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A Chakali-English Dictionary

With English-Chakali Index and
Grammatical Outline

Jonathan Allen 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 7 years, together with Chakali consultants, while being affiliated to the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim, Norway, and to the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana. In 2009 a draft version was printed out and given to consultants to corroborate its content. Another version was later distributed in the four 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The content of this book is based on some parts of my unpublished doctoral thesis entitled *Aspects of the Chakali language* (Brindle 2011). While its appendix was expanded to make up the dictionary and the reversal index offered in the first part of this book, the grammatical outline has been condensed to make up the phonology and grammar sections presented in the second 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 material available while time and funds are still available and Chakali is still alive was felt imperative.

For those who are sceptical about the time and energy spent on gathering and writing down linguistic knowledge for an illiterate community, my stand is that by the time a significant minority of the Chakali community becomes literate, the language might have already disappeared. 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. There is much left

to do in order to reach a substantial dictionary 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
Trondheim, Norway
February 2015

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I would like to express my deep thanks to Mary Esther Kropp Dakubu, for her guidance, support, advice, and linguistic insight throughout the years. I wish to thank Eva Léonie Mutuzo, Benjamin Waldron, Felix K. Ameka, Kaja Borthen, Albert Awedoba, Tyson Farrell, Lars Hellan, and Assibi Apatewon Amidu who kindly suggested corrections, and commented on earlier versions. Thanks as well to many people on the mailing list of the FieldWorks Language Explorer software, and Sebastian Nordhoff at Language Science Press, for helping me with technical details. [add reviewers and series editors]

Abbreviations

A	subject of transitive clause
ABL	ability (modality)
ABST	abstract (semantic feature)
ADVL	adverbial locative
ADV T	adverbial time
ADV M	adverbial manner
ART	article
brw	borrowed term
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 (futur tomorrow)
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
DUB	dubitative
DXM	manner deictic
E	extended argument
EGR	egressive particle
Eng.	English

<i>etym</i>	etymology
EVC	extended verb complex
EXST	existential verb
FOC	focus
<i>from</i>	borrowed from
FUT	futur
ga	non-human gender
gb	human gender
GILLBT	Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible translation
gl	glossed as
HAB	habitual
HEAD	head of phrase
HEST	hesternal tense (past yesterday)
HUM	human (semantic feature)
IDENT	identificational verb
IMPS	impersonal
INGR	ingressive particle
<i>interj</i>	interjection
IPFV	imperfective aspect
LB	Law Breaker story
<i>lit.</i>	literal meaning
MOD	modality
NUM	numeral
O or OBJ	object of transitive clause
OBL	oblique argument
ONO	onomatopoeia
P or PRED	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
Q	question word, phrase or intonation
QUAL	qualifier
QUANT	quantifier
R	recipient
RECP	reciprocal
RELN	relational noun
S or SUBJ	subject of intransitive clause
SG or <i>sg</i>	singular
SPS	Support Picture Series
ST	strong pronoun
SWG	Southwestern Grusi
TAM	tense, aspect and mood
<i>T</i>	theme
TRM	topological relation marker
TRPS	Topological Relations Picture Series
t.z.	staple food. From Hausa <i>tuo zaafi</i> (see §kvʊ in lexicon)
ultm.	ultimately
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
<i>v</i>	verb

wk	weak pronoun
*	ungrammatical expression
*	Proto-form
́	high tone
̀	low tone
̄	mid tone
᳚	extra-low tone
᳚	extra-short vowel
- or]	morpheme boundary
[]	phonetic representation
[]_X	structure of type X
# or]_{wb}	word boundary
##	utterance-final boundary
]_σ	syllable boundary
X Y	either X or Y
(Y)	optional Y
(Y)	covert Y
< x	from root x

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1 Introduction

1.1 General Remarks on the Language

Chakali (*tsàkálí*) (ISO 639-3: cli) 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* subgroup of the Gur family, alongside with Deg, Vagala, Tampulma, Kyitu, Phuie, Winyé, and varieties of Sisaala (Lewis, Simons & Fenning 2014; Hammarström et al. 2014); all minority languages spoken in northwest Ghana, southwest Burkina Faso, and northeast Ivory Coast. The languages Tampulma, Vagala, Deg, and Pasaale – a variety of Sisaala – are the closest to Chakali in terms of mutual intelligibility.

1.1.1 Previous Work

The English anthropologist Jack Goody not only presented the first linguistic data on the Chakali language, which consisted of a list of 38 words gathered on August 29th, 1952, in Katua (Goody 1954: 33), but is also responsible for the identification of the existence of the language and the people who speak it.¹

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

¹ 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”.

1 Introduction

of the Chiefs of Wa before the European conquest. The Chief of Bulinga, the central village of this section, claims to have been a Kamborja (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, Tosa, Sogola, Motigu, Chasia, Ducie and Gurembele. (Goody 1954: 3)

Approximately ten years later, Chakali data is used to confirm the Grusi cluster in Bendor-Samuel (1965).² 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). 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 these surveys. In 1999, Dr. Ulrich Kleinewillingshöfer spent a few hours in Wa with Godfrey Bayon Tangu (Kleinewillingshöfer 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, Prof. 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 did not reach 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, a language spoken in

² 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; Ratray 1932a,b; Nicolas 1952; Duperray 1984).

Bulenga and surrounding villages. Finally, there are other studies that deserve to be mentioned: Dr. 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); Dr. 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; 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 section has offered a complete list of work written on Chakali. It shows that the language has been known to exist since 1954, yet very little work has been done, and most of what has been written remains unpublished.

1.1.2 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:

[t]he use of one self-applied name may cut across the linguistic frontiers which have already been defined. The 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 these three concepts (i.e. land, ethnicity, and language) are interwoven. For instance, according to Daannaa (1994), *Chakali* consists of thirteen communities and their inhabitants: Bulenga, Tiisa, Sogla, 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 demonym for the people of these seven villages literally translate to *ñymá kàà* (*lit.*) ‘I say that’, whereas that of the people of Bulenga and surrounding

1 Introduction

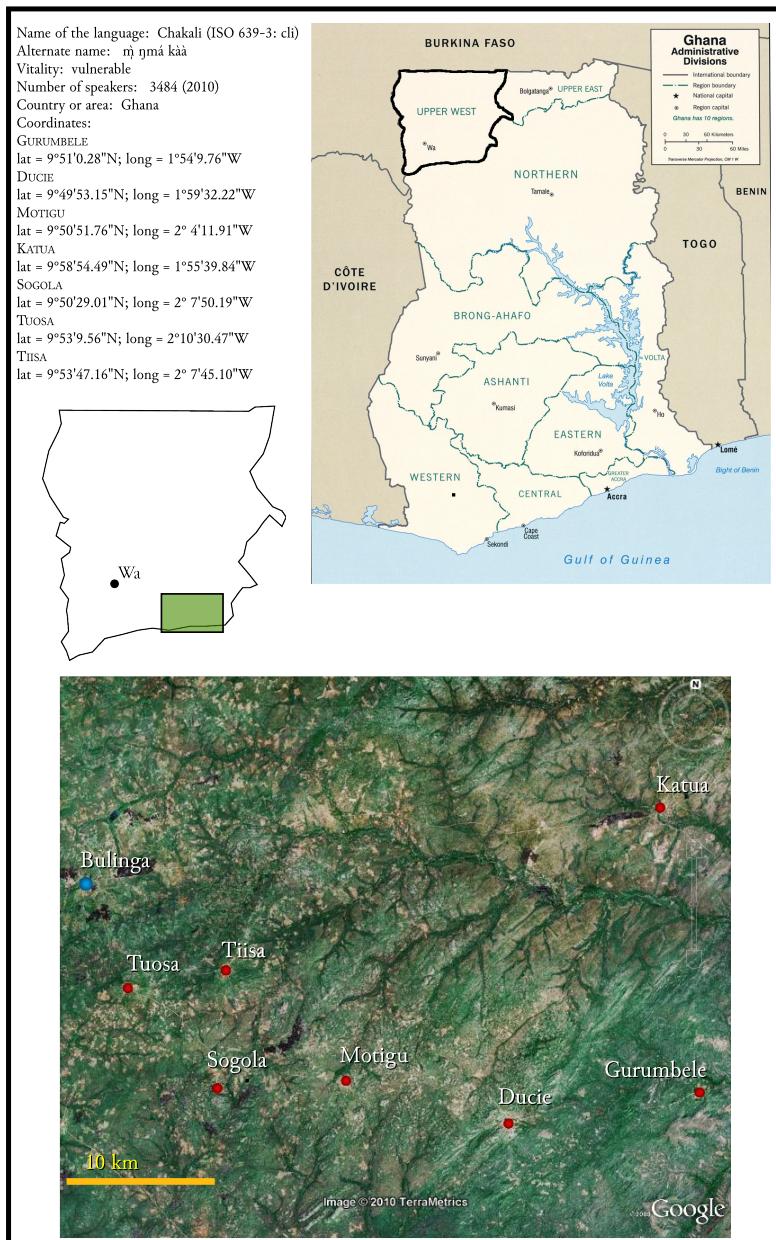


Figure 1.1: *Chakali speaking villages (Gurumbele, Dicie, Motigu, Sogla, Tuosa, Tiisa and Katua), Bulenga and Upper West regional capital Wa (Source: Google™ and Central Intelligence Agency)*

1.1 General Remarks on the Language

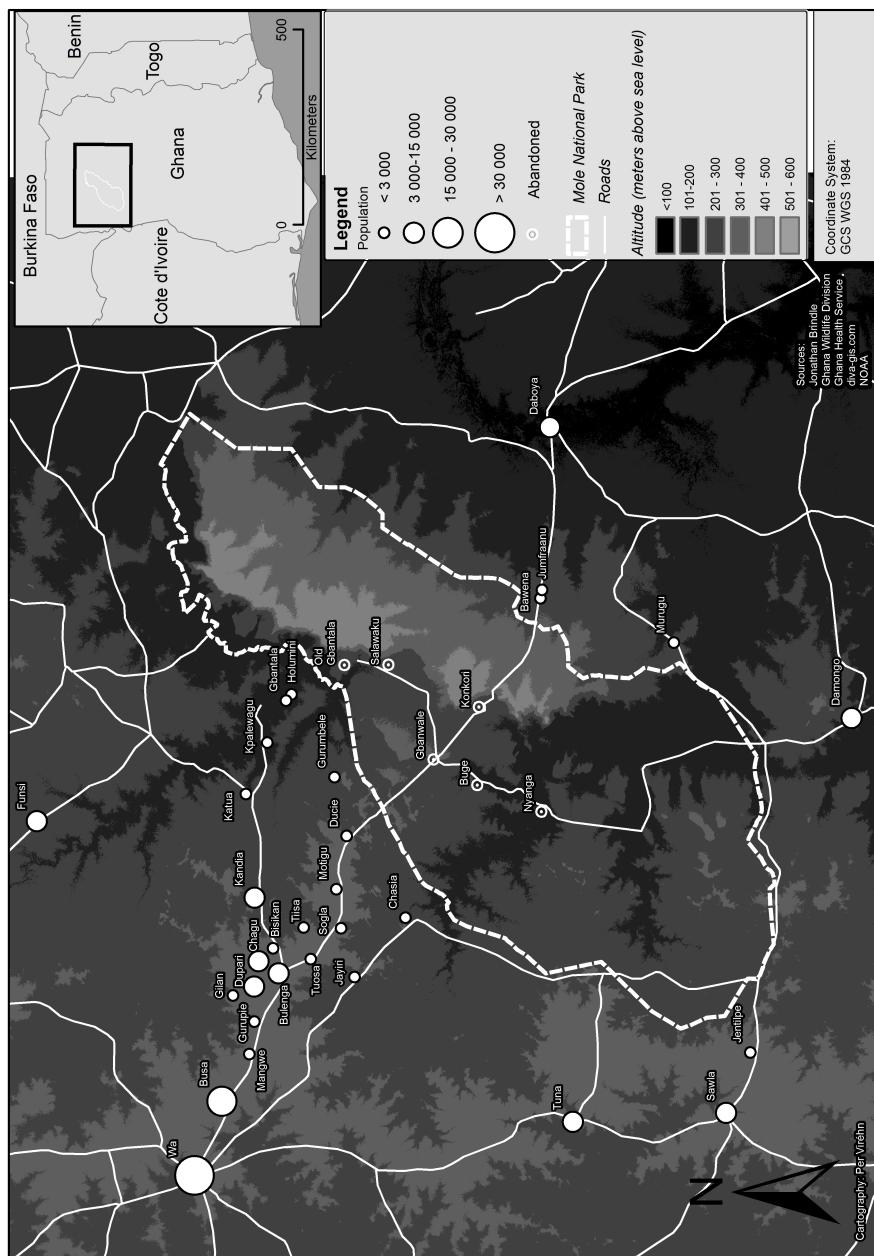


Figure 1.2: Caption

villages translate to *ŋmíníŋ dʒɔŋ* ‘What is it?’. In this folk-sociolinguistic categorisation, the Waala are the *ṇ jé jàà* ‘I say that’.³ Another popular distinction is that of ‘black’ and ‘white’ Chakali; respectively, the eastern block is the *tsákàlbúm-mò* ‘Black Chakali’, a notion which connotes secretive individuals, possessors of powerful medicine. I was told that Tuosa and Tissa are not part of the ‘Black Chakali’. The western block is the *tsákàlpòmmá* ‘White Chakali’, i.e. people who are talkative and cannot hold back.⁴ This way of making a distinction between linguistic groups corresponds more or less to what Goody (1954: 2-3) calls eastern Chakali and Western Chakali. Within the *ṇ ŋmá kàà*, there exist lexical, phonological, and prosodic variations which validate folk-dialectology. The lect of Katua, Tiisa and Tuosa, on one hand, and the lect of Ducie and Gurumbele, on the other hand, are considered the farthest apart on a continuum.⁵ Examples of lectal variation are provided in Brindle (2015), 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 *kpääŋ* in Motigu, Gurumbele, and Ducie, it is pronounced *pII* in Tuosa, Tiisa, and Katua. Thus, if someone says *tie kpääŋ*, he/she is easily identified as someone from either Gurumbele or Motigu. The expression *di kpääŋ* is typically uttered by someone from Ducie, and *tie pII* by someone from Tuosa, Tiisa, and Katua. Still, each village is recognised to have a set of unique features. For instance, within the Ducie-Gurumbele lect, Ducie people consider that *Bèlílífí*, the Gurumbele lect, is a lect resembling a mixture of *Dùsélíí*, the lect of Ducie, and the lect of Gbanwale (*gbúŋwálé*), i.e. a variety of Tampulma. They also say that the Gurumbele lect is “stretched”, and that the speakers “pull their words”. The people of Gurumbele believe the opposite, saying that Ducie lect is “short”. These statements are reported in (1).

- (1) a. *bèlíléé tàá tìŋ ḩ já tátśv*
 lect.type language ART 3SG HAB pull.FOC
 ‘The language of Gurumbele; it pulls/stretches.’

³ 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 *ṇ ŋmá kàà*, ... ‘I say that, ...’. To hear the Ghanaian English opening expression *à sé èè* ‘I say eh, ...’ in Wa town is not unusual.

⁴ This comes from my ‘Black Chakali’ consultants. Obviously, if one asks the same question in Bulenga and surrounding villages one may get a different interpretation of the distinction.

⁵ A Sogla-Motigu lect could be situated somewhere in the middle of such continuum. One version of the migration and creation of Katua, Tiisa, and Tuosa is presented in Salih (2008: 74-82).

- b. *dùsiéléé tāá tìŋ ð jáá bòrò rò*
 lect.type language ART 3SG IDENT short FOC
 ‘The language of Ducie; it is short.’

Despite the above linguistic and anecdotal facts reporting the presence of variations, all the Chakali lects are mutually intelligible.

1.1.3 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 Sogola, 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 (2015) determines the vitality of Chakali using the questionnaire developed in UNESCO (2003) and suggests a division of the Chakali villages into three groups, which are presented in Figure 1.3. 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 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, 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, 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 assembly man for both villages, etc.). Waali is spoken and understood, yet it is usually spoken in specific domains, for instance in official visits from the district or regional capital conducted by governmental bodies, and to Waali-speaking visitors, traders, or migrant farmers.

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Factors	Measures		
	E1	E2	E3
1. Intergenerational language transmission	severely endangered (2)	unsafe (4)	safe (5)
2. Absolute number of speakers		[3484] [severely endangered (2)]	
3. Proportion of speakers within the total population			
4. Trends in existing language domains	highly limited domains (2)	dwindling domains (3) [inactive-minimal (0-1)] [no orthography available (0)]	multilingual parity (4)
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 1.3: Estimated degree of endangerment for the E1 {Tuosa, Tiisa, Sogla}, E2 {Katua, Motigu} and E3 {Gurumbele, Dasic}. 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)

1.1.4 Data Collection Method

Each 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. I had several overnight stays in Motigu, Gurumbele, and Wa, and a few day trips to Katua, Tiisa, Tuosa, and Sogla. The linguistic data was gathered mainly in Ducie, and sociolinguistic surveys were conducted in Katua, Motigu, Sogla, Ducie and Gurumbele.

Different elicitation techniques were used to gather words and sentences. The most authentic and natural data comes from impressionistic auditory transcription of transactions at the market, meetings with the 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’, 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). Quantitative studies required at times as many as 50 different speakers, all of them from Ducie. The results of some of these studies are reported in Brindle & Atintono (2012); Brindle (2016).

Another method of elicitation consisted of having a significant number of native speakers interpreting, identifying and expressing perceived stimuli. Stimulus-based data collection has the advantage of being free from interference and provides the researcher with a level of authenticity unattainable in (bilingual) elicitation of paradigms and wordlists. Since the data collection was carried out with several individuals, the degree of consensus within the responses can be interpreted as signalling core, secondary, or ‘accidental’ meaning. The same method is useful in practical lexicography work when the discovery procedure involved taxonomies unknown to the researcher. For instance, the domains of animals and plants required the identification of species and their associated pronunciation. A problem arises when the visual access to some species is practically impossible, e.g. hyenas or seasonal plants. While working on the lexical database, many species were identified using illustrations. One disadvantage often encountered 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 may 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, since only illustrations and pictures found in Cansdale (1961); Trape & Mané (2006) were used, arriving at a consensus when identifying species of snake has proved difficult. Therefore, I believe I used the most satisfactory data collection strategy in such research context.

1.2 User's Guide

At a macrostructure level, the Chakali-English dictionary is followed by the English-Chakali reversal index. They contain information extracted from a lexical database which I started in 2007 using the software *Field Linguist's Toolbox* and imported in *Language Explorer (FLEX)* in 2012. The entries appearing in the dictionary are made out of only a selection of the lexicographic fields and values available in the lexical database.

The passage from unwritten to written has the inevitable consequence of favouring a dialect. Any native speaker of Chakali would easily identify 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. It is advised to keep in mind that orthographic consistencies and English translations and definitions are always challenging.

1.2.1 Chakali-English Dictionary

The Chakali-English dictionary consists of over 3200 Chakali headword entries (a.k.a. lemmas). The transcription employs the orthography described in Chapter 2. 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 the orthography symbols used in the dictionary and some guidance to their pronunciations are displayed in Table 1.1.

For users accustomed to the literacy work of GILLBT⁶ the correspondences in Table 1.2 identify the differences between their transcriptions and mine. The transcription adopted in this dictionary appears to the right side of the arrows.

⁶ 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.

Table 1.1: *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
ɲ	palatal nasal	ˇ	high tone
ɳ	velar nasal	ˇ	high tone
ɳm	velar-labial nasal	ˇ	extra-low tone
l	alveolar lateral approximant		

Table 1.2: Correspondences of orthographies

ny	\leftarrow	n	Vh	\leftarrow	\tilde{V}
ch	\leftarrow	tʃ	i	\leftarrow	i, i
j	\leftarrow	dʒ	u	\leftarrow	o, u
y	\leftarrow	j			

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*’ and ‘*ŋm*’ successively after ‘*n*’, and ‘*tf*’ after ‘*t*’. All headwords are equal and appear at the left side of the column. Three representative entries of the Chakali-English dictionary are presented in Table 1.3.⁷

⁷ The circled numbers are there for reference purposes only.

Table 1.3: Illustrations of the Chakali-English dictionary entry

<p>⑤ten</p> <p>①bvzaal ② [bózál] ⑧cf: bızimii. ③n. ⑤ Stone partridge, type of bird ⑨<i>Ptilopachus petrosus</i> ⑩ Pl: bvzaalee</p> <p>①kpa ②[kpà] ⑧cf: paa; cf: jwɔ₁. ③v ④1) ⑤ take ⑥kpá à pár tīēŋ. ⑦Give me the hoe. ④2) ⑤ to marry a woman ⑥ ò kpáú rà. ⑦He married her</p>

An entry starts 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. Open class items, i.e. nouns and verbs, are the most frequent. A plural form is provided for the majority of the nouns ⑩. Cross references (⑧) appear before the part-of-speech and after the phonetic form. A type of variations to which different spellings or form have to be assigned is placed after the phonetic form.

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 number followed by a right parenthesis (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 concept, this is expressed within parentheses in the English translation. An example of usage (⑥) precedes its English translation (⑦). If literal and/or not easily translatable, this translation contains a parenthesis with clarification.

1.2.1.1 Prosody

The examples are all marked with diacritics which represent the prosody as I perceived it during the transcription work. A short description of tone and intonation is provided in Section 2.4.1. At this stage, the transcription and description of tone will require an analysis of considerable sophistication, something which deserves a separate study. The convention for marking tone is: high ('), low (‘), mid (˘), and super-low (˝). There are several issues linked to doing the transcrip-

tion by ear and lacking a convention. For instance, due to the general downdrift, the prosody on single words are easier to represent with the diacritics compared to longer expressions.

1.2.1.2 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), of snakes from Cansdale (1961) and Trape & Mané (2006), and of birds from Borrow & Demey (2002).

1.2.1.3 Grammatical category

The grammatical categories (a.k.a word classes or parts of speech) used in the dictionary are all described in Section 3. They are distinguished using distributional and inflectional criteria. Table 1.5 offers a list of the sections in the grammar outline where each grammatical category can be found, together with their dictionary abbreviation.

1.2.1.4 Loans and their etymology

Loan words are given a source and when necessary the source's pronunciation and gloss. Some are well-established, and others are intuitive. As the sources are not always easy to identify, some are followed by a question mark. I put the word *ultimately* (abbreviated *ultm.*) 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 3.3.2.6 offers an overview of languages from which Chakali may have borrow. References to etymologies are mainly taken from Newman (2007), Dakubu, Atintono & Nsoh (2007), Kropp-Dakubu (2009), GILLBT 1980, and Dumestre (2011).

1.2.2 English-Chakali Reversal Index

The English-Chakali reversal index is a list of alphabetically organized English headwords (①). As shown in Table 1.4 the headword may be associated with more than one Chakali gloss entry (⑤).

Table 1.4: Illustration of the English-Chakali reversal index entry

①grasshopper (type of)	③n.	⑤hɔ̃ɔ
	③n.	⑤tʃəlɪntʃɪɛ
	③n.	⑤kɔ̃kɔ̃lkɔ

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).

1.2.2.1 Dictionary Abbreviations

The list of abbreviations used in the dictionary is provided in Table 1.5, together with their meaning as well as the section of the grammar that covers the related topics.

1.3 Grammatical Outlines

Chapter 2 presents of a brief outline of the phonology. It is principally based on phonetic representations available in the dictionary. The phoneme inventory, syllable structures and minimal pairs are identified. In addition, phonotactics and suprasegmentals are briefly discussed. Based on the transcriptions of various narrative types and controlled elicitation, the grammar outline of Chapter 3 offers an overview of the essential of word and sentence formations in the language, as well topics of linguistic usages of cultural relevance. The glossing tags in the abbreviations list 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. The use of capital letters in the free translation corresponds to a focused constituent. The non-overt expression of a feature is enclosed within round brackets following the Leipzig glossing rules.

1.3 Grammatical Outlines

An interlinearized example may be accompanied by a reference to a particular corpus text or a situation in which the utterance was collected.

Table 1.5: *Dictionary Abbreviations*

art	article	3.3.1.2.1
clf	classifier	3.3.11.2
comp	complementizer	3.2.4.2
conn	connective	3.2.4.1
cpx	complex	3.4.1.3
dem	demonstrative	3.3.8
enum	enumerative usage	3.3.7.3
etym	etymology	3.3.2.6
foc	focus	3.3.9, 3.5.3
from	borrowed word	3.3.2.6
hum+/-	(non-)human	3.3.3, 3.3.11.1
ideo	ideophone	3.5.5
ints	intensifier	3.3.6
interg	interrogative	3.3.3.4
interj	interjection	3.5.7
itr	iterative	3.4.2.3.7
Lit	literal meaning	
n	noun	3.3.2
neg	negation	3.3.9, 3.4.2.3
num	numeral	3.3.7
ono	onomatopoeia	3.5.5
phr	phrase	
pl	plural	3.3.2.1, 3.4.3.2, 3.3.3.1
poss	possessive	3.3.3.5
postp	postposition	3.2.5.3
pro	pronoun	3.3.3
propn	proper noun	3.3.2.5
pv	pre-verb particle	3.4.2
qual	qualifier	3.3.4
quant	quantifier	3.3.5
reflex	reflexive	3.3.3.6
rel.n	relational noun	3.3.2.7
sc	scientific name	
see	cross-reference	
sg	singular	3.3.2.1, 3.4.3.2, 3.3.3.1
st	strong pronoun	3.3.3.1
synt	taboo synonym	3.5.4
ultm	ultimately	3.3.2.6
usage	location of usage	
v	verb	3.4.1
variant	variant form	
wk	weak pronoun	3.3.3.1
1, 2, 3	first, second, or third person	3.3.3.1

Part I

Chakali-English Dictionary

??

¹a [à] *art. the*²a [à] *conn. and*³a [a] (*var. aa*) *pro. non-human third person plural pronoun*

a bóníé ní [à bóníé ní] *adv.phr. maybe, perhaps • à bóníé ní dísíj káá wàō. Perhaps it is going to rain.*

a puu ni [àpnúúní] *lit. head-on* (*var. puuni*) *conn. therefore • ñ wà kpagá sákìr, àpnúúní ñ dì válà nàásá. I do not have a bicycle, therefore I am walking.*

aa (*var. of a*)

ãã [?ãã] *n. bushbuck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*). pl. ããta.*

ããní [?ããní] *v. to suspect someone of telling a lie*

ããnuuba [?ããnùùbà] *Cf: nuui n. suffering*

aari [?áári] *v. to harvest unripened food stuff • hàmónà kàá ààrì móngò-sò rō. Children will pick the premature mangoes.*

abé [?àbé] *n. palm nut tree pl. abesa.*

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

abluu [?ábèlùù] *n. blue <blue (ultm. English) pl. abluuso.*

abubusa (*var. of abusabusa*)

abusabusa [?àbùsàbùsà] (*var. abubusa*) *ideo. type of color*

adžudžumo (*var. of adžumodžumo*)

adžumodžumo [?àdžùmòdžùmò] (*var. adžudžumo*) *ideo. type of color*

Draft of Tuesday 3rd March, 2015, 11:58

ahõhõla (*var. of ahõlahõla*)

ahõlahõla [?àhõlåhõlå] (*var. ahõhõla*) *ideo. yellowish color*

ai [?àf] *interj. no*

aka [àká] *conn. and, then • wáá pñšá níí àká tïēj. He drank the water then gave some to me.*

akolakõla [?àkòlåkòlå] *ideo. type of color*

alakadee [?álákádéè] (*var. of kasiu*)

alamøsa [?àlámøsà] *n. Thursday <àlhàmîs (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa)*

alarba [?àlärbà] *n. Wednesday <läräbä (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa)*

albasa [?áläbásà] *n. onion <àlbasâ (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa) pl. alebasasa.*

aleefø [?álééfø] *n. leaf used as soup ingredient to improve taste, known as vegetable amaranths (*Amarantus Debius*). <àlayyàhō 'spinach' (ultm. Hausa) pl. aleefø.*

alibaraka [?àlïbárákà] *n. reduce price (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa)*

alíe [álìè] *num. two* *Enum: pñewâ*

alihaadi [?àlïháádi] *n. Sunday <lahàdî (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa)*

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

aløpø [áløpè] *num. seven* *Enum: løpøe*

ame [?àmém] *interj.* so be it • *A:* kúòsō tíé já tñíá. *B:* àmém. *A:* Let God gives us tomorrow *B:* So be it. ‘amen’ (ultm. Hebrew)

amiõ (*var. of džebalanj*)

amíë [àmìë] *adv.* if so

ammaní [?ámmàní] *n.* small dried fish <ámàní (Akan) *pl.* ammanise.

amuŋ [àmùŋ] *Cf. bamuŋ quant.* all (hum-)

amsonv [?àmɔnó] *Cf. badaare* *n.* type of wild cat (Tampulma) *pl.* amsonvss.

ana (*var. of aŋ*)

anaase [ánáásè] (*var.* naasi) *num.* four *Enum:* naase

andriakaapääwíe[IPA?] *n.* *SynT:* diebie

andzelindze [?àndzèlindzé] *nprop.* eighth month (Waali)

angum [?ángùm] *ono.* monkey’s scream • àwíé gbiå jáà wü ángum, ángum, ángum. That is why the monkey sounds like angum, angum, angum.

anñ [?ánñ] *n.* Ebony tree (*Diospyros mespiliformis*). *pl.* anñä.

ani [àní] *conn.* (*var.* nñí) 1) and • ñí ñí tñéná kàá kàálí Waà rā. Me and my friend will go to Wa. ñí jáá bïnsá mätseö àní fí. I am thirty years old. 2) with • ñí ñméná dáá rá àní kàrántíë ní. I cut a tree with a cutlass.

ani a muŋ [àní á mùŋ] *adv.* in spite of, even though • ò wáawáó àní à

mùŋ dí òò wííð. He came in spite of his illness.

annulie [?ánnúliè] (*Gu. var.* nãanuile) *n.* dragonfly (*Epiprocta Anisoptera*). *pl.* annulese.

ansa [?ánsà] *interj.* 1) welcome 2) thanks

apää [?àpjää] *n.* type of snake *pl.* - apääna.

apõ [ápnõ] *num.* five *Enum:* põõ

apmëna (*var. of ñmëna*)

apmunajmuna [?àjmùnàjmùnà] *ideo.* type of color

aŋ [?àŋ] (*var. ana*) *interrog.* who • àŋ iì kà nà à tóð ní. Who did you see at the village?

aŋbuluŋ [?ámbúlùŋ] *n.* Black berry, type of tree (*Vitex doniana*). *pl.* aŋbuluŋso.

aŋkiti [?áŋkítì] *n.* handkerchief, thin fabric intended for personal hygiene, such as wiping one’s hands or face (ultm. English) *pl.* aŋkitisa.

aŋkõrø [áŋkõrø] *n.* barrel, cask, drum container <*anker* (ultm. English, via Akan)

aridžana [?àrídžánà] *Cf.* lél *n.* heaven

aridžima [?àridžímà] *n.* Friday <*jummáà* (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa)

ari [?àrfí] *n.* grasscutter (*Thryonomys swinderianus*). *pl.* ařie.

¹asibiti [?ásibítì] *n.* hospital <*hospital* (ultm. English) *pl.* asibitisa.

²asibiti [?ásibítì] *n.* Saturday <*àsabàř* (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa)

atalata [?àtálátà] *n.* Tuesday <*tálátà*> (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa)

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

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

atſenitſeni [?átsènìtſènì] *ideo.* type of color

awa [áwà] *pro.* emphasized third person singular pronoun • áwà tébín *nī*, ò *púñsé*. On that particular night, he disappeared. áwà kór tíf lèí ñ dì *búúrè*. That is not the chair I want.

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

awie [áwìé] *Cf:* *abie* *nprop.* Awie (person's name)

awie [awie] *conn.* therefore

awo [?àwó] *interj.* reply to greetings, sign of appraisal of interlocutor's concerns (Gonja)

awɔzɔvɔri [àwɔzɔvɔrì] *adv.* on that day • àwɔzɔvɔrì ñ wàà *tùwò nī*. That day I was not there.

a?ile?ile [?á?ílè?ílè] *ideo.* type of color

¹ba [ba] *Cf:* *waa* *v.* come [*Ka*].

²ba (*var. of bar*)

³ba [ba] (*var. be*) *pro.* human third person plural pronoun • *Gbóló fílí bérē*. Gbolo is looking at them.

bää [bää] *n.* type of lizard usually found in or near water *pl.* *bääna*.

baabaasvv [bääbääásvv] *n.* gonorrhoea <*bääbääásvv* (Akan) *pl.* *baabaa-su.*

baabv̥l [bääbvl] *n.* Bible (ultm. English)

baal [báál] *n.* *Cf:* *mibaal* 1) male, man 2) husband *pl.* *baala;* *baalsa.*

baalí [báálí] *n.* bravery • *bà ní bá-wólíé bá tfágálè báálí*. They and their colleagues, they are going to show bravery.

¹baaŋ [bááŋ] *n.* temper, anger • *ìì bááŋ sííwóú*. Your temper has raised.

²baaŋ [bàáŋ] *interrog.* what

³baaŋ [bàáŋ] *pv.* just, already, immediatly, obligatorily, suddenly, to do without other alternative • *í wà báàŋ sáyá dē*. You should just sit there. *báàŋ gíléú dé nī*. Just leave it there. *díy báàŋ jàà tòl*. The fire suddenly became flame.

⁴baaŋ [bááŋ] (*cont. var. of bambaan̥*)

⁵baaŋ [bááŋ] *Cf:* *de* 1) *adv.* here • *àj ká wàà bááŋ*? Who is coming here? 2) *n.* location • *m̥m píftá hár báāmà bíréjōō*. These spots on my pants are black. *pl.* *baama.*

baari [bààři] *v.* to be burnt slightly • *à díy bááří ññ róbkákátsà, ò fòjmi*. The fire slightly burnt my plastic bowl, it is crooked.

baasi [bààsì] *v.* to carry over shoulder • *bàà báásí kpáámá kààlì dìà rā*. They have carried the yams to the house.

baawa [bááwà] *n.* type of dance *pl.* *baawa.*

babuolii [bàbùòlì] *Cf:* *bolo* *n.* far place

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

badaare [bàdààrè] *Cf:* amvnv *n.* spotted hyena (*Crocuta crocuta*). *pl.* baaaresa.

badaawise [bàdààwìsé] *n.* to be thin • ḷ jáá bàdààwìsétífná rá. He is thin. *Ant:* baaazenie *Ant:* pɔlh

baaazenie [bàdààzénié] *n.* large • ḷ jáá bàdàzéníétífná rá. He is large. à tágatá jáá bàdàzénié ré. The shirt is large. *Ant:* baaawise

badʒogv [bádʒògō] *Cf:* gbaga *n.* type of monitor lizard, known as *Syn:* gbaga (*Varanus*). *pl.* badʒogvssa.

badʒogvbagena [bádʒòyòbàyənà] *lit.* monitor.lizard-neck *n.* type of tree *pl.* badʒogvbagena.

baforigu [bàfòrìgí] *n.* cuts and abrasions on the skin *pl.* baforigie.

baga [bàyá] *adv.* in vain, nothing • ḷ kálí tóópàtʃígíí bágá. I went to the central part of the village in vain.

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

bagena [báyéná] *n.* neck *pl.* bagensa.

bagenapvøgii [bàgñpǿgíí] *n.* lateral goiter, enlargement of the thyroid *pl.* bagenapvøgee.

bagenbøa [bàgñbøá] *n.* hollow behind the collarbone *pl.* bagenbøssa.

bagentfugul [bàgñtfùgùl] *n.* dower's hump *pl.* bagentfugulo.

bagorii [bàgòrìi] *n.* corner *pl.* bagoree.

bagurii [bàgùrìi] *n.* bend *Ant:* deginii

baharaga [bàhárágá] *n.* to make an effort, to be hard-working, or to do well *Ant:* bajvøra

baharega [bàhárégá] *n.* zeal, enthusiasm

bahře [báhří] *Cf:* hře *n.* old man *pl.* bahřesa.

bajvøra [bàjòrà] *n.* lazy, discouraged • ḷ báál jáá bájòrátífná rá. Her husband is lazy. *Ant:* baharaga

baketii [bákétií] *n.* broken part, usually body-part • ḷ néj bákétií tìn kà wíò. My broken arm is painful. *pl.* baketie.

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

bakuri [bákúrí] *nprop.* Bakuri

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

balalla [bàlállà] *n.* gay, happiness • bállállà džá dé. I am happy. *pl.* balalla.

baleu [bálélù] *n.* epidemic <*baleu* ‘calamity’ (Waali)

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

balvv [bálvú] *n. 1)* ethnic division, clan • lòbi bálvú wáá tuò jà tfákà-lì ní. The Lobi are not found in the

Chakali area. 2) species • *gbiā balowani fɔð balws wa vala*. The monkey and the baboon do not live together.

bambaan [bámbáán] *Cf: galŋgabambii* (cont. var. baan4) 1) *n.* middle part of the body 2) *reln.* middle of an object, in the midst of • *ø dɔá tēebùl púú bámbáán ní*. It is in the middle of the top of the table. *ø téle tīwíí bámbáán ná àká birà wàà*. He reached half way and returned. *pl. bambaama*.

bambaanxebii [bámbáannébií] (var. nebizeñii) *n.* middle finger

bambaanxebiwie [bámbááñnèbíwìé] *n.* ring finger

bambigéraga (var. of **bambiwnla**)

bambii [bàmbíí] *n.* *Cf: bambaangalŋga* 1) chest [*Gu*]. 2) tree trunk, refers to the piece used in carving a large item, like a mortar 3) condition or quality of being brave *pl. bembie*.

bambiipvṣj [bàmbíípvṣj] *n.* chest hair *pl. bambiipvṣna*.

bambiwnla [bàmbííwíflá] *n.* chest pains

bambleo [bàmbíléò] *n.* sternum *pl. bambileono*.

bambitína [bàmbítífná] *Cf: əŋgbiar* *n.* brave, courageous *Ant: əŋgbiar*

bambiwnla [bàmbííwíflá] (var. **bambigéraga**) *n.* heart attack *pl. bambiwnla*.

bamuj [bámùŋ] *Cf: amuj* *quant. all (hum+)*

baníš [báníš] *quant. some*

banii [báníí] *n.* section, division *pl. banie.*

banpeg [bámpèg] *n.* half of a nut *pl. banpegnä.*

bantsí [bántsí] *pv.* particle which put emphasis on the event, the event is a priority • *ñ kàá bantsí tūgíí rē*. I will really beat you.

banväluro [bánvälúró] *n.* type of flying insect, similar but smaller to house fly, sucks blood

banvma [bánvma] *n.* fever

baŋmalii [baŋmálfi] *n.* topic of discussion *pl. baŋmalie.*

baŋmena (var. of **ŋmena**)

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

baŋtʃɔ̄ [bántʃɔ̄] *n.* trap *pl. bantʃɔ̄-sa.*

baŋtʃɔ̄wie [bántʃɔ̄wìé] *n.* small trap *pl. baŋtʃɔ̄wise.*

baŋtʃɔ̄zene [bántʃɔ̄zèŋ] *n.* big trap *pl. baŋtʃɔ̄zene.*

bar [bár] *n.* (var. **ba2**) 1) section, area, site, part, portion • *à binihááñ tórmá bár dɔá dià pátfigñ ní*. The lady's work place is inside the house. 2) chance • *bà wà tíém bár dí ñ jáá tsítsà*. They never gave me the chance to become a teacher. *pl. bara.*

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

basona [bàsóná] *n.* peaceful

basɔna [bàsɔnà] *n.* happy, proud
• *dʒimbànté tʃípísí jáá bàsɔnà rā à tiè jà tɔ́tɔmâ.* The festival's days are days of happiness for our people.

bateribíi [bátərbíí] *lit.* battery-stone
n. battery (ultm. English) *pl.* **bateríbia**.

batíø [bátíø] *vatiø* *n.* type of insect *pl.* **batíøsa**.

batøŋ [bátøŋ] *n.* body skin *pl.* **batøna**.

batʃaŋ [bátʃán] *lit.* place-bright
n. bright *Ant:* birge

batʃasíe [bátʃásfè] *n.* rheumatism

batʃɔgíi [bátʃogíí] *lit.* place-spoil
n. night *SynT:* **tebinsankara**

¹**batʃvalíi** [bátʃválíí] *n.* sleeping place
pl. **batʃvalee**.

²**batʃvalíi** [bátʃválíí] *n.* race

bawa [báwà] *pro.* non-human third person plural strong pronoun

baʔɔrìi [bàʔɔríí] *n.* swelling

be (*var. of ba*)

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

bele [bélè] *n.* Wild dog (*Lycaon pictus*). *pl.* **belese**.

belege [bélégè] *n.* bathing area *pl.* **belegese**.

beleo [béléo] *n.*

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

benie [bénìè] *n.* type of palm tree (*Elaeis guineensis*). *pl.* **bense**.

benj [bèj] *n.* law *pl.* **benne**.

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

bega [bègà] *v.* 1) to go past 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) to shift sideways, especially in digging the hole where the corpse lies • *à péllé wá bēgá à bɔ̀abié.* The burial specialists have not placed the small hole yet.

bèl [bèl] *n.* 1) tool for scraping off adherent matter such as food on cooking recipient 2) type of tree (*Berlinia confusa*). *pl.* **bella**.

bèlègè [bélégé] *v.* to dust, polish and wash with moist or dry rag; to clean a bowl by eating it up • *ì wá pèti, zìùù kà bélègé à diá.* When you finish, clean the room. *wà kpá kòò fàlá à bélègé.* Come and take the tz bowl and finish it.

bèlènti [bélénti] *n.* belt (ultm. English) *pl.* **bèlèntisa**.

bèlìlii [bélílíí] *n.* 1) person from Gurumbele 2) lect of Gurumbele *pl.* **bèlìlie**.

bèma [bèmà] *v.* to incline a container down in order to slowly pour its content • *bèmà sintók já nɔ́á sìŋ.* Incline the container so we drink.

beŋ [béŋ] *n.* type of tree *pl.* **beŋj**.

beŋkpale [bèŋkpálę] *n.* soy bean (Waali)

bèra [bèrà] *v.* to dry or to put to dry by hanging, spreading or placing on

something • à gàr bérá à zágá ní. The cloth is drying in the yard.

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

bibøŋ [bibóŋ] *n.* bad child *pl.* **bibøma**.

bidiŋŋ [bidiŋŋ] *Cf:* dñŋnidñŋkñŋdñŋwidñŋ *n.* obedient, faithful or truthful

bie [bié] *Cf:* hamñŋbisɔɔna *n.* child *pl.* **bise**.

biføla [bifølā] *n.* person with two or three weeks of age *pl.* **bifølsa**.

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

bigisi [bígìsì] *v.* to demonstrate • *bígìsi kén tñj ò ká jáawá.* Demonstrate what he has done.

yii [bíí] *n.* seed *pl.* **bie**.

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

bilaadslñ [bìlåàdólfí] *Cf:* laa dñs *n.* child adopted from a relative *pl.* **bilaadslñe**.

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

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

bilesi [bìlësì] *pl.v.* to put down several times

bilge [bílgè] *n.* hole in a bathroom *pl.* **bilgese**.

biligi [bílígi] *v.* to rub, to touch with affection • à bié háŋ kàà biligí òò náál kíñkán nā. This child touches the grandfather with affection.

bilii [bílii] *n.* white-tailed mongoose (*Ichneumia albicauda*). *pl.* **bilie**.

bilinsi [bílinsì] *v.* to tumble, to roll • à bñj bílýsé tsèlè. The stone tumbled.

bilølla [bìløllá] *n.* parents

binibaal [bìnìbáàl] *n.* young boy *pl.* **binibaala**.

binihääñ [bìníhääñ] *Cf:* sungu-runjtulor *Cf:* tulorwienhäwie *n.* young girl *pl.* **binihääña**.

bipølh [bìpølhí] *n.* young man *pl.* **bipøle**.

bipøã [bìpøã] *n.* rude child *pl.* **bipøäta**.

bire [bíré] *v.* 1) to be dark, to make dark • *tié bár bíré ká jā káálì diá.* Let it be dark before we go home. 2) to be black, to make black • à bié kpá dñjó bíré ññ diá múñ. The child used dirt to make my house black. <*bírí* ‘dirty’ (Gonja)

birge [bírægè] *n.* darkness • ñ wàá kìn lii bírgé hàn ní. I cannot go out in this darkness. *Ant:* **batʃaŋ**

birgi [bìrìgì] *v.* to delay, to keep long, to stay for a long time, or to last • à dñóñ tíé jà bírgì kùò ní. The rain delayed us at the farm.

bisiketi [bísikèti] *n.* biscuit <*biscuit* (ultm. English)

bisɔɔna [bisɔɔna] *Cf:* biehamñŋ *n.* child [Ka]. *pl.* **bisɔɔnəse**.

biviei [bìvíéi] *n.* stubborn child

biwie [bìwié] *n.* youngest child

bí [bí] *itr.* iterative particle, conveys the repetition of an event • *já wíré já kíná rá àká válà gó dùùséé múj nàåvàl bítòrò*. We undress and walk around the whole Ducie three times. *ò bí kòòrè sàå ò dìà rá*. He rebuilt his house.

bí [bí] *v.* 1) to fail to do • *à ñmíér júón mááfà bí*. The thief misfired me with a gun. 2) to fail to attend an event, to be overwhelmed, to estimate that one's situation cannot fulfill some demands • *bìnà háj, dùsié lúsínnisá háj bíñ nà*. This year, this Ducie funeral, I cannot make it.

bía [bia] *Cf:* **tɔɔ** *n.* settlement [Ka].

bíã [bíá] *n.* duck *pl.* **bíasa**.

bíage [bìágè] *v.* to displace or move to let someone or something pass • *kpagà à kúr bíagè*. Move the chair to give a way. *ṇ bífagjó ká tiè à báàl tìwíi*. I make room and give the man the road.

bídøs [bídøð] *nprop.* magic stone of Gurumbele

bíel [bíèl] *n.* poisonous tree leaf, unused today, said to have been replaced by DDT

bíeli [bíélf] *v.* to be weak from overeating; to be tired or sick and in need of assistance to walk • *à hááñ tíésijò à zíí bíelí*. The woman vomited and is now weak.

bíeri [bíéri] *Cf:* **kpiëma** *n.* ego's senior brother *pl.* **bíerisa**.

1bíi [bíí] *Cf:* **bøi** *n.* stone *pl.* **bía**.

2bíi [bìi] *v.* *Cf:* **siamasiari** 1) to be well cooked • *gílà òró mórá bíi*. Let it be well cooked. *ò bíwáó*. It is cooked. *òró mórá bíjòó*. It is well cooked. 2) to be riped, applicable to shea nuts and mangos • *à súómó bíwáó*. The shea nuts are riped.

bíibøg [bìibøg] *n.* type of tree *pl.* **bíibøgna**.

bíibøsø [bíibøð] *lit.* stone-hole *n.* cave *pl.* **bíibøssa**.

bíisi [bìisi] *v.* to narrate • *bíisi ìì tótií*. Narrate your version of the story.

bíizimii [bózímíi] *Cf:* **bøzaal** *n.* Stone Partridge, type of bird [Gu]. *pl.* **bøzimie**.

bíla [bílà] *v.* to try to solve worries and problematic issues • *ṇn bílá ñn biè tìj wíé kúsiú*. I tried to solve my child's problems but failed.

1bíma [bíná] *n.* year • *Wøsá ní Áfiá bíná* máásé dójá rà. Wusa is as old as Afia. *pl.* **bínsa**.

2bíma [bíná] *pl.n.* excrement

bímbiliŋkpogo (*var.* of **bímbiliŋsi**)

bímbiliŋsi [bímbilínsi] *lit.* excrement-tumble (*var.* **bímbiliŋkpogo**) *n.* Darkling beetle (*Tenebrionidae fam.*). *pl.* **bíŋbiliŋse**.

bíntira [bíntírà] *Cf:* **bíntirawie** *n.* type of drum *pl.* **bínterasa**.

bíntiratʃíñj [bíntfràtʃíñj] *Cf:* **tʃíñj** *n.* drum rattles *pl.* **bíntiratʃíñma**.

bíntirawie [bíntfràwìé] *Cf:* **bíntira** *n.* type of drum *pl.* **bíntirawise**.

bintirazeŋ [bɪntífrāzéj] *n.* type of drum, largest full calabash

bira [bɛrə] *v.* to return, to turn back, to go backwards • *birà à káálí*. Go back. *birà àká tfáð*. Return and leave him.

birgì [bɪr̃gì] *v.* 1) turn, change direction • *birgì iì sié tá tiimúŋní*. Turn your face towards the east. 2) change, transform, metamorphose, turn into • *à hááhíè birgí déð*. The old lady turned into a python.

birñj [bírñj] *n.* whole; full • *àrfi bírñj dóá ññ dià ní*. A whole grasscutter is in my house.

bitì [bìtì] *Cf. jolo* *v.* empty by pouring, to pour all, to spill out, to pour in a stream • *bitì à fálá níí tà*. Pour away the water that is in the calabash.

biwie [bíwíé] *n.* small stone *pl.* **biwiese**.

bizeŋ [bízéj] *n.* big stone *pl.* **bizene**.

bokti (*var. of bakti*)

bolo [bòlò] *Cf. babuolii* *v.* to be far • *mòtigú wá bòlò*. Motigu is not far. *Ant: døgvølì*

boloŋbøtia [bòlòmbǿtià] *nprop.* group of stars

bombosørri [bómbøsøðrì] *n.* Rain tree (*Samanea saman*). *pl.* **bomboſørie**.

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

bonti [bóntí] *v.* to divide and share

- *bóntí à nàmìá já tíè*. Divide and share the meat so we can eat.

boŋ [bónj] *Cf. bugulie* *n.* big water pot (Tampulma) *pl.* **boŋo**.

boro [bòró] 1) *n.* portion • *má kpá à bár bóró à ttébá*. Give them some portion of land. ñ díjò àká tfá à siimáá bòró. I ate but left some of the food. *Ant: zenii* 2) *v.* to be short • *à dáá bóróó*. The wood is short. *Ant: zeŋ* *pl.* **boroso**.

bowo [bòwò] *v.* to be insufficient • *tí tíé siimáá bòwò à pàràsá*. Do not let the farmers be short on food.

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

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

bøg [bøg] *n.* (*var. bøkbil*) 1) type of tree (*Pseudocedrala kotschyii*). 2) fiber used to attach grass or tubers and to make Sigmaa costume *pl.* **bøkna**.

bøkbil (*var. of bøg*)

¹**bøl** [bøl] *n.* *Cf. loŋbøl* 1) oval shape • *zòð diá àká kpá kín tìŋ kà kíí bøl à wá tìēŋ*. Enter the house and get the thing that looks oval and bring it to me. 2) type of edible calabash found at the farm

²**bøl** [bøl] *n.* type of calabash, with an oval shape *pl.* **bøla**.

bøla [bølá] *n.* elephant *SynT: selzeŋneŋtrima* (*Loxodonta cyclotis*). *pl.* **bølasa**.

bulugo

bɔlakaŋ [bɔlákàj] *n.* elephant trunk
pl. **bɔlakaŋa**.

bɔlaŋiŋ [bɔlápíŋ] *n.* ivory *pl.* **bɔlaŋiŋa**.

bɔma [bòmà] *v.* 1) to be dangerous, to be bad • *ø bómáð kínkáñ*. He is a very dangerous person. 2) to be expensive • *à sákìr jògùló bómáð*. The bicycle is expensive. 3) to be hot • *à múró bómáð*. The rice is too hot. 4) endow with power • *ø bómáð, kùòsánáð kà wà kínjéë kpágáó*. He is powerful, the buffalo was not able to catch him. 5) to be difficult • *bifòlà jíníi bómáð*, Looking after a baby is difficult.

bɔna [bòná] *n.* loss *Ant:* **tɔna**

bɔŋ [bóŋ] (*var.* **b^wɔŋ**) *n.* bad *pl.* **bɔma**.

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

bɔol [bóɔl] *n.* ball (ultm. English)

bɔrdia [bòrdíá] bɔrmdia *n.* plaintain (*Musa paradisiaca*). <*bòɔdìá* (Akan)
pl. **bɔrdiasa**.

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

bɔsə (*var. of* **bɔsa**)

bɔtíf [bótíf] *n.* scooped ball of staple food, refered to as morcel in GHe. *pl.* **bɔtie**.

bɔwaa [bówáá] *n.* energetic dance, singing and dancing for men and women

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

bugo [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 bùgó*. The talking drums are not yet stretched. 2) stage of a chick, after hatching, after approx. five days, when the feathers start to grow from the wings • *nì záàl tésijóó ká à bisé há wà bùgó*. My fowl hatched but the chicks have not reached that stage. 3) to be drunk • *mìmì màá há wà bùgó múñj*. My mother has never been drunk.
Syn: **diesí2**

bugomi [bùgòmì] *v.* to be stupid, to be unable to learn or to think well, to act without sense • *té bùgémí kékéj*. Do not be out of sense.

bugulie [bùgèlié] *Cf:* **boŋ** *n.* big water pot made out of clay (Waali) *pl.* **bugulise**.

bugunso [bùgùnsô] *n.* stupidity

bul (*var. of* **bulo**)

bulenji [búléñjí] *n.* 1) person from Bulenga 2) lect of Bulenga *pl.* **bulenjee**.

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

²**bulo** [bùlò] *v.* to seep out, to get water as it seeps out • *à bùlùgó wá brà á bùlò nì*. The spring is not producing water anymore.

bulugo [bùlùgó] *n.* spring

bummo [búmmò] *Cf.* jiriti *adj.* black
SynT: doŋ 1 *pl.* bulunso.

bundaana [bùndááná] *n.* rich <*bundaana* (Waali) *pl.* bundaansa.

buŋbuŋ [búmbúŋ] *n.* first • *búŋbúŋ ní ñ fí wàà nõñ sīŋ.* At first, I was not drinking alcoholic beverage.

buol [bùól] *n.* song *pl.* buolo.

buolbuolo [bùòlbúòló] *n.* singer *pl.* buolbuoloso.

buoli [bùòli] *v.* sing • *té búolíí zàáŋ.* Do not sing today. *bà búoli búoló wó.* They are singing songs.

buolnãä [bùòlñänãä] *n.* song tracks, division of songs *pl.* buolenäasa.

buro [búró] *v.* to faint, to collapse from hunger or thirst • *òò pññsi kñsá ní à búró.* He got lost in the bush and collapsed.

busunu[IPA?] *n.* type of flute made out of the horn of an antelope

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

¹**buti** [bùti] *v.* to be confused • *ñññ bié gèrègá tíéŋ butì.* My child's sickness made me confused. *ññ bútió.* I'm confused.

²**buti** [bùti] *v.* to make soft and flat by levelling and ploughing • *bá tñí ká butì mññ piñkíté tíéŋ.* Tomorrow they will level my yam farm for me.

buu [bùú] *n.* silo *pl.* buuno.

¹**būū** [bùú] *v.* to mix water and soil, or to make concrete • *bùú háglii á sàå diá.* Mix sand and build a house.

būū [bùú] *v.* to become alight, of fire being at its burning stage • *gilà à diín bùú.* Let the fire start burning.

buure [bùùrè] *v.* 1) to want • *bàáŋ i kà búúrè.* What do you want? 2) acquire wealth • *ii péná búúré tfiá rá.* Your father acquires wealth for the future. 3) to love, to make love • *ññ búúrè à tulörwié ré.* I love that young girl. *Káláá búúré Hákúri.* Kala made love to Hakuri. 4) to seek, look to for help or advice, to search • *ò búúré bñññá kàálì.* He searched for the goats.

buuta [bùütà] *n.* kettle <*bütà* (Hausa)

buzoŋ [búzóŋ] *Cf.* lubaal *n.* bachelor, widower *pl.* buzomo.

bva (*var. of bwo*)

bwabie [bòàbié] *n.* smaller hole placed on the side of the the larger hole designed to slide the corpse in

bwada [bòdáò] *n.* type of snake

bññibññi [bññibññi] *ideo.* carefully, slowly • *dì sàå bññibññi.* Drive carefully. *dì ymá bññibññi.* Talk slowly. <*bññ* (Waali)

bvi [bóì] *Cf.* bii *n.* stone [Ka]. *pl.* bwse.

bwpāñ [bókpáñ] *n.* type of wild yam *pl.* bwkpāma.

bwla [bòlá] *v.* tasteless • *à áññií bwláó.* The Ebony fruit is tasteless.

bwlí [bólíí] *n.* exaggeration • *i kpága bwlí kinkán ná.* You exaggerate too much. *pl.* bwlie.

bumbor (*var. of bor*)

bumsi [bòm̩sì] *v.* to stutter, to stammer • ḥ wà bɔmsì, ḥ báán siiwó. He is not stammering, he is angry and nervous.

bontɔnà [bòntɔnà] *Cf:* kajajo *n.* porter, a person who carry things • ḥ káálí bòntɔná. She went to work as a porter.

bunsoñsinna [bònɔñsinná] *n.* moribund after harvest celebration

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

bɔñj [bɔñj] *n.* load of items *pl.* bɔnnna.

borja [bònjà] *v.* to bend down • bònjà à kpá à fálá tiféñ. Bend down and pick the calabash for me.

bø [bøó] *n.* *Cf:* bil (*var.* bøa) 1) hole 2) open grave 3) boundary, separation between portions of land *pl.* bøøsa.

bøøga [bøøgà] *Cf:* pena *n.* moon [*Mo*].

bøømann [bøømání] *n.* leopard *SynT:* juwietñananebietñna (*Panthera pardus*). *pl.* bøømanie.

bøøna [bøønà] *n.* bulb (ultm. English) *pl.* bøønasa.

bøøtia [bøøtíá] 1) *n.* bag • nàmmíí bøøtia. maize bag. 2) *num.* 200 Cedis (= 2 Ghana Pesewas) • bøøtìèsá mätseō àliè àní fi. 10 000 Cedis (= 1 Ghana Cedi) *pl.* bøøtiesa.

bøøtøi [bøøtøi] *n.* first day of first funeral

bor [bór] (*var.* bumbor) *n.* dust *pl.* bør.

1børa [bórá] *v.* to be dusty • à téébùl wà børjéè. The table is not dusty.

2børa [bórá] *n.* fermenting substance, yeast (Waali)

børindia [børíndià] TYPEbørdia

børinja [børíñjà] *n.* Chrismas < børøñjà (Akan)

bøñj [bøñj] *n.* goat *pl.* bøñna.

bøñjbie [bøñmbié] *n.* young goat *pl.* bøñnbise.

bøwalie [bówálìé] *n.* type of bush carnivore

bøzaal [bózààl] *Cf:* bøzimii *n.* Stone partridge, type of bird (*Ptilopachus petrosus*). [Du]. *pl.* bøzaalee.

bøøj (*var. of boj*)

daa [dáá] *n.* 1) tree 2) piece of wood 3) maize cob • nàmmídåä. maize cob. *pl.* daasa.

daabøntolugu [dáábøñtólúgú] *nprop.* name of a major Gurumbele shrine

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

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

daakðājalεε [dààkðåjäléè] *n.* Rose-Ringed Prakeet, type of bird (*Psittacula krameri*). *pl.* daakðājalesa.

daakɔ̃awoŋ [dààkɔ̃awòŋ] *n.* Brown-Necked parrot, type of bird (*Poicephalus robustus*). *pl.* daakɔ̃awonno.

daakɔ̃nɔ [dààkɔ̃nɔ] *n.* kenkey, staple dish <*dɔ̃kɔ̃nɔ* (Akan)

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

daakputii [dààkpútíí] *n.* 1) log meant for burning charcoal or fire wood 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 [dààlútó] *n.* tree root *pl.* daaluroso.

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

dãāna [dãāná] *n.* mark on animal *pl.* dãānasa.

daanãä [dáánãä] *n.* branch of a tree

dãāni [dãāní] *v.* to mark domestic animals in order to identify and show ownership • *nì níjéná dãāní òò sélé wó.* My father marked his animals.

daanɔŋ [dáánɔŋ] *n.* fruit of a tree, can be used as a seed • *bà ñmá dí já dúú dáánsná.* They say we must sow seeds. *pl.* daanɔna.

daajm̩ena [dààjm̩éná] (*var.* of daajm̩enkoŋkon)

daajm̩enkoŋkon [dààjm̩mèŋkóŋkóŋ] (*var.* daajm̩mena) *n.* Fine-Spotted Woodpecker (*Campethera punctuligera*). *pl.* daajm̩enkoŋkonso.

daapɛlimpɛ [dààpélímpé] *n.* wooden board *pl.* daapɛlimpesa.

daapeti [dààpétí] *n.* bark *pl.* dapetia.

daari [dààrì] *v.* to be half asleep • *gilà tì tóŋ tì dáárøð.* Leave your book you are almost asleep.

daari [dáárí] *v.* to take off the top, as in removing a dried layer of t.z. or porridge, or shell membrane from egg, or leaves on the surface of the water; to dig and scratch only the surface • *dáárí à níf púú kindóŋó tñtà.* Remove the dirt on the surface of the water. *dáárí à háglibúmmò tñtà.* Remove the black soil away.

daasãär [dààsãäär] *n.* carver *pl.* daasãara.

daasiiga [dààsìigà] *n.* 1) of trees pushing, rubbing or pressing each other, when branches touch one another • *Tʃágónñåä 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 hang himself and died.

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

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

daatɔma [dáátɔmá] *n.* chin *pl.* daatɔmasa.

daatʃaraga [dààtʃárágà] *n.* branch or tree fork *pl.* daatʃaragasa.

daaware [dààwárè] *n.* trickster, pretender

daazvṣna [dààzv̥vná] *n.* spoon *pl.* daazvṣnasa.

dabaara [dàbáárà] *n.* power of a shrine, spiritual power • *Kòɔlìi kpágá dàbáárà kinkán nā.* Kuolii has a lot of power.

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

dabuo[IPA?] *n.* deserted settlement

dadāñ [dàdāñ] *ideo.* to become numb

dadəñ [dàdəñ] *n.* evening

¹daga [dáyá] *Cf:* kparaama *v.* necessary • à wà jáá dàgá dí ní jáà jàà-líè. It is not necessary that I become a Muslim. à dágáó. It is necessary.

²daga [dáyà] *n.* box, usually belonging to a person who passed away and containing personal items <*àdakà* (Hausa)

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

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

dagboøo [dàgbøøjó] *n.* mouse usually found in or around the house (*Rattus rattus*). *pl.* dagboøoso.

dalia [dálífè] *n.* cooking place *pl.* dala.

dalibøa [dálíbøá] *n.* inside of the three-stone stove *pl.* dalibøsa.

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

dandafølñ [dàndàfølñ] *n.* small pieces of charcoal falling at the bottom of the coalpot

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

dansane [dànséné] *n.* metal cooking pot <*dàdíséñ* (Akan) *pl.* dansanøsa.

dansatfi [dánsátfi] *n.* smock with short sleeves *pl.* dansatfise.

dansatfiwie [dánsátfiwíé] *n.* smock with no sleeves *pl.* dansatfiwise.

danta [dàntá] *n.* clan appellation or title, used in identifying people who are members of certain clan division • i wòsá dántá káá jáà bâán? What is your clan title? *pl.* dantasa.

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

dapë [dápë] *n.* type of metal *pl.* -dapësa.

dangorugo [dàngórúgó] *n.* two-edged knife

dapñ [dápñ] *n.* wound • à biè kpákisié dó õø tintiq dápñ rá. The child wounded himself with his knife. *pl.* danje.

dankpala [dàñkpálá] *n.* walking stick *pl.* dankpalasa.

danñjí sii [dáñnjí sií] *Cf:* siidañña cpx.v. to entertain, to make things interesting • *jírà hámónà bá wá dánñjí já síé.* Call the children to come and entertain us.

¹dara [dárà] *n.* type of game (Waali)

²dara [dárà] *Cf:* møga *Cf:* højsø *v.* to lie, to deceive • ññ jéná ñmá dí ñ tñ

wàà dárà wíé. My father said that I should not tell lies.

daraga [dàràgá] *n.* reluctant to do

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

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

datſiháāŋ [dàtſiháāŋ] *n.* sister in-law

daworo [dáwòrō] *n.* type of drum, also known as gong-gong (Akan)

¹**de** [dé] *Cf:* **baanj** *adv.* there • *i ná lóslì rā dé nü?* Do you see a car over there?

²**de** (*var. of dr*)

degeni [dègènì]

degini [dègini] *v.* (*var. deñili*) (*var. deñini*) 1) to put straight, to be straight, to unbend, to set in a direction • *tiè à pítſój dègini.* Let the yam mound row be straight. *tiè à zíá dèñili.* Let the wall be straight. 2) tolerant • *à tóṣtítnā wā dèginiјe.* The landlord is not tolerant. 3) honest, faithful • *à biè dègínijóó ḥà kà kpá mìn mòlèbíí à wà tíēj.* The child is honest since he brought my money back.

deginii [déginií] *n.* straight *Ant:* **bagurii**

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.* **dendi-le.**

dendilehřesi [dèndiléhřesi] *lit.* outside.ground-vibration *n.* bull-roarer *Syn:* **sigmawiilii**

dendilsigmaa[IPA?] *lit.* outside.ground-■

Sigmaa *n.* Sigmaa masks and costumes performing during the day at the funeral ground

deni [dénì] *lit.* there-on *adv.* upon this, thereon • *dénì Ziāŋ báāŋ sii.* Thereon Ziang became angry.

deñili (*var. of degini*)

deñini (*var. of degini*)

deñsi [déñsí] *v.* 1) to balance on head • *à biniháàŋ tséñà níí à káá dèñsi.* The girl carries water on her head without holding it. 2) raise one's body to gain height in order to see • *déñsí pínè tókóró ní sááfi tséá dé.* Raise your body and look on the window frame, the key lies there.

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

¹**dela** [délá] *v.* to rely on • *ñ wàá kín délá mìn mààwìè né.* I cannot rely on my aunt.

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

délembii [délém̩bií] *n.* stone of the three-stone stove *pl.* **délembia.**

dendefulii [dēndēfulíí] *n.* charcoal

densi[IPA?] *v.* to stretch, pull and press body parts • *dēnsì ñì nēbié tīēj*. Stretch my fingers for me (in order to crack a knuckle)

densi hogo[IPA?] *v.* to exercise • *i kāá kōntì dí i wáá dēnsì iì hógó*. You will be weak if you do not exercise.

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

dewuro [dēwùñrò] *n.* announcement

di [dì] *v.* Cf: **toga** 1) eat • *bà wà dí siñmáà zàāj*. They did not eat food today. 2) to enthrone, enstool or en-skin a chief • *à báhíē kàá dí à kòró*. The old man will be enskinned. 3) sharp • *à kísíé káá dì kinkán nā*. The knife is sharp. *Ant:* **gbul**

di jawa [dí jàwā] *lit.* eat trade *v.* to trade • *ø káálì ø ká dí mòtigú jàwà*. She is going to trade at the Motigu market.

dibi [dibí] Cf: **mɔsi** *v.* to ask for forgiveness using sobre words (ultm. Gonja)

diebie [diébíé] Cf: **dʒəbalanj** (*var. musi*) *n.* cat *SynT:* **andriakaapāawiε** *pl.* diebise.

dieke [dièkè] *num.* one *Enum:* **digi-manya 1**

diese [díésé] *n.* dream *pl.* diese.

diesi [dièsì] *v. 1)* to dream • *ñì háàjì diì díésùù káá ñmā wīē*. My wife was talking whilst dreaming. *2)* to inhabit spiritually, to live in, as when an ancestor spirit inhabits another body • *ñm̄n māá diésí ñm̄n biniháán nà*. I gave my late mother's name to my daughter.

digilii [digìlfì] *n.* type of eel *pl.* digiliie.

digboj [dígboj] *n.* hunter's rank of a person who has killed an elephant (Gonja)

dimii [dímíí] *n.* worries, disturbances

dindia [díndíà] *n.* kitchen

dij [dínj] *n.* fire • *tiè díñj dí*. Feed the fire. *à díñj mårá à diū*. The fire burns well. *pl.* dinne.

dijnbamɔsii [dímbámɔsìì] *lit.* fire-place-setting.fire *n.* kitchen *pl.* **dijnbamɔsie**.

dijnhala [dijnhálá] *n.* charcoal fire

dijkimɔnii [díjkímmɔnìì] *n.* device to carry fire *pl.* **dijkimɔniε**.

dijnpaparee [dijnpápàréè] *n.* spark *pl.* **dijnpaparesa**.

dintsl [dintsl] Cf: **tsl** *n.* flame

dintʃāñj [dintʃāñj] *n.* lantern, lamp • *tsògò à dintʃāñj*. Light the lantern. *pl.* **dintʃāänsa**.

dintʃāñdaa [dintʃāñdáá] Cf: **na-jelingbielie** *n.* lamp holder *pl.* **dintʃāñdaasa**.

dintſena [díntſená] *lit.* fire-friend
n. Abyssinia Roller, type of bird (*Coracias abyssinicus*). *pl.* dintſensa.

1dɪ [dɪ] *conn.* 1) if • *dɪ ò wáawáá, ḥí fí nāō rà.* If he came, I would see him.
 2) when

2dɪ [dɪ] *comp.* 1) that • *ṅ wà láá dì dí Gbóló kàá wàá.* I do not believe that Gbolo will come. 2) do, imperative particle • *dì tʃ.* Run!

3dɪ [dɪ] *pv.* imperfective particle • - *sígá rá ò dì tié.* It is beans he is chewing. *wáá ò dì káálì.* It is to Wa he is going.

4dɪ [dɪ] *conn.* of doing simultaneously • *kpá sì́má hárj dì káálì.* Take this food away!

5dɪ [dɪ] *Cf:* diare (var. de2) *pv.* yesterday • *ì dì ná ḥì bìè rëë?* Did you see my son yesterday?

día [díá] *n.* house *pl.* díisa.

día tñj (var. of diare)

dianñä [díánñá] *lit.* house-mouth
n. door *pl.* dianñäsa.

dianñäbwie [díánñäbòwié] *lit.* house-mouth-hole-small *Cf:* tokoro
n. window *pl.* dianñäbuweise.

diare [díàrë] *Cf:* dí (var. dia tñj) *n.* yesterday • *díàrë tñj ò dí wà.* He came yesterday.

díatüma [díàtíná] *n.* landlord of a single compound *pl.* díisatüma.

díatüma [díàtómá] *n.* group of people belonging to the same household *pl.* díatüma.

1díesí [díésí] *v.* 1) feed and rear animal • *à báál kà díesí à bő̄n ná.* The man is feeding the goat. 2) to bring up, to take care of a child • *námù̄ wàá díesí à biē hárj.* No one takes care of this child.

2díesí [díésí] *v.* to be drunk • *wáá nő̄ sítj à díesí tʃò̄a gbél mú̄j ní.* He drank alcohol and he is now lying drunk under the tree. *Syn:* bugo 3

digie [dígíé] *n.* type of bird that alerts hunters about a nearby animal *pl.* digiesa.

dígn (var. of dígimaña)

dígnituo [dígítúò] (var. sanduso)
num. nine

dígimaña [dígmánjá] (var. dígn) 1
num. one *Enum:* dieke 2) *n.* same • *já bárá tò̄j wá jáà dígmáñá.* We do not have the same skin.

dígimbirinsetiuna [dígimbirin-sétfíná] *Cf:* woñ *n.* person who can hear very badly, but not totally deaf

dígina [díginà] *n.* ear *pl.* díginsa.

dígimbirinse [dígimbirinsé] *Cf:* woñ *n.* deafness

díginbøa (var. of maafadíginbøa)

díginviensøra [dígimviensøra] *lit.* ear-refuse-hear *n.* person who refuses to take advice, who do not do what he or she has been asked, told or is expected to do *pl.* díginviensørasa.

díginwiila [díginiwíilá] *n.* earache

díginwíløe [díginiwíllíè] *n.* otitis (chronic)

dnl [dífl] *n.* inhabitant who was born and raised in the same community *pl.* dnlala.

dñq [díñq] *Cf:* nídlñkñjdñqwidñqbidiin *n.* true, real, proper *pl.* dñma.

dira [dífr:] *v.* to have a closed, reduced or small internal space • mñm pàtsigíí wá dirà. My stomach has a lot of space. à sìmá díráá. The bamboo stick is not hollowed, its cavity is filled.

disa [dísá] *n.* soup *pl.* disasa.

dísugulii [dísùgùlìi] *n.* multiple floor building *pl.* disugulee.

dítʃvølñ [dítʃvølñi] *n.* sleeping room *pl.* dítʃvøle.

doga [dòyà] *nprop.* shrine of the village Holumuni

dokagal [dòkágàl:] *n.* rainbow

dokeg [dókég] *n.* type of amphibian *pl.* dokege.

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

donñ [dóníí] *n.* rain

donj[IPA?] *n.* 1) black *SynT:* bummo
2) dirt

dojii [dónjíi] *n.* dirty • à biè tágátà dónjíi tñj írñ wáwérë. The type of dirt on the child's shirt is not good. *Ant:* tfääni 1

dojo [dònjò] *v.* to be dirty, to soil • jàà níí tiè ní só, n dónjó kinkán nà. Fetch water for me to bath, I am very dirty. *Ant:* tfääni 2

donotima [dojotima] *n.* unhygienic person

doobii [dóóbíí] *n. pl.* doobie.

døgsí [dóyíí] *v.* to punish • tíí døgsí à lálíiwíé. Do not punish the orphan.

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

dønni [dóníí] *Cf:* døø *n.* water accumulated from soaking, sieving and dripping

1døj [dóñ] *n.* comrade, a person in one's social class, a mate *pl.* døña.

2døj [dóñj] *n.* enemy *pl.* døma.

døña [dóñjà] *recp.* each other • à nìbáálá bálìe kpó døñjā rà. The two men killed each other. lágàmì døñjà. Join each other.

døntima [dóntìnnà] *Cf:* tøgøma *n.* same size, same status fellow *pl.* døntinsa.

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

dugo [dùgò] *v.* to infest, to ravage • à nàmmíí dûgóú, tfóngíí zóóá. The maize was ravaged, weevils infested it.

duguñ [dùgúnj] *n.* spiritual location of a section

duguññvå [dùgúnnvå] *n.* entrance of a spiritual location *pl.* duguññvåsa.

duho [dùhó] *n.* seedling *pl.* duhoso.

dul [dúl] 1) *n.* right (side) *Ant:* gal 2) *reln.* right • wáá tfòà ìì néñ dül ní. It is on your right hand side. *Ant:* gal 1 *pl.* dullo.

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

dumba [dùmbá] *nprop.* third month (Waali)

dumbafulanaan [dùmbáfúlánààn] *nprop.* fifth month (Waali)

dumbakokoriko [dùmbákókóríkó] *nprop.* fourth month (Waali)

dumii [dúmíí] *n.* bite

undatuo (*var. of dunlatuo*)

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

duju [dùnjú] *nprop.* twelfth month (Waali)

dujusi [dùnjùsì] *Cf. zejsi* *v.* to limp • *hèmbíí ré táwá òò náá, àwíé ò dì dù-nyúsì kékj.* A nail entered his leg, that is why he is limping like that.

dujúmaanjkuna [dùnjúmàànjkúnà] *nprop.* eleventh month (Waali)

duo [dúò] *n.* asleep • *à biè dí tfóò dúó wíwéré rē.* The child slept well yesterday.

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

duoŋkii [dúónkìí] (*var. of duoŋkiir*)

duoŋkiir [dúónkíír] (*var. duoŋkii*) *n.* type of tree [*Du*].

duoŋsɔɪ [duoŋsɔɪ] *Cf. sɔ duoŋ* *n.* lightning initiation

duoŋtsiir [dúón̩tsíír] (*var. of gbřākvl*)

duselii [dùsélíí] *n.* 1) person from Dicie 2) lect of Dicie *pl. duselee.*

dusi [dùsì] *v.* to put on or increase in weight • *à báál hāāñ tñj dùsíó.* The man's wife has increased in weight.

dusie [dùsìé] *n.* Dicie village

duu [dùú] (*var. zugol*) (*var. naŋkpāñjzugo*) *n.* Lappet-Faced Vulture, type of bird (*Torgos tracheliotus*). *pl. duuno.*

dūū [dùū] *v.* to sow, to plant • *bà ñjmá dí já dūū dáánóná.* They say that we must sow seeds. <*dù* 'plant yam' (Gonja)

dūūwie [dùūwié] *n.* type of snake

dø [dø] *v.* 1) to put on, to put in, like to put something into water to make bad or good, or to serve as an enticement, to dip • *jà ká dø nñ rā.* We are putting bate in the water. *dø bórá sín nì.* Put the fermenting substance. 2) to seem, to appear • *à dø kìì bà kà búúríí dùsiè né.* It seems that they are looking for you in Dicie. 3) to be • *pìníé ii péná kā dø.* How is your father?

dø tøs [dø tøs] *cpx.v.* to take care • *nñ dø à bié tøs rā.* I am taking care of the child. *ii dø nñ kùò tñín tøs rää.* Are you taking care of my farm?

døa [døà] *v.* (*var. døɔ1*) 1) to be in, at or on, to be located • *Kípó dǿ sìn-dìà ní.* Kipo is in the bar. 2) adhere to a religion • *ò dǿ jàrfíí nì.* He is a Muslim.

døana [døàná] *n.* evening • *døàná ní*

ñ kàá kàálì d̄iá. I will go to the house this evening. [Mo]. [*oldfash*].

d̄saní [d̄sànì] v. to greet in the evening • i wà d̄sání má wòlèë? Didn't you greet your people?

d̄sasi [d̄sásì] pl.v. be in a row

d̄gal [d̄gal] n. type of snake

d̄gvu [d̄vgv] n. type of dance

d̄gvrlí [d̄vgvrlí] v. to be near to • à báál d̄vgvrlí d̄iá ní rà. The man is near the house. dáánón t̄sá d̄vgvrlí à fálá ní rà. A fruit lies near the calabash.
Ant: *bolo*

d̄gvni [d̄vgvni] v. to chase away, to be after something or someone • -d̄vgvni à váá t̄. Chase away the dog.

d̄gvsa [d̄gvsá] n. loose stomach

d̄gbelgvu [d̄gbèl̄gvu] n. Senegal Coucal (*Centropus senegalensis*). pl. **d̄gbelgvsa**.

d̄ksa [d̄ȳsá] n. dysentery (*Amoebiasis*).

d̄kpene (var. of **d̄kpeni**)

d̄kpeni [d̄kpènì] (var. **d̄kpene**)

n. Royal python (*Python regius*). pl. **d̄kpeneise**.

¹**d̄sma** [d̄smà] v. to bite • à ól d̄smáñ nā. The mouse bit me.

²**d̄sma** [d̄smá] n. soul pl. **d̄masa**.

d̄snā [d̄srjá] [d̄oniá] n. world <*dīniyā*> (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa)

d̄nkafuuri [d̄nkáfùrì] lit. bite-and-blows n. insincerity, hypocrisy

d̄sna [d̄snná] n. behavior

¹**d̄nsi** [d̄nsí] Cf: **d̄sí** Cf: **d̄ssi** pl.v. bite

²**d̄nsi** [d̄nsí] n. type of worm

d̄njebummo [d̄njebummo] n. type of Green-lined snake (*Hapsidophrys lineata*).

d̄njeméj [d̄njméj] n. Red-lined snake (*Bothropthalmus lineatus*). pl. **d̄njemesa**.

d̄njemesama [d̄njmesama] n. type of Green-lined snake (*Hapsidophrys lineata*).

d̄sɔ (var. of **d̄sá**)

d̄sɔ [d̄sɔ] v. to fetch water in large quantity, specifically at a well or river • ñ ñmá ñ ká d̄sɔ nī pòl ní. I want to fetch water from the river.

³**d̄sɔ** [d̄sɔ] Cf: **kāñ** Cf: **d̄oni** n. liquid mixture of sodium carbonate, used as soup ingredient and formerly used in the making of gun powder pl. **d̄sá**.

d̄soga [d̄sogá] n. play • hámónà kàà búúré d̄sogá. Children are fond of playing.

d̄sogí [d̄sogì] v. to play • à bìnìháàñ àní ñòù nààtíná káá d̄sogì. The girl and her maternal uncle are playing.

¹**d̄ssi** [d̄sì] v. 1) to quench, extinguish a fire, to put out • d̄sì d̄ij háñ. Quench this fire. 2) to erase • d̄sì ñà nàànàsíè t̄n t̄ à d̄iàññà nì. Erase your footsteps by the door.

