj] cf: tſimini (*Gu. var. tſiminiſa*) , tſaŋtſieŋ *n.* insect which makes a loud noise in the hottest part of the dry season, especially in the afternoon. It marks the end of harmattan (*Homoptera cicalidae*). *pl.* tſaŋtſiŋjsa.

tſaŋtſinsa [tʃááŋtſinsá] *n.* acute, inflammatory, contagious disease.

¹tſaari [tʃààři] *v.* 1 to pour over, to pour down in a stream • à dūóŋ káá tſaàrōř. The rain is pouring down. 2 to have diarrhoea • ḥṇiḥ bì-wié třiŋ káá tſaàři, dí ḥ wà jåwá lúlíi tíéř. My youngest child will have diarrhoea if I do not buy medicine for her.

²tſaari [tʃààři] *n.* diarrhoea (bacillary, in general).

tſasa [tʃáásá] *n.* comb. *pl.* tſasasa.

tſasadaa [tʃáásàdāā] *n.* wooden comb. *pl.* tſasadaasa.

tſasapırı [tʃáásánırı] *n.* tooth of a comb. *pl.* tſasapırıga.

tſaasi [tʃáásí] *v.* to cry with loud voice, to shout strongly and suddenly, to exclaim • ḥ tſáásí dí lóólıi tſíŋjá. He shouted at the car for it to stop. ḥ tſáásüü dí ḥ díá káá dí díŋ. She is shouting that her house is burning.

¹tſaasi [tʃáásı] *v.* 1 to comb • ḥ wà kpágá núpóná ká à tſaasi. I do not have hair to comb. 2 to sweep, to clear out rubbish • tí tſaásı bár dí ii píná káá dí kíndíílié. Do not sweep the place when your father is eating.

²tſaasi [tʃáásı] *v.* to imitate, to mimic • tí tſaásı à báál dí válíř tſérá, gá-rágá káá jåāř kékj. Do not imitate the man's walk, sickness made him so. *syn:* díŋa

tſabarığa [tʃábárígà] *n.* wickedness.

¹tſaga [tʃàyà] *v.* to face, be or go towards • kpá ii síé tſágà witſé-líi. Face west. sââ à díàñdâ tſágà dààzéř háj. Build the door such that it faces this big tree. líe ii sôó ká tſágà? Where are you going?

²tſaga [tʃàyà] *v.* to produce a liquid through straining with sieve or filter, e.g. in making soap or in brewing local beer • tſágà sìŋtſárá já jñâ. Strain the malt to make beer so we can drink.

³tſaga [tʃàyá] *n.* type of basket made out of a gourd suspended from the roof by fibre. [*oldfash*]. *pl.* tſágá.

⁴tʃaga [tʃàyà] v. to cause an increase in number, to grow and multiply • *ṇà pènìzzèñ hájì tʃágáá*. My large sheep produces multiple lambs regularly. *tèŋèsi ñì tʃéléé nútó nò*, á tʃágà. Prune your tomatoes, they will shoot more branches.

⁵tʃaga [tʃayà] n. to support • *ŋmènà dáá wà tʃágà gbélnáá tíŋ jà kàà sáyá ò móŋ ní kékì*. Cut a stick and come support the branch we sit under.

tʃagali [tʃàyálì] v. to teach, show, or indicate • *bà fí tʃágálíjá wá bántʃáóhíwíí kùò ní*. They taught us how to trap at the farm. *tʃágálíj à kùò tíwíi*. Show me the road to the farm. ò *tʃágálí òò tìntin ná kíjkáj*. He shows off too much.

tʃagamí [tʃàyàmì] cf: tie v. to chew, to masticate • *tʃágamí à kpááj à lìlè*. Masticate and swallow the yam.

tʃagasi [tʃàyásì] 1 pl.v. to wash, e.g. clothes, floor, house • *ṇà ŋmá ñì nùhō wá pāá ñì kíndójó kà tʃágási*. I told my grandchild to come and take my dirty clothes and wash them. 2 v. to menstruate • *dì hääjì kà tʃágási áká kòòrì sìimáá ñà píná wàá dì*. If a woman menstruates and cooks food, my father will not eat.

tʃagasí [tʃáyásí] n. menstrual period • *tʃágásíí jáá nihááñá wíí rá*. Menses is a women's phenomenon. syn: **doŋoŋai; nisəní**

tʃagtʃag [tʃáyá:tʃák] n. tattoo. pl.

tʃagtfagsa.

tʃagtfagasa [tʃáytʃáyásá] n. 1 individual who washes the clothing of a diseased person. 2 person menstruating. pl. *tʃagtfagasa*.

tʃagbariga [tʃàgbářigá] cf: tɔta n. palm leaf whip. pl. *tʃagbarigasa*.

¹tʃakalíi [tʃákálíí] n. ethnically Chakali person. pl. *tʃakalee*.

²tʃakalíi [tʃákálíí] n. Chakali language.

tʃal [tʃál] (var. tʃel) n. blood. pl. *tʃala*.

tʃalasi [tʃálásì] v. (var. tʃelisi) 1 to pay attention to, to keep track of, be careful • *tʃálásí nőð à wíé wíwíré*. Pay attention and listen to the matter carefully. 2 to wait • *bà tʃálásòò bá náí*. They are waiting to see you.

tʃalihõõ [tʃálíhõõsa] n. type of grasshopper. pl. *tʃalihõõsa*.

tʃama (var. of tʃema)

tʃaminiä [tʃámìnä] pl.n. boil, small abscesses. pl. *tʃaminiä*.

tʃaŋ [tʃáj] n. fishing net. pl. *tʃanna*.

tʃaŋŋí [tʃáŋŋí] v. to offer willingly • *dì ò dí sìimáá òò wàá tʃáŋŋí nárā*. When he is eating he offers reluctantly to people and hopes for a refusal. *dì ò dí sìimáá òò já tʃáŋŋí nárā*. When he is eating he offers willingly to people.

¹tʃaŋsi [tʃáŋsi] v. to catch or receive something with two hands • *tʃàŋ-*

sí bóɔl à jùò tſéŋ. Catch the ball and throw it to me. à *bíé tſáŋſi làà mòlèbií àní gírimé ní.* The child received the money with respect.

²tſaŋſi [tſàŋſi] *v.* to be striped, typically on fabric • à *tágàtà tſáŋſi á-búlünsō àní ápùlünsá rā.* The shirt has black and white stripes.

³tſaŋſi [tſàŋſi] *v.* to give birth to both male and female in one's life, not at the same time • à *hááŋ lõlāà tſáŋ-sòò.* The woman has given birth to both sexes.

tſaŋtſieŋ (*var. of tſaantſiŋ*)

tſaŋtſul [tſàŋtſúl] *n.* absorbent cloth material used as diaper *syn: tambú.* *pl. tſaŋtſulo.*

tſap [tſáb] *ideo.* red-handed, in the act of committing a crime • *bátón kpágá ò ñmfér tím tſap, ò sòmmì dí ó tó ò mún ní.* Baton finally caught his thief red-handed, he begged for his silence.

tſaparapíí [tſápàràpíí] *n.* Four-Banded Sandgrouse (*Pterocles quadricinctus*). *pl. tſaparapiína.*

¹tſara [tſàrà] *v.* to straddle, to sit with a leg on each side of something • *báál sánjéé tſàrà dáánáá ní.* A man straddles a tree branch.

²tſara (*var. of tſera*)

tſaratſara [tſàràtſàrà] (*var. tſatſara*) *ideo.* visual pattern of a heterogeneous design, like in the description of fabric or animal skin • *bòsá dó tſàràtſàrà.* The snake has a certain skin pattern. *pl. tſaratſarasa.*

tſaree [tſàréé] *n.* Western Wattled Cuckoo-Shrike, type of bird (*Lobotos lobatus*). *pl. tſareesa.*

tſarga [tſárágà] *n.* intersection. *pl. tſargasa.*

tſasi [tſásí] *v. cf: maŋa; tugo (var. kasí)* 1 to knock, to slap • *tſásí òò gántál ú síí dūō ní.* Slap his back to wake him up. 2 to pound in order to spread fibres and make soft, e.g. meat, tuber • *tſásí kpòŋkpóŋ tá bII ní.* Pound the cassava and leave it on a rock to dry. 3 to cough • *òò fòfòtà tſogáó, ò dí tſásí.* His lungs have deteriorated, he is coughing.

tſasia [tſásíá] *nprop.* Chasia village.

tſasie [tſásíè] *n.* cough.

tſasilíi [tſásilíí] *n.* 1 person from Chasia. 2 lect of Chasia. *pl. tſasilee.*

tſasizeŋ [tſásízéŋ] *lit.* cough-big *n.* tuberculosis, deadly infectious disease.

tſati [tſáti] *n.* type of guinea corn. *pl. tſati.*

tſatſara (*var. of tſaratſara*)

tſatſawilee [tſátsàwíléé] *n.* type of weaver bird (*Ploceus gen.*). *pl. tſa-tſawilesa.*

¹tſau [tſàó] *n.* 1 termites that attack yams under the ground by feeding on the sprouting vines of the yam setts (*Macrotermes*). 2 small termite mound. 3. *pl. tſauña.*

²tſau [tſáó] *n.* tongs, grasping device. *pl. tſawa.*

tʃawa (*var. of tʃewa*)

tʃel [tʃéł] *n.* tree gum. *pl. tʃel.*

tʃele [tʃèlè] *v.* 1 to fall • *dì tʃálásì i káá tʃélè.* Mind you don't fall. 2 to be deflated • *à hááñ sákìri tʃélé pɔn-tʃà.* The woman's bicycle wheel is deflated.

tʃele níi [tʃèlè níí] *lit.* fall water (*var. tʃelesi níi*) *v.* to swim • *ò tʃélé níí à gí góñ.* He swam across the river. *ò jáá tʃélésì níí rá.* She can swim.

tʃelesi níi (*var. of tʃele níi*)

tʃelii [tʃélíí] *cf:* kalie *n.* tomato. *pl. tʃelee.*

tʃelle [tʃéllé] *n.* 1 a person who breaks or disregards a law or a promise. 2 guilt. *pl. tʃellese.*

tʃeme [tʃémè] *v.* to meet • *jáá tʃémè dójà kálá dià ní.* We are going to meet each other at Kala's house.

tʃemii [tʃémíí] *n.* load-support, rag twisted and put on the head to support a load. *pl. tʃemie.*

tʃemíí (*Gu. var. of temíí*)

tʃensi [tʃénsì] *n.* roofing zinc plate. *pl. tʃensise.*

tʃendži [tʃéndžì] *n.* loose change, money returned as balance. (*ultm. English <change>*).

tʃerim [tʃérím] *cf:* surum *ideo.* quietly • *à hááñ sáñà tʃérím.* The woman sat quietly.

tʃesi [tʃésí] (*var. kesi*) *v.* to sieve, to sift • *tʃésí sàó.* Sift the flour.

tʃesu [tʃèsú] *interj.* expression of surprise and unexpectedness.

tʃeti (*var. of keti*)

tʃetʃe [tʃétʃé] *n.* wheel. (*Hausa <keke>*). *pl. tʃetʃese.*

tʃetʃelese [tʃétʃélésé] *cf:* kpuŋkpu-
luŋso; kpuŋkpulintʃelese *n.* a person who has epilepsy • *tfétʃélésé wáá tuò dùsèè ní.* No one is epileptic in Ducie.

tʃewii [tʃéwíí] *n.* dowry. *pl. tʃewie.*

tʃe (*var. of tʃa*)

tʃeetʃí [tʃéétʃí] *n.* church. (*ultm. English*).

tʃeetʃibé [tʃéétʃibé] *n.* Christian.

tʃéí [tʃéí] *interj.* newness and attractiveness of an item • *bákúríí jáwá gáfžlíí tʃéí à tiè òò hááñ.* Bakuri bought a brand new cloth to give to his wife. *ò ká ltsí mòlèbíé tʃéí bán-kí ní.* He went to the bank to withdraw new money. (*Akan <tʃíí>*).

tʃel (*var. of tʃal*)

tʃela [tʃèlá] *v.* to reward for a performance • *lìí gòà ii hááñ tʃélíí há-gásì.* Go and dance, your wife will reward you with candies.

tʃelintʃie [tʃélíntʃíè] *n.* type of grasshopper. *pl. tʃelintʃiesa.*

tʃelisi (*var. of tʃalasi*)

tʃema [tʃémà] (*var. tʃama*) *v.* to stir and mash flour and water with hands to make a solid substance, Gh. Eng. smash • *ò tʃámá sól là.* She smashed the dawadawa powder. *làà kól tʃémà, já nōñà.* Take this t.z. and mash it so we can eat.

tʃena [tʃéná] *n.* friend. *pl. tʃensa.*

tſenitſeni [tſènítſènɪ] *ideo.* type of visual percept • nàὸnámíñā nőđ dó tſenitſeni. The cow fat is brownish-yellow.

1tſera [tſérá] *n.* waist. *pl.* **tſerasa**.

2tſera [tſérà] (*var.* **2tſara**) *v.* to exchange, to trade for goods or services without the exchange of money • àj kàá tſérà nőđ ní kpòŋ-kpòŋ? Who wants to trade oil against cassava? ḷ kpá ḷ kísié tſérà kàrántiè. I exchanged my knife for a cutlass.

tſerakíŋ [tſérákíŋ] *n.* waist beads. *pl.* **tſerakma**.

tſerbosa [tſérəbòá] *n.* hip. *pl.* **tſerbosa**.

tſerigí [tſérígí] *v.* to look different in appearance • à kpáámá tſerigí dójá ní rā. The yams are different in size. [*Tp*].

tſetſera [tſétſérà] *cf:* **tſitſara** *n.* bathroom. [*Ka*].

tſewa [tſèwà] *v.* (*var.* **tſawa**) 1 to grab with fingers, tongs or teeth, to hold in place • à váá tſewá à áá lúrō, bá kpóř. The dog held the bush-buck's testicles, they killed it. gárzágátíí tſewà ṽv púpóná. A hair-band holds her hair. 2 to operate upon swelling pores • bá tſewá kàlá nàářř. They operated upon the guinea worm on Kala's leg.

1tſi [tſí] *v.* to spit through the upper incisors • tſí mūŋtòřsá ý ná. Spit saliva for me to see.

2tſi [tſí] *cf:* **tɔri** *v.* really, certainly, verbal which puts emphasis on the event, the event is a priority for the speaker and must happen • ḷ kàá báñ tſí tùgíí rē. I will really beat you. ḷ ymá wié dí tíè à biè ré, ká ṽ wá tſíjé dí n̄v̄. I am talking to the child but he really does not want to listen. ḷ kàá tſí kàálv̄. I will definitely go. kálá kàá tſí wàá báán ná. Kala will certainly come here.

tſiesii (*var. of* **kiesii**)

tſig [tſig] *n.* fishing trap. *pl.* **tſige**.

tſige [tſigè] *v.* *cf:* **tɔ** 1 to cover, to trap under, to put on face down, to turn upside down, to be upside down • ní tſigè ḷn̄n píŋtſigè. I am going to put on my hat. à víí tſigé à dààkpútíí ní. The pot is face down on the tree stump. 2 to inhabit • já bífá à wá tſigè dìùséé. Let's return to inhabit Ducie.

tſigesi [tſigèsi] *pl.v.* to turn, to cover many things • m̄n̄ páá à hénsá à tſí-gésū. I am turning the bowls upside down.

tſii (*var. of* **kii**)

tſiime [tſiimé] *n.* headgear, scarf, or cloth used to cover the head of a woman • ṽ v̄v̄ tſiimé ré. She wears a headscarf. *pl.* **tſiinse**.

tſiini (*var. of* **kiini**)

tſiir [tſiíř] *cf:* **kii** (*var.* **kiir**) *n.* taboo, traditionalism. *pl.* **tſiite**.

tſiirkaleŋgbvugvſtɪ (*Gu.* *var. of* **kaleŋgbvugvſtɪ**)

- tſimmāā [tſímmāā] *cf.* kilimie (*var. kimmāā*) *n.* pepper. *pl.* **tſimmāā**.
- tſimmeħolli [tſímmehv̥lī] *n.* dried pepper. *pl.* **tſimmeħv̥lie**.
- tſimmesav [tſímmesàv] *n.* ground dried pepper.
- tſimmesoŋ [tſímmesóŋ] *n.* fresh pepper. *pl.* **tſimmesoŋa**.
- ¹tſinie [tſínié] *n.* type of climber (*Ipomoea gen.*). *pl.* **tſinise**.
- ²tſinie [tſínié] *n.* rash, itchy pimples usually situated on the head and neck. *pl.* **tſinse**.
- tſintſeli [tſíntſelí] *n.* piece of broken clay pot. *pl.* **tſintſele**.
- tſinisi [tſíniſi] *v.* to jump down • *gbià tſinisi tſùòmò ní*. A monkey jumped down on a togo hare.
- tſitſa [tſítſà] *cf.* karima (*var. titſa*) *n.* teacher. (ultm. English). *pl.* **tſitſasa**.
- tſitſara [tſítſàrá] *cf.* **tſetſera** *n.* bathroom. *pl.* **tſitſarasa**.
- tſitſarabwa [tſítſarabwa] *n.* bathroom gutter.
- tſitſasorri [tſítſasórrí] *n.* roof gutter. *pl.* **tſitſasorie**.
- tſitſi [tſítſi] *ono.* cockroach sound.
- tſiusūū [tſíúsūū] *nprop.* tenth month. (Waali <tſíúsūū>).
- tſi [tſi] *pv.* tomorrow • *ṇ tſi kàá mà-si kpó à kírinsá rá*. I will be beating and killing the tsetse flies tomorrow.

- tſiā [tſíá] *n.* (*var. tſiē*) 1 type of fly usually found in houses. 2 gun sight. *pl.* **tſiāsa**.
- tſiābii [tſíābíí] *n.* dawadawa seed. *pl.* **tſiābie**.
- tſiābummo [tſíābúmmò] *n.* flesh fly, big black fly which feeds on carcasses (*Sarcophagidae fam.*).
- tſiagí [tſíágí] *v.* to crack an object • *kùò ní, dì hiíj tſiagí fálá bà kàá fiábíí rā*. At the farm, if you break a calabash they will cane you. *syn:* **tesi**¹
- tſiāma [tſíāmá] *n.* 1 noise • *má tá tſiāmá*. Stop the noise. *ant:* **su-rum** 2 quarrel • *má gilà mà tſiāmá tìŋ*. Stop your quarrel.
- tſiāmi [tſíāmì] *v.* to make a noise • *tſiāmì báàn ní ká iŋ púsíí*. If you make noise, I will deal with you. *i kà ymá kékí ḷ wà nőà dí bà tſiāmì*. I could not hear what you said, they were making noise.
- tſiāpetti [tſíāpéttí] *n.* dawadawa seed shell. *pl.* **tſiāpette**.
- tſiare [tſíare] *v.* to winnow, to blow the chaff away from the grain • *má ká tſiare mřá, mínzgá dùá à ní*. Winnow the guinea corn, there is chaff in it.
- tſiasi (*var. of kiasi*)
- tſiāsiama [tſíāsiàmá] *n.* small red fly usually found around domestic animals.
- tſiē (*var. of tſiā*)
- tſiemr (*var. of kiemr*)

tſieŋi [tſiéŋí] (*var. kieŋi*) *v.* to crack, to break pot or cup into pieces • à bɔ̄ɔ̄ná tſieŋi à vií bárá báliè. The goats have broken the cooking pots in two parts.

tſierí [tſiéří] (*var. kieři*) *v.* to take leaves from branches for preparing food • tſiéří kpɔ̄ŋkpɔ̄ŋpàatfágá à tɔ̄ŋà disá. Take some cassava leaves and prepare a soup.

tſii [tſii] *cf:* s̄ommāā *n.* dawadawa seed *syn:* s̄vlibii. *pl.* tſiã.

tſiiŋ [tſiiŋ] *cf:* bintiratſiiŋ *n.* pair of ankle-rattles, percussion instrument. *pl.* tſiimma.

tſiiŋbaŋsii [tſiiŋgbánsí] *n.* noise made by ankle bells worn by dancers.

tſiiri [tſiiri] *v.* to make tight, to be too tight • s̄igmààjuú tſiiríjá, púró támá. The mask is too tight, loosen it a little.

tſiirii [tſiiríi] *cf:* kiiřii *n.* type of wasp. [Gu]. *pl.* tſiirree.

tſima [tſimà] (*var. kima*) *v.* to borrow, to lend • tſimíŋ mòlèbií ñ ká jàwà disá. Lend me some money to buy soup. ñ káa kín tſimà mòlèbií ré i pé nii? Can I borrow money from you?

tſinimi [tſinímí] *cf:* tſaanjtſiiŋ *n.* insect which produces a loud noise in the hottest part of the dry season, especially in the afternoon. It marks the end of harmattan. [Gu].

tſininiſa (*Gu. var. of tſaanjtſiiŋ*)

tſintſern [tſintſérí] *n.* edge • zɔ̄ð ñ ñ diá, ñ ñ kàrántià tſérá à dià tſintſérí ní. Go in the house, my cutlass is at the edge of my room, somewhere along a wall. *pl.* tſintſere.

tſiŋ keŋ [tſiŋ kék] *lit.* stand like that *v.* to ask someone to stop from moving, to stay in a position • tſiŋ keŋ, púúpù káá wàà. Stop, a motorbike is coming.

tſiŋa [tſiŋá] *v.* to stand • à báál tſiŋà à dià púú ní. The man stands on the roof of the house. dáá fí tſiŋà à diá háj sōō ní. A tree used to stand in front of that house.

tſiŋasi [tſiŋásí] *v.* to put down, set down, especially of non-flat things • kpá à bié tſiŋásí háglií ní. Put the child on the ground.

tſiribó [tſiribó] *n.* gun firing pin. (Akan). *pl.* tſiribosa.

tſogo [tſogò] *v.* to ignite, to light a torch or a light • tſogò díy. Ignite the fire. tſogò díy. Open your torch light.

tſogo [tſogò] *cf:* tſogosi *v.* to peck, to strike with beak • à zímbié tſogó mímbíí dígíí dígíí à dí dí. The chick is pecking guinea corn grains one by one.

tſogosi [tſogòsi] *cf:* tſogo *pl.v.* to peck • à zál tſogósí mímbié à dí dí. The fowl pecks guinea corn grains and eats.

tſokoli [tſókolí] *n.* spoon. (Waali).

tſokpore [tſókpòrè] *n.* type of bird. *pl.* tſokporoso.

tſonsi [tʃónsí] *v.* 1 to join • *làà à nyéŋ tſónsi ñi kín ní.* Take the rope and join it to yours. 2 to put in a row, or be in a straight line • *tiè à dâásá tſónsi dóŋjá ní.* Let the sticks be in a row.

tſongolii [tʃóngólíi] *n.* type of tree (*Gardenia erubescens*). *pl.* *tſon-* *golee.*

tſoori [tʃòòri] *v.* to strain water to get impurity out • *tſòòri gónnñí à pññå, iññ wàá bì òrii ní.* Strain the river water then drink it, so guinea worms do not swell you up again.

tſopetii [tʃópétíi] *n.* type of fish. *pl.* *tſopetie.*

tſosi [tʃósí] *v.* to scout, to search for someone or something going from place to place • *à báál tſósíjé à búú-rè òò hâáñ, ò há wà zímá bátñ ò kâ kááljé.* The man is searching for his wife, he does not know where she has gone.

tſɔ [tʃɔ] *v.* 1 to run • *tí tíé ñi váà gilà à bɔ̄ñá tſɔ.* Do not let your dog make the goats run. ò *tſɔ làà kâwàà tíwií.* She ran along the pumpkin road. 2 to flee • *ññ hâáñ tſɔ já dià ní.* My wife fled from our house.

tſobiel [tʃɔbiɛl] *cf:* **nakpate** *n.* type of termite. *pl.* *tſobiella.*

tſobul [tʃɔbúl] (*var.* **tſopuzeŋ**) *n.* termites that build giant mounds. *pl.* *tſobulo.*

tſoga [tʃɔyà] *v.* to spoil, to be spoiled, to destroy • *mññ mñaábié tſogá mññ pár rá.* My brother spoiled my hoe.

tſogdø [tʃɔyadø] *n.* rotten meat. *pl.* *tſogdøsa.*

tſegii [tʃégíi] *n.* type of weevil (*Curculionoidea*). *pl.* *tſegii.*

tſegii [tʃégíi] *n.* credulous, naive, or easily imposed person • *tſögíi wáá kñj kârámì sùkúú.* A credulous person cannot learn in school.

tſegomí [tʃéyঁmí] *v.* to retrogress, to change to the worse • *kâlá mñaá à-ní ò jnína sówá, ò wíé tſogjomí.* The mother and father of Kala died, his condition has changed to the worse. *mññ mòlbíé tſogámijé*, *ñ wàá kín bì jàwà púpù.* My money situation has changed to the worse, I cannot afford to buy a motorbike any longer.

tſegsí [tʃéĝsí] *v.* 1 to move an arm and hand up and down, especially to make a hole • *má tſegsí bɔ̄bsá, já dññ.* Make holes for us to sow. 2 to arrange in order, to organise • *dí híñ tſegsáā wéré, à kpáámá kâá zóó.* If you arrange them well, the yams will all fit.

tſegtaa [tʃéyətáá] *n.* appeasing gift as apology. *pl.* *tſegtaasa.*

tſení [tʃéñi] *n.* ramrod, stick used to press gunpowder in the barrel. *pl.* *tſenína.*

tſokdaa [tʃéyadáá] *n.* dibble, farm instrument with long shaft and spoon-shape extremity but no concavity. *pl.* *tſokdaasa.*

tſokɔŋa [tʃékɔŋá] *n.* large termite mound. *pl.* *tſokɔŋasa.*

tʃɔnuzeŋ (*var. of tʃəbul*)

tʃɔpɪsɪ (*var. of tʃɔɔsɪn pisa*)

tʃɔra [tʃɔrə] *v.* for plants, to sprout after cutting • *tómá ká ñméná sūñj sàà tütó, à súój bí tʃɔráv.* Toma cut the shea tree to make a mortar, it sprouted with shoots from the stump.

tʃɔrìgí [tʃɔrìgí] *v.* to smash fresh tubers, intentionally or by accident • *ùù bié tʃɔrìgá à kpáámá à lìi kùó dì wāā à tʃèlè, ámúj tʃɔrìgí.* His child carried the yams from farm and fell on his way back, they were all smashed.

tʃɔrìmí [tʃɔrìmí] *n.* to be unreliable, cannot be trusted • *tí wá kpā mó-lèbíé dì tíé kàlá, òò tʃɔrìmíjááč.* Do not give money to Kala, he is unreliable.

tʃɔzvər [tʃózvər] *n.* infection. *pl. tʃɔ-zvəra.*

tʃugo [tʃùgò] *v.* 1 to shove, to push forward or along, or push rudely or roughly • *à nɔñní tʃúgó ùù bié tá.* The cow pushed her calf away. 2 to be deep and long • *à nàmbùgò bò́s tìñ tʃúgó tìúú.* The hole of the aardvark is deep down.

tʃugosi [tʃùgòsì] *pl.v.* to shove repeatedly • *tíí tʃúgòsì ìñìñ bàmbíí kékìj.* Do not shove at my chest like this.

tʃùítʃùí [tʃùítʃùí] *cf. siama* *ints.* pure, complete, or very red • *siàmá tʃùítʃùí.* very or pure red.

tʃumo [tʃùmò] *cf. furusi* *v.* to take large sips, large quantities at once

- *hákúrí tʃúmó à kùbíí múj.* Hakuri drank all the porridge in large sips.

tʃuomo [tʃùómó] *n.* Togo hare, Gh. Eng. rabbit (*Lepus capensis*). *pl. tʃuoysø.*

tʃuomonaatɔwa [tʃùómónààtɔwá] *lit.* rabbit-shoes *cf. tomo* *n.* thorny and dried flower of the tree named *tomo*. *pl. tʃuomonaatɔwsa.*

tʃuoŋ [tʃúón] *cf. suoj* *n.* shea nut seed. *pl. tʃuono.*

tʃuoŋbul [tʃùòmbùl] *n.* liquid waste of shea butter making process.

tʃuori [tʃùòri] *n.* to strain liquid through sieve in making porridge.

tʃurugi [tʃúrúgí] *pl.v.* to pull out many with force • *pèú tʃúrúgí nñ tʃénsi hembíé.* The wind pulled the roofing nails out.

tʃurutu [tʃúrútú] *ints.* very true, in accordance with facts • *à wíñmáhá bòà ní à báál kpágá wídíñ ná tʃúrútú.* Within the settling of their matter, the man was very right.

tʃuti [tʃútí] *v.* to pull out, e.g. teeth, nail or horn, to pry out, to loosen, to uproot, to unearth • *tʃútí hembíí tíñj.* Pull out the nail and give it to me. *nñ níñ dígímájá tʃútijé.* One tooth of mine has been pulled out.

tʃutfug [tʃùtfúk] *n.* type of closed single headed gourd drum, second largest after *bintirazey*. *pl. tʃufugno.*

tſuur [tſúúr:] *ideo.* very, exactly, identifying the exact identity of something • báñéé láá dí dí tſákàlì tàà tſúúr jáá dùsíélíí. Some believe that the exact Chakali language is the one from Ducie.

tſuuri [tſùùrì] *v.* 1 to pour liquid, as in from a water basin held on the head to a container on the ground, or from cup to cup with warm drinks to mix their content or cool them • tſùùrì à tíi já n̥då. Pour the tea from one cup to the other continuously for us to drink. 2 to pour grains or nuts from the roof of a house to the central ground • má tſūūrì à zàgá ní. Drop them on the ground of the house.

tſuse [tſùùsè] *v.* to suck in the liquid of a fruit • à bié tſúúsé à lòmbúrò ró. The child sucked the juice from the orange.

¹**tſva** [tſv̥à] *cf:* saga; suguli; tɔ̥ŋa *v.* to lie down • ḡ tſv̥áwáá. I'm lying down.

²**tſva** [tſv̥á] *lit.* lie *interj.* shut up.

tſva duo [tſùò dúò] *lit.* lie sleep *v.* to sleep • dià tómá kàà tſv̥á dūō rò. People in the house are sleeping.

tſvar [tſv̥ár] *n.* line, may describe a pattern on an animal skin or a mark on someone's face. *pl.* tſvara.

tſvl [tſv̥l] *n.* clay. *pl.* tſvl.

tſoma [tſòmà] *v.* 1 to be bad • kpǎàjtſómá i kpá tīēj. You gave me a bad yam. *ant:* were 2 to be ugly • à báál tſómāñ. The man is ugly. 3 to be lower than expectation, in terms of customs • à báál tſómāñ. The man's behaviours are not correct. *pl.* tſonsa.

tſv̥ja [tſv̥já] *v.* to carry load on the head • gòmáttíná wàá kìn tſv̥já b̥nnā. A hunchback cannot carry loads on his head.

tſv̥gɔ̥ŋ [tſv̥ŋgɔ̥ŋ] *n.* chewing gum. (ultm. English <chewing gum). *pl.* tſv̥ngɔ̥ŋsa.

tſv̥ɔ̥ŋ [tſv̥ɔ̥ŋ] *n.* type of fish. *pl.* tſv̥ɔ̥ŋna.

tſv̥osa [tſv̥òsá] *n.* morning. *pl.* tſv̥osa.

tſv̥osin písá [tſv̥òsìmpísá] (*var.* tſopísí) *n. phr.* day break, early morning • tſv̥òsìn písá hájì ní à lúhò téléjé. This early morning, the funeral came to us.

tſv̥orí [tſv̥òrí] *v.* to tear into pieces, or be torn, beyond possibilities of reparation • ḡt̥ì gât̥ɔ̥lít mûjì tſv̥òrìjé. My cloth is torn all over.

tſv̥osi [tſv̥òsí] *v.* to tut, expressing disdain, to make an ingressive derogatory sound with the mouth, Gh. Eng. to paf • bà wà tſv̥òsí lòbisé, bà wà n̥ójá kékì. They do not make derogatory sound to Lobis, they do not like this.

U

u (*var. of v*)

ugo [?ùgò] *v.* 1 to proliferate, to multiply • ɳì nãñná úgóó. My cattle have multiplied. ɳì jíná ká sñári síí párrí ní, ò kpáàmpàréè úgóó. Because my father is taking farming seriously, his yam farm has increased in size. *syn: wasí* 2 to swell, to expand • jàà nñ dò à gáà-ríí ní à úgò. Pour water in the *gaarii* for it to expand.

ugo [?ùgò] *v.* to bring up food purposely, push up food from the stomach to the mouth • à váà úgó nà-miň tìè ùù bisé. The dog brought up meat from his stomach for its puppies to eat.

ugul [?úgúl] *n.* type of fish. *pl. ugulo.*

uguli [?úgúlí] *v.* to push up earth, as when seedlings germinate • kpááñ-

঱

v [v] (*var. uu, vv, u*) *pro.* third person singular pronoun • óv tómà kó-dí já túgúú. Either he works or we beat him.

vwli (*var. of ৳লি*)

vtí [?òtì] *v.* to knead by folding, mix-

V

vaa [váà] *n.* dog *synt:* ¹**nõñtuna**. *pl. vasa.*

síé káá úgúlúú. The yam shoots are coming out.

ul [?úl] *n.* navel. *pl. ulo.*

ulo [?ùlò] *v.* to carry in arms • sìí lààrì kíná túú kààlì ká làà ìì jíná úló kpáámá à wãã. Stand up, get dressed, go down to your father, and bring yams.

ulzsa [?ùlzvá] (*var. zsa*) *n.* umbilical cord. *pl. ulzwasá.*

uori [?ùòrì] *v.* to shout to alert others, especially done at the farm • ù úórí kímkájì, bà tfó wàà lágá. He shouted very loud, they ran quickly to him.

uu (*var. of v*)

üü [?úú] *v.* to bury • óv náàl zì-bilím ūú mòlèbíé à ká sòwà. His grandfather Zibilim buried money and died.

ing and working into a mass, especially fufu • ótì à kàpálà já dí. Knead the fufu so we can eat.

vv (*var. of v*)

vvwa [óv'wà] *pro.* third person singular emphatic pronoun.

vãã [vãã] *v.* to be beyond one's power • ásibítì kàntsimá vãã ñìñ

fɔnjá ní rā. The hospital bill is beyond my capacity.

vaanj [vàánj] cf: **hǐi** *n.* animal front leg. *pl.* *vaajsa*.

vaanper [vààmpéř] *n.* shoulder blade. *pl.* *vaanjpeta*.

vaari [vààrì] *v.* to do something abruptly • *ò kpá à tón nà váári téé-bùl júú ní.* He put the book down on the table abruptly.

vaasi [vààsì] *v.* to rinse • *nàmìá tsélé háglií ní ḥ zòrò vāàsì ní.* The meat fell on the ground; I picked it up and rinsed it.

vagan [vágánj] *n.* rabies.

vala [vàlà] *v.* to walk, to travel • *niháǎná válá kààlì sòglá lú-hò.* Women walked to the funeral in Sawla.

valor [válòř] *n.* female puppy.

vanii [vánii] *n.* bitch, female dog.

vara [várá] *v.* to castrate • *ḣ kàá várá ḥná vawál lá.* I will castrate my male dog. (Waali <vara ‘castrate’).

vatīř (*var. of batīř*)

vawal [vawál] *n.* male dog.

vawalee [vawáléè] *n.* male puppy.

vawie [vawíè] *n.* puppy. *pl.* *vawise*.

vesi [vésí] *v.* to grow a little in height • *ñná kà wáā nā à bié dì òò bí vésí.* When I came to see the child, he had grown a bit.

veti [vètīř] *n.* mud. *pl.* *vetii*.

vige [vígè] *v.* to skim out, to move or push away obstacles • *vígè nífdóyó*

tá, ká dòò. Skim the debris from the water and draw some out. *bákúríí vígé à bisé tā.* Bakuri pushed the children away in order to pass.

vii [víí] *n.* cooking pot (type of). *pl.* *viine*.

viibagena [vìibáyəná] *n.* neck of a container.

viigi [vìigì] *v.* 1 to swing around • *nibáálā káá viigì tébín-sigmáá.* Men will swing the bull-roarer. 2 to shake head from side to side • *à tóótiiná vitéwó ká viigi ùù júù.* The landlord refused and shook his head.

viisiamá [vìisiàmá] *n.* type of water container made out of reddish clay. *pl.* *viisiansa*.

viisugulii [vìisùgùlìi] *n.* type of cooking pot which forms a stack when put together. *pl.* *viisugulee*.

vil [víl] cf: **kolõj** *n.* a well, a deep hole into the earth to obtain water. *pl.* *ville*.

vilimi [vílímí] *v.* to spin round and round • *jìnè ñná sákirnáá nà, òò má-rà à vilmüü?* Look at my bicycle tire, is it turning well?

viwo [víwò] *n.* 1 to wag • à *váá kàá víwò ò zín nē.* The dog is wagging his tail. 2 to suffer from erectile dysfunction • *kálá zín wàà ví-wò.* Kala suffers from erectile dysfunction.

via (*var. of viε*)

viε [vìè] *v.* (*var.* *via*) 1 to refuse, to reject, to neglect • *bà víé dí bá*

wá tɔmà jà tɔmā. They refused to come to do our work. 2 to abandon • à hǎáj víé ùù bisé tà. The woman abandoned her children.

viɛhiega [víéhíégá] cf: **viɛhiegie** interj. title and praise name for the *viɛhiegie* clan.

viɛhiegie [víéhíégíé] cf: **viɛhiega** nprop. clan found in Gurumbele.

viɛj [vìèj] *pv.* other, in addition • kùórù zágá dígíí víéj dòà lóólibānñi ní. The chief has another house in the Looli section. vièj kàálà à hǎáj pē. Return to the woman. nárá bátorò víéj wàà. Three persons came in addition. kálá kàá vièj dí. Kala will eat in addition to what he has eaten already.

viéra [víérá] *n.* dirt, rubbish. *pl.* **viéra**.

viérrí [víérí] *v.* to miscarry • nà hǎáj ná sígmàásá wá ò wà dí lúlúí, à víérrí tà. My wife saw the masks and she did not take the medicine, she had a miscarriage.

viɛzintʃia [víèzintʃíá] *lit.* refuse-know-tomorrow *n.* ungrateful.

vinnnní [vínnínnf] *ideo.* long and thin • à tántàànñí dó kén vinnnínñi. The earthworm is long and thin.

vira [vìrà] *v.* to hit with fast and hard motion, to hit with a stone using a catapult in order to kill, to kick with the foot in order to wound, to push or knock over something • bákúrí lísí òò náá vírà ùù bié múj. Bakuri hit the child's

buttock with his foot. làà táájà vírà zimbíè tīēj. Take the catapult and shoot the bird for me.

vísí [vísí] *v.* to pull with a quick or strong movement, to pull away with force • víísí à pínééè, ù díù. Pull in the fish, it is eating the bait. víísí à bié wà lìtì díà ní, díj kàá díù. Pull the child out of the room, or else the fire will burn him.

vísíñ [vísíñ] *n.* type of climber (*Psychotria conuta*). *pl.* **vísima**.

víti [vítí] *pl.v.* to prance, to spring forward on the hind legs, to kick the legs • bá vówá à píésí ré ò dí vítí náássá. They tied the sheep and it was kicking, thrashing about.

vongolii [vóngólíí] *n.* hollow percussion wood instrument made resonant through one or more slits in it. *pl.* **vongolie**.

votii [vótíí] *n.* election. (ultm. English <vote 'vote').

vög [vòg] *n.* south.

vøgla [vóyølá] *n.* Vagla person. *pl.* **vøglasa**.

vøgtimuppeu [vòyøtìmúñpèù] *lit.* south-east-wind *n.* south-east wind.

vøløvøløj [vólójvólój] *ideo.* smooth and slippery, even, or flat surface • à diápátfigíí dó vólójvólój káálí à zágá. The floor of the room is smoother than the cement in the yard.

vøtì [vòtí] *pl.v.* 1 to tie • kpá záá-líé vøtì à dáá ní. Tie the fowls to

the tree. 2 to braid • *nihááñá vótf bá juúú nō*. The women braid their hair.

vɔwa [vɔwà] *v.* cf: *lije; laari* 1 to tie, to attach, to wind around • *ò vɔwá à bő̄n nā*. She tied up the goat. *bő̄ná tñj ká wà vɔwá, má kpágásāā wàà*. The goats are not tied, you catch them and bring them. *ant: puro* 2 to braid hair with thin plastic thread • *bàà vɔwà púú rò à dáámúy ní*. They are braiding hair under the tree. 3 to wear, as a cloth attached around the waist • *kpá gáí vɔwà ì tñj*. Wear a cloth around your waist.

¹**vuugi** [vúúgí] *v.* to stir • *jàà sàó vúúgí nī nī já pññá*. Fetch some flour and stir it in the water for us to drink.

²**vuugi** [vúúgí] *v.* to be rude and impolite • *nááttífná binthááñ tñj vúúgijõ, ò záámì nihíësá rà kii ò svá*. My uncle's daughter is rude, she greets elders like her agemates.

vɔg [vɔg] *n.* shrine. *pl. vɔga*.

vɔg [vɔg] *n.* prediction made using a shrine • *à vɔg jáá dí ì káá svwà ò tómøsó*. The prediction is that you will die the day after tomorrow.

vɔga [vɔgà] cf: *piasi* *v.* to soothsay, to divine • *låà mòlèbíí ká vɔgà tñj, nññmá dí dñmñj*. Take some money and soothsay for me, a scor-

pion bit me yesterday.

vɔgjon [vɔgjójì] *n.* shrine slave, person who is compelled to admit his witchcraft intention and becomes the servant of the shrine that found out about his or her intention. [*oldfash*]. *pl. vɔgjoso*.

vɔgnihíë [vɔgñihíë] (*var. fawietinna*) *n.* the most elderly person at a shrine event, member of the lodge, who can take responsibility in case the leader is absent.

vɔgtina [vɔyɔtíná] *n.* a single person who owns a shrine, whose ownership is passed on by patrilineal inheritance. *pl. vɔgtuma*.

vɔlɔjvøs [vɔlɔjvøs] *n.* type of wasp (*Hymenoptera apocrita*). *pl. vɔlɔjvøssa*.

vɔosi [vɔðsì] *v.* to release pus at intervals • *bá tñjá ññ náá rä, ò dí vññsi*. They operated my leg, it has an intermittent flow of pus.

vɔta [vɔtá] *n.* prophecy, blessing or curse which can be uncovered by soothsaying • *ká lísí ì vɔtá sínáárá pë ní*. Go and remove your curse with the soothsayer.

vɔvri [vɔðrì] *v.* to arrange, to decide, to make a plan or agreement • *jàà vññrññ já válà tñjá*. We are arranging to travel tomorrow.

vɔvusta [vɔvɔtá] *n.* soothsayer syn: *siinaara*. *pl. vɔvustasa*.

W

¹wa [wa] *cf.* waa (*var.* ⁵waa) *pv.* not • ḵò wà dígbìàsiàmá, ḵò kír ré. He does not eat monkey, he taboos it. à dáá-nýj ká ȳmā óvú síárí ḵò há wà síárijé The fruit wants to be ripe but is not yet ripe. sígá déyíjíí wàá tṣój-gáá. Preserving the cow peas will not let them go bad.

²wa [wa] *cf.* ka *pv.* ingressive particle, conveys the process from the starting point of an event • jà kpágà dàà dígíjíí rá jà jíruú Pámbúlùŋ dí ḵò wá nɔnà à wàà bìi à nýj jáá bíréū.

³wa (*cntrvar.* wara)

¹waa [wàá] *nprop.* Wa town.

²waa [wàà] *cf.* baa *v.* to come • ḷṇ wááč. I am coming. lágálágá háñ ní ḵò wàà. He came just now. ḷṇ wáá-wáó. I arrived.

³waa [wáá] *pro.* third person singular strong pronoun • wáá híéj̄. He is older than me.

⁴waa [wàá] *cf.* wa *pv.* will not • hámój fírfí wàá ttè ó zímá ná-híé. Forcing a child will not make him clever. à gérégíjíí wàá pítí. The sick person will not survive.

⁵waa (*var. of* wa)

waal [wáál] *n.* Waala, person from Wa. *pl.* waala.

waalinzaŋ [wálínzáŋ] *n.* type of tree. *pl.* waalinzaŋsa.

waalíi [wáálíí] *n.* language of Wa town and surroundings.

waapelé [wààpélè] *nprop.* former settlement between Ducie and Katua.

¹waasi [wáásí] *v.* 1 to state of liquid reaching the boiling point • wáásí níí ḷṇ kóðré tii. Boil some water, I am going to make tea. 2 to be angry • ḵò bárá káá wáásí. He is angry.

²waasi [wààsí] *v.* to pour libation, to communicate with the shrine • jàà níí wààsí ḷṇ vórg. Fetch water and pour libation on your shrine.

waasiwíe [wààsíwíé] *n.* issues concerning a clan, clan rights and related performances in times of funerals, and taboos • wààsíwíé báà jàà. They are doing their clan performance. *pl.* wɔsawíe.

walanse [wólánsè] *n.* radio. (ultm. English <wireless). *pl.* walansisa.

walaŋzaŋ [wálánzáŋ] *n.* type of tree. *pl.* walayzansa.

war [wář] *n.* cold weather.

wara [wárà] *cntr.* ³wa *dem.* specific, certain, particular, very • à tój háj̄ wárà, ḷṇ wà zímá ḵò wíé. This particular book, I do not know about it. ḷṇ dià kíná jáá hámā mūj̄, ká kà-léj háj̄ wá ḷṇ dià kín lěj̄. All those items are mine, but this mat is not my belonging.

wasí [wàsí] *v.* to reproduce, to breed, to multiply by producing a generation of offspring • ḷṇ bődžíj tñj wásí-jóó. My goat has reproduced many offspring. *syn:* ¹ugo¹

watſehεε [wátſehéè] *n.* Gambian mongoose (*Mungos gambianus*). *pl.* *watſesa*.

wegimi [wègími] *v.* to be wild, to be untamed • *tí gílá à súúñó wé-gímí*. Do not let the guinea fowls be wild.

wenj [wèj] *interrog.* which • *kpàáñj wèj ká nñj?* Which type of yam is this? *lùlí wèmé ñì kàá búúrè íí jáwā?* Which drugs you want to buy? *séjwéj i kàá wàà?* When will you return? *pl. weme*.

were [wèrè] *v.* to be good, to be handsome, to be beautiful • *i gá-rà háj wéréú*. Your cloth is beautiful. à *báál wéré kínkán nā*. The man is handsome. *ant:* **tʃøma¹**

weti [wèti] *v.* 1 to be independent, being able to live and judge on his or her own • *tiè ñì bié wétì*. Let your child do things and reason on its own. 2 to be active and competent • à *biè wétíjó àní sáákìr zénìi né*. The child is competent in bicycle riding.

wèga [wègà] *v.* to open up slightly, to widen • *wègà ñì lógànñä ñá òò pàtʃígíí*. Open your pocket for me to look inside. *wègà à tiwí lóguñ níí dí válà dē*. Create a gutter for the water to pass by the road. *syn:* **přāni**

wie [wié] *n.* small, young *ant:* **híe** . *pl. wise*.

wieme [wiémé] *n.* bohor reedbuck, type of antelope. *pl. wiense*.

1wii [qiì] *v.* to weep, to cry • *dí ñì mágíí, i kàá wìiū*. If I hit you, you will cry.

2wii [wíi] *n.* cannabis. (ultm. English <weed). *pl. wii*.

wiile (*var. of wilie*)

wiisi [qiìsì] *v.* 1 to put fresh meat near hot coals *syn: pëwa* . 2 to heat one's body by placing a towel over the head and around the body, trapping the steam or heat produced by the hot water or burning coal • *sùgùlì sònìé lúlí tìeñ ñ wíisì*. Boil some malaria medicine for me, I will trap its steam.

wile [wìlé] *n.* opposite position or direction than expected • à *gój káá pálà wilé ré záháj*. The river is flowing in the opposite direction today. *tàgàtà wilésé bámùñ làà-rì*. They are wearing their shirt inside out.

wilie [wíliè] (*var. wiile*) *n.* sound that alerts people of a danger, made with the mouth • *džétíí káá dóng-níí, tʃí màjà wílìe tiè nárā ní*. A lion is coming after me: run and alert the people. *ùù wílìe káá tʃí-mññ*. His crying is unpleasant.

wiliŋ [wiliŋ] *n.* perspiration, sweat • *wiliŋ káá jálá ñ ní*. Perspiration is coming out of me. *pl. wiliŋse*.

wiliŋsanya [wiliŋsáñà] *lit.* perspiration-time *n.* hottest period of the dry season.

wir [wír] *n.* snake skin after moulting. *pl. wire*.

wire [qírè] *v.* 1 to undress • já wíré já kfná rá àká vålà gó dùùséé múnj nååvál bítörò. We undressed then walked around Ducie three times. 2 to remove the skin of an animal, to shave a head • wirè à píésí tṣj wåà. Remove the skin of the sheep and come. 3 to moult, as when a snake cast off its skin • bíná múnj háglikití já wírèō. Every year snakes moult.

wisi [wísí] *v.* to shake up and down as in winnowing.

wiwilii [wìwílíí] *n.* type of bird, large in size with shiny black feathers. *pl.* **wiwilee**.

wi- [wí] *cf:* **wii** (*var.* **wɔ**, **wɔ-**) classifier particle for abstract entity.

wídñij [wídñíñ] *cf:* **dñij**; **nídñij**; **kñdñij**; **bidñij** *n.* truth. *pl.* **widñima**.

wídñitína [wídñítífnà] *n.* loyal and committed person.

¹**wii** [qíj] *v.* to be ill, to be sick • ò wåà wíi. She is not sick. *ant:* ¹**laanfia**

²**wii** [qíí] *cf:* **wi-** *n.* matter, palaver, issue of abstract nature. *pl.* **wie**.

wiila [qíflá] *n.* sickness • båáj wíílá ká kpágí? What sickness do you have? *pl.* **wiila**.

wiili [wìillí] *n.* quality of being injured or ill • ii nébíwiilíé ká jàà á-wèñ? Which fingers are those injured? *pl.* **wiile**.

wijaalii [wíjáálíí] *n.* duty, moral obligation and activities that must be

carried out • sìlmákóórtí jáá hääñ wíjáálíí rà. Food preparation is a woman duty.

wijalii (*var.* of **tiimuñ**)

wíkpagni [wókpágíí] *n.* behaviour or deeds. *pl.* **wíkpagee**.

wíkpegelegii [wókpégélégíí] *n.* difficulty. *pl.* **wíkpegelegee**.

wil [wíl] *n.* mark on body made by incision or paint. *pl.* **wila**.

wíligi [wíligí] *v.* to dismantle • à lóólikóórá wílgí à lóóli índzì rē. The mechanic dismantled the car's engine.

¹**wilii** [wílíí] *n.* star. *pl.* **wile**.

²**wilii** [wílíí] *n.* tortoise. [*Mo, Ka, Tu, Ti*]. *pl.* **wile**.

wíløs [wílító] (*var.* **wíløs**) *n.* kob (*Kobus kob*). *pl.* **wilisa**.

willaanj [wílláanj] *n.* simple, light, trivial matter • wílláámá Any simple matters happening and my child gets angry. *pl.* **willaama**.

wíløs (*var.* of **wíløs**)

wímuñ [wímùñ] *quant.* anything, everything • wímuñ wåà tûó ñ kåá jááō kùsi. There is nothing I cannot do. **wímuñ nō** òò zimà. She knows everything.

wíymahä [wóymáhää] *n.* word, speech. *pl.* **wíymahääsa**.

wíymalagamíë [wíymálágámíë] *n.* dictionary.

wísi (*Mo. var. of wøsa*)

wítſelii (*var.* of **tiijuu**)

wizaama (*var. of jarie*)

wizimii (*var. of nanzinna*)

wizvor [wɪzvɔr] *n.* interruptive person. *pl.* wizvora.

¹wo (*var. of ra*)

²wo [wó] *v.* 1 to produce and harvest the second yam, after the first has been cut off the plant • dí i wà híré ñ kpáámá à wàá wō. If you do not dig your yams, they will not produce seedlings. 2 to excel at one's occupation • à néési wójòò àní hembíí tówíí ní. The nurse excels at giving injections.

wojo [wòjò] *nprop.* Wojo, person's name.

wondzomo [wòndzómò] *n.* person who performs male circumcision. (Hausa, ultm. Arabic <wanzaamī>).

wonj [wònj] *cf.* díginbirinse *cf.* díginbirinsetíma *n.* deaf person or mute person, or both. *pl.* wonno.

wojli [wònjlì] *v.* to act boastfully • kálá fí jā wòjli dó jà nī rā sùkúù nī. Kala used to boast at school.

woo [wòó] *v.* to be empty, to be vacant • à kàràybiè dígíí wá wááwá òò báṣáyíí tsvá wòó. One student did not come, his place is vacant.

woori [wòòri] *v.* to hoot at someone, especially of derision or contempt • dí i wá ȝmíè bá káá wóöríí. If you steal they will hoot at you.

wosi [wósí] *v.* to bark • à váá kàá wósòò. The dog is barking.

wou [wóù] *n.* second yam harvest.

pl. woto.

wo (*var. of wi-*)

wogadí [wóyádì] *n.* time. (Hausa, ultm. Arabic <wokaci>).

wolee [wóléé] *n.* type of fish. *pl.* wolesa.

wolli [wólíí] *n.* 1 group of people considered colleagues or age mates • tébín ní, ñ ní ñ sòàwòléé ká vàlá. At night me and my colleagues hang out. 2 blood related people forming a clan • tñí gànñwòléé tñí káká sñjá à bóní báluñwòrè nàmñá rā. Tomorrow the Gan clan will share their funeral meat. 3 ego's inferior, staff • bàmùñ jáá kùòrùwòléé wá. Everyone is under a chief. ñ télé jàùsá áliè dí ñ wóléé wá bí náñ túmá bár ní. It is two weeks now that my staff has not seen me at work. *pl.* wolee.

wööli [wòòli] *v.* to skim off, to shake, to bring refuse to top • wòòli à hää́sá mûñ à mîñ ní. Skim off the chaff from the guinea corn.

wora [wòrà] *v.* to strip, to come off, to shell (maize) • tñí já tñí káká wòrà à jàmmíí mûñ. Tomorrow we will shell all the maize.

wosakuolo [wòsíkùòlò] *cf.* iko (Mo. var. wosikuole) *nprop.* clan found in Sawla, Motigu, Tiisa, Tuosa, and Gurumbele.

wosalæla [wòsílëélá] *cf.* ilæ *nprop.* clan found in Motigu.

wɔsasiile [wɔsisiílé] cf: isi
nprop. clan found in Sawla, Motigu and Gurumbele.

wɔsatjaala [wɔsítʃáálá] cf: itʃa
nprop. clan found in Ducie and Gurumbele.

wɔsatjii [wɔsítʃii] (var. wɔsikii)
n. taboo inherited by clan affiliation. *pl. wɔsatfiite.*

wɔsawilla [wɔsítwíflá] cf: iわε
nprop. clan found in Sawla and Tuosa.

¹wɔsi [wɔsì] v. to roast, to cook with dry heat in ashes, sand or over fire without oil, or to put directly on fire • ii bié wɔsí kpááñ pétūú. Your child finished roasting the yam. ò ɿmá dí ɿńá kpósí à sùú áká wɔsí t̃ẽõ. She said I should singe off the guinea fowl and roast it for her.

²wɔsi [wɔsì] v. to summon, to bring a case to a chief • ɿ wà kpágá mó-lèbíé káá kàálí kùòrdíá kà wɔsi bákuri. I do not have money to go to the chief's house and summon Bakuri.

wɔsikii (var. of wɔsatjii)

wɔsikuole (Mo. var. of wɔsakuolo)

wɔsina [wɔsínà] n. type of yam. *pl. wɔsinas.*

wɔsiwijaalii [wɔsíwíjáálí] n. clan funeral performance, includes duties like marks on a corpse, ways to handle a corpse, or accepting offerings. *pl. wɔsiwijaalie.*

wɔtʃimář [wɔtʃimář] n. security

guard. (ultm. English <watchman).
pl. wɔtʃimáisa.

wusi [wúsí] v. to throb, to ache • à bié ɿmá dí ùù púú kàà wúsí ùù ñi. The child said that he felt a throbbing in his head.

wuuuli [wúúlí] v. to cook partially • wúúlí à nàmíňá bílè, já t̃fí tó-ŋà. Cook the meat partially, tomorrow we will boil it.

wv- (var. of wi-)

wvhāă [wvhăă] lit. sun-bitter *n.* afternoon, approx. between 12 p.m. and 3 p.m..

wvjalií [wvjálí] *n.* east.

wvra [wvrá] v. to thresh maize, or remove soil from a tuber • námúnáá káá kíñ wvrá pámmit̃é. Everyone can thresh maize. wvrá kpáámá háglíí tā. Remove the sand from the yams.

wvrigí [wvrígí] v. to collapse, to make collapse • à zámpárágíí wvrígíjó. The resting area collapsed. bőžná wvrígí ɿ háglibié tā. Goats scattered my heap of bricks.

wusa [wúsá] *n.* cf: kuoso (Mo. var. wisi) 1 god. 2 sun. 3 clan. *pl. wusasa.*

wvt̃elii [wvt̃élíí] *n.* west.

wvzaandia [wvzààndiá] lit. God-greet-house (var. misiri) *n.* mosque.

wvzanih̃e [wvzàníh̃é] *n.* leader of any modern religion activities. *pl. wvzanih̃esa.*

wvzvvr [wvzvvr] *n.* day • wvzvvr ri wej lɔ́lì káá wàá? On which day comes the car? à wvzvvr n̄ wàá tūwò n̄. That day I was not

Z

zaa [zàà] *v.* to fly • záárá hámà záá dí gó já tɔ́. These birds are flying over our village.

zaa paari [zàà pààrì] *v.* to nag, to excessively remind, to constantly bring back a matter • gbóló māá záá dí pāárīŋ ò tséndží wíé. Gbolo's mother keeps nagging me about her change.

zaajaga [zààjágà] *n.* tiny bird with light weight, seen flying from tree to tree. *pl.* zaajagasa.

zaalı [zààlì] *v.* to float • à píysvwíí záálí níí púú n̄. The dead fish floats on the water.

zaamí [zààmì] *v.* 1 to greet • n̄ záá-míí rā. I am greeting you. 2 to pray • n̄ záámì kúosò rō dí ó wáá záàj. I pray to God that he comes today.

zaaŋ [zàáŋ] (*Mo. var. ziləŋ*) *n.* today • i káá tómá tìè à kúórù rō zááy kāá tʃà? Will you work for the chief today or tomorrow?

zaangberi (*var. of kuudiginsa*)

zaar [záár] *cf:* zimbie *n.* bird. *pl.* zaara.

zaarhíẽ [zààrhíẽ] *n.* type of vulture
syn: nákpaazugo . *pl.* zaarhíësa.

zaasi [zààsì] *pl.v.* to jump • sóm-pɔ́rësáá záásí à wāā. The frogs are

there. wvzvvr wej i ká lìi dùséé wàá wàá? On what day did you leave Ducie to come to Wa?

jumping towards us.

zaawí [zààwì] *v.* to work or decorate with leather • ziàj záawí ùù kísìe rē. Ziang decorated his knife with leather.

zaaza [zààzázá] *ideo.* up standing, upright • mìn bié káá tsíjá záàzázá rá, òò há wà válà. My child is standing upright, but cannot walk yet. (partly Oti-Volta <za>).

zabaga [zàbáyà] *n.* Gonja person. *pl.* zabagasa.

¹**zaga** [zàyá] *n.* courtyard, compound. *pl.* zagasa.

²**zaga** [zàyà] *v.* to be furious • džè-bùní páá tñiñi bié zómó, tñiñi bárá zágà. Jebuni insulted my son, I was furious.

³**zaga** [zàyà] *v. cf: tuti* 1 to push, to shove • má ká zágà à lɔ́lì ú sî. You go and push the car for it to start. 2 to blow, of breeze or wind • pè-lèj káá zágà. We are experiencing a good breeze.

zagafíi [záyáffíi] *n.* yellow fever. *pl.* zagafíisa.

¹**zagali** [zàyàlì] *v.* to be worn out • tómá bié kinläríè zágálíjéó. The clothes of Toma's child are worn out.

zagali [záyálí] *v.* to shake in order to empty, or to dust • zágálí à tágàtà, à búmbór lìì. Shake the shirt to remove the dust.

zagan [záyán] *n.* leper. *pl. zagan.*

zagansa [záyànsá] *n.* leprosy. *pl. zaganса.*

zagasi [zàyàsì] *v.* 1 to press down and support oneself when standing up • à níhìé zágásí à kór siì. The elder supported himself on the chair to stand up. 2 to shake for fruits to fall • kà zágásí súōŋ. Go and shake the shea tree for the fruits to fall.

zagati [zàgàtì] *v.* to be holey, tattered, or damaged • hít gílá à kàdáásì zágátì kékì. It is you who made the paper to be so damaged. i kälèŋ zágátíjáv, jàwà áfɔlìì. Your mat is tattered, buy a new one.

zahal [záhál] *n.* hen egg. *pl. zahala.*

zahalbapòmma [záhálbápòmmá] *n.* egg white.

zahalbasìama [záhálbásìàmá] *n.* egg yolk.

zahulii [záhúlí] *n.* type of tree (*Afzelia africana*). *pl. zahulee.*

zakɔsl [zákʷóól] *lit.* fowl-t.z. *cf. kws* *n.* yam tuber beetle grub (*Heteroligus*). *pl. zakɔvla.*

zal [zál] *cf. zimř* *n.* chicken, fowl. *pl. zalie.*

zamba [zàmbá] *cf. daware* *n.* spitefulness, plotting, action against the benefit or prosperity of someone. (Hausa <zambaa>). *pl. zamba.*

zamparagui [zámpárágíí] *cf:* **zaŋ** (*var. gbélmunj*) *n.* covered wooden platform used as a resting area. *pl. zamparagie.*

zantere [zántéréè] *n.* type of grass that germinates in early July.

zantog [zàntóğ] *n.* basket used as fish trap in shallow water. *pl. zantoga.*

zanzig [zànzíg] *n.* type of plant. *pl. zanziga.*

zaŋ [zán] *n.* *cf:* **zamparagui** 1 wooden platform erected as a rest area. 2 nest. *pl. zaŋa.*

zaŋguoŋmuŋsulisu [zàŋgùòm-mùŋsùlísù] *n.* type of grasshopper.

zaŋgbiera [zàŋgbìèrà] *nprop.* Hausa people. *pl. zaŋgbierasa.*

zaŋgbierisabulugo [zàŋgbìèrisábúlú gó] *lit.* Hausa-spring *nprop.* location south of Ducie. (partly Oti-Volta).

zaŋsa [zàŋsá] *cf:* **gbege;** **kontii** *n.* early farm preparation, just after bush burning, involving clearing the land and cutting trees. [Du].

zaŋsi [zàŋsì] *v.* to clear land, in preparation for new farm • iŋùn búúré pápátásá ká záŋsí kùó tiēŋ biná hájì. I need farmers to clear the land for a new farm this year.

zaŋtſagalŋ [zàŋtſágàlìŋ] *n.* hall, common room where visitors are received *syn:* **lumbu**.

zapega [zàpègá] *n.* outer part of a house, outside a house and its yard • wòsá gó zàpègàsá, ó ká kpàgà záál. Wusa went at the outskirt of

the house to catch a fowl. *pl. zapegasa.*

zapuo [zápùó] *n.* hen, adult female fowl. *pl. zapuoso.*

zapuwie [zápúwìé] *n.* pullet, young female chicken.

zazehëë [zàzèhëë] *n.* roofing pillar, supporting *dolo*. *pl. zazehësa.*

zene [zènè] *v.* to be big, to be large
• *wòsá zéné káálí bá.* Wusa is the biggest among them. *sàŋkòáj kùò wá zénē, ùù kùò jáá wièwiè rē.* Sankuang's farm is not big, it is very small.

zenii [zéníi] *n.* big. *pl. zenie.*

zeŋ [zèj] *n.* big *ant:* ¹*boro* . *pl. zenee.*

zeŋsi [zèŋsì] *cf:* *duŋusi* *v.* to limp in a way to avoid the heel • *òò náá tñj gílá ò dì zéŋsi.* His leg makes him limp.

zepégor [zèpèg^wór:] *n.* type of hyena
syn: *badaare* . *pl. zepegoro.*

zesä [zèsá] *n.* type of gecko (*Hemidactylus*). *pl. zesasa.*

zigilii [zígílí] *v.* to shake, to shiver
• *wà́r tñé ò dì zígílí.* The cold weather makes him shiver.

ziige [zíigé] *v.* to make shake • *pèú káá zíigé dàásá.* The wind makes the trees shake.

zimal [zímbál] *n.* cock, adult male fowl. *pl. zimbala.*

zimbelee [zímbéléè] *n.* cockerel, young rooster.

zombie [zímbié] *n.* *cf:* *zaar* 1 any small bird. 2 chick of the fowl. *pl. zimbise.*

zimbimunzalonzva [zímbímùnzòà lónzòà] *n.* pin-tailed wydah, type of bird (*Vidua macroura*).

ziŋ [zíj] *n.* tail of mammals. *pl. zise.*

zí [zí] 1 *pv.* expected outcome, finally • *bà zì láwáá dí bá káá kàà-lòò.* They finally agreed that they will go. 2 *adv.* after, then • *dí gbàmgbàŋ wá pëtì áwèj zí jā kà wàä?* When harmattan finishes, which season follows?

zíã (*var. of zíë*)

zíë [zíé] (*var. zíã*) *n.* wall. *pl. zíësa.*

zíęŋ [zíéŋ] *n.* 1 spiritual protection after homicide • *ò só zíęŋ nā.* She washed her spiritual action away, so she is now clean. 2 snake venom. *pl. zíęŋ.*

zíęzie [zíézíé] *cf:* *kūjsüŋ* *ideo.* light weight and weak, for person or crop • *bíná hájì jì kpáámá dó zíę-zíë.* This year my yam plants are weak and poor.

ziga [zìgà] *v.* to be protruded, to bulge out or project from its surroundings, to have one's skin made tough and thick through use • *ìnì nèpíélá zígáá.* My palms are hard through working. à járébáàl tilé zí-gáá. Muslim men have a circle of callused skin on their forehead, a prayer bump.

zigiti [zìgítí] *v.* to learn, to study • *bà*

pé nì jà zìgítì nààsàrtàá. We learned English from them.

zii [zii] v. to have bushy hair, to have hair grown beyond normal • ḷì búú-rè i já kà fònà ii púù dì ḷ há wà zii-wá. I want you to shave your head before it becomes bushy.

ziiimi [ziiimi] v. to be wrinkled due to fluid loss or bodily substance • à hääj lümbürösó zíimijáǎ. The woman's oranges are wrinkled. *häähíesá sīē já ziiimōō*. The face of old women are generally wrinkled.

zilaŋ (*Mo. var. of zaanj*)

zilimbil [zilimbil] n. describe how an item or a person is covered or smeared with matter • à fègá míntí kóó' zilimbil lā. The stirring stick is covered with t.z.

ziliŋtsoŋõä (*var. of zoloŋtonõä*)

zima [zimà] (*var. ¹ziŋ*) v. to know, to understand, to be aware • ḷ zímá púmìi rē. She knows how to hide.

zima sii [zimà sii] lit. know eye cpx.v. to confirm • ḷṇṇ bíerì há wà zímá ḷv wíé sii. My senior brother has not yet confirmed his issues.

zimatirna (*var. of zimna*)

zimñi [zimñi] cf: *zal* n. fowl, chicken. [*Gu.*] pl. *zimñe*.

zimkpaganõä [zìŋkpàgànõå] lit. know-have-mouth n. discretion • zìŋkpàgànõå wíréo. Discretion is good.

zimkpaganõätrna [zìŋkpàgànõåtíí-ná] lit. know-have-mouth-owner

n. discreet person, someone who can keep secrets • kàlá wá jää zìŋkpàgànõåtíí-ná. Kala is not a discreet person.

zimna [zímñá] (*var. zimatirna*) n. knowledgeable, professional. pl. *zimnasa*.

zin (*var. of zina*)

zina [zíná] v. cf: *tuu* (*var. zin*) 1 to drive or ride, or sit on, e.g. bicycle, motorcycle, horse • ḷ wà bùúrè hámónà dì zíná ḷṇṇ púúpù háj. I do not want children to ride on my motorbike. 2 to climb, to go up, to be with a great deal of volume • ḷ zíná sàl lá ḷn páá tʃūōnō. I go up on the roof to collect my shea nuts. ḷṇá á dí ziná. Speak loud.

zinahõõ [zìnàhõõ] (*var. pompo*) n. type of locust which comes in large quantity and destroys crops rapidly.

zinzapuree [zànzàpúrèè] cf: *dandafulee* (*var. zinzinpulie*) n. house bat. pl. *zinzapuruso*.

zinzinpulie (*var. of zin Zapuree*)

¹ziŋ (*var. of zima*)

²ziŋ [ziŋ] n. large-eared slit-faced bat (*Nycterus macrotis*). pl. *zinna*.

³ziŋ (*var. of ziŋii*)

ziŋja [zíŋjá] v. to be tall, to be long • báál hàn ní zíŋjá kààlì ḷ píná. This man is taller than his father. wàà ní dùsèè tíwñi zíŋjáǎ. The Wa-Ducie road is long.

ziŋbanii [zíŋbàniì] lit. tall-section nprop. section of Ducie.

ziijII [zíjjíí] (var. ³ziij) *n.* length, height • à dőőz ziijII jáá mításá ànáá-sé rā. The length of the python is four meters. *pl. ziije.*

zisa [zísá] *n.* slender-tailed squirrel, squirrel which lives on trees (*Protospermophilus aubinnii*). *pl. zisasa.*

zolontonõä [zólónjtónõä] (var. zilintsonõä) *n.* Black Wood-Hoopoe, type of bird (*Rhinopomastus aterrimus*). *pl. zolontonõäsa.*

zomie [zómìe] *n.* person who wishes and acts for the downfall of somebody else. *pl. zomise.*

zon [zónj] *n.* insult. *pl. zomo.*

zonbii [zònjbíí] *n.* specific insult or mockery, usually targeting appearances • à hääj zònjbii müj nää jáá grízénñé. They mock the woman with her big cheek. *pl. zojbie.*

zongeree [zóngòréé] *n.* mosquito. *pl. zojgoruso.*

zoro [zòrò] *v.* to pick someone or something up from the ground, or as in providing transportation, to raise, to lift or pick up something • à biè zóró òv jiná ságà móto nī. The child picked up his father on his motorbike. zòrò à siimáà lii dèndil. Pick up the food and send it outside.

zogsieñ [zògsiéñ] *n.* maize silk. *pl. zogsiema.*

zõi [zõí] *ideo.* exclusively • lààbòkòsá májá zõí ñ jiná dì párá. My father produces exclusively laabòkò yams.

zøj [zòj] *n.* weak from birth • kòlókòlózøj wáá tûō ñ kòlókòlòsò nī. There are no weak turkeys among my rafter. *pl. zønna.*

zønkogosiañ [zònjkogósiañ] *n.* large pit formed naturally. *pl. zøjkogo-siama.*

zønkøjæ [zònjkøjéé] *n.* type of slate rock. *pl. zøjkøjësa.*

¹**zugo** (var. of duu)

²**zugo** [zùgò] *v.* 1 to be thick, stiff but flexible • à kápálà zúgójú. The fufu is well pounded and starchy. 2 to be slow • gbòló zúgójinkán nà, ò wà písì bárà dì jáá wíé. Gbolo is very slow, she does not get on with things.

zugumi [zùgùmì] *v.* 1 to not receive good care and suffering the consequences • làliwisé káá zúgúmì. Orphans are not receiving good care. 2 to be stunted, to stop, slow down, or hinder the growth or development of • ñ kàá tiè í zúgúmì. I will hinder your development.

zul [zúl] *cf:* kòlh *n.* millet, used in making porridge and t.z.. *pl. zulo.*

zungun [zungún] *n.* elongated carved log drum, beaten with curved stick. *pl. zujgunso.*

zungwo [zungwò] *n.* type of dance for women and men, not specific to a particular event. *pl. zujgwò.*

¹**zuu** [zùù] *n.* dull weather, no sun and no rain. *pl. zuu.*

²**zuu** [zùù] *n.* the biggest part of a

share • *i totii jaa zuu.* Your share is the biggest share.

zva (*var. of ulzva*)

zðã [zðâ] (*var. zðõ*) *n.* waterbuck, type of antelope (*Kobus ellipsiprymnus*). *pl.* *zvãta.*

zvgsii [zóysí] *n.* type of tree. *pl.* *zvgsie.*

zvgvsi [zðgðsì] *v.* to shrink, to become small by sickness, implies unattractive thinness, as with undernourishment • *à zál kàà wítõ ìì wà ná ðò kà zðgðsijëë?* The fowl is sick, haven't you seen it has shrunk?

zðõ (*var. of zðã*)

zvõmi [zðõmì] *v.* for leaves, to be dehydrated, have spots and be wrinkled • *à mûró pààtságá zvõmîñ.* The rice plant is dehydrated.

zvu [zðù] *v. cf: lñ 1* to enter, to go inside • *dì zvõ.* Come in! *à kúòrû zvõ dià mûj nô à lâà kpâámmá fí fí.* From each house the chief took 10 yams. 2 to live somewhere and not necessarily be a native of that place • *kùmáásí ðì zvõ.* He lives in Kumasi.

3 to join, to cooperate • *nitàmá kâá zvõ kóólí lágálágá háj.* Few people join the shrine Kuolii these days. *já zvõ dñjâ à pèñjì bìnâ háj.* Let us cooperate and do the first weeding this year.

zvõ [zðù] *n.* laziness, lack of courage, or dullness originating from depression, unhappiness or illness • *zàájì ñjì bárâ dô zvõ.* Today I am lazy and lack courage. *pl.* *zvõ.*

zvõdõjâ [zðõdõjâ] 1 *n.* work relation or process, when each works for the other in turn • *jâ kâà zvõdõjâ à tñ pié wó bìnâ háj.* We will come together to raise yam mounds this year. 2 *pl.n.* neighbours or people one stays with.

zvøl [zðøl] *n.* tuber. *pl.* *zvøla.*

zvoni [zðõnì] (*var. tvoni*) *v.* to pout, to protrude the lips in an expression of displeasure • *à sùkúù bisé wâá kìn zvõnì nõá dô tfítâ nñ.* The students cannot pout at a teacher. *tfí tñrñi ìì nõá dô ñi nñ këj.* Do not protrude your mouth at me like that.