²**d̄sí** [d̄sì] pl.v. Cf: **d̄nsi** Cf: **d̄nsi** 1) to bite [*oldfash*]. 2) to clean (blackboard), to erase, to cancel

dɔɔ̤ [dɔɔ̤] (*Pl. var. dɔta*) *n.* African python (*Python sebae*). *pl.* dɔsa.

dzaa [dʒàá] *adv.* unexpectedly • - dʒàá, kén nè, dóniá dɔ. Unexpectedly, the world is like that.

dzaana [dʒáánà] *n.* door mat <dzaana ‘door mat’ (Waali)

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

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

džanii (*var. of genni*)

djanse [džánsè] *n.* type of dance (ultm. English)

džanjää [džánjää] *Cf.* filii *n.* bearing tray made with the fiber of the climber *pl.* džanjääsa.

džebuni [džebuni] *nprop.* Jebuni

džebalaŋ [džébálàn] *Cf.* diebie (*var. amiō*) *n.* cat [*Gu.*] (*Gonja*)

džebugokpørgii [džébúgòkpórøgíi] *n.* gunpowder container *pl.* džebugokpørgie.

džedzera [džèdžérà] *n.* type of monitor lizard found in rocky area *pl.* džedzerasa.

džefé [džèfē] *n.* land clearing done in the rainy season when the grasses are well grown and thick, crucial step for growing yam

džefbummo [džèfèbúmmò] *n.* farm land with a considerable amount of moisture in the soil. Usually between October and December

džefpømma [džèfèpømmá] *n.* dry farm land, or land with little moisture in the soil. Usually after December.

dženii (*var. of genni*)

džerëga [džèrègá] *Cf.* gérëga *n.* sickness *pl.* džerëgasa.

džergii [džérgíi] *n.* sick or weak person *pl.* džergie.

džeti [džèti] *n.* lion *SynT:* puzeñtunananääbietuna *pl.* džetisa.

džigela [džìgélà] *n.* elephant [Mo].

džinedzine [džinèdžinè] *ideo.* (*var. ginegine*) 1) sky appearance, suggests rain • à tiùmúñ dš džinèdžinè. The east is not clear. 2) type of color; yellowish-brown

džiendøŋ [džíendøŋ] *n.* one in a pair of twin *pl.* džiendøŋa.

džienſa [džíensá] *n.* twins *pl.* džienſa.

džiera [džíera] *n.* sieve <džiera (Waali)

džifa [džífà] *n.* pocket

džiga [džígà] *v.* to be mature, to master, to be brave, to be good at something • pél lé tíj kà džígá wáá káá üü lálíí. The burial specialist who masters his work is the one who burries the corpse.

džigisi [džigisi] *v.* to act proudly • dráábà háj kàà džigisi ní lózlí mílfmíí ní. This driver is proud in driving a car.

džimbentø [džímbéntø] *nprop.* first month (Waali)

dżɔra [dʒɔrá] *n.* type of plant with soft stem, used in playing children's game

dżumburo [dʒùmbúrò] *n.* soup ingredient, also used as medicine <*dżumbiri* (Waali) *pl.* **dżumburuso**.

dżwɔŋ [dʒwɔŋ] *n.* hamok *pl.* **dżwɔŋ**.

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

eesi [?éési] *n.* AIDS, a disease of the human immune system caused by infection with human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) (ultm. English)

ɛɛ [?ɛɛ] (*var.* **őő**) *interj.* yes

egla [?èylá] *n.* jaw *pl.* **eglasa**.

embeli [?émbélf] *n.* Cf: **siebII**
1) shoulder 2) wing *pl.* **embele**.

embeltfugul [?émbéltfùgùl] *n.* shoulder joint *pl.* **embeltfugulo**.

ensì [?ènsì] *v.* to squeeze, to twist, to press • *ènsì lùmbúrò níf tiè li bié*. Squeeze the orange juice for your child. *ènsì à kintfàgàsìè à bérà*. Twist the washed clothes and dry them.

faa [fàà] *n.* ancient • *kéj fi wàà jáá fàà ní*. This was not done in those days. *nín nà fàà tórmà fíjá jáà*. This is what the ancestors used to do. [*Tp*].

fää [fää] 1) *adv.* by force • *ṇ kpá báán tʃìasi ḥò gár fää*. I tear her cloth by force angrily. *tʃòsím písá fää, sii wà*. As soon as the day breaks, get up and come! 2) *v.* to depend on others cunningly and abusively • *à báál fää ḥò tʃéná dí diú*. The man depends on his friend abusively all the time

for eating. 3) *v.* draw milk from • *fóslàháāñ kàà fää nɔ̄?il lá*. The Fulani woman draw milk from the udder of the cow. 4) *v.* to press out • *má ká fää Kálá kinsónj ḥò nàāpégíí ní à níf múnj li*. You should go and press out the pus out of the swelling on Kala's leg.

faala [fáálá] (*var.* **faara2**) *pl.n.* ancestors • *fáálá fíi lāarè tóná*. Our grandparents used to wear skins.

faamí [faàmì] *v.* 1) to grab hold of, as in wrestling, to put arm around • *à báál fäamí ḥò dóntífná lùrò bà lóggíí ní*. The man grabbed the testicles of his enemy during wrestling. 2) to be tight • *à nààtàòpúró fáamí nñ nààsawá*. The shoes are tight for my feet.

1faara [fáárá] *n.* christian father

2faara (*var. of faala*)

1faari [fààrì] *v.* 1) to plaster or smear • *li séléménté kánáō i káá fäari li diä*? Is your cement enough to plaster your house? 2) to rub along, to scrape up • *à lóslisá àliè wá fäari dñyá báàn ní*. The two cars scraped up each other right here.

2faari [fáárf] *v.* to be between, to put between • *à kárántíē fäári à láv lógún ní*. The cutlass is between the side of the farm hut.

faasi [fáásì] *v.* to be careless, negligent, to not be serious • *dí i fáásì à lóslí káá tʃí kààli ká tsài*. If you are negligent the car will leave you.

faasII [fáásìi] *n.* carelessness

fabummo [fàbùmmó] *n.* type of calabash, used to mix local medicine

fakela [fàkèlìè] *n.* broken piece of calabash *pl.* fakelisa.

fakiine [fàkìiné] (*var.* fatsine) *n.* index finger *pl.* fakiinese.

fala [fálá] *Cf:* loj *n.* section of a calabash used as liquid container *pl.* falasa.

falabii (*var. of* fobii)

falanej [fálánèj] *lit.* calabash-arm *n.* calabash stem *pl.* falanese.

fala?ul [fálá?úl] *lit.* calabash-navel *n.* calabash node *pl.* fala?ulo.

falinj [falinj] *n.* low land

falinjwasa [fálímbòá] *n.* valley *pl.* falinjwasa.

fapømma [fápømmá] *n.* type of calabash, used to fetch water

fatsine [fàt'síné] (*var. of* fakiine)

fawie [fàwié] *n.* type of calabash, used to drink locally brewed alcoholic drink

fazij [fázíj] *n.* type of calabash, about a foot in diameter, container for medicinal use

felfel [félfél] (*var. of* felfel)

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

²**fega** [fègá] *n.* stirring stick for porridge and soup

fela [fèlà] *v.* to push down grass, to flatten, to bend down grain stalks •

pèò dí fèlà nàmmíí múñ bilè háglií

n.l. The wind has bend down all the maize to the ground.

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

férígí [férígí] *Cf:* fetí **1)** *pl.v.* to loosen up tight muscles or joints by gently pressing on them • à biè férígí ḵvè péná nèbiè ré. The child pressed his father's fingers. **2)** *pl.v.* to dial or type on phone or computer keys • làà nn̄ fòòn à férígí lísí nn̄ námbà. Take my phone and find my number (lit press choose) **3)** *v.* in the process of making • pàà bíé férígí à kpòñkpón. Take stones and put them on the cassava.

féríí [féríí] *n.* air potato, same botanical type as yam (*Dioscorea bulbifera*). *pl.* ferree.

fetí [fétí] *v.* *Cf:* férígí **1)** to press lightly • fétí nn̄ nèbíwié ttèj. Press my little finger for me. **2)** to put on something with considerable weight • zòrò bíí fétí ii diá tsénsi nī. Pick a stone and put it on top of your metal roof.

fi [fí] *num.* ten

fidalia [fidàlià] *num.* twelve

fidaloro [fidálòrò] *num.* sixteen

fidalope [fidálòpè] *num.* seventeen

fidanaase [fidànáásè] *num.* fourteen

fidapɔ [fidápnɔ] *num.* fifteen

fidatoro [fidátòrò] *num.* thirteen

fidiđigrī [fidiđigíí] *num.* eleven

fidiđigíntuo [fidiđigíftùù] *num.* nineteen

fidiđmēđtēl [fidiđmēđtél] *num.* eighteen

fiel [fíél] *n.* hollowed grass *pl.* fiele.

fiisi [fíisé] *v.* (*var.* **fisi**) 1) scrape off • *fiisi dísá tā iì népíél ní.* Scrape off the soup on your palm. 2) to wipe • *ṇ fiisè ḷṇṇ mún nò.* I wiped my buttocks.

fili [filíí] *Cf. džanjää* *n.* bearing tray carved in wood *pl.* filie.

¹**finii** [finíí] *adj.* little, a bit of • *tieŋ jesa tama finii.* Give me a little bit of salt. *támá finííi* à fí sówá. He came very close to die.

²**finii** [finííí] *n.* pinch

fio [fió] *interj.* totally not • *ṇ wàá làà kéj fió.* I will not agree with this at all.

fire [firé] *v.* to be barren, applies only for animals • à nàð háj wārā wà firé. This very cow is not barren.

fi [fi] (*var.* **fii**) *pv.* particle referring to a past time and asserting that the possibility of the event in the past is not existing at the time of the utterance • *ṇ fi kààli kùò ró àká ḷṇṇ bárá wá lémā.* I would have gone to farm, but I am not well.

fiebī [fièbì] *v. 1)* to pound lightly, especially grains to remove their husk, to mill • *má jáá mūrō àkà fiàbè wàà.* You fetch the rice, pound it and bring it back. 2) to whip, to strike

with cane, rope or stick • à kàá fièbì à bié rē. He will whip the child.

fieri [fièri] *v.* Cf: **gbası** 1) to cut and remove a small piece of meat and eat it for tasting • *ṇ zímá dí i fierí nà ngúrún hán nā.* I know that you cut and remove a part from my piece of meat. 2) to remove a little part of a whole • à báál fierí mòlèbúú tñj bòró ró. The man remove part of my money.

fii (*var. of* **fí**)

¹**fíi** [fíí] *n.* type of fish *pl.* **fíina**.

²**fíi** [fíí] *v.* to urinate • à bisé fíí fíiníí dò sùkúù zíá ní. The children urinates on the school wall.

³**fíi** [fíí] *v.* to bud, to bear flowers • *súómó fííwáð tʃɔpísá àyménà háj.* The shea trees have flowers these days.

fíil [fííl] *n.* needle of a bee

fíili [fííl] *v. 1)* to aim at with gun or catapult • *nà bié káá fííli gér óv 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 • *pínéá iì kàá fíílenj kékj?* Why do you peek at me like this?

fíiníí [fíiníí] *n.* urine • *ṇ fíí fíiníí.* I will urinate. *pl.* **fíiníisa**.

fíinítjogo [fíinítjòyó] *n.* syphilis

fíinjintuu [fíinjintíí] *n.* type of roundleaf bat, very small in size and usually found around buildings (*Hipposideros gen.*). *pl.* **fíinjintie**.

fíiní [fíiníí] *n.* harassment *pl.* **fíiníe**.

finntforo [fɪnɪtʃɔrō] *n.* 1) bilharzia, a blood fluke (*Schistosomiasis*). 2) cystisis (chronic)

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

fírigwù [fírigòò] *n.* very short burial dance performed when the corpse is lying on the funeral ground, after the weeping and the hole is dug

fíri [fírifí] *n.* force

fisi (*var. of fisi*)

fobii [fòbíí] (*var. falabii*) *pl.n.* type of calabash seed

folo [fòlò] *v.* to get loose, to detached • *ṇṇà pàbií fólo lìi òò dáá ní*. My hoe blade detached from its shaft.

foo [fóó] *conn.* unless, if not • *dì i káá jàwà móto ká fóó Wàà ní*. If you want to purchase a moto, unless you do it in Wa.

foole (*var. of fuoli*)

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

foonjmeŋ [fóónjméŋ] *n.* telephone line, network connection (partly ultm. English)

foori [fóórì] *n.* Black monkey

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

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

1foro [fòrò] *v.* to be proud, to bost • *à hǎǎŋ kàà fórò kínkán nà*. The woman is bosting a lot.

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

foti [fótí] *v.* 1) to do a slip of tongue, to drop inadvertently • *ñù nñá fótíjé ñ tṣágàlì à lúhò*. I announced the death by a slip of tongue. à záhál fótijé lìi ñù néj ní tṣélè háglií ní. The egg dropped from my hand and fell on the ground. 2)

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

fɔfɔta [fófɔtà] *n.* lung <*fòtí* ‘breathe’ (Gonja) *pl. fɔfɔtasa*.

fɔfɔtiwíla [fófɔtíwílá] *n.* lung pains

fɔgɔl [fóyɔl] *n.* type of grass which resembles sorghum, found near water ponds and rivers *pl. fɔgɔla*.

fɔgɔlì [fóyɔlf] *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 iì nésē à hɔlà*. Rub your hands for them to dry.

fɔgɔsì [fóyɔsf] *v.* 1) to make less, to remove to ease • *lùgùsì à kpáámá bòrò káá fóngósì à vìì ní*. Remove some of the yams so it is less in the bowl. 2) to alleviate by having tasks taken by others • *párásá dí wáá ñù kùò ró ñù tómá fɔgɔsì*. Yesterday farmers came to my farm and alleviated my work.

fɔln [fɔlm] *n.* new

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

fōja [fójá] *n.* strength • ò wà kpágá fójá. She does not have strength.

fōjatína [fójatína] *lit.* strength-owner *n.* strong *Ant:* tʃókmí

fōra [fórà] *v.* to stuck, choke, block a flow, or close an opening with dirt or clay • zíná àkà fórà à dálór. Go up and block the hole in the tree.

fōrrí [fórí] *n.* narrow *Ant:* péní

fōsi [fósí] *v.* 1) to get or collect by force, to seize • ò fósí à bié móngò à dí. She took the child's mango and ate it. 2) to cheat • i fósíñ nā àní bōjtiá fí ní. You swindled twenty pesewas from me.

fōti [fótí] *v.* 1) to have a choked nose and cannot breath • kábírimē kpágá mím bié òò mìssá fōti. My child has catarrh, her nose is choked. 2) to tie or wrap in small packages • fōti sikiri tié bá jawà. Tie the sugar in packages for them to buy.

fōð [fóð] *n.* baboon (*Papio anubis*). *pl.* fōta.

fōwa [fówà] *v.* wrap • à hákñ fōwá mòlèbié òð gár nőá ní. The woman wrapped money at the edge of her cloth.

fuful [fúfúl] *n.* ash of burnt grass

fugusi [fúgúsi] *v.* to fool by pretence

• à bìnibáàl kàà fúgúsi nárá kínkán nà. The boy fools people a lot.

fulumi [fùlúmì] *v.* to cheat, to deprive of by cheating • námúñ wàd kín fùlumì mím màá búñ hág. Nobody can deprive from my mother's goat.

fujfuluj [fújfuluj] *n.* cheater

fuoli [fùoli] (*var. foole*) *v.* to whistle • ñ fúlí fùlòl ró. I whistled. i wàd kín fùlòl tòó pàtsigíí ní. You cannot whistle in the village.

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

fuori [fùorì] [fùorì] *v.* to strip a plant from its leaves by pulling along the stem • fùorì à kpáásà tā. Strip the leaves out of the cane. fùorì à mífá páátságà tā à ná sìì. Remove the guinea corn leaves so they can grow.

¹fuosi [fùosí] *v.* to eat with a spoon porridge or soup like liquids • ò fúosí kùbíí ré. She ate the porridge.

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

fuotuo [fùòtùò] (*var. of footuo*)

furusi [fúrúsí] *Cf:* tʃumo 1) *pl.v.* to take small sips • à tíí nómáð ò dí fúrúsí. He is sipping the hot tea. 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.

fúú [fúú] *v.* to burn to charcoal, to burn food • Wòsá fúú hólá rá. Wusa burnt charcoal.

fūūī [fūūī] *n.* burning • à lūlūí fūūī wá bōmā. The burning of medicine is not difficult.

fūuri [fūūri] *v.* blow • ḍ fūūrī à dīj dōsī. He quenched the flame by blowing it.

fūā [fūā] *Cf:* pūmma *n.* ash used as white paint

fūfūgēe [fūfūgēe] *n.* type of tree (*Grewia hookerama*). *pl.* fūfūgesa.

fūfūl [fūfūl] *n.* type of tree, also known as the Gold Coast Bombax (*Bombax buonopozense*). *pl.* fūfūla.

fūga [fūgā] *v.* to be light • à tékpágár bōnnā fūgā. The pregnant woman's load is light. *Ant:* jugo 1

fūl [fūl] *n.* 1) type of creeper, leaves are plucked for soup ingredient 2) soup ingredient *pl.* fūlla.

fūna [fūnā] *v.* to shave • fūjy bāfī kpā à fūnā pūpónā. They used to shave with a shaving knife.

fūnti [fūnti] *v.* to peel off by hand a fruit or a seed, after being roasted or not • fūnti lūmbúrò já dī. Peel the orange so we eat. fūnti māysá. Crack the groundnuts.

fūŋ [fūŋ] *n.* shaving knife • fūn ná. It is a shaving knife. *pl.* fūnna.

fūŋfūgūl [fūŋfūgūl] *n.* foam • à kōwīé hājy kpágá fūŋfūgūl lā. That soap makes plenty foam.

fūomí [fūomí] *v.* to dent, to be crooked, to be broken • à dīj báá-rí nñ rśbákàtásà, ḍ fūomí. The fire

slightly burnt my plastic bowl, it is crooked.

fūora [fūorà] *v.* to be narrow • à dīanúā fūráó kàtásàzèj wàà kìn zòv. The door is narrow, the basin cannot enter.

fūore [fūoré] *v.* to go down in swelling, to be reduced in size • ḍ nààsá tījy fūréjā. The (swelling on the) legs are reduced.

fūrigi [fūrigi] *v.* to scratch, to be bruised • i kāá tṣēlē ii nāá fūrigi. You will fall and your leg will be bruised.

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

1fūti [fūti] *pl.v.* to plug (many), to repair a leaking roof by filling holes and cracks

2fūti [fūti] *v.* to fill holes, to block a hole or space • à māsīn zínjēē fūti à zīé rá. The mason went up and filled the holes between the roof and the wall.

fūō [fūō] *n.* lower back *pl.* fūōna.

fūōfūō [fūōfūō] *n.* light cloth, such as material like linen, mosquito net or head gear *pl.* fūōfūōsa.

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

fūosí [fūosí] *v.* to insert air in a balloon, or as a sick person increases in size • ḍ fūósíjá. He increased in size from sickness or poisoning. ḍ fūósí

nàñffíññílòj ò *bérègì bósl*. He blew a cow's bladder into a football.

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

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

gaafra [gááförà] *interj.* excuse <gāfařā (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa)

gaali [gààli] *v.* 1) to be over or placed over something, to cover partially, to bend over partially • à tón ní, ii gáàli kékj, màrà à jiné. The skin, you are over and above it like that, just look carefully. tí gáálí à bòà ní kékj. Do not bend over the hole like that. 2) to abound • ḥn tómá gáálíó. My work is too much.

gaani [gààní] *v.* to swagger • tí gáání à dò ní ii fonyá wíé. Do not swagger in front of me because of your power.

gāānígāāní [gááñigááñí] *ideo.* cloud state signaling rain

gaari [gáári] *v.* to wind thread on sticks; to wind a small intestine on a finger to clean it • gáári ñmēj tièj ñj órà mìn páta. Wind the thread for me so I can sew my pants.

gaarii [gààríí] *n.* type of food made from cassava

gaasi [gáásí] *v.* to pass • i gáásí dé ní rē, brà wàà. You passed the place, come back. bìnsá fi kà gáásijé, ò wàà. He had come ten years ago.

gagatí [gàyàti] *n.* type of shrub *pl.* gagati.

gal [gál] 1) *n.* left (side) *Ant:* dul 2 2)

reln. left • wáá tsvà ii néj gál ní. It is on your left hand side. *Ant:* dul 1 3) *n.* unripened quality of a fruit or nut • móngôgal. Unripened mango. *pl.* galla.

¹**gala** [gala] *n.* farm space measurement, about the three quarters of an acre *pl.* galasa.

²**gala** [gálá] *v.* 1) to go over and across, pass something or somewhere, to step over an obstacle • à báál gálà hágliikín ní rà. The man went over the snake. 2) to exceed, to be more than • ḥn tṣená zéjíí gálà ḥn ní rà. My friend's height exceeds mine.

galanja [gàlánjá] *Cf.* galanjzor *n.* madness, craziness

galanjzor [gàlànžór] *Cf.* galanja *n.* mad person *pl.* galanzvra.

galinja [gàlinjá] *Cf.* bambaaŋbambii *reln.* middle • ò télé tìwíi galinja rà àká birà wàà. He reached half way and returned. [Mo, Ka, Tu, Ti]. *pl.* galnjgasa.

galinja [gàlinjáà] *n.* type of bird, Pied Crow (*Corvus albus*).

gama [gámá] *v.* to put and join together, gather together items that were spread • gámá à kpààñdùgò múj 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 fsvò kàá gànà àní tòñkpégé ní. The child's back will be in severe pain with the hardwork.

2) to weed under the millet or guinea corn when the plants are well matured • ñìn há wàà gánà mìm míá. I have not started weeding under my guinea corn.

ganagana [gànàgànà] *ideo.* to be almost ripe, still stiff

¹gantal [gàntál] (*var. habvɔ*) 1) *n.* back *Ant:* ssv 1 2) *n.* follow • ñìñ gántàl tómà jáá báliè wá. I have two siblings younger than me. 3) *reln.* back, behind • wáá dòà à fá-lá gántàl ní. It is behind the calabash. *pl.* gantala.

²gantal [gántál] *n.* outside

gantal lóha [gántàl líhà] *Cf:* lógantál *n.* backtalk • Wòsá gántàl líhá kánáð. The backtalking of Wusa is too much.

gantalbaanhok [gántàlbáánhòg] *n.* spine, vertebral column *pl.* gantalaanhogo.

gantalgbou [gántálgbóù] (*var. of kɔŋ*)

gangalíri[IPA?] *Cf:* píngaaşı *n.* pickaxe (Waali)

ganganj [gàngjàn] *n.* type of dance

ganganya [gàngjàná] *n.* long and double-headed cylindrical drum beaten with sticks *pl.* gangajasa.

ganji [gànji] *v.* to appear uneven and unexpected against a background •

sòtá gánjí nààpíél ní, tṣútí tā. Part of the thorn appears on the sole of my foot, pull it out. páanòv gánjí iì džífà ní, lògà tééñ. Bread appears out of your pocket, cut some for me.

gapømma [gàpømmá] *n.* woven cotton cloth *pl.* gapølønsa.

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

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

¹gara [gàřà] *v.* 1) pierce through • tóbií gárá ḥò émbélífí ní. An arrow pierced through his elbow. 2) lie across • hágliíkíñ tſéá gára à tívíí ní. A snake lies across the road. 3) to lead and exceed others in achievements, to do more than • mìm párá gára à binibáál lā. I achieved more farm work than the boy.

²gara [gàřà] *v.* to omit, to miss out, to skip • ḥò jāà gára kùò káálí rá. He usually skips going to farm.

garaga (*var. of gëregá*)

garamřfɔš [gàrámřfɔš] *n.* gramaphone (ultm. English)

garii [gàřii] *n.* food made from cassava tubers <gári (Akan)

garisi [gářísí] *v.* to burp • à hááñ píñāō à zí gárisí. The woman was satisfied and then burped.

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

garsɔor [gàsɔ́r] *lit.* cloth-weaver *Cf:* sɔñasvɔr *n.* weaver

garzagatii [gàrzáyátí] *n.* rag *pl.* garzagatra.

gati[IPA?] *v.* to be high • lésí iì délémví tñj ó gátí. Chock your stove stone so it is properly high.

gatigatrì [gàtìgàtì] *ideo.* scattered • *dùù à nàmmiñ gàtigàtì.* Sow the corn one by one here and there.

gatɔɔlì [gàtɔɔlì] *n.* cover cloth, used to cover the body

ger [gèr] *n.* type of lizard *pl.* gete.

gere [gèrè] *v.* of food which is hard to digest for the stomach • *à nàmìá géréó mìn pàtsígíí ní.* The meat is undigested in my stomach. *bótigéréè Tómá tīsì.* The morsel Toma vomited was undigested.

gegeta [gègétà] (*var.* gegeti) *n.* type of monitor lizard [Mo]. *pl.* gegetasa.

gegeti [gègétì] (*var. of* gegeta)

gëna [gènà] *v.* to be fool or stupid • *bà dià nhíè tìñ géná kíñkán nà.* The elder in their house is very stupid.

genì [géníí] *Cf:* kintṣuma (*var.* dženn) (*var.* džann) *n.* fool *Ant:* nahíè *Ant:* siilalla *pl.* genie.

gënnà [gènná] *n.* foolishness

gëñeli [géñéñli] (*var. of* gëñené)

gëñené [géñéñé] (*var.* gëñeli) *v.* to stagger, to stumble, like the way an intoxicated person walks • *wáá ká gëñené à wáá kéñ.* He is the one coming and staggering.

gëregá [gèrègá] *Cf:* džerégá (*var.* garaga) *n.* sickness, disease [old-fash]. *pl.* geregasa.

gëregé [gèrègè] *v.* to be sick • *tíí tìè à nàmìá i káá gëregé.* Do not eat that meat, you will be sick.

gëregì [gérégíí] *n.* sick person *pl.* geregisi.

ginegine (*var. of* džinedžine)

girime [gírimé] *n.* respect, courtesy • *bàà kpáú gírimé ré.* They respect him.

gí [gfí] *v.* to cross a border, a river, or a frontier • *ŋí gí à gón ná.* I crossed the river.

giègì [gfègíí] *n.* nick name *pl.* giègié.

gila [gilà] *v.* 1) to allow, let, or permit • *gilà ñ zímà.* Let me know. 2) to stop doing an activity • *gilà kéñ tñ i kàà jáá, ñ wàà bùurù.* Stop what you are doing, I do not need it anymore.

gila tìe [gilà tìè] *lit.* let give *cpx.v.* to forgive • *kúosó káá gilà jà wíbómá tìè jā.* God will forgive us for our sins.

gila zima [gilà zímà] *lit.* let know *cpx.v.* prove • *giláñ zímà dí i lèí.* Prove to me that you are not the one.

gítì [gítí] *v.* 1) to cut, to pull apart, to break, especially for rope like items • *kpàgà à ŋméñ gítí à diàññà ní.* Break the rope that is across the door. 2) to experience a network cut, when the mobile contact becomes non-existent • *ò ŋmá wíē dí tìè òv kpíémá ò fóonŋméñ gítí.* While she was talking to her sister, the line cut.

go [gó] *v.* to gather close or around, to surround, to enclose • *à ŋméñ gò à dáá rã.* The rope is around the tree. *à váá dósí à bié bárámúñ góù.* The dog bit the child all over his body.

¹**gogo** [gógó] *n.* type of ant [Mo]. *pl.* gogosi.

2gogo [gògò] *v.* to hit with the finger tips, knuckle, or with a stick • à *tſitsásá fíí já gogò já púúnó rō*. The teachers used to knock our head.

gogosiama [gógósiàmá] *Cf:* **haglibisiansa** *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 *pólkóy dánkpàlá gólemíjoo*. The blind man's walking stick is twisted.

golii [gólíí] *n.* type of grass (*Sporobolus pyramidalis*). *pl.* golee.

gongobiri (*var. of gongobiridaa*)

gongobiridaa [gòngòbírídàà] (*var. gongobiri*) *n.* desert date, type of tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). *pl.* **gongobiridaasa**.

gojo [gójò] *Cf: gonjonɔŋ* *n.* type of tree (*Nauclea latifolia*). *pl.* gojoso.

gonjonɔŋ [gójònɔŋ] *Cf: gojo* *n.* type of fruit *pl.* gonjonona.

gontoga [góntóga] *n.* type of tree *pl.* gontogasa.

gool [góòl] *n.* goal <*goal* (ultm. English) *pl.* goolso.

goro [gòrò] *v.* 1) to be crooked, to bend down, to be curved or hooked • *gòrò tì néj ní ná*. Bend your arm so I can see. *kòkòlèntébié jáá kíngòréé wō*. Fishing hooks are bent and curved things. 2) to be dishonest • à *báál gòrōō àní òò wíkpágéé nī*. The man is dishonest with whatever he does. 3) to circle • *bà góró à dià*

rá. They enclosed the house (with a fence or people stood around it)

gomina [gómìnā] *n.* governor (ultm. English)

gomonantí [gómónántí] *n.* government (ultm. English)

gɔŋ [góŋ] *n.* 1) river 2) type of plant *pl.* **gɔŋa**.

gɔŋbɔ [gòmbòó] *n.* river path *pl.* - **gɔŋbɔna**.

gɔŋnāā [gónnáá] *lit.* river-leg *n.* branch of a river

gɔŋnɔā [góŋenɔá] *n.* river bank

gɔŋwie [gòŋwié] *n.* stream, small river *pl.* **gɔŋwise**.

gɔŋzəŋ [góŋzèŋ] *n.* large river *pl.* **gɔŋzene**.

gɔŋzəŋii [góŋzèŋíí] *n.* long river *pl.* **gɔŋzenei̍e**.

gɔrigi [gòrígí] *v.* to bend outward, to be bowed • *ii bié nàásá kàá gòrigí*. Your child's legs will be bowed.

gríi [gríí] *n.* cheek skin and flesh *pl.* **gría**.

gulóngulóŋ [gùlóngùlón] *ideo.* circular, round shape

gunnääsiŋtſaɔmuŋ [gúnnääsiŋtʃáɔmuŋ] *lit.* name.of.person-tree-under *nprop.* name a place on the old Ducie-Wa road, closer to Ducie

guno [gùnó] *n.* cotton (ultm. Arabic) *pl.* **gunso**.

guŋmɛŋ [gùŋméŋ] *n.* cotton thread

gbaga

gunjdaabii [gùndààbíí] *Cf.* **ŋmèdaa** *n.* thread holder for spinning cotton (without thread) *pl.* **gunjdaabie**.

guori [gùóri] *Cf.* **kapɔsɪe** *n.* kola nut [Mo]. [Ka]. <*guori* (Waali)

gurba [gùrèbá] *n.* fibrous waste, product of beating a plant known as **guro** [gùrò] *v.* to gather together items like shea nuts, maize, or groundnuts • *máwá gùrò à tsúónó, à dùónj kàà bùürè*. You gather together the shea nuts, the rain is threatening. **gurpe** [gúrpé] *n.* pin, may be used to decorate a gun *pl.* **gurpese**.

gurugi [gùrùgí] *v.* 1) to grab a person firmly, by force • *tómá wá gùrugi òò màábié à kààlì sùkúù*. Toma came and grabbed his brother and went to school. 2) to rape • *bà wàà gúrúgì háánà dùsiè ní*. There is no rape cases in Dicie.

gusi [gúsí] *v.* to nod, up and down • *ŋ ymá wíē tíēò òò gúsí òò juúù*. I talked to him and he nodded the head.

guti [gùtì] *v.* to coil, to roll up, to rewind, to fold • *síí à gùtì iì kàlèñ tìñ*. Get up and roll your mat. *kpàgà à kàlèñ gùtì*. Roll the mat. *gùtì à ymèñ dó iì púr ní*. Roll 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 tíntàànñí tsóá hàglíí ní à gúúgì*. See the earth worm on the ground not going anywhere.

guurii [gúúríí] *n.* type of ant *pl.* **guuree**.

¹**gva** [gòà] (*var.* **gvɔ**) *v.* to dance • *bà gvá báwáá rá lúsínnàsā tín ní*. They danced

²**gva** [gòá] *n.* dance *pl.* **gvana**.

gvagvar [gvàgvár] *n.* dancer *pl.* **gvagvara**.

gvoma [gòmá] *n.* hump of the back, deformity *pl.* **gvansa**.

gvomatiina [gòmáttíná] *n.* hunchback, person with a humped back *pl.* **gvnsatvma**.

gvmpéra [gòmpérà] *n.* type of climber *pl.* **gvmperasa**.

gvɔ (*var. of* **gva**)

gvɔree [gòòrée] *n.* spotted grass-mouse (*Lemniscomys striatus*). *pl.* **gvɔree**.

gba [gba] *quant.* also, too • *i gbà kàá kààlòò*. You too will go. <*gbá* ‘also, even, self’ (Gonja)

gbaa [gbáà] *v.* to keep and control animals, to herd • *kà gbàà à píé-sié*. Go watch the sheep.

gbaani [gbáání] *v.* to crawl • *à bì-fòlá há wàà gbààni*. The baby does not yet crawl.

gbaga [gbàgà] *Cf.* **badzogv** *n.* type of monitor lizard usually found inland • *i kýá à kií tòtsááñgbàgà*. You are lean as a dry season monitor lizard. *Syn:* **badzogv** (*Varanus*). <*gbaga* (Waali) *pl.* **gbagase**.

gbagba [gbàgbá] (*var.* **gbègbè**)
n. duck <*gbagba* ‘duck’ (ultm Hausa, via Waali) *pl.* *gbagbasa*.

gbambala [gbámbálà] *n.* albinos *pl.* *gbambalasa*.

gbanasa [gbájásá] *n.* expectation • *ṇì nōd à mòlibié gbánásá rá.* I expect the money.

gbaŋgbàn [gbàmgbàn] *n.* harmattan <*gbàŋgbàn* (Gonja)

gbaŋsi [gbànsì] *v.* to touch • *gbàŋsi* *ṇṇì júú nò, ḥò wíò.* Touch my head, it is paining me.

gbar [gbár] *n.* herder • *ṇm̄ bié jáá nògbár rá.* My son is a cowherd. *pl.* *gbara*.

gbaraga [gbàrágà] *nprop.* 1) name of a god owned by some people in Dicie- 2) medicine which protects two men who had an affair with the same woman attending an religious event

gbarmì [gbàrmì] *v.* to fait to catch or arrest someone • *à pòlísì gbármúú rā.* The police failed to arrest him.

gbege [gbègé] *Cf:* kontiizaŋasa
n. clearing away of grass in the dry season [Mo].

gbel (*var. of* **gbel**)

gbelinj [gbèliŋ] *n.* hour, time *pl.* *gbelinse*.

gbeliŋe [gbèliŋé] *n.* small bell worn around the waist by the last born of the dead at his or her last funeral *pl.* *gbeliŋse*.

gbègbè (*var. of* **gbagba**)

gbel [gbél] (*var.* **gbel**) *n.* type of tree (*Ficus elasticoides*). *pl.* *gbela*.

gbelmunj [gbélmúnj] (*var.* of *zam-*
paragiñ)

gbenii [gbéníí] *n.* 1) red-colored stone 2) pinkish color • *à gbéníí dí-jòō.* The pinkness is reached. *pl.* - *gbenii*.

gbentaga [gbèntàyá] *n.* big calabash used for bathing, the biggest natural container *pl.* *gbentagasa*.

gbentagasi [gbèntàgàsì] (*var.* *sipumme*) *n.* type of plant *pl.* *gben-*
tagasisa.

¹**gbéra** [gbèrà] *n.* sponge used to wash one’s body *pl.* *gberasa*.

²**gbéra** [gbèrà] *v.* to soak sand for the preparation of local bricks • *báá gbérà hàglì à téjésì hàglibié.* They are going to soak sand and make bricks.

³**gbéra** [gbèrà] *v.* to be crippled from waist downwards • *lɔ́lì júó ḥò gbérà.* He became crippled through a car accident.

gbérii [gbéríí] *n.* cripple *pl.* *gbériε*.

gbesa [gbésà] *n.* chewing stick *pl.* *gbesasa*.

gbetara [gbètárá] *n.* shallow pond found in the bush *pl.* *gbetarasa*.

gbeti [gbèti] *v.* to be unable to learn, act, or demonstrate correctly • *ṇṇì binihááy tìn gbétíjósú.* My daughter is unable to learn correctly.

gbetie [gbètíè] *n.* clumsy person *pl.* *gbetisa*.

gbiegie [gbìègíè] (*var. of gbiekie*)

gbiekie [gbìèkíè] (*var. gbiegie*)
n. Black Kite (*Milvus migrans*). *pl.* **gbiekise**.

gbiei [gbíélí] *v.* to shout the items one is selling • àj káá *gbiéli nōdō*? Who is selling oil and shouting?

gbinti [gbíntí] *v.* to kneel • *nihááná bániè já gbíntì òò báál sòò ní ká kpá niñòdàlì tíèò*. Some women do kneel in front of their husband before giving them water.

gbij [gbíŋ] *Cf: neŋgbij* *n.* bracelet *pl. gbinne*.

gbíngbij [gbíngbíŋ] *ideo.* crowded • à dià sú *gbíngbij* àní nárā. The house is full of people.

gbíá [gbíá] *n.* patas monkey *SynT: neŋgaltína* (*Erythrocebus patas*). *pl.* **gbíána**.

gbíakaníe [gbíákáníe] (*var. of kaníe*)

gbíakwl [gbíákwl] *lit.* monkey-t.z. (*var. duontsir*) *n.* type of flowering tree, known as the African custard-apple (*Annona senegalensis*). *pl.* **gbíá-kwlsa**.

gbíasi [gbíásí] *Cf: fieri* *pl.v.* to take each and every items available at one time • *ŋmíér zúú nñ diá à gbíásí nñ dià kíná múnj àká tā*. The thief entered my house and took out every items.

gbíásiamá [gbíásìàmá] *n.* red patas monkey (*Erythrocebus patas*).

gbíáti [gbíáti] *lit.* monkey-Akee.tree *n.* type of tree (*Agelaea paradoxa*). *pl.* **gbíátise**.

gbíéssóniá [gbíéssóníá] *n.* Drongo, type of bird (*Dicrurus genus*). *pl.* - **gbíéssónisa**.

gbíétuolie [gbíétuolié] *n.* Hen Harrier, type of bird (*Circus cyaneus*). *pl.* **gbíétuolise**.

gbol [gból] *n.* type of lizard with very slippery skin *pl. gpollo*.

gbolo [gbóló] *nprop.* Gbolo, person's name

gboj [gbónj] *n.* type of tree *pl. gbojo*.

gbugo [gbùgò] *v.* to be very plentiful, to be overabundant • *siimáá gbùgò bá wò bá dí ká vié*. The food was plentyful for them, they ate but refuse some.

gbul [gbúl:] *n.* blunt, dull *Ant: di 3 pl. gbullo*.

gbulo [gbúlò] *v.* to be blunt • à kísíe *gbúlóó*. The knife is blunt. <*gbil* (Gonja)

gbusja [gbùṣjá] *v.* to be thick, thicken, to be dense, usually used to describe a liquid's texture • *tíè à kùbií gbúṣjá*. Let the porridge be thick.

gbusjwalé [gbùṣjwálé] *lit.* populous-people *nprop.* section of Ducie <*nigbusjwalee*

gbusri [gbùṣrì] *Cf: taariiri* *v.* to rush at, to move towards something rapidly • à váá *gbùṣrì kààlì à piésí pé rē*. The dog rushed at the sheep.

¹ha [ha] *pv.* yet • ḡ há wà wáawá. He has not yet come.

²ha [há] *v.* hire • jà há lóslí káálí à lúhó rō. We hired a car to go to the funeral.

hã [hã] *v.* to hate • ñ hã ññ tſitſà rā. I hate my teacher.

hãä [hãä] *v.* 1) to open mouth, to contribute on a topic of discussion • Ziàn hãä ḡò nðà rā àwíé báŋmá-líí nī. Ziang open his mouth on the topic. 2) to lift one's arm high as to hit something or someone

hãäbuura [hãábúúrā] *n.* chasing women

haalí [háálí] *conn.* yet • ḡ jíráá sá-ŋā mùŋ, háálí ḡ há wà wáawá. He called her long time ago, yet she has not come.

hãän̄j [hãäñj] *n.* Cf: nihãän̄j 1) wife 2) female 3) woman *pl.* hãäna.

haarí [hààri] *v.* to deprive • ḡ háá-rí nñ kóó tà. She deprived me of my tz. sòú háárfí mìm mäå tà. Death deprived me from my mother.

hãäsa [hãásá] *n.* husk, chaff or any particle in grains to be separated from the grains themselves

hãäsi [hãásí] *v.* to yawn • nìdígímá-ŋá wáá hãäsi. No one yawns alone.

hãäsií [hãásíí] 1) *v.* to be bitter • kìn-hãäsií rà. It is something bitter. 2) *n.* to be annoyed • nihãäsií rè jáá à báál. That man easily grows annoyed.

habwo (*var. of* gantal)

haglibie [háylíbìè] Cf: solbie (*var. miniä1*) *n.* type of ant *pl.* haglibise.

haglibii [hàylíbíí] *n.* sand block used to build houses *pl.* haglibie.

haglibisiansa [hàglíbìànsá] Cf: gogosama *n.* type of ant *pl.* haglibisiansa.

haglibummo [hàylíbúmmò] *n.* type of soil, usually referring to the top layer of the ground

haglir [hàyəlfí] *n.* ground, soil, sand *pl.* haglia.

haglijøgsii [hàglíjøgøsíí] *n.* soft ground

haglikinj [háylíkñ] (*var.* tuur) *n.* snake *pl.* haglikina.

haglikpeg [hàglíkpég] *n.* hard ground

haglinvsgvöl [hàglínóyøl] *n.* type of soil, under the top soil, lighter and more loose *pl.* haglinvsgvla.

haglitſää [hàyəlitſää] *n.* sandy soil

hähíë [háhíë] *n.* old woman *pl.* hähíëta.

hakila [hákilá] *n.* cognition, reasoning *pl.* hakilasa.

hal [hál] *n.* egg *pl.* hala.

hala [hàlå] Cf: piga *v.* to fry • i kàá kíñ hálà kpàán nà. Are you able to fry yam?

halinguomii [hálíngùòmíí] Cf: nö-manier *n.* millipede, underground pests which bore into yam tubers to feed (*Myriapoda*). *pl.* halinguomie.

halir [hálíí] *n.* frying • kpàánjhà-líí. Fried yam.

hamba [hámbà] *n.* hammer (ultm. English)

hambak [hámbák] *n.* type of tree (*Pilostigma thonningi*). *pl.* hambaga.

hambara [hámbàrà] *n.* barrenness, lack of reproductivity attributed to male or female *pl.* hambarasa.

hamɔnanaɔ̄ [hàmónánáɔ̄] *n.* assassin bug (*Reduviidae*). *pl.* hamɔnanaɔ̄na.

hamɔ̄ŋ [hàmɔ̄ŋ] Cf: biebisɔ̄na *n.* child *pl.* hamɔ̄na.

hamɔ̄wie [hámɔ̄wíè] *n.* small child *pl.* hamɔ̄wise.

handɔ̄ŋmiisa [hándómmìlsá] *n.* jealousy

handɔ̄ŋ [hándɔ̄ŋ] *n.* woman's rival who is married to the same man *pl.* handɔ̄sa.

hanzoŋ [hánzóŋ] Cf: luhāāŋ *n.* widow ready to remarry *pl.* hanzomo.

haŋ [haŋ] 1) *dem.* this 2) *adv.* presently *pl.* hama.

¹hara [hárà] *n.* prison

²hara [hárà] *v.* to be locked • *kpàgà ñì ðiànðà hárà tièð.* Lock my door for him.

haraha [hàrähá] *n.* inexpensive <àřàsā ‘cheap’ (ultm. Hausa)

harigì [hàrígì] *v.* to try, to do with all your might, to do seriously, to make an effort • *hàrígì páásí ìi téési ní.* Try to pass your test. óó hárígì à pàrà kùó. He should try to have a farm.

hasik[IPA?] *nprop.* Mangu *SynT:* ȏmāāŋumbasik

hasɔ̄ŋ [hásɔ̄ŋ] *n.* woman who recently gave birth

hāwie [háwiè] *n.* ego's junior brother's wife

hēhēse [héhēsè] *n.* announcer *pl.* hēhēses.

¹hele [hèlé] *n.* type of squirrel *SynT:* munžintíma *pl.* helese.

²hele [hélér] *v.* to bend back one's head • *hélé ìi púù.* Lift your head up.

³hele [hélér] *v.* to send a message with, to send someone on an errand • *ní héhé bá tñi kpá mñm pátá à liì dñséè wà tiëj.* I am going to send them to bring me my trousers tomorrow.

hembii [hèmbíí] *n.* nail *pl.* hembie.

hësee [héséè] *n.* message *pl.* hësee.

hësi [hésí] *v.* to announce, to beat a drum to announce • *tóótfíná ȏmá dí bá hësi má ká pàrà kùó.* The landowner says they announced that you should go and work at the farm.

hëmbie [hèmbié] *n.* small bowl *pl.* hënwise.

hëmbola [hèmbolá] *n.* medium size bowl *pl.* hëmbolasa.

hëna [hèná] *n.* bowl *pl.* hënsa.

hëŋ [hëŋ] *n.* arrow *pl.* hëma.

hëŋbaa [hèŋgbàá] *n.* 1) type of clay bowl, container used to stir shea butter 2) food for many, in celebrations attracting a crowd *pl.* hëŋbaana.

hëŋsi [hèŋsì] Cf: dara *v.* to tell lies • *à biè hëŋsi wíé dó ñì nñdà ní rà.* The child lied to me.

hī̃esi [hī̃esí] *v.* 1) to rest, to relax • *kà sáyá dámún ní hī̃esi*. Go sit under a tree and rest. 2) to breathe • *dì hī̃esi dìgìi dìgíi*. Breathe slowly.

hī̃esipugo [hī̃esipùgò] *n.* asthma

hī̃i [hī̃i] *Cf:* vaan *n.* animal hind leg
pl. **hī̃e**.

hire [hī̃rè] *v.* to dig, to take out sand; to harvest, to dig out new yams planted • *kà hī̃rè pànjà tīē bā*. Dig some gravel for them. *mìm bié káálí kúo ó ká hī̃rè kpàànfóléé*. My son has gone to harvest the new yams.

hirii [hí̃rii] *n.* digging

hī̃e[IPA?]

hī̃e [hī̃e] *Cf:* bahī̃e *v.* to age, to grow old • *míŋ hī̃eí*. I am older than you. *i lèí hī̃eñ*. You are not older than me.
Ant: wie

¹**hiëna** [hièná] *n.* family relation or blood relation • *pìnìé Wòjò hièná kā vàlà?* What is Wojo's family relationship? *pl.* **hiëna**.

²**hiëna** [hièná] *n.* ego's father's sister
pl. **hiënsa**.

hiëŋ [hí̃eŋ] *n.* relative by maternal and paternal descent *pl.* **hiëmba**.

hī̃era [hī̃érá] *n.* an absence that creates a desire, a need or a crave • *mì bírgié nì wà bí nà mìm bié ò hī̃érá dí jáy*. It is a long time since I have seen my child and his absence affects me.

hī̃esi [hī̃esí] *v.* 1) to be old • *ṇìŋ píná hī̃esijòō*. My father is old. 2) to be riped, to be mature, applicable to banana, yam, and plaintain • *à kpáámá*

hī̃esijòō. The yams are mature and ready to dig out.

hī̃i [hī̃i] *interj.* exclamation expressing disappreciation of an action carried out by someone else

hī̃sa [hī̃sá] *n.* to be shy of, to respect • *hī̃sá kpágóó rā*. She is shy. - *òò ómà hī̃sá rá*. She is shy.

hī̃si [hī̃sf] *v.* to dry up • *à pùl níf hī̃sijòō*. The water from the river has dried up.

hī̃il [hí̃l:] *n.* witch *pl.* **hila**.

hī̃il [hí̃l] *n.* drought

hī̃la [hí̃lá] *n.* in-law *pl.* **hilasa**.

hī̃libaal [hī̃libáàl] *n.* father in-law

hī̃lhääñ [hī̃lhääñ] *n.* mother in-law

hī̃ŋ [hí̃ŋ] *pro.* second person singular strong pronoun

hī̃ta [hí̃tá] *n.* witchcraft • *wáá kpóó òní hī̃ta ní*. He killed him with witchcraft.

hī̃wa [hī̃wà] *v.* 1) to trap • *ò dè hī̃wá hèlé ré*. Yesterday he trapped a squirrel. 2) to put charm or spell on something to affect someone

hog [hó̃g] *n.* bone *pl.* **hogo**.

hogul [hó̃yúl] *n.* cockroach *pl.* **hogulo**.

hogulummo [hò̃gùlbúmmò]

n. type of cockroach, larger than

hogulpømma [hò̃gùlpømmá]

n. type of cockroach

hol [hó̃l] *n.* type of tree (*Afzelia bella*). *pl.* **holo**.

holpii [hó̃lbii] *n.* *Afzelia bella* seed
pl. **holbie**.

holnɔŋpetn̩ [hólnóŋpɛt̩] *n.* Afzelia bella seed shell

hɔl [hól] *n.* piece of charcoal *pl.* **hɔla**.
hɔlɪ [hólíí] *lit.* charcoal *n.* Sisaala person *pl.* **hɔlɛɛ**.

hɔsí [hɔsí] *v.* 1) to shout or to yell at someone, to cry • *hɔsí à bié dí ó brā wàà*. Shout to the child that he must come back. 2) to give forth thunder • *i nɔd̩ à dúón hɔsí rää?* Did you hear the (rain) thunder? 3) to rebuke, to criticize, to speak harshly to • *ɔ̄ ymá wīē dì tíē à biè ré káá hɔsí*. He talks to the child while speaking harshly.
hɔð [hɔð] *n.* type of grasshopper *pl.* **hɔsa**.

huor [húór] *n.* raw • *à nànhùór kánáð*. The raw meat is abundant. *à nàmíé múj jáá áhùòr rō*. All the meat is raw. *pl.* **huoto**.

hūusi [húúsí] *v.* to shout, the kind of vocalization that travels a long distance, mainly done in the bush to inform others of a location • *à pápátá káá kāálí diá àká húúsi jírà òò tògɔ́mà*. The farmer goes home and shouts to alert his namesake.

hɔla [hólā] *v.* to be dry, to dry • *tiè à nàmíá hɔlā*. Let the meat be dry.

hɔlɪ [hólíí] *n.* dry *Ant:* **sɔɔní** 5 *pl.* **hɔlɛɛ**.

hɔŋ [hɔŋ] *Cf:* **pur** *n.* farmer or hunter's gear, including all items required to take along for the day, the stay or the journey *pl.* **hɔnnna**.

hɔɔr [hɔɔr] *n.* stranger *pl.* **hɔɔra**.

hwɔrakaalɪ [hɔ́rákáálí] *n.* sixth day of a second funeral

hɔð [hɔð] *v.* to blow a wind instrument • *m̩m báál kàà hɔð bùsúnù rō wíwíré*. My husband plays the flute very well.

i (*var. of* **i**)

ii [ʔíi] *v.* to praise, to speak highly of • *íi kúósó*. Praise God.

íi [ʔíi] *v.* abdominal pressure for child delivery • *dí iíi*. Push!

iiri [ʔííri] *Cf:* **gbɔvɔritaari** *v.* to rush at somebody with anger • *Wɔsá ká páá ùù zómó*, *Gbòló íírijé kààlì òò pé ré*. When Wusa insulted him, Gbolo rushed at him with anger.

iko [ʔíkò] *Cf:* **wɔsakuolo** *interj.* title for the

indži [ʔíndži] *n.* engine (ultm. English)

irii [ʔíríi] *n.* type, ethnic group, property, color • *niʔíríi wèj ká jàà jàà nàl tñ*? To which group of people does our grandfather belong? *baaŋ ʔírii i ka buure*. What type do you want? (Waali) *pl.* **irie**.

ise [isé] *n.* 1) type of insect, likes the sweat of human beings, produces a thick substance sweeter than honey called 2) thick substance produced by an insect called *pl.* **ise**.

isi [ʔísi] *Cf:* **wɔsasiile** *interj.* title for the

ito [ʔítò] *Cf:* **itolo** *interj.* title for the
itolo [ítóló] *Cf:* **ito** *nprop.* clan found in Gurumbele

i [ɪ] (*var. i*) *pro.* 2.sg. (you)

ĩā [ʔiá] *n.* guinea worm *pl.* ĩāsa.

ijɛ [ʔiјe] *Cf:* ijɛla *interj.* title for the ijɛla [iјɛlə] *Cf:* ijɛ *nprop.* clan found in Gurumbele

il [ʔił] *n.* breast *pl.* ila.

ila [ʔiłà] *v.* to take care, to watch, to guard, to protect against • má ká ilà jàmmíř kùò ní. Go and take care of the maize at the farm.

ile [ʔiłè] *Cf:* wɔsalɛela *interj.* title for the

ilnɔā [ʔiłnɔå] *n.* nipple *pl.* ilnɔasa.

itʃa [ʔitʃà] *Cf:* wɔsatʃaala *interj.* title for the

rwɛ [ʔiwɛ] *Cf:* wɔsawılla *interj.* title for the

¹ja [ja] (*var. jaa1*) *v.* do • tʃɔpisì bí müŋ ñ já jáð. He does it every day. - jìníě ñ kà jää? What did I do?

²ja [ja] (*var. jɛ*) *pro.* first person plural pronoun

¹jaa (*var. of ja*)

²jaa [jàà] *v.* 1) to fetch water, to dip out liquid • jàà ní tiè ñ nɔå. Fetch water and give it to me. jàà pɛ. Fetch and add more. 2) to take grains in quantity • jàà jàmmíř ká tiè ii hilà-háñ. Take some maize for your female in-laws.

³jaa [jáá] *v.* 1) to be • ñ jáá ñ ñ píná rá. He is my father. 2) equal • kínâ-liè i kpá pɛ àliè ní, à jáá ànáásɛ. Two plus two equals four.

⁴jaa [jáà] *pv.* do usually, habitually • tákñú jáà tié gér ré. Tangu do eat

lizard. ñ jáà káálì kùò ró tʃɔpisì bí müŋ. He goes to farm everyday.

¹jaari [jààri] *v.* to be lazy, be untrustworthy, be useless • ñ ñ hääŋ jää-ríjáó. My wife is lazy and unable to work.

²jaari [jààri] *v.* to scatter on the ground • bëřŋ bítí à jàmmíř jààri à zágá ní. A goat poured and scattered the maize in the house.

jaga [jàyà] *v.* 1) hit • Hákúríí jágá váá tā. Hakuri hit the dog away. ñ káá jágíř tóbü. I will hit you with my arrow. 2) put down brusquely • tí wá kpà à bónsó jágà háglii. Do not put the cup down brusquely.

jagasi [jàyàsì] *pl.v.* hit • sãŋp̩na jagasi pɔ daa ni. The porcupine quills are hit and planted on the tree.

jala [jálá] *v.* *Cf:* jø (var. jela) 1) to perspire, to burst, to crack • ñ jálā wílinj né. She perspires. à lóslí kóbà káá jälā. The car tire will burst. 2) to germinate (seen as a whole), to push up earth, sprout • ñ ñ sígá tñ ñ ká džówñ à jálíjñ. The cow peas I sowed have sprouted. 3) to rise (sun), break • sñi, wɔsá jálíjñ. Get up, the sun has risen.

jalasi [jálásì] *v.* 1) to sit and lean back, to be slanted, to relax on • à biè sáŋà ñ ñ píná kóř ní ká brá ká jálásì. The child sat on the father's chair and leaned back. 2) to depend on, to rely on • Gbòló ñmá dí ñ jálásì ñ ní dí ñ káá tíéó lâabákò dùhó. Gbolo said that he relies on me to give him yam

seedlings.

jalie [jèlèè] (*var. of jarie*)

jarie [jàrfìè] (*var. wizaama*) (*var. jalie*) *n.* muslim (ultm. Hausa) *pl.* **jarisa**.

jari [jàrfì] *n.* Islam

jasanjabøëi [jàsánjábøëì] *lit.* we-sit-slowly ('Let's keep peace') *nprop.* dog name

1jawa (*var. of jowa*)

2jawa [jáwà] *pro.* first person plural strong pronoun

jawadir [jàwàdír] *n.* business person, seller *pl.* **jawadire**.

jege [jègè] *v.* to shake from hunger or some sicknesses, the person feels difficulty in moving • ḵ tʃáríjóó, ḵ bárá dì jégè. She has diarrhoea, her body is shaking.

jegisi [jégísí] *pl.v.* to shake back and forth, to shake a baby to calm it when it is crying • kpá à bié ságà ìì nààsá ní à dì jégísí. Put the child on your laps and continue to be shaking her.

jele [jélé] *v. 1)* to crow • à zímbáál jé-lèùù. The cock crowed. *2)* to bloom, to produce and bear flowers • ḷm̄ṣá máysá káá jéleùù. My groundnuts are blooming.

jelee [jèlèè] *n.* blooming • à kùò máysá jélìjè wéréú bìná háj. The groundnuts' blooming is good this year.

jerete [jérété] *ints.* very clear or proper (white)

jerisi [jérísí] *v.* shake up by being surprised

je (*var. of ja*)

jela (*var. of jala*)

jiriti [jírití] *Cf:* **bummo** *ints.* very (black) • búmmò jíritì. very black.

jibii [jíbíí] *n.* grain of salt

jiesi [jíèsi] *v.* to pamper someone • tíí jíèsi ìì bísé. Do not pamper your children.

jira [jírà] *v.* to call • kà jírà à báàl dí ú wàà. Call the man and tell him that he should come.

jirigi [jírìgì] *pl.v.* to call people one after the other

jiri [jíríí] *n.* calling *pl.* **jirië**.

jisa [jíssá] *n.* salt *pl.* **jisasa**.

jogoli [jòyòlí] *v.* to sell • jògòlì ìì sákìr tíéñ. Sell your bicycle to me.

jogulibøj [jòyùlibòj] *n.* expensive • jògùlibój pññ nì, ñ wàá kin já-wúú. Because it is expensive, I cannot buy it.

jogulii [jóyúlíí] *n.* selling

jogulilej [jòyùliléj] *n.* moderate price • Wòjò kpágá jògùliléj nā, àpñúúní ḵ pátùrúù péti. Wojo had moderate price, therefore his petrol got sold.

jogulo [jòyùló] *n.* price • à sákìr jò-gùlō lémő. The price of the bicycle is cheap. *pl.* **joguloso**.

1jolo [jóló] *Cf:* **bíti** *v.* to pour but leaving some in the container • jóló sñj tiéñ. Pour some drink for him.

²jolo [jóló] *Cf: sampentie* *n.* form of gardening in which the soil is raised above the surrounding soil

joŋ [jóŋ] *n.* slave *pl. joso.*

jɔgɔsi [jóyɔ́sí] *v.* to be soft • à bié bátónj jágósijjɔ̄. The baby's skin is soft. *Ant: kpege 1*

jɔrɔtɔ [jórótó] *ideo.* in a line or straight manner • bàà tʃónsì fùòlì rē jórótó. They are joined in a line.

jɔvsi [jòv̩sí] *pl.v.* to buy

¹jɔwa [jòwà] (*var. jawa1*) *v.* to buy
• kààlì jòwá ká jòwà kánsá à wà tiéŋ. Go to the market and buy me bean cakes.

²jɔwa [jòwá] *n.* market *pl. jɔvsá.*

jugii [júgíí] *n.* heavy

jugo [jùgò] *v.* 1) to weigh, to be heavy • Kálá júgó báwálíé bámbáán ní. Kala is the heaviest among his colleagues. *Ant: fuga* 2) to be valuable • kálá wíñmáhá júgó kààlì bámùŋ tótié. Kala's speech is more valuable than the others.

julullu [júlúllú] *Cf: sɔɔní* *ints.* very • sérní júlúllú. very cold.

¹juo [jùò] *v.* 1) to throw away, to fight, to put one down in wrestling • Bákúrí júó dìndáá tà. Bakuri threw the firewood away. Dzébúní áñí òò háñj jáà júòñ. Jebuni and his wife are always fighting. 2) to roof with mud • jùò ii diá ká dúónj wàà. Roof your house before the rainy season.

²juo [jùò] *n.* fight, quarrel *pl. juoso.*

jɔɔri [jòv̩rì] *v.* to be weak • òò bié bárà káá jōɔrì òò gárágá púú nì. The body of her child is weak because of his sickness.

jvɔsí [jòv̩sí] *v.* be possessed by the spirit of a deceased person, the possessed showing unusual behavior

¹jvɔv [jòv̩] *Cf: kpa* *v.* to marry (a man)
• ò jvɔv̩ rā. She married him.

²jvɔv [jòv̩] *n.* rainy season

¹ka [ka] *conn. (var. kaa1)* 1) and, then
• kààlì ká wàà. Go and come. kààlì ká brà wáá. Go, then come back.
2) but • ñ káálíó ká ñ wà náò. I went but I did not see him. 3) or • já káramè, kàá jà káálí kùó. Let's read, or we go to farm.

²ka [ka] *Cf: wa* *pv.* convey the process to the end point of an event

¹kaa (*var. of ka*)

²kaa [kàà] *conn. so*

³kaaa [káá] *interrog.* where about, how about • káà à kpúlíkpúlí? Where is the groundnut ball?

⁴kaaa [kàá] *pv.* will

kaabaako [káábáákò] *Cf: mamaatſi* *interj.* expression of surprise, of shock

kaabí [káábí] *v.* to curse, to communicate with a shrine for the downfall of someone • káábí tiè vóğ ó kpóò ii dñj. 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 <*kāfiřī* ‘any non-believer in Islam’ (ultm. Hausa) **kaakīe** [kààkíè] *n.* type of tree (*Zanthoxylum zanthoxyloides*). *pl.* **kaakīesa**.

kaakumo [kààkúmò] *Cf:* **kogumīē** *n.* donkey *pl.* **kaakumoso**.

kaalı [kààlì] *v.* 1) go thither • *jà káálí sùkúù rō*. We went to school. 2) to surpass, to exceed • *wáá káálíj*. He is better than me. *Wòsá káálí Kàlá bátfóslíí nī*. Wusa is better than Kala in running.

kaası [kààsì] *v.* 1) to clear throat, to eject by coughing • *ṇ káásf kààsibíí tà*. I brought out a phlegm out of my throat. 2) coil • *kààsì à ȳméj*. Coil the rope.

kaasibii [kààsibíí] *n.* phlegm

kabirime [kábìrimē] *n.* catarrh

kabil [kábil] *n.* horn flute *pl.* **kabila**.

kadaase [kàdáásè] *Cf:* **tɔŋ** *Cf:* **piipa** *n.* paper

kafuura [kàfúúrà] *n.* camphor, moth balls (*Cinnamomum camphora*). <*kāfur* ‘camphor’ (ultm. Arabic, from Hindi)

kaga [kàyà] *v.* to choke, to be across and prevent • *à hók kágá ṇṇ lilebòj nī*. The bone has choked my throat.

kagal [káyál] *Cf:* **naakpaaga** *n.* farm space measurement, twice as big as a *pl.* **kagala**.

kagalé [kàyàlè] *v.* to lie across, to put across • *ȳméj kágálé à dààkpútíí ní*. A rope lies across the tree

stump. *kpàgà à dáá kágàlè à tí-wíí*. Place the stick across the road.

kagba [kàgbà] *Cf:* **pintsigé** *n.* straw hat *pl.* **kagbasa**.

kajagi [kájágí] *n.* African Scops owl, type of bird (*Otus scops*). *pl.* **kajagisa**.

kajajo [kájájò] *Cf:* **bontwona** *n.* porter <*kaaja kaajaō* ‘porter’ (Hausa? (dan dakō))

kaka [kàkà] *n.* toothache *pl.* **kaka**.

kakaduro [kákádùrò] (*var.* **koko-dro**) *n.* ginger <*kákádòrò* ‘toothache-medicine’ (Akan) *pl.* **kakaduroso**.

kakaɔɔ [kàkáɔɔ] *n.* sugar cane

¹**kala** [kàlá] *prop.* 1) Kala, person’s name 2) Buge village shrine

²**kala** [kàlà] *v.* to rope, to make a rope • *báhíésà kálá ȳmésà à jógóli*. Elders make ropes to sell.

kalémazv̄l [kàlémàzv̄l] *n.* sweet potato tube (*Ipomoea batatas*). *pl.* **kalémazvla**.

kalenj [kàlèn̄] *n.* mat *pl.* **kalenjsa**.

kalenjbilejēē [káléñbjlèñjéē] *n.* adjuster used to support and stabilize cooking pots *pl.* **kalenjbilejse**.

kalenjbögöt̄i [kàlèñgbögöt̄i] (*Gu. var.* **tſiirkalenjbögöt̄i**) *n.* biggest wasp of those which make a nest *pl.* **kalenjbögöt̄isa**.

kalenjvilime [kàlèñvilimé] *n.* whirlwind *pl.* **kalenjvilijse**.

kalie [kálié] *Cf:* **tſelii** *n.* tomato [*Ka*].

kamboro [kámbòrò] *n.* half *pl.* **kamboroso**.

kamsí [kámsí] *v.* 1) to blink eyes repeatedly • *hàglíí zòò ùù sié ò dì kámsí*. Some sand entered his eyes so he is blinking. 2) to do a hand motion making a sign to come • *kámsí à wòj tíéj*. Make a gesture to the deaf for him to come.

¹**kana** [kánà] *n.* arm ring *pl.* kanasa.

²**kana** [kànà] *v.* 1) to be abundant, to be many • *nárá káá kànà à lúdéndíl ní rē*. People will be numerous at the funeral ground. 2) to be big, to be plenty • *nn tótíí wá kānā*. My share is not big.

kandra [kàndfà] 1) *n.* north 2) *nprop.* Kandia village

kaníé [káníé] (*var.* gbíákanié) *n.* Green monkey (*Cercopithecus aethiops*). *pl.* kansa.

kanjaaga [kànjáágà] *n.* retaliation

kankíma (*var. of kantíma*)

kansii [kánsíí] *n.* bean cake *pl.* kanasa.

kantáv [kántâv] *n.* Standard-Winged Nightjar, type of bird (*Macrodipteryx longipennis*). *pl.* kantaøsa.

kantíma [kàntímá] (*var.* kankíma) *n.* debt, or bill of a communal contribution *pl.* kantínsa.

kajíti [kàjíti] *n.* patience • *dí kajíti*. Be patient. <*hákuri* (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa?)

kaña [kànjá] *n.* 1) part of the upper back 2) piece of meat of the upper

back of an animal, usually given to women *pl.* kañasa.

kañgbeli [kàñgbéli] *n.* cerebro spinal meningitis (*Meningococcal meningitis*). (Waali)

kañjí [kàñjí] *v.* to compete • *à kàràñbísé káá kāñjí dñjá wā*. The students are competing with each other.

kapala [kàpálà] Cf: kapalasɔŋ *n.* fufu, staple food <*kapala* (Waali)

kapalasɔŋ [kàpálásɔŋ] Cf: kapala *n.* cold fufu, left-over usually eaten in the morning

kapenta [kápéntà] *n.* carpenter (ultm. English) *pl.* kapentasa.

kaputi [kàpùti] *n.* pillow (Hausa?) *pl.* kaputuso.

kapvssíe [kàpvsíè] Cf: guori *n.* kola nut (*Cola*). <*kápúfé?* (Gonja) *pl.* kapvssíe.

karantíe [kàrántíè] *n.* cutlass *pl.* karantiesa.

karañbie [kàràñbié] *n.* student *pl.* karañbise.

karatfí [kàrátfí] *n.* person who has received a formal education, e.g. officer, teacher, etc <*clerk* ‘clerk’ (ultm. English) *pl.* karatfise.

karimii [kárímíí] *n.* learning by reading (via Mande?)

karifa [kàrifá] *n.* responsibility (Gonja)

karíma [kàrímá] Cf: tʃítʃa *n.* teacher

karími [kàrìmì] *v.* to read • *kàràñbi-káná wàá kìn kārīmī wíwíré*. Many students cannot read well.

kasiu [kásìù] (*var.* alakadee) *n.* cashew

kasi [kásí] (*var. of t̪así*)

kasíma [kásímá] *n.* corpse uniform consisting of a hat, trousers, smock and a cloth

katasa [kàtásà] *n.* bowl *pl.* katasa

katasazej [kàtásàzéj] *n.* basin

katwo [kótòɔ̄] *nprop.* Katua village <kotʃɔ̄> ‘bush-lie.down’

katwołlı [kàtóɔ̄lí] *n.* 1) person from Katua 2) lect of Katua *pl.* katwołee.

katjal [kátsál] *n.* type of tree (*Danielia oliveri*). *pl.* katjala

katfalkpuñiimuŋ [kátſálkpùñìimùŋ] *nprop.* place name in Dicie

katfig [kàtſíg] *n.* Martial Eagle, type of bird (*Polemaetus bellicosus*). *pl.* katfigne.

katfigkuol [kàtſígkúól] *n.* African Hawk Eagle, type of bird (*Hieraetus spilogaster*). *pl.* katfigkuolo.

katfigkuolsiąŋ [kàtſígkùòlsíáŋ] *n.* Bonelli’s Eagle, type of bird (*Hieraetus fasciatus*). *pl.* katfigkuolsiąma.

kăš [kăš̄] *Cf:* dwo *n.* solid mixture of sodium carbonate (Waali) *pl.* kăš.

kawaa [kàwáá] *n.* pumpkin plant *pl.* kawaasa.

kawaadadag [káwáádāgđág] *n.* ring-worm (*Tinea corporis*).

kegeme [kègémè] *v.* to be uneven, to be on one side, to become asymmetric • ḡ kpágá ḡ ḡ n̄á kégémè. She turned her lips to the side. à háglibíí háj kégéméȫ. This sand brick is uneven.

kelembi [kélém̄bi] *n.* a hollow grass stalk that is sharpened to a point and dipped in ink to write

ken (*var. of keŋ*)

keŋ [keŋ] (*var. ken*) *adv.* like that, so • záŋj ḡ tāá káá zéné kēj̄. Today he is talking loudly like that. à hāńj ñmā d̄i, kēŋ? The woman said: ‘is that so?’

keŋe [kéŋé] *v.* to be tipped, to lean on one side, to be incline • à dáá kénye kàálí tiimúnj nó. The tree leans towards the east. a zīá kényeđȫ. The wall is not straight.

keregi (*var. of kerigi*)

kerigi [kérígí] (*var. keregi*) *pl.v.* to break many (sticks) • kerigi daasa ḡs dñi ni. Break firewood and put it into the fire.

kesi (*var. of t̪esi*)

keti [kèti] (*var. t̪seti*) *v.* to break • à hāńj néj̄ kétij̄. The woman’s arm is broken. kétí kpāásà tīŋj̄. Cut a branch and make a whip for me.

kie [kìé] *n.* half of a bird, one part of a bird which has been divided into two *pl.* kiete.

kiesii [kíésíí] (*var. t̪iesii*) *n.* type of bird *pl.* kiesie.

kiesimunluo [kíèsimúnlùó] *n.* type of plant *pl.* kiesimunluo.

¹kii [kii] 1) *conn.* like, as • ñ̄ būú-rú rà kii ñ̄ñ̄ tſēná. I like him as my friend. 2) *v.* to be like, to resemble • pàtāásè wà wíré kii hámónà káá dì jñ̄dà. Akpeteshie is bad for children to drink. já bárá tój wá kii dñ̄já. Our skin are not the same.

²kii [kíí] (*var.* tſii) *v.* to forbid, to refuse, to taboo and abstain from • ñ̄ kíí ãã rā. I taboo and abstain from the bushbuck. ùù kíí lúdénđi-lsín nā. He tabooed the drinking at the funeral ground.

³kii [kíí] *Cf.* tſiir *n.* taboo [*Gu*].

kiige [kíigé] *v.* to move to a better position • kíigé iì kór tìj, wèsá káá wāō. Move your chair, the sun is coming.

kiini [kíiní] *v. (var. tſiini)* 1) bring out, remove • kíiní iì lógà pàtſígíí kíná múj bílè. Bring out everything that is in your bag and put it down. 2) to take up the last of food, to clean a bowl • zòò mñ̄ måå pé ó kpá ññ̄ kòò fálá tíéf í kíiní. Go to my mother she will give you my tz bowl so you can finish it.

kiir (*var. of tſiir*)

kiiri [kíirí] *v.* to breathe with difficulty, associated with asthma or when someone is overloaded • ù kíí-rùú. She breath with difficulty.

kil [kíl:] *n.* dance floor

kilimie [kílímíè] *Cf.* tſimmää *n.* pepper [*Ka*].

kimmää (*var. of tſimmää*)

kisi [kísi] *v.* to bless, to protect, to save from suffering • wèsá káá kísíi. Let God protect you.

kisie [kísié] *n.* knife *pl.* kisise.

kiasi [kíasi] (*var.* tſiasi) *v.* to tear apart (cloth or drum) • à hááñ gär kíásijó. The woman's cloth is torn.

kíe [kíè] *v.* collect contribution • dúsééléé já kíè mólebié bó ásibítí wòtſímáñ. The people from Ducie collected contribution and paid the clinic's watchman.

kíemí [kíémí] (*var.* tſiemí) *v.* to make noise • ñ̄ wàà búúrè námùñ kíémí báán nñ̄. I do not want anybody to make noise here.

kíejí [kíéñí] (*var. of tſieñí*)

kíeri [kíérí] (*var. of tſieri*)

kilee [kílèé] (*var.* kíleé) *n.* Booted Eagle, type of bird (*Hieraetus pennatus*). *pl.* kilesa.

kileesiañ [kílèësíáñ] *n.* Booted Eagle, type of bird, smaller than (*Hieraetus pennatus*). *pl.* kileesama.

kileé [kílèé] (*var. of kilee*)

kima (*var. of tſima*)

kimpügii [kímpüggíí] *lit.* thing-marking *n.* broom *SynT:* tſää

1kim [kíj] (*var.* kíj) *n.* thing *pl.* kíma.

2kim [kíj] *v.* to be able, to be possible • òò wàá kín wàà. He is not able to come. iì káá kíj kààlòò. You may go. òò kíj wäö? áí, òò wà kínjíé wàà. A: Was he able to come? B: No, he was not able.

kin- [km] classifier particle for concrete entity

kinbaŋ [kimbaŋ] *Cf: kinbəŋ* *n.* bad thing [*Ka*].

kinbíriŋ [kimbíriŋ] *n.* whole

kinbəŋ [kimbóŋ] *Cf: kinbaŋ* *n.* bad thing

kindiili [kìndíilí] *Cf: siimaa* *n.* meal *pl.* kindiiliie.

kinduho [kìndùhó] *n.* offspring

kinkpagasii [kìnkpagàsíi] *n.* *pl.* kin kpagasie.

kinlarii [kìnlàríi] *n.* piece of clothing *pl.* kin lar ee.

kinliemii [kìnlìèmíi] *n.* hanging object; ornament or piece of jewelry attached to a necklace or bracelet *pl.* kinliemee.

kinsɔŋ [kìnsóŋ] *n.* 1) something cold 2) highly inflected swelling full of pus

kinſtagii [kìntſágíi] *n.* something easily breakable

kinſvalii [kìntſvalíi] *n.* mat, mattress *pl.* kin ſ val ee.

kinſoma [kintſòmá] *Cf: gənii* *n.* dirty or bad thing, may also be used to refer to an unappreciated person

kinwili [kìnwìlí] *n.* sore *pl.* kin wili ie.

kinzeŋ [kìnzéj] *n.* big thing *pl.* kin zenee.

kinzinii [kìnzíníi] *n.* horse *pl.* kin zini e.

kinzijíi [kìnzíjíi] *n.* long thing *pl.* kinzijee.

kiŋmaŋana [kìmmárjáná] *n.* drummer *pl.* kiŋmaŋnesa.

kiŋ (*var. of kin*)

kiŋdiŋ [kìndíŋ] *Cf: diŋnidinjwidinjbidiiŋ* *n.* valuable thing

kiŋkaŋ [kìŋkáŋ] *quant.* many, much, abundantly • dúo tʃðāt kíŋkàŋ wà wé ré. Sleeping too much is not good.

kiŋkuree (*var. of kiŋkurugie*)

kiŋkurokɔɔrii [kìŋkùròkɔɔríi] *n.* calculator, computer *pl.* kiŋku rokɔɔri e.

kiŋkurugie [kìŋkùrùgíe] (*var. kiŋkuree*) *n.* enumeration, number • ḷṇ ḷṇ bié káá zìgítì kìnkùrùgíe rē. My child will learn how to count.

kiŋpaatſak [kímpáàtſák] *lit.* thing-leaf *n.* greenish thing *pl.* kiŋpaatſa ksa.

kiri [kìrrí] *Cf: tʃiirí* *n.* type of wasp *pl.* kiri e.

kiriisaal [kìrfisàál] *n.* wasp nest

kırıma [kìrımá] *Cf: nagař* *n.* tsetse fly (*Glossina*). *pl.* kırınsa.

kırımamampusa [kìrımámàmpùsá] *n.* witchweed (*Striga*).

ko [kó] *adv.* too, as well • i kó, wáà. You too, come. à já nōmåð bá jírá jà kó. If they (the issues) are serious, they call us too.

kodorogo [kòdórógò] *n.* bridge

kogii [kógií] *n.* protection

kogo [kògò] *v.* to hold and keep from falling by supporting or protecting • *kpá ìì néjì kògò à téébul púù à sibiè tí wá bìlinsi táfélí.* Put your hand by the table top so that the beans do not roll and fall.

kogoluuniko [koyoluuniko] *Cf:* zimbal *ono.* sound of the rooster, cock-a-doodle-doo

kogulii [kógúlii] *n.* farm measurement

koguluupaa [kóyúlumpàà] *n.* morning glory plant, type of climber (*Ipomoea mauritiana*).

kogumíë [kóyómíë] *Cf:* kaakumo *n.* donkey [*Mo*].

kokobeg [kòkòbég] *n.* shell of palm nut *pl.* kokobege.

kokodro [kókódóró] (*var.* of kakaduro)

kokolentebii [kòkòlèntébíí] *n.* fishing hook *pl.* kokolentebie.

kokoluŋ [kòkólúŋ] (*var.* peregá) *n.* boat *pl.* kokolunso.

colo [kòlò] *v.* to carry under arm • *ii bférì ká kòlò kpáámá dì wāā.* Your brother is coming with yams under his arm.

kolokolo [kòlókòló] *n.* turkey <*kolikoli* (Waali) *pl.* kolokoloso.

kolopɔtì [kòlòpɔtì] (*var. of* kɔlpɔtì)

konsiaŋ [kóngsíáŋ] *n.* Laughing dove (*Streptopelia senegalensis*). *pl.* kon-siamá.

konti [kòntì] *v.* to put arm around • *dì púpútífná kpáì kpá ìì néše à kón-*

tíú, dí á lèí i kàá táfélè. If a moto rider picks you, put your arms around him unless you will fall.

kontii [kòntíí] *Cf:* zañasagbege *n.* clearing away of grass in the dry season [*Gu*].

koŋ [kóŋ] *Cf:* kpaliamaalige *n.* Kapok, type of tree (*Ceiba pentandra*). *pl.* komo.

koŋbugul [kóŋbúgúl] *n.* Rock Dove, type of bird (*Columba livia*). *pl.* koŋbugulo.

koŋkogulepømma [kóŋkóyúlèpømmá] *n.* Cattle Egret, type of bird (*Bubulcus ibis*). *pl.* koŋkogulepølønsa.

koŋkpuløŋ [kóŋkpúløŋ] *n.* Vina-ceous Dove, type of bird (*Sreptopelia vinacea*). *pl.* koŋkpuløma.

koŋwelemíï [kóŋwèlèmíï] *n.* Bruce's Green Pigeon, type of bird (*Treron waalia*). *pl.* koŋwelemëë.

koŋzaazuk [kóŋzāázùk] *n.* Red-Eyed Dove, type of bird (*Streptopelia semi-torquata*). *pl.* koŋzaazuguno.

kor [kór:] *n.* seat, bench, chair <*kur-sii* 'chair' (ultm. Arabic) *pl.* koro.

koro [kòrò] *n.* chieftanship *pl.* koro-so.

korumbøra [kòrùmbórà] *n.* dusty weather

kotaali [kótààli] *n.* asphalt, bitumen <*coal tar* (ultm. English)

køba [kóbà] *n.* tire <*cover* 'cover' (ultm. English) *pl.* købasa.

køglaabøl [kóyšláábøl] *n.* pawpaw (*Carica papaya*). *pl.* køglaabølsa.

kɔgɔlɪ [kɔgɔlɪ] *v.* 1) to come loose • ḍɔ pñj kágslíjósó ká há dɔd 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 zíé há kágolí kén nì. The wall is still standing like this.

kɔgɔsɔg [kɔgɔsɔg] *ideo.* rough • à gér bárá dó nñj kágɔsɔg. The lizard's skin is rough like this. *Ant:* soloŋsoloŋ

kɔkɔ [kɔkɔ] *n.* former farm land *pl.* kɔkɔna.

kɔkɔlíkɔ [kɔkɔlíkɔ] *n.* type of grasshopper *pl.* kɔkɔlkɔsa.

kɔla [kɔlà] *v.* 1) to be loose • mìm pátá káá kɔlán nà. My pants are too loose for me. 2) to defeat • à níhìé gáàgá tñj kóláá rā. The elder's sickness killed him.

kɔlbaa [kólíbáá] *Cf:* pirintɔa *n.* bottle <*kwalabā* (ultm. Hausa) *pl.* kɔlbaasa.

kɔlñi [kólíí] *n.* *Cf:* zul 1) stem or stalk of millet and guinea corn 2) second year of a new farm land *pl.* kɔlñe.

kɔlñlɔ [kólílɔ] 1) *n.* smooth and fine flour, like the texture of the dawadawa flour 2) *ideo.* to appear not healthy, to be lean, especially children • wóglítì múnj ḍò já báñj dó kén kólílɔ. He is always like a sickling.

kɔlpɔtì [kɔlpɔtì] (*var.* kolopɔtì) *n.* metal cooking stove <*coal pot* (ultm. English) *pl.* kɔlpɔtisa.

kɔlñj [kɔlñj] *Cf:* vil *n.* deep hole into the earth to obtain water *pl.* kɔlñjsa.

kɔmbɔŋa [kɔmbóŋà] *n.* Ashanti person *pl.* kɔmbɔŋasa.

kɔmñá [kɔmñá] *n.* guinea corn that has been soaked, then left for a germination stage, then dried

kɔmñákpañ [kɔmñákpáñ] *n.* first day of second funeral where the guinea corn is presented

kɔmñänarñ [kɔmñänarñ] *n.* second day of second funeral where the malt is grounded

kɔntì [kɔntì] *v.* to be physically weak, due to sickness and/or old age • i káá kɔntì dí i wáá dënsì ii hó-gó. You will be weak if you do not exercise.

¹kɔntɔŋ [kɔntɔŋ] *n.* fairy *pl.* kɔntɔma.

²kɔntɔŋ [kóng] *n.* soup ingredient made out of baobab seeds, substitute for other non-available ingredients making the soup thicker

kɔŋ [kóng] (*var.* gantalgbou) *n.* cobra *SynT:* nñtuna *pl.* kɔŋa.

¹kɔŋa [kóngà] *v.* to be lean • wíílá gíláá ḍò kɔŋà. Sickness make him lean.

²kɔŋa [kóngà] *v.* to get thin and lean • tʃɔpísà àyñmènà háñ nñ kóñjá kíñkán nà. These days I am getting thin and lean.

kɔñkɔñ [kóngkóng] *n.* can or tin

kɔɔti [kóóti] *n.* court <*court* (ultm. English)

kɔpul [kɔpúl] *n.* type of grass (*andropogon gayanus*).

kɔpɔ [kɔpɔ] [kápɔ] *n.* cup • *tʃià dóá kópɔ ní.* There is a fly in the cup. <cup (ultm. English) *pl.* **kɔpɔsa**.

kɔr [kɔr:] *n.* thick, dense forest • *à kɔr pénáá.* The forest is large. *pl.* **kɔr.**

kɔrigí [kórígí] *v.* to cut throat • *kà kórígí à nàá tiè à báál.* Go and slaughter the cow for the man.

kɔsa [kɔsá] *n.* 1) bush 2) grass *pl.* **kɔsəsa.**

kɔsagbègbé [kɔságbègbé] *n.* Spur-Winged Goose (*Plectropterus gambensis*). *pl.* **kɔsagbègbesa.**

kɔsakíj [kɔsákíj] *n.* bush thing *pl.* **kɔsakína.**

kɔsanaáñ [kɔsánáñ] *lit.* bush-cow *n.* buffalo (*Syncerus caffer*). *pl.* **kɔsanaáñna.**

kɔsasel [kɔsásél] *n.* bush animal *pl.* **kɔsasele.**

kɔsasúú [kɔsásúú] *n.* bush guinea fowl *pl.* **kɔsasúúno.**

kɔsí [kɔsí] *v.* to be overgrown, to be thick • *tf wá tiè à kúó dí kɔsí.* Do not let the farm be weedy.

kɔta [kótà] *n.* a measure unit for akpeteshie, approx. 3-4 oz • *pàtààsè kótà.* A glass of akpeteshie. <quarter (ultm. English)

kɔwa [kòwá] *num.* hundred (Oti-Volta) *pl.* **kɔssa.**

kɔwia [kòwìé] *n.* soap *pl.* **kɔwisa.**

kube [kùbé] *n.* coconut <*kùbé* (Akan)

kubii [kùbíí] *n.* porridge *pl.* **kubie.**

kugdaabii [kùgdààbíí] *n.* rib *pl.* **kugdaabie.**

kugso [kùgsó] *n.* rib cage *pl.* **kugso-so.**

kulo [kúló] *v.* to tilt, or to be tilted and likely to fall • *kpá kálénjbílénéé lésí à dálíà, dí à lèf à vií kàá kúló.* The pot is tilted, take the adjuster to support it.

¹**kummi** [kúmmì] *n.* fist

²**kummi** [kùmmì] *v.* to close a hand on an object to contain in the palm • *ìn já kpá ñn mòlèbié kùmmùū.* I usually hold my money in my hand.

kumpii [kúmpíí] *n.* thorny spear grass *pl.* **kumpii.**

kuntunbɔa [kúntúnbɔà] *n.* grass bundles used in roofing, especially for the farm hut

kuntuj [kùntúj] *n.* blanket (Waali)

kuŋkuksíej [kúŋkùksíéj] *nprop.* uninhabited area south of Ducie's sections Lobani and Zingbani

kuŋkuŋ [kúŋkùŋ] *n.* brain *pl.* **kuŋkunno.**

kùnsúñ [kùnsúñ] Cf: **ziezie** *n.* tough and resistant object, tough person *pl.* **kùnsúñ.**

¹**kuo** [kùó] *n.* farm *pl.* **kuono.**

²**kuo** [kúó] *n.* roan antelope (*Hippotragus equinus*). *pl.* **kuoto.**

kuodu [kùòdú] [kòdú] *n.* banana <*kòèdú* (Akan) *pl.* **kuoduso.**

kuokuo [kùòkúò] *n.* cocoa (*Theobroma cacao*). (ultm Spanish, via English)

kuolie [kùòlié] *n.* type of tree (*Anogeissus leiocarpus*). *pl.* **kuoluso**.

kuonihīẽ [kùònihíẽ] *n.* person in charge of the decisions over the farm land *pl.* **kuonihīẽta**.

kuoru [kùórù] *n.* chief *pl.* **kuoruso**.

kuorubanii [kùòrùbáníí] *lit.* chief-section *nprop.* section of Ducie

kuosi [kùòsì] *v.* to stir, to mix • *kùòsì à sígá d᷇ à vii ní*. Stir up the beans inside the pot.

kuoso [kúòsó] *Cf:* **wusa** *n.* supreme God, unseen creator, above everything <*kùórù wùsá*

kuosopuu [kùósòpúù] *lit.* god-head *n.* sky

kuosozima [kùósòzímá] *lit.* god-know *nprop.* dog name

kuotrina [kùòtífnà] *n.* farm owner

kuotuto [kùòtútò] *Cf:* **tundaatuto** *n.* farm mortar

kurii [kúrií] *n.* counting

kuro [kùrò] *v.* count • *kpá mòlèbié wàà ñ kùrò*. Bring the money for me to count. <*kàrigá* (Gonja?)

kurungboŋ [kúrúñgbòŋ] *n.* hunter's rank of a person who has killed a human being (Gonja)

kuruso [kúrúsò] *n.* trousers, hand-sewn piece which accompanies the smock

kusi [kùsì] *v.* to be unable, do in vain • *bà d᷇gónníñ kùsì*. They chased me

but were unable to catch me. *n kusi a kuokaali ra*. I am not unable to go to farm.

kuu [kúù] (*var.* **kuubummo**) *n.* Pel's Fishing owl (*Scotopelia peli*). *pl.* **kuuso**.

kūū [kúú] *v.* to take excessively to the surprise of others • *mìn bisé kūū ñì ñòðòtitíi*. My children took a lot out of my pommade container.

kuubummo [kúúbúmmò] (*var.* of **kuu**)

kuudiginsa [kúúdíginsá] *n.* White-Faced owl (*Ptilopsis leucotis*). *pl.* **kuudiginsasa**.

kuukuu [kúùkúù] *n.* small insect leaving traces in sand like tunnels *pl.* **kuukuuso**.

kuusiaŋ [kúúsiáŋ] *n.* Rufous Fishing owl (*Scotopelia ussheri*). *pl.* **kuusiamma**.

kuuwolie [kúuwólié] *n.* type of bird

kõĩ [kõĩ] *n.* tired

køl [køl] *Cf:* **køs** *n.* staple food (t.z.) [Ka].

kølømbøl [kølømbøl] *n.* improper, fuzzy, not clear • *à báál fótósó téjé-sié d᷇ kølømbøl*. The man's pictures are not clear. *pl.* **kølømbølsa**.

køma [kømà] *v.* to cut off head, to top millet, calabash, rice or guinea corn, to harvest • *má ká kømà mū-rō*. Go harvest rice.

kṣṇkɔlabii [kṣṇkɔlābii] *n.* grinding stone (type of) *pl.* **kṣṇkɔlabia**.

kvwle [kvwlè] *v.* to be lethargic, to be inactive or unenergetic, to be weak from sickness • *tí wá tiè ìì biè kówlè*. Do not let your child be inactive. à *báál kàà wíjò*, àwíé ò *kówlè*. The man is suffering, that is why he is weak.

¹**kvwlii** [kvwlìi] *nprop.* Sogola shrine

²**kvwlii** [kvwlíi] *n.* lean and skinny person

kvwree [kvwréé] *n.* cloth weaver's workshop *pl. kvwresa*.

kvwri [kvwrì] *v.* 1) make • *jà wáá kinkòrì lóslì*. We can't make cars. 2) to prepare food, to cook • *òò kóvrì stímáá rā*. She is preparing food. 3) to repair • *kòrì ññ sákir tíen*. Repair my bicycle for me. 4) to solve issue • *ò kóvrì à wíé pétiùù*. She solved the issues. 5) to perform a ceremony in connection with a fetish • *ò káá kàálì vógtína pé rē ákà kòrì òw wíé*. She will go to the priest and raise her issues. 6) to develop a community • *námùn wá wáa kóvrì já tóò*. Nobody comes to develop our community.

kvra [kvrà] *v.* to be different • *ññ váá kóvrà ìì váá ní rà*. My dog is different from your dog.

kvrki [kvrekìi] *n.* difference <*kór?* (Gonja)

kvrugbànṣ [kvrogbàñṣ] *n.* type of tree (*Dracaena arborea*). *pl. kvrugbánṣsa*.

kvti [kvti] *v.* Cf: *tiisipaari* 1) to skin, to cut an animal into pieces • *làgálà-*

gá hán ní ñ kvti à áá péti. 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 • *nn jiná kvti à lúlíí ré*. My father grinded the medicine.

kvw [kvw] Cf: *kvl* Cf: *zakvw* Cf: **kvwsɔŋ** Cf: *kvutṣva* *n.* staple food known in Gh. E. as <*tuo zaafi* 'very hot' (ultm. Hausa) *pl. kvwla*.

kòò [kòò] *v.* 1) to tire, to be tired physically • *ñ kóòwáá*. I am tired. 2) to wonder • *à kòò ñ nà dí ò kàá wáá*. I wonder if he will come. 3) to be upset • *n* I will be upset if you refuse my advice. 4) to surprise, to be unexpected • *à káá kóò Hákúri ré dí ùù bie háñ sówá*. Hakuri will be surprised to loose her daughter.

¹**kvwri** [kvwrì] *v.* to snore • *tiú kóòrii* *ká ñ tsiò dúò*. Do not snore so I can sleep.

²**kvwri** [kvwrì] *v.* to be almost rotten • *Bákúri lóó námíá tñ kóórijóó*. The hartebeest meat of Bakuri is almost rotten.

kòòsá [kòòsá] *n.* tiredness • *òò kóòsá tñ ná kpúú kék*. His tiredness killed him.

kvwsɔŋ [kvwsɔŋ] Cf: *kvutṣva* Cf: **kvw** *n.* cold t.z., usually eaten in the morning

kvutṣva [kvutṣva] Cf: *kvw* Cf: **kvwsɔŋ** *n.* staple food (t.z.) left-overs *pl. kvutṣva*.

kvwii [kvwii] *n.* t.z. stirring pot

k̄zaa [k̄zàà] *Cf.* **tisie** *n.* woven basket from guinea corn stocks *pl.* **k̄zaasa.**

k̄zaakpaai [k̄zààkpái] *Cf.* **k̄zaalimmii** *n.* funeral event where the items left by the deceased are transferred to the heir

k̄zaalimmii [k̄zààlímmíí] *lit.* basket-glance *Cf.* **k̄zaakpaai** *n.* funeral event where the family heads look at the items left by the deceased
kpa [kpà] *v.* *Cf.* **paa** *Cf.* **j̄w̄** 1) take • *kpá à pár t̄eñ*. Give me the hoe. 2) to marry (a woman) • *ò kpáó rà*. He married her.

kpa jug [kpá jùg] *lit.* take weigh *v.* to respect • *bà kpá jùg t̄iè bà kàràmá 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 d̄nyá wā*. They respect each other.

kpa ta [kpá tà] *lit.* take drop *cpx.v.* 1) stop • *kpa siŋ juā haŋ ta*. Stop that (habit of) drinking. 2) drop • *-kpa a biŋ ta*. Drop the stone.

kpa wa [kpá wà] *lit.* take come *cpx.v.* bring • *kpa a kpāñj wa*. Bring the yam.

kpaas [kpáá] *n.* type of dance, performed by women only *pl.* **kpaas**.

kpaambiln [kpààmbilíí] *n.* cooked yam *pl.* **kpaambilé.**

kpaanää [kpáánää] *n.* type of dance, formerly for warriors and hunters

kpāñni [kpàññi] *v.* 1) hunt for killing • *òò bíérí háŋ kàà kpāññi*. His

brother hunts. 2) trail, look for something and walk about from place to place • *bá ká kpàññi fòl à kùò nī*. They are going to search for certain leaves at the farm.

kpāñnsii [kpàññsíí] *lit.* yam-eye (*var.* **kpàññsí**) *n.* yam stem *pl.* **kpāñnsie.**

kpāñnugul [kpàññúyùl] *n.* yam flesh
kpāñj [kpáñj] *Cf.* **pñ** *n.* yam *pl.* **kpāñma.**

kpaanjduho [kpàñjduhó] *n.* yam seedlings

kpāñjfòlñ [kpàñjfòlíí] *n.* new yam *pl.* **kpāñjfòlë.**

kpāñjlau [kpàñjláó] *n.* yam hut *pl.* **kpāñlawá.**

kpāñjnñ [kpàñnníí] *Cf.* **sieribile** *n.* water yam *pl.* **kpāñjnñta.**

kpāñjnñdísä [kpàñnnñdísà] *n.* soup in which granulated water yam was added for thickness

kpāñjpetñ [kpàñjpetíí] *n.* yam coat peel *pl.* **kpāñjpetié.**

kpāñjpuã (*var. of* **kpāñjtɔgn**)

kpāñjtɔgn [kpàñtɔgyñíí] (*var.* **kpāñjpuã**) *n.* spoiled yam *pl.* **kpāñjtɔgeë.**

kpaasa [kpáásà] *n.* wooden whip *pl.* **kpaasasa.**

kpàññsí (*var. of* **kpāñnsii**)

kpaasi [kpàññi] *v.* 1) to nail, knock • *kpáññi hembíí zìñ nī*. Knock the nail in the wall. 2) to warn • *bá kpáññi nà ññ báál wíē*. They had warned me about my husband. <*kpááhè* (Waali)

¹kpaga [kpàyà] *v.* 1) have, possess • *wòsá kpágá à bójl lā.* Wusa has the ball. 2) to catch, to grab • *wòsá kpágá à bójl lā.* Wusa caught the ball. *bà kpágá à ñmíér rā.* They caught the thief. 3) to hold, to take • *ò kpágá kpáásà rā.* He held the whip.

²kpaga [kpàyà] *n.* type of jewelry *pl. kpagasa.*

kpaga huor [kpàgà húór] to feed a guest or a stranger

kpaga kaalı [kpàgà káálı] *lit.* have go *cpx.v.* hold on, keep • *waa i kaa baaj jwø a kpaga kaalı i mibwa bar peti.* It is him you shall marry and hold on until the end of your life.

kpagal [kpáyál] *n.* tick, insect found mostly on animals (*Ixodida*). *pl. kpagala.*

kpagasi [kpàgåsì] *pl.v.* to catch (many) • *η kpagasi a zalié ra.* I caught chickens.

kpakpuro [kpàkpúrò] *n.* tortoise *pl. kpakpuruso.*

kpalimaalige [kpàlímáálígé] *Cf. koŋ n.* Kapok flower *pl. kpalimaalige.*

kpaligé [kpàlìgè] (*var.* **kpaligii**) *n.* baldness

kpaligii [kpálíggí] (*var. of kpaligé*)

kpamamuro [kpàmàmúrò] *n.* type of yam

kpambria [kpàmbíà] *n.* linguist, chief's spekesman <*kpambie* (Waali)

¹**kpänna** [kpànnà] *n.* lead, heavy grey metal *pl. kpänna.*

2kpänna [kpànnà] *n.* type of mollusc *pl. kpànnà.*

kpaŋja [kpàŋjà] *v.* to freeze, to be cold • *dúóŋ tūgō à báàl ò liì kiúó, ò wà kpàŋjà.* The rain beats the man on his way back from the farm, he came freezing.

kpaŋkpagtii [kpánkpáyáttí] *n.* Na-maqua Dove (*Oena capensis*). *pl. kpàŋkpagtia.*

kpaŋkpamba [kpánkpámbá] *n.* type of cloth *pl. kpàŋkpambasa.*

kpaŋkpaj [kpánkpáŋ] *Cf. nɔma ints.* very (hot) • *nɔmà kpánkpáŋ.* very hot.

kpàŋkpàŋ [kpánkpán] *ideo.* interrupting, energetic talk but weak in content • *t kpágá nɛà kpàŋkpàŋ bà-gá.* You talk too much (and the content is somehow weak) for nothing.

kpaŋkpaplerie [kpánkpáŋléríè] *n.* Black Saw-Wing, type of bird (*Psalidoprocne pristoptera*). *pl. kpàŋkpaplerie.*

kparaama [kpàráámà] *Cf. daga n.* necessity • *dúó tʃvāī jāā kpàráámà rā.* To sleep is necessary. (Waali)

kpasadʒo [kpàsàdʒò] *n.* type of yam *pl. kpasadʒosa.*

kpatakpalé [kpátákpalé] *n.* hyena *SynT: tebintuna pl. kpatakpalesa.*

kpatṣakpatṣa [kpàtṣàkpàtṣà] *ideo.* cloud state, thick and watery

kpe [kpé] *v.* to crack and remove a seed from a shell • *à hááñ kpē fò-bíí áká tṣṇà dísá zàáñ.* The woman

kpōŋkpōŋdaa

cracked the calabash seeds to prepare soup today.

kpege [kpégé] *v.* 1) to be strong, to be hard • à ršbáktì wà kpégé. The plastic bucket is not strong. à háaj wà kpégé à júú ní ò wà kóráí siimáà. The woman is in her menses therefore she is not cooking. *Ant: jøgøsí* 2) to overcome, to cure, to be able • dì ò wá kpégé ò káá káálì kù-másí ré. If he recovers he will go to Kumasi.

kpegii [kpégíí] *n.* hard *pl.* **kpegie**.

kpekpe [kpékpè] *n.* type of grasshopper

kpeŋjé [kpéŋjné] *v.* to sprain, wrenching of the ligaments of a joint, to dislocate a joint • òò émbélí kpéŋjé. His shoulder is dislocated.

kpere [kpérè] *v.* to be wonderful • à báál wíē kpérè. The man's behavior are wonderful.

kperii [kpéríí] *n.* wonderful

kpesi [kpésí] *v.* to break off a little part of a whole • kpésí à dindáá dò. Break off a part of the firewood, leaving the burning part in the fire.

kperigí [kpérígfí] *pl.v.* to break off • Nménsà kpérígfí móŋgò pàatfágá à wà sùgùlì. Mensa broke off some mango leaves and brought them to boil. kpérígfí à záál émbélí à wà tíēbā. Break off the fowl's wing and give it to them.

kpetí [kpétí] *v.* to pluck • kpétí jàm-míí wà tíēj ní wásì tiè. Pluck a maize cob and give it to me to roast and eat.

kpibii [kpíbíí] *n.* louse *pl.* **kpibii**.

kpinitfu [kpínítʃù] *nprop.* seventh month (Waali)

kpinitsumaŋkuna [kpínítʃùmààŋkùná] ■ *nprop.* sixth month (Waali)

kpiɛma [kpíémá] *Cf.* **bíeri** *n.* ego's senior sibling [*Gu*]. *pl.* **kpiɛnsa**.

kpısı [kpísí] *v.* to sneeze • tíēj tòwà ñí dó ñí ñí mibòdásá ní à kpısı. Give me tobacco to put in my nostrils to sneeze.

kpogo [kpógò] *n.* hard swelling of the cheek or the thigh *pl.* **kpogoso**.

kpoguloo [kpógúlóò] *n.* dish made of soya beans (Waali)

¹**kpoluŋkpoo** [kpólúŋkpoo] *n.* type of tree (*Sterculia tragacantha*). *pl.* **kpoluŋkpooso**.

²**kpoluŋkpoo** [kpólúŋkpoo] *n.* Eastern Grey Plaintain-Eater (*Crinifer zonurus*). *pl.* **kpoluŋkpooso**.

kponno [kpònñò] *n.* type of yam *pl.* **kponnoso**.

kponj [kpòj] *nprop.* Kpong village; abandoned settlement between Dicie and Motigu

kpōŋkpōŋ [kpōŋkpōŋ] *n.* cassava (*Manihot esculenta*). *pl.* **kpōŋkpōŋso**.

kpoŋkpōŋbəazimbie [kpōŋkpōŋbəázimbié] *n.* Wood Warbler (*Phylloscopus sibilatrix*). *pl.* **kpoŋkpōŋbəazimbise**.

kpōŋkpōŋdaa [kpōŋkpōŋdāā] *n.* cassava plant

kpōñkpōñhvlii [kpóñkpóñhvlií] *n.* peeled and dried cassava *pl.* **kpōñkpōñhvliie**.

kpoñkpoñjiña [kpòñkpòñjíñá] *n.* lumps and particles in cassava flour that do not pass through a sieve, normally given to fowl

kpōñkpōñpaatʃak [kpóñkpóñpàatʃák] *n.* cassava leaf *pl.* **kpōñkpōñpaatʃa-ga**.

kpōñkpōñpaatʃaktʃogii [kpóñkpóñpàtʃàák tʃgíí] *lit.* cassava-leaf-spoiled *n.* disease transmitted by white flies. Affected plants show leaves reduced in size and twisted (*Cassava mosaic disease*).

kpōñkpōñpētii [kpóñkpóñpétíí] *n.* cassava peel *pl.* **kpōñkpōñpētié**.

kpōñkpōñpømma [kpóñkpóñpømmá] *n.* white cassava

kpōñkpōñsiama [kpóñkpóñsiàmá] *n.* red cassava

kpoñkpoyte [kpóñkpóñté] *n.* dried cassava <*kòkòngté* (Akan)

kpōñkpōñzøl [kpóñkpōñzól] *n.* cassava tuber

kpoñjo [kpòñjò] *v.* to be stained and very dirty • ḡò kùò tómá tíé ḡò kìn-làréé *kpōñjò*. His farm work made his clothes stained and very dirty.

kpulii [kpúlíí] *n.* spherical object *pl.* **kpulie**.

kpulikpulii [kpúlííkpúli] *n.* fried ball made of ground nut paste <*kulikuli* (Hausa) *pl.* **kpuliikpulie**.

kpuñ [kpúñ] *n.* body joint *pl.* **kpuñjo**.

kpuñkpuluñso [kpùñkpúlùñsó] *n.* epileptic fits

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 diā háj zàáj*. Demolish this house today.

kpø [kpó] *v.* 1) kill • *nàñkpááj ká kpø nànsá à wà télè*. A hunter went and killed meat and came back. 2) to overtake, as with perceptual stimuli, to affect strongly • *jìlsá kpójèò*. It is too salty. 3) to cut yam from its plant and leave the tuber in the ground for the second harvest • *kpø kpááj dò*. Cut the yam and leave it in the yam mound.

kpør [kpór] Cf: **síñpømma** *n.* type of palm tree (*Borassus aethiopum*). *pl.* **kpøta**.

kpøra [kpørà] *v.* to pick fruits, riped or unriped • ḡò káálì kùó ḡò ká kpørà *síñkpilíí*. He is going to the farm to pick some wild fruits.

kpørñi [kpørñí] *n.* bile

kpøsi [kpøsí] *v.* to singe off feathers with fire • *má kpøsi à záàl tiè bá tóñà*. You singe off the fowl so they can cook.

la (var. of ra)

laa [làà] 1) *v.* to take something from a source, to receive • *làà ìì móli-bíí tótíí*. Take your share of money.

2) to take a road or a direction • *Kùlkpój tìwíí ñ làà kààlì Wàá.* I took the Kulkpong road to go to Wa. ñ láá kùó ká wàà. I am going to the farm and will come back. 3) to answer, to respond to, to reply • ñ kàá làà iì jírfí rā. I will attend to your call. 4) to agree (with • bá làà nòå ní. They agreed. 5) to produce well (for plants), to yield well • ḷò mǐá lááwóó. His guinea corn yielded well.

laa di [làà dí] *lit.* collect eat *cpx.v.* believe • ñ laa kuoso diu. I believe in God.

laa dø [làà dø] *lit.* collect put *Cf: bi-laadølñ* *cpx.v.* adopt • ñ láá bié dø. I adopted a child.

laabakɔ [lààbàkɔ] *n.* type of yam *pl.* laabakɔsa.

¹**laanfia** [làánffia] *n.* good health • bá kpágá làànfíá rā. They are in good health. *Ant:* **wñ1** < *lafiyá* ‘health’ (ultm. Hausa)

²**laanfia** [làànfíà] *n.* pineapple

laari [lààrì] *v.* *Cf: vɔwaliŋe* 1) to wear, to dress, to put clothes on • lààrì iì sùkúù kíná. Wear you school dress. 2) to rub, as in rubbing oil over t.z. for it not to harden • lògà nñð lòàri à kóó. Take some oil and smear the top of the tz. 3) to paint • bá tsí kàá lààrì nnì diá pénti rē. They will paint my house tomorrow. 4) to touch and feel, as a blind person feeling objects and people • pñlómá kpá bá nésē dì láári nárá bárā. Blind peo-

ple use their hands to feel other people.

laasi [láásí] *v.* to separate people fighting, to calm someone down • láásí bé à jùòsó ní. Separate them from their fight.

¹**laga** [lágà] *v.* to hang, to suspend • à džvóñ lágá à dáá bámbááñ ní. The hamok is hanging from the middle of the trees. kpá iì lógà lágà à dáá ní. Hang your bag on the tree.

²**laga** [làyá] *adv.* now and fast • wàà lágá. Come now and fast. *Ant:* **swoñi** 4

lagalaga [làyálàyá] *adv.* now now, quickly • lágálágá hán ní ò wàà bááñ. He came here just now.

lagale [láyálé] *v.* to taste for testing using the tip of the tongue • làà døà lágälë nà. Taste the sodium carbonate and see.

lagamí [làyàmì] *v.* 1) to gather things or people together • jírà má wólëë müj má wá lágamí já sáñá. Call all your people to gather for a meeting. 2) to partner in dance • à biniháñ àní à binibáàl kàá lágamí gòà. The boy and the girl will dance together.

lagasi [làyásì] *Cf: lalaga* *pl.v.* to be spotted, , to be speckled, to put spots on

laginjgasii [láyínjgààsí] *n.* type of climber *pl.* laginjgasia.

lal [lál] *n.* war *pl.* lala.

¹**lala** [lálá] *v.* 1) to open • ò lálà à diànðá rā. She opened the door. *Ant:*

to 3 2) to wake up • à biè há wà lálà à báàl dúó ní. The child did not yet wake the man up. *Ant:* **to 1**

2lala [lálá] *v.* to scratch, to be brushed off, to brush off with quick movements • à sígmaàpúù lálágàsá lálíjòò báàn ní. The color on the head of the Sigmaa was sratched.

lalaga [lálágá] *n.* Cf: lagası
1) plumage, spot(s), mark on something • sùù lálágàsá wàá kìñ kùrò. The colors of a guinea fowl cannot be counted. **2)** spiritual weapon used to protect new farm *pl.* **lalagasa.**

lalasa [lálásá] *n.* infertile piece of land *pl.* **lalasa.**

laleekpakparęe [láléékpákpàréé] (*var.* **larekpakparęe**) *n.* White Helmet-Shrike, type of bird (*Pri-onops plumatus*). *pl.* **laleekpakparęesa.**

lalíi [lálíí] *n.* corpse • tí bí wàà ɔmà lálíí mūñ. Never fear a corpse again. *pl.* **lalię.**

lalrwie [láliwíé] Cf: **nipaăsulumbie** *n.* orphan

lambaraga [làmbàràgá] *n.* veil <*lam-baraga* (Waali) *pl.* **lambaragasa.**

laŋbe [lán̄gbè] *n.* **1)** Rufous Scrub Robin (*Cercotrichas galactotes*). **2)** good singer *pl.* **laŋbesa;** **laŋbe-sa.**

1laŋse [lán̄sè] **1)** *pl.v.* to gather bit by bit, to collect from place to place • à nárá káá lāŋsùù. The people are

gathering. **lāŋsè tòò níhíèsā, bá wá lágamì.** Gather the village elders, they have to meet. **2)** *v.* to scatter • **lāŋsè à díñ tā.** Put out the fire.

2laŋse [lán̄sé] *v.* to obstruct, to choke, to go the wrong way • à dísá lāŋsén nā. The soup choked me (as it passed throught the wrong tube, not the oesophagus)

larekpakparęe [lárékpákpàréé] (*var. of* **laleekpakparęe**)

1law [láv] *n.* farm hut *pl.* **lawa.**

2law [láv] **TYPElɔv**

le (*var. of* **ra**)

legemii [léyémíí] *n.* spiritual disappearance

legemilulii [léyémílúlíí] *n.* medicine (disappearance)

lenti [lènti] *v.* to lick • à váá kàà lén-tì ìì kòò fálá. The dog is licking your tz bowl.

leŋsi [lén̄sí] *v.* to move back and forth one's neck in dancing, seen especially in • zùngòà gésár káá lé-ŋsí bágéná. The dancer is moving his neck back and forth.

lerete [lérété] *ideo.* as in moving or running straight • ò tfíjòò lérété. She ran straight.

lesi [lésí] *v.* to chock, to prevent movement • lésí ìì délémbíí tìñ ɔ gátí. Chock your stove stone so it is properly high. **kpá à bíí lésí à lóslí.** Take a stone and prevent the car from moving.

leu [lèú] *n.* chamber pot for unable people *pl.* **leuno**.

lèbṣa [lèbṣá] *n.* salty lake *pl.* **lèbṣasa**.

lèdaa [lèdáá] *n.* 1) mandible, lower jaw 2) flintlock hammer *pl.* **lèdaasa**.

lèheē [léhéé] *n.* entire cheek bone *pl.* **lèhesa**.

lèheē [lèhéè] *n.* wooden spoon *pl.* **lèhesa**.

lei [lèí] *neg.* not • à dièbíé háj̄ lèí, hán̄ nā. Not this cat, this cat. dì kááli lágálágá háj̄, dì à lèí i kàá tìŋà mūŋ̄. Go right away, if not you will follow us.

lèl [lèl̄] *Cf:* aridzana *n.* home of the ancestors, a place where a person is going after death

lèlèponj [lélíépónj] *n.* type of cricket, smaller than *pl.* **lèlèpojo**.

lèma [lèmà] *v.* 1) to be good, to be sweet • ḡṇ̄ ḡṇ̄ māá tóŋá dílémá rá. My mother cooks delicious soup. à kpááŋ̄ lémáš. The yam is sweet. 2) to be nice, to be good • iì mür wá lémā. Your story is not good.

lèma na [lèmà nā] *v.* to taste • ḡlémá à dísá rā nā. He tasted the soup.

lèmíi [lémíí] *n.* 1) interesting 2) sweet

lèmsí [lém̄sí] *Cf:* **lèŋ̄** *pl.v.* taste food, many or from one place to another • tì lèmsí disa. Stop tasting the soup here and there.

lèŋ̄ [lèŋ̄] *n.* enjoyment *pl.* **lèŋ̄**.

lèŋ̄ [lèŋ̄] *Cf:* sungoro *Cf:* **lèmsí** *n.* long pole used to reach fruits in trees *pl.* **lèŋ̄**.

lèŋ̄sí [lèŋ̄sí] *v.* to stretch the neck • ḡlèŋ̄sí ḡv̄ bágénā rā ḡná. She stretches her neck to be able to see.

lèrètē [lérétē] *n.* good taste, sweet • à dísá márá dó lérétē. The soup tastes good enough.

lèsiriije [lésíriijé] *n.* tradition, culture *pl.* **lèsiriije**.

lèvra [lélírá] *n.* door hinge

lèwalewa [lélíréwá] *ideo.* thin and light, not thick • à fálá dó lélíréwá. The calabash is thin.

lie [lìé] (*var.* **lie ní**) 1) *interrog.* where • lìé ní i kà kpágv̄. Where did you catch it? 2) *n.* part • à bž̄v̄ líé pē bà kà tíéí? Which part of the goat did they give you?

lie ní (*var. of lie*)

liemi [lìèmí] *v.* to suspend, to be suspended • pféŋ̄ káá lìèmí téébùl púú ní. The piece of cloth is hanging from the table. à móngónój̄ káá lìèmí ḡv̄ dáká púú ní. The mango fruit is suspending from its tree.

lieŋ̄ [líéŋ̄] *n.* 1) type of climber 2) fruit of the

ligili [lígílí] *v.* to make repairs and restoration, like to seal the cracks of a building or mend a dress • à tilá lígili à bié pátá rá. The tailor mended the child's trousers. bùùrè sèléménté à wá lígili iì zágá. Find cement and seal the cracks in your yard.

ligimi (*var. of nigimi*)

liile [lílé] *v.* to pour off carefully, separating the clean from the dirty • *lílé à níf tà ká gilà à mûró.* Pour off the water and leave the rice there.

liise [líisé] *n.* thought *pl.* liisese.

liisi [líisi] *v.* 1) to remember, to remind • *ɔ́ líisúú ɔ́ɔ́ kàntfimá wíé wá.* He reminded him about his debt. 2) to wish, to hope • *Kálá líísí dí ɔ́ tñí kàá kàálí wàà rá.* Kala hopes that he will go to Wa tomorrow. 3) think • *ɳ líísíje dí díàrè ɔ́ dí wàà.* I thought that he came yesterday.

lile [lilè] *v.* to swallow • *dṍð tñí kpá bié lile.* The python swallowed the child.

²lile [lilé] *n.* throat

lilebøa [lilèbøá] *n.* opening of the throat *pl.* lilebøasa.

lilesi [líísí] *pl.v.* to swallow (many)

lime [límè] *v.* to be submerged, to sink • *tìè à záhálá límè níf ní á má-rà bìi.* Let the eggs be submerged for them to cook well.

limmi [lìmmì] *v.* to peep at, to glance at • *lìmmì à tókóró ná sù-kúú bisé.* Peep at the school children through the window.

limpeu [lìmpèù] *n.* fan to blow fire, usually made out of the *pl.* limpeuso.

linje [línjé] *Cf.* vøwalaari *v.* to dress up, to put clothes on • *à nàŋkpááŋ lí-ŋè ɔ́ɔ́ tíntäärä rā.* The hunter is wearing his hunting smock. [*oldfash*].

1lieri [lìèri] *v.* to come close but miss

• *mááfàbíí wá lieri ùù púù.* A bullet came close but missed his head.

2lieri [lìèri] *v.* to glide close to the ground • *kàtfíg wá lieri à záál ká ɔ́ wá kín kpágāō.* The eagle glided towards the fowl but could not catch it.

lìi [lìi] *v.* Cf: zøø 1) to go away, to go out • *lìi dèndil kā kpá ɳṇ dà-ɳkpálá wá tìēñ.* Go outside and get my walking stick. 2) to leak out of a broken container; to flow out • *à viisìàmá káá lìi.* The drinking pot is leaking. à *pómpì kàá líí níi rā.* The water flows in the pipe. 3) to shine •

Wòsá káá lìi kínkán ná. The sun is shining a lot.

lìmaan [lìmáàn] *n.* imam (ultm. Arabic)

lìmmaña [lìmmàñá] *n.* dry season

lìsi [lísí] *v.* Cf: mòtì Cf: lugusi 1) to remove from somewhere, to take off or out • *lísí nàmìá tìēñ.* Remove some meat and give it to me. *lísí à kpàáŋtʃøgì tå.* Remove that spoiled yam. 2) to subtract • *lísí àltè à lìi àpíí ní.* Subtract two from five. 3) to choose

lo (*var. of ra*)

lobanìi [lóbànìì] *lit.* Dunlo-section *nprop.* section of Ducie

lobi [lòbì] *n.* Lobi people or language *pl.* lobise.

lìgo [lògò] *v.* to be half-full, not containing all its capacity • *sìnvìi lògò iì*

kpá tīēŋ. The pot you gave me is not containing all its capacity.

²**logo** [lógò] *n.* elevated support to put a load when unaccompanied in order to not have to lift it up again • *bà kà tſéŋjá nàmíá bà wá māŋjá lógò rō tīwíí nī*. As they carried the meat, on the way, they put their load at a height to rest. *pl. logoso*.

³**logo** [lógó] *v.* to be smooth, to make smooth • *bà zì kàá lögō à zágá rá àní sèléméntè*. They will then smooth the yard with cement.

logumoanaase [lóyúm?ànáásè] *n.* square

logunj [lóngún] **1)** *n.* rib **2)** *reln.* side • *wáá tſðà à fálá lögūn nī*. It lies on the side of the calabash. *pl. logumo*.

logunjbembel [lóngúmbèmbèl] *n.* half side of something

lololo [lólólò] (*var.* **lolunjlolunj**) *n.* type of flower *pl. lololoso*.

lolunjlolunj [lólùnjlólùnj] (*var.* *of* *lololo*)

lomo [lómò] *v.* **1)** to tie, to be knotted • *ò lómőű*. It is tied up. *ò wá márá lómò*. It is not tied well enough. *Ant: puro* **2)** to be in an early stage of pregnancy • *ò lómőű*. She is at an early stage of pregnancy.

lompoor [lòmpóò] *n.* tax <*l'impôt* 'tax' (ultm. French)

loj [lój] *Cf. fala* *n.* calabash; type of vine fruit (*Lagenaria sp.*).

lojbəl [lómbəl] *Cf. bəl* *n.* oblong non-edible calabash, often turned into a container *pl. lojbəla*.

loŋkpɔrgn [lóngkpɔrəgñ] *n.* small calabash; medicine container for farmer or hunter *pl. loŋkpɔrgie*.

loŋŋi [lóngŋí] *v.* **1)** to jump from branch to branch, from tree to tree • *à gbiá lóngŋi dàásá dī kááli*. The patas monkey jumps from tree to tree and is going away. **2)** to spread from person to person

loŋo [lóngò] *n.* drum beaten with a stick *pl. loŋoso*.

loŋodaa [lóngódáá] *n.* drumming stick *pl. loŋodaasa*.

loŋpoglii [lóngpòyəlìi] *n.* type of tree (*Strychnos spinosa*). *pl. loŋpoglee*.

loŋwie [lóngwié] *n.* wooden flute *pl. loŋwise*.

loori [lòòri] *v.* to wither, to hang limp and lacking rigidity • *dàásá müňj nō lóóri gbàngbàŋ nī*. All the trees wither during the season of harmattan.

looto [lòòtò] *n.* intestine *pl. lootoso*.

lor [lór] *n.* cavity in wood

loroo[IPA?] *num.* three *Enum: aloro*

loroto [lórótó] *ideo.* very sweet • *à tūi dó lórótó rō*. The tea is very sweet.

lo [ló] *v.* to insult, to talk behind a person's back • *ñ zímá dí i ló ñn gàn-tál lā*. I know that you talked in my back.

²**lɔga** [lóyà] *n.* bag used by farmers and hunters *Syn: pur* *pl. lɔgasa*.

¹**lɔga** [lóyà] *v.* *Cf. teŋe* **1)** to scoop • *lɔgà kɔ́v tīēŋ*. Take some **2)** to cut, to

cut the rotten part of a tuber, to cut a piece of to give away • ñ lóga gbésà rā. I am cutting a chewing stick. lóga kpáán tiè ìi bié. Cut a piece of yam for your child. [Gu]. [oldfash].

³lɔga [lòyà] *v.* to claw, to scratch • lóga òò bárá tīēō òò sángbéná káá tòrigì. Scratch his body, the craw-craw is itchy.

lɔgantál [lógántál] *Cf.* gantál lɔha *n.* backtalking

lɔgsí [lógəsí] *pl.v.* scoop • o lɔgsí bo-tii zenii re. He scoops big morcel.

lɔja [lójà] *n.* lawyer (ultm. English)

lɔlì [lóslì] (*var.* lɔrì) *n.* car, vehicle < lorry (ultm. English) *pl.* lɔlisa.

lɔlígbérbií [lólígbérbií] *n.* car key

lɔlímilíma [lóslímílémá] *n.* car driver *pl.* lɔlímilímasa.

lɔlisääär [lóslisääär] *n.* car driver *pl.* lɔlisäära.

lɔrì [lójì] (*var. of* lɔlì)

lɔsíi [lósíi] *n.* human ghost *pl.* lɔsíe.

lɔv [lóv] lav2 *n.* hartebeest (*Alcelaphus buselaphus major*). *pl.* lɔta.

lubaal [lùbáàl] *Cf.* buzon *n.* widower

ludendil [lúdéndil] (*var.* luhodendil) *n.* funeral ground *pl.* ludendile.

¹lugo [lùgò] *v.* 1) to bore a hole, to hollow out • dààsäärá lúgó dáá rá à sää tìmpántié. The carvers hollowed out a tree and carved a talking drum. 2) to change one's name • ùù lúgó òò són ná. He changed his name. 3) to

withdraw one's words • ñ lúgó ñà nɔñà rā. I withdrawn my words.

²lugo [lùgó] *n.* 1) animal trail or steps 2) way of doing or process of something or someone • ò lúgó jáá bá-jè. That is his way. à búóli lúgó ré kékèj. That is the way she sings. *pl.* lugoso.

¹lugusi [lùgùsì] *Cf.* lisi *pl.v.* to remove items from a container • ka lugusi kpääma a vii ni. Remove yams from the pot.

²lugusi [lúgúsí] *v.* to rince out mouth • jàà ní lúgúsí ìi nòñá. Take some water and rince your mouth.

³lugusi [lùgùsì] *v.* to remove one by one • lúgusi kpäämbilié kòzáká ní à tīēō. Remove the cooked yams from the basket and give them to him.

⁴lugusi [lúgúsí] *v.* to be lumpy • à kápálà lúgúsijó. The fufu is lumpy.

⁵lugusi [lúgúsí] *v.* to throb, to vibrate, to pulsate • ìi pól káá lúgüsí. Your vein pulsates.

⁶lugusi [lúgúsí] *v.* cause someone's laughter • lúgúsí à bié ó mórmá. Make the child to laugh.

luguso [lúgúsó] *pl.n.* lumps

lugbva [lùgbvá] *n.* armpit *pl.* lugbvasa.

lugbwapuŋ [lùgbvápvŋ] *n.* armpit hair *pl.* lugbwapuna.

luhääŋ [lùhääŋ] *Cf.* hanzoŋ *n.* widow not yet ready to remarry due to funeral customs

¹luho [lúhò] *n.* funeral *pl.* luhoso.

luho [lùhó] *n.* Double-Spurred Francolin (*Francolinus bicalcaratus*). *pl.* luhono.

luhodendil (*var. of ludendil*)

luhosiaŋ [lùhòsíáŋ] *n.* White-Throated Francolin (*Francolinus albogularis*). *pl.* luhosiamá.

lulibummo [lúlibúmmò] *n.* local medicine, such as plant and tree products concoction

lulibummojar [lúlibùmmùjár] *n.* healer, traditional doctor *pl.* lulibummojara.

lulii [lúlíí] *n.* medicine *pl.* lulie.

lulo [lúlò] *v.* to leak • à dìá káá lú-lòò. The house is leaking. nñ disá mún nō à lúló tå. All my soup leaked out.

lumbu [lùmbù] *n.* hall, greeting place <*lamu* (Gonja)

lumburo [lùmbúrò] *n.* orange (ultm. Arabic?) *pl.* lumburoso.

lumo [lùmó] *n.* area situated at the back, furthest away from the entrance • hàmónà, má ká sāñā lá́v lú-mō nī. Children, you go and sit at the back of the hut.

lunvøj [lúnvñ] *n.* first funeral, fast funeral, at a person's death

luŋkporo [lùŋkpòrò] *n.* back of the head *pl.* luŋporoso.

luŋo [lùŋò] *v.* to be deep • à bøá lú-nyő. The hole is deep. má hírè à bøá ú luŋò. You dig the hole so it is deep.

Ant: tisii *Ant:* tisi

luo [luo] *Cf:* tielvla *n.* foetus [*Gu*].

luore [lùòrè] *v.* to shed, pour forth, or fall off • à dààsá pààtságá mún lúoréó. All the leaves fell off.

lurigi [lúrigí] *Cf:* lutí *v.* to puncture many times, to make holes in smth. • diŋpápàrèsa lúrigí nñ píná tágàtä rā. Crackles made holes in my father's shirt.

luro [lúró] *n.* scrotum or testicle *pl.* luruso.

lurobii [lúròbíí] *n.* testicle *pl.* lurobie.

luro?ɔri [lúrò?ɔríí] *n.* orchitis

lusinna [lúsínnà] *lit.* funeral-pito *n.* last funeral, integrated funeral, or second funeral, usually referred to using the plural form *pl.* lusinnasa.

lutí [lútí] *Cf:* lurigi *v.* to puncture, to make a hole in smth. • lútí nɔ?ýl kýŋkɔŋ. Make a hole in the milk tin.

luto [lùtó] *n.* root *pl.* lutoso.

løga [løgà] *v.* 1) to forge and shape iron • kílóttá 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 pé-tí já tómá làgá nì. Strive, so we can finish our work fast. 3) to wrestle • hàmžwísé jáá løgà dèndíl ní rē. Children usually wrestle outside.

løgíí [løgíí] *n.* iron *pl.* løge.

løl [løl] *n.* biological relation • jìníé mā løl kà dö? òjáá nñ híéñá bié rē. A: How are you related? B: He is my aunt's child. *pl.* lvla.

lvla [lølá] *Cf:* luotré *v.* to bear, to bring forth, to give birth • kpágà

ñ hákŋ kàálì ásibítì ᄂ ká lwlà. Take your wife to the hospital to give birth.

lwlII [lwlíí] *n.* giving birth • *ù lwlíí kpégéò.* Her delivery is hard. *pl.* -*lwlie.*

lwłsta [lwlótá] (*cont.* *var.* **lwta**) *n.* blacksmith *pl.* **lwłstasa.**

lwɔŋ [lwlɔŋ] *n.* animal chest hair *pl.* **lwɔma.**

lwɔri [lwlɔri] *v.* to manoeuvre, to sneak, to move stealthily with agility • *lwɔri ká jínè ná wɔtʃimáñ kàà tʃá duò rò.* Sneak and check whether the watchman is asleep.

lwøee[IPA?] *num.* six *Enum:* **aløpe**

lwsa [lwsá] *n.* hunger • *lwsá kpágáñ nà.* I am hungry.

lwta (*cont. var. of lwłsta*)

m [m] (*var. of n*)

ma [má] *pro.* second person plural pronoun

mää [mää] *n.* mother *pl.* **määma.**

määbie [määbíé] *Cf:* **määbinibaal** *n.* ego's sibling from one mother *pl.* **määbise.**

maabiewaatelepusinj [määbíewäätélèpúsíñ] *lit.* sibling-will.not-reach-meet.me *n.* type of snake *SynT:* **suondaawie**

määbinibaal [määbínibáál] *Cf:* **määbie** *n.* ego's male maternal relative

määbinihääñj [määbíniháññj] *Cf:* **määbise** *n.* ego's female maternal relative

määbise [määbísé] *Cf:* **määbinihääñj** *n.* maternal lineage

määbõñj [määbõñj] *n.* ostrich (*Struthio camelus*). *pl.* **määbõña.**

maafa [mááfà] *n.* gun <*midfac* 'gun, canon' (ultm. Arabic)

maafabii [mááfàbíí] *lit.* gun-stone *n.* bullet *pl.* **maafabia.**

maafadaa [mááfàdáá] *lit.* gun-wood *n.* gun barrel *pl.* **maafadaasa.**

maafadigina [mááfàdígíñá] *lit.* gun-ear *n.* flintlock frizzen

maafadigimbwa [mááfàdígínbwá] *lit.* gun-ear-hole (*var. digimbwa*) *n.* flint-lock pan

maafaluro [mááfàlúrò] *lit.* gun-testicle *n.* gunpowder container

maafamundaapíñ [mááfàmùndààpíñ] *n.* gun baton, butt and stock of a gun *pl.* **maafamundaapíñana.**

maafapeñ [mááfàpéñ] *lit.* gun-penis *n.* gun trigger

määhře [määhřë] *n.* Cf: **määwie**

1) ego's mother's senior sister
2) ego's step-mother, if the woman is older than the biological mother *pl.* **määhřesa.**

maali [määlí] *v.* to blister, to cause a blister to form on • *à díñ tógósíò õò bárá mūñj* **määlí.** The fire burned him and all his body blistered.

määnsinj [määññsíñ] *n.* machine <*machine* (ultm. English)

maasi [määsì] *v.* 1) to be earlier than the present time, ago, ever • *i kà määsí kàálì bëlëé di ñ wàà tuò.* The time you went to Gurumbele, I was not there. ñ **määsí bigìsi tiëi këj tìñ**

bà kà jáá. I ever demonstrated to you how to do it. 2) to be enough, in satisfactory state, to be right amount or size • à māásíó kékì, tí brà jólí. It is ok like that, stop pouring. ḡ máásí kpō kírinsá wá àká ná bár pàrà. He killed enough tsetse flies to get a chance to farm. 3) to be fit, to be worthy • nààtswá hámà, áwèmē kàá māàsì nn̄ nààsá? These sandals, which of them would fit my feet? 4) to be equal, to make equal or even • nibúlúmmò mūj wà māásí dójà. Human beings are not the same. Wòsá ní Áfiá bìnsá māásí dójá rà. Wusa is as old as Afia. māawie [māàwìé] *n.* Cf: māähře 1) ego's mother's younger sister 2) ego's step-mother, if the woman is younger than the biological mother *pl. māawise.*

mahama [màhámà] *nprop.* Mahama mamaatfi [màmáátfi] Cf: kaabaako *interj.* expression of surprise <màmāki 'surprise' (Hausa)

mankani [màñkàní] *n.* coco yam (*Colocasia esculenta*). <màñkèní (Akan) *pl. mankanise.*

mankir [mánkər:] *n.* type of yam *pl. mankire.*

mapăă [májnăă] *n.* dwarf mongoose (*Crossarchus obscurus*). *pl. mapăăsa.*

mapăătuogu [májnátúógú] *n.* slender mongoose (*Herpestes sanguineus*). *pl. mapăătuoguso.*

¹maṛja [màṛjà] *v.* Cf: tugotfasi 1) to beat, to slap, to strike, to hit • ḡ mājá dáá rá. He fought someone. bà

mājá dáá rá. They exchange blows. 2) to kick a football • ḡ mājá à bɔ́l dó tókóró ní. He kicked the ball in the window. 3) to cause a plant to change appearance, ususally caused by drought stress • hil lá tfíñjā à mūró mājá. Due to a drought, the rice changed appearance.

²maṛja [mājá] *n.* only

maṛasijelii [májəsijélii] *n.* ground-nut flower *pl. maṛasijelee.*

maṛgbij [màngbìj] *n.* giant pangolin (*Manis gigantea*). *pl. maṛgbinna.*

maṛkisi [màñkísì] *n.* matches <matches (ultm. English)

maṛsii [májəsíi] *n.* groundnut *pl. maṛsa.*

maṛsi [májăsí] *v.* 1) to measure • mājsí ḷṇ zíñzíñ tīēñ. Measure my height for me. 2) to doubt, to wonder about • bà wà mājsí dí ḷ wà tuó dùsiè ní. They do not doubt that I'm not in Dicie.

¹mara [màrà] *v.* 1) to adhere, to append, to glue, to be fixed on • à fótò mārá à zíé ní. The picture is on the wall. 2) to be unable to say due to being silenced by others, being talked down • Kípó nđă mārá wíé, bà wóléé ḷmā wíē díù. Kipo was unable to talk, his companions talked before and over him.

²mara [màrà] *v.* to do well, to be properly done • ḡ wà mārá jàà. He did not do well. à fótò mārá mārā zíé ní

rà. The picture is well fixed to the wall.

³mara [màrà] *v.* to destroy with fire
• *kààlì kùò kà màrà pié pátʃīgñ dāā-sà*. Go to the farm and burn the trees in the yam field.

maragı [márágı] *pl.v.* to adhere, to be fixed on • *tfiàsá káá märágı à nàmpøå nī*. Flies are on the rotten meat. *nñ jína káá märágı kárantièsá rá*. My father is fixing the cutlass handles.

ması [màsı] *pl.v.* beat • *ması a kinrin-sa muŋ kpø*. Beat all the tsetse flies to death.

matseo [màtséo] *num.* twenty *pl. matsewo*.

mawa [máwà] *pro.* second person plural strong pronoun

mbasik[IPA?] *nprop.* Mangu *Synt:* *ŋmääñjuhasik*

meeli [méélì] *n.* mile (ultm. English)

meesin [méésìn] *n.* mason (ultm. English)

mẹṇj [mèj] *n.* dew, mist *pl. mẹṇj*.

mẹṇjñí [méṇjñí] *v. 1)* to sieve by turning the container sideways • *kpá à fàlá wà mèṇjñí jàmmñí*. Take the calabash and sieve the maize. *2)* to balance from one side to another in walking • *à hááj válá mèṇjñí à wāā*. The woman walks balancing towards us.

merekete [méréké té] *n.* woven mat made of guinea corn stalks *pl. mère-ketesa*.

mǐi [mǐi] *n.* gun front sight *pl. mǐna*.

miidaa [mìidáá] *n.* space between the eyebrows *pl. miidaasa*.

miimi [míimì] *n.* shrub with pink flower bundles (*Bougainvillea glabra*). *pl. miimise*.

miiri [mìirì] *v.* to dive, to swim under water • *Zìàŋ míirí níí à kpàgà jínééè*. Ziàng dived and caught fish.

minti [míntì] *n.* minute (ultm. English) *pl. mintisa*.

misi [mísí] *v.* to whisper • *ò mísi wíē dó ùù bié dígíná ní*. He whispered into his child's ear.

mita [mítà] *n.* meter (ultm. English) *pl. mitasa*.

míäbíwaø [míäbíwáø] *lit.* guinea.corn-■ matured *n.* type of beetle (*Lucanidae fam.*). *pl. míäbíwaø*.

¹mǐi [mǐi] *n.* guinea corn, used for making porridge, t.z. and brewing (*Sorghum*). *pl. mǐä*.

²mǐi [mǐi] *v.* to send out a current of air out of the nose to eject phlegm • *mǐi ii mìssá tà*. Blow the phlegm out of your nose.

mìibøa [mìibøá] *n. 1)* life • *ñì mìibøà fí bírgì*. May I live long! *2)* nostril *pl. mìibøasa*.

mìifstíi [mìifstíi] *n.* nasal congestion

mǐiní [mǐiní] *v.* to betray • *Bákúríí mǐiníñ tìè òò jína*. Bakuri betrayed me by telling his father.

mǐijmëna [mǐijméná] *lit.* guinea.corn-■ okro *n.* maize [*Gu*].

mīsa [mīssá] *n.* nose • *mīsá* *mīssá.* Blow your nose. *pl.* **mīsasa.**

mīsi [mīssi] *v.* to blow nose

mīla [mīlā] (*var. of mina*)

mīlimi [mīlīmī] *v.* Cf: sāā 1) to turn, to twist • *øø mīlīmī ḷṇ nén nē.* She is twisting my arm. 2) to drive, to steer a vehicle • *ṇṇ wāā kīn mīlīmī lōslī.* I cannot drive a car.

mīlimī [mīlīmī] *n.* turning

mīmbii [mīmbíí] *n.* guinea corn grain *pl.* **mīmbie.**

mina [mīnā] *v. (var. mila)* 1) to attach • *mīnā à ḷmēj ú kpégé.* Attach the rope to make it strong. 2) to turn something around something else •

lāà áŋkítì à milà à kísiedáá. Take the hankerchief and put it around the handle of the knife. 3) to twine around something, to be twisted • *tiè iì bié kpágà à kpááṣsíí mīnā dāā.* Let your child twist the yam dial around the stick. 4) to cross fingers or legs •

wāā ká sāŋā à kpágà øø nààsá mīnā dṣŋā. It is her sitting with the legs crossed.

¹**minfā** (*var. of haglibie*)

²**minfā** [mīnǐá] *n.* type of ant *pl.* **mīnsa.**

minzoga [mīnzogá] *n.* guinea corn chaff

mījmēna [mījméná] *lit.* guinea corn-okro Cf: **pammī** *n.* maize [*Gu*].

mīj [mīj] *pro.* first person singular strong pronoun • *mīn ná.* I am the one.

mīsī [mīsí] *v.* to sprinkle • *bà mīsī à bāál lūlī ré, ḷ siì.* They sprinkled medicine on the man, he survived.

mīsīama [mīsīàmá] *n.* guinea corn, reddish type

mohamedu [mòhàmédù] *nprop.* Mohamed

molebii [mòlbíí] *n.* money <*libie* ‘cowrie’ (Oti-Volta) *pl.* **molebie.**

molebipòmma [mòlèbípòmmá] *n.* cowrie

momuj [mòmùj] *n.* appendicitis

mōŋgo [mōŋgò] *n.* mango (*Mangifera indica*). (ultm. Tamil, via Portuguese) *pl.* **mōŋgoso.**

motigii [mòtigíí] *n.* 1) person from Motigu 2) lect of Motigu *pl.* **motigie.**

mō [mō] *v.* to mould, to shape, to sculpt with clay • *ṇṇ nàhā káá mō vii ré.* My grandmother is moulding a cooking pot.

¹**mōna** [mōnā] *v.* 1) carry amber or fire • *mōnā díj wàà.* Carry the fire here. 2) to be used to, to be familiar with • *ṇṇ mōná sìgáári pñúáí ní rà.* I am used to smoking cigarettes. *ṇṇ mōná dèndil sáŋū ní rà.* I am used to sitting at home.

²**mōna** [mōná] *v.* to snatch, to find something dead or lost by someone, to take something found dead • *ṇṇ píná mōná néjtíiná rā.* My father snatched a dead elephant.

mōŋ [mōŋ] *n.* pubis; vagina *pl.* -**mōna.**

mɔŋpɔŋ [mɔŋpɔŋ] *n.* female pubic hair *pl.* **mɔŋpɔna**.

mɔŋtuosii [mɔŋtúosíi] *lit.* vagina-pick.fast *n.* type of spider *pl.* **mɔŋtuosie**.

mɔŋzíg [mɔŋzíg] *n.* clitoris *pl.* **mɔŋziga**.

¹**mɔsí** [mósí] *v.* Cf: dibi 1) to plead with explanations and complaints • à hááñ wā mɔsí dí ò wà kpágá siimáà. The woman came and complained that she had no food. 2) to mourn, to lament • à hááñà dì mɔsí à sówíí wíé tʃòðsá wà písí. The women were mourning the death until the morning.

²**mɔsí** [mósí] *v.* to make and start a fire • mósí dīj. Start a fire.

mɔtigii [mɔtígíi] *n.* 1) person from Motigu 2) lect of Motigu *pl.* **mɔtigeē**.

mufui [múfúi] *ideo.* signals exclamation

muhié [mùhíè] *n.* tigernuts (*Cyperus esculentus*). <mbwe (Akan)

munii [múníí] Cf: tiwii *n.* road [Ka].

muno [mùnò] *n.* pair • nàtòðmúnó. A pair of sandals. tìmpàn-múnó. A pair of talking drums.

¹**muŋ** [mùŋ] *quant.* all, everything • à zágá mûŋ tífé à kúórù rō kpáámá fí. All the houses give ten yams to the chief. n zímá sígmāā mún nó. I know everything about Sigmaa.

²**muŋ** [múŋ] 1) *n.* buttocks 2) *n.* meaning • üù mûŋ ká jāā? What is its meaning? 3) *reln.* base, under •

wáá tʃòà à fálá mún ní. It lies at the base of the calabash. *pl.* **muno**.

muŋkaaj [mùŋkáán] *n.* buttock *pl.* **muŋkaama**.

muŋputii [mùŋpútíi] *n.* anus *pl.* **muŋputie**.

muŋtii [mùntíi] *n.* division between the buttocks *pl.* **muŋtie**.

muŋtuolie [mùŋtùòlié] *n.* type of shrub *pl.* **muŋtuoluso**.

muŋtɔɔsa [mùŋtòðsá] *n.* saliva

muŋzaŋ [mùnzàán] *n.* tail of fish or birds *pl.* **muŋzanna**.

muŋzintína [mùŋzíntíñá] *lit.* back-big-owner *n.* type of squirrel *SynT: hele1*

murisi [múrísí] *v.* to stifle one's laughter, laugh with restrain • à báál sáári tʃéle, hámónà dì mûrísí. The man slipped and fell, the children stifled their laughter.

muro [múró] *n.* rice *pl.* **muro**.

murobii [mùròbíi] *n.* grain of rice *pl.* **murobie**.

murpetíi [mùrpétíi] *n.* rice chaff *pl.* **murpetie**.

musi (*var. of diebie*)

mûsooro [mûsóóró] *n.* clove, food ingredient used for the taste and smell of porridge and soup (*Syzygium aromaticum* (*flower buds*)). (Waali)

muure [múúré] *v.* to be dissolved, to dissolved, to collapsed • à jiisá há wà mûúré à disá ní. The salt has not dissolved in the soup.

muuri [múúrí] *v.* to cover completely with a cloth • à hāāŋ mūú-

rì ùù púù àní làmbàràgá ní. The woman covered her head with a veil.

mõã [mȭã] *adv.* before • ñ dí sìtmāā mõã ká jà káálì tòmá. Let me eat before we go to work. *tñjá kén mõã há té káálíi.* Wait there, do not go yet.

mõg [mõg] *n.* sea, big river *pl.* -
mõgna.

mõga [mõgà] *Cf: dara* *v.* to lie, to deceive • ñn sükúù bié mõgáñ à làà mõlèbié dí. My child, the one who goes to school, deceived me and used the money. [*Gu*].

mõgssi [mõḡsì] *v.* to suck by pulling a liquid • hámónà jáà mõḡsì móngò ká kpá à bïé à jùò tá. Children generally suck mangoes and throw away the seed.

mõgzimbie [mõyzímbié] *n.* Barbet, type of bird (*Lybiidae family*). *pl.* **mõgzimbise.**

¹**mõma** [mõmà] *v.* 1) to laugh, to smile • ò kóɔrè sìlmáà káá mõmà. She is preparing the food while laughing. 2) to be open, to open (of Akee apples)

²**mõma** [mõmá] *n.* laughter

mõmí [mõmí] *n.* laughing

mõmõŋ [mõmõŋ] *n.* prolapse of rectum

mõr [mõr:] *n.* story *pl.* **mõra.**

mõra [mõrà] *v.* to keep water from spilling out while being carried • làà fálá mõrà ñì nìí tíñ à tí wàà tái. Take

a calabash to avoid the water from spilling.

mõsaa [mõsáá] *nprop.* *Musa*

mõsí [mõsí] *v.* to rain gently • à dûòñ wáá pétúñ à káá mõsí. The rain has stopped but it still falls lightly.

mõtì [mõtì] *Cf: lisi* *v.* to spit, to remove from mouth • dí f mõtì kpúlìkpúlì tà. Spit the candy out.

mõtõl [mõtõl] *n.* West African mole rat (*Cryptomys zechi*). *pl.* **mõtõlsa.**

n [ñ] (*var. m*) (*var. ñ*) *pro.* first person singular pronoun

¹**na** [ná] *v.* 1) see • ñ ná dí òò wíkpágfè wíréo. I see that his behaviour are good. 2) to feel • tágà à disá dí nā jiìsá nõðñwáñ. Dip your finger and taste it to see.

²**na** (*var. of nar*)

³**na** (*var. of ra*)

nää [nää] *n.* 1) leg 2) process *pl.* **nääsa.**

nääbibaambaj [nääbibaámbaj] *n.* middle toe *pl.* **nääbibaambansa.**

nääbibaambajwie [nääbibaám-báñwié] *n.* fourth toe *pl.* **nääbibaambajwise.**

nääbietína [nääbíétíína] *lit.* toes-owner *n.* lion *SynT:* **džetínuzeñtína**

nääbii [nääbíí] *n.* toe *pl.* **nääbie.**

nääbikaŋkawal [nääbíkàŋkàwál] *n.* big toe *pl.* **nääbikaŋkawala.**

nääbiwie [nääbíwié] *n.* little toe *pl.* **nääbiwise.**

nääbizijíi [nääbízíñíí] *n.* index toe *pl.* **nääbizijie.**

nāāgbajahok [nāāgbájáhòk] n. tibia *pl.* nāāgbajahogo.

nāāhūf̄wie [nāāhūf̄wíè] *n.* kneecap *pl.* nāāhūf̄wise.

nāāhūū [nāāhūū] *n.* knee *pl.* nāāhūno.

naajelēe [nāājélēè] *n.* cracked and dried skin, usually on and around the heels

nāākorb̄sa [nāākòrb̄vá] *n.* hollow and bend of the knee *pl.* nāākorb̄sa.

naakpaaga [nāākpàágá] *Cf:* kagal *n.* farm space measurement, about five square meters

nāākputi [nāākpútí] *n.* leg amputated

naal [náàl] *n.* ego's grand-father *pl.* naalma.

naalbilē[IPA?] *n.* ego's great-grandfather

naalomo [nāàlòmó] (*var.* pilinsii) *n.* type of idiophone, hollowed and dried calabash used as percussion instruments

naalojo [nāàlónjó] *n.* type of dirge featuring dancing and playing of seed rattle, known as

nāālumo [nāālùmó] *n.* heel *pl.* nāālumoso.

naanasii [nāànàsíí] *n.* footstep *pl.* naanasié.

nāānawōsii [nāānàwósíí] *n.* groin, pelvis *pl.* nāānawōsie.

nāāni[IPA?] *v.* to be similar • *ii* nēpítíf̄ háj̄ àní ññ kíj̄ nāāní dójā nīrā. Your ring and mine are similar.

nāānuule [nāānúulé] (*Gu. var. of annulie*)

nāāp̄egii [nāāp̄égíí] *n.* thigh *pl.* nāāp̄egie.

nāāpiel [nāāp̄fél] *n.* foot *pl.* nāāpiela.

nāāpiel gantal [nāāp̄íél gántál] *n.* top of the foot

nāāpiel patſigii [nāāp̄íél pàtſígíí] *n.* sole of the foot

nāāpol [nāāpól] *n.* Achilles tendon *pl.* nāāpolo.

naasaargb̄esa [nāàsààgb̄ésà] *n.* Neem tree (*Azadirachta indica*). *pl.* naasaargb̄esəsa.

naasē[IPA?] *num.* four *Enum:* anaasē

nāāsii [nāāsíí] *n.* ankle bump *pl.* nāāsie.

naasi (*var. of anaasē*)

naatiina [nààtííná] *Cf:* niéra

n. ego's mother's brother *pl.* naatiinsa.

nāātōs [nāātóó] *n.* shoe, sandal *pl.* nāātōssa.

nāātōskv̄or [nāātóókòór] *n.* shoe maker *pl.* nāātōskv̄ora.

nāātōsingirigisa [nāātóósíngírgígsá] *n.* sandals made of tire, known as

nāātōwa [nāātówá] *n.* pair of shoes

nāātuto [nāātütó] *lit.* leg-mortar *n.* elephantiasis of the leg

nāātſiḡi [nāātſígí] *n.* calf *pl.* - nāātſiḡe.

nāātſöḡ [nāātſöḡ] *n.* ankle *pl.* - nāātſöḡsna.

naawal [nààwàl] *n.* ulcers

nagaʊs [nàgàó] *Cf:* **kırıma** *n.* tsetse fly [*Gu*].

nahā [nàhá] *n.* ego's grand-mother *pl.* **nahāma**.

nahālbilie[IPA?] *n.* ego's great-grandmother

nahiɛ̃ [náhíɛ̃] (*var.* **nehiɛ̃**) *n.* sense, practical wisdom *Ant:* **genii**

najelingbielie [nájélinḡbièliè] *Cf:* **dintſāñdaa** *n.* lamp which use rolled cotton and shea oil *pl.* **najelingbielise**.

nakeliŋ [nàkélíŋ] *n.* type of tree *pl.* **nakelima**.

nakodol [nàkòdól] (*var.* **nokodol**) *n.* type of tree (*Rhodognaphalon brevicuspe*). *pl.* **nakodolo**.

nakuj [nàkúj] *n.* jathropha (*Jathropha curcas*). *pl.* **nakuj**.

nakpagtui [nàkpáyətíí] *n.* type of tree (*Detarium microcarpum*). *pl.* **nakpagtia**.

nākpazugo [nàkpázùgò] *n.* type of vulture (*Gyps africanus; Necrosyrtes monachus*). *pl.* **nākpazugoso**.

nama [nàmà] *v.* 1) to press and smooth with a heated iron • *nàmà ñì tágàtà tíéŋ*. 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 grinding device • *òò hááŋ káálí nòj dí ó ká nàmà míá*. Her

wife has gone to the mill to grind flour.

namba [námbà] *n.* number <*number* (ultm. English) *pl.* **nambasa**.

nambéra [námbèrà] *n.* cooked meat for sale at the market

nambiliŋ [nàmbilíŋ] *n.* type of grinding stone

namīã [nàmíã] (*var.* **namīɛ̃**) *n.* meat; flesh *pl.* **nansa**.

namīɛ̃ [nàmíɛ̃] (*var. of* **namīã**)

nampuniwiila [nàmpūnííwíílā] *n.* muscle pain

namuŋ [námùŋ] *quant.* everyone, anyone • *pìèsi námùŋ dí líé pē dùù-siè tíwīí kà dòà*. Ask anyone where Ducie road is. *záàj námùŋ kààlì kúó*. Today everyone should go to farm. *námùŋ wà tòò dìà nī*. There is no one in the house.

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 [nànsááráá] *Cf:* **nasarhääŋ** *Cf:* **nasarbaal** *n.* white, caucasian person <*Nazareth* (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa?) *pl.* **naasarasa**.

nansielii (*var. of* **sie**)

nantɔŋii [nàñtɔŋíí] *n.* boiled meat

nanguruŋ [nàŋgúrúŋ] *n.* piece of meat *pl.* **nàŋgúrúmó**.

naŋgwoŋ [náŋg沃ŋ] *n.* millet ergot (fungi) disease (*Claviceps*).

nanjogul [nàŋjóyúl] *n.* butcher *pl.* nanjogulo.

nanjoguro (*var. of* nanjogul)

naŋkola [náŋkólá] *n.* type of mouse

naŋkpääŋ [nàŋkpääŋfí] *n.* hunting for meat • የንኩး bíárè káálí nàŋkpääläj. My brother went hunting for meat.

naŋkpääŋ [nàŋkpääŋ] *n.* hunter <ŋ-kpäŋ 'hunt' (Gonja) *pl.* naŋkpäŋsa.

naŋkpääŋzugo [nàŋkpääŋzùgò] (*var. of* duu)

naŋzima [nàŋzìmà] *n.* knowledge

naŋzinna [nàzìnnà] (*var.* wizimii) *n.* wise person *pl.* naŋzinnasa.

nãš (*var. of* nõš)

naparapirii [nàpàràpìrìi] *n.* type of tree (*Ximenia americana*). *pl.* naparapiree.

nar [nár] (*var.* na2) *n.* person *pl.* nara.

nasääŋ [nàsääŋ] *Cf:* nasata *n.* playmate by kin, person with whom one can violate some social rules and takes belongings from *pl.* nasääna.

nasara [nàsárá] *Cf:* nibupømma *n.* white, caucasian person *pl.* nasa-rasa.

nasarbaal [nàsàrbáàl] *Cf:* nansaaraa *n.* white, caucasian man

nasarhääŋ [nàsàrhääŋ] *Cf:* nansaaraa *n.* white, caucasian woman

nasarlulii [nàsàrlúlí] *n.* non-local medicine, such as pills and other packaged medicine

nasata [nàsátà] *Cf:* nasääŋ *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 in a playmate relation.

nasì [nàsì] *v.* to step on something with a foot • tí wá nàsì ñì kìn-wilfì. Do not step on my soar.

nasie [nàsíè] *n.* thunder • nàsíè hō-siò. The thunder booms.

nasol [nàsól] *n.* type of tree (*Grewia carpinifolia*). *pl.* nasollo.

nãš [nàš] *Cf:* nõš *n.* cow [Mo].

naɔpiŋa [nàɔpìŋá] *n.* type of insect *pl.* naɔpiŋəna.

naval [naval] *lit.* leg-walk *n.* circuit, tour, walkabout

nawal [nàwál] *n.* ulcer

ne (*var. of* ra)

nebietiina [nébíétífná] *lit.* fingers-owner *n.* leopard *SynT:* bɔɔ-manipjuwietiina

nebii [nébíí] *n.* finger *pl.* nebie.

nebiifetii [nébíífétìi] *n.* finger print *pl.* nebiifetie.

nebikaŋkaŋwal (*var.* nebiikaŋkawal)

nebikaŋkawal [nébíkàŋkàwál] (*var.* nebikaŋkaŋwal) *n.* thumb *pl.* nebi-kaŋkawala.

nebikàŋkawalnanpunii [nébíkàŋkàwàl-nànpúníí] *lit.* thumb-flesh *n.* ball of the thumb (*Thenar eminence*).

nebipetii [nébípētii] *n.* fingernail *pl.* **nebipetie.**

¹**nebisunu** [nébísùnù] *Cf:* **nebiwie** *n.* little finger *pl.* **nebisunu.**

²**nebisunu** [nèbísùnù] (*var. of nebiwie*)

nebiwie [nébíwié] *Cf:* **nebisunu** (*var. nebisunu2*) *n.* little finger

nebizeŋii (*var. of bambaŋnebii*)

nebiziŋii [nébízíŋíí] *n.* middle finger

neguma [négúmà] *n.* elbow *pl.* **negumsa.**

negbaja [négbáñà] *n.* bend of the arm *pl.* **negbajsa.**

nekpeg [nékpég] *Cf:* **siitüna** *n.* quality of someone who is never ready to help *Ant:* **sɔŋtiina** *pl.* **nekpege.**

nekpegi [nékpégíí] *n.* biceps *pl.* **nekpegee.**

nekpun [nékpúj] *n.* any joint along the arm (finger, elbow, shoulder) *pl.* **nekpuno.**

neŋ [néŋ] *n.* arm, hand *pl.* **neše.**

neŋbakpagii [némbàkpàgñíí] *n.* handle *pl.* **neŋbakpagee.**

neŋgaltüna [néŋgáltüñá] *lit.* arm-left-owner *n.* monkey *SynT:* **gbřā**

neŋgbij [neŋgbij] *Cf:* **gbij** *n.* wrist ring

neŋtiina [néŋtiiñá] *lit.* arm-owner *n.* elephant *SynT:* **bɔłaselzeŋ**

nepiel [népíël] *n.* hand *pl.* **nepiela.**

nepiɛlgantal [népíélgañtál] *n.* back of the hand

nepiɛlpatsigii [népíélpàtſígíí] *n.* palm of the hand

nepitii [népítíí] *n.* finger ring *pl.* **nepitia.**

nepol [népól] *n.* front arm vein

netisiŋ [nétísíŋ] *n.* lowest part of the inner surface of the hand *pl.* **netisime.**

netſug [nétſúg] *n.* wrist *pl.* **netſuguna.**

neesi [néési] *n.* <*nurse* (ultm. English)

nəhiš (*var. of nahíš*)

nigimi [nìgìmì] (*var. ligimi*) *v.* to disappear by magic • *kɔsánáž džgɔ́ñf nàŋkpáññ* ùù *nìgìmì.* The buffalo chased the hunter, he disappeared.

nikana (*var. of nar*)

nisiri [nìsírì] (*var. of wɔzaandia*)

¹**ni** (*var. of ani*)

²**ni** [ní] *postp.* locative particle

ni- [ní] classifier particle for human entity

nibaal [níbáál] *Cf:* **baal** *n.* man *pl.* **nibaala.**

nibenii [níbéníí] *n.* experienced person, oldhands *pl.* **nibenie.**

nibəŋ (*var. of nibubəŋ*)

nibubəŋ [níbúbóŋ] (*var.* **nibəŋ**) *n.* bad person *Ant:* **nibuwerii** *pl.* **nibubəma.**

nibubummo [níbúbúmmò] (*var.* **nibummo**) *n.* black skinned person

nibudimj (*var. of nídmj*)

nibukamboro [níbúkámbòrò] *lit.* person-half *n.* untrusty person *pl.* nibukamboroso.

nibukperii [níbúkpéríí] *n.* 1) person who has unusual behaviors 2) person with conformations and deformities *pl.* nibukperee.

nibukpur [níbúkpúr:] *n.* murderer *pl.* nibukpura.

nibummo (*var. of nibubummo*)

nibupásii[IPA?] *n.* wonderful person

nibupómma [níbúpómma] *Cf:* nasara (*var.* nípómma) *n.* fair-skinned person

nibusíama [níbúsíámá] (*var.* nísíama) *n.* reddish skinned person, atypical skin color

nibuwerii [níbúwéríí] *n.* generous person *Ant:* nibuborj *Ant:* siituna *pl.* nibuweree.

nibuzorj [níbúzóṛj] (*var. of nízorj*)

nídigimája [nídígímáṇjá] *n.* lonely person

nídímj [nídímj] *Cf:* dímgimdjwídmjbidiin (*var.* nibudimj) *n.* truthful, helpful, generous, trustworthy, effective or faithful person • ḷṇṛ bíári jáá nídiṇj ná. My brother is a truthful person. *pl.* nídirima.

nídöma [nídömá] *n.* ghost

niera [níérá] *Cf:* naatuna *Cf:* niéri *n.* ego's mother's brother [*Gu*].

niérrí [níèṛí] *Cf:* niera *v.* to take meat from one's sister's children, especially the neck part • iì nààtìinsá kàá wàà niérrí à nàmìà bágéná. Your uncles will come and take away the neck (of the animal)

níñesa [níñésá] *n.* needle *pl.* níñesasa.