Part III

English-Chakali reversal index

a

aardvark nanbugo <i>n.</i>	adopted child sanlare <i>n.</i>
abandon ta ₁ <i>v.</i> ; viε ₂ <i>v.</i>	adultery (to commit) sama <i>v.</i>
abdomen patʃiŋui <i>n.</i>	adze sãätʃɔj <i>n.</i>
able kɪn <i>v.</i> ; kpege ₂ <i>v.</i>	afraid (be) ḡoma <i>v.</i>
abound gaali ₂ <i>v.</i>	African nɪbubummo <i>n.</i>
abrasion (branch) daasiiga ₁ <i>n.</i>	after zi ₂ <i>adv.</i>
abruptly (do) vaari <i>v.</i>	afternoon wɔhää <i>n.</i>
abscess tʃamimä <i>pl.n.</i>	again bɪ <i>itr.</i>
absolutely not fio ideo.	age hĩ̃ <i>v.</i>
abstract entity wi-	age mate ssawalii <i>n.</i>
abundant kana <i>v.</i>	age mate (relation) sva <i>n.</i>
abused (person) nudoŋ <i>n.</i>	agitation nənnəŋj ₂ <i>n.</i>
Accra akraa <i>nprop.</i>	agree nõā digimaŋa <i>v.</i>
ache wusi <i>v.</i>	agree (to leave) ta dɔŋa <i>v.</i>
Achilles tendon nääpol <i>n.</i>	agree with laa ₄ <i>v.</i>
acquire wealth buure ₂ <i>v.</i>	AIDS eesi <i>n.</i>
acre eeka <i>n.</i>	aim at fiili ₁ <i>v.</i> ; pɔ ₂ <i>v.</i>
across (be) kaga <i>v.</i>	airplane oluplen <i>n.</i> ; oripere <i>n.</i>
act proudly dʒigisi <i>v.</i>	Akee tree tii <i>n.</i>
active nəma ₂ <i>v.</i> ; weti ₂ <i>v.</i>	albino gbambala <i>n.</i>
add pe <i>v.</i> ; tuosi ₁ <i>v.</i>	alcoholic drink pataası <i>n.</i> ; smj <i>n.</i>
add (condiment) gbaani <i>v.</i>	alcoholism siŋŋəhää <i>n.</i>
added amount tuosii <i>n.</i> ; tuoso <i>n.</i>	alert pɔtɪ <i>v.</i>
additional viεŋ <i>pv.</i>	alight (become) būū <i>v.</i>
adhere mara ₁ <i>v.</i> ; maragi <i>pl.v.</i>	all muŋ <i>quant.</i>
adhere to a religion dɔa ₂ <i>v.</i>	all (hum+) bamuŋ <i>quant.</i>
adjacent (be) kpara <i>v.</i>	all (hum-) amuŋ <i>quant.</i>
adjust gbiasi ₁ <i>pl.v.</i>	alleviate fɔgɔsi ₂ <i>v.</i>
adjuster kaleŋbileŋeē <i>n.</i>	alley fɔgbaaj <i>n.</i>
adopt laa dɔ cpx.v.	allow gila ₁ <i>v.</i>

alms sereka <i>n.</i>	appear gaŋɪ <i>v.</i>
alone teŋteŋ <i>n.</i>	appearance sii <i>n.</i>
already baaj <i>pv.; foo₃ v.; maasi₁ v.</i>	append mara ₁ <i>v.</i>
also gba <i>quant.</i>	appendicitis momuj <i>n.</i>
always taarɔ <i>n.</i>	appetite hřera <i>n.</i>
amaranths (vegetable) aleefɔs <i>n.</i>	apply třtɪ <i>v.</i>
ammunition pouch tɔg <i>n.</i>	argue tva ₂ <i>v.</i>
amount ŋmena ₂ <i>n.; zuu n.</i>	argument hakila <i>n.</i>
ancestor faal <i>n.; laln₂ n.</i>	arm ner <i>n.</i>
ancestors (line) ləl <i>n.</i>	arm joint nekpun <i>n.</i>
ancient faa <i>n.</i>	arm ring kana <i>n.</i>
and a conn.; aka conn.; ani ₁ conn.; ka ₁ conn.	armpit lugbva <i>n.</i>
anger baaŋ <i>n.; pagi n.</i>	armpit hair lugbṣapuŋ <i>n.</i>
angry (be) waasi ₂ <i>v.</i>	arrange d̩asɪ <i>pl.v.; tʃɔgsɪ₂ v.; vɔvsi₁ v.</i>
animal sel <i>n.</i>	arrow hřŋ <i>n.</i>
animal skin tɔŋ ₁ <i>n.</i>	arthritis gaŋabulo <i>n.</i>
ankle nääsii <i>n.; näätfvog n.</i>	articulated vehicle lɔɔlmunzsalun-zva <i>n.</i>
ankle-rattles (pair) tʃřŋ <i>n.</i>	as kii ₁ conn.; kii ₂ <i>v.</i>
announce hësi <i>v.</i>	as well ko <i>adv.</i>
announcer hëhëse <i>n.</i>	ascaris juŋarj <i>n.</i>
annoyed (be) hääsii ₂ <i>n.</i>	ascite patʃgiisunno <i>n.</i>
answer laa ₃ <i>v.</i>	ash fuful <i>n.; tapulsa n.</i>
ant (type of) daajuukponjkpolo <i>n.;</i> gogo <i>n.;</i> gogosama <i>n.;</i> guurii <i>n.;</i> haglibie <i>n.;</i> haglibisiansa <i>n.;</i> minřä <i>n.;</i> solibie <i>n.;</i> temii <i>n.;</i> tii <i>n.</i>	ash (type of) fđä <i>n.</i>
antelope (type of) ää <i>n.;</i> kuo <i>n.;</i> wieme <i>n.;</i> zđä <i>n.</i>	Ashanti (person) kɔmbɔrja <i>n.</i>
anus muŋputii <i>n.</i>	ask piasi ₁ <i>v.</i>
anxious siri <i>n.</i>	ask (for forgiveness) dibi <i>v.</i>
anyone namuj <i>quant.</i>	asking (farm help) parisumii <i>n.</i>
anything wimuj <i>quant.</i>	asleep duo <i>n.</i>
	asphalt kotaal <i>n.</i>
	assassin bug hamɔnanäň <i>n.</i>
	assemble sira ₁ <i>v.</i>
	assist in crossing water duori <i>v.</i>

asthma

basket (type of)

asthma hī̄sipugo *n.*

at (be) d̄wa₁ *v.*

at all times taarv *n.*

atlas vertebra bagensorii *n.*

attach mina₁ *v.*; v̄wā₁ *v.*

attempt to catch gbarmi *v.*

b

baboon f̄ō̄ *n.*

baby bif̄la *n.*

bachelor buzōj *n.*

back gantal₁ *n.*; gantal₃ *reln.*; habv̄o
n.

back (part of) kaŋa₁ *n.*; kaŋa₂ *n.*

back area lumo *n.*

backtalk gantal l̄ha *n.*

backtalking l̄gantal *n.*

backwards bira *v.*

bad b̄ōj *n.*; h̄ī̄ *interj.*; t̄suma₁ *v.*

bad (be) b̄oma₁ *v.*

bad (person) nibubōj *n.*

Badiga (person's name) badiga
nprop.

bag b̄ɔ̄tra₁ *n.*; pur *n.*

bag (type of) l̄ga₁ *n.*

Bakuri (person's name) bakuri
nprop.

balance deŋsi₁ *v.*

bald headed nukpaltima *n.*

baldness kpalige *n.*; nukpal *n.*

ball bol *n.*

ball (dawadawa) sv̄mmāā *n.*

attitude d̄onna *n.*; d̄zogo *n.*

avoid (spill) m̄vra *v.*

Awie (person's name) abie *nprop.*;
awie *nprop.*

axe sāā *n.*

ball (groundnut) kpulikpulii *n.*

ball (pumpkin seed paste) kan-
t̄san̄gulumo *n.*

ball (shea butter) n̄ȭlloḡosii *n.*

ball of the thumb nebikaŋkawalnan-
punii *n.*

balloon baluu *n.*

bambara bean sibii *n.*

bambara bean (fried) sibihalii *n.*

bamboo sima *n.*

banana kuodu *n.*

baobab seed tolibili *n.*

baobab tree tolili *n.*

bark daapetii *n.*; wosi *v.*

barrel aŋk̄oro *n.*

barrel (gun) maafatuo *n.*

barren hambara *n.*

barren (be) fire v̄.

barter t̄f̄era *v.*

base muŋ₃ *reln.*; sontogo *n.*

Basig (person's name) basig *nprop.*

basin katasazej *n.*; tasazej *n.*

basket (type of) kv̄zaa *n.*; tisie *n.*;
t̄saga *n.*

bat (type of)

bird (type of)

bat (type of) dandafulee *n.*; filmjfintii
n.; zinzapuree *n.*; ziŋ *n.*
bath sɔ *v.*
bathroom tʃetʃera *n.*; tʃitʃara *n.*
baton (gun) maafamundaapĩā *n.*
battery baatribii *n.*
Bayong (person's name) bajorj
nprop.
be dɔɔ *v.*; jaa₁ *v.*
be about jaŋŋi *v.*
be on saga₁ *v.*
beach muŋgnɔ̄ā *n.*
beadless (be) smjkpal *n.*
beam (wood) daaluhii *n.*
bean (black) sigbummo *n.*
bean (type of) gbena *n.*; siggoŋgo *n.*
bean (white) sigpuŋma *n.*
bean cake kansii *n.*
bear (foetus) ksla *v.*
bear fruit nɔna *v.*
beard dandapvsa *n.*
bearing device (type of) garnjzaŋee
n.
bearing tray džaanjāā *n.*
beat maŋa₁ *v.*; masi *pl.v.*; tugo₁ *v.*; tu-
gosi *pl.v.*
become wa *pv.*
bee tūubii *n.*
beetle (type of) bimbilinsi *n.*;
mĩabiwaɔ̄ *n.*; niŋjuugbangbulii *n.*
beetle grub zakvɔl *n.*
before mõā *adv.*
beg svłimi *v.*; svmmi₃ *v.*

beggar susumma *n.*
behaviour dønna *n.*; wíkpagii *n.*
behaviour (type of) mɔta *n.*; negeke
n.
behind gantal₃ *reln.*
believe laa di *cpx.v.*
bell (finger) prega *n.*
bell (type of) daworo *n.*; gbeliŋe *n.*
belly patſigii *n.*
belt belenti *n.*
bench kor *n.*
bend goro₁ *v.*
bend back hele *v.*
bend down bɔŋja *v.*; fela *v.*
bend outward gɔrígí *v.*
bend over gaali₁ *v.*
betray mĩni *v.*
better (be) bɔ *v.*
between (be) faari *v.*
beyond (be) vää *v.*
Bible baabv *n.*
biceps nekpegn *n.*
bicycle saakir *n.*
big kana *v.*; zene *v.*; zenii *n.*; zeŋ *n.*
bile kpurii *n.*
bilharzia fiŋfiŋʃoro₁ *n.*
billy goat bɔɔŋbal *n.*
bird zaar *n.*
bird (small) zimbie₁ *n.*
bird (type of) bendiir *n.*; bizzimii *n.*;
bɔzaal *n.*; daakɔ̄ā *n.*; daakɔ̄ajalee
n.; daakɔ̄äwoŋ *n.*; daaŋmenkoŋkoŋ

n.; diŋtſena *n.*; digte₂ *n.*; digbel-gv̄s *n.*; dulugu *n.*; duu *n.*; galinj-gaa *n.*; gatuolie *n.*; gbelingb̄i *n.*; gbiekie *n.*; gbřāsɔɔnřā *n.*; kanteo *n.*; katſig *n.*; katſiguol-siaj *n.*; kiesii *n.*; kilee *n.*; kileesiaj *n.*; konſiaj *n.*; koŋbugul *n.*; koŋ-jelemři *n.*; koŋkogulepumma *n.*; koŋpulŋ *n.*; koŋzaazug *n.*; koŋsag-begbe *n.*; kuu *n.*; kuudiginsa *n.*; kuusiaj *n.*; kuuwolie *n.*; kpaŋkpagtii *n.*; kpaŋkpaŋlerie *n.*; kpolunjkpoo *n.*; kpoŋkpoŋbzazimbie *n.*; laleek-pakparee *n.*; laŋgb̄e₁ *n.*; luho *n.*; luhosiaj *n.*; määbřřy *n.*; mɔgzmibie *n.*; ŋmalŋŋmřř *n.*; paatsjaranwɔŋ *n.*; pititeo *n.*; pɔlzim-bal *n.*; samkparjtuļu *n.*; saŋban-dugulee *n.*; saŋboŋ *n.*; sigmaazim-bie *n.*; tijagri *n.*; tintuolii *n.*; tntaa *n.*; tɔvɔgzimbie *n.*; tuntuolisrama *n.*; tʃaparapři *n.*; tʃaree *n.*; tʃatſawilee *n.*; tʃokpore *n.*; wiwilii *n.*; zaajaga *n.*; zimbimunzvalšnzsa *n.*; zoloŋtɔnřā *n.*

biscuit bisiketi *n.*

bitch vanii *n.*

bite dɔma *v.*; dɔmr̄i *n.*; dɔnsi *pl.v.*; ŋmena₂ *v.*; pempel *n.*

bite (attempt) gagati *v.*

bitter (be) hääsi *v.*

bitterness hääsii₁ *n.*

black bummo *n.*; doŋ₂ *n.*

black (be) bire₂ *v.*

black (person) nɪbubummo *n.*

Black plum anbuluj *n.*

Black thorn sɔbummo *n.*

blacksmith kɔlv̄ta *n.*

blade bileedi *n.*

blame paani *v.*

blame (without) sol ideo *n.*

blanch foro *v.*

blanket kuntuj *n.*

bless kisi *v.*

blind ɲubirintuna *n.*; ɲv̄lŋj *n.*

blink kamsi₁ *v.*

blink (eye) dɔsɪ₃ *v.*

blister maali *v.*

blood tʃal *n.*

blood relationship hřena *n.*

bloom jele *v.*

blooming jelii *n.*

blow fuuri *v.*; hřv̄ *v.*; pewo *v.*; zaga₂ *v.*

blow nose mři *v.*

blue bluu *n.*

blunt gbul *n.*

blunt (be) gbulo *v.*

board (wooden) daapelimpę *n.*

boast foro *v.*

boastful tankama *n.*

boastfully (act) wonli *v.*

boat kokoluŋ *n.*

body bara *n.*

body joint kpuŋ *n.*

bohor reedbuck wieme *n.*

boil tʃamřā *pl.n.*; waasi₁ *v.*

boiling tɔŋii *n.*

bolt

bullet

bolt j <small>ɔ̄</small> t <small>i</small> ₁ <i>n.</i>	break off kpesi <i>v.</i> ; kp <small>ɛ̄</small> rig <small>i</small> <i>pl.v.</i>
bone hog <i>n.</i>	breast ɪl <i>n.</i>
book t <small>ɔ̄</small> j <small>ɔ̄</small> ₂ <i>n.</i>	breathe h <small>î̄</small> esi <small>2</small> <i>v.</i>
bore lugo <small>1</small> <i>v.</i>	breathe with difficulty kiiri <i>v.</i>
boredom haamii <i>n.</i>	breed wasi <i>v.</i>
borehole p <small>ɔ̄</small> mp <small>î̄</small> vig <small>i</small> <i>n.</i>	breeze pele <small>ŋ</small> <i>n.</i>
borrow s <small>ɔ̄</small> mmi <small>1</small> <i>v.</i>	brewing t <small>ɔ̄</small> j <small>ɔ̄</small> ₂ <i>n.</i>
bother dama <i>v.</i>	bridge kodoro <small>go</small> <i>n.</i>
bottle k <small>ɔ̄</small> lbaa <i>n.</i> ; pirintva <i>n.</i>	bright t <small>ʃ</small> âani <small>1</small> <i>v.</i>
bottom (river) niisii <i>n.</i>	brightness bat <small>ʃ</small> aaj <i>n.</i>
boundary b <small>ɔ̄</small> ɔ <small>3</small> <i>n.</i>	bring kpa wa cpx. <i>v.</i>
bow tuo <i>n.</i>	bring out kiini <small>1</small> <i>v.</i>
bowed (be) g <small>ɔ̄</small> ríg <small>i</small> <i>v.</i>	bring up food ugo <i>v.</i>
bowl tasazej <i>n.</i>	broken (be) f <small>ɔ̄</small> smi <i>v.</i> ; k <small>ɔ̄</small> golí <small>2</small> <i>v.</i>
bowl (grinding) dantig <i>n.</i>	broken part baketii <i>n.</i>
bowl (plastic) r <small>ɔ̄</small> bakatasa <i>n.</i>	broken piece of gourd fakelia <i>n.</i>
bowl (type of) hembie <i>n.</i> ; hembola <i>n.</i> ; hena <i>n.</i> ; hengbaa <i>n.</i> ; katasa <i>n.</i> ; tasa <i>n.</i>	broken pot (piece) tsintseli <i>n.</i>
box daga <i>n.</i>	broom k <small>ɔ̄</small> mp <small>î̄</small> gii <i>n.</i> ; t <small>ʃ</small> âa <i>n.</i>
boy (young) binibaal <i>n.</i>	brother (senior) bier <small>ı</small> <i>n.</i>
bracelet gbiij <i>n.</i>	brother's wife (junior) hawie <small>1</small> <i>n.</i>
braid v <small>ɔ̄</small> t <small>i</small> ₂ <i>pl.v.</i> ; v <small>ɔ̄</small> wa ₂ <i>v.</i>	bruised (be) f <small>ɔ̄</small> rrig <small>i</small> <i>v.</i>
brain kuŋkuŋ <i>n.</i>	bucket bakti <i>n.</i>
branch (forked) daat <small>ʃ</small> araga <i>n.</i>	bud f <small>î̄</small> <i>v.</i>
branch (tree) daanâa <i>n.</i>	buffalo k <small>ɔ̄</small> sanâa <i>n.</i>
branch of a river gçjnâa <i>n.</i>	build sâa <small>3</small> <i>v.</i>
brave bambiitma <i>n.</i> ; dziga <i>v.</i>	building saal <small>1</small> <i>n.</i>
bravery baalii <i>n.</i> ; bambii ₃ <i>n.</i> ; nnibata <i>n.</i>	bulb (light) b <small>ɔ̄</small> ona <i>n.</i>
bread paanov <small>o</small> <i>n.</i>	Bulenga (lect of) bulejji <small>1</small> <i>n.</i>
break git <small>i</small> ₁ <i>v.</i> ; kerigi <i>pl.v.</i> ; keti <small>1</small> <i>v.</i> ; t <small>ʃ</small> ieŋ <small>i</small> <i>v.</i>	Bulenga (person from) bulejji <small>2</small> <i>n.</i>
	bulge out ziga <i>v.</i>
	bulges kpuogii <i>n.</i>
	bull n <small>ɔ̄</small> wal <i>n.</i>
	bullet maafabii <i>n.</i>

bullroarer dendilh̩es̩i *n.*; sigmawiili
burial specialist pel *n.*
burn fūū *v.*; t̩g̩s̩i *v.*
burning fūūi *n.*
burnt slightly (be) baari *v.*
burp garisi *v.*
burst jala₁ *v.*
bury sogoli₂ *v.*; ūū *v.*
bush k̩osa₁ *n.*
bush animal k̩osasel *n.*
bush cat (type of) am̩n̩s̩ *n.*
bush dog (type of) bele *n.*; b̩swal̩s̩ *n.*

C

calculator k̩ukurok̩ɔr̩i *n.*
calf nāāt̩sig̩i *n.*; nōwii *n.*
calf (bull) nōwalee *n.*
call jrra *v.*; jirig̩i *pl.v.*; sira₂ *v.*
calling jirii *n.*
camel n̩ogma *n.*
camp (farm) bugumuŋ *n.*
camphor kafuura *n.*
can kn̩ *v.*; k̩enk̩on̩ ono. *n.*
cancel d̩v̩si₂ *v.*
candle t̩saandırı *n.*
candy (type of) hagas̩ *n.*
cane fi̩b̩l̩₂ *v.*
cane-rat aar̩i *n.*
cannabis wii *n.*
capsule lulibii *n.*

bush guinea fowl k̩osasūū *n.*
bushbuck āā *n.*
bushy hair (have) z̩r̩ *v.*
but ka₂ conn. *n.*
butcher nanjogul *n.*
butterfly p̩n̩p̩glimp̩ *n.*
buttock muŋkaaŋ *n.*
buttocks muŋ₁ *n.*
buttress kp̩otokporogo *n.*
butt crack muŋtii *n.*
buy j̩ws̩i *pl.v.*; j̩wa *v.*
by pe *n.*
by force (do) fāā₁ *v.*

car l̩ol̩ *n.*; turuŋkaa *n.*
care (guest) kpaga huor *v.*
care (not receive) zugumi₁ *v.*
careful (be) t̩salasi₁ *v.*
carefully b̩ð̩ñb̩ð̩ñ ideo.
careless (be) faasi *v.*
careless (person) siin̩smatıma *n.*
carelessness faasii *n.*
caretaker jinne *n.*
carpenter kapenta *n.*
carry baasi *v.*; kolo *v.*; n̩oŋja₂ *v.*; t̩ʃ̩ŋja *v.*; ulo *v.*
carry (fire) m̩ona *v.*
caruncle sim̩ç̩i *n.*
carve sāā₁ *v.*
carver daasāār *n.*; s̩asaar₁ *n.*
cassava kp̩õŋkp̩õŋ *n.*

cassava (dried)

cheating

cassava (dried) kpõŋkpõŋhvl̩ n.;
kpõŋkpõŋte n.

cassava (red) kpõŋkpõŋsrama n.

cassava (white) kpõŋkpõŋp̩umma n.

cassava flour lumps kpõŋkpõŋn̩ma
n.

cassava peel kpõŋkpõŋp̩et̩ n.

cassava plant kpõŋkpõŋdaa n.

cassava tuber kpõŋkpõŋzv̩l n.

castrate vara v.

cat diebie n.; džebalaŋ n.

catapult taja n.

catarrh kabirime n.

catch kpaga₂ v.; kpagasi pl.v.; tʃanſi
v.

catch breath sigisi v.

caterpillar (type of) sansandugulii
n.; sansanduguliibummo n.;
sansanduguliihɔ̄la n.; sansan-
duguliinier n.; taantuni n.

cattle pen n̩gar n.

Caucasian (person) naasaara n.

Caucasian man naasaarbaal n.

Caucasian woman naasaarhāñj n.

cause a blister maali v.

cause someone's laughter lugusi v.

caution na₃ v.

cave b̩ibv̩o n.

cave name narabv̩o nprop.

cavity (wood) lor n.

cedi siidi n.

ceiling sapete n.

celebration (type of) binðāŋsŋ̩ n.

cement selemente n.

centipede (type of) dokeg n.

cerebro-spinal meningitis kaŋgbeli
n.

certain wara dem.

certainly t̩r̩i v.; t̩si v.

chaff hā̄sa n.; nv̩r n.

chaff (guinea corn) minz̩ga n.

chaff (rice) murpet̩ n.

chair kor n.

Chakali (ethnically) tʃakalii n.

Chakali (language) tʃakalii n.

chameleon s̩ŋgb̩egl̩j n.

chance bar₂ n.

change birgi₂ v.

change (direction) b̩egi v.

change (money) tʃendži n.

change appearance (plant) manja₃ v.

change name lugo₂ v.

character džogo n.

character (type of) nihāsii n.; niŋpage
n.; zomie n.

charcoal (piece) h̩l n.

charcoal (small pieces of) dandafulii
n.

charcoal fire dinjhala n.

charge tʃaag̩i n.

chase d̩sgv̩ni v.

Chasia (lect of) tʃasili₂ n.

Chasia (person from) tʃasili₁ n.

Chasia village tʃasia nprop.

chasing women hā̄buura n.

cheat fulumi v.; tie₂ v.

cheating fuŋfuluŋ n.

cheek	girr <i>n.</i> ; ləhəe <i>n.</i>	cigarette	sigaari <i>n.</i>
chest	bambii ₁ <i>n.</i>	circle	goro ₃ <i>v.</i>
chest hair	bambiipŋ̊ <i>n.</i>	circuit	nāaval ₁ <i>n.</i>
chest pains	bambiigeraga <i>n.</i> ; bambi-wiila <i>n.</i>	circular	guloŋgulor̊ <i>ideo.</i>
chest problem	baŋsian <i>n.</i>	circumciser	wondžomo <i>n.</i>
chew	ŋmʊvri ₁ <i>v.</i> ; tie ₁ <i>v.</i> ; tʃagam̊i <i>v.</i>	clan	wussa ₃ <i>n.</i>
chewing gum	tʃvŋgoŋ̊ <i>n.</i>	clan	name itolo <i>nprop.</i> ; ijela <i>nprop.</i> ; jaŋjuwɔlɛɛ <i>nprop.</i> ; viɛhiegie <i>nprop.</i> ; wɔsakuolo <i>nprop.</i> ; wɔsalɛela <i>nprop.</i> ; wɔsasiile <i>nprop.</i> ; wɔsatſala <i>nprop.</i> ; wɔsawilla <i>nprop.</i>
chewing stick	gbesa <i>n.</i>	clan	rights waasiwɪɛ <i>n.</i>
chick	zimbie ₂ <i>n.</i>	clan	title danta <i>n.</i>
chicken	zal <i>n.</i> ; zimñ <i>n.</i>	claw	lɔga <i>v.</i> ; nāätfig <i>n.</i>
chickenpox	sejambi <i>n.</i> ; taŋgara <i>n.</i>	clay	tʃv̊l <i>n.</i>
chief	kuoru <i>n.</i>	clean	dv̊si ₂ <i>v.</i> ; tʃääni ₂ <i>v.</i>
chieftanship	koro <i>n.</i>	clean (not be)	ɔɔli <i>v.</i>
child	bie <i>n.</i> ; bisvɔna <i>n.</i> ; hamõŋ̊ <i>n.</i>	clear	penteŋ <i>ideo.</i>
child (adopted)	bilaadsvlii <i>n.</i>	clear	land zaŋsi <i>v.</i>
child (bad)	bibɔŋ̊ <i>n.</i>	clear	throat kaasi <i>v.</i>
child (small)	bisvɔnbie <i>n.</i> ; hamõwie <i>n.</i>	climb	zina ₂ <i>v.</i>
child (youngest)	biwie <i>n.</i>	climber (type of)	fɔl ₁ <i>n.</i> ; gumpéra <i>n.</i> ; kogulinjpa <i>n.</i> ; laginjasii <i>n.</i> ; lieŋ̊ ₁ <i>n.</i> ; noŋ̊coroŋ̊ <i>n.</i> ; sigerā <i>n.</i> ; tʃinie <i>n.</i> ; visiŋ̊ <i>n.</i>
children of a paternal line	piňabise <i>n.</i>	clitoris	mɔŋzig <i>n.</i>
chinney	sumbol <i>n.</i>	close	tɔ ₃ <i>v.</i>
chin	daatoma <i>n.</i>	close (eyes)	ŋvmmi <i>v.</i>
chisel	ŋmēna <i>n.</i>	closing	tɔ̊r <i>n.</i>
chock	lesi <i>v.</i>	cloth	gar <i>n.</i>
choke	fɔra ₁ <i>v.</i> ; laŋsi <i>v.</i>	cloth (cover)	gatɔɔlii <i>n.</i>
choked (be)	fɔt̊i ₁ <i>v.</i>		
choose	lis̊i ₃ <i>v.</i>		
Christian	tʃeetʃibie <i>n.</i>		
Christmas	bɔrnja <i>n.</i>		
church	tʃeetʃi <i>n.</i>		

cloth (type of)

cook partially

cloth (type of) fɔ̃ʃfɔ̃ʃ n.; gapɔmma n.; gbagala n.; kɔbrnii n.; kpajkpamba n.; sɔ̃la n.; tambɔ̃ n.; tʃantʃul n.

clothing (piece) km̄larii n.

cloud taal n.

cloud state gāñigāñi ideo.; tm̄aš n.

clove mūsooro n.

clumsy (person) gbetr̄e n.

co-wife handɔ̃j n.

coal pot kɔlpɔ̃t̄i n.

cock zimbal n.

cock-a-doodle-doo kojkoliilikoo
ono.

cockerel zimbelee n.

cockroach hogul n.; holin n.

cockroach (type of) hogulbummo n.;
hogulpɔmma n.

cockroach sound tʃitʃi ono.

cocoa kuokuo n.

coconut kube n.

cocoyam mankani n.

coil guti v.; kaasi v.

cold km̄sɔ̃j n.; sɔ̃j₁ n.; saɔn̄i₁ v.

colic pain pats̄gn̄i gbarasa n.

collapse buro v.; wɔ̃riḡi v.

colleague tɔ̃gama₂ n.

collect laa₁ v.

collect (contribution) k̄t̄e v.

comb tʃaasa n.; tʃaasi₁ v.

comb (rooster) kɔ̃ja n.

comb (wooden) tʃaasadaa n.

come baa v.; waa v.

come (close) lieri₂ v.

come loose kɔ̃gɔ̃li₁ v.

come low tuu v.

come to do wa pv.

community tɔ̃s n.

community (old) tɔ̃h̄iš n.

community member (prominent)
tɔ̃p̄sal n.; tɔ̃ssii₂ n.

compete kajnj̄i v.

competent weti₂ v.

complain (to oneself) nɔ̃ð̄mi v.

complaint kanaaga n.

computer km̄kurokɔ̃orii n.

comrade dɔ̃j n.; dɔ̃jt̄ma n.; tɔ̃gama₂ n.

conceal sogoli₁ v.

concrete entity particle km̄-
confess puoti₂ v.

confirm zima sii cpx.v.

confused (be) buti v.

conjunctivitis siw̄ila n.

consider tɔ̃ḡmi v.

constellation boloŋbɔ̃tra nprop.

contagious (be) loŋŋi₂ v.

container (gunpowder) dʒebu-
gokp̄rgii n.; maafaluro n.

container (kola nut) kap̄sifala n.

container (tobacco) tɔ̃kpurgii n.

container (type of) rɔ̃bagalan n.; vi-
siama n.

convert tuubi₂ v.

cook kɔ̃ɔri₂ v.; saa v.; suguli₁ v.; tɔ̃ja
v.

cook partially wuuli v.

cooked (be)

curved (be)

cooked (be) bṇṇ₁ v.	cowrie molebipomma n.
cooking place dalra n.	crack kpeti₂ v.; tṣiagṛ v.; tṣienṛ v.
cooking pot (type of) dansane n.; tempilie n.; tuolie n.; vii n.; viisugulii n.	crack and remove kpe v.
cool sɔŋ₁ n.	cracked skin nāājelēe n.
cool down pulisi v.	crackle parasi v.
cooperate zvv₃ v.	crane leŋsi v.
cooperative group nōdigimaja n.	craving hīēra n.
core (central) daa₃ n.	craw-craw saŋgbena n.
corpse lalṇ₁ n.; sɔwii n.	crawl gbaani v.
corpse uniform kasima n.	cream (body) nōōtiti n.
cotton guno n.	create grave bega v.
cotton thread guŋmen̄ n.	creature (supernatural) goma₂ n.
cough tʃasi₃ v.; tʃasie n.	credulous tʃɔgṇ n.
count kuro v.	creep taari v.
counting kurii n.	cricket poŋ n.
courage kpaga bambii v.	cricket (type of) lelrepoŋ n.
court kɔt̄i n.; svaga n.	cripple gberii n.
courtyard zaga n.	crippled (be) gbera v.
cousin jnabie₂ n.	crocodile jwɔg n.
cousin (female) māabinhhāāj n.	crooked (be) fɔɔmi v.; golemi v.; goro₁ v.
cousin (male) māabinibaal n.	cross gi v.; kaga v.; mina₄ v.
cousin (younger) māabie₂ n.	crow jele v.
cover linje₂ v.; muuri v.; pu₁ v.; tɔ₁ v.; tʃige₁ v.; tʃigesi pl.v.	crowd jnɔɔ v.
cover partially gaali₁ v.	crowded gbiŋgbij ideo.
cow nāō n.; nōmii n.; nōō n.	crush-and-spoil pɔti v.
coward ɔŋgbiar n.	cry tʃaasi v.
cowherd nōgbar n.	cry out hɔ̄si₁ v.
cowpea sig n.	cup bonso n.; kɔpɔ n.
cowpea aphid pupuree n.	cure kpege₂ v.; tiime v.
	curse kaabi v.; nōvusuo n.; suo v.
	curtain patiisa n.
	curved (be) goro₁ v.

cut

demolish

cut baʃrigɪ₁ *n.*; fieri *v.*; gitɪ₁ *v.*; kɔtɪ₁ *v.*; kpʊ₃ *v.*; loga₂ *v.*; ɲmena₁ *v.*; teŋe₁ *v.*; teŋesi *pl.v.*

cut (power, network) gitɪ₂ *v.*

d

Dagaare (language) dagataa *n.*

Dagaare (person) dagaø *n.*

dagger daŋgorugo *n.*

dam dampø *n.*

damaged zagatɪ *v.*

damaged (be) pɔtɪ *v.*

dance gva *v.*; gva *n.*

dance (type of) baawa *n.*; bawaa *n.*; dwgø *n.*; dzanse *n.*; firigw *n.*; gan-gan *n.*; kpaa *n.*; kpaanāā *n.*; sii *n.*; zunġwø *n.*

dance-floor kil *n.*

dancer gwagvar *n.*

dangerous (be) bɔma₁ *v.*

dark bire₁ *v.*

darkness birge *n.*

date deti *n.*

dawadawa sɔl₁ *n.*

dawadawa flower sʊŋkpulii *n.*

day wʊzzwrr *n.*

day after tomorrow tɔmɔss *n.*; tɔmɔss gantal *n. phr.*

day before yesterday tɔmɔss *n.*; tɔmɔss gantal *n. phr.*

day break tʃɔɔsin pisa *n. phr.*

cut off head (plant) kɔma *v.*

cut throat kɔrɪgi *v.*

cutlass karantɪ₂ *n.*

cystitis fɪmɪtʃoro₂ *n.*

deaf (person) dɪgɪnbirinsetɪma *n.*; woŋ *n.*

deafness dɪgɪnbirinse *n.*

death seø *n.*

debate tɔtɔsa *n.*

debt kantʃima *n.*

debt (without) sol ideo. *v.*

decay ɔla *v.*

deceive dara *v.*; mwga *v.*

decide vʊvri *v.*

decrease (swelling) fuɔli *v.*

deeds wičpagi₂ *n.*

deep luŋo *v.*

deep and long tʃugo₂ *v.*

defamation sɔntʃɔga *n.*

defamer sɔntʃɔgatɪma *n.*

defeat kɔla₃ *v.*

defecate jaŋ₁ *v.*

defilement sɔkɔsi₂ *n.*

deflated (be) tʃele₂ *v.*

deformed (person) kundiŋa *n.*; nɪbukperi₂ *n.*

dehydrated (plant) zʊɔmi *v.*

delay birgi *v.*

demolish kputi *v.*

demonstrate

do

demonstrate bigisi *v.*
dense (be) gbvñja *v.*
dent fvñmi *v.*
dental abscess jñij?orii *n.*
deny tsa₁ *v.*
depend on fãä₂ *v.*; jalasi₂ *v.*; jñine₂ *v.*
dependent parage *v.*
depressed patſigtſogsa *n.*
deprive haari *v.*
derogatory sound (make) pvr̩osi *v.*
descend tuu *v.*
descending position among siblings smjsagal₁ *n.*
desert date gongobiridaa *n.*
desiderative ñma₂ *pv.*
desperation nvnnsñj₂ *n.*
destroy tʃoga *v.*
destroy with fire mara *v.*
detached folo *v.*
develop kvarri₆ *v.*
device to carry fire dijkimyñoni *n.*
dew mej *n.*
dial ferig₁₂ *pl.v.*
diarrhoea dvgvssa *n.*; t̩saari₂ *v.*; t̩saari *n.*
diaspora (person) kozvsvr *n.*
dibble tʃokdaa *n.*
dictionary wiñmalagamññ *n.*
die sv̩ti *pl.v.*; sv̩wa₁ *v.*
die prematurely koti *v.*
difference k̩rkii *n.*
different k̩ra *v.*

difficult (be) boma₅ *v.*
difficulty wkpegelegii *n.*
dig daari *v.*; hire *v.*
digging hirii *n.*
dilute pulisi *v.*
dirge (type of) dendilsigamaa *n.*; nãälomo₂ *n.*; tebinsigamaa *n.*
dirt doj₁ *n.*
dirtiness donji *n.*
dirty (be) dojo *v.*
disappear nigimi *v.*; pisí *v.*
disappearance (spiritual) nigimii *n.*
discouraged bajvora *n.*
discourse manner kpãñkpãñ *ideo.*
discreet (person) zimkpaganñätiuna *n.*
discretion zimkpaganñä *n.*
discussion (place) bajmaaln *n.*
disdain (express) t̩v̩vsí *v.*
disease dzeregá *n.*; gerégá *n.*
disease (type of) smjilingi *n.*
dish p̩rete *n.*
dishonest (be) goró₂ *v.*
dismantle wlıgi *v.*
disrespect sidi *n.*
dissolve m̩svri *v.*
distaff gundaabii *n.*; ñmedaa *n.*
disturb dama *v.*
disturbances laadimii *n.*; nimisa *n.*
dive miiri *v.*
divide bonti *v.*; po *v.*
dizziness smjilingi *n.*
dizzy (be) sii bire *v.*
do dí comp.; ja *v.*

doctor

each other

doctor dɔkta <i>n.</i>	driving ml̩imn <i>n.</i>
dog nõätiina <i>n.</i> ; vaa <i>n.</i>	drop kpa ta ₂ cpx.v.; tʃuuri ₂ <i>v.</i>
dog (female) vanii <i>n.</i>	drop inadvertently foti ₂ <i>v.</i>
dog (male) vawal <i>n.</i>	drought hil <i>n.</i>
dog name andiajääwieg <i>nprop.</i> ; jasanjabv̩xi <i>nprop.</i> ; kuosozima <i>nprop.</i> ; nnõäwajahoo <i>nprop.</i>	drum (type of) bafragugu <i>n.</i> ; bintra <i>n.</i> ; bintrawie <i>n.</i> ; bintirazen <i>n.</i> ; gan- ganja <i>n.</i> ; kokorowie <i>n.</i> ; lojo <i>n.</i> ; tim- panni <i>n.</i> ; timpantii <i>n.</i> ; timpanwal <i>n.</i> ; tʃutʃug <i>n.</i> ; zuŋguŋ <i>n.</i>
Doga dɔga <i>nprop.</i>	drum rattles bintiratʃ̩iŋ <i>n.</i>
donkey kaakumo <i>n.</i> ; kogumie <i>n.</i>	drummer kiŋmajanā <i>n.</i>
door dianõä <i>n.</i>	drumming stick lojodaa <i>n.</i>
dormant baregē <i>v.</i>	drunk bugo ₂ <i>v.</i> ; diesi <i>v.</i>
doubt maŋsi ₂ <i>v.</i>	dry bera <i>v.</i> ; hõla <i>v.</i>
dowager's hump bagentʃugul <i>n.</i>	dry season (period within) wil- injsanja <i>n.</i>
dowry tʃewii <i>n.</i>	dry up h̩iſi <i>v.</i>
drag tuuri ₁ <i>v.</i>	drying hõlñ <i>n.</i>
dragonfly annulie <i>n.</i>	Ducie (lect of) duselii ₂ <i>n.</i>
drain belege <i>n.</i>	Ducie (person from) duselii ₁ <i>n.</i>
draw close tɔvri <i>v.</i>	Ducie village dusie <i>n.</i>
draw milk from fää ₃ <i>v.</i>	duck bää <i>n.</i> ; gbagba <i>n.</i>
dream diese <i>n.</i> ; diesi ₁ <i>v.</i>	duiker (red-flanked) tesiama <i>n.</i>
drench taalt <i>v.</i>	dull gbul <i>n.</i>
dress laari ₁ <i>v.</i> ; liŋe ₁ <i>v.</i>	dullness zõõ <i>n.</i>
drink jõõä ₁ <i>v.</i>	dust belege <i>v.</i> ; bəmbər <i>n.</i>
drink (hot) tii <i>n.</i>	dusty (be) bora <i>v.</i>
drink from stream pu <i>v.</i>	dusty weather korumbora <i>n.</i>
drink preparation (step) sñjbotti <i>n.</i> ; sñjwaasi ₂ <i>n.</i>	duty wijaalii <i>n.</i>
drip toŋsi ₁ <i>v.</i>	dying səwii <i>n.</i>
drive ml̩imi ₂ <i>v.</i> ; sää ₂ <i>v.</i>	dysentery dəksa <i>n.</i>
driver draaba <i>n.</i> ; sasaar ₂ <i>n.</i>	each other dɔŋja <i>recp.</i>
driver (car) lõolimilima <i>n.</i> ; lõolisääär <i>n.</i>	

e

ear digma <i>n.</i>	elbow (interior) negbaļa <i>n.</i>
earache diginwīlī <i>n.</i>	elder nihīč <i>n.</i>
earlier (be) maasi ₁ <i>v.</i>	election votii <i>n.</i>
early te <i>v.</i>	electricity diļ ₂ <i>n.</i>
early stage fōjfōj ideo.	elephant bōla <i>n.</i> ; džigela <i>n.</i> ; nejtrīna <i>n.</i> ; selzeļ <i>n.</i>
early stage of pregnancy (be in) lomo ₂ <i>v.</i>	elephant trunk bōlakaj <i>n.</i>
earth hagla <i>n.</i> ; haglii <i>n.</i> ; tagla <i>n.</i>	elephantiasis of the leg nāātuto <i>n.</i>
earthworm tantaanii <i>n.</i>	eleven fididigii <i>num.</i>
east tiimuj <i>n.</i> ; wojalii <i>n.</i>	eleventh month doļumakuna <i>nprop.</i>
eat di ₁ <i>v.</i> ; fuosi <i>v.</i>	empty woo <i>v.</i>
eat (without soup) jaļa <i>v.</i>	enclose go <i>v.</i>
ebony tree anī <i>n.</i>	enclosed (location) bagorii ₁ <i>n.</i>
edge tʃintferii <i>n.</i>	end pe <i>n.</i>
edge (cloth) garnōā <i>n.</i>	endow with power bōma ₄ <i>v.</i>
educated (person) karatfi <i>n.</i>	enemy dōj <i>n.</i>
eel (type of) digilii <i>n.</i>	engine indzi <i>n.</i>
effort baharaga ₁ <i>n.</i>	enjoyment leļ <i>n.</i>
egg hal <i>n.</i>	enough maasi ₂ <i>v.</i>
egg (guinea fowl) sūūhal <i>n.</i>	enskinned (be) di ₂ <i>v.</i>
egg (hen) zahal <i>n.</i>	enter zōz ₁ <i>v.</i>
egg white zahalbapōmma <i>n.</i>	entertain daļņi sie cpx.v.
egg yolk zahalbasīama <i>n.</i>	entertainment siidaļja <i>n.</i>
eggplant jaļva <i>n.</i>	enthusiasm baharaga ₂ <i>n.</i>
eight īmēņtel ₂ <i>num.</i>	enthusiastic hīčri <i>v.</i>
eighteen fidijmēņtel <i>num.</i>	entirely kpaleļkpaleļ ideo.
eighth month andzelindze <i>nprop.</i>	entrance nōā ₂ reln.
eject out əgīlī <i>v.</i>	entrance of a spiritual location duguļnōā <i>n.</i>
elastic mana <i>n.</i>	entropion siipvējwile <i>n.</i>
elbow neguma <i>n.</i>	enumeration kiŋkurugie <i>n.</i>

epidemic

fair-skinned (person)

epidemic baleo <i>n.</i>	exclusively zəñ̄ ideo.
epilepsy kpunjkpuluŋso <i>n.</i>	excrement bina <i>pl.n.</i>
epileptic (person) kpunjkpulinjtse- lese <i>n.</i> ; tsetselese <i>n.</i>	excuse gaafra <i>interj.</i>
equal jaa ₂ <i>v.</i> ; maasi ₄ <i>v.</i>	exercise dənsi hogo <i>v.</i>
erase dəsɪ ₂ <i>v.</i>	exist ta <i>v.</i>
erectile dysfunction viwo ₂ <i>n.</i>	exist (not) tuo <i>v.</i>
erode mʊvri <i>v.</i>	exit (many) kpuluŋo <i>n.</i>
escape fuosi <i>v.</i>	expand ugo ₂ <i>v.</i>
escort tɔ̄s <i>v.</i>	expatriate kɔzsvr <i>n.</i>
essence bii ₂ <i>n.</i>	expectation gbanjasa <i>n.</i>
essence (of someone) patſign ₂ <i>n.</i>	expected zi ₁ <i>pv.</i>
ethnic division balvʊ ₁ <i>n.</i>	expected (be) kpese <i>v.</i>
even maasi ₄ <i>v.</i> ; vələŋvələŋ ideo.	expensive (be) bəma ₂ <i>v.</i>
evening dadvəŋ <i>n.</i> ; dvana <i>n.</i>	experienced (person) nebmiī <i>n.</i>
everyone namuj <i>quant.</i>	explode jala ₁ <i>v.</i>
everything wimuj <i>quant.</i>	expose jaabi <i>v.</i>
evil sitaani <i>n.</i>	extraordinary pääsii <i>n.</i>
exactly tʃuur ideo.	extraordinary (person) nibukperii ₁ n.; nibupääsii <i>n.</i>
examination teesi <i>n.</i>	eye sii ₁ <i>n.</i>
exceed gala ₂ <i>v.</i> ; gara ₃ <i>v.</i> ; kaali ₂ <i>v.</i>	eye discharge silogto <i>n.</i>
excel wo ₂ <i>v.</i>	eyeball siibii <i>n.</i>
exchange tʃera <i>v.</i>	eyebrow siikongo <i>n.</i>
excited basvona <i>n.</i>	eyelash siipvəŋ <i>n.</i>
exclamation (type of) abba <i>interj.</i> ;	eyelid siitvəŋ <i>n.</i>
mufu <i>interj.</i>	

f

fabric (piece) prieŋ *n.*
 face sie *n.*; tʃaga *v.*
 fail bĩ₁ *v.*
 fail to attend bĩ₂ *v.*

fail to thrive kere *n.*
 faint buro *v.*; sie viigi₁ cpx.v.
 fair patſigipvəmma *n.*
 fair-skinned (person) nibutʃääŋ *n.*

fairy kõntoŋ <i>n.</i> ; puz̄it̄ima <i>n.</i>	father's sister h̄iñna <i>n.</i>
faithful bidim̄ <i>n.</i>	fear ñoma <i>v.</i>
faithful (<i>be</i>) deginiʒ <i>v.</i>	fearfulness ñøgbia <i>n.</i>
fall t̄sele₁ <i>v.</i>	fearless (<i>person</i>) siinømatima <i>n.</i>
fall off luore <i>v.</i>	feather pøŋ₂ <i>n.</i>
fall on saga₂ <i>v.</i>	fed up (<i>be</i>) p̄i <i>v.</i>
fall short panti <i>v.</i>	feed diɛsi₁ <i>v.</i>
false accusation džonkoho <i>n.</i>	feel na₂ <i>v.</i>
family drat̄ma <i>n.</i>	fellow t̄gama₂ <i>n.</i>
family relationship h̄iñna <i>n.</i>	female hāñj₂ <i>n.</i>
famous (<i>be</i>) laa sɔŋ <i>n.</i>	female pubic hair mɔŋpwŋ <i>n.</i>
fan limpeu <i>n.</i>	ferment nagam̄i <i>v.</i>
far bolo <i>v.</i>	fermented liquid pagee₁ <i>n.</i>
far place babuolii <i>n.</i>	fermenting substance b̄sra <i>n.</i>
farm kuo <i>n.</i> ; para <i>v.</i> ; peŋi <i>v.</i>	fetch d̄ɔ <i>v.</i>
farm (<i>period</i>) džefə <i>n.</i> ; pepeňa <i>n.</i>	fetch (<i>liquid</i>) jaa₁ <i>v.</i>
farm (<i>state</i>) džefebummo <i>n.</i> ; džefepwmma <i>n.</i> ; gaha <i>n.</i> ; kalpaaga <i>n.</i> ; koko <i>n.</i> ; kɔlII₂ <i>n.</i>	fever sɔn̄iň₁ <i>n.</i>
farm preparation gbege <i>n.</i> ; kontii <i>n.</i> ; zaŋsa <i>n.</i>	few tama <i>quant.</i>
farm rest area (<i>type of</i>) gbvgvslmuŋ <i>n.</i>	few (<i>be</i>) kiesi <i>n.</i>
farmer papata <i>n.</i>	fiber t̄ta₁ <i>n.</i>
fast laga <i>v.</i> ; n̄umanøma <i>ideo.</i> ; n̄nnnɔŋ₄ <i>n.</i>	fibre (<i>type of</i>) baga <i>n.</i> ; b̄g₂ <i>n.</i>
fast (<i>movement</i>) lerete <i>ideo.</i>	fibrous meat pempiam̄i <i>n.</i>
fat n̄õõ <i>n.</i> ; pɔlII <i>n.</i>	field pakri <i>n.</i>
fat (<i>be</i>) pøla <i>v.</i>	fifteen fidaj̄i <i>num.</i>
father jima <i>n.</i>	fifth month dambafulanaan <i>nprop.</i>
Father faara <i>n.</i>	fight juo <i>n.</i>
father's junior brother pñjwie₁ <i>n.</i>	fight: throw away juo₁ <i>v.</i>
father's senior brother pñjhñiž₁ <i>n.</i>	fill holes fɔt̄i <i>v.</i>
	filled dira <i>v.</i>
	find mɔna <i>v.</i>
	finger nebii <i>n.</i>
	finger (<i>index</i>) fakiine <i>n.</i>
	finger (<i>little</i>) nebisunu <i>n.</i> ; nebiwie <i>n.</i>

finger (middle)

finger (middle) bambaanjnebii *n.*; nebizeñji *n.*
finger (ring) bambaanjnebiwie *n.*
fingerling dondoli *n.*
fingernail nebipetii *n.*
fingerprint nebiifeti *n.*
finish peti *v.*
fire diŋ₁ *n.*
fire (make) məsɪ *v.*
firewood diŋdaa *n.*
firing pin (gun) tʃiribɔ *n.*
first buŋbuŋ *n.*
first month dʒimbentɔ *nprop.*
fish pinee *n.*
fish (type of) ammani *n.*; biŋbiel *n.*; fii *n.*; kəŋkwaŋgi *n.*; məmədā *n.*; priŋ *n.*; sol *n.*; tʃopetii *n.*; tʃʊŋ *n.*; ugul *n.*; wələe *n.*
fish bone niŋhog *n.*
fish egg niŋhal *n.*
fishing hook kokolentebii *n.*
fishing net tʃan *n.*
fishing trap tʃig *n.*
fist kummii *n.*
fit maasi₃ *v.*
five ajɔ̄ *num.*; jɔ̄ *num.*
fixed on (be) mara₁ *v.*; maragi *pl.v.*
flame diŋtol *n.*; tɔ̄l *n.*
flat talala *ideo.*
flat roof sal *n.*
flee tʃɔ̄₂ *v.*
flesh namjā *n.*; nanpunii *n.*

food (scooped ball)

fleshy part nvgv̄l *n.*
flintlock frizzen maafadigina *n.*
flintlock hammer ledaa₂ *n.*
flintlock leather pad tət̄i *n.*
flintlock locking screw nɔ̄ti₂ *n.*
flintlock pan maafadığmb̄sa *n.*
float zaali *v.*
flour saw *n.*
flour (dawadawa) sv̄lsav₁ *n.*
flow ln₂ *v.*; pala *v.*
flower jelii *n.*
flower (dawadawa) sv̄ŋkpulii *n.*
flower (groundnut) manṣijelii *n.*
flower (type of) kpalimaalige *n.*; lololo *n.*; tʃuomonaatɔ̄wa *n.*
flute lonwie *n.*
flute (type of) busunu *n.*
fly zaa *v.*
fly (tsetse) kırıma *n.*; nakaw *n.*; nakpafugul *n.*
fly (type of) tʃiā₁ *n.*; tʃiābummo *n.*; tʃiāsiama *n.*
foam fv̄ga₂ *v.*; fv̄fv̄gv̄l *n.*
focus particle ra *foc.*
foetus tia₂ *n.*
fog kərəmb̄ra *n.*
Foga (person's name) fɔ̄ga₁ *nprop.*
fold guti *v.*
follow gantal₂ *n.*; tmja₁ *v.*
food siimaa *n.*
food (scooped ball) bɔ̄tii *n.*

food (type of)

gallbladder

food (type of) fəvra *n.*; gaarii *n.*; kaara *n.*; kpogulo *n.*; svamanziga *n.*; timpaanii *n.*

food left-overs kəvətʃva *n.*

food preparation (incorrect) mul *n.*

food storage room siimaadria *n.*

fool fugusi₁ *v.*; genii *n.*

fool (be) gəna *v.*

foolishness genna *n.*

foot nääpiel *n.*

foot (sole of) nääpielpatʃigii *n.*

foot (top of) nääpielgantal *n.*

footprint nääñasii *n.*

forbid kii *v.*

force fira *v.*; firii *n.*

forehead tile *n.*

forest kər *n.*

forge ləga₁ *v.*

forget svəgvli *v.*

forgive gila t̄e cpx.v.

form bilesi *pl.v.*

four anaase *num.*; naase *num.*

fourteen fidanaase *num.*

fourth month dambakokoroko *nprop.*

fowl zal *n.*; zimii *n.*

fowl (type of) pitii *n.*; sūū *n.*

fowl house dembelee *n.*

fowl tick pala *n.*

g

gaiety balalla *n.*

fragile kintʃiagii *n.*

freeze kpaŋa *v.*

fresh səŋ₂ *n.*

Friday aridžima *n.*

friend tʃena *n.*

frog (type of) səmporee *n.*; sərii *n.*

front svət₁ *n.*; svəs₃ reln.

front sight (gun) mii *n.*

fruit daanɔŋj *n.*; noŋ *n.*

fruit (dawadawa) səlnɔŋ *n.*

fruit (type of) goŋonɔŋ *n.*; lieŋ₂ *n.*

fry hala *v.*; piŋ *v.*

frying halii *n.*; piŋii *n.*

fuel paturuu *n.*; petro *n.*

fufu kapala *n.*

full biriŋ *n.*; piŋa *v.*; piŋisi *pl.v.*

full (be) su *v.*

funeral luho *n.*

funeral (first) lunvəŋ *n.*

funeral (last) lusinna *n.*

funeral event (type of) bəvətɔi *n.*; həvərakaalii *n.*; kəmiiákraii *n.*; kəmiiánarai *n.*; kuzzaakraii *n.*; kuzzaalimmii *n.*; selekpənii *n.*; sigmaa *n.*; simbətii *n.*; simjɔɔăi *n.*; simjwaasi *n.*; wəsivijaali *n.*

funeral ground ludendil *n.*

furious (be) zaga *v.*

gallbladder kpərnii *n.*

game (type of)

government

game (type of) bombo *n.*; dara *n.*; sejsegelie *n.*
game reserve geem *nprop.*
garden dabaga *n.*; gaadin *n.*
garden egg nadwa *n.*
gather lagami₁ *v.*; lajsi₁ *pl.v.*; tigsi *v.*
gather close go *v.*
gather together gama *v.*; guro *v.*
Gbolo (person's name) gbolo *nprop.*
gear hõŋ *n.*
gecko (type of) toro *n.*; zesa *n.*
generous patſigipuŋmma *n.*; sɔŋtuna *n.*
genet (type of) tɔŋniň *n.*
gentility bvnđā *n.*
germinate jala₂ *v.*; jñ̄ *v.*
gesture bigise *n.*
get by force fɔsi *v.*
get lost sie viigi₂ *cpx.v.*
ghost lɔsii *n.*
gift (type of) tʃøgtaa *n.*
ginger kokoduro *n.*
gingivitis paŋ?ɔrii *n.*
girl binihääŋ *n.*
girl (beautiful) tulor₂ *n.*
girl (mature) tulor₁ *n.*
girl (mature, young) sunjuru *n.*
girl (young) nihäwie *n.*; tulorwie *n.*
give trɛ₁ *v.*
give birth lɔla *v.*
give birth (history) tʃaŋsi *v.*
give way briag̊e *v.*

giving birth lɔlri *n.*
glance (furtive) silier *n.*
glance at limmi *v.*
glide (close) lieri₁ *v.*
glue mara₁ *v.*
glue (type of) maataa *n.*
go ka *pv.*; kaalri₁ *v.*
go away lñi₁ *v.*
go down tuu *v.*
go in and out turo₂ *v.*
go over gala₁ *v.*
go up zina₂ *v.*
goal gool *n.*
goat bõšŋ *n.*
goat (young) bõšŋbie *n.*
god wusa₁ *n.*
God (supreme) kuoso *n.*
goitre bagenapuŋgii *n.*
gold salij *n.*
Gonja (person) zabaga *n.*
gonorrhoea baabaasv *n.*
good ləmii₁ *n.*
good (be) lema₁ *v.*; were *v.*
gourd fala *n.*
gourd (type of) bɔɔl₂ *n.*; fabummo *n.*; fapuŋmma *n.*; fataga *n.*; fawie *n.*; fazeŋ *n.*; gbentaga *n.*; kpurgii *n.*; lon *n.*; lonjbol *n.*; lonkporgii *n.*
gourd ladle daazw̄na₂ *n.*
gourd node fa?ul *n.*
gourd seed (type of) fobii *pl.n.*; pɔn-tɔrɔtʃiň *n.*
gourd stem falaneŋ *n.*
government gɔmɔnanti *n.*

governor

governor g̊om̊na *n.*
grab kpaga₂ *v.*; tʃ̊ewa₁ *v.*
grab firmly gurugi₁ *v.*
grab hold faami₁ *v.*
grain (guinea corn) mimbii *n.*
grain weevil pakpate *n.*
gramophone garamɔfɔɔ *n.*
grandchild nuhū *n.*
grandfather naal *n.*
grandmother nahā *n.*
grass k̊osa₂ *n.*
grass (type of) fiel *n.*; f̊ogɔl₁ *n.*; golii
n.; k̊opul *n.*; pemballvɔɔj *n.*; pul *n.*;
sambalkuso *n.*; sambalŋaŋa *n.*; sing-
begl̊ynebie *n.*; zanteree *n.*
grass bundles kuntunb̊sa *n.*
grasscutter aarii *n.*
grasshopper (type of) h̊ɔɔ *n.*;
k̊okolikɔ *n.*; kpekpe *n.*; tʃalih̊ɔɔ *n.*;
tʃelintʃie *n.*; zaŋguoŋmujsulisu *n.*
grate n̊sga *v.*
gratefulness patſigɪtɔɔra *n.*
grave b̊ɔɔ₂ *n.*
grave (closed) bil *n.*
grave section b̊ɔɔbie *n.*
grease n̊ðð *n.*
great-grandfather naalbilie *n.*; naal-
tulo *n.*
great-grandmother nahābilie *n.*
greedy sii₃ *n.*
greet zaamri₁ *v.*
greet (evening) d̊oani *v.*
grief patſigtʃɔgsa *n.*
grill p̊ewa *v.*
grilling meat p̊ewii *n.*

gutter (roof)

grind k̊otri₂ *v.*; nama₂ *v.*; jaari *v.*;
saasi *v.*; tiisi *v.*
grinder (stomach) kantige *n.*
grinding area n̊ɔŋ₂ *n.*
grinding stone (type of) k̊wŋkɔlbii
n.; n̊ombukutii *n.*; n̊ɔŋ₁ *n.*; n̊ɔŋbu-
luŋ *n.*; n̊ɔŋbuaarii *n.*; n̊ɔŋbutiisii
n.; sasibii *n.*
grip kummi *v.*
groan p̊ema *n.*
groin nâânaωɔsii *n.*
ground hagla *n.*; haglii *n.*; tagla *n.*
ground (hard) haglikpeg *n.*
ground (soft) haglijɔgsii *n.*
groundnut maŋsii *n.*
groundnut flower maŋsijelii *n.*
group t̊igsii *v.*
grow sii₃ *v.*; ves̊i *v.*
grow old h̊iɛ̥ *v.*
grumble ŋmɔɔsri *v.*
guilt t̊elle₂ *n.*
guinea corn m̊iř *n.*
guinea corn (cooked) t̊impitie *n.*
guinea corn (type of) m̊iřsama *n.*;
pogo *n.*; t̊ſati *n.*
guinea fowl s̊uū *n.*
guinea worm ūā *n.*
gum til *n.*
gum (tree) t̊sel *n.*
gun maafa *n.*
Gurumbele (lect of) belilii₂ *n.*
Gurumbele (person from) belilii₁ *n.*
gutter (bathroom) t̊ſitʃarab̊sa *n.*
gutter (roof) t̊ſitʃasɔrn *n.*

h

- habit (drinking) s̄m̄j̄w̄hā *n.*
- habitually jaa *pv.*
- hail dobii *n.*
- hair p̄s̄ŋ̄₁ *n.*
- hairdressing (type of) jupeṇṇi *n.; ju-*
v̄w̄ṇṇi *n.*
- half kamboro *n.*
- half asleep daari *v.*
- half of a bird kie *n.*
- half side loguŋ̄b̄embel *n.*
- half-full logo *v.*
- half-sibling juṇabie₁ *n.*
- hall lumbu *n.; zantʃagalm̄* *n.*
- hallucination gagam̄ *n.*
- ham nā̄korbwa *n.*
- hamerkop samkpantuluju *n.; saŋ-*
ban̄dugulee *n.*
- hammer hamba *n.*
- hammer (lightly) tama *v.*
- hammock dʒ̄v̄oŋ̄ *n.*
- hand neŋ̄ *n.; nepiel* *n.*
- hand (back of) nepielgantal *n.*
- hand (palm of) nepielpatſigii *n.;*
netisiŋ̄ *n.*
- hand up tala *v.*
- handkerchief ankiti *n.*
- handle neŋ̄bakpagii *n.*
- hang laga *v.*
- hang limp loori *v.*
- happiness balalla *n.*
- happy basoona *n.; patſigitsora* *n.*
- happy (be) s̄oɔni₃ *v.*
- harassment f̄n̄ñ *n.*
- hard kpege₁ *v.; kpegii* *n.*
- hardship n̄nn̄n̄ŋ̄₃ *n.*
- harmattan gbaŋ̄baŋ̄ *n.*
- harmonize ḡbiasi₁ *pl.v.*
- harsh (be) jaŋ̄ga₂ *v.*
- hartebeest lɔɔ *n.*
- harvest aari *v.; k̄oma* *v.; ηmena₃* *v.*
- harvest (shea) pinti₂ *n.*
- harvest second yam wo₁ *v.*
- Hasik (person's name) hasig *nprop.*
- hasten poleme *v.*
- hat juŋ̄tſige *n.*
- hatch tesi₂ *v.*
- hate hā *v.*
- Hausa zaŋgbiera *nprop.*
- have kpaga₁ *v.*
- Hayong (person's name) hajon
nprop.
- he o *pro.; uṣṣwa pro.; waa pro.*
- he-goat b̄uŋ̄bal *n.*
- head juu₁ *n.*
- head hair jupuŋ̄ *n.*
- head of animal jukpulii *n.*
- headache juwn̄la *n.*
- headache (frontal) juufugo *n.*
- headgear t̄siime *n.*
- headpan tasazen̄ *n.*
- heal ηm̄n̄ri *v.*

healer

healer lulibummojaar *n.*; paatʃak-jaara *n.*; patsakjaar *n.*
health (good) laanfra *n.*
hear nõõ̩₁ *v.*
heart begii *n.*
heat nõma₁ *v.*
heat a wound jagasi *v.*
heaven aridzana *n.*
heavy jugii *n.*
hedgehog nagenpentii *n.*
heel näälumo *n.*
heifer nõlor *n.*
height zimii *n.*
help sõmmri₂ *v.*; tiise *v.*
helper susummana *n.*
helpful sõjtrina *n.*
helpless child janvsgii *n.*
hen zapuo *n.*
hen (bush) bøzaal *n.*
henna džabelan *n.*
herbalist patsakjaar *n.*
herd gbaa *v.*
herder gbaar *n.*
here baanj₁ *adv.*
hernia pøoga *n.*
hide pumo₁ *v.*; sogoli₁ *v.*
hiding pumii₁ *n.*
high (be) gatr *v.*
highland kuŋkuŋ *n.*
hill gradient gimii *n.*
hinder teŋe₃ *v.*
hinge (door) levra *n.*

hot (be)

hip tʃerbua *n.*
hippopotamus bvnõhõ *n.*
hire ha *v.*
hit gogo *v.*; jaga₁ *v.*; jagasi *p.l.v.*; vira *v.*
hit down repeatedly pila *v.*
hoe par *n.*
hoe (type of) pagbetii *n.*; patila *n.*; pawie *n.*; pazeŋ *n.*; säädiili *n.*; säägbulie *n.*; säätʃõŋ *n.*
hoe blade pabii *n.*
hold kogo *v.*; kpaga₃ *v.*; tʃewa₁ *v.*
hold on kpaga kaalı cpx.*v.*
hole bøɔ̩₁ *n.*
hole (grave) bøabie *n.*
holey zagati *v.*
hollow (be) pena₂ *v.*
hollow behind the collarbone bagenbua *n.*
homer dendilsajana *n.*
honest (be) degini₃ *v.*
honest (person) nibupõmma *n.*; nibuwerii *n.*
honey tõõ̩ *n.*
hooked (be) goroo₁ *v.*
hoot at woori *v.*
hope liisi₂ *v.*; tamää *n.*
hopping (one leg) nääkeliŋke *n.*
horn piŋdaa *n.*
horn flute kabil *n.*
horse kmzinii *n.*
hospital asibiti₁ *n.*
hot nõma₁ *v.*; nõmii *n.*; nõŋ *v.*
hot (be) bõma₃ *v.*

hot (feeling)

incubation (hen)

hot (feeling) nɔnnɔŋj₁ *n.*
hour gbelij *n.*
house dia *n.*
how jin̩f̩ *interrog.*
how many ɿm̩na₁ *interrog.*
how much ɿm̩na₁ *interrog.*
human being nr̩buluj *n.*
human entity particle ni-
hump g̩ma₁ *n.*
hunchback g̩matiina *n.*
hundred kɔwa *num.*
hunger kɔsa *n.*
hunt kp̩āni₁ *v.; sewa v.*

i

idol (type of) tɔm̩l *n.*
if dr₁ *conn.*
if so am̩f̩ *conn.*
ignite ɿm̩na *v.; tʃogo v.*
ill wii *v.*
illegitimate child sansanbie *n.*
imam limaan *n.*
imitate diŋa *v.; tʃaasi v.*
imitating sia *n.*
immediately baaj *pv.*
imperfective dr *pv.*
impotent hambara *n.*
imprison tɔ₄ *v.*
improper kɔlɔmbɔl *n.*
in (be) d̩va₁ *v.*
in line jɔrɔtɔ *ideo.*

hunter naŋkp̩āŋj *n.*
hunter rank digboj *n.; kurungboj n.; nbuoŋj̩ n.*
hunting period naŋkp̩ālm̩j *n.*
hurry (in a) n̩manɔma *ideo.*
husband baal₂ *n.*
husk hääsa *n.*
hut (farm) lau *n.*
hyena (type of) badaare *n.; dambia n.; kpatakpare n.; siŋsigirii n.; tebitiina n.; tɔɔ̩ n.; zep̩egor n.*
hypocrite juudɔr *n.*
I miŋ *pro.; n pro.; nwa pro.*

independent (be)

independent (be) weti₁ *v.*
indicate tʃagalı *v.*
indiscreet (person) nɔ̃ātina *n.*
inevitably hur *n.*
inexpensive haraha *n.*
inexperienced (with men) su hääŋ *v.*
infection tʃɔzvər *n.*
inferior wɔlli₃ *n.*
infertile land lalasa *n.*
infest dugo *v.*
inflate fɔvsi *v.*
information duoso *n.*
inhabit tʃige₂ *v.*
inhabit (spiritually) diesi₂ *v.*
inhabitant dñl *n.*
initiate ta₂ *v.*
initiation (type of) file *n.*; jwası *n.*
inject tawa *v.*
injure pira *v.*
injured wnlı₁ *n.*
insect (type of) bajɔ̃äluro *n.*; batĩɔ̃ *n.*; daadugo *n.*; dunlatuo *n.*; ise₁ *n.*; kuukuu *n.*; naɔpiŋa *n.*; nɔpmja *n.*; peomää *n.*; tʃaaŋtʃmŋ *n.*; tʃmını *n.*; tʃɔgnı₁ *n.*
insert po₁ *v.*; tɔ̃õ₁ *v.*

j

jathropha nakurj *n.*
jaundice nnisota *n.*
jaw eglı *n.*

Jebuni (person's name)

inserted (be) tɔ̃õ₁ *v.*
inside patſign₃ *reln.*
inside the village tɔ̃apatſign *n.*
insincerity dɔnkafuuri *n.*
insist tiine *v.*
insufficient (be) bowo *v.*
insult lɔ̃ *v.*; zoŋ *n.*; zoŋbii *n.*
insult (type of) nɔvɔkpuogohena *n.*; ſɔ̃ēē *interj.*
intentionally (do) pagı *v.*
interest (someone) diŋv *n.*
interruptive wizvər *n.*
intersection tʃarga *n.*
intestine looto *n.*
intestine (big) lootozeŋ *n.*
intestine (small) lootowie *n.*
invalidity gbetri *v.*
investigate piasi₂ *v.*
iron kɔgın *n.*; nama₁ *v.*
Islam jarı₁ *n.*
issue wıı *n.*
it v *pro.*; uɔwa *pro.*; waa *pro.*
itch tɔ̃rigı *v.*
item (necessary) bɔŋbɔwa *n.*
ivory bɔlariŋ *n.*

jaw (lower) ledaalı *n.*
jealousy handɔŋmuisa *n.*
Jebuni (person's name) džebuni

*nprop.*jewellery (type of) kpaga *n.*join pusı₁ *v.*; tʃonsı₁ *v.*; zvɔz₃ *v.*joke sāānı *v.*joking partner nasāān₁ *n.*joy (do with) naŋsi *v.*jump loŋŋı₁ *v.*; zaasi *pl.v.*jump (fowl) pati *v.*jump down tʃinji₁ *v.*junction tiwiitsaraga *n.*junior hamõj *n.*just baaj₁ *pv.*

K

Kala (person's name) kala₁ *nprop.*Kandia village kandia₂ *nprop.*kapok koŋ *n.*Katua (lect of) katɔɔlɪ₂ *n.*Katua (person from) katɔɔlɪ₁ *n.*Katua village katɔɔ *nprop.*keep kpaga kaalı *cpx.v.*; pɔ₃ *v.*keep (tell to) pusı₂ *v.*keep from falling kogo *v.*keep long birgi *v.*kenkey daakɔnɔ *n.*kerosene karansiin *n.*kettle buuta *n.*key gborobii *n.*; safibii *n.*key (car) lɔɔlɪgberbii *n.*kick maŋsa₂ *v.*kidney suoŋbii *n.*kidney stones suoŋbigariga *n.*kill kpɔ₁ *v.*kitchen dindıa *n.*; dinjbamɔsii *n.*knead ʊtı *v.*knee nāähhūū *n.*kneecap nāähhūfowie *n.*kneel gbinti *v.*knife kisie *n.*knock jaga₁ *v.*; kpaasi₁ *v.*; tʃasi₁ *v.*knock bark off pomo *v.*know zima *v.*knowledge naŋzima *n.*knowledgeable siilalla *n.*; zimna *n.*kob wili₁ *n.*kola nut guori *n.*; kapɔsie *n.*Kole (person's name) kole *nprop.*Kpong village kpoŋ *nprop.*

L

labour (extensive) paanõõ *n.*lack jaŋa₁ *v.*ladder sanzıŋ *n.*lamb pelor *n.*lamb (ram) pembelee *n.*lament mɔsı₂ *v.*

lamp dintma <i>n.</i> ; diŋtʃāːŋ <i>n.</i>	leaf (bean) sigpaatʃag <i>n.</i>
landlord dratma <i>n.</i> ; tindaana <i>n.</i> ; tɔ̄tma <i>n.</i>	leaf (black berry) s̄amanziga <i>n.</i>
lane fɔ̄gbaaŋ <i>n.</i>	leaf (cassava) kpōŋkpōŋpaatʃag <i>n.</i>
language taa <i>n.</i>	leaf (onion) gaabu <i>n.</i>
language (foreign) naasartaa <i>n.</i>	leaf (tobacco) tɔ̄spaatʃaga <i>n.</i>
lantern dintma <i>n.</i> ; diŋtʃāːŋ <i>n.</i>	leaf (type of) b̄iel <i>n.</i>
lantern (type of) najeliŋbielie <i>n.</i>	leaf (white bean) s̄osa <i>n.</i>
lantern holder diŋtʃāːŋdaa <i>n.</i>	leak l̄l₂ <i>v.</i> ; lulo <i>v.</i> ; s̄ora <i>v.</i>
lantern oil karansiin <i>n.</i>	lean against tele <i>v.</i> ; telegi <i>pl.v.</i>
large badaazenie <i>n.</i> ; zene <i>v.</i>	lean back jalasi₁ <i>v.</i>
large (make) peuli <i>v.</i>	lean on p̄ela <i>v.</i>
last birgi <i>v.</i>	learn zigriti <i>v.</i>
lateral goitre bagenapɔɔgii <i>n.</i>	leave gila₂ <i>v.</i> ; ta₁ <i>v.</i>
laterite pāŋŋa <i>n.</i>	left gal₂ reln.
laugh m̄vma₁ <i>v.</i>	left (side) gal₁ <i>n.</i>
laughing m̄vma₁ <i>n.</i>	left-over (fufu) kapalasoŋ <i>n.</i>
laughter m̄vma <i>n.</i>	leg nāā₁ <i>n.</i>
laughter (stifled) murisi <i>v.</i>	leg (amputated) nāākputi <i>n.</i>
law beŋ <i>n.</i>	leg (front) vaarj <i>n.</i>
lawyer l̄oja <i>n.</i>	leg (hind) hīi <i>n.</i>
lay eggs pā₂ <i>v.</i>	lend tʃ̄ima <i>v.</i>
lay head on sila <i>v.</i>	length zimii <i>n.</i>
laziness baw̄ha₂ <i>n.</i> ; zō̄š <i>n.</i>	leopard b̄ɔ̄manii <i>n.</i> ; nebietma <i>n.</i> ; juwietma <i>n.</i>
laziness (dog) b̄eu <i>n.</i>	leper zagan <i>n.</i>
lazy bajɔɔra <i>n.</i>	leprosy zagansa <i>n.</i>
lazy (be) jaari <i>v.</i>	less (make) f̄ogɔ̄si₁ <i>v.</i>
lead gara₃ <i>v.</i> ; kpānna <i>n.</i>	let gila₁ <i>v.</i> ; t̄iɛ₂ <i>v.</i>
leader suuter <i>n.</i>	let free ta₁ <i>v.</i>
leaf paatʃag <i>n.</i>	lethargic (be) kwole <i>v.</i>
leaf (baobab) sāŋkumsɔna <i>n.</i> ; tolipaatʃag <i>n.</i>	level buti <i>v.</i>
	liar patʃigbummo <i>n.</i>

lick lenti <i>v.</i>	load bɔŋŋ <i>n.</i>
lie dara <i>v.</i> ; heŋsi <i>v.</i> ; mɔga <i>v.</i> ; tʃva <i>v.</i>	load (gun) pama <i>v.</i>
lie across gara ₂ <i>v.</i> ; kagale <i>v.</i>	load-support tʃemii <i>n.</i>
lie on stomach pu ₂ <i>v.</i>	Lobi lobi <i>n.</i>
lie on top saga ₁ <i>v.</i>	location (type of) bagorii ₁ <i>n.</i> ; bagorii ₂ <i>n.</i> ; bintuk <i>n.</i> ; bɔntɔŋna ₂ <i>n.</i> ; daamun ₂ <i>n.</i> ; dendil <i>n.</i> ; duguŋ <i>n.</i> ; gbɔgɔl <i>n.</i> ; larŋzaŋ <i>n.</i> ; simlɔg <i>n.</i> ; zapega <i>n.</i>
life mɪbwa ₂ <i>n.</i>	lock hara <i>v.</i>
lifestyle diŋ ₂ <i>n.</i>	locust (type of) zimahɔɔ <i>n.</i>
lift arm hāā ₂ <i>v.</i>	log daakputii ₁ <i>n.</i> ; dolo <i>n.</i>
light diŋ ₂ <i>n.</i> ; fɔga ₁ <i>v.</i>	log part daabii <i>n.</i>
lightning initiation duɔŋsɔi <i>n.</i>	lonely (person) nidiŋimaŋa <i>n.</i>
like kii ₁ conn.; kii ₂ <i>v.</i> ; nɔŋja ₁ <i>v.</i>	long (be) ziŋa <i>v.</i>
like that keŋ <i>adv.</i>	long and thin vinnnni ideo.
like this niŋ <i>adv.</i>	look at frili ₂ <i>v.</i>
limb badaa <i>n.</i>	look different tʃerig̊i <i>v.</i>
limp duŋusi <i>v.</i> ; zeŋsi <i>v.</i>	look to buure ₄ <i>v.</i>
limping nāāgbajzeŋe <i>n.</i>	loose paani <i>v.</i>
line tʃvar <i>n.</i>	loose (be) kɔla ₁ <i>v.</i> ; tɔgɔl̥i <i>v.</i>
lines (make) piŋgi <i>pl.v.</i>	loose (make) folo <i>v.</i>
linguist kpambia <i>n.</i>	lose sight of jwɔŋsi <i>v.</i>
liniment tree pontii <i>n.</i>	lose weight fuori ₂ <i>v.</i>
lion dʒetri <i>n.</i> ; juzen̥tina <i>n.</i>	loser (person) tɔolee ₁ <i>n.</i>
lip nɔtunii <i>n.</i>	loss bɔna <i>n.</i>
liquid (of sore) nɪprʊmma ₁ <i>n.</i>	lost (get) jwɔŋsi <i>v.</i>
liquid (type of) dɔnii <i>n.</i>	louse kpibii <i>n.</i>
listen nɔɔ̯i <i>v.</i>	love buure ₃ <i>v.</i> ; nɔŋja ₁ <i>v.</i>
little finii <i>ints.</i> ; negeke ideo.; tantama ideo.	lover sɔnna <i>n.</i>
live zɔɔ̯ ₂ <i>v.</i>	low land falŋ <i>n.</i>
liver pʊal <i>n.</i>	low-toned (be) sɔɔnii ₂ <i>v.</i>
lizard (type of) dʒedžeri <i>n.</i> ; gagatin <i>n.</i> ; ger <i>n.</i> ; gegeṛa <i>n.</i> ; gegeta <i>n.</i> ; gbaga <i>n.</i> ; tiwiibaŋlenjeregie <i>n.</i>	

lower

masticate

lower t̄na *v.*

lower back f̄õõ *n.*

lower than expectation t̄f̄uma₃ *v.*

loyal (person) w̄idim̄tima *n.*

luck s̄vma *v.*

luck (bad) nubõj *n.*

luck (have) nusv̄j *v.*

lukewarm t̄latõla *ideo.*

lumps luguso *pl.n.*

lumpy (be) lugusi₁ *v.*

m

maize m̄ijmēna *n.;* pammii *n.*

maize cob jammidaa *n.*

maize husk jammipetii *n.*

maize silk z̄ogsiej *n.*

maize tassel f̄ogol₂ *n.*

make k̄ɔrī₁ *v.*

make hole ludi *v.*

make love buure₃ *v.*

make soft bugo₁ *v.*

malaria s̄on̄i₂ *n.*

male baal₁ *n.*

male (handsome) bin̄wanj *n.*

male pubic hair peñp̄s̄j *n.*

malnourished child j̄esa *n.*

malt tamputie *n.*

malt (guinea corn) k̄om̄fā *n.*

man baal₁ *n.;* n̄baal *n.*

man (old) bahi₂ *n.*

man (young) bip̄olii *n.*

manager (farm) kuonih̄i₂ *n.*

lung f̄ef̄ta *n.*

lung pains f̄ef̄tiw̄ila *n.*

lying flat hambajala *n.*

lytta n̄õhej *n.*

machine māãns̄i₂ *n.*

mad (person) galanjz̄usr *n.*

madness galaŋja *n.*

maggot (type of) d̄onsii *n.*

mahogany pr̄mj *n.*

mandible (head) lotoremu₂ *n.*

mane l̄soj *n.*

mango mȭngo *n.*

Mangu (person's name) ñjmāãjv̄ *nprop.*

manhood baalii *n.*

manipulate tiiri *v.*

manner nāã₂ *n.*

many kriŋkaŋ *quant.*

mark dāäna *n.;* pempel *n.;* p̄i₂ *v.;* sige *v.;* tii₁ *v.;* tii₂ *v.;* wil *n.*

mark (animal) dāäni₁ *v.*

mark (mouth) n̄õätſvar *n.*

market j̄owa *n.*

marks (make) piŋgi *pl.v.*

marry j̄wo *v.;* kpa₃ *v.;* paa₂ *pl.v.*

mash purusi *v.;* t̄sema *v.*

mason meesin *n.*

masquerade (funeral) sigmaa *n.*

master džiga *v.*

masticate t̄fagam̄i *v.*

- mat kaleŋ *n.*; kintʃsalii *n.*
- mat (door) dzaana *n.*
- mat (grass) pisa *n.*
- matches manjkisi *n.*
- maternal lineage määbise *n.*
- matter wii *n.*
- matter (trivial) willaŋ *n.*
- mattress kintʃsalii *n.*
- mature džiga *v.*
- maybe a bənře ni *advphr.*
- meal kindili *n.*
- meaning muŋ₂ *n.*
- measles takatsuune *n.*
- measure maŋsi₁ *v.*
- measurement (farm) gala *n.*; kagal *n.*; kogulii *n.*; naakpaaga *n.*
- meat namřā *n.*; naŋguruŋ *n.*
- meat (boiled) nantɔŋi *n.*
- meat (forbidden) bulumbunti *n.*
- meat (porcupine) sanjnammi *n.*
- meat (raw) nãnhuor *n.*
- meat (type of) naŋfeŋta *n.*
- meat for sale nambera *n.*
- Mecca maka *n.*
- medical powder lulisaŋ *n.*
- medicine lulii *n.*
- medicine (type of) asibiti₂ *n.*; birisitɔŋ *n.*; bokvora *n.*; gbaraga₂ *nprop.*; lulibummo *n.*; naasaarlulii *n.*; nigimiilulii *n.*; sel *n.*
- meet tʃeme *v.*
- meeting lagamii *n.*; mintiŋ *n.*
- melt ŋimieri *v.*
- members of a paternal relation pi-nawolee pl.*n.*
- membrane pət̪idmdagal *n.*
- menses doŋojar *n.*; nisɔnii *n.*
- menstruate tʃagasi₂ *v.*
- menstruating (person) tʃagtʃagasa₂ *n.*
- message hẽsee *n.*
- metal (type of) daję *n.*
- metamorphose birgi₂ *v.*
- metre mita *n.*
- middle bambaŋ₁ *n.*; bambaŋ₂ reln.; galinŋga reln.
- midnight t̪ħiře *n.*
- mile meeli *n.*
- mill fiebi₁ *v.*; nikaniča *n.*
- millet zul *n.*
- millet ergot (fungi) disease naŋgusɔŋ *n.*
- millipede (type of) halinguomii *n.*; nõõmanier *n.*
- mimic tʃaasi *v.*
- minute minti *n.*; t̪ila *quant.*
- miscarry vieri *v.*
- miserliness siitma *n.*
- misery sigii *n.*
- miss out gara *v.*
- mist meŋ *n.*
- mistake (make) pɔti *n.*; tulemi *v.*
- mistake (to do by) tulemi *v.*
- mix bū ũ *v.*; kuosi *v.*
- mixture of kinds dzaabiridža *n.*

<i>mocking</i>	<i>mute (person)</i>
mocking sia <i>n.</i>	Motigu (person from) mötigii ₁ <i>n.</i>
mocking relation nasata <i>n.</i>	motion (manner) felfel <i>ideo.</i>
molar paŋ <i>n.</i>	motorbike pupu <i>n.</i>
mole sankpanjzigil <i>n.</i>	motorbike (type of) rəbarəba <i>n.</i>
mollusc (type of) kpānna <i>n.</i>	mould mo <i>v.</i>
Monday atanī̄̄ <i>n.</i>	moult wire ₃ <i>v.</i>
money molebi <i>n.</i>	mound (form) tɔ̄ ₅ <i>v.</i>
mongoose (type of) majā̄̄ <i>n.;</i> majā̄̄tuogu <i>n.;</i> watʃehee <i>n.</i>	mourn məsi ₂ <i>v.</i>
monitor dāāni ₂ <i>v.</i>	mouse (type of) dagborø <i>n.;</i> gɔ̄oree <i>n.;</i> mandvøgii <i>n.;</i> ol <i>n.;</i> ombul <i>n.;</i> on- siaj <i>n.;</i> ontolee <i>n.;</i> onzasii <i>n.;</i> tugul <i>n.</i>
monitor lizard (type of) bāā <i>n.;</i> badzøgø <i>n.</i>	mouth nȭā̄ <i>n.</i>
monkey gbřā <i>n.;</i> neŋgaltima <i>n.</i>	move kiige <i>v.;</i> vige <i>v.</i>
monkey (type of) foori <i>n.;</i> gbřasiama <i>n.;</i> kanřē <i>n.;</i> polpiesii <i>n.</i>	move (up and down) tʃøgsi ₁ <i>v.</i>
monkey's scream angum <i>ono.</i>	move (wavily) tuuri ₂ <i>v.</i>
moon b̄vøga <i>n.;</i> pēna <i>n.</i>	move neck leŋsi <i>v.</i>
more than (do) gara ₃ <i>v.</i>	move over tɔ̄si <i>v.</i>
morning tʃvøsa <i>n.;</i> tʃvøsim pisa <i>n.</i> <i>phr.</i>	move with difficulty talimi <i>v.</i>
morsel bøtii <i>n.</i>	much kiŋkaŋ <i>quant.</i>
mortar tuto <i>n.</i>	mud vøtii <i>n.</i>
mortar (centre) tutosii <i>n.</i>	mud (bank) hihři <i>n.</i>
mortar (farm) kuotuto <i>n.</i>	mud block haglrbii <i>n.</i>
mosque wøzaandia <i>n.</i>	multi-storey building d̄sugulii <i>n.</i>
mosquito zongoree <i>n.</i>	multiply tʃaga <i>v.;</i> ugo ₁ <i>v.</i>
mother māā <i>n.</i>	mumps tʃaanjtſimsa <i>n.</i>
mother (new) hasvøŋ <i>n.</i>	murder kpø̄ ₁ <i>v.</i>
mother's brother nāātima <i>n.;</i> niéra <i>n.</i>	murderer nibukpø̄r <i>n.</i>
mother's senior sister māāhřē̄̄ <i>n.</i>	Musa (person's name) m̄saa <i>nprop.</i>
mother's younger sister māāwie ₁ <i>n.</i>	muscle pain nampuniwiila <i>n.</i>
Motigu (lect of) mötigii ₂ <i>n.</i>	Muslim jarie <i>n.</i>
	must foo ₂ <i>conn.</i>
	mute (person) woŋ <i>n.</i>

n

nag tinti *v.*; zaa paari *v.*

nail kpaasi₁ *v.*

nail (metal) hembii *n.*

naive (person) tʃɔgii *n.*

naked bakpal *n.*

name sɔŋ *n.*

namesake tɔgama₁ *n.*

narrate bisi *v.*

narrow fɔrii *n.*

narrow (be) fɔra₂ *v.*

nasal congestion mɪfɔti *n.*

nausea (have) hogo *v.*

navel ul *n.*

near dɔgvli *v.*

necessary (be) daga *v.*

necessity kparaama *n.*

neck bagena *n.*

neck of a container viibagena *n.*

needle (type of) n̩esa *n.*; piraago *n.*

neem tree naasaarsintʃaw *n.*

negative action daware *n.*

negligent (be) faasi *v.*

neighbours zvudɔŋa₂ *pl.n.*

nest zaŋ₂ *n.*

nest (guinea fowl) tuk *n.*

never dance (person) sɔgbiaři *n.*

new fɔlii *n.*; fɔŋfɔŋ *ideo.*

newness tʃɛi *interj.*

nice (be) lɛma₂ *v.*

nickname sɔŋgięgi *n.*

night baratʃɔgoš *n.*; sankara *n.*; tebin *n.*

night blindness teteňse *n.*

nine dğırtuo *num.*

nineteen fididığırtuo *num.*

ninth month sənkare *nprop.*

nipple ilnõã *n.*

no ař *interj.*

nod gusi *v.*

noise gbarjasa *n.*; tʃiāma₁ *n.*

noise (make) kiemí *v.*; tʃiāmí *v.*

noise (type of) tʃiŋgbanjsii *n.*

non-resident tɔbou *n.*

north kandia₁ *n.*

nose miiſa *n.*

nose bleed miiſjalii *n.*

nostril mii'bua₁ *n.*

not lei *neg.*; ti *neg.*; wa *pv.*

nothing baga *adv.*

notice kɔla₂ *v.*

number namba *n.*

numbness dadāř *n.*

nurse neesi *n.*

nurse seeds pugo *v.*

nut nɔtri₁ *n.*

nut (half) banpeg *n.*

O

oath ɳm̩̑es̑ie *n.*
obedient bidim̑ *n.*
obey t̑n̑a₂ *v.*
obligatorily baan̑ *pv.*
obstruct laŋsi *v.*
odor s̑w̑ra *n.*
offer willingly t̑san̑ji *v.*
offering d̑w̑ *n.*
offspring kinduho *n.*
oil n̑ð̑ *n.*
okay ð̑ ìterj.; maasi₂ *v.*; tou *ìterj.*
okro ɳmen̑ *n.*
okro (dried) ɳmen̑hwl̑ *n.*
okro (fresh) ɳmen̑sc̑ *n.*
old b̑na *v.*
old (be) h̑ñsi₁ *v.*
omit gara *v.*
on ni *postp.*
on (be) d̑wa₁ *v.*; suguli₂ *v.*
one dieke *num.*; digim̑aŋa₁ *num.*
onion albasa *n.*
only man̑a *n.*; ten̑teŋ *n.*
open lala₁ *v.*; m̑w̑ma₂ *v.*; paani *v.*; p̑iñ
n.
open mouth h̑āā₁ *v.*
operate t̑ʃ̑ewa₂ *v.*

P

pace n̑āaval₂ *n.*
paddler kat̑ere *n.*

opportunity (lost) gaŋgaarɔv̑ *n.*
opposite wile *n.*
or kaa *conn.*; ko *conn.*
orange lumburo *n.*
orchitis luro?ɔȓi *n.*
oribi teh̑ñ *n.*
originate l̑i₄ *v.*
orphan laliwie *n.*; sulumbie *n.*
other viɛŋ *pv.*
otitis d̑igim̑l̑i *n.*
outlaw t̑elle₁ *n.*
outside gantal *n.*; p̑et̑i *n.*
outsider (be) lugusi₂ *v.*
outskirts laŋzaŋ *n.*
oval shape b̑ɔ̑l̑ *n.*
over (be) gaali₁ *v.*
over-abundant (be) gbugo *v.*
over-prune gbint̑i *v.*
overcome kpege₂ *v.*
overgrown (be) kɔ̑si *v.*
overtake kpɔ̑₂ *v.*
own way pere *n.*
owner t̑ima *n.*
owner (farm) kuot̑ima *n.*
owner (shrine) v̑w̑gt̑ima *n.*

pain (body)

pick

pain (body) bawiiha ₁ <i>n.</i>	pay attention to tjalasi ₁ <i>v.</i>
paint laari ₃ <i>v.</i>	peck t̄ogo <i>v.</i> ; t̄ogosi <i>pl.v.</i>
pair muno <i>n.</i>	peel f̄onti <i>v.</i> ; paasi ₁ <i>v.</i>
pair (be in) kpara <i>v.</i>	peep at limmi <i>v.</i>
palaver wii <i>n.</i>	peg (type of) t̄oñfēñtidaa <i>n.</i>
palm tree (type of) abe <i>n.</i> ; benie <i>n.</i> , kp̄or <i>n.</i> ; t̄ota ₂ <i>n.</i>	pelvis nääñawɔsii <i>n.</i>
palm wine s̄impwɔmma <i>n.</i>	pen kelembi <i>n.</i> ; pen <i>n.</i>
pamper jiesi <i>v.</i> ; liiri ₂ <i>v.</i>	pendant kinliemii <i>n.</i>
pangolin mañgbij <i>n.</i>	penis perj <i>n.</i>
pant pugo <i>v.</i>	people nara <i>pl.n.</i> ; toma <i>pl.n.</i> ; wɔlpi ₁ <i>n.</i> ; wɔlpi ₂ <i>n.</i>
pantaloons kuruso <i>n.</i>	pepper kilimie <i>n.</i> ; t̄immää <i>n.</i>
pants pata <i>n.</i>	pepper (dried) t̄immehšlii <i>n.</i>
papaya k̄oglaabš <i>n.</i>	pepper (fresh) t̄immesɔj <i>n.</i>
paper kadaasi <i>n.</i> ; piipa <i>n.</i> ; t̄oñ ₃ <i>n.</i>	pepper (ground dried) t̄immesau <i>n.</i>
parasitic plant (type of) s̄wakandikuro <i>n.</i>	perceive na ₂ <i>v.</i> ; nõõ ₂ <i>v.</i>
parentless niñnāš <i>n.</i>	percussion instrument (type of) nääłomo ₁ <i>n.</i> ; prega <i>n.</i> ; t̄ññj <i>n.</i>
parents bilšlla <i>pl.n.</i>	perform (poorly) kwoſi <i>v.</i>
park pakı <i>n.</i>	perform ceremony koɔri ₅ <i>v.</i>
part lie ₂ <i>n.</i>	perfume tulaadi <i>n.</i>
particular wara <i>dem.</i>	perhaps a bõñš ni <i>adv.phr.</i>
partner lagami ₂ <i>v.</i>	period saŋa <i>n.</i>
party paati <i>n.</i>	period (menstrual) t̄agashii <i>n.</i>
pass gaasi <i>v.</i> ; paasi <i>v.</i>	permit gila ₁ <i>v.</i>
pass centre bega <i>v.</i>	person nar <i>n.</i>
past fi <i>pv.</i>	person (type of) jinne <i>n.</i>
pastor pasita <i>n.</i>	person (weak) tsɔlœœ ₂ <i>n.</i>
path (type of) f̄ora <i>n.</i>	perspiration wilij <i>n.</i>
patience kapeti <i>n.</i>	perspire jala ₁ <i>v.</i>
paw-paw k̄oglaabš <i>n.</i>	pestle tundaa <i>n.</i>
pay bo <i>v.</i>	pestle (piece) tundaaboro <i>n.</i>
	phlegm kaasibii <i>n.</i>
	pick ḡbrası ₂ <i>pl.v.</i> ; keti ₂ <i>v.</i> ; kp̄eti ₁ <i>v.</i>

pick (fruit)	<i>porridge</i>
pick (fruit) kpôra <i>v.</i>	
pick fast tuosi ₂ <i>v.</i>	
pick out tvasi <i>v.</i>	
pick up pînti ₁ <i>pl.v.; zoro v.</i>	
pickaxe gañgaları <i>n.; pînjaasi n.</i>	
picture foto <i>n.</i>	
pierce po ₁ <i>v.; tawa v.; tösî pl.v.</i>	
pierce through gara ₁ <i>v.</i>	
pierced (be) nôra <i>v.</i>	
pig parakun <i>n.</i>	
pill lulibii <i>n.</i>	
pillar (type of) zazehëë <i>n.</i>	
pillow kaputi <i>n.</i>	
pin gurpe <i>n.; pini n.</i>	
pineapple laanfia <i>n.</i>	
pipe taavii <i>n.</i>	
pit (natural) zöñkogosiañ <i>n.</i>	
pito sñj <i>n.</i>	
pito (fermented) sñjbili <i>n.; sñjsiama n.</i>	
pito (less fermented) sñjhûor <i>n.</i>	
pito (unfermented) sñjbûl <i>n.; sñjtshaara n.</i>	
place bar ₁ <i>n.</i>	
place (type of) batielii <i>n.</i>	
place down tñmasi <i>v.</i>	
place name gunnâäsintsañmuñ <i>nprop.; jölinđvæla nprop.; katfalkpuñjiimuñ nprop.; kunjkuk-sieñ nprop.; waapele nprop.; zañg-bîerisabulugo nprop.</i>	
placenta dñj <i>n.</i>	
plant dñrä <i>n.; gçñj₂ n.; gberegilgii n.; gbentagasi n.; kiesimunluo n.; paginj n.; piel n.; zanzig n.</i>	
plant product (type of) gurba <i>n.</i>	
plantain bôrdia <i>n.</i>	
planting poí <i>n.</i>	
plaster faari ₁ <i>v.</i>	
plate perete <i>n.</i>	
play dñsga <i>n.; dñsgî v.; sâñni v.</i>	
playmate nasâänj <i>n.</i>	
playmate relation nasata <i>n.</i>	
plead mñsî ₁ <i>v.</i>	
pleasant leñmî ₁ <i>n.</i>	
plenty kana <i>v.</i>	
plotting zamba <i>n.</i>	
plough buti <i>v.</i>	
pluck gbrasî ₂ <i>pl.v.; törigî pl.v.; töri v.</i>	
plug fñti <i>v.</i>	
plumage lalaga ₁ <i>n.</i>	
pocket dzifa <i>n.</i>	
pointed pñlapñla <i>ideo.</i>	
pointless bagabaga <i>ideo.</i>	
poison beraa <i>n.</i>	
pole leñ <i>n.; sungoro n.</i>	
police poruso <i>n.</i>	
polish belege <i>v.</i>	
pomade nôðtritii <i>n.; tulaadi n.</i>	
pond gbetara <i>n.; nnitaarj n.</i>	
poor (be) jañä ₂ <i>v.</i>	
poor (person) jañõ <i>n.</i>	
porcupine (type of) sañ <i>n.</i>	
porridge kubii <i>n.</i>	

porridge (type of)

properly (do)

porridge (type of) dʒebere *n.*; kagbaama *n.*; kɔtɔra *n.*; svl₂ *n.*

porter bɔntɔɔna₁ *n.*; kajajo *n.*

portion boro *n.*

portion (unwashed) kaleŋtʃia *n.*

pot (type of) kʊvii *n.*; leu *n.*; npiŋvarvii *n.*; sielii *n.*; sıŋtɔg *n.*; sıŋvii *n.*; tɔg *n.*; tɔgrı *n.*

potassium nitrate dɔɔ *n.*; kâð *n.*

pouch (type of) lɔga₂ *n.*

pouched rat sapuhīē *n.*

pound frəbı₁ *v.*; svagi *v.*; tugo₂ *v.*; tʃası₂ *v.*

pound (currency) pəŋ *n.*

pound lightly purusi *v.*

pour tʃuuri₁ *v.*

pour all bitı *v.*

pour down tʃaari₁ *v.*

pour libation waasi *v.*

pour off liile *v.*

pour some jolo *v.*

pout zʊɔni *v.*

poverty nāā *n.*

powder saɔ *n.*

powder (cosmetic) pɔɔda *n.*

power dabaara *n.*

powerless (become) tɔgvı̄ *v.*

praise ii *v.*

praise name danta *n.*; iko *interj.*; isi *interj.*; ito *interj.*; ije *interj.*; ilɛ *interj.*; itʃa *interj.*; iwe *interj.*; jaŋju *interj.*; viɛhięga *interj.*

prance vitı̄ *pl.v.*

pray zaami₂ *v.*

praying mantis (type of) saleŋgojo n.

precede bumo *v.*

precedent svɔɔ₂ *n.*

prediction vɔg *n.*

predisposed (be) summe tuu cpx.v.

pregnancy luo *n.*; tra₁ *n.*

pregnant woman třekpagar *n.*

prepare kɔɔri₂ *v.*

prepare (new wife) sanjası *v.*

prepare skin fɔ̄ *v.*

press ensı *v.*; ferigi₁ *pl.v.*; ferigi₃ *v.*; fetı₁ *v.*

press out fāā₄ *v.*

press together foma *v.*

prey kinkpagasıı *n.*

price jogulo *n.*

price (high) jogulibɔ̄j *n.*

price (low) haraha *n.*

price (moderate) jogulileŋ *n.*

price (reduce) alıbaraka *n.*

prick tawa *v.*; tʃugosi *pl.v.*

prison haradıa *n.*

problem nɔnnɔŋj₃ *n.*; tɔɔra *n.*

process lugo₂ *n.*; nāā₂ *n.*

produce liquid tʃaga *v.*

professional zimna *n.*

profit tɔna *n.*

prolapse of rectum mɔmɔŋj *n.*

proliferate ugo₁ *v.*

prop logo *n.*

proper dıŋ *n.*

properly (do) mara pv.

prophecy

ragged

prophecy v̑ta *n.*
prostitution sansanna *n.*
protect kisi *v.*; pɔ̃ v.; tɔ̄ v.
protect (against lightning) sɔ̄ duon̑ *v.*
protection kogii *n.*
protruded (be) ziga *v.*
proud basuona *n.*; foro *v.*
prove gila zima *cpx.v.*
proverb sian̑ā *n.*
proverb (share) ta *v.*
puerperal fever niisota *n.*
pull tarage *pl.v.*; tati *v.*; visi *v.*
pull out tsurugi *pl.v.*; tsuti *v.*
pull out (from liquid) luoli *v.*
pullet zapuwie *n.*
pulsate lugusi *v.*
pump (water) pompi *n.*
pumpkin plant kawaa *n.*
punch t̑ugosi *pl.v.*

Q

quarrel t̑iāma₂ *n.*
quarter kota *n.*
quench d̑ssi₁ *v.*
quick n̑nnn̑ŋ₄ *n.*
quickly laga *v.*; lagalaga *ideo.*

R

rabbit t̑uomo *n.*
rabies gaŋ *n.*; vagan *n.*
race bat̑valn̑ *n.*

puncture lurigi *v.*; lut̑i *v.*
puncture (tyre) p̑ont̑a *n.*
punish d̑gsi *v.*
punishment (type of) finii *n.*
puppy vawie *n.*
puppy (female) valor *n.*
puppy (male) vawalee *n.*
pure seweree *n.*; t̑ääni₂ *v.*
push iĩ *v.*; tuti *v.*; vige *v.*; zaga₁ *v.*
push down fela *v.*
push up earth uguli *v.*
put d̑s₁ *v.*
put (in a row) t̑onsi₂ *v.*
put arm around faami₁ *v.*; konti *v.*
put down bile *v.*; t̑m̑ası *v.*
put down brusquely jaga₂ *v.*
put effort fȓig̑i *v.*
put on face down t̑sige₁ *v.*
put spell on h̑wa₂ *v.*

quiet (be) s̑oni₂ *v.*; s̑õõ *v.*
quietly t̑ferim *ideo.*
quietness surum *n.*
quills (porcupine) saŋp̑ŋ *n.*
quiver tol̑g *n.*

radio walanse *n.*
rag garzagat̑i *n.*
ragged suwa₂ *v.*

rain duoŋ <i>n.</i>	refuse viɛ₁ <i>v.</i>
rain gently mossi <i>v.</i>	regularly jaa <i>pv.</i>
rainbow dokagal <i>n.</i>	rehearse gʊɔsi <i>v.</i>
rainwater donii <i>n.</i>	reject viɛ₁ <i>v.</i>
raise leŋsi <i>v.</i> ; sii₁ <i>v.</i>	rejected (person) nivieatalii <i>n.</i>
raise body deŋsi₂ <i>v.</i>	relation (biological) lwl <i>n.</i>
raised bed jolo <i>n.</i> ; sampentie <i>n.</i>	relative hīɛŋ <i>n.</i>
ram pembal <i>n.</i>	release pus vʊɔsi <i>v.</i>
ramrod tʃɔ̄i <i>n.</i>	relocate sii₂ <i>v.</i>
rape gurugi₂ <i>v.</i>	reluctance daraga <i>n.</i>
rapid nənnəŋj₄ <i>n.</i>	rely on dela <i>v.</i> ; jalasi₂ <i>v.</i>
rash tʃinie <i>n.</i>	remain tʃa <i>v.</i>
rat (type of) mətvol <i>n.</i> ; saabii <i>n.</i>	remaining siŋsagal₂ <i>n.</i>
ravage dugo <i>v.</i>	remember liisi₁ <i>v.</i>
raw huor <i>n.</i>	remind tinti <i>v.</i>
reach biesi <i>v.</i> ; tele <i>v.</i>	remote (place) bagorii₂ <i>n.</i>
read karimi <i>v.</i>	remove bolo <i>v.</i> ; lisı₁ <i>v.</i> ; lugusi <i>pl.v.</i> ; ŋmʊsri₂ <i>v.</i> ; wire₂ <i>v.</i> ; wɔra <i>v.</i>
reading karmii <i>n.</i>	remove (shea nut) tesi₁ <i>v.</i>
ready siri <i>n.</i>	remove part of a whole fieri <i>v.</i>
real dmj <i>n.</i> ; tmtm₂ <i>n.</i>	repair kʊɔri₃ <i>v.</i> ; ligili <i>v.</i>
really tɔri <i>v.</i> ; tʃi <i>v.</i>	repair leakage foti <i>v.</i>
rear diɛsi₁ <i>v.</i>	repeatedly tuuti <i>ideo.</i>
rebuke hɔ̄si₃ <i>v.</i>	repent tuubi₁ <i>v.</i>
receive laa₁ <i>v.</i>	reply laa₃ <i>v.</i>
reclusive (person) digm̩vienɔ̄ɔ̄ra <i>n.</i>	reply to greetings awoo <i>interj.</i>
red siama₁ <i>n.</i> ; siari₁ <i>v.</i>	report puoti₁ <i>v.</i>
red (person) nibusama <i>n.</i>	reproduce wasi <i>v.</i>
red bean sigsama <i>n.</i>	reputation sɔ̄ŋbɔ̄ŋ <i>n.</i>
Red thorn ssosama <i>n.</i>	resent jima <i>v.</i>
red-handed tʃap <i>ideo.</i>	reserve (lack of) nɔ̄ápumma <i>n.</i>
reduce puuri <i>v.</i>	reservoir dampɔ̄ <i>n.</i>
reduce by sharpening selli <i>v.</i>	resistant kūŋsūŋ <i>n.</i>

respect

row

respect girime *n.*; kpa jug *v.*; kpa su *v.*
respect (with) bɔŋe *n.*
respectfulness hĩsa *n.*
respond sĩā *v.*
respond to laa₃ *v.*
responsibility karifa *n.*; tĩja *n.*
rest hĩesi₁ *v.*
rest area zamparagii *n.*; zaŋ₁ *n.*
resting area daamuj₁ *n.*
restore ligili *v.*
retaliation kapaaga *n.*
retrogress tʃɔgɔm̩i *v.*
return bira *v.*
reward tʃela *v.*
rewind guti *v.*
rheumatism batʃasie *n.*
rib kugdaabii *n.*; logunj₁ *n.*
rib cage kugso *n.*
rice muro *n.*
rice (grain) murobii *n.*
rich bundaana *n.*
ride on zina₁ *v.*
right dul₂ reln.; maasi₂ *v.*
right (side) dul₁ *n.*
ring nengbiŋ *n.*; nepitii *n.*
ringworm kawaadadag *n.*
rinse lugusi *v.*; vaasi *v.*
ripe (be) bii₂ *v.*; hĩesi₂ *v.*; siama₂ *n.*; siari₂ *v.*
ripe (stage) mol *n.*
ripe (under-) ganagana *ideo.*

rise jala₃ *v.*
rival (woman) handɔŋ *n.*
river gɔŋ₁ *n.*
river (big) mɔg *n.*
river (large) gɔŋzeŋ *n.*
river (long) gɔŋzenji *n.*
river bank gɔŋnɔŋā *n.*
river path gɔŋbɔɔ *n.*
road birindin *n.*; munii *n.*; tiwii *n.*
roam guugi *v.*
roast wiisi₁ *v.*; wɔsi *v.*
rock jegisi *pl.v.*
roll bilinsi *v.*
roll up guti *v.*
roof juo₂ *v.*; pile *v.*
roof top sabaan *n.*
roofing beam dolo *n.*; pel *n.*; seŋebii *n.*
room (back) dilumo *n.*
room-mates zvudɔŋja₂ *pl.n.*
root luto *n.*
root (tree) daaluto *n.*
rope ŋmeŋ *n.*
rope (make) kala *v.*
rope (type of) genie *n.*
rotten pɔ̃ā *v.*
rotten (almost) kvɔrī *v.*
rotten meat tʃɔgdu *n.*
rough kɔgɔsɔg *ideo.*
rough (be) fɔna *n.*
round go *v.*
route nãāval₁ *n.*
row sãā₂ *v.*

rub biligi *v.*; fögörl *v.*; laari₂ *v.*; liiri₁ *v.*; nama₂ *v.*; tiga *v.*; trtr *v.*; turo₁ *v.*
rub along faari₂ *v.*
rubbish viera *n.*
rude (be) vuugi *v.*
rude (child) bipðã *n.*

S

sacrifice põ *v.*
sadness patſigſøgsa *n.*
saline soil lεbva *n.*
saliva muŋtso *n.*
salt jisa *n.*
salt (grain) jibii *n.*
saltpetre døo *n.*; kãš *n.*
same digimaŋa₃ *n.*
sample lemana *n.*
sand hagla *n.*; haglii *n.*; tagla *n.*
sandal näätso *n.*
sandals (type of) näätɔvsiŋgirigisa *n.*
sap nippømma₂ *n.*; tl *n.*
satisfied (be) piŋsi *pl.v.*
satisfy piŋa *v.*
Saturday asibitı *n.*
Sawla səgla *nprop.*
Sawla (lect of) səgilii₂ *n.*
Sawla (person from) səgilii₁ *n.*
say ñma₁ *v.*
say (unable) mara₂ *v.*
scald foro *v.*
scare ɔnsi *v.*

run tʃɔ₁ *v.*
rush gime *v.*; poleme *v.*
rush at gbv̥vri *v.*; taari₁ *v.*
rush at in anger (to) iiri *v.*
rust ñãš *v.*; ñãš *n.*
scatter bitı *v.*; jaari *v.*; laŋsı₂ *v.*; pisi *v.*
scattered gatigatrı *ideo.*
scent sɔɔra *n.*
school sukuu *n.*
scissors namekasa *n.*
scoop lɔga₁ *v.*; lɔgisi *pl.v.*; paasi₂ *v.*
scorpion nõðma *n.*
scout tʃosi *v.*
scrape against faari₂ *v.*
scrape off fiise₁ *v.*
scraper bel₁ *n.*
scratch fɔrigi *v.*; lala *v.*; lɔga *v.*
scrotum luro *n.*
sculpt mɔ *v.*
sea mɔg *n.*
search buure₄ *v.*
season tötʃaaŋ *n.*; tötʃaaŋbummo *n.*; tötʃaaŋsiama *n.*
season (dry) limmaŋa *n.*; kɔŋja *n.*
season (rainy) jvsu *n.*
seat kor *n.*
second month sifra *n.*
secretive patſigbummo *n.*
section banii *n.*; bar₁ *n.*

section of DUCIE	gbəŋwələeə <i>nprop.</i>	send (someone) hele <i>v.</i>
kuorubanii	<i>nprop.</i> ; lobanii <i>nprop.</i>	senior sibling kpiema <i>n.</i>
paŋbanii	<i>nprop.</i> ; ziŋbanii <i>nprop.</i>	sense nahfē <i>n.</i> ; nōvō <i>v.</i>
security guard	wɔtʃimāř <i>n.</i>	separate laasi <i>v.</i> ; peligi ₁ <i>v.</i>
see na ₁	<i>v.</i>	seriousness sisama <i>n.</i>
see (part)	piise <i>v.</i>	set fire tɔga <i>v.</i>
seed bii ₁	<i>n.</i> ; daanōŋ <i>n.</i>	set in a direction degini ₁ <i>v.</i>
seed (Afzelia)	holbii <i>n.</i>	set up roofing structure dəwa <i>v.</i>
seed (Akee tree)	tibii <i>n.</i>	settle saŋa ₂ <i>v.</i>
seed (baobab)	tolibii <i>n.</i>	settlement bia <i>n.</i> ; saal ₁ <i>n.</i> ; tɔv <i>n.</i>
seed (dawadawa)	səlbii <i>n.</i> ; tʃiäbii <i>n.</i> ; tʃiři <i>n.</i>	settlement (deserted) dabuo <i>n.</i>
seed (gourd)	sar <i>n.</i> ; sarabii <i>n.</i>	seven alkəpe <i>num.</i> ; ləpəpe <i>num.</i>
seed (half)	banpeg <i>n.</i>	seventeen fidalkəpe <i>num.</i>
seed (maize)	nammibii <i>n.</i>	seventh month kpinitſuu <i>nprop.</i>
seed (shea nut)	tſuonj <i>n.</i>	sew ora <i>v.</i>
seed (type of)	nagimbii ₁ <i>n.</i>	sewing machine tiila <i>n.</i>
seed shell (Afzelia)	holnɔŋpetii <i>n.</i>	sexton pel <i>n.</i>
seed shell (dawadawa)	tʃiäpetii <i>n.</i>	shade basoŋ <i>n.</i>
seedling duho	<i>n.</i>	shade (yam mounds) pasi <i>v.</i>
seek buure ₄	<i>v.</i>	shake jege <i>v.</i> ; jegisi <i>pl.v.</i> ; pisi <i>v.</i> ; wisi <i>v.</i> ; zagali <i>v.</i> ; zagasi ₂ <i>v.</i> ; zigili <i>v.</i>
seem d̥v ₂	<i>v.</i>	shake (make) ziige <i>v.</i>
seep out	bulo <i>v.</i>	shake head viigi ₂ <i>v.</i>
seize fɔsi	<i>v.</i>	shake up jerisi <i>v.</i>
self trintin ₁	<i>n.</i>	shallow tisi <i>v.</i>
self-denial	daamī <i>n.</i>	shape bilesi <i>pl.v.</i>
self-sufficient (not be)	pwoŋgi <i>v.</i>	share parage <i>v.</i> ; totii <i>n.</i> ; zuu <i>n.</i>
sell joguli	<i>v.</i>	sharp (be) di ₃ <i>v.</i>
seller jawadiir	<i>n.</i>	sharpen kola <i>v.</i> ; sisri ₁ <i>v.</i>
selling jogulii	<i>n.</i>	shave fwna <i>v.</i> ; wire ₂ <i>v.</i>
semi-trailer	lɔɔlimunzvalunzva <i>n.</i>	shaving knife fɔŋ <i>n.</i>
send tɔma	<i>v.</i>	she ʊ <i>pro.</i> ; ʊʊwa <i>pro.</i> ; waa <i>pro.</i>

shea butter nõõ n.	shrine (Gurumbele) daabãntolugu <i>nprop.</i>
shea nut seed t̄uoŋ n.	shrine (Holumuni) d̄oga <i>nprop.</i>
shea tree suoŋ n.	shrine (Motigu) haŋtſele <i>nprop.</i> ; liegu <i>nprop.</i>
sheath t̄õā n.	shrine (Sawla) k̄očli <i>nprop.</i>
shed luore v.	shrink z̄ogv̄si v.
sheep penii n.; piesii n.	shrub (type of) gagt̄i n.; miimi n.; munjuolie n.
sheet tel n.	shut up t̄ʃ̄a <i>interj.</i>
shell w̄ora v.	shyness h̄iisa n.
shell (palm nut) kokobeg n.	sibling (younger) māäbie ₁ n.
shilling sulee n.	sick w̄ii v.; w̄iilii n.
shine l̄iɪ ₃ v.; j̄alsi v.; t̄jāāni ₁ v.	sick (be) ḡerege v.
shirt takta n.	sick (person) dž̄ergii n.; ḡeregn̄i n.
shiver zigili ₁ v.	sickness banv̄ma n.; dž̄erenga n.; ḡerenga n.; w̄ila n.
shoe nāätc̄v n.	sickness (type of) kpantii n.; t̄oŋa n.
shoemaker nāätc̄vkv̄or n.	side loguŋ ₂ <i>reln.</i> ; pe n.
shoes (pair) nāätc̄wa n.	sieve dž̄iera n.; m̄enj̄i ₁ v.; toŋsi ₂ v.; t̄sesi v.
shop sit̄o n.	sift t̄sesi v.
shore m̄ogn̄õā n.	sifter dž̄iera n.
short boro v.	sight (gun) t̄ʃ̄ā ₂ n.
shoulder embel̄i ₁ n.	sign to come kamsi ₂ v.
shoulder blade vaanj̄er n.	signing bigise n.
shoulder joint embeltfugul n.	Sigu language sigu <i>nprop.</i>
shout gbieli v.; h̄osi ₁ v.; h̄ūusi v.; t̄faasi v.; uori v.	silence surum n.
shove t̄fugo ₁ v.	silo buu n.
shovel s̄obv̄l n.	similar (be) kpara v.; nāāni v.
show t̄agali v.	sincere (person) n̄ibupv̄omma n.; nibuwerii n.
show-off tar̄kama n.	sing buoli v.
shrine v̄og n.	
shrine (Buge) kala ₂ <i>nprop.</i>	
shrine (Bulenga) safokala <i>nprop.</i>	
shrine (Gbanwale) gbaraga ₁ <i>nprop.</i>	

singe off

sneak

singe off kp̩sɪ v.
singer buolbuolo n.
singer (good) laŋgbɛ₂ n.
single teŋteŋ n.
sip furusi₁ pl.v.; tʃumo v.
Sisaala (person) hɔlɪ n.
sister (senior) kp̩iemä n.
sit d̩ela v.; pumō₂ v.; saga₁ v.; saŋa₁ v.
site bar₁ n.
sitting place basaŋɪ n.
six aloro num.; loro num.
six pence t̩gɔfa n.
sixteen fidaloro num.
sixth month kpinitſuumaaŋkuna nprop.
skim vige v.
skim off wɔɔlɪ v.
skin batɔŋ n.; kvtɪ₁ v.
skin disease (dog) tɔr n.
skink (type of) gbol n.
skip gara v.
sky kuosopuu n.
sky appearance dzinedžine₁ ideo.
slam into h̩ɪ v.
slap maŋa₁ v.; pesɪ v.; tʃasi₁ v.
slaughter kɔrɪgɪ v.
slave joŋ n.
slave (shrine) vɔgjon n.
sleep tʃua duo v.
sleeping place batʃvalɪ n.
sleeping room dɪtʃʊəlɪ n.

slip foosi v.; saari v.
slip of tongue (do) foti₁ v.
slippery place sosolii n.
slit drum von̩golii n.
slow svɔnɪ₄ v.
slow (be) zugo₂ v.
slowly b̩ɛ̩ib̩ɛ̩ ideo.
smack pesɪ v.
small tama quant.; wie n.
smash (tuber) tʃɔrigɪ v.
smear faari₁ v.
smeared zilimbil n.
smell sɔ̩ā n.; svɔrɪ₁ v.
smile mɔma₁ v.
smock (type of) dansatſi n.; dansatſi-wie n.; tintaaraa n.; togo n.
smoke jv̩ā₂ v.; jv̩āsa n.
smoking away jv̩gɪ n.
smooth logo v.; solisi v.; soloŋsoloŋ ideo.; vɔlɔŋvɔlɔŋ ideo.
snail gɔlewiegu n.
snake haglikɪŋ n.
snake (type of) ajāā n.; bɔsa n.; brige n.; bvdas n.; dvshāā n.; dvkpeni n.; dvŋmɛŋ n.; dvŋmɛŋbummo n.; dvŋmɛŋsiama n.; dvŋwie n.; dɔ̩ð n.; d̩v̩gal n.; kɔŋ n.; mā̩biewaatelepusiŋ n.; nigsra n.; nn̩t̩ma n.; nagimbii₂ n.; sɔmpɔrlilese n.; suon̩daawie n.; svɔsan̩i₃ n.
snake skin (moulted) wir n.
snatch mɔna v.
sneak lvɔri v.

sneeze kp̄sɪ v.	soup ingredient džumburo n.; fɔl ₂ n.; kɔntɔŋ n.
sniff in furusi ₂ v.	sour jaŋɛɛ ₂ n.
snore kɔɔri v.	sour (be) naga ₁ v.
snuff tɔʊsaŋ n.	south vɔg n.
so be it ame <i>interj.</i>	south-east wind vɔgtimun̄peu n.
soak p̄i v.; sima v.	sow dūū v.
soak soil gbera v.	soya bean bɛŋkpale n.
soap kɔwia n.	space (little) dra v.
soft jɔgɔsi ₁ v.	space between the eyebrows miidaa n.
soft spot juŋwasa n.	spark (fire) diŋpapareɛ n.
soften buti v.	spasm (throat) sinsige n.
soil hagla n.; haglɪ n.; tagla n.	speak ɻma ₁ v.
soil (type of) haglibummo n.; haglm̄sgv̄l n.; hagltʃāā n.	spear tiŋ n.
soldier sodža n.	spear grass kumpii n.
solid kpegii n.	species balvɔ ₂ n.
solve kɔɔri ₄ v.	specific wara dem.
some ban̄ɛ quant.	speckled lagasi pl.v.
someone digimaja ₂ num.; džagala n.	speech wiŋmahā n.
song buol n.	spendthrift fɔga ₂ n.
song track buolnāā n.	spherical object kpulii n.
soothsay prasi ₂ v.; vɔga v.	spider ɻmeŋtel ₁ n.
soothsayer siinaara n.; vɔvɔta n.	spider (type of) mɔŋtuosii n.
sore kinwili n.; nāāwal n.; niŋ n.; pempel n.	spill bti v.
sort sii n.	spin taari ₂ v.; vilimi v.
soul d̄sma n.; n̄d̄sma n.	spindle gundaabii n.; ɻmedaa n.
soul (lacking) d̄sŋtʃo n.; nāāhāāta n.	spine gantalbaanhog n.
sound (alert) wilie n.	spirit (type of) juɔsa n.; ɻmaara n.
soup disa n.	spiritual leader (type of) limaan n.; vɔgnih̄ɛ n.; wɔzanih̄ɛ n.
soup (type of) dm̄i n.; footuo n.; kpāāŋniidisa n.	spiritual protection zięŋ ₁ n.
	spiritual weapon lalaga ₂ n.
	spit mɔt̄i v.; pu v.; tʃi v.

spitefulness zamba <i>n.</i>	stand against tele <i>v.</i> ; telegi <i>pl.v.</i>
spleen pɔntɔlie <i>n.</i>	staple food kʊl <i>n.</i> ; kʊv <i>n.</i>
split up pegsi <i>v.</i>	star wilii <i>n.</i>
spoil tʃoga <i>v.</i>	starch (lacking) tufutufu <i>ideo.</i>
spoiled (child) bipõā <i>n.</i>	stare frili ₂ <i>v.</i>
sponge gbera <i>n.</i>	start kpa ₂ <i>v.</i> ; pilii <i>v.</i>
spoon daazʊsna ₁ <i>n.</i> ; tʃokoli <i>n.</i>	station tiisa <i>n.</i>
spoon (wooden) lehee <i>n.</i>	stay long birgi <i>v.</i>
spot baanj ₂ <i>n.</i> ; lalaga ₁ <i>n.</i>	steal ɳmĩ̃e <i>v.</i>
spotted lagasi <i>pl.v.</i>	stealing ɳmĩ̃ẽ <i>n.</i>
sprain kperŋjẽ <i>v.</i>	steam kusi <i>v.</i>
spread pis̄i <i>v.</i>	steam (trap) wiisi ₂ <i>v.</i>
spread (news) pʊti <i>v.</i>	steer sãã ₂ <i>v.</i>
spring bulugo <i>n.</i>	steering setia <i>n.</i>
sprinkle mis̄i <i>v.</i>	stem kɔlni ₁ <i>n.</i>
sprout jala ₁ <i>v.</i> ; jala ₂ <i>v.</i> ; sii ₂ <i>n.</i> ; tɔt̄i <i>v.</i> ; tʃ̄ra <i>v.</i>	step on nasi <i>v.</i>
spy pigsi <i>v.</i>	step-father jɪn̄h̄ĩe ₂ <i>n.</i> ; jɪn̄wie ₂ <i>n.</i>
square logumoanaase <i>n.</i>	step-mother määh̄ĩe ₂ <i>n.</i> ; määwie ₂ <i>n.</i>
squashed (be) pɔntri <i>v.</i>	sternum bambileo <i>n.</i>
squat toguni <i>v.</i>	stick (forked) daatsaraga <i>n.</i>
squeeze ensi <i>v.</i>	still ha <i>pv.</i> ; haali <i>conn.</i>
squirrel (type of) hele <i>n.</i> ; muŋzejtma <i>n.</i> ; zisa <i>n.</i>	sting (bee) tɔ̃ɔ̃fril <i>n.</i>
stable gar <i>n.</i>	stinger (bee) fril <i>n.</i>
stage (chick life) bugo <i>v.</i>	stinginess siitima <i>n.</i>
stagger geŋene <i>v.</i>	stingy nekpeg <i>n.</i>
stained kpoŋo <i>v.</i>	stink kʊvri <i>v.</i> ; svɔri ₂ <i>v.</i>
stalk kɔlni ₁ <i>n.</i>	stinky põ̃ipõ̃i <i>ideo.</i>
stammer bʊmsi <i>v.</i>	stir fega <i>v.</i> ; kuosi <i>v.</i> ; tʃ̄ema <i>v.</i> ; vuugi <i>v.</i>
stamp tigimi <i>v.</i>	stirring-stick fega <i>n.</i>
stand tara ₂ <i>v.</i> ; tʃ̄iŋa <i>v.</i>	stock (bean leaves) svɔsan̄i ₁ <i>n.</i>
	stock (gun) maafadaa <i>n.</i>

stomach

suicide (commit)

stomach pumpunma <i>n.</i>	strip off sñrl <i>v.</i>
stomach ache patsigwila <i>n.</i>	striped (be) tsañsí <i>v.</i>
stone bñ <i>n.</i> ; bñi <i>n.</i>	strive lvgaga ₂ <i>v.</i>
stone (big) brizej <i>n.</i>	strong kpege ₁ <i>v.</i>
stone (flat) bital <i>n.</i>	strong (person) fñjatima <i>n.</i>
stone (small) briwie <i>n.</i>	struggle loga ₂ <i>v.</i>
stone (smooth) logologobñ <i>n.</i>	stubborn child bivie ₁ <i>n.</i> ; bivielñ <i>n.</i>
stone (stove) dñlembñ <i>n.</i>	stubbornness jukpeg <i>n.</i>
stone (type of) gþenii ₁ <i>n.</i> ; kpaakpuguj <i>n.</i> ; zõjkõjëe <i>n.</i>	stuck fõra ₁ <i>v.</i>
stop gila ₂ <i>v.</i> ; kpa ta ₁ cpx. <i>v.</i> ; peti <i>v.</i> ; teñe ₃ <i>v.</i> ; tñm̄ ken <i>v.</i>	student karaþbie <i>n.</i>
store sitco <i>n.</i>	study zigiti <i>v.</i>
storing (grain) deñjñ <i>n.</i>	stump (tree) daakputii ₂ <i>n.</i> ; daamunputii <i>n.</i>
story mør <i>n.</i>	stunt zugumi ₂ <i>v.</i>
stove (three-stone) dalibwa <i>n.</i>	stupid (be) bugomi <i>v.</i> ; gëna <i>v.</i>
stove (type of) kõlpõtì <i>n.</i>	stupidity bugunso <i>n.</i>
straddle tñara <i>v.</i>	stutter bñmsí <i>v.</i>
straight degini ₁ <i>v.</i>	submerged (be) lime <i>v.</i>
straightness deginii <i>n.</i>	substance (type of) ise ₂ <i>n.</i>
strain tñoori <i>v.</i> ; tñuori <i>n.</i>	substandard (meat) sië <i>v.</i>
stranger hõõr <i>n.</i>	subtract lisli ₂ <i>v.</i>
straw hat kagba <i>n.</i>	success juwerii <i>n.</i>
stream goñwie <i>n.</i>	suck in tñuuse <i>v.</i>
strength fõja <i>n.</i>	suck on (breast) õsi <i>v.</i>
stretch dñnsi <i>v.</i> ; tala <i>v.</i> ; tarage <i>pl.v.</i> ; tati <i>v.</i> ; tñoni <i>v.</i>	suck out mñgvñsí <i>v.</i> ; tatí <i>v.</i>
stretch drum skin bugo ₁ <i>v.</i>	suddenly baaj <i>pv.</i>
stretching tñoni <i>n.</i>	suffering ããnuuba <i>n.</i> ; nuui <i>n.</i> ; sigii <i>n.</i>
stride nãäval ₂ <i>n.</i>	sugar sikiri <i>n.</i>
strike fiëbl ₂ <i>v.</i>	sugar cane kakanõõ <i>n.</i>
strip fuori ₁ <i>v.</i> ; wõra <i>v.</i>	Suglo (person's name) suglo <i>prop.</i>
	suicide daasiiga ₂ <i>n.</i>
	suicide (commit) mara <i>n.</i>

summon wɔ̄sɪ <i>v.</i>	swallow lile <i>v.</i> ; lilesi <i>pl.v.</i>
sun wʊ̄sa₂ <i>n.</i>	swear ɿmī̄sɪ <i>v.</i>
Sunday alahaadi <i>n.</i>	sweep tʃaasi₂ <i>v.</i>
support tara₁ <i>v.</i> ; tiise <i>v.</i> ; tʃaga <i>n.</i> ; zagasi₁ <i>v.</i>	sweet lemii₂ <i>n.</i> ; lerete <i>ideo.</i> ; loroto <i>ideo.</i>
surpass kaali₂ <i>v.</i>	sweet potato kalemazv̄ <i>n.</i>
surprise kaabaako <i>interj.</i> ; kõõ₄ <i>v.</i> ; mamaatſi <i>interj.</i> ; oi <i>interj.</i> ; tʃesu <i>interj.</i>	swell ɔ̄ra <i>v.</i> ; ɔ̄ti <i>pl.v.</i> ; ugo₂ <i>v.</i>
surprise (take by) piregi <i>v.</i>	swelling ba?ɔrii <i>n.</i> ; kinsɔŋ <i>n.</i> ; kpogo <i>n.</i>
survive foti <i>v.</i> ; pit̄i <i>v.</i>	swim tʃele nii <i>v.</i>
suspect ãāni <i>v.</i>	swindle fɔ̄sɪ <i>v.</i> ; tie₂ <i>v.</i>
suspend laga <i>v.</i> ; liemi <i>v.</i>	swing viigi₁ <i>v.</i>
swagger gaani <i>v.</i>	sword (type of) tokobii <i>n.</i>

t

table teebul <i>n.</i>	take care of jine₁ <i>v.</i>
taboo kii <i>n.</i> ; tʃiir <i>n.</i> ; wɔ̄satſii <i>n.</i>	take excessively kūū <i>v.</i>
tadpole gburugulugee <i>n.</i>	take off tojø <i>v.</i>
tail munžaŋ <i>n.</i> ; ziŋ <i>n.</i>	take off (meat) fɔ̄rv <i>v.</i>
take kpa₁ <i>v.</i> ; kpaga₃ <i>v.</i> ; laa₁ <i>v.</i> ; paa₁ <i>pl.v.</i>	take off the top daari <i>v.</i>
take (food) kiini₂ <i>v.</i>	take pity simisi <i>v.</i>
take (grains) jaa₂ <i>v.</i>	talisman sewa <i>n.</i>
take (leaves) tʃieri <i>v.</i>	tall (be) zma <i>v.</i>
take (many) gbaasi <i>v.</i>	tamarind sisia <i>n.</i>
take (meat) nieri <i>v.</i>	Tangu (person's name) tãāñõ <i>nprop.</i>
take (mud) po <i>v.</i>	taste lagale <i>v.</i> ; lema na <i>v.</i> ; lemsi <i>pl.v.</i> ; taga <i>v.</i>
take a direction laa₂ <i>v.</i>	taste (good) lerete <i>ideo.</i>
take a picture teŋe₂ <i>v.</i>	tasteless bøla <i>v.</i>
take care d̄s tɔ̄s cpx. <i>v.</i> ; ila <i>v.</i>	tattered zagati <i>v.</i>
take care (child) diɛsi₂ <i>v.</i>	tattoo tʃagtʃag <i>n.</i>

tax lompoor <i>n.</i>	they (hum-) a <i>pro.</i> ; awa <i>pro.</i> ; awaa <i>pro.</i>
teach tʃagalar <i>v.</i>	thick g̬b̬sktv̬k <i>ideo.</i>
teacher karima <i>n.</i> ; tʃitʃa <i>n.</i>	thick (be) g̬b̬sŋja <i>v.</i> ; kɔsɪ <i>v.</i> ; zugor <i>v.</i>
tear kiası <i>v.</i> ; pñlı <i>v.</i> ; siinn <i>n.</i> ; tʃʊv̬ri <i>v.</i>	thief nezejetma <i>n.</i> ; ŋm̬iɛr <i>n.</i>
teasing sia <i>n.</i>	thigh nāäpegi <i>n.</i>
telegraph tangarafo <i>n.</i>	thin badaawise <i>n.</i> ; kɔŋja <i>v.</i> ; lewalewa <i>ideo.</i> ; puoli <i>v.</i>
telephone foon <i>n.</i>	thin (be) fuori ₂ <i>v.</i>
telephone line fooniymen <i>n.</i>	thin (person) kwołli <i>n.</i>
tell puoti ₁ <i>v.</i>	thing km <i>n.</i>
tell (story) mɔra <i>v.</i> ; sianı <i>v.</i>	thing (bad) kmbaq <i>n.</i> ; kmbɔŋ <i>n.</i> ; kmtʃoma <i>n.</i>
temper baaj <i>n.</i>	thing (big) kinzeŋ <i>n.</i>
ten fi <i>num.</i>	thing (bush) kɔsakŋ <i>n.</i>
tenth month tʃiusū ŋ <i>prop.</i>	thing (greenish) kmpaatsag <i>n.</i>
tenure nihřelŋ <i>n.</i>	thing (long) kmziŋŋ <i>n.</i>
termite (type of) tʃaw ₁ <i>n.</i> ; tʃɔbrel <i>n.</i> ; tʃɔbul <i>n.</i>	thing (valuable) kŋjdriŋ <i>n.</i>
termite mound tʃaw ₂ <i>n.</i> ; tʃɔkɔŋja <i>n.</i>	think liisi ₃ <i>v.</i>
test t̬eəsi <i>n.</i>	third month damba <i>prop.</i>
testicle luro <i>n.</i> ; lurobi <i>n.</i>	thirst niŋøksa <i>n.</i>
texture (type of) kɔlɔlɔ ₁ <i>ideo.</i> ; kpatsakpatſa <i>ideo.</i>	thirteen fidatoro <i>num.</i>
thanks ansa ₂ <i>interj.</i>	this haj <i>dem.</i> ; niŋ <i>adv.</i>
that dr <i>comp.</i> ; keŋ <i>adv.</i>	thorn sɔta ₁ <i>n.</i>
that (particular) awa <i>dem.</i>	thought hakila <i>n.</i> ; liise <i>n.</i>
the a <i>art.</i> ; tr̬iŋ <i>art.</i>	thousand tusu <i>num.</i>
theft ŋm̬iɛ ŋ <i>n.</i>	thread tɔɔŋ ₂ <i>v.</i>
then a <i>conn.</i> ; aka <i>conn.</i> ; zi ₂ <i>adv.</i>	threaten fugusiz <i>v.</i>
there de <i>adv.</i>	three atoro <i>num.</i> ; toroo <i>num.</i>
therefore a nuu ni <i>conn.</i> ; awiɛ <i>conn.</i>	three pence sɔmpwa <i>n.</i>
thereupon de ni <i>adv.phr.</i>	thresh wɔra <i>v.</i>
they (hum+) ba <i>pro.</i> ; bawa <i>pro.</i> ; bawaa <i>pro.</i>	throat lile <i>n.</i>
	throat (opening) lilebwa <i>n.</i>
	throb lugusi <i>v.</i> ; wusi <i>v.</i>

throw fɔra <i>v.</i>	toe (index) nãäbiziŋŋ <i>n.</i>
thrush nɔhg <i>n.</i>	toe (little) nãäbiwie <i>n.</i>
thumb nebikaŋkawal <i>n.</i>	toe (middle) nãäbibaambaj <i>n.</i>
thunder hɔsɪ₂ <i>v.;</i> nasie <i>n.</i>	Togo hare tʃuomo <i>n.</i>
Thursday alamosa <i>n.</i>	tolerant degini₂ <i>v.</i>
tibia nãägbanjahog <i>n.</i>	Toma (person's name) tɔma <i>nprop.</i>
tick kpagal <i>n.</i>	tomato kalie <i>n.;</i> tselii <i>n.</i>
ticket tigiti <i>n.</i>	tomorrow tʃɪ <i>pv.;</i> tʃiɛ̄ <i>n.</i>
tie lomo₁ <i>v.;</i> vɔtɪ₁ <i>pl.v.;</i> vɔwa₁ <i>v.</i>	tongs tʃaɔ̄ <i>n.</i>
tie in packages fɔtɪ₂ <i>v.</i>	tongue nɔzvɔlɔŋ <i>n.</i>
tigernuts muhīē <i>n.</i>	too gba <i>quant.;</i> ko <i>adv.</i>
tight tʃiiri <i>v.</i>	tool (type of) sampil <i>n.</i>
tight (be) faami₂ <i>v.</i>	tool (yam digging) kpāāñhiredaa <i>n.</i>
tighten tɔvri <i>v.</i>	tooth jɪŋ <i>n.</i>
Tiisa (lect of) tiisaali₂ <i>n.</i>	tooth (back) jɪŋtielii <i>n.</i>
Tiisa (person from) tiisaali₁ <i>n.</i>	tooth (canine) jɪŋvaa <i>n.</i>
Tiisa village tiisaa <i>nprop.</i>	tooth of a comb tʃaasajŋ <i>n.</i>
tilt kulo <i>v.</i>	toothache kaka <i>n.</i>
time gbeliŋ <i>n.;</i> saŋa <i>n.;</i> wɔgadɪ <i>n.</i>	top of juu₂ <i>reln.</i>
tin kɔŋkɔŋ ono <i>.</i>	tortoise kpaakpuro <i>n.;</i> wiłi <i>n.</i>
tiny tla <i>quant.</i>	totality biriŋ <i>n.</i>
tip bəma <i>v.</i>	touch biligi <i>v.;</i> gbaŋası <i>v.;</i> laari₄ <i>v.</i>
tip (arrow) gerege <i>n.</i>	tough kũŋsũŋ <i>n.</i>
tipped (be) keŋe <i>v.</i>	towards (be) tʃaga <i>v.</i>
tire kɔɔ̄₁ <i>v.</i>	town tɔzeŋ <i>n.</i>
tiredness kɔɔ̄sa <i>n.</i>	tracks lugo₁ <i>n.</i>
tobacco tɔwa <i>n.</i>	trade di jawa <i>v.</i>
tobacco (powdered) tɔvsav <i>n.</i>	trade for tʃera <i>v.</i>
today zaŋj <i>n.</i>	trader jawadiir <i>n.</i>
toe nãäbii <i>n.</i>	tradition ləsiriјe <i>n.</i>
toe (big) nãäbikaŋkawal <i>n.</i>	trail kpāāñi₂ <i>v.</i>
toe (fourth) nãäbibaambajwie <i>n.</i>	trail (animal) lugo₁ <i>n.</i>
	traitor digie₁ <i>n.</i>

transform birgi ₂ <i>v.</i>	trip garisi <i>v.</i>
trap baŋtʃɔ̄s <i>n.</i> ; h̄iwa ₁ <i>v.</i> ; tʃige ₁ <i>v.</i>	trot jɔ̄sɪ <i>v.</i>
trap (big) baŋtʃɔ̄ceŋ <i>n.</i>	trouble dama <i>v.</i> ; tɔ̄ra <i>n.</i>
trap (type of) baŋtʃɔ̄wie <i>n.</i> ; h̄iɔ̄ <i>n.</i> ; t̄n̄gbəh̄ēs <i>n.</i> ; zantɔ̄g <i>n.</i>	trousers kuruso <i>n.</i> ; pata <i>n.</i> ; tradža <i>n.</i>
tray (wood) filii <i>n.</i>	true diŋŋ <i>n.</i>
treat tiime <i>v.</i>	trunk bambaanj ₁ <i>n.</i>
tree daa ₁ <i>n.</i>	truth wiðm̄j <i>n.</i>
tree (bitter) daahāā <i>n.</i>	truthful bidm̄j <i>n.</i>
tree (type of) alakadee <i>n.</i> ; anīī <i>n.</i> ; anbulun <i>n.</i> ; badz̄ogvbagena <i>n.</i> ; bɛl ₂ <i>n.</i> ; bɛŋ <i>n.</i> ; b̄iib̄ōg <i>n.</i> ; bombossoorii <i>n.</i> ; b̄öḡi <i>n.</i> ; bulo <i>n.</i> ; daasiama <i>n.</i> ; daasota <i>n.</i> ; duoŋkiir <i>n.</i> ; fofvgees <i>n.</i> ; fɔ̄fɔ̄l <i>n.</i> ; goŋo <i>n.</i> ; gonjoga <i>n.</i> ; gb̄el <i>n.</i> ; gb̄iāk̄v̄l <i>n.</i> ; gb̄iāt̄ii <i>n.</i> ; gboŋ <i>n.</i> ; hambag <i>n.</i> ; hol <i>n.</i> ; kaakie <i>n.</i> ; katſal <i>n.</i> ; koŋ <i>n.</i> ; kuolie <i>n.</i> ; kwruḡbāŋ̄s <i>n.</i> ; kpoluŋkpoo <i>n.</i> ; lorŋpoglii <i>n.</i> ; naasaardaa <i>n.</i> ; naasaargbesa <i>n.</i> ; naasaarsm̄tʃās <i>n.</i> ; nakel̄m̄ <i>n.</i> ; nakodol <i>n.</i> ; nakpagt̄ii <i>n.</i> ; naparapirii <i>n.</i> ; nasol <i>n.</i> ; nokun <i>n.</i> ; paamāā <i>n.</i> ; pitijanja <i>n.</i> ; pitisolo <i>n.</i> ; poŋpoglii <i>n.</i> ; poŋpogo <i>n.</i> ; priŋ <i>n.</i> ; saŋkpantuluŋ <i>n.</i> ; sm̄kpilii <i>n.</i> ; sm̄tʃās <i>n.</i> ; sisra <i>n.</i> ; sokie <i>n.</i> ; sɔ̄bummo <i>n.</i> ; sokoro <i>n.</i> ; sɔ̄siama <i>n.</i> ; sɔ̄ta ₂ <i>n.</i> ; sug <i>n.</i> ; suoŋ <i>n.</i> ; suon̄benja <i>n.</i> ; tii <i>n.</i> ; tolii <i>n.</i> ; tomo <i>n.</i> ; tʃon̄golii <i>n.</i> ; waaliŋzaŋ <i>n.</i> ; walajzaŋ <i>n.</i> ; zahulii <i>n.</i> ; zvgsii <i>n.</i>	
tree hole daalor <i>n.</i>	Tuesday atalaata <i>n.</i>
tree scar daakpuogii <i>n.</i>	tumble bilinsi <i>v.</i>
tree trunk bambii ₂ <i>n.</i>	Tuosa (lect of) tɔ̄osaalii <i>n.</i>
tribe balv̄v̄ ₁ <i>n.</i>	Tuosa (person from) tɔ̄saal <i>n.</i>
trigger (gun) maafapeŋ <i>n.</i>	Tuosa village tɔ̄saa <i>nprop.</i>
	turkey kolokolo <i>ono.</i>
	turn birgi ₁ <i>v.</i> ; milimi ₁ <i>v.</i> ; mina ₂ <i>v.</i>
	turn back bira <i>v.</i>
	turn into b̄iŋ ₃ <i>v.</i> ; birgi ₂ <i>v.</i>
	turn upside down tʃige ₁ <i>v.</i> ; tʃigesi <i>pl.v.</i>
	turning milimii <i>n.</i>
	turtle buter <i>n.</i>
	tut tʃv̄v̄sɪ <i>v.</i>
	twelfth month doju <i>nprop.</i>
	twelve fidalia <i>num.</i>
	twenty matseø <i>num.</i>

twin dʒiendɔŋ *n.*

twine around mina₃ *v.*

twins dʒiensa *n.*

twist ensɪ *v.*; miliimi₁ *v.*

twisted (be) mina₃ *v.*

two aliɛ *num.*; nɛwā *num.*

U

ugly tʃʊma₂ *v.*

ulcer (type of) kaŋkabulo *n.*

umbilical cord ulzsa *n.*

unable (be) gbetri *v.*; kusi *v.*

unable to take (be) bire *v.*

unavoidably hur *n.*

unbeliever kaafra *n.*

unbend degini₁ *v.*

under muŋ₃ reln.

under-sized (be) kere *n.*

undergarment bœbœ *n.*

underpants pata *n.*; pritco *n.*

undigested (be) gere *v.*

undress wire₁ *v.*

uneven (be) kegeme *v.*

unexpected nääsii *n.*

unexpectedness tsesu *interj.*

unfold peligi₂ *v.*

ungrateful viɛziŋtʃia *n.*

unhealthy (be) kələloɔ₂ *ideo.*

unhygienic (person) doŋotuna *n.*

unhygienic nature sɔkɔsh *n.*

unknowingly dzaa *adv.*

two Ghana Pesewas bɔɔtia₂ *num.*

type fərigɪ₂ *pl.v.*; irii *n.*; sii *n.*

tyre kɔba *n.*

t.z. kvl *n.*; kvv *n.*

t.z. (cold) kɔɔsɔŋ *n.*

unless foo₁ conn.

unmarried (woman) hanzoŋ *n.*

unreliable (be) tʃɔrimi *n.*

unripe gal *n.*; hema₂ *n.*

unroll peligi₂ *v.*

unset jɔgɔsi₂ *v.*

unsure sige *n.*

untamed wegimi *v.*

untie puro *v.*

unrusty (person) nibukamboro *n.*

unused seweree *n.*

unusual kperii *n.*

unusual (be) kpere *v.*

unwillingness daraga *n.*

up zaaza *ideo.*

upon this de ni *adv.phr.*

uproot tʃurugi *pl.v.*; tʃuti *v.*

upset (be) kɔɔvɔ₃ *v.*

urinate fiĩ *v.*

urine fiĩnfiĩ *n.*

used to mɔna *v.*

usually jaa *pv.*

uterine fibroids mɔŋsugo *n.*

V

vacant woo <i>v.</i>	village tɔv <i>n.</i>
vagina mɔŋ <i>n.</i>	village (small) tɔwie <i>n.</i>
Vagla person vogla <i>n.</i>	village's centre tɔvsi₁ <i>n.</i>
valley faln̩bwa <i>n.</i>	virginity (take) mɔv <i>v.</i>
valuable (be) jugo₂ <i>v.</i>	virus (cassava) kpõŋkpõŋpaatʃak-tʃɔgii <i>n.</i>
vanish nigimi <i>v.</i> ; pisi <i>v.</i> ; sogoli₁ <i>v.</i>	visual pattern tʃaratʃara <i>ideo.</i>
vehicle lɔɔlɪ <i>n.</i>	visual perception (type of) bɔs-abusa <i>ideo.</i> ; dʒinedzine₂ <i>ideo.</i> ; dzu-modžumo <i>ideo.</i> ; gbenii₂ <i>n.</i> ; hɔlahɔla <i>ideo.</i> ; ile?ile <i>ideo.</i> ; kɔlakɔla <i>ideo.</i> ; ŋmɔnaŋmɔna <i>ideo.</i> ; sɔɔsanii₂ <i>n.</i> ; tʃenitʃeni <i>ideo.</i>
veil lambaraga <i>n.</i>	visual power (extra-natural) sinahã <i>n.</i>
vein pol <i>n.</i>	vomit t̩resi <i>v.</i> ; t̩resie <i>n.</i> ; ugo <i>v.</i>
vein (arm) nepol <i>n.</i>	vomit (bile) smlog <i>n.</i>
venom (snake) zιεŋj₂ <i>n.</i>	voracious hĩɛri <i>v.</i>
version totii <i>n.</i>	vulture (type of) nãkpaazugoo <i>n.</i>
very t̩uur <i>ideo.</i> ; wara dem.	vulture (type) zaarhiɛ <i>n.</i>
very (black) jiriti <i>ints.</i>	vulva mɔŋ <i>n.</i>
very (cold) julullu <i>ints.</i>	
very (early) pipi <i>ints.</i>	
very (hot) kpaŋkpaj <i>ints.</i>	
very (red) t̩ʃūtʃūi <i>ints.</i>	
very (true) t̩surutu <i>ints.</i>	
very (white) jarata <i>ints.</i> ; peupeu <i>ints.</i>	

W

Wa (language) waaln <i>n.</i>	walk vala <i>v.</i>
Wa town waa <i>nprop.</i>	walk (way of) mɛŋŋj̩₂ <i>v.</i>
Waala (person from Wa) waal <i>n.</i>	walk stealthily dɔsi <i>v.</i>
wag viwo₁ <i>n.</i>	walking stick dankpala <i>n.</i>
waist tʃera <i>n.</i>	wall zĩɛ <i>n.</i>
waist beads tʃerakinj <i>n.</i>	want buure₁ <i>v.</i> ; ŋma₂ <i>pv.</i>
wait tʃalasi₂ <i>v.</i>	war lal <i>n.</i>
wake up lala₂ <i>v.</i>	warm up gʊɔsi <i>v.</i>

warm up moderately

white (be)

warm up moderately	ŋεɛsɪ v.	weak (person)	nizɔŋ n.
warn	kpaasi ₂ v.	wear	laari ₁ v.; tɔ ₂ v.; tɔ̃ɔ̃ ₁ v.; vɔwa ₃ v.
warthog	teu n.	weather (cold)	war n.
warthog	ivory teukarj n.	weather (type of)	zuu n.
wash	belege v.; sama v.; sis ₁ v.; tʃagasi ₁ pl.v.	weave	pera v.; sðã v.
washer (person)	tʃagtʃagasa ₁ n.	weaver	garsɔ̃ɔ̃r n.; sðāsɔɔr n.
wasp (type of)	kaləŋgbvög̊ti n.; kiirii n.; tʃiirii n.; vələŋjvəs n.	weaver's workshop	kvɔree n.
wasp's nest	kiirisaal n.	Wednesday	alarba n.
waste (type of)	tʃuoŋbul n.	weed	gana ₂ v.; paasi ₃ v.; para v.
watch	ŋine ₁ v.	weep	wii v.
water	nii n.	weevil	tʃegii n.
water (bitter)	niihā n.	weigh	jugo ₁ v.
water (deep)	niiłuŋ n.	weight	feti ₂ v.
water (high flow)	pølpøl ideo.	welcome	ansa ₁ interj.
water (lock)	hihii n.	well	kɔłŋ n.; vil n.
water (potable)	nimðälii n.	well (do)	mara pv.
water (running)	nipala n.	west	tiipuu n.; wɔtʃelii n.
water (sour)	nipagan n.	wet	sɔɔni ₅ v.
water pot	boŋ n.; bugulie n.	what	baarj interrog.; jniñë interrog.
water sachet	prawata n.	wheel	tsetse n.
water seller	nijogulo n.	when	dr ₂ conn.; saja weŋj interrog.
water source	pol n.	where	lie ₁ interrog.
water-yam	kpääŋnii n.; sieribile n.	where about	kaa interrog.
waterbuck	zðã n.	which	weŋj interrog.
way	lugo ₂ n.; nãä ₂ n.	while	dr conn.
we	ja pro.; jawa pro.; jawaa pro.	whip	fribi ₂ v.; kpaasa n.
weak	jvɔri v.; kõnti v.; ziezzié ideo.; zɔŋ n.	whip (palm leaf)	tʃagbariga n.
weak (be)	bïɛlî v.; kvɔle v.	whirlwind	kaləŋvilime n.
weak (become)	tɔgv̊si v.	whisper	misi v.
		whistle	fuoli v.; fuolo n.
		white	pɔmma n.
		white (be)	pɔla v.; ts̊la v.

White thorn	sɔpɔmma <i>n.</i>	witness	sierie <i>n.</i>
white-tailed mongoose	bilii <i>n.</i>	Wojo (person's name)	wojo <i>nprop.</i>
who	aŋ <i>interrog.</i>	woman	hāñj₁ <i>n.</i> ; nihāñj <i>n.</i>
whole	biriŋ <i>n.</i> ; kinbirinj <i>n.</i>	woman (fertile)	nihālkolla <i>n.</i>
why	jiniñč <i>interrog.</i>	woman (old)	hāhčč <i>n.</i>
wickedness	jijnarja <i>n.</i> ; patfighāā <i>n.</i> ; tšabariga <i>n.</i>	wonder	kččč₂ <i>v.</i>
wide	penni <i>n.</i>	wood (piece)	daa₂ <i>n.</i>
wide (be)	pena₁ <i>v.</i>	wood shaving	sel <i>n.</i>
wide (make)	peuli <i>v.</i> ; pčāni <i>v.</i> ; wega <i>v.</i>	word	wiŋmahā <i>n.</i>
widow	luhāñj <i>n.</i>	work	toma <i>v.</i> ; toma <i>n.</i>
widower	buzoŋ <i>n.</i> ; lubaal <i>n.</i>	work (bad)	tøntʃuma <i>n.</i>
wife	hāñj₃ <i>n.</i>	work leather	zaawi <i>v.</i>
wife (most recent)	hāwie₂ <i>n.</i>	work relation (type of)	zvvdčja₁ <i>n.</i>
wild	wegimi <i>v.</i>	workers (farm)	parasa <i>pl.n.</i>
will	kaa <i>pv.</i>	working place	tšmbar <i>n.</i>
will not	waa <i>pv.</i>	world	dvnčč <i>n.</i>
wind	gaari <i>v.</i> ; peu <i>n.</i>	worm (type of)	nandala <i>n.</i> ; neŋaŋ <i>n.</i>
wind around	vɔwa₁ <i>v.</i>	worn out (be)	zagalı <i>v.</i>
window	dianččabšwie <i>n.</i> ; tokoro <i>n.</i>	worries	laadimii <i>n.</i> ; nimisa <i>n.</i>
wing	embeli₂ <i>n.</i> ; siebii <i>n.</i>	worse (be)	jaŋŋji <i>v.</i>
winnow	peusi <i>v.</i> ; tʃiare <i>v.</i>	worthy	maasi₃ <i>v.</i>
wipe	fiise₂ <i>v.</i>	would	fí <i>pv.</i>
wise (person)	naŋzinna <i>n.</i>	wound	daŋii <i>n.</i> ; pempel <i>n.</i> ; pira <i>v.</i>
wish	liisi₂ <i>v.</i>	woven mat	merekete <i>n.</i>
witch	hil <i>n.</i>	wrap	fɔwa <i>v.</i>
witchcraft	hita <i>n.</i>	wrestle	lčga₃ <i>v.</i>
witchweed	kirimamčmpusa <i>n.</i>	wrestling	lčgii <i>n.</i>
with	ani₂ conn.; pe <i>n.</i>	wrinkle	ŋmiire <i>v.</i> ; ziimi <i>v.</i>
withdraw	lugo₃ <i>v.</i>	wrist	netſug <i>n.</i>
wither	loori <i>v.</i>	write	sewa <i>v.</i>

yam

zinc plate

Y

- yam kpāāŋ *n.*; pii *n.*
yam (big) kpāāŋbāāŋ *n.*
yam (boiled) kpāāŋbuso *n.*
yam (cooked) kpaambili *n.*
yam (medium) kpāāŋbeje *n.*
yam (new) kpāāŋfɔlpi *n.*
yam (old) kpāāŋbinii *n.*
yam (spoiled) kpāāŋtʃɔgii *n.*
yam (type of) beso *n.*; bokpāāŋ *n.*;
ferii *n.*; gutugu *n.*; kpamamuro *n.*;
kpasadžɔ *n.*; kponno *n.*; laaboko
n.; mankir *n.*; singeta *n.*; tiglaa *n.*;
wɔsina *n.*
yam farm (portion) kpaamparii *n.*
yam field (state) pikete *n.*
yam flesh kpāānugul *n.*
yam harvest wou *n.*
yam hut kpāāŋlaw *n.*
yam mound pii *n.*
yam mound (part) piimisa *n.*

- yam mound (small) piipeləe *n.*
yam mound row pitʃɔŋ *n.*
yam outer skin kpāāŋpεtii *n.*
yam seedlings kpāāŋduho *n.*; kpāāŋ-
wou *n.*
yam stem kpāānsii *n.*
yawn hääsi *v.*
yaws saŋberemə *n.*
year bina *n.*
yeast bora *n.*
yellow fever zagafti *n.*
yellowish svlsavɔ₂ *n.*
yes ɛɛ *interj.*
yesterday dɪ *pv.*; diare *n.*
yet ha *pv.*; haalı *conn.*
yield laa₅ *v.*
you hiŋ *pro.*; i *pro.*; iiwa *pro.*
you (pl.) ma *pro.*; mawa *pro.*; mawaa
pro.
young həma₁ *n.*; wie *n.*

Z

zeal baharaga₂ *n.*

zinc plate tʃensi *n.*

Part IV

Grammatical outlines

Phonology outline

1 Introduction

This section presents a brief outline of Chakali phonology. An inventory of phonetic and phonemic vowels and consonants, the syllable structures, the phono-tactics and the suprasegmentals are introduced. The description makes use of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbols to represent the sounds of the language. These should not be confused with the same IPA symbols used to represent sets of phonological features, i.e. distinctive feature bundles. This domain representation mismatch is usually resolved by containing phonemes and underlying representations within slash brackets and speech sounds and surface forms within square brackets, e.g. /kæt/ vs. [k^hæ?] ‘cat’. The former is an abstraction, while the latter represents an utterance. For the rest of this exposition, if a Chakali expression is presented without the slash or square brackets, it should be interpreted as a broad phonetic transcription. The parts of speech of Chakali expressions are provided in many instances: on the one hand, having the information on the part of speech avoids ambiguity since the English gloss is often inadequate. On the other hand, it assists the search for phonological behaviour conditioned by lexical category. All the examples used as evidence are candidates for look-up in the dictionary of Part II. The abbreviation list starts on page xiv.

2 Segmental phonemes inventory

This section introduces the segmental phonemes of Chakali and their contrasts by determining the phonetic properties in minimal contexts of speech sound patterns, when possible. Near-minimal pairs appear, yet the majority of the evidence provided is based on minimal pairs. The vowels are examined first, followed by the consonants.