¹**nígsié** [nígsié] *n.* nematode. Tiny worms that live in the soil, feeding on and causing considerable damage to crop plants (*Scutellonema gen.*).

²**nígsié** [nígsié] *n.* type of snake

nihääñ [níhääñ] *Cf:* hääñ *n.* woman

nihäwie [níhäwie] *Cf:* binihääñtulorwie ■ *n.* young girl [*Gu*].

nihíë [níhíë] *n.* elder *pl.* nihíësa.

nihíëlñj [níhíëlñj] *n.* system of rotation which identify the senior fellow of each clan as candidate for lordship

níi [níí] *n.* water *pl.* níita.

níibata [níibátà] *n.* bravery

níibuluñ [níibúluñ] *n.* human being *pl.* níibulumo.

níihá [níihá] *n.* bitter water

níijogulo [níijoyulo] *n.* water seller *pl.* níijouloso.

níinðálñj [níinðálñj] *n.* drinking water, potable water

níipagan [níipágàn] *n.* fermented water

níipögësa (*var. of níipëksa*)

níipëksa [níípëysâ] (*var.* níipögësa) *n.* thirst • níipëksâ kpágñ nā. I'm thirsty.

nipuugbangbulii [níípnùùgbàng-búlíí] (*var.* **nipuukaŋkiiri**) *n.* black beetle which swims on surface of water, known as Whirligig beetle (*Gyrinidae*). *pl.* **nipuugbangbulie**.

nipuukaŋkiiri (*var.* *of* **nipuugbangbulii**)

nipšarvii [níípnšàrvíí] *n.* drinking pot *pl.* **nipšarviine**.

nipšamma [níípnšamma] *n.* 1) liquid coming out of a swelling which is operated on 2) sap of a tree

nisi [níísií] *lit.* water-eye *n.* deepest part of a river *pl.* **nisiie**.

nisota [níísstá] *n.* puerperal or childbed fever

nitaaj [níítáàj] *n.* pond created by a river drying out *pl.* **nitaana**.

nitima [nííftfíná] *lit.* water-owner *n.* type of snake *SynT:* **kɔŋ**

nikanika [níkàníkà] *n.* mill <*nikanika* (Akan)

niligimii [nílligímíí] *n.* a person who has disappeared by magic

nipař [nípnář] *Cf.* **lalwiesulumbie** *n.* orphan *pl.* **nipařsa**.

nij [níj] *adv.* this, like this • *hñj jáá níj.* Did you do this?

nipšamma (*var.* *of* **nibupšamma**)

nisiama (*var.* *of* **nibusiama**)

nrietaalii [nívìètáálíí] *n.* rejected person *pl.* **nrietaalie**.

nizɔŋ [nízòj] (*var.* **nibuzɔŋ**) *n.* weak person

nosawajahoo [ñnɔáwàjähóò] *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.* **no-kun**.

nägar [nɔ̄gár:] *n.* cattle ring *pl.* **nägra**.

nägbar [nɔ̄gbár] *n.* cowherd *pl.* **nägbara**.

nälor [nɔ̄lór:] *n.* female cow that has not given birth (heifer) *pl.* **näloto**.

nöna [nɔ̄nà] *v.* to bear fruit (one or many) • *súómó wá nänä bìnà hä-ñj.* The shea did not fruit this year.

nänii [nɔ̄nñí] *n.* cow that has given birth *pl.* **nänita**.

nɔŋ [nɔ̄j] *n.* 1) type of grinding stone 2) grinding activity area *pl.* - **nɔnna; nɔnna**.

nɔŋ [nɔ̄j] *n.* fruit *pl.* **nɔnā**.

nɔŋa [nɔ̄ŋà] *v.* 1) to love, to like • *bilóllá múj nɔŋá bà bisé ré.* All parents love their children. 2) to carry on one's back • *ɔ wà bìrà à nɔŋà ùù bié.* She does not carry her child anymore.

nɔŋbuluj [nɔ̄mbúlúj] *n.* type of grinding stone

nɔpřna [nɔ̄přná] *n.* type of insect (*Lycidae*). *pl.* **nɔpřnasa**.

nɔš [nɔ̄š] *Cf.* **näš** (*var.* **näš**) *n.* cow *pl.* **nɔšna**.

nɔ̄wii [nɔ̄wíi] *n.* calf *pl.* nɔ̄wie.

nɔ̄ʔɔrɔ̄j [nɔ̄ʔɔrɔ̄j] *n.* type of climber (*Acalypha neptunica*). *pl.* nɔ̄ʔɔrɔ̄ma.
nuhō [nuhō] *n.* grandchild *pl.* nuhūniē.

nuui [nùuì] *Cf:* aānuuba *n.* suffering

nɔ̄ā [nɔ̄ā] 1) *n.* mouth 2) *reln.* entrance, orifice • ȳméhtél síi bilè ùù kuó tiwíi zéj nɔ̄ā nī. Spider went establish his farm by a main road. *pl.* nɔ̄sa.

nɔ̄ā dígimaŋa [nɔ̄ā dígimáŋá] *lit.* mouth-one to agree • bá jáá nɔ̄ā dígimáŋá à sùmmè dýá. They should agree and help each other.

nɔ̄āpɔ̄mma [nɔ̄āpɔ̄mmá] *adj.* unreserved; of someone who cannot keep secrets, who cannot hold back • i kpágá nɔ̄āpɔ̄mmá rá. You exhibit no reserve. i jáá nɔ̄āpɔ̄mmátífná rá. You are someone who cannot keep secrets.

nɔ̄ātina [nɔ̄ātífná] *lit.* mouth-owner *n.* dog *SynT:* vaanɔ̄ázimítiuna

nɔ̄ātʃvar [nɔ̄ātʃóór] *n.* mouth marks, tribal or accidental scars *pl.* nɔ̄ātʃvara.

nɔ̄āzimítiuna [nɔ̄āzíñíftífná] *lit.* mouth-knower-owner *n.* dog *SynT:* vaanɔ̄átiuna

nɔ̄ga [nɔ̄gà] *v.* to rub to grind, to chip into pieces • nɔ̄gà kàpúsiè, Ȳ wà kpágá píyá. Rub the kola nut, I have no teeth.

nɔ̄gol [nɔ̄gól] *n.* fleshy part and relative texture of the core or center of a

tuber or fruit, usually less hard than its surrounding layer *pl.* nɔ̄gula.

nɔ̄shók [nɔ̄shók] *n.* thrush, contagious disease caused by a fungus

nɔ̄ma [nɔ̄mà] *v.* *Cf:* kpaŋkpaj 1) to be hot, to burn by heat • tiè à níí nɔ̄mà. Let the water be hot. 2) to be active

nɔ̄manier [nɔ̄màniér] *lit.* scorpion-uncle *Cf:* halinguomii *n.* type of millipede (*Myriapoda*).

nɔ̄manɔ̄ma [nɔ̄mànɔ̄mà] *ideo.* fast fast

nɔ̄míi [nɔ̄míi] *n.* hot

nɔ̄nnɔ̄j [nɔ̄nnɔ̄j] *n.* 1) feeling hot • Ȳ kà sáŋà wòsá ní kéj nɔ̄nnɔ̄j zòò Bákúri ré. Because he sat in the sunshine, that is why Bakuri is feeling hot. 2) physical and psychological agitation, intense feeling of despair in face of a situation • pòrusòsò dòò síntírfi ní nɔ̄nnɔ̄j zòò. The police put him in jail, he was despaired.

nɔ̄j [nɔ̄j] *v.* 1) hot • niìnɔ̄j nā. It is hot water. 2) fast

nɔ̄ra [nɔ̄rà] *v.* to be pierced by a tiny device, like a splinter or needle • kín nɔ̄rā Ȳò nébií. He got a splinter in his finger.

nɔ̄tunii [nɔ̄túnii] *n.* lip *pl.* nɔ̄tunie.

1nɔ̄ð [nɔ̄ð] *Cf:* nɔ̄ðløgɔ̄sii *n.* shea butter, oil, grease or fat *pl.* nɔ̄ðta.

2nɔ̄ð [nɔ̄ð] *v.* 1) to hear, to listen • i nɔ̄ð à báál Ȳò wíymáhá rää? Do you hear the man talking? 2) to perceive, to sense • à jiisá nɔ̄ð à disá rää? Is the salt enough in the soup?

n̩õðl̩g̩osii [n̩õðl̩l̩y̩sí] Cf: n̩õð
n. shea butter ball *pl.* **n̩õðl̩y̩yesie**.

n̩õðma [n̩õðmá] n. scorpion *pl.* **n̩õðnsa**.

n̩õðt̩tii [n̩õðt̩tii] n. pommade, body cream

n̩ozvl̩v̩j [n̩ozvl̩v̩j] lit. mouth-enter-back.area n. tongue *pl.* **n̩ozvl̩v̩ma**.

pā [pá] v. 1) to defecate • *tózén n̩i b̩à wà* pā bíná dèndil ní. In big towns they do not defecate outside. 2) to lay eggs • *píjsé káá pā hálá rá, ká óv̩wà wà pā*. Fish lay eggs, but this one does not. 3) to rust • *n̩n sák̩r pájáð*. My bicycle is rusty.

¹**pāá** [páá] n. poverty

²**pāá** [páá] to be lacking in

³**pāá** [páá] v. to be poor • *kùorúsó wà pāáwā*. Chiefs are not poor.

naabi [náábí] v. to expose, to reveal the guilt or wrongdoing of someone • *bà pāábí Zìàng n̩ikáná báán ní*. Ziang was exposed in the midst of people.

naari [nààri] Cf: **kõrtiisi** v. to grind roughly by breaking slightly • *nààri kõmíá t̩øñà sít̩*. Grind the malt for brewing.

pad̩sa [nàd̩sá] n. garden egg (*Solanum melongena*). *pl.* **pad̩asa**.

paga [nàgà] v. 1) be sour • à d̩vá hár pāgāð. That soup ingredient is fermented. 2) be harsh • à báál pāgāð. The man is harsh.

nagamí [nàyámí] v. to ferment • *tiè*

à kùbúú **págámí**. Let the porridge ferment.

nagasi [nàyásí] v. to heat a cut or wound using hot water or a hot cloth in order to protect from infection •

jiàgàsí Hákúrí nàåbúú t̩szððr tí wà kpágv̩s̩. Heat the wound on Hakuri's toe so that it does not get infected.

nagenpentii [náyémpéntíí] n. hedgehog (*Erinaceinae subfam.*). *pl.* **nagenpentie**.

pagee [nàgëé] n. sour • *Wáálá káá dí nàgëë kóó*. The Waalas eat sour tz.

pagi [nágí] n. anger

nagimbii [náyimbíí] n. 1) seed of 2) type of snake *pl.* **nagimbi**.

naginj [náyinj] n. type of plant *pl.* **ngima**.

pāí [pái] n. rusty

nakpate [nàkpaté] Cf: **t̩øbíel** n. grain weevil (*Ferrisia virgata*). *pl.* **nakpate**.

nalsí [nálsí] v. to shine by polishing or washing • à bìè tití n̩õð òv̩ bátøñ dí **nalsí**. The child rubbed oil; her skin is shining.

namékasa [nàmékàsà] n. scissors *pl.* **namékasasa**.

pammibii [nàmmibíí] n. maize seed *pl.* **pammibie**.

pammii [nàmmif] Cf: **míymena** n. maize *pl.* **pammie**.

panvgr [nàñogíí] n. child unable to manage without help in order to use his or her potential *pl.* **panvgee**.

ŋaŋa [nàŋjà] *v.* eat staple food with meat only, without the soup • *bà fiì* ŋáŋjà kóó rá hólà pálòò ní. They used to eat tz and meat without soup in the Sisaala land.

ŋáŋja [nàŋŋà] *n.* kind of gravel, often reddish, used on road, used for mud floors and roofs

ŋaŋasi [nàŋàsì] *v.* to do something with joy and happiness • *òò bárá káá* ŋáŋjásòò, ò káá kààlì kúó kà dí kápálà. He is excited, he will go to farm and eat fufu.

¹ŋaŋji [náŋŋjí] *v.* to be worse • *à báál gárágá tíjì* ŋáŋŋjáá. The man's sickness is worse.

²ŋaŋji [náŋŋjí] *v.* to be about or hang out at a place for a reason • *à biè káá ŋáŋjí námíá bátiélí* ní. The child hangs around the place where people eat meat.

ŋaŋu [náŋjù] *Cf.* ŋaŋuwólee *interj.* title for the clan ŋaŋuwólee

ŋaŋuwólee [náŋjùwóléé] *Cf.* ŋaŋu *nprop.* clan found in Gurumbele

ŋásii [násíí] *n.* wonderful • *nibúŋásíí* jáá. You are a wonderful person. - *kínŋásíí*. Wonderful thing.

ŋáá [náá] *n.* poor person *pl.* ŋáása.

ŋegeke [négéké] *n.* very little portion of something bigger • *òò bán dó kén* ŋégéké. It is just so little.

ŋepaaŋ [némáaŋ] *n.* worm which infests the stomach *pl.* ŋepaaŋsa.

ŋeesi [nèéési] *v.* to warm up moderately • *à dij káá ŋéééñ ná*. The fire warms me up moderately.

ŋegéke [négéké] *n.* type of behavior
ŋesa [nésà] *n.* malnourished child, a child with a reduced growth rate *pl.* ŋésasa.

ŋewá [némá] *num.* two *Enum:* alie
ŋiise [niísé] *v.* to be partially out of sight • *ò píisé òò ŋíjá rá*. He showed his teeth in a concealing way.

ŋine [níiné] *v.* 1) to take care of, to watch • *màrà jíne nì dàbágà dì n wá kààlì*. Take care of my garden while I am away. *dì jíne* ñj kpáámá. Look after at my yams. 2) to depend on, to rely on • *n jíne iì sié ní*. I depend on you.

ŋinee [nínéé] *ŋinee* *n.* fish *pl.* ŋinse.

ŋinene [pinene] (*var.* **ŋipine**) *n.* caretaker *pl.* ŋinenese.

ŋinie [nínié] *TYPE* ŋinee

ŋintſige [níntſigé] *Cf.* kagba *n.* hat, cap, muslim hat *pl.* ŋintſigese.

ŋipáŋá [níŋáŋá] *n.* wicked and deliberate act towards someone *pl.* ŋipáŋáasa.

ŋipine (*var. of* **ŋinene**)

ŋiŋ [níj] *n.* type of sore, usually on head, ears and lips *pl.* ŋiŋ.

ŋiŋhal [níjhal] *n.* fish egg *pl.* ŋiŋhalá.

ŋiŋhog [níjhòg] *n.* fish bone

ŋiŋ?ɔrì [níŋ?órí] *n.* dental abscess. Swollen jaw, painful tooth, difficulty eating or chewing

ŋima [nímá] *v.* to show silent resentment, to make unhappy or angry face, to frown, to be sullen • *ò ñmá*

wié dì tīēj nà àká jñmà. While he was speaking to me, he was frowning.

jína [jínà] *n.* father *pl.* **jínamá**.

jí nabise [jìnábísè] *Cf:* **jí nawolee** *n.* children of a paternal line

jí nawolee [jìnáwóléé] *Cf:* **jí nabise** *pl.n.* members of a paternal relation

jínhíē [jìnhfíē] *n.* 1) ego's father's senior brother 2) ego's step-father, if the man is older than the biological father

jínmíē [jìnfmíē] *interrog.* how, what

jínwie [jìnwié] *n.* 1) ego's father's junior brother 2) ego's step-father, if the man is younger than the biological father

jípaj [jínáj] *n.* ascaris, intestinal parasitic roundworm *pl.* **jípansa**.

jípajá [jínjáná] *Cf:* **patfighää** *n.* wickedness • ḡ kpágá jípnajá. He is wicked.

jípj [jíj] *n.* tooth *pl.* **jípja**.

jípjdaa [jíndáá] *n.* horn *pl.* **jípjdaasa**.

jíntielii [jíntiélíi] *n.* back tooth, molar and premolar *pl.* **jíntielee**.

jípjvaa [jípjváà] *n.* front tooth *pl.* **jípjvasa**.

jññ[IPA?] *num.* five *Enum:* **apj**

jñtì [jñtì] *n.* flintlock locking screw

jubirijtima [júbírítíñà] *lit.* head-full-owner *n.* blind *SynT:* **jølvñ**

jukpal [núkpál] *n.* baldness *pl.* **jukpalla**.

jukpalttna [núkpáltñá] *n.* bald headed *pl.* **jukpaltsuma**.

jukpeg [núkpég] *n.* stubborness

jukpulii [núkpúlíí] *n.* head of animal without a neck *pl.* **jukpulee**.

jupérii [jùpéríi] *Cf:* **péra** *n.* type of hair dressing *pl.* **juperie**.

jupuuusa [jùpùùsà] *n.* soft spot on an infant's skull (*Fontanelle*). *pl.* **jupuuusa**.

jupvñ [júpñj] *n.* head hair *pl.* **jupvna**.

juu [júù] 1) *n.* head 2) *reln.* top of •

Wòjò dñsá à bñzénj jñuñ nì. Wojo is on top of the big rock. *pl.* **juuuno**.

juuudojo [júúdójó] *n.* abused person, someone whose reputation has been discredited

juuudør [jùùdør] *lit.* head-put-agent *n.* hypocrite *pl.* **juuudøra**.

juuuni (*var. of a juu ni*)

juvçowi [jùvçwì] *n.* plaiting the hair

juwiettna [júwíétñá] *lit.* head-small-owner *n.* leopard *SynT:* **bøomaniinebiettna**

juwinala [júwíflá] *n.* headache

juzenjttna [júzéñtñá] *n.* lion *SynT:* **džetinääbiettna**

jøð [jøð] *Cf:* **jala** *v.* to germinate, seen individually • ḡ wà jøðjëë. It did not germinate.

jññä [jññå] *v.* 1) to drink • ḡ jññá nírá. I drank water. 2) to smoke • ḡ wàá kñj jññå jññåsá. I cannot smoke.

pōāsa [pōāsá] *n.* smoke

pōg [pōg] *n.* crocodile *pl.* pōga.

pōgōma [pōyōmā] *n.* camel (Akan)

pōlōy [pōlōy] *n.* blind • pōlōmá ká nù wíè kínkàn nà. Blind people can hear much. *SynT:* pubirintima *pl.* -pōlōma.

pōmmi [pōmmi] *Cf:* tō *v.* to close one's eyes • pōmmi iì sié. Close your eyes.

pōnsi [pōnsí] *v.* to get lost, to lose sight of • iì kárantiè pōnsi kùò tìwíí ní. Your cutlass got lost on the farm road. òò váá pōnsiò. His dog is lost.

pōs [pōs] *v.* to come together in a crowd • bámùn wà góruú pōs. They came around him in numbers.

ŋma [ŋmá] 1) *v.* to say, to speak • ò ŋmá dí à bóníé ní i káá wàò. He said that you might come. ñ ŋmájé tìè ñ ŋ hááñ dí ó tóñà námíá. I told my wife to cook the meat. 2) *v.* to want • - ñ ŋmá ñ zímáñ. I want to know. ñ ŋmá ý káálí jàwá. I want to go to the market. 3) *pv.* desiderative mood pre-verb particle

ŋmääñu [ŋmääñú] *nprop.* Mangu (person's name) *SynT:* mbasikhasik

ŋmaara [ŋmààrà] *n.* type of spirit

ŋmalíŋŋmíñš [ŋmálíŋŋmíñš] *n.* Purple Heron (*Ardea purpurea*). *pl.* ŋma-líŋŋmíñsa.

ŋmedaa [ŋmédàà] *Cf:* gundaabii *n.* thread holder for spinning cotton (with thread on)

¹ŋmena [ŋmènà] *v.* 1) to cut • ñ ŋméná dáá rá. I cut a tree. à kárantiè ŋméná ñ ñ náá rá. The cutlass cut my leg. 2) to bite • dôô bâàñ ŋménà à kpá jùò. A python just bit her and she fell. 3) to harvest, to dig out old yams planted • já káálí kiúò à ŋmènà kpáámá. Let us to the farm and dig yams.

²ŋmena [ŋmèná] *n.* chisel *pl.* ŋmena-sa.

³ŋmena [ŋmènà] *v.* to ignite • ŋmènà díñ dó dálíbòà ní. Light a fire in the stove.

⁴ŋmena [ŋmènà] (*var.* aŋmena) (*var.* baŋmena) 1) *interrog.* how much, how many • àŋmènáá i kà kpágá-sí? How many of them did you catch? 2) *n.* amount, a certain number

ŋmey [ŋméñ] *n.* okro *pl.* ŋmena.

²ŋmey [ŋméñ] *n.* rope *pl.* ŋmesa.

ŋmehòlù [ŋmehòlù] *n.* dried okro *pl.* ŋmehòlèe.

ŋmèntel [ŋmèntél] 1) *n.* spider 2) *num.* eight *pl.* ŋmèntela.

ŋmiire [ŋmíirè] *v.* to be wrinkled, to be rough • à hákíé síté ŋmíréó. The old woman has a wrinkled face.

¹ŋmíé [ŋmíé] *v.* to steal • à biè ŋmíé nà, púú nè ñ wà kpágá mòlèbíé. The child steals from me so I do not have money.

²ŋmíé [ŋmíé] *n.* theft • ŋmíé wà wíré. Theft is not good.

ŋmíéi [ŋmíéí] *n.* stealing

ŋmíēr [ŋmíēr] *n.* thief *pl.* ŋmíēra.

ŋmíeri [ŋmíérí] *v.* to melt • à dóbié
ŋmíérì làgá nī. The hail melt fast.

ŋmíēsí [ŋmíēsí] *v.* to swear • ñ ŋmíá-sí áá. I swear by the bushbuck.

¹ŋmōvri [ŋmōvri] *v.* to grumble, mutter discontentedly • à báál bisé káá
ŋmōvri wíé dìà nī. The man's children are grumbling in the house.

²ŋmōvri [ŋmōvri] *v.* chew something hard • à váá kàá ŋmōvri à hógó ré. The dog is chewing on the bone.

ñ [ñ] (*var. of n*)

ñbuopð [ñþbúðjð] *n.* hunter's rank of a person who has killed a buffalo (Gonja)

oi [?ói] *interj.* expression of surprise, unexpectation, or pain exclamation

ol [?ól] *n.* mouse *pl.* olo.

oluplen [?ólùpléñ] (*var. oripere*) *n.* airplane <aeroplane (English)

ombul [ómbúl] *n.* type of mouse

onsiañ [?ónsíáñ] *n.* type of mouse found in the bush

ontolee [óntòléè] *n.* type of mouse *pl.* ontolese.

onzasíi [?ónzásíí] *n.* type of mouse

õõ (*var. of èë*)

oripere [?órípérè] (*var. of oluplen*)

or?orsiañ [?òr?òrsíáñ] *n.* Red-Throated Bee-Eater (*Merops bulocki*). *pl.* ?or?orsiañ.

øgilí [?ýylí] *Cf.* trasi *v.* to be nauseous, having a urge to vomit • píñhòg kpágá ññ lilebòá ñ dì ȝgílí. A

fish bone is stuck in my throat and I feel like vomitting.

øla [?òlá] *v.* to go slimy, on its way to rot • bá kpá à tój bilàð õò òlá. They kept the skin until it rot.

øma [?òmà] *v.* to fear, to be afraid • tí bí wàà ómà lálfí múj. Never fear a corpse again.

ønsii [ónsíí] *n.* scaring

ønsi [?ònsi] *v.* to scare, to frighten, to talk harshly to • hàmój wàà ón-sì níhiéttä. A child does not frighten elders.

øngbia [?òngbiá] *n.* fearfulness

øngbiar [?òngbiár] *Cf.* bambitüna *n.* coward *Ant:* bambitüna *pl.* øngbiara.

øøli [?òðlì] (*var. øli*) *v.* to not be clean as in washing one's body, clothes or cooking ustensiles without soap • ìi níí tñj ìi kà sñjé këj ìi ȝøljáð. You are not clean with the bath you took.

øra [?òrà] *v.* 1) to cause to swell up or swell up through infection, to be bloated • iá órá òò nén nì. Guinea worm made his hand to swell. ññ náá ñráð. My leg is swollen. 2) to sew • Hákúrí kàá kiñ ðrà gár rá. Hakuri can sew clothes.

øsi [?òsi] *v.* to suck • kà làà ìi bié õò õsi. Go and get your child so she can suck your breast.

øti [?òti] *pl.v.* to swell

paa [pàà] *pl.v.* *Cf.* kpa 1) to take, to collect up or gather up several things

• *ka paa bma hama ta.* Go and take these feces away. 2) marry women

paamāā [pààmāā] *n.* type of tree (*Combretum aphanopetalum*). *pl.* **paamāāna.**

paani [páání] *v.* to open wide • - *páání à lögà ná òò pàtfígíí.* Open the bag wide so I can look inside.

paaní [páání] *v.* to put blame on someone • *bà pääññin ní ká n wá jáá wíí mùñ.* They put the blame on me but I did not do anything. <*pääññ* ‘blame’ (Dagaare)

paanõā [pàànõā] *n.* most extensive labour, typically planned to be carried out early • *nñ tñøsímpäànõā jáá báñ.* My early labour is right there.

paanøø [páànøø] *n.* bread <*pääññõ* (Akan)

¹**paasi** [pààsì] *v.* 1) to peel with a knife • *pààsì kpááy sùgùlì já dí.* Peel a yam and boil it so we can eat. *pààsì à sàpúhié púná múñ tā.* Peel off the hair of the rat. 2) to scoop out, like staple food from a pot to bowls • *à kóó wá kānā n kàá pààsì hén-sá átòrò.* The tz is not abundant, I can scoop it up to three bowls. 3) to weed on surface without digging the soil • *pààsì sígá pàtfígíí.* Weed the grass around the bean plants.

²**paasi** [páásí] *v.* to pass an exam • *bámùñ páásí à téésì rā.* Everyone passed the examination. <*pass* (English)

paati [páátì] *n.* political party (ultm. English)

paatfak [pààtfák] *n.* leaf *pl.* **paatfa-ga.**

paatfakjara [páàtfàyjárà] *n.* healer *pl.* **paatfakjarësa.**

pabii [pàbíí] *lit.* hoe-seed *n.* hoe blade *pl.* **pabie.**

paga [pàyà] *v.* do intentionally, without a particular reason • *ñ págá vièö dí ñ wáá kààlì dùséé záàñ.* I intentionally refused to go to Ducie today.

pagbetii [pàgbétíí] *Cf:* **patila** *n.* small hoe [*Gu*].

paki [pákì] *n.* park, field, especially used when referring to a football field <*park* (ultm. English)

pala [pàlà] *v.* to flow • *à gýñ pálà káálì tiìñúú rò.* The river flows to the west.

pama [pámá] *v.* to load a gun, to cock • *pámá à mááfà tñéñ.* Load the gværnes expressenun for me.

pañ [pán] *n.* molar *pl.* **paña.**

pañbanii [pánjbáníí] *lit.* molar-section *nprop.* section of Ducie

pañ?orii [pán?òrfíí] *n.* gingivitis

papata [pápátá] *n.* farmer *pl.* **papa-tësa.**

par [pár:] *n.* hoe *pl.* **para.**

para [pàrà] *v.* to farm, to weed • *tfà-káléé káá pàrà kpáámá kïñkáñ.* The Chakali people farm a lot of yam.

parage [pàràgè] *v.* to be dependent on someone else’s facilities, or share someone else’s belonging •

ñmñ māábié párágé ñ ní ññ hääj ní rā. My brother lives with me and my wife. õò binihääj párágé õò hílá dindíā nì. Her daughter shares the kitchen with her in-law.

parakun [pàrákùn] (*var.* perekõ) *n.* pig <*prokoo* (Akan, ultm. Portuguese) *pl.* **parakunso**.

parasa [pàràsá] *pl.n.* temporary farm workers

parasi [pàràsì] *v.* to crackle, noise made by burning charcoal or fire • à díj káá párásí. The fire is crackling.

parisumii [pàrísúmíí] *n.* asking for help at the farm, gathering people for a farm work and thanking them with small renumeration

pasi [pásì] *v.* to shade by taking leaves or grass and putting them on yam mounds and weigh down with some earth • bà wà pásí ñì kpáámá, à júú nì à wà jújéé. They did not shade my yam, therefore they did not germinate.

pasita [pásítà] *n.* pastor (ultm. English)

pata [pátá] *n.* trousers; pants *pl.* **patesa**.

pataasi [pátáásì] *n.* locally distilled alcoholic spirit <*àkpètèfì* ‘to keep out of sight’ (ultm. Ga)

pati [pàti] *v.* of a fowl jumping up and down after being slaughtered, or when it feels danger • à kiliè káá túù à záál pátíó õ bìrà zàà kààlì. When the eagle was coming down, the hen

jumped up and down and the eagle flew away.

patiisa [pàtíisà] *n.* curtain <*palisade* (ultm. English)

patila [pàtilá] *Cf:* **pagbetri** *n.* small hoe *pl.* **patilasa**.

paturuu [pàtùrúù] *n.* petrol (ultm. English)

patfigibummo [pàtfigibúmmò] *n.* not truthful, not transparent, liar, secretive

patfigihää [pàtfigihää] *Cf:* **jijanya** *n.* wickedness

patfigí [pàtfigí] 1) *n.* abdomen, belly 2) *n.* intrinsic properties that characterize someone • õò pàtfigí bíréò. He is not truthful and sincere. - õò pàtfigí póljáò. She is open and truthful. 3) *reln.* inside • wáá dòà à fálá pàtfigí ní. It is inside the calabash. *pl.* **patfigee**.

patfigí gbañsa [pàtfigí gbánsà] *n.* colic (dry)

patfigisunno [pàtfigíísúnñò] *n.* ascite, accumulation of fluid in the abdominal cavity caused by advanced liver disease or cirrhosis

patfigipømma [pàtfigípømmá] *n.* generous or fair person

patfigitøora [pàtfigítøórá] *n.* gratefulness; happy

patfigtøgsa [pàtfigtøyøsá] *n.* sadness, grief, depressed

patfigwiila [pàtfigwiìlà] *n.* stomach ache *pl.* **patfigwiila**.

pawie [pàwìé] *n.* small hoe used for weeding

pazeŋ [pàzèj] *n.* big hoe used for plowing *pl.* pazene.

pe [pé] *n.* by someone's or something's location, end or limit • m̄m̄ bisé müj nō tʃjēē kàalì bà māā pé. All my children have run to their mother. à kàpósiè dōá ùù pé nī. The kola nuts are by him.

¹pel [pél] *n.* third layer of roofing structure *pl.* pel.

²pel [pél] *n.* burial specialist *pl.* pelle.

peləŋ [pèlèj] *n.* breeze

peligi [pélígí] *v.* 1) to separate from each other • Bákúrí péligi ḍò hāánà dójá nī rā, ḍò hāwíé ḍò Wàà nī. Bakuri separated the wifes, the youngest lives in Wa now. 2) spread a mat or blanket on a floor • pélígí kùntún bilè à tʃòà. Spread the blanket and lie down.

pemballɔŋ [pèmbállɔŋ] *lit.* sheep-neck.hair *n.* type of grass

penteŋ [péntéŋ] *adv.* clear, as in seeing or hearing • ná à báál là péntéŋ. I saw the man clearly.

pen [pén] *n.* penis *pl.* pene.

penpɔŋ [pèmpɔŋ] *n.* male pubic hair *pl.* penpɔna.

peomāā [pèómāā] *lit.* wind.mother *n.* type of insect, similar size to a cricket

peopeo [péópéo] (*var. of* peupeu)

pete [pétè] *n.* thin roofing sticks, last layer before the soil is put on

¹peti [pétí] *v.* to finish, to stop • jà pétijōō. We are done. m̄m̄ pàtūrúù kàà pétūū. My petrol is finishing. à dúón há wà pétijē. The rain has not yet stopped.

²peti [pèti] *v.* to flap wing

peu [pèú] *n.* wind *pl.* peuno.

peuli [péúlí] *v.* to let an area become much larger and wider • já tñè à zùngòà kíl péúlí. Let the dancing floor be wider. péúlí iì mǐákúō ó ná kānà. Make your guinea corn farm much larger for you to get more.

peupeu [péùpèù] *Cf:* pømma (*var. peopeo*) *ints.* very (white) • pømmà péùpèù. very or pure white.

peusi [pèúsì] *v.* to winnow, separate grain from chaff using the wind only • à tómá jáá dí í péúsì mûró, zúló, mǐá àní pàmmíí. The work is that you should winnow rice, millet, guinea corn and maize.

pewo [pèwò] *v.* blow with instrument to revive • kpá à lìmpèù à pèwò à dín dò. Take the fan and blow on the fire.

pe [pé] *v.* to add to, to increase • jà kùòrù báñí péjēē à jàà báñié à-lòpè. Our chief's section was added to make seven sections.

pegsi [pèyèsì] *v.* to split up, to crack, to cut open • pègsi à kàpósiè bárá báliè. Split the kola nut into two parts.

pela [pélá] *v.* to lean on with own support • ñmíérá dí pélá Bákúrí zià nī à dì pigsúú. Yesterday thieves

were leaning against Bakuri's wall spying on him.

pempiamii [pémpìàmíi] *n.* fibrous meat *pl.* **pempiamie**.

pén [pèn] *n.* pen (ultm. English) *pl.* **pensa**.

¹**péna** [pèná] *Cf:* **bwɔga** *n.* moon *pl.* **pensa**.

²**péna** [pènà] *v.* 1) to be wide • *iì dìànzhā wà pénā.* Your door is not wide. 2) to be hollow • *à gàngàyđáá pátſīgī wá mārā pénà.* The inside of the drum is not hollowed enough.

pénii [péníí] *n.* wide *Ant:* **fɔrii**

péŋi [pèŋjí] *Cf:* **péŋpeŋja** *v.* to farm in the

péŋpeglimpe [pèmpèyélímpè] *n.* butterfly *pl.* **péŋpeglimpesa**.

péŋpeŋja [pèmpèŋjá] *Cf:* **péŋi** *n.* farming period between April and June, before the planting period

pépēna [pèpèná] *n.* season

péra [pérà] *Cf:* **nupérii** *v.* to weave rope or hair • *tíén bòk m pérá sígmaā ñyméñ.* Give me fiber to weave a mask rope.

perega (*var. of* **kokoluŋ**)

perekõ (*var. of* **parakun**)

pereṭe [péréṭè] *n.* dish plate (ultm. English) *pl.* **pereṭesa**.

pési [pésí] *v.* to slap, to smack • *pésí Kálá tièñ.* Draw the attention of Kala for me. *zóngoréè márà iì gántàl nī, m pésí tīēñ.* A mosquito is on your back, I am going kill it for you.

pétidindagal [pétídindàgàl] *n.* layer in-between, as egg shell membrane and orange pith

pewa [pèwà] *v.* to smoke meat, to grill meat to dry it • *nàdígíí wá tiè nànpèwíi.* Some people do not eat smoked meat. *pewà à áá nāmíñ.* Grill the bushbuck meat. *Syn:* **wiisi** 1

pewii [péwíí] *n.* smoking or grilling meat

piel [piél] *n.* type of plant *pl.* **piel**.

piesii [píésíí] *n.* sheep *pl.* **piesie**.

pigsi [pìgsì] *v.* spy • *tí válà à pìgsì à hääñ.* Do not go and spy on the woman.

pii [píí] *n.* yam mound *pl.* **pie**.

piili [píílí] *v.* to start • *bì píílí.* Start again. *gbàngbàñ kàá píílì tótfááñ gán-tál nī.* Harmattan will start after the **piimisa** [lit. yam.mound-nose *n.* part of yam mound

piipa [píípà] *Cf:* **kadaase** *Cf:* **tɔŋ** *n.* paper (ultm. English)

piipelęe [píipélęe] *n.* small yam mound leaning against another yam mound, built for matching the **piimisa** on the opposite line *pl.* **piipelesa**.

pikiete [píkiétè] *n.* old yam field where the mounds are open and yams have been removed

pile [pílē] *v.* to cover a surface with grass • *kɔsá ñ kpá pílē à diá.* I covered the house with grass.

pilinsii [pílínsíí] (*var. of* **naalomo**)

pini [píni] *n.* safety pin (ultm. English)

pinti [píntì] *v.* to pick up from the ground • *pínti tʃúónó tíēñ*. Pick up shea nut seeds for me.

piregi [pírègì] *v.* to take by surprise • *ń ká píréguū dí ù kétí ńn diàñðà*. I took him by surprise while he was breaking my door to enter my room.

piti [pítì] *v.* to survive • *à gérégíí wàá pítì*. The sick person will not survive.

pitieteo [pítíétèó] *n.* Bearded Barbet, type of bird (*Lybius dubius*). *pl.* pitie-teoso.

pitiipaŋa [pítííŋàŋà] *n.* type of tree (*Ficus sur*). *pl.* pitiipaŋasa.

pitiisolo [pítíísòlò] *n.* type of tree (*Ficus conraui*). *pl.* pitiisoloso.

pitʃɔŋ [pítʃɔŋ] *n.* row or line of successive yam mound *pl.* pitʃɔnsa.

př [pí] *v.* be fed up with the same matter, or the same food • *øv hááñ píð rā àñí øv sínjñðhá ní*. His wife is fed up with his drinking habit.

píani [píání] *v.* to open or make wide within certain limits • *bà píáni dùsèè tíwǖ rē*. They widen the Ducie road. - *píání iì lóga nðá ná*. Open your bag for me to see.

píasi [píásì] *v.* Cf: **vøga** 1) to ask • *à hááñ píasi øv báál dí lié ø ká káá-lì*. The woman asked the man where he was going. 2) to investigate, to soothsay • *ń ká píásì ná bááñ ká tié ñ dí wíi*. I shall soothsay to know what makes me sick.

píema [píèmá] *n.* ego's sister *pl.* piensa.

píeŋ [píéŋ] *n.* piece of cloth *pl.* píe-ma.

píga [pígà] Cf: **hala** *v.* to fry without any other ingredients • *wà làà zímbié háñ pígà já tíē*. Come and take this fowl meat and fry it for us to eat.

pígi [pígií] *n.* frying

píi [píí] Cf: **kpääñ** *n.* yam [*Ka*]. *pl.* píia.

¹píi [píi] *v.* to mark items or live-stocks • *má píi má bář kòrà*. You mark your share differently from each other.

²píi [píi] *v.* to soak items in water for a length of time • *kpà kíndóyó dó ñíí ní á píi, ká í dí tságásí*. Take the dirty items and soaked them, then you will be washing them.

¹píngi [píngì] *pl.v.* to make lines or marks

²píngi [píngì] *v.* to mark a field or cut a face, to draw a line • *píigì à bié gríí à-ká dò lúlí*. Cut the child's cheek then apply medicine.

pínlí [pínlí] *v.* to tear, to pull apart or into pieces • *pínlí kàdáásè támá tíéñ*. Tear a piece of paper for me.

píntɔɔ [píntóó] *n.* underpants <*píótó* (Akan) *pl.* píntɔɔsa.

píla [pílà] *v.* to hit down repeatedly, to compact by hitting • *já fùí pílà sàl lá*. We used to compact our roof top by hitting repeatedly on its surface.

pɪŋjà [pɪŋjà] *v.* to be satisfied, with food or information, to be full • -m̄ pɪŋjáš. I am satisfied. ḡ wà n̄ééjá pɪŋjà. He did not hear the information to his satisfaction.

pɪŋgaasi [pínggāasí] *Cf:* gaŋgalírì *n.* pickaxe (ultm. English)

pɪŋsí [píŋsí] *pl.v.* to be satisfied, especially with grains • à b̄ééñá pɪŋsí ání à sìimáá rā. The goats are satisfied with the food.

pirintsa [pirintsá] *Cf:* kɔlbaa *n.* bottle <*péntsá* (Akan)

písá [písá] *n.* grass mat *pl. písá.*

písí [písí] *v.* to scatter, to disappear, to spread, to come out, e.g. day, season • námùn písí ñ̄ñ síí ní. People should disappear from my face. písí à kpɔñkpɔñ tā à bíí ní à hólá. Spread the cassava on the rock to dry. tʃò̄sí káá písíø. The morning is coming out.

¹**po** [pó] *v.* to divide into parts • kà pó à lóñó ání fálásá. Go and divide the calabash into parts.

²**po** [pó] *v.* to take mud out of a pond • já káálì pó vètíí à góní. Let us go and take mud out of the pond.

pogo [pógó] *n.* guinea corn, whitish type

¹**pol** [pól] *n.* vein *pl. polo.*

²**pol** [pòl] *n.* pond or river, place which water is fetched from or used for drinking *pl. pollo.*

poleme [pòlémè] *v.* to do in a hurry, to rush, to hasten • má pólémè já káálì díá, dúóñ kàá búrūñ. You hurry so

we can go home, the rain is threatening.

polpiesii [pòlpíésíí] *lit.* pond-sheep *n.* Black-and-white colobuses, type of monkey (*Colobus*). *pl. polpiesie.*

pomo [pómó] *v.* to knock bark off • zàáñ biše káá pómō dàásá bàgábàgá. Today's children are removing the bark off trees anyhow.

pompora [pòmpòrà] *nprop.* Pompora (person's name)

pontii [póntíí] *n.* liniment tree (*Securidaca longepedunculata*). *pl. pontie.*

pon [pón] *n.* cricket *pl. pomo.*

ponpoglii [pómpòy়়lìí] *n.* type of tree *pl. ponpoglie.*

ponpogo [pònþpógò] *n.* type of tree (*Ficus trichopoda*). *pl. ponpogoso.*

¹**poruso** [pòrúsò] (*var. of poruso*)

²**poruso** [pòrúsò] (*var. poruso1*) *n.* police (ultm. English) *pl. poruso-so.*

¹**pɔ** [pó] *v.* *Cf:* tɔ̄š **1)** to insert, to plant, to transplant, to set upright in ground, to pierce • ñ̄ pó dāā rā. I planted a tree. hèmbíí pó dāā nī, fótò làgà. A picture hangs from a nail on a pole. **2)** to aim at with gun • làà mááfà pó nà dí i kàá kin jùò máá-fà 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 protect, trap or catch for securing • pó à diànñá, b̄ééñ ná ñ̄ dí búúrè ñ̄ kpágà. Keep the door, I want to catch

a goat. *bà bɔðɔŋ dígíímáŋá bà kà kpá-jèè pó bā tǐntiŋ*. They only have one goat, they rely on it. à *bìé márá pɔ̄ à góol lō, àwíé bà wà krí dí bē*. 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 pó džénsá rá*. They sacrifice for the twin to survive.

pɔɪ [póɪ] n. planting • *dáá pɔɪ wé-reú*. Tree planting is good.

pɔla [pɔlā] v. to be fat • *nñ níhiéttmā pólá kàálñŋ*. My senior is fatter than me.

pɔlñ [pólñ] n. fat • à *nihápólíé fí hámà mūj*. All those ten fat women.

Ant: badaawise pl. pɔlñε.

pɔmpí [pómpí] n. pump (ultm. English) pl. pɔmpísa.

pɔmpivigii [pómpivigü] lit. pump-move.up.and.down n. borehole < *pump* (ultm. English (partly))

pɔntɔlñ [póntɔlñ] n. spleen

pɔntɔrɔtʃíä [póntɔrɔtʃíä] n. type of calabash seed pl. pɔntɔrɔtʃíäsa.

pɔntʃa [póntʃa] n. puncture

pɔŋ [póŋ] n. pound in BWA currency < *pound* (ultm. English)

pɔtí [pótí] v. to damage a liquid container • *tíí júō bià, à níjpòðrvíí kàá pɔtí*. Stop stoning, the drinking water pot will be damaged.

prega [p̥érégà] n. iron castanets, finger bell

prinj [prínj] n. type of Mahogany (*Khaya senegalensis*). pl. prima.

pu [pú] v. 1) to cover, as in covering a drum with a skin • *ṛñ pú ṛñṛñ bin-tírá*. I am going to cover my drum. 2) lie on stomach • *pu i kintʃvali* ni. Lie on your stomach in your bed.

1pugo [pùgò] v. to pant, to breathe rapidly in short gasps, as after exertion • *jìnñé i hiësi kàà pugo kékñ*? Why are you panting like this?

2pugo [pùgò] v. to nurse seeds • *Hákúrí wàá pùgò tsímmåá biná há-ñ*. Hakuri will not nurse pepper this year.

pul [púl] n. type of river grass pl. pul.

pulisi [pùlisì] v. to cool down, to dilute by pouring in cold water • *pùlisì níí tiè iì báál sô*. Cool down the hot water for your husband to bath.

pumii [púmíí] n. 1) hiding 2) hatching

pumo [púmó] v. Cf: sogoli 1) to hide by squatting or getting down to the ground • *ñ ná à bòðmánñí rá à tûù púmó*. When I saw the leopard I ambushed. 2) to lie on stomach, to lie on or sit on eggs • à *záál kàà púmó òò hálá ní*. The fowl lies on its eggs.

pumpulintfilsí [pùmpúliñtñlsí] n. type of sickness, the person affected sounds and looks crazy and can try to run away from the village

pumpuniina [pùmpúniinà] n. stomach pl. pumpuniinas.

pwo̱ga

puoli [pùòlì] *v.* to be thin, to be watery • à kùbíí púólíó. The porridge is thin.

puoti[IPA?] *v.* to tell others about one's situation, to let others know

pupu [púpù] *n.* motorbike

pupuree [púpùréè] *n.* cow pea aphid (*Aphis craccivora*). *pl.* **púpùresó**.

pur [púr:] *Cf.* hɔ̃j *n.* farmers and hunters' bag, originally made out of skin, may refer to any bag *Syn:* lɔ̃ga2 *pl.* **puro**.

puro [pùrò] *v.* to untie • ò púró à bő̃n ná. She untied the goat. *Ant:* vɔ̃wa 1 *Ant:* lomo 1

purusi [púrúsí] *v.* to mash, to pound lightly • púrúsí kpáj dō váà óó dí. Mash some yam for the dog to eat.

pusi [pùsì] *v.* 1) to meet, to reach or to join someone • dì válà àkà pú-sú. 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 • K Kala, keep the money I lent you.

puuri [púúrí] *v.* to reduce in quantity or in height • à kóvíínðá múñ nō púúrìjé. The rim of the tz pot has been reduced by being chipped over and over.

pú [pó] *v.* to spit • pó tà. Spit it out. i wàá kin pó mùjtò̃sá nn̄ dìà nī. You cannot spit in my room.

pðā [pðà] *v.* to be rotten • bóntí à

nàmìá àwíé lét ò kàá pðà. Share the meat if not it will rot.

pval [pó̃ál] *n.* liver *pl.* **pvala**.

pví̃pví [pó̃ípó̃í] *ideo.* stinky, of a bad smell • ò sú̃rì kí̃nkán nā pví̃pó̃í. It smells too bad.

pvla [pó̃lá] *Cf.* tvla *v.* to be white • nn̄ nàdátwá wà bí pvlà. My shoes are not white anymore. [*Mo, Ka, Gu*].

pvlapvla [pó̃lápó̃lá] *ideo.* pointed, sharp

pvlzimbal [pó̃lzimbál] *n.* Ross's Turaco, type of bird (*Musophaga rossae*). *pl.* **pvlzimbala**.

pvmma [pó̃mmá] *Cf.* fvá *Cf.* tvla *Cf.* peupeu *n.* white • à bő̃nná múñ ná jáá ápølønsá. All the goats are white. bølénjí jáá tfákàlpølønsá rá. People from Bulenga are white Chakali. pømmà péùpèù. very or pure white. ápømmá jà kpágá gá-pømmá rá ò jáá tølåø ntñ péópéó. We have a white cloth, it is white very white. *pl.* **pølønsa**.

pvna (*var. of dandapvsa*)

pøntí [pó̃ntí] *v.* to be squashed by stepping on or running over • à ló̃lì násí záál pøntí tiwīñ nī. The car ran over a fowl, it was squashed on the road.

pøñ [pó̃ñ] *n.* 1) hair 2) feather *pl.* - **pøna**.

pøoda [pó̃ódà] *n.* powder (ultm. English)

pwo̱ga [pò̃ögá] *n.* hernia

p̄vrgii [p̄vrgíí] *n.* type of small calabash, often used as a medicine container

p̄vrsi [p̄v̄r̄sí] *v.* to make a derogatory sound with the lips • *W̄sá n̄d̄á w̄á k̄in p̄r̄s̄i*. Wusa cannot make those derogatory sounds with the lips.

p̄stii [p̄stíí] *n.* wrong doing

ra [ra] (*var. wo1*) (*var. na2*) (*var. na3*) (*var. ro*) (*var. ne*) (*var. re*) (*var. la*) (*var. lo*) (*var. no*) (*var. le*) *foc.* focus particle • *W̄j̄o kpágá ḡer̄égá rá*. Wojo has a sickness.

re (*var. of ra*)

ro (*var. of ra*)

r̄obakatasa [r̄óbákàtásà] *lit.* rubber-bowl *n.* plastic bowl

¹**sāā** [sāā] *n.* axe *pl.* sāāna.

²**sāā** [sāā] *v.* Cf: milimi 1) to carve, to sharpen • à sāārá sāā tutó ró. The carver carved a mortar. 2) to steer a car or a motorbike, to row a boat • ñ w̄á zímá l̄s̄l̄i sāāñ. I do not know how to drive a car. 3) to build • b̄á t̄f̄i k̄á sāā dià rā. Tomorrow they will build a house.

saabii [sáábìì] *n.* shaggy rat (*Dasyurus (incomitus or rufulus)*). *pl.* saabie.

sāādiili [sāādíilíi] *n.* type of hoe *pl.* sāādiilee.

sāāgbulie [sāāgbùlié] *n.* type of hoe *pl.* sāāgbuluso.

saakir [sáák̄ir] [sáák̄ír̄i] *n.* bicycle (ultm. English) *pl.* saakirsa.

saal [sàál] *n.* settlement, nest, building *pl.* saal.

sāāni [sāān̄í] *v.* to play, to joke among • j̄á k̄á k̄in sāāní d̄ñj̄a r̄a. We can joke with each other.

saari [sáári] *v.* to slip, to be slippery • d̄úón wāāwāð t̄wíí d̄i sáári. The rain came, the road is slippery.

saasi [sáásí] *v.* to grind in order to obtain paste, e.g. groundnut and shea • à b̄í h̄áj̄ w̄á k̄in sáásí n̄ðð. This stone cannot grind to make paste.

sabaan [sábáán] *n.* center of a mud roof top *pl.* sabaama.

safibii [sáfibíi] *n.* key <*safē, safōwá* (Akan)

safokala [sáfókàlà] *nprop.* shrine of Bulinga village

saga [sàyà] *v.* Cf: t̄vasugulit̄ña 1) to sit on, to be on, to lie on top of • à b̄í ságá à k̄or juú n̄i. The stone is on the bench. 2) to fall on, e.g. responsibility, blame, etc • à sòmbóñ k̄á ságá iì n̄i. The blame will fall on you.

sak̄osi [sàk̄ósí] *n.* <*sàŋk̄óhí* (Waali)

sal [sál] *n.* flat roof *pl.* salla.

saleñgoño [sàléñgòñò] *n.* type of praying mantis (*Mantidae*). *pl.* saleñgonoso.

salñj [sálñj] *n.* gold *pl.* salima.

¹**sama** [sàmà] *v.* to wash body parts • sàmà iì sié àní iì bárá mûj̄. Wash your face and your body.

²sama [sàmà] *v.* to commit adultery • *ii sámāñõ.* You committed adultery.

sambalkuso [sámbálkùsò] *n.* type of grass (*Rottboellia cochinchinensis*). *pl. sambalkuso.*

sambalñaja [sámbálñàñá] *n.* type of grass (*Rottboellia exaltata*). *pl. sambalñaja.*

samkpáñtuluñu [sámkpáñtúlùñù] *n.* type of hamerkop *pl. samkpáñtuluñuso.*

sampentie [sámpéntìé] *Cf. jolo* *n.* form of gardening in which the soil is raised above the surrounding soil

sampil [sámpíl] *n.* wooden tool used to beat a surface in order to compact it *pl. sampila.*

sanduso (*var. of digiñtuo*)

sankara[IPA?] *n.* night *SynT: tebinbatʃøgn <saŋkara* ‘dead of night’ (Vagla)

sanlare [sànlárè] *n.* child of a previous relation adopted by the new husband *pl. sanlareṣa.*

sansama [sànsàmá] *n.* prostitution
<*seŋsenna* (Waali)

sansandugulii [sànsàndùgùlùi] *n.* type of caterpillar *pl. sansandugulee.*

sansanduguliibummo [sànsàndùgùlùibúmmò] *n.* type of caterpillar

sansanduguliihóhola [sànsàndùgùlùihóhólà] *n.* type of caterpillar

sansanduguliin̄ter [sànsàndùgùlíníér:]

n. type of caterpillar

sansanna [sànsánná] *n.* prostitute *pl. sansannasa.*

sanziñ [sànzíñ] *n.* ladder *pl. sanzisa.*

sāñ [sán̄] *n.* crested porcupine (*Hystrix cristata*). *pl. sama.*

¹saña [sánjá] *v.* 1) to sit • *à báál sáñà à kór ní.* The man sat on the chair.
2) to settle • *bà sáñà mòtigù háglíí nī.* They settled and lived in Motigu.

²saña [sánjá] *n.* time, period, moment, generation, occasion • *à sáñá tìn nī, dùùsiè níí wíé fí bɔ̃māñõ.* In those days, water used to be hard to get by in Dicie. *jáwà sáñá tñj.* Our generation. <*sáñjé* ‘time’ (Gonja)

saña lie [sánjà lié] (*var. of saña weñ*)

saña weñ [séñwèj] (*var. saña lie*) *interrog.* when • *séñwèj i kà wàà?* When did you come?

sañasi [sánjásf] *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 • *bàà sáñásí à hááñjɔ́líí rá.* They are preparing the new wife.

sangbena [sángbéná] *n.* craw-craw

sangberema [sàñgbérémà] *n.* yaws
<*sangurima* (Waali)

sangbonj [sàñgbòj] *n.* Purple Heron, type of bird (*Ardea purpurea*). *pl. sangbonno.*

sangboñdugulee [sóñgbónjdúgúlèè] *n.* Hamerkop, type of bird (*Scopus umbretta*). *pl. sangboñdugulese.*

sāŋkumsɔna [sáŋkùmsónà] *Cf: tolipaatsak* n. fresh leaf of young baobab which do not bear fruit *pl. sāŋkumsɔna*.

saŋkpajdžugulee [sáŋkpájdžúgúlèè] n. type of Hamerkop (*Scopus umbretta*). *pl. saŋkpajdžugulso*.

saŋkpajtuluŋ [sáŋkpàjtúlúŋ] n. type of tree *pl. saŋkpajtulomo*.

saŋkpajzigil [sáŋkpàjzíyfl] n. beauty spot or uneven skin *pl. saŋkpajzigila*.

sāŋpɔŋ [sáŋpóŋ] n. porcupine quills *pl. sāŋpɔna*.

sapete [sápétè] n. ceiling of a traditional house *pl. sapetesé*.

sapuhīē [sápúhīè] n. pouched rat, also known as giant rat (*Cricetomys gambianus*). *pl. sapunso*.

sar [sár] n. pumpkin seed, not peeled *pl. sara*.

sarabii [sárábíi] n. pumpkin seed *pl. sarabie*.

sāsaar [sásáár] n. carver *pl. sāsaara*.

sasibii [sásibíi] n. type of grinding stone *pl. sasibia*.

saʊ̯ [sà᷑] n. flour

sel [sél:] n. animal *pl. sele*.

selekpɔní [sélékpóíí] *Cf: sıŋwasıı* 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 [séléméntè] n. cement (ultm. English)

selzenj [sélzéj] *lit. animal-big* n. elephant *SynT: bølanenjtuna*

sepambi [sépnāmbì] *Cf: taɔgara* n. (Gonja?)

sellı [sèllı] v. to reduce by sharpening, or cut with a razor • *sèllı nébí-pētē tìèŋ*. Cut my fingernails.

seŋebii [séŋébii] n. second layer of roofing structure *pl. seŋebie*.

séreka [sérékà] n. voluntary alms, gift <*saddaka* (ultm. Arabic)

setra [sètìà] n. steering wheel of car or handle bar of a bicycle or motorbike <*steer* (ultm. English)

sev [sèvʷ] n. death

¹sewa [séwá] v. to write • *nikáná wàá kìn séwá*. Many people cannot write. (Hausa?)

²sewa [séwà] n. talisman in the form of a waistband *pl. sewasa*.

³sewa [sèwà] v. to hunt by searching in the bush • *já ká sèwà bùürè àà-ríè*. Let us go and hunt grasscutters.

sibihalıı [sibihálıı] n. fried bambara bean *pl. sibihale*.

sibii [sibíi] (var. siwii) n. bambara bean (*Vigna subterranea*). *pl. sibie*.

sibire [síbəré] *Cf: tsele* n. faint, collapse

sie [síé] n. face *pl. siese*.

sielii [sièlíi] n. perforated pot used for washing dawadawa seeds *pl. sielie*.

sierebile [sìèrèbìlé] (var. of sieri-bile)

sieribile [síeribílē] Cf: kpāñjñi (var. sierebile) *n.* water yam (Waali)

sierie [síerié] *n.* witness (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa?)

sigaari [sigáári] *n.* cigarette (ultm. English) *pl.* sigaarise.

¹**sige** [sígè] *v.* to mark • *sígè à dáá n̄ ñménà*. Mark the wood for me to cut it.

²**sige** [sígè] *n.* unsure • *ñ jáá sígè rē à bísé wááí wíé*. I am not sure about the children's coming.

sigi (var. of *sigu*)

sigii [sígìi] *n.* suffering, misery • *ñ ñ sígìi gáálíó*. My suffering is abundant. *iì bájòrá tíé ñ dì dí sígìi háñj*. Because of your laziness, I am suffering.

sigisi [sígìsì] *v.* to catch breath, as in crying • *à hááj wíi pétùù à káá sígisi*. The woman finished crying and was catching her breath.

sigitaa (var. of *sigu*)

sigu [sígù] Cf: **sigmaa** (var. *sigitaa*) (var. *sigi*) *nprop.* language used in connection with funerals and ancestors praise

¹**sii** [síí] *n.* 1) eye 2) sprout • - *pàmmísíi*. maize sprout, maize stem.

3) greedy • *ø kpágá sii kinkán nā*. He is very greedy, egoist. *pl.* *sie*.

²**sii** [síí] *v.* 1) to raise • *sii tñjá*. Get up and stand. 2) to relocate by changing settlement or farmland • *bá fírán nā ñ sii kùò fslíí*. They forced me to

move, I relocated to a new farm. 3) to grow

³**sii** [síí] *n.* dance performed by both men and women, hardly seen today

⁴**sii**[IPA?] *n.* appearance

sii bara [síí bárà] *n.* unable to sleep due to thoughts • *síí bárà kpágān nà*. I cannot sleep.

sii bire [síí bírè] *lit.* eye black *v.* to be dizzy • *ñ ñ sít káá bírè dì ñ nðåsá*. I will be dizzy if I smoke.

siibii [síibíí] *n.* eye ball *pl.* *siibie*.

siidañja [síidáñjà] Cf: **dañji** *sii n.* entertainment

siidi [síidì] *n.* cedi, current Ghanaian currency, divided into 100 pesewas <*sedi* 'cowrie shell' (Akan)

siikono [síikónò] *n.* eyebrow *pl.* *siikonso*.

siilalla [síilállà] *n.* person with knowledge *Ant:* **genni** *pl.* *siilallasa*.

siinñ [síínñ] *n.* tear

siinñmatiína [síínñmàtííñà] *lit.* eye-hot-owner *n.* wild person

siipñ [síipñ] *n.* eyelash *pl.* *siipña*.

siitíína [síítííñà] Cf: **nekpeg** *n.* stingy • *ì jáá siitííñà rā*. You are stingy. *Ant:* **nibuwerii**

sikiri [síkírì] *n.* sugar <*sikyiri/sikli* (Akan/Ga)

simisi [símísí] *v.* to take pity on • *ñ símísí ì ní bìrgì áká ì wà zímá*. I pitied you for a long time but you did not know.

sinsige [sínsígè] *n.* throat spasm • *sínsígè kà jáà à bié.* The child has throat spasms.

sipumme [síñùmmè] (*var. of gbentagasi*)

singeta [síñgétà] *n.* type of yam *pl.* singetasa.

siñsigirii [síñsígíríí] *n.* type of hyena *pl.* siñsigiree.

siri [sírì] *n.* ready, looking forward to, anxious • *ṇ jáá sírì rē dí ṇ káál-lì dùùsìé.* I'm anxious to go to Ducie. <*siri* 'ready' (Waali)

sisiama [sísíàmà] *n.* seriousness *pl.* sisiansa.

siwii (*var. of sibii*)

siwiila [síwíílá] *n.* conjunctivitis

sia [síá] (*var. sie1*) *n.* teasing, making fun of somebody, imitating in a way to make fun of someone • *à báál kàà jáá ùù bisé sià rā.* The man makes fun of his children. *ii siá tíé bááñ kpàgàn.* Your teasing makes me angry. *ṇṇ tṣená jáà jáá nárá siè rā.* My friend has been making fun of people.

sià [síà] (*var. sîë*) *v.* to respond to a call, to pay attention to • *ò sîáwôó.* She responded. *ṇ siá òò jírífí tín nà.* I responded to his call.

siama [síàmá] *n.* Cf: **bisiari** Cf: **tsüitsüi 1)** red • *kíj kà siári müí-múí, wáá wíí jáá kínsiàmá.* When something is very red, this thing is red. 2) riped • *mángòsiàmá.* Riped mango. *ánsiàmá.* Riped Ebony fruit. *pl.* siansa.

siari [síàrì] *v.* Cf: **bisiama 1)** to be red, reddish • *à táálá síáriòò.* The clouds have turned reddish. 2) to be riped, e.g. pawpaw, pepper, mango, tomato, and • *tiè à tfélié síári.* Let the tomatoes be riped.

sië (*var. of sia*)

2sië [síè] (*var. nansieliñ*) *n.* poor quality meat

sîë [síë] (*var. of siä*)

siebñ [síèbñ] Cf: **embeli** *n.* butchered wing of a bird or a fowl *pl.* **siebie.**

sienee [síènèè] *n.* proverb *pl.* **sienesa.**

sig [síg] *n.* cow pea *pl.* **siga.**

sigabummo [sígbúmmò] *n.* black bean

sigagongo [sígàgóngó] *n.* cooked bean with membrane, plucked early before harvest

sigapaatfak [sígapààtfák] *n.* fresh bean leaf *Syn:* **swoosa** *pl.* **sigapaatfaga.**

sigapomma [sígpòmmá] *n.* white bean

sigasiama [sígsiàmá] *n.* red bean

sigera [sígérà] *n.* type of climber (*Rhigoicarya racemifera*). *pl.* **sigerasa.**

sigmaa [sígmàà] Cf: **sigu** *n.* funeral mask *pl.* **sigmaasa.**

sigmawiili [sígmàwìllì] Cf: **tebin-sigmaa** *n.* bullroarer *Syn:* **dendile-híesi**

sigmazimbie [sígmázímbié] *n.* type of bird *pl.* **sigmazimbise.**

snlí [sílfí] *v.* to strip off fibrous bark • *sílfí bòk wà tīēñ ní vówà kpáámá.* Strip off some fiber for me to tie yams together.

símaa [síimáà] *Cf: kmdiilii* *n.* food (Waali) *pl. símaa.*

símaadíà [síimáádià] *n.* food storage room

síla [sílā] *v.* to lay head on • *sílā kà-pùti ní.* Lay your head on the pillow.

síma [símá] *n.* bamboo *pl. símasa.*

simbótíi [símþbótíi] *n.* third day of second funeral where the ground malt is boiled

sína [sínà] *v.* to soak • *kpá à miá sínà.* Take the guinea corn and soak it.

sínlòk [sínlòk] *n.* location where men dress for performing

sínpõäi [sínþpõäi] *n.* fifth day of a second funeral

síj [síj] *n.* alcoholic drink *pl. sínna.*

sínbíilii [símbíilii] *n.* fermented pito

sínból [simból] *Cf: sínsíamasínhüorsíntsaara* *n.* remaining of

síngbaglúj [síngbàylíj] *n.* chameleon (*Chamaeleonidae fam.*) *pl. síngbaglújsa.*

síngbèglíjnебie [síngbèglíjnèbiè] *lit. cameleon-fingers* *n.* type of grass with roots difficult to dig out *pl. síngbèglíjnебie.*

sínhüor [sínhüör] *Cf: sínbülsínsíamasíntsaara* *n.* pito served before fermentation

síñkpál [síñkpál] *n.* not wearing beads on the waist • *ò kpágá síñkpál*

lā. She does not wear beads on her waist.

síñkpilíi [síñkpilíi] *n.* type of tree (*Copaifera salikouna*). *pl. síñkpilé.*

síñpøhá [síñpøhá] *n.* drinking habit

síñpømma [símpømmá] *Cf: kpør* *n.* palm wide

síñsagal [sínsáyál] *n.* 1) descending position among siblings • *òò sínságál bítòrò jááñ.* After him, I am the third. 2) remaining • *túsù àní sínságál.* Thousand and something.

síñsiama [sínsiàmá] *Cf: síñbülsíñhüorsíntsaara* *n.* pito, fermented local brewed drink made from guinea corn

síñtök [síntók] *n.* pito pot *pl. síñtoga.*

síñtfaara [síñtfáará] *Cf: síñbülsíñsiamasínhüor* *n.* pito sieved after boiling the malt

síñtfas [síntfáó] *n.* type of tree (*Lanea acida*). *pl. síñtfawa.*

síñvii [sínvíi] *n.* drinking pot made out of clay *Syn: tøg2 pl. síñviine.*

síñwasii [síñþwásíi] *Cf: selekpøn* *n.* fourth day of a second funeral

síra [sírá] *v.* 1) to assemble, to meet together • *bàmùñ káálí Wàá à kà sírá.* They all went to Wa and met there. 2) to call for a confidential meeting • *ba sfrá à bipòlífí rā, òò hääbütürà wíé.* They called the young man for a confidential meeting because of his habit of chasing women.

sísi [sísí] *v.* 1) to sharpen a blade • *má ká sísí nñ kísíé wà tié.* You should go and sharpen my knife for

me. 2) to wash by brushing, with sponges or brush • *niháánā má wá kpā nñ kóvííné sisì*. Women should come and wash my tz pots.

sisia [sísíè] *n.* Tamarind, type of tree (*Tamarindus indica*). *pl.* **sisisa**.

sitaani [sítáání] *n.* evil (ultm. Arabic)

sítæo [sítðò] *n.* store <*store* (ultm. English)

sodža [sódžà] *n.* soldier (ultm. English)

sogoli [sòyòlì] *Cf:* **pumo** *v.* to hide, to conceal from view, to disappear or hide behind • *nibáálá mûj válà à búúríí, sògòlì*. All the men are looking for you; hide.

sokie [sòkìé] *n.* type of tree (*Abrus precatorius*). *pl.* **sokiete**.

¹**sol** [sól:] *adv.* clearly • *já ká biìsì à wíé rá, ñ líwáás sól*. After our judgement, I was out of the case clearly.

²**sol** [sól] *n.* type of fish *pl.* **solo**.

solbie [sólbié] *Cf:* **haglibie** *n.* type of ant [*Gu*].

solisi [sólísí] *v.* to smooth • *à kápén-tà sólisì à téébùl júú rò*. The carpenter smoothen the top of the table.

solojsoloj [sólójsólón] *ideo.* smooth
Ant: **kögøsøg**

sontogo [söntògò] *n.* base element for supporting and holding still a big clay water container *pl.* **sontogoso**.

sosolii [sòsólíí] *n.* slippery place found in the bush during the rainy season

sò [sò] *v.* to wash one's body • *i kàá sò niìì rää?* Will you bath?

sò duoŋ [sò dúòn] *lit.* bath-rain *Cf:* **duoŋsøi** *v.* to initiate to lightning • *i só dùón nöö?* Have you taken the lightning initiation?

sòbummo [sòbúmmò] *n.* Black thorn; type of tree (*Acacia gourmaensis*). *pl.* **sòbulunso**.

sòbøl [sòbøl] *n.* shovel (ultm. English)

søgilii [sóyílíí] *n.* 1) person from Katua 2) lect of Sogla *pl.* **søgilëe**.

sòkoro [sòkòrò] *n.* type of tree (*Clausena anisata*). *pl.* **sòkoroso**.

sòkøsíi [sòkósíí] *n.* non-hygienic • *ññ wàà búùrè sòkøsíí hááñ siimáà*. I do not want this non-hygienic woman's food.

sòmpørëe [sómpøréë] *n.* type of frog *pl.* **sòmpørësa**.

sòmpørlilese [sómpørlilësè] *lit.* frog-swallow *n.* Egg-eating snake (*Dasyptolis scabra*). *pl.* **sòmpørlile-sise**.

sønñë [sønñë] *n.* 1) fever, health condition as a result of cold weather 2) malaria

sønna [sónná] *n.* lover *pl.* **sønna**.

¹**søŋ** [sóŋ] *n.* (var. **søsøŋ**) 1) cool, cold • *niìsøŋ*. Cool water. 2) fresh • *pàätſàksøŋ*. fresh leaf. - *ñmèñsøŋ*. Fresh okro. 3) alive • *dàà-søŋ*. Living tree. *pl.* **søna**.

²**søŋ** [sóŋ] *n.* name *pl.* **søna**.

suoŋbigariga

sɔŋbɔŋ [sɔmbóŋ] *lit.* name-bad
n. blame

sɔŋtuna [sóŋtífná] *n.* generous, helpful person *Ant:* nekpeg

sɔpɔmma [sɔpɔmmá] *n.* White thorn (*Acacia dudgeoni*). *pl.* **sɔpɔlɔn-sa**.

sɔra [sɔrà] *v.* to leak with a narrow flow • *ní láá zíá sɔrà à tūú díá*. Some water leaked along the wall inside the house.

sɔri [sórif] *n.* type of frog

sɔsiama [sósiámá] *n.* Red thorn, type of tree (*Acacia hockii*). *pl.* **sɔsiansa**.

sɔsɔŋ [sósɔŋ] (*var. of sɔŋ*)

sɔta [sótá] *n.* 1) thorn 2) type of tree *pl.* **sɔrasa**.

su [sú] *v.* to be full, to fill • *à fálá sújòò*. The calabash is full.

su hääŋ [sú hääŋ] *v.* to be unexperienced with men, to be a virgin • *ɳɿ binihääŋ wà zímá báàlsá, ù sú hääñ nà*. My daughter doesn't know men, she still a virgin.

suguli [sùgùli] *v.* Cf: **sagatʃvatɔŋa**
1) cook by boiling • *sùgùli kpáň já dí*. Boil yam for us to eat. 2) to be on • *pìníě i kà súgúláá mààsè kéň?* Why are you putting them on top of each other like this? *hènáá súgúlí téébùl púú bámbáán nī*. A bowl is on the center of a table.

sukuu [sùkúù] *n.* school (ultm. English) *pl.* **sukuuso**.

sulee [súlēē] *n.* shilling (12 pence)

of BWA currency <origin (ultm. English (via Hausa)?)

suleme [sùlémè] *v.* Cf: **summe** 1) to beg [Ka]. 2) to borrow [Ka].

sulumbie [súlùmbié] Cf: **lalwienipaõ** *n.* orphan [Ka].

sumbol [sùmból] *n.* chimney *pl.* **sumbolo**.

summe [sùmmè] *v.* Cf: **suleme**
1) to borrow • *ò súmmé mìm párá*. He borrowed my hoe. 2) to help, to assist • *báwáá súmméjá sàà jà díá*. They helped us to build our house. 3) to beg • *Wàà ní nikáná káá súmmè*. In Wa many people beg.

summe tuu [sùmmè tùù] *v.* predisposed by God • *bié vié lólfí jáá nñ súmmétúí ré*. Not giving birth to a child is my destiny.

sungoro [súŋgórò] Cf: **leŋ** *n.* long pole with a hooked end designed to reach and catch dead branches and pulling them down *pl.* **sungoroso**.

sunguruŋ [súŋgúrúŋ] Cf: **tulorbinhääŋ** *n.* young girl who can get married and has never given birth [Gu]. *pl.* **sungurunso**.

suo [sùò] *v.* to curse, to invoke misfortune upon • *dí i wàà jáá wíwíré ii màá kàá sùò nñá tíéí*. If you o not do well your mother will curse you.

suοŋ [súón] Cf: **tſuoŋ** *n.* Red shea tree (*Vitellaria paradoxa*). *pl.* **suomo**.

suοŋbeŋa [súómbéŋà] *n.* type of tree, Shea tree without edible fruits

suοŋbigariga [súómbígářígá] *n.* kidney stones

suoŋbii [sùómbí] *lit.* shea.nut-seed
n. kidney *pl.* suoŋbie.

suoŋdaawie [sùondáawié] *lit.* shea.nut-small-stick *n.* type of snake
SynT: maabiewaaatelepusiŋ *pl.* suoŋdaawise.

surum [súrúm] *Cf:* tʃerim *n.* silence; quietness • à tóó mūŋ jáá súrúm. The village is silent. má jáá súrúm. Be quiet. *Ant:* tʃiāma <*shirū* ‘silence’ (Hausa)

susuma [sùsùmà] *n.* beggar

susumma [sùsùmmà] *n.* helper *pl.* susummasa.

sūū [sùú] *n.* Helmeted Guinea Fowl (*Numida meleagris*). *pl.* sūūno.

sūūhal [sùūhál] *n.* guinea fowl egg *pl.* sūhala.

suutere [sùutérè] *n.* leader *pl.* suutere.

sua [sùá] *n.* age

¹sõā [sõā] *v.* to weave • *Kpágáá sõā kàlèŋ tīētì.* Kpaga wove a mat for you.

²sõā [sõā] *n.* scent • *Hádòmā wáá nõõ sõõ.* Haduma cannot smell.

søagi [søágì] *v.* to pound lightly, in order to remove hard shell from grain • ññì tfúónó hõlášó ñ kàá søágì. My shea nuts are dry enough to pound them.

søani [søání] (*var. of* øøani)

sõásøor [sõásøór] *Cf:* garsõor *n.* weaver *pl.* sõásøora.

søawaalñ [søáwálí] *n.* age mate

søg [søg] *n.* type of tree (*Grewia lasiodiscus*). *pl.* suguno.

søga [søgà] *v.* to court, to seek another person’s love • páá wàá kìn søgà hääŋ. Poor people cannot court women.

søgvøli [søgølí] *v.* to forget • ñ søgølí ñm̄ mòlèbíí tà dìà nī. I forgot my money in the house.

søl [søl:] *Cf:* sømmaā *Cf:* søŋkpulii *n.* dawadawa, type of tree (*Parkia biglobosa*). *pl.* sølla.

sølbii [sølbíí] *n.* dawadawa seed *Syn:* tʃñ *pl.* sølbie.

sølnøj [sølnøj] *n.* dawadawa fruit *pl.* sølnøna.

sølsaø [søsáø] *n.* 1) dawadawa flour 2) yellow

sømmāā [sømmāā] *Cf:* tʃñ *Cf:* søl *n.* food flavouring, made out of dawadawa seed *pl.* sømmāāsa.

sømpøa [sømpøà] *n.* three pence, in BWA currency (Akan)

sønkare [søŋkàrè] *nprop.* ninth month (Waali)

sønløk [sønløk] *n.* bile vomit

søŋkpulii [søŋkpúlií] *Cf:* søl *n.* flower of the dawadawa tree *pl.* søŋkpulee.

sõõ [sõõ]

søagi [søágí] *v.* to crush

søala [søálá] *n.* locally woven cotton cloth *pl.* øølasa.

søani [søání] *v.* *Cf:* julullu (*var.* øøani) 1) to be cold • à kpääŋ sõónñjø. The yam is cold. 2) to be quiet, soft, low-toned or hushed • - ymá à wíé dì sõóní. Speak with softer

voice. 3) to be happy • *ṇṇ̄m bárá sósññjō*. I am happy. 4) to be slow
Ant: laga 2 5) to be wet *Ant: hɔlī*

sɔɔra [sòɔrā] *n.* scent • *à pínéé sòɔrā wá wérē*. The scent of the fish is not good.

sɔɔri [sòɔrí] *v.* 1) to smell • *ṇṇ̄s sósří ḡv nđá, ḡv sòɔrā wá wérē*. I smelled his mouth, its scent was not good. 2) to emit an unpleasant odour, to stink • *iì námìè tíj kàà sósři kìi kim-pɔ̄á*. Your meat stinks like something rotten.

sɔɔsa [sòɔsá] *n.* white bean leaf *Syn: sigapaatsfak pl. sɔɔsa*.

sɔɔsaníí [sòɔséníí] *n.* 1) boiled bean leaves stock 2) Emerald snake (*Gastropyxis smaragdina*). [*Gu*]. 3) greenish color

sɔɔs [sòɔs] (*var. sɔɔs1*) 1) *n.* front *Ant: gantali1* 2) *n.* precedent • *ṇ sósř tómà jáá bálìè wā*. I have two siblings older than me. 3) *reln.* front • *wáá tfòà à fálá sōō nī*. It lies at the front of the calabash. *pl. sɔɔsa*.

¹sɔɔs (*var. of sɔɔs*)

²sɔɔs [sòɔs] *v.* to be quiet, to order for quietness, as used when a child is crying or when apaising a quarrel • *tíi buolíi, sɔɔs iì nđá, nárá káá tfóá dūo rō*. Do not sing, be quiet, people are sleeping.

sɔwa [sòwà] *v.* 1) to die • *à nàŋkpááŋ jnđá à lúlíí ré àwíé ḡwá sōwā*. The hunter drank the medicine that is why he did not die.

2) to be ragged • *à gär sówáá*. The cloth is ragged.

sówakandikuro [sówákándíkùró] *lit.* die-and-I-become-chief *n.* type of parasitic plant *pl. sówakandiku-roso*.

sówii [sówíí] *n.* 1) corpse, not yet buried 2) dying *pl. sówie*.

ʃiää [ʃiää] (*var. ʃvää*) *interj.* insult when uttered after someone's remark, shows disrespect by ridiculing someone's proposition

ʃvää (*var. of ʃiää*)

¹ta [tá] *v.* 1) to let free, let loose, leave, or abandon • *kpá ṇṇ̄ néj tà*. Leave my hand (let me go) à bōđñj tá ùù biè rē. The goat abandoned its kids. 2) to exist • *bààj tà*. What is it? àjñ tà. Who is it? 3) to initiate for burial specialization • *bàà tá à báálà pél nì*. They initiate the men for them to become burial specialists.

²ta [tá] *v.* to give proverb • *à níhíè tám siènìè*. The elderly person gave proverbs.

taa [tàá] (*var. taal1*) *n.* language *pl. taata*.

¹taal (*var. of taa*)

²taal [táál] *n.* cloud *pl. taala*.

taalí [tálí] *v.* to drench and overflow, to have too much liquid as what is required • *níí tálí iì müró ní, jàà níí bórò à káá máásè*. There is too much water in your rice, take some out and it will be fine.

taantuni [táántúní] *n.* stem borer caterpillar *pl. taantuni*.

¹taari [tààrì] *v.* Cf: gbɔvniiri 1) to rush at or towards • ḵ tááríjé kàálì ḵ ká māñōō rā bá kpágóó. He rushed to beat him but they held him. 2) to spin into a thread • ḵ kàá tààri à gùnó ró. She will spin the cotton.