2.1 Vowels

Chakali is treated as a language with nine underlying vowels and eleven surface vowels. They are presented in Figure 1 in vowel diagrams. The surface vowels [a] and [ə] are discussed at the end of this section.

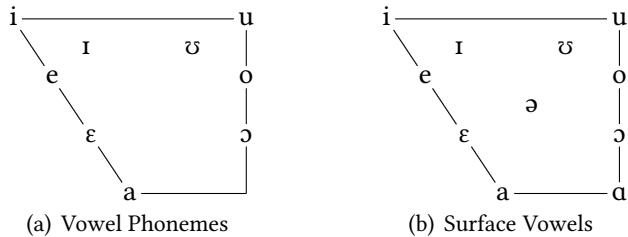


Figure 1: Vowel phonemes and surface vowels in Chakali

Each vowel is presented below with minimal contrasts to motivate their phonemic status. Two sounds are contrastive if interchanging the two can change the meaning of the word. The vowels are presented in opposition for their height, roundness, and tongue root properties. Since Chakali does not show any contrast of roundness and backness in the non-low vowels, roundness, and backness are put together in the description under a RO(und) feature. The tongue root distinction is gathered under the feature ATR (i.e. advanced tongue root). Low and high are treated under HEIGHT in the subsequent tables, but are captured in the summary Table 1 with the features HI and LO, and the feature values + and -.

2.1.1 Close front unrounded i.

The vowel [i] is front, unrounded, high, and tense.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	zíŋ	tail	n
	záŋ	rest area	n
	pítí	survive	v
	pétí	finish	v
RO	gbíŋ	bracelet	n
	gbón̩	type of tree	n
	kísi	pray	v
	kùsì	unable	v
ATR	jíŋ	sore	n
	jníŋ	tooth	n
	dí	eat	v
	dí	if	conn

2.1.2 Near-close near-front unrounded ɪ.

The vowel [ɪ] is front, unrounded, high, and lax.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	písì	scatter	v
	pésí	slap	v
	híl:	witch	n
	hál	egg	n
RO	tísì	shallow (be)	v
	tósí	move over	v
	tſíŋá	stand	v
	tſóŋá	carry load	v
ATR	fí	would	pv
	fí	ten	num
	zíŋ	bat	n
	zín̩	tail	n

2.1.3 Close-mid front unrounded e.

The vowel [e] is front, unrounded, mid, and tense.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	bèlè	type of bush dog	n
	bilè	put down	v
	péŋ	penis	n
	páŋ	molar	n
RO	zèj	big	n
	zónj	insult	n
	pél	roofing beam	n
	pól	vein	n
ATR	běj	law	n
	bénj	type of tree	n

2.1.4 Open-mid front unrounded ε.

The vowel [ɛ] is front, unrounded, mid, and lax.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	tʃerà	barter	v
	tʃàrà	straddle	v
	pélá	lean on	v
	pìlà	hit down repeatedly	v
RO	mèj	dew	n
	móŋ	vagina	n
	pé	add	v
	pò	protect	v
ATR	sél:	animal	n
	sél	wood shaving	n

2.1.5 Close-mid back rounded o.

The vowel [o] is back, rounded, mid, and tense.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	?ól	type of mouse	n
	?úl	navel	n
	hól	type of tree	n
	hál	egg	n
RO	bóṛj	big water pot	n
	bèj̪	law	n
	pól	pond	n
	pél	roofing support	n
ATR	kóṛj	Kapok tree	n
	kój̪	cobra	n
	hól	type of tree	n
	hól	charcoal	n

2.1.6 Open-mid back rounded ɔ.

The vowel [ɔ] is back, rounded, mid, and lax.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	pò	protect	v
	pó	spit	v
	kólá	sharpen	v
	kàlà	rope	v
RO	móṛj	vagina	n
	mèj̪	mist	n
	pòlā	fat	v
	pélá	lean on	v
ATR	pò	protect	v
	pó	collect	v
	kóṛj	cobra	n
	kój̪	type of tree	n

2.1.7 Close back rounded u.

The vowel [u] is back, rounded, high, and tense.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	pú	lie on stomach	v
	pó	collect	v
	súl	mud fish	n
	sàl	flat roof	n
RO	bùú	silo	n
	bíí	seed	n
	kùsì	unable	v
	kísì	pray	v
ATR	zúl	millet	n
	zóól	tuber	n
	pú	cover	v
	pó	spit	v

2.1.8 Near-close near back rounded ɔ.

The vowel [ɔ] is back, rounded, high, and lax.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	vóg	shrine	n
	vòg	south	n
	lólá	give birth	v
	lálá	open	v
RO	mósfí	rain	v
	mísí	sprinkle	v
	bòlá	tasteless	v
	bílá	try to solve	v
ATR	tʃóórí	torn	v
	tʃùùrì	pour	v
	zóól	tuber	n
	zúl	millet	n

2.1.9 Open front unrounded a.

The vowel [a] is unrounded and low.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
e	gàř	cloth	n
	gèř	lizard	n
ɛ	pàrà	farm	v
	pèrà	weave	v
i	záŋ	rest area	n
	zíŋ	tail	n
ɪ	tàtì	stretch	v
	títì	rub	v
o	hál	egg	n
	hól	type of tree	n
ɔ	pàlà	flow	v
	pòlà	be fat	v
u	páŋ	molar	n
	púŋ	feather	n
ʊ	bár	chance	n
	bór	dust	n

When considering Rowland & Rowland (1965); Crouch & Smiles (1966); Bergman, Gray & Gray (1969); Toupin (1995); Crouch & Herbert (2003), the Chakali vowel phoneme inventory appears to match one of the two posited types of phonemic inventories found in other Southwestern Grusi (SWG) languages.¹ In Rowland & Rowland (1965: 15) the chart of Sisaala phonemes gives one [LOW,

¹ ‘Phonemic’ is used in its broad sense. Since phonology has diverse theoretical orientations, an inventory of phonemes does not mean much unless the features making those phonemes are expressed in the model. Thus in the phonological descriptions of the five SWG languages cited (i.e. Sisaala, Vagla, Tampulma, Pasaale, and Deg), it is assumed that the phonemic inventory in each monograph is built upon the classification proposed in their tables and charts, which use features like ATR, ROUND, BACK, etc.

CENTRAL] vowel /a/ and one [MID, OPEN, CENTRAL] vowel /ʌ/. Crouch & Smiles (1966: 17) provides the same symbols /a/ and /ʌ/ for Vagla, the former for a [LOW, OPEN, CENTRAL] vowel and the latter for a [LOW, CLOSE, CENTRAL] one. In Crouch & Herbert (2003: 3), the same symbols /a/ and /ʌ/ are found for Deg. For them /a/ represents a [LOW, -ATR, CENTRAL] vowel and /ʌ/ a [LOW, +ATR, CENTRAL] vowel.² The phoneme inventories of Toupin (1995: 16) and Bergman, Gray & Gray (1969: 21) do not report the distinction. The former identifies the contrast phonetically and claims that [a] and [ʌ] occur in free variation. In fact, Toupin provides the reader with [a] and [ʌ] in exactly the same environment: the word for ‘hoe’ and ‘back’ are both transcribed with [a] and [ʌ] (Toupin 1995: 26). He postulates one [LOW] phoneme (i.e. /a/) in the inventory (Toupin 1995: 16).

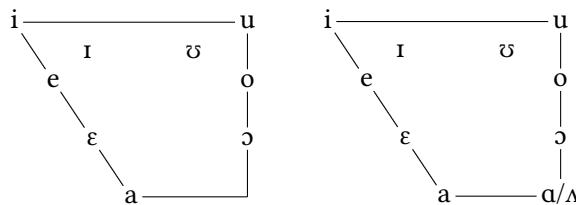


Figure 2: 9- vs. 10-vowel inventory in some Southwestern Gur languages

Even though Manessy (1979) reconstructs a 7-vowel inventory for Proto-Central Gur, the phonological inventories appearing in Figure 2 are common to many Volta-Congo languages (Dakubu 1997: 81, Casali 2003a: 18). Further, they usually encode a phenomenon known as Cross-Height Vowel Harmony (CHVH) (Stewart 1967; Casali 2003b; 2008), in which harmony is operative at more than one height. In Chakali, the two ATR harmony sets {i, e, u, o} and {i, ε, ɔ, ɔ̃} contain high and non-high vowels, and as a rule, vowels agree in ATR value within the stem domain. Typically the vowel /a/ co-occurs with -ATR vowels within monomorphemic words.³ The topic is discussed in detail in Section 4.2, but for now let us say that a monomorphemic word cannot carry two vowels of different ATR sets,

² Modesta Kanjiti, a Deg speaker, and I reviewed in April 2009 the words given as evidence for the contrast /a/ and /ʌ/ in Crouch & Herbert (2003: 20–21). Despite Crouch & Herbert’s assertion, Mme. Kanjiti could not confirm that /a/ and /ʌ/ were different sounds based on the word list provided. This contrast needs to be verified, although dialect difference could account for this.

³ This is common among 9-vowel inventory according to Casali (2008: 528). However, some English loans violate that statement, e.g. *sigáári* ‘cigarette’, *zééka* ‘acre’, *sódzà* ‘soldier’, and *mítá* ‘meter’.

that is, [lɔpɛ] is possible (it means ‘seven’) but *[lape], *[lɛpe] *[lɔpe] and *[lɔpɛ] are ungrammatical strings.

Apart from the nine vowels presented above, the surface vowels [a] and [ə] can be heard; [a] is perceived as if it was produced with the tongue further back in the mouth compared to [a]. In addition, the vowel [a] is often found following the –ATR vowels (i.e. i, ε, o, ɔ). Despite the fact that vowel harmony predicts a ‘lax version’ of /a/ in some environments (Section 4.2), a distinction between [a] and [a] is not established. Yet, there is evidence which shows that Chakali should be considered to have only one phonemic low vowel, which would make its vowel inventory equivalent the one described for Pasaale by Toupin (1995). And, as written in the description of the noun class system (Section 3.2.1), Chakali behaves similarly to other 9-vowel languages (see Casali 2003a: 41).

The vowel [ə] is either an epenthetic vowel or a reduction of a full vowel. It surfaces only in specific environments and is never a part of the underlying form (see Section 3). While both [a] and [ə] are treated as phonetic vowels, only [ə] appears in the dictionary in the phonetic form of an entry. Table 1 displays the set of features which determines the nine vowel phonemes.

Table 1: Vowel inventory and distinctive features bundles

IPA	features
i	[+ATR, +HI, -LO, -RO]
ɪ	[-ATR, +HI, -LO, -RO]
e	[+ATR, -HI, -LO, -RO]
ε	[-ATR, -HI, -LO, -RO]
o	[+ATR, -HI, -LO, +RO]
ɔ	[-ATR, -HI, -LO, +RO]
u	[+ATR, +HI, -LO, +RO]
ʊ	[-ATR, +HI, -LO, +RO]
a	[-ATR, -HI, +LO, -RO]

2.1.10 Nasal vowels.

Except for [ə], all vowels have a nasalized counterpart. As expected, nasal vowels are less frequent than their oral counterparts. Nasalized low vowels are the most frequent, whereas close-mid back rounded vowels are the least frequent. Consider the examples in Table 2.

At first glance the treatment of nasal vowels may be reduced to the influence of a nasal speech sound. Overall, nasal vowels are mainly found adjacent to a nasal consonant (or sometimes preceded by a glottal fricative). So it may be more accurate to specify them as oral and explain the perception of nasality as a coarticulation phenomenon. Nonetheless, nasal vowels are attested where adjacent nasal features are absent. The (near-)minimal pairs *fáá* ‘ancient’ / *fāá* ‘do by force’, *fí* ‘preverb particle’ / *fíí* ‘type of fish’, *zòò* ‘enter’ / *zōó* ‘laziness’ and *tùù* ‘go down’ / *túú* ‘honey’ show that nasal and oral vowels do contrast.

2.1.11 Vowel sequences

This section is concerned with the duration of vowel sounds and their segmental content. It is shown that Chakali contrasts word meanings based on vowel length. Section 3.1 will present the syllable types in which various vowel sequences can occur.

2.1.11.1 Vowel length. A phonetic contrast exists between short and long vowels. The fourth column of Table 3 gives an hypothesised CV-form of selected words spoken isolation by six speakers. Judging from this data, which consists of (near-)minimal pairs, a difference in vowel length can change the meaning of a word. Further, as we will see in Section 4.2, there are in addition slight differences in meaning when some preverb particles are longer.

While these are no conclusive experimental evidence, in Section 3.1, it is shown that nouns in the language cannot have a CV surface form, whereas verbs can. Still, many noun roots are of the type CV. The lexical database contains a few pairs of words with exactly the same consonant and vowel quality but differing in length, i.e. *náá* ‘lack’ and *ná* ‘defecate’, *záj* ‘rest area’ and *zàáj* ‘today’, and *wási* ‘reproduce’ and *wàási* ‘pour libation’. The following sections present evidence for two types of vowel-vowel sequence in the language.

Table 2: Nasal vowels

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
ẽ	héhésè sàpúhiẽ kálénj-bílènjeẽ	announcer pouched rat adjuster	n
ɛ	héŋ tʃɛ̄i jé̄sà	arrow attractiveness malnourished child	n
ĩ	hĩ̄i mĩ̄i záyáfĩ̄i	hind leg gun front sight yellow fever	n
ĩ	fĩ̄i fĩ̄i pĩ̄	type of fish urinate be fed up	n v v
õ	mȭngò kpȭŋkpȭŋ	mango (ultm. Eng.) cassava	n n
ɔ	nã̄ð àñð hã̄ð	cow five type of grasshopper	n num n
ũ	dù̄ñ sù̄ñ fù̄ñ	sow guinea fowl burn	v n v
ɔ	bȭɔ̄ŋ dã̄ɔ̄ kȭɔ̄	goat type of snake to be tired	n n v
ã	?ã̄á bã̄á sã̄á	bushbuck type of monitor lizard carve	n n v

Table 3: Vowel duration. Abbreviation: cli = Chakali, Gloss = English gloss, σ = syllable type, PoS = part of speech, and V-duration = mean of vowel duration for six speakers in milliseconds.

cli.	Gloss	PoS	σ	V-duration
tá	abandon	v	CV	142
tàá	language	n	CVV	227
kpà	take	v	CV	139
kpáá	type of dance	n	CVV	255
mà	2.pl.w	pro	CV	170
màá	mother	n	CVV	202
ná	see	v	CV	102
nàá	leg	n	CVV	233

2.1.11.2 V_iV_i vowel sequences. A V_iV_i vowel sequence identifies a sequence of two vowels of the same quality without intervening consonants or vowels. Table 4 provides some attested cases of V_iV_i sequence.

The V_iV_i sequences can also surface nasalized, except for the front mid vowels: only one sequence [ẽẽ] (i.e. *káléŋbílèŋjéé* ‘adjuster’) and one [ɛɛ] (i.e. interjection *ɛɛɛ* ‘yes’) are recorded. The vowel sequences in Table 4 can either be treated as cases of long vowels or as a sequence of two short vowels: the two underlying structures assumed are presented in (1).

- (1) a. $V_i]-V_i$: a morpheme boundary intervenes
míʃʃ → *míí* ‘guinea corn’, PL. *míá* (CLASS 4, Section 3.2.1.4)
lehe]ε → *léhéé* ‘cheek’, PL. *lèhésá* (CLASS 1, Section 3.2.1.1)
- b. V_iV_i : no morpheme boundary intervenes
púù ‘head’, PL. *púúnò* (CLASS 5, Section 3.2.1.5)
bɔɔŋ ‘goat’, PL. *bɔɔñá* (CLASS 3, Section 3.2.1.3)

Table 4: V_iV_i sequence

V_iV_i	Gloss	PoS	V_iV_i	Gloss	PoS
aa			ãã		
váà	dog	n	fãà	draw milk from	v
táál	cloud	n	jãáá	poverty	n
táá	language	n	sãáá	axe	n
báán	temper	n	tjãáá	broom	n
ii			íí		
wíí	sick (be)	v	fiíññ	harassment	n
?áríí	grasscutter	n	mííñ	guinea corn	n
níí	water	n	fiíñ	urinate	v
bíí	stone	n	tjííññ	ankle-rattles	n
ee			oo		
lèhééé	cheek	n	bòòbí	undergarment	n
sómpòrééé	type of frog	n	lóslí	car	n
wátéhééé	type of mongoose	n	bósl	type of shape	n
?áléèfó	type of leaf	n			
vv			öö		
fòvísì	inflate	v	bööññ	goat	n
jòv	rainy season	n	dööö	African rock python	n
jòv	marry	v	fööö	lower back	n
tjöörí	torn	v	nööö	shea butter	n
ii			íí		
bàmbíí	chest	n	?íí	push	v
píésíí	sheep	n	hií	bad	interj
píí	yam mound	n	míí	gun front sight	n
tíísí	grind roughly	v	záyáññ	yellow fever	n
ee			oo		
dém'bélèé	fowl house	n	tjòòrì	strain	v
zàn'zápúrééé	type of bat	n	lòòtò	intestine	n
zóngorééé	mosquito	n	mùsóóró	clove	n
téébùl	table (ultm. Eng.)	n	kpogúlóò	soya bean dish	n
uu			üü		
bùú	silo	n	sùú	guinea fowl	n
púúrí	reduce	v	túú	honey	n
púú	head	n	?úú	bury	v
túú	go down	v	dúú	sow	v

2.1.11.3 V_iV_j vowel sequences. A V_iV_j vowel sequence identifies a sequence of two vowels of different quality without intervening consonants or vowels. Most of the sequences in the data involve the set of high vowels {i, u, ɪ, ʊ} as first vowel.⁴

Similar to the V_iV_i vowel sequences, the V_iV_j sequences in Table 5 may be the result of two underlying structures; one with a morpheme boundary intervening and the other without such a boundary. They are shown in (2). It includes both underlying structures, and among them, examples of words formed with the nominaliser suffix $[+HI, -RO]$, e.g. *tɔ́ v.* ‘cover’ → *tɔ́í n.* ‘covering’, and the verbal assertive suffix $[+HI, +RO]$, e.g. *jélé v.* ‘bloom’ → *jéléó v.* ‘bloom.PFV.FOC’ (Sections 3.2.2.2 and 5.3). These two productive morphological mechanisms are responsible for the prevalence of V_iV_j sequences, of which V_j is a high front vowel or a high rounded one. Their surface forms depend on phonotactics, which is the topic of Section 3.

- (2) a. $V_i]-V_j$: a morpheme boundary intervenes
tɔ́jI → *tɔ́í* ‘covering’ (see CLASS 4, Section 3.2.1.4)
jeleju → *jéléó* ‘bloom.PFV.FOC’, (see Section 4.1.4)
bije → *bié* ‘child’, *bisé* PL., (see CLASS 1, Section 3.2.1.1)
- b. V_iV_j : no morpheme boundary intervenes
dòàj ‘be in/at/on’
tʃáój ‘type of termite’

The V_iV_j vowel sequences are summarized in Figure 3. Each vowel diagram displays possible vowel-to-vowel transitions. For the first two diagrams, i.e. (a) and (b), the transitions are arranged according to the first vowel on the basis of their ATR value. The third diagram displays the transitions in which the vowel /a/ is the first vowel.

⁴ An alternative would be to treat them as the set of glide consonants {j, w}. As a matter of fact, the notion of ‘suspect sequences’ was coined by GILLBT/GIL fieldworkers when faced with transcription involving the segments {i, u, ɪ, ʊ} (Bergman, Gray & Gray 1969: 4, Toupin 1995: 8, among others). “Suspect” is an old SIL heuristic term for phonetic sounds which may have different phonemic function in different languages” (T. Naden, p.c.). Some tokens of V_iV_j vowel sequences would then be treated as suspect sequences under their analyses. For instance, *bie* ‘child’, a monosyllabic word, would be represented as *bije*, a disyllabic word (see also Kedrebéogo 1997: 100). Correspondingly, ‘arrow’ could be transcribed as *tuo*, *tʷo* or *tuwo*. My decision is purely based on the impression of consultants who do not favour a syllable break. Further, unlike Deg, Chakali consonants do not have corresponding labialized phonemes. In Crouch & Herbert (2003: 2), 13 of the 22 phonemes have a labialized counterpart. I also perceive the labialized consonants of Deg (see footnote 2).

Table 5: V_iV_j sequence

V_iV_j	Gloss	PoS	V_iV_j	Gloss	PoS
ví			ui		
bóí	stone	n	múfúí	exclamation	ideo
póí	spitting	n	súí	being full	n
vɔ			uo		
sòðrá	odor	n	bùól	song	n
lòðj	animal chest hair	n	túð	bow	n
va					
tʃòà	lie	v			
dòà	be in/at/on	v			
ie			ie		
sìè	poor quality meat	n	bíé	child	n
kìè	collect contribution	v	fiél	type of grass	n
io			iu		
wílfó	kob	n	kásìù	cashew (ultm. Eng.)	n
ra			io		
diá	house	n	fió	totally not	interj
tíásí	vomit	v			
eu			eu		
léðrá	door hinge	n	pèú	wind	n
sèð	death	n	tèú	warthog	n
eo			eo		
lèí	not	neg	màtféó	twenty	num
bívíéí	stubborn child	n	báléò	calamity	n
oi			oi		
póí	planting	n	?óí	surprise	interj
tóí	covering	n			
ou			ou		
lòð	hartebeest	n	tóù	o.k. (ultm. Hausa)	interj
tòð	settlement	n	wóù	yam harvest	n
ar			ar		
áv			ar		
láð	hut	n	?ái	no	interj
tjáð	type of termite	n	páñ	rusty	n

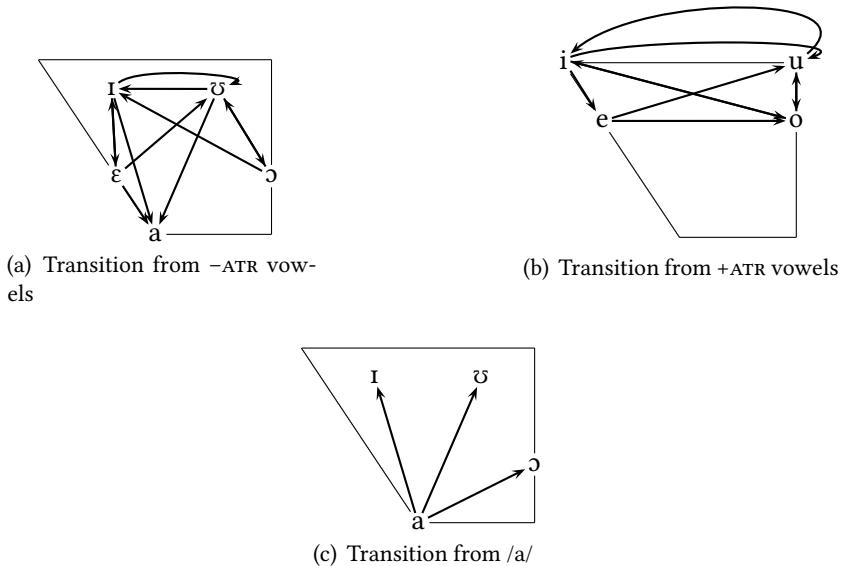


Figure 3: Attested vowel transitions

The direction of the arrow reproduces the transitions. A step in the analysis of vowel sequences would be to identify them as either unit diphthongs or two independent vowels. On the one hand there are relatively few languages with unit diphthongs (Maddieson 1984: 133), and on the other hand it is necessary to understand better syllable structures, phonotactics, and the effect of coarticulation when vowel features are suffixed to vowel-ending stems in Chakali. In theory, true restrictions are due to obligatory harmonies, specifically with regard to the ATR and RO features: more sequences should be attestable than those presented in Figure 3. The most common sequences are {əa, ɔɔ, ɪe, ɪa, ɔɪ, uo, ie, eu, aɔ}, the remaining ones being very rare or unattested. For instance, the [ei] and [ae] sequences never occur, the [ea] sequence occurs only once (and *?àtànéà* ‘Monday’ is ultimately of Hausa origin), and the sequence [aɔ], which occurs in *máŋjåð* ‘type of mongoose’, is found twice. In the latter case, both tokens are nasalized so it affects the vowel quality and how I perceived it.

2.2 Consonants

The consonantal phonemes amount to twenty-five, a number close to the average number of consonants in the consonant inventories of languages catalogued in Maddieson (2009). In this section, the phonemic status of the consonants is identified using distributional criteria. When possible the segments are aligned in three word positions: initial, medial, and final. Although it is crucial to identify a stem boundary in a word in order to differentiate between the onset of a non-initial stem (e.g. in a compound word) and the medial position of a monomorphemic word, this is often not possible given our knowledge of the language. The feature VOICE represents voicing (i.e. voiced vs. voiceless) and is reflected in the way the description is organized below. Table 6 provides an overview of the segments introduced in this section.

Table 6: Phonetic and phonemic consonants in Chakali

	Bilabial	Labial-dental	Alveolar	Postalv.	Palatal	Velar	Glottal	Labial-velar
Plosives	p b		t d			k g	?	kp gb
Fricatives		f v	s z			(y)	h	
Affricates				tʃ dʒ				
Nasals	m		n		n̪	ŋ		ŋm
Liquid			l r					
Semi-vowels					j			w (ɥ)

2.2.1 Plosives and affricates

All plosives and affricates contrast pairwise for the glottal stricture feature VOICE (except the glottal plosive /?/). They are moderately aspirated word-initially. They all involve a single primary place of articulation, except the doubly articulated [dʒ], [tʃ], [kp] and [gb]. The affricates [dʒ] and [tʃ] have two sequential parts, while labiovelars [kp] and [gb] have two parts which overlap temporally.⁵

2.2.1.1 Bilabial plosives. The bilabial plosives can occur in word-initial and -medial positions, although, in many cases, when they are found in word-medial positions, they are onsets of a non-initial stem. This position can be problematic,

⁵ For the remainder, the linking diacritic over the labial-velars is not used, since there are just a few ambiguous contexts and these are accounted for by the syllabification procedures presented in Section 3.1.

since one cannot always treat words as compounds in the synchronic sense. For instance, *álòpè* ‘seven’ is treated in Section 3.6.1 as monomorphemic, however, it is obvious that taken from a Proto-SWG perspective it is not. Bilabial plosives can also be found in borrowed words’ medial positions, e.g. *kàpèntà* (ultm. Eng.) ‘carpenter’ and *kàpálà* (Waali) ‘type of staple food’. Neither the voiceless nor the voiced bilabial plosive are attested word-finally. Table 7 provides examples of contrast between /p/ and /b/ for the VOICE opposition.

Table 7: Bilabial plosives

(a) Voiceless bilabial plosive

páŋ	molar	n
pèrà	weave	v
pílè	cover with	v
púl	type of river grass	n
kúmpíí	thorny spear grass	n
álòpè	seven	num
kàpèntà	carpenter (ultm. Eng.)	n
kàpálà	staple food, Gh. Eng. <i>fufu</i>	n

(b) Voiced bilabial plosive

bàn	here	adv
bèrà	dry	qual
bilè	put	v
búl	type of tree	n
?àbé	palm tree (Akan)	n
fièbì	whip	v
hámbák	type of tree	n

2.2.1.2 Alveolar plosives. The alveolar plosives can occur in word-initial and -medial positions. Similar to the bilabial plosives, the voiceless and the voiced alveolar plosives are not attested word-finally.⁶ When it occurs in word-medial position, [d] is found only at the onset of a non-initial stem of polymorphemic words or in loans, whereas [t] does not have such a restriction. Examples of such loans are *síídi* ‘cedi’, *kùòdú* ‘banana’, and *bòrdá* ‘plaintain’ for words of Akan origin, and *gáádin* ‘garden’, *biléedi* ‘blade’, and *póódà* ‘powder’ for words of English origin. An example of occurrences in onset of non-initial stem of polymorphemic words is *fi-drà-anaase* [*fídànáásɛ*] ‘fourteen’ (Section 3.6.1), *nín-dáá* ‘horn’, and *nì-dòmá* ‘spirit’. Examples *kàndá* ‘Kandia’ and *kódi* ‘or’ appear to be lexicalized polymorphemic words or loans. The rhotic [r] may be argued to be an allophone of /d/ as [r] occurs mostly where [d] is never found, e.g. intervocally in monomorphemic words (Section 2.2.4.2). Table 8 provides examples of contrast between the two alveolar plosives for the VOICE opposition in word-initial and -medial positions.

Table 8: Alveolar plosives

(a) Voiceless alveolar plosive			(b) Voiced alveolar plosive		
té	early	adv	dé	there	adv
tíŋ	spearhead	n	díŋ	fire	n
tóŋ	book	n	dóŋ	enemy	n
túò	bow	n	dùò	sleep	v
tómá	work	n	dòmá	soul	n
kànjítí	patience (Hausa)	n	síidí	cedi	n
kèti	break	v	lè-dáá	lower jaw	n
sòtá	thorn	n	kàndíá	Kandia	propn

The segment [r] can surface when [t] is expected. For instance, the plural form of the word *gér* ‘lizard’ is *gété* ‘lizards’ and the plural form of the word *sòtá* ‘thorn’ is *sòràsá*. The underlying segmental representation /get/ may be given for the lexeme ‘lizard’.

⁶ On one of the field trips, I was given a dog and called it [táát]. People in Dacie would repeat its name and call the dog [táátlà]. The way they pronounced the name suggests that alveolar plosives are disallowed in word-final position.

Rule 1 is postulated, which turns a /t/ into [r] in word-final position and in weak syllables (see Section 3.1.2).⁷

Rule 1 Lenition

An alveolar stop changes into a trill in word-final position or in word-medial onset.

[ALVEOLAR, OBSTRUENT] → r / _ # or CV._ V.CV

Rule 1 operates only on a few nouns, probably due to the fact that an underlying coda /t/ is rare. Further, all the examples involve [+ATR, -RO] vowels, e.g. *bütér*: - *bütéte* ‘turtle(s)’ and *tsíír* - *tsííté* ‘taboo(s)’. Examples of minimal pairs involving a [r]-[t] contrast are *pàrà* ‘farm’ - *pátá* ‘trousers’, *lúró* ‘scrotum’ - *lútó* ‘root’, and *tsári* ‘diarrhoea’ - *tsáti* ‘type of guinea corn’.

2.2.1.3 Velar plosives. The velar plosives are found in word-initial and -medial positions. In addition, among the plosives, the velar plosive is the only one which is allowed word finally. This is shown in Tables 9(a) and 9(b).

Further the segment [y], which appears between vowels in a weak syllable (see Section 3.1.2), is underlyingly a /k/ or a /g/.⁸ Since the notion of weak syllable has not been justified, Rule 2 partially accounts for the spirantization of velar plosives.

Rule 2 Spirantization

The velar obstruents /k/ and /g/ change into [y] when they occur between vowels in a weak syllable.

[VELAR, OBSTRUENT] → y / V._ V or _ . C

As shown in Table 9(c), the segment [y] appears in word-medial position, but never in word-initial or -final position. A voicing distinction between [y] and a potential voiceless velar fricative [x] is not perceived, which, if identified, would create two corresponding pairs with /g/ and /k/ respectively. However, it seems that /g/ and /k/ are spirantised medially except when adjacent to a [+ATR, +HI, -RO] vowel. Nevertheless a few counterexamples, such as *kpégíí* ‘hard’ and *sígíí* ‘misery’, must be taken into account.⁹

⁷ Since the voiced alveolar plosive never occurs in word-medial position, there may be another rule involved which devoiced the /d/ in *gété* ‘lizards’. In fact, by omitting [-VOICED], Rule 1 captures /d/ as well. Notice that Rule 1 undergenerates in some instances, e.g. *bütér* ‘turtle’, *bütéte* ‘turtles’ **burete*.

⁸ For simplicity, I use [g] throughout instead of the IPA symbol for the voiced velar plosive [g].

⁹ In Mòoré and Koromfe /g/ is spirantised medially except when adjacent to a [+ATR, +HI] vowel (John Rennison, p.c.). Chakali *hóyúl* ‘cockroach’ and *nànjójúl* ‘butcher’ are clear spirantization cases.

Table 9: Velar plosives and fricative

(a) Voiceless velar plosive			(b) Voiced velar plosive		
kààsì	clear throat	v	gáásí	pass	v
kóŋ	cobra	n	góŋ	type of plant	n
kòtì	fine grinding	v	gōtí	roll	v
hákílá	cognition	n	bégií	heart	n
kàkà	toothache	n	kùgsó	rib cage	n
tùk	type of nest	n	hóg	bone	n
pààtʃák	leaf	n	vóng	small god	n

(c) Velar fricative			
/kpaga/	[kpàyà]	have	v
/dɔga/	[dòyà]	Doga	propn
/tʃaktʃak/	[tʃáyətʃák]	tattoo	ono
/tig-si/	[tíyísí]	gather	v
/hogul/	[hóyúl]	cockroach	n

2.2.1.4 Glottal plosive. The glottal plosive, or “glottal stop”, occurs only at the beginning of vowel-initial word stems. Word-initially it is optional, but it is obligatory at the beginning of a vowel-initial stem contained within polymorphemic words such as *nʒɔ́rɔŋ* ‘type of tree’ and *fáláʔúl* ‘calabash node’. Table 10 provides examples of word-initial and (stem-initial) word-medial positions.

Table 10: Glottal plosive

?àbé	palm tree (Akan)	n
?áá	bushbuck	n
?íl	breast	n
?ilè?ilè	type of colour	ideo
bà?òrfì	swelling	n
ná?óráŋ	type of tree	n

2.2.1.5 Labial-velar plosives. Among the twenty-five consonants, five are complex segments. These include the plosives /kp/ and /gb/. The term “complex” in this context means that two primary places of articulation are involved in the production of the sounds, that is, the velum and the lips. Nonetheless, they behave as single phonemes. The labial-velar plosives can occur in initial and medial positions, but as the bilabial plosives, when they are found in a word-medial position, the position is typically the onset of a non-initial stem. Table 11 gives examples of labial-velar plosives in word-initial positions and shows that they contrast with both the labial and the velar plosives.

Table 11: Labial-velar plosives

(a) Voiceless labial-velar plosive			(b) Voiced labial-velar plosive		
kpà	take	v	gbà	also	quant
kpáá	type of dance	n	gbáà	control animal	v
kpòj	location	propn	gbój	type of tree	n
(c) Contrast with /k/ and /p/			(d) Contrast with /g/ and /b/		
kpòj	location	propn	gbár	watcher	n
kój	Kapok	n	gár	stable	n
kpísí	sneeze	v	gbéníí	pink	qual
písì	scatter	n	génníí	fool	n
kpò	kill	v	gbònjà	dense	v
pò	spit	v	bònjà	bend	v

2.2.1.6 Affricates. The affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are treated as single phonemes. They can occur in word-initial and word-medial positions, although the voiced affricate is comparatively less used. Notice that while /kp/ and /gb/ do contrast with /p/, /b/, /k/, and /g/, /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ do not exist in the language (except for the interjection *fiaåå* ‘insult’). Table 12 provides (near-)minimal pairs, when available.

Also, the sound [tʃ] is pronounced [k] by some members of the oldest generation, e.g. *tsíír* ~ *kiír* ‘taboo’, *tsímmåå* ~ *kímmåå* ‘pepper’, *tʃéñé* ~ *kíéñé* ‘break’, etc. This could be evidence that, in the recent past, the affricates originated as stops in an environment conditioned by a high front vowel. However, examples of minimal pairs [tʃ]-[k] exist: *tfògò* ‘ignite’ vs. *kògò* ‘hold’, *tfóí* ‘clay’ vs. *kóí* ‘type of staple food’, *tfáyà* ‘to face’ vs. *káyà* ‘to choke’, among others.¹⁰

¹⁰ It could be that the lexemes involved in these minimal pairs underwent semantic change and

Table 12: Affricates

(a) Voiceless affricate			(b) Voiced affricate		
tʃɔ̄ðŋ	type of fish	n	dʒɔ̄ðŋ	hammock	n
tʃáásá	comb	n	dʒáá	unexpectedly	adv
tʃáñì	shine	v	dʒáñjáá	bearing tray	n
kátſál	type of tree	n	təráádžà	trousers (ultm. Eng.)	n
pàátsák	leaf	n	bádžògó	type of lizard	n

2.2.2 Fricatives

The four fricatives /f/, /v/, /s/, and /z/ are distinguished by their place of articulation and by their voicing.

2.2.2.1 Labio-dental fricatives. In general, the segments /f/ and /v/ have the same distribution: they can occur in word-initial and -medial positions, but never in a final position, and they both can precede any vowel. They contrast exclusively on the feature VOICE. This is shown in Table 13. Contrasts with alveolar fricatives are given in Table 14 of Section 2.2.2.2.

Table 13: Labio-dental fricatives

fàà	ancient time	n
váà	dog	n
fáà	do by force	v
váá	be beyond	v
fáárfí	be between	v
váàrì	do abruptly	v

2.2.2.2 Alveolar fricatives. The alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/ can occur in word-initial and -medial positions, but never word-finally. The glottal stricture is the only property which differentiates the alveolar and labio-dental fricatives. Overall, the voiceless alveolar fricative is more frequent than the voiced one. In word-medial positions, the voiceless alveolar fricative acts mainly as the onset of a

phonological change, but originated from a single source. Vagla data suggest that a conditioning of front vowel is not unique to Chakali (see footnote 17). Looking at the form/meaning of cognates in other related languages would be revealing.

non-initial stem. Table 14(a) presents the alveolar fricatives in opposition for the feature VOICE, and Table 14(b) presents the alveolar fricatives contrasting with the labio-dental fricatives in word-initial positions.

Table 14: Alveolar fricatives

(a) Alveolar fricatives			(b) Contrast with /f/ and /v/		
sìé	imitating	n	sâá	axe	n
zìé	wall	n	fâá	do by force	v
sóŋ	name	n	zìé	wall	n
zòŋ	weakling	n	vìè	refuse	v
sóó	front	n	sìí	bambara bean	n
zòó	enter	v	víí	cooking pot	n
písá	grass mat	n			
kózàà	basket	n			
tjásfè	cough disease	n			
zíézíé	light weight	ideo			

2.2.3 Nasals

There are five distinct nasal consonants in the language: a bilabial, an alveolar, a palatal, a velar, and a labial-velar. Phonological processes involving the nasal feature are frequent in the language. One is discussed in Section 3.2.1.2. In word-initial position, only [ŋ] is not attested. The distribution of nasals in word-final position is as follows: rare cases with the bilabial [m], a few words with the alveolar [n], and the large majority with the velar [ŋ]. Chakali appears to have one velarization alternation, as stated in Rule 3.

Rule 3 Velarization

Nasals surface as [ŋ] word-finally.

[+NASAL] → ŋ / _ #

2.2.3.1 Bilabial nasal. The bilabial nasal /m/ occurs in word-initial and -medial positions. This is shown in Table 15. It is rarely found in word-final positions: the onomatopoeia *ʔángùm* ‘monkey’s scream’, the adverbial *tférím* ‘quietly’, the noun *súrúm* ‘silence’ (ultm. Hausa), and *géém* ‘game reserve’ (ultm. Eng.) are the only examples. However, the languages Vagla and Kasem, surely among others, allow final [m]. Both languages are genealogically related, but only the former

is in contact with Chakali. It is assumed that Chakali speakers are accustomed to hearing a bilabial nasal in final position. However, an underlying final /m/ is possible, e.g. /dɔm/ → *dój* SG. *dóma* PL. ‘enemy’ and /dɔŋ/ → *dój* SG. *dóŋa* PL. ‘comrade’ (see Section 3.2.1 and Rule 3). Table 15(b) displays two minimal pairs involving the bilabial nasal in opposition with a bilabial plosive and a labial-velar.

Table 15: Bilabial nasal

(a) Bilabial nasal			(b) Contrast with a /b/ and /ŋm/		
mǎá	mother	n	mèj	mist	n
mó	work clay	v	béŋ	type of tree	n
múr:	story	n	ŋméŋ	okro	n
dɔmá	soul	n			
jɔmè	blind	n			
kím-bóŋ	bad thing	n			

2.2.3.2 Alveolar nasal. The alveolar nasal /n/ can occur in all three positions: word-initial, word-medial and word-final. Table 16(a) presents the alveolar nasal in those positions. However, as mentioned in Section 2.2.3.1, Rule 3 turns word-final nasals into a velar nasal. The number of words which allow a word-final alveolar nasal is very limited, and the majority are ultimately ‘non-native’: *dàmbàfúlánáán* ‘fifth month’ (Waali), *límáán* ‘imam, prayer-leader’ (Arabic), *méésin* ‘mason’ (Eng.), *?ólüplén* ‘airplane’ (Eng.), *pèn* ‘pen’ (Eng.), and *gáádin* ‘garden’ (Eng.). In Table 16, the alveolar nasal is found in word-final positions in *nòkún* and *sábáán*. If these words were uttered at the end of a phrase in normal speech, they would be velarized. Nonetheless, when elicited in isolation, the alveolar

Table 16: Alveolar nasal

(a) Alveolar nasal			(b) Contrast with a /l/ and /r/		
náàl	grand-father	n	bìlà	try to solve	v
ná	see	v	bìnà	old	v
kànà	arm ring	n	náhiɛ	sense	n
zùpòná	millet crazy top disease	n	lèhéè	wooden spoon	n
nòkún	type of tree	n	pèná	moon	n
sábáán	roof top	n	pèrà	weave	v

nasals do not always surface velarized, so a certain number of lexical exceptions may exist (cf. Rule 3). Table 16(b) provides evidence that the alveolar nasal, the lateral, and the trill are indeed distinct phonemes.

2.2.3.3 Palatal nasal. The palatal nasal /ɲ/ is found in word-initial and word-medial positions, but never in a word-final position. It never precedes another consonant and only one word where a consonant precedes the palatal nasal is identified, i.e. *sámbálñàŋjá* ‘type of grass’. Table 17(a) provides examples where the palatal nasal occurs word-initially and -medially. The examples in Table 17(b) show that [n] and [ɲ] contrast in word-initial position.

Table 17: Palatal nasal

(a) Palatal nasal			(b) Contrast with a /n/		
jàá	poverty	n	jàá	poverty	n
jínè	look	v	nàá	leg	n
jínà	father	n	jíŋ	tooth	n
jòá	smoke	v	níŋ	this	adv
jénáj	worm	n	jòɔ̄	crowd	v
?àŋàá	type of snake	n	nòɔ̄	hear	v
bònjé	respect with (Waali)	n			

2.2.3.4 Velar nasal. The segment [ŋ] is by far the most frequent nasal sound found in word-final position. When it precedes a consonant, the velar nasal is the last segment of a preceding syllable. Unlike the other nasals it never appears in word-initial position. Table 17(a) provides examples of the velar nasal in word-

Table 18: Velar nasal

(a) Velar nasal			(b) Contrast with a /n/		
bòŋjá	bend	v	kàŋjá	back	n
dóŋjá	people	n	kàŋà	arm ring	n
pìŋjá	be satisfied	v	tòŋjá	type of sickness	n
kónsíáŋj	red dove	n	tòŋá	profit	n
ŋméŋj	okro	n	tìŋjá	follow	v
kùŋkùŋj	brain	n	tìŋà	cloud gather	v

medial and -final positions. In Table 17(b), [n] and [ŋ] show contrast in word-medial positions.

2.2.3.5 Labial-velar nasal. The labial-velar nasal /ŋm/ is one of the four doubly-articulated segments in the language. It occurs in both word-initial and word-medial positions, as shown in Table 19(a), but never in a word-final position. Table 19(b) displays minimal pairs involving the labial-velar nasal in opposition with the other nasals. A single near-minimal pair with a palatal nasal is identified, but no minimal pair involving the labial-velar and the velar nasal is found. The labial-velar nasal mainly occurs in word-initial position, whereas the velar nasal occurs in word-final position. All SWG languages of Ghana have been reported with a phonemic contrast between a labial-velar and a velar nasal (Crouch & Smiles 1966; Bergman, Gray & Gray 1969; Toupin 1995; Crouch & Herbert 2003). Even though the labial-velar nasal is sometimes perceived as slightly palatalized when followed by a non-high front vowel, e.g. *ŋm'èná* ‘chisel’, it is not rendered in the transcription.

Table 19: Labial-velar nasal

(a) Labial-velar nasal			(b) Contrast with /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/		
ŋmá	tell	v	ŋmá	say	v
ŋmédàà	thread holder	n	má	you	2.pl.wk
ŋméjtél	eight	num	já	defecate	v
ŋmíér	thief	n	ná	see	v
dɔŋméŋ	type of snake	n	ŋménj	okro	n
ŋmɔnàŋmɔnà	type of colour	ideo	mèj	dew	n

2.2.4 Lateral and trill

2.2.4.1 Alveolar lateral approximant. The alveolar lateral approximant /l/ is found in word-initial positions, as well as word-medial and word-final positions. This is shown in Table 20(a). There is only one token where the alveolar lateral precedes a nasal vowel, e.g. *kɔlɔŋj* ‘well’ (but see Section 2.1.10 on nasal vowels). In Table 20(b) [r] and [l] are shown to contrast in word-medial and word-final positions.

Table 20: Alveolar lateral approximant

(a) Alveolar lateral approximant			(b) Contrast with /r/		
làà	take	v	pàlà	flow	v
lìì	go out	v	pàrà	farm	v
jálá	burst	v	sòòlá	type of cloth	n
pàtlá	small hoe	n	sòrá	odor	n
gántál	outside	n	púl	type of river grass	n
?íl	breast	n	púr:	skin bag	n

2.2.4.2 Alveolar trill or flap. In careful speech, the rhotic consonant is often produced with the blade of the tongue vibrating against the alveolar ridge. However, it would be wrong to treat the production of /r/ in Chakali and, for instance, the /r/ in Spanish, as similar. In normal speech, the rhotic consonant is usually perceived as a flap-like sound. For instance, the rhotic in *pàrà* ‘to farm’ sounds as if the tongue strikes its point of articulation once, instead of repetitively. There is only one rhotic consonant, but even though it is not perceived as an alveolar flap in most cases, it is transcribed as *r*, instead of (the standard and more precise but less practical) *r̥*. Nonetheless, /r/ in coda position is especially subject to tongue vibration, e.g. *gàř* ‘cloth’.

Rhotic /r/ is found both word-medially and word-finally. In coda position, it is often emphasized; in such cases a diacritic is used to represent a lengthy trill, i.e. [r:]. It is also the only consonant which occurs in the second position of a CC sequence (Section 3.1 example 5). It never occurs word-initially, except for the focus marker *ra*, which is nevertheless treated as a word unit (see Section 3.2.2.2 for the different forms the focus marker can take), and the English loan *rɔbà* ‘rubber’ in *rɔbákàtásà* ‘plastic bowl’. Given that [r] can be found in coda position but never in word-initial onset, and [d] is mainly found in word-initial onset but never in the word-medial position of a monomorphemic word, the rhotic consonant could be treated as an allophone of /d/ (see Awedoba 2002: 30–31 and Dakubu 2002: 62–64). Provisionally, though, this solution is not favoured since it creates two issues which cannot be accommodated at this stage: (i) the CC sequence in onset becomes /Cd/, e.g. /pd/ in *prítj* ‘type of tree’ and /dd/ in *dráábà* ‘driver’, and (ii) [r] and [t] are sounds distinguished by several minimal pairs, as opposed to [d], e.g. *tsáři* ‘diarrhoea’ and *tsáti* ‘type of guinea corn’, *pàrà* ‘farm’ and *pátá* ‘trousers’, *lúró* ‘scrotum’ and *lútó* ‘root’.¹¹

¹¹ Another piece of evidence would be the alveolar flap as the realization of a /t/ in a weak syllable, e.g. (SG/PL) *sòtá/sòràsá*.

Minimal pairs involving the alveolar rhotic and alveolar lateral approximant are given in Table 21(b).¹²

Table 21: Alveolar trill

(a) Alveolar trill		(b) Contrast with /l/ and /d/		
pàrà	farm	n	fòrò	blanch
kòòrì	built	v	fòlò	make loose
?àrfì	grass cutter	n	hàrà	lock
gríí	cheek	n	hàlà	fry
gár:	stable	n	bílígí	rub
gér:	lizard	n	bírigí	delay
kór:	bench	n	kùórù	chief
kpór:	palm tree	n	kùòdú	banana

2.2.5 Glides

2.2.5.1 Voiced labio-velar approximant. The voiced labio-velar approximant /w/ appears both in word-initial and word-medial positions, but never in a word-final position.¹³ There are a few words which are transcribed with superscript [ʷ] (e.g. *bʷɔŋ* ‘difficult’ and *zákʷɔɔl* ‘beetle’), representing a labialized consonant, but there are no definite regularities. When it occurs, it is in front of a round vowel.¹⁴ In Table 22(b) examples are offered which set in opposition the voiced labio-velar approximant and the palatal approximant.¹⁵

¹² In 21(b), the word *kùòdú* ‘banana’ is part of a minimal pair used as evidence for a nonallophonic alternation between [r]/[d]. However, the word *kùòdú* is ultimately borrowed as it “exists all over West Africa in some form or other” (M. E. Kropp-Dakubu, p. c.). It is the only minimal pair [r]/[d] in the lexicon.

¹³ Whether /w/ and /j/ occur word-finally results from one’s decision about syllable structure. Is [aw] phonologically /aw/ or /aw/? This question will not be resolved without a finer phonological model.

¹⁴ As mentioned in footnote 4, Deg is claimed to have an inventory of 13 phonemic labialized consonants (Crouch & Herbert 2003: 2).

¹⁵ In field notes I transcribed [q] a highly aspirated and palatalized version of /w/ found before high front vowels, e.g. *qii* ‘weep’ and *qff* ‘matter’. This sound needs further investigation because I did not perceive it consistently in that environment. It is transcribed throughout with w.

Table 22: Voiced labio-velar approximant

(a) Voiced labio-velar approximant			(b) Contrast with /j/		
wáá	he, she, it	3.sg.st.	wàá	Wa town	propn
wíí	matter	n	jàà	fetch	v
wóŋ	deaf person	n	wàà	come	v
fòwà	wrap	v	jà	we, our	1.pl.wk
jòwá	market	n	tàwà	inject	v
pèwò	blow	v	tájà	catapult (ultm. Eng.)	n

2.2.5.2 Palatal approximant. The palatal approximant /j/ appears both in word-initial and word-medial positions, as shown in Table 23(a), but never in a word-final position. Table 23(b) provides additional minimal pairs in which the palatal approximant and the voiced labio-velar approximant contrast.

Table 23: Palatal approximant

(a) Palatal approximant			(b) Contrast with /w/		
júò	fight, quarrel	n	jàà	fetch	v
tájà	catapult (ultm. Eng.)	n	wáá	he, she, it	3.sg.st.
bàjúòrà	lazy	qual	jóŋ	slave	n
íjèlà	clan name	propn	wóŋ	deaf	n

2.2.5.3 Glottal approximant. The glottal approximant /h/ occurs only in word-initial and -medial positions. Table 24(b) shows examples in which [h] contrast with the fricatives and the glottal plosive.

Table 24: Glottal approximant

(a) Glottal approximant			(b) Contrasts		
há	hire	v	hàlà	fry	v
hól	piece of charcoal	n	vàlà	walk	v
hìrè	dig	v	fálá	calabash	n
nàhá	ego's grand-mother	n	híéŋ	relative	n
lúhò	funeral	n	zíéŋ	snake venum	n
lèhéɛ	wooden spoon	n	hól	type of tree	n
			sól:	clearly	adv
			?ól	type of mouse	n

2.2.6 Summary

The consonants of Chakali were introduced and the majority were presented in a pairwise fashion to highlight specific contrasts. In Table 25, the consonantal phonemes are arranged according to their place and manner of articulation. Among them, the surface consonant [ɣ] is derived from underlying phonemes, i.e. /g/ or /k/. Due to the limited scope of the present section, the phonological features making up the consonant phonemes were not introduced. They will be presented along the way when necessary.¹⁶

Table 25: Phonetic and phonemic consonants in Chakali

	Bilabial	Labial-dental	Alveolar	Postalv.	Palatal	Velar	Glottal	Labial-velar
Plosives	p b		t d			k g	?	kp gb
Fricatives		f v	s z			(y)	h	
Affricates				tʃ dʒ				
Nasals	m		n		jn	ŋ		ŋm
Liquid			l r					
Semi-vowels					j			w (ɥ)

¹⁶ In order to maintain neatness, the label 'Liquid' was given to laterals, approximants and trills.

3 Phonotactics

3.1 Syllable types

This section deals with the restrictions on possible syllable types. The necessary generalizations responsible for (im)possible segment sequences are introduced. Again, the syllabification procedure used to extract the syllable types is implemented in *Dekereke* and uses the database's pronunciation field.¹⁷ First, syllabic nasals are marked with a diacritic and are treated as one syllable. Secondly, all word-initial consonant clusters are assigned to the onset of the first syllable, and all word-final consonant clusters to the coda of the last syllable. Then, inter-vocalic consonant clusters are syllabified by maximizing onsets, as long as the resulting onsets match an attested word-initial consonant sequence or segment, and the resulting coda matches an attested word-final consonant sequence or segment. An onset cluster respects a sonority slope similar to the one given in (3).

- (3) Phonetically grounded sonority scale for consonants (Parker 2002: 236)
laterals > trills > nasals > /h/ > voiced fricatives > voiced stops > voiceless fricatives > voiceless stops > affricates

This means that (i) as one proceeds towards the nucleus the sonority must increase, and (ii) as one proceeds away from the nucleus the sonority must decrease. This sonority-based implementation generates the ill-formed onset clusters given in (4).

- (4) a. *mb
.ʔε.mbe.lɪ. ‘shoulder’ (.ʔεm.be.lɪ.)
b. *yl
.ha.yl.bie. ‘type of ants’ (.hag.lɪ.bie.)
c. *yj
.pa.tʃɪ.yja.ra. ‘healer’ (.pa.tʃɪg.ja.ra.)

The forms in parentheses following the glosses in (4) are correctly syllabified. The forms preceding the glosses are clusters that either satisfy (i.e. yl, yj) or do not satisfy (i.e. mb) the sonority requirement, but are nonetheless not correctly syllabified. To remedy this problem, *mb, *yl, and *yj become *ad hoc* constraints on onset clusters. This leaves us with a few attested C₁C₂ sequences in (5), which will be discussed below.

¹⁷ Software written and maintained by Rod Casali (version 1_0_0_180 <http://casali.cani.ca/>).

- (5) $C_1 = \text{SONORANT}$ $C_2 = \text{TRILL}$
- .*prɪŋ.* ‘type of Mahogany’
 .*bri.ge.* ‘type of snake’
 .*draa.ba.* ‘driver’ (Eng.)

The first column of Table 26 displays the ten syllable types attested. The other columns display the number of instances of a given syllable in three positions, i.e. word-initial, word-medial, and word-final, regardless of grammatical category distinctions. The table shows that Chakali words mainly comprise CV, CVC, and CVV syllables. Table 27 provides examples of words which contain each of the ten syllable types. They are given in the same order as in Table 26.

Table 26: Attested syllable types (version 10/09/15)

Syllable type	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
CV	1528	1184	1483
CVV	717	242	903
CVC	572	222	388
CVVC	79	22	122
V	25	0	5
N	5	0	3
CVVV	5	0	12
CCVC	2	0	2
CCVV	2	0	1
CCV	1	0	1

The low-frequency syllable types of Table 26 need explanation. The syllabic nasal has a few tokens, e.g. the various surface forms of the first person singular pronoun, the word .*m.bu.o.nō.* ‘hunter’s rank’ (borrowed from Gonja), and the name of one of my consultants, Fuseini Mba Zien, whose second name originally means ‘my father’ (in several Oti-Volta languages and beyond) and is syllabified [.*m.ba.*]. Adding to these examples, there are contexts in which a nasal makes the syllable peak following an onset consonant. For instance, when involved in some compounds, the stem /*bagena*/ ‘neck’ yields [.*ba.gn.*], as in .*ba.gn.pvɔ.gu.* ‘lateral goiter’, .*ba.gn.bsa.* ‘hollow behind the collarbone’, and .*ba.gn.tfu.gul.* ‘dowager’s hump’.

Table 27: Tokens for each syllable type

Syllable type	Instantiation	Gloss	PoS
CV	.pa.tʃɪ.gɪ.	abdomen	n
	.gbe.ta.ra.	pond	n
	.?ɔ.ma.	fear	v
CV _α V _α	.bāā.	type of lizard	n
	.?a.lɛɛ.fo.	type of leaf	n
	.sɪɪ.maa.	food	n
CV _α V _β	.dia.tɪɪ.na.	landlord	n
	.ba.juo.ra.	lazy	n
	.tso.niñā.	type of genet	n
CVC	.?em.be.li.	wing	n
	.ga.lan.zv̥r.	mad person	n
	.nāā.pol.	Achilles tendon	n
CVVC	.baal.	man	n
	.bɔɔŋ.	goat	n
	.tʃiir.	taboo	n
V	.i.	you, your	2.sg.wk.
	.a.	the	art
N	.n.	I, my	1.sg.wk
	.m.buo.jo.	hunter's rank (Gonja)	n
CCVC	.prnŋ.	type of Mahogany	n
CCV	.bri.ge.	type of snake	n
CCVV	.draa.ba	driver (ultm. English)	n
CVVV	.bɔɔɛ̯.bɔɔɛ̯.	carefully	ideo
	.ŋmĩɛ̯.	stealing	n
	.paaʊ.	collect.FOC	v
	.paaʊ.	collect.3.SG	v
	.ʃiāā.	insult	interj

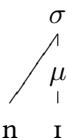
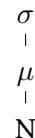
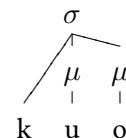
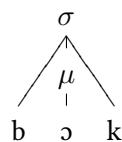
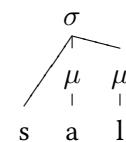
There are restrictions on the type of segments which can act as coda. All velars are permitted in coda position, i.e. {k, g, y, ɳ} . The alveolar nasal [n], lateral [l], trill [r], plus rare instances of [m], are also permitted.

For the CC sequences, it was mentioned in Section 2.2.5.1 that labialized consonants are rarely perceived. Still, a few words are transcribed as [Cʷ], a sequence

that could be read as [Cw] by the syllabification procedure, i.e. *bʷáj* ‘bad’ and *zákʷóčl* ‘beetle grub’. That leaves us with one instance of the syllable type CCVC, i.e. [.priŋ], a sequence mentioned in (5) above. Syllable types CCVV and CVVV are scarce, but for different reasons. The former involves a CC onset cluster which is infrequent, as mentioned in Section 2.2.4.2. The latter is also rarely attested in the lexical database, but could become very frequent if some cases of suffixation were consistently included in the lexicon. That is, given a verbal lexeme with a CVV final syllable, a CVVV sequence is produced by adding the nominalization or the assertion suffix (i.e. CVV-i/r and CVV-u/v, respectively). These are described in Sections 3.2.2.2 and 4.3.

3.1.1 Syllable representation

In this section, a unified representation of the syllable is provided. The notion of *weight unit* captures aspects of the internal structure of a syllable. Weight distinctions are encoded in mora count, which has been proposed as an intermediate level of structure between the segments and the syllable (Hyman 1985). The mora is of particular importance since it determines vowel length and tone assignment, among other things. In (6) the top node symbol σ represents the syllable. At a level under the syllable, the symbol μ represents the mora. The main opposition is between monomoraic (light) and bimoraic (heavy) syllables, but trimoraic (superheavy) syllables are also possible. The light syllables are composed of a single consonant and a single vowel (CV), a single vowel (V), or a syllabic nasal (N). The heavy and superheavy syllables are CVV, CVVC, CCVC, CCV, CVVV, and CCVV. The type CVC can be both light and heavy.

(6) a. *light*c. *light*e. *heavy*b. *light*d. *light*f. *heavy*

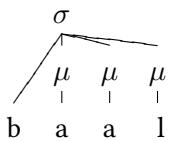
The syllable structure in (6a) is found in many verbs and function words (e.g. postposition *ni*, focus marker *ra*, preverbal particles *ka*, *bi*, and *ha*, verbs *na* ‘see’, *pe* ‘add’, and *to* ‘cover’, etc.) The light syllable in (6b) is exemplified by the definite article *a* ‘the’ and the second and third person singular weak pronouns *i* ‘you, yours’ and *v* ‘he, she, it, his, her, its’. Vowel coalescence (i.e. when two consecutive vowels fuse into a long one) suggests that these pronouns are not CV-syllables with glottal plosives in onset positions (see Section 3.2.1). A syllabic nasal constitutes a light syllable (6c): apart from their segmental content, structure (6b) and (6c) are identical, that is, they are also both syllable structures of singular pronouns. Another light syllable is the one in (6d). The choice of treating a CVC sequence as light comes from a certain division in the consonants, that is, those which are perceived with a tone and those which are not. Thus both (6d) and (6f) can represent the structure of a CVC sequence, but only the latter contains a moraic coda.¹⁸

The heavy syllables are those with two moras. The structure in (6e) represents any vowel sequence, e.g. *såå* ‘axe’ or *kuò* ‘farm’, and the one in (6f) a sequence in which the final consonant projects a mora, e.g. *sál* ‘flat roof’. Thus, the set of consonants which are found to bear tones are those which project moras; namely /l/, /r/, and the nasals. This suggests that at least a feature SONORANT must be involved for a segment to bear tone. However, a tone on a SONORANT segment in syllable final position is not always transcribed.

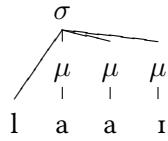
The superheavy syllables are commonly described as consisting of CVCC or CVVC. The former syllable is not attested; a coda consisting of two or more consonants does not exist. The latter type is instantiated in (7a) with the word *báál* ‘male’: other examples are *hùór* ‘raw’, *vááŋ* ‘front leg’, among others. Although not attested in a single morpheme (except perhaps in the ideophone *bø̄ɛ̄ibø̄ɛ̄i* ‘slowly’ and the interjection *fááå* ‘insult’), the CVVV syllable types are treated as trimoraic. The words in (7b) ‘collect.NMLZ’ and (7c) ‘collect.FOC’ are made from the verbal CVV stem *laa* ‘collect’. In these examples, CVVV syllables arise from the suffixation of nominal and assertive morphology, (7b) and (7c) respectively. As presented in Sections 3.3.1 and 4.3.1, cliticized pronouns in object positions also create CVVV syllables.

¹⁸ A reviewer pointed out that tonological generalizations are much better evidence concerning the moraic status of coda consonants. There are many suggestions for further research, but studies of tone and intonation are urgently needed for the languages of the area. For instance, questions relevant to moraic coda consonants are how to properly account for consonants which are found to bear tones and how to treat contour tones on CVC words. This distinction between (6d) and (6f) would need to be spelt out carefully in a phonological study.

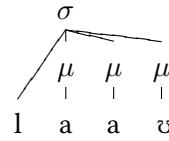
- (7) a.
- superheavy*



- b.
- superheavy*



- c.
- superheavy*



Likewise, some of the representations in (6) can either be projected by a single lexeme or by the combination of one lexeme and a vowel suffix. For example, the word *bié* ‘child’ is analysed as being composed of the stem *bi* and a singular suffix vowel, but the word *táá* ‘language’ is formed by the stem *taa* and a zero-suffix for singular. Noun class morphology is discussed in Section 3.2.1.

3.1.2 Weak syllable

It has already been noted in Section 2.2.1.3 that a segment may change into another in a phonological domain called a weak syllable. This is defined as the state resulting from a reduction or augmentation of a syllable in a specific environment. For instance, in noun formation, the generalizations in (8) are observed when a CV number suffix attaches to a CVC stem, i.e. CVC] -CV, or a CVCV stem, i.e. CVCV] -CV.

- (8) a. Vowel epenthesis

Insert a [+SYLL] segment between medial adjacent consonants

- b. Vowel weakening

Reduce the duration and loudness of a vowel between medial consonants

- c. Intervocalic lenition

Velar stops become fricatives between vowels

In the case of a CVC stem, vowel epenthesis creates a vowel between the stem’s coda consonant and the suffix’s onset consonant (more on epenthesis in Section 3.2.1.3). In a resulting CVCVCV environment the quality of the second interconsonantal vowel is not as full as other vowel(s) in the same word: possible outcomes are the reduction of any vowel to [ə], shortening (marked as extra-short, e.g. [ă]), or its deletion. Also in the same CVCVCV environment, intervocalic spirantization operates on the onset consonant of the second syllable, turning the velar obstruents /k/ and /g/ into [χ] (see Sections 2.2.1.2 and 2.2.1.3).

3.1.3 Consonant cluster

A sequence of consonants is not phonologically distinctive and many tokens are the results of place assimilation. It is treated as a repetition of adjacent and identical segments within a word, closing one and opening the next syllable. Only the set of consonants {n, l, m, η} is attested.

- (9) Transparent polymorphemic
 - a. *kpå̄n-níř* [yam-water] ‘water yam’
 - b. *gón-náá* [river-leg] ‘branch of a river’
 - c. *bà-lál-là* [body-open-NMLZ] ‘happiness’
- (10) Opaque
 - a. *kúmmì* ‘fist’
 - b. *náŋŋí* ‘be worse’
 - c. *tſímmáá* ‘pepper’

Example (9) shows a consonant cluster in fully transparent polymorphemic lexical items, while (10) in morphologically opaque ones.¹⁹

3.2 Sandhi

In this section, some morphophonological processes are introduced. First, the processes occurring within the word are presented, then the processes occurring at word boundaries.

3.2.1 Internal sandhi

Internal sandhi refers to insertions, deletions, or modifications of sounds at morpheme boundaries within the word.

3.2.1.1 Nasal place assimilation. In words composed of more than one stem, a nasal ending the first stem assimilates the place feature of the following consonantal segment. In this manner, the bilabial [m] surfaces when the first consonant of the second stem is LABIAL, the velar [ŋ] when it is VELAR and the alveolar [n] elsewhere. Yet, in front of [h], the underlying velar nasal stays unchanged. The same process takes place when a stem and a noun class suffix are combined,

¹⁹ Despite being infrequent in Chakali ($n = 19$, $l = 6$, $m = 54$, $\eta = 8$), “the verb *náŋŋí* ‘be worse’ is a Vagla verb with normal-for-Vagla form” (T. Naden, p.c.).

e.g /g̃ṽm/ (CL.3), *g̃ṽmá* SG and *g̃ṽnsá* PL ‘hump(s)’. Table 28 provides some examples (see Section 3.2.2.1 for similar processes at word boundaries).

Table 28: Word-internal nasal place assimilation

Stems	Literal meaning	Word	Gloss	PoS
km-b̃ɔŋ	thing-bad	kimb̃óŋ	bad	n
lon-b̃ɔla	calabash-oval	lómb̃ɔl	calabash type	n
nɔŋ-bulunj	stone-black	nòmb̃ulúŋ	grinding stone type	n
sm̃-tʃau	drink-termite	síntʃáu	type of tree	n
sm̃-p̃omma	drink-white	símp̃ommá	palm wine	n
sm̃-siama	drink-red	sínsiàmá	fermented pito	n
galanja-zsɔs-r	madness-enter-agent	gàlanzsɔs-r	mad person	n

Rule 4 captures the phenomenon.

Rule 4 N-regressive assimilation

A nasal consonant assimilates the place feature of the following consonant (conditions: internal and external sandhi).

$$C[+NASAL] \rightarrow [\alpha PLACE] / _C[\alpha PLACE]$$

3.2.1.2 Nasalisation of verbal suffixes. The two suffixes under consideration are discussed in Section 4.1.4.1 and 5.3. The first is the perfective suffix. It takes either the form *-je/jε* or *-wa*. The quality of the surface vowel depends on (i) whether the verb takes the assertive suffix (glossed FOC, standing for ‘in focus’), and (ii) the vowel quality of the verbal stem. To isolate each effect, negating a proposition makes sure that the assertive suffix does not appear on the verb. The second is the assertive suffix, which can appear on a verb stem both in the imperfective and perfective aspects. To portray the two suffixes in a non-nasal environment, the verb *kpé* ‘crack and remove’ in Table 29 is placed in two paradigms (reproduced from Section 4.3).

Since this section is concerned with nasalisation, the meaning and function of each form is ignored. As seen from the examples, and leaving tones aside, the verbal stem *kpé* has two forms in the negative and three in the positive. The positive is seen as a paradigm in which the event is in focus, as opposed to the argument *v* ‘she’ of the predicate *kpé*. Because of ATR-harmony (Section 4.2), the perfective suffix *-je/-jε* agrees in ATR with the stem vowel and is rendered *-je* (perfective negative form *kpéjε*). In the affirmative, when assertive suffix *-u/-v*

Table 29: *kpé* ‘crack and remove’ (c&r)

(a) Positive		
FUT	ò kàá kpé	‘She will c&r’
IPFV	òò kpéū	‘She is c-&r-ing’
PFV	ò kpéjòō	‘She c-&r-ed’
IMP	kpé	‘C&r!’

(b) Negative		
	ò wàá kpè	‘She will not c&r’
	ò wàà kpé	‘She is not c-&r-ing’
	ò wà kpéjè	‘She did not c-&r-ed’
	té kpéi	‘Don’t c&r!’

follows *-je*, the two vowels coalesce, the assertive suffix is lowered and the two surface as [oo]. A process similar to (11) accounts for the negative and positive perfective forms.

- (11) *kpe-j*[−HI, −RO] → αATR → *kpe-je* → *kpeje*[+HI,+RO] → *kpejoo*

The explanation for the form *kpéū* is equivalent, except that the perfective suffix is not involved. Thus, the verbal stem triggering the ATR agreement on the assertive suffix is the only step accounted for. The process is shown in (12).

- (12) *kpe*[+HI,+RO] → αATR → *kpeu*

Nasalisation takes place within these two processes. For instance, when the verb stem *sáŋá* ‘sit’ is placed in the same environment as *kpé* in Table 29, all vowels following the velar nasal are nasalized.²⁰ The process is shown in (13).

- (13) a. *saya-j*[−HI, −RO] → αATR → αNASAL → *saj(ə)jɛ̃(ɛ)*[+HI,+RO] → *saj(ə)jɔ̃ɔ̃*
 b. *saya-*[+HI,+RO] → αATR → αNASAL → *sajɔ̃ɔ̃*

In this environment, the vowels are automatically nasalized, even when the approximant of the perfective suffix intervenes. Rule 5 attempts to capture the process.

²⁰ The interplay of vowel coalescence and length is not yet fully understood. This is reflected in the current state of the orthography.

Rule 5 N-harmony

A non-nasal vowel assimilates the nasal feature of a nasal segment, with or without an intervening consonant.

$$V \rightarrow [+NASAL] / [+NASAL] C_0 _$$

3.2.1.3 Vowel epenthesis and vowel reduction. Vowel epenthesis refers to the insertion of a vowel in specific phonological contexts. First, the pronunciation of loan words is treated.²¹ Second, the occurrences of the surface vowel [ə] are regarded as either cases of vowel epenthesis or the reduction of underlying vowels in specific environments.

One should be careful in assuming that the insertion of [ə] is phonologically-driven. Take the case of loan words, particularly those ultimately coming from English. It is not clear whether the presence of [ə] in the Chakali word form [bəlùu] ‘blue’ is an example of vowel epenthesis, i.e. (< *bluu*), or perhaps a case of vowel reduction, i.e. (< *buluu*). On the one hand, the consonant sequence /bl/ is not attested, therefore vowel epenthesis in an impossible consonant sequence could provide an explanation for the presence of the vowel [ə]. On the other hand, given our knowledge of the sociolinguistic situation, the majority of the English words used by Chakali speakers were introduced by speakers of neighbouring languages. Thus it is more likely that a speaker borrows the form *bəluu* – with the schwa – than without it. The latter scenario suggests that [ə] in *bəluu* does not come from vowel epenthesis produced by the phonology of Chakali, but perhaps from other phonologies. Other examples of loan words from English are *tərādžà* ‘trouser’ and *báatərbíi* ‘battery’, to mention a couple. However if [ə] in *bəluu* is rejected as a case of vowel epenthesis, ‘live’ examples of borrowing which are or have been nativized are needed.

On a field trip, I was given a dog and named it ‘Taat’, but the community members called him *táátò* (see footnote 6). In this case the vowel [ə] could be treated as a true case of vowel epenthesis: alveolar plosives are prohibited in word-final position and the vowel [ə] is inserted, which allows for the syllabification of the expression as CVV.CV, i.e. *.taa.tə..* In general, it seems that vowel epenthesis in loan words should be treated case by case. Nonetheless there are good reasons to believe that Chakali uses vowel epenthesis as a common strategy to allow the syllabification of some phonological sequences (see Section 3.1.2).

Rule 6 Vowel reduction

A vowel changes into a schwa in a weak syllable.

$$V \rightarrow ə / CVC _ .CV$$

²¹ On loan nouns in particular, see Section 3.2.6. Section 3.1.2 touches upon a similar topic.

Rule 7 Vowel epenthesis

A schwa is inserted between a coda consonant and an onset consonant.

$\emptyset \rightarrow \text{ə} / \text{VC. } _ . \text{CV}$

In addition to its presence in loan words, the vowel [ə] is found in cases of vowel reduction and vowel epenthesis conditioned by the position of certain segments and syllabification procedures. A vowel reduction takes place when a vowel occurs in a weak syllable (Section 3.1.2). Also, as mentioned above, vowel epenthesis can create proper sequences for syllabification. In Table 30, the first three examples are cases of vowel reduction, whereas the four at the bottom of the table are cases of vowel epenthesis. Rules 6 and 7 account for the observed phenomena.²²

Table 30: Vowel reduction and epenthesis

	Underlying form	Phonetic form	Gloss
Vowel reduction			
	bugulie	.bù.yè.liè.	big water pot
	bifsla	bifèlá	baby
	mankir	.mán.kèr:	type of yam
Epenthesis			
	maŋsa	.má.ŋé.sá.	groundnuts
	tſerbua	.tſé.rè.bùá.	hip
	tſagtſag	.tſá.yó.tſák.	tattoo

The words in Table 30 show that it is either in the weak syllables, or in order to create a weak syllable (due to the adjacency of two consonants in the underlying form) that a vowel [ə] surfaces. The position of the vowel [ə] in the word *mánkàr*: ‘type of yam’ is not consistent with the three others and its realization can only be explained by the presence of the trill in coda position, which may cause a vowel to lose the exclusive control of the nucleus of the syllable. However, in Chakali most of the yam names are borrowed.²³

This section gave an overview of why and how the surface vowel [ə] appears, and further established that whenever two stems meet to form a word, if the first

²² Rule 7 overgenerates: an improvement would say that the less sonorant the flanking consonants are, the more likely the schwa is perceived.

²³ The tone melody HL on disyllabic words is rare and typical of English loan words, but, obviously, no yam appellations come from English.

ends with a consonant and the second begins with a consonant, i.e. $VC_i][C_jV$, the vowel [ə] is inserted between the two consonants. After syllabification the last consonant of the first morpheme becomes onset of a syllable and the vowel [ə] functions as the nucleus of that syllable, i.e. $V]_\sigma[C_iə]_\sigma[C_jV$.

3.2.2 External sandhi

External sandhi refers to processes found at word boundaries. Two cases of assimilation are presented.

3.2.2.1 Nasal place assimilation. Nasal place assimilation at word boundaries occurs in the environment where the subject pronoun 1.SG.WK ‘I’ immediately precedes a verbal lexeme. The 1.SG.WK pronoun is represented by /N/ in (14).

- (14) a. $/N]_{wb} kaali sukuu FOC/ \rightarrow [\dot{\eta} káálì sùkúù rō]$ ‘I go to school’
- b. $/N]_{wb} buure-3.SG FOC/ \rightarrow [\dot{m} búúrúú rō]$ ‘I love it’
- c. $/N]_{wb} so nii FOC/ \rightarrow [\dot{n} só níi rā]$ ‘I’m bathing’

Moreover, the same nasal place assimilation occurs in an environment where the possessive pronoun immediately precedes a nominal lexeme. As in (14) /N/ stands for the first person singular possessive pronoun in (15). Rule 4 of Section 3.2.1.1 describes both word-internal and -external nasal place assimilation.²⁴

- (15) a. $/N]_{wb} gar/ \rightarrow [\dot{\eta} gár]$ ‘My cloth’
- b. $/N]_{wb} par/ \rightarrow [\dot{m} pář]$ ‘My hoe’
- c. $/N]_{wb} ?ul/ \rightarrow [\dot{\eta} ?úl]$ ‘My navel’

3.2.2.2 Focus particle’s place assimilation and vowel harmony. Focus encodes assertive information and has different forms in the language (Section 5.3). One of the forms is a focus particle which always follows a noun phrase. This particle is glossed as FOC and represented as /RV/, in which R is an abstract consonant (the surface default is [r]) and V a vowel. The possible patterns responsible for the form of the focus particle are listed in (16).²⁵

- (16) a. $V[-ATR] C[-LAT, -NAS]]_{wb} /RV/ \rightarrow [ra]$
 $par ra$ ‘hoe FOC’

²⁴ The possessive pronouns are sometimes lengthened (Section 3.3.5).

²⁵ Note that this is not a case of syntactic gemination since no underlying segments are doubled.

- b. V[−ATR] C[+LAT]]_{wb} /RV/ → [la]
tl̥ la ‘gum FOC’
- c. V[−ATR] C[+NAS]]_{wb} /RV/ → [na]
tɔn na ‘skin FOC’
- d. V[+ATR+RO] C[−LAT, −NAS]]_{wb} /RV/ → [ro]
hog ro ‘bone FOC’
- e. V[+ATR+RO] C[+LAT]]_{wb} /RV/ → [lo]
pul lo ‘river FOC’
- f. V[+ATR+RO] C[+NAS]]_{wb} /RV/ → [no]
lon no ‘calabash FOC’
- g. V[+ATR−RO] C[−LAT, −NAS]]_{wb} /RV/ → [re]
ger re ‘lizard FOC’
- h. V[+ATR−O] C[+LAT]]_{wb} /RV/ → [le]
bil le ‘grave FOC’
- i. V[+ATR−RO] C[+NAS]]_{wb} /RV/ → [ne]
nen ne ‘arm FOC’

The patterns presented in (16) are exhaustive. Taking (16a) as an example, it should be read as follows: [ra] is the surface form of the focus particle if the preceding vowel is −ATR and the immediately preceding consonant is {−LAT(ERAL), −NAS(AL)}. The quality of the vowel is predicted by the harmony rules of Section 4.2. When there is no immediately preceding consonant, the surface consonant is [r], e.g. à *tàà rá* ‘the language FOC’, à *píí ré* ‘the yam mound FOC’, and à *kpólúŋkpōō rò* ‘the type of bird FOC’. The surface consonant [w] is sometimes found in environments where [r] is expected. An alternation[w] - [r] as onset of the focus marker is presented in Section 4.3.1.