²taari [tààrì] *v.* creep • kàwáá bààñ tààrì kék̄. A pumpkin just crept like that. à fàlá táárí tèlè à dāā rā. The calabash creeps to the tree.

taavii [táávìi] *n.* pipe *pl.* taavise.

taga [tàyà] *v.* to dip or touch with a finger in order to taste • tágà à disá dí nā, à jiìsá nòòwáá? Dip a finger in the soup to see, is the salt alright?

tagla [tàyəlā] *n.* ground, soil, sand

taja [táájà] *n.* catapult < *tire* (ultm. English) *pl.* taajasa.

takatjuuni [tàyàtsúúnì] *n.* measles (Waali)

takta [táyətà] *n.* shirt *pl.* taktasa.

tala [tàlà] *v.* to stretch, to hand up to • tálà iì néj̄. Stretch your hand.

talala [c] ideo. flat • à téébùl júú dó kēj̄ tálàlà. The table top is flat.

talimi [tálímì] *v.* to move with difficulty because pain or malformation • máná hág líkìj̄ dāā ḵ tsvà dì tálímì. I hit a snake with a stick, it was lying and moving with difficulty.

tama [támá] *n.* small, few • támá finì ḵ kàá kàálòó. He will be leaving in a moment.

tamää [támää] *n.* hope

tambɔ [tàmbò] Cf: tʃántful *n.* cloth used as diaper (Waali) *pl.* tambɔsa.

tamputie [tàmpútíé] *n.* malt that has been boiled, when strained results in tantaanii [tántàànññ] tm̄taanii *n.* earth worm *pl.* tantaanie.

tantama [tántàmà] *adv.* small-small

tanjkama [tànjkámá] *n.* show-off, a person who makes a vain display of himself (Hausa)

tapulsa [tápùləsá] *n.* ash *pl.* tapulsa.

tara [tàrà] *v.* 1) to support oneself in order to do something • lié i kà tárà, káá jāā nìñ? Where are you getting your support to be boasting like this? 2) stand firmly on feet <*tare* (Waali)

tarage [tárágè] Cf: tati *pl.v.* to pull continuously, to stretch • iì tárágé ññ nébúú ré. You pulled my finger. à bőññ wáá làà, n tárágóó wàà diá. As the goat did not want to cooperate, I dragged it home.

tasa [tásà] *n.* iron bowl, water basin <*taça* ‘cup’ (Portuguese, ultm. Arabic) *pl.* tasasa.

tasazeñ [tásàzèñ] *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* teteñ)

tati [tàti] Cf: tarage *v.* to pull, to stretch • nìñ jíná dó ñméñ bőññ bágéná ní n tátì wàà diá. My father put a rope around a goat’s neck, I pulled it to the house.

taøgara [táøgárá] Cf: sepambi *n.* chickenpox (*Varicella*). (Waali)

- tawa** [tàwà] *Cf.* **tɔsɪ** (*var.* **tɔwa1**)
v. to inject, to prick or pierce slightly
• ñ wàá tāwā à hèmbíí, ñ ́mɔ̃ɔ̃. I will not take the injection, it scares me.
- te** [té] v. to be early, to get up early
• i téjòō. You are early. *tʃò̃sá pìsi* ðò báál tìn té lālā à hǎàn dí ó sù dúó ní. Early the next morning the husband woke up the wife from sleep.
- tebin** [tébín] n. night, approx. 18:00 onward up to dawn • bááy já káá dí tébín ní? What will we eat this evening? *SynT:* **batʃɔ̃gsankara**
- tebinsigmaa**[IPA?] *Cf.* **sigmawiilii** n. Sigmaa night performance, usually associated with the bullroarer only
- tebintuna**[IPA?] n. hyena *SynT:* **kpatakpale**
- teebul** [téébùl] [tábòl] n. table <*table* (ultm. English) *pl.* **teebulso**.
- ¹**tele** [tèlè] v. to reach, to arrive at destination • já káálì sáñà télèō. Let's leave, it's time.
- ²**tele** [télé] v. to stand or lean against
• à sànzíjì télè zíé ní. The ladder leans against the wall. *dáá télè kòzàà ní.* A stick leans on a basket.
- telegi** [télégí] *pl.v.* to stand or lean against
- tempilie** [témpílié] *Cf.* **tuolie** n. type of cooking pot [*Gu*].
- tentuolii** [téntùòlìi] (*var.* **tuntuolii**) n. African grey hornbill, type of bird (*Tockus nasutus*). *pl.* **tintuoluso**.
- teje** [tènjè] v. *Cf.* **løga** 1) to cut off
• tʃénsì ré téjé ðò nāā. The zinc cut

- her foot. ñ téjè gbésà rā. I am cutting a chewing stick. 2) to take a picture
3) to hinder, to stop
- tejesi** [tènjési] *pl.v.* to cut off many or into pieces; to form local bricks for construction • ii téjésí à nàmià ràä. Did you cut the meat?
- tejtey** [téntéy] n. single, alone, only
• kpăāñ dígímáyá téjtéy ñ kpàgà. I have one Yam only.
- teo** [téò] (*var. of tou*)
- tesi** [tésí] v. 1) to crush • *tsúónó* ñ dí tésí. I am crushing shea nuts. 2) to hatch • à zál tésiō. The fowl has hatched. *sùú wàá kìñ tésí* ðò hálá. A guinea fowl cannot hatch its eggs.
- tetenje** [tètènjsé] n. night blindness
- teu** [tèú] n. warthog (*Phacochoerus africanus*). *pl.* **teuno**.
- teukaŋ** [téukáŋ] n. warthog ivory *pl.* **teukaŋa**.
- teesi** [téésí] n. test, examination <*test* (English)
- téhëë** (*var. of tehëë*)
- tehië** [tèhié] (*var.* **tehëë**) n. oribi (*Ourebia ourebi*). *pl.* **tehiësa**.
- tekpagar** [tékpáyář] (*var. of tiékpagar*)
- témíí** [témíí] (*Gu.* *var.* **tʃémíí**) n. type of ant *pl.* **témíí**.
- tesiama** [tèsìàmá] n. red-flanked duiker (*Cephalophus rufilatus*). *pl.* **te-siansa**.
- teteñ** [tètèñ] (*var.* **tateñ**) n. flintlock leather pad *pl.* **tateñna**.
- tibii** [tíbíí] n. Akee tree seed *pl.* **tibie**.

tie [tíē] *v.* 1) to chew, to chop • *vìì pátſígíí nī mǎàwíé tíŋ dí à tié nà-miá*. Inside the pot, the stepmother ate and chop meat. 2) to cheat someone • *nì 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 as a sort of taxation <*ticket* (ultm. English)

tigsi [tíyísí] *v.* to gather • *dùséléé tṣí káá tigsi dñjá rā à kòjré lù-sínnásā*. Tomorrow, the people from Dicie will gather and prepare the last funeral rites.

¹**tii** [tíi] *n.* type of ant *pl.* tie.

²**tii** [tíi] *n.* Akee tree (*Blighia sapida*). *pl.* tise.

³**tii** [tíi] *v.* 1) to make a visible trace, such as a line or spot, to indicate a location • *ká tíi bá tìŋ jà káá sàå à diá*. Go mark where we will build the house. 2) to make a mark with medicine on body part or wall for protection • *làà lúlíi tìi iì émbélíwítlíi*. Take some medicine and mark you affected shoulder.

⁴**tii**[IPA?] *n.* hot drink, e.g. tea, coffee <*tea* (ultm. English)

tiila [tíílå] *n.* sewing machine <*tailor* (ultm. English)

tiime [tíimè] *v.* to treat, to cure • *ò tíímé ññ gárágá rá*. He cured my disease.

tiimuŋ [tíimúŋ] (*var.* wíjaaln)

n. east <*tienie muŋ* ‘land arse’ (Tampulma)

tiipuu [tíinúù] (*var.* witselii) *n.* west <*tienie puu* ‘land head’ (Tampulma)

tiiri [tíirí] *v.* to rub vigorously by pressing hard with one or more fingers and drag • *wà tiiri nì nàåtsóğ tíéŋ, v kpéŋjò*. Come and rub my ankle, it is dislocated.

tiisali [tíisálí] *n.* 1) person from Tiisa 2) lect of Tiisa *pl.* tiisalee.

tiise [tíisè] *v.* to help, to support • *tiisèn nī já párá kùó*. Help me to cultivate a farm. *hámà kà zì péjèè áwáá zíjá tiisè háj*. These (two fingers) are then added, and they come to support this one (finger)

tiisi [tíísí] Cf: **kotipaari** *v.* to grind, finer than • *ká tíisí sàá wàá já sáá kòó*. Go grind some flour and come back so we can prepare tz.

tile [tilé] *n.* forehead *pl.* tilese.

timpaanii [timpááníí] *n.* boiled bean cake dish made from bambara bean flour <*tùbá:ní*: (Hausa)

timpannni [timpànníí] Cf: **timpanwal** *n.* female talking drum, with the highest pitch of the two *pl.* - **timpannnita**.

impantii [timpántíí] *n.* talking drum *pl.* **impantie**.

timpanwal [timpànwál] Cf: **timpannni** *n.* male talking drum, with the lowest pitch of the two *pl.* **timpanwala**.

tindaana [tindáänä] Cf: **tɔ̄stina** *n.* landlord (Waali)

tiŋ [tíŋ] *n.* spear *pl. time.*

tisie [tisié] *Cf:* **kʊzaa** *n.* woven basket with guinea corn stocks [*Ka*].

tisii [tísíi] *n.* shallow *Ant:* luŋo

titſa (*var. of tſitſa*)

tiwii [tiwíi] *Cf:* **munii** *n.* road *pl. tiwie.*

tiwiileŋgiregie [tiwíiléŋgìrègìè] *n.* type of lizard

ti [tr] *neg.* not • **tí káálíi.** Do not leave!

tiasi [tíásí] [tíésí] *Cf:* **əgilí** *v.* to vomit • **nàntsómá** i **tiè à tíásí.** It is bad meat you ate and vomitted.

tiasie [tíásíè] *n.* vomit

¹**tie** [tiè] *v.* 1) give • **ṇ wá bì ȳmá wíímùŋ** **tiè ḷṇ píná.** I won't say anything to my father again. **kpá òò pár tièò.** Give him his hoe. 2) let • **tiè à níi nómà.** Let the water be hot.

²**tie** [tíè] *n.* *Cf:* **luolſla** 1) foetus 2) pregnancy • **wáá dóó à tfè.** He impregnated her. *pl. tesa.*

tiekpagar [tíekpáyárf] (*var.* **tekpagar**) *n.* pregnant woman *pl. tiekpagara.*

tiga [tigà] *v.* to rub hard by pressing on one place, to massage an area to relieve pain and encourage blood flow • **tigà ḷn tilé dō, bá férán bíf rá.** Rub my forehead, I have been stoned. **òò mǎá tígá à biē tilé, àwíé òò wá bí ðrà.** The mother massaged the child's forehead so that it does not swallow.

tigimi [tìyìmì] *v.* to stamp on with legs • **kɔsānāš kpágá nàŋkpāāŋ à tígimí dō háglií nī.** The buffalo caught the hunter and stamped on him.

tigla [tígəlá] *n.* type of yam

tina [tìná] *n.* owner *pl. tóma.*

tinta [tíftàà] *n.* African Yellow Warbler, type of bird (*Chloropeta palustris*). *pl. tintaasa.*

til [tíl] *n.* gum *pl. tila.*

tilaa [tíláá] *adv.* minute, extremely small • **ṇ súmmé páànòò, à hááŋ bāáŋ lógró tíláá kékj tiēñ.** I begged for bread, the woman just gave me a little.

timpitie [tìmpítíé] *Cf:* **tonsi** *n.* guinea corn resulting from

tina [tìnà] *v.* to form threatening cloud • **siì, já zéó diá dúónj kàà tímà.** Raise up, we should go to the house because the clouds are forming rain.

tintaanii [tíntààññ] TYPETantaanii

tintaaraa [tíntààràà] *n.* woven smock used for battles or hunting, fortified with protective medicine, believed to be bullet-proof *pl. tintaa-rasa.*

tintn [tintn] reflex. self

tin [tin] *art.* the • **à báál tin té lálá òò hááŋ dí óó síi dúō nì.** The husband woke up the wife early.

¹**tiŋa** [tínà] *v.* 1) to follow • **dí kááli làgálàgá háj, dí à lèí i káá tínà mūñ.** Go right away, if not you will fol-

low us. 2) to obey • *Zìàŋ kàà tīŋà Dààbàŋtólúgú ní, ᴥ síí ní rē.* Ziang is obeying the shrine Daabangtolugu, I witnessed it.

²**tīŋa** [tīŋà] v. to have a certain responsibility • *híŋ tīŋá à kùòpáríí.* Your responsibility is the weeding of the farm.

tīsí [tīsí] v. to be shallow • *à bòà wá tīsījē, ù lúŋjōó.* The hole is not shallow, it is deep. *Ant:* luŋo

tītī [tītī] v. to rub or massage, with or without applying a liquid or oil • *wà tītī nñ fòð, ðò wífòð.* Come and massage my lower back, it is paining.

tobii [tóbií] (*Gu.* var. **tūubii**) n. bee
pl. **tobie.**

tofura [tófúrā] n. second month (Waali)

togo [tógò] n. smock with longer sleeves than

toguni [tógúní] (var. **tojini**) v. to squat • *à dièbíé tógní kàlèŋ ní.* The cat squats on the mat.

tokoro [tókóró] Cf: **dianðábøwie** n. window <*tāgå* (Hausa?)

tolibii [tòlíbíí] n. Baobab seed *pl.* **tolibie.**

tolii [tólli] n. Baobab, type of tree (*Adansonia digitata*). *pl.* **toluso.**

tolipaatsjak [tòlípààtšák] Cf: **sãŋkumsõna** n. leaf of Baobab *pl.* **tolipaatsaga.**

tolög [tólg] n. quiver, portable case for holding arrows *pl.* **tolögsa.**

tomo [tòmó] Cf: **tjuomonaatçwa** n. type of tree *pl.* **tomoso.**

tojini [tójíní] (var. of **toguni**)

toŋo [tòŋò] v. to take off, as a load on head or a pot off the fire • *kpàgà nñ níí já tóŋò.* Hold the water container with me so we can put i down.

toŋsi [tòŋsí] v. Cf: **timpitie** 1) to drip • *à dúón kàà tóŋsí háglií ní.* The rain is dripping on the ground. 2) to sieve by letting drip, like when placing the • *à tìmpítíé káá tóŋsùù.*

tooroo[IPA?] num. *Enum:* atoro

totii [tótií] n. share • *ìi mólibíí tótií níj ní.* Here is your share of money. *bìisi* ìi tótií. Narrate your version of the story. *pl.* **totie.**

tou [tóù] (var. **teo**) interj. o.k., so, well. Can express agreement or a transition in a discourse <*tô* (Hausa)

tó [tò] v. Cf: **pømmi** Cf: **tjige** 1) to cover • *kpá kíŋ tò kóŋkōŋ háŋ.* Take this thing and cover that metal box. *Ant:* **lala1** 2) to wear, to close on a cloth on body • *kpá gář tò.* Take a cloth and cover yourself. 3) to close • *tí ìi síé.* Close your eyes. *tʃòpésí tíŋj* jì kàá tò ḥñj síé. The day of my death (lit the day I will close my eyes) ð tó à diàñvå rå. She closed the door. *Ant:* **lala1** 4) to hoe to form yam mounds • *à báál tí ùù pié tñj mùŋ nō.* The man has completed making his yam mounds. 5) to protect, as in God covering the whole world • *kùòsò tó dörpå mūŋ.* God protects the whole world.

¹tɔg [tɔg] *n.* ammunition pouch *pl.* tɔgna.

²tɔg [tɔg] *n.* clay pot generally containing local beer *Syn:* sɪŋvii *pl.* tɔga.

tɔga [tɔyà] *Cf:* di *v.* to burn, to make charcoal • má tí tɔgà kɔsà díŋ. Do not burn the grass. námùŋ wàà tɔgà hɔlá dùsèè nī. No one makes charcoal in Ducie.

tɔgɔfa [tɔyɔfà] *n.* six pence in BWA currency (Akan)

tɔgɔlì [tɔyɔlì] *v.* to be loose • tiè à ñyméŋ tɔgɔlì. Let the rope be loose.

tɔgɔsì [tɔgɔsì] *v.* to burn, as hot food or drink burning the mouth • à kùbíí nómáá̄ à kàá tɔgɔsì ii nòáá̄. The porridge is hot, it will burn your mouth.

tɔgɔma [tɔyɔmà] *Cf:* dɔŋtìma *n.* name given to someone with the same name, known as namesake *pl.* tɔgɔmasa.

¹tɔhiɛ [tɔhíɛ] *n.* midnight

²tɔhiɛ [tɔhíɛ] *n.* old community

tɔi [tɔí] *n.* closing

tɔlatɔla [tɔlátɔlá] *ideo.* lukewarm

tɔma [tɔmà] *nprop.* name of someone who obey a

tɔmìi [tɔmíi] *n.* acquired reptile idol *pl.* tɔmìe.

tɔmɔsù [tómɔsù] *n.* day before yesterday, or day after tomorrow

tɔmɔsù gantal [tómɔsù gántál] *n.* phr. day after the day after tomorrow

tɔna [tòná] *n.* profit *Ant:* bɔna *pl.* tɔnasa.

tɔŋ [tóŋ] *n.* Cf: kadaase Cf: piipa 1) animal skin 2) book 3) paper *pl.* -tɔna.

¹tɔŋa [tòŋà] *Cf:* sagatʃvasuguli *v.* to cook food in water, to boil • à nàñtɔŋjì kánáá̄. The boiled meat is abundant. tɔŋà kpáá̄ já dí. Cook yam so we can eat.

²tɔŋa [tòŋà] *n.* sickness related to a teenager who has been sexually active too early, the person is weak and does not grow well • tɔŋà kpágáá̄ rā. She has the sickness.

tɔŋìi [tóŋíí] *n.* boiled

tɔrigí [tɔrígi] *Cf:* tɔti *pl.v.* to pluck, to pick fruits or beans • bà káálí kɔsá kà tɔrigí sínkpilí. They went to the bush to pluck fruits.

tɔsì [tɔsì] *Cf:* tawa *pl.v.* to pierce many times • òò kàá zóó à sòrìsá, à tósì òò tágàtà mùŋ lúrígúù. When he entered the thorns, they pierced all over his garment.

tɔta [tɔtá] *n.* fiber

¹tɔti [tótí] *Cf:* tɔrigí *v.* to pluck, to pick a fruit • títí lièŋ tīēŋ. Pick the fruit for me.

²tɔti [tótì] *v.* to sprout, to come out (as leaves), to bud

tɔtwosa [tótòsá] *n.* debate, misunderstanding, argumentation

tɔtʃaaŋ [tótʃááŋ] *n.* season spanning from September to November

tɔtʃaaŋbummo [tótʃáámbúmmò]
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 burnings for hunting and other activities

tɔs [tóš] *Cf.* bia *n.* settlement *pl.* tɔsса.

tɔɔkpurgii [tòòkpúrəgíí] *n.* tobacco container

tɔɔpaatsaga [tòòpààtsáyá] *n.* tobacco leaf

tɔɔpatʃigii [tòòpàtʃigíí] *n.* inside the village

tɔɔpsal [tóópòàl] *n.* prominent community member *pl.* tɔɔpsalsa.

tɔsas [tòòsàó] *n.* ground tobacco

tɔssii [tóóssií] *n.* village's center, the busiest place of the village

tɔstima [tóòtìiná] *Cf.* tindaana *n.* land owner, landlord *pl.* tɔstimsa.

tɔvɔgzimbie [tòvɔgzímbié] *n.* Hoopoe, type of bird (*Upupa epops*). *pl.* tɔvɔgzimbise.

1tɔwa (*var. of tawa*)

2tɔwa [tòwà] *n.* tobacco *pl.* tɔssa.

tɔwie [tówié] *n.* small village *pl.* tɔ-wise.

tɔzeŋ [tózéj] *n.* town

tradža [térádzà] *n.* trousers (ultm. English)

tufutufu [tùfútùfú] *ideo.* type of texture, starchy • à kàpálà dòs tufutù-fù. The fufu is not starchy.

tugo [tùgò] *v.* *Cf.* maŋatſasi 1) to beat a person or an animal • bà túgó dónā. They fought each other. 2) to pound with sharp movements • òò tugo kàpálà rā. She pounds the fufu.

tugosi [tugosi] *pl.v.* to beat • ñ tágosí à biè ré. I beat the child (more than once, over a short period of time)

tulaadi [túlààdí] *n.* perfume <*tùràrē* (Hausa)

tulemi [tùlèmí] *v.* to do by mistake, to make a mistake • Kàlá túlémi kpá òò tʃéná tágátà. kala took by mistake his friend's shirt.

tulor [túlór:] *Cf.* sun̄guruŋbinhääñ *n.* beautiful young girl who can get married and has never given birth *pl.* tuloro.

tulorwie [túlòrwíé] *Cf.* binhääñnihäwie *n.* young girl

tundaa [tündáá] *Cf.* tutokuotuto *n.* pistle, pounding stick *pl.* tundaa-sa.

tundaaboree [túnđáábóréé] *n.* piece of pistel *pl.* tundaaboruso.

tuntuolii (*var. of tentuolii*)

tuntuolisıama [túntùòlísìàmá] (*var.* **tutukɔɔkɔɔ**) *n.* Red-Billed Hornbill, type of bird (*Tockus sp.*).

tuntʃunsa [tùntʃùnsá] *n.* work badly done

¹**tuo** [túò] *n.* bow *pl. toso.*

²**tuo** [tùò] *v.* not exist, not there • ḡ wàà **tuo**. He is not there.

tuolie [tùólíè] *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 kínmùñ**. The sellers never add any amount or items. 2) to pick or take fast • **tfó kà tuo-sì mòlèbié wàà**. Run and go pick the money and come back.

tuosii [tùòsíí] *Cf. tuoso n.* added amount of goods by a seller after a closed transaction

tuoso [tùósó] *Cf. tuosii n.* added amount, a "dash"

tupu [túpù] *n.* tube (ultm. English)

turo [túrō] *v.* 1) to move or rub back and forth by pressing on a hard surface • **kpá ìì nàtáć türò à sèlémén-tè, dóňó lñi**. Rub your shoe against the cement to remove the dirt. 2) to go in and out a place over a certain period of time • **mì mâábié bááń sìì, ḡò já bááń à türò kùò rō tfɔpisí bíímüñ**. Every day, immediately my brother gets up, he always go to farm.

turuŋkaa [túrúŋkàà] *lit.* small-car *n.* car (ultm. English (partly))

tusu [túsù] *num.* thousand (Oti-Volta) *pl. tususo.*

tuti [tùtì] *Cf. zaga v.* to push upwards or forwards, to shove • **tùtì à lóñli ó sìi**. Push the car for it to start.

tuto [tútò] *Cf. tundaakuotuto n.* mortar *pl. tutoso.*

tutosii [tùtùsíí] *n.* center of a mortar, around the smallest concentric ring
tutukɔɔkɔɔ [tútükɔɔkɔɔ] (*var. of tuntuolisıama*)

tuu [tùù] *Cf. zina v.* to go down, to descend, to come low • **ṇ túú dìà rā**. I went down to the house. **kpá tuoù**. Put it down.

tūū [túú] *n.* honey *pl. tūūta.*

tuubi [túúbí] *v.* 1) to repent, to change from evil doing to a better lifestyle • **Kálá túúbìjō, ówá bírà à ymíé**. Kala has repented, he does not steal anymore. 2) to convert to one of the modern religions • **à végtííná wàá kìn túúbí tféétñ nī**. The priest cannot convert to Christianity. (Hausa)

tūūbii [túùbíí] (*Gu. var. of tobii*)

tuur [túúr] (*var. of haglikñ*)

tuuri [tùùrì] *v.* to drag • **háglikiná jáá túúrì à kínpàgàsíè**. Snakes usually drag their prey.

tva [tòà] *v.* 1) to deny • **ጀ tóó ñí wíñmáhá tìn nā**. He denied your words. 2) **ṇíná píésóó dí ḡ wà káálí kùó, ḡ tòà nñá**. His father asked him whether he went to farm, he denied having been there. **ጀ ymájåñ kāā**

tɔ̃à. She is talking and denying. 2) to argue • hámónà àní níhíèsá wàá kin tɔ̃ò dýñà. Children and elders cannot argue.

tɔ̃ã [tɔ̃ã] *n.* knife cover *pl.* **tɔ̃āna**.
tɔ̃asi [tɔ̃asì] *v.* to pick out, to pick up • tɔ̃asì bié átòrò tīēñ. Pick three stones for me.

tɔ̃gɔ̃si [tɔ̃gɔ̃sì] *v.* to become weak, to become powerless • Dzébùnì wà dí sìimáà dì pýñà à tógoñí. Jebuni is always underfed, that is why he became weak.

tɔ̃l [tɔ̃l] *Cf:* **díñtɔ̃l** *n.* flame

tɔ̃la [tɔ̃lã] *Cf:* **pɔ̃la** *Cf:* **pɔ̃mma** *v.* to be white • à dìà pátfigñí wáá tòlã. The inside of the room is not white.

¹**tɔ̃ma** [tòmà] *v.* 1) work • ñ wàá tòmà tòmá zááñ. I will not work today. 2) to send someone • tòmán ñ káálì dùùsèé. Send me to Ducie.

²**tɔ̃ma** [tòmá] *n.* work (Oti-Volta) *pl.* **tɔ̃masa**.

³**tɔ̃ma** [tòmà] *pl.n.* people

tɔ̃ñ [tɔ̃ñ] *TYPEtɔ̃ñ*

tɔ̃ñi [tɔ̃ñí] *n.* denying

tɔ̃ñi [tòóní] *v.* to stretch • gòmá-tíñá wàá kin tòóní. A hunchback person cannot stretch.

tɔ̃ñiñ [tòónñà] *n.* type of genet (*Genetta spp.*) *pl.* **tɔ̃nsa**.

tɔ̃ñii [tòónñí] *n.* stretching

tɔ̃ra [tòòrà] *n.* trouble

tɔ̃saa [tòòsáá] *nprop.* Tuosa village

tɔ̃sal (*var. of tɔ̃salm*)

tɔ̃salm [tòòsálíí] *n.* (*var.* **tɔ̃sal**) 1) person from Tuosa 2) lect of Tuosa *pl.* **tɔ̃salé**.

tɔ̃rigi [tòrìgi] *v.* to itch • zóngòréé dómñj, mññ bárá dì tɔ̃rigi. Mosquitoes bit me, my body is itching.

tɔ̃si [tòsí] *v.* to move over • tòsí wà kààlì nénđúl. Move over to the right.

¹**tɔ̃ñ** [tòññ] *v.* Cf: **pɔ̃** 1) to be inserted or to insert, to wear shoes or clothes from down the waist • à hëmbíí tɔ̃ñ à dáánñj ní. The nail pierced the fruit and is now in it. kpá ñ pítññ tɔ̃ñ. Wear your underpants. 2) to thread beads or needle • làà niñsá tɔ̃ñ tīēñ. Take this needle and insert it for me.

²**tɔ̃ñ** [tòññ] *n.* type of animal

tɔ̃ñi [tòññí] *v.* to protrude, to bulge out • tí tòññí ñ ñòá dó ñ ní kéñ. Do not protrude your mouth on me like this.

tòñri [tòññí] *v.* to tighten, to draw close • tòññí à ñménj dó à píési bá-géñá nñ, ò tágóljáó. Tighten the rope on the sheep's neck, it is loose.

tʃá [tʃá] (*var.* **tʃé**) *v.* to remain, to be left over, to be stranded, to dwell • ñ fñ wiò à tʃá támá ká ñ sówà, nñj wá ñ kpégéó. He was very ill and almost died, but now he is well.

tʃää [tʃää] *n.* broom *SynT:* **kimpñigñ** *pl.* **tʃääna**.

tʃaandíñi [tʃääñdíñi] *n.* candle (ultm. English)

tſāñi [tʃāñi] *v.* 1) to be bright, to shine • à dià pátſigñ tſāñiñ. The room is bright. *Ant:* **doŋii** 2) to be clean, to be pure • à nɔ̄ñiñ tſāñiñ. The cow milk is pure. *Ant:* **doŋo**

tſaŋtſiŋ [tʃááŋtʃíŋ] (*Gu.* var. **tſinmisa**) (var. **tſantſeŋ**) *n.* insect which makes a loud noise in the hottest part of the dry season. It marks the end of harmattan (*Hemiptera cicadidae*). *pl.* **tſaŋtſiŋsa**.

tſaaraa [tʃààràà] *n.* diarrhoea (bacillary, in general)

tſaaraa dɔ̄gɔ́ssá [tʃāärä dɔ̄gɔ́ssá] *n.* diarrhoea (acute)

tſaari [tʃààri] *v.* 1) to pour over, to pour down in a stream • à duón káá tſààrɔ̄. 2) to have diarrhoea • ḷṇṇ biwé tſiñ káá tſaari. My youngest child will have diarrhoea.

tſaasa [tʃáásá] *n.* comb *pl.* **tſaasasa**.

tſaasadaa [tʃáásádàà] *n.* wooden comb *pl.* **tſaasadaasa**.

tſaasapinj [tʃáásápnj] *n.* tooth of a comb *pl.* **tſaasapinjña**.

tſaasi [tʃáásí] *v.* to cry with loud voice, to shout strongly and suddenly, to exclaim • ḷ tſáásí dí lóóli tſíñá. He shouted at the car for it to stop. ḷ tſáásuu dí ḷ dí káá dí díñ. She is shouting that her house is burning.

tſaasi [tʃààsì] *v.* 1) to comb • ñ wà kpágá púpóná ká à tſaasi. I do not have hair to comb. 2) to sweep, to

clear out rubbish • tí tſāasí bár dí ñí píná káá dí kindííliè. Do not sweep the place when your father is eating. 3) to imitate, to mimic • tí tſāasí à báál dí válíí tſérá, gáraǵá káá jāāñ kékñ. Do not imitate the man's walk, sickness made him so.

¹**tſaga** [tʃáyà] *v.* to face, go towards • kpá ñí sié tſágà wítſélí. Face west.

²**tſaga** [tʃáyà] *v.* to produce a liquid through straining with sieve or filter, e.g. in making soap or in brewing local beer • tſágà sítſárá já pɔ̄á. Strain the malt to make beer so we can drink.

tſagalı [tʃáyáli] *v.* to teach, to show, to indicate, to tell • ḷ tſágálí ḷ tſintñ ná kíñkáñ. He show off himself too much. bá fí tſágálíjá wā bántſáóhíwíí kúò ní. They taught us how to trap at the farm.

tſagasi [tʃáyásí] *n.* menses • **tſágásií** jáá nihááná wíí rá. Menses is a women phenomenon.

tſagasi [tʃáyásí] 1) *pl.v.* to wash, e.g. clothes, floor, house • ḷ ḷymá ñn nù-hő wá pāā ñn kíndóñó ká tſágási. I told my grandchild to come and take my dirty clothes and wash them. 2) *v.* to menstruate

tſagtſagasa [tʃáytʃáyásá] *n.* individual who washes *pl.* **tſagtſagasa**.

tſagbariga [tʃágbáરəgá] *n.* palm leaf whip *pl.* **tſagbarigasa**.

tſakalı [tʃákálí] *nprop.* Chakali language

tfakaln [tʃàkálíf] *n.* 1) ethnically Chakali person 2) Chakali language *pl.* **tfakalɛe**.

tfaktʃak [tʃáyətʃák] *n.* tattoo *pl.* **tfaktkaxsa**.

tfal [tʃáł] (*var.* **tfel**) *n.* blood *pl.* **tfalla**.

tfalası [tʃàlásı] *v.* (*var.* **tfelisi**) 1) pay attention to, to keep track of, be careful • *tʃálásı n̄v̄ ñ wíé wíwíré*. Pay attention and listen to the matter carefully. 2) to wait • *bà tʃálásɔv̄ bá náì*. They are waiting to see you.

tfalehō [tʃáléhò] *n.* type of grasshopper

tfama [tʃámá] *v.* to smash with hands • *ɔ tʃámá sɔ́l*. She smashed the dawadawa powder.

tfammiā [tʃáməniá] [tʃámìñé] *n.* boils, small abcess usually found on buttocks

tfantʃieŋ (*var. of* **tfaanʃinŋ**)

tfantʃinsa [tʃántʃinsá] [tʃántʃinsá] *n.* 1) acute, inflammatory, contagious disease 2) pinworm

tfantʃful [tʃántʃúl] *Cf.* **tambø** *n.* cloth used as diaper *pl.* **tfantʃulo**.

tfaparapíi [tʃàpàràpíi] *n.* Four-Banded Sandgrouse (*Pterocles quadricinctus*). *pl.* **tfaparapíña**.

tfara [tʃàrà] *v.* to straddle; to sit with a leg on each side of something • *báál tʃárá sáŋá dáánáá ní*. A man straddles on a tree branch.

tfaratʃara [tʃàràtʃàrà] (*var.* **tfatʃara**) *ideo.* visual pattern of a heteroge-

neous design, like in the description of fabric or animal skin • *bɔsá jáá tʃàràtʃàrà*. The snake has a certain skin pattern. *pl.* **tfaratʃarasa**.

tfaree [tʃàréé] Western Wattled Cuckoo-Shrike (*Lobotos lobatus*). *pl.* **tfareesa**.

tfarı [tʃáři] *n.* diarrhoea

tfası [tʃásí] *v.* *Cf.* **maŋatugo** (*var.* **kası**) 1) to knock, to slap • *tʃásí ɔv̄ gántál ú sí dūo ní*. Slap his back to wake him up. 2) to pound in order to spread fibres and make soft, e.g. meat, tuber • *tʃásí kpònjkpónj tá bññ ní*. Pound the cassava and leave it on a rock to dry. 3) to cough • *ɔv̄ fɔf̄tà tʃígáá, ɔv̄ dì tʃásí*. His lungs have deteriorated, he is coughing.

tfasie [tʃásíé] *n.* cough

tfasılı [tʃásílfí] *n.* 1) person from Chasia 2) lect of Chasia *pl.* **tfasilee**.

tfasizeŋ [tʃásízèŋ] *lit.* big-cough *n.* tuberculosis, deadly infectious disease caused by mycobacteria

tfatı [tʃátı] *n.* type of guinea corn *pl.* **tfatı**.

tfatʃara (*var. of* **tfaratʃara**)

tfatʃawilee [tʃàtʃawíléé] *n.* type of weaver bird (*Ploceus gen.*). *pl.* **tfatʃawileesa**.

¹**tfaw** [tʃáó] *n.* termites that attack yams under the ground by feeding on the sprouting vines of the yam setts (*Macrotermes*). *pl.* **tfawna**.

²**tfaw** [tʃáó] *n.* tongs, grasping device *pl.* **tfawa**.

tſawa (*var. of tſεwa*)

tſel [tſel̩] *n.* tree gum *pl.* **tſel̩**.

tſele [tſel̩e] *v.* Cf: **sibire** 1) to fall • dì tſalásì i kàá tſel̩e. Be careful unless you will fall. 2) be deflated • à hááñ sákiri tſel̩é pōntfà. The woman's bicycle wheel is deflated.

tſele níi [tſel̩e níi] *lit.* fall water (*var.* **tſelesi níi**) *v.* to swim • ò tſel̩é níi à gí gón̩. He swam across the river. ò jáá tſel̩ésì níi rá. She can swim.

tſelesi níi [tſel̩ésì níi] (*var. of tſele níi*)

tſelii [tſelíí] Cf: **kalie** *n.* tomato *pl.* **tſelee**.

tſelle [tſellé] *n.* 1) a person who break or disregard a law or a promise 2) guilt *pl.* **tſellese**.

tſeme [tſémè] *v.* to meet • jáá tſemè dón̩à Kálá dìà ní. We are going to meet each other at Kala's house.

tſemii [tſémíí] *n.* head support, rag twisted and put on the head to support a load *pl.* **tſemie**.

tſensi [tſénsi] *n.* roofing zinc plate *pl.* **tſensise**.

tſerim [tſérím] Cf: **surum** *adv.* quietly • à hááñ sáñà tſerim. The woman sat quietly.

tſesi [tſési] (*var. kesi*) *v.* to sieve, to sift • **tſesi** sàó. Sift the flour.

tſeti (*var. of keti*)

tſetſe [tſetſé] *n.* wheel (Hausa?)

tſe (*var. of tſa*)

tſeetſí [tſéétſí] *n.* church (ultm. English)

tſeetſibie [tſéétſibíé] *n.* Christian

tſeẽ [tſeẽ] *n.* visual attractiveness

tſel (*var. of tſal*)

tſela [tſelà] *v.* to reward for a performance • liì gòà ii hááñ tſelíí. Go and dance, your wife will reward you.

tſelintſie [tſelíntſiè] *n.* type of grasshopper

tſelisi (*var. of tſalasi*)

tſema [tſema] *v.* to stir flour and water to make a paste

tſemíí (*Gu. var. of témíí*)

tſena [tſéná] *n.* friend *pl.* **tſensa**.

tſera [tſérá] *n.* waist *pl.* **tſerasa**.

²tſera [tſèrà] *v.* to exchange, to trade for goods or services without the exchange of money • àj kàá tſerà nő̩ní kpóŋkpóŋ? Who wants to trade oil against cassava? ñ kpá ññ kísíe tſerà kárantié. I exchanged my knife for a cutlass.

tſerakn̩ [tſérákñ] *n.* waist beads *pl.* **tſerakna**.

tſerbøa [tſérəbøá] *n.* hip *pl.* **tſerbøsa**.

tſerigí [tſerigí] *v.* to look different in appearance

tſetſera [tſétſéra] Cf: **tſitsara** *n.* bathroom [*Ka*].

tſewa [tſèwà] *v. (var. tſawa)* 1) grab with fingers, tongs or teeth, to hold in place • à váá tſewá à áá lúró, bá kpúó. The dog held the bushbuck's testicles, they killed it. gárrágáttíí tſewà òv púpóná. A hairband holds her hair. 2) to operate upon swelling pores • bá tſewá Kálá nàáññá. They

operated upon the guinea worm on Kala's leg.

t_Ewii [t_Ewwí] *n.* dowry

t_i [t_i] *v.* to spit through the upper incisors • *tí mÙntwòsá ní ná.* Spit saliva for me to see.

t_iesii (*var. of kiesii*)

t_iig [t_iig] *n.* fishing trap *pl.* t_iige.

t_iige [t_iigè] *v.* Cf: **to** 1) to cover, to trap under, to put on face down, to turn upside down, to be upside down • *ní t_iigè nì níjt_igè.* I am going to put on my hat. à *víi t_iigé à dààkpútúi ní.* The pot is face down on the tree stump. 2) to inhabit • *já bírà à wà t_iigè dùùsèé.* Let's return to inhabit Dicie.

t_iigesi [t_iigèsi] *pl.v.* to turn, to cover many things • *mÙn páá à hënsá t_iigè-súú.* I turned upside down the bowls.

t_iii (*var. of kii*)

t_iime [t_iimé] *n.* head gear, scarf, or cloth used to cover the head of a woman • *ò vòwà t_iimé.* She wears a head gear. *pl.* t_iinse.

t_iini (*var. of kiini*)

t_iingbañsii [t_iíngbánsíi] *n.* noise made by ankle bells worn by dancers

t_iir [t_iír] Cf: kii (*var. kiir*) *n.* taboo, conservatism *pl.* t_iite.

t_iirikaleñgbögvti [t_iírikálèñgbögvti] (*Gu. var. of kaleñgbögvti*)

t_iimmää [t_iímmää] Cf: kilimie (*var. kimmää*) *n.* pepper *pl.* t_iimmää.

t_iimmeħolli [t_iímmehħòlli] *n.* dried pepper *pl.* t_iimmeħolli.

t_iimmesav [t_iímmèsàó] *n.* ground dried pepper

t_iimmesoŋ [t_iímmèsóŋ] *n.* fresh pepper *pl.* t_iimmesona.

1t_iinie [t_iíníè] *n.* type of climber (*Ipo-moea gen.*) *pl.* t_iinise.

2t_iinie [t_iíníè] *n.* rash *pl.* t_iinse.

t_iintseli [t_iíntselí] *n.* piece of broken pot *pl.* t_iintsele.

t_iingoŋ [t_iíngóŋ] *n.* chewing gum (ultm. English)

t_iinisi [t_iínísi] *v.* to jump down • *gbia t_iinisi tsùòmò ní.* A monkey jumped down on a togo hare.

t_iinṣuŋu [t_iínsùŋú] *nprop.* tenth month (Waali)

t_iitſa [t_iítſà] Cf: karima (*var. titſa*) *n.* teacher (ultm. English) *pl.* t_iitſasa.

t_iitſara [t_iítſàrá] Cf: t_ietſera *n.* bathroom *pl.* t_iitſarasa.

t_iitſarabusa [t_iítſarabúsa] *n.* bathroom gutter

t_iitſasɔri [t_iítſàsórfí] *n.* roof gutter *pl.* t_iitſasɔrie.

t_iitſi [t_iítſi] *ono.* cockroach sound

t_ií [t_i] *pv.* tomorrow • *ṇ t_ií kàá mäsì kpó à kírinsá rá.* I will be beating and killing the tsetse flies tomorrow.

t_iíá [t_iíá] *n.* (*var. t_iíë*) 1) type of fly usually found in houses 2) gun sight *pl.* t_iíasa.

t_iíabii [t_iíàbíi] *n.* type of calabash seed *pl.* t_iíabie.

t_iíabummo [t_iíàbúmmò] *n.* big black fly which feeds on carcasses

tfiāma [tʃiāmá] *n.* noise • *má tā tfiāmá.* Stop the noise. *Ant:* **surum**

tfiāmi [tʃiāmì] *v.* to make a noise • *tʃiāmì báan nī ká m̄ púsíi.* If you make noise, I will deal with you. *i kà ymá kēj ñ wà nōdá dí bá tʃiāmì.* I could not hear what you said, they were making noise.

tfiāpeti [tʃiāpétí] *n.* dawadawa seed shell *pl.* **tfiāpetie.**

tfiāre [tʃiārè] *v.* to winnow, to blow the chaff away from the grain • *má ká tʃiārè míá, mínzogá dùà ã nì.* Winnow the guinea corn, there is chaff in them.

tfiāsi [tʃiāsì] (*var. of kiasí*)

tfiāsiama [tʃiāsiāmá] *n.* small red fly usually found with domestic animals

tfiē [tʃia] (*var. of tʃiā*)

tfiēmi [tʃiēmì] (*var. of kiēmi*)

tfiēŋi [tʃiēŋí] (*var. kiēŋi*) *v.* to crack, to break pot or cup into pieces • *à bōóná tʃiēŋi à vii bárá bálìè.* The goats have broken the cooking pots in two parts.

tfiéri [tʃiéří] (*var. kiéri*) *v.* to take leaves from branches for preparing food • *tfiéri kpōŋkpōŋpàatságá à tòŋà disá.* Take some cassava leaves and prepare a soup.

tfii [tʃii] *Cf:* **sommāā** *n.* dawadawa seed *Syn:* **sɔlbii** *pl.* **tfiā.**

tfiiŋ [tʃiiŋ] *Cf:* **bintiratfiiŋ** *n.* pair of ankle-rattles, percussion instrument *pl.* **tfiāma.**

tfiiri [tʃiirí] *v.* to make tight, to be too tight • *sígmààpúù tʃíríjáó, púró támá.* The mask is too tight, loosen it a little.

tfiirii [tʃiiríi] *Cf:* **kirii** *n.* type of wasp [Gu]. *pl.* **tfiiree.**

tfiima [tʃimá] (*var. kima*) *v.* to borrow, to lend • *tʃímíŋ mòlèbíí ñ ká jà-wà dísá.* Lend me some money to buy soup. *ñ káá kín tʃímá mòlèbíí ré ì pé nii?* Can I borrow money from you?

tfiimini [tʃimní] *n.* type of insect, produce loud sound in the afternoon [Gu].

tfiimínisa [tʃimnísá] (*Gu. var. of tsaantʃim*)

tfiintſerii [tʃintſéríi] *n.* edge • *zòò ññ diá, ññ kárantià tʃzá à dià tʃintſéríi ní.* Go in the house, my cutlass is at the edge of my room, somewhere along a wall. *pl.* **tfiintſere.**

tfiŋ keŋ [tʃíŋ kék] *lit.* stand like.this *v.* to ask someone to stop from moving, to stay in a position • *tfiŋ kék, púúpù káá wàà.* Stop, a motorbike is coming.

tfiŋja [tʃíŋjá] *v.* stand • *à báál tʃíŋjá à dià píúú ní.* The man stands on the roof of the house. *dáá fí tʃíŋjá à diá hák sōs ní.* A tree used to stand in front of that house.

tfiŋasí [tʃíŋásí] *v.* to put down, set down, especially of non-flat things • *kpá à bié tʃíŋásí háglií ní.* Put the child on the ground.

tfiribɔ [tʃirəbó] *n.* gun firing pin (Akan)

¹tʃogo [tʃògò] *v.* to ignite, to light a torch or light • *tʃògò díŋ*. Ignite the fire. *tʃògò díŋ*. Open your torch light.

²tʃogo [tʃògò] *Cf:* tʃogosi *v.* to peck, to strike with beak • à zímbié tʃógo mómbíí dígíí dígíí à dí dí. The chick is pecking guinea corn grain one by one.

tʃogosi [tʃògòsì] *Cf:* tʃogo *pl.v.* to peck • à zál tʃögósí mómbié à dí dí. The fowl pecks guinea corn grains and eats.

tʃokoli [tʃókòlì] *n.* spoon (Waali)

tʃokpore [tʃòkpòrè] *n.* type of bird *pl.* tʃokporoso.

tʃonsi [tʃónsí] *v.* 1) to join • *làà à ñmén̄ tʃónsí iì kín nì*. Take the rope and join it to yours. 2) to put in a row, or be in a straight line • *tìè à dààsá tʃónsí dýá ní*. Let the sticks be in a row.

tʃongolii [tʃóngólíí] *n.* type of tree (*Gardenia erubescens*). *pl.* tʃongolee.

tʃoori [tʃòrì] *v.* to sieve water to get impurity out • *tʃòrì gónníf à pòñà, ñá wáá bì ñrìì ní*. Sieve the river water then drink it, so guinea worms do not swell you up again.

tʃɔ [tʃó] *v.* 1) to run • *tí tíé iì váà gílà à bɔ́ñá tʃɔ*. Do not let your dog make the goats run. ḡ *tʃɔ làà kàwàà tíwíi*. She ran along the pumpkin road. 2) to flee • *nì hääñ tʃɔ já dià ní*. My wife fled our house.

tʃobiel [tʃòbièl] *Cf:* pakpate *n.* nomadic termite *pl.* tʃobiella.

tʃobol [tʃòból] (*var.* tʃopuzen) *n.* termites that build giant mounds

tʃoga [tʃòyà] *v.* to spoil, to be spoiled, to destroy • *màm màábié tʃogá màm pár rá*. My brother spoiled my hoe.

tʃogdø [tʃòyødø] *n.* rotten meat *pl.* tʃogdøsa.

tʃogii [tʃògíí] *n.* type of weevil (*Curculionoidea*). *pl.* tʃogii.

tʃogta [tʃògtá] *n.* appeasing gift

tʃɔř [tʃòří] *n.* pole used to press gunpowder in the barrel *pl.* tʃɔřna.

tʃokdaa [tʃòyødáá] *n.* dibber; farm instrument with long shaft and spoon shape extremity but no concavity *pl.* tʃokdaasa.

tʃokmii [tʃòyømíí] *n.* unreliable (person) *Ant:* fɔŋatnna

tʃokɔja [tʃòkòjá] *n.* termite hill *pl.* tʃokɔjasa.

tʃopuzen (*var.* of tʃobol)

tʃopisi (*var.* of tʃosim pisa)

tʃorigì [tʃòrìgì] *v.* to smash undried tubers, intentionally or by accident • *ùù bié tʃóñá à kpáámá à lìì kúó dí wáá à tʃèlè, ámúñ tʃòrìgì*. His child carried the yams from farm and fell on his way back, they were all smashed.

tʃozor [tʃózòör] *n.* infection

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 bɔ́ñ tìñ

tʃúgó tūú. The hole of the aardvark is deep down.

tʃugosi [tʃùgòsì] *pl.v.* to shove repeatedly • *tíí tʃugòsi m̄m bámbíí kéñj.* Do not shove at my chest like this.

tʃúítʃúí [tʃùítʃúí] *Cf:* **srama** *ints.* pure, complete, or very (red) • *siàmá tʃúítʃúí.* very or pure red.

tʃumo [tʃùmò] *Cf:* **furusí** *v.* to take large sips, large quantity at once • *Hákúrí tʃúmó à kùbíí mûñj.* Hakuri drank all the porridge in large sips.

tʃuomo [tʃùómó] *n.* togo hare (*Lepus capensis zechi*). *pl.* **tʃuoŋso**.

tʃuomonaatwá [tʃùomónààtòwá] *lit.* rabbit-shoes *Cf:* **tomo** *n.* thorny and dried flower of the tree named *pl.* **tʃuomonaatwása**.

tʃuoŋ [tʃúónj] *Cf:* **suonj** *n.* shea nut seed *pl.* **tʃuono**.

tʃuori [tʃùòrì] *n.* to strain liquid through sieve in making porridge

tʃurugi [tʃúrúgí] *pl.v.* to pull out many with force • *péú tʃurugi n̄n tʃénsi hembíé.* The wind pulled the roofing nails out.

tʃuti [tʃútí] *v.* to pull out, e.g. teeth, nail or horn, to pry out, to loosen, to uproot, to unearth • *tʃútí hembíí tīēj.* Pull out the nail and give it to me. *n̄n píñ dígímáñá tʃútijé.* One tooth of mine has been pulled.

tʃutfuk [tʃùtfúk] *n.* type of drum *pl.* **tʃutfukno**.

tʃuuri [tʃùùrì] *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 •

tʃùùrì à tūú já nőå. Pour the tea from one cup to the other continuously for us to drink. **2)** to drop grains or nuts from the roof of a house to the central ground • *má tʃùùrì à zágá ní.* Drop them on the ground of the house.

tʃuuse [tʃùùsè] *v.* to suck in the liquid of a fruit • *à bié tʃúúsé à lòmbúró ró.* The child sucked the juice from the orange.

tʃva [tʃvà] *Cf:* **sagasugulitøja** *v.* to lie down • *ñ tʃvawáá.* I'm lying down.

tʃva duo [tʃùò dúò] *lit.* lie sleep *v.* to sleep • *dià tómā kàà tʃvá dūō rò.* People in the house are sleeping.

tʃvar [tʃvàr] *n.* line, may describe a pattern on an animal skin or a mark on someone's face *pl.* **tʃvara**.

tʃvøl [tʃvøl] *n.* clay *pl.* **tʃvøl**.

tʃvoma [tʃvømà] *v.* **1)** bad • *-kpååñtʃvømá i kpá tīēj.* You gave me a bad yam. *Ant: were 2)* ugly • *à báál tʃvømåå.* The man is ugly. **3)** lower than expectation, in terms of customs • *à báál tʃvømåå.* The man's behavior are not correct. *pl.* **tʃvønsa**.

tʃvøja [tʃvøjá] *v.* to carry load on the head • *gømátiñá wàá kìn tʃvøjá bønnå.* A hunchback cannot carry loads on his head.

tʃvøjj [tʃvøjjí] *n.* carrying

tʃɔŋ [tʃɔŋ] *n.* type of fish *pl.* - tʃɔna.

tʃɔsa [tʃɔsá] *n.* morning *pl.* tʃɔsa.

tʃɔsim písá [tʃɔsím písí] (*var.* tʃɔpísí) *n.* *phr.* day break, early morning

tʃɔri [tʃɔrí] *v.* to torn into pieces, beyond possibilities of reparation •

ññ gátóólí múnj tʃɔríjé. My cloth is torned all over.

tʃɔsí [tʃɔsí] *v.* to make a ingressive derogatory sound with the mouth, to • bà wà tʃɔsí Lòbi báál. They do not make derogatory sound to Lobis.

u (*var. of v*)

¹ugo [?ùgò] *v.* 1) to proliferate, to multiply • ññ náñná úgóó. My cows multiplied fast. *Syn:* wasí 2) to swell, to expand • jáà nñ dò à gáàrií ní à ú-gò. Pour water in the

²ugo [?ùgò] *v.* to bring up food purposely, push up food from the stomach to the mouth • à váá úgó námíá tiè ùù bisé. The dog brought up meat from his stomach for its puppies to eat.

uguli [?úgúlí] *v.* to push up earth, as when seedlings germinate • kpáá-ŋsié káá úgúlúú. The yam shoots are coming out.

ul [?úl] *n.* navel *pl.* ulo.

ulo [?úlò] *v.* to carry in arms • sìì lààri kiná túú kààlì ká làà iì jíná úló kpáámá à wáā. Stand up, get dressed, go down to your father and bring yams.

ulzsa [?ùlzsa] (*var.* zsa) *n.* umbilical cord *pl.* ulzsa.

uori [?ùori] *v.* to shout to alert others, especially done at the farm • ù úróí kinkájì, bà tʃá wàà lágá. He shouted very loud, they ran quickly to him.

uu (*var. of v*)

ũũ [?úú] *v.* to bury • òò náàl Zibilím úú mòlèbíé à ká sòwà. His grandfather Zibilim buried money and died.

v [v] (*var.* uu) (*var.* vv) (*var.* u) *pro.* third person singular pronoun

vɔli (*var. of ɔɔli*)

vti [?òti] *v.* to knead • òti à kápálà já dí. Knead the fufu so we can eat.

vv (*var. of v*)

vaa [váà] *n.* dog *SynT:* nñátiinanñázimíntuna *pl.* vasa.

vãä [vâà] *adv.* after, beyond

vaaganj [váágánj] *lit.* dog-craziness *n.* sort of abnormal set of behavior for a dog

vaanj [vâanj] *Cf:* hii *n.* animal front leg *pl.* vaanja.

vaanjper [vâàmpér] *n.* shoulder blade *pl.* vaanjpe.

vaari [vâàri] *v.* to do abruptly • ò kpá à tón nà vâári téébùl júú ní. He put the book down on the table abruptly.

vaasi [vâási] *v.* to rinse • námíá tse-lé háglií ní n zòrò vâási ní. The meat fell on the ground I picked it up and rinsed it.

vala [vàlà] *v.* to walk, to travel
• *nìhááná válá kàálì Sòglá lú-hò*. Women walked to the funeral in Sawla.

vara [várá] *v.* to castrate • *ñ kàá várá ñì vágál lá*. I will castrate my male dog. (Waali)

vatíōTYPEbatíō

vési [vésf] *v.* 1) to pull with a quick or strong movement, to pull away with force • *vésí à bié wà liì dià nì, dñj kàá dñù*. Pull the child out of the room unless the fire will burn him. 2) to grow a little in height • *ñì kà wáā nā à bié dì òò bí vésí*. When I came to see the child he had grown a bit.

vétii [vètñf] *n.* mud *pl.* **vétii**.

vige [vìgè] *v.* to move out of positon, or push away obstacles • *vigè nífdóñjó tá, ká dòj*. Push the suspended particles away and fetch water. *Bákúri vígé à bisé tā*. Bakuri pushed the children away in order to pass.

vii [víi] *n.* cooking pot (type of) *pl.* **viine**.

viibagéna [vìibáyəná] *n.* neck of a container

viigi [vìigì] *v.* 1) to swing around • *nìbáálá kàá viigì tébínsígmàá*. Men will swing the bullroarer. 2) to shake head from side to side • *à tóótīnā víewó ká viigì ùù púù*. The landlord refused and shook his head.

viisiama [víisìàmá] *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 [vil] *Cf:* **kolõj** *n.* well

vilimi [vìlímí] *v.* to spin round and round • *jìnè ñì sákìrnáá nà, òò márà à vílímüü?* Look at my bicycle tire, is it turning well?

via [vìà] (*var. of* **vie**)

vie [vìè] *v.* (*var. via*) 1) to refuse, to reject, to neglect • *bà víé dí bá wá tòmà jà tòmā*. They refused to come to do our work. 2) to abandon • *à hääñj vité ùù bisé tā*. The woman abandoned her children.

víehiegá [víéhígá] *Cf:* **víehiegé** *interj.* title for the

víehiegé [víéhígé] *Cf:* **víehiegá** *nprop.* clan found in Gurumbele

viera [víérá] *n.* dirt, garbage *pl.* **viera**.

víeri [vitérf] *v.* to have miscarriage • *ñì hääñj ná sígmàásá wá ò wà dí lú-líí, à víérí tā*. My wife saw the masks and she did not take the medicine, she had a miscarriage.

víezintfia [vìézintfíá] *lit.* refuse-know-tomorrow *n.* ungrateful

vinninni [vínnínnf] *ideo.* long and thin • *à tántàànñ dó kén vinnin-ni*. The earthworm is long and thin.

vira [vìrà] *v.* to hit with fast and hard motion, to hit with a stone in order to kill through a catapult, to kick with the foot in order to wound

• *Bákúrí lísí òð náá vírà ùù bié múñj.* Bakuri hit the child's buttock with his foot. *làà táájá vírà zímbiè tiēñ.* Take the catapult and shoot the bird for me.

visinj [vísíñ] *n.* type of climber (*Psychotria conuta*). *pl. visima.*

vítí [vítì] *pl.v.* to prance, to spring forward on the hind legs, to kick the legs • *bà vówá à piésí ré ò dì vítí náásá.* They tied the sheep and it was prancing.

vongolii [vóngólíí] *n.* hollow percussion wood instrument made resonant through one or more slits in it *pl. vongolie.*

votii [vótìì] *n.* election <*vote* ‘vote’ (ultm. English)

vøg [vøg] *n.* south

vøgla [vøgla] *n.* Vagla person *pl. vøglasa.*

vøgtimunþeu [vøgthímúñþeu] *lit.* south-east-wind *n.* Southeast wind

vøløñvøløñ [vøløñvøløñ] *ideo.* smooth, even and slick

vøtì [vòtì] *pl.v.* 1) to tie • *kpá záálíè vòtì à dáá ní.* Tie the fowls to the tree. 2) to braid • *niháánâ vøtì bà púú nò.* The women braid their heads.

vøwa [vøwà] *v.* Cf: *linelaari* 1) to tie, to attach, to wind around • - ò vøwá à bøñ nā. She tied up the goat. *bøñná tñj kà wà vøwá, má kpágásāā wàà.* The goats are not tied, you catch them and bring them. *Ant:*

puro 2) to braid hair with thin plastic rope • *bàà vówà púú rò à dáámuj ní.* They are braiding hair under the tree. 3) to wear, as a cloth attached around the waist • *kpá gár vøwà ìì tfárá.* Wear a cloth around your waist.

vuugí [vúúgí] *v.* to stir • *jàà sàð vúúgí nññ nñj já pñðå.* Fetch some flour and stir it in the water for us to drink.

vøg [vøg] *n.* 1) small god 2) shrine *pl. vøga.*

vøga [vøgà] Cf: *píasi* *v.* to soothsay, to divine • *làà mòlèbií ká vøgà tiëñ, nððmá dí dømñj.* Take some money and soothsay for me, a scorpion bit me yesterday.

vøgnihíñ [vøgnihíñ] *n.* the most elderly person at a shrine event, member of the lodge, who can take responsibility in case the leader is absent

vøgtíma [vøytífná] *n.* a single person who owns a shrine, which is passed on by patrilineal inheritance *pl. vøgtøma.*

vøløñvøbie [vøløñvøbié] *n.* aphid; small plant-eating insect *pl. vøløñvøbise.*

vøløñvøva [vøløñvøv] *n.* type of wasp (*Hymenoptera apocrita*). *pl. - vøløñvøvæsa.*

vøvri [vøvri] *v.* to arrange, to decide, to make plan or agreement • *jàà vøvrvøj já válà tfíá.* We are arranging to travel tomorrow.

vvvvota [vvvvvotá] *n.* soothsayer *pl.* vvvvotasa.

¹wa [wa] (*var. waa1*) *neg. not* • ḡ wà dí gbiàsìàmá, ḡ kír ré. He does not eat monkey, he taboos it.

²wa [wa] *pv.* will, become, come to do

³wa [wa] *Cf. ka* (*var. waa5*) *pv.* ingressive particle, convey the process from the starting point of an event

⁴wa (*var. of waa*)

⁵wa (*cont. var. of wara*)

¹waa (*var. of wa*)

²waa [wàá] *nprop.* Wa town

³waa [wàà] *Cf. ba* (*var. wa4*) *v. come* • ḷṇ wááō. I am coming. lágálágá hán nì ḡ wàà. He came just now. ñ wááwáō. I arrived.

⁴waa [wáá] *pro.* third person singular strong pronoun • wáá híéñ. He is older than me.

⁵waa (*var. of wa*)

waal [wààl] *n.* person from the Wa area *pl.* waala.

waalinzaŋ [wálínzán] *n.* type of tree *pl.* waalinzaŋsa.

waali [wààli] *n.* language of Wa town and surroundings

waalii [wáálíf] *n.* person from Wa *pl.* waala.

¹waasi [wáásí] *v.* state of liquid reaching the boiling point • wáásí nī́ kóórè tū. Boil some water I am going to make tea.

²waasi [wààsì] *v.* to pour libation, to communicate with an ancestor • jàà níí wààsì ìì vég. Fetch water and pour libation on your fetish.

wapélé [wààpélè] *nprop.* former settlement between Dicie and Katua

war [wàář] *n.* cold weather

wara [wárà] (*cont. var. wa5*) *dem.* specific, certain, particular, very • à tóñ háj wárà, ñ wà zímá ḡ wíé. This particular book, I do not know about it.

wasí [wàsì] *v.* to proliferate, to multiply by producing new offspring •

ññ bőéñ tíñ wáájú. My goat has proliferated. *Syn: ugo1 1*

watſehée [wátſehéé] *n.* Gambian mongoose (*Mungos gambianus*). *pl.* watſesa.

wegimi [wègimí] *v.* to be wild, to be untamed • tí gílá à súúnó wégimí. Do not let the guinea fowls be wild.

wej [wèj] *interrog.* which • kpàāñ wèj ká nñj? Which type of yam is this? *pl.* weme.

were [wèrè] *v.* to be good, to be handsome, to be beautiful • i gárrà háj wéréú. Your cloth is beautiful. à báál wéré kínkán nā. The man is handsome. *Ant: tṣoma 1*

weti [wèti] *v.* 1) to be independent, as someone being able to live and judge on its own • tiè ìì bié wétì. Let your child do things and reason on its own. 2) to be active and competent • à biè wétíjó àní sáákìr zénii

né. The child is competent in bicycle riding.

wëga [wëgà] *v.* to open up in a discrete way • wëgà iì lögà nðá ná ðð pàtsígíí. Open your pocket for me to look inside.

wie [wié] *n.* small, young *Ant:* hïë *pl.* wise.

wieme [wièmè] *n.* type of animal, lookalike *pl.* wiemse.

¹wii [qìì] *v.* to weep, to cry • dí ñì mánñí, i kàá wiiú. If I hit you, you will cry.

²wii [wii] *n.* cannabis <weed (ultm. English) *pl.* wii.

wiile [wíilé] (*var. of* wilie)

wiisi [qìisi] *v.* 1) to put fresh meat near hot coals *Syn:* pëwa 2) to heat one's body by placing a towel over the head so that it drapes over the bowl, trapping the steam • sùgùlì sònìé lúlíi tiëñ n wiisi. Boil some malaria medicine for me to trap the steam.

wile[IPA?] *v.* opposite position or direction than expected • à góníí kàà pálà wilé ré zäháñ. The river is flowing in the opposite direction today.

wilie [wíliè] (*var.* wiile) *n.* sound that alerts people of a danger, made with the mouth • dzètiñ káá dögóníñ, tñ máñà wilétiè nárä ní. A lion is coming after me: run and alert the people. ùù wílé káá tñämðð. His crying is disturbing.

wiliñ [wiliñ] *n.* perspiration, sweat

• wiliñ káá jálá ñ ní. Perspiration is coming out of me. *pl.* wiliñse.

wiliñsaña [wiliñsáñà] *lit.* perspiration ■ time *n.* hottest period of the dry season

wire [qìrè] *v.* 1) to undress • jà wíré já kíná rá áká vàlà gó dùséé múñj nàávál bítòrò. We undressed then walked around Ducie three times. 2) to remove the skin of an animal, to shave a head • wírè à píésí tóñ wàà. Remove the skin of the sheep and come. 3) to moult, as when a snake cast off its skin • bìná múñj hágliíkñj já wírèò. Every year snakes moult.

wisi [wísí] to shake up and down as in winnoying

wiwilií [wíwílií] *n.* type of bird, large in size with shiny black feathers *pl.* wiwilee.

wi- [wí] (*var.* wø) (*var.* wø-) classifier particle for abstract entity

widíñj [wídíñj] Cf: dññidññkññdññbidiñj ■ *n.* truth *pl.* widíñma.

widíñtima [wídíñtínà] *n.* loyal person

¹wii [qìì] *v.* to be ill, to be sick • ò wàà wii. She is not sick. *Ant:* laanfia¹

²wii [wii] *n.* matters, issues of abstract nature *pl.* wie.

wíla [qíílá] *n.* sickness • bàáñ wílá ká kpágñ? What sickness do you have? *pl.* wíla.

wílni [wílní] *n.* quality of being injured or ill • iì nébíwíllíè ká jàà áwè-

ŋ? Which fingers are those injured?
pl. wnlie.

wijaalii (*var. of tiimuj*)

wíkpagii [wíkpágíí] *n.* behavior, deeds *pl. wíkpagee.*

wíkpegelegii [wúkpéglégíí] *n.* difficulties *pl. wíkpegelegee.*

wíl [wíl] *n.* mark on body made by incision or paint *pl. wíla.*

wílaanj [wílàanj] *n.* non-serious, light, trivial matter *pl. wílaama.*

wílli [wílíf] *n.* star *pl. wílie.*

wílis [wílís] (*var. wílos*) *n.* kob (*Kobus kob*). *pl. wílisa.*

wílos (*var. of wílis*)

wímuŋ [wímùŋ] *n.* anything

wíymahā [wòymàhā] *n.* word, speech *pl. wíymahāsa.*

wítſelii [wítſélíí] (*var. of tiipuu*)

wizaama (*var. of jarie*)

wízimii (*var. of naŋzinna*)

wízovor [wízóv̄r] *n.* interruptive person *pl. wízovra.*

¹wo (*var. of ra*)

²wo [wó] *v.* 1) to produce and harvest the second yam, after the first had been cut off the plant • *dí i wá híré ii kpáámá à wáá wō.* If you do not dig your yams, they will not produce seedlings. 2) to excel at one's occupation • *à néési wójò àní hèmbíí tówíí ní.* The nurse excels at giving injections.

wohāā [wòhāā] *n.* afternoon

wojo [wòjò] *nprop.* Wojo, person's name

wondžomo [wòndžómò] *n.* person who performs male circumcision (Hausa)

woŋ [wòj] Cf: *dígimbirinse* Cf: *dígimbirinsetinna* *n.* deaf person or mute person, or both *pl. wonno.*

woŋli [wòŋli] *v.* to act boastfully • *Kálá fí já wóŋli dó jà nī rā sùkúù nī.* Kala used to boast at school.

woo [wòó] *v.* to be empty, to be vacant • *à káràŋbiè dígíí wá wāāwā òò báṣáŋíí tfòà wòó.* One student did not come, his place is vacant.

woori [wòɔri] *v.* to hoot at someone, especially of derision or contempt • *dí i wá ymíɛ bá káá wōōrū.* If you steal they will hoot at you.

wosi [wósí] *v.* to bark • *à váá káá wósōō.* The dog is barking.

wou [wóù] *n.* second yam harvest *pl. woto.*

wɔ (*var. of WI-*)

wɔgatrí [wòγàtì] *n.* time

wɔlanse [wólánsè] *n.* radio <wireless (ultm. English) *pl. walasisa.*

wɔlie [wóléé] [wólíé] *n.* group of people considered colleagues or age mates

wɔlli [wólíí] *n.* ego's inferior, employee or children *pl. wɔleē.*

wɔɔli [wòɔli] *v.* to skim off, to shake, to bring refuse to top • *wòɔli à háássá múŋ à miá ní.* Skim off the chaff from the guinea corn.

wɔra [wɔrà] *v.* to strip, to come off, to shell (maize) • *tsíá jà tsí kàá wɔrà à pàmmíí múnj.* Tomorrow we will shell all the maize.

wɔsa [wɔsà] *n.* clan *pl.* wɔsa.

wɔsakuolo [wɔsíkúóló] *Cf:* iko *nprop.* clan found in Sogola, Motigu, Tiisa, Tuosa, and Gurumbele

wɔsaleela [wɔsílélá] *Cf:* ilé *nprop.* clan found in Motigu

wɔsasiile [wɔsísílé] *Cf:* isi *nprop.* clan found in Sogola, Motigu and Gurumbele

wɔsatjaala [wɔsítʃáálá] *Cf:* itʃa *nprop.* clan found in Ducie and Gurumbele

wɔsatjii [wɔsítʃíi] (*var.* wɔsikii) *n.* taboo inherited by clan affiliation *pl.* wɔsatjiite.

wɔsawii [wɔsàwíí] *n.* issue concerning a clan *pl.* wɔsawie.

wɔsawilla [wɔsíwíflá] *Cf:* iwe *nprop.* clan found in Sogola and Tuosa

¹wɔsi [wɔsì] *v.* to roast in ashes, sand or over fire without oil • *ii bié wɔsí kpáñj pétüü.* Your child finished roasting the yam.

²wɔsi [wɔsì] *v.* to summon, to bring a case to a chief • *ni wà kpágá mòlèbié kàá kàálì kùòrdiá kà wɔsi Bákúri.* I do not have money to go to the chief's house and summon Bakuri.

wɔsikii [wɔsíkíi] (*var. of* wɔsatjii)

wɔsina [wɔsínà] *n.* type of yam *pl.* wɔsinasa.

wɔsirwie[IPA?] *n.* funeral preparation • *wòsíwíé bà jáà.* They are doing the funeral preparation.

wɔsirwijalii [wòsíwíjalíi] *n.* clan funeral performance, includes duties like marks on a corpse, ways to handle a corpse, etc *pl.* wɔsirwijale.

wɔtʃimaí [wòtʃímáí] *n.* security guard <*watchman* (ultm. English) *pl.* wɔtʃimaísa.

wɔzaandia [wòzààndiá] (*var.* nisiri) *n.* mosque

wusi [wúsí] *v.* to throb, to ache • *à bié ñmá dí ùù púú kàá wúsí ùù ní.* The child said that he felt a throbbing in his head.

wuuli [wúúlí] *v.* to cook partially • *wúúlí à nàmíá bilè, já tsí tóñà.* Cook the meat partially, tomorrow we will boil it.

wv- (*var. of* wi-)

wɔrigi [wòrígí] *v.* 1) to collapse • *à zámpárágíí wórigijó.* The resting area collapsed. 2) dismantle • *à lóólikórá wórigí à lóóli índží rē.* The mechanic dismantled the car's engine.

wusa [wòsá] *n.* *Cf:* kuoso 1) god 2) sun

wɔzanlhíä [wòzànlhíä] *n.* type of priest

wòzvöri [wòzvöri] *n.* day • *wòzvöv wèj lóóli káá wā?* On which day comes the car?

zaa [zàà] *v.* to fly • *záárá hámà záá dì gó já tóø.* These birds are flying over our village.

zaalí [zààlì] *v.* to float • à píjswíl záálí nīl píúú nī. The dead fish floats on the water.

zaami [zààmì] *v.* 1) to greet • ñ záámíř rā. I am greeting you. 2) pray • ñ záámì kúosò rō dí ó wáá záaŋ. I pray to God that he comes today.

zaaŋ [zàáŋ] (*var. zalaŋ*) *adv.* today • i káá tórmá tiè à kúorù rō záaŋ kāā tʃìá? Will you work for the chief today or tomorrow?

zaar [záár] *Cf. zimbie* *n.* bird *pl.* zaa-ra.

zaasi [zààsì] *pl.v.* to jump • sóm-pòrèsa záásì à wāā. The frogs are jumping towards us.

zaawí [zààwì] *v.* to work or decorate with leather • Ziàŋ záawí iùù kísiè rē. Ziang decorated his knife with leather.

zabaga [zàbáyà] *n.* Gonja person *pl.* zabagasa.

¹**zaga** [zàyá] *n.* courtyard, compound *pl.* zagasa.

²**zaga** [zàyà] *v.* to be furious • Džè-bùnì páá mìn bié zómó, mìn bárá zàgà. Jebuni insulted my son, I was furious.

³**zaga** [zàyà] *v.* *Cf. tuti* 1) to push, to shove • má ká zàgà à lóólí ú sii. You go and push the car for it to start. 2) to blow, e.g. breeze or wind • pè-lèŋ káá zàgà. We are experiencing a good breeze.

zagafii [záyáfíi] *n.* yellow fever *pl.* zagfii.

¹**zagali** [zàyàlì] *v.* to be worn out • tóma bié kínláriè zágálíjéó. The clothes of Toma's child are worn out.

²**zagali** [záyálí] *v.* to shake in order to empty, or to dust • zágálí à tágatà, à búmbór lii. Shake the shirt to remove the dust.

zagan [záyán] *n.* leper *pl.* zagan.

zagansa [záyànsá] *n.* leprosy disease *pl.* zagansa.

zagası [zàyàsì] *v.* 1) to press down and support oneself when standing up • à níhié zágásı à kór siì. The elder supported himself on the chair to stand up. 2) to shake for fruits to fall • kà zágásı sūoŋ. Go and shake the shea tree for the fruits to fall.

zagatı [zàgátì] *v.* to be holey, to be wretched • híŋ gílá à kàdáásì zágatı kékj. It is you who made the paper to be so wretched.

zahal [záhál] *n.* hen egg *pl.* zahala.

zahalbapømma [záhálbápømmá] *n.* egg white

zahalbasıama [záhálbásıàmá] *n.* egg yolk

zahulii [záhúlíí] *n.* type of tree (*Afzelia africana*). *pl.* zahulee.

zakvsl [zákʷósl] *lit.* fowl-t.z. *Cf. kvs* *n.* yam tuber beetle grub (*Heteroligus*). *pl.* zakvsla.

zal [zál] *Cf. zimii* *n.* hen, fowl *pl.* zalię.

zalaŋ (*var. of zaaŋ*)

zamba [zàmbá] *n.* action against the benefit or prosperity of someone *pl. zamba*.

zamparagii [zámpárágíí] (*var. gbel-munj*) *n.* resting place *pl. zamparagié*.

zanzig [zànzíg] *n.* type of plant *pl. zanziga*.

zaŋ [zái] *n.* 1) rest area; erected wooden platform 2) nest *pl. zaŋa*.

zaŋasa [zàŋásá] *Cf:* kontiigbege *n.* clearing away of grass in the dry season [*Du*].

zaŋguoŋmuŋsulisu [zàŋgùòm-mùŋsùlísù] *n.* type of grasshopper

zaŋsa [zàŋsá] *n.* early farm preparation, just after bush burning, involving clearing the land and cutting trees

zaŋsi [zàŋsì] *v.* to clear land, in preparation for new farm • የኝኝ búú-rè pápátásá ká zāŋsì kùó třeŋ bìná hág. I need farmers to clear the land for a new farm this year.

zazehiá [zàzehíâ] *n.* roofing pillar *pl. zazehiša*.

zene [zénè] *v.* to be big, to be large • Wùsá zéné káálí bá. Wusa is the biggest among them.

zenii [zénii] *n.* big *Ant: boro 1 pl. zenie*.

zeŋ [zéŋ] *n.* big *Ant: boro 2 pl. -zenee*.

zeŋsi [zèŋsì] *Cf: duŋusi* *v.* to limp • ወዕናና tříŋ gílá ወ dì zéŋsìū. His leg makes him limp.

zepégor [zèpègór:] *n.* type of hyena *pl. zepégoro*.

zigilii [zígílí] *v.* to shake, to shiver • wàř tíé ወ dì zígílí. The cold weather makes him shiver.

ziige [zíigé] *v.* to make shake • pèú káá zǖgē dààsá. The wind makes the trees shake.

zimal [zímbál] *Cf:* kogoluunko *n.* rooster *pl. zimbala*.

zimbie [zímbié] *n.* *Cf:* zaar 1) any small birds 2) chick of the fowl *pl. zimbise*.

zimbimunzvalonzsa [zímbímùnzvàlónžòá] *n.* Whydah bird, long tailed species of the (*Vidua genus*).

ziŋ [zíj] *n.* tail of mammals *pl. zise*.

zí [zí] 1) *pv. future* 2) *adv. after, then*

zīā (*var. of zīē*) *n.* wall *pl. zīēsa*.

zīē [zíé] (*var. zīā*) *n.* wall *pl. zīēsa*.
zīēj [zíéj] *n.* 1) powerful spiritual action against someone, for instance poisoning • ወ sō zīēj nā. She washed her spiritual action away, so she is now clean. 2) snake venom *pl. zīēj*.

ziezie [zíèzíé] *Cf:* kūjsūŋ *n.* light weight and weak person *pl. zieziesa*.

ziga [zìgà] *v.* to be protruded, to bulge out or projects from its surroundings, to have skin made tough and thick through use • nñ nèpíélá zígáó. My palms are hard through working. à járébáàl tilé zígáó. Muslim men have a circle of callused skin on their forehead.

zigitì [zìgìtì] *v.* to learn, to study • *bà pé nì jà zigitì nàsàrtàá.* We learned English from them.

ziimi [zìimi] *v.* to be wrinkled • *à hâññ lùmbúrósó zíímijáð.* The woman's oranges are wrinkled. *-hâhiéñsa sié já zíimòð.* The face of old women are generally wrinkled.

zilimbìl [zìlimbìl] *n.* describe how an item or a person is covered or smeared with matters • *à fègá míntí kóv zilimbìl lā.* The stirring stick is covered with tz.

zilíntsoñðä [zílíntsoñðá] (*var. of zoloñtsoñðä*)

zima [zìmà] (*var. ziñ1*) *v.* to know, to understand, to be aware • *ò zímá púmiì rē.* She knows how to hide.

zima sii [zìmà síí] *lit.* know eye cpx.v. to confirm • *ṇññ bíérì há wà zímá òv wié síí.* My senior brother has not yet confirm his issues.

zimñ [zímní] *Cf:* *zal* *n.* fowl [*Gu*]. *pl. zimë.*

zin (*var. of zima*)

zina [zíná] *v.* *Cf:* *tuu* (*var. zin*) 1) to drive or ride, or sit on e.g. bicycle, motorcycle, horse • *ñ wà búúré hámónà dì zíná mñ púúpù háñ.* I do not want children to ride on my motorbike. 2) to climb, to go up • *ṇ zínà sàl lá mñ páá tñúññ.* I go up on the roof to collect my shea nuts. *ñmá á dí zìnà.* Speak loud.

zinzapuree [zànzàpúrèè] (*var. zinzinpulie*) *n.* house bat *pl. zin Zapuruso.*

zinzapulie [zìnzìnpúlìè] (*var. of zinzapuree*)

¹ziñ (*var. of zima*)

²ziñ [zìñ] *n.* large-eared slit-faced bat (*Nycteris macrotis*). *pl. zinna.*

³ziñ (*var. of ziññ*)

ziñbanñ [zíñbànñ] *lit.* tall-section *nprop.* section of Ducie

ziññ [zíññí] (*var. ziñ3*) *n.* length, height • *à dôð zíññ jáá mításá àná-sè rā.* The length of the python is four meters. *pl. ziñje.*

zisa [zìsá] *n.* slender-tailed squirrel, squirrel which lives on trees (*Protoxerus aubinnii*). *pl. zisasa.*

zoloñtsoñðä [zólónjtsoñðá] (*var. zilíntsoñðä*) *n.* Black Wood-Hoopoe, type of bird (*Rhinopomastus aterrimus*). *pl. zoloñtsoñðäsa.*

zoñ [zóñ] *n.* insult *pl. zomo.*

zoñbii [zòñbíí] *n.* insult *pl. zoñbie.*

zongoree [zóngòréè] *n.* mosquito *pl. zoñgoruso.*

zoo [zòó] *n.* cooperative

zoro [zòrò] *v.* to pick someone or something up, as in providing transportation, to raise, to lift or pick something • *à biè zórò òv píñá sàgà móto nñ.* The child picked his father on his motorbike. *zòrò à siñmáà liì dèndil.* Pick the food and send it outside.

zoñ [zòj] *n.* weakling; person who is weak from birth *pl. zoñna.*

¹zugo [zùgò] (*var. of duu*)

2zugo [zùgò] *v.* 1) to be thick, stiff but flexible • à kàpálà zúgóú. The fufu is well pounded. 2) to be slow • *Gbóló zúgó kínkān nà*. Gbolo is very slow.

zugumi [zùgùmì] *v.* 1) to not receive good care and suffering the consequences • *làlìwisé káá zúgúmì*. Orphans are not receiving good care. 2) to be stunted, to stop, slow down, or hinder the growth or development of • *n kàá tiè í zúgúmì*. I will hinder your development.

zul [zúl] *Cf. kólli* *n.* millet, used in making porridge and t.z. *pl. zulo*.

zuŋguŋ [zúnŋgúŋ] *n.* type of drum *pl. zuŋguŋ*.

zuŋgwo [zúnŋgò] *n.* type of dance for women and men, not specific to particular event, known as *pl. zuŋgwo*.

1zuu [zùù] *n.* dull weather, no sun and no rain *pl. zuu*.

2zuu [zùù] *n.* the biggest part of a share • *i totii jaa zuu*. Your share is the biggest share.

zwa (*var. of ulzwa*)

zõä [zõá] (*var. zõö*) *n.* waterbuck (*Kobus ellipsiprymnus*). *pl. zwäta*.

zøgsni [zøysí] *n.* type of tree *pl. -zøgsie*.

zøgøssi [zøgøssí] *v.* to shrink, to become small by sickness, imply unattractive thinness, as with under-nourishment • à zál kàà wííñ ñì wà ná òð kà zøgøsijëë? The fowl is sick, haven't you seen it has shrunk?

zwl [zól] *n.* tuber *pl. zwla*.

zõö [zõé] (*var. of zõä*)

zwɔmi [zõömì] *v.* to have or mark with spots, especially on a plant • à mûró pààtágá zõómíð. The rice plant has spots.

zwø [zõø] *v. Cf. ln 1)* to enter, to go inside • *di zwø*. Come in! à kúörü zõø *dìà mûj nō à làà kpäämá fí fí*. From each house the chief took 10 yams. 2) to live somewhere and not necessarily be an indigene of that place • *Kumáásí ò dì zõø*. He lives in Kumasí.

zõø [zõø] *n.* laziness or dullness originating from depression, unhappiness or illness *pl. zõø*.

zwø mara [zõø màrá] *cpx.v.* to suicide • *Kípó zõú màrá sòwà*. Kipo killed himself.

zwødøja [zõødøjà] *n.* 1) neighbors or people one stays with 2) work relation or process, when each works for one another in turn

zwøni [zõønì] *v.* to pout, to protrude the lips in an expression of displeasure • à sùkúù bisé wàá kìn zøønì nðá dø tfítsà nì. The students cannot pout at a teacher.

Part II

English-Chakali Reversal Index

A a

aardvark nanbugo <i>n.</i>	airplane oluplen <i>n.</i>
abandon viε <i>v.</i>	Akee tree tii <i>n.</i>
able km v.; kpege v.	Akee tree seed tibii <i>n.</i>
abound gaali <i>v.</i>	albinos gbambala <i>n.</i>
absence hřera <i>n.</i>	alcoholic drink pataasi <i>n.</i> ; smj <i>n.</i>
abstract entity	alight (become) būū <i>v.</i>
abused person juudojo <i>n.</i>	alive sɔj <i>n.</i>
ache wusi <i>v.</i>	all muŋ <i>quant.</i>
Achilles tendon nääpol <i>n.</i>	all (hum+) bamuŋ <i>quant.</i>
acre eeka <i>n.</i>	all (hum-) amuŋ <i>quant.</i>
act proudly džigisi <i>v.</i>	alleviate fğgəsi <i>v.</i>
active nōma v.; weti <i>v.</i>	alms sereka <i>n.</i>
add pe <i>v.</i>	alone teŋteŋ <i>n.</i>
added amount tuosii <i>n.</i> ; tuoso <i>n.</i>	already baaj <i>tam.</i>
adhere (be) maragi <i>pl.v.</i>	also gba <i>quant.</i>
adhere to a religion dva <i>v.</i>	amaranths (vegetable) alɛɛfɔ <i>n.</i>
adjuster kaleŋbileŋjēē <i>n.</i>	ammunition pouch tɔg <i>n.</i>
adopt laa dɔ cpx.v.	amount ŋmena <i>interrog.</i> ; zuu <i>n.</i>
adopted child bilaadvlii <i>n.</i> ; san-	amphibian (type of) dokeg <i>n.</i>
larε <i>n.</i>	ancestors faala <i>pl.n.</i>
adultery (to commit) sama <i>v.</i>	ancient faa <i>n.</i>
afraid (be) ɔma <i>v.</i>	and a conn.; aka conn.
after vāā <i>adv.</i>	anger baaj <i>n.</i> ; nagı <i>n.</i>
afternoon wohāā <i>n.</i>	animal sel <i>n.</i>
Afzelia bella seed holbii <i>n.</i>	animal (type of) bwalię <i>n.</i> ; tőš <i>n.</i> ;
Afzelia bella seed shell hol-	wieme <i>n.</i>
nɔŋpetii <i>n.</i>	animal chest hair kɔŋ <i>n.</i>
again bi <i>itr.</i>	ankle nāātʃög <i>n.</i>
age hře <i>v.</i> ; sva <i>n.</i>	ankle bump nāāsii <i>n.</i>
age mate swawaalii <i>n.</i>	
AIDS eesi <i>n.</i>	
air potato ferii <i>n.</i>	

ankle-rattles (pair) tʃ̩m̩j n.	ash fulful n.; foā n.; tapulsa n.
announce hēsi v.	Ashanti person kəmbəja n.
announcement dəwuro n.	ask (for forgiveness) dibi v.
announcer hēhēse n.	asking (farm help) parisumii n.
annoyed (be) hāāsii v.	asleep duo n.
ant (type of) gogo n.; gogosrama n.; guurii n.; haglibie n.; haglibisiansa n.; minfā n.; solbie n.; temīi n.; tii n.	asphalt kotaalı n.
antelope (type of) tesiama n.	assassin bug hamonanañ n.
anus muŋputii n.	asthma hīēsipugo n.
anxious siri n.	attractiveness tʃ̩̄i n.
anyone namuŋ quant.	avoid spilling m̩ra v.
anything wimuŋ n.	Awie abie nprop.; awie nprop.
aphid vɔlɔŋvɔbie n.	axe sāā n.
appear gaŋi v.	baboon fɔɔ̄ n.
appearance sii n.	baby bifola n.
appendicitis momuŋ n.	bachelor buzorj n.
apply tt̩ri v.	bachelorette hanzoj n.
argue t̩sa v.	back (part of) kaŋa n.
arm neŋ n.	back area lumo n.
arm joint nekpun n.	back, behind gantal n.
arm ring kana n.	backtalk gantal l̩ha n.
arm vein nepol n.	backtalking l̩gantal n.
armpit lugbua n.	backwards bira v.
armpit hair lugbwapuŋ n.	bad bɔŋ n.; hī̄ interj.
arrange vɔɔri v.	bad child bibɔŋ n.
arrow hēŋ n.	bad person nibubɔŋ n.
as kii conn.	bad thing kimbaŋ n.; kinbɔŋ n.; kin-tʃ̩vma n.
as well ko adv.	bag pur n.
ascaris piŋaŋ n.	bag (type of) l̩ga n.
ascite patſigisunno n.	Bakuri bakuri nprop.
	bald headed jukpaltiina n.
	baldness kpaliqe n.; jukpal n.
	ball bɔol n.

ball of the thumb	nebikarjkawalnan-	bear (foetus)	l̩vla	<i>v.</i>
punii	<i>n.</i>	bear fruit	n̩na	<i>v.</i>
balloon	baluu	beard	dandap̩ssa	<i>n.</i>
bambara bean	sibii	bearing tray	d̩janjāā	<i>n.;</i> filii
bambara bean (fried)	sibihalii	beat	masi	<i>pl.v.;</i> tugosi
bamboo	sima	beauty spot	sanjkpaŋzigil	<i>n.</i>
banana	kuodu	bee	tobii	<i>n.</i>
Baobab	tolii	beetle	(type of) bimbilijsi	<i>n.;</i>
Baobab seed	tolibii	m̩äbriwaš	<i>n.;</i> niŋjuugbanjbulli	<i>n.</i>
bark	daapeti	beetle grub	zakv̩sl	<i>n.</i>
barrel	aŋkv̩rɔ	before	m̩dā	<i>adv.</i>
barren	hambara	beg	summe	<i>v.</i>
barren (be) fire	v.	beggar	susuma	<i>n.</i>
barter	t̩era	behavior	d̩nna	<i>n.;</i> wiŋpagi
base	muŋ	behavior (type of)	ŋegeke	<i>n.;</i> vaa-
basin	sontogo	believe	gaŋ	<i>n.</i>
basket	katasazen	bell (finger)	laa di	<i>cpx.v.</i>
bat (type of)	filimfintii	bell (type of)	prega	<i>n.</i>
puree	zinza-	belt	gbeliŋe	<i>n.</i>
bath	puree	bench	belenti	<i>n.</i>
bathing area	belege	bend	kor	<i>n.</i>
bathroom	t̩et̩era	bend back	bagurii	<i>n.</i>
bathroom gutter	t̩itsara	bend down	hele	<i>v.</i>
battery	t̩itsarab̩sa	bend of the arm	bv̩ja	<i>v.;</i> fela
be	bateribii	bend outward	negbaŋa	<i>n.</i>
be about	naŋŋi	betray	görigrı	<i>v.</i>
be across	kaga	better (be)	miŋni	<i>v.</i>
beadless (be)	sm̩kpal	between (be)	bo	<i>v.</i>
beam (wood)	daaluhi	Bible	faari	<i>v.</i>
bean (type of)	s̩igagongo	biceps	baabv̩l	<i>n.</i>
bean cake	kansii	bicycle	nekpegii	<i>n.</i>
bean leaf	s̩igapaatsak	big	saakir	<i>n.</i>
		kana	zeni	<i>v.;</i> zenii
		zene	zeŋ	<i>n.;</i> zeŋ
		big calabash	gbentaga	<i>n.</i>

- big hoe** pazerj *n.*
- big river** mvg *n.*
- big stone** bizej *n.*
- big thing** kinzerj *n.*
- big toe** nääbikanjkawal *n.*
- big trap** bañtjoozej *n.*
- big water pot** boj *n.*; bugulie *n.*
- bile** kpɔrri *n.*
- biological relation** lwl *n.*
- bird** zaar *n.*
- bird (type of)** bendiir *n.*; bizzimii *n.*; buzaal *n.*; daakðä *n.*; daakðäjalee *n.*; daakðäwoj *n.*; daajmenkonjkoj *n.*; dirjtseña *n.*; digie *n.*; dulugu *n.*; duu *n.*; dvgbelgv *n.*; galijgaa *n.*; gbiekie *n.*; gbieswɔnä *n.*; gbjetuolie *n.*; kajagı *n.*; kantaø *n.*; katfig *n.*; katfigkuol *n.*; katfigkuolsian *n.*; kiesii *n.*; kilee *n.*; kileesiaj *n.*; konstaj *n.*; koñbugul *n.*; koñkogulepɔmma *n.*; koñkpulcøj *n.*; koñwelemiñ *n.*; koñzaazuk *n.*; kɔsagbegbe *n.*; kuu *n.*; kuudigimsa *n.*; kuusiaj *n.*; kuuwolie *n.*; kpañkpagtii *n.*; kpañkpajlere *n.*; kpolunkpoo *n.*; kponkjpoñbzazimbie *n.*; laleekpakparee *n.*; luho *n.*; luhosiaj *n.*; määbðvñj *n.*; mvgzimbie *n.*; näkpazugo *n.*; ñmalñjymñð *n.*; or?orsiaj *n.*; pititeeo *n.*; pølzimbal *n.*; samkpañtuluju *n.*; sañgboj *n.*; sangboj-dugulee *n.*; sañkpañdzugulee *n.*; sigmazimbie *n.*; tentuolii *n.*; tntaa *n.*; tøvøgzimbie *n.*; tuntuolisama *n.*; tšaparapñ *n.*; tʃaree *n.*; tʃatfawilee *n.*; tʃokpore *n.*; wiwilii *n.*; zimbimun-zvalonzva *n.*; zoloñtɔnñä *n.*
- biscuit** bisiketi *n.*
- bite** dumii *n.*; døma *v.*; dønsi *pl.v.*
- bitter water** nrñhä *n.*
- black** bummo *adj.*
- black (be)** bire *v.*
- black bean** s̄igabummo *n.*
- Black berry** aŋbuluŋ *n.*
- black person** n̄ibubummo *n.*
- Black thorn** s̄obummo *n.*
- blacksmith** lwlsta *n.*
- blade** bileedi *n.*
- blame** paanı *v.*; sɔŋbɔj *n.*
- blanch** foro *v.*
- blanket** kuntuj *n.*
- bless** kisi *v.*
- blind** n̄elvñj *n.*
- blister** maali *v.*
- blood** tjal *n.*
- bloom** jele *v.*
- blooming** jelee *n.*
- blow** fuuri *v.*; hðð *v.*; pewo *v.*; zaga *v.*
- blow nose** mññ *v.*; mññsi *v.*
- blue** abluu *n.*
- blunt** gbul *n.*
- blunt (be)** gbulo *v.*
- boat** kokoluŋ *n.*
- body** bara *n.*
- body joint** kpuj *n.*
- boil** waasi *v.*
- boiled** tɔŋpi *n.*
- boils** tʃaminiä *n.*

bone hog	<i>n.</i>	breeze	peleŋ	<i>n.</i>
borehole	pɔ̃mpivigii	bridge	kodorogo	<i>n.</i>
borrow	suleme	bright	batſaŋ	<i>n.</i>
bost	foro	bring	kpa wa	<i>cpx.v.</i>
bostfully (act)	wonli	bring up food	ugo	<i>v.</i>
bother	dama	broken (be)	fɔɔmī	<i>v.; kɔgɔlī v.</i>
bottle	kɔlbaa	broken part	baketii	<i>n.</i>
boundary	bɔɔ	broken piece of calabash	fakelia	<i>n.</i>
bow	tuo	broken pot (piece)	tʃintſeli	<i>n.</i>
bowed (be)	gɔrigi	broom	kimpingii	<i>n.; tʃāā n.</i>
bowl	katasa	bruised (be)	fɔrigi	<i>v.</i>
bowl (grinding)	dantig	bucket	bakti	<i>n.</i>
bowl (plastic)	rɔbakatasa	bud	ffī	<i>v.</i>
bowl (type of)	hembie	buffalo	kɔsanař	<i>n.</i>
bola	hem-	build	sāā	<i>v.</i>
bola	bola	bulb	bɔɔna	<i>n.</i>
box	daga	bulge out	tsɔwni	<i>v.</i>
bracelet	gbij	bulges	kpuogii	<i>n.</i>
braid	vɔtī	bullet	maafabii	<i>n.</i>
brain	kuŋkuŋ	bullroarer	dendilehřesi	<i>n.; sigma-</i>
branch fork	daatsaraga	ilii	sigmawi-	
branch of a river	gɔjnāā	burial specialist	pel	<i>n.</i>
branch of a tree	daanāā	burn	fūū	<i>v.; tɔga v.; tɔgɔsi v.</i>
brave	bambitīna	burning	fūū	<i>n.</i>
bravery	baalii	burnt slightly (be)	baari	<i>v.</i>
	bambii	burp	garisi	<i>v.</i>
	nni-	bury	ūū	<i>v.</i>
	bata	bush animal	kɔsasel	<i>n.</i>
bread	paanɔɔ	bush guinea fowl	kɔsasūū	<i>n.</i>
break	jala	bush hen	bɔzaal	<i>n.</i>
	kerigi	bush thing	kɔsakirj	<i>n.</i>
	pl.v.	bushbuck	âā	<i>n.</i>
	keti			
	tʃieŋi			
break off	kpesi			
	kperigī			
	pl.v.			
breast	il			
breathe	hiči			
breathe with difficulty	kiiri			

center of a mortar

business person jawadir <i>n.</i>	carpenter kapənta <i>n.</i>
butcher naŋjogul <i>n.</i>	carry baası <i>v.</i> ; kolo <i>v.</i> ; nɔŋa <i>v.</i> ; tʃɔŋja <i>v.</i> ; ulo <i>v.</i>
butterfly peŋpeglimpe <i>n.</i>	carrying tʃɔŋji <i>n.</i>
buttock muŋkaan <i>n.</i>	carver daasäǟr <i>n.</i> ; säǟsar <i>n.</i>
buy jɔ̄wsi <i>pl.v.</i> ; jɔ̄wa <i>v.</i>	cashew kasiu <i>n.</i>
by pe <i>n.</i>	cassava kpōŋkpōŋ <i>n.</i>
calabash fala <i>n.</i> ; loŋ <i>n.</i>	cassava (dried) kpōŋkpōŋhɔlī <i>n.</i> ; kponjkpoŋte <i>n.</i>
calabash (type of) bɔ̄l <i>n.</i> ; bɔ̄l <i>n.</i> ; fabummo <i>n.</i> ; fapumma <i>n.</i> ; fawie <i>n.</i> ; fazin <i>n.</i> ; loŋbɔ̄l <i>n.</i> ; loŋkpɔ̄rgi <i>n.</i> ; pɔ̄rgi <i>n.</i>	cassava flour lumps kpoŋkpoŋjiŋa <i>n.</i>
calabash node fala?ul <i>n.</i>	cassava leaf kpōŋkpōŋpaatʃak <i>n.</i>
calabash seed (type of) fobii <i>pl.n.</i> ; pɔ̄ntɔ̄rɔ̄tʃā <i>n.</i> ; tʃābii <i>n.</i>	cassava peel kpōŋkpōŋpɛti <i>n.</i>
calabash stem falanej <i>n.</i>	cassava plant kpōŋkpōŋdaa <i>n.</i>
calamity beleo <i>n.</i>	cassava tuber kpōŋkpōŋzv̄l <i>n.</i>
calculator kŋukurokwoři <i>n.</i>	castrate vara <i>v.</i>
calf nā̄atſiḡi <i>n.</i> ; nā̄wii <i>n.</i>	cat diebie <i>n.</i> ; dʒebalaŋ <i>n.</i>
call jira <i>v.</i> ; jirigi <i>pl.v.</i> ; sira <i>v.</i>	catapult taja <i>n.</i>
calling jirii <i>n.</i>	catarrh kabirime <i>n.</i>
camel juŋguma <i>n.</i>	catch kpagasi <i>pl.v.</i>
camphor kafuura <i>n.</i>	catch breath sigisi <i>v.</i>
can kin <i>v.</i> ; kɔ̄ŋkɔ̄ŋ <i>n.</i>	caterpillar (type of) sansandugulii <i>n.</i> ; sansanduguliibummo <i>n.</i> ; sansandugulihɔ̄hɔla <i>n.</i> ; sansanduguliinier <i>n.</i>
candle tʃaandiri <i>n.</i>	cattle ring nōgar <i>n.</i>
cannabis wii <i>n.</i>	cause a blister maali <i>v.</i>
car lɔ̄lɪ <i>n.</i> ; turuŋkaa <i>n.</i>	cause someone's laughter lugusi <i>v.</i>
car driver lɔ̄limalima <i>n.</i> ; lɔ̄lisäǟr <i>n.</i>	cave biiɓwa <i>n.</i>
car key lɔ̄ligrberbi <i>n.</i>	cavity lor <i>n.</i>
carefully bō̄bō̄bō̄ <i>ideo.</i>	cedi siidi <i>n.</i>
careless (be) faasi <i>v.</i>	ceiling sapete <i>n.</i>
carelessness faasii <i>n.</i>	celebration (type of) bṣnuzɔ̄ŋsimna <i>n.</i>
caretaker jinene <i>n.</i>	cement selemente <i>n.</i>
	center of a mortar tutosii <i>n.</i>

cerebro spinal meningitis	kangbeli <i>n.</i>	child bie <i>n.</i> ; bisɔ̃ona <i>n.</i> ; hamɔ̃ŋ <i>n.</i>
certain wara	<i>dem.</i>	child (youngest) biwie <i>n.</i>
chaff hääsa	<i>n.</i>	children of a paternal line jinabise <i>n.</i>
chaff (guinea corn)	minzøga <i>n.</i>	chimney sumbol <i>n.</i>
chaff (rice)	murpetii <i>n.</i>	chin daatsuma <i>n.</i>
chair kor	<i>n.</i>	chisel ɻm̩ena <i>n.</i>
Chakali language	tʃakali <i>nprop.</i> ; tʃakalii <i>n.</i>	chock lesi <i>v.</i>
chameleon	singbaglŋ <i>n.</i>	choke fɔ̃ra <i>v.</i> ; kaga <i>v.</i> ; lanjse <i>v.</i>
chance bar	<i>n.</i>	choose lis̩i <i>v.</i>
change birgi	<i>v.</i>	Chrismas bɔ̃rniŋ <i>n.</i>
change appearance (plant)	majja <i>v.</i>	Christian tʃeetʃibie <i>n.</i>
charcoal	dendefulii <i>n.</i>	christian father faara <i>n.</i>
charcoal (piece)	hɔ̃l <i>n.</i>	church tʃeetʃi <i>n.</i>
charcoal fire	diphala <i>n.</i>	cigarette sigaari <i>n.</i>
chase dɔ̃gɔ̃n̩i	<i>v.</i>	circle goro <i>v.</i>
Chasia (lect of)	tʃasiłii <i>n.</i>	circuit naval <i>n.</i>
chasing women	hääbuura <i>n.</i>	circular guloŋguloŋ <i>ideo.</i>
cheat fɔ̃si	<i>v.</i> ; fulumi <i>v.</i> ; tie <i>v.</i>	circumciser wondžomo <i>n.</i>
cheater fuŋfuluj	<i>n.</i>	clan wɔ̃sa <i>n.</i>
cheek gr̩i	<i>n.</i> ; l̩ehɛe <i>n.</i>	clan funeral performance wɔ̃siwi-jalii <i>n.</i>
chest hair	bambiipɔŋ <i>n.</i>	clan matter wɔ̃sawii <i>n.</i>
chest pains	bambiirila <i>n.</i>	clan name itolo <i>nprop.</i> ; ijɛla <i>nprop.</i> ; jaŋuwɔ̃leɛ <i>nprop.</i> ; viehięgęe <i>nprop.</i> ; wɔ̃sakuolo <i>nprop.</i> ; wɔ̃saleɛla <i>nprop.</i> ; wɔ̃sasiile <i>nprop.</i> ; wɔ̃satʃala <i>nprop.</i> ; wɔ̃sawiiла <i>nprop.</i>
chest problem	baŋsiaŋ <i>n.</i>	clan title danta <i>n.</i> ; iko <i>interj.</i> ; isi <i>interj.</i> ; ito <i>interj.</i> ; ije <i>interj.</i> ; ile <i>interj.</i> ; itʃa <i>interj.</i> ; iwe <i>interj.</i> ; jaŋu <i>interj.</i> ; viehięga <i>interj.</i>
chew ɻm̩vri	<i>v.</i>	claw lɔ̃ga <i>v.</i>
chewing gum	tʃingon̩ <i>n.</i>	
chewing stick	gbesa <i>n.</i>	
chick zimbie	<i>n.</i>	
chickenpox	senambi <i>n.</i> ; taŋgara <i>n.</i>	
chief kuoru	<i>n.</i>	
chieftanship	koro <i>n.</i>	

clay tʃɔl <i>n.</i>	cocoa kuokuo <i>n.</i>
clean tʃääñi <i>v.</i>	coconut kube <i>n.</i>
clean (not be) ɔɔl̩ <i>v.</i>	cognition hakila <i>n.</i>
clear pentej <i>adv.</i>	coil guti <i>v.;</i> kaasi <i>v.</i>
clear land zañsi <i>v.</i>	cold fufu kapalasɔŋ <i>n.</i>
clearly sol <i>adv.</i>	cold t.z. koɔsɔŋ <i>n.</i>
climb zma <i>v.</i>	colic patʃigii gbaŋsa <i>n.</i>
climber (type of) gɔmpéra <i>n.;</i> koguljuŋpaa <i>n.;</i> lagm̩gasii <i>n.;</i> nɔl̩ɔrɔŋ <i>n.;</i> siŋera <i>n.;</i> tʃinie <i>n.;</i> visiŋ <i>n.</i>	collapse buro <i>v.;</i> sibire <i>n.</i>
clitoris mɔŋzɪg <i>n.</i>	collect contribution kie <i>v.</i>
close eyes jaɔmmi <i>v.</i>	color (type of) abusabusa <i>ideo.;</i> adžumodžumo <i>ideo.;</i> ahɔlahɔla <i>ideo.;</i> akɔlakɔla <i>ideo.;</i> arjmunaŋ-muna <i>ideo.;</i> atʃenitʃeni <i>ideo.;</i> aʔileʔile <i>ideo.;</i> dʒinedzine <i>ideo.;</i> gbenii <i>n.;</i> ssɔɔsanii <i>n.</i>
close hand on kummi <i>v.</i>	comb tʃaasa <i>n.</i>
closing tɔi <i>n.</i>	come ba <i>v.;</i> wa <i>ingr.;</i> waa <i>v.</i>
cloth gar <i>n.</i>	come low tuu <i>v.</i>
cloth (cover) gatɔɔlii <i>n.</i>	community (old) tɔhič <i>n.</i>
cloth (piece) pɾeŋ <i>n.</i>	community member (prominent) tɔɔpval <i>n.</i>
cloth (type of) fɔðfɔð <i>n.;</i> gapumma <i>n.;</i> kpaŋkpamba <i>n.;</i> ssɔla <i>n.;</i> tambɔ <i>n.;</i> tsan̩tsul <i>n.</i>	compete kaŋŋi <i>v.</i>
clothing (piece) kmlarri <i>n.</i>	competent weti <i>v.</i>
cloud taal <i>n.</i>	computer kiŋkurokɔɔrii <i>n.</i>
cloud (to form) tma <i>v.</i>	comrade dɔŋ <i>n.;</i> dɔŋtima <i>n.;</i> tɔgɔma <i>n.</i>
cloud state gääñigäani <i>ideo.;</i> kpatsakpatʃa <i>ideo.</i>	conceal sogoli <i>v.</i>
clove müsooro <i>n.</i>	concrete entity particle
clumsy person gbetie <i>n.</i>	confirm zima sii <i>cpx.v.</i>
coal pot kɔlpɔti <i>n.</i>	confused (be) buti <i>v.</i>
cockroach hogul <i>n.</i>	conjunctivitis siwiila <i>n.</i>
cockroach (type of) hogul-bummo <i>n.;</i> hogulpumma <i>n.</i>	container (type of) viisiama <i>n.</i>
cockroach sound tʃitʃi ono.	convert tuubi <i>v.</i>
coco yam mankani <i>n.</i>	

cook tɔŋa <i>v.</i>	craw-craw saŋgbena <i>n.</i>
cook partially wuuli <i>v.</i>	crawl gbaani <i>v.</i>
cooking place dalra <i>n.</i>	creep taari <i>v.</i>
cooking pot (type of) dansane <i>n.</i> ; tempilie <i>n.</i> ; tuolie <i>n.</i> ; vii <i>n.</i> ; viisug- ulii <i>n.</i>	cricket poŋ <i>n.</i>
cool down pulisi <i>v.</i>	cricket (type of) ləlrepoŋ <i>n.</i>
cooperative zoo <i>n.</i>	cripple gbərii <i>n.</i>
corner bagorii <i>n.</i>	crippled (be) gbəra <i>v.</i>
corpse lalii <i>n.</i>	crocodile ɲwɔg <i>n.</i>
corpse uniform kasima <i>n.</i>	crooked (be) fɔɔmɪ <i>v.</i> ; golemi <i>v.</i>
cotton guno <i>n.</i>	cross gr <i>v.</i> ; mina <i>v.</i>
cotton thread guŋmeŋ <i>n.</i>	crowd ɲɔɔ̯ <i>v.</i>
cough tʃasi <i>v.</i> ; tʃasiɛ <i>n.</i>	crowded gbiŋgbij <i>ideo.</i>
count kuro <i>v.</i>	crush sɔɔgi <i>v.</i>
counting kurii <i>n.</i>	cry tʃaasi <i>v.</i>
court koɔtɪ <i>n.</i> ; svga <i>v.</i>	cup bonso <i>n.</i> ; kɔpu <i>n.</i>
courtyard zaga <i>n.</i>	cure kpege <i>v.</i> ; tiime <i>v.</i>
cover muuri <i>v.</i> ; pile <i>v.</i> ; tʃigesi <i>pl.v.</i>	curse kaabi <i>v.</i> ; suo <i>v.</i>
cow nɔɔ̯ <i>n.</i>	curtain patiisa <i>n.</i>
cow pea sig <i>n.</i>	cut baɔřigii <i>n.</i> ; gitɪ <i>v.</i> ; kpʊ <i>v.</i> ; lɔga <i>v.</i> ; teñesi <i>pl.v.</i>
cow pea aphid pupuree <i>n.</i>	cut off head (plant) koma <i>v.</i>
cow that has given birth nɔnii <i>n.</i>	cut throat kɔřigɪ <i>v.</i>
cow that has not given birth (heifer) nɔlor <i>n.</i>	cutlass karantie <i>n.</i>
coward ɔŋgbiar <i>n.</i>	cystisis fniitʃoro <i>n.</i>
cowherd nɔgbar <i>n.</i>	Dagaare (language) dagataa <i>n.</i>
cowrie molebipsmma <i>n.</i>	Dagaare (person) dagaɔ <i>n.</i>
crack tʃieŋi <i>v.</i>	damage container pɔti <i>v.</i>
crack and remove kpe <i>v.</i>	dance gva <i>v.</i> ; gva <i>n.</i>
cracked skin naajelee <i>n.</i>	dance (type of) baawa <i>n.</i> ; bɔwaa <i>n.</i> ; dvgv <i>n.</i> ; dʒanse <i>n.</i> ; firigvʊ <i>n.</i> ; gan- gan <i>n.</i> ; kpaa <i>n.</i> ; kpaanãä <i>n.</i> ; sii <i>n.</i> ; zungvɔ <i>n.</i>
crackle parasi <i>v.</i>	

disappearance (spiritual)

dance floor kil <i>n.</i>	dense gbɔŋja <i>v.</i>
dancer g̃vag̃var <i>n.</i>	dent f̃ɔɔm̃i <i>v.</i>
darkness birge <i>n.</i>	dental abscess p̃iŋ?ɔrpi <i>n.</i>
date deti <i>n.</i>	denying t̃ɔɔri <i>n.</i>
dawadawa s̃ol <i>n.</i>	depend on jalasi <i>v.;</i> pine <i>v.</i>
dawadawa ball s̃ommāā <i>n.</i>	dependent parage <i>v.</i>
dawadawa fruit s̃olnɔŋ <i>n.</i>	depressed pat̃ig̃t̃ɔgsa <i>n.</i>
dawadawa seed s̃lbii <i>n.;</i> t̃ʃii <i>n.</i>	deprive haari <i>v.</i>
dawadawa seed shell t̃ʃiäpeti <i>n.</i>	derogatory sound (make) p̃or̃osi <i>v.</i>
day w̃uzw̃ori <i>n.</i>	descend tuu <i>v.</i>
day after the day after tomorrow t̃om̃us̃us̃ gantal <i>n. phr.</i>	desert date g̃ongobiridaa <i>n.</i>
day after tomorrow t̃om̃us̃us̃ <i>n.</i>	desparation ñɔnnɔŋ <i>n.</i>
day before yesterday t̃om̃us̃us̃ <i>n.</i>	destroy t̃ɔga <i>v.</i>
day break t̃ʃɔɔsim̃ p̃isa <i>n. phr.</i>	destroy with fire mara <i>v.</i>
deaf digimbirinsetima <i>n.</i>	detached folo <i>v.</i>
deaf person woŋ <i>n.</i>	develop k̃ɔɔri <i>v.</i>
deafness digimbirinse <i>n.</i>	device to carry fire diŋk̃im̃moni <i>n.</i>
death seŋ <i>n.</i>	dew meŋ <i>n.</i>
debate t̃et̃osa <i>n.</i>	diarrhoea t̃saaraa <i>n.;</i> t̃saaraa d̃ɔg̃usa <i>n.;</i> t̃saari <i>v.;</i> t̃ari <i>n.</i>
debt kant̃ima <i>n.</i>	dibber t̃ɔkdaa <i>n.</i>
deceive dara <i>v.;</i> m̃oga <i>v.</i>	difference k̃ɔrk̃i <i>n.</i>
decide ṽuṽri <i>v.</i>	different k̃ora <i>v.</i>
deeds w̃ikpagi <i>n.</i>	difficult (be) b̃oma <i>v.</i>
deep luŋo <i>v.</i>	difficulties w̃ikpegelegii <i>n.</i>
deep and long t̃fugo <i>v.</i>	dig daari <i>v.;</i> hire <i>v.</i>
deepest part of a river ñisii <i>n.</i>	digging hiri <i>n.</i>
defeat k̃ola <i>v.</i>	dilute pulisi <i>v.</i>
deflated (be) t̃ele <i>v.</i>	dirge (type of) naaloŋo <i>n.</i>
delay birgi <i>v.</i>	dirty doŋji <i>n.</i>
demolish kputi <i>v.</i>	dirty (be) doŋo <i>v.</i>
demonstrate bigisi <i>v.</i>	disappear nigimi <i>v.;</i> p̃isi <i>v.</i>
	disappearance (spiritual) legemii <i>n.</i>

disappearance	medicine	leg-	drag tuuri	v.
emilulii	n.		dragonfly	annulie n.
disappeared (person)	nligimii	n.	draw close	tʊɔri v.
discouraged	bajɔra	n.	dream	diese n.
discourse	manner	kpāŋkpāŋ ideo.	drench	taali v.
disease	geregá	n.	dress	line v.
dismantle	wɔrrigi	v.	drinking habit	sɪŋnɔhã n.
dissolved (be)	muure	v.	drive	milimi v.
disturb	dama	v.	driver	draaba n.
disturbances	dimii	n.	drop	kpa ta cpx.v.; tʃuuri v.
dive	miiri	v.	drop inadvertently	foti v.
divide	bonti	v; po	drought	hil n.
division between the buttocks			drum	(type of) bintira n.; bintirawie n.; bintirazerj n.; daworo n.; gangaŋa n.; loŋo n.; timpan-nii n.; timpantii n.; timpanwal n.; tʃutʃuk n.; zunjuŋ n.
muŋtii	n.		drum rattles	bintiratʃñij n.
dizzy (be)	sii bire	v.	drummer	kɪŋmaŋana n.
do dr	comp.; ja	v.	drumming stick	loŋodaa n.
do abruptly	vaari	v.	drunk	bugo v.; dresi v.
do intentionally	paga	v.	dry	bera v.; hɔla v.; hɔlii n.
do more than	gara	v.	dry season (period within)	wil-ijsaja n.
do with joy	naŋası	v.	dry up	hĩsi v.
doctor	dəkta	n.	Ducie (lect of)	duselii n.
dog	vaa	n.	Ducie village	dusie n.
dog name	jasanjabɔ̃ši	nprop.;	duck	bĩa n.; gbagba n.
kuosozima	nprop.;	ŋnɔwāwajahoo	dull	gbul n.
nprop.			dullness	zɔɔ n.
donkey	kaakumo	n.; kogumiš n.	dust	belege v.; bor n.
door	dianðä	n.	dusty (be)	bura v.
door hinge	lɛvra	n.	dusty weather	korumbɔra n.
door mat	džaana	n.		
doubt	maŋsi	v.		
dowager's hump	bagentʃugul	n.		
dowry	tʃewii	n.		

erase

- dying səwii *n.*
- dysentery dəksa *n.*
- each other dəŋa *recp.*
- ear dığma *n.*
- earache dığmwiila *n.*
- early te *v.*
- early stage of pregnancy (be in) lomo *v.*
- earth worm tantaanii *n.*
- east tiimuŋ *n.*
- eat fuosi *v.*
- eat (without soup) parja *v.*
- Ebony tree anii *n.*
- edge tʃɪmtʃərri *n.*
- eel (type of) digilii *n.*
- effort baharaga *n.*
- egg hal *n.*
- egg (guinea fowl) sūūhal *n.*
- egg (hen) zahal *n.*
- egg white zahalbapumma *n.*
- egg yolk zahalbasıama *n.*
- ego's father's sister hiena *n.*
- ego's female maternal relative māabinihāŋ *n.*
- ego's grand-father naal *n.*
- ego's grand-mother nahā *n.*
- ego's great-grandfather naalbilə *n.*
- ego's great-grandmother nahāl-bilə *n.*
- ego's inferior wəlii *n.*
- ego's junior brother's wife hāwie *n.*
- ego's male maternal relative māabinibaal *n.*
- ego's maternal sibling māabie *n.*
- ego's mother's brother naatima *n.;* niéra *n.*
- ego's sister piema *n.*
- eight ɻmeŋtel *n.*
- eighteen fidijmeŋtel *num.*
- eighth month andzelindze *nprop.*
- elbow neguma *n.*
- elder nihii *n.*
- election votii *n.*
- elephant bəla *n.*
- elephant trunk bəlakan *n.*
- elephantiasis of the leg nāātuto *n.*
- elevated support logo *n.*
- eleven fididigii *num.*
- eleventh month durjasmaajkuna *nprop.*
- empty woo *v.*
- enclose go *v.*
- end pe *n.*
- enemy dəŋ *n.*
- engine indzi *n.*
- enjoyment leŋ *n.*
- entertain daŋŋi sii *cpx.v.*
- entertainment siidanja *n.*
- enthusiasm baharega *n.*
- entrance nōā *n.*
- entrance of a spiritual location duguŋŋvā *n.*
- enumeration kŋjurugie *n.*
- epidemic baleu *n.*
- epileptic fits kpunkpuluŋso *n.*
- equal jaa *v.;* maasi *v.*
- erase dəsri *v.*

escape fuosi <i>v.</i>	fall on saga <i>v.</i>
even maasi <i>v.</i>	family dratsuma <i>n.</i>
evening dadsoj <i>n.</i> ; dsana <i>n.</i>	family relation hiena <i>n.</i>
everyone namuj <i>quant.</i>	fan limpeu <i>n.</i>
evil sitaani <i>n.</i>	far bolo <i>v.</i>
exaggeration bolii <i>n.</i>	far place babuolii <i>n.</i>
examination teesi <i>n.</i>	farm kuo <i>n.</i> ; para <i>v.</i> ; peji <i>v.</i>
exceed gala <i>v.</i> ; gara <i>v.</i> ; kaali <i>v.</i>	farm (manager) kuonihii <i>n.</i>
excel wo <i>v.</i>	farm (state) dzeqe <i>n.</i> ; dzeqebummo <i>n.</i>
exchange tsera <i>v.</i>	dzeqepumma <i>n.</i> ; koko <i>n.</i> ; kolii <i>n.</i>
excited baswona <i>n.</i>	farm owner kuotima <i>n.</i>
exclamation mufui <i>ideo.</i>	farm preparation zajsa <i>n.</i>
excrement bina <i>pl.n.</i>	farmer papata <i>n.</i>
excuse gaafra <i>interj.</i>	farming period peneja <i>n.</i>
exercise densi hogo <i>v.</i>	fast laga <i>adv.</i> ; laga <i>adv.</i> ; nsoj <i>v.</i>
exist (not) tuo <i>v.</i>	fast fast nomanuma <i>ideo.</i>
expand ugo <i>v.</i>	fat noo <i>n.</i> ; polii <i>n.</i>
expectation gbarjasa <i>n.</i>	fat (be) pola <i>v.</i>
expensive joguliboj <i>n.</i>	father jima <i>n.</i>
experienced person nibenii <i>n.</i>	fear oma <i>v.</i>
expose jaabi <i>v.</i>	fearfulness ongbria <i>n.</i>
eye ball siibii <i>n.</i>	feather porj <i>n.</i>
eyebrow siikono <i>n.</i>	fed up (be) piri <i>v.</i>
eyelash siipuj <i>n.</i>	feed a guest
face sie <i>n.</i> ; tsaga <i>v.</i>	feel na <i>v.</i>
fail to arrest gbarmi <i>v.</i>	female pubic hair monpwaj <i>n.</i>
fail to attend bi <i>v.</i>	ferment nagami <i>v.</i>
faint buro <i>v.</i> ; sibire <i>n.</i>	fermenting substance bura <i>n.</i>
fair patfigipumma <i>n.</i>	fetch duu <i>v.</i>
fairy kontoj <i>n.</i>	fever banuma <i>n.</i>
faithful bidiij <i>n.</i> ; degini <i>v.</i>	few tama <i>n.</i>
fall off luore <i>v.</i>	fiber bog <i>n.</i> ; tota <i>n.</i>
	fibrous meat pempiamii <i>n.</i>

forbid

fifteen fidaj̩ num.	flesh nam̩ā n.; nanopunii n.
fifth day of a second funeral simþðāñ n.	flintlock frizzen maafadigima n.
fifth month dumbafulanaan nprop.	flintlock hammer l̩edaa n.
fight juo n.	flintlock leather pad t̩eteñ n.
fill holes f̩stu v.	flintlock locking screw þotri n.
filled dira v.	flintlock pan maafadiginbwa n.
find m̩ona v.	float zaali v.
finger nebii n.	flour saw n.
finger print nebiifetii n.	flow pala v.
fingernail nebipetii n.	flower (type of) lololo n.; t̩suomon- aatōwa n.
finish peti v.	flower of dawadawa s̩v̩jkpulii n.
fire diŋ n.	flute loŋwie n.
fire (make) m̩osi v.	flute (type of) busunu n.
first buŋbuŋ n.	fly zaa v.
first day of second funeral k̩om̩āk- pan n.	fly (type of) t̩ʃ̩ābummo n.; t̩ʃ̩āsiama n.
first month džimbentsu nprop.	foam f̩v̩fsgv̩l n.
fish pinee n.	focus particle ra foc.
fish (type of) f̩iř n.; sol n.; t̩v̩ɔŋ n.	foetus luo n.
fish bone piŋhog n.	fold guti v.
fish egg piŋhal n.	food siimaa n.
fishing hook kokolentebii n.	food (scooped ball) b̩otii n.
fishing trap t̩fig n.	food (type of) fv̩vra n.; gaarii n.; garii n.; timpaanii n.
fist kummi n.	food for many h̩engbaa n.
five aj̩ð num.	food left-overs kv̩st̩sa n.
fixed on (be) maragi pl.v.	food storage room siimaađia n.
flame diŋtol n.; tol n.	fool fugusi v.; genii n.
flap wing peti v.	fool (be) gena v.
flat talala ideo.	foolishness genna n.
flat roof sal n.	foot nāäpiel n.
flee t̩ʃ̩ v.	footstep naanasii n.
	forbid kii v.

force fira <i>v.</i> ; fírrí <i>n.</i>	funeral first day bɔɔtɔr <i>n.</i>
forehead tile <i>n.</i>	funeral ground ludendil <i>n.</i>
forest kɔr <i>n.</i>	funeral mask sigmaa <i>n.</i>
forget svgvli <i>v.</i>	funeral preparation wɔɔsiwiae <i>n.</i>
forgive gila tīe <i>cpx.v.</i>	furious (be) zaga <i>v.</i>
four anaase <i>num.</i>	future zi tam.
fourteen fidanaase <i>num.</i>	game (type of) dara <i>n.</i>
fourth day of a second funeral sijwasii <i>n.</i>	garbage viera <i>n.</i>
fourth month dumbakoko- riko <i>nprop.</i>	garden dabaga <i>n.</i> ; gaadin <i>n.</i>
fourth toe nääbibaambajwie <i>n.</i>	garden egg nadua <i>n.</i>
fowl zal <i>n.</i> ; zimii <i>n.</i>	gather tigsi <i>v.</i>
fowl house dembelee <i>n.</i>	gather close go <i>v.</i>
fragile kmtʃiagii <i>n.</i>	gather together gama <i>v.</i> ; guro <i>v.</i>
freeze kpaŋa <i>v.</i>	gay balalla <i>n.</i>
Friday aridžima <i>n.</i>	Gbolo gbolo <i>nprop.</i>
friend tʃena <i>n.</i>	gear (of farmer or hunter) hɔj <i>n.</i>
frog (type of) sɔmporee <i>n.</i> ; sɔrri <i>n.</i>	generation saŋa <i>n.</i>
front svɔ <i>n.</i>	generous patʃigipɔmma <i>n.;</i> sɔŋtuna <i>n.</i>
fruit daanɔj <i>n.</i> ; noŋ <i>n.</i>	generous person nibuwerii <i>n.</i>
fruit (type of) gojonɔŋ <i>n.</i> ; lieŋ <i>n.</i>	genet (type of) tɔɔniň <i>n.</i>
fry hala <i>v.</i> ; piga <i>v.</i>	germinate jõ <i>v.</i>
frying halii <i>n.</i> ; pigii <i>n.</i>	gesture bigise <i>n.</i>
fufu kapala <i>n.</i>	ghost lɔsii <i>n.</i> ; nidsma <i>n.</i>
full biriŋ <i>n.</i> ; piŋa <i>v.</i> ; piŋisi <i>pl.v.</i>	gift tʃɔgta <i>n.</i>
full (be) su <i>v.</i>	ginger kakaduro <i>n.</i>
funeral luho <i>n.</i>	girl (mature) tulor <i>n.</i>
funeral (first) lunɔŋ <i>n.</i>	give birth kɔla <i>v.</i>
funeral (last) lusinna <i>n.</i>	give proverb ta <i>v.</i>
funeral event (tyoe of) selekpɔn <i>n.</i>	give way brage <i>v.</i>
funeral event (type of) kʊzaak- pan <i>n.</i> ; kʊzaalimmii <i>n.</i>	giving birth kɔlin <i>n.</i>
	glance at limmi <i>v.</i>

guinea corn (cooked)

glide h̄erri <i>v.</i>	grasscutter arri <i>n.</i>
go ka egr.	grasshopper (type of) h̄ōõ <i>n.</i> ; k̄ok̄lik̄ <i>n.</i> ; kpekpe <i>n.</i> ; t̄salehō <i>n.</i> ; t̄selintʃie <i>n.</i> ; zaŋguŋmuŋsulisu <i>n.</i>
go down tuu <i>v.</i>	gratefulness patʃigɪt̄wɔra <i>n.</i>
go down (swell) fuɔrε <i>v.</i>	grave (closed) bil <i>n.</i>
go in and out turo <i>v.</i>	gravel jāŋja <i>n.</i>
go towards t̄jaga <i>v.</i>	grease nōõ <i>n.</i>
go up zina <i>v.</i>	greedy sii <i>n.</i>
goal gool <i>n.</i>	greenish thing kiŋpaatʃak <i>n.</i>
goat b̄õõŋ <i>n.</i>	greet (evening) d̄vani <i>v.</i>
God (supreme) kuoso <i>n.</i>	grief patʃigtʃegsa <i>n.</i>
goiter bagənapuɔgii <i>n.</i>	grill p̄ewa <i>v.</i>
gold salinj <i>n.</i>	grilling meat p̄ewii <i>n.</i>
Gonja person zabaga <i>n.</i>	grind k̄ot̄i <i>v.</i> ; nama <i>v.</i> ; jaari <i>v.</i> ; saasi <i>v.</i> ; tiisi <i>v.</i>
gonorrhea baabaasvw <i>n.</i>	grinding area nɔŋ <i>n.</i>
good l̄ema <i>v.</i>	grinding stone (type of) k̄wŋk̄labii <i>n.</i> ; nambiliŋ <i>n.</i> ; nɔŋbuluŋ <i>n.</i> ; sasibii <i>n.</i>
good (be) were <i>v.</i>	groin näänaŋawɔsii <i>n.</i>
good singer laŋgbε <i>n.</i>	ground hagl̄ii <i>n.</i> ; tagla <i>n.</i>
good taste lerete <i>n.</i>	groundnut maŋsii <i>n.</i>
government ḡom̄nanti <i>n.</i>	groundnut ball kpulikpulii <i>n.</i>
governor ḡom̄ma <i>n.</i>	groundnut flower maŋasijelii <i>n.</i>
grain (guinea corn) mimbii <i>n.</i>	group of people wɔlie <i>n.</i>
grain weevil pakpate <i>n.</i>	group of stars bolonjbuɔtra <i>nprop.</i>
gramaphone garamʃfõ <i>n.</i>	grow sii <i>v.</i> ; ves̄i <i>v.</i>
grandchild nuhō <i>n.</i>	grow old h̄iš <i>v.</i>
grass k̄osa <i>n.</i>	grumble ɻmɔɔri <i>v.</i>
grass (type of) fiel <i>n.</i> ; f̄ogol <i>n.</i> ; golii <i>n.</i> ; k̄opul <i>n.</i> ; pemballuŋ <i>n.</i> ; sambalkuso <i>n.</i> ; sambalŋarja <i>n.</i> ; singbeglinnebie <i>n.</i>	guilt t̄selle <i>n.</i>
grass bundles kuntunb̄a <i>n.</i>	guinea corn m̄i <i>n.</i>
grass clearing gbege <i>n.</i> ; kontii <i>n.</i> ; zaŋasa <i>n.</i>	guinea corn (cooked) t̄impitie <i>n.</i>

guinea corn (type of) mĩsíama *n.*;
pogo *n.*; tſati *n.*
guinea fowl: fowl (type of) sũú *n.*
guinea worm ţã *n.*
gum t̄l *n.*
gun maafa *n.*
gun barrel maafadaa *n.*
gun baton maafamundaapiã *n.*
gun firing pin tſiribø *n.*
gun front sight mií *n.*
gun pole tſɔ̄ř *n.*
gun sight tſiã *n.*
gun trigger maafapej *n.*
gunpowder container džebu-
gokp̄rgn *n.*; maafaluro *n.*
Gurumbele (lect of) b̄eliln *n.*
hail doobii *n.*
hair dressing (type of) nuperñ *n.*
half kamboro *n.*
half asleep daari *v.*
half of a bird kie *n.*
half of a nut banpeg *n.*
half side logunjbembel *n.*
half-full logo *v.*
hall lumbu *n.*
ham nääkorbwá *n.*
hammer hamba *n.*
hamok džusɔ̄j *n.*
hand nepiel *n.*
hand (back of) nepielgantal *n.*
hand (palm of) nepielpatſigñ *n.*
hand up tala *v.*

handkerchief aŋktr̄i *n.*
handle neŋbakpagñ *n.*
hang laga *v.*
hang limp loori *v.*
happiness balalla *n.*
happy basɔ̄ona *n.*; patſigitwɔ̄ra *n.*
harassment finñ *n.*
hard kpegii *n.*
hard ground haglikpeg *n.*
harmattan gbaŋbaŋ *n.*
harsh (be) naga *v.*
hartebeest lɔ̄v *n.*
harvest aar̄i *v.*; hire *v.*; kɔ̄ma *v.*;
ŋm̄ena *v.*
hasten poleme *v.*
hat pintſige *n.*
hatch tesi *v.*
hatching pumii *n.*
hate h̄ä *v.*
he u *pro.*; waa *pro.*
head (back of) luŋkporo *n.*
head gear tſiime *n.*
head hair nupɔ̄j *n.*
head of animal nukpulii *n.*
head support tſemii *n.*
headache juwrla *n.*
headpan tasazej *n.*
healer lulibummojar *n.*; paatſak-
jara *n.*
health (good) laanfra *n.*
healthy (not be) kɔ̄lɔ̄c *n.*
heart begii *n.*
heart attack bambiwnla *n.*
heat a wound nagasi *v.*

hyena (type of)

heaven aridzana <i>n.</i>	hollow behind the collarbone bagenbṣa <i>n.</i>
heavy jugii <i>n.</i>	home of the ancestors ləl <i>n.</i>
hedgehog nagenpentii <i>n.</i>	honest degini <i>v.</i>
heel nāälumo <i>n.</i>	honey tūū <i>n.</i>
height ziŋii <i>n.</i>	hoot at woori <i>v.</i>
help tiise <i>v.</i>	hope tamāā <i>n.</i>
helper susumma <i>n.</i>	horn jin̩daa <i>n.</i>
helpless child janɔgii <i>n.</i>	horn flute kabil <i>n.</i>
hen zal <i>n.</i>	horse kinzinii <i>n.</i>
henna dzabelaj <i>n.</i>	hospital asibit̩i <i>n.</i>
herd gbaa <i>v.</i>	hot nɔmii <i>n.</i>
herder gbar <i>n.</i>	hot drink tii <i>n.</i>
hernia pɔɔga <i>n.</i>	hour gbelij <i>n.</i>
hide sogoli <i>v.</i>	house dia <i>n.</i>
high (be) gati <i>v.</i>	how jin̩iē interrog.
hind leg hii <i>n.</i>	human being nr̩buluŋ <i>n.</i>
hinder teje <i>v.</i>	human entity particle
hip tʃerbṣa <i>n.</i>	hump gɔma <i>n.</i>
hire ha <i>v.</i>	hunchback gɔmatuŋa <i>n.</i>
hit gogo <i>v.</i> ; jagasi <i>pl.v.</i> ; vira <i>v.</i>	hundred kɔwa <i>num.</i>
hit down repeatedly pila <i>v.</i>	hunger lɔsa <i>n.</i>
hoe par <i>n.</i>	hunt sewa <i>v.</i>
hoe (type of) säädiili <i>n.</i> ; säägbu- lie <i>n.</i>	hunter naŋkpāärj <i>n.</i>
hoe blade pabii <i>n.</i>	hunter's rank digboŋ <i>n.</i> ; kurung- boŋ <i>n.</i> ; ɻbuoŋđ <i>n.</i>
hold kogo <i>v.</i> ; kpaga <i>v.</i>	hunting naŋkpāalmj <i>n.</i>
hold on kpaga kaalr <i>cpx.v.</i>	husband baal <i>n.</i>
hole bilge <i>n.</i>	husk hääsa <i>n.</i>
hole in grave bwabie <i>n.</i>	hut (farm) laω <i>n.</i>
holey zagat̩i <i>v.</i>	hyena kpatakpal̩e <i>n.</i>
hollow (be) pena <i>v.</i>	hyena (type of) badaare <i>n.</i> ; siŋsi- girii <i>n.</i> ; zepégor <i>n.</i>

hypocrite juudor <i>n.</i>	infest dugo <i>v.</i>
I miŋ <i>pro.; n pro.</i>	inflate fuusi <i>v.</i>
idol (type of) tɔmii <i>n.</i>	inhabit t̄ige <i>v.</i>
if so amīš <i>adv.</i>	inhabit (spiritually) diesi <i>v.</i>
ignite ȷmena <i>v.; t̄fogo v.</i>	inhabitant dñl <i>n.</i>
ill wii <i>v.</i>	initiate ta <i>v.</i>
imam limaan <i>n.</i>	initiate to lightning sō duonj <i>v.</i>
imitate t̄faasi <i>v.</i>	inject tawa <i>v.</i>
imitating sia <i>n.</i>	injured wñlln <i>n.</i>
immediatly baaj tam.	insect (type of) banñäluro <i>n.;</i>
imperfective di ipfv.	batīð <i>n.;</i> daadugo <i>n.;</i> dunlatuo <i>n.;</i>
impotent hambara <i>n.</i>	kuukuu <i>n.;</i> nañpiña <i>n.;</i> nōpiña <i>n.;</i>
improper kwlombwl <i>n.</i>	peomää <i>n.;</i> t̄saanjt̄mij <i>n.;</i> t̄simni <i>n.;</i>
in line jørøtø ideo.	t̄segii <i>n.</i>
in spite of aní a muŋ <i>adv.</i>	inside patfigii <i>n.</i>
in vain baga <i>adv.</i>	inside the village t̄ospatsigni <i>n.</i>
in-law hila <i>n.</i>	insincerity dñnkafuuri <i>n.</i>
in-law (brother) datſibaal <i>n.</i>	insufficient (be) bowo <i>v.</i>
in-law (brother, sister) datſie <i>n.</i>	insult lɔ <i>v.;</i> ſiāā <i>interj.;</i> t̄fuusi <i>v.;</i>
in-law (father) hilibaal <i>n.</i>	zoŋ <i>n.;</i> zoŋbii <i>n.</i>
in-law (sister) datſihääŋ <i>n.</i>	interruptive wizwɔr <i>n.</i>
inability gbetr <i>v.</i>	intestine looto <i>n.</i>
inactive (be) kwøle <i>v.</i>	invalidity gbetr <i>v.</i>
incline bema <i>v.;</i> keje <i>v.</i>	investigate piasi <i>v.</i>
increase pe <i>v.</i>	iron kgii <i>n.</i>
increase in weight dusi <i>v.</i>	iron bowl tasa <i>n.</i>
index finger fakiine <i>n.</i>	Islam jarri <i>n.</i>
index toe nääbiziŋi <i>n.</i>	issue wii <i>n.</i>
indicate t̄fagalr <i>v.</i>	it awa <i>pro.; v pro.; waa pro.</i>
inexpensive haraha <i>n.</i>	itch t̄srigi <i>v.</i>
infection t̄çzwɔr <i>n.</i>	ivory bølajnj <i>n.</i>
infertile land lalasa <i>n.</i>	jathropha nakuj <i>n.</i>
	jaw egla <i>n.</i>
	jealousy handɔŋmuisa <i>n.</i>

lean (be)

Jebuni džebuni <i>nprop.</i>	kola nut guori <i>n.</i> ; kapossie <i>n.</i>
jewelry (type of) kpaga <i>n.</i>	Kpong (village) kponj <i>nprop.</i>
joke sãaní <i>v.</i>	labour (extensive) paanõã <i>n.</i>
jump pati <i>v.</i> ; zaasi <i>pl.v.</i>	lack
jump down tsiñisi <i>v.</i>	ladder sanzij <i>n.</i>
just baanj <i>tam.</i>	lament mɔsi <i>v.</i>
Kandia village kandia <i>n.</i>	lamp diñtšãañj <i>n.</i>
Kapok koj <i>n.</i>	lamp (type of) najelingbielie <i>n.</i>
Kapok flower kpalimaalige <i>n.</i>	lamp holder diñtšãänjdaa <i>n.</i>
Katua (lect of) katwɔlli <i>n.</i>	landlord dratiina <i>n.</i> ; tindaana <i>n.</i> ; tɔstina <i>n.</i>
Katua village katwɔ <i>nprop.</i>	language taa <i>n.</i>
keep kpaga kaalı <i>cpx.v.</i> ; pɔ <i>v.</i>	lantern diñtšãañj <i>n.</i>
keep (tell to) pusi <i>v.</i>	large badaazenie <i>n.</i> ; zene <i>v.</i>
keep from falling kogo <i>v.</i>	large (make) peuli <i>v.</i>
keep long birgi <i>v.</i>	last birgi <i>v.</i>
kenkey daakvn̩ <i>n.</i>	lateral goiter bagenapvɔgii <i>n.</i>
kettle buuta <i>n.</i>	laughing mɔmii <i>n.</i>
key safibii <i>n.</i>	laughter mɔma <i>n.</i>
kidney suojbii <i>n.</i>	law bej <i>n.</i>
kidney stones suojbigariga <i>n.</i>	lawyer lɔja <i>n.</i>
kitchen dindia <i>n.</i> ; dirjbamɔsii <i>n.</i>	lay head on sila <i>v.</i>
knead ɔti <i>v.</i>	laziness zɔð <i>n.</i>
knee nãähñü <i>n.</i>	lazy bajɔra <i>n.</i>
kneecap nãähñufowie <i>n.</i>	lazy (be) jaari <i>v.</i>
kneel gbinti <i>v.</i>	lead gara <i>v.</i> ; kpānna <i>n.</i>
knife kisie <i>n.</i>	leader suutere <i>n.</i>
knife (type of) danjorugo <i>n.</i>	leaf paatʃak <i>n.</i>
knife cover tõä <i>n.</i>	leaf (type of) bïel <i>n.</i>
knock bark off pomo <i>v.</i>	leaf of Baobab tolipaatʃak <i>n.</i>
know zima <i>v.</i>	leaf of baobab (fresh) sãŋkum-sɔna <i>n.</i>
knowledge naŋzima <i>n.</i>	leak lulo <i>v.</i> ; sɔra <i>v.</i>
kob wiliw <i>n.</i>	lean (be) kɔŋa <i>v.</i>

lean against tele <i>v.; telegi pl.v.</i>	liniment tree pontii <i>n.</i>
lean on pela <i>v.</i>	lion džetři <i>n.; naabietřna n.</i>
learn zigitři <i>v.</i>	lip nõtunii <i>n.</i>
leave gila <i>v.</i>	liquid dõnii <i>n.</i>
lect of Bulinga buleñji <i>n.</i>	little finii <i>adj.; negeke n.</i>
lect of Motigu motigii <i>n.</i>	little finger nebisunu <i>n.; nebiwie n.</i>
leg (front) vaaj <i>n.</i>	little toe nãäbiwie <i>n.</i>
leg amputated nãäkputi <i>n.</i>	live zov <i>v.</i>
lend tſima <i>v.</i>	liver poal <i>n.</i>
length zimii <i>n.</i>	lizard (type of) bãä <i>n.; badžogv n.;</i> <i>džedžera n.; ger n.; gegeta n.;</i> <i>gbaga n.; gbol n.; tiwiilengregie n.</i>
leopard bwɔmanii <i>n.</i>	load bõj <i>n.</i>
leper zagan <i>n.</i>	load gun pama <i>v.</i>
leprosy zagansa <i>n.</i>	Lobi lobi <i>n.</i>
let tr̥e <i>v.</i>	location baaj <i>adv.; sinlök n.</i>
lethargic (be) kwole <i>v.</i>	location (type of) dendil <i>n.</i>
level buti <i>v.</i>	location for initiation daamuj <i>n.</i>
liar patſigbummo <i>n.</i>	locked (be) hara <i>v.</i>
lick lenti <i>v.</i>	log dolo <i>n.</i>
lie dara <i>v.; hejſi v.; moga v.; tʃoa v.</i>	lonely person nidičimaŋa <i>n.</i>
lie across kagale <i>v.</i>	long and thin vinnimni <i>ideo.</i>
lie on pumo <i>v.</i>	long river gɔŋzenji <i>n.</i>
lie on stomach pu <i>v.</i>	long thing kmzimji <i>n.</i>
lift arm hää <i>v.</i>	look at fñli <i>v.</i>
light füga <i>v.</i>	look different tʃerigri <i>v.</i>
lightning initiation duonjsri <i>n.</i>	look to buure <i>v.</i>
like kii <i>conn.</i>	loose (be) tɔgɔli <i>v.</i>
like that kej <i>adv.</i>	loose (make) folo <i>v.</i>
limb badaa <i>n.</i>	loose stomach dɔgussa <i>n.</i>
limp duŋusi <i>v.; zejſi v.</i>	lose sight of jwɔjſi <i>v.</i>
line tʃvar <i>n.</i>	loss bɔna <i>n.</i>
lines (make) piŋri <i>pl.v.</i>	lost (get) jwɔjſi <i>v.</i>
linguist kpambria <i>n.</i>	louse kpibii <i>n.</i>

lover sənna <i>n.</i>	many krikarj <i>quant.</i>
low land falnj <i>n.</i>	mark dāāna <i>n.</i> ; pññ <i>v.</i> ; pñgri <i>v.</i> ; sige <i>v.</i> ; tii <i>v.</i> ; wil <i>n.</i>
lower back fñð <i>n.</i>	mark (animal) dāāni <i>v.</i>
lower than expectation tʃvma <i>v.</i>	market jøwa <i>n.</i>
loyal person wiðmjtima <i>n.</i>	marry jøv <i>v.</i> ; kpa <i>v.</i> ; paa <i>pl.v.</i>
lukewarm tɔlatɔla <i>ideo.</i>	mash purusi <i>v.</i>
lumps luguso <i>pl.n.</i>	mason meesin <i>n.</i>
lumpy (be) lugusi <i>v.</i>	master dziga <i>v.</i>
lung fñfɔta <i>n.</i>	mat kalej <i>n.</i> ; kmtʃvalii <i>n.</i>
lung pains fñfɔtivila <i>n.</i>	mat (grass) pisa <i>n.</i>
machine määnsij <i>n.</i>	matches manjkisi <i>n.</i>
mad person galanjzor <i>n.</i>	maternal lineage määbise <i>n.</i>
madness galaŋa <i>n.</i>	matter wii <i>n.</i>
magic stone bïdøv <i>nprop.</i>	matter (trivial) wilaaŋ <i>n.</i>
Mahama mahama <i>nprop.</i>	mature dziga <i>v.</i>
Mahogany priŋ <i>n.</i>	mature young girl sunđguruŋ <i>n.</i>
maize mññmëna <i>n.</i> ; miñmëna <i>n.</i> ; jammii <i>n.</i>	maybe a bɔññi ñi <i>adv.phr.</i>
maize cob daa <i>n.</i>	meal kindilii <i>n.</i>
maize seed jammibii <i>n.</i>	measles takatſuuni <i>n.</i>
make a insulting sound tʃvusi <i>v.</i>	measurement (farm) gala <i>n.</i> ; kagal <i>n.</i> ; kogulii <i>n.</i> ; naakpaaga <i>n.</i>
malaria sɔnñi <i>n.</i>	meat namñä <i>n.</i> ; nañguruŋ <i>n.</i>
male pubic hair peŋpaŋ <i>n.</i>	meat (boiled) nantɔŋii <i>n.</i>
malnourished child pñsa <i>n.</i>	meat (poor quality) sñe <i>n.</i>
malt tamputie <i>n.</i>	meat (raw) nãnhuor <i>n.</i>
malt (guinea corn) kõmñä <i>n.</i>	meat for sale nambera <i>n.</i>
man nibaal <i>n.</i>	medicine lulii <i>n.</i>
man (old) bahñi <i>n.</i>	medicine (local) lulibummo <i>n.</i>
man (white) nasarbaal <i>n.</i>	medicine (non-local) nasarlulii <i>n.</i>
mango mõñgo <i>n.</i>	medicine (type of) gbaraga <i>nprop.</i>
Mangu ñmääñju <i>nprop.</i>	meet tñeme <i>v.</i>
manoeuvre kɔri <i>v.</i>	melt ñmieri <i>v.</i>

members of a paternal relation jr-nawələe pl.n.	mocking relation nasata n.
membrane pətrdindagal n.	moderate price jogulilej n.
menses tʃagasii n.	Mohamed mohamedu nprop.
menstruate tʃagasi pl.v.	molar paŋ n.
message hẽsee n.	mollusc (type of) kpãnnna n.
metal (type of) dajẽ n.	Monday atanĩẽ n.
metamorphose bırgı v.	money molebii n.
meter mita n.	mongoose (type of) majãš n.; majãštuogu n.; watſehęe n.
middle bambaŋ n.; galrıŋga rel.n.	monkey gbřā n.
middle finger bambaŋnebii n.; nebiziŋji n.	monkey (type of) foori n.; gbřásıama n.; kanĩẽ n.; polpiesii n.
middle toe nãäbibaambaj n.	monkey's scream angum ono.
midnight t̄ohiẽ n.	moon b̄ɔ̄ga n.; pena n.
mile meeli n.	morning tʃ̄ɔ̄sa n.; tʃ̄ɔ̄sim pısa n. phr.
mill nikanika n.	morsel b̄otii n.
millet zul n.	mortar tuto n.
millet ergot (fungi) disease nangɔɔŋ n.	mortar (farm) kuotuto n.
millipede (type of) halınguomii n.; n̄ı̄manier n.	mosque wɔ̄zaandia n.
mimic tʃaasi v.	mosquito zoŋgoree n.
minute minti n.	mother mää n.
miscarry vieri v.	mother (new) hasɔɔŋ n.
misery sigii n.	mother in-law hılıhääŋ n.
miss lieri v.	Motigu (lect of) mɔ̄tigii n.
miss out gara v.	motion (manner) felfel ideo.
mist meŋ n.	motorbike pupu n.
mistake (make) tulemi v.	mould mo v.
mistake (to do by) tulemi v.	moult wire v.
mix büü v.; kuosi v.	mourn mɔ̄si v.
mixture of sodium carbonate dɔɔ n.; kãš n.	mouse ol n.
	mouse (type of) dagbojo n.; naŋkola n.; ombul n.; onsrat n.; ontolee n.; onzasii n.

offspring

mouth marks nõätsvar <i>n.</i>	nematode n̄igsie <i>n.</i>
move kiige <i>v.</i> ; vige <i>v.</i>	nest saal <i>n.</i> ; zaŋ <i>n.</i>
move neck lejsi <i>v.</i>	new f̄olii <i>n.</i>
move over t̄osi <i>v.</i>	nice l̄ema <i>v.</i>
move with difficulty talimi <i>v.</i>	nick name ḡiegii <i>n.</i>
much kñkan <i>quant.</i>	night tebin <i>n.</i>
mud v̄etii <i>n.</i>	night blindness teterjse <i>n.</i>
multiple floor building disugulii <i>n.</i>	nine digrituo <i>num.</i>
multiply wasi <i>v.</i>	nineteen fididigrituo <i>num.</i>
murderer nibukpor <i>n.</i>	ninth month s̄onkare <i>nprop.</i>
Musa m̄saa <i>nprop.</i>	nipple iln̄sā <i>n.</i>
muscle pain nampuniwiila <i>n.</i>	no ai <i>interj.</i>
muslim jarie <i>n.</i>	nod gusi <i>v.</i>
mute person wɔŋ <i>n.</i>	noise tʃāma <i>n.</i>
nail hembii <i>n.</i>	noise (make) kiemi <i>v.</i> ; tʃāmi <i>v.</i>
naked bakpal <i>n.</i>	noise (type of) t̄iingbaŋsii <i>n.</i>
name sɔŋ <i>n.</i>	non-hygienic s̄okɔsii <i>n.</i>
name (person) t̄oma <i>nprop.</i>	nose m̄isa <i>n.</i>
narrate b̄isi <i>v.</i>	nostril m̄ibua <i>n.</i>
narrow f̄orii <i>n.</i>	not lei <i>neg.</i> ; ti <i>neg.</i> ; wa <i>neg.</i>
narrow (be) f̄oora <i>v.</i>	nothing baga <i>adv.</i>
nasal congestion mifotii <i>n.</i>	now laga <i>adv.</i>
nauseous ɔgilı <i>v.</i>	numb dadāĩ <i>ideo.</i>
navel ul <i>n.</i>	number namba <i>n.</i>
near d̄ogvli <i>v.</i>	nurse neesi <i>n.</i>
necessary (be) daga <i>v.</i>	nurse seeds pugo <i>v.</i>
necessity kparaama <i>n.</i>	nut (palm) abe <i>n.</i>
neck bagena <i>n.</i>	o.k. tou <i>interj.</i>
neck of a container viibagena <i>n.</i>	obedient bidiiŋ <i>n.</i>
needle f̄il <i>n.</i> ; n̄ësa <i>n.</i>	obey trija <i>v.</i>
negative action zamba <i>n.</i>	obligatorily baarj <i>tam.</i>
negligent (be) faasi <i>v.</i>	obstruct lajse <i>v.</i>
	offspring kinduho <i>n.</i>

oil nɔð n.	pamper jiesi v.
okro ŋmeŋ n.	pangolin (type of) maŋgbij n.
okro (dried) ŋmeŋhvl̩ n.	pant pugo v.
oldhands nibenii n.	pants pata n.
omit gara v.	paper kadaase n.; piipa n.; tɔŋ n.
on ni postp.	parasitic plant (type of) səwakandikuro n■
on (be) suguli v.	parentless nijað n.
one twin dʒiendɔŋ n.	parents bilvlla n.
onion albasa n.	park paki n.
onion leaf gaabu n.	part lie interrog.
only manja n.; tenjetj n.	partially out of sight (be) niise v.
open mɔma v.	particular wara dem.
open up wega v.	partner lagami v.
open wide paani v.	party paati n.
operate tʃewa v.	pass gaasi v.; paasi v.
opposite wile v.	past fi tam.
or ka conn.	pastor pasita n.
orange lumburo n.	patience kajiti n.
orchitis luro?ɔrɪ n.	pawpaw kɔglaabsl n.
oribi tehið n.	pay bɔ v.
orphan lalriwie n.; nijað n.; sulumbie n.	peaceful basona n.
otitis digiŋwiniɛ n.	peck tʃogo v.; tʃogosi pl.v.
outside gantal n.	peel fɔnti v.
overabundant (be) gbugo v.	peep at limmi v.
overcome kpege v.	pelvis nāänawɔsii n.
overgrown (be) kɔsi v.	pen kelembi n.; pɛn n.
owner tuma n.	pendant kinliemii n.
pair muno n.	penis pen n.
palm netisiŋ n.	people tuma pl.n.
palm tree (type of) benie n.; kpɔr n.	pepper kilimie n.; tʃimmää n.
palm wine sŋpɔmhma n.	pepper (dried) tʃimmeħvl̩ n.
	pepper (fresh) tʃimmesɔŋ n.
	pepper (ground dried) tʃimmesaŋ n.