4 Suprasegmentals

At a word level, nasalisation, tone patterns, and vowel harmony are phenomena which are treated as suprasegmentals. Nasalisation phenomena were discussed under sandhi processes. In this section, two suprasegmental aspects of language are treated: tone and intonation, and vowel harmony.

4.1 Tone and intonation

Chakali is a tone language with both lexical and grammatical tone. Tones are distinctive pitch variations and are contrastive in the language since they can

affect the meaning of words/phrases, where the words/phrases consist of exactly the same segmental sequences.

Distinct tonal melodies at the lexical level provide evidence that a pitch distinction affects the meaning of words comprising identical sequences of segments. An example of three different tonal melodies, using the minimal triplet, is *ŋméná* ‘okro’, *ŋménà* ‘to cut’ and *ŋmèná* ‘chisel’. The same can be said about tonal melodies at the phrasal level. Thus, the sentences *ŋì dí kɛ́sá rá* ‘I am eating t.z.’ and *ŋ dí kɔ́ɔ rā* ‘I ate t.z.’ are composed of the same sequence of segments (except the length of the pronoun in subject function), but it is mainly the tonal melody which distinguishes the former utterance from the latter. Minimal examples involving intonation are shown in Section 4.1.4.3.

Table 31 displays the tonal melodies of the singular noun category. These are words uttered in isolation, so the tones are cut off from contextual influences. The subtables are divided according to the moraic content of the syllable. The logical possibilities are accommodated with an example.

Based on the evidence of nominal paradigms, two tones are suggested, i.e. high (H) and low (L). They are transcribed on segments with an acute and a grave accent, respectively. Since tones are assigned to moras, light syllables can get a single tone, i.e. H or L. The heavy syllables may get high (H) or low (L), or either one of the contour tones, i.e. falling (HL) or rising (LH). A mid tone is often perceived, but no contrast is found at the lexical level. Provisionally, the mid tone is said to be a derived tone, that is, a raised low tone or a lowered high tone. On rare occasions I perceived a falling tone on the last vowel of a word, e.g. *bùgùnsô* ‘stupidity’.

Vagla, Deg, Tampulma, Sisaala, and Pasaale are all described with two tones (Rowland & Rowland 1965; Crouch & Smiles 1966; Bergman, Gray & Gray 1969; Toupin 1995; Crouch & Herbert 2003) One finds in this literature descriptions of two-tone systems and a considerable number of tone rules. I am not going to delve in that area in detail, but among them, a downstep rule lowers a high tone (i.e. ‘H) when a low tone intervenes between two high tones, e.g. *dɔ́ɔ* (sg. HL), *dɔ́sá* (pl. HLH). This is however not consistently identified in the dictionary.

Falling intonation is a phrasal property by which a sequence of tones is cumulatively lowered; underlyingly though, the tones are either high or low. This gradual pitch fall may result in a low tone at the beginning of a phrase being as high as a high tone at the end of the phrase. Example (17) illustrates the phenomenon. While the first line shows how the tones are perceived, the second line provides the lexical tones normally associated with each of the words.²⁶

²⁶ There is an important level of analysis lacking in this description in that there are no tone rules to account for phrasal and lexical intonations, so example (17) must be interpreted with vigilance.

Grammatical outlines

Table 31: Tonal patterns of singular nouns

(a) One light syllable CVC: non-moraic coda			(b) One heavy syllable CVC: moraic coda		
H	hóg	bone	H	kór:	seat
H	vóg	small god	L	sòl:	dawadawa
L	bòg	type of tree	HL	fòl	type of climber
			LH	pòl	pond
(c) One heavy syllable CVVC			(d) One heavy syllable CVV		
H	fiél	type of grass	H	bíí	seed
L	tfòàr	line	L	zìù	type of weather
HL	báàl	male	HL	lòb	hartebeest
LH	vàáj	front leg	LH	bié	child
(e) Two light syllables CVCV			(f) One heavy CVC: non-moraic coda, one light		
H	bíná	excrement	H	tjéllé	outlaw
L	bòlà	elephant	L	kpànnà	lead
HL	góñò	type of tree	HL	dántà	clan title
LH	bìná	year	LH	kùksó	ribs
(g) One light CV, one heavy CVC			(h) One heavy CVV, one light CV		
H	búzónj	bachelor	HHH	díésé	dream
HL	bózál:	type of bird	HHL	kpáásà	whip
LH	kàtjíg	type of bird	LHL	kùórù	chief
			LHH	tùósó	added amount
			LLH	fùòló	whistle
			LLL	bòògà	moon
(i) Three light syllables CVCVCV					
HHH	kásímá	corpse uniform			
HHL	bélégè	drain			
LHL	dùlúgù	type of bird			
LLH	gérègá	sickness			
LLL	dígìnà	ear			
LLH	tjíribó	gun firing pin			
LHH	?àmónó	type of bush cat			
HLL	dókpènì	Royal python			

(17)	- - - - -	- - -
	váà	tsɔá
	dìá	nɔá
	dog lie	house mouth POSTP
	'A dog lies at the entrance of a house.'	

Generally seen as a discourse function, Chakali has a falling final pitch at the end of polar question (see Section 2.2.2). Final vowel lengthening is also perceived, but not consistently. Falling final pitch is marked with a bottom tone diacritic on a vowel [v̄]. Rule 8 describes the intonation of polar questions (drop of pitch) by the addition of an extra-low tone.

Rule 8 Polar question drop

An extra-low tone is added at the utterance-final boundary in polar question

4.2 Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is a process in which all the vowels in a particular domain come to share one or more phonological feature(s). This agreement is triggered in specific phonological domains and has a particular direction which is often treated as the spreading of one or more vowel feature(s). In Section 2.1, evidence was provided for the establishment of nine underlying vowels with five -ATR and four +ATR vowels. This type of vowel inventory has been referred to as a five-height (5Ht) system (Casali 2003b: 308), in which the feature ATR is contrastive within both the +HI and [-HI, -LO] vowels (see Table 1). Dakubu (1997: 81–82) and Casali (2003b: 312) maintain that it is the most common inventory among Gur and Kwa languages.

In Section 2.1.9, the -ATR specification of the low vowel at the phonemic level was assumed on the basis of its behavior with the set of -ATR vowels. In fact, the realization of the low vowel in vowel harmony suggests that the set of vowels specified as -ATR contains the low vowel. To illustrate the properties of vowel harmony, let us consider how they function in monosyllabic noun roots. Consider the data in Table 32.

Chakali is a language with noun classes (see Section 3.2.1). A class is defined as a pair of singular and plural suffixes associated with a particular root. Table 32 shows that only three vowels can occur in the plural suffix position, i.e. [a], [e], and [o]. The distribution is such that when the suffixes occur after a stem containing any member of the set {ɪ, ε, ɔ, ʊ, a}, they are realized as -a. The plural suffix vowel -e is realized when the root features are [+ATR, -RO], whereas the

Table 32: Vowel harmony in nouns

Root vowel feature	Root	Singular	Plural	Gloss
[+ATR, -HI, -LO, -RO]	sel	sél:	sélé	animal
[+ATR, +HI, -LO, -RO]	bi	bíí	bíé	seed
[+ATR, -LO, -RO]	kie	kíé	kíété	half of a bird
[+ATR, +HI, -LO, +RO]	?ul	?úl	?úló	navel
[+ATR, -HI, -LO, +RO]	hol	hól	hóló	type of tree
[+ATR, -LO, +RO]	buo	bùó	bùósó	funeral item
[-ATR, +HI, -RO]	bí	bíí	bíá	stone
[-ATR, -HI, -LO, -RO]	béł	béł	béllá	type of tree
[-ATR, +HI, -LO, +RO]	jvøg	jvøg	jvøgá	crocodile
[-ATR, -HI, -LO, +RO]	hól	hól	hólá	piece of charcoal
[-ATR, -LO, +RO]	bøɔ	bǿó	bǿøsá	hole
[-ATR, +LO]	vaa	váá	vásá	dog
[-ATR, +LO]	baal	báál	báàlá	male

plural suffix vowel *-o* is realized when the root features are [+ATR, +RO]. Notice that the height feature(s) of a vowel is irrelevant in all cases (see Stewart & Leynseele (1979) for cross-height vowel harmony). Rules 9 and 10 accommodate the surface forms of Table 32.

Rule 9 Noun classes realization (1)

A noun class suffix vowel becomes +ATR if preceded by a +ATR stem vowel, and shares the same value for the feature RO as the one specified on the preceding stem vowel.

$$-V_{nc} \rightarrow [\beta RO, +ATR, -HI] / [\beta RO, +ATR] C_0 _$$

Rule 10 Noun classes realization (2)

A noun class suffix vowel becomes *-a* if the preceding stem vowel is i, ε, o, u or a.

$$-V_{nc} \rightarrow +LO / -ATR C_0 _$$

The same rules may be used to account for the vowel quality of the focus marker (Section 3.2.2.2) and the verbal suffixes (Section 3.2.1.2). Yet, the rules need to be rewritten in order to be applicable to wider domains and elements than those defined in their definition. Rules 11 and 12 break down Rules 9 and 10 into components able to be applied to other relevant domains.

Rule 11 ATR harmony

A vowel suffix agrees with the ATR value of the preceding stem/word vowel (domains: noun classes, verbal suffixes, focus marker).

$$V \rightarrow [\alpha \text{ATR}] / [\alpha \text{ATR}] C_0 -$$

Rule 12 RO harmony

A vowel suffix agree with the RO value of the preceding stem/word vowel (domains: noun classes, verbal suffixes, focus marker).

$$V \rightarrow [\alpha \text{RO}] / [\alpha \text{RO}] C_0 -$$

Up to the present, the data suggest that the low vowel is excluded from co-occurring with +ATR vowels. So the prediction seems to be that if a word contains a +ATR vowel, either the low vowel /a/ cannot be realized and is thus changed by (one of) the above rules, or the low vowel is banned altogether from the underlying form. Caution is necessary, however, since complex stem nouns (Section 3.2.3) are attested containing both low vowels and +ATR vowels, e.g. *pàzèj* (*par-zej*, HOE-BIG) ‘big hoe’. Moreover, some multisyllabic words which cannot be treated as morphologically complex due to their lack of morphological transparency do appear with both a +ATR vowel and the low vowel, e.g. *dáári* ‘dig’ vs. *dààri* ‘be half asleep’. When they do co-occur the general tendency is for a low vowel to precede any +ATR vowels in a word.

Across phrase boundaries, when the postposition *n̄* occurs between the focus particle and the preceding nominal (see Section 2.6.4 on the postposition and Sections 3.8 and 5.3 on the focus particle), the focus particle’s vowel agrees with the vowel features of the preceding word despite the fact that the required adjacency is no longer satisfied (Section 3.2.2.2). This can be noticed especially in normal-speech rate and context.

- (18) a. à *máŋkísì núú n̄í rò/ré*.
 ART match RELN POSTP FOC
 ‘on the top of the matchbox’
- b. à *pùl ní rò/ré*.
 ART river POSTP FOC
 ‘on/at the river’

In (18), there is a retention of harmony across phrase boundaries, either because the postposition becomes ‘transparent’ and vowel-harmony can still operate (i.e. though not the place assimilation of consonant) or because the high

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vowel of the postposition itself acquires the relevant vowel features of the preceding word. The fact that either *ro* or *re* can surface as focus marker shows that i) the RO feature may be controlled by a non-adjacent word, and/or ii) +ATR may be a vowel feature of the postposition.²⁷ Because it is more reduced, the quality of the high front vowel is difficult to hear at normal speech rate in that position, thus the distinction between the -ATR and +ATR versions is not always reflected in the transcription of the postposition.

²⁷ A more extreme case is found in example (71c).

Grammar outline

1 Introduction

This chapter provides a broad outline of the grammar and introduces those aspects needed to understand the formations of words and sentences found in the dictionary. Further, it acts as a preliminary grammar of the language, which is and will always be essential for future description and analysis since it sets forth claims to be confirmed, rejected, challenged, or improved. First, the common clause structure, the main elements of syntax and clause coordination and subordination are presented. Then, elements of the nominal domain are introduced, followed by the elements of the verbal domain. Finally, aspects of grammatical pragmatics and selected language usage phenomena are examined. The work is descriptive and employs theory grounded in traditional grammar, but influenced by recent work in linguistic typology. When necessary, the relevant theoretical assumptions are introduced and the relevant literature provided. Recall that the full list of glossing tags is available on page xiv and the glossing convention is discussed in Section 2.3.

2 Clause

A clause is a grammatical unit that can express a proposition. A clause which can stand as a complete utterance is an independent clause. When a grammatically correct clause cannot stand on its own, it is dependent on a main clause. Three sorts of speech act are presented in this section: the statement, the question, and the command. The former is by default encoded in a declarative clause (Section 2.1), and the latter two are usually encoded in interrogative clauses (Section 2.2), imperative clauses (Section 2.3), and exclamative clauses (Section 2.4) respectively. Constructions are treated as clause-types; constructions are formal and semantic frames which are conventionalized and display both compositional and non-compositional characteristics. In this section the components of the common independent clauses and constructions encountered are presented. In Section 2.5, clause coordination and subordination are introduced. Section 2.6

covers the adjunct constituents responsible for modifying a main predicate and the function of the postposition.

2.1 Declarative clause

Statements may be expressed by a series of declarative clause types. The structure of most common clauses consists of a simple predicate, one or two arguments and an optional adjunct. This structure is represented in (1)

$$(1) \quad S|A + P \pm O (\pm AJC)$$

- (2) a. $S + P$
- b. $A + P + O$
- c. $S + P + AJC$
- d. $A + P + O + AJC$

The predicate (P) is represented by a verbal syntactic constituent (v) whereas the arguments (s , A , O) are represented by nominal syntactic constituents (n). The adjunct constituent (AJC) may consist of words or phrases referring to time, location, manner of action, etc. (see Section 5 on adjunct types). An argument may be seen as core or peripheral. The core argument of an intransitive clause is realized in the subject position (s), which precedes the predicate.

(3) a. $\dot{a}f\dot{f}\dot{a} \, d\dot{i}j\ddot{o}\ddot{o}.$	$S \quad P$	$\dot{a}f\dot{f}\dot{a} \, d\dot{i} \, s\ddot{i}\ddot{m}\dot{a}\dot{a} \, r\ddot{a}.$	$A \quad P \quad O$
	$n \quad v.FOC$		$n \quad v \quad n \quad FOC$
‘Afia ate.’			‘Afia ate food.’
b. $\dot{a}f\dot{f}\dot{a} \, d\dot{i}j\ddot{o}\ddot{o} \, k\dot{i}\ddot{n}k\dot{a}\dot{j}.$	$S \quad P \quad AJC$	$\dot{a}f\dot{f}\dot{a} \, d\dot{i} \, s\ddot{i}\ddot{m}\dot{a}\dot{a} \, k\dot{i}\ddot{n}k\dot{a}\dot{j} \, n\dot{a}.$	$A \quad P \quad O \quad AJC$
	$n \quad v.FOC \quad qual$		$n \quad v \quad n \quad qual \quad FOC$
‘Afia ate a lot.’			‘Afia ate food a lot.’

The core arguments of a transitive clause are realized in the subject (A) and object (O), the former preceding and the latter following the predicate in their canonical positions. These characteristics are illustrated in (3).¹

¹ Focus (FOC) may be integrated into the verb or coded in a focus particle, among others. Section 3.2.2.2 presents the various forms FOC can take.

Grammatical relations are primarily determined by constituent order. Thus, the subject and object functions are not morphologically marked, except that the subject pronouns in S and A positions can have strong or weak forms (see Section 3.3.1). This is extraneous to the marking of grammatical functions but pertinent to the emphasis put on an event's participant. A peripheral argument consists of a constituent foreign to the core predication, that is, an argument which is not part of the core participant(s) typically associated with a predicate. As peripheral argument, an adjunct (AJC) may be realized by a single word or a phrase. Reference to space, manner, and time are the typical denotations of peripheral arguments. Adjuncts will be briefly discussed here; details are offered in Sections 2.6 and 5.

Adjuncts are optional with respect to the main predication and can be added to both intransitive and transitive clauses, as shown in (4a), as well as (3b) and (3c) above (see Sections 2.1.6, 2.6.4, and 2.6.3 for discussions on the postposition).

(4) a. Manner expression in intransitive clause

ò p̄ñá làyá nì.
PSG drink IDEO POSTP

'He drank quickly.'

b. Manner expression in transitive clause

ò p̄ñá à níí làyálàyá nì.
PSG drink ART water IDEO POSTP

'He drank the water quickly.'

A variation of the prototype clause in (1) is a clause containing an additional core argument. Dixon (2010: 116) calls a clause which contains an additional core argument, that is, an extended argument (i.e. E), an *extended* (intransitive or transitive) clause. The difference between an adjunct and an additional core argument is not a clear-cut one; still, the locative phrase in (5) is treated as an additional core argument of the predicate *bile* 'put'. In Section 2.6.3, an oblique phrase is defined as a clause constituent whose semantics is characterized by an affected or effected object, although realized in a postpositional phrase. Thus, the extended argument *tìwìzéŋ nɔ́ñá ní* 'by a main road' in (5) should be treated as an oblique object.

(5) A + P + O + E

<i>ŋméjtél</i>	<i>sì</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>bilè ò</i>	<i>kùó tìwizéj</i>
spider	raise.up	CONN	put	3.SG.POSS farm road.large RELN POSTP
A	P	O		E

'Spider went to establish his farm by a main road.' [LB 003]

A ditransitive clause consists of a transitive clause with an additional core argument. In Chakali, the verb *tie* 'give', a predicate that conceptually implies both a Recipient (R) and a Theme (T), forces its (right-)adjacent argument in object position to be interpreted as beneficiary of the situation. The thing transferred (T) can never follow the verb if the beneficiary of the transfer (R) is realized. This is shown in (6).

(6) a. *kàlá tié áffá à lɔɔlì.*

<i>A</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>O_R</i>	<i>E_T</i>
K.	give	A.	ART car

'Kala gave Afia the car.'

b. *kàlá tié ò à lɔɔlì.*

<i>A</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>O_R</i>	<i>E_T</i>
K.	give	3SG	ART car

'Kala gave her the car.'

c. * *Kala tie a lɔɔlì Afia.*

d. * *Kala tie ò Afia.*

The assumption is that the verb *tie* 'give' is transitive and its extended argument is always the transferred entity (i.e. Theme) in a ditransitive clause. This is supported by the extensive use of the *manipulative serial verb construction* (see Section 2.1.5), used as an alternative strategy, in order to express transfer of possession and information.

(7) *kàlá kpá à lɔɔrì / ò tié áffá.*

<i>A</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>O_T</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>O_R</i>
K.	take	ART car	/ 3.SG	give A.

'Kala gave the car/it to Afia.' (lit. Kala take the car/it give Afia.)

The extended argument in sentence (6a) and (6b) above is the Theme argument of the verb *kpa* 'take' in the serial verb construction in (7). Ditransitive clauses are very rare in the text corpus despite their grammaticality (see 2.3 for information on the text corpus). If both Recipient and Theme occur in one clause it is usually

when the Recipient is pronominal. Multi-verb clauses, which are discussed in Section 2.1.5, may offer better strategies for arranging arguments and predicates than ditransitive clauses as they do not overload a predication with new information. The following subsections present various clause types and constructions which are based on the declarative clause structure introduced above.

2.1.1 Identificational clause

An identificational clause can express generic and ordinary categorizations, or assert the identity of two expressions. Generic categorization involves the classification of a subset to a set (e.g. Farmers are humans), whereas an ordinary categorization holds between a specific entity and a generic set (e.g. Wusa is a farmer). The clause can assert the identity of the referents of two specific entities, a clause type also known as equative (e.g. Wusa is the farmer). The examples in (8) illustrate the distinctions.

- (8) a. Generic categorization
bòlà jáá kòsásēl lē
 elephant IDENT bush.animal FOC
 ‘The/An elephant is a bush animal.’

b. Ordinary categorization
wòsá jáá pápátá rá
 W. IDENT farmer FOC
 ‘Wusa is a farmer.’

c. Identity

 - i. *wòsá jáá à tóṣítinā*
 W. IDENT ART landlord
 ‘Wusa is the landlord.’
 - ii. *wòsá jáá à báál tìŋ ká sájé̃é̃ kéj*
 W. IDENT ART man ART EGR sit.PFV DXM
 ‘Wusa is the man sitting like this.’
 - iii. *à báál tìŋ ká sájé̃é̃ kéj jáá wòsá*
 ART man ART EGR sit.PFV DXM IDENT W.
 ‘The man sitting like this is Wusa.’

The verb *jaa* (glossed IDENT) always occurs between two nominal expressions, and, as shown in the last two examples in (8c), their order does not matter, except

for the generic categorization where the order is always [hyponym *jaa* hyperonym]. So, the sentences *pápátá rá jāā wòsá* ‘farmer FOC is Wusa’ and *à tɔɔtīnā jāā wòsá* ‘landlord FOC is Wusa’ are as acceptable as in the order given in (8b) and the first example in (8c).

2.1.2 Existential clause

One type of existential clause is the basic locative construction, which is described in Section 2.1.6. Its two main characteristics are the obligatory presence of the postposition *nī*, which signals that the phrase contains the conceptual ground, and the presence of a locative predicate or the general existential predicate *dṣa*. An example is provided in (9).

- (9) à báál dós à dìà nī.
 ART man be.at ART house POSTP
 ‘The man is at/in the house.’

The existential predicate *dṣa* is glossed ‘be at’, but it is not the case that it is only used in spatial description. For instance, adhering to a religion may be expressed using the existential predicate *dṣa* and the postposition *nī*, e.g. *ɛ dέ́á jàrrí nī* ‘he/she is a Muslim’, even though no space reference is involved in such an utterance.

An existential clause is also used in order to express that something is at hand, accessible or obtainable. The clause in (10a) is called here the availability construction. It slightly differs from the locative construction in (10b) because of the absence of the postposition *nī*.

- (10) a. Availability construction
 à mòlèbíí dósá dé.
 ART money be.at DEM
 ‘There is money (available).’
- b. à mòlèbíí dósá dé nī
 ART money be.at DEM POSTP
 ‘The money is there.’

Another use is the attribution of a property ascribed to a participant. The example in (11) reads literally ‘a sickness is at Wojo’, i.e. a person named Wojo is sick. In addition to the clause presented in (11), an ascribed property may also be conveyed in a possessive clause (see Section 2.1.3).

- (11) *gàràgá dóá wòjò nī.*
 sickness be.at W. POSTP
 'Wojo is sick.'

The verb *dɔa* is the only verb with an allolexe (i.e. a combinatorial variant of a single lexeme) used only in the negative. Consider (12).

- (12) a. *ɔ́ dóá dià nī.*
 3SG be.at house POSTP
 'She is in the house.'
 b. *ɔ́ wáá tòò dià nī.*
 3SG NEG NEG.be.at house POSTP
 'She is not in the house.'
 c. **ɔ tuo dia ni*
 d. **ɔ waa dɔa dia ni*

2.1.3 Possessive clause

A possessive clause expresses a relation between a possessor and a possessed. It consists of the verb *kpaga* 'have', and two nominal expressions acting as subject and object; the former being the possessor (PSOR) of the relation, while the latter being the possessed (PSED).

- (13) *kálá kpágá nàž̄ rā.*
 K. have cow FOC
 PSOR PSED
 'Kala has a cow'

Example (13) says that an animate alienable possession relates Kala (possessor) and a cow (possessed). Since the *have*-construction does not encode animacy or alienability features, staple food can 'have' lumps, i.e. *kàpálà kpágá bīē*, and someone can 'have' a senior brother, i.e. *ɔ kpágá bíérì*. Abstract possession may also be conveyed using the same construction. In (14), shame, hunger, thirst, and sickness are conceived as the possessors, the possessed being the person experiencing these feelings.

- (14) a. *híisáá kpágá à hááñ kíñkáì.*
 shame have ART woman much
 'The woman was ashamed ...' [CB 034]

- b. *lòsá kpágáñ nà.*
hunger have.1.SG FOC
'I am hungry.'
- c. *nípòksá kpágáñ nà*
thirst have.1.SG FOC
'I am thirsty.'
- d. *gàràgá kpágáñ nà*
sickness have.1.SG FOC
'I am sick.'

Some characteristics ascribed to animate entities are expressed by the relational term *tíma* 'person characterized by, or in possession of' and thus may be expressed in an existential clause (15a) rather than a possessive clause (15b).

- (15) a. *ò jáá sisíámà-tífná.*
3.SG IDENT seriousness-owner
PSOR PSED
'He is serious'
- b. *ò kpágá sisíámà rá.*
3.SG have seriousness FOC
'He is serious'

2.1.4 Non-verbal clause

As its name suggests, a non-verbal clause is a clause without verbal elements. Its main function is to identify or assert the (non-)existence of something. The examples in (16b) and (17) assert the (non-)existence of a referent with a single nominal expression, followed by the focus particle in the affirmative and the negative particle in the negative (see Section 3.8 on focus and negation).

- (16) a. *áj kíñ ká jàà kíñ háj?*
Q.who thing IPFV IDENT thing DEM
'Whose thing is this thing?'
- b. *ò kíñ ná.*
1SG thing FOC
'It is mine.'

- (17) a. *fón ná.*
knife FOC
'It is a shaving knife.'
- b. *ṇ fón ná.*
1SG.POSS knife FOC
'It is my shaving knife.'
- c. *fón lèi.*
knife NEG
'It is not a shaving knife.'
- d. *ṇ fón lèi.*
1SG.POSS knife NEG
'It is not my shaving knife.'

Correspondingly the manner deictics *keŋ* and *nɪŋ* are also found in non-verbal clauses. For instance, *kéŋ né* means 'That is it!', but the same string is more often heard as *kéŋ nɛ̄e* 'Is that so/it?', i.e. constructed as a polar question (see Section 2.2.2 on polar questions, and Section 5.1 on *keŋ* and *nɪŋ*).

Finally, a speaker may utter *mín nà* 'it is me' in order to say that he or she must be identified by the addressee. This utterance consists solely of the third singular strong pronoun, which refers to the discourse-given entity and someone whose identity will be established by the addressee, and is followed by the focus particle (see Section 3.3 on pronouns).

2.1.5 Multi-verb clause

A multi-verb clause is a clause containing more than one verb. The main type of multi-verb clause is the serial verb construction (SVC), the definition of which is still subject to contention. Let us start by stating that the SVC in Chakali has the following properties: (i) a SVC is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, (ii) each verb in the series could occur as a predicate on its own, (iii) no connectives surface (coordination or subordination), (iv) tense, aspect, mood, and/or polarity are marked only once, (v) a verb involved in a SVC may be formally shortened, (vi) transitivity is common to the series, so arguments are shared (one argument obligatorily), (vii) the verbs in the series are not necessarily contiguous, and (viii) the grammar does not limit the number of verbs. These characteristics are not uncommon for SVCs in West Africa (Ameka 2005).

Even though the construction has more than one verb, it describes a single event and does not contain markers of subordination or coordination. The first sequence of verbs in (18) illustrates the phenomenon.

- (18) à *kírinsá* ḥ *màsi kpó aká dògòni tá.*
ART tsetse.fly.PL 1.SG beat kill CONN chase let.free
[v v] [v v]

'I beat and killed the tsetse flies, and drove them away.' [CB 023]

Together, the verbs *masi* ‘beat’ and *kpv* ‘kill’ in (18) constitute a single event. The same can be said about the verbs *dsgvni* ‘chase’ and *ta* ‘let free’ in the second clause following the connective. If the clause following the connective *aka* lacks a subject, the subject of the preceding clause shares its reference in the two clauses (see Section 2.5.1.2 on the connective *aka*). The situation in (18) is one where an SVC is separated from another multi-verb clause by the connective *aka*, and the three verbs *masi*, *kpv* and *dsgvni* share the reference of the nominal *a kirmsa* ‘the tsetse flies’ as their Theme argument and *ŋì* as their Agent argument, i.e. *o* and *s* respectively. The role of the verb *ta* in the sentence depicted in (18) is discussed at the end of this section.

Tense/aspect (19a), mood (19b), and/or polarity value (19c) are marked only once, usually with preverb particles. This means that they are not repeated for each verb of the predicate. The preverb particles are discussed in Section 4.2.

- (19) a. *ŋì tfí kàá mäsì kpó à kírinsá rá.*
 1.SG CRAS.FUT.PROG beat kill ART tsetse.fly.PL FOC
 ‘I will be beating and killing the tsetse flies tomorrow.’
- b. *ŋì há mäsì kpó à kírinsá rá.*
 1.SG MOD beat kill ART tsetse.fly.PL FOC
 ‘I am still beating and killing the tsetse flies.’
- c. *ŋì wà mäsì kpó à kírinsá.*
 1.SG NEG beat kill ART tsetse.fly.PL
 ‘I did not beat and kill the tsetse flies.’

SVCs must share at least one core argument. The example (20) is an instance of argument sharing: the two verbs in the construction share the (referent of the) noun *foto* ‘picture’ and are not contiguous. The transitive verb *tawa* ‘pierce’ takes *foto* as its object, and similarly *laga* takes *foto* as its subject. A representation of object-subject sharing (or switch sharing) appears under the free translation in (20).

- (20) Object-subject sharing
hèmbíí tawá fótò làgà dáá ní.
 nail pierce picture hang wood POSTP
 v v
 ‘A picture hangs from a nail on a wooden pole.’
foto < x_i >
tawa <A= y , O= x_i >
laga <A= x_i , O = z >

Subject-subject and object-object sharing are more common than object-subject sharing. In (21), the nominal expression *a kirinsa* is the shared object of three verbs, i.e. *masi*, *kpo* and *dvgvni*, and similarly the pronoun *ŋi* is the shared subject for the same three verbs. However, only *masi* and *kpo* make up the SVC.

- (21) Subject-subject and Object-object sharing

à kirinsá ŋi màsi kpó àká dògòní tá.
ART tsetse.fly.PL 1.SG beat kill CONN chase let.free

'I beat and killed the tsetse flies, and drove them away.'

ŋi < xi >

kirinsa < yj >

masi < A= xi , O= yj >

dvgvni < A= xi , O = yj >

SVCs often involve two verbs, but there can be three or more verbs involved. Examples of three-verb and four-verb sequences are given in (22). Each of the verbs involved can otherwise act alone as main predicate. Notice that the free translations provided do not accommodate well the idea that the two examples in (22) are conceived as single event. In Section 2.5, it will be shown that connectives are usually present when one wishes to distinguish events.

- (22) a. *ò síí kààlì nà.*

3.SG rise go see

v₁ v₂ v₃

'She stood, went, and saw (it).'

- b. *ò brá tìùù tfó kààlì.*

3.SG turn go.down run go

v₁ v₂ v₃ v₄

'She returned down and ran away' (from a tree top or hill)

A manipulative serial verb construction (Ameka & Essegbe 2006: 378) is a SVC which expresses a transfer of possession (e.g. give, bring, put) or information (e.g. tell). It consists of the verb *kpa* 'take' and another verb following it. The example in (7), repeated in (23), illustrates a transfer of possession.

- (23) Manipulative serial verb construction

kàlá kpá à lóòlì / ṥ tìè áffá.

K. take ART car / 3.SG give A.

v

v

'Kala gave the car/it to Afia.'

Frequent collocations of the type presented in (23) are *kpa wa*, *lit.* take come, 'bring', *kpa kaal*, *lit.* take go, 'send', *kpa pe*, *lit.* take add, 'add', *kpa ta*, *lit.* take let free, 'remove', *kpa bile*, *lit.* take put, 'put (on)' and *kpa ds*, *lit.* take put, 'put (in)'. The two verbs may or may not be contiguous; usually the Theme argument of the verb *kpa* 'take' is found between the two verbs.

Finally, some multi-verb clauses are not SVCs. There are a few verbs which bear a relation to the main predication and contribute aspects of the phase of execution or scope of an event.² For instance, a *terminative* construction describes an event coming to an end or reaching a termination, and a *relinquishment* construction describes an event whose result is the release or abandonment of someone or something. The verbs *peti* 'finish' and *ta* 'abandon' in (24a) and (24c), together with a non-stative predication, determine each construction.

- (24) a. Terminative construction

làyálàyá hán nì ñ kòtì à ?áá péti.
IDEO DEM POSTP 1.SG skin ART bushbuck finish
v v

'I just finished skinning the bushbuck.'

- b. ñi péti à tómá rá.

1.SG finish ART work FOC

'I have finished the work.'

- c. Relinquishment construction

kpá ñ néj tà.
take 1.SG hand let.free
v v

'Let me go!'

- d. à bőñj tá ḫò biè rē.

ART goat abandon 3.SG.POSS child FOC

'The goat abandoned its kids.'

² These verbs are similar to what Bonvini (1988: 108) calls *auxiliants*.

The examples in (24a) and (24c), which may be called *phasal constructions*,³ are treated as multi-verb clauses since the predication is expressed with more than one verb. Yet, they are not SVCs because the second verb in each example only specifies aspects of the process of the event and does not contribute to the main predication as verb sequences in SVCs do. Nonetheless, these verbs can function otherwise as main predicates, as shown in (24b) and (24d). Similarly, the verb *baga* ‘attempt to no avail’ conveys nonachievement, e.g. *ø búúré kísíē báyá* (*lit.* he look.for knife fail) ‘he looked for a knife to no avail’, and the verb *na* ‘see’ conveys confirmation or verification, e.g. *sòòrè à disá nā* (*lit.* smell soup see) ‘smell the soup’. Going back to example (21) above, the verb *ta* contributes to a *relinquishment* multi-verb construction, similar to (24c) above, and not to a SVC.

2.1.6 Basic locative construction

The basic locative construction of a language is the prototypical and predominant construction used to locate a figure with respect to a ground (Levinson & Wilkins 2006: 15). In Chakali, it resembles the construction given in (25), although some sentences produced in elicitation contexts appear with the focus particle following the postposition *ni*. The focus particle is a pragmatic marker which identifies for the addressee the topical subject (i.e. may be distinct from the grammatical subject) and does not convey locative meaning (Section 5.3). The focus particle will be ignored in the discussion. The third line in (25) associates parts of the sentence with a conceptual level. On that line, one can find notions such as *figure* and *ground*, and TRM, which stands for topological relation marker (see Brindle & Atintono 2012). These are the linguistic expressions which convey the spatial relationships in Chakali. The nominal phrase *a gar* ‘the cloth’ functions as subject and the postpositional phrase *a teebul juu ni* ‘on the table’ functions as oblique object of the main predicate. The last line is a free translation which captures the general meaning of the situation. It is accompanied by a reference to the illustration which the first line describes.⁴

³ The analysis of the progressive and prospective in Ewe and Dangme in Ameka & Dakubu (2008) influences the way I approach and name the phenomenon.

⁴ Subscribing to the typology of locative predicates proposed in Ameka & Levinson (2007), the illustrations of the four stimuli created by the Language and Cognition Group at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (Bowerman & Pederson 1993; Ameka, De Witte & Wilkins 1999; Meira & Levinson 2001a,b) were used in chapter 7 of Brindle (2011) to provide a description of the means by which Chakali encodes spatial meaning. The results are compared with Gurene data (Oti-Volta) in Brindle & Atintono (2012).

- (25) [à gár] [ságá] [à téébul nū ni].
 ART cloth be ART table RELN POSTP
figure TRM *ground+TRM*
 ‘The cloth is on the table.’ [PSPV 4]

In (25), the spatial relation is expressed via topological relation markers: the main predicate *saga* ‘be on’ or ‘sit’ and the relational nominal predicate *nūu* ‘top of’. The main predicate *saga* denotes a stative event which localizes the figure with respect to the ground. The relational nominal predicate *nūu* designates the search domain and depends on the reference entity of the ground (i.e. *teebul*). The postposition *ni* has no other function than to signal that the oblique object is a locative phrase. The latter two topological relation markers are discussed in more detail in Sections 3.2.7 and 2.6.4.

2.1.7 Comparative construction

A comparative construction has the semantic function of assigning a graded position on a predicative scale to two (possibly complex) objects. The comparative construction of inequality can be expressed with the transitive predicate *kaalí* ‘exceed, surpass’, whose two arguments are the objects compared.⁵ One of the arguments represents the standard against which the other is measured and found to be unequal. The nominal expression in subject position is the *comparee*, i.e. the objective of comparison, whereas the one in object position is the *standard*, i.e. the object that serves as yardstick for comparison (Stassen 2008). The predicative scale is verbal and is normally adjacent to the comparee, but may be repeated adjacent to the standard. Given that both the scale and the transitive predicate *kaalí* are verbs, a comparative construction is a type of multi-verb clause. If the predicative scale is absent, as in (26b), one may still interpret the construction as a comparative one, in which case both the context and the meaning of the nominals involved provide the property on which the comparison is made. These characteristics are illustrated in (26).

- (26) Comparative transitive construction

- a. wòsáá zínjá kàálí áfíá.
 W. grow surpass A.
 [n]_{comparee} [v]_{scale} v [n]_{standard}
 ‘Wusa is taller than Afia.’

⁵ Brindle et al. (2005) presents a Lexical-Functional Grammar account of the comparative construction in Gã, a language also exhibiting an exceed- or surpass-comparative.

- b. *wòsá bátfólkáálí kàlá bátfólkáálí.*
 W. running surpass K. running
 [n n] v [n n]
 'Wusa's running is better/faster than Kala's running.'

Another way to compose a comparative construction of inequality is with the identificational clause, as in (27). It is referred to as a comparative intransitive construction since the standard is not encoded in the grammatical object of a transitive verb, but in an oblique object following the scale.

- (27) Comparative intransitive construction
wòsá jáá níhìé àfiá ní.
 W. IDENT old A. POSTP
 [n]comparee v [v]scale [n]standard
 'Wusa is older than Afia.'

The same two strategies are used to express a superlative degree: surpassing or being superior to all others is explicitly expressed by the pronoun *ba* 'they, them'. This is shown in (28).

- (28) Superlative construction
 a. *wòsá zíŋá kāálí bá.*
 W. grow surpass 3PL
 v v
 'Wusa is the tallest.'
 b. *wòsá jáá níhìé bá ní.*
 W. IDENT old 3PL POSTP
 'Wusa is the oldest.'

A comparison of equality (i.e. X is same as Y) consists of a subject phrase containing both objects to be compared joined by the connective (*a*)*ní* followed by the scale, the verb *màásí* 'equal, enough, ever' and the reciprocal word *dòŋjá* 'each other' (see Section 3.3.6 on reciprocity and reflexivity). This is shown in (29).

- (29) Comparison of equality construction
wòsá ní àfiá bìnsá màásé dòŋjá rā.
 W. CONN A. year equal RECP FOC
 'Wusa is as old as Afia.'

Finally, the verb *bó* in (30) is a comparative transitive verb which can be translated with the English comparative adjective and preposition ‘better than’.

- (30) zaáj tómá bó díàrè tìj tōmā.
 today work better.than yesterday ART work
 v
 ‘Today’s work is better than yesterday’s work’

2.1.8 Modal clause

A modal clause is a clause type expressing ability, possibility, obligation, desire, etc. The two following sections exemplify the modal clause.

2.1.8.1 Ability-possibility An ability-possibility construction is a clause containing the verbal *kìn* immediately preceding the main verb(s). The construction conveys either the physical or mental ability of something or someone, or probability or possibility under some circumstances. The construction is more frequent in the negative, but affirming an ability or possibility is also possible using this construction. The word *kìn* is glossed ABI to refer to ‘ability’.

- (31) Ability-Possibility construction
- a. Ḷ wà kíj wàà.
 3.SG NEG ABI come
 ‘He is not able to come.’
 - b. i kàá kíj kààlōó.
 2.SG FUT ABI go.FOC
 ‘You may go.’
 - c. Ḷ kàá kíj wàò tʃìà?
 1.SG FUT ABI come.FOC tomorrow
 ‘May I come tomorrow?’

However the elicitation data in (32) shows that, unlike most preverbs (Section 4.2), *kìn* may take inflectional morphology, in this case the perfective suffix (Section 4.1.4.1).

- (32) a. A: Ḷ wà kíj wàà?
 3.SG NEG able come
 ‘Couldn’t he come?’ (declarative: Ḷ wà kíj wàà.)

- b. *B: èéè ò wà kínjé wàà*
 yes 3.SG NEG able.PFV come
 ‘Yes, he couldn’t come.’

The dubitative modality construction is a construction marked by the presence of *abɔníéní* in clause initial position. The expression is transcribed into a single word but may come from *a-baníë-ní*, *lit.* ART-some-POSTP. It is used when the occurrence of a situation or an achievement is in doubt (see *ni* in Section 2.6.4).

(33) Dubitative construction

- a. *àbóníéní dózŋ kàá wàò*.
 perhaps rain FUT come.FOC
 ‘Perhaps it is going to rain.’
- b. *àbóníéní ò dì wáawáó*.
 perhaps 3.SG HEST come.PFV.FOC
 ‘Perhaps he came yesterday.’

In some contexts, a speaker may prefer to use a cognitive verb in a phrase like *n̩ lisie* ‘I think (...)’ or the phrase *a kõõ n̩ na*, *lit.* it tires me FOC, ‘I wonder (...)’ as an alternative to the dubitative construction.

2.1.8.2 Desiderative As an independent verb *ŋma* means ‘say’. The same verb can also function in a construction [NP *ŋma* [NP VP]] conveying a desiderative mood, corresponding to the English modal expression ‘want to’.

- (34) *i᷑ ŋmá [í káálì dùsèè tʃiā]*.
 1SG say 1SG go D. tomorrow
 ‘I want to go to Ducie tomorrow.’

Notice that the high tone on the 1sg pronoun subject of *káálì* ‘go’ in (34) suggests that the embedded clause is in the subjunctive mood (Section 4.1.4.5).

2.2 Interrogative clause

An interrogative clause consists either of a clause (i) with an initial interrogative word/phrase (Section 3.3.4 on pro-form interrogatives), or (ii) with the absence of an initial interrogative word but the presence of an extra-low tone at the end of the clause. The former is called a ‘content’ question and the latter a ‘polar’ question.

2.2.1 Content question

A content question contains an interrogative word/phrase whose typical position is clause-initial. In (35), *baaq* ‘what’ replaces the complement of the verb *jaa*, whereas *(a)aq* ‘who’ replaces the subject constituent of the clause. The inventory of interrogative words/phrases can be found in Section 3.3.4.

- (35) a. *bááj* *kálá kàá jàá?*
 Q.what 3.SG IPFV do
 ‘What is Kala doing?’
 b. *àáj* *káá wáá báñ?*
 Q.who IPFV come here
 ‘Who is coming here?’

When an interrogative word/phrase is located clause-initially, it is found in the canonical position of the constituent replaced. In (36a), which is semantically equivalent to (36b), the question word *aq* ‘who’ appears in the object position following the transitive verb *maya* ‘beat’ and is slightly lengthened.

- (36) a. *zìèn ká màjìà àjy?*
 Z. EGR beat Q.who
 ‘Zien beat who?’

b. *àjy zìèn ká màjìà?*
 Q.who Z. EGR beat
 ‘Who did Zien beat?’

2.2.2 Polar question

A polar question is characterized by an interrogative intonation, consisting primarily of an extra-low tone at the end of the utterance (see Section 4.1). Additionally, lengthening of the penultimate vocalic segment takes place. The properties differentiating an assertive clause from a polar question are illustrated in (37). The extra-low tone is represented with a double grave accent (i.e. ").

- (37) Assertion vs. question

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| a. <i>ø</i> <i>wááø.</i> | b. <i>ø</i> <i>wááøø.</i> |
| 3.SG come.IPFV.FOC | 3.SG come.IPFV.Q |
| 'He is coming.' | 'Is he coming?' |

Common to many Ghanaian languages, the agreeing response to a negative polar interrogative takes into account the logical negation, as (38) illustrates.

- (38) a. Speaker
i wàà kāálíi.
 2SG NEG go.Q
 ‘Aren’t you going?’
- b. Addressee
 $\hat{\varepsilon}\hat{\varepsilon}\hat{\varepsilon}$.
 yes
 ‘No’ (*lit.* Yes, I am not going)

A negative polar interrogative in English usually asks about the positive proposition, i.e. with ‘Aren’t you going?’, the speaker presupposes that the addressee is going, while in Chakali it questions the negative proposition, i.e. with *i wàà kāálíi*, the speaker’s belief is that the addressee is not going. That is probably why we get ‘yes’ in Chakali and ‘no’ in English for a corresponding negative polar interrogative.

2.3 Imperative clause

An imperative clause is clause expressing direct commands, requests, and prohibitions. It can be an exclusively addressee-oriented clause or can include the speaker as well. This distinction, i.e. exclusive-inclusive, is rendered in (39). In (39a) the speaker excludes herself from the performers of the action, i.e., only the addressee(s) is urged to perform the action, while in (39b) the speaker includes herself among the performers.

- (39) a. Exclusive
fùùri à díy dòsi.
 blow ART fire quench
 ‘Blow on this flame (to extinguish it).’
- b. Inclusive
tiè jà mùŋ làyàmè kààlì tóótífíná pé.
 give 1PL all gather go landlord end
 ‘Let’s all go to the landlord together.’

When an order is given directly to the addressee, as in (40), the clause may be introduced with the particle *dr*. Some consultants believe that omitting the particle may be perceived as rude. The particle *dr* can also implicate that performing

the action is requested by someone else than the speaker.⁶ In addressing a command to a group, the second person plural subject pronoun usually appears in its canonical subject position, but it may be absent if the speaker believes that the context allows a single interpretation.⁷

- | | |
|---|---|
| (40) a. (<i>dí</i>) wàà. | c. máá wàà. |
| COMP come | 2PL come |
| 'Come!' | 'Come!' |
| b. <i>dí</i> wáá. | d. <i>dí</i> máá wáá. |
| COMP come | COMP 2PL come |
| 'Come!' (keep coming! or
follow me!) | 'Come!' (requested by
someone else than speaker) |

Example (41a) expresses a wish of the speaker and no addressees are called for. Such a meaning is sometimes associated with optative mood. Similarly but not identically, an utterance like the one in (41b) assumes one or more addressees, yet the desired state of affairs is not in the control of anyone in particular, but of everyone. As in (39b), the strategy in both cases is to use the verb *tié* 'give'.

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| (41) a. Optative | <i>tié</i> <i>mì</i> <i>mibòà bírgì</i> . |
| | give 1SG.POSS life delay |
| | 'Let me live long!' |
| b. Hortative | <i>tié</i> <i>à</i> <i>gòà píilé</i> . |
| | give ART dance start |
| | 'Let the dance begin!' |

A prohibitive clause consists of a negated proposition conveying an imperative (or hortative) mood. It is marked by the negative particle *ti/te* 'not' (glossed NEG.IMP) occurring in clause initial position.

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| (42) <i>té</i> <i>káálíí dósíŋ kàà wá᷑</i> . | |
| | NEG.IMP go rain IPFV come.FOC |
| | 'Don't go, rain is coming.' |

⁶ It is not known whether these '*dí*-strategies' give rise to multiple interpretations.

⁷ If A asks 'What does he want?', B may reply *dí má dí wáá* 'That you (PL) should be coming'. In this case the first *dí* heads a clause which introduces indirect speech and the second is an imperfective particle, the latter being covered in Section 4.1.4.4.

The prohibitive also involves a high front vowel suffixed to its verb. The quality of the vowel, i.e. *-ɪ/-i*, is determined by the quality of the verbal stem.

- (43) a. *gó.* circle ‘Move in a circle around.’

c. *kpó.* kill ‘Kill.’

b. *té góíi.* NEG.IMP circle ‘Don’t move in a circle around.’

d. *tí kpóíi.* NEG.IMP kill ‘Don’t kill.’

In addition, a distinction within the prohibitive can be made between a prohibition (or advice) for a future situation (44a), and for an on-going situation (44c).

- (44) a. *kòjri* à *siimáà*.
make ART food
'Make the food.'

b. *té kózrí siimáà*
NEG make food
'Do not make food.'
(addressee not in the
process)

c. *tíí kózrí*.
NEG.IMP make
'Do not make (food).'
(addressee in the process of
making)

d. *tíí kózrí à siimáà*.
NEG.IMP make ART food
'Do not make the food.'
(addressee in the process of
making)

2.4 Exclamative clause

It is generally known that the difference between a declarative and an exclamative clause is that the former is meant to be informative and the latter expressive. One criterion for determining the class of exclamative clause is the use of exclamatory codas (Allan 2014: 242), i.e. exclamatory words or particles such as *woo* in (45), which modify the illocution of the clause and are usually found clause-finally.

- (45) a. *bèlèé tñj mùñ nè kéñ wòòò.*
 G. ART meaning FOC DXM INTERJ
 ‘That is the meaning of Gurumbele!’ [BH 016]

- b. *dž̊é pú kpárá rá wōōō.*
 python head double FOC INTERJ
 ‘Python is double-headed!’ [PY 074]

After offering a chronicle of the history of his village and the reason why it has its name, the speaker uttered (45a) to intensify his stance in the presence of other community members. In (45b), the narrator of the folktale wants to mark the surprising fact that the African rock python is equipped with extraordinary visual power.

- (46) a. *ɔ́ kà báŋ wà zú dià, ɔ́ bàŋ ȷmá dí ēhēēē.*
 3SG IPFV just come enter room 3SG just say COMP INTERJ
 ‘When he entered the room, she said: “yes!”’ [PY 008]
- b. *dí ?ábbá!, dí ɔ́ bámbíí nár wáawáá.*
 COMP INTERJ COMP 3SG.POSS heart person come.PFV.FOC
 (Mother said) ‘Indeed, her love has finally come.’ [PY 009]

In (46a), the speaker is a mature girl who waited a long time and met many aspirants to finally encounter the right man to marry. In this context, the exclamative word *ēhēē*, which generally code a positive reaction (Section 5.6.1), can be translated into ‘yes, exactly, finally’ and paraphrased as ‘this is the person I like’. The speaker confirms that the man is the right one, with a strong emotional reaction, allowing the addressee – in this case her parents – to know about her stance and feeling. The sequence in (46b) is the reaction of her mother who confirms the daughter’s reaction. Notice however that the interjections *ēhē*, *?abba*, and *woo* are not specific to Chakali: they are *Ghanaianism*, i.e. words found in most, if not all, languages of Ghana, and surely beyond (see Section 5.6.1 for interjections).

2.5 Clause coordination and subordination

A relation between two clauses is signaled with or without an overt marker, and various structures and morphemes are used to relate clauses. Two relations are discussed below: coordination and subordination.

2.5.1 Coordination

The distribution of four clausal connectives which are used in coordinating clauses is presented: these are *a*, *ka*, *aka* and *di*.⁸

⁸ See McGill, Femebti & Toupin (1999: 143–149) for an account of similar clausal connectives in Pasaale.

2.5.1.1 Connective *a* The connective *a* ‘and’ introduces a clause without an overt subject. When it occurs between two clauses, the subject of the first clause must cross-refer to the covert subject of the second clause (and subsequent clauses). It links a sequence of closely related events carried out by the same agent, and the events are encoded in verb phrases denoting temporally distinct events. The example in (47) is an illustration of four consecutive clauses introduced by the connective *a*. This phenomenon is often referred to as ‘clause chaining’.⁹

- (47) *dìàrè tìy ñ dí káálí bélèè rá, à [jàwà nàmìé], à [kpá wàà diá], à [wà tìè ñ hääŋ], à [ymá tìè ñ hääŋ] dí óó tóŋà. ò tòŋà jà dí.*
 3SG cook 3SG cook 1PL eat

‘Yesterday I went to Gurumbele, bought some meat, brought it home to my wife, told her to cook it. She cooked and we ate.’

2.5.1.2 Connectives *ka* and *aka* Generalizing from the examples available, for both the connectives *ka* and *aka* ‘and’, either (i) the subject of the clause preceding the connective is inferred in the second clause, i.e. as for the connective *a* in Section 2.5.1.1, or (ii) a different subject surfaces in the second clause. Each case is shown in (48) and (49) respectively.

- (48) *[yméŋtél láá nɔ̄á ní] ká [ymá dí óó wá pɔ̄á ní]*
 spider collect mouth POSTP CONN say COMP 3SG come drink water
 ‘(Monkey went to spider’s farm to greet him.) Spider accepted (the greetings) and (Spider) asked him (Monkey) to come and drink water.’
 [LB 011]

- (49) a. *[dí i wáà párà] ká [kirimá wá dómíí]*
 CONN 2SG INGR farm CONN tstse.fly.PL INGR bite.2SG
 ‘When you are doing the weeding and tsetse flies bite you (...)’ [CB 003]

⁹ The last sentence of example (47) can be analysed as a coordination by clause apposition.

- b. [dí námùŋ tí bí wàà jírà kíŋkùrùgíé ɻméjtél sóŋ] àká [i COMP anyone NEG ITR INGR call enumeration eight name CONN 2SG jírà kékj]
call DXM
(The monkey said: “They said) that anyone should not say the number eight and you have said the number eight”. [LB 017]

Secondly, the connectives *ka* and *aka* may encode a ‘logical’ or ‘natural’ sequence of events. For instance, in (48), someone traveling (or coming from the road) expects to be offered water to drink after the greetings are exchanged. The connectives *ka* and *aka* appear to suggest a causal relation between interdependent clauses. In (50), it is the counting of the mounds which caused Spider to be confused, which can be seen as an unexpected outcome.

- (50) óðwà ɻméjtél já kùrò àkà bùti
3SG.EMPH spider do count CONN confuse
(Because) he himself (Spider) did count and he became confused’ [LB 007]

Nevertheless the connectives *ka* and *aka* can introduce a clause denoting an event which is not necessarily related to the event of the previous clause. It looks as if the connectives in (51) are used to integrate an unrelated event to the overall situation.

- (51) [nànsá sú bárá múŋ.] ká [dóð tìŋ ɻmá dí kindfgíí dóð à meat fill place all CONN python ART say COMP something is ART díā ní]
house POSTP
(Meat was all over the place. Then, Python said: “there is something in the room”. [PY 069]
- (52) [à bipɔlíí siì tfírpá] àká [ɻjmá, ámiɛ̂̂ i píná] ...
ART young.man raise stand CONN said, ADV 2SG.POSS father ...
‘The young man stood up and said: “So, when your father (...)”: [CB 010]

Notice that the ‘standing’ and ‘saying’ events in (52) are strictly transitional, but this is not the case in (51). The connective *ka* in (51) opens a sentence which marks a shift from a scene description (i.e. ‘there was meat all over the place’) to a character’s intervention (i.e. ‘Python speaking’). Perceived event integration

seems to be what predicts the choice between *ka* and *aka*, but no firm conclusions can be drawn.

- (53) a. *kàlá káálf jàwá ká jàwà mûrò rō*.
 K. go market CONN bought rice FOC
 ‘Kala went to the market and bought rice.’
- b. *kàlá káálf jàwá àká pièsì bùlènjà tíísà*.
 K. go market CONN ask B. station
 ‘Kala went to the market and asked for the Bulenga station.’

The cause-consequence relation in (53a) may be seen as ‘tighter’ than the relation between the clauses in (53b). Buying items is a stronger effect of going to the market than looking for a location; market is where buying items happens. The examples in (53) thus suggest that *aka* connects less-integrated clauses.

- (54) a. *ò zóó díá ká dí siìmáá rā*.
 3SG enter house CONN eat food FOC
 ‘She entered the house and ate the food.’ (expected)
- b. *ò zóó díá àká vrà siìmáá rā*.
 3SG enter house CONN knock food FOC
 ‘She entered the house and knocked the food over.’ (unexpected)
- c. *ò zóó díá ká vrà siìmáá rā*.
 3SG enter house CONN knock food FOC
 ‘She entered the house and knocked the food over.’ (knowledge of intention)

Commenting on each hypothetical situation in which (54) may be uttered, one consultant agreed that in (54c) the intention of the subject’s referent are known and confirmed in the second clause, which is not the case in (54b). The events expressed in the second clause in (54a) and (54c) are perceived as more predictable given the first clause (and world knowledge) than the event expressed in the second clause in (54b).¹⁰

2.5.1.3 Connective *dí* The clausal connective *dí* ‘and’ or ‘while’ is homophonous with a complementizer particle (Section 2.5.2.1), a connective used in conditional constructions (Section 2.5.2), and a preverb particle signaling imperfective

¹⁰ The connectives *an* and *ka* in Pasaale (McGill, Femebti & Toupin 1999) offer a good baseline for comparison.

aspect (Section 4.1.4.4). It connects two clauses which encode different events, yet these events must be interpreted as occurring simultaneously. A clause introduced by the connective *dì* has no overt subject, instead the subject is inferred, as it has the same referent as the subject of the preceding clause. Two examples are provided in (55).

- (55) a. *líé* *ò* *kààlì* *dì* *wá*.
 Q 3SG go CONN come
 ‘Where is he coming from?’ (*lit.* where he left and come)
- b. *kpá* *siimá* *hájì* *dì* *káálì*.
 take food DEM CONN go
 ‘Take this food away! (*lit.* take this food and go)

2.5.2 Subordination

The morpheme *tìŋ* is mainly used as a determiner in noun phrases (see Section 3.1.2). However, there are instances where the discourse following *tìŋ* must be treated as subordinated and related to the noun phrase of which *tìŋ* is part. One may argue that the morpheme *tìŋ* can function as a relativizer.

- (56) *kúrò* [[*píé* *tìŋ*]_{NP} *ò*_i *kà* *tó* *à* *kùò* *ní* *kéj*]_{NP}
 count yam.mound.PL ART 3SG EGR cover ART farm POSTP DXM
*tìèé*_i
 give.3SG
 ‘(Spider_i asked Buffalo to) count for him_i the yam mounds which he_i covered at the farm.’ [LB 006]

In (56), the phrase *ò kà tó à kùò ní kéj* is (i) in apposition to the noun phrase *píé tìŋ*, and (ii) in a subordination relation with the noun phrase *píé tìŋ*. The low tone *kà* frequently appears in subordinated clauses with *tìŋ* (see example 178b in Section 4.2.1). In a conditional construction like the one in (57a), the subordinate clause is headed by the particle *dì*, whereas the main clause follows the subordinate clause.

- (57) a. *dì* *ñ* *fí* *tú* *kààlì* *dē*, *bà* *kàá* *tùgúnì* *nō*.
 CONN 1SG MOD go.down go DXL 3PL.H+ FUT beat.1SG FOC
 ‘If I were to go down there, then they will beat me.’
- b. *dì* *ì* *zíŋ* *wā* *zìŋà*, *ì* *wàá* *kìŋ* *gáálí* *díŋ* *nī*.
 CONN 2SG tail INGR long 2SG NEG.FUT ABI be.over fire POSTP
 ‘If you have a long tail, you cannot cross fire.’

Proverbs are typically conditional constructions. An example is given in (57b).

- (58) a. ḡ wáawáó ànáàmùŋ dí ḡ wííṛ.
- 3SG come.PFV.FOC CONN COMP 3SG sick.FOC
- 'He came in spite of his illness.'
- b. ḷ wà kpágá sákìr, àjnúúnì ḷ dì válà nááṣá.
- 1SG NEG have bicycle CONN 1SG IPFV walk leg.PL
- 'I don't have a bicycle, therefore I am walking.'

The subordinate clause of a concessive construction is introduced by the expression *aní amúŋ* [ànáàmùŋ] (*lit.* and-all) 'despite', 'in spite of', 'although' or 'even though'. A subordinate clause which conveys a consequence or a justification of the proposition in the main clause is introduced by the expressions *a nuu ni* [àjnúúnì] or *a wíe* [àwíé] (*lit.* the-head-on and the-matter) respectively, 'therefore' or 'because'. Examples are shown in (58).

2.5.2.1 Complementizer *dí* Example (59) shows that the complementizer *dí* introduces indirect speech.

- (59) kùórù bìnìhááŋ ɿmá dí “ጀጀጀጀ”.
- chief young.girl say COMP yes
- 'The chief's daughter answered "yes".' [CB 011]

Direct speech is usually introduced by a speech verb only, e.g. *ɿma* (*tíe*) 'say (give)', *tʃagali* 'teach, show, indicate', *hësi* 'announce', etc. This is shown in (60) with *hësi* 'announce'.

- (60) tṣótííná ɿmá dí bá hësi má ká pàrà kùó.
- landlord say COMP 3PL.GB announce 2PL EGR farm farm
- 'The landowner says that they announced: "You go and work at the farm".'

In (61a), the complementizer *dí* introduces a clause which conveys the intention of the event in the main clause. In a literal sense, the husband *lala* 'open', in the sense of waking up, the wife in order to have her *sii* 'raise up'.

- (61) a. tfòòsá písì, ḡ báál tìŋ té lálá à hááŋ dí
- morning scatter 3SG.POSS husband ART early wake.up ART wife COMP
- ᠁ síí dùò nì.
- 3SG raise.up asleep POSTP
- 'Early in the morning her husband woke up the wife from sleep.' (*lit.* that she must stand up) [CB 030]

- b. *ò káálí (dí) óó ká jnɔ́á̂ nɪ̄.*
 3SG go COMP 3SG EGR drink water
 ‘He went to have a drink of water.’

In (61b) it is shown that purpose (or intention) can be encoded when *dí* introduces the goal. In the latter case, however, consultants say that the complementizer *dí* is optional.

2.5.2.2 Clause apposition Example (62) shows that a desire can be encoded by two clauses in apposition. In this example the pronominal subject of the final clause carries high tone (see Section 2.1.8.2 on desiderative).

- (62) *jà búúré nɪ̄ rā já jnɔ́á̂.*
 1PL want water FOC 1PL drink
 ‘We want some water to drink.’

2.6 Adjunct adverbials and postposition

The notion ‘adverbial’ is used in the sense of ‘modifying a predicate’, that is, adding information to a state of affairs. An adverbial is an expression, clause or non-clause, which is not an argument of the main predicate and is positioned at the periphery in an adjunct constituent (AJC). The clause frame in (1) is repeated in (63).

- (63) S|A + P ± O ± AJC

Adjuncts are usually found following the core constituent(s), but may also be found at the beginning of a clause. As shown in (64), reference to time may be found at the beginning of a clause before the subject.

- (64) AJC + S + P + O
 [tʃòòsá pìsi] à bìpòlì kpá ò pár
 AJC S P O
 morning scatter ART young.man take 3.SG.POSS hoe
 ‘The following day the young man took his hoe along ...’ [CB 005]

In Section 2.1.7, the dubitative construction was identified with the expression *àbóníéñí* ‘perhaps’ opening the clause. There are other constructions in which temporal, locative, manner, or tense-aspect-mood meaning is signaled by the presence of an adjunct adverbial initially that introduces new information.

- (65) a. Temporal
 [tàmá finí] ḡ fí sówá.
 few little 3SG MOD die
 ‘A little longer and she would have died.’
- b. Evidential
 [wídííŋ ná] dí ḡ náó̄ rā.
 truth FOC COMP 3SG see.3SG FOC
 ‘It is certain that he saw him.’

In (65a), the phrase *tama finii* ‘a little’ is not inherently temporal, but must be interpreted as such in the given context. In (65b) the verbless clause *widííŋ na* can be seen as adding an illocutionary force; it additionally signifies that the speaker has evidence and/or wish to convince the addressee about the proposition. In the next sections, temporal and manner adverbials, then the postposition *ni* and the oblique phrase are discussed.

2.6.1 Temporal adjunct

A temporal nominal adjunct is an expression which typically indicates when an event occurs.

- (66) a. [àwòzóóṛì dígíí] kòsánáá̄ válá
 the.day one buffalo walked
 ‘One day a buffalo walked (and greeted the spider) (...). [LB 005]
- b. [déní], [sáyà dígíí] à háá̄ŋ já pàà à báál zōmō
 thereupon time one ART wife HAB take.PL ART husband insult.PL
 ‘Then, during their life, it happened on one occasion that the woman did insult the man (...). [CB 017]
- c. ñ já kààlì ḡ pé ré [tʃɔpìsì bíí-mùŋ].
 1SG HAB go 3SG end FOC day.break ITR-all
 ‘I visit him every day.’
- d. [làyálàyá hán ni] ñ kòtì à ?áá péti.
 IDEO.fast DEM POSTP 1.SG skin ART bushbuck finish
 ‘I just finished skinning the bushbuck.’

Some expressions tagged as temporal nominal are treated as complex, though opaque, expressions. For instance, *awozooṛi* is translated into ‘that day’ in (66a), but the forms *wosa* ‘sun’ and *zoo* ‘enter’ are perceptible. The phrase *làyálàyá*

háñ ní in (66d) literally means ‘now.now this on’ (IDEO DEM POSTP), but ‘only a moment ago’ is a better translation. Similarly, *déní*, analysed as the spatial demonstrative *de* and the postposition *ní* and translated into English as ‘there-upon’, ‘after that’, ‘at that point’, or simply ‘then’, is a temporal nominal, but usually functions as a connective. It is mainly used at the beginning of a sentence to signal a transition between the preceding and the following situations; (67) suggests a transition indicating what happens ‘next’ or ‘afterward’.

- (67) *déní* *rè*, *òò* *háñ tìñ* *ñmá dí* “àáí, (...).”
 thereupon FOC 3SG.POSS wife ART say COMP no
 ‘Then, the wife said: “No, (I won’t say anything to my father)”’. [CB 036]

2.6.2 Manner adjunct

A manner expression describes the way the event denoted by the verb(s) is carried out. Manner expressions tend to appear at the right periphery of an utterance. The examples in (68) illustrate the meaning and distribution of manner expressions.

- (68) a. *dí* *sáá* *bóééibóééi*.
 COMP drive IDEO.carefully
 ‘Drive carefully.’
 b. *dí* *ñmá* *bóééibóééi*.
 COMP talk IDEO.slowly
 ‘Talk slowly.’
 c. *ò* *tfjé* *káàlì* *félfél*.
 3SG run.PFV go IDEO.lightly
 ‘She ran away lightly (manner of movement, as a light weight entity).’
 d. *ñ* *káà* *wáá* *dí* *à* *háñ tìñ* *sáñà* *tférím*.
 1SG IPFV come COMP ART woman sit IDEO.quietly
 ‘When I was coming, the woman sat quietly.’

It is common for an ideophone to function as a manner expression (Section 5.5). One could argue that all the manner expressions in (68) are ideophones, i.e. they display reduplicated forms and *tférím* is one of a few words which ends with a bilabial nasal. The examples in (69) show the repetition of two expressions; one is an ideophone, i.e. *kañkalaj* ‘crawl of a snake’, and the other a reduplicated manner expression, i.e. *lagalaga* ‘quickly’ from *laga* ‘now’. The formal repetition

depicts the motion occurring with great speed and the inceptive sense of *kpà* marks the initial stage of the activity.

- (69) a. à *bààj kpá kàŋkàlànj kàŋkàlànj kàŋkàlànj*.
 CONN just take IDEO.rapidly
 ‘(She was after the python) but (he) started to crawl away like a shot.’
 (PY-137)
- b. *kà bààj kpá làyàlàyà làyàlàyà*.
 CONN just take IDEO.quickly
 ‘(She) started to (walk) quickly.’

The manner adverbial *kíŋkáŋ* ‘abundantly’, which is composed of the classifier *km* and the verb *kana* ‘abundant’, typically quantifies or intensifies the event and always comes after the word encoding the event. Notice in (70a) and (70b) that *kíŋkáŋ* follows a verb and a nominalized verb respectively. However, in (70c), *kíŋkáŋ* does not function as a manner adverbial but as a quantifier.

- (70) a. *gbíáá i jááríjé kíŋkáŋ nà (...)*
 monkey you unable.PFV DXM FOC
 ‘Monkey, you are so incompetent, (...).’ [LB 016]
- b. *dúó tʃɔɔ̄i kíŋkáŋ wà wíré*.
 asleep lie.NMLZ DXM NEG good
 ‘Sleeping too much is not good.’
- c. *kùórù kùò ttíj kà kpágá kírìnsá kíŋkáŋ dé rē jà kààlì*
 chief farm ART REL have tsetse.fly.PL QUANT.many DXL FOC 1PL
 go
 ‘The chief’s farm that has many tsetse flies, there we went.’

2.6.3 Oblique phrase

The oblique phrase is an element of a clause realized as a postpositional phrase. It usually follows the verbal predicate. In Section 2.6.4, it is claimed that the postposition *ni* (i) identifies an oblique phrase, (ii) conveys that the oblique phrase contains the ground object (Section 2.1.6), and (iii) follows its complement. While *ni* mainly appears in sentences expressing localization, the postposition can also be found when there is no reference to space.

For instance, in Section 2.6.2, the connective *dəni* (i.e. DEM+POSTP) is said to signal a temporal transition and not a spatial one. It is also analysed in adverbials and connectives: *a-bɔn̩iẽ-ni* ‘maybe, perhaps’, *a-puuu-ni* ‘therefore’, *buŋbuŋ-ni* ‘at first’, etc. These expressions do not have a purely locative function, but are rather used as clausal adjuncts or to introduce logical conclusion (see Sections 2.5.2 and 2.6).

- (71) a. *bááŋ i fí kàá sów̩gì [tʃò̩sá tñi ní].*
 Q 2PL PST EGR crush morning ART POSTP
 ‘What were you crushing this morning?’
- b. *ò pñáá [làyálàyá ní].*
 PSG drink IDEO.fast POSTP
 ‘He drinks quickly.’
- c. *à kùórù ɿmá dí ò bááŋ káá sii [ñ ni] rē.*
 ART chief say COMP 3SG.POSS temper EGR raise 1SG POSTP FOC
 ‘The chief told me that he was very angry with me.’

The examples in (71) illustrate some of the non-spatial uses of the oblique phrase headed by *ní*. The postposition’s complement is a temporal nominal phrase in (71a), an ideophone in (71b), and a personal pronoun in (71c).

2.6.4 Postposition *ní* and (non-)locative adjunct

The ground object in localization is found in an oblique phrase (see Section 2.6.3 for oblique phrase and 2.1.6 for basic locative construction), therefore the postposition *ní* is present irrespective of the locative verb involved or whether or not a relational noun occurs. Only a few exceptions can be found, and they are systematically accounted for by two factors: (i) non-locative and transitive verbs do not co-occur with *ní*, e.g. *tɔ* ‘cover’, *kpaga* ‘have’ and *su* ‘fill’, and (ii) some situations are described using an intransitive clause, e.g. *à bónsó tʃíégijó* ‘the cup is broken’ [TRPS 26]. In describing the illustrations of the TRPS, Ameka & Essegbe (2006: 370) showed that it is the verb *le*, glossed ‘be at’, in Ewe which is used in the majority of the sentences. The translation of Ewe *le* to Chakali would then be equivalent to *dṣa* NP *ní*.¹¹

¹¹ The Ewe verb *le* may also function as predicate of qualities (Ameka & Essegbe 2006: 373). In Chakali, it was shown in Sections 2.1.1 and 3.10.2 that *jaa* predicates over qualities, not *dṣa*.

- (72) a. [[[à *dìà*]_{NP} *núú*]_{RelNP} *ni*]_{PP} ‘on the roof of the house’
 b. [[[à *dìà*]_{NP} *ni*]_{PP} ‘in/at the house’
 c. [[[*báj*]_{NP} *ni*]_{PP} ‘here’
 d. [[[*dé*]_{NP} *ni*]_{PP} ‘there’
 e. [[[*ò*]_{NP} *ni*]_{PP} ‘at/on/in him/her/it’

As shown in (72), the postposition always follows its complement (see Section 3.2.7 for relational nouns). Since there are no prepositions in the language, the abbreviation PP in (72) unambiguously stands for Postpositional Phrase. None of the concepts of proximity, contiguity, or containment is encoded in *ni*. The postposition does not inform the addressee about any of the elementary topological spatial notions. It never selects particular figure-ground configurations, but must be present for all of them.

3 Nominal

The term “nominal” identifies a formal and functional syntactic level and lexemic level. At the syntactic level, a noun phrase is a nominal which can either function as core or peripheral argument. Its composition may vary from a single pronoun to a noun with modifier or series of modifiers. At the lexeme level, two categories of lexemes are assumed: nominal and verbal. These two types correspond roughly to the semantic division *entity* and *event*, but do not correspond to the syntactic categories *noun* and *verb*. That is because lexemes are assumed to not be specified for syntactic categories. The diversity of forms and functions of nominals is presented below.

3.1 Noun phrases

A noun phrase (NP) consists of a nominal head, and optionally, its dependent(s). In this section, the internal components of noun phrases and the roles these components have within the noun phrase are described. First, indefinite and definite noun phrases are considered. Then, the elements which can be found in the noun phrase are introduced.

3.1.1 Indefinite noun phrase

Indefinite noun phrases are used when “the speaker invites the addressee to construe a referent [which conforms with] the properties specified in the term” (Dik

1997: 184). In Chakali, a noun standing alone can constitute a noun phrase (N = NP). Such a noun phrase can be interpreted as indefinite, i.e. the noun phrase is a non-referring expression, or generic, i.e. the noun phrase denotes a kind or class of entity as opposed to an individual. In rare cases, a definite noun phrase can be interpreted from a single noun, i.e. lacking an article. Each interpretation is obviously dependent on the context of the utterance in which the noun occurs.

(73) N = NP

- a. *kàlá jáwá píej ná.*
Kala buy mat FOC
'Kala bought a mat.'
- b. *džètì kím-bón ná.*
lion.SG CLF-dangerous.SG FOC
'A lion is dangerous.'

In (73), the noun phrase *píej* describes any mat and is interpreted as a novelty in the addressee's knowledge of Kala, while *džetì* describes the entire class of lions.

(74) a. *píésì dígíí à búkù jògùló.*
ask one ART book price
'Ask someone the price of the book.'

b. *nàdígíí búmó zòò ii dià hájì ká bà kpá tīēl.*
person.one precede enter 2SG room DEM CONN 3PL.H+ take give.2SG
'Someone was in your room before they gave it to you.'

The examples in (74) show that noun phrases containing the numeral *dígíí* 'one' may be translated as English 'a certain', 'one of them', or 'someone'.

3.1.2 Definite noun phrase

Definite noun phrases are employed when "the speaker invites the addressee to identify a referent which he (the speaker) presumes is available to the addressee" (Dik 1997: 184). Proper nouns are assumed to be definite on the basis that they are identifiable by both the speaker and the addressee. A definite noun phrase may consist of a single pronoun (pro = NP), as shown in (75).

- (75) pro = NP
 ḩ sówáv.
 3SG die
 ‘She died.’

A possessive noun phrase is always definite. A possessive pronoun followed by a noun is analysed as a succession of a noun phrase and a noun. Thus, the noun phrase in (76) is analysed as a sequence of the noun phrase *ṳ* and the noun *māā* (pro + N = NP).

- (76) pro + N = NP
 ḩ māā ɻmá dí “õi”.
 3SG.POSS mother say COMP INTERJ
 ‘Her mother said, “Oi!”’

The treatment of possessive noun phrase is motivated by the possibility of recursion of an attributive possession relation. The complex stem noun *pàbīi* (<*par-bii*, hoe-seed) ‘hoe blade’ is the head in the three possessive noun phrases *súgló pàbīi* ‘Suglo’s hoe blade’, *sígló jn̥nā pàbīi* ‘Suglo’s father’s hoe blade’, and *súgló jn̥nā bíéri pàbīi* ‘Suglo’s father’s brother’s hoe blade’. Notice that in these examples the nominal head consists of the right-most element in the noun phrase, e.g. [[[*súgló*]_{NP} [*jn̥nā*]_N]_{NP} [*bíéri*]_N]_{NP} [*pàbīi*]_N]_{NP}. Section 3.2.3 discussed complex stem nouns.

3.1.2.1 Articles *a* and *tíŋ* There are two articles in Chakali: *à* (glossed ART1) and *tíŋ* (glossed ART2). The article *à* is translated with the English article *the*. It must precede the head noun and cannot co-occur with the possessive pronoun. In the context of (77), the speaker assumes that the addressee is informed about Kala’s interest in buying a mat.

- (77) a + N = NP
 kàlá jáwá à ptéŋ ná.
 Kala buy ART1 mat FOC
 ‘Kala bought the mat.’

The type of mat, its colour or the location where Kala bought the mat and so on are not necessarily shared pieces of information between the speaker and addressee in (77). The only information the speaker believes they have in common is Kala’s interest in purchasing a mat. The article *à* is treated as a functional word

which makes the noun phrase specific but not necessarily definite. When a noun phrase is specific, the speaker should have a particular referent in mind whereas the addressee may or may not share this knowledge.

The article *tíŋ* (glossed ART2) can also be seen to correspond to English *the*, but a preferable paraphrase would be ‘as referred previously’ or ‘this (one)’. The article *tíŋ* appears when the speaker knows that the addressee will be able to identify the referent of the noun phrase. In that sense, the referent is familiar.¹² When *tíŋ* follows a noun, the referent must either have been mentioned previously or the speaker and addressee have an identifiable referent in mind. Thus, compared to the examples (73) and (77) above, a proper interpretation of example (78) requires that both the speaker and addressee have a particular mat in mind. In terms of word order, the article à initiates the noun phrase and the article *tíŋ* belongs near the end of the noun phrase. The article à in (78) is optional.

- (78) (a +) N + *tíŋ* = NP
kàlá jáwá [à píéŋ tíŋ]NP nā.
 Kala buy ART1 mat ART2 FOC
 ‘Kala bought the MAT.’

Consider the slight meaning difference between (79a) and (79b).