plough

- perceive nõõ v.
- percussion instrument (type of) naalomo *n.*; prega *n.*; tſimj *n.*
- perfume tulaadi *n.*
- person nar *n.*
- person (educated) karatſi *n.*
- person (fair-skinned) nibupumma *n.*
- person (lean) kvalii *n.*
- person (poor) jaõõ *n.*
- person (weak) ziezie *n.*
- person (white) nansaaraa *n.*; nasara *n.*
- person (wild) siinomatima *n.*
- person from Wa waal *n.*
- person who is weak from birth zõj *n.*
- person who refuses digin-vienusura *n.*
- person with a deformity nibukperii *n.*
- person with knowledge siilalla *n.*
- perspiration wiliŋ *n.*
- petrol paturuu *n.*
- phlegm kaasibii *n.*
- pick zoro *v.*
- pick (fruit) kpura *v.*
- pick fast tuosi *v.*
- pick out twası *v.*
- pick up panti *v.*
- pickaxe priigaasi *n.*
- picture foto *n.*
- pierce tawa *v.*; tɔsi *pl.v.*
- pierced (be) nr̩ra *v.*
- pig parakun *n.*
- pillar zazehia *n.*
- pillow kaputi *n.*
- pin gurpe *n.*; pini *n.*
- pinch finii *n.*
- pineapple laanfria *n.*
- pinworm tsaŋtſimsa *n.*
- pipe taavii *n.*
- pistol (piece) tundaaboree *n.*
- pistole tundaa *n.*
- pito (fermented) sm̩biilii *n.*; sm̩siama *n.*
- pito (unfermented) sm̩bwl *n.*; sm̩hõor *n.*; sm̩tsaara *n.*
- pito pot sm̩tsk *n.*
- place down tſiŋjası *v.*
- place name gunnääsiŋtſas-muŋ *nprop.*; katſalkpuŋi-imuŋ *nprop.*; kuŋkuksieŋ *nprop.*; wapele *nprop.*
- plaintain bõrdia *n.*
- plaiting (hair) juvəwii *n.*
- plant dū ū *v.*
- plant (type of) džora *n.*; gõŋ *n.*; gbentagasi *n.*; kiesimunluo *n.*; nagm̩ *n.*; piel *n.*; zanzig *n.*
- plant product gurba *n.*
- planting pɔɪ *n.*
- plate perete *n.*
- play d̩võga *n.*; d̩võgi *v.*; sääni *v.*
- playmate by kin nasääj *n.*
- playmate relation nasata *n.*
- plenty kana *v.*
- plough buti *v.*

pluck kpeti <i>v.</i> ; tɔrigr̩ <i>pl.v.</i> ; tɔtr̩ <i>v.</i>	powerless (become) tɔgv̩sɪ <i>v.</i>
plug futi <i>pl.v.</i>	praise ii <i>v.</i>
pocket dʒifa <i>n.</i>	prance viti <i>pl.v.</i>
pointed p̩lapuла ideo.	pray zaami <i>v.</i>
pointless bagabaga ideo.	praying mantis (type of) salen-
poison beraa <i>n.</i>	gojo <i>n.</i>
pole lej <i>n.</i> ; sungoro <i>n.</i>	predisposed summe tuu <i>v.</i>
police poruso <i>n.</i>	pregnancy t̩r̩ <i>n.</i>
polish belege <i>v.</i>	pregnant woman t̩rkpagar <i>n.</i>
pommade n̩ðt̩titii <i>n.</i>	prepare (new wife) saŋası <i>v.</i>
Pompora pompora <i>nprop.</i>	presently haŋ <i>dem.</i>
pond gbetara <i>n.</i> ; niitaŋ <i>n.</i> ; pol <i>n.</i>	press ensi <i>v.</i> ; f̩r̩ig̩ <i>pl.v.</i>
poor (be) jaã <i>v.</i>	press out fää <i>adv.</i>
porcupine (type of) sãŋ <i>n.</i>	press together f̩ma <i>v.</i>
porridge kubii <i>n.</i>	prey kinkpagasii <i>n.</i>
porter b̩nt̩v̩na <i>n.</i> ; kajajo <i>n.</i>	price jogulo <i>n.</i>
possessed (be) jv̩csɪ <i>v.</i>	prick tawa <i>v.</i> ; t̩fugosi <i>pl.v.</i>
pot (drinking) niŋvarvii <i>n.</i>	priest (type of) v̩sgn̩ih̩ë <i>n.</i> ; w̩zanih̩ä <i>n.</i>
pot (type of) kuvii <i>n.</i> ; leu <i>n.</i> ; sielii <i>n.</i> ■ siŋvii <i>n.</i> ; t̩g <i>n.</i>	prison hara <i>n.</i>
pouched rat sapuh̩ë <i>n.</i>	problem wii <i>n.</i>
pound svag̩ <i>v.</i> ; tugo <i>v.</i>	process lugo <i>n.</i> ; naã <i>n.</i>
pound (currency) poŋ <i>n.</i>	produce liquid t̩saga <i>v.</i>
pound lightly purusi <i>v.</i>	profit t̩na <i>n.</i>
pour all biti <i>v.</i>	prolapse of rectum m̩m̩m̩ŋ <i>n.</i>
pour libation waasi <i>v.</i>	proliferate wasi <i>v.</i>
pour off liile <i>v.</i>	proper dm̩j <i>n.</i>
pour some jolo <i>v.</i>	properly (do) mara <i>v.</i>
pout zv̩v̩ni <i>v.</i>	prostitute sansanna <i>n.</i>
poverty jaã <i>n.</i>	prostitution sansama <i>n.</i>
powder p̩v̩da <i>n.</i>	protect kisi <i>v.</i> ; p̩o <i>v.</i> ; t̩o <i>v.</i>
power dabaara <i>n.</i>	protection kogii <i>n.</i>

rely on

proud basɔɔna <i>n.</i> ; foro <i>v.</i>	race batʃɔalɪ <i>n.</i>
prove gila zima <i>cpx.v.</i>	radio wɔlanse <i>n.</i>
proverb siɛnɛɛ <i>n.</i>	rag garzagatɪ <i>n.</i>
pubis mɔŋ <i>n.</i>	ragged sɔwa <i>v.</i>
puerperal fever nñisɔta <i>n.</i>	rain donɪ <i>n.</i> ; duoŋ <i>n.</i>
pull tarage <i>pl.v.</i> ; tati <i>v.</i>	rain gently mʊsɪ <i>v.</i>
pull out tsurugi <i>pl.v.</i> ; tsuti <i>v.</i>	rainbow dokagal <i>n.</i>
pump pɔmρɪ <i>n.</i>	raise leŋsi <i>v.</i>
pumpkin plant kawaa <i>n.</i>	raise body deŋsi <i>v.</i>
pumpkin seed sar <i>n.</i> ; sarabii <i>n.</i>	raised bed jolo <i>n.</i> ; sampentɪ <i>n.</i>
punch tʃugosi <i>pl.v.</i>	rape gurugi <i>v.</i>
puncture lurigi <i>v.</i> ; lutɪ <i>v.</i> ; pɔntʃa <i>n.</i>	rash tʃinie <i>n.</i>
punish dɔgsɪ <i>v.</i>	rat (type of) mɔtɔl <i>n.</i> ; saabii <i>n.</i>
pure tʃāāni <i>v.</i>	ravage dugo <i>v.</i>
push ii <i>v.</i> ; tuti <i>v.</i> ; vige <i>v.</i>	raw huor <i>n.</i>
push down fela <i>v.</i>	reach tele <i>v.</i>
push up earth uguli <i>v.</i>	read karimi <i>v.</i>
put (in a row) tʃonsi <i>v.</i>	reading karimii <i>n.</i>
put arm around konti <i>v.</i>	ready siri <i>n.</i>
put down bile <i>v.</i> ; bilesi <i>pl.v.</i> ; tʃɪŋasɪ <i>v.</i>	real dnɪŋ <i>n.</i>
put down brusquely jaga <i>v.</i>	really bantʃɪ <i>part.</i>
put on fetɪ <i>v.</i>	rebuke hɔ̄sɪ <i>v.</i>
put spell on hĩwa <i>v.</i>	red bean s̬igasiama <i>n.</i>
quarrel juo <i>n.</i>	red cassava kpɔŋkpɔŋsiama <i>n.</i>
quarter kɔta <i>n.</i>	red person nibusiama <i>n.</i>
quickly lagalaga <i>adv.</i>	Red thorn sɔ̄siamma <i>n.</i>
quiet (be) sɔ̄ɔ <i>v.</i>	reduce puuri <i>v.</i>
quietly tjerim <i>adv.</i>	reduce by sharpening sellɪ <i>v.</i>
quietness surum <i>n.</i>	reduce price alibaraka <i>n.</i>
quills (porcupine) sãŋpɔŋ <i>n.</i>	rejected person nivetaalɪ <i>n.</i>
quiver tolɔg <i>n.</i>	relative hieŋ <i>n.</i>
	reluctant daraga <i>n.</i>
	rely on dɛla <i>v.</i> ; jalasi <i>v.</i>

remain tʃa <i>v.</i>	rinse vaasi <i>v.</i>
remaining sm̄sagal <i>n.</i>	ripe (almost) ganagana <i>ideo.</i>
remove lugusi <i>pl.v.; lugusi v.</i>	riped siama <i>n.</i>
remove part of a whole fieri <i>v.</i>	riped (be) bii <i>v.; h̄īesi v.; siari v.</i>
repair ligili <i>v.</i>	rise jala <i>v.</i>
repair leakage foti <i>pl.v.</i>	river pol <i>n.</i>
reply to greetings awo <i>interj.</i>	river (large) gɔ̄ŋzeŋ <i>n.</i>
resent jima <i>v.</i>	river (type of) pul <i>n.</i>
resistant kūŋsūŋ <i>n.</i>	river bank gɔ̄ŋnɔ̄ā <i>n.</i>
respect girime <i>n.; h̄īsa n.; kpa jug v.; kpa su v.</i>	river path gɔ̄ŋbɔ̄o <i>n.</i>
respect (with) bɔ̄ŋe <i>n.</i>	road munii <i>n.; tiwii n.</i>
respond sīā <i>v.</i>	roam guugi <i>v.</i>
responsability karifa <i>n.</i>	roan antelope kuo <i>n.</i>
responsability (have) tirja <i>v.</i>	roast wɔ̄si <i>v.</i>
resting place zamparagni <i>n.</i>	roll bilinsi <i>v.</i>
restore ligili <i>v.</i>	roll up guti <i>v.</i>
retaliation kanjaaga <i>n.</i>	roof juo <i>v.</i>
return bira <i>v.</i>	roof gutter tʃitʃasɔ̄rii <i>n.</i>
reward tʃela <i>v.</i>	roof top center sabaan <i>n.</i>
rewind guti <i>v.</i>	roofing beam dolo <i>n.; pel n.; seŋebii n.</i>
rheumatism batʃasie <i>n.</i>	roofing stick pete <i>n.</i>
rib kugdaabii <i>n.</i>	rooster zimbal <i>n.</i>
rib cage kugso <i>n.</i>	root luto <i>n.</i>
rice muro <i>n.</i>	rope kala <i>v.; ŋmeŋ n.</i>
rice (grain) murobii <i>n.</i>	rotation nih̄iēlŋ <i>n.</i>
rich bundaana <i>n.</i>	rotten pɔ̄ā <i>v.</i>
right dul <i>n.</i>	rotten (almost) kɔ̄ɔri <i>v.</i>
rince lugusi <i>v.</i>	rotten meat tʃɔ̄gdu <i>n.</i>
ring neŋbiŋ <i>n.; nepitii n.</i>	rough kɔ̄gɔ̄sɔ̄g <i>ideo.; ŋmiire v.</i>
ring finger bambaajnebiwie <i>n.</i>	round go <i>v.</i>
ringworm kawaadadag <i>n.</i>	row d̄wası <i>pl.v.</i>
	rub biligi <i>v.; f̄ogoli v.; nama v.; tiiri v.; tiga v.; titi v.</i>

rub along faarr <i>v.</i>	scoop l̥gsi <i>pl.v.</i>
rub to grind n̥uga <i>v.</i>	scorpion n̥ð̥ma <i>n.</i>
rude child bipðā <i>n.</i>	scrape up faari <i>v.</i>
rush poleme <i>v.</i>	scratch f̥r̥ig̥i <i>v.</i> ; lala <i>v.</i> ; l̥ga <i>v.</i>
rush at gb̥v̥ur̥i <i>v.</i>	scrotum luro <i>n.</i>
rush at with anger (to) iiri <i>v.</i>	sculpt m̥o <i>v.</i>
rust jā <i>v.</i>	sea m̥v̥g <i>n.</i>
rusty jāñ <i>n.</i>	search buure <i>v.</i>
sacrifice p̥o <i>v.</i>	season p̥ep̥ena <i>n.</i> ; t̥ot̥saan̥ <i>n.</i> ; t̥ot̥saar̥bummo <i>n.</i> ; t̥ot̥saar̥s̥ama <i>n.</i>
sadness pat̥ig̥t̥ɔgsa <i>n.</i>	season (dry) limmaña <i>n.</i>
saliva muñ̥t̥oosa <i>n.</i>	season (rainy) j̥ov̥ <i>n.</i>
salt j̥isa <i>n.</i>	seat kor <i>n.</i>
salt (grain) jibii <i>n.</i>	second day of second funeral k̥om̥ānar̥i <i>n.</i>
salty lake leb̥wa <i>n.</i>	second month tofura <i>n.</i>
same d̥ig̥imaña <i>num.</i>	secretive pat̥ig̥bummo <i>n.</i>
sand hagl̥i <i>n.</i> ; tagla <i>n.</i>	section banii <i>n.</i>
sand block haglibii <i>n.</i>	section of Dacie g̥b̥ñ̥wale <i>nprop.</i> ; kuorubanii <i>nprop.</i> ; lobanii <i>nprop.</i> ; panbanii <i>nprop.</i> ; zinbanii <i>nprop.</i>
sandal nāñt̥oø <i>n.</i>	security guard w̥ot̥s̥imař <i>n.</i>
sandals (type of) nāñt̥osñ̥g̥ir̥ig̥isa <i>n.</i>	seed bii <i>n.</i> ; daan̥ð̥j̥ <i>n.</i>
sap n̥ip̥om̥ma <i>n.</i>	seedling duho <i>n.</i>
satisfied (be) piñ̥si <i>pl.v.</i>	seek buure <i>v.</i>
satisfy piñ̥a <i>v.</i>	seep out bulo <i>v.</i>
Saturday asibit̥i <i>n.</i>	self tintin <i>reflex.</i>
say (unable) mara <i>v.</i>	sell jogoli <i>v.</i>
scald foro <i>v.</i>	selling jogulii <i>n.</i>
scare ɔnsi <i>v.</i>	send t̥s̥ma <i>v.</i>
scaring ɔnsii <i>n.</i>	send message hele <i>v.</i>
scatter jaari <i>v.</i> ; lan̥se <i>pl.v.</i> ; pis̥i <i>v.</i>	senior brother bieri <i>n.</i>
scattered gat̥ig̥atr̥ <i>ideo.</i>	senior sibling kp̥iema <i>n.</i>
scent sñ̥ā <i>n.</i> ; sv̥ora <i>n.</i>	sense nah̥ñ̥e <i>n.</i> ; n̥ð̥ð̥ <i>v.</i>

separate laasi <i>v.</i>	shilling sulee <i>n.</i>
seriousness sisama <i>n.</i>	shine l <small>ı</small> <i>v.</i> ; nalsi <i>v.</i>
set up roofing structure d <small>e</small> wa <i>v.</i>	shirt takta <i>n.</i>
settle saja <i>v.</i>	shiver zigilii <i>v.</i>
settlement bia <i>n.</i> ; t <small>ɔ</small> s <i>n.</i>	shoe n <small>ä</small> at <small>ɔ</small> s <i>n.</i>
settlement (deserted) dabuo <i>n.</i>	shoe maker n <small>ä</small> at <small>ɔ</small> kv <small>ɔ</small> r <i>n.</i>
seven alk <small>p</small> e <i>num.</i>	shoes (pair) n <small>ä</small> at <small>ɔ</small> wa <i>n.</i>
seventeen fidalk <small>p</small> e <i>num.</i>	short boro <i>n.</i>
seventh month kpinit <u>su</u> <i>nprop.</i>	shoulder blade vaarper <i>n.</i>
sew ora <i>v.</i>	shoulder joint embeltfugul <i>n.</i>
sewing machine tiila <i>n.</i>	shout gbieli <i>v.</i> ; h <small>ü</small> usi <i>v.</i> ; t <small>ʃ</small> aasi <i>v.</i> ; uori <i>v.</i>
shade mounds pasi <i>v.</i>	shovel s <small>ə</small> b <small>ə</small> l <i>n.</i>
shake jege <i>v.</i> ; jegisi <i>pl.v.</i> ; zagali <i>v.</i> ; zagas <i>i</i> <i>v.</i> ; zigili <i>i</i> <i>v.</i>	show t <small>ʃ</small> agali <i>v.</i>
shake (make) ziige <i>v.</i>	show-off tanjkama <i>n.</i>
shake head viigi <i>v.</i>	shrine v <small>ə</small> g <i>n.</i>
shake up jerisi <i>v.</i>	shrine (Buge) kala <i>nprop.</i>
shallow tisii <i>n.</i>	shrine (Bulinga) safokala <i>nprop.</i>
shallow (be) tisi <i>v.</i>	shrine (Gurumbele) daab <small>ə</small> j-tolugu <i>nprop.</i>
share parage <i>v.</i> ; totii <i>n.</i> ; zuu <i>n.</i>	shrine (Holumuni) doga <i>nprop.</i>
sharp di <i>v.</i>	shrine (Sogola) k <small>ə</small> ol <small>ı</small> <i>nprop.</i>
shave f <small>ə</small> na <i>v.</i>	shrine owner v <small>ə</small> gtina <i>n.</i>
shaving knife f <small>ə</small> nj <i>n.</i>	shrink zvg <small>ə</small> si <i>v.</i>
she <i>o</i> <i>pro.</i> ; waa <i>pro.</i>	shrub (type of) gagati <i>n.</i> ; miimi <i>n.</i> ; munjuolie <i>n.</i>
shea butter n <small>ɔ</small> ñ <small>ɔ</small> <i>n.</i>	shy h <small>ü</small> sa <i>n.</i>
shea butter ball n <small>ɔ</small> ñ <small>ɔ</small> lgosii <i>n.</i>	sick w <small>ı</small> <i>v.</i> ; wiili <i>n.</i>
shea nut seed t <small>ʃ</small> uorj <i>n.</i>	sick (be) gereg <small>ə</small> <i>v.</i>
shed luore <i>v.</i>	sick or weak person d <small>ʒ</small> ergii <i>n.</i>
sheep piesii <i>n.</i>	sick person geregii <i>n.</i>
shell w <small>ɔ</small> ra <i>v.</i>	sickness gereg <small>ə</small> <i>n.</i> ; wiila <i>n.</i>
shell of palm nut kokobeg <i>n.</i>	sickness (type of) pumpulinjtfsi <i>n.</i> ; t <small>ɔ</small> ja <i>n.</i>
shift sideways bega <i>v.</i>	

snake

side loguj <i>n.</i> ; pe <i>n.</i>	sleeping place batʃvalii <i>n.</i>
sieve dziera <i>n.</i> ; tojsi <i>v.</i> ; tjesi <i>v.</i> ; tsoori <i>v.</i>	sleeping room dritʃvɔlli <i>n.</i>
sift tjesi <i>v.</i>	slender-tailed squirrel zisa <i>n.</i>
Sigmaa (day) dendilsigmaa <i>n.</i>	slimy ɔla <i>v.</i>
Sigmaa (night) tebinsigmaa <i>n.</i>	slip foosi <i>v.</i> ; saari <i>v.</i>
sign to come kamsi <i>v.</i>	slip of tongue (do) foti <i>v.</i>
signing bigise <i>n.</i>	slippery place sosolii <i>n.</i>
Sigu language sigu <i>nprop.</i>	slit drum voŋgolii <i>n.</i>
silence surum <i>n.</i>	slow (be) zugó <i>v.</i>
silo buu <i>n.</i>	slowly bõː̃ibõː̃i <i>ideo.</i>
similar (be) nãːni <i>v.</i>	smack pesi <i>v.</i>
sing buoli <i>v.</i>	small tama <i>n.</i> ; tilaa <i>adv.</i> ; wie <i>n.</i>
singe off kpøsi <i>v.</i>	small child hamɔwie <i>n.</i>
singer buolbuolo <i>n.</i>	small dried fish ammani <i>n.</i>
single teñten <i>n.</i>	small hoe pagbetii <i>n.</i> ; patila <i>n.</i> ; pawie <i>n.</i>
sip tsumo <i>v.</i>	small pieces of charcoal dandafɔlli <i>n.</i>
Sisaala person hɔlli <i>n.</i>	small stone brwie <i>n.</i>
sit dëla <i>v.</i>	small trap banʃɔowie <i>n.</i>
six aloro <i>num.</i>	small village tɔwie <i>n.</i>
six pence tøgøfa <i>n.</i>	small yam mound piipele <i>n.</i>
sixteen fidaloro <i>num.</i>	small-small tantama <i>adv.</i>
sixth day of a second funeral hɔɔrakaali <i>n.</i>	smash tʃama <i>v.</i>
sixth month kpinitʃumaanjkuna <i>nprop.</i>	smash (tuber) tʃɔrigi <i>v.</i>
skim off wɔcli <i>v.</i>	smeared zilimbil <i>n.</i>
skin batɔj <i>n.</i>	smock (type of) dansatfi <i>n.</i> ; dansatfi-wie <i>n.</i> ; tintaaraa <i>n.</i> ; togo <i>n.</i>
skip gara <i>v.</i>	smoke jɔː̃ā <i>v.</i> ; jɔː̃asa <i>n.</i>
sky kuosojuu <i>n.</i>	smooth logo <i>v.</i> ; solisi <i>v.</i> ; soloŋ-soloŋ <i>ideo.</i> ; vɔlɔŋvɔlɔŋ <i>ideo.</i>
slap pesi <i>v.</i>	snake haglikinj <i>n.</i>
slave joŋ <i>n.</i>	
sleep tʃva duo <i>v.</i>	

snake (type of) apää *n.*; bosa *n.*; brige *n.*; bødaas *n.*; dūuwie *n.*; dōgal *n.*; døkpeni *n.*; døymebummo *n.*; doymenj *n.*; doymeslama *n.*; dōð *n.*; køj *n.*; nigsie *n.*; pagimbii *n.*; som-pørlilese *n.*; suojdaawie *n.*

snake venom zięj *n.*

snatch mōna *v.*

sneak kɔri *v.*

sneeze kpisi *v.*

sniff in furusi *pl.v.*

snore kɔri *v.*

so kaa *conn.*

so be it ame *interj.*

soak pīi *v.*; sima *v.*

soak sand gbera *v.*

soap kɔwia *n.*

soft jøgɔsi *v.*

soft ground haglјøgsii *n.*

soft spot nupuusa *n.*

soften buti *v.*

Sogla (lect of) səgilii *n.*

soil haglii *n.*; tagla *n.*

soil (type of) haglibummo *n.*; haglmvgvøl *n.*; haglitfää *n.*

soldier sodza *n.*

sole of the foot nääpiel patʃigni *n.*

some banīš *quant.*

someone dzagalä *n.*

song buol *n.*

song tracks buolnää *n.*

soothsay prasi *v.*; vøga *v.*

soothsayer vøvøta *n.*

sore kinwilii *n.*; njij *n.*

soul døma *n.*

sound (alert) wilie *n.*

sound of the rooster kogolu-unjko ono *n.*

soup disa *n.*

soup (type of) footuo *n.*; kpääjnñidisa *n.*

soup ingredient dzumburo *n.*; fsl *n.*; kõntõj *n.*

sour pagee *n.*

south vøg *n.*

Southeast wind vøgtimuñpeu *n.*

sow dūū *v.*

soy bean bøñkpale *n.*

soya bean dish kpoguloo *n.*

space (little) dira *v.*

space between the eyebrows midaa *n.*

spark dijpaparee *n.*

spasm (throat) sinsige *n.*

spear tiŋ *n.*

species balss *n.*

specific wara *dem.*

speckled lagasi *pl.v.*

speech wiñmahä *n.*

spherical object kpulii *n.*

spider (type of) mɔñtuosii *n.*

spill biti *v.*

spin taari *v.*; vilimi *v.*

spine gantalbaanhok *n.*

spirit (type of) ηmaara *n.*

spiritual location of a section dugunj *n.*

straight (movement)

spiritual weapon lalaga <i>n.</i>	staple food (t.z.) kɔl <i>n.</i>
spit mɔtɪ <i>v.</i> ; pʊv <i>v.</i> ; tʃi <i>v.</i>	star wilɪ <i>n.</i>
spleen pɔntɔlɪ <i>n.</i>	starchy tufutufu <i>ideo.</i>
split up pɛgsɪ <i>v.</i>	stare filɪ <i>v.</i>
spoil tʃɔga <i>v.</i>	start piili <i>v.</i>
spoiled cassava leaf kpõŋkpõŋ-paatʃaktʃɔgɪ <i>n.</i>	stay long birgi <i>v.</i>
spoiled yam kpāñtʃɔgɪ <i>n.</i>	steal ɲmī̃ <i>v.</i>
sponge gbera <i>n.</i>	stealing ɲmī̃ɪ <i>n.</i>
spoon daazvəna <i>n.</i> ; tʃokoli <i>n.</i>	steering setia <i>n.</i>
spots (have) zwɔmɪ <i>v.</i>	stem borer caterpillar taantuni <i>n.</i>
spotted lagasi <i>pl.v.</i>	step on nasi <i>v.</i>
spotted grass-mouse gɔɔree <i>n.</i>	step-father jmhr̩ <i>n.</i> ; jmwie <i>n.</i>
sprain kpeñjē <i>v.</i>	step-mother māäh̩ <i>n.</i> ; māawie <i>n.</i>
spread loŋŋi <i>v.</i> ; peligi <i>v.</i> ; pisi <i>v.</i>	sternum bambileo <i>n.</i>
spring bulugo <i>n.</i>	stifle a laughter murisi <i>v.</i>
sprinkle misi <i>v.</i>	stingy nekpeg <i>n.</i> ; siitima <i>n.</i>
sprout tɔtɪ <i>v.</i>	stink sɔɔri <i>v.</i>
spy pigsi <i>v.</i>	stinky pɔ̃pɔ̃r̩ <i>ideo.</i>
square logumoanaase <i>n.</i>	stir fega <i>v.</i> ; kuosi <i>v.</i> ; tʃema <i>v.</i> ; vu-ugi <i>v.</i>
squashed (be) pɔntɪ <i>v.</i>	stirring stick fega <i>n.</i>
squat toguni <i>v.</i>	stomach pumpunima <i>n.</i>
squeeze ensɪ <i>v.</i>	stomach ache patʃgwilla <i>n.</i>
squirrel (type of) hele <i>n.</i>	stone bɪ <i>n.</i> ; bvi <i>n.</i>
stable gar <i>n.</i>	stone (stove) dəlembi <i>n.</i>
stagger geñene <i>v.</i>	stop gila <i>v.</i> ; peti <i>v.</i> ; teje <i>v.</i> ; tʃɪŋkej <i>v.</i>
stained kponjo <i>v.</i>	store sitɔ <i>n.</i>
stammer bɔmsɪ <i>v.</i>	story mɔr <i>n.</i>
stamp tigmi <i>v.</i>	stove (three-stone) dalibsa <i>n.</i>
stand tara <i>v.</i> ; tʃɪnja <i>v.</i>	stove (type of) kɔlpɔtɪ <i>n.</i>
stand against tele <i>v.</i> ; telegi <i>pl.v.</i>	straddle tʃara <i>v.</i>
staple food kvsʊ <i>n.</i>	straight deginii <i>n.</i>
	straight (movement) lerete <i>ideo.</i>

strain tjuori <i>n.</i>	sun wɔsa <i>n.</i>
stranger hõor <i>n.</i>	Sunday alilhaadi <i>n.</i>
straw hat kagba <i>n.</i>	support tiise <i>v.</i>
stream gɔŋwie <i>n.</i>	surpass kaali <i>v.</i>
strength fɔŋja <i>n.</i>	surprise kaabaako <i>interj.</i> ; kõõ v.; mamaatſi <i>interj.</i> ; oi <i>interj.</i>
stretch dənsi <i>v.</i> ; leŋsi <i>v.</i> ; tala <i>v.</i> ; tarage <i>pl.v.</i> ; tati <i>v.</i> ; tɔɔni <i>v.</i>	surprise (take by) piregi <i>v.</i>
stretching tɔɔnii <i>n.</i>	survive piti <i>v.</i>
strike fr̥ebi <i>v.</i>	suspect ãāni <i>v.</i>
strip fuori <i>v.</i> ; wɔra <i>v.</i>	suspend laga <i>v.</i> ; liemi <i>v.</i>
strip off sñli <i>v.</i>	swagger gaani <i>v.</i>
strong fɔŋatüma <i>n.</i>	swallow lile <i>v.</i> ; lilesi <i>pl.v.</i>
stubborn child biviei <i>n.</i>	swear ñmfësi <i>v.</i>
stubborness nukpeg <i>n.</i>	sweet lemii <i>n.</i> ; lerete <i>n.</i> ; loroto <i>ideo.</i>
stuck fɔra <i>v.</i>	sweet potato tube kaləmazul <i>n.</i>
student karaŋbie <i>n.</i>	swell ñti <i>pl.v.</i> ; ugo <i>v.</i>
study zigiti <i>v.</i>	swelling ba?ɔrii <i>n.</i> ; kinsɔŋ <i>n.</i> ; kpogo <i>n.</i>
stunt zugumi <i>v.</i>	swim tʃele ni <i>v.</i>
stupid (be) bugomi <i>v.</i> ; gëna <i>v.</i>	syphilis fññitſogo <i>n.</i>
stupidity bugunso <i>n.</i>	t.z. kɔs <i>n.</i>
stutter bømsi <i>v.</i>	table teebul <i>n.</i>
submerged (be) lime <i>v.</i>	taboo kii <i>n.</i> ; tʃiir <i>n.</i> ; wɔsatſii <i>n.</i>
substance (type of thick) ise <i>n.</i>	tail munjaŋ <i>n.</i> ; zir <i>n.</i>
suck mɔgvsı <i>v.</i> ; ɔsi <i>v.</i>	take gbiasi <i>pl.v.</i> ; kpaga <i>v.</i>
suck in tʃuuse <i>v.</i>	take (food) kiini <i>v.</i>
suddenly baarj tam.	take (grains) jaa <i>v.</i>
suffering ãānuuba <i>n.</i> ; nuui <i>n.</i> ; sigii <i>n.</i>	take (leaves) tʃierri <i>v.</i>
sugar sikiri <i>n.</i>	take care dɔ tɔɔ cpx.v.; ila <i>v.</i>
sugar cane kakaõõ <i>n.</i>	take care (child) dresi <i>v.</i>
suicide daasiiga <i>n.</i> ; zvɔ mara cpx.v.	take excessively kūū <i>v.</i>
summon wɔsi <i>v.</i>	take meat nierri <i>v.</i>
	take mud po <i>v.</i>
	take off torjo <i>v.</i>

Thursday

take off (meat) fōrv <i>v.</i>	then aka <i>conn.</i>
take off the top daari <i>v.</i>	there de <i>adv.</i>
take pity simisi <i>v.</i>	therefore apuuni <i>conn.</i> ; awie <i>conn.</i>
talisman sewa <i>n.</i>	they (hum+) ba <i>pro.</i> ; bawa <i>pro.</i>
taste lagale <i>v.</i> ; lema na <i>v.</i> ; lemsi <i>pl.v.</i> ; taga <i>v.</i>	they (hum-) a <i>pro.</i> ; awaa <i>pro.</i>
tasteless bula <i>v.</i>	thick gbvja <i>v.</i>
tattoo tʃaktʃak <i>n.</i>	thick (be) kɔsɪ <i>v.</i>
tax lompoo <i>n.</i>	thief ɻmī̄r <i>n.</i>
teach tʃagali <i>v.</i>	thigh nā̄pēgii <i>n.</i>
teacher karima <i>n.</i> ; tʃitsa <i>n.</i>	thin badaawise <i>n.</i> ; kɔja <i>v.</i> ; lewalewa <i>ideo.</i> ; puoli <i>v.</i>
tear pñli <i>v.</i> ; siinii <i>n.</i>	thing km <i>n.</i>
tear apart krasɪ <i>v.</i>	think liisi <i>v.</i>
teasing sia <i>n.</i>	third day of second funeral sim- bötii <i>n.</i>
telephone foon <i>n.</i>	third month dumba <i>nprop.</i>
telephone line foonjmen <i>n.</i>	thirst nijøksa <i>n.</i>
tell puoti <i>v.</i> ; tʃagali <i>v.</i>	thirteen fidatoro <i>num.</i>
temper baaj <i>n.</i>	this nj <i>adv.</i>
ten fi <i>num.</i>	thorny spear grass kumpii <i>n.</i>
tenth month tʃiñsuju <i>nprop.</i>	thought liise <i>n.</i>
termite (type of) tʃaw <i>n.</i> ; tʃobiel <i>n.</i> ; tʃobwl <i>n.</i>	thousand tusu <i>num.</i>
termite hill tʃokɔŋa <i>n.</i>	thread tõõ <i>v.</i>
test teesi <i>n.</i>	thread holder gunðaabii <i>n.</i> ; ɻme- daa <i>n.</i>
testicle luro <i>n.</i> ; lurobii <i>n.</i>	three atoro <i>num.</i>
texture (type of) nɔgvol <i>n.</i> ; tu- futufu <i>ideo.</i>	three pence sɔmpva <i>n.</i>
thanks ansa <i>interj.</i>	throat lile <i>n.</i>
that awa <i>pro.</i>	throat (opening) lilebwa <i>n.</i>
that day awszswri <i>adv.</i>	throb lugusi <i>v.</i> ; wusi <i>v.</i>
the a <i>art.</i> ; tñj <i>art.</i>	thrush nñhök <i>n.</i>
theft ɻmī̄e <i>n.</i>	thumb nebikaŋkawal <i>n.</i>
	thunder nasie <i>n.</i>
	Thursday alamvssa <i>n.</i>

tibia näägbajahok <i>n.</i>	tooth (front) þirvaa <i>n.</i>
tick kpagal <i>n.</i>	tooth of a comb t̄saasajŋ <i>n.</i>
ticket tigiti <i>n.</i>	toothache kaka <i>n.</i>
tie in packages fōti <i>v.</i>	top of þuu <i>n.</i>
tigernuts muhiē <i>n.</i>	top of the foot nääpiel gantal <i>n.</i>
tight t̄siri <i>v.</i>	topic baŋmalin <i>n.</i>
tight (be) faamí <i>v.</i>	torn t̄vɔrri <i>v.</i>
tighten t̄vori <i>v.</i>	tortoise kpakpuro <i>n.</i>
Tiisa (lect of) tiisali <i>n.</i>	totally not fio <i>interj.</i>
tilt kulo <i>v.</i>	touch biligi <i>v.</i> ; gbansi <i>v.</i> ; laari <i>v.</i>
time gbeliŋ <i>n.</i> ; saja <i>n.</i> ; wɔgati <i>n.</i>	tough kūjsūŋ <i>n.</i>
tin koŋkɔŋ <i>n.</i>	town t̄zeŋ <i>n.</i>
tipped (be) keŋe <i>v.</i>	trade di jawa <i>v.</i>
tire kɔba <i>n.</i>	trade for t̄sera <i>v.</i>
tired kõř <i>n.</i>	tradition ləsiriije <i>n.</i>
tired (be) biełi <i>v.</i>	trail kpāni <i>v.</i>
tiredness kõõsa <i>n.</i>	transform birgi <i>v.</i>
tobacco t̄owa <i>n.</i>	trap baŋʃɔ <i>n.</i>
tobacco (ground) t̄ussav <i>n.</i>	trap steam wiisi <i>v.</i>
tobacco container t̄ukpurgii <i>n.</i>	treat tiime <i>v.</i>
tobacco leaf t̄ospaatſaga <i>n.</i>	tree (type of) anbulun <i>n.</i> ; badžegvbagena <i>n.</i> ; bel <i>n.</i> ; beŋ <i>n.</i> ; bñbøg <i>n.</i> ; bombosɔɔrri <i>n.</i> ; bulo <i>n.</i> ; daasiama <i>n.</i> ; daas̄ta <i>n.</i> ; fɔfɔggee <i>n.</i> ; fɔfɔl <i>n.</i> ; goŋo <i>n.</i> ; goŋtoga <i>n.</i> ; gbel <i>n.</i> ; gbřākɔl <i>n.</i> ; gbřātii <i>n.</i> ; gboŋ <i>n.</i> ; hambak <i>n.</i> ; hol <i>n.</i> ; kaakie <i>n.</i> ; katſal <i>n.</i> ; kuolie <i>n.</i> ; kʊrvgbāŋv <i>n.</i> ; kpoluŋkpoo <i>n.</i> ; lonpoglii <i>n.</i> ; naasaargbesa <i>n.</i> ; nakeliŋ <i>n.</i> ; nakodol <i>n.</i> ; nakpagtii <i>n.</i> ; naparapirri <i>n.</i> ; nasol <i>n.</i> ; nokun <i>n.</i> ; paamāä <i>n.</i> ; pitijanja <i>n.</i> ; pitisiolo <i>n.</i> ; ponjpoglii <i>n.</i> ; ponjpogo <i>n.</i> ; priŋ <i>n.</i>
today zaarj <i>adv.</i>	
toe nääbii <i>n.</i>	
togo hare t̄uomo <i>n.</i>	
tomato kalie <i>n.</i> ; t̄selii <i>n.</i>	
tomorrow t̄si tam.	
tongs t̄saŋ <i>n.</i>	
tongue nɔzvloŋ <i>n.</i>	
too gba quant.; ko <i>adv.</i>	
tool (type of) sampil <i>n.</i>	
tooth þirj <i>n.</i>	
tooth (back) þimtielii <i>n.</i>	

- saŋkpantuluŋ n.; sŋkpilŋ n.;
sŋtʃaʊ̯ n.; sisia n.; sokie n.;
sɔ̯bummo n.; sɔ̯koro n.; sɔ̯siama n.;
sɔ̯ta n.; suoŋ n.; suoŋbeŋa n.; sog n.;
tii n.; tolii n.; tomo n.; tʃoŋgolii n.;
waaliŋzaŋ n.; zahulii n.; zɔ̯gsii n.
- tree gum tʃel n.
- tree hole daalor n.
- tree root daaluto n.
- tree scar daakpuogii n.
- tree stump daakputii n.
- trickster daaware n.
- trip garisi v.
- trouble dama v.; tɔ̯ora n.
- trousers kuruso n.; pata n.;
tradža n.
- true dn̩ŋ n.
- truth wɪdŋ n.
- truthful bidiŋ n.
- truthful person nɪdŋ n.
- try harıgi v.
- try to solve bila v.
- tsetse fly kırıma n.; nagav n.
- tube tupu n.
- tuber zɔ̯l n.
- tuberculosis tʃasizer n.
- Tuesday atalata n.
- tumble bilinsi v.
- Tuosa (lect of) tɔ̯osalı n.
- Tuosa village tɔ̯saa nprop.
- turkey kolokolo n.
- turn back bira v.
- turn into bırgı v.
- turn upside down tfigesi pl.v.
- turning mɪlimi n.
- turtle buter n.
- twelfth month duju nprop.
- twelve fidalia num.
- twenty matseo num.
- twins džiensa n.
- twist ensi v.
- two alie num.
- two Ghana Pesewas bɔ̯ɔ̯tia n.
- type irii n.
- ulcer nawal n.
- ulcers naawal n.
- umbilical cord ulzsa n.
- unable (be) gbeti v.; kusi v.
- unable to sleep sii bara n.
- unbeliever kaafra n.
- under muŋ n.
- undergarment bɔ̯ɔ̯bı n.
- underpants pırtɔ̯ n.
- undigested (be) gere v.
- uneven (be) kegeme v.
- uneven skin saŋkpazigil n.
- unexpectedly dzaa adv.
- unexperienced with men su hääŋ v.
- ungrateful vɪɛziŋtʃia n.
- unhygienic sakɔ̯si n.
- unhygienic person dojotuna n.
- unless foo conn.
- unreliable tʃɔ̯kmı n.
- unreserved nɔ̯äpɔ̯amma adj.
- unriped gal n.
- unsure sige n.

untamed wegimi <i>v.</i>	wait tʃalasi <i>v.</i>
untie puro <i>v.</i>	wake up lala <i>v.</i>
untrusty person nibukamboro <i>n.</i>	walk vala <i>v.</i>
upon this deni <i>adv.</i>	walk (way of) menjř <i>v.</i>
uproot tʃuti <i>v.</i>	walking stick daŋkpala <i>n.</i>
urinate fii <i>v.</i>	wall zii <i>n.</i>
urine fiiñii <i>n.</i>	want ɿma <i>v.</i>
used to mɔna <i>v.</i>	war lal <i>n.</i>
usually jaa tam.	warm up moderately neesi <i>v.</i>
vacant woo <i>v.</i>	warn kpaasi <i>v.</i>
vagina mɔr <i>n.</i>	warthog teu <i>n.</i>
Vagla person vɔgla <i>n.</i>	warthog ivory teukanj <i>n.</i>
valley falñbwa <i>n.</i>	wash belge <i>v.</i> ; sama <i>v.</i> ; sisí <i>v.</i>
valuable (be) jugo <i>v.</i>	washer tʃagtʃagasa <i>n.</i>
valuable thing kiŋdiŋ <i>n.</i>	wasp (type of) kaleŋgbvugtu n.; kiriñ <i>n.</i> ; tʃiriñ <i>n.</i> ; vɔlɔŋvɔɔ <i>n.</i>
vanish sogoli <i>v.</i>	wasp nest kiriñsaal <i>n.</i>
vehicle lɔɔl <i>n.</i>	water nii <i>n.</i>
veil lambaraga <i>n.</i>	water (fermented) niŋnagan <i>n.</i>
vein pol <i>n.</i>	water (potable) niñðâlii <i>n.</i>
very jerete <i>ints.</i> ; jiriti <i>ints.</i> ; ju-lullu <i>ints.</i> ; kpaŋkpaj <i>ints.</i> ; peu-peu <i>ints.</i> ; tʃuitʃui <i>ints.</i> ; wara <i>dem.</i>	water seller niŋjogulo <i>n.</i>
village tɔɔ <i>n.</i>	water Yam kpäññii <i>n.</i> ; sieribile <i>n.</i>
village's center tɔɔsii <i>n.</i>	waterbuck zɔɔ <i>n.</i>
visual pattern tʃaratšara <i>ideo.</i>	way lugo <i>n.</i>
vomit trasí <i>v.</i> ; trasie <i>n.</i> ; ugo <i>v.</i>	we ja <i>pro.</i> ; jawa <i>pro.</i>
vomit (bile) sɔnlɔk <i>n.</i>	weak jɔɔri <i>v.</i> ; kɔnti <i>v.</i>
Wa (language) waali <i>n.</i>	weak (be) biele <i>v.</i> ; kɔɔle <i>v.</i>
Wa (person from) waalii <i>n.</i>	weak (become) twɔvsi <i>v.</i>
Wa town waa <i>nprop.</i>	weak person niŋɔŋ <i>n.</i>
waist tʃera <i>n.</i>	weakling zɔŋ <i>n.</i>
waist beads tʃerakŋ <i>n.</i>	wear vɔwa <i>v.</i>
	weather (cold) war <i>n.</i>

weather (type of) zuu <i>n.</i>	whole birm̄ <i>n.</i> ; kmbirm̄ <i>n.</i>
weave p̄era <i>v.</i> ; s̄ā <i>v.</i>	wicked act piñājā <i>n.</i>
weaver garsōr <i>n.</i> ; s̄āsōr <i>n.</i>	wickedness piñanja <i>n.</i> ; patſigihāā <i>n.</i>
weaver's worksop k̄ōree <i>n.</i>	wide penii <i>n.</i>
Wednesday alarba <i>n.</i>	wide (make) peuli <i>v.</i> ; p̄ani <i>v.</i>
weed gana <i>v.</i> ; paasi <i>v.</i> ; para <i>v.</i>	widow hanzoŋ <i>n.</i> ; luhāāŋ <i>n.</i>
weep wii <i>v.</i>	widower buzoŋ <i>n.</i> ; lubaal <i>n.</i>
weevil tʃ̄ogii <i>n.</i>	wild wegimi <i>v.</i>
well k̄olōŋ <i>n.</i> ; vil <i>n.</i>	wild cat (type of) am̄sn̄ <i>n.</i>
well (do) mara <i>v.</i>	Wild dog bele <i>n.</i>
west tiijuu <i>n.</i>	wild yam (type of) b̄okpāāŋ <i>n.</i>
wet s̄ōoni <i>v.</i>	will kaa <i>tam.</i> ; wa <i>tam.</i>
what baaj <i>interrog.</i> ; jm̄iē <i>interrog.</i>	wind gaari <i>v.</i> ; peu <i>n.</i>
wheel t̄setse <i>n.</i>	window dianđāb̄swie <i>n.</i> ; tokoro <i>n.</i>
when d̄i <i>conn.</i> ; saja wej <i>interrog.</i>	wing embeli <i>n.</i> ; s̄iebii <i>n.</i>
where about kaa <i>interrog.</i>	winnow peusi <i>v.</i> ; t̄ſare <i>v.</i>
which wej <i>interrog.</i>	wipe fisi <i>v.</i>
while d̄i <i>conn.</i>	wise person naržinna <i>n.</i>
whip fr̄eb̄i <i>v.</i> ; kpaasa <i>n.</i>	witch hil <i>n.</i>
whip (type of) t̄agbariga <i>n.</i>	witchcraft hita <i>n.</i>
whirlwind kaleŋyilime <i>n.</i>	witchweed kirimamampusa <i>n.</i>
whisper misi <i>v.</i>	with ani <i>conn.</i> ; pe <i>n.</i>
whistle fuoli <i>v.</i> ; fuolo <i>n.</i>	withdraw lugo <i>v.</i>
white p̄amma <i>n.</i>	wither loori <i>v.</i>
white (be) p̄ola <i>v.</i> ; ts̄la <i>v.</i>	witness sierie <i>n.</i>
white bean sigap̄amma <i>n.</i>	Wojo wojo <i>nprop.</i>
white bean leaf s̄ōsa <i>n.</i>	woman hāāŋ <i>n.</i> ; nīhāāŋ <i>n.</i>
white cassava kpōŋkpōŋp̄amma <i>n.</i>	woman (old) hāhīē <i>n.</i>
white paint fs̄ā <i>n.</i>	woman (white) nasarhāāŋ <i>n.</i>
White thorn s̄op̄amma <i>n.</i>	woman rival handoŋ <i>n.</i>
white-tailed mongoose bilii <i>n.</i>	wonderful kperii <i>n.</i> ; jāsii <i>n.</i>
who aŋ <i>interrog.</i>	wonderful (be) kpere <i>v.</i>
	wonderful person nībuŋāsii <i>n.</i>

wooden board	daapelempε <i>n.</i>	yam coat peel kpāñjpetri <i>n.</i>
wooden comb	tſaasadaa <i>n.</i>	yam field (state) pikete <i>n.</i>
wooden spoon	leheε <i>n.</i>	yam flesh kpāñnugul <i>n.</i>
word	wiŋmahā <i>n.</i>	yam harvest wou <i>n.</i>
work	tſoma <i>n.</i>	yam hut kpāñjlaꝝ <i>n.</i>
work (badly done)	tuntſunsa <i>n.</i>	yam mound pii <i>n.</i>
work leather	zaawī <i>v.</i>	yam mound (part) piimisa <i>n.</i>
work relation (type of)	zvudč̄ja <i>n.</i>	yam mound row pitʃ̄j <i>n.</i>
workers (farm)	parasa <i>pl.n.</i>	yam seedlings kpaŋduho <i>n.</i>
world	dvn̄ā <i>n.</i>	yam stem kpāñsii <i>n.</i>
worm (type of)	dvnsi <i>n.</i> ; nandala <i>n.</i> ; neŋaaŋ <i>n.</i>	yawn hāsi <i>v.</i>
worn out	zagali <i>v.</i>	yaws saŋberem̄a <i>n.</i>
worries	dimii <i>n.</i>	year bma <i>n.</i>
worse (be)	ŋaŋŋi <i>v.</i>	yeast bura <i>n.</i>
would	fi <i>tam.</i>	yellow svlsav <i>n.</i>
wound	daŋi <i>n.</i>	yellow fever zagaňi <i>n.</i>
woven mat	merekete <i>n.</i>	yes ɛɛ <i>interj.</i>
wrap	fɔwa <i>v.</i>	yesterday dr <i>tam.</i> ; drare <i>n.</i>
wrestle	l̄gga <i>v.</i>	yet ha <i>tam.</i> ; haal̄i <i>conn.</i>
wrinkle	ŋmiire <i>v.</i>	yield laa <i>v.</i>
wrinkled (be)	ziumi <i>v.</i>	you hiŋ <i>pro.</i> ; i <i>pro.</i>
wrist	netſug <i>n.</i>	you (pl.) ma <i>pro.</i> ; mawa <i>pro.</i>
write	sewa <i>v.</i>	young wie <i>n.</i>
wrong doing	potii <i>n.</i>	young boy binibaal <i>n.</i>
yam	kpāñj <i>n.</i> ; pii <i>n.</i>	young girl binihāñj <i>n.</i> ; nihāwie <i>n.</i> ; tulorwie <i>n.</i>
yam (cooked)	kpaambiln̄ <i>n.</i>	young goat bɔɔŋbie <i>n.</i>
yam (new)	kpāñjfɔln̄ <i>n.</i>	young man bipɔln̄ <i>n.</i>
yam (type of)	beso <i>n.</i> ; gutugu <i>n.</i> ; kpamamuro <i>n.</i> ; kpasadžo <i>n.</i> ; kponno <i>n.</i> ; laabakɔ <i>n.</i> ; mankir <i>n.</i> ; sin̄geta <i>n.</i> ; tigla <i>n.</i> ; wɔsina <i>n.</i>	zeal baharega <i>n.</i>
		zinc plate tſensi <i>n.</i>

Part III

Grammatical Outlines

??

2 Phonology Outline

2.1 Introduction

This section presents a brief outline of Chakali phonology. An inventory of phonetic and phonemic vowels and consonants, the syllable structures, the phonotactics 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^hæʔ]* ‘cat’. The former is an abstraction, while the latter represents a perceived 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. All abbreviations are listed on page vii. The parts of speech of Chakali expressions are provided: 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.¹

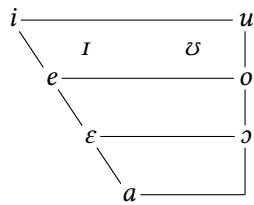
2.2 Segmental Phonemes Inventory

The goal is to identify the segmental phonemes of Chakali and their contrasts by determining the phonetic properties in minimal contexts of speech sound patterns. Some near-minimal pairs may appear, but the majority of the evidence provided is based on minimal pairs. The vowels are examined first, followed by the consonants. The set of (articulatory) features proposed in Ladefoged 2007 is assumed.

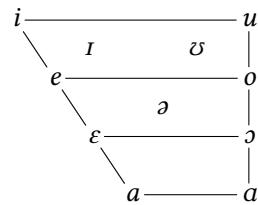
¹ I should thank the software Dekereke (<http://casali.canil.ca/>) and its author Rod Casali for their help.

2.2.1 Vowels

Chakali is treated as a language with nine underlying vowels and eleven surface vowels. They are presented in Figure 2.1 in vowel diagrams. The surface vowels [a] and [ə] are discussed at the end of this section.



(a) Vowel Phonemes



(b) Surface Vowels

Figure 2.1: *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, backness 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 feature. The tongue root distinction, often identified either as a tense and lax distinction, or as a close and open one, 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 2.1 with the features HI and LO, and the feature values + and -.

2.2.1.0.1 Close front unrounded *i* The vowel [i] is perceived as front, unrounded, high and tense.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	zíŋ	tail	n
	záŋ	rest area	n
	bíí	seed	n
	bíé	child	n
RO	díl	inhabitant	n
	dúl	right (side)	n
	kísí	pray	v
	kùsí	unable	v
ATR	jíŋ	sore	n
	jíŋ	tooth	n
	dí	eat	v
	dí	if	conn

2.2.1.0.2 Near close near front unrounded *i* The vowel [ɪ] is perceived as front, unrounded, high and lax.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	míŋ	I	1.sg.st
	mèŋ	dew	n
	híl:	witch	n
	hál	egg	n
RO	níŋ	this	adv
	nòŋ	hot	v
	tʃíŋá	standing	n
	tʃòŋà	carry load	v
ATR	tíŋ	the	art
	tíŋ	spear head	n
	zíŋ	bat	n
	zíŋ	tail	n

2.2.1.0.3 Close-mid front unrounded e The vowel [e] is perceived as front, unrounded, mid and tense.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	bèlè	Wild dog	n
	bilè	put down	v
	péñ	penis	n
	pán	molar	n
RO	zéj	big	v
	zón	insult	n
	pél	roofing beam	n
	pól	vein	n
ATR	béj	law	n
	bén	type of tree	n

2.2.1.0.4 Open mid front unrounded ε The vowel [ε] is perceived as front, unrounded, mid and lax.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	tʃérà	exchange	n
	tʃárà	bartor	v
	mèj	dew	n
	míñ	I	1.sg.st
RO	mèj	dew	n
	móñ	vagina	n
	pé	add	v
	pò	protect	v
ATR	pé	end	n
	pé	add	v

2.2.1.0.5 Close-mid back rounded o The vowel [o] is perceived as 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	pó	collect	v
	pé	end	n
	pól	pond	n
	pél	roofing support	n
ATR	kónj	Kapok tree	n
	kóŋ	cobra	n
	hól	type of tree	n
	hól	charcoal	n

2.2.1.0.6 Open-mid back rounded œ The vowel [œ] is perceived as back, rounded, mid and lax.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	pò	protect	v
	pó	spit	v
	mó	clay work	v
	má	you, yours	2.pl.wk
RO	ból	oblong shape	v
	běl	type of tree	n
	táhíé	midnight	n
	těhíé	oribi	n
ATR	pò	protect	v
	pó	collect	v
	dónj	dirty	v
	dóŋ	enemy	n

2.2.1.0.7 Close back rounded *u* The vowel [u] is perceived as 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
	zól	tuber	n
	pú	cover	v
	pó	spit	v

2.2.1.0.8 Near close near back rounded *v* The vowel [v] is perceived as back, rounded, high and lax.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	vóg	small god	n
	vòg	south	n
	lólíí	giving birth	n
	lálíí	corpse	n
RO	mósí	rain	v
	mísí	sprinkle	v
	nèn̥j	hot	v
	nìn̥j	this	adv
ATR	sóó	front	n
	sú	fill	v
	zól	tuber	n
	zúl	millet	n

2.2.1.0.9 Open front unrounded *a* The vowel [a] is unrounded and low.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
e	gář gér	stable lizard	n n
ɛ	para pèrà	farm type of hair dressing	v v
i	záŋ zíŋ	rest area tail	n n
I	ná ní	see on	v postp
o	hál hól	egg type of tree	n v
ɔ	tàwà tòwà	inject tobacco	v n
u	pán̥ pún̥	molar feather	n n
ʊ	bár bór	chance dust	n 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.² In Rowland & Rowland (1965: 15) the chart of Sisaala phonemes gives one [LOW, 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,

² ‘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.

2 Phonology Outline

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/ represent a [LOW, -ATR, CENTRAL] vowel and /ʌ/ a [LOW, +ATR, CENTRAL] vowel.³ 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).

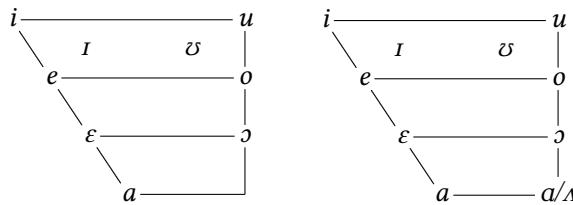


Figure 2.2: 9- vs. 10-vowel inventory in some Southwestern Grusi languages

Even though Manessy 1979 reconstructs a 7-vowel inventory for Proto-Central Gur, the phonological inventories appearing in Figure 2.2 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, ɛ, ɔ} contain high and non-high vowels, and as a rule, vowels agree in ATR value in a non-complex stem word domain. The topic is discussed in Section 2.4.2, but for now let us say that a non-complex stem word cannot carry two vowels of different ATR sets, that is, [lʊpe] is possible (it means ‘seven’) but *[lɪpe], *[lɛpe] *[lɔpe] and *[ləpe] are ungrammatical strings.

Apart from the nine vowels presented above, the surface vowels [ɑ] and [ə] are discerned only in particular environment. The low vowel [ɑ] is a free variant of [a] in the speech of some individuals. If [a] and [ɑ] are found in one speaker’s speech, the former is perceived as if it was produced with the tongue further

³ 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, she could not confirm that /a/ and /ʌ/ were different sounds based on the word list provided. This contrast needs to be verified and better motivated, although dialect difference could account for this.

back in the mouth. In addition the vowel [a] is often found following the -ATR vowels (i.e. *i*, *ɛ*, *ɔ*, *ʊ*). Despite the fact that vowel harmony predicts a lax version of /a/ in some environment, it is hard for us to establish a distinction between [a] and [ə]. Yet, there is evidence which shows that Chakali should be considered to have only one phonemic low vowel.⁴ And, as written in the description of the noun class system (Section 3.3.2.1), 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 environment and is never a part of the underlying form (see Section 2.3). Thus both [a] and [ə] are treated as phonetic vowels. Table 2.1 displays the set of features which determines the nine vowel phonemes.

Table 2.1: *Vowel inventory and distinctive features bundles*

IPA	features
<i>i</i>	[+ATR, +HI, -LO, -RO]
<i>I</i>	[-ATR, +HI, -LO, -RO]
<i>e</i>	[+ATR, -HI, -LO, -RO]
<i>ɛ</i>	[-ATR, -HI, -LO, -RO]
<i>o</i>	[+ATR, -HI, -LO, +RO]
<i>ɔ</i>	[-ATR, -HI, -LO, +RO]
<i>u</i>	[+ATR, +HI, -LO, +RO]
<i>ʊ</i>	[-ATR, +HI, -LO, +RO]
<i>a</i>	[-ATR, -HI, +LO, -RO]

2.2.1.0.10 Nasal vowels Any vowel has 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 2.2.

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

⁴ An experiment was designed where, first, all CV and CVV words whose Vs were perceived as low vowels were identified and recorded. Three men and three women uttered twenty five words each, giving a total of 150 tokens. A cluster analysis was carried out based on the F1 and F2 values. For each individual, for two sex-based groups and for the entire group, there was no clear separation between two distinct sound/meaning clusters. Therefore it was concluded that Chakali does not have two low vowels. To show that this procedure is a reliable one, one would need to carry out the same procedure on other vowels.

Table 2.2: *Nasal vowels*

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
ẽ	héhésè sàpùhié kàlèŋbíléŋéè	announcer pouched rat adjuster	n n n
ɛ	héŋ tʃɛ̄i jé̄sà	arrow attractiveness malnourished child	n n n
ĩ	hīi mīi záyáfīi	hind leg gun front sight jaundice	n n n
ĩ	fí̄i fí̄i pí̄	type of fish urinate be fed up	n v v
õ	mõŋgò kpõŋkpõŋ	mango (ultm. Eng.) cassava	n n
ɔ	nå̄ɔ̄ áŋɔ̄ hå̄ɔ̄	cow five type of grasshopper	n num n
ü	dù̄ǖ fú̄ǖ fūǖ	sow burning burn	v n v
ɔ̄	bȭt̄iŋ̄ dȭɔ̄ kȭɔ̄	goat type of snake tire	n n v
ã	?á̄á̄ bá̄á̄ sá̄á̄	bushbuck type of lizard carve	n n v

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 *fåå* ‘ancient’ / *fåå* ‘by

force', *fi* 'preverb particle' / *fif* 'type of fish', *zvə* 'enter' / *zvəð* 'laziness' and *tùù* 'go down' / *túú* 'honey' show that nasal and oral vowels do contrast.

2.2.1.1 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.

2.2.1.1.1 Vowel length The fourth column of Table 2.3 gives the CV-form of selected words. Judging from this data, which consists of (near-) minimal pairs, a difference in vowel length can change the meaning of a word. In fact, as we will see in Section 3.4.2, there are in addition slight differences in meaning when some preverb particles are lengthened.

Table 2.3: *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
wà	3.sg.s.	pro	CV	179
wáá	Wa town	propn	CVV	251
tá	away	v	CV	142
táá	language	n	CVV	227
láá	collect	v	CVV	203
la	foc	foc	CV	123
kpáá	type of dance	n	CVV	255
kpà	take	v	CV	139
máá	mother	n	CVV	202
má	2.pl.w	pro	CV	170
ná	see	v	CV	102
náá	leg	n	CVV	233

Evidence from syllable structures (Section 2.3.1.1) shows that noun words in the language cannot have a CV surface form, whereas verbs can. Still, many noun roots are of the type CV. It was impossible to find two different verbs with exactly the same consonant and vowel quality but differing in length. The following sections present evidence for two types of vowel-vowel sequence in the language.

2.2.1.1.2 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 2.4 provides some attested cases of V_iV_i sequence.

The V_iV_i sequences can also surface nasalized, except for the [-RO, -LO, -HI] vowels: only one instance of $\tilde{e}\tilde{e}$ (i.e. *kàlèŋbíléŋjèè* ‘support’) and one instance of $\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\epsilon}$ (i.e. interjection $\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\epsilon}$ ‘yes’). The vowel sequences in Table 2.4 can either be treated as cases of long vowels or as a sequence of two short vowels, a decision which would rely on a morphophonemic analysis of the given sequence. The two underlying structures assumed are presented in (1).

- (1) a. $V_i]-V_i$: a morpheme boundary intervenes
 $mí]í > míí$ ‘ginea corn’, pl. $míá$ (CLASS 4, Section 3.3.2.1.4)
 $lehe]é > léhéé$ ‘cheek’, pl. $lèhèsá$ (CLASS 1, Section 3.3.2.1.1)
- b. V_iV_i : no morpheme boundary intervenes
 $púù$ ‘head’, pl. $púúnò$ (CLASS 5, Section 3.3.2.1.5)
 $bóðø$ ‘goat’, pl. $bóðnà$ (CLASS 3, Section 3.3.2.1.3)

2.2.1.1.3 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.⁵

Similar to the V_iV_i vowel sequences, the V_iV_j sequences in Table 2.5 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 nominalizer suffix -[+HI, -RO] (e.g. *tɔ v.* ‘cover’ > *tói n.* ‘covering’), and the verbal assertive suffix -[+HI, +RO] (e.g. *jele v.* ‘bloom’ > *jéléù v.* ‘bloom.FOC’). 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

⁵ An analytical option could treat them as the set of glide consonants {j, w}. The notion of ‘suspect sequences’ was coined by GILLBT/GIL fieldworkers when faced with transcription alternatives involving the segments {i, u, ɪ, ʊ} (Bergman, Gray & Gray (1969: 4), Toupin (1995: 8), among others). 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. Or ‘arrow’ could be transcribed as *tuo*, *tʷo* or *tuwo*. My decision is purely based on the impression of consultants who do not favor 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.

Table 2.4: V_iV_i sequence

V_iV_i	Gloss	PoS	V_iV_i	Gloss	PoS
<i>aa</i>			<i>ãã</i>		
váà	dog	n	fáà	draw milk from	v
táál	cloud	n	jáá	poverty	n
tàá	language	n	sáá	axe	n
bááŋ	temper, anger	n	tjáá	broom	n
<i>ii</i>			<i>íí</i>		
wíi	sick (be)	v	fííñíí	harassment	n
?áríí	grasscutter	n	míí	guinea corn	n
fií	would	tam	fií	urinate	v
bií	stone	n	tjííñj	ankle-rattles	n
<i>ee</i>			<i>oo</i>		
léhéé	cheek	n	bóóbí	undergarment	n
sómpóréé	type of frog	n	lóólí	car	n
wátʃéhéé	type of mongoose	n	bántʃóó	trap	n
?álééfó	type of leaf	n			
<i>us</i>			<i>öö</i>		
fòòsí	blow	v	bóóñj	goat	n
jòó	rainy season	n	dóó	python	n
jòó	marry	v	fóó	lower back	n
tjóórí	torn	v	nóó	shea butter	n
<i>ii</i>			<i>íí</i>		
bàmbíí	chest	n	íí	push	v
pièsíí	sheep	n	hií	bad	excl
píí	yam mound	n	mií	gun front sight	n
tiísí	grind roughly	v	záyáfíí	jaundice	n
<i>ee</i>			<i>oo</i>		
dèmbélèè	fowl house	n	tjòòrí	sieve tree	v
zànzápúrèè	type of bat	n	lòótó	intestine	n
zóngoréé	mosquito	n	mùsóóró	clove	n
téébùl	table (ultm. Eng.)	n	kpógúlóò	soya bean dish	n
<i>uu</i>			<i>üü</i>		
bùú	silo	n	sùú	guinea fowl	n
púúrí	reduce	v	túú	honey	n
púú	head	n	?úú	bury	v
tùú	go down	v	dúú	sow	v

Table 2.5: $V_i V_j$ sequence

$V_i V_j$	Gloss	PoS	$V_i V_j$	Gloss	PoS
<i>ui</i>			<i>ui</i>		
bóí	stone	n	múfúí	exclamation	ideo
póí	spitting	n	súí	being full	n
<i>uo</i>			<i>uo</i>		
sòrà	scent	n	bùól	song	n
lòrnj	animal chest hair	n	túo	bow	n
<i>va</i>					
tʃòà	lie	v			
dòà	be in/at/on	v			
<i>ie</i>			<i>ie</i>		
álìè	two	num	bíé	child	n
kìè	collect contribution	v	fiél	type of grass	n
<i>iu</i>			<i>iu</i>		
wílfó	kob	n	kásìù	cashew (ultm. Eng.)	n
<i>io</i>			<i>io</i>		
diá	house	n	fió	totally not	interj
tíásí	vomit	v			
<i>eu</i>			<i>eu</i>		
léórá	door hinge	n	pèú	wind	n
sèó	death	n	tèú	warthog	n
<i>eo</i>			<i>eo</i>		
léí	not	neg	màtféó	twenty	num
bívíéí	stubborn child	n	bèléò	calamity	n
<i>oi</i>			<i>oi</i>		
pòí	planting	n	?óí	surprise	interj
tóí	covering	n			
<i>ou</i>			<i>ou</i>		
lòb	hartebeest	n	tóù	o.k. (ultm. Hausa)	interj
tòb	settlement	n	wóù	yam harvest	n
<i>av</i>			<i>av</i>		
láó	hut	n	?áí	no	interj
tʃáó	type termite	n	náí	rusty	n
<i>ãs</i>					
máñáñ	type of mongoose	n			
náñ	cow	n			

one. Their surface forms depend on phonotactics, which is the topic of Section 2.3.

- (2) a. $V_i]-V_j$: a morpheme boundary intervenes
 $tɔʃɪ > tɔʃí$ ‘covering’ (see CLASS 4, Section 3.3.2.1.4)
 $jeleʃu > jeleu$ ‘bloom.FOC’, (see Section 3.4.1.4)
 $biʃe > bié$ ‘child’, bisé pl., (see CLASS 1, Section 3.3.2.1.1)
- b. $V_i V_j$: no morpheme boundary intervenes
 $dɔàʃ]$ ‘be in/at/on’
 $tfàɔʃ]$ ‘type of termite’

The $V_i V_j$ vowel sequences are summarized in Figure 2.3. 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.

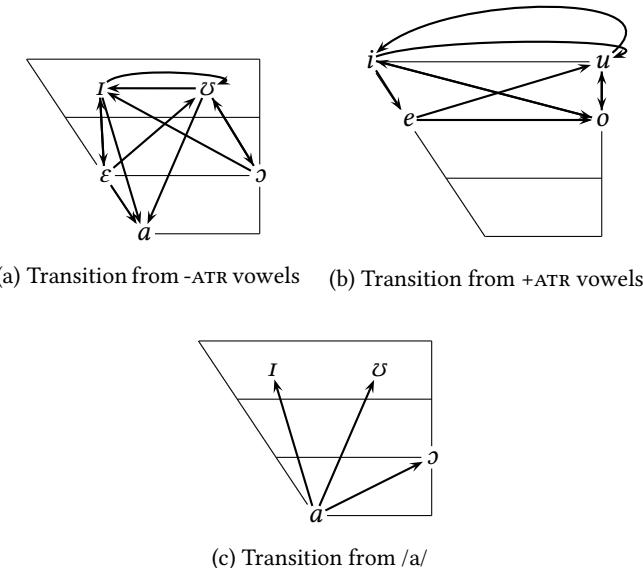


Figure 2.3: *Attested vowel transitions*

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 2.3. The most common sequences are {sa, oo, ie, ia, oɪ, uo, ie, eu}, the remainings being very rare or unattested. For instance, the *ei* and *aɛ* sequences never occur, the *ea* sequence occurs only once (and *?àtànéà* ‘Monday’ is ultimately of Hausa origin), and the sequence *ao*, which occurs in *nàɔ̄* ‘cow’, is found twice. In the latter case both tokens are nasalized so it affects the vowel quality and how I perceived it.

2.2.2 Consonants

The consonantal phonemes amount to twenty-five, a number close to the average number of consonants in the consonant inventories of documented languages (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 glottal stricture, i.e. voicedness, and is reflected in the way the description is organized below.

2.2.2.1 Plosives and Affricates

All plosives and affricates contrast pairwise for the glottal stricture feature VOICE (except the glottal plosive /ʔ/). They are moderately aspirated word initially. They all involve simple articulation, except the doubly articulated [dʒ], [ʈʃ], [kɸ] and [gβ].⁶

2.2.2.1.1 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, the domain is the onset of a non-initial stem. This domain is problematic since one cannot always treat words as compounds in the synchronic sense. For instance, *áłɔpè* ‘seven’ is treated in chapter ?? as a non-decomposable

⁶ For the remaining, the linking diacritic over the labial-velars is not used since there are just a few ambiguous contexts and these are accounted for by syllabification procedures presented in Section 2.3.1.1.

morpho-syntactic unit, however, it is obvious that taken from a Proto-SWG perspective it is a complex one. Bilabial plosives can also be found in borrowed words' medial positions, e.g. *kàpèntà* (ultm. Eng.) 'carpenter' and *kàpálà* (Waali) 'type of staple food' known in Gh. E. as *fufu*.

Neither the voiceless nor the voiced bilabial plosive are attested word finally. Table 2.6 provides examples of contrast between /p/ and /b/ for the VOICE opposition, and non-contrastive examples in medial positions.

Table 2.6: *Bilabial plosives*

(a) Voiceless bilabial plosive

pán	molar	n
pérà	type of hair dressing	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	type of staple food (Waali)	n

(b) Voiced bilabial plosive

bàŋ	here	adv
bérà	dry	qual
bílè	put	v
búl	type of tree	n
?ábé	palm nut tree	n
fièbì	whip	v
hámbák	type of tree	n

2.2.2.1.2 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.⁷ In word-medial position, [d] occurs exclusively at the onset of a non-initial stem, whereas [t] does not have such a restriction. 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.

⁷ On my second field trip, I was given a dog and called it [taat]. People in Dicie would repeat its name and call the dog [táátà]. The way they pronounced the name suggests that alveolar plosives are disallowed in word-final position.

2 Phonology Outline

Table 2.7 provides examples of contrast between the two alveolar plosives for the voice opposition in word-initial and -medial positions.

Table 2.7: *Alveolar plosives*

(a) Voiceless alveolar plosive			(b) Voiced alveolar plosive		
té	early	adv	dé	there	adv
tínj	spearhead	n	dínj	fire	n
tóŋ	book	n	dóŋj	enemy	n
túò	bow	n	dùò	sleep	v
tómá	work	n	dómá	soul	n
kànjítí	patience	n	bódáò	type of snake	n
kètì	break	v	lèdáá	lower jaw	n
sótá	thorn	n	bídóò	magic stone	propn

The segment [t] can surface when [r] is expected. For instance, the plural form of the word *ger* ‘lizard’ is *gete* ‘lizards’ and the plural form of the word *sótá* ‘thorn’ is *sòràsá*. The underlying segmental representation /get/ may be given for the lexeme ‘lizard’. Rule 1 is postulated, which turns a /t/ into [r] in word-final position and in weak syllable (see Section 2.3.1.2).⁸

Rule 1 *Lenition*

An alveolar stop changes into a trill in word-final position or in weak syllable.

[ALVEOLAR, OBSTRUENT] > r / _ # or CV_ V.CV

Rule 1 operates only in 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 *tsiír/* *tsiíte* ‘taboo(s)’.

2.2.2.1.3 Velar plosives The velar plosives are found in word-initial and -medial positions. In addition, among the plosives, the velar plosives are the only ones which are allowed word finally. This is shown in Table 2.8(a) and 2.8(b). Further the segment [y], which appears between vowels in a weak syllable (see Section 2.3.1.2), is underlyingly a [k] or a /g/. Since weak syllables have not been justified, rule 2 partially accounts for the spirantization of velar plosives.

⁸ Since the voiced alveolar plosive never occurs in word-medial position, there may be another rule involved which devoiced a /d/ in *gete* ‘lizards’. In fact, by omitting [-VOICED] rule 1 captures /d/ as well. Notice that rule 1 undergenerates in some instances, e.g. *bütéte* ‘turtles’ **burete*.

Rule 2 Spirantization

The velar obstruents /k/ and /g/ change into [y] when they occur between vowels in weak syllables.

[VELAR, OBSTRUENT] > y / V. _ V or _ . C

As shown in Table 2.8(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.

Table 2.8: *Velar plosives and derived fricative*

(a) Voiceless velar plosive		(b) Voiced velar plosive		
kààsí	clear throat	v	gáásí	pass
kóŋ	cobra	n	gɔŋ	type of plant
kòtì	fine grinding	v	götí	roll
hákilá	cognition	n	bégií	heart
kàkà	toothache	n	kùgsó	rib cage
sòk	type of tree	n	vɔg	small god
pààtfák	leaf	n	kàtfíg	type of bird of prey

(c) Velar fricative				
/kpaga/	[kpàyà]	have	v	
/doga/	[dòyà]	Doga	propn	
/tʃaktʃak/	[tʃáyətʃák]	tattoo	ono	
/vɔga/-/tríma/	[vɔytímná]	priest	n	

2.2.2.1.4 Glottal plosive The glottal plosive is treated as a phoneme. Given the series of vowel-to-vowel sequences shown in 2.2.1.1, a glottal plosive is needed to differentiate between the first two syllables of *nóʔɔ́rɔŋ* ‘type of tree’ and the first syllable of *bɔ́ɔbí* ‘undergarment’. It is mainly found word initially. In a word-medial position, it is usually the onset of a non-initial stem, e.g. *?úl* ‘navel’, *fálá?úl* ‘calabash node’. Table 2.9 provides examples of glottal plosives in word-initial and word-final positions.

2.2.2.1.5 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 places of articulation are involved in the production of

Table 2.9: *Glottal plosive*

?àbé	palm nut tree (Akan?)	n
?áá	bushbuck	n
?íl	breast	n
á?ílè?ílè	type of color	qual
bà?òrfí	swelling	n
ný?òrñj	type of tree	n

the sounds, that is, the velum and the lips. Nonetheless, they are treated 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 domain is typically the onset of a non-initial stem. Table 2.10 gives examples of labial-velar plosives in word-initial positions and shows that they both contrast with the labial and the velar plosives.

Table 2.10: *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	gbónj	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	gárá	stable	n
kpísí	sneeze	v	gbéníí	pink	qual
písí	scatter	n	génníí	fool	n
kpò	kill	v	gbòñjà	dense	v
pò	spit	v	bòñjà	bend	v

2.2.2.1.6 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 highly restricted. Notice that while /kp/ and /gb/ do contrast with /p/, /b/, /k/ and /g/, /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ do not exist in the language. Table 2.11 provides (near-) minimal pairs. Also, the sound /tʃ/ is pronounced /k/ by some members of the oldest generation, e.g. *tsiir* vs. *kiir* ‘taboo’, *tsimmāā* vs. *kimmāā* ‘pepper’, *tsien̩ē* vs. *ken̩ē* ‘break’, etc.

Table 2.11: *Affricates*

(a) Voiceless affricate			(b) Voiced affricate		
tʃɔ̄ŋj	type of fish	n	dʒɔ̄ŋj	hamock	n
tʃáásá	comb	n	dʒàá	unexpectedly	adv
tʃàánì	shine	v	dʒáŋjáá	bearing tray	n
kátjál	type of tree	n	təráádžà	trousers	n
pàátják	leaf	n	bádžògú	type of lizard	n

2.2.2.2 Fricatives

Chakali has five fricatives: *f*, *v*, *s*, *z* and *h*. Among these, the former four are distinguished by their phonation: *f* and *s* are voiceless whereas *v* and *z* are voiced. The other fricative is referred to as the glottal fricative.

2.2.2.2.1 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. However they differ from one another in how they behave in consonant sequences. While the segment [f] can precede an [r], the segment [v] cannot. The phonemes /f/ and /v/ contrast exclusively on the feature VOICE, as shown in Table 2.12(a). In Table 2.12(b), examples of consonant sequences with the voiceless labio-dental fricative as first consonant are shown. Contrasts with alveolar fricatives are given in the next Section (Table 2.13).

Table 2.12: *Labio-dental fricatives*

(a) Labio-dental fricatives			(b) /f/ in CC sequence		
fáà	ancient time	n	frígò	type of dance	n
váá	dog	n	gáfrà	excuse	interj
fálá	calabash	n			
válá	walk	v			
fáá	perge	qual			
váá	after	adv loc			

2.2.2.2.2 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.

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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 non-initial stem. Table 2.13(a) presents the alveolar fricatives in opposition for the feature VOICE, and table 2.13(b) presents the alveolar fricatives contrasting with the labio-dental fricatives in word-initial positions.

Table 2.13: *Alveolar fricatives*

(a) Alveolar fricatives		(b) Contrast with /f/ and /v/		
síé	imitating	n	sáá	axe
zíé	wall	n	fää	depend on
sóŋ	name	n	zié	wall
zòŋ	weakling	n	vìè	refuse
sóó	front	n	sìi	bambara bean
zòò	enter	v	víí	cooking pot
písá	grass mat	n		
kózàà	basket	n		
tjásfè	cough disease	n		
zíèzíè	light weight person	n		

2.2.2.2.3 Glottal fricative Apart from its phonation type, i.e. voiceless, the glottal fricative /h/ does not have a distinguishing manner of articulation. It occurs only in word-initial and -medial positions. Table 2.14(b) shows examples in which the glottal fricative contrast with all the other fricatives and the glottal plosives.

Table 2.14: *Glottal fricative*

(a)		(b)		
há	hire	v	hàlà	fry
hól	piece of charcoal	n	vàlà	walk
hire	dig	v	fála	calabash
nàhá	ego's grand-mother	n	híéŋ	relative
lúhò	funeral	n	zíéŋ	snake venum
lèhéé	wooden spoon	n	hól	type of tree
			sól:	clearly
			ʔól	type of mouse
				adv

2.2.2.3 Nasals

There are five distinct nasals in the language: a bilabial, an alveolar, a palatal, a velar and a labial-velar. Phonological processes involving nasalization are frequent in the language. One is discussed in Section 2.3.2.1.2. Since there are many words with a velar nasal consonant in final position, it is convenient to start this section on nasals by introducing rule 3, which says that all word-final nasals turn into a velar nasal.

Rule 3 Velarization

All nasals surface as η word finally

[NASAL] > η / _ #

2.2.2.3.1 Bilabial nasal The bilabial nasal /m/ occurs in word-initial and -medial positions. This is shown in Table 2.15. It is rarely found in word-final positions: one onomatopoeia ?ànyúm ‘monkey’s scream’, the adverb *tserím* ‘quietly’ and the noun *súrúm* ‘silence’ (ultm. Hausa) are the only examples. The rareness is predicted by the velarization rule 3. Nonetheless, 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 that Chakali speakers, although violating a phonological rule in uttering the three words given above, are not alien to hearing and producing a bilabial nasal in final position. However, an underlying final /m/ is possible, e.g. /dɔm/ > *dój* sg., *dómá* pl. ‘enemy’ vs. /dɔŋ/ > *dój* sg., *dóngà* pl. ‘comrade’ (see Section 3.3.2.1). Table 2.15(b) displays two minimal pairs involving the bilabial nasal in opposition with a bilabial plosive and a labial-velar.

Table 2.15: *Bilabial nasal*

(a)			(b) Contrast with a /b/ and /ŋm/		
mǎá	mother	n	míŋ	I	1.sg.st
mó	work clay	v	bíŋ	law	n
múr:	story	n	màŋù	beat	v.3.sg.OBJ
dòmà	biting	n	ŋmaŋù	Mangu	propn
ñòmè	blind	n			
kimbóŋ	bad thing	n			

2.2.2.3.2 Alveolar nasal The alveolar nasal /n/ can occur in all three positions: word-initial, word-medial and word-final. Table 2.16(a) presents the alveolar

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nasal in those positions. However, as mentioned in Section 2.2.2.3.1, rule 3 turns all word-final nasals into a velar nasal.⁹ Table 2.16(b) provides evidence that the alveolar nasal, the lateral and the trill are indeed distinct phonemes.

Table 2.16: *Alveolar nasal*

(a)		(b) Contrast with a /l/ and /r/			
náál	grand-father	n	layane	fast	adv
ná	see	v	làyàlè	taste	v
kànà	arm ring	n	náhíè	sense	n
zùpòná	millet crazy top disease	n	lèhèè	wooden spoon	n
nòkún	type of tree	n	pèná	moon	n
sábáán	roof top center	n	pèrà	type of hair dressing	v
			tʃéná	friend	n
			tʃérá	waist	n

2.2.2.3.3 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. *sámbálŋànjá* ‘type of grass’. Table 2.17(a) provides examples where the palatal nasal occurs word initially and medially. The examples in Table 2.17(b) show that [n] and [ɲ] contrast in word-initial position.

Table 2.17: *Palatal nasal*

(a)		(b) Contrast with a /n/			
jää	poverty	n	jää	poverty	n
jínè	look	v	nää	leg	n
jíma	father	n	ɲíj	tooth	n
jùä	smoke	v	níj	this	adv
nejáñ	worm	n	ɲɔɔ	crowd	v
?àjnää	type of snake	n	nɔɔ	hear	v
kànjítí	patience	n			

⁹ In Table 2.16, 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 perceived as velarized. Nonetheless, when elicited in isolation the alveolar nasals do not always surface velarized. Therefore, rule 3 can be considered too strong.

2.2.2.3.4 Velar nasal Because of rule 3, the segment [ŋ] is by far the most frequent nasal sound found in word-final position. The velar nasal never follows a consonant, but can precede any other consonant. When it precedes a consonant, the velar nasal is usually the last segment of the initial stem in a compound word. Unlike the other nasals it never appears in word-initial position.¹⁰ Table 2.17(a) provides examples of the velar nasal in word-medial and final positions. In Table 2.17(b), [n] and [ŋ] show contrast in word-medial positions.

Table 2.18: *Velar nasal*

(a)		(b) Contrast with a /n/			
bòŋjà	bend	v	kàŋjá	back	n
dóŋjá	people	n	kànà	arm ring	n
pìŋjà	be satisfied	v	tòŋjá	type of sickness	n
kónſíáŋj	red dove	n	tòná	profit	n
ŋméŋj	okro	n	tíŋjá	follow	v
kùŋkùŋj	brain	n	tìnà	cloud gather	v

¹⁰ This is unusual in a West African context. Non-initial velar nasals are also attested in Samoma, a Grusi language of Burkina Faso Kedrebéogo 1997: 97, in Kurumfe Rennison 1997: 389 and in Akan (Dolphyne 1988).

2.2.2.3.5 Labial-velar nasal The labial-velar nasal /ŋm/ is one of the five doubly-articulated segments in the language. It occurs in both word-initial and word-medial positions, as shown in Table 2.19(a), but never in a word-final position. Table 2.19(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. Even though the labial-velar nasal is sometimes perceived as slightly palatalized when followed by a mid front vowel, e.g. *ŋm'èná* ‘chisel’, it is not rendered in the transcription. It is believed to be a particular phonetic effect, possibly due to the slow release of the body of the tongue by some speakers.

Table 2.19: *Labial-velar nasal*

(a)			(b) Contrast with /m/, /ɲ/ and /n/		
ŋmá	tell	v	ŋmá	say	v
ŋmédàà	thread holder	n	má	you	2.pl.wk
ŋméjtéł	eight	num	já	defecate	v
ŋmiér	stealer	n	ná	see	v
dòŋménj	type of snake	n	ŋménj	okro	n
àŋmùnàŋmùnà	type of color	qual	mèj	dew	n

2.2.2.4 Lateral, trill and approximant

2.2.2.4.1 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 2.20(a). In table 2.20(b) [r] and [l] are shown to contrast in word-medial and word-final positions.

2.2.2.4.2 Alveolar trill or flap In careful speech, the rhotic consonant is often produced with the tongue vibrating against the place of articulation. 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 *para* ‘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

Table 2.20: Alveolar lateral approximant

(a)		(b) Contrast with /r/			
làà	take	v	pàlà	flow	v
lèŋ	stick	n	pàrà	farm	v
jálá	burst	v	sòòlá	type of cloth	n
pàtilá	small hoe	n	sòórá	scent	v
gántál	outside	n	púl	type of river grass	n
?íl	breast	n	púr:	skin bag	n

less practical *r*. Nonetheless, /r/ in coda position is especially subject to tongue vibration, e.g. *gár* ‘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. [r̩]. It is also the only consonant which occurs in the second position of a CC sequence. It never occurs word initially, except for the focus marker *ra*, which is nevertheless treated as a word unit (see Section 2.3.2.2 for the different forms the focus marker can take). 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 favored since it creates two issues which cannot be accommodated at this stage: (i) the CC sequence in onset becomes /Cd/, e.g. (/fd/ and /gd/), and (ii) [r] and [t] are sounds distinguished by several minimal pairs, as opposed to [d].¹¹

Minimal pairs involving the alveolar rhotic and alveolar lateral approximant are given in Table 2.21(b).¹²

2.2.2.4.3 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. There are a few words which are transcribed with superscript [ʷ] (e.g. *bʷ́ʒŋ* ‘difficult’ and *zàkʷ́v̥́zl* ‘beetle’), representing a labialized consonant,

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*.

¹² In 2.21(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 current lexicon.

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Table 2.21: *Alveolar trill*

(a)		(b) Contrast with /l/ and /d/			
para	farm	n	fòrò	proud	v
kòórè	built	v	fòlò	be displaced unexpectedly	v
?àríí	grass cutter	n	gàrà	pierce through	v
frígò	type of dance	n	gálá	go over	v
gár:	stable	n	lúró	testicle	n
gér:	lizard	n	lúlò	leak	v
kór:	bench	n	kúórù	chief	n
kpór:	palm tree	n	kùòdú	banana	n

but there are no definite regularities. When it occurs, it is in front of a round vowel.¹³ In Table 2.22(b) five examples are offered which set in opposition the voiced labio-velar approximant and the palatal approximant.¹⁴

Table 2.22: *Voiced labio-velar approximant*

(a)			(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

2.2.2.4.4 Palatal approximant The palatal approximant /j/ appears both in word-initial and word-medial positions, as shown in table 2.23(a), but never in a word-final position. Table 2.23(b) provides additional minimal pairs in which the palatal approximant and the voiced labio-velar approximant contrast.

2.2.2.4.5 Summary In this section, the consonants of Chakali were introduced. The majority were presented in a pairwise fashion to highlight specific contrasts.

¹³ As mentioned in footnote 5, the language Deg is claimed to have an inventory of 13 phonemic labialized consonants Crouch & Herbert 2003: 2.

¹⁴ I transcribed [w̚] a highly aspirated and palatalized version of /w/ found mostly before high vowels, e.g. [w̚ii] ‘weep’. This sound needs further investigation.