- (79) a. *píníšé i jíná kà dó.*
 Q.how 2SG.POSS father EGR be
 ‘How is your father?’
 b. *píníšé i jíná tíŋ kà dó.*
 Q.how 2SG.POSS father ART2 EGR be
 ‘How is your father?’

Both sentences may be translated with ‘How is your father?’. However, whereas the sentence (79a) can request a general description of the father (i.e. physical description, general health, etc.), the sentence in (79b) asks for a particular aspect of the father’s condition which both the speaker and the addressee are aware of, for instance the father’s sickness. As sketched above, the article *tíŋ* in (79b) establishes that a particular disposition of the father is known by both the speaker and the addressee, and the speaker asks, with the question word *píníšé* ‘how’, for details.

¹² In the givenness hierarchy of Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski (1993: 278), the status *familiar* is reached when “the addressee is able to uniquely identify the intended referent because he already has a representation of it in memory.”

The two articles *a* and *tŋ* are not in complementary distribution. The article *tŋ* may occur following the head of a possessive noun phrase, although it is not attested following a weak pronoun. When the articles *a* and *tŋ* co-occur, language consultants could omit the preposed *a* without affecting the interpretation of the proposition.

While the two articles in Chakali are presented under the same heading, they are believed to be of different origin. Evidence shows that pre-nominal articles are not found in the SWG group, nor in Kasem (Bonvini 1988: 153). Assuming that specificity and definiteness morphemes always come after the noun in Grusi languages, and that Waali and Dagaare make use of an identical pre-nominal article , the article à in Chakali is believed to be a contact-induced innovation. However, a preposed article in the northwestern languages is alien to the general Oti-Volta pattern as well. The phenomenon needs more study to see if a locus for this areal innovation can be identified. Apparent cognates of *tŋ* are attested in Grusi. For example Bonvini (1988: 180) writes that Kasem *tŋ* “sert à thematiser ce qui est déjà connu” (i.e. used to bring up what is already known). Chakali *tŋ* is discussed in Section 2.5.2 in relation to its role as a relativizer in subordination.

Now that the indefinite and definite noun phrases have been presented, the subsequent sections introduce the elements which can compose either indefinite or definite noun phrases.

3.2 Nouns

In this section, the elements admitted in the schematic representation (80) are discussed.

$$(80) \quad [[\text{LEXEME}]_{\text{stem}} - [\text{NOUN CLASS}]]_n$$

A stem may have nominal or verbal lexeme status. The latter has either a state (i.e. stative) or a event (i.e. active) meaning. A stem can be either atomic or complex and a noun class suffix may be overt or covert. In a process which turns a lexeme into a noun-word, the noun class provides the syntactic category *noun*.

3.2.1 Noun classes

The accepted view is that “the Gurunsi languages, and indeed all Gur languages, had historically a system of nominal classification which was reflected in agreement. The third person pronominal forms and other parts of speech were at a certain time a reflection of the nominal classification” (Naden 1989). Similar affirmations are present in Manessy (1969b); Wilson (1971); Naden (1982); Crouch

& Naden (1998); Tchagbalé (2007). In this section and in Section 3.10.1, it is suggested that an eroded form of this “reflection” is still observable in Chakali. Brindle (2009) claims that in Chakali inflectional class (i.e. noun class) and agreement class (i.e. gender) should be distinguished and analysed as separate phenomena at a synchronic level.

The identification of noun classes is based on non-syntagmatic evidence; noun class is a type of inflectional affix, independent of agreement phenomena, where the values of number and class are exposed. In Chakali, as in all other SWG languages,¹³ the values are exposed by suffixes: number refers to either singular or plural, and class can be regarded as phonological and/or semantic features encoded in the lexemes for the selection of the proper pair of singular and plural suffixes. This will be considered in Section 3.2.1.8.

Table 1: The five most frequent noun classes

	CL.1	CL.2	CL.3	CL.4	CL.5
SING	-V	Ø	Ø	-V	Ø
PLUR	-sV	-sV	-V	-V	-nV

One method used to identify the noun classes of a language appears in Rowland (1966: 23). The author writes that “[t]he nouns in Sissala may be assigned to groups on the basis of the suffixes for singular and plural”. According to this definition, there are nine noun classes, of which four are rare. A synopsis is displayed in Table 1, and each of them is discussed below.¹⁴

¹³ Crouch & Naden (1998: 136) state that “[i]n Vagla most traces of this [noun-class system where paired singular/plural noun affixes correlate with concording pronouns and other items] system have been lost. The morphological declensions of nominal pluralization have not yielded to a clear analysis”. Even though the authors do not attempt to allot nouns into classes, Marjorie Crouch’s field notes (1963, Ghana Institute for Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT)) present seven classes. Nominal classifications are proposed for other SWG languages (number of classes for each language in parenthesis): Sisaala of Funsi in Rowland (1966) (2), Sisaala-Pasaale in McGill, Femebeti & Toupin (1999) (5) and Isaalo in Moran (2006) (4). The number of classes is of course determined by the linguist’s analysis.

¹⁴ Some scholars treat each singular type as a class, and each plural type as a class. In their terminology a *nominal declension* is a singular/plural marker pairing, which corresponds to a *noun class* in this work.

3.2.1.1 Class 1 Class 1 allows a variety of stems: CV, CVC, CVVCV, and CVCV are possible. It gathers the nouns whose singular is formed by a single vowel suffix *-V* and plural by a light syllable *-sV*.

Table 2: Class 1

CLASS	Stem	SG	PL	Gloss
CL.1	va	váà	vá'sá	dog
CL.1	pén	pèná	pènsá	moon
CL.1	gun	gùnó	gùnsó	cotton
CL.1	tjuom	tjùòmò	tjùònsó	Togo hare
CL.1	bi	bíé	bisé	child
CL.1	gbieki	gbìèkíè	gbìèkísé	type of bird

The quality of the vowels of the singular and plural is determined by the quality of the stem vowel and the harmony rules in operation. The rules were stated in Section 4.2 and correspond to the noun class realization rules given in (81).

- (81) a. $-(C)V_{nc} > [\beta\text{RO}, +\text{ATR}, -\text{HI}] / [\beta\text{RO}, +\text{ATR}] C^* _$
A noun class suffix vowel becomes +ATR if preceded by a +ATR stem vowel, and shares the same value for the feature RO as the one specified on the preceding (stem) vowel. A noun class suffix is always -HI.
- b. $-(C)V_{nc} > +\text{LO} / -\text{ATR} C^* _$
A noun class suffix vowel becomes +LO if the preceding stem vowel is either i, e, o or a.

3.2.1.2 Class 2 Table 3 displays nouns assigned to class 2. Typically, this class consists of nouns whose stems are CVV or CVCV. While the singular form displays no overt suffix, *-sV* is suffixed onto the stem to form the plural.

The rules in (81) capture the majority of the singular/plural pairs of class 1 and 2. However, it is insufficient in some cases, that is, there are cases which raise uncertainty in the allotment of the pairs into one class or the other. Consider the examples in Table 4.

Two questions are raised by looking at the data in Table 4: (i) What is the stem of these nouns and how are they analysed? (ii) Is there a good reason to favour final vowel deletion instead of insertion, e.g. /kírima/ vs. /kírim/ ‘tsetse

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Table 3: Class 2

CLASS	Stem	SG	PL	Gloss
CL.2	daa	dáá	dààsá	tree
CL.2	bøla	bølå	bølásá	elephant
CL.2	kuoru	kùórù	kùòrùsó	chief
CL.2	tomo	tòmó	tòmòsó	type of tree
CL.2	bele	bèlè	bèlèsé	type of bush dog
CL.2	tii	tíi	tísè	type of tree

Table 4: Pending class 1 or 2

SG	PL	Gloss
dጀጀ	dጀጀsጀጀ	African rock python
kጀጀmጀ	kጀጀsጀጀ	tsetse fly
lጀጀhጀጀ	lጀጀhጀጀsጀጀ	cheek
tጀጀ	tጀጀsጀጀ	type of tree
bጀጀ	bጀጀsጀጀ	child

fly'? Addressing the first question, consider the first pair of words of Table 4, i.e. *dɔ̃ɔ* and *dɔ̃sa*. On the one hand, if *dɔ̃* is treated as the stem and the word for 'African rock python' is assigned to class 1, the refutation of the rule in (81) must be explained, i.e. vowel suffixes are always -hi. On the other hand, if the stem is *dɔ̃ɔ*, a deletion rule which reduces the length of the vowel, i.e. /*dɔ̃ɔ*-sa/ → [dɔ̃s⁺á], must be stated. Such a decision would assign a stem /*dɔ̃ɔ*/ to class 2. The decision taken here is to respect the rule in (81), which is empirically supported, and assume an *ad hoc* deletion rule. This deletion rule, which may be driven by general prosody or phonological structure, will not be considered here. The word pairs in Table 4 are assigned the following classes: 'African rock python' is in class 2 and the last stem vowel is deleted in the plural, 'tsetse fly' is in class 1 and its stem is /kirim/, and 'cheek' is in class 2 and the last stem vowel is deleted in the plural. Finally, the final vowel of the stem /tii/ is deleted in the plural, and a vowel is added to the stem of /bi/ in the singular.

3.2.1.3 Class 3 Table 5 shows that the noun stems allotted to class 3 generally have a sonorant coda consonant in the singular, i.e. *l*, *r*, *ŋ*, etc. Class 3 is analysed as containing nouns whose singular forms have no overt suffix and whose plural forms have a single vowel as suffix. As for class 1 and 2, the plural vowel suffix of class 3 is determined by the harmony rule given in (81).

Table 5: Class 3

CLASS	Stem	SG	PL	Gloss
CL.3	nɔn	nóŋ	nóná	fruit
CL.3	hāän	hāăŋ	hááñà	woman
CL.3	pɔŋ	póŋ	pónjá	hair
CL.3	nar	nár	nará	person
CL.3	?ol	?ól	?óló	type of mouse
CL.3	butet	bùté:	bütéte	turtle
CL.3	sel	sél:	sélé	animal

3.2.1.4 Class 4 As shown in Table 6, the major characteristic of class 4 is that all the stems are analysed as having a final syllable consisting of a [+HI, -RO] vowel. In class 4, a vowel is added to the stem on both the singular and the plural, i.e. V]# > V]-V#. The suffix vowel of the singular is always an exact copy of the stem vowel. If the stem vowel is [+ATR], the plural suffix vowel is -e, and if the stem vowel is [-ATR], the plural suffix vowel -a. This low vowel is then raised due to the height of the stem vowel. In normal speech, one can perceive either -a or -ɛ in that position. A similar noun class is found in other SWG and Western Oti-Volta languages (see Section 3.2.1.10).

Class 4 also includes nominalized verbal lexemes. In Section 3.2.2.2, it is observed that one way to make a noun from a verbal lexeme is to suffix a high-front vowel to the verbal stem. For instance, the verbal lexeme *zin* may be translated as ‘drive’, ‘ride’ or ‘climb’. The suffix -[+HI, -RO] can be added to the verbal lexeme *zin* making it nominal, i.e. *kínziní* ‘horse’, lit. thing-riding. Consequently, the plural of *kínziní* ‘horse’ is *kínziníe*. The sequences -ie and -ie of class 4 often coalesce and may be perceived as -ee and -ɛɛ respectively, e.g. *féríí/féréé* (SG/PL) ‘air potato’.

Table 6: Class 4

CLASS	Stem	SG	PL	Gloss
CL.4	begi	bégií	bégié	heart
CL.4	si	síí	síé	eye
CL.4	fili	filíí	filié	bearing tray
CL.4	bí	bíí	bíá	stone
CL.4	wí	wíí	wíé	matter
CL.4	wílì	wílífí	wílfé	star

3.2.1.5 Class 5 The monosyllabic stems of class 5 can either be CVV or CVC. Class 5 consists of nouns which form their singular with no overt suffix and their plural with the suffix *-nV*. The quality of the suffix's consonant is determined by the stem and the place assimilation rules introduced in Section 3.2.2.2, some of which are repeated in (82). The vowel of the plural suffix is determined by the stem vowel and the rules in (81).

- (82) Class 5 suffix *-nV* surfaces *-[IV]* if the coda consonant of the stem is *I*
-/[NASAL]V/nc > -/[LATERAL]V/nc / [LATERAL] _

Table 7: Class 5

CLASS	Stem	SG	PL	Gloss
CL.5	zin	zíŋj	zínná	type of bat
CL.5	hõn	hõŋj	hõnná	farmer or hunter gear
CL.5	kuo	kúó	kùónò	farm
CL.5	juu	júù	júúnò	head
CL.5	vii	víí	víiné	type of cooking pot
CL.5	din	díŋj	dínné	fire
CL.5	pel	pél	péllé	burial specialist

3.2.1.6 Nasals in noun classes' morpho-phonology Apart from the singular of class 4, much of the same vocalic morpho-phonology is found in all classes. This was reduced to the two rules in (81). Furthermore, in all the noun classes, the nasal consonants surface differently depending on the phonological context. The rules in (83) predict the observed outputs and are derived from the nasal assimilation rules in Section 3.2.1.1.

(83) Possible outputs of nasals

- a. C[+NASAL] > [ŋ] / _ #
/hãān-Ø/ > [hãāŋ] 'female' CL.3SG
- b. /m/ > n / _ C [-LABIAL, -VELAR]
/tſuom-sV/ > [tſùɔ̄nsó] 'Togo hares' CL.1PL
- c. /ŋ/ > n / _ C [-LABIAL, -VELAR]
/kɔ̄lɔ̄ŋ-sV/ > [kɔ̄lɔ̄nsá] 'wells' CL.2PL

The rule in (83a) says that any nasal consonant occurring word finally becomes [ŋ]. The rule in (83b) changes a bilabial nasal into an alveolar when it precedes a non-labial and non-velar consonantal segment. The rule in (83c) changes a velar nasal into an alveolar in the same environment.

3.2.1.7 Generalization and summary While the method proposed suggests that one should look for pairs of forms, the present classification treats phonologically empty suffixes as "exponents". What counts as a noun class is the paradigm determined by the inflectional pattern of the lexeme. The five most frequent pairs were presented in Tables 2 to 7 and the exponents are gathered in Table 8.¹⁵

Table 8: The five most frequent noun classes

	CL.1	CL.2	CL.3	CL.4	CL.5
SING	-V	Ø	Ø	-V	Ø
PLUR	-sV	-sV	-V	-V	-nV
	8%	32%	23%	17%	8%

¹⁵ The percentage is based on a list of 978 singular/plural pairs (02/10/10). The five classes in Table 8 make up 88% of the nouns which are assigned a class in the lexicon.

In practice the most productive and regular patterns are those recognized as noun classes. However, some words do not fit perfectly into the patterns described above but are not totally alien to genetically related languages and the reconstructions of Proto-Grusi in Manessy (1969a,b) and Proto-Grusi-Kirma-Tyurama in Manessy (1982). In fact, there are more possibilities and surface forms when the classes (SG/PL) \emptyset/\emptyset , \emptyset/ta , \emptyset/ma and η/sV are included in the classification. Examples are given in Table 9.

Table 9: Noun classes 6, 7, 8, and 9

CLASS	Stem	SG	PL	Gloss
CL.6	dʒiensa	dʒíénsá	dʒíénsá	twin
CL.6	kapvsiɛ	kàpú̄sìɛ	kàpú̄sìɛ	kola nut
CL.6	kpibii	kpíbii	kpíbii	louse
CL.7	kuo	kúó	kùòtó	roan antelope
CL.7	kie	kíé	kièté	half of a bird
CL.7	fɔð	fɔð	fɔtá	baboon
CL.8	naal	náàl	nááləmà	grand-father
CL.8	ṇma	ṇínà	ṇínámà	father
CL.8	hřēŋ	hřéŋ	hřémbá	relative
CL.9	jo	jóŋ	jósò	slave
CL.9	zi	zíŋ	zísè	tail
CL.9	ŋme	ŋméŋ	ŋmésà	rope

The nouns in class 6 do not formally differentiate singular and plural. Those in class 7 mark their plural with the suffix $-tV$ and class 8 with the suffix $-mV$. The singular exponent of class 7 and 8 is covert. Finally, the nouns of class 9 have a suffix $-\eta$ in the singular and $-sV$ in the plural. In Table 10, the percentage of occurrence of the less productive noun classes 6, 7, 8 and 9 is given.

In addition, there are pairs which can only imperfectly be reduced to the nine classes presented until now. However, the problem lies in the stem and not in the inflectional pattern, and thus suggests suppletion rather than phonotactics. For example the colour terms (SG/PL) *pòmmá/pòlɔ̄nsá* ‘white’ and *búmmó/bùlùnsó* ‘black’ do not have comparable pairs and do not fit the noun classes described above. One would expect **pòmmasa* to be the plural form for ‘white’ (also **tri-nama* for *tiñá/tórmá* ‘owner’). Other examples are the pairs *tíè/tésà* ‘foetus’ and

Table 10: Less productive noun classes

	CL.6	CL.7	CL.8	CL.9
SING	Ø	Ø	Ø	-N
PLUR	Ø	-tV	-mV	-sV
	7%	1.8%	0.9%	0.8%

túò/tósó ‘bow’ (see Brindle 2015a for an account of a similar situation in Waali). Also here, one expects the last vowel to delete in each of the plural forms instead of the penultimate one. Moreover, inconsistent class assignment across speakers, across villages, and even different forms (predominantly in the plural) from the same speaker on different elicitation sessions do arise.

3.2.1.8 Semantic assignment criteria Several authors have presented different views on the semantic classification of nominals. The general idea is that there must be an underlying system which can explain, first, why some words display identical number morphology, and second, how these words are related in meaning. Tchagbalé (2007: 23) shows that Tem organizes its nominals on the basis of semantic values such as humanness, size, and countability. Awedoba (2007: 41) argues that nominal groupings in Kasem should take into consideration phonological and semantic characteristics, in addition to other more cultural factors. Amidu (2007) argues at length on the shortcoming of traditional semantic rules and argues for abandoning them.

The semantic value of the noun class suffixes has proven difficult to establish. It is possible that there are analogies in class assignment based on semantic criteria, but it is more likely that synchronically (i) the phonological shape of the stem triggers the suffix type, and that (ii) some classes can be identified as residues of former semantic assignment. Let me comment on each of these points.

First, most class 3 nouns have a sonorant consonant in the coda position, the stems of class 4 nouns must have their last vowel specified for [-HI, -RO] and a typical class 2 noun is either CVV or CVCV. These are some of the characteristics described for the noun classes. It seems that the phonological shape of the stem plays a role in class assignment and that there is no productive class where most of its members are assigned to a particular semantic domain. Using four features of the animacy hierarchy of Comrie (1989), i.e. human [HUM], animal (exclude human) or other-animate and insects [ANIM], concrete inanimate

[CONC] and abstract (inanimate) [ABST], Brindle (2008b) shows that the noun classes do not encode any of these distinctions. Such distinctions may have been expected given the nominal classification of other Gur languages. For instance in Dagaare, a Western Oti-Volta language in contact with Chakali, Bodomo (1994: 124) presents the Class 2 (V/ba) as “unique in that it is the only class that has exclusively [+human] nouns in it”. From a diachronic point of view, this could suggest that Chakali has dropped all animacy distinctions in the noun class system while preserving one distinction in agreement (see Section 3.10.1).

Secondly, languages related to Chakali, e.g. geographically and genetically, have or had noun class systems whose classifications were based, at least partially, on semantic criteria (Naden 1982). To my knowledge, the most conservative system today within Grusi is Tem (see “identification sémantique” in Tchagbalé 2007). When and how the speakers of Chakali classified nouns based on semantic criteria is impossible to know, but traces can be detected in the *less productive noun classes*, that is class 6, 7, 8, and 9 (see Table 10). Some members of class 6 consist of nouns with mass or abstract denotations, e.g. rice, louse, struggle, profit, etc. Recall that number has no exponent in class 6. Class 7 also contains mass and abstract nouns, e.g. oil, honey, water, and taboo, but also bush animals such as bushbuck, waterbuck, baboon, roan antelope and hartebeest. Class 7 represents approximately 2% of the noun sample (see Table 10) and mass/abstract nouns and bush animals each represent 30% of class 7 membership. Class 8 is likely to be the class where kinship and human classification terms were assigned, as mother, father, and ‘owner of’ are among remnant members of that class. Finally, a common trait of class 9 may be ‘elongated things’, since words referring to rope, arm, tail, and ladder are members. Yet, only eight nouns are assigned to class 9. Despite the arbitrary nature of the semantic assignment of class 9, Manessy (1975: 94) maintains that there are Oti-Volta languages which show relics of the Proto Oti-Volta class **ŋu-* **u-*, which is itself a remnant of Proto-Gur class 3 according to Miehe & Winkelmann (2007: 11), and that this class contains “les noms du bâton, du pilon, du balai, de la corde, de la peau et du chemin”. Although these nouns seem to denote ‘elongated things’, Manessy claims that they cannot contribute to an hypothesis. Generally, however, the fact that members of classes 6, 7, 8, and 9 are similarly clustered in other languages suggests that these classes are remnants of a more productive semantic assignment system. Beside semantic domains, the simple empirical fact that homonyms are allotted different classes excludes a purely phonologically-based assignment. There is no way a speaker can correctly pluralize the stems *kuo* (CL.5) ‘farm’ and *kuo* (CL.9) ‘type’.

of antelope' based entirely on their (segmental) phonological shape.¹⁶ It seems that apart from phonological and semantic features, combinatorial features on lexical units are necessary to account for noun class assignment.

3.2.1.9 Tone patterns of noun classes In spite of variations, nouns have recurrent tonal melodies and representative examples are presented in Table 11. The general tendency for nouns is for the singular and plural forms to display the same tonal melody. For instance, a HL melody may be associated with both the singular and the plural, e.g. *zíj/zísé* 'tail' (CL.9) and *kój/kólá* 'biological relation' (CL.3). These cases are tonally regular. Another common pattern is when a singular noun displays a H melody, but the plural a LH melody, e.g. *dáá/dàásá* 'tree' (CL.2). While it seems that the plural suffix *-sV* depresses a preceding H, it does not do so in class 9 nouns. The majority of class 4 nouns in the data available are high tone irrespective of the number of moras and they are all tonally regular. An exception is the LHL melody, of which a dozen or so pairs are attested, e.g. *tʃírri/tʃíré* 'type of wasp' and *kògfi/kògée* 'iron'. Some cases involving singular CVC words with moraic coda exhibit the deletion of a low tone; *zíj/zínná* 'bat' (CL.5), *gér/gété* 'lizard' (CL.3), and *sál/sállá* 'flat roof' (CL.5) have a LH tonal melody in the singular but H in the plural. A downstep rule (Section 4.1) predicts that a high tone preceded by a low tone is perceived as lower than a preceding high tone, e.g. *váà* HL, *vá́sá* HLH 'dog' (CL.1).

3.2.1.10 Noun class reconstruction The numerical labelling of the noun classes in Table 8 and 10 is arbitrary. Nonetheless, some observations on similarities between the noun class system in Chakali and other SWG noun class systems can be put forward. The information sources are my own field notes on neighbouring languages, the reconstruction of the noun class suffixes of Grusi in Manessy (1969a,b), and the reconstruction of noun classes in Gur in Miehe & Winkelmann (2007); the latter being for the most part an update and synthesis of Manessy's work (Manessy 1969a,b; 1975; 1979; 1982; 1999). Needless to say, the following statements are first impressions.

¹⁶ I put segmental in parenthesis since homonyms *with the same tonal melody* belonging to two different classes have not yet been found. The pair *pól/pólló* (CL.5) 'water source' and *pól/póló* (CL.3) 'vein' may be treated as one example, but their meanings could be thought of as pointing to a common etymology. Another is the pair *tíi/tísé* (CL.2) 'type of tree' and *tíi/tíisé* (CL.2) 'tea', but the latter is a recent loan from English. Nevertheless, Bonvini (1988), Awedoba (2007) and Tchagbalé (2007) provide data to support a similar claim.

Table 11: Tonal melodies in noun classes 1–5

CLASS	Tone	Singular	Tone	Plural	Gloss
	melody		melody		
	SG		PL		
CL.1	HL	váà	HLH	vá́sá	dog
	LH	gùnó	LH	gùnsó	cotton
	HL	tsíníè	HL	tsínísé	type of climber
	L	dìgìnà	LH	dìgìnsá	ear
CL.2	H	síé	LH	sièsé	face
	L	bòlà	LH	bòlásá	elephant
	LH	tòmó	LH	tòmósó	type of tree
	LH	jùó	LH	jùósó	quarrel
	HL	kánà	HLH	kánásá	arm ring
CL.3	H	hóǵ	H	hóǵó	bone
	HL	háǎñ	HL	háǎnà	woman
	LH	gér	H	gété	lizard
	LH	pàatʃák	LH	pàatʃágá	leaf
CL.4	H	síí	H	síé	appearance
	H	tʃíí	H	tʃíá	dawadawa seed
	LHL	ààríí	LHL	ààríé	grasscutter
CL.5	H	víí	H	vííné	cooking pot
	LH	béń	H	bénné	law
	LH	sál	H	sállá	flat roof
	HL	tsál	LH	tsàllá	blood
	HL	pél	H	péllé	burial specialist

Field notes on neighbouring languages, supported with unpublished material produced by GILLBT’s staff,¹⁷ provided relevant information on the (dis-)similarities of Chakali with other SWG languages. As in all SWG languages, a typical Vagla noun class is characterized by suffixation. The most frequent plural

¹⁷ In 2008, Tony Naden gave me a copy of his ongoing Vagla and Dég lexicons. I am also indebted to: Kofi Mensa (New Longoro) for Dég, Modesta Kanjiti (Bole) for Vagla and Dég, Joseph Kipo (Bole) for Vagla and Yusseh Jamani (Bowina) for Tampulma.

markers in Vagla are *-zi*, *-ni* and *-ri*. The pattern found in Chakali class 4 is similar to the one found in Vagla, e.g. (SG/PL) *bàmpírí/bàmpíré* ‘chest’, *hūbí/hūbé* ‘bee’ and *gíngímí/gíngímé* ‘hill’. In Deg, the most frequent plural markers are mid-vowel suffixes, often rounded, and the *-rV*, *-nV* and *-IV* suffixes, with which the vowel harmonizes in roundness and ATR with the stem vowel. Both Vagla and Deg display miscellaneous classes which are characterized by a simple difference in vowel quality between the last vowel of the singular and the plural, e.g. Deg *dala/dale* ‘cooking place’. Attested alternations (SG/PL) in Vagla are *-i/-e*, *-i/-a*, *-a/-i*, *-u/-a*, *-o/-i* and *-e/-i*, and in Deg *-a/-e*, *-e/-a*, *-i/-e*, *-o/-i* and *-i/-a*.¹⁸ The noun classes of Tampulma and Pasaale correspond more to those of Chakali. Tampulma has at least the following class suffix pairs (SG/PL): $\emptyset/-V$, *-i/-e*, $\emptyset/-nV$, $\emptyset/-sV$, *-V/-sV*, *-hV/-sV* and $\emptyset/-tV$. Tampulma displays similar harmony rules to those found in Chakali. Apart from the singular suffix *-hV*, all the noun class suffixes in Tampulma are manifested in Chakali. Correspondingly, Pasaale reveals pairs and harmony rules similar to those of Chakali and Tampulma.¹⁹

It is important to keep in mind that the analysis in Manessy (1969a,b) is based on a very limited set of SWG data, most of the data being extracted from Bendor-Samuel (1965). He often stresses the tentative nature of his claims and sets forth more than one hypothesis on several occasions. Based on a comparison of word forms and meanings, Chakali plural suffix of class 8 *-mV* may be treated as a descendant of the Proto-Grusi Class **B₁A* (Manessy 1969b: 32), class 9 *-ŋ* as a descendant of the Proto-Grusi Class **NE* (Manessy 1969b: 37, 41), class 1 *-V* as a descendant of the Proto-Grusi Class **K₁A* (Manessy 1969b: 39), classes 1, 2, and 9 *-sV* as descendants of the Proto-Grusi Class **SE* (Manessy 1969b: 39) and class 7 *-tV* as a descendant of the Proto-Grusi Class **TE/O* (Manessy 1969b: 43). The vowel suffixes of class 1 and 4 may also descend from the Proto-Grusi Class **YA* (Manessy 1969b: 34). In consulting Miehe & Winkelmann (2007: 7–22), Chakali’s most frequent plural suffix *-sV*, found in class 1, 2, and 9, would seem to correspond to Proto-Gur Class 13 **-sɪ*, the plural suffix of class 5 *-nV* to Proto-Gur Class

¹⁸ These singular/plural pairings are extracted from the Vagla and Deg lexicons (fn. 17) and are not exhaustive.

¹⁹ As mentioned in footnote 13, the number of noun classes is determined by the linguist’s analysis. McGill, Fembeti & Toupin (1999: 5–12) is a good example of the consequence of analyzing noun classes differently. For instance, McGill, Fembeti & Toupin (1999: 7) postulate a subclass (SG/PL) *-l/-la* for word pairs like *baal/baala* ‘man’, *gul/gulo* ‘group’, *miibol/miibolo* ‘nostril’ and *mol/mol* ‘stalk’. If these words were part of the Chakali data, they would have been allotted to class 2 (*-∅/-V*), that is, I would have treated the */l/* as a coda consonant of the stem instead of a noun class suffix consonant. In addition, whereas I derive the quality of the vowel entirely from harmony rules, McGill, Fembeti & Toupin assume archiphonemes (underspecified segments), like A and E, which surface depending on harmony rules.

2a *-*n.ba* or Proto-Gur Class 10 *-*ni*, class 7 -*tV* to Proto-Gur Class 21 *-*tv* and class 8 -*mV* to Proto-Gur Class 2 *-*ba*. The singular suffix -*γ* would correspond to Proto-Gur Class 3 *-*γv*.

Needless to say, these observations deserve further investigation. Even though there is literature to support the reconstruction of the Gur classes, little can be done in the SWG area unless descriptions of nominal classifications in the languages Winyé, Vagla, Tampulma, Phuie, Deg, Siti/Kyitu, and the dialects of Sisaala are made available. A synthesis of these descriptions could be compared to “better-documented” nominal classifications of Grusi languages such as Kasem (Northern Grusi, Awedoba 1979; Bonvini 1988; Awedoba 2003), Lyélé (Northern Grusi, Delplanque 1979), Lama (Eastern Grusi, Aritiba 1987; Ourso 1989), Kabiye (Eastern Grusi, Tchagbalé 2007), Chala (Eastern Grusi, Kleinewillinghöfer 2000) and Tem (Eastern Grusi, Tchagbalé 1972; 2007), to evaluate the Proto-Grusi noun class suffixes of Manessy (1969b) and Proto-Gur of Miehe & Winkelmann (2007), and to reconstruct the nominal classifications of SWG languages.

3.2.2 Atomic stem nouns

The notion of stem in the present context refers to the host of a noun class suffix or the host of a nominaliser, i.e. the element which conveys the lexical meaning and to which affixes attach. A stem can be either irreducible or reducible morphologically: they are referred to as atomic and complex stem respectively. Complex stems are presented in Section 3.2.3. An atomic stem is always a nominal or a verbal lexeme. A verbal lexeme may either be of the type “process” or “state” (Sections 3.2.2.2 and 3.2.2.3). Three types of nominalization formation (i.e. nominalisers) are attested: suffixation, prefixation, and reduplication.

3.2.2.1 Nominal stem A nominal stem denotes a class of entities. Nouns composed by the combination of a nominal stem and a noun class affix are the most common. A nominal stem has the potential to be juxtaposed with various noun class affixes, yielding forms with different meanings. For instance, the lexeme *baal* is associated with the general meaning ‘male’. In a context where the lexeme is used in the singular, *baal* can mean either ‘a man’ or ‘a husband’. Given the same context but used in the plural, the lexeme *baal* is disambiguated by the plural suffix it takes; *báàlá* ‘men’ (CL.3) and *bààlsá* ‘husbands’ (CL.2). Evidence from other Grusi languages suggests that the situation where lexemes are found in different noun classes was certainly a more common phenomenon than it is today

(Bonvini 1988: 126–128). This may coincide with semantically richer noun class suffixes. In addition, for many noun classes the singular forms are not overtly marked and the plural forms are by and large less frequent. This situation makes it difficult to provide the necessary evidence which would demonstrate that nominal stems are attested with different noun classes.

Nominal stems exist in opposition to the verbal ones. To classify a stem in such a dichotomy, the simple test carried out consists of placing the stem in several core predicative positions, i.e. positions where an argument must appear. If the sentence is perceived as grammatical and felicitous by language consultants, it cannot be nominal. The examples in (84) illustrate the procedure. It uses a frame where the predicate is in the perfective aspect and the same predicate, as opposed to the argument, is in focus. The assumption is that this position cannot be satisfied by nominal lexemes.

- (84) a. /di/ ‘eat’ → ḵ *díjōó* |3SG eat.PFV.FOC| ‘he ate’
 b. /kpeg/ ‘hard’ → ḵ *kpégéó* |3SG hard.PFV.FOC| ‘he is strong’
 c. /siama/ ‘red’ → **ʊ siama*, but ḵ *siárēó* |3SG red.PFV.FOC| ‘it is red’
 d. /bi/ ‘child’ → **ʊ bio*

The grammatical sentences in (84) show that *di* and *kpeg* are verbal, whereas *siama* and *bi* are not. In Section 3.4, it will be shown that some colour properties change forms depending on whether they occur in a nominal or verbal context, so ‘red’ can be verbal but *siama* is not.

3.2.2.2 Verbal process stem Verbal process stems denote non-stative events. Table 12 displays two types of nominalization formation – suffixation and reduplication – involving verbal process stems, ‘agent of X’ and ‘action of X’, where X replaces the meaning of the verbal process stem.

In Table 12, the column entitled semantic value (Sem. value) identifies the meaning of the verbal nominalization. In such a context, ‘agent of X’ refers to the instigator or doer of the state of affairs denoted by the predicate X and the nominalization is generally accomplished by the suffix *-r(a)*. However, there are some expressions with the equivalent agentive denotation which do not suffix *-r* to the predicate, e.g. *?ora* ‘to sew’ vs. *?ota* ‘sewer’ and *maya* ‘to beat’ vs. *kiŋ-mayana* ‘drummer’. The singular forms are given in the fourth column: the plural of agent nominals of this type, i.e. nominalized by the suffix *-r*, is made by a sin-

Table 12: Examples of nominalization of verbal process stem

Sem. value	Verb. process stem	NMLZ	Form
Agent of X	gòò ‘dance’	-/r/	góór ‘dancer’
Agent of X	kpó ‘kill’	-/r/	kpóórá ‘killer’
Agent of X	búól ‘sing’	reduplication	bùòlbúóló ‘singer’
Agent of X	sùmmè ‘help’	reduplication	súsúmmá ‘helper’
Action of X	gòò ‘dance’	-/[+HI, -BK]/	góóíí ‘dancing’
Action of X	kpó ‘kill’	-/[+HI, -BK]/	kpóóíí ‘killing’
Action of X	búól ‘sing’	-/[+HI, -BK]/	búólíí ‘singing’
Action of X	sùmmè ‘help’	-/[+HI, -BK]/	súmmíí ‘helping’

gle vowel suffix (CL.3) whose surface form depends on harmony rules.²⁰ Another verbal nominalization process conveying ‘agent of X’ is reduplication. The evidence suggests that only the first syllable is reduplicated.

The second nominalization process is interpreted as ‘action of X’ or ‘process of X’ and consists of the suffixation of a high front vowel to the verbal stem.²¹ The surface form of the vowel depends on the quality of the stem vowel and ATR-harmony (Section 4.2). Consider example (85).

- (85) ḡ piílè wáíf rá.
 uParam wa-1-1 ra
 3SG start come-NMLZ-CL.4 FOC
 ‘He begins coming.’

The final vowels in the words referring to ‘the process of X’ are analysed as a sequence of two vowels: first a nominaliser suffix (i.e. NMLZ) on the verbal stem, and second, a noun class suffix. Such nominalized verbal stems are allotted to

²⁰ One language consultant had a problem retrieving the plural of some agent nouns. He often repeated the singular entry for the plural. I interpret this as either a situation where agent nouns do not show differences in the singular and plural (CL. 6), or different SG/PL forms exist but he could not retrieve them. The pair *kpóra/kpóraṣa* ‘killer(s)’ is unusual. The word *sāsaar* means ‘woodcarver’ and not ‘car driver’ even though *sāā* can mean both ‘carve’ and ‘drive vehicle’. People usually use *lɔɔlisāár*, or the English word *dəravé*, which is common all over Ghana, to refer to any driver of a vehicle.

²¹ The nominalization ‘the process X’ is often not distinguishable from ‘the result of a process X’. Does ‘dancing’ refer to ‘the process of dance’, ‘the result of the process of dance’ or both?

noun class 4; their singular suffix is a copy of the NMLZ vowel, and their plural suffix is the low vowel *a*, raised to a mid height, e.g. *pərɪ/pərɪɛ* ‘weaving(s)’ (<*pəra* ‘weave’, see class 4 in Section 3.2.1.4).

3.2.2.3 Verbal state stem Verbal state stems denote static events. They generally function as verbs, but they can take the role of attributive modifiers in noun phrases, referred to as ‘qualifiers’ in Section 3.4. In that role, their semantic value is similar to the value of adjectives in English: they denote a property assigned to a referent. To function as a qualifier, some verbal state predicates must be nominalized. As with verbal process stems, verbal state stems are found in nouns which have been nominalized by suffixation of a high front vowel, i.e. ‘the state of X’. For instance, the verbal state predicate *kpeg* has a general meaning which can be translated into English as ‘hard’ and ‘strong’. The expression *kpégíi* in a *teebul kpégii dva de* ‘The hard table is there’ functions as qualifier in the noun phrase *a teebul kpégii*, lit. ‘the table hard’.

- (86) Verbal state stem *kpeg* ‘hard’ in complex stem nouns

- a. *núú⁴kpég* < head-hard ‘stubbornness’
- b. *nékpég* < arm-hard ‘stingy’
- c. *dààkpég* < wood-hard ‘strong wood’

Examples are provided in (86) using *kpeg* again for the sake of illustration. Notice that only (86c) has a transparent and compositional meaning. Verbal state stems are mainly found in complex stem nouns (Section 3.2.3).

3.2.3 Complex stem nouns

A complex stem noun, as opposed to an atomic one, is formed by the combination of at least two stems (XY). Either X or Y in a XY-complex stem noun may be atomic or complex. Nominal stems (ns), verbal state stems (ss) and verbal process stems (ps), together with a single noun class suffix (and/or other types of nominaliser) are the elements which take part in the formation of complex stem nouns.

- (87) a. *nébíi* ‘finger’
ne-bi-i [arm-seed]
 NS + NS + CL.3SG

- b. *pàtfígíbúmmò* ‘liar’
*patfigi-bummo-*Ø [stomach-black]
 NS + NS (+ CL.1SG)
- c. *ŋméŋhɔlfi* ‘dried okro’
ŋmey-hɔl-I-I [okro-dry]
 NS + SS + NMLZ + CL.4.SG
- d. *jàwàdíř* ‘business person’
*jawa-di-r-*Ø [buy-eat-agent]
 PS + PS + NMLZ (+ CL.3SG)

In (87a) and (87b), all stems are nominal. In (87c), the verbal state stem *hɔl* ‘dry’ follows a nominal stem, and in (87d) both stems are of the type verbal process. In these stem appositions, it is the noun class suffix of the rightmost stem which appears. Further, stems are lexemes, as opposed to nouns or verbs. This is readily apparent in (87a) and (87b), in which the leftmost stems *ne* and *patfigi* would appear as *neg* and *patfigi* if they were full-fledged nouns. Thus, although complex stem nouns contain more than one stem, there is only one noun class associated with the noun and it is always the noun class associated with the rightmost stem. This was mentioned in Section 3.2.1.8 to support the claim that semantic criteria in noun class assignment may be non-existent.

If stems are treated as lexemes, there is still a problem in accounting for the “reduced” form of some lexemes when they occur in stem appositions. That is, the first stem of a complex stem noun is often reduced to a single syllable in the case of a polysyllabic lexeme, or a monosyllabic lexeme of the type CVV is reduced to CV. For example, *lúhò* and *lúhòsó* are respectively the singular and plural forms for ‘funeral’ (CL.2). The expectation is that when the lexeme takes part in position X of a XY complex stem noun, it should exhibit its lexemic form, i.e. *luho*. Yet, the word for ‘last funeral’ is *lúsínnà*, lit. funeral-drink, and not **luhosinna*. Not all lexemes get reduced in that particular environment; nevertheless, it is more discernible for polysyllabic lexemes or monosyllabic ones built on a heavy syllable. Moreover, some lexemes are more frequent in that environment than others.

The relation between the stems in a complex stem noun is asymmetric. The relation is defined in terms of what the referents of the stems and the complex noun as a whole have to do with each other. As in a syntactic relation between a head and a modifier, one of the stems modifies while the other stem is modified. The semantic relations between the stems are of two types: “completive” modification and “qualitative” modification. These distinctions are discussed in Sections 3.2.3.1 and 3.2.3.2.

3.2.3.1 Compleutive modification A compleutive modification in a complex stem noun XY can translate as ‘Y of X’ of which Y is the head. For instance *siipój* ‘eyelash’, *lit.* eye-hair, is a kind of hair and not a kind of eye. And *?ilnðà* ‘nipple’, *lit.* breast-mouth, is most likely seen as a kind of orifice than as a kind of breast. In both cases, the noun class is suffixed to the rightmost stem, incidentally to the head of the morphological construction, i.e. *siipój/siipórná* (CL.3) and *?ilnðà/?ilnðásá* (CL.2). As mentioned earlier, either X or Y in a complex noun XY can be complex. The word *népfélpátfigí* ‘palm of the hand’ is an example of two compleutive modifications. It consists of a complex stem *nepiel* ‘hand’, which is composed of *ne* ‘arm’ and *píel* ‘flat’, and the atomic stem *patfigi* ‘stomach’, yielding in turn ‘flat of arm’ and then ‘inside of flat of arm’.

3.2.3.2 Qualitative modification A qualitative modification in a complex stem noun is the same as the syntactic modification noun-modifier. The difference lies in the formal status of the elements: when the relation is held at a syntactic level, the elements are words, whereas at the morphological level they are stems. As mentioned earlier, either X or Y in a complex noun XY can be complex. For instance, the word *nebiwie* consists of the combination of *ne* ‘arm’ (CL.9) and *bi* ‘seed’ (CL.4), then the combination of *nebi* ‘finger’ and *wi* ‘small’. The noun class of *wi* ‘small’ is CL.1, so the singular and plural forms for the word ‘little finger’ are *nébíwié* and *nébíwísé* respectively. The first relation involved is a compleutive modification, i.e. ‘seed of arm’, while the second is a qualitative one, i.e. ‘small seed of arm’ or ‘small finger’. A qualitative modification in a complex noun XY can translate as ‘X has the property Y’ of which X is the head. Therefore, unlike many languages, it is not necessarily the head of the morphological construction which determines the type of inflection.

The examples in Table 13 illustrate the distinction between the compleutive and qualitative modification. The form *daa* conveys either the meaning ‘tree’ or ‘wood’. Both meanings may function as head or as modifier. If the head stem follows its modifier, it is a compleutive modification, and vice-versa for the qualitative modification. A semantic relation between the stems may be a whole-part relation, a characteristic added to define an entity or a purpose associated with an entity.

So far, XY-complex stem nouns were assumed to be endocentric compounds whose head is X in qualitative modification and the head is Y in compleutive modification. However, a word such as *pátfigibúmmò* ‘liar, secretive’, *lit.* stomach-black, suggests that some XY-complex stem nouns may either lack a head or have more than one head. These possibilities are not ignored, but in this particu-

Table 13: Distinction between completive and qualitative modification using /daa/ ‘tree’ or ‘wood’. Abbreviations: H= head, M= modifier, NS= nominal stem, SS= verbal state stems, PS= verbal process stem,

	Structure			Stems	Word
	Lex. type	Function	Semantic		
Completive	NS-NS	M-H	WHOLE-PART	/daa/-/luto/ ‘tree’-‘root’	dààlútó ‘root of tree’
	NS-SS	M-H	WHOLE-PART	/daa/-/pëti/ ‘tree’-‘end’	dààpëtí ‘bark’
	NS-NS	M-H	WHOLE-PART	/kpõñkpõñ/-/daa/ ‘cassava’-‘wood’	kpõñkpõñdāā ‘cassava plant’
Qualitative	NS-NS	H-M	THING-CHARAC	/daa/-/sɔta/ ‘tree’-‘thorn’	dààsɔtá ‘type of tree’
	NS-NS	H-M	THING-CHARAC	/jin/-/daa/ ‘tooth’-‘wood’	jíndáá ‘horn’
	PS-NS	H-M	PURPOSE-THING	/tʃaasa/-/daa/ ‘comb’-‘wood’	tʃáásàdāā ‘wooden comb’

lar case the complex stem noun may be seen as involving the abstract senses of *patfigñi* and *bummo*, that is ‘essence’ and ‘subtle, restrained’ respectively, making *patfigñibummo* a qualitative modification which can be formulated literally as ‘subtle/restrained essence’, i.e. a property applicable to humans. Thus, the stem *patfigñi* is treated as the head, and *bummo* as the stem functioning as the qualitative modifier. Another example is *dààdùgó*. This word consists of the stems *daa* ‘tree’ and *dugo* ‘infest’ and refers to a type of insect. Unlike the analysed expressions displayed in Table 13 none of the stems can be treated as the head of the expression and the meaning of the whole noun cannot be transparently predicted from its constituent parts. This leads me to provisionally consider the expression *dààdùgó* as an exocentric compound, i.e. a complex stem noun without a head.

3.2.3.3 Compound or circumlocution For a few expressions, it is hard to tell whether they are compounds, i.e. the results of morphological operations, or circumlocutions, i.e. the results of syntactic operations (Allan 2001: 165). Clear

cases of circumlocution nevertheless exist. For instance, the word *kpatakpal* ‘type of hyena’ is treated by one language consultant as *kpa ta kpa li*, lit. ‘take let.free take leave’.²² Another example is *sówàkándíkúró* ‘parasitic plant’. This expression refers to a type of parasitic plant lacking a root which grows upon and survives from the nutrients provided by its hosts. The word-level expression originates from the sentence *sòwà ká ý dí kùró*, lit. die-and-I-eat-chief, ‘Die so that I can become the chief’. It is common to find names of individuals being constructed in this way: the oldest woman in Ducie is known as *ṇwábiṣe*, lit. *ṇ wa bi pe* ‘I-not-again-add’. Since two successive husbands died early, she used to say that she will never marry again. For that reason people call her *ṇwábiṣe*.

3.2.4 Derivational morphology

A derivational morpheme is an affix which combines with a stem to form a word. The meaning it carries combines with the meaning of the stem. By definition, a derivational morpheme is a bound affix, and thus cannot exist on its own as a word. This property keeps apart complex stem nouns and derived nouns. Yet, the distinction between a bound affix and a lexeme is not obvious, mainly because some bound affixes were probably lexemes at a previous stage, or still are today (see the morpheme *bi* in Section 3.6.5).

3.2.4.1 Maturity and sex of animate entities The specification of the maturity and sex of an animate entity is accomplished in the following way: male, female, young, and adult are organized in morphemes encoding one or two distinctions. These morphemes are suffixed to the rightmost stem. To distinguish between male and female, the morphemes (SG/PL) *wal/wala* ‘male’ and *nii/nita* ‘female’ are used as (88) illustrates.

- (88) a. *bòlà-wál-*Ø / *bòlà-wál-*á
elephant-male-SG / elephant-male-PL (CL.3)
- b. *bòlà-níi-*Ø / *bòlà-níi-*tá
elephant-female-SG / elephant-female-PL (CL.7)

The language employs two strategies to express the distinction between the adult animal and its young, which is called here ‘maturity’. The first is to simply add the morpheme *-bi* ‘child’ to the head, e.g. *bòla-bie/bòla-bise* ‘young elephant(s)’. In the second strategy both the sex and maturity distinctions are conveyed by the morpheme. This is shown in Table 14.

²² Yet *kpatakpari* is the word for ‘hunting trap’ in Gonja (Rytz n.d.).

Table 14: Morphemes encoding maturity and sex of animate entities

	MALE	FEMALE
YOUNG	-w(a e)lee	-lor
ADULT	-wal	-nii

Some examples are more opaque than others. For instance, the onset consonant of the morpheme *wal/wala* ‘male’ may surface as a bilabial plosive, e.g. *bɔ̂ɔmbál* ‘male goat’. One can also observe a difference in form between the word *pìésíí* ‘sheep’, *pèmbál* ‘male sheep’ and *pèntíí* ‘female sheep’. The words displayed in the first three rows of Table 15 show the least transparent derivations. The annotation of tone is a first impression.

Table 15: Maturity and sex/gender of animals

Animal	Generic	Adult		Young	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
fowl	zál	zím ⁴ bál	zápúò	zimbéléè	zápúwié
sheep	píésíí	pèmbál	pèníí	pémbéléè	pélòr
goat	bɔ̂ɔl	bɔ̂ɔmbál	bɔ̂níí	bɔ̂mbéléè	bɔ̂ɔlòr
pouched rat	sàpùhié	sàpúwál	sàpúníí	sàpúwáléè	sàpúlòr
antelope	?áá	?ááwál	?ááníí	?ááwéléè	?áálòr
dog	váà	váwál	váníí	váwáléè	válòr
cat	diébié	diébáwál	diébáníí	diébáwáléè	diébálòr
cow	náá	náwál	nánníí	náwáléè	nállòr
elephant	bòlà	bòlwál	bòlèníí	bòwáléè	bòllòr

3.2.4.2 Native or Inhabitant of To express ‘I am from X’, where ‘be from X’ refers to the place where someone was born and/or the place where someone lives, the verb *lìì* is used, e.g. *sòylá ሥ lìì* ‘I am from Sawla’. Expressions with the meaning ‘native of X’ or ‘inhabitant of X’ can be noun words referring to this same idea, that is ‘being from X’. Table 16 shows that the suffixes *-(l)ii/(l)ee/la* express the meaning ‘native of X’ or ‘inhabitant of X’. The suffixes display vowel

qualities in the singular and plural similar to those found in noun class 4 (Section 3.2.1.4).

Table 16: Native or Inhabitant of

Location	SG	PL	Location	SG	PL
Chakali	<i>tfàkálíí</i>	<i>tfàkáléé</i>	Katua	<i>kàtóɔlíf</i>	<i>kàtóɔléé</i>
Motigu	<i>mòtígíí</i>	<i>mòtígíé</i>	Tiisa	<i>tíísàlí</i>	<i>tíísàlá</i>
Ducie	<i>dùsélíí</i>	<i>dùséléé</i>	Chasia	<i>tfásílíf</i>	<i>tfásíléé</i>
Bulenga	<i>búléŋíí</i>	<i>búléŋéé</i>	Wa	<i>wáálíf</i>	<i>wáálà</i>
Gurumbele	<i>gròmbèlíf</i>	<i>gròmbèlíféé</i>	Tuosa	<i>tòɔsálíf</i>	<i>tòɔsálá</i>

3.2.4.3 Category switch The phenomenon called ‘category switch’ refers to a derivational process whereby two words with related meanings and composed of the same segments change category based entirely on their tonal melody. Examples are provided in (89).

- (89) *tòmà* (*v*) ‘work’ ↔ *tómá* (*n*) ‘work’
 gòà (*v*) ‘dance’ ↔ *gòá* (*n*) ‘dance’
 jòwà (*v*) ‘buy’ ↔ *jòwá* (*n*) ‘market’
 mòmà (*v*) ‘laugh’ ↔ *mòmá* (*n*) ‘laughter’
 gòrò (*v*) ‘circle’ ↔ *góró* (*n*) ‘bent’

3.2.4.4 Agent- and event-denoting nominalizations Apart from their roles in complex stem nouns, it was shown in Section 3.2.2.2 that both verbal state and verbal process stems undergo these two nominalizations processes in order to function as atomic nouns. The two processes are summarized in (90) and (91).

(90) Agent nominalization

- a. A verb stem takes the suffix -[r] to express agent-denoting nominalization.

sòåsórá / sòåsórá (CL.3) ‘weaver(s)’
 ← *sòå* (*v*) ‘weave’
lúlibùmmùjár / lúlibùmmùjárá (CL.3) ‘healer(s)’
 ← *lulibummo* (*n*) ‘medicine’ + *ja* (*v*) ‘do’

- b. A verb stem gets partially reduplicated to express agent-denoting nominalization.

súsúmmá / súsúmmásá (CL.2) ‘helper(s)’

← *súmmé* (v) ‘help’

sásáár / sásásárá (CL.3) ‘carver(s)’

← *sásá* (v) ‘carve’

(91) Event nominalization

A verb stem takes the suffix -/[+HI, -BK]/ to express event-denoting nominalization.

lólfí / lólfé (CL.4) ‘giving birth’

← *lóla* (v) ‘give birth’

kpégíí / kpégié (CL.4) ‘hard’ or ‘strong’

← *kpeg* (v) ‘hard’ or ‘strong’

Some consultants prefer agent nouns ending with (SG/PL) *-r/-rV* (CL.3), others prefer *-ra/-rasV* (CL.2). In addition, there is another agent-denoting word formation which simply adds the word *kɔɔrr* ‘make’ to the noun denoting the product, e.g. *näǟtɔkύ́rá / näǟtɔkύ́rəsá* (CL.1) ‘shoemaker(s)’ < *näǟtɔs(n)* ‘shoe’ + *kɔɔrr* (v) ‘make’.

3.2.5 Proper nouns

As a rule, proper nouns have unique referents: they name people, places, spirits, and so on. So in the area where Chakali is spoken, there is only one river named *gòlógló*, only one hill named *dàlbíí*, one village named *mòtigú*, only one shrine named *dàbàntɔlégú*, etc. Nevertheless more than one person can have the same name, and the same applies to a lesser extent to villages. For instance, *sɔylá* ‘Sawla’ (Sogla) may refer to the Chakali village situated between Tuosa and Motigu, or to a Vagla village situated at the junction of the Bole-Wa and Damongo-Wa road. To identify the former, one must say *tfákálsɔylá* ‘Chakali Sawla’.

A Chakali person may bear two or three names: his/her father’s name, the name of his/her grandfather or great-grandfather, and his own (common) name. In the case of the (great-)grandfather’s name, it is a feature of the newborn or an external sign which suggests the child’s name. The common name may be changed in the course of one’s life. Today, regardless of whether a person is Muslim or not, common names are mainly of Arabic, Hausa, and Gonja origin, probably due to the Islamization of the Chakali (Brindle 2015b).

Common names among the elders (approximately above 50 years) consist of the name of a non-Chakali village, together with *nàà* ‘chief’. In Tuosa, Dicie, and Gurumbele, one finds one or more Kpersi Naa, Mangwe Naa, Jayiri Naa, Wa Naa, Sing Naa, Busa Naa, etc. The next generation (approximately below 50 years) tend to have either “Muslim” names or “English-title” names. Common Muslim names are Idrissu, Fuseini, Mohamedu, Ahmed, Mohadini, etc. Typical “English-title” names are *Spéntà* ‘inspector’, *Dóktà* ‘doctor’, *Títfà* ‘teacher’, etc. Apart from ‘teacher’, which can identify actual teachers in communities in which schools are present, none of the individuals are actual teachers, doctors or inspectors. The same can be said about the older generation, none of them are/were chief of Kpersi, Mangwe, Jayiri, etc.. These villages are not Chakali villages and these individuals have no real connections with the villages used in their names. It seems that these common names were trendy nicknames that peers assign to each other. One consultant claims that the elders can be ranked in terms of power and influence according to their nicknames. In Chakali society, one may have two additional names, a drumming name and a Sigu name (*sígù*). A drumming name is used in drummed messages sent to other villages about weddings or deaths, while a Sigu name is a name one receives when initiated to the shrine *dààbàjtólúgú*.

Because of their pragmatic function, proper nouns are rarely observed in a plural form, but some contexts may allow this. In (92), the proper name *Gbolo* takes the plural marker *-sV*.²³

- (92) *gbòlò-só bá-ŋmènàá ká dòà dùsèè ní.*
 gbolo.(g.b)-PL G.b-Q.many EGR exist Ducie POSTP
 ‘How many Gbolos are there in Ducie?’

Finally, circumlocution is a common process found in names of people and dogs (e.g. the example of *ŋwabipé*, lit. *ŋ wa bi pe* ‘I-not-again-add’, was given in Section 3.2.3.3). A few examples of dog names are given in (93).

- (93) Dog names
- a. *jàsáŋábȭëì* ‘Let’s keep peace’
ja-saŋa-bȭëì [we-sit-slowly]

²³ The context of (92) makes sense when one understands that the name ‘Gbolo’ has a particular meaning. It is understood that when a couple has a fertility problem, it is common to travel to the community of Mankuma and to consult their shrine. If the woman gets pregnant after the visit, they must return to Mankuma to appease the shrine. Subsequently, the child must be named ‘Gbolo’ and automatically acquires the Red Patas monkey as totem.

- b. *ŋnɔ́áwàjáhóó* ‘I will not open my mouth again’
ŋ-nɔ́-wa-ja-hoo [my-mouth-not-do-hoo]
- c. *kùósòzímá* ‘God knows’
kuoso-zima [god-know]

3.2.6 Loan nouns

A loan noun, or more generally a loanword, can be defined as “a word that at some point came into a language by transfer from another language” (Haspelmath 2008: 58). When a word is found in both Chakali and in another language, many loan scenarios are conceivable. However, for some semantic domains such as bicycle or car parts, school material, and so on, the past and present sociolinguistic situations suggest that Chakali is the recipient language and Waali, English, Hausa, and Akan are the donor languages. Loan scenarios differ and are harder to establish when other SWG languages are involved. It is often unfeasible to demonstrate whether the same form/meaning in two languages was inherited from a common ancestor, or borrowed by one and subsequently passed on to other SGW languages. Moreover, it may be unwise to assume that in all cases Chakali is the recipient language, especially for loanwords in domains which were in the past fundamental in Chakali lifestyle, but to a lesser degree for neighbouring ethnic groups. Thus, Chakali as a donor language can be evaluated in a wider Grusi-Oti Volta genesis, or at a micro-level where the influence of Chakali on Bulengi is established. It is unlikely that Chakali borrowed from English through contact. And Ghanaian English, in Wa town and Chakali communities, is not an effective mode of communication, at least in social spheres where the majority of Chakali men and women interact (see discussion in Section 1.3 and in Brindle 2015b). Nonetheless, the situation is different for school children who are exposed to Ghanaian English on a regular basis. I believe that Ghanaian English spoken by native speakers of Waali, Dagaare, or Chakali is the only potential variety of English which can function as a donor language. Examples of words ultimately from English origin are: *bɔ́lùù* ‘blue’, *?ásibítí* ‘hospital’, *dɔ́ktà* ‘doctor’, *bálúù* ‘balloon’, *béléntí* ‘belt’, *tɔ́rádzà* ‘trouser’, *déti* ‘date’, *míntí* ‘minute’, *džánsè* ‘type of dance’, *kàpéntà* ‘carpenter’, *kɔ́lpɔ́tè* ‘coal pot’, *kɔ́tà* ‘quarter’, *lɔ́lì* ‘lorry (any four-wheel vehicle)’, *sákèr* ‘bicycle’, *pèn* ‘pen’, *sùkúù* ‘school’, *tsítṣà* ‘teacher’ and many more. There is a recurrent falling tonal melody (i.e. HL) among the loan nouns of ultimately English origins. Many of them, if not all, can be found in other languages of the area (GILLBT 1975; Dakubu, Atintono & Nsoh 2007).

When a word is found both in Waali and Chakali, it is not automatically classified as borrowed from Waali, yet it is only suspected to be non-Chakali. Examples such *džíérá* ‘sieve’, *džùmbúró* ‘type of medicine’, *gbàgbá* ‘duck’, *kókódúró* ‘ginger’, *kápálá* ‘fufu’, *kǎő* ‘mixture of sodium carbonate’, *nààsárá* (Hausa) ‘Caucasian person’, and *sànsánná* ‘prostitute’ are some of the Waali/Chakali nouns found in transcribed texts, or by chance.

The weekdays are from Arabic (probably via Hausa). Vagla and Tumulung Sisaala, but not Dég, use similar expressions (Naden 1996: 60): *?àtàníé* ‘Monday’, *?àtáláátà* ‘Tuesday’, *?àlárba* ‘Wednesday’, *?àlámósà* ‘Thursday’, *?àridzímà* ‘Friday’, *?àsíbítí* ‘Saturday’, and *?àläháádì* ‘Sunday’. The expressions for the lunar months seem to be borrowed from Waali, but Dagbani and Mamprusi have similar expressions. In these Oti-Volta languages, some of the names correspond to important festivals, i.e. 1, 3, 7, 9, 10, and 12 below. In Chakali, only *džimbéntó* is celebrated and is considered the first month.²⁴ The lunar months are: *džimbéntó* ‘first month (1)’, *síférà* ‘second month (2)’, *dùmbá* ‘third month (3)’, *dùmbá-fúlánààn* ‘fourth month (4)’, *dùmbákókórikó* ‘fifth month (5)’, *kpínítfùmààñkúná* ‘sixth month (6)’, *kpínítfú* ‘seventh month (7)’, *?àndžélindzé* ‘eighth month (8)’, *sóñkàré* ‘ninth month (9)’, *tíñsùnyù* ‘tenth month (10)’, *dùnyúmààñkúnà* ‘eleventh month (11)’ and *dùnyú* ‘twelfth month (12)’. It was understood that these terms and concepts are not known by the majority, especially the younger generations.

3.2.7 Relational nouns

Many languages present formal identity between body parts terms and expressions used to designate elements of space. The widely accepted view is that diachronically spatial relational nouns – sometimes called spatial nominals (Hellwig 2007: 895), or adpositions (Heine 1997: 137) – are “the result of functional split” and that “they are derived from nouns denoting body parts or locative concepts through syntactic reanalysis” (Heine & Reh 1984: 256).

Chakali relational nouns are formally identical to body part nouns although not all body part nouns have a relational noun counterpart. For instance, whereas *juu* can have both a spatial meaning, i.e. ‘on top of X’, and a body part one, i.e. ‘head’, the body part terms *bembii* ‘heart’, *hog* ‘bone’ or *fõõ* ‘lower back’, among others, cannot convey spatial meanings. Table 17 displays the body parts found in the data which convey spatial meaning.²⁵

²⁴ Dagbani *buyum* and Waali *džimbéntó* are both treated as first month by the speakers of these languages.

²⁵ The body part term *gàntál* ‘back’ is from the Ducie lect and corresponds to *hàbòá* in the Motigu, Gurumbele, Katua, Tiisa, and Tuosa lects.

Table 17: Spatial nominal relations and body part nouns: similar forms and different, but related, meanings

Projection	Spatial relation	PoS: <i>reln</i>	Body parts	PoS: <i>n</i>
Intrinsic				
	TOP	<i>nuu</i> (x,y)	head	<i>nuu</i> (x)
	CONTAINMENT	<i>patfiguu</i> (x,y)	stomach	<i>patfiguu</i> (x)
	SIDE	<i>logun</i> (x,y)	rib	<i>logun</i> (x)
	MOUTH	<i>nðā</i> (x,y)	mouth	<i>nðā</i> (x)
	BASE/UNDER	<i>mug</i> (x,y)	arse	<i>mug</i> (x)
	MIDDLE	<i>bambaaj</i> (x,y)	chest box	<i>bambaaj</i> (x)
Relative				
	LEFT	<i>neŋgal</i> (x,y)	left hand	<i>neŋgal</i> (x)
	RIGHT	<i>nendul</i> (x,y)	right hand	<i>nendul</i> (x)
	BACK	<i>gantal</i> (x,y)	dorsum	<i>gantal</i> (x)
	FRONT	<i>sʊv</i> (x,y)	front	<i>sʊv</i> (x)

How can we distinguish a relational noun from a noun? Above all, the differentiation between relational nouns and body part nouns cannot rely solely on surface syntax criteria, precisely because the configuration of a possessive noun phrase and a relational noun phrase are identical. This is shown in (94).

- (94) a. Possessive attributive phrase
 $[N_1-N_2]_{NP}$ where N_2 = body part, e.g. *báál nuú* ‘a man’s head’
 b. Spatial nominal phrase
 $[N_1-N_2]_{NP}$ where N_2 = spatial relation, e.g. *téébùl nuú* ‘top of the table’

Even though the two corresponding nominal structures may cause ambiguities, the interpretation is generally disclosed by the meaning of the nominal preceding the N_2 in (94). The term *nuu*, for instance, can only mean ‘top of’ in a phrase in which it follows another nominal and refers to a projected location of N_1 ’s referent. In (94a), even though *nuu* immediately follows a nominal, it would not normally refer to the projected location ‘on the top’ but only to the man’s head. Nevertheless, despite any attempts to identify structural characteristics which may contribute to the disambiguation of a phrase involving a body part term, ambiguities may still arise.

Another aspect of body part terms is their different function in morphological and syntactic structure. While a relational noun is a syntactic word, body part

terms may also function as morphemes in compound nouns to express a specific part-whole relationship or a conventionalized metaphor (Heine 1997: 141). Whereas the distinction may be formally and semantically hard to distinguish, the number of body part terms which can be the stem in a compound noun is larger than those functioning as relational nouns. Some examples are shown in Table 18.

Table 18: Body part terms in compound nouns

Body part term	Compound noun	Morph. gloss	Gloss
eye	<i>tóó-⁺síí</i>	village-eye	village's center
	<i>kpààn-síí</i>	yam-eye	yam stem
	<i>niì-síí</i>	water-eye	deepest area of a river
	<i>nàà-síí</i>	leg-eye	ankle bump
mouth	<i>gɔ̄j-nɔ̄á</i>	river-mouth	river bank
	<i>?il-nɔ̄á</i>	breast-mouth	nipple
	<i>díà-nɔ̄á</i>	house-mouth	door
leg	<i>gɔ̄n-⁺náá</i>	river-leg	split of a river
	<i>dáá-⁺náá</i>	tree-leg	branch
head	<i>kùósò-púù</i>	god-head	sky
	<i>tíì-púù</i>	land-head (<i>etym</i>)	west
arse	<i>tíì-múj</i>	land-arse (<i>etym</i>)	east
neck	<i>víì-báyñá</i>	pot-neck	neck of a container
testicle	<i>mááfà-lúró</i>	gun-testicle	gun powder container
penis	<i>mááfà-péj</i>	gun-penis	gun trigger
ear	<i>mááfà-dígíná</i>	gun-ear	flintlock frizzen
arm	<i>fálá-néj</i>	calabash-arm	calabash stem
navel	<i>fá-?úl</i>	calabash-navel	calabash node
nose	<i>píí-míítsà</i>	yam mound-nose	part of a yam mound
liver	<i>tóó-póòl</i>	village-liver	important community member

Ignoring for the moment the structure in which they are involved, there seem to be two types of spatial interpretation accessible with body part terms. And there also seems to be a gray zone between the two.²⁶ The first interpretation

²⁶ This gray zone may receive a diachronic interpretation. In Ameka (2007: 1072), the postpositions in Sékpélé are seen as evolving “from body part and environment terms” and have a similar, but not identical, function as those of Chakali relational nouns. For instance, Sékpélé’s postpositions “cannot be modified” nor can they vary “with respect to number marking”.

is the literal attribution of human characteristics (i.e. anthropomorphic) in reference to parts of object. In such a case, a body part term refers to a part of an object in analogy to an animate entity. For instance, a trigger of a gun (i.e. the lever that activates the firing mechanism) is called its ‘penis’, to characterize its physical appearance. The second interpretation does not designate a fixed part of an object but a location projected from a part of an object. It designates a spatial environment in contact with or detached from an object (Heine 1997: 44). To make the distinction clear, in the sentence ‘a label is glued on the neck of the bottle’ the body part term ‘neck’ designates a breakable part of the bottle, whereas in the sentence ‘John is standing at the back of the car’ the body part term ‘back’ does not designate any part of the car but a relative spatial location, the area behind the car.

Relational nouns are rarely found in the plural. Yet, on grammatical grounds, nothing prevents them from being expressed in the plural. To describe a situation where for every bench there is a calabash sitting on it, the sentence in (95) is appropriate.

- (95) à fàlásá ságá à kóró júúnó nī.
 ART calabash.PL sit ART bench.PL RELN.PL POSTP
 ‘The calabashes sit on top of the benches.’

One may argue that the ‘top of a bench’ is a spatial environment in contact with the bench, even a physical part of the bench, so pluralization may simply suggest that the ‘top of a bench’ is a word referring to an entity, and not a locative phrase. Two pieces of evidence go against this view: first, notice that *koro* ‘bench’ in *korojuuno* is plural. Recall Section 3.2.3, in which a noun class (SG/PL marking) was argued to appear only at the end of a word. If ‘top of a bench’ was a word and not a phrase, we would expect its plural form to be **korpuuno*. Secondly, deciding whether or not the ‘top of’ is indeed in contact with or detached from the bench is not conclusive. To describe a situation where several balls are under several tables, one may use the sentence in (96), in which case it cannot be argued that under of the table is a physical part of the table.²⁷

- (96) à bólsá dójá à téébùlsō pátfigíē nī.
 ART ball.PL be.at ART table.PL RELN.PL POSTP
 ‘The balls are under the tables.’

²⁷ One may argue that it is indeed a part of the table, identical to the interior space of a container.

Another aspect of relational nouns and oblique phrases in general is that they are structurally very rigid, that is, they are not easily extracted or preposed. The sentences in (97a) and (97b) are nevertheless acceptable.

- (97) a. à téébùl *júú ní*, à fàlá ságà.
 ART table RELN POSTP ART calabash sit
 ‘On top of the table, the calabash sits.’
- b. téébùl *lō*, à fàlá ságá ò *júú ní*.
 table FOC ART calabash sit 3.SG.POSS RELN. top POSTP
 ‘Table, the calabash sits on top of it.’ (*lit.* ‘sits on its head’)
- c. * *teebul lo, a fala saga juu ni.*
- d. * *v juu ni, a fala saga teebul.*
- e. * *juu ni, a fala saga teebul.*

The sentence in (97b) is acceptable but odd. It shows that the nominal complement of the relational noun *juu* can be uttered at the beginning of the sentence while the possessive pronoun *v* is located in the complement slot of the relational noun, functioning as anaphora. The sentence is ungrammatical if the pronoun is absent *in situ* (97c), or if the oblique phrase is preposed but the nominal *teebul* stranded, whether an anaphora referring to *teebul* is present (97d) or absent (97e).

We now have evidence for treating the relational nouns as members of a closed class of lexical items whose function is to localize the figure to a search domain. It is not only that body part terms acquire spatial meaning following a noun referring to inanimate entities, but that, in diachrony, only a limited set of body part terms has acquired that spatial meaning, and, in synchrony, they form a subtype of nominal identified as relational noun. They are nouns since they can pluralize, but they acquire the status of functional words since they constitute a formal class with limited membership where each of the members expresses spatial meaning and requires a nominal complement.

- (98) [[[*a dia*]_{NP} *juu*]_{RelP} *ni*]_{PP} ‘on the roof of the house’

In (98), the relational noun *juu* is within the complement phrase of the postposition *ni*. A relational noun phrase (RelP) consists of a head and noun phrase complement. We are now in a better position to state that the complement phrase of the postposition is a (nominal) phrase which corresponds to the conceptual ground.

To summarize, on a diachronic basis, it is believed that the function of relational nouns as locative adpositions originates from their purely ‘entity’ meaning through grammaticalization (Heine & Reh 1984: 44, 83). The form of Chakali body part terms supports the claim. On a synchronic basis, only *patfigii* ‘stomach’, *logun* ‘rib’, *gantal* ‘dorsum’, *muŋ* ‘arse’, *nõã* ‘mouth’, *s̪w̪* ‘front’, *bambaaj* ‘chest box’ and *juu* ‘head’ are relational nouns. Relational nouns are nouns which lack the referential power of the default interpretation of body part term (i.e. interpreted in isolation), and which take a complement which must obligatorily be filled by an entity capable of projecting a spatial environment.

3.3 Pronouns and pro-forms

A pronoun is a type of pro-form. The difference between pronouns and pro-forms depends on whether they can be anaphors of nominal arguments. In this section, the personal, impersonal, demonstrative, and possessive pronouns are introduced, followed by the expressions used to convey reciprocity and reflexivity. In Section 5.1, the adverbial pro-forms are introduced.

3.3.1 Personal pronouns

Table 19 gives an overview of the personal pronoun forms.

Table 19: weak pronounWeak, strong pronounstrong, and emphatic pronounemphatic forms of personal pronouns

Pronoun Gram. function	Weak (wk) s A and o	Strong (st) s A	Emphatic (EMPH) s A
1SG	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>míŋ</i>	<i>ŋwà</i>
2SG	<i>I</i>	<i>híŋ</i>	<i>ííwà</i>
3SG	<i>o</i>	<i>wáá</i>	<i>óówà</i>
1PL	<i>ja</i>	<i>jáwáá</i>	<i>jáwà</i>
2PL	<i>ma</i>	<i>máwáá</i>	<i>máwà</i>
3PL.Ga	<i>a</i>	<i>áwáá</i>	<i>áwà</i>
3PL.Gb	<i>ba</i>	<i>báwáá</i>	<i>báwà</i>

The weak form first person singular pronoun is a syllabic nasal which assimilates its place feature to the following phonological material (Section 3.2.2.1). All

weak forms may be lengthened in the imperfective (Section 4.1.4.3). The personal pronouns do not encode a gender distinction in the singular but an animacy distinction is made between non-human and human in the plural. They are glossed 3PL.GA and 3PL.GB respectively (Section 3.10.1). The weak forms can surface either with a low or high tone; when an action has not yet occurred or a wish is expressed the pronoun is perceived with a high tone (Section 4.1.4.5). Otherwise the weak forms normally have low tones. The strong and emphatic forms are attested with the melodies with which they are associated in Table 19.

- (99) a. *ጀ dí kɔɔ̄ rā.*
 3SG eat t.z. FOC
 ‘She ate t.z.’
- b. *wáá dí kɔɔ̄ (*ra).*
 3SG.ST eat t.z. FOC
 ‘SHE ate t.z.’
- c. *ጀጀwà dí kɔɔ̄ rā.*
 3SG.EMPH eat t.z. FOC
 ‘IT IS HER who ate t.z.’
- d. *wáá ḥà màjà (*ra).*
 3SG.ST 1SG beat FOC
 ‘HIM, I beat.’
- e. *ጀጀwà ḥà májɔ́r à rā.*
 3SG.EMPH 1SG beat.3SG FOC
 ‘IT IS HIM who I beat.’
- f. * (*v/waa*) *ḥà majɔ́s s ra.*

The sentences in (99a)-(99c) show that while a weak or an emphatic pronoun can co-occur with a focus particle, a strong pronoun cannot. In addition, (99f)-(99e) confirm that both emphatic and strong pronouns may be fronted, but weak pronouns cannot. Both emphatic and strong pronouns typically appear at the beginning of a sentence. An emphatic pronoun may be coreferential with a weak pronoun in the clause, while weak and strong pronouns may not, as (99d)-99f) demonstrate. The distinction between weak and strong is relevant when pronouns function as subject. Their proper use is conditioned by the emphasis placed on the participant(s) of the event or the event itself, and by the polarity

of the clause in which they appear.²⁸ In this way, strong pronouns cannot co-occur in a sentence in which another constituent is in focus, that is a nominal phrase flanked by the focus marker or a verb ending with the assertive suffix vowel [-+RO, +HI] (compare examples (100b) and (100f) with (100a) and (100e)). In addition, in sentences where a negative operator occurs, strong pronouns are disallowed, as (100d) and (100h) show.

- (100) a. *míŋ jáwàà kinzínít*.
 1SG.ST buy horse
 ‘I bought a horse.’
- b. **míŋ jawa kinzini ra*.
- c. *ŋ̩ wà jáwá kinzínít*.
 1SG.WK NEG buy horse
 ‘I did not buy a horse.’
- d. **míŋ wa jawa kinzini*.
- e. *ŋ̩ pétijó*.
 1SG.WK terminate.PFV.FOC
 ‘I finished.’
- f. **míŋ petijo*.
- g. *míŋ pétijé*.
 1SG.ST terminate.PFV
 ‘I finished.’
- h. **míŋ wa petije*.

3.3.2 Impersonal pronouns

An impersonal pronoun does not refer to a particular person or thing. The form *a* is used as an impersonal pronoun in some particular context.

- (101) à *mááséjó kékj*.
 3SG.IMPS enough.PFV.FOC DXM
 ‘That’s enough’ or ‘That’s it’ or ‘Stop’

Example (101) is a type of impersonal construction. It is characterized by its subject position being occupied by the pronoun *a*, which may be seen as referring

²⁸ The purpose of such distinctions derives mainly from the articulation of information. Purvis (2007) offers an analysis for Dagbani whereby personal pronoun forms vary depending on their position in relation to their lexical host.

to the situation, but not to any participant: this particular example is appropriate in contexts involving pouring liquids or giving food on a plate, or when people are quarrelling. In these hypothetical contexts, using the personal pronoun *v* instead of the impersonal pronoun *a* would be unacceptable.

The language does not have a passive construction as one finds in English, for example. Nonetheless, an argument can be demoted by placing it in object position, here as o-clitic (see Section 4.3.1). This is shown in (102).

- (102) *ká à nàmìá? bá tíéú rò.*
 Q.where ART meat 3PL.Gb eat.PFV.3SG.O FOC
 ‘Where is the meat? It has been eaten.’

The type of impersonal construction illustrated in (102) is characterized by the personal pronoun *ba* (3PL.Gb) in subject position. In this context, the subject is not a known agent and the pronoun *ba* does not refer to anyone/anything in particular. Therefore, the pair *a/ba* is treated as the singular and plural impersonal pronouns, only when they occur in impersonal constructions, as shown above.

3.3.3 Demonstrative pronouns

In the examples (103) to (104), the demonstrative pronouns function as noun phrases. All the examples below were accompanied with pointing gestures when uttered.

- (103) Replies to the question: Which cloth has she chosen?
- a. *háñ nā.*
 DEM.SG FOC
 ‘It is this one’
 - b. *hámà rā.*
 DEM.PL FOC
 ‘It is these ones’
- (104) The speaker asks the addressee whether he had moved a certain object.
i jáá háñ nää?
 2SG do DEM.SG FOC
 ‘You did THIS?’

- (105) How the fingers cooperate when they scoop t.z. from a bowl.

hámàā ká zì péjèè à zí já wà tiisè háj.
DEM.PL EGR then add.PFV CONN then do come support DEM.SG

‘These (two fingers) are then added, and then they come to support this one.’

The expressions *háj* (sg) and *hámà* (pl) are employed for spatial deixis, specifically as proximal demonstratives, corresponding to ‘this’ and ‘these’ respectively. The language does not offer another set for distal demonstratives.

3.3.4 Interrogative words

Interrogative constructions are of two types: yes/no interrogatives and pro-form interrogatives (see Section 2.2). The former type, as the dichotomy suggests, requires a ‘yes’ or a ‘no’ answer. A pro-form interrogative uses an interrogative word which identifies the sort of information requested. In Chakali, some interrogative words may be treated as pronouns, while others may be treated as the combination of a noun and a pronoun. Table 20 gives a list of interrogative words, together with an approximate English translation, the sort of information requested by each and a link to an illustrative example of pro-form interrogatives. Some examples are listed in (106), where the question words are marked as Q together with a compatible gloss.

Table 20: Interrogative pronouns

Pronoun	Gloss	Meaning requested	Example
<i>bàáj</i>	what	non-animate entity, event	106a
<i>àj</i>	who	animate entity	106b
<i>lié</i>	where	location	106c
<i>pìn̄e</i>	why/how	condition, reason	106d
<i>(ba/a)wèj</i>	which	entity, event	106e
<i>(ba/a)ymènà</i>	(how) much/many	entity, event	106f
<i>sáj(a)-wèj</i>	when	time	106g

- (106) a. *bàáj i kàà jáà?*

Q.what 2SG EGR do

‘What are you doing?’

- b. àíj i kà ná à tóó ní?
 Q.who 2SG EGR see ART village POSTP
 'Whom did you see in the village?'
- c. lié ní dì tʃòòlíf kà dòò?
 Q.where POSTP COMP sleeping.room EGR exist
 'Where is the room for sleeping?'
- d. jìnñéé i já kà jááó?
 Q.how 2SG HAB EGR do.3SG.O
 'How do you do it?'
- e. áwèj i kà kpàyà?
 Q.which 2SG EGR catch
 'Which one did you catch?'
- f. àñmèná i kà kpágásì?
 Q.many 2SG EGR catch.PV
 'How many of them did you catch? (non-human reference)'
- g. sánjáwèj i kàà wáá?
 Q.when 2SG EGR come
 'When are you coming?'

When the question word *lié* 'where' is followed by the locative postposition *ní*, a request for a particular location is expressed. This question word can also be followed by the noun *pe* 'end' in which case it should be interpreted as 'where-towards' or 'where-by', e.g. *lié pé i kà válà?* 'Where did you go by?'. Another form used to request information on a location is *ká(á)*. This form is neither specific to Chakali nor to location *per se*: Waali uses it for the same purpose and the form is even used to request other types of information. For instance, *káá tómá?* means 'how is work?' in the two languages. It might be that Chakali borrowed the form from Waali. It was employed consistently in an experiment which appears in Brindle (2011). Example (102), repeated in (107), illustrates the use of *ká(á)* as interrogative word.

- (107) ká à nàmñá? bá tíéú rò.
 Q.where ART meat 3PL.B chew.PFV.3SG.O FOC
 'Where is the meat? It has been eaten.'

When they stand alone as interrogative words, the expressions *weŋ* and *ŋmēna*, roughly corresponding to English 'which' and 'how much/many', must be

prefixed by either *a-* or *ba-* reflecting a distinction between non-human and human entities respectively (see Section 3.10.1). The expression *saya-wēj* in (106g) is literally translated as ‘time which’. The question word *baaj* can be used together with *wii* to correspond to English ‘why’, i.e. *bááj wíí ká wàà i dí wíi?* ‘Why are you crying?’. The expression *baaj wii* is equivalent to English ‘what matter’.

3.3.5 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns are displayed in Table 21.

Table 21: Possessive pronouns

Pronoun Gram. function	Form Possessive
1SG.POSS	<i>η(:)</i>
2SG.POSS	<i>I(:)</i>
3SG.POSS	<i>o(:)</i>
1PL.POSS	<i>ja</i>
2PL.POSS	<i>ma</i>
3PL.A.POSS	<i>a(:)</i>
3PL.B.POSS	<i>ba</i>

A possessive pronoun with a form C or V tend to be lengthened, although their length has no meaning. These pro-forms can function as possessor (PSOR), but never as possessed (PSED), in an attributive possessive relation. This is shown in (108).

- (108) à *kùórù ñmá dí* öv *hääj* *tʃjēč̥*.
 ART chief say COMP PSOR.3sg.poss PSED.wife ran.PFV.FOC
 ‘The chief said that his wife ran away.’

The weak personal pronouns have the same forms as the possessive pronouns, the differences between the two being their respective syntactic positions and argument structures: the weak pronoun normally precedes a verb while the possessive pronoun normally precedes a noun, and the weak pronoun is an argument of a verbal predicate while the possessive pronoun can only be the possessor in a possessive attributive construction.

3.3.6 Reciprocity and reflexivity

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns do not exist in Chakali. Instead, reciprocity and reflexivity are encoded in the nominals *dɔŋja* and *tintm*, which are glossed in the texts as RECP and REFL respectively. Reciprocity is illustrated in (109) and reflexivity in (110).

- (109) a. à *nibáálá bálìè kpɔ́ dɔŋjá wá.*
 ART men two kill RECP FOC
 ‘The two men killed EACH OTHER.’
- b. *jà kàá kpɔ́ dɔŋjá wá.*
 1PL FUT kill RECP FOC
 ‘We will kill EACH OTHER.’
- c. à *hàmőwísè káá júó dɔŋjá rā.*
 ART children EGR fight RECP FOC
 ‘The children are fighting against ONE ANOTHER.’
- (110) a. à *báál kpɔ́ ḥ t̄nt̄n̄j.*
 ART man kill 3SG.POSS REFL.SG
 ‘The man killed himself.’
- b. *jà kàá kpɔ́ já t̄nt̄nsá wá.*
 1PL FUT kill 1PL.POSS REFL.PL FOC
 ‘We shall kill OURSELVES.’
- c. à *bié kpá kísié dɔ́ ḥ t̄nt̄n̄j dáŋjíí.*
 ART child take knife put 3SG.POSS REFL.SG wound
 ‘The child wounded himself with his knife.’

3.4 Qualifiers

Qualifiers are treated as part of the nominal domain. They display singular/plural pairs, as nouns do. Examples are presented in (111).²⁹

- (111) a. *siàmá / siànsá* (CL.1) ‘red’
 b. *bójì / bómá* (CL.3) ‘bad’
 c. *dííŋ / díímá* (CL.3) ‘true, real’

²⁹ Qualifiers are marked as *n.* in the dictionary since they are treated as nominal lexemes.

The examples in (112) are complex stem nouns of which the qualifier ‘fat’ is a property of the head ‘woman’ (Section 3.2.3.2).

- (112) a. à *hă-póllă*
 ART woman-fat.CL.4.SG
 ‘The fat woman’
- b. à *hă-póllē*
 ART woman-fat.CL.4.PL
 ‘The fat women’

Many qualifiers are assigned to noun class 4, the reason being that qualifiers are often nominalized verbal stems (Section 3.2.4.4), e.g. *póllí/póllíé* (*qual*) ‘fat’ ← *póllà* (*v*) ‘fat (be)’. Examples are provided in (113).

- (113) a. *jírà* ‘call’ > *jíríf* ‘calling’
 b. *lóllà* ‘give birth’ > *lóllíf* ‘giving birth’
 c. *sówà* ‘die’ > *sówíf* ‘corpse’

Nonetheless, the two categories, noun and qualifier, are differentiated by the following characteristics: (i) while a qualifier must be semantically verbal (i.e. denoting a state or an event), a noun must not necessarily be, and (ii) while a qualifier modifies a noun, a noun functions as the nominal argument of the qualifier. The asymmetry is reflected in (114).

- (114) /nɒm/ ‘hot’
- a. *níin᷑ŋ* *ná*.
 nII-n᷑ŋ na
 water-hot FOC
 ‘It is HOT WATER.’
- b. à *níí* *n᷑má᷑᷑*.
 a nII n᷑ma-᷑
 ART water hot-PFV.FOC
 ‘The water is HOT.’
- c. à *níí* *n᷑míí* *d᷑á* *dé* *nī*.
 [a nII nɒm-i-i]_{NP} d᷑a de nI
 ART water hot-NMLZ-CL.4 exist DXL POSTP
 ‘The hot water is there.’

In (114a) the stem *nvm* ‘hot’ is part of the complex stem noun *nłñnój* ‘water-hot’ (see Section 3.2.3). In this morphological configuration, a qualitative modification is established between the stem *nvm* and the stem *nñ*. In (114b), *nvm* functions as a verbal predicate in the intransitive clause, and the definite noun phrase *a nñ* ‘the water’ occupies the argument position. In (114c) the stem *nvm* is nominalized and the singular of noun class 4 is suffixed. The word *nórmí* may be translated as ‘the result of heat’. It is treated as a qualifier since *nñ* ‘water’ is (the head of) the argument of the predicate, and *dva* is a predicate which needs one core argument. Since *nvm* can function neither as main predicate nor as head noun of the argument phrase, and since *nvm* is understood to be a property of the entity and not of the event, then *nvm* in (114c) is viewed as a qualifier.

Given the arguments put forward, one could analyse the qualifiers as adjectives. Both are seen categorically as nominals and semantically as properties or states. However, there are no lexemes in Chakali which can be assigned the category adjective; that is, no lexeme which, in all linguistic contexts, can be identified as categorically distinct from nouns and verbs. Qualifiers are either derived linguistic entities or idiomatic expressions. More than one procedure is attested to construct qualifiers. In (115), some types of qualifiers are provided.

- (115) a. *àbúmmò* ‘black’
- b. *àpølápølá* ‘pointed, sharp’
- c. *wiézimíí* ‘wise’

The expression *bummo* ‘black, dark’ in (115a) is treated as a nominal lexeme. When it functions as a qualifier within a noun phrase, the prefix vowel *a-* is suffixed to the nominal stem (see Section 3.6). The type of qualifier found in (115b) is ideophonic and is used to describe perceived patterns, including colour, texture, sound, manner of motion, e.g. *gåánigåáni* ‘cloud state’, *adžinèdžinè* ‘yellowish-brown’, *tùfútùfú* ‘smooth and soft’. Reduplication characterises the form of this type of qualifiers. When a reduplicated qualifier occurs in attributive function, i.e. following the head noun, it takes the prefix *a-* as well.³⁰ The word in (115c) is segmented as [[[THEME-V]-NMLZ]-CL.4]. The verbal stem *zim* ‘know’ sees its theme argument incorporated, i.e. *wié-zim* ‘matters-know’, a structure which is in turn nominalized by what is called event-nominalization in Section 3.2.4.4.

There are limitations on the number of qualifiers allowed within a noun phrase. Noun phrases with more than three qualifiers are often rejected by language

³⁰ Although the prefix *a-* on qualifiers tends to disappear in normal speech. The prefix *a-* is unacceptable in (115c).

consultants in elicitation sessions. The language simply employs other strategies to stack properties. In fact noun phrases with two qualifiers are rarely found in the texts collected. The linear order of qualifiers within the noun phrase are provided in Section 3.11.

Chakali has phrasal expressions which correspond to monomorphemic adjectives in some other languages. These expressions have the characteristic of being metaphorical; their lexemic denotations may be seen as secondary, and phrasal denotations as non-compositional. For instance, a speaker must say *ɔ kpáyá bàmbíí*, *lit.* ‘he has heart’, if he/she wishes to express ‘he is brave’. The word ‘brave’ cannot be translated to *bambii*, since its primary meaning is ‘heart’, but to *kpaya bambii* ‘to be brave’. Another way of expressing ‘brave person’ is *bàmbíí-tííná*, *lit.* ‘owner of heart’. Other examples are *síí-nòmà-tííná*, *lit.* ‘eye-hot-owner’, ‘wild, violent person’ and *síí-tííná*, *lit.* ‘eye-owner’, ‘stingy, greedy person’. These expressions are more frequently used as nouns in the complement position of the identificational construction, such as in *ɔ jáá sísiámá-tííná*, *lit.* she is eye-red-owner (*si-siama-tíina*), ‘she is serious’. As mentioned in Section 5.6.2, it is often hard to establish whether an expression is idiomatic when only one of its components is used in a non-literal sense.

3.4.1 Intensifiers

An intensifier is a predicate modifier and appears following the word it modifies. It marks a degree and magnifies the meaning of the word it modifies.

- (116) a. *ástiàmā tfɔ́ítfɔ́í* ‘very/pure red’
- b. *ábúmmò jírití* ‘very/pure black’
- c. *ápòmmá píópió* ‘very/pure white’
- d. *sóznì júlúllú* ‘very cold’
- e. *nòmà kpájkpáj* ‘very hot’

The intensifier ideophones *tfɔ́ítfɔ́í*, *jírití*, *píópió*, *júlúllú*, and *kpájkpáj* are translated into English ‘very’ (or ‘pure’ in the case of colour, for instance) in (116). They are treated together as one kind of degree predicate modifier. Note that no other properties have been found together with a (unique and) corresponding degree modifier. For instance, if one wishes to express ‘very X’, where X refers to a colour other than black, white, or red, one has to employ the degree modifier *pááá* ‘very’ following the term, which is a common expression in many Ghanaian languages.

3.5 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are expressions denoting quantities and refer to the size of a referent ensemble. The words *mùŋ* ‘all’, *báníe* ‘some’ and *tàmá* ‘few, some’ constitute the monomorphemic quantifiers. The former can be expanded with a nominal prefix. For instance, in *ba-muŋ* ‘HUM-all’ and *wi-muŋ* ‘ABST-all’, the prefixes identify the semantic class of the entities which the expressions quantify (see Section 3.10.2). The form of the quantifier *báníe* ‘some’ is invariable: **aníe*, **abanie* and **babanie* are unacceptable words. The same can be said for the word *tàmá* ‘few’, which stays unchanged even when it modifies nouns of different semantic classes.

The expression *kɪŋkáŋ* ‘a lot, many’ is made out of the classifier *kɪŋ-* plus the quantitative verbal state lexeme *kan* ‘abundant’ (Sections 3.10.2 and 4.1.2, respectively). The lexeme *kan* ‘abundant’ is semantically verbal but turns into a quantifier when *kɪŋ-* is prefixed to it. Other evidence for its verbal status is the utterance à kánáň ‘they are many’ compared to à jáá *tàmá* ‘they are few’. In the former, *kana* is the main verb of an intransitive perfective clause, while in the latter, *tama* is the complement of the verb *jaa* in an identificational construction (Section 2.1.1). Other plurimorphemic (or complex) quantifiers are based on the suffixation the morpheme *-ler* ‘not’. The expression *wi-muŋ-leř* (*lit.* ABST-all-not) and *kɪŋ-muŋ-leř* (*lit.* CONC-all-not) both correspond to the English word ‘nothing’ (Section 3.10.2 on negation).

- (117) àŋmènà máŋá tʃájéé.
amount only remain.PFV
‘Only a few are left.’

The meaning ‘a few’ can be conveyed by the word *ajmena* ‘how much/many’, which was introduced in Section 3.3.4 as an interrogative word. Example (117) suggest that the word *ajmena* can also be used in a non-interrogative way, co-occurring here with *maya* ‘only’, in which case it is interpreted as ‘amount’ or ‘a certain number’. Another way to express ‘(a) few’ is to duplicate the numeral *digi* ‘one’, e.g. *digi-digi ra* ‘there are just a few of them’. The examples in (118) show that the numeral *digi* ‘one’ can participate in the denotations of both total and partial quantities.

- (118) a. *mùŋ* ‘all’ (total collective)
b. *dígíí mùŋ* ‘each’ (total distributive)
c. *dígíí dígíí* ‘some, few’ (partial distributive)

The word *gàlìŋgà* ‘waist’ or ‘middle’ can also carry quantification. In (119), the word is equivalent to *bákánà* (< *bar-kaj*, lit. part-abound), and means ‘most’.

- (119) à kpáámá gàlìŋgà/bákánà tfájēé à láá ní.
 ART yam.PL most remain.PFV ART farm.hut POSTP
 ‘Most of the yams remain/are left in the farm hut.’

The word *gba* ‘too’ is treated as a quantifier and restricted to appear after the subject, e.g. (120c)-(120f). In (120a), the speaker considers himself/herself as part of a previously established set of individuals who beat their respective child. The quantifier is additive such that the denotation of the subject constituent is added to this previously established set. In (120b), it is shown that negating the quantified expression results in an interpretation where the speaker asserts that he/she is not a member of the set of individuals who beat their child. Since generally there is only one ‘in focus’ constituent in a clause and that negation and focus cannot co-occur (see Sections 3.8 and 5.3), example (120) suggests that *gba* is not a focus particle.

- (120) a. ñ gba máŋá ñ bìè rē.
 1SG QUANT.too beat 1SG.POSS child FOC
 ‘I beat my child too.’ (lit. I too/as well/also beat my child)
- b. ñ gba lèí máŋá ñ bìé.
 1SG QUANT.too NEG beat 1SG.POSS child
 ‘I do not beat my child.’ (lit. I am numbered with those known who refrain from beating their child)
- c. *gba ñ maya a bie re
- d. *ñ maya gba a bie re
- e. *ñ maya a bie gba re
- f. *ñ maya a bie re gba

3.6 Numerals

3.6.1 Atomic and complex numerals

Following Greenberg (1978: 263), I assume that the simplest lexicalisation of a number is called a numeral atom, whereas a complex numeral is an expression in which one can infer at least one arithmetical function. A numeral atom can stand alone or can be combined with another numeral, either atomic or complex,

to form a complex numeral. Atoms are treated as those forms which are not decomposable morpho-syntactically at a synchronic level. Table 22 displays the twelve atoms of the numeral system.

Table 22: Atomic numerals from 1 to 8, 10, 20, 100, and 1000

Chakali	English	Chakali	English
dígítmájá	one	àlòpè	seven
álfi	two	ŋménjtél	eight
átòrò	three	fí	ten
ànáásè	four	màtséó	twenty
àpñ	five	kòwá (pl. kòsá)	hundred(s)
álòrò	six	tósò (pl. tósà)	thousand(s)

The term for ‘one’ is expressed as *dígítmájá*, but *dígí* alone can also be used. In general, the meaning associated with the morpheme *májá* is ‘only’, e.g. *bahiñ maya n na old.man-only-I-saw* ‘I saw only an old man’. The number 8 is designated with *ŋménjtél*, an expression which is also used to refer to the generic term for ‘spider’. Whether they are homonyms, or whether their meanings enter into a polysemous/heterosemous relationship is unclear. Another characteristic is that the higher numerals 100 and 1000 have their own plural form. To say a few words about some of the possible origins of higher numerals, the genesis of most of SWG higher numerals involves diffusion from non-Grusi sources, rather than from common SWG descents. I believe that higher numerals in the linguistic area where Chakali is spoken have two origins: one is Oti-Volta and the other is Gonja. The forms for 100 and 1000 in Vagla and Deg are similar to Gonja’s forms with the same denotation, i.e. Gonja *kilàfá* ‘100’ and *kígbíñ* ‘1000’. Similar form-denotation can be found in other North Guang languages (e.g. Krache, Kplang, Nawuri, Dwang, and Chumburung) and *lafá* is found in many other Kwa languages, as well as non-Kwa languages, e.g. Kabiye (Eastern Grusi) (Chan 2009). Borrowing is supported by the claim that the Vaglas and Degs were where they are today before the arrival of the Gonjas (Goody 1954: 12-13; Rattray 1932a: 516), and the fact that they, but mostly the Vaglas, are still in contact with the former conquerer, the Gonjas. Another Grusi language, Tampulma, has had more contact with Mampruli than with any other Western Oti-Volta languages, whereas the Chakali and the Pasaale have contact with Waali, a language close to Dagbani and Dagaare, all of them classified as Western Oti-Volta

languages. Variations of Manessy's *oti-volta commun* reconstructed forms *KO / *KOB 'hundred' and *TUS 'thousand' are found distributed all over Northern Ghana, cutting across genetic relationship. It seems that the two high numerals are areal features spread by Western Oti-Volta languages, and that Chakali, Pasaale, and Tampulma speakers may have borrowed them from languages with which they had the most contact, i.e. Waali, Dagbani, Dagaare, and Mampruli.

From the atoms, the complex numerals are now examined. The arithmetical functions inferred are called operations. In Chakali three types of operation are found: addition, multiplication, and subtraction. An operation always has two arguments which are identified in Greenberg (1978) as:

Augend:	A value to which some other value is added.
Addend:	A value which is added to some other value.
Multiplicand:	A value to which some other value multiplies.
Multiplier:	A value which is multiplied to some other value.
Subtrahend:	The number subtracted.
Minuend:	The number from which subtraction takes place.

The numeral *dígítūō* expresses the number 9. It is the only expression associated with subtraction. The subtrahend is the expression *digr* 'one'. In *dígítūō*, the last syllable is analysed as the operation. It may originate from the state predicate *túō* which is translated 'not exist' or 'absent from' (Section 2.1.2). Thus, assuming the covert minuend 10, the numeral expression receives the functional notation [1 ABSENT FROM 10], or 10 minus 1. The number 9 may also be expressed as *sàndòsó* (or *sandʊsə* in Tuosa and Katua). This expression is used by some individuals in Ducie, Tuosa, and Katua, all of them from the most senior generation. One language consultant associates *sàndòsó* with the language of women, but his claim is not sustained by other language consultants. For the number 9, Goody (1954: 33) reports *saanese* from the village Katua and Rattray (1932b: 117) puts *sandoso* as the form for 9 in Tampulma.

A proper treatment of atomic versus complex numerals relies on evidence as to whether a numeral is synchronically decomposable. In that spirit, numbers from 11 to 19 are expressed with complex numerals: one piece of evidence, which is presented in Section 3.10.1 and repeated in section 3.6.2, comes from the gender agreement between the head of a noun phrase and the cardinal numeral functioning as modifier. Table 23 provides the numerals from 11 to 19 with a common structure [$f_{10}-d(1)-X_{1-9}$].

The criterion employed for the distinction between augend and addend is that an augend is serialized, that is, it is the expression which is constant in a sub-

Table 23: Complex numerals from 11 to 19

Chakali	English
<i>fídídígíí</i>	eleven
<i>fídáálíè</i>	twelve
<i>fídáātòrò</i>	thirteen
<i>fídàñáásè</i>	fourteen
<i>fídàpíí</i>	fifteen
<i>fídáälòrò</i>	sixteen
<i>fídálkópè</i>	seventeen
<i>fídínjméjytél</i>	eighteen
<i>fídídígítúò</i>	nineteen

progression. This expression is called the base. In the progression from eleven to nineteen shown in Table 23, the augend is *fi* and the addends are the expressions for one to nine. Given the above definition of a base, the expression *fi* is the base in complex numerals from 11 to 19. The operator for addition is *di* and its vowel surfaces only when the following word starts with a consonant (i.e. *fídínjméjytél* ‘18’, but *fídàñáásè* ‘14’). Table 24 provides the sequences of numeral atoms forming the complex numerals referring to numbers from 21 to 99. Some numeral forms will come after an explanation of the table.

Table 24 shows us that either (i) an atom can follow another atom without any intervening particle or (ii) the particle *ani* can step in between two atoms, or between one atom and one complex numeral. Case (i) is understood as a phrase which multiplies the numerical values of two atoms. For instance, *màtséó ànáásè* [20 times 4] results in the product ‘eighty’. All numeral phrases from 20 to 99 use *matseo* ‘20’ in their formation. In case (ii), the particle *ani* is treated as an operator similar to the semantics of ‘and’ in English numerals since it adds the value of each argument, either atom or complex *màtséó ànáásè àní áliè* [20 times 4 + 2]. The same form is also found in noun phrases expressing the union of two or more entities (see Section 3.9.1). The vowels of *ani* are reduced when preceded and followed by vowels. The same criterion applies for the distinction between multiplier and multiplicand: the latter is identified on the basis of what Greenberg calls ‘serialization’. A base may be a serialized multiplicand as well since it is the constant term in the complex expressions involved in a sub-progression. The expression *matseo* ‘20’ is therefore the base in complex numerals from 21 to 99. The composition of complex numerals is summarized in Table 25.

Table 24: Complex numerals from 21 to 99

Number	Numeral	Meaning
21-29	atom <i>anı</i> atom	$20 + (1 \text{ through } 9)$
30	atom <i>anı</i> atom	$20 + 10$
31-39	atom <i>anı</i> complex	$20 + (11 \text{ through } 19)$
40	atom atom	20×2
41-49	atom atom <i>anı</i> atom	$20 \times 2 + (1 \text{ through } 9)$
50	atom atom <i>anı</i> atom	$20 \times 2 + 10$
51-59	atom atom <i>anı</i> complex	$20 \times 2 + (11 \text{ through } 19)$
60	atom atom	20×3
61-69	atom atom <i>anı</i> atom	$20 \times 3 + (1 \text{ through } 9)$
70	atom atom <i>anı</i> atom	$20 \times 3 + 10$
71-79	atom atom <i>anı</i> complex	$20 \times 3 + (11 \text{ through } 19)$
80	atom atom	20×4
81-89	atom atom <i>anı</i> atom	$20 \times 4 + (1 \text{ through } 9)$
90	atom atom <i>anı</i> atom	$20 \times 4 + 10$
91-99	atom atom <i>anı</i> complex	$20 \times 4 + (11 \text{ through } 19)$

Table 25: General structure of complex numerals

Argument	Meaning	Restriction
$(y) x$ tuo	subtraction	$y = 10$ $x = 1$
x <i>anı</i> y	addition	$x > y$
x <i>dr</i> y	addition	$x = 10$ $y = 1-9$
xy	multiplication	$x = 20$ $y = 2, 3, 4$
xy	multiplication	$x = 100$ $y = 2-9$
xy	multiplication	$x = 1000$ $y = 2-999, 1000$

As mentioned earlier, in subtraction the minuend *y* is covert. The only case of subtraction is the numeral *dígítūō* ‘nine’. Both addition and multiplication take two overt arguments *x* and *y*. They are presented in the first column of Table 25 with their surface linear order. The operator for addition *dr* is used only for the sum of 10 and numbers between 1 and 9. The form *ani* is found in a variety of structures, but it restricts the right sister *y* to be lower than the left sister *x*. In multiplication the value of the argument *y* depends on the value of *x*. For the numerals designating 2000 and above, the argument *x* must be the atom *tɔsv* ‘thousand’ and *y* any atom or complex numeral between 2 and 999. There are no terms to express ‘million’ in Chakali. One can hear individuals at the market using the English word ‘million’ when referring to currency. According to my consultants, the expression *tɔsv tɔsv* [1000 · 1000] ‘million’ was common, but became archaic even before the change of currency in July 2007. Examples of numerals are presented in (121).

- (121) a. *màtséó ànáásè àní àliè*
twenty four and two
'82'
- b. *kòwá àní màtséó àní dígímáŋá*.
hundred and twenty and one
'121'
- c. *kòsá átòrò àní màtséó ànáásè àní fidaāpíñ*.
hundreds three and twenty four and fifteen
'395'
- d. *kòsá ápñ àní dígímáŋá*.
hundreds five and one
'501'
- e. *tɔsv àní kòsá áliè àní màtséó àní ápñ*.
thousand and hundreds two and twenty and five
'1225'
- f. *tɔsà màtséó àní dígímáŋá àní kòsá áliè àní màtséó àní fididígíí*
thousands twenty and one and hundreds two and twenty and eleven
'21231'

In summary, the numeral system of Chakali is decimal (base-10) and vigesimal (base-20) and the base-20 operates throughout the formation of 20 to 99. In Comrie (2008), numeral systems similar to the one described here are called *hybrid vigesimal-decimal*.

3.6.2 Numerals as modifiers

To a certain extent, Chakali offers a rigid word order within the noun phrase (Section 3.8). The heading of (122) offers an overview of the linear order of elements in a noun phrase containing a numeral. The data shows that the numeral occurs following the head and the qualifier(s) and precedes the demonstrative and the quantifier.³¹

- (122) ART/POSS HEAD QUAL₁ QUAL₂ NUM QUANT DEM FOC/NEG
- a. à *niháán-á* mùŋ wáawáó.
ART woman-PL QUANT.all come.PRF.FOC
'All women came.'
 - b. à *niháán-á* fí mùŋ wáawáó.
ART woman-PL NUM QUANT.all come.PRF.FOC
'All ten women came.'
 - c. à *nihápóléē* fí mùŋ wáawáó.
ART woman-QUAL NUM QUANT.all come.PRF.FOC
'All ten fat women came.'
 - d. ò *nihápólómá* pòlēē báléé mùŋ wáawáó.
POSS woman-QUAL QUAL NUM QUANT.all come.PRF.FOC
'Both his two fat blind wives came.'
 - e. à *nihápóléē* fí háŋ mùŋ wáawáó.
ART woman-QUAL NUM DEM QUANT.all come.PRF.FOC
'Those all ten fat women came.'
 - f. à *nihápóléē* fí mùŋ lè̄i wáawá.
ART woman-QUAL NUM QUANT.all NEG come.PRF
'Not all ten fat women came.'
 - g. à *nihápóléē* fí háŋ mùŋ lè̄i wáawá.
ART woman-QUAL NUM DEM QUANT.all NEG come.PRF
'Not all those ten fat women came.'

³¹ Note that the noun phrases in (122) and (161) were collected in an elicitation session. They were elicited in subject position of the sentence frame *X wáawáó/wáawá* 'X has come'.

When they appear as noun modifiers, a limited number of numerals act as targets in gender agreement, i.e. only the forms 2-7. This grammatical phenomenon provides us with a motivation to treat the expressions for numbers 11-19 as complex numerals. In Section 3.10.1, Chakali is analysed as having two values for the feature gender (i.e. *ga* or *gb*, see also the personal pronouns in Section 3.3.1). The assignment is based on the humanness property and plurality of a referent. Table 28(c) is repeated as Table 26 for convenience.

Table 26: Prefix forms on the numeral modifiers from 2 to 7

	-HUM=Ga	+HUM=Gb
SG	a	a
PL	a	ba

The following examples display gender agreement between the numeral *a-naase* ‘four’ and the nouns *bɔ̄ðnà* ‘goats’ in (123a), *vííné* ‘cooking pots’ in (123b), *táátá* ‘languages’ in (123c) and *bisé* ‘children’ in (123d). Again, the only numerals that agree in gender with the noun they modify are *áliè* ‘two’, *átòrò* ‘three’, *ànaásè* ‘four’, *ànjé* ‘five’, *álòrò* ‘six’, and *àlòpè* ‘seven’ (see examples 123e and 123f). The data in (123a)-(123d) tells us that, when they function as controllers of agreement, nouns denoting non-human animate, concrete inanimate and abstract entities trigger the prefix form [*a-*] on the modifying numeral, whereas nouns denoting human entities trigger the form [*ba-*].

(123) Agreement Domain: Numeral + Noun

- a. *ŋ kpágá bɔ̄ð-ná à-naásè rā.*
1SG have goat(Ga)-PL 3PL.Ga-four FOC
‘I have four goats.’
- b. *ŋ kpágá víí-né à-naásè rā.*
1SG have pot(Ga)-PL 3PL.Ga-four FOC
‘I have four cooking pots.’
- c. *ŋ ȷmá táá-tá à-naásè rā.*
1SG speak language(Ga)-PL 3PL.Ga-four FOC
‘I speak four languages.’

- d. *ŋ kpágá bì-sé bà-náásè rā.*
1SG have child(Gb)-PL 3PL.Gb-four FOC
'I have four children.'
- e. *ŋ kpágá víí-né ŋméjtél rā / dígítūō rō (*aŋmējtel/*adigitvɔ).*
1SG have pot(Ga)-PL eight FOC nine FOC
'I have eight/nine cooking pots.'
- f. *ŋ kpágá bì-sé ŋméjtél rā / dígítūō rō (*baŋmējtel/*badigitvɔ).*
1SG have child(Gb)-PL eight FOC nine FOC
'I have eight/nine children.'
- g. *ŋ kpágá víí-né fidànaásè rā.*
1SG have pot(Ga)-PL fourteen
'I have fourteen cooking pots.'
- h. *ŋ kpágá bì-sé fidíbànáásè rā (*fidanaase ra).*
1SG have child(Gb)-PL fourteen FOC
'I have fourteen children.'

Recall that in Table 23 the numbers from 11 to 19 were all presented with the form *fid(i)X* 'Xteen'. Their treatment as complex numerals makes one crucial prediction: since they have a common structure $[f_{10-d(i)}-[X_{1-9}]_{atom}]_{complex}$ and not $[fid(i)X]_{atom}$, agreement has access to the atoms X_{2-7} within *fid(i)X*. This is illustrated with the examples (123g) and (123h) using the word *fidanaase* 'fourteen'. These two examples show that in cases where a controller is specified for both *gb* and *PL*, it must trigger the form [ba-] on X_{2-7} within the expressions referring to the numbers 12-17.

3.6.3 Enumeration

Chakali has enumerative forms. These are numerals with a purely sequential order characteristic and are used when one wishes to count without any referential source or to count off items one by one.

- (124) *dièkèè, n̄éwáá, tòròò, náásè, p̄ñ, lòrò, lòpè, ŋméjtél, dígítūō (...)*
one two three four five six seven eight nine
'One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, (...)'

Basically, the difference between the forms in (124) and the forms in Table 22 are: (i) a specific enumerative use, (ii) the tendency to lengthen the last vowel,³² (iii) the numerals expressing two, three, four, five, six, and seven do not usually display the agreement prefix, and (iv) the forms for ‘one’ and ‘two’ differ to a greater extent. The rest of the enumerative numerals, i.e. eight, nine, ten, etc., correspond entirely to those shown in Table 22. In (125), an excerpt of a folk tale displays the enumerative use of numerals.

- (125) *gbiaá pílí diékèè, némwáá, tòròò, náásè, náá, lòrò, lòpè, àní háj ñ kà sájéé níj, dígítúo, fí.*
 Monkey starts one two three four five six seven CONN DEM 1SG EGR sit DXM nine ten
 ‘The monkey started to count: one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, the one I’m sitting on, nine, ten.’ [CB 013]

3.6.4 Distribution

Reduplication has several functions in Chakali and example (126) shows that the meaning of distribution is expressed by the reduplication of a numeral.

- (126) *nìt-tá álié-lié ñ dí ttébá dígi-dígí.*
 water-PL two-two 1SG HEST give.3PL.GB one-one
 ‘Yesterday I gave two water bags to each individual.’

In (126) the phrase containing the thing distributed and its quantity opens the utterance. The recipient of the giving event is suffixed to the verb and is understood as being more than one individual. From left to right, the reduplicated forms express the quantity of things distributed and the number of recipients per things distributed, respectively. This is how the distributive reading is encoded in the utterance. Compare (127a) and (127b) with (127c).

- (127) a. à *kùórù zóó zágá múa nò à làà kpáámá fí-fí.*
 ART chief enter compound.sg all FOC CONN collect yam.PL ten-ten
 ‘From each house the chief takes 10 yams.’
- b. à *zágá múa tíé à kùórù rō kpáámá fí-fí.*
 ART compound all give ART chief FOC yam.PL ten-ten
 ‘Each house gives 10 yams to the chief.’

³² I also perceived lengthening in Waali, Deg and Vagla for the corresponding enumerative sequence.

- c. à zágá múj tié à kúórù rō kpáá̄má fi.
 ART compound all give ART chief FOC yam.PL ten
 ‘All the houses (the village) give 10 yams to the chief.’

In (127b) and (127c), the sources of the giving event are kept constant. The reading in which ten yams per house are being collected by the chief is accessible only if the numeral *fi* ‘ten’ is reduplicated (i.e. *ffff*).

- (128) a. *tìè* à *gár* *nőá* *zènè* à *nắñná* *jáà* *zōō* *álìè-lìè*.
 give ART fence mouth big ART cow.PL do enter two-two
 ‘Make the door large enough since the cows often enter two by two.’
- b. à *tíí* *báníé jāā* *átò-tòrò* *wō*, à *báníé jāā*
 ART akee.apple some IDENT three-three FOC ART some IDENT
àná-náásē.
 four-four
 ‘Akee apples (have) sometimes three (seeds), sometimes four (seeds).’

The reduplication of the numeral *álìè* ‘two’ in (128a) makes the addressee understand that not only two cows might enter the cattle fence but a possible sequence of pairs. Similarly, example (128b) conveys a proposition which tells us that the fruit *tíí* ‘Akee apple’ (*Blighia sapida*) can reveal sometimes three and sometimes four seeds.

3.6.5 Frequency

When the morpheme *bi* (Section 4.2.3.6) is prefixed to a cardinal numeral stem, it specifies the number of times an event happens.

- (129) *já* *wíré* *já* *kíná* *rá* *ákà* *vàlà* *gó* *dùsèè* *múj* *nàvàl*
 1PL undress 1PL.POSS thing FOC CONN walk cross Ducie QUANT.all circuit
bí-tòrò.
 ITR-NUM
 ‘We undress then walk around Ducie three times.’

The meaning of *bi*-NUM corresponds to English ‘times’. Example (129) illustrates a case where the morpheme *bi* is prefixed to the numeral stem *toro* ‘three’ and translates into ‘three times’.

3.6.6 Ordinals

Ordinal numerals are seen as those expressions conveying ranks or orders. The investigation carried out showed that the language does not have a morphological marker or unique forms responsible for such a phenomenon. Chakali expresses ranking and order by other means.

- (130) a. *A: lié i kà tá à pár?*
where 2SG EGR leave ART hoe
'Where did you leave the hoe?'
- b. *B: ñ gílá à pár rá pié átòrò tìn gàntàl nī.*
1SG leave ART hoe FOC Yam.mound.PL three ART RELN POSTP
'I left the hoe behind the third Yam mound.'

In example (130b), the expression *pié átòrò tìn gàntàl nī* is best translated as 'behind the third Yam-mound' and not as 'behind the three Yam-mounds'. In the context of B's utterance, there is no salient set of three mounds.

The word *sinsagal* is frequently used in combination with a numeral to express a non-specific amount. For example *tósò nī sinsáyál* can be translated into English as 'thousand and something'. In addition, the word *sinsagal* can be combined with a numeral to identify sibling ranks. In (131) *sinsagal* is understood as 'follower(s)'.

- (131) Sibling relationship
- a. *ò sínsgál bátòrò jáá-ñ.*
3SG.POSS follower three IDENT-1SG
'After him/her, I'm the third.'
- b. *ñ gàntàl tómá jáá báliè wā.*
1SG.POSS back owners IDENT two FOC
'I have two siblings younger than me.'
- c. *ñ sósó tómá jáá báliè wā.*
1SG.POSS front owners IDENT two FOC
'I have two siblings older than me.'

Further, in a situation where a speaker wishes to express the fact that he/she won a race by getting to an a priori agreed goal, a natural way of expressing this would be *ñ jaa digimaya tūna*, lit. I-is-1-owner, 'I am first'. The second and third (and so on) positions can also be expressed using the same construction, e.g. lit.

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I-is-N-owner, ‘I am Nth’). However, there are other ways to express the same proposition: any of the expressions given in (132) is appropriate in this context.

(132) Position in a race

- a. à bàtfóálíí ní ñá ná àliè rā
ART race POSTP 1SG see two FOC
‘At the race, I arrived second.’
- b. míŋ díjéé
1SG.ST eat.PFV
‘I arrived first.’ or ‘I won.’
- c. míŋ ní té səvə, i sàyà
1SG.ST postp early front 2SG be.on
‘I arrived first, you followed.’

Finally, the word *búmbúŋ* is translated into the non-numeric English idiom ‘at first’ and refers to a past state, its beginning or origin.

(133) búmbúŋ ní ñí fí wàà nəðā̄̄ sīŋ.
first POSTP 1SG PST NEG drink alcoholic.drink
‘At first, I was not drinking alcoholic beverage.’

3.6.7 Miscellaneous usage of number concept

In the performance of some rituals or customs, the number concepts 3 and 4 are associated with male and female respectively. Let us illustrate this phenomenon with some examples. The *lóbáññ* section of Ducie has a funeral song which is performed at the death of a co-inhabitant. The song is repeated three times if the deceased is a man and four in the case of a woman. When a person is initiated to *sígmàá*, a male must drink the black medicine in three successive occurrences and a female in four. On the fifth day of the last funeral (*lúsínná*), the children of the deceased are given food in a particular way which involves offering the food and pulling it back repeatedly: three times for a male and four for a female. The same associations number-sex (i.e. *three-male* and *four-female*) are found in Cardinall (1920: 68-70) where it is reported that, among the Kasena, a woman must stay in her room three days after delivering a boy but four after delivering a girl. Also, the umbilical cord of a boy is twisted three times around her finger after being removed, but four times in the case of a girl.

Two unusual phenomena involving numbers must be included. The first is also found in neighboring languages (Dagaare, Waali, Buli, and probably others).

The phrase *tʃɔpísí àltè* is used in greetings (Section 5.6.1). It literally means ‘two days’, yet it implies that the speaker has not met the addressee for a long period (i.e. days, weeks or years), or an interval longer than usual interactions between co-inhabitants. In other languages, I have been informed that one can say ‘two months’ or ‘two years’, but in Chakali, even if someone has not seen another person for years it is appropriate to say *tʃɔpísí àltè* ‘two days’. The second concerns the reference to the number of puppies in a litter. When a speaker wishes to express the number of puppies a bitch has delivered, then she/he must add ten to the actual number. For example, to express that a dog has given birth to two puppies, one must say *ø kólá fidálìè*, lit. ‘She give.birth twelve’.

3.6.8 Currency

One peculiarity of Chakali appears when numerals are used in the domain of currency. For example, in (134) the speaker needs to sell a grasscutter (cane-rat) for the price of seven Ghana cedis.

- (134) *kɔsá átòrò àní mágfóo àltè ànf fí.*
 hundred.PL three and twenty two and ten
 ‘Seven new Ghana Cedis, or seventy thousand old Ghana Cedis’ (lit.
 three hundred and fifty)

Accounting for the reference to seven Ghana cedis with an expression literally meaning three hundred and fifty (as was demonstrated in the previous sections) is done in two steps. First, Chakali speakers (still) refer to the old Ghanaian currency (1967-2007), which after years of depreciation was redenominated (July 2007). Today, one new Ghana cedi (₵) is worth 10,000 old Ghana cedis.³³ Secondly, the Chakali word denoting ‘bag’ is *bɔ̡tía* (PL *bɔ̡tísá*, etym. *bɔ̡-ta* ‘hole-give’). There is evidence that the word has at least one additional sense in the language. In (135) the prices of some items are presented.³⁴

- (135) a. *bɔ̡tía mágfóo átòrò àní fí dí àpíñ.*
 bag twenty three and ten and five
 ‘15,000’ (for three yam tubers)

³³ The term *old* and *new* were especially used in the period of transition. The redenomination of July 2007 is the second in the cedis history. The cedi was introduced by Kwame N’krumah in 1965, replacing the British West African pound (2.4 cedis = 1 pound), but lasted only two years. Thus, the first redenomination actually occurred in 1967.

³⁴ The prices are those recorded at the market in Ducie in February 2008.

- b. *bòjtià tósò*.
bag thousand
'200,000' (for a bag of groundnuts)
- c. *bòjtià kòsá āliè*.
bag hundred two
'40,000' (for a basin of dried cassava)
- d. *bòjtià kòsá ñménjté*.
bag hundred eight
'160,000' (for a bag of dried cassava)
- e. *bòjtià màtséó ànáásè àní fí*.
bag twenty four and ten
'18,000' (for a bowl of rice)
- f. *bòjtià tósò àní kòsá àñjɔ*.
bag thousand and hundred five
'300,000' (for a bag of rice)

In (135) the word *bɔɔtia* initiates each expression. Since the expressions refer solely to the amount of money, it is clear that the word *bɔɔtia* does not have the meaning 'bag' but that the meaning of a numeral, i.e. 200 can be inferred. The distinction between *bɔɔtia*₁ (=bag) and *bɔɔtia*₂ (=200) is supported by the following observations: On some occasions where *bɔɔtia* is used, the word cannot refer to 'bag' since there are no potential referents available. In the position it occupies in (135) *bɔɔtia* is usually not pluralized, which is obligatory for a modified noun. Further, the word *kómbòrò* 'half' can modify *bɔɔtia*₁ to mean 'half a bag' (i.e. maize, groundnuts, etc), but the expression *bòjtià kómbòrò* cannot mean '100 cedis' in the language.³⁵ Going back to the form of the expression given in (134), it was also observed that in a conversation in which the reference to money is understood, *bɔɔtia*₂ is often not pronounced. One can use the utterance *tósò* 'thousand' to refer to the price of a bag of groundnuts, that is an amount of two

³⁵ This claim was recently challenged by one of my consultants who recalls his mother using *bɔɔtia komboro* to mean '100 cedis'. Compare this with English where one can say *half a grand* to mean 500 dollars. The reason why *bɔɔtia komboro* was originally rejected was perhaps that 100 old cedis was a very small sum in 2008 and it was almost impossible to hear the expression. In 2009, another informant claimed never to have heard such an expression to mean 100 old cedis.

hundred thousand old cedis.³⁶ The distinguishing characteristic of *bwɔtia₁* is that it is a common noun and refers to ‘bag’ and that *bwɔtia₂* is an atomic (and a base) numeral. The latter is a kind of hybrid numeral, a blend of a measure term and a numeral term, which is only used in the domain of currency.

3.7 Demonstratives

Unlike the pronominal demonstrative which acts as a noun phrase, a demonstrative within the noun phrase modifies the head noun. The demonstratives in the noun phrase are identical to the demonstrative pronouns introduced in Section 3.3.3, i.e. *hay/hama* (SG/PL).

- (136) Priest talking to the shrine, holding a kola nut above it
 má láá [kàpósiè háj]NP ká já mōsē tiè wíí tìj bà tàà
 2PL take kola.nut DEM CONN 1PL plead give matter ART 3PL.B EGR
búúrè.
 want
 ‘Take this kola nut, we implore you to give them what they desire.’

Demonstrative modifiers are mostly used in spatial deixis, but they do not encode a proximal/distal distinction. Further, when a speaker uses *hay* in a non-spatial context, he/she tends to ignore the plural form (see example (138b) below). In example (137), the demonstrative is placed before the quantifier, which is not its canonical position, as will be shown in the summary examples in Section 3.11.³⁷

- (137) dí ò nōd̥ dí [tfákàlì tósá háj mùj]NP, dí biìsáà jáá
 COMP 3SG hear COMP Chakali villages DEM QUANT.all COMP Biisa IDENT
níhíé, *báníé* ká bì ymá dí sòylá jáá *níhíé*.
 old some EGR ITR say COMP Sawla IDENT old
 ‘He hears that of all Chakali settlements, some say that Biisa (Bisikan) is the oldest, some also say Sawla is the oldest.’ (Katua, 28/03/08, Jeo Jebuni)

³⁶ While a synchronic account of a sense distinction for the form *bwɔtta* in Chakali is introduced, a diachronic one is complicated by the reliability of oral sources and a lack of written records. The origin of a sense distinction of the form *bwɔtta*, and its equivalent, is found to be widespread in West Africa. The lexical item being discussed here is in Yoruba *?àkpó*, Baatonum *bɔɔrɔ*, Hausa *kàtákù*, Dagbani *kpaliŋa*, Dagaare *bɔɔra*, Dagaare (Nandom dialect) *vɔɔra*, Sisaala *bɔ́tɔ* and Waali *bɔɔra*. Whether the word is polysemous in all these languages as it is in Chakali, I do not know. Akan and Gã had something similar but seem to have lost the reference to currency: a study of the words *bɔ́tɔ* and *kotoko/kɔtɔkɔ* is needed.

³⁷ The plural form of *tɔv* ‘village’ in Katua is *tɔst*. In the lect of Katua, the noun classes resemble the noun classes of the Pasaale dialect, especially the lect of the villages Kuluj and Yaala.

The examples in (138) show that the typical position of the demonstrative is after the head noun and before the postposition, after the numeral, but before the article *tinj*.

- (138) a. [tsòòsá háj]NP ní ɿñ dí kɔɔrā.
 morning DEM POSTP 1SG eat t.z. FOC
 ‘This morning I ate t.z.’
- b. [nará báliè háj]NP ná séwíjé à mó̄r.
 person two DEM FOC write ART story
 ‘THESE TWO MEN wrote the story’
- c. làà [mó̄sá záál háj tinj]NP.
 collect Musa fowl DEM ART
 ‘Collect Musah’s fowl’

3.8 Focus and negation

When the focus is on a noun phrase, the free-standing particle *ra* appears to the right of the noun phrase (see Section 3.2.2.2 for the various forms the focus particle can take). The particle *lei* ‘not’ also appears free-standing to the right of the noun phrase, but it is part of the word in the case of a complex quantifier (see Sections 3.5 and 3.10.2). Focus and negation particles cannot co-occur together in a single noun phrase.

- (139) Identification repair for sets of cats shown on an illustration
 [à dièbísè hámá]NP lèí, [hámá]NP rā.
 ART cats DEM.PL NEG DEM.PL FOC
 ‘Not these cats, THESE CATS.’

In (139), *lei* ‘not’ negates the noun phrase *a diebise hama* and *ra* puts the focus on the demonstrative pronoun *hama*, referring to a different set of cats. Both focus and negation particles can be thought as having scope over the noun phrases, functioning as discourse particles.

- (140) a. mòlibíí léí kàà tíè nará tòòrà.
 money NEG IPFV give people problem
 ‘It is not money that gives people problems.’
- b. mòlibíí wàà tíè nará tòòrà.
 money NEG.IPFV give people problem
 ‘Money does not give people problems.’

Example (140) compares similar propositions involving negation. While (140a) presupposes it is something else than money that gives problems to people, (140b) says that money does not give people problems.

- (141) a. *wáá/káláá kpágá bòjéé*.
 3SG.ST/K.FOC have respect
 ‘HE/KALA has respect for others’
- b. *ò/kálá kpágá bòjéé rá*.
 3SG/K. has respect FOC
 ‘He/Kala has RESPECT FOR OTHERS’
- c. *wáá/bélée kpágá záàl*.
 3SG.ST/bush.dog.FOC catch fowl
 ‘IT/BUSH DOG catches fowls.’
- d. *ò/bélè kpágá záál là*.
 3SG/bush.dog catch fowl FOC
 ‘It/bush dog catches FOWLS.’

The focus contrast offered in (141) is still in need of validation: one consultant insisted that if the focus particle does not appear after the object of *kpaga*, the subject – in this case a pronoun or a proper noun – needs to be lengthened and display high tone. This appears to co-relate to the distinction offered for personal pronoun in Section 3.3.1.

3.9 Coordination of nominals

3.9.1 Conjunction of nominals

The coordination of nominals is accomplished by means of the conjunction particle *aní* (glossed CONN). The vowels of the connective are heavily centralized and the initial vowel is often dropped in fast speech. The particle can be weakened to [nə], or simply [n], when the preceding and following phonological material is vocalic. A coordination of two indefinite noun phrases is displayed in (142).

- (142) *váá àní dièbíè káá válà*.
 dog CONN cat EGR walk
 ‘A dog and a cat are walking.’

The coordination of a sequence of more than two nouns is given in (143). It is possible to repeat the connective *aní*, but a pause between the items in a sequence is more frequently found.

- (143) *bɔ̄ɔ̄ŋ, vāà àní̄ dièbíè káá válà.*
 goat, dog CONN cat EGR walk
 ‘A goat, a dog, and a cat are walking.’

When a sequence of two modified nouns are conjoined, the head of the second noun phrase may be omitted if it refers to the same kind of entity as the first head noun. This is shown in (144).

- (144) *ì kpáyá tàytà zén nē àní̄ (tàytà) ábūmmò.*
 1SG have shirt large FOC CONN (shirt) black
 ‘I got a large shirt and a black shirt.’

If the conjoined noun phrase is definite, the article *tinj* follows both conjuncts. This is shown in (145) where the connective appears between two qualifiers.

- (145) *à kór ábúmmò àní̄ ápòmmá tinj.*
 ART bench black CONN white ART
 ‘the black and white chair (one particoloured chair)’

When the weak personal pronouns (Section 3.3.1) are conjoined there are limitations on the order in which they can appear. The disallowed sequences seem to be caused by two constraints. First, consultants usually disapproved of the sequences where a singular pronoun is placed after a plural one. Examples are provided in (146).

- (146) a. Acceptable
- 1SG CONN 2PL > /*n ani ma/ [ìnínma]*
 ‘I and you (PL)’
 - 1SG CONN 3PL.Ga > /*n ani a/ [ìnánāa]*
 ‘I and they (-HUM)’
 - 3SG CONN 2PL > /*v ani ma/ [ònímā]*
 ‘she and you (PL)’
 - 3SG CONN 3PL.Gb > /*v ani ba/ [òníbā]*
 ‘she and they (+HUM)’
- b. Unacceptable
- 2PL CONN 1SG > */*ma ani n/*
 - 3PL.G.a CONN 1SG > */*a ani n/*
 - 2PL CONN 3SG > */*ma ani v/*
 - 3PL.G.b CONN 3SG > */*ba ani v/*

Secondly, the first person pronoun *n* cannot be found after the conjunction, irrespective of the pronoun preceding it. The reason may be a constraint on the syllabification of two successive nasals. In (147), it is shown that the vowels of the conjunction *ani* either drop or assimilate the quality of the following vowel. In addition, a segment *n* is inserted between the conjunction and the following pronoun.

- (147) /*v ani v/ 3SG CONN 3SG > [v̩n̩vn̩v]* ‘she and she’
/v ani i/ 3SG CONN 2SG > [v̩n̩ni] ‘she and you’
/n̩ ani v/ 1SG CONN 3SG > [n̩vn̩vn̩v] ‘I and she’
/n̩ ani i/ 1SG CONN 2SG > [n̩vn̩ni] ‘I and you’
*/i ani n/ 2SG CONN 1SG > *[m(V)n̩n̩]*

If the first person pronoun *n* were to follow the conjunction, there would be (i) no vowel quality to assimilate, and (ii) three successive homorganic nasals, i.e. one from the conjunction, one inserted and one from the first person pronoun, which would give rise to a sequence *n(V)n̩n̩*. As shown in Table 27, these problems do not arise when the strong pronouns (ST) are used.

Table 27: Conjunction of pronouns; weak pronoun (WK) and strong pronoun (ST)

	3.SG & 3.SG	3.SG & 2.SG	3.SG & 1.SG	2.SG & 1.SG
WK CONN WK	v̩vn̩vn̩v	v̩vn̩ni	*	*
WK CONN WK	v̩vn̩vn̩v	m̩vn̩vn̩v	n̩vn̩vn̩v	n̩n̩ni
WK CONN ST	v̩nrwa	v̩n̩ih̩n̩j	v̩n̩im̩i	m̩m̩i
ST CONN WK	wanvn̩vn̩v	hinnvn̩vn̩v	minvn̩vn̩v	minn̩ni
ST CONN ST	waniwa	wanih̩n̩j	wanim̩i	minn̩ih̩n̩j

In Section 4.2.3.2, the temporal nominal *diare* ‘yesterday’ and *tſia* ‘tomorrow’ are said to have preverbs counterpart in a three-interval tense subsystem. The temporal nominal *zaaj* (or *zilag*) expresses ‘today’, and *tɔmɔsɔ* can express either ‘the day before yesterday’ or ‘the day after tomorrow’, yet neither have a corresponding preverb. Thus *diare* ‘yesterday’, *tſia* ‘tomorrow’, and *zaaj* ‘today’, which typically function as adjunct and can be disjunctively connected by the nominal connective *ani*, as in (148), are treated as nominals.

- (148) *dìàrè zìlái àní tfíá mūŋ jáá dígítmáŋjá rá.*
 yesterday today CONN tomorrow QUANT.all IDENT one FOC
 ‘Yesterday, today, and tomorrow are all the same.’

3.9.1.1 Apposition

- (149) *kùórù bìnìháŋŋj ñjmá tìè [ð píná kùórù]NP dí à báál párá
 chief young.girl say give 3SG.POSS father chief that ART man farm
 à kùó pétùù (...) ART farm finish.FOC*
 ‘The daughter told her father the chief that the young man had finished
 weeding the farm (...)’ [CB 014]

There is another conjunction-type of nominal coordination. The noun phrase *ø jíma kuoru* ‘her father chief’ in (149) is treated as two noun phrases in apposition. In this case, apposition is represented as $[[\emptyset \text{ jíma}]_{NP} [\text{kuoru}]_{NP}]]_{NP}$.

3.9.2 Disjunction of nominals

In a disjunctive coordination, the language indicates a contrast or a choice by means of a high tone and long *káá*, equivalent to English ‘or’. The connective *káá* is placed between two disjuncts. The alternative questions in (150) are given as examples.

- (150) a. *ì búúrè tí rē káá kófí?*
 2SG want tea FOC CONN coffee
 ‘Do you want tea or coffee?’
 b. *ì búúrè tí rē káá kófí rā ì dí búúrè?*
 2SG want tea FOC CONN coffee FOC 2SG IPFV want
 ‘Do you want tea or do you want coffee?’

This connective should not be confused with the three conjunctions used to connect verb phrases and clauses, i.e. *aka*, *ka* and *a* (see Section 2.5.1).

- (151) *ì káá tòmà tìè à kùórù ró zàáŋ káá tfíá?*
 2SG FUT work give ART chief FOC today or tomorrow
 ‘Will you work for the chief today or tomorrow?’

Example (151) shows that the same particle may also occur between temporal nominals.

3.10 Two types of agreement

Agreement is a phenomenon which operates across word boundaries: it is a relation between a controller and a target in a given syntactic domain. In Corbett (2006) agreement is defined as follow: (i) the element which determines the agreement is the controller, (ii) the element whose form is determined by agreement is the target and (iii) the syntactic environment in which agreement occurs is the domain. Agreement features refer to the information which is shared in an agreement domain. Finally there may be conditions on agreement, that is, there is a particular type of agreement provided certain other conditions apply. Chakali has two types of agreement based on animacy. They are presented in the two subsequent sections.

3.10.1 The gender system

Gender is identified as the grammatical encoding of an agreement class. Chakali has four domains in which agreement in gender can be observed; antecedent-anaphor, possessive-noun, numeral-noun and quantifier-noun. The values shared reflect the humanness property of the referent, dichotomizing the lexicon of nominals into a set of lexemes *a* (i.e. human-) and a set *b* (i.e. human+), thus GENDER *a* or *b* (Brindle 2008b; 2009). The values for the feature GENDER are presented in Table 28.

In addition to the gender values proposed in Table 28(a), a condition constrains the controller to be plural to observe the humanness distinction in agreement. As Tables 28(b) and 28(c) show, the personal pronouns in the language do not distinguish humanness in the singular but only in the plural.

The boundary separating human from non-human is subject to conceptual flexibility. In storytelling non-human characters are “humanized”, sometimes called personification, as (152) exemplifies: animals talk, are capable of thoughts and feelings, and can plan to go to funerals. If one compares the non-human referents in example (152) and (153b), the former reflects personification, while the latter does not.

- (152) Domain: antecedent-anaphor

váá måå sówá. ò ηmá dí ò tʃèná ηmálíŋŋymíɔ̄ ò dí
 dog.SG mother.SG die he said COMP his friend bird's name COMP
 bá káálì ò måå lúhò.
 3PL.Gb go his mother funeral

‘The Dog’s mother died. Dog asks his friend Bird (*Ardea purpurea*) to

Table 28: Gender in Chakali

(a) Criteria for gender

GENDER	Criteria
<i>a</i>	<i>residuals</i>
<i>b</i>	things that are categorized as human

(b) Gender in weak and strong third-person pronouns

Pronoun	WK	ST
Grammatical function	s o	s
3sg.	<i>o</i>	<i>waa</i>
3pl. <i>ga</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>awaa</i>
3pl. <i>gb</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>bawaa</i>

(c) Agreement prefix forms

	-HUM=Ga	+HUM=Gb
SG	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>
PL	<i>a-</i>	<i>ba-</i>

accompany him to his mother's funeral.' (*lit.* that they should go to his mother's funeral.)

In (153) the quantifier *mùŋ* 'all' agrees in gender with the nouns *nibáálá* 'men' and *bɔ́lásá* 'elephants'. The form *àmùŋ* is used with non-human, irrespective of the number value, and for human if the referent is unique. The form *bàmùŋ* can only appear in such a phrase if the referent is human and the number of the referent is greater than one. In this example a contrast is being made between human-reference and animal-reference to show that it is not animacy in general but humanness which presents an opposition in the language.

(153) Domain: Quantifier + Noun

- a. *nì-báál-á* *bā-mùŋ.*
person(Gb)-male-PL Gb-ALL
'all men'
- b. *bɔ́là-sá* *ā-mùŋ.*
elephant(Ga)-PL Ga-ALL
'all elephants'

In Section 3.3.5, it was shown that the possessive pronouns have the same forms as the corresponding weak pronouns. In (154), the target pronouns agree with the covert controller, which is the possessor of the possessive kinship relation. The nouns referring to goat and human mothers, trigger G(ENDER)*a* and G(ENDER)*b* respectively. In cases where the possessor is covert the proper assignment of humanness is dependent on the humanness of the possessed argument (i.e. 'their child' is ambiguous in Chakali unless one can retrieve the relevant semantic information of the possessed entity).

(154) Domain: Possessive (possessor) + Noun

- a. *à* *bóðn-á.*
POSS.3PL.Ga goat.(Ga)-PL
'their goats' (possessor = goat mothers)
- b. *bà* *bì-sé.*
POSS.3PL.Gb child.(Gb)-PL
'their children' (possessor = human mothers)

Example (155) displays agreement between the numeral *à-náásè* 'four' and the nouns *bóðnà* (CL.3) 'goats', *táátá* (CL.7) 'languages', *vííné* (CL.5) 'cooking pots' and *bisé* (CL.1) 'children'. The numerals that agree in gender with the noun they modify are *á-lìè* 'two', *á-tòrò* 'three', *à-náásè* 'four', *à-nɔ́* 'five', *à-lòrò* 'six' and *á-kòpè* 'seven'. Here again, animate (other than human), concrete (inanimate) and abstract entities on the one hand, and human on the other hand do not trigger the same agreement pattern (ANIM in (155a), ABST in (155b), CONC in (155c) vs. HUM in (155d)). Clearly, as shown below, noun class membership is not reflected in agreement (*táátá* (CL.7) 'languages' triggers Ga in (155b) and *bisé* (CL.1) 'children' triggers Gb in (155d)).

(155) Domain: Numeral + Noun

- a. *ŋɳ kpáyá bɔɔ̄n-á à-náásɛ rā.*
1SG have goat(GA)-PL 3PL.GA-four FOC
'I have four goats.'
- b. *ŋɳ ɳmá tɔà-tá à-náásɛ rā.*
1SG speak language(GA)-PL 3PL.GA-four FOC
'I speak four languages.'
- c. *ŋɳ kpáyá víí-né à-náásɛ rā.*
1SG have cooking.pot(GA)-PL 3PL.GA-four FOC
'I have four cooking pots.'
- d. *ŋɳ kpáyá bì-sé bà-náásɛ rā.*
1SG have child(Gb)-PL 3PL.Gb-four FOC
'I have four children.'

Example (156) shows that in a coordination construction involving the conjunction form (*a*)*ni*, the targets display consistently *Gb* when one of the conjuncts is human-denoting. In (156a) the noun phrase *a baal* 'the man' and the noun phrase *v kakumuso* 'his donkeys' unite to form the noun phrase acting as controller. The noun phrase *a baal ni v kakumuso* 'the man and his donkeys' triggers *Gb* on targets. Consequently, the form of the subject pronoun, the quantifier, the possessive pronoun and the numeral must expose *ba* (3PL.*b*). The rule in (156f) constrains coordinate noun phrases to trigger *Gb* if any of the conjuncts is specified as *Gb*. No test has been applied to verify whether the alignment of the conjunct noun phrases affects gender resolution.

(156) Domain: Coordinate structure with *ni*

- a. *[à báál nì òò kààkúmò-sō]NP váláà kááli támàlè rā.*
ART man CONN 3SG.POSS donkey-PL walk go Tamale FOC
'The man and his donkeys walked to TAMALE.'
- b. *bà kɔɔ̄wáá̄.*
3PL.Gb tire.PFV.FOC
'They are tired.'
- c. *bà-mùŋ nàá̄sá tfɔgáá̄.*
3.PL.Gb-all feet.PL spoil.PFV.FOC
'They all had painful feet.' (lit. the feet of all.of.them)

- d. *bà nààsá tfóggáó.*
 3PL.POSS.Gb feet.PL spoil.PFV.FOC
 ‘Their feet were hurting them.’
- e. *bà jáá bà-nj̩ rā.*
 3PL.Gb IDENT 3.PL.Gb-five FOC
 ‘They were five altogether.’
- f. RESOLUTION RULE: When unlike gender values are conjoined (i.e. GENDER *a* and GENDER *b*), the coordinate noun phrase determines GENDER *b* (i.e. *Ga + Ga = Ga*, *Ga + Gb = Gb*, *Gb + Ga = Gb* and *Gb + Gb = Gb*).

Examples (152) to (156) demonstrate how one can analyse the humanness distinction as gender. The comparison between humans, animals, concrete inanimate entities and abstract entities uncovers the sort of animacy encoded in the language. Section 3.10.2 presents a phenomenon which shows some similarity to gender agreement.

3.10.2 The classifier system

While there is abundant literature describing Niger-Congo nominal classifications and agreement systems, the grammatical phenomenon described in this section has not received much attention. Consider the examples in (157):

- (157) a. *džètì kìm-bóñ ná.*
 lion.SG ANIM-dangerous.SG FOC
 ‘A lion is DANGEROUS.’ (generic reading)
- b. *džètísá kìm-bómá rá.*
 lion.PL CONC;ANIM-dangerous.PL FOC
 ‘The lions are DANGEROUS.’ (individual reading)
- c. *iŋ̩ bìèrəsá nì-bómá rá.*
 POSS.1SG brother.PL HUM-dangerous.PL FOC
 ‘My brothers are DANGEROUS.’
- d. *bà jáá nì-bómá rá.*
 3PL.Gb IDENT HUM-dangerous.PL FOC
 ‘They are DANGEROUS.’ (human participants)
- e. *à jáá kìm-bómá rá.*
 3PL.Ga IDENT CONC;ANIM-dangerous.PL FOC
 ‘They are DANGEROUS.’ (non-human, non-abstract participants)

- f. záíí *wi*-*bóñ* *ná.*
 fly.NMLZ ABST-dangerous.SG FOC
 ‘Flying is DANGEROUS.’
- g. à *tsígísíi* *wi*-*bómá* *rá.*
 ART turn.PV.NMLZ ABST-dangerous.PL FOC
 ‘The turnings are DANGEROUS.’ (repetitively turning clay bowls for
 drying)

The sentences in (157) are made of two successive noun phrases. The referent of the first noun phrase is an entity or a process while the second noun phrase is semantically headed by a state predicate denoting a property. Although speakers prefer the presence of the identificational verb *jaa* ‘to be’ between the two noun phrases, its absence is acceptable and does not change the meaning of the sentence. In these identificational constructions, the comment identifies the topic as having a certain property, i.e. being bad, dangerous, or risky. The focus particle follows the second noun phrase, hence [NP1 NP2 *ra*] means ‘NP1 is NP2’ in which salience or novelty of information comes from NP2.

The form of /*bom*/ ‘bad’ is determined by the number value of the first noun phrase. Irrespective of the animacy encoded in the referent, a singular noun phrase triggers the form [*bɔŋ*] while a plural triggers [*bɔma*] (i.e. CL.3, Section 3.2.1.3). The number agreement is illustrated in (157a) and (157b).³⁸

Properties do not appear as freestanding words in identificational constructions. To say ‘the lion is dangerous’, the grammar has to combine the predicate with a nominal classifier (or dummy substantive) that will license a noun, i.e. *lit.* ‘lion is *thing*-dangerous’, where *thing* stands for the slots where animacy is encoded. This is represented in (158).

- (158) [[*thing*_{animacy}-property] FOC]

There are three dummy substantives in (157): *nr-*, *wi-*, and *km-*. Each of them has a fully fledged noun counterpart; it can be pluralized, precede a demonstrative, etc. Those forms are *km/kina* (CL.3) ‘thing’, *nar/nara* (CL.3) ‘person’ and *wi/wie* (CL.4) ‘matter, palaver, problem, etc.’. Table 29 provides the three possible distinctions.

Since there are form and sense compatibilities between the inflecting noun pairs and the forms of the expressions preceding the qualitative predicate, a com-

³⁸ Notice that the nominalized verbal lexemes in (157f) and (157g) each triggers a different form for /*bom*. The form *tsígísíi* ‘turning’ is analysed as a nominalized pluractional verb (see Section 4.3.2).

Table 29: Classifiers and Nouns

Classifier	Animacy	Noun class	Sing.	Plur.
nr-/na-	[HUM]	Class 3	nár	nará
wi-	[ABST]	Class 4	wíf	wíé
km-	[CONC;ANIM]	Class 3	kìn	kìnà

mon radical form for each is identified; *km-* [CONC;ANIM] ‘concrete, non-human, non-abstract’, *nr-* [HUM] ‘person, human being’ and *wi-* [ABST] ‘non-concrete, non-person’ are the three classifiers.³⁹

All the sentences in (157) are ungrammatical without a classifier. The three classifiers combine with *bɔŋ/bɔma* to make proper constituents for an identificational construction. The structural setting is the result of a combination of grammatical constraints which specify that: (i) a property in predicative function cannot stand on its own, (ii) in predicative function, a property must be joined with a classifier, (iii) the merging of the classifier and the property forms a proper syntactic constituent for an identificational construction, and (iv) the form of the classifier is dependent on the animacy encoded in the argument of a qualitative predicate.

Finally, classifiers are also found in the formation of the words meaning ‘something’ and ‘nothing’. Consider the examples in (160) and (159):

- (159) a. *ná-mùŋ-léí*
HUM-all-not
'no one'
b. *wí-mùŋ-léí*
ABST-all-not
'nothing'
c. *kín-mùŋ-léí*
CONC;ANIM-all-not
'nothing'

³⁹ The classifier and the semantic information encoded in the head of the first noun phrase reflects one major analytical criterion for classifier systems (Dixon 1986; Corbett 1991; Grinevald 2000).

- (160) a. *nì-dígíí*
 HUM-one
 ‘someone’
- b. *wí-dígíí*
 ABST-one
 ‘something’
- c. *kin-dígíí*
 CONC;ANIM-one
 ‘something’

As with the role of classifiers in identificational constructions, here again the classifiers narrows down the tracking of a referent when one of those quantifiers is used. Again, the grammar arranges animacies into three categories, i.e. ABST, CONC;ANIM, and HUM. A distinction is also made in English between HUM (i.e. someone, no one) and ANIM;CONC;ABST (i.e. something, nothing), however English does not have a distinction which captures specifically abstract entities.

3.11 Summary

The term nominal in the present context was argued to represent two separate notions. The first is conceptual. Nominal stems denote classes of entities whereas verbal stems denote events. The second notion is formal. A nominal stem was opposed to a verbal stem in noun formation. As a syntactic unit, the nominal constitutes an obligatory support to the main predicate and was presented above in various forms: as a pro-form, a single noun, or noun phrases consisting of a noun with a qualifier(s), an article(s), a demonstrative, among others. The heading of (161) represents the order of elements in the noun phrase in Chakali.⁴⁰

- (161) ART/POSS HEAD QUAL NUM QUANT DEM QUANT ART FOC/NEG
- a. *i wáawáó* ‘you came’
 HEAD
 - b. *hááj wáawáó* ‘a woman came’
 HEAD
 - c. *à hááj wáawáó* ‘the woman came’
 ART1 HEAD

⁴⁰ In (161) ‘woman’ may also be interpreted as ‘wife’.

- d. à *hááñ tñj wāāwāñ* ‘the woman came’
ART1 HEAD ART2
- e. òò *hááñ wāāwāñ* ‘his woman came’
POSS HEAD
- f. òò *hááñ tñj wāāwāñ* ‘his woman came’
POSS HEAD ART2
- g. *hámā mùñ wāāwāñ* ‘all these came’
HEAD QUANT.all
- h. *nihááná hámā mùñ wāāwāñ* ‘all these women came’
HEAD DEM QUANT.all
- i. *hááñ hájì wāāwāñ* ‘this woman came’
HEAD DEM
- j. *nihááná mùñ wáawáó* ‘all women came’
HEAD QUANT.all
- k. *nihákáná wāāwāñ* ‘many women came’
HEAD-QUANT
- l. *nárá bátòrò wāāwāñ* ‘three persons came’
HEAD NUM
- m. à *nihááná póléè bálíè wāāwāñ* ‘the two fat women came’
ART1 HEAD QUAL NUM
- n. à *nihááná bálíè hámà wāāwāñ* ‘these two women came’
ART1 HEAD NUM DEM
- o. à *nihápólómá póléè bálíè wāāwāñ* ‘the two fat blind women came’
ART1 HEAD QUAL QUAL NUM
- p. à *nihápóléè káná wāāwāñ* ‘many fat women came’
ART1 HEAD QUAL QUANT.many
- q. à *nihápóléè nólójkáná wāāwāñ* ‘many fat blind women came’
ART1 HEAD QUAL QUAL QUANT.many
- r. à *nihápóléè nólójkáná hámà wāāwāñ* ‘these many fat blind women
came’
ART1 HEAD-QUAL QUAL-QUANT.many DEM
- s. à *nihápóléè nólómá fí báññé wāāwāñ* ‘some of the ten fat blind
women came’
ART1 HEAD-QUAL QUAL NUM QUANT.some

To summarize, each noun phrase in (161) is a grammatically and semantically acceptable noun phrase and respects the linear order offered on the first line. They were all elicited in a frame ‘X came’. Certain orders are favored, but a strict linear order, especially among the qualifiers, needs further investigation. Notice that each noun phrase in (161), except for the weak personal pronoun in (161a), may or may not be in focus and may or may not be definite (i.e. accompanied by the article *tij*). Also, the slot HEAD in (161) is not only represented in the examples by a noun or pronoun; example (161g) is headed by a demonstrative pronoun. Needless to say, this list of possible distributions of nominal elements within the noun phrase is not exhaustive. Again, caution should be taken since the examples in (161), particularly those towards the end of the list, are the result of elicitation. Their order of appearance can only be interpreted as an approximation of the noun phrase.

4 Verbal

Any expression which can take the place of the predicate *P* in (162) is identified as *verbal*.

$$(162) \quad AJC \pm S|A + P \pm O \pm AJC$$

The term can also refer to a semantic notion at the lexeme level. The language is analysed as exhibiting two types of verbal lexeme. In Section 3.2.4.4, the *stative* lexeme and the *active* lexeme were both shown to take part in nominalization processes. The verbal stem in (163) must be instantiated with a verbal lexeme.

$$(163) \quad [[\text{preverb}]]_{EVG} [[\text{stem}-[\text{suffix}]]_{\text{verb}}]_{VG}$$

In addition, the term can refer to the whole of the verbal constituent, including the verbal modifiers. The verbal group (VG) illustrated in (163) consists of linguistic slots which encode various aspects of an event which may be realized in an utterance. A free standing verb is the minimal requirement to satisfy the role of a predicative expression. The verbal modifiers, which are called preverbs (Section 4.2), are grammatical items which specify the event according to various semantic distinctions. They precede the verb(s) and take part in the expanded verbal group (EVG). The expanded verbal group identifies a domain which excludes the

main verb, so a verbal group without preverbs would be equivalent to a verb or a series of verbs (see SVC in Section 2.1.5).⁴¹

While a verbal stem provides the core meaning of the predication, a suffix may supply information on aspect, whether or not the verbal constituent is in focus and/or the index of participant(s) (i.e. o-clitic, Section 4.3.1). Despite there being little focus on tone and intonation, attention on the tonal melody of the verbal constituent is necessary since this also affects the interpretation of the event. These characteristics are presented below in a brief overview of the verbal system.

4.1 Verbal lexeme

4.1.1 Syllable structure and tonal melody of the verb

There is a preponderance of open syllables of type CV and CVV, and the common syllable sequences found among the verbs are CV, CVV, CVCV, CVCCV, CVVCV, and CVCVCV. In the dictionary, monosyllabic verbs make up approximately 13% of the verbs, bisyllabic 65%, and trisyllabic 22%. All segments are attested in onset position word initially, but only *m*, *t*, *s*, *n*, *r*, *l*, *g*, *ŋ*, and *w* are found in onset position word-medially in bisyllabic verbs, and only *m*, *t*, *s*, *n*, *l*, and *g* are found in onset position word-medially in trisyllabic verbs. All trisyllabic, CVVCV, and CVCCV verbs have one of the front vowels ({e, ε, i, ɪ}) in the nucleus of their last syllable. The data suggests that ATR-harmony is operative, but not RO-harmony, in these three environments, e.g. *fùòli* ‘whistle’. There is no restriction on vowel quality for the monosyllabic or bisyllabic verbs and both harmonies are operative.

Table 30 presents verbs which are classified based on their syllable structures and tonal melodies. Despite the various attested melodies, instances of low tone CV verbs, CVV verbs other than low tone, and rising or falling CVCV, CVCCV, and CVVCV verbs are marginal.