Table 2.23: *Palatal approximant*

(a)			(b) Contrast with /w/		
júò	fight, quarrel	n	jàà	fetch	v
tájà	catapult (ultm. Eng.)	n	wáá	he, she, it	3.sg.st.
bájúòrà	lazy	qual	jóŋ	slave	n
íjèlà	clan name	propn	wóŋ	deaf	n

In table 2.24, the consonantal phonemes are arranged according to their place and manner of articulation. Among them, the surface consonant [y] is derived from underlying phonemes, i.e. /g/ or /k/. Due to the limited scope of the present chapter, the phonological features making up the consonant phonemes were not introduced. They will be presented along the way when necessary.

Table 2.24: *Phonetic and phonemic consonants in Chakali*

	Bilabial	Labial-dental	Alveolar	Postalv. [ʃ]	Palatal	Velar	Glottal	Labial-velar
Plosives	p b		t d			k g	ʔ	kp gb
Fricatives		f v	s z			(y)	h	
Affricates				tʃ dʒ				
Nasals	m		n		n̪	ŋ		ŋm
Lateral/			l r					
Approx./								
Trill					j			
Semi-vowels	w							

2.3 Phonotactics

2.3.1 Syllable types

This section deals with the restrictions on possible syllable types. The necessary generalizations responsible for (im)possible segment sequences are introduced. The description is based solely on the lexical data of chapter ???. The syllabification procedure used to extract the syllable types is implemented in *Dekereke*.¹⁵

¹⁵ Software written and maintained by Rod Casali of SIL (version 1_0_0_97 <http://casali.canil.ca>). The default setting and the tautosyllabification of all VV sequences is used. See the documenta-

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Because certain restrictions on sequence are not accounted for, some constraints must be added to the syllabification algorithm. For instance, onset clusters like [mb], [yj] and [yl] are not systematically ruled out by the software.

First, syllabic nasals are marked with a diacritic and are treated as one syllable.¹⁶ 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, intervocalic 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. The procedure to maximize 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 sonority-based implementation generates the ill-formed onset clusters given in (4).

- (4) a. *mb
.ʔε.mbe.li. ‘shoulder’ (.ʔεm.be.li.)
b. *yl
.ha.yli.bie. ‘type of ants’ (.hay.li.bie.)
c. *yj
.pa.tʃi.yja.ra. ‘healer’ (.pa.tʃiy.ja.ra.)

The forms 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, the software proposes a function which allows the user to specify clusters to be excluded by direct stipulation. Thus *mb, *yl, and *yj become *ad hoc* constraints on onset clusters. This leaves us with the attested C₁C₂ sequences in (5).

- (5) C₁ = SONORANT C₂ = TRILL
.priŋ. ‘type of Mahogany’

tion (help > program documentation in *Dekereke*) for additional aspects of the syllabification algorithm.

¹⁶ Syllabic nasals are not recognized by the default setting of *Dekereke*, but since there are so few instances, they are easy to find.

- .*briŋ*. ‘whole’
- .*grɪi*. ‘cheek’
- .*bri.ge*. ‘type of snake’
- .*fri.go*. ‘type of dance’
- .*ga.fra*. ‘excuse’

The first column of table 2.25 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 2.26 provides examples of words which contain each of the ten syllable types. They are given in the same order as in table 2.25.

Table 2.25: *Attested syllable types (version 14/09/10 of the lexicon)*

Syllable type	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
CV	1060	775	980
CVC	484	144	362
CVV	467	138	649
CVVC	56	15	95
V	26	0	7
N	2	0	1
CCVC	2	0	3
CCV	2	0	2
CCVV	3	0	2
CVVV	3	0	3

The low-frequency syllable types of Table 2.25 need explanation. The syllabic nasal has a few tokens, e.g. the form for the first person singular pronoun, the word .*m.bu.o.njō*. ‘hunter’s rank’ (borrowed from another language, probably Gonja), and the name of one of our consultants, Fuseini Mba Zien, whose second name originally means ‘my father’ (in several Oti-Volta languages) and is pronounced [.*m.ba.J*]. 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.J*], as in .*ba.gn.pvɔ.gii*. ‘lateral goiter’, .*ba.gn.bva*. ‘hollow behind the collarbone’, and .*ba.gn.tfu.gul*. ‘dowager’s hump’. For the syllable type CCVC, three examples are provided. It was mentioned in Section 2.2.2.4.3 that labialized consonants are

Table 2.26: Tokens for each syllable type

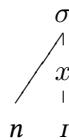
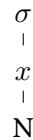
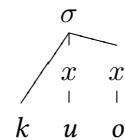
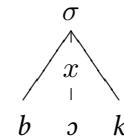
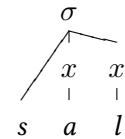
Syllable type	Instantiation	Gloss	PoS
CV	.pa.tʃi.gn.	abdomen	reln
	.gbɛ.ta.ra.	pond	n
	.?ɔ.ma.	fear	v
CVC	.?ɛm.be.li.	wing	n
	.ga.lan.zv̥r.	mad person	n
	.nãː.pol.	Achilles tendon	n
CV _α V _α	.bãː.	type of lizard	n
	.?a.lee.fv̥.	type of leaf	n
	.sɪl.maa.	food	n
CV _α V _β	.dia.tɪl.na.	landlord	n
	.ba.juo.ra.	lazy	qual
	.tɔɔ.niā.	type of genet	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
	.ŋ.buo.ŋo.	hunter's rank (Gonja)	n
CCVC	.bwɔŋ.	difficult	qual
	.za.kwvsl.	beetle	n
	.prɪŋ.	type of Mahogany	n
CCV	.fri.gv̥.	type of dance	n
	.bri.ge.	type of snake	n
	.ga.fra.	excuse	interj
CCVV	.grɪi.	cheek	n
CVVV	.bʊɛl.bʊɛl.	carefully	adv
	.paar.	collecting	n
	.paaŋ.	collect.FOC	v

rarely perceived. Still, a few words are transcribed as [C^w], a sequence read as [Cw] by the syllabification procedure. That leaves us with one instance of the syllable type CCVC, i.e. [.prɪŋ.], a sequence accounted for in (5) above. Syllable types CCVV and CVVV are scarce, but for different reasons. The former involves a CC onset cluster which, as mentioned previously, is infrequent. The latter is also rarely attested, 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-/ [+HI, -RO]/, or <CVV-/ [+HI, +RO]/ respectively). These are described in Section 3.4.3. Finally, there are restrictions on the type of segments which can act as coda. All velars {k, g, y, η} are permitted in coda position. The alveolar nasal n, lateral l and trill r, plus sporadic instances of m, are also permitted.

2.3.1.1 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 units are counted in mora, 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 x 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*

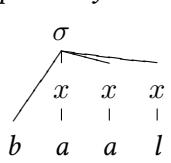
The syllable structure in (6a) is found in many verbs and functional words (e.g. postposition *ni*, focus marker *ra*, preverbal particles *ka*, *bi* and *ha*, verbs *na* ‘see’, *pε* ‘add’ and *tɔ* ‘cover’, etc.) The light syllable in (6b) can be instantiated by the definite article *a* ‘the’ and the second and third person singular weak pronouns

i ‘you, yours’ and *ɔ* ‘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 2.3.2.1). Syllabic nasals instantiate the light syllable in (6c). Apart from their segmental content, structure (6b) and (6c) are identical; 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.

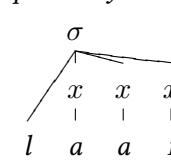
The heavy syllables are those with two moras. The structure in (6e) represents any vowel sequence, e.g. *sâå* ‘axe’ or *kùò* ‘farm’, and the one in (6f) a sequence in which the final consonant projects a mora, e.g. *sàl* ‘flat roof’. Thus, the set of consonants which are found to bear tones are those which project moras; these are *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 perceived or transcribed.

The superheavy syllables are commonly described as consisting of CVCC and 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 *húór* ‘raw’, *váán* ‘front leg’, among others. Although not attested in a single morpheme, the CVVV syllable types are treated as trimoraic. The words in (7b) ‘collecting’ and (7c) ‘collect.FOC’ are made from the verbal CVV stem *laa*. In these examples, CVVV syllables arise from the suffixation of nominal (7b) and assertive (7c) morphology. As presented in Sections 3.3.3.1 and 3.4.3.1, cliticized pronouns in object positions also create CVVV syllables.

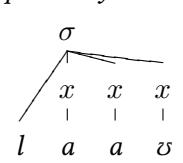
(7) a. *superheavy*



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. The distinction is particularly needed, for instance, in the description of noun classes where a suffix is added to a stem to form a singular or a plural. 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 classes are discussed in Section 3.3.2.1.

2.3.1.2 Weak syllable

It has already been noted in Section 2.2.2.1.3 that a segment may change into another in a phonological domain called a weak syllable. This is loosely defined here as a domain where lenition of the second consonant and vowel in a sequence CV.CV.CV or the second consonant in a sequence CVC.CV occurs. The observed phenomena are the spirantization of the velar obstruents /k/ and /g/ changing into [y] and the reduction of any vowel to [ə], shortening (marked as extra/short [x]), or its deletion.

2.3.2 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.

2.3.2.1 Internal sandhi

Internal sandhi refers to insertions, deletions or modifications of sounds at morpheme boundaries within the word.

2.3.2.1.1 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, [m] surfaces when the first consonant of the second stem is LABIAL, [ŋ] when it is VELAR and [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, e.g. /gʊm/ > sg. *gʊmá* and *pl. gʊnsá* ‘hump(s)’. 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).

$$N > C [\alpha\text{PLACE}] / _ C [\alpha\text{PLACE}]$$

Table 2.27 provides some examples (see Section 2.3.2.2.1 for similar processes at word boundaries).

Table 2.27: Word-internal nasal place assimilation

Stems	Meaning	Word	Gloss	PoS
km-bəŋ	THING-BAD	kimbóŋ	bad	n
loŋ-bəla	CALABASH-OVAL	lómbál	calabash type	n
nɔŋ-buluŋ	STONE-BLACK	nòmbúlúŋ	grinding stone type	n
sɪŋ-tʃaʊ	DRINK-TERMITES	síntʃáʊ	tree species	n
sɪŋ-pɔmma	DRINK-WHITE	símpɔmmá	palm wine	n
sɪŋ-síama	DRINK-RED	sínsíàmá	fermented pito	n
galarja-zɔɔ̯-r	MADNESS-ENTER-AGENT	gàlànzɔɔ̯r	mad person	n

2.3.2.1.2 Nasalization of verbal suffixes The two suffixes under consideration are discussed in Section 3.4.1.4.3 and ???. The first is the perfective suffix. It takes either the form *-j[+MID, -HI, -RO]* or *-w[+LO]*. 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 *kpe* ‘crack and remove’ in Table 2.28 is placed in two paradigms (reproduced from Section 3.4.3).

Table 2.28: *kpe* ‘crack and remove’ (c&r)

(a) Positive	(b) Negative
ð káá kpéú ‘She will c&r’	ð wáá kpé ‘She will not c&r’
ðð kpéú ‘She is c-ing&r-ing’	ð wàá kpé ‘She is not c-ing&r-ing’
ð kpéjòò ‘She c-ed&r-ed’	ð wà kpéjè ‘She did not c-ed&r-ed’
kpé ‘C&r!’	té kpéì ‘Don’t c&r!’

Since this section is concerned with nasalization, the meaning and function of each form is not dwelled on. As seen from the examples, and leaving tones aside, the verbal stem *kpe* 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 *kpe*. Because of ATR-harmony (α ATR, see Section 2.4.2), the perfective suffix *-j[+MID, -HI, -RO]* agrees in ATR with the stem vowel and is rendered *-je*. The assertive suffix is a feature bundle $[+HI, +RO]$. When it follows *-je*, the two vowels coalesce, the assertive suffix is lowered and the two

are perceived on the surface as [oo]. A process similar to (8) accounts for the negative and positive perfective forms.

- (8) $kpe\text{-}j[+\text{MID}, -\text{HI}, -\text{RO}] > \alpha\text{ATR} > kpe\text{-}je > kpeje-[+\text{HI}, +\text{RO}] > kpejoo$

The explanation for the form *kpeu* 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 (9).

- (9) $kpe-[+\text{HI}, +\text{RO}] > \alpha\text{ATR} > kpeu$

Nasalisation takes place within these two processes. For instance, when the verb stem *saya* ‘sit’ is placed in the same environment as *kpe* in table 2.28, all vowels following the velar nasal are nasalized.¹⁷ The process is shown in (10).

- (10) a. $saya\text{-}j[+\text{MID}, -\text{HI}, -\text{RO}] > \alpha\text{ATR} > \alpha\text{NASAL} > sa\tilde{\eta}(\partial)j\tilde{e}(\tilde{\epsilon})-[+\text{HI}, +\text{RO}] > sa\tilde{\eta}(\partial)j\tilde{o}\tilde{o}$
 b. $saya-[+\text{HI}, +\text{RO}] > \alpha\text{ATR} > \alpha\text{NASAL} > sa\tilde{\eta}\tilde{o}\tilde{o}$

In this environment, the vowels are automatically nasalized, even when the approximant of the perfective suffix intervenes. Rule 5 attempts to capture the phenomenon.

Rule 5 *N-harmony*

A non-nasal vowel assimilates the nasal feature of a preceding segment, with or without an intervening consonant.

$V > [+ \text{NASAL}] / [+ \text{NASAL}] C^* _-$

2.3.2.1.3 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.¹⁸ 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 phonology is responsible for the insertion of [ə]. 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 [ábəlù] ‘blue’ is an example of vowel epenthesis, i.e. (<*a-blu*), or perhaps a case of vowel reduction, i.e. (<*a-bulu*). On the one hand, the consonant sequence

¹⁷ Predictions regarding vowel coalescence and length are not yet fully understood.

¹⁸ On loan nouns in particular, see Section 3.3.2.6.

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/bl/ is not attested, therefore vowel epenthesis in an impossible consonant sequence could provide an explanation for the presence of the vowel [ə] in *abəlu* ‘blue’. 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 neighboring languages. Thus it is more likely that a speaker borrows the form *abəlu* with the schwa than without it. The latter scenario suggests that [ə] in *abəlu* 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 *tərādʒà* ‘trouser’, *sákər* ‘bicycle’ and *bátərbíf* ‘battery’, to mention a few. However if [ə] in *abəlu* 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 I named it ‘Taat’, but the community members called him *taatə*. In this example the vowel [ə] is 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 ‘foreign’ phonological sequences.

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 2.3.1.2). Also, as mentioned above, vowel epenthesis can create proper sequences for syllabification. In table 2.29, 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.¹⁹

Rule 6 Vowel reduction

A vowel changes into a schwa in a weak syllable.

$V > \emptyset / CV.C _ .CV$

Rule 7 Vowel epenthesis

A schwa is inserted between a coda consonant and an onset consonant.

$\emptyset > \emptyset / VC _ .CV$

¹⁹ Rule 7 overgenerates: an improvement would say that the less sonorant the flanking consonants are, the more likely the schwa is perceived.

Table 2.29: *Vowel reduction and epenthesis*

	Underlying form	Phonetic form	Gloss
Vowel reduction			
	bugulie	.bù.yə.liè.	big water pot
	lɔ̯ɔ̯lì][milima	.lɔ̯ɔ̯.lì.mí.là.má.	car driver
	mankir	.mán.kə̯r̯.	type of yam
Epenthesis			
	maŋsa	.má.ngə.sá.	groundnuts
	dɔ̯ksa	.dɔ̯.yə.sá.	dysentery
	tʃer][bɔ̯a	.tʃé.rə.bò̯á.	hip
	tʃaktʃak	.tʃá.yə.tʃák.	tattoo

The words in Table 2.29 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 *mánkə̯r̯*: ‘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.²⁰ 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 ends with a consonant and the second begins with a consonant, i.e. $VC_i][C_jV$, the vowel [ə] may be 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. $V]_σ[C_iə]_σ[C_jV$. Finally, it is assumed that the vowel [ə] does not bear tones.

2.3.2.2 External sandhi

External sandhi refers to changes found at word boundaries. Two cases of assimilation are presented.

2.3.2.2.1 Nasal place assimilation Nasal place assimilation occurs in the environment where the subject pronoun 1.sg.wk ‘I’ immediately precedes a verbal lex-

²⁰ The tone melody HL on disyllabic words is rare and typical of English loan words, but, obviously, no yam appellations come from English.

eme. The expression representing the first person singular weak pronoun lacks a place feature, therefore assimilates the place feature of the onset immediately following it. The *1.sg.wk* pronoun is represented by /N/ in (11).

- (11) a. /N]_{wb} *kaali sukuu*/ > [ŋ *kaali sukuu*] 'I go to school'
- b. /N]_{wb} *buure-3.SG*/ > [m *buuruu*] 'I love it'
- c. /N]_{wb} sɔ *nII FOC*/ > [n sɔ *nII ra*] 'I'm bathing'

Moreover, the same nasal place assimilation occurs in an environment where the possessive pronoun immediately precedes a nominal lexeme. In (12), /N/ stands for the first person singular possessive pronoun. Rule 4 of Section 2.3.2.1.1 describes both word-internal and -external nasal place assimilation.

- (12) a. /N]_{wb} *gar*/ > [ŋ *gar*] 'My cloth'
- b. /N]_{wb} *par*/ > [m *par*] 'My hoe'
- c. /N]_{wb} ?ul/ > [n ?ul] 'My navel'

2.3.2.2.2 Focus particle's place assimilation and vowel harmony A focus marker■ encodes assertive information. Focus is encoded in different ways in the language and is the topic of discussion in Section ???. One of them is a focus particle which always follows a noun phrase. This particle is represented as /RV/ , in which R is an abstract consonant and V a vowel, and is glossed as FOC. The possible patterns responsible for the form of the focus particle are listed in (13).

- (13) a. V[-ATR] C[-LAT, -NAS]]_{wb} /RV/ > [ra]
par ra 'hoe FOC'
- b. V[-ATR] C[+LAT]]_{wb} /RV/ > [la]
til 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. $V[+ATR-RO] C[+LAT]]_{wb} /RV/ > [le]$
bil le ‘grave FOC’
- i. $V[+ATR-RO] C[+NAS]]_{wb} /RV/ > [ne]$
nen ne ‘arm FOC’

The patterns presented in (13) are exhaustive. Taking (13a) 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 2.4.2. When there is no immediately preceding consonant, the surface consonant is [r], e.g. *a taa ra* ‘the language FOC’, *a pii re* ‘the Yam mound FOC’ and *a kpolunjkpoo ro* ‘the type of bird FOC’. The surface consonant [w] is sometimes found in environments where [r] is expected. In this context, [w] and [r] alternate freely, but [r] is much more common.

2.4 Suprasegmentals

Prosodic properties like stress, rhythm, tempo and intonation are usually considered as suprasegmentals. These are aspects of speech that extend over more than one segment. At a word level, nasalization, tone patterns and vowel harmony are phenomena which are treated as suprasegmentals. Nasalization phenomena were discussed under sandhi processes. In this section, two suprasegmental aspects of language are treated: tone and intonation, and vowel harmony.

2.4.1 Tone and intonation

For the most part an impressionistic transcription and description of tones is offered. Tone and intonation in Chakali deserves a separate study. However there are crucial aspects which must be stated.

Chakali is a tone language with both lexical and grammatical tone. Tones are perceived as 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. Chakali is a tone language, and not a pitch accent language, because each mora must be associated with a particular tone, whereas in a pitch-accent language one particular syllable in a word is pronounced with a special tone or accent.²¹ An example of three different tonal

²¹ Scandinavian languages, among others, are often treated as pitch-accent languages (with tonal word accents) in the literature. What differentiates (some dialects of) Norwegian and Chakali

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melodies, using the minimal triplet, which I transcribe as $\eta méná$ ‘okro’, $\eta méná$ ‘to cut’ and $\eta méná$ ‘chisel’, is given a graphical representation in Figure 2.4.

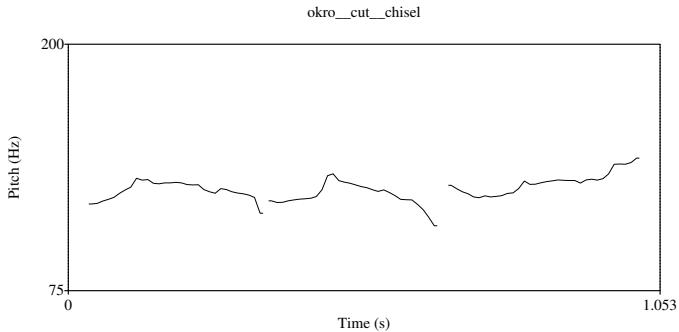


Figure 2.4: *TAKE NEW! Pitch contour of the words for ‘okro’, ‘to cut’ and ‘chisel’ (from left to right). For each word, the contour line starts at the beginning of the first consonant [ηm] and stops at the end of the last vowel [a].*

Distinct tonal melodies at the lexical level provide evidence that a pitch distinction affects the meaning of words comprising identical sequences of segments. The same can be said about tonal melodies at the phrasal level. Thus, the sentences $\dot{\eta} dí kóó rá$ ‘I am eating t.z.’ and $\dot{\eta} dí kóó rā$ ‘I ate t.z.’ are composed of the same sequence of segments, but it is mainly the tonal melody which distinguishes the former utterance from the latter. Minimal examples involving specific tonal melodies are considered in Section 3.4.1.4.4.

Based on the evidence of nominal paradigms (see Table 2.30), the evidence suggests there are two tones in the language, 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 may 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. Table 2.30 displays the tonal melodies of the singular noun category. These are words uttered in isolation, so

is that the former language is restricted to two tone patterns for polysyllabic words, whereas the latter allows each mora to bear any tone. In recent years Larry Hyman has expressed scepticism to the notion of pitch-accent (Hyman 2007).

the tones are cut off from contextual influences. The subtables are divided according to the moraic content of the syllable. As mentioned above, each mora is associated with a single tone and two tones are assumed. The logical possibilities are accommodated with an example.

Table 2.30: *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 vódg small god	L sòl: dawadawa
L bòg type of tree	HL fól type of creeper
L sòk type of tree	LH pòl pond
(c) One heavy syllable CVVC	(d) One heavy syllable CVV
H fiél type of grass	H bíí seed
L tʃòär line	L zùù type of weather
HL báäl male	HL lóö hartbeest
LH vääj front leg	LH bié child
(e) Two light syllables CVCV	(f) One heavy CVC: non-moraic coda, one light
H bíná excrement	H tʃéllé outlaw
L bòlä elephant	L kpànnà lead
HL góñò type of tree	HL dántà clan title
LH biná year	LH kùksó ribs
(g) One light CV, one heavy CVC	(h) One heavy CVV, one light CV
H búzój bachelor	HHH diésé dream
HL bázál: type of bird	HHL kpáásà whip
LH kàtſig type of bird	LHL kúórù chief
	LHH tùósó added amount
	LLH fùòló whistle
	LLL bòògà moon
(i) Three light syllables CVCVCV	
HHH kásímá corpse uniform	
HHL bélégè bathing area	
LHL dùlúgù type of bird	
LLH gérègá sickness	
LLL diginà ear	
LLH tʃíribó gun firing pin	
LHH ?ámónró type of wild cat	
HLL kápùti pillow	

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These assumptions are not controversial: Vagla, Deg, Tampulma, Sisaala and Pasaale are all described with two tones.²² One finds in this literature high and low tones and a considerable number of tone rules. Among them, the downstep rule, also found in Chakali, lowers a high tone (i.e. ¹H) when a low tone intervenes between two high tones, e.g. *d᷑᷑* (sg. HL), *d᷑᷑sá* (pl. HLH). The rule in (8) captures the phenomenon.

Rule 8 Downstep

A high tone preceded by a low tone is perceived as lower than a preceding high tone.

$$H > {}^1H / H L _$$

Downdrift is an intonation phenomenon: it 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 (14) 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.²³

(14)	— — — — — — —
	vàà tʃ᷑á dìá nòá ní
	dog lie house mouth POSTP
	'A dog lies at the entrance of a house.'

Rule 9 Polar question drop

A tone (or a series of tones) changes into an extra-low tone at an utterance-final boundary (condition: polar question).

$$H^*/L^* > XL / _ \# \#$$

Generally seen as a discourse function, Chakali has an extra-low tone which appears at the end of polar question (see Section 3.2.2.2). It is marked with the diacritic [᷑]. Rule 9 describes the intonation (drop of pitch) of polar questions.

2.4.2 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

²² See Rowland & Rowland 1965; Crouch & Smiles 1966; Bergman, Gray & Gray 1969; Toupin 1995; Crouch & Herbert 2003.

²³ The lack of tone rules in the description is an important level of analysis lacking between phrasal intonation and lexical tones, so example (??) must be interpreted with vigilance.

specific phonological domains, usually the word, and has a particular direction which is often treated as the spreading of one or more vowel feature(s).

In Section 2.2.1, 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 2.1). Dakubu (1997: 81–82) and Casali (2003b: 312) maintain that it is the most common inventory among Gur and Kwa languages.

In Section 2.2.1.0.9, 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 2.31.

Table 2.31: *Vowel harmony in noun words*

Root vowel feature	Root	Singular	Plural	Gloss
[+ATR, +MID, -RO]	sel	sél:	sélé	animal
[+ATR, +HI, -RO]	bi	bíí	bíé	seed
[+ATR, -RO]	kie	kíé	kiété	half of a bird
[+ATR, +HI, +RO]	?ul	?úl	?úlö	navel
[+ATR, +MID, +RO]	hol	hól	hóló	type of tree
[+ATR, +RO]	buo	bùó	bùósó	funeral item
[-ATR, +HI, -RO]	bí	bíí	bíá	stone
[-ATR, +MID, -RO]	béł	bèł	béllá	type of tree
[-ATR, +HI, +RO]	pøg	pøg	pøgá	crocodile
[-ATR, +MID, +RO]	hól	hól	hólá	piece of charcoal
[-ATR, +RO]	bøɔ	bøɔ	bøɔsá	hole
[-ATR, +LO]	vaa	váá	vásá	dog
[-ATR, +LO]	baal	báàl	báàlá	male

Chakali is a language with noun classes (see Section 3.3.2.1). A class is defined as a pair of singular and plural suffixes associated with a particular root. Looking first at the plural noun endings in table 2.31, it seems that from the underlying nine vowel inventory of Chakali, only three can occur in such a position, i.e. -a, -e and -o. The distribution is such that when the suffixes occur after a root containing any member of the set {i, ε, o, v, a}, they are realized as [-a]. The plural suffix vowel e is realized when the root features are [+ATR, -RO], whereas the plural

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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. Rules 10 and 11 accomodate the surface forms of table 2.31.²⁴

Rule 10 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.

$$-V_{nc} > [\beta\text{RO}, +\text{ATR}, -\text{LO}, -\text{HI}] / [\beta\text{RO}, +\text{ATR}] C^* _$$

Rule 11 Noun classes realization (2)

A noun class suffix vowel becomes a if the preceding stem vowel is i, ε, ɔ, ʊ or a.

$$-V_{nc} > +\text{LO} / -\text{ATR} C^* _$$

The same rules may be used to account for the vowel quality of the focus marker (Section 2.3.2.2.2) and the verbal suffixes (Section 2.3.2.1.2). Yet, the rules need to be rewritten in order to be applicable to wider domains and elements than those defined in their definition. Rules 12 and 13 break down rules 10 and 11 into components able to be applied to other relevant domains.

Rule 12 ATR harmony

A vowel suffix agrees with the ATR value of the preceding stem/word vowel (domains: noun classes, verbal suffixes, focus marker).

$$V > [\alpha\text{ATR}] / [\alpha\text{ATR}] C^* _$$

Rule 13 RO harmony

A vowel suffix agree with the RO value of the preceding stem/word vowel (domains: noun classes, verbal suffixes, focus marker).

$$V > [\alpha\text{RO}] / [\alpha\text{RO}] C^* _$$

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 /a/ is banned altogether from the underlying form. Caution is necessary however since complex stem nouns (Section 3.3.2.3) 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 complex stem nouns due to their lack of morphological transparency

²⁴ O’Keefe (2003: 19, 32–33) states that RO- and ATR-harmony are both operative in the progressive, future, egressive and ingressive of Fante.

do appear with both a +ATR vowel and the low vowel. The phonological and/or morphological domains where one could draw the line are still undetermined.

3 Grammar Outline

3.1 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, the nominal syntax and morphology are introduced, followed by the verbal syntax and morphology. Finally, elements of grammatical pragmatics and 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 vii.

3.2 Clause

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 covered: a statement, a question, or a command. The former is encoded in a declarative clause (Section 3.2.1), and the latter two are encoded in interrogative clauses (Section 3.2.2) and imperative clauses (Section 3.2.3) respectively. Constructions are treated as clause-types; constructions are persistent formal and semantic frames which are conventionalized and display both compositional and non-compositional characteristics. In this section the components of the common and frequent independent clauses and the major constructions encountered are presented. In Section 3.2.4, clause coordination and subordination are introduced. Section 3.5 covers the adjunct constituents responsible for modifying a main predicate and the function of the postposition.

3.2.1 Declarative clause

Statements are 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) $S|A + P \pm O \pm ADJ$

where the symbol $+$ requires for the presence of the element preceding and following it, whereas \pm means that the term following it may be optional. The symbol S stands for the subject of an intransitive clause, A for the subject of a transitive clause, P for the predicate, O for the object of a transitive clause, and finally ADJ stands for an adjunct to a clause. The main instantiations of this common structure are shown in (2).¹

- (2) a. $S + P$
 b. $A + P + O$
 c. $S + P + ADJ$
 d. $A + P + O + ADJ$

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 (ADJ) may consist of words or phrases referring to time, location, manner of action, etc. (see Section 3.5 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. 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 (3a).

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>(3) a. $\dot{a}fíá díjōō$
 $S \quad P$
 $n \quad v$
 ‘Afia ate.’</p> | <p>c. $\dot{a}fíá dí sìimáá rā$
 $A \quad P \quad O$
 $n \quad v \quad n$
 ‘Afia ate food.’</p> |
| <p>b. $\dot{a}fíá díjōō kìŋkáj$
 $S \quad P \quad ADJ$
 $n \quad v \quad qual$
 ‘Afia ate a lot.’</p> | <p>d. $\dot{a}fíá dí sìimáá kìŋkáj nà$
 $A \quad P \quad O \quad ADJ$
 $n \quad v \quad n \quad qual$
 ‘Afia ate food a lot.’</p> |

¹ The way I represent the components of a clause is inspired by Bonvini (1988: 31).

The 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 3.3.3.1). 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 attributed to a predicate.

As peripheral argument, an adjunct (ADJ) 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 discussed in brief here, but details are offered in Section 3.5. Adjuncts are optional to the main predication and can be added to both intransitive and transitive clauses, as shown in (4a), and (3b) and (3d) above (see Sections 3.2.1.6, 3.2.5.3, and 3.2.5.4 for discussions on the postposition).

- (4) a. Manner expression in intransitive clause

ò nɔ́à làyálàyá ní
3.SG drink IDEO POSTP

'He drank quickly.'

- b. Manner expression in transitive clause

ò nɔ́à a ní layalaya ní
3.SG drink ART water IDEO POSTP

'He drinks 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 3.2.5.4, I call a clause constituent whose semantics is characterized by an affected or effected object, although realized in a postpositional phrase, an oblique object phrase. Thus, the extended argument in (5) should be treated as an oblique object.

- (5) A + P + O + E

<i>ŋméytél sìi à bilè</i>	<i>ò kùó</i>	<i>tìwìzéy nɔ́à ní</i>
A	O	E
spider	raise.up CONN put	3SG.POSS farm road.large RELN POSTP

'Spider went establish his farm by a main road.' (LB 003)

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For the remaining, 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) and is typically associated with ditransitive clauses, restricts its (right-) adjacent argument in object position as beneficiary of the situation. The thing transferred (i.e. Theme) can never follow the verb if the beneficiary of the transfer (Recipient) is realized. This is shown in (6).

- (6) a. *kàlá tíé àfíá à lóɔlì*
A P O_R E_T
K. give A. ART car
'Kala gave Afia the car.'
b. *kàlá tíé ᄕ à lóɔlì*
A P O_R E_T
K. give 3.SG ART car
'Kala gave her the car.'
c. **Kala tie a lóɔlì Afia*
d. **Kala tie ᄕ 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 3.2.1.5), used as an alternative strategy, in order to express transfer of possession and information.

- (7) *kàlá kpá à lóɔrì / ᄕ tiè àfíá*
A P O_T P O_R
K. take ART car / 3SG 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 a serial verb construction in (7). Ditransitive clauses are very rare in the text corpus despite their grammaticality. Multi-verb clauses, which are discussed in Section 3.2.1.5, may offer better strategies to arrange arguments and predicates than ditransitive clauses. The following subsections present various clause types and constructions which are based on the declarative clause structure introduced above.

3.2.1.1 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 hard-working), 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 also known as equative or identity (e.g. Wusa is the farmer). The examples in (8) illustrate the distinctions.

- (8) a. Generic categorization

bɔlā jáá kɔsásēl lē
elephant IDENT bush.animal FOC

‘The/An elephant is a bush animal.’

- b. Ordinary categorization

wɔsá jáá pápátá rá
W. IDENT farmer FOC

‘Wusa is a farmer.’

- c. Identity

wɔsá jáá à tɔ́tiiná
W. IDENT ART landlord

‘Wusa is the landlord.’

wɔsá jáá à báàl tìŋ ká sáŋɛ̃ kéj
W. IDENT ART man ART EGR sit.PFV DXM

‘Wusa is the man sitting like this.’

à báàl tìŋ ká sáŋɛ̃ kéj jáá wɔsá
ART man ART EGR sit.PFV DXM IDENT W.

‘The man sitting like this is Wusa.’

The verb *jaa* (*gl. 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 hypernym*]. So, the sentences *papata ra jaa wɔsá* ‘farmer FOC is Wusa’ and *a tɔ́tiina jaa wɔsá* ‘landlord FOC is Wusa’ are as acceptable as in the order given in (8b) and the first example in (8c).

3.2.1.2 Existential clause

One type of existential clause is the basic locative construction, which is described in Section 3.2.1.6. Its two main characteristics are the obligatory presence of the postposition *ni*, which signals that the phrase contains the conceptual ground, and the presence of a locative predicate or the general existential predicate *dòà*. An example is provided in (9).

- (9) Basic Locative construction
 à báál dós à dìà nī
 ART man be.at ART house POSTP
 ‘The man is at/in the house.’

The existential predicate *dva* 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 *dva* and the postposition *ni*, e.g. *v dva jarri ni* ‘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 *ni*.

- (10) a. Availability construction
 à mòlèbií dósá dé
 ART money be.at DEM
 ‘There is money (available).’
 b. à mòlèbií dósá dé nì
 ‘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), ascribed property may also be conveyed in a possessive clause (see Section 3.2.1.3).

- (11) gárágá dósá wójò nī
 sickness be.at W. POSTP
 ‘Wojo is sick.’

The verb *dva* has an allomorph (i.e. a combinatorial variant) used only in the negative. Consider (12).

- (12) a. *ɔ dɔá dìà nɪ*
 3.SG be.at house POSTP
 ‘She is in the house.’
- b. *ɔ wáá tìwò dìà nɪ*
 3.SG NEG NEG.be.at house POSTP
 ‘She is not in the house.’
- c. **ɔ tuwo dìa nɪ*
- d. **ɔ wa dɔa dìa nɪ*

3.2.1.3 Possessive clause

A possessive clause expresses a relation between a possessor and a possessed. Generally, the *have*-construction is used to convey a possessive relation. 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) *kàlá kpágá nàð 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. *kapala kpaga bie*, and someone can ‘have’ a senior brother, i.e. *ɔ kpaga bieri*. Abstract possession may also be conveyed using the *have*-construction. In (14), shame, hunger, thirst, and sickness are conceived as the possessors, the possessed being the person experiencing these feelings.

- (14) a. *hìisá kpágà à háñ kìŋkáñ*
 shame have ART woman much
 ‘The woman was ashamed ...’ (CB 034)
- b. *lòsá kpágáñ nà*
 hunger have.1.SG FOC
 ‘I am hungry.’
- c. *níípòksá kpágán nà*
 ‘I am thirsty.’

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- d. *gàràgá kpágáñ nà*
'I am sick.'

Some characteristics ascribed to animate entities are expressed by the word *tiina* 'owner' following the possessed. However it is an existential clause (15a), rather than the *have*-construction, which carries the possessive phrase PSED-*tiina*, as (15) illustrates.

- (15) a. *ò jáá sisíámà-tífná*
3SG IDENT seriousness-owner
PSOR PSED
'He is serious'
- b. *ò kpágá sisíámà rá*
3SG have seriousness FOC
'He is serious'

Another way to express possession is by using a non-verb clause which exclusively identifies the possessor. For instance, a speaker may utter *mín nà* 'it is mine' in order to say that a certain thing belongs to him or her. This utterance consists solely of the third singular strong pronoun followed by the focus particle (see Section 3.3.3 on pronouns).

3.2.1.4 Non-verb clause

As its name suggests, a non-verb clause is a clause without verbal elements. Its main function is to identify or assert the (non-) existence of something. The examples in (16) 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 3.3.9 on focus and negation).

- (16) a. *fún ná* c. *fún lèí*
knife FOC knife NEG
'It is a shaving knife.' 'It is not a shaving knife.'
- b. *ñ fún ná* d. *ñ fún lèí*
1.SG.POSS knife FOC 1.SG.POSS knife NEG
'It is my shaving knife.' 'It is not my shaving knife.'

Correspondingly the manner deictics *keñ* and *nij* are also found in non-verb clause. For instance, *kéñ né* means 'That is it!', but the same string is more often

heard as *kéŋ nɛ̄ɛ* ‘Is that so/it?’, i.e. constructed as a polar question (see Section 3.2.2.2 on polar questions, and Section 3.5.1 on *keŋ* and *nɪŋ*).

3.2.1.5 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 make up 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). In this section, the SVC in Chakali is identified using representative examples. 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 (17) illustrates the phenomenon.

- (17) à *kirinsá* ḡ *màsi kpó* àká *dògɔnì* tā
 ART tsetse.fly.PL 1.SG beat kill CONN chase let.free
 [v] [v] [v]

‘I beat and killed the tsetse flies, and drove them away.’ (CB 023)

Together, the verbs *màsi* ‘beat’ and *kpó* ‘kill’ in (17) constitute a single event. The same can be said about the verbs *dògɔnì* ‘chase’ and *tā* ‘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 3.2.4.1.2 on the connective *aka*). What we have in (17) is one SVC separated from another multi-verb clause by the connective *aka*, and the three verbs *màsi*, *kpó* and *dògɔnì* share the reference of the nominal *a kirinsá* ‘the tsetse flies’ as their Theme argument and *ḡ* as their Agent argument, i.e. o and s respectively. The role of the verb *tā* in the sentence depicted in (17) is discussed at the end of this section.

Tense/aspect (18a), mood (18b), and/or polarity value (18c) are marked only once, usually with preverb particles. This means that they are not repeated for each verb of which a predicate is composed. The preverb particles are discussed in Section 3.4.2.

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- (18) a. *ñ 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. *ñ 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. *ñ 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 (19) 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, whereas *laga* takes *foto* as its subject. A representation of object-subject sharing (or switch sharing) appears under the free translation in (19).

- (19) Object-subject sharing
hèmbíí tawá fótò lágà dáá ní
 nail pierce picture hang wood POSTP
 v v

'A picture hangs from a nail on a wooden pole.'

foto < *x* >
tawa <SUBJ= *y*, OBJ= *x* >
laga <SUBJ= *x*, OBL = *z* >

Subject-subject and object-object sharing are more common than object-subject sharing. In example (17), which is repeated below, the nominal expression *a kirinsa* is the shared object of three verbs, i.e. *masi*, *kps* and *dvgvni*, whereas the pronoun *ñ* is the shared subject for the same three verbs. However, only *masi* and *kps* make up the SVC.

- (17') Subject-subject and Object-object sharing
à kírinsá ñ mäsì kpó àká dògònì tá
 ART tsetse.fly.PL 1.SG beat kill CONN chase let.free
 'I beat and killed the tsetse flies, and drove them away.'
ñ < *x* >
kirinsa < *y* >

masi <SUBJ= *x* , OBJ= *y* >
dsgvni <SUBJ= *x* , OBJ = *y* >

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 (20). 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 (20) are conceived as single event. In Section 3.2.4, it will be shown that connectives are usually present when one wishes to distinguish events.

- (20) a. $\emptyset \quad síí \quad kààlì \ nà$
 3SG rise go see
 $v_1 \quad v_2 \quad v_3$
 lit. ‘She stood, went, and saw’

b. $\emptyset \quad brá \ tìù \quad tfó \ kààlì$
 3SG turn go.down run go
 $v_1 \quad v_2 \quad v_3 \quad v_4$
 ‘She return 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 below, illustrates a transfer of possession.

- (7') Manipulative serial verb construction
kàlá kpá à lóólí / ḥ tìè áfíá
 K. take ART car / 3SG give A.
 ν ν
 'Kala gave the car/it to Afia' (lit. Kala take the car give Afia.)

Frequent co-locations of the type presented in (7) are *kpa wa*, *lit.* take come, ‘bring’, *kpa kaalı*, *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

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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 (21a) and (21c), together with a non-stative predication, determine each construction.

- (21) a. *Terminative construction*

<i>làyálàyá</i>	<i>hán</i>	<i>nì</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	<i>kòtì</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>?áá</i>	<i>pétí</i>
ADVT	DEM	POSTP	1.SG	skin	ART	bushbuck	finish
v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v

‘I just finished skinning the bushbuck.’

- b. *ṇ* *pétí* *à* *tómá* *rá*
1.SG finish ART work FOC

‘I have finished the work.’

- c. *Relinquishment construction*

<i>kpá</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	<i>néy</i>	<i>tá</i>
take	1.SG	hand	let.free
v	v	v	v

‘Leave my hand’ (Let me go!)

- d. *à* *bóóŋ* *tá* *òò* *bìè* *rē*
ART goat abandon 3.SG.POSS child FOC

‘The goat abandoned its kids.’

The examples in (21a) and (21c), 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 predicate, as shown in (21b) and (21d). Similarly, the verb *baga* ‘attempt to no avail’ conveys nonachievement, e.g. *ʊ buure kisie baya*, lit. he look.for knife fail, ‘he did not find the knife’, and the verb *na* ‘see’ conveys confirmation or verification, e.g. *sɔɔre disa na*, lit. smell soup see, ‘smell the soup’. Going back to example (17) above, the verb *ta* contributes to a *relinquishment* multi-verb construction, similar to (21c) above, and not to a SVC.

² These verbs are similar to what Bonvini (1988: 108) calls *auxiliant*.

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.

3.2.1.6 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 (22), although some sentences appear with the focus particle following the postposition *ni*. The focus particle is a pragmatic marker which identifies for the hearer the topical subject (i.e. may be distinct from the grammatical subject) and does not convey locative meaning (Section 3.5.3). The focus particle will be ignored in the discussion. The second line in (22) 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. These are the linguistic expressions which convey the spatial relationships in Chakali. The third line makes a correspondence between the utterance-level and the grammatical relation-level. The figure *a gar* ‘the cloth’ functions as subject and the phrase *a tabul 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.

- (22) [à gár] [ságá] [à téébùl juú ni]
figure TRM *ground+TRM*
 SUBJ PRED OBL
 ‘The cloth is on the table.’ (PSPV 4)

In (22), the spatial relation is expressed via three topological relation markers, that is, the main predicate *saga* ‘be on’ or ‘sit’, the postposition *ni* and the relational nominal predicate *juu* ‘top of’. The main predicate *saga* denotes a stative event which localizes the figure with respect to the ground. The postposition *ni* has no other function than to signal that the oblique object is a locative phrase. The relational nominal predicate *juu* designates the search domain and depends on the reference entity of the ground (i.e. *teebul*). The latter two topological relation markers are discussed in more detail in Section 3.2.5.3 and 3.3.2.7.

3.2.1.7 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 *kaal*

‘exceed, surpass’, whose two arguments are the objects compared.⁴ 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 gradable 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 *kaalì* are verbs, a comparative construction is a type of multi-verb clause. If the predicative scale is absent, as in (23b), one may still interpret the construction as a comparative one, in which case both the context and the meaning of the nominals involved would provide the property on which the comparison is made. These characteristics are illustrated in (23).

(23) Comparative transitive construction

- a. *wòsáá zíŋá kàálì áfíá*
W. grow surpass A.
[n]_{comparee} [v]_{scale} [n]_{standard}
‘Wusa is taller than Afia.’
- b. *wòsá bàtfílì káálí kàlá bàtfílì*
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 bounded with a postpositional phrase. It is referred to as a comparative intransitive construction since the standard is not encoded in the grammatical object of a transitive verb. Instead, the predicative scale is embedded in a nominalized property following the identificational verb *jaa* (see Section 3.3.11.2 on classifiers).

(24) Comparative intransitive construction

- wòsá jáá níhíé àfíá ní*
W. IDENT old A. POSTP
[n]_{comparee} v [v]_{scale} [n]_{standard}
‘Wusa is older than Afia.’

⁴ Brindle et al. (2005) presents a lexical-functional grammar (LFG) account of the comparative construction in Gã, a language also exhibiting an ‘exceed’- or ‘surpass’-comparative.

The same two strategies are used to express a superlative degree: surpassing or being superior to all others is explicitly expressed by a phrase containing the pronoun *ba* ‘they, them’. This is shown in (25).

(25) Superlative construction

- a. *wòsá zíŋá kāálí bá*
W. grow surpass 3.PL
v v
‘Wusa is the tallest.’
- b. *wòsá jáá níhìé bá ní*
W. IDENT old 3.PL 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*)*ni* followed by the scale, the verb *maase* ‘equal, enough, ever’ and the reciprocal word *dɔŋá* ‘each other’ (see Section 3.3.3.6 on reciprocity and reflexivity). This is shown in (26).

(26) Comparison of equality construction

- wòsá ní àfiā bìnsá máásé dɔŋá rā*
W. CONN A. year equal RECP FOC
‘Wusa is as old as Afia.’

Finally, the verb *bó* in (27) is a comparative transitive verb which can be translated with the English comparative adjective and preposition ‘better than’.

(27) *zàáŋ tómá bó diàrè tìŋ tōmā*
today work better.than yesterday ART work
v

‘Today’s work is better than yesterday’s work’

3.2.1.8 Modal clause

A modal clause is a clause expressing ability, obligation, possibility, etc. An ability-possibility construction is a clause containing the word *kɪŋ* 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

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ability or possibility is also possible in the positive using the construction. The word *kɪŋ* is glossed ABL to refer to ‘ability’.⁵

(28) Ability-Possibility construction

- a. ḵ wà kɪŋ wàà
3SG NEG ABL come
‘He is not able to come.’
- b. i kàá kɪŋ kààlōó
2.SG FUT ABL go.FOC
‘You may go.’
- c. ñ kàá kɪŋ wàà tʃìà
1.SG FUT ABL come.FOC tomorrow
‘May I come tomorrow?’

The phrase *a bɔniē ni* ‘perhaps’ is an adjunct phrase used when the occurrence of a situation or an achievement is in doubt. The word *bɔniē* is not used in any other context in the text corpus or lexicon. Thus, the dubitative modality construction is a construction marked by the presence of the phrase *a bɔniē ni* clause-initially.

(29) Dubitative construction

- a. à bɔniē ní dɔ́yŋ kàá wàà
DUB rain FUT come.FOC
‘Perhaps it is going to rain.’
- b. à bɔniē ní ḵ dì wáawáà
DUB 3SG HEST come.PFV.FOC
‘Perhaps he came yesterday.’

In some contexts, a speaker may prefer to use a cognitive verb in a phrase like *η lisie* ‘I think (...)’ or the phrase *a kɔ̃ɔ̃ η na, lit. it tires me FOC*, ‘I wonder (...)’ as alternative to the dubitative construction.

3.2.2 Interrogative clause

An interrogative clause consists either of a clause (i) with an initial interrogative word/phrase, or (ii) with the absence of an initial interrogative word but the

⁵ The word *kɪŋ* has a nominal homophone meaning ‘thing’ (and a classifier derived from the noun, see Section 3.3.11.2). Its distribution would suggest that it is a kind of preverb (Section 3.4.2), although it seems premature to categorize it.

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.

3.2.2.1 Content question

A content question contains an interrogative word/phrase whose typical position is clause-initial. In (30), *bááŋ* ‘what’ replaces the complement of the verb *jaa*, whereas (*a*)*àáŋ* ‘who’ replaces the subject constituent of the clause. The inventory of interrogative words/phrases can be found in Section 3.3.3.4.

- (30) a. *bááŋ* ò *kàà* *jáà*
 Q 3SG IPFV do
 ‘What is he doing?’
- b. *àáŋ* *káá* *wáá* *bááŋ*
 Q IPFV come here
 ‘Who is coming here?’

When an interrogative word/phrase cannot be located clause-initially, it is found at the canonical position of the constituent replaced. There are rare cases, but in (31a), which is equivalent to (31b), the question word *aŋ* ‘who’ appears in the object position following the transitive verb *maya* ‘beat’ and is slightly lengthened.

- (31) a. *zién* *máŋá* *àáŋ* (?)
 Z. beat Q
 ‘Zien beat who?’
- b. *àáŋ* *zién* *máŋä*
 Q Z. beat
 ‘Who did Zien beat?’

3.2.2.2 Polar question

A polar question is characterized by an interrogative intonation, consisting of an extra-low tone at the end of the utterance. Additionally, lengthening on the penultimate vocalic segment takes place. The properties differentiating an assertive clause from a polar question are illustrated in (32). The extra-low tone is represented with a double grave accent (i.e.”).

(32) Assertion vs. question

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. ò <i>wááò</i>
3.SG come.IPFV.FOC
‘He is coming.’ | b. ò <i>wááòò</i>
3.SG come.IPFV.FOC
‘Is he coming?’ |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|

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Possibly common to all Ghanaian languages, the agreeing response to a negative polar interrogative takes into account the logical negation, as (33) illustrates.

- (33) a. Speaker
 $i\quad wàà kāálíi$
 2SG NEG go.Q
 ‘Aren’t you going?’
- b. Addressee
 $\hat{e}\hat{e}\hat{e}$
 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.

3.2.3 Imperative clause

An imperative clause consists of a 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 (34). In (34a) the speaker excludes herself from the performers of the action, while in (34b) she includes herself among the performers.

- (34) a. Exclusive
 $fùùrì à\ díŋ dòsì$
 blow ART fire quench
 ‘Blow on this flame (to extinguish it).’
- b. Inclusive
 $tiè\ jà\ mùŋ làyàmè kààlì tóótííná\ pé$
 give 1PL all gather go landlord end
 ‘Let’s all go to the landlord together.’

[redo]

- (35) a. (*dí*) *wàà*
 Come
- b. *dí* *wáá*
 Come
- c. *máá* *wàà*
 Come
- d. *dí* *máá* *wāā*
 Come

When an order is given directly to the addressee, as in (35), the clause may be introduced with the particle *dí*. Some consultants believe that omitting the particle may be perceived as rude. 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.⁶

Example (36a) 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 (36b) 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 (34b), the strategy in both cases is to use the verb *tie* ‘give’.

- (36) a. Optative

tiè mì mìbòà bírgì
give 1.SG.POSS life delay
'Let me live long!'

- b. Hortative

tiè à gòà píilé
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’ (*gl. NEG.IMP*) occurring clause-initially.

- (37) *té káálíí, dísóñ kàà wáà*
NEG.IMP go rain ?IPFV? come.FOC
'Don't go; it's going to rain.'

The prohibitive also involves a high front vowel suffixed to its verb. The quality of the vowel, i.e. *-i/-i*, is determined by the quality of the verbal stem.

- (38) a. *gó*

'Move in a circle around'

- c. *kpóí*

'Kill'

- b. *té góíí*

'Don't move in a circle
around'

- d. *tí kpóííí*

'Don't kill'

⁶ If A asks 'What does he want?', B may reply *dí má dí wāā* '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, covered in Section 3.4.1.4.5.

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In addition, a distinction within the prohibitive can be made between a prohibition or advice for a future situation (39a), and for an on-going situation (39d).

- | | | | | |
|------|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| (39) | a. | <i>kòòrì sììmáà</i>
make food
'Make food.' | c. | <i>tíí kòòrì</i>
NEG.IMP make
'Do not be make (food)' |
| | b. | <i>té kòòrì sììmáà</i>
NEG make food
'Do not start making food' | | (hearer in the process of
making) |
| | d. | <i>tíí kòòrì sììmáà</i>
NEG.IMP make food
'Do not be make food' | | (hearer in the process of
making) |

3.2.4 Clause coordination and subordination

A relation between two clauses is signaled with or without a morpheme, and various structures and morphemes are used to relate clauses. Two relations are discussed below: coordination and subordination.

3.2.4.1 Coordination

The distribution of four clausal connectives which are used in coordinating clauses is presented: these are *a*, *ka*, *aka* and *di*.⁷

3.2.4.1.1 Connective *a* The connective *a* 'and' introduces a clause without overt subject. When it is used 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 (40) is an illustration of four consecutive clauses introduced by the connective *a*. This phenomenon is often referred to as 'clause chaining'.

- (40) *diàrà tìŋ ñ dì káálí bélèè rá, à jàwà nàmíé, à kpá wàà diá, à wà tìè ñ hääŋ, à ñmá tìè ñ hääŋ dí*
ADVT ART 1.SG HEST go G. FOC CONN buy.meat CONN
take.come.home CONN come.give.my.wife CONN say.give.my.wife COMP

⁷ See McGill, Femebti & Toupin (1999: 143–149) for an account of similar clausal connectives in Pasaale.

óó tóñà. ò tóñà jà dí
3.SG cook 3.SG cook 1.PL 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.'

3.2.4.1.2 Connective (*a*)ka From the data available, it proved impossible to solve the variances between the connectives *ka* and *aka*. Thus, since at this stage of research the two connectives are believed to be in free variation, I will refer to them as *(a)ka*.

First, the data suggests that either (i) the subject of the clause preceding the connective is inferred in the second clause, i.e. as for the connective *a* above, or (ii) a different subject surfaces in the second clause. Each case is shown in (41) and (42) respectively.

- (41) [ŋméñtél láá nɔ́á ní] **ká** [ŋmá dí óó wá nɔ́á ní]
spider collect mouth POSTP CONN say COMP 3.SG 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)
- (42) a. [dí ɿ wáà párà] **ká** [kírimá wá dómíí]
CONN 2.SG INGR farm (v) CONN tstse.fly.PL INGR bite.2.SG
'When **you** are doing the weeding and **tsetse flies** bite you (...)' (CB 003)
- b. [dí námùñ tí bí wáà jírà kíñkùrùgíé ŋméñtél són] **áká**
COMP anyone NEG ITR INGR call enumeration eight name CONN
[ɿ jírà kéñ]
2.SG call ADV
'(The monkey said: "They said) that **anyone** should not say the number eight and **you** have called the number eight": (LB 017)

Secondly, the connective *(a)ka* 'and' may encode a 'logical' or 'natural' sequence of events. For instance, in (41), someone traveling (or coming from the road) expects to be offered water to drink after the greetings are exchanged.

Thirdly, the connective *(a)ka* may also suggest a causal relation between interdependent clauses. In (43), it is the counting of the mounds which caused Spider to be confused, which can be seen as an unexpected outcome.

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- (43) óðwà *ŋméjtél* já kùrò àkà bùtì
3.SG.EMPH spider do count CONN confuse
'(Because) he himself (Spider) did count and he became confused' (LB 007)

Nevertheless the connective (*a*)*ka* can introduce a clause denoting an event which is not necessarily related to the event of the previous clause. It looks as if the connective (*a*)*ka* in (44) is used to integrate an unrelated event to the overall situation.

- (44) [nànsá sú bárá múj.] ká [dðóð tìŋ ŋmá dí kindígíí dðj à
meat fill place all CONN python ART say COMP something is ART
diā ní]
house POSTP
'Meat was all over the place. Then, Python said: "there is something in the room".' (PYTH??)
- (45) [à bìpɔlíí siì tʃñá] àká [ŋmá, ámiɛ̂ɛ i píná ...
ART young.man raise stand CONN said, ADV 2.SG.POSS father ...
'The young man stood up and said: "So, when your father (...)".' (CB 010)

Notice that the 'standing' and 'saying' events in (45) are strictly transitional, but this is not the case in (44). The connective *ka* in (44) 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'). In comparing (44) and (45), and the other examples provided in this section, it was impossible to distinguish *ka* from *aka*, and predict their distribution.

3.2.4.1.3 Connective *dì* The clausal connective *dì* 'and' or 'while' is homophonous with a complementizer particle (Section 3.2.4.2.1), a connective used in conditional constructions (Section 3.2.4.2), and a preverb particle signaling the imperfective aspect (Section 3.4.1.4.5). 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. Three examples are provided in (46). Some examples of the clausal connective *dì* in the corpus may be argued to convey intention or purpose, e.g. (??).

- (46) a. lié ò kààlì dì wá
Q 3.SG go CONN come
'Where is he coming from?' (lit. where he left and come)

- b. *kpá sìlmá hájì dì káálì*
 take food DEM CONN go
 ‘Take this food away! (*lit.* take this food and go)

3.2.4.2 Subordination

The morpheme *tíŋ* is mainly used as a determiner in noun phrases (see Section 3.3.1.2). However, there are instances where the discourse following *tíŋ* must be treated as subordinated and related to the noun phrase of which *tíŋ* is part. One may argue that the morpheme *tíŋ* can function as a relativizer. Consider (47).

- (47) *kúrò [pié tíŋ]NP ḡ kà tó à kùò ní kékj*
 count yam.mound.PL ART 3.SG-EGR-cover-ART-farm-POSTP-ADV
tièv
 give.3.SG
 ‘(Spider_x asked Buffalo to) count for him_x the yam mounds which he_x covered at the farm.’ (LB 006)

In (47), the phrase *ḡ kà tó à kùò ní kékj* is (i) in apposition to the noun phrase *pié tíŋ*, and (ii) in a subordination relation with the noun phrase.⁸

In a conditional construction like the one in (48a), the subordinate clause is headed by the particle *dì*, whereas the main clause follows the subordinate clause. Proverbs are typically conditional constructions. An example is given in (48b).

- (48) a. *dì ñ fí tú kààlì dē, bà kàá tÙgún nō*
 CONN 1.SG MOD go.down go ADV 3.PL.H+ FUT beat.1.SG FOC
 ‘If I was to go down there, they will beat me.’
 b. *dì i zíŋ wā zìŋà, i wàá kìŋ gáálí díŋ nī If you have*
 CONN 2.SG tail INGR long 2.SG NEG ABL be.over fire POSTP
 ‘a long tail, you cannot cross fire.’

Adverbial expressions are used as connectives in similar clause-relating functions. The subordinate clause of a concessive construction is introduced by the expression *aní amuŋ*, *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 *apuuni* or *awie*, *lit.* the-head-on and the-matter, respectively, ‘therefore’ or ‘because’. Examples are shown in (49).

⁸ Examples LB 004, LB 012, CB 019 and CB 026 in the appendix display the same sort of subordination.

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- (49) a. Ḍ wááwááš àní ámùŋ dí Ḍ wííð
3.SG come.PFV.FOC CONN COMP 3.SG sick.FOC
'He came in spite of his illness.'
- b. ñ wà kpágá sákìr, àpúúnì ñ dì válà náásá
1.SG NEG have bicycle CONN 1.SG IPFV walk leg.PL
'I don't have a bicycle, therefore I am walking.'

3.2.4.2.1 Complementizer *dí* Example (50) shows that the complementizer *dí* introduces indirect speech.

- (50) kúórù bìnìhááñ ñmá dí èéééé
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. *ñma (tie)* 'say (give)', *tfagali* 'teach, show, indicate', *hësi* 'announce', etc. This is shown in (51) with *hësi*.

- (51) tóótííná ñmá dí bá hësí má ká pàrà kùó
landlord say COMP 3.PL.Gb announce 2.PL EGR farm farm
'The landowner says that they announced: "You go and work at the farm".'

In (52a), 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' the wife *in order to* have her *sii* 'raise up'. In (52b) it is shown that a purpose (or an intention) can be encoded when *dí* introduces the goal. In the latter case however consultants say that the complementizer *dí* is optional.

- (52) a. tfòòsá písì, Ḍ báál tìŋ té lálá à hääñ
morning scatter 3.SG.POSS husband ART early wake.up ART wife
dí Ḍ síí dùò nì.
COMP 3.SG raise.up asleep POSTP
'Early in the morning her husband woke up the wife from sleep.' (*lit.*
that she should/must stand up) (CB 030)
- b. Ḍ káálí (dí) óó ká pòòñ nñ
3.SG go COMP 3.SG EGR drink water
'He went to have a drink of water.'

3.2.4.2.2 Clause apposition In (53) it is shown that a desire can be encoded by two clauses in apposition.

- (53) *jà búúré nII rā já nðå*
 2.PL want water FOC 2.PL drink
 'We want some water to drink.'

3.2.5 Adjunct adverbials and postposition

The notion ‘adverbial’ is used in the sense of ‘modifying main predicate’, that is, a manner, a place, or a time in which a state of affair is carried out. An adjunct adverbial is thus an expression, word or phrase, which is not an argument of the main predicate, modifies the main predicate, and is positioned at the periphery in an adjunct constituent (ADJ), repeated in (1).

- (1') ADJ ± S|A + P ± O ± ADJ

Adjuncts are usually found following the core constituent(s), but may also be found at the beginning of a clause. As shown in (54), reference to time may be found at the beginning of a clause before the subject.

- (54) ADJ + S + P + O
[tʃvɔ̃sá pisi] à *bìpɔ̄líi* *kpá ḩ pá̄r*
 ADJ S P O
 morning scatter ART young.man take 3SG.POSS hoe
 'The following day the young man took his hoe along...' (CB 005)

In Section 3.2.1.8, the dubitative construction was identified with the phrase *à bóníé ní* ‘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.

- (55) a. Temporal
[támá finíi] ḩ fí sówá
 few little 3.SG MOD die
 'A little longer and she would have died.'
 b. Evidential
[wídíñ ná] dí ḩ náó rā
 truth FOC COMP 3.SG see.3.SG FOC
 'It is certain that he saw him.'

In (55a), the phrase *tama finii* is not inherently temporal, but must be interpreted as such in the given context. In (55b) the verbless clause *widiŋ na* can be seen as adding an illocutionary force; it additionally signifies that the speaker has evidence and/or wish to convince the hearer about the proposition.

3.2.5.1 Temporal adjunct

A temporal nominal adjunct (gl. ADVT) is an expression which typically indicates when an event occurs. In Section 3.4.2.3.2, the three-interval tense system is introduced. It was shown that the temporal nominal *diare* ‘yesterday’ and *tsia* ‘tomorrow’ have preverbs counterpart. The temporal nominal *zaaŋ* (or *zalan*) expresses ‘today’, and *tɔmʊsʊ* can express either ‘the day before yesterday’ or ‘the day after tomorrow’, yet neither *zaaŋ* and *tɔmʊsʊ* have a corresponding preverb. Thus *diare* ‘yesterday’, *tsia* ‘tomorrow’, and *zaaŋ* ‘today’, which typically function as adjunct and can be disjunctively connected by the nominal connective *ani* are treated as nominals.

- (56) a. àwòzúrì ñ wà tùwò nī
ADVT 1.SG NEG be.at POSTP
'That day I wasn't there.'
- b. àwòzúrì dígíí kòsánáš válá (...)
ADVT one buffalo walked (...)
'One day a buffalo walked (by and greeted the spider).' (LB 005)
- c. [déní], [sáŋà dígíí] à hāñáŋ já pàà à báál zōmō (...)
ADVT time one ART wife HAB take.PL ART husband insult.PL (...)
'[During their life, it happened] on one occasion that the woman did insult the man (...)' . (CB 017)
- d. ñ já kàlì ò pé rè [tʃɔpìsì bíí-mùŋ]
1.SG HAB go 3.SG end FOC day.break ITR-all
'I visit him every day.'
- e. [làyálàyá hàn nī] ñ kòtì à ɿáá péti
ADVT 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, *awozzvri* is translated into ‘that day’ in (56), but the forms *wəsá* ‘sun’ and *zvv* ‘enter’ are perceptible. The phrase *layalaya han ni* in (56e) literally means ‘now.now this on’ (ADVT DEM POSTP), but ‘only

a moment ago' is a better translation. Similarly, *deni* is analyzed as a temporal nominal, but usually functions as a connective. It is made from the spatial demonstrative *de* and the postposition *ni*, and is translated to English as 'thereupon', 'after that', 'at that point', or simply 'then'. It is mainly used at the beginning of a sentence to signal a transition between the preceding and the following situations; (57) suggests a transition of the resultative type. The appendix contains other examples of *deni*, e.g. CB (008, 017, 019) and LB (006, 016).

- (57) *dénī rè, ṽò hāāŋ tìŋ ymá dí àái (...)*
ADVT FOC 3.SG.POSS wife ART say COMP no (...)

[The man said: ‘Don’t cry, if you tell your father that I drove the tsetse flies away, weeded the farm and took you as a wife, I will also tell your father you are freeing yourself in bed.’] ‘Then, the wife said: “No, (I won’t say anything to my father’.)” (CB 036)

3.2.5.2 Manner adjunct

A manner expression describes the way the event denoted by the verb(s) is carried out. The examples in (58) illustrate the meaning and distribution of manner expressions.

It is common for an ideophone to function as a manner expression (Section 3.5.5). One could argue that all the manner expressions in (58) are ideophones, i.e. they display reduplicated forms and *tserim* is one of a few words which ends with a bilabial nasal. The examples in (59) show the repetition of two expressions; one

is an ideophone, i.e. *kajkalaj* ‘crawl of a snake’, and the other a reduplicated manner expression, i.e. *layalaya* ‘quickly’ from *laya* ‘now’. The repetition of *kajkalaj* and *layalaya* conveys that the motion was (*kpa* ‘taken’ and) occurring with great speed.

- (59) a. à bààŋ kpá kàŋkàlànj kàŋkàlànj kàŋkàlànj
 CONN just take crawl.rapidly
 ‘(She was after the python) but (he) started to crawl away like a shot.’
 (REF?)
- b. kà bààŋ kpá làyàlàyà làyàlàyà
 CONN just take DXM DXM
 ‘(She) started to (walk) quickly.’

The manner adverb *kijkaj* ‘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 (60a) and (60b) that *kijkaj* follows a verb and a nominalized verb respectively. However, in (60c), *kijkaj* does not function as a manner adverb but as a quantifier.

- (60) a. gbiǎ i jáárfjé kíŋkāŋ nà (...)
 monkey you unable.PFV DXM FOC (...)
 ‘Monkey, you are so incompetent, (...).’ (LB 016)
- b. dúó tʃɔ̄i kíŋkāŋ wà wíré
 asleep lie.NMLZ DXM NEG good
 ‘Sleeping too much is not good.’
- c. kùórù kùò tíŋ kà kpágá kírinsá kíŋkāŋ, dé rē jà kààlì
 chief farm ART REL have tsetse.fly.PL QUANT DEM FOC 1.PL go
 ‘The chief’s farm that has many tsetse flies, there we went’

3.2.5.3 Postposition *ni* and (non-) locative adjunct

First, the postposition *ni* signals that the constituent in which it appears is locative. In fact, in the majority of the utterances in the corpus,⁹ the postposition *ni* is present irrespective of the locative verb involved or whether or not a relational

⁹ The *Chakali Location and Position Corpus* (Brindle 2010) contains the audio material of the elicitation procedure described in Bowerman & Pederson (1993); Ameka, Witte & Wilkins (1999); Meira & Levinson (2001a,b).

noun occurs. Only a few exceptions can be found, and they are systematically accounted for by two factors: (i) some verbs do not co-occur with *ni*, e.g. *ts* ‘cover’, *kpaga* ‘have’ and *su* ‘fill’, and (ii) some situations are described using an intransitive clause, e.g. *à bónsó tʃíégiað* ‘the cup is broken’ (TRPS 26). Ameka & Essegbe (2006: 370) present the Ewe verb *le*, glossed ‘be at’, which is used in the majority of the sentences denoting the situations of the TRPS. The translation of Ewe *le* to Chakali would then be equivalent to *dṣa* NP *ni*.¹⁰

Second, the postposition *ni* identifies an oblique object phrase, and conveys that the oblique object phrase contains the ground object with which a figure related. The complement precedes the postposition. The examples displayed in (61) show that the complement of *ni* is a noun phrase (see *RelP* in Section 3.3.2.7). Since there are no prepositions in the language, the abbreviation PP in (61) unambiguously stands for Postposition Phrase.

- (61) a. *[[[a dia]NP jnuu]RelP ni]PP* ‘on the roof of the house’
 b. *[[a dia]NP ni]PP* ‘in/at the house’
 c. *[[ban]NP ni]PP* ‘here’
 d. *[[de]NP ni]PP* ‘there’
 e. *[[o]NP ni]PP* ‘at/on/in him/her/it’

Nevertheless, the postposition does not inform the hearer on any of the elementary topological spatial notions; none of the concepts of proximity, contiguity, or containment is encoded in the postposition *ni*. It never selects particular figure-ground configurations but must be present for all of them.

Besides the description of static configurations, the postposition *ni* is used frequently in adverbial/connective expressions: *à bóniñé ni* ‘maybe, perhaps’, *à júú ni* ‘therefore’, *bún'bún 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 3.2.4.2 and 3.5).

Interestingly, if the postposition occurs between the focus particle (Sections 3.3.9 and 3.5.3) and the preceding nominal, one would expect the focus particle to surface in its default form, i.e. *ra*, since the required adjacency is no longer satisfied (Section 2.3.2.2.2).

- (62) a. *α ni FOC*

¹⁰ The Ewe verb *le* may also function as predicator of qualities (Ameka & Essegbe 2006: 373). In Chakali, it was shown in Sections 3.2.1.1 and 3.3.11.2 that *jaa* predicates over qualities, not *dṣa*.

- b. à máŋkísi púú nī rò/rè
ART match RELN POSTP FOC
'on the top of the matchbox'
- c. à pùl ní rō/rē
ART river POSTP FOC
'on/at the river'

However, on several occasions, the postposition becomes 'transparent' and vowel-harmony can still operate (i.e. though not the place assimilation of consonant). The phenomenon is shown in (62).¹¹

3.2.5.4 Oblique object phrase

The oblique object phrase is an element of a clause whose semantics is characterized by an affected or effected object, although realized by a postpositional phrase. In Section 3.2.5.3, it is claimed that the postposition *ní* (i) identifies an oblique object phrase, (ii) conveys that the oblique object phrase contains the ground object in localization, and (iii) follows its complement.

While localization is the main function of *ní*, the postposition can also be found when there is no reference to space. For instance, in Section 3.2.5.2, I discuss the connective *dení* (i.e. DEM+POSTP), whose role in discourse is to signal a temporal transition, not a spatial one. The examples in (63) illustrate some of the non-spatial uses of the oblique object phrase headed by *ní*.

- (63)
- a. ḵ pőá [làyálàyá nī]
3.SG drink DXM POSTP
'He drinks quickly.'
 - b. bááŋ i fí kàá ső́gí [tʃɔ́sá tīn nī]
Q 2.PL PST EGR crush morning ART POSTP
'What were you crushing this morning?'
 - c. à kúórù ñmá dí ḵ bááŋ káá sī [ñ ní] rē
ART chief say COMP 3SG.POSS temper EGR raise 1.SG POSTP FOC
'The chief told me that he was very angry with me.'

¹¹ A more extreme case is found in example (63c).

3.3 Nominals

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 category. The diversity of forms and functions of nominals is presented below.

3.3.1 Noun phrases

A noun phrase (NP) consist 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.

3.3.1.1 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. Such a noun phrase can be interpreted as indefinite, 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.

(64) N = NP

- a. *kàlá jàwá [píéy]NP ná*
Kala buy mat FOC
‘Kala bought a MAT’
- b. *[dʒèti]NP kìm-bón ná*
lion.SG CLF-dangerous.SG FOC
‘A lion is DANGEROUS’

In (64), the noun phrase *p̥ieŋ* describes any mat and is interpreted as a novelty in the hearer's knowledge of Kala, while *dʒeti* describes the entire class of lions. Noun phrases containing the numeral *dígíí* 'one' may be translated as English 'a certain'. The expression *badigii* can be translated as 'one of them', 'someone' or 'anyone' (e.g. *ʊ wa ja badigii*, lit. he-not-be-one.of.them, 'he is an illegitimate child').

3.3.1.2 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). A definite noun phrase may consist of a single pronoun in subject position, as shown in (65).

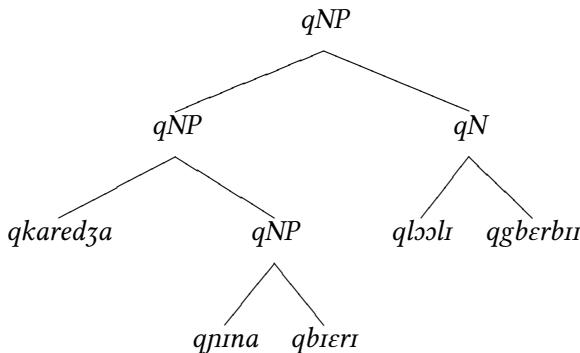
- (65) pro = NP
 [ð]_{NP} s̥ówáð
 3.SG die
 'She died'

A possessive noun phrase is always definite. A possessive pronoun followed by a noun is analyzed as a succession of a noun phrase and a noun. Thus, the noun phrase in (66) is analyzed as a sequence of the noun phrase *ʊ* and the noun *māã*.

- (66) pro + N = NP
 [ð māã]_{NP} ɿmá dí ɿðí
 3.SG.POSS mother say COMP INTERJ
 'Her mother said, "Oi!"'

The treatment NP+N for possessive noun phrase is motivated by the possibility of recursion of an attributive possession relation. The expression *lɔɔligberbiɪN* 'car key' is the head in the three possessive noun phrases *karedža lɔɔligberbiɪ* 'Kareja's car key', *karedža jnina lɔɔligberbiɪ* 'Kareja's father's car key' and *karedža jnina bieri lɔɔligberbiɪ* 'Kareja's father's senior brother's car key'. Notice that in these examples the nominal head consists of the right-most element in the noun phrase. The compound noun *lɔɔligberbiɪ* 'car-key', and correspondingly, the head of the left daughter of the possessive noun phrase is the right-most element, e.g. [[*karedža jnina bieri*]_{NP} [*lɔɔligberbiɪ*]_N]_{NP}, lit. 'the key of the brother of the father of Kareja'. The syntactic tree in (67) illustrates the structure of this definite noun phrase.

(67)



3.3.1.2.1 Articles *a* and *tnj* There are two articles in Chakali; one which encodes specificity and the other definiteness. The first one is the article *a* (*gl. ART1*) and the other is *tnj* (*gl. ART2*).

The article *a* is translated with the English article ‘the’.¹² It must precede the head noun and cannot co-occur with the possessive pronoun. In the context of (68), the speaker assumes that the hearer is informed about Kala’s interest in buying a mat.

(68) a + N = NP

kàlā jáwá [à píεŋ]NP ná
Kala buy ART1 mat FOC

‘Kala bought the MAT’

The type of mat, its color or the location where Kala bought the mat and so on are not necessarily shared pieces of information between the speaker and hearer in (68). The only information the speaker believes they have in common is Kala’s interest in purchasing a mat. The article *a* 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 *tnj* (*gl. ART2*) can also be seen to correspond to English ‘the’, but a preferable paraphrase would be ‘as referred previously’ or ‘this (one)’. The article *tnj* appears when the speaker knows that the hearer will be able to identify the referent of the noun phrase. In that sense, the referent is familiar.¹³ When *tnj*

¹² A pre-nominal article is not found in Tampulma or Pasaale. The fact that Waali and Dagaare use an identical article suggests that the definite article *a* is a contact-induced innovation.

¹³ 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

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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 (64) and (68) above, a proper interpretation of example (69) requires that both the speaker and addressee have a particular mat in mind. In terms of word order, the article *a* initiates the noun phrase and the article *tɪŋ* belongs near the end of the noun phrase.

- (69) (a +) N + tɪŋ = NP
kàlá jáwá [à píéŋ tɪŋ]_{NP} nā
Kala buy ART1 mat ART2 FOC
'Kala bought the MAT'

Consider the slight meaning difference between (70a) and (70b).

- (70) a. *pín̩é i* *píná kà dó*
Q 2.SG.POSS father EGR be
'How is your father?'
b. *pín̩é i* *píná tɪŋ kà dó*
Q 2.SG.POSS father ART2 EGR be
'How is your father?'

Both sentences may be translated with 'How is your father?'. However, whereas the sentence (70a) can request a general description of the father (i.e. skin color, size, general health, etc.), the sentence in (70b) 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 *tɪŋ* in (70b) 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 *pín̩é* 'how', for details. The two articles *a* and *tɪŋ* are not in complementary distribution. The article *tɪŋ* may occur following the head of a possessive noun phrase, although it is not attested following a weak pronouns. When the articles *a* and *tɪŋ* co-occur, language consultants could omit the preposed *a* without affecting the interpretation of the proposition.

Notice that any of the terms *article*, *determiner* and *demonstrative* could have been used to identify *a* and *tɪŋ*. Similar forms/functions are labelled differently in the literature; for instance Bodomo (1997: 47) calls the prenominal *a* in Dagaare an article ('the') and *nye* a demonstrative ('this'). Yet, an analysis of the paradigms

already has a representation of it in memory."

in (71), in which Central Dagaare is included for illustration,¹⁴ has never been offered. It is shown that a sequence of two demonstratives (in Bodomo's term) can occur in postnominal position.

(71) Corresponding noun phrases in Chakali and Central Dagaare

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. Central Dagaare | b. Chakali (<i>no frame</i> , see p133
<i>for frame</i>) |
| à bié 'the child' | à bié 'the child' |
| à bié ñà 'the child this' | à bié tñj 'the child this' |
| à bié ñánéé ñà 'the child this
this' | à bié háj tñj 'the child this
this' |
| *a bie ña ñanee | *a bie tñj hay |

The question raised by paradigm (71) is whether one should call *tñj* a demonstrative (and not an article) based on the English glosses supplied by Bodomo (1997: 47), or show that Chakali and Central Dagaare stack determiner-like function words in an unusual way and that this is a problem for the general description of noun phrases.¹⁵ The latter position is chosen and a description of *a* and *tñj* is provided above. The noun phrase *a bie hay tñj* means 'this child of which we (both speaker and hearer) have a familiar/common representation'. The discourse implications of *a* and *tñj* need further study.

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.

3.3.2 Nouns

In this section the elements admitted in the schematic representation (72) are discussed.

(72) [[LEXEME]_{stem} - [NOUN CLASS]]_n

A stem may have nominal or verbal lexeme status. The latter has either a state (i.e. stative) or a process (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*.

¹⁴ Central Dagaare as it is spoken in Nadowli, Sombo, Daftama, etc. Thanks to John Gaanaa for providing the examples.

¹⁵ The demonstrative *hay* 'this' is presented in Section 3.3.8.

3.3.2.1 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 3.3.11.1, it is suggested that an eroded form of this ‘reflection’ is still observable in Chakali. Brindle (2008a) claims that in Chakali inflectional class (i.e. noun class) and agreement class (i.e. gender) should be distinguished and analyzed 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 Southwestern Grusi languages,¹⁶ 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 3.3.2.1.8.

Table 3.1: *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

¹⁶ Crouch & Naden (1998: 136) state that “[i]n Vagla most traces of this [noun-class system where paired singular/plural noun affixes correlate with concord 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.

definition, there are nine noun classes, of which four are rare. A synopsis is displayed in Table 3.1, and each of them is discussed below.

3.3.2.1.1 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 3.2: *Class 1*

CLASS	Stem	SG.	PL.	Gloss
CL.1	va	váà	vá'sá	dog
CL.1	pen	pèná	pènsá	moon
CL.1	gun	gùnó	gùnsó	cotton
CL.1	t̪suom	t̪ùòmō	t̪ùònsó	togo hare
CL.1	bi	bié	bisé	child
CL.1	gbiegi	gbiègié	gbiègisé	type of hawk

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 2.4.2 and correspond to the noun class realization rules given in (73).

- (73) a. $-(C)V_{nc} > [\beta_{RO}, +ATR, -HI] / [\beta_{RO}, +ATR] C^*$ *_*
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. $-(C)V_{nc} > +LO / -ATR C^*$ *_*
A noun class suffix vowel becomes +lo if the preceding stem vowel is either i, ε, o or a.

3.3.2.1.2 Class 2 Table 3.3 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 (73) 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 3.4.

Table 3.3: *Class 2*

CLASS	Stem	SG.	PL