Typically, CV verbs have a high melody, while CVV verbs are a low one. The mid tone (M) is not contrastive. Only a handful of minimal pairs can be found in the dictionary, e.g. *pɔ* ‘protect’ and *pɔ̄* ‘plant’.

⁴¹ The term and notion are inspired from analyses of the verbal system of Gā (Dakubu 1970). A verbal group is unlike the verb phrase in that it does not include its internal argument, i.e. direct object. I am aware of the obvious need to unify the descriptions of the nominal constituent and the verbal constituent.

Table 30: Tonal melodies on verbs

Syllable type		Tonal melody	Form	Gloss
CV	H		<i>pɔ́</i>	plant
	L		<i>sɔ́</i>	wash
CVV	L		<i>pàà</i>	take
	H		<i>kíí</i>	forbid
	LH		<i>wòó</i>	vacant (be)
	HL		<i>gbáà</i>	herd
CVCV	H		<i>kúló</i>	tilt
	L		<i>bilè</i>	put
	HL		<i>lúlò</i>	leak
	HM		<i>pílē</i>	cover
CVCCV	H		<i>bóntí</i>	divide
	H		<i>kámsí</i>	blink
	L		<i>sùmmè</i>	beg
	L		<i>zèŋsi</i>	limp
CVVCV	H		<i>pílí</i>	start
	H		<i>tiásí</i>	vomit
	L		<i>kààli</i>	go
	L		<i>bùòli</i>	sing
CVCVCV	H		<i>zágálí</i>	shake
	H		<i>vílímí</i>	spin
	L		<i>hàrlígí</i>	try
	L		<i>døgønì</i>	chase

4.1.2 Verbal state and verbal process lexemes

A general distinction between stative and non-stative events is made: *verbal state* (stative event) and *verbal process* (active event) lexemes are assumed. A verbal state lexeme can be identificational, existential, possessive, qualitative, quantitative, cognitive or locative, and refers more or less to a state or condition which is static, as opposed to dynamic. The ‘copula’ verbs *jaa* and *døa* (and its allomorph *tuo*) are treated as subtypes of verbal stative lexemes since they are the only verbal lexemes which cannot function as a main verb in a perfective intransitive construction (see Section 4.1.4.1). Their meaning and distribution was introduced in the sections concerned with the identificational construction (Section 2.1.1) and existential construction (Section 2.1.2). The possessive verb *kpaga* ‘have’ is

treated as a verbal state lexeme as well (see possessive clause in Section 2.1.3). A qualitative verbal state lexeme establishes a relation between an entity and a quality. Examples are given in (164).

- (164) Qualitative verbal state lexeme
bòró ‘short’ > à *dáá bóróó* ‘The tree is short.’
gòrò ‘curved’ > à *dáá góróó* ‘The wood is curved.’
jógósí ‘soft’ > à *bié bátónjóy jágósijóv* ‘The baby’s skin is soft.’

Similarly, a quantitative verbal state lexeme establishes a relation between an entity and a quantity. Yet, in (165), the subject of *maasi* is the impersonal pronoun *a* which refers to a situation and not an individual. The verb *híe* ‘age’ or ‘old’ is a quantitative verbal state lexeme since it measures objective maturity between two individuals, i.e. *míj híe-I*, lit. 1SG.ST age-2SG.WK, ‘I am older than you’.

- (165) Quantitative verbal state lexeme
kánà ‘abundant’ > *bà kánááv* ‘They are plenty (people).’
mààsi ‘enough’ > à *máásijó* ‘It is sufficient.’
híe ‘age’ > *míj híeí* ‘I am older than you’

Cognitive verbs such as *liise* ‘think’, *kõõ* ‘wonder’, *kisi* ‘wish’, *tfii* ‘hate’, etc. are also treated as verbal state lexemes.

Verbal process lexemes denote non-stative events. They are often partitioned along the (lexical) aspectual distinctions of Vendler (1957), i.e. activities, achievements, accomplishments. Such verbal categories did not formally emerge, so I am not in a position to categorize the verbal process lexemes at this point in the research (but see Bonvini 1988: 51 for a thorough description of a Grusi verbal system), although Section 4.3 suggests that there is a system of verbal derivation that uses verbal process lexemes which needs to be uncovered. Thus, verbs which express that the participant(s) is actively doing something, undergoes a process, performs an action, etc. all fall within the set of verbal process lexemes.

4.1.3 Complex verb

A complex verb is composed of more than one verbal lexeme. For instance, when *laa* ‘take’ and *di* ‘eat’ are brought together in a SVC (Section 2.1.5), they denote separate taking and eating event. A complex verb denotes a single event.

- (166) a. ñ *láá kúòsò díúú*.
 1SG take G. eat.FOC
 ‘I believe in God.’

- b. *ŋ láá bié dɔɔ̄.*
 1sg take child put.FOC
 ‘I adopted a child.’

The sequences *laa+di* ‘believe’ and *laa+dɔ* ‘adopt’ are non-compositional, and less literal. Also, unlike complex stem nouns, but like SVCs, the elements which compose a complex verb must not necessarily be contiguous, as (166) shows. Other examples, among others, are *zimà síí*, *lit.* know raise, ‘understand’, *kpá tā*, *lit.* take abandon, ‘drop’ or ‘stop’, and *gilà zimà*, *lit.* allow know, ‘prove’.

4.1.4 Verb forms and aspectual distinction

The inflectional system of Chakali verbs displays few verb forms and is closer to neighbor Oti-Volta languages than, for instance, a ‘conservative’ Grusi language like Kasem (Bonvini 1988: 51).⁴² Besides the derivational suffixes (Section 4.3.3), the verb in Chakali is limited to two inflectional suffixes and one assertive suffix: (i) one signals negation in the negative imperative clause (i.e. *kpɔ* ‘Kill’, *tí kpɔ̄* ‘Don’t kill’), (ii) another attaches to some verb stems in the perfective intransitive only, and (iii) the other signals assertion and puts the verbal constituent in focus. Since the negative imperative clause has already been presented in Section 2.3, the perfective and imperfective intransitive constructions are discussed next. Both are recurrent clauses in data elicitation. The former may contain both the perfective suffix and the assertive suffix simultaneously, while the latter displays the verb, with or without the assertive suffix.

4.1.4.1 Perfective intransitive construction As its name suggests, a perfective intransitive construction lacks a grammatical object and implies an event’s completion or its reaching point. In the case of verbal state, the perfective implies that the given state has been reached, or that the entity in subject position satisfies the property encoded in the verbal state lexeme. In (167), two suffixes are attached on one verbal process stem and one verbal state stem (see Section 3.2.1.2 for the general phonotactics involved).⁴³

⁴² Dagbani is described as a language where the “inflectional system for verbs is relatively poor” (Olawsky 1999: 96). It has an imperfective suffix *-di* (Olawsky 1999: 97) and an imperative suffix *-ma/mi* (Olawsky 1999: 101). Bodomo (1997: 81) writes that Dagaare has four verb forms: a dictionary form, a perfective aspectual form, a perfective intransitive aspectual form and an imperfective aspectual form. Also for Dagaare, Saanchi (2003) talks about four forms: perfective A and B, and Imperfective A and B.

⁴³ The presence of a schwa (ə) in a CVCəCV surface form, as in (167c), is explained in Sections 3.2.1.3 and 3.1.2.

(167) Perfective intransitive construction

- a. *Verbal process: s + p*
 àfíá díōō .
A. di-j[-LO, -HI, -RO]-[+HI,+RO]
‘Afia ate.’
- b. àfíá wá díjē . ‘Afia didn’t eat.’
- c. *Verbal state: s + p*
 à dáá télèjōō .
ART daa tele-j[-LO, -HI, -RO]-[+HI,+RO]
‘The stick leans.’
- d. à dáá wá téljājē . ‘The stick doesn’t lean.’

The first suffix to attach is the perfective suffix, i.e. $-j[-\text{LO}, -\text{HI}, -\text{RO}]$ or simply /jE/. Although it appears on every (positive and negative) stem in (167), it does not surface on all verb stems. The information in Table 31 partly predicts whether or not a stem will surface with a suffix, and if it does, which form this suffix will have.

Table 31: Perfective intransitive suffixes

Suffix /-jE/	Suffix /-wA/	No suffix
CV	CVV	CVCV ¹
CVCV ²		

Table 31 shows that, in a perfective intransitive construction, a CV stem must be suffixed with *-jE* and a CVV verb with *-wA*. The examples in (168) are negative in order to prevent the assertive suffix from appearing (see Section 5.3 on why negation and the assertive suffix cannot co-occur).

- (168) a. *CV*
 - po > àfíá wá pójē* ‘Afia didn’t divide’
 - pɔ > àfíá wá pójē* ‘Afia didn’t plant’
 - pu > àfíá wá pújē* ‘Afia didn’t cover’
 - pɔ > àfíá wá pójē* ‘Afia didn’t spit’
 - kpe > àfíá wá kpéjē* ‘Afia didn’t crack and remove’
 - kpa > àfíá wá kpájē* ‘Afia didn’t take’

b. CVV

- tuu* > àfíá wá tūūwō ‘Afia didn’t go down’
- tie* > àfíá wá tīēwō ‘Afia didn’t chew’
- sii* > àfíá wá sīīwō ‘Afia didn’t raise’
- j̥es* > àfíá wá j̥ōōwā ‘Afia didn’t marry’
- tre* > àfíá wá tīēwā ‘Afia didn’t give’
- wii* > àfíá wá wīīwā ‘Afia is not ill’

The surface form of the perfective suffix which attaches to CV stems is predicted by the ATR-harmony rule of Section 4.2. Notice that RO-harmony does not operate in that domain.

Rule 13 Prediction for perfective intransitive -/wA/ suffix

If the vowel of a CVV stem is +ATR, the vowel of the suffix is +RO, and if the vowel of a CVV stem is -ATR, the vowel of the suffix is -RO.

-/wA/ > $\alpha_{\text{RO}} \text{suffix} / \alpha_{\text{ATR}} \text{stem}$

The CVV stems display harmony between the stem vowel(s) and the suffix vowel which is easily captured by a variable feature alpha notation, as shown in Rule (13), which assumes that the segment [o] is the [+RO, +ATR]-counterpart of [a].

Predicting which of set CVCV¹ or set CVCV² in Table 31 a stem falls has proven unsuccessful. Provisionally, I suggest that a CVCV stem must be stored with such an information. One piece of evidence supporting this claim comes from the minimal pair *tèlè* ‘reach’ and *télé* ‘lean against’: the former displays CVCV² (i.e. tele-jE), whereas the latter displays CVCV¹ (i.e. tele-Ø). The data shows that a CVCV stem with round vowels is less likely to behave like a CVCV¹ stem, yet *púmō* ‘hatch’ is a counter-example, i.e. *a zal wa puməje* ‘the fowl didn’t hatch’. The CVCCV, CVVCV, and CVCVCV stems have not been investigated, but *kaal* ‘go’, a common CVVCV verb, takes the /-jE/ suffix.

4.1.4.2 Imperfective intransitive construction The imperfective conveys the unfolding of an event, and it is often used to describe an event taking place at the moment of speech. In addition, the behavior of the egressive marker *ka* (Section 4.2.1) suggest that the imperfective may be interpreted as a progressive event. As in the perfective intransitive, the assertive suffix may be found attached to the verb stem.

(169) [[verb stem]-[+HI,+RO]]_{verb in focus}

Again, the constraints licensing the combination of the verb stem and the vowel features shown in (169) are (i) none of the other constituents in the clause are in focus, (ii) the clause does not include a negation element, and (iii) the clause is intransitive, that is, there is no grammatical object.

- (170) a. Positive
 $\emptyset kàá kpá$ ‘She will take’
 $\emptyset\emptyset kpá\emptyset$ ‘She is taking/takes.’
- b. Negative
 $\emptyset wàá kpā$ ‘She will not take’
 $\emptyset\emptyset wàá kpá$ ‘She is not taking/does not take.’
- c. **kala**a* *kpa**s* Kala is taking/takes.’
- d. **waa* *kpa**s* ‘SHE is taking/takes.’
- e. * $\emptyset kpa$ *s a bII* ‘She is taking/takes the stone.’
- f. * $\emptyset\emptyset waa kpa$ *s* ‘She is not taking/does not take.’

In (170), the forms of the verb in the intransitive imperfective take the assertive suffix to signal that the verbal constituent is in focus, as opposed to the nominal argument. The assertive suffix cannot appear when the subject is in focus (170c) or when the strong pronoun is used as subject (170d), when a grammatical object follows the verb (170e), or when the negation preverb *waa* is present (170b).

4.1.4.3 Intransitive vs. transitive Many verbs can occur in either intransitive or transitive clauses. The subject of the intransitve in (171a) and (171c) correspond to the subject of the transitive in (171b) and (171d), and the same verb is found with and without an object.

- (171) a. *kàlá díjōō*.
Kala eat.PFV.FOC
‘Kala ATE.’
- b. *kàlá dí sììmáá rā*.
Kala eat.PFV food FOC
‘Kala ate FOOD.’
- c. $\emptyset\emptyset bùólùū$.
PSG sing.IPFV.FOC
‘He is SINGING.’

- d. *ðø búólù būol lō.*
 PSG sing.IPFV song FOC
 ‘He is singing a SONG.’

It is possible to promote a prototypical theme argument to the subject position. However, informants have difficulty with some nominals in the subject position of intransitive clauses. The topic needs further investigation, although it is certainly related to a semantic anomaly. The data in (172), where the prototypical o(bject) is in A-position, illustrates the problem. In order to concentrate on the activities of ‘goat beating’ and ‘tree climbing’, and turn the two clauses (172b) and (172c) into acceptable utterances, the optimal solution is to use the impersonal pronoun *ba* in subject position (see impersonal pronoun in Section 3.3.2).

- (172) a. *à bòj káá hírèū* ‘the hole is being dug’
 b. **a bõñj kaa maŋāõ* ‘the goat is being beaten’ → *bàà máŋà à bõñj ná*
 c. **a daa kaa zināõ* ‘the tree is being climbed’ → *bàà zíná à dáá rá*

Given that the inflectional system of the verb is rather poor, and that the perfective and assertive suffixes occur only in intransitive clauses, how does one encode a basic contrast like the one between a transitive perfective and transitive imperfective? The paired examples in (173) and (174) illustrate relevant contrasts.

(173) Transitive perfective

- a. *ɳ̊ dí kõõ rā*
 ‘I ate T. z..’
- b. *ɳ̊ p̊d dāā rā*
 ‘I planted a TREE.’
- c. *ɳ̊ t̊fígé viì rē*
 ‘I turned a POT.’
- d. *ɳ̊ lómó bõñj ná*
 ‘I tied a GOAT.’
- e. *ɳ̊ móná díj né*
 ‘I carried FIRE.’

(174) Transitive imperfective

- a. *ɳ̊ɳ̊ dí kõõ rā*
 ‘I am eating T.z..’

- b. *ìmì pó dáá rá*
‘I am planting a TREE.’
- c. *ìñì tṣigé viì rē*
‘I am turning a POT.’
- d. *ìñì lómò bɔ̃ɔ̃j nā*
‘I am tying a GOAT.’
- e. *ìmì mósà díŋ nē*
‘I am carrying FIRE.’

Each pair in the verbal frames of (173) and (174) presents fairly regular patterns: the high tone *versus* the falling tone on the CVCV verbs, the systematic change of the tonal melodies on the grammatical objects in the two CV-verb cases, and the length of the weak pronoun in the imperfective. The data suggest that it is the tonal melody, and not exclusively the one associated with the verb, which supports aspectual function in this comparison. When the verb is followed by an argument, both perfective and the imperfective are expressed with the base form of the verb. However, the tonal melody alone can determine whether an utterance is to be understood as a bounded event which occurred in the past or an unbounded event unfolding at the moment of speech.

Tonal melody is crucial in the following examples as well. The examples in (175) are three polar questions (see Section 2.2.2), one in the perfective and two in the imperfective. The two first have the same segmental content, and the last contains the egressive preverb *kaa* with a rising tone indicating the future tense. In order to signal a polar question, each has an extra-low tone and is slightly lengthened at the end of the utterance.

- (175) a. – – – – – – –
i tejesi a namĩã raa?
2SG cut.PV ART meat FOC
‘Did you cut the meat (into pieces)?’
- b. – – – – – – –
i tejesi a namĩã raa?
2SG cut.PV ART meat FOC
‘Are you cutting the meat (into pieces)?’
- c. – – – – – – –
i kaa tejesi a namĩã raa?
2SG IPFV.FUT cut.PV ART meat FOC
‘Will you (be) cut(ting) the meat (into pieces)?’

The only distinction perceived between (175a) and (175b) is a pitch difference near the third syllable of the verb. The tonal melody associated with the verb in (175c) is the same as the one in (175b).

4.1.4.4 Ex-situ subject imperfective particle One topic-marking strategy is to prepose a non-subject constituent to the beginning of the clause. In (176), the focus particle may or may not appear after the non-subjectival topic. Notice that one effect of this topic-marking strategy is that the particle *dì* appears between the subject and the verb when the non-subject constituent is preposed and when the clause is used to describe what is happening at the moment of speech.

- (176) a. Imperfective
sígá (*rá*) ḷ *dì* *tíē*.
 bean (FOC) 3.SG IPFV chew
 ‘It is BEANS he is chewing.’
- b. Perfective
sígá (*rá*) ḷ *tiè*.
 bean (FOC) 3.SG chew
 ‘It is BEANS he chewed.’
- c. Imperfective
wàà (*rá*) ḷ *dì* *káálì*.
 Wa (FOC) 3.SG IPFV go
 ‘It is to WA that he is going.’
- d. Perfective
wàà (*rá*) ḷ *kààlì*.
 Wa (FOC) 3.SG go
 ‘It is to WA that he went.’

The position of *dì* in (176a) and (176c), that is between the subject and the verb, is generally occupied by linguistic items called *preverbs*, to which the discussion turns in Section 4.2. Provisionally, the particle *dì* may be treated as a preverb constrained to occur with a preposed non-subject constituent and an imperfective aspect.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ I do not treat topicalization in this work, although the left-dislocation strategy in (176) is the only one I know to exist.

4.1.4.5 Subjunctive In Section 2.1.8.2 the preverbal *ŋma* is said to convey a desiderative mood, corresponding to the English modal expression ‘want to’, in a construction [NP *ŋma* [NP VP]]. The embedded clause is said to be in the subjunctive mood, which is singled out by its high tone on the subject pronoun and the non-actuality and potentiality of the event. In the examples (177a) and (177b) a subjunctive is interpreted because it involves clauses expressing a future hypothetical time and realization. In all these cases, the clauses of which the high tone pronoun is the subject seem to depend on and complement a more central event.

- (177) a. *ò káálì ó ká dí mòtigú jáwà.*
3.SG go 3.SG IPFV eat M. market
'She is going to trade at the Motigu market.' (*lit. eat-market*, 'trade')
b. *zòòò ìmìn màå pé, ó kpá ñìñ kòò fàlá tíéí, í*
enter 1.SG mother end 3.SG take 1.SG POSS t.z. bowl give.2SG 2SG
kíínì.
clean.bowl
'Go to my mother, she will give you my t.z. bowl so you can finish it.'

In (177a), according to the speaker, the trading activity is the intention of the woman and it will take place in all likelihood, and in (177b), the speaker tells about two situations that the addressee will most likely experience.

4.2 Preverb particles

Preverb particles encode various event-related meanings. They are part of the verbal domain called the expanded verbal group (EVG), discussed in (4) and schematized in (163). This domain follows the subject and precedes the main verb(s) and is generally accessible only to a limited set of linguistic items. These grammatical morphemes are not verbs, in the sense that they do not contribute to SVCs as verbs do, but as ‘auxiliaries’. Still, some of the preverbs may historically derive from verbs, and some others may synchronically function as verbs. Examples of the latter are the egressive particle *ka* and ingressive particle *wa*, which are discussed in Section 4.2.1. Nevertheless, given the data available, it would not be incorrect to analyse some of the preverbs as additional SVC verbs. A preverb differs from a verb in that it exposes functional categories, cannot inflect for the perfective or assertive suffix, and never takes a complement, such as a grammatical object, or cannot be modified by an adjunct. But again, a first verb in a SVC and a preverb are categories which can be hard to distinguish. Structurally

and functionally, many of them may be analysed as grammaticalized verbs in series. These characteristics are not special to Chakali; similar, but not identical, behavior are described for Gă and Gurene (Dakubu 2007; 2008).

4.2.1 Egressive and ingressive particles

The egressive particle *ka(a)* (glossed EGR) ‘movement away from the deictic centre’ and the ingressive particle *wa(a)* (glossed INGR) ‘movement towards the deictic centre’ are assumed to derive from the verbs *kaali* ‘go’ and *waa* ‘come’.⁴⁵ Table 32 shows that *kaali* ‘go’ and *waa* ‘come’, like other verbs, change forms (and are acceptable) in these paradigms, but *ka(a)* is not.

Table 32: Deictic verbs and preverbs

Verb	σ	Aspect	Positive	Negative
<i>waa</i> ‘come’	CVV	PFV	ò wáawáó̩ ‘she came’	ò wà wáawá ‘she didn’t come’
		IPFV	òò wááó̩ ‘she is coming’	ò wà wáá ‘she is not coming’
	CVVCV	PFV	ò kááljé̩ ‘she went’	ò wà kááljé̩ ‘she didn’t go’
		IPFV	òò kááló̩ ‘she is going’	ò wà káálí ‘she is not going’
<i>kaali</i> ‘go’	CV	PFV	*ò kau̩	*ò wa kajé̩
		IPFV	*ò kau̩	*ò wa ka

When the verbs *kaali* ‘go’ and *waa* ‘come’ occur in a SVC, they surface as *ka* and *wa* respectively. In (178), both *ka* and *wa* take part in a two-verb SVC in which they are first in the sequence.

⁴⁵ A discussion on some aspects of grammaticalization of ‘come’ and ‘go’ can be read in Bourdin (1992). In the literature, egressive is also known as *itive* (i.e. away from the speakers, ‘thither’) and ingressive is known as *ventive* (i.e. towards the speakers, ‘hither’).

Because they derive from deictic verbs (historically or synchronically), the preverbs have the potential to indicate non-spatial ‘event movement’ to or from a deictic centre. This phenomenon is not uncommon cross-linguistically. Nicolle (2007: 62) maintains that when a movement verb becomes a tense marker, it may be reduced to a verbal affix and its meaning can develop “into meaning relating temporal relations between events and reference times”. In Chakali, the preverb *ka(a)* contributes temporal information to an expression. Consider in (179) the distribution and contribution of *ka(a)* to the clauses headed by the verbs *kpe* ‘crack a shell and remove a seed from it’ (henceforth ‘c&r’) and *mara* ‘attach’.⁴⁶

- (179) a. ∂ *kàá kpē* ‘She will c&r’
 $\partial\partial$ *kpéū* ‘She is c-&r-ing/c-s&r-s’
 ∂ *kpéjōō* ‘She c-&r-ed’
kpé ‘C&r!’

b. ∂ *kàá mārā* ‘She will attach’
 $\partial\partial$ *máráō* ‘She is attaching/attaches’
 ∂ *márijō* ‘She attached’
márá ‘Attach’

When the preverb particle *kaa* is uttered with a rising pitch it situates the event in the future. The preverb particle *kaa* can also be used to express that an event is ongoing at the moment of speech, which I call the present progressive. However, when it is used to describe what is happening now, *kaa* can only appear when

⁴⁶ In Gurene (Western Oti-Volta), it is the ingressive particle which has a similar role. The ingressive is commonly used before the verb, and can, among other things, express future tense (see Dakubu 2007: 59).

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the subject is not a pronoun and its tone melody differs from that of the future tense. These contrasts are given in (180).

- (180) *ò kàá mārā* ‘She will attach’
 òò māráò ‘She is attaching’
 wòsá kàá mārā ‘Wusa will attach’
 wòsá káá māráò ‘Wusa is attaching’
 **wòsá māráò* ‘Wusa is attaching’

The paradigm in (180) shows that when the preverb particle *kaa* appears with a rising tonal melody it expresses the future tense, but in order to convey that a situation is ongoing at the time of speech (i.e. present progressive), the preverb particle *kaa* has a high tone. Thus, it is the tonal melody on *kaa* which distinguishes between the future and the present progressive (both treated as imperfective), plus the fact that pronouns cannot co-occur with the preverb particle *kaa* in the present progressive.

- (181) a. à *bié káá bīlīgī* *òò* *nàál* *kìnkán nà*.
 ART child IPFV touch POSS.3SG grand.father many FOC
 ‘The child touches his grand-father.’
 b. à *biè háj kàà bīlīgī* *òò* *nàál* *kìnkán nà*.
 ART child DEM IPFV touch POSS.3SG grand.father many FOC
 ‘This child touches his grand-father.’

In (181b) *kaa*’s melody is shown to be affected by the pitch of the preceding noun *bie* (LH) ‘child’ and the demonstrative *haj* (HL) ‘this’. Although little evidence is available, the preverb *wa* may also be used to express a sort of hypothetical mood. In (182), the preverb *wa* should be seen as contributing a supposition, or a hypothetical circumstance where someone would be found calling the number 8.

- (182) *ηméytél* *ηmā dí*, *kòsánáò*, *tóótíñnā* *ηmá dí*, *námùñ* *wá* *jírà*
 spider say COMP buffalo land.owner say COMP anyone INGR call
 ηméytél *sóñ*, *bá* *kpáyóò* *wàà bá* *kpó*.
 eight name 3PL.HUM+ catch.3SG FOC 3PL.HUM+ kill
‘Spider told Buffalo that landowner said anyone who calls the number 8 should be brought to him to be killed.’ [LB 009]

⁴⁷ Finally, the example in (183) intends to show that some elders of Ducie and Gurumbele use *ta* instead of *ka(a)*, as a variant of the preverb.

Unfortunately, since the relation between tense, aspect, and tonal melody is not well-understood at this stage of research, the egressive *ka* and the ingressive *wa* are broadly glossed as EGR and INGR respectively, but can also be associated with composite glosses such as IPFV.FUT or IPFV.PRES in cases where a distinction is clear.

4.2.2 Negation preverb

There are three different particles of negation in the language: the forms *le* and *tr* were discussed in Sections 2.3 and 3.8 respectively. The negative preverb particle *wa(a)* precedes the verb and is used in the verbal group (in non-imperative mood). The same form is found in both main and dependent clauses.

- (184) a. \emptyset *wàá pē.*
 3SG NEG add
 'She will not add.'
 b. $\emptyset\emptyset$ *wàà pē.*
 3SG NEG add
 'She is not adding.'
 c. \emptyset *wà péjē.*
 3SG NEG add
 'She didn't add.'

The examples in (184) show that a tonal quality on the negation particle and following verb distinguishes between the present progressive and the future, as the preverb *kaa* does (see example 180). The length of the negation particle can also function as a cue.

⁴⁷ I gathered that (i) *ta* is not a different preverb (Gurene is said to have a preverb *ta* signifying intentional action (M. E. K. Dakubu, p. c.)), and (ii) *ta* can be heard in Ducie and Gurumbele from people of the oldest generation, but somebody suggested to me that *ta* is the common form in Motigu (Mba Zien, p. c.). The distinction is in need of further research.

- (185) a. *námùj wà ná-ŋ̩.*
 CLF.all NEG see-1.SG
 ‘Nobody saw me.’ (*lit.* everyone not see me)
- b. *ñ wà ná námùj.*
 1.SG NEG see CLF.all
 ‘I did not see anyone.’ (*lit.* I not see everyone)

Example (185) shows that when the negation particle *wa(a)* and a quantifier appear in the same clause the quantifier is in the positive.

- (186) a. *ጀ wà wá dī.*
 3SG NEG come eat
 ‘She did not come to eat.’
- b. *ጀ wàá wà dí.*
 3SG NEG come eat
 ‘She will not come to eat.’

The negative preverb always precedes the verb *waa* ‘come’. Although length (CV or CVV) is hard to differentiate in natural speech, the examples in (186) suggest that the tonal melody and length establish meaning differences.

Assertion and negation seem to avoid one another and constrain the grammar in the following way: *If a clause is negated, none of its constituents can be in focus.* In Section 3.3.1, it was shown that (i) negation cannot co-occur with the strong pronouns, and (ii) negation cannot co-occur with an argument of the predicate in focus, i.e. with *ra* or one of its variants having scope over the noun phrase. The third non-occurrence of negation concerns the assertive form of the verb (Section 5.3). Consider the forms of the verb *mara* ‘attach’ in the two paradigms in (187).

- (187) a. Positive
 ላ *kàá mārā* ‘She will attach’
 ላጀ *máráጀ* ‘She is attaching/attaches’
 ላ *márijጀ* ‘She attached’
- b. Negative
 ላ *wàá mārā* ‘She will not attach’
 ላጀ *wàá mārá* ‘She is not attaching/does not attach’
 ላ *wà mārijጀ* ‘She did not attach’

The paradigms in (187) suggest that the negation particle and the assertive suffix are in complementary distribution.

4.2.3 Tense, aspect, and mood preverbs

4.2.3.1 *fi* The preverb *fi* is identified with two different but interrelated meanings. First, as (188) shows, the preverb *fi* (glossed PST) is a neutral past tense particle (i.e. as opposed to the specific *di* of Section 4.2.3.2), and the event referred to in the past can no longer be in effect in the present.

- (188) a. *ò jáá ññ tʃítʃà rā.*
 3SG IDENT 3SG.POSS teacher FOC
 ‘He is my TEACHER.’
- b. *ò fi jáá ññ tʃítʃà rā.*
 3SG PST IDENT 3SG.POSS teacher FOC
 ‘He was my TEACHER.’

Secondly, the preverb *fi* (glossed MOD) can have deontic meaning.

- (189) a. *ò fi jiàà ññ tʃítʃà rā.*
 3SG MOD IDENT 3SG.POSS teacher FOC
 ‘He should have been my TEACHER.’
- b. *ò fi wáá jiàà ññ tʃítʃà.*
 3SG MOD NEG IDENT 3SG.POSS teacher
 ‘He should not have been my TEACHER.’
- c. *ò fi jáá ññ tʃítʃà rā* ‘He was my TEACHER.’
- d. *ò fi wá jáá ññ tʃítʃà* ‘He was not my teacher.’

In (189), the presence of the preverb *fi* still conveys past tense, but in addition it expresses that the situation did not really occur, yet it was objectively supposed to occur or subjectively expected to occur or awaited. The lengthening of the preverb *fi* in the positive is not accounted for, but I suspect it signals the imperfective. Compare the first two sentences in (189) with the last two which convey the neutral past. The positive sentence in (189a) can receive a translation along these lines: In a desirable possible world, he was my teacher, but it is not what happened in the real world.

- (190) a. *ìmìñ mi'bòà fi bìrgi.*
 1SG.POSS life MOD delay
 ‘May I live long!’

- b. *tìè ìmìn milbòà bírgi.*
 give 1SG.POSS life delay
 ‘Let me live long!'

Finally, the preverb *fin* in (190) still conveys deontic modality, where the speaker prays or asks permission for a situation. Notice, however, that it cannot refer to a past event. The two sentences in (190) have a corresponding meaning. Example (190b) is framed in an imperative clause (see *optative* in Section 2.3).

4.2.3.2 Preverb three-interval tense Chakali encodes in preverbs a type of time categorization known as three-interval tense (Frawley 1992: 366). It is possible to express that an event occurred specifically yesterday, as opposed to earlier today and the day before yesterday, i.e. *hesternal tense* (glossed HEST), or specifically tomorrow, as opposed to later today and the day after tomorrow, i.e. *crastinal tense* (glossed CRAS). The hesternal tense particle *di/de* (glossed HEST) refers to the day preceding the speech time. It has the temporal nominal counterpart *dìàrè* ‘yesterday’.

- (191) (*dìàrè tin*) ḥ ní ḥ *tfèná dí wāāwā* (*dìàrè tin*).
 (yesterday) 3SG CONN 3SG.POSS friend HEST come.PFV (yesterday)
 ‘He arrived with his friend yesterday.’

In (191), the phrase *dìare tin* ‘yesterday’ is optional, and when it is used it must be expressed at the end or at the beginning of the clause.

- (192) Will you work for the chief today or tomorrow?
ṇ tǐ kàá tòmà tīēō rà, záàŋ, ḥ kàá hìēsō.
 1SG CRAS go work give.3SG FOC, today, 1SG EGR rest.FOC
 ‘I shall work for him tomorrow, today, I shall rest.’

The crastinal tense preverb *tí* (glossed CRAS) in (192) functions as future particle, but is limited to the day following the event time. In that sentence the event time referred to follows the utterance time by one day. The temporal nominal counterpart of *tí* is *tíá* ‘tomorrow’. As for the hesternal tense and the corresponding nominal, the nominal may or may not co-occur with the crastinal tense particle.

The hesternal tense particle *di* is homophonous with the (*ex-situ subject*) imperfective particle *di* discussed in Section 4.1.4.4. In addition, the question arises as to whether the crastinal tense is inherently future, and if so, whether or not

it can co-occur with the future-encoding egressive preverb discussed in Section 4.2.1. Consider their distribution and meaning in the examples given in (193).

- (193) a. Imperfective

sígá (rá) ḵ dì tíē.
bean (FOC) 3.SG IPFV chew
'It is BEANS he is chewing.'

- b. Perfective/Past

sígá (rá) ḵ tiē.
bean (FOC) 3.SG chew
'It is BEANS he chewed.'

- c. Hesternal past

sígá (rá) ḵ dí tíē.
bean (FOC) 3.SG HEST chew
'It is BEANS he chewed yesterday.'

- d. Hesternal past progressive

sígá (ra) ḵ díí tíē.
bean (FOC) 3.SG HEST chew
'It is BEANS he was chewing yesterday.'

- e. Future (progressive)

sígá (rá) ḵ kàá tíē.
bean (FOC) 3.SG FUT chew
'It is BEANS he will be chewing / will chew.'

- f. Crastinal future (progressive)

sígá (rá) ḵ tʃí kàá tíē.
bean (FOC) 3.SG CRAS FUT chew
'It is BEANS he will be chewing / will chew tomorrow.'

A specific tonal melody associated with the sequence *dì tie* can express either a present progressive, as in (193a), or a hesternal past, as in (193b). Lengthening the hesternal past particle allows one to express the tense associated with the particle, in addition to indicating progressive (193d). This strategy seems to correspond semantically to the apparent syntactic anomaly **dì dì*, lit. HEST IPFV. The example in (193f) shows that the crastinal tense particle and the egressive particle signaling future can co-occur. Inserting the imperfective particle *dì* between the egressive particle and the verb in (193e) and (193f) is unacceptable. It is unclear whether these two examples must be interpreted as progressive or not.

4.2.3.3 te Lacking a corresponding verb to capture its meaning, the verb *te* is glossed with the English adverb ‘early’. Even though it is attested as main verb, *te* can function as a preverb and it is indeed more common to find it in that function.

- (194) a. *i téjòō.*
2SG early.FOC
'You are early.'
- b. *gbiā báàj té kà sájá à píé (...)*
monkey quickly early go sit ART yam.mound.PL
pv pv v v
'Monkey quickly went and sat on the (eighth) yam mounds (...)' [LB 012]

The main verb *te* and the preverb *te* are shown respectively in (194). They contribute a relative time, one in which the event is carried out before the expected or usual time.

4.2.3.4 zi The preverb *zi* is marginal in the corpus.⁴⁸

- (195) a. A father is giving a sequence of tasks to his son
tòmà à zíē m̄dá ká kà tòmà kùó àká zí kà tòmà à
 work ART wall before CONN go work farm CONN after go work ART
pv v v
gár
 cattle.fence

'First repair the wall, then go and farm, then repair the cattle fence.'

⁴⁸ There is a formally similar particle, *ze* (glossed EXP), which is still not understood: (i) it occurs after the noun phrase, and (ii) its meaning corresponds to ‘expected (by both the speaker and the addressee, or only by the speaker)’. It informs that the referent of the noun phrase was anticipated before the utterance time (or relative time) by the speaker and addressee (or only the speaker). Consider the following example:

- (i) *bá zé wāāwāō.*
3PL.B EXP come.PFV
'They (the expected people) have come.'

- b. *kààlì díá ká zí kààlì kuó.*
 go house and then go farm
pv v
 ‘Go to the house and then go to the farm.’

There is no corresponding verb in the language. It is used to express an order of events, in such case words such as *mõá* ‘before’ and *zí* ‘after’ and the connective *ka/aka* ‘and/then’ are used, as (195a) shows. However, as (195b) illustrates, the preceding event may be presupposed, so it is not necessarily uttered.

4.2.3.5 *baaŋ* The preverb *baaŋ* (glossed MOD) is primarily modal and is usually translated into English ‘must’, ‘immediately’, ‘quickly’ or ‘just’.

- (196) a. *kùórù ñmá dí ñ kàá bààŋ bó bõñá fí rē.*
 chief say COMP 1SG FUT MOD pay.PL ten FOC
 ‘The chief says that I must pay him ten goats.’
- b. *ií kàá bààŋ jáó rā.*
 2SG FUT MOD do.3SG FOC
 ‘You must do it.’

First, the examples in (196) show that the preverb *baaŋ* conveys an obligation.

- (197) (...) à *kpá òò néŋ à ságà òò ní dí ò bààŋ té*
 (...) CONN take 3SG.POSS arm CONN be.on 3SG POSTP CONN 3SG MOD early
pv pv
bèrègì dȭñ
 turn.into python
v
 ‘(...) then put his hand on her and quickly turned into a python.’ [PY 025]

Secondly, as illustrated in (197), the preverb *baaŋ* can express an abrupt or swift manner.

- (198) a. ò *zímá dí jà kàá ñmá òò wíé rá òò bààŋ tʃùò*
 3SG know COMP 1PL FUT talk 3SG.POSS matter FOC 3SG MOD lie
dúò.
 sleep
 ‘He knew that we would talk about him, so he quickly slept.’

- b. *kàwàá bààŋ tárì kééééŋ ...*
pumpkin just creep DXM
'A pumpkin just crept like that ...'
- c. *à kùò ní ḥ bààŋ jírúú kéké néé à wà kòò.*
ART farm POSTP 3SG MOD call.IPFV DXM FOC CONN INGR tire
'At the farm he kept calling (for someone) but got tired (gave up).'
- d. *díŋ bààŋ jàà díŋtół.*
fire just IDENT flame
'The fire suddenly became flame.'

Finally, the preverb *baaŋ* may act as a discourse particle used mainly to emphasize or intensify the action carried out, reminiscent of the use of 'just' in some English registers. It is often translated in text as 'immediately', 'suddenly', 'then', or simply 'just'. Examples are given in (198).

4.2.3.6 *bi* The examples in (199) show that the preverb particle *bi* expresses iterative iteration, but also the single repetition of an event, and follows the negation particle.

- (199) a. *ጀ bí kòɔ̄rè sáá ጀጀ díà rá.*
3SG ITR make build 3SG.POSS house FOC
'He rebuilt his hut.'
- b. *à bitfèlíí bí sīñú.*
ART child.fall ITR raise.FOC
'The fallen child gets up again.'
- c. *ጀ wà bí tūō.*
3.SG NEG ITR be.at
'She is no longer here.'

Unlike other preverbs, *bi* may also appear within noun phrases to express frequency time. This is shown in (200) (see Section 3.6.5).

- (200) *ṇ jáà káálì ùù pé rè tʃɔ̄pisì bíí mùŋ.*
1SG HAB go 3SG.POSS end FOC day.break ITR all
'I do visit him every day.'

4.2.3.7 bra The verb *bra* ([bə̄rə]) is a motion verb which conveys a change of direction.

- (201) a. *brà à káálì*.
return CONN go
'Go back.' (Hearer coming towards speaker, speaker asks addressee to turn and go back.)
- b. *brà àká tfáv*.
return CONN leave.3SG
'Return and leave him.' (Speaker asks addressee to turn and go away from the person the addressee is with.)

The examples in (201) present the verb *bra* in imperative clauses separated by the connectives *a* and *aka*.

- (202) *ò brá tòmà à tórmá tíj kà wà wíré kéj*.
3SG again work ART work ART EGR NEG well DXM
'He redid the work that was badly done.'

When *bra* functions as a preverb, as in (202), it loosely keeps its motion sense and conveys in addition a sort of repetition. It differs from the morpheme *bi* introduced in Section 4.2.3.6 since it does not mean that an action is done repeatedly. Instead, the preverb *bra* is associated with actions done 'once more', 'over again', or 'anew'.

4.2.3.8 ja The preverb *ja(a)* (glossed HAB) indicates habitual aspect. It expresses that the subject's referent is accustomed to, familiar with, or routinely do the action described by the predicate.

- (203) *tʃpìsì bí-múj òò jáà jááò*.
day.break ITR-all 3SG HAB do.3SG
'He does it every day.'

A variation in length and intonation suggest an (im)perfective aspectual distinction. In (203) there is a vowel sequence *aa* pronounced with a falling intonation. Compare this with the examples in (204).

- (204) a. *kàlá já tùgòsì bíré*.
K. HAB beat.PL child.PL FOC
'Kala beat children.' (He used to do it.)

- b. *kàlá jáà tígósì bíisé ré.*
 K. HAB beat.PL child.PL FOC
 ‘Kala beats children.’ (He regularly does it.)

The aspectual distinction in (204) is reflected by the preverb’s vocalic length and intonation, but also on the following verb’s intonation.

4.2.3.9 ha The morpheme *ha* (glossed MOD) is similar in meaning to the English morpheme ‘yet’ and is circumscribed to the expanded verbal group. The expression *haali* (glossed CONN) has a similar meaning but is mainly used as a discourse connective. It is not frequent and is ultimately of Arabic origin, but like many other words, have been acquired via another language, in this case Hausa (Baldi 2008: 157-158). An example is provided in (205f).

- (205) a. *òò háá díúú.*
 3.SG MOD eat.FOC
 ‘He is still eating.’
- b. *ò há wà díjé.*
 3.SG MOD NEG eat.PFV
 ‘He has not eaten yet.’
- c. *bà jíné òò gérégá rá àká òò háá wñ.*
 3PL.HUM+ look 3SG.POSS sickness FOC CONN 3SG MOD ill
 ‘He has been cared for to no avail; he is still ill.’
- d. *ò há wà wāā báàj míj.*
 3.SG MOD NEG come DEM QUANT.all
 ‘He does not come here (ever).’
- e. *ò há wà wáawá.*
 3.SG MOD NEG come.PFV
 ‘He has not come yet.’
- f. *m búúré mòlèbíé bìrgì háálì n há wà náá.*
 1.SG want money delay CONN 1SG MOD come see.3PL
 ‘I struggled to get money for some time but still have not got any.’

The morpheme *ha* is used when an event is or was anticipated and a speaker considers or considered probable the occurrence of the event. As for the English ‘yet’, it is frequently found in negative polarity. In such cases *ha* indicates that the event is expected to happen and the negative marker *wa* indicates that the

event has not unfolded or happened at the referred time. In the cases where *ha* is found in a positive polarity, it conveys a continuative aspect, that the event is happening at the time, similar to English ‘still’, as in (205a) and (205c).

4.2.3.10 tu and zin The verbs *tuu* and *zin* are motion expressions making reference to two opposite paths.

- (206) a. *ṇ zínà sàl lá iṇ páá tʃùònò.*
1SG go.up flat.roof FOC 1SG take.PV shea.nut.seed.PL
'I go up on the roof to collect my shea nuts.'
- b. *ṇ túú dìà rá.*
1SG go.down house FOC
I went down to the house.'

When they are used as main predicate, as in example (206), they denote ‘go down’ and ‘go up’ and surface as *tuu* and *zin* respectively.

- (207) a. *zíná tʃ́ à káálí.*
go.up run CONN go
'Go up, run, and leave' (*Run upwardly and go)
- b. *tùù tʃ́ à káálí.*
go.down run CONN go
'Go down, run, and leave' (*Run downwardly and go)

The verbal morphemes *tuu* and *zin* in (207) are not treated as preverbs, but first verbs in SVCs. As explained at the beginning of Section 4.2, more criteria are required to be considered in order to categorize verbals of that particular kind.

4.3 Verbal suffixes

In Section 4.1.4, two suffixes were introduced: the perfective intransitive suffix and the assertive suffix. It was shown that the perfective intransitive suffix surfaces either as *-jE*, *-wA* or *-Ø* depending on the verb stem. The assertive suffix appears in the imperfective and perfective intransitive construction if (i) none of the other constituents in the clause are in focus, (ii) the clause does not include propositional negation, and (iii) the clause is intransitive, that is, there is no grammatical object. Also, as mentioned in Section 2.3, the suffix *-i/-i* appears in the negative imperative. In this section, the incorporated object index (o-clitic), the

pluractional suffix, and other derivative suffixes whose functions are not fully understood are introduced.

4.3.1 Incorporated object index

The object index is represented as being incorporated into the verb, and together they form a phonological word (e.g. *wòsá tfeń nā* < *wòsá tie-η na* ‘Wusa gave-1SG FOC’). For that reason the incorporated object index is referred to as the o-clitic. Given the constraints governing the appearance of the perfective intransitive suffix and the assertive suffix, it is obvious that the o-clitic cannot coexist with any of them. Table 33 shows that the ATR-harmony operates in the domain produced by the o-clitic merging with a CV or CVV stem, but may or may not affect the plural pronouns, as Tables 33(b) and 33(c) display.⁴⁹

The form of the focus particle is determined by the preceding material (i.e. the phonological word verb+o-clitic) and the harmony rules introduced in Section 3.2.2.2. Table 33(d) should be seen as displaying various renditions, i.e. with and without ATR-harmony or ro-harmony. I did perceive rounding throughout in conversations (i.e. *wòsá pómá rā* > *wòsá pómó wō* ‘Wusa divided you.PL’), but I was unable to get a consultant produce it in an elicitation session.

A CVCV stem differs from a CV or CVV stem by exhibiting vowel apocope and/or vowel coalescence. Table 34 provides paradigms for *kpaga* ‘catch’ and *goro* ‘(go in) circle’.

The schwas (ə) in *kpayəja* and *gorəja* are perceived as fronted, and the ones in *kpayəma* and *gorəma* as rounded. Although this is certainly due to the following consonant, they are so weak that they can only be heard when they are carefully pronounced (see Section 3.1.2). The paradigm in Table 34(b) can also be uttered in the plural as *górójé rē* (1PL), *góréma rā* (2PL), *góráá rā* (3PL.-H), and *górébá rā* (3PL.+H). The focus particle *wa* is a variant of *ra*. Some consultants agree that these forms are in free variation, yet the *wa* form coexists only with the plural in the paradigms elicited. Nonetheless, such paradigm elicitations are particularly subject to unnaturalness.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ The question mark following the third person plural non-human examples flags a grammatical but infelicitous example.

⁵⁰ I personally believe that the alteration is determined by some kind of sandhi, not number. As to why *wa* appears only in the plural, a scenario may be that (i) first, I install a routine by starting with the 1.SG ME and ending with the 3.PL THEM, (ii) in the process of eliciting, the passage from third singular to first plural triggers a different verb shape, i.e. CVCVV/CVCN to CVCVCV, and (iii) although formally identical to the verb forms of the singular, the reason why *wa* follows the third plural non-human could be explained by psychological habituation.

Table 33: Incorporated object index on CV(V) stems

	(a) tie ‘give’
wòsá tíé-ń nā	‘Wusa gave ME’
wòsá tíé-í rā	‘Wusa gave YOU’
wòsá tíé-ó rā	‘Wusa gave HER’
wòsá tíé-já rā	‘Wusa gave US’
wòsá tíé-má rā	‘Wusa gave YOU’
wòsá tíé-á rā	‘Wusa gave THEM’
wòsá tíé-bá rā	‘Wusa gave THEM’
	(b) tie ‘swindle’
wòsá tíé-ń nē	‘Wusa swindled ME’
wòsá tíé-í rē	‘Wusa swindled YOU’
wòsá tíé-ú rō	‘Wusa swindled HER’
wòsá tíé-já rā	‘Wusa swindled US’
wòsá tíé-má rā	‘Wusa swindled YOU’
wòsá tíé-á rā	‘Wusa swindled THEM’(?)
wòsá tíé-bá rā	‘Wusa swindled THEM’
	(c) tie ‘swindle’
wòsá tíé-jé rē	‘Wusa swindled US’
wòsá tíé-mé rē	‘Wusa swindled YOU’
wòsá tíé-é rē	‘Wusa swindled THEM’(?)
wòsá tíé-bé rē	‘Wusa swindled THEM’
	(d) po ‘divide’
wòsá pó-jé rē	‘Wusa divided US’
wòsá pó-mó rō	‘Wusa divided YOU’
wòsá pó-á rā	‘Wusa divided THEM’
wòsá pó-bé rē	‘Wusa divided THEM’

4.3.2 Pluractional suffixes

A pluractional verb is defined as a verb which can (i) express the repetition of an event, (ii) subcategorize for a plural object and/or plural subject, and/or (iii) be marked by the pluractional suffix *-sI*, a derivative suffix whose vowel quality is

Table 34: Incorporated object index on CVCV stems

	(a) kpaga ‘catch’
wòsá kpáyń nā	‘Wusa caught ME’
wòsá kpáyíí rā	‘Wusa caught YOU’
wòsá kpáyóó rā	‘Wusa caught HER’
wòsá kpáyójá wā	‘Wusa caught US’
wòsá kpáyómá wā	‘Wusa caught YOU’
wòsá kpáyáá wā	‘Wusa caught THEM’
wòsá kpáybá wā	‘Wusa caught THEM’
	(b) goro ‘(go in) circle’
wòsá górnń nō	‘Wusa circled ME’
wòsá górií rē	‘Wusa circled YOU’
wòsá góruú rō	‘Wusa circled HER’
wòsá górájá wā/rā	‘Wusa circled US’
wòsá góréómá wā/rā	‘Wusa circled YOU’
wòsá góráá wā/rā	‘Wusa circled THEM’
wòsá górébá wā/rā	‘Wusa circled THEM’

always high and front and whose ATR value is determined by the stem vowel(s).⁵¹ According to (i) above, the iterativeness may affect the interpretation of the number of participants of an event. Consider the contrasts between the sentences in (208), where none of the arguments are in the plural (i.e. contra (ii)).

- (208) a. *ṇ téŋé à nàmìà̄ rā.*
 1SG cut ART meat FOC
 ‘I cut a piece of meat (i.e. made a cut in the flesh or cut into two pieces).’
- b. *ṇ téŋé-sí à nàmìà̄ rā.*
 1SG cut-PV ART meat FOC
 ‘I cut the meat into pieces.’

⁵¹ An exposition of the ‘plural verbs’ in Vagla can be found in Blench (2003). Dakubu, Atintono & Nsoh (2007: viii) calls a similar morpheme ‘iterative’ (i.e. Gurene -*sé*). Among the West African languages, it is the pluractional verbs in Hausa which have received most attention (see José 2008).

In (208b), the formal distinction on the verb ‘cut’, compared to (208a), causes the event to be interpreted as one which involves the repetition of the ‘same’ sub-event. The word *namñā* ‘meat’ is allowed in both the contexts of (208a) and (208b), although one may argue that the word *namñā* is inherently plural but grammatically singular, and that the word is appropriate in both contexts. Despite the fact that ‘meat’ has indeed a plural form, i.e. *nansa*, it is probably the mass term denotation of *namñā* which makes (208b) acceptable.

- (209) a. *ṇ tfigé à hèná rá.*
1SG turn ART bowl.SG FOC
'I turn (upside down) the bowl.'
- b. *ṇ tfigé-sí à hènsá rá.*
1SG turn-PV ART bowl.PL FOC
'I turn (upside down) the bowls (one after the other).'
- c. (?) *ṇ tfige-si a hena ra.*
1SG turn-PV ART bowl.SG FOC
'I turn (upside down in a repetitional fashion) the bowl.'

In (209), however, the grammatical object of a pluractional verb *tfigesi* ‘turn iteratively’ or ‘put on face down iteratively’ must refer to individuated entities. Comparing (209a) and (209c) with (209b), the pluractional verb cannot coexist with a singular noun as grammatical object due to the fact that some ‘turning’ events are hard to conceive as affecting the same object in a repetitive fashion. However, in (210) the ‘beating’ can affect one or several individuals.

- (210) a. *ṇ túgó à bìè rē.*
1SG beat ART child.SG FOC
'I beat the child.'
- b. *ṇ túgó-sí à bisé ré.*
1SG beat-PV ART child.PL FOC
'I beat the children.'
- c. *ṇ túgó-sí à bìè rē.*
1SG beat-PV ART child.SG FOC
'I beat the child (more than once, over a short period of time).'

Whereas (210c) has a possible interpretation, two language consultants could not assign a meaning to (211d) below.

- (211) a. *ŋ kpágá à zál là.*
 1SG caught ART chicken.SG FOC
 ‘I caught a chicken.’
- b. *ŋ kpágá-sí à zálíé rà.*
 1SG caught-PV ART chicken.PL FOC
 ‘I caught chickens (i.e. in repeated actions).’
- c. *ŋ kpágá à zálíé rà.*
 1SG caught ART chicken.PL FOC
 ‘I caught chickens (i.e. in one move).’
- d. (?) *ŋ kpaga-sí a zal la.*
 1SG caught-PV ART chicken.SG FOC
 ‘I caught a chicken (i.e. after unsuccessful attempts until finally succeeding with one particular chicken).’

A pluractional verb usually denotes an action, but not a state. Therefore, in (211), the sense of *kpaga*₁ is related to ‘catch’, and not to the possessive sense of the verbal state lexeme *kpaga*₂ ‘have’.⁵² Beside /-sI/, the suffix /-gE/ may also turn a verbal process lexeme into a pluractional verb, e.g. *tɔtti* ‘pluck’ > *tɔrəgə* ‘pluck iteratively’ and *keti* ‘break’ > *kerigi* ‘break iteratively’.

- (212) a. *kà kpá zál hájì tà.*
 go take.PL fowl.SG DEM let.free
 ‘Go and take this fowl away.’
- b. *kà páá zálíé hámà tà.*
 go take.PL fowl.PL DEM.PL let.free
 ‘Go and take these fowls away.’

Finally, a pluractional verb must not necessarily display the suffixation pattern described above. This is confirmed by the pair *kpa/paa* ‘take’ in (212).

4.3.3 Possible derivational suffixes

Dakubu (2009b: 37) and Bonvini (1988: 69) identify some derivational suffixes in Gurene and Kasem respectively, but write that their signification is hard to

⁵² Though I like to treat *dvasi* as a counterexample. The pluractional verb *dvasi* ‘be in a row’ may be derived from the existential predicate *dva* ‘be on/at/in’. For instance, the verbs *tele* ‘lean’ and *telege* ‘lean’ are determined by the number value (SG/PL) of the subject. If more examples like these arise, *pluractional* would then loose its literal signification.

establish. However, their descriptions indicate that derivational suffixes mainly encode aspectual distinctions.

As mentioned in Section 4.1.1, about 90% of the verbs are monosyllabic or bisyllabic, and only the consonants *m*, *t*, *s*, *n*, *l*, and *g* are found in onset position word-medially in trisyllabic verbs. This situation could suggest that 10% of the verbs in the current lexicon are the product of verbal derivation, and that the consonants found in onset position word-medially in trisyllabic verbs are part of derivational suffixes.

- (213) a. *ɔ wórfígf à haylibié ré.*
3SG scatter ART block.PL FOC

‘He scattered the mud blocks.’ (they were piled and packed)

- b. *ɔ wórá à haylibíí ré.*
3SG move ART block FOC

‘He moved the mud block.’ (they are uneven, but still piled)

However, apart from the pluractional suffix discussed in Section 4.3.2, it is impossible at this stage of the research to establish a systematic mapping between the third syllable of a trisyllabic verb and a meaning.

Table 35: Possible derivational suffixes

<i>-gV</i>			
wòrà (v)	‘move, shift’	>	wòrigì (v) ‘scatter’
tàrà (v)	‘support’	>	tàràgè (v) ‘pull’
brà (v)	‘return’	>	bèrègì (v) ‘change direction’
<i>-mV</i>			
jàgà (v)	‘be sour’	>	jàgàmì (v) ‘ferment’
víl (n)	‘well’	>	vílmí (v) ‘whirl’
mílà (v)	‘turn round’	>	mílimì (v) ‘turn’
<i>-IV</i>			
kàgà (v)	‘choke’	>	kàgàlè (v) ‘lie across’

The example provided in (213a) and Table 35 presents some indications that *m*, *l*, and *g*, i.e. CVCV{*m*, *l*, *g*} V, are involved in some kinds of derivation, although the next step would be to determine their exact meaning.⁵³

⁵³ The verb pair *go* ‘round’ and *goro* ‘(go in) circle’ is manifestly a derivation as well, i.e. CV > CV-rV.

5 Grammatical pragmatics and language usage

In this section are presented aspects of the grammar which do not naturally fit within the distinction *clause*, *verbal* or *nominal* and “which involve encoded conventions correlating between specific linguistic expressions and extra-grammatical concepts” (Ariel 2010: 256). Sections 5.1 and 5.2 present adverbial deixis particles, Section 5.3 offers an overview of what has been stated on *focus*, and the remaining covers selected pieces of language usage and everyday communication.

5.1 Manner deictics

Chakali has a two-term exophoric system of manner deixis (Koenig 2012); the expressions *keŋ* and *nɪŋ* are treated as two manner deictics (glossed DXM). Manner is a cover term since the content dimension appears to cover degree and quality as well. Consider the examples in (214).

- (214) a. *kén nè bà já jāà*.
DXM FOC 3PL.H+ HAB do
‘That’s the way to do it. (manner)’
- b. *hàylíkíj zéné mààsì nín nà*.
snake long equal DXM FOC
‘The snake was that/this big. (degree)’
- c. *kàlá máásíf níj*.
K. equal.NMLZ DXM
‘Kala is like that. (quality) [of size]’
- d. *kàlá dónná kékj*.
K. type DXM
‘Kala is like that. (quality) [of nature]’

The expressions *keŋ* and *nɪŋ* are very frequent and bring to mind the English ‘like this/that’, that is, an expression which refers to something extralinguistic yet in the context of the utterance. In that sense they can be treated as pro-forms. Example (215) illustrates this point.

- (215) a. *bàáŋ pòɔ̄sá káá sìi báj ní níŋ?*
Q smoke EGR rise DEM POSTP DXM
‘What smoke is rising here like this?’ [PY 059]

- b. *bàáj káá jāá këj?*

Q.what EGR do DXM

‘What is doing like that?’ (Reaction to a sound coming from inside a pot)

The meaning difference between *nij* and *kej* seem to be motivated by the way they encode a sort of psychological saliency on a proximal/distal dimension. This distinction needs more evidence than the one I provide, but consider the conversation between A and B in (216).

- (216) a. *A: nín nā báàbá ñmä?*

DXM FOC B. say

‘Is this what Baaba said?’

- b. *B: ḋéék kén^t né ḍ̄ ñmá.*

yes DXM FOC 3SG say

‘Yes, that is what he said.’

Similarly, the (fictional) discourse excerpt in (217) concerns a father (A) addressing his son (B) on the topic of how to ignite kapok fiber. The sentence (217c) is accompanied with a demonstration on how to strike a cutlass on a stone.

- (217) a. *A: kpá kój à ñmènà díj!*

take kapok CONN ignite fire

‘Take some kapok and start a fire!’

- b. *B: pìnìé bá já kà ñmènà?*

Q 3PL do EGR ignite

‘How does one ignite?’

- c. *A: ñmènà níj!*

ignite DXM

‘Ignite like this!’

- d. *A: tfá dí i tfí wááwá ñmènà kék.*

tomorrow CONN 2SG CRAS come.PFV ignite DXM

‘Tomorrow when you come, ignite like that.’

In the context of (217), at the farm the next day, the boy (B) would tell a colleague: *kén nē bá já ñmènà*, lit. like.that they do ignite, ‘that is how one ignites’.

- (218) *níŋ lèf̩ òð dìà háj̩ já dð.*
 DXM NEG 3SG.POSS house DEM HAB be
 ‘This is not how his room used to be.’ [PY 78]

In (218), *níŋ* refers to the condition of the room, which is not a manner but a property of the room. In addition, *kej̩* and *níŋ* can function as discourse particles, whose meanings resemble English ‘like’ in some registers (Siegel 2002). In (219), *kej̩* is considered superfluous since it does not contribute to the manner of motion or the state of the participant.⁵⁴

- (219) *ñ káálðð kék̩.*
 1SG go.IPFV.FOC DXM
 ‘I am leaving like that.’

Also, depending on the intonation associated with it, and whether or not the focus particle is present, *kej̩* and *níŋ* can function as interjections used to convey comprehension or surprise. So a phrase like *kén nèè* could be roughly translated as ‘Is that so?’, *kén nè* has a similar function to the English tag-question ‘Isn’t it?’, but *kééèj̩* or *kén^t nè* could be translated as ‘yes, that is it’.

Finally, McGill, Fembeti & Toupin (1999) presents *nye* and *ee* (variant *gee*) as demonstrative pronouns in Pasaale, which can also modify an entire clause. The former corresponds to ‘this’ and the latter to ‘that’. At this point, it is a matter of comparing the two languages and the terminology employed. Nonetheless, in the majority of the examples provided by McGill, Fembeti & Toupin (1999), Chakali *kej̩* and *níŋ* seem to have the same function.

5.2 Spatial deictics

A speaker-subjective, two-way contrast exists to locate entities in space. The spatial deixis demonstrative *bááj̩* designates the location of the speaker, while the spatial deixis demonstrative *dé* designates where the speaker is not located. They represent what is known as the ‘proximal’ and ‘distal’ dimensions of spatial deixis.

- (220) a. *wàà bááj̩.*
 come DXL
 ‘Come here.’

⁵⁴ Something identical to the translation of (219) may be heard in all over the country, in both the Ghanaian languages and Ghanaian English.

- b. *ø dɔá dé (nī)*
 PSG be.at DXL POSTP
 ‘He is there.’

In (220a) and (220b), they are translated as ‘here’ and ‘there’ respectively, and glossed DXL, standing for ‘locative deixis’. Notice that unlike the single demonstrative modifier discussed in Section 3.7, *bááj* and *dé* do encode a proximal/distal distinction.

5.3 Focus

Since the notion of focus has been discussed separately in connection with nominals and verbals, this section offers a basic overview of what has been stated. Dik (1997: 326) writes that “the focal information in a linguistic expression is that information which is relatively the most important or salient in the given communicative setting”. In Chakali, there are several ways in which a speaker can integrate focal information, and all of them put ‘in focus’ a constituent.⁵⁵ The first encodes focal information in a particle which always follows a nominal, i.e. *ra* and variants. Its phonological shape is determined by the preceding phonological material (see Sections 3.2.2.2 and 3.8). The second, which was called the assertive suffix, takes the form of vowel features which are suffixed onto the verb (see Sections 4.1.4.1 and 4.3). It was claimed that the assertive suffix surfaces only if (i) none of the other constituents in the clause are in focus, (ii) the clause does not include propositional negation, and (iii) the clause is intransitive. The second criterion (ii) is applicable to the particle *ra* as well: thus focal information can only exist in affirmative clauses, negation automatically prevents information from being in focus. In (221), the examples illustrate how the focal information is encoded when the object (221a), the subject (221b) and the predicate (221c) are considered the most important piece of information.

⁵⁵ The terminology employed in the literature is probably the result of complex and still obscure phenomena. For instance, for the post-verbal particle *la* in Dagaare, Bodomo (1997) uses the term ‘factive’ and ‘affirmative’ particle interchangeably, Dakubu (2005) uses ‘(broad- and narrow-)focus’ and glosses it either as AFF or FOC, and Saanchi (2003) uses post-verbal particle and glosses it as AFF. The latest contribution to the discussion is Sakurai (2014) which uses a Lexical-Functional Grammar formalism to account for the special distribution of *la*. In-depth accounts of focus in Grusi languages can only be found in Blass (1990), but see also McGill, Femebeti & Toupin (1999). Anne Schwarz has worked extensively on the topic in some Gur and Kwa languages (Schwarz 2010).

- (221) a. Focus on object: What has the man chewed?

à báál tíē sígá rá.
 ART man chew bean FOC
 ‘The man chewed BEANS.’
kàlá tíē sígá rá.
 K. chew bean FOC
 ‘Kala chewed BEANS.’

- b. Focus on subject: Who has chewed the beans?

à báál là tíē sígá.
 ART man FOC chew bean
 ‘THE MAN chewed beans.’
kàláá tíē sígá.
 K. chew bean
 ‘KALA chewed beans.’

- c. Focus on predicate: What happened?

à báál tíéwóó.
 ART man chew.PFV.FOC
 ‘The man CHEWED.’

The focus particle does not differentiate between grammatical functions and some times appears to be optional. Also, the assertive suffix is quite rare in narratives. Blass (1990: 94) is the only author to my knowledge who identifies the presence of evidentiality – hearsay, more precisely – in Gur languages. According to her the morpheme *re* in Sissala refers to reported or inferred information. This raise the question as to what extent the focus particle and the assertive suffix provide evidential information.⁵⁶

Also, a third way to encode focus is the lengthening and emphasis of vocalic material. The issue remains far from clear and stands in need of more information.

- (222) a. à *bɔ́là* *tìn* *dí* *kòsá* rá.

ART1 elephant ART2 eat.PFV grass FOC
 ‘The elephant ate GRASS.’

⁵⁶ A promising avenue to follow in the study of focus would be the recent work of Anne Schwarz who looks at the phenomenon from a perspective of encoding a thetic vs. categorical distinction.

- b. à bòlà tñí: dí kòsá.
 ART1 elephant ART2 eat.PFV grass
 ‘THE ELEPHANT ate grass.’
- c. *à bòlà tñí: dí kòsá rá.
- d. kàlá káá híérōō.
 K. IPFV voracious.FOC.
 ‘Kala is A VORACIOUS MEAT EATER.’
- e. káláá káá híérí.
 K.FOC IPFV voracious.
 ‘KALA is a voracious meat eater.’
- f. *káláá káá híérōō.

Example (222) shows that since only one constituent can be focused, the lengthening of and special intonation on *kálá* and *tñí* which is assumed to signal focus, together with another constituent in focus, is ungrammatical (cf. 222c and 222f).

5.4 Linguistic taboos

A linguistic taboo is defined here as the avoidance of certain words on certain occasions due to misfortune associated with those words. These circumstances depend on belief; they can be widespread or marginal. The avoidance of certain words may depend on the time of the day or action carried out. For instance, not only is sweeping not allowed when someone eats, but uttering the word *tñáá* ‘broom’ is also forbidden. Also, mentioning certain animal names is excluded as they may either be tabooed by someone present, due to his/her animal totem and/or its meat is forbidden, or attract the animal’s attention, i.e. the belief that the animal may feel it is called out. The strategy is to substitute a word with another, often undertaking a metonymic strategy.

The second column of Table (36) contains expressions called taboo synonyms taboo synonyms; they are substitutes to the words of the first column. The substitutes are usually complex stem nouns with a transparent descriptive meaning. Most of them use the stem *tñíná* ‘owner of’, e.g. *néŋ-tñíná*, lit. arm|hand-owner.of, ‘elephant’, the one with a big arm. The stem *tñíná* ‘owner of’ can be characterized as a noun with an incomplete semantics which normally requires to be in an associative construction with another noun (i.e. person characterised by, owner of, or responsible for) and always appear following the ‘possessed’ stem.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Mampruli *daana*, Hausa *mai*, and Arabic *dhū* seem to correspond to the meaning of Chakali

Table 36: Taboo synonyms

Avoided word	Substitute word	Literal meaning	Gloss
<i>bòlā</i>	<i>sé-zèj</i>	animal-big	‘elephant’
<i>bòlā</i>	<i>néy-tīnā</i>	arm hand-owner	(trunk>) ‘elephant’
<i>džētì</i>	<i>jú-zéj-tīnā</i>	head-big-owner	‘lion’
<i>bódmáníí</i>	<i>jú-wié-tīnā</i>	head-small-owner	‘leopard’
<i>váà</i>	<i>nɔ́à-tífná</i>	mouth-owner	‘dog’
<i>kój</i>	<i>níf-tífná</i>	water-owner	‘cobra’
<i>gbiā</i>	<i>néy-gál-tīnā</i>	arm hand-left-owner	‘monkey’
<i>hélē</i>	<i>mùŋ-zíŋ-tīnā</i>	back-big-owner	‘type of squirrel’
<i>tébíj</i>	<i>bárà-tʃg̪ó</i>	place-spoil.PFV.FOC	‘night’
<i>pólkój</i>	<i>jú-bírfj-tífná</i>	head-full-owner	‘blind’
<i>búmmò</i>	<i>dój</i>	dirt	‘black’

5.5 Ideophones and iconic strategies

Ideophones typically suggest the description of an abstract property or the manner in which an event unfolds.⁵⁸ The majority of ideophones function like qualifiers or intensifiers (Section 3.4.1) or adjunct adverbials (Section 5). In Chakali ideophones tend to appear at the right periphery of the sentence and with a low tone. Examples are provided in (223).⁵⁹

- (223) a. à *díŋ káá diù gàlìgàlìgàli/pèpèpè*.
 ART fire IPFV eat IDEO
 ‘The fire is burning at an increasing rate.’
- b. à *dɔ́ɔ̄ síe jáá wərwərwər*.
 ART python eye IDENT IDEO
 ‘The python’s eyes are glittery.’
- c. à *dáánɔj márá bījṓ ligèligèligè*.
 ART tree.fruit well ripe.PFV IDEO
 ‘The fruit is perfectly ripe.’

tīna.

⁵⁸ See a discussion in relation to African languages in Samarin (2001), and a review of the term in Newman (1968); Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz (2001); Dingemanse (2011).

⁵⁹ The translations into English in (223) were not tested for consistency across many speakers.

- d. à sibié wàà márá bì à dó níŋ wùròwùròwùrò.
 ART beans NEG well ripe CONN be DXM IDEO
 ‘The bambara beans are not well cooked, they are still hard.’

An onomatopoeia is a type of ideophone which not only suggests the concept it expresses with sound, but imitates the actual sound of an entity or event. Examples of onomatopoeia are *púpù* ‘motorbike’, *tsétsé* ‘bicycle’, *tsòkɔ́* *tsòkɔ́* ‘sound of a guinea fowl’, *kìràrà* ‘sound of running’, *pàà* ‘sound of an eruption caused by lighting a fire’, *gbàgbá* ‘duck’,⁶⁰ and *kpókòkpókòkpókò* ‘sound of knocking on a clay pot’. Similarly, an iconic strategy to convey an amplified meaning or the idea of continuity is to lengthen the sound of an existing word.

- (224) kàwāá sìi tàri kééééééý, àkà dóá bà diàññá nì.
 pumpkin rise creep DXM CONN be.at.3SG.POSS door POSTP
 ‘The pumpkin crept, crept, crept, and crept up to their door mat.’ [PY 56]

In (224) the manner deictics *key* (Section 5.1) is stretched to simulate the extension in time of the event, i.e. the pumpkin grew until it reached the door.⁶¹

Reduplication of one or two syllables is the general structural shape of ideophones and onomatopoeias. A large set of visual perception expressions can be treated as ideophonic expressions (Section 3.4), all of which are reduplicated expressions.

- (225) Visual perception expressions and non-attested stems

- a. (*km/a*)-*hɔlahɔla* [áhɔlahɔlá] **hɔla*
- b. (*km/a*)-*ahɔhɔla* [áhɔhɔlá] **hɔla*
- c. (*km/a*)-*busabusa* [ábùsàbùsà] **busa*
- d. (*km/a*)-*adʒumodʒumo* [ádʒùmòdʒùmò] **džumo*
- e. (*km/a*)-*bɔɔbɔɔna* [ábɔɔnàbɔɔnà] **bɔɔna*
- f. (*km/a*)-*?ile?ile* [á?ilè?ilè] **?ile*

Assuming that reduplication is a morphological process in which the root or stem is repeated (fully or partially), then it is questionable whether one can treat most of the naming data as reduplication. It is obvious from the examples in

⁶⁰ The word for ‘duck’ is probably borrowed from Waali. I was told that the bird was introduced recently. It was hard to find one in the villages visited.

⁶¹ An equivalent meaning may be expressed in some varieties of Gh. Eng. with the adverbial expression *ääää*, as in ‘Today I worked *ääää*, until night time’.

(225) that there is a ‘form-doubling’ on the surface, yet such expressions are not made out of attested stems (and they do not have loci in the chromatic space, see Brindle 2016).

5.6 Interjections and formulaic language

This section introduces some pieces of formulaic language, which is defined as conventionalized words or phrases. It usually include greetings, idioms, proverbs, etc. (Wray 2005). First, common interjections are introduced in Table 37,⁶² then some greetings and idioms are presented.

Table 37: Selected interjections

Interjection	Gloss
?àí	express denial or refusal
?éé	express affirmation
gááfòrà	express excuse when interrupting or disturbing (<i>from Hausa</i>)
tóù	express agreement or understanding (<i>from Hausa</i>)
?ámé	so be it (<i>etym. Amen?</i>)
?ói	express surprise
fíó	express strong denial or refusal
?ánsà	1) greet hospitably, welcome, 2) accept and thank (<i>from Gonja</i>)
?ííí	express disappreciation of an action carried out by someone else
?àwó	reply to greetings, a sign of appraisal of the interlocutor’s concerns (<i>from Gonja</i>)
?ábbà	express a reaction to an unpalatable proposition, with disagreement and unexpectedness
ñéééé	express a disrespectful attitude towards what is being said and the one saying it

Since they are conventionalized and idiomatic, the translations of formulaic language in Table 37 are rough approximations. The dictionary offers various

⁶² The etymology of ?ámé has not been confirmed and gááfòrà is ultimately Hausa. The word ñéééé is equivalent to the function associated with the action of *tfuuse* in Chakali (*tfvvrri* in Dagaare, *tfvvhe* in Waali, ‘puf’ or ‘paf’ in Gh. Eng., < English ‘pout’), which is a fricative sound produced by a non-pulmonic, velarized ingressive airstream mechanism, articulated with the lower lip and the upper front teeth while the lips are protruded.

spellings since variations are regularly perceived.

5.6.1 Greetings

Compulsory prior to any communicative exchange, greetings trigger both attention and respect. When meeting with elders, one should squat or bend forward hands-on-knees while greeting. Praise names can be used in greetings, e.g. *ftfà* ‘respect to you and to your clan’. In Table 38, typical greeting lines with some responses are provided. Note that the forms for morning and afternoon greetings are also used by the Gonjas.

Table 38: Greetings

Time	Speaker A	Followed by either speaker A or B
Morning	ánsùmōō	<i>i siwòö</i> ‘You stood?’, <i>i dì tʃɔ̀àwòö</i> ‘And your lying?’, <i>i bàtfɔ̀álí wíròö</i> ‘Your sleeping place was good?’
Afternoon	ántèrēē	<i>i wísí tèlèë</i> ‘Has the sun reached you?’ <i>i díá</i> ‘And your house?’ <i>i bisé mūŋ</i> ‘And all your children?’
Evening	<i>i dòànāā</i>	<i>i dɔ́ɔn tèlèë</i> ‘Your evening has reached’, <i>i kúó</i> ‘And your farm?’

The second singular plural *ma* is added, i.e. *ánsùmōō* ↔ *māānsùmōō*, when there is more than one addressee or when there is a single person but the greetings are intended to the entire house/family: thus the number distinction *i/ma* does not correspond to a politeness function. Chakali morning and afternoon greetings resemble those of Waali and other languages of the area. The response to various greetings such as *i díá* ‘(how is) your house?’, *?ánsá* ‘welcome, thanks’ and many others is the multifunctional expression *?àwó*, which is, among other things, a sign of appraisal of the interlocutor’s concerns. The same expression is found in Gonja, but its function is believed to be slightly different. I was told that the more extensive the greetings, the more respect one shows the addressee. For instance, the elders do not appreciate the tendency of the youths to morning-greet as *ãsūmō*, but prefer something like *áánsùùmōō*.

Other ritualized expressions often used are: *tʃɔ́písí áliè* lit. morning two, ‘long time no see’ (Section 3.6.7); *bámùŋ kóréf* lit. all.+HUM extent (unknown origin), ‘how are all your people?’, *ànf mà wòzózófí tñj*, lit. and your day, used after any bad event which happened to someone, e.g. referring to a funeral day, when the

speaker has not seen the addressee since that day, among other expressions.

5.6.2 Idioms

An idiom is a composite expression which does not convey the literal meaning of the composition of its parts. Common among many African languages is a strategy by which abstract nominals are expressed in idiomatic compounds. These compounds are made of stems whose meanings are disassociated from their ordinary usage.

Some examples have already been provided in Section 3.4. In Chakali, words identifying mental states and habits/behaviors are often idiomatic, e.g. *siínò-màtífíñà* (*sii-nvma-tuna*, lit. eye-hot-owner) ‘wild’ or *nõápòmmá* (*nõã-pvsmma*, lit. mouth-white) ‘unreserved’. Even though the expression *siínòmàtífíñà* is made out of three lexical roots, it is a “sealed” expression and is associated with the manner in which a person behaves, i.e. a wild person. The sequence *jaa nõã digimaya* in (226), lit. do-mouth-one, is also treated as an idiomatic expression.

- (226) *bà jáá nõá dígítmájá à sùmmè džyà*.
3PL do mouth one CONN help RECP
‘They should agree and help each other.’

Needless to say, it is often difficult to distinguish between an idiomatic expression and an expression in which only one of the components is used in a non-literal sense.

5.7 Clicks

Naden (1989: 151) writes that clicks⁶³ may be heard in the Gur-speaking area to mean an affirmative ‘yes’, or ‘I’m listening’. This also occurs in the villages where I stayed, but I noticed that one click usually means ‘yes’, ‘I understand’ or ‘I agree’, whereas two clicks mean the opposite. The click is palatal and produced with the lips closed.

⁶³ A click may be roughly defined as the release of a pocket of air enclosed between two points of contact in the mouth. The air is rarefied by a sucking action of the tongue (see Ladefoged 1993).

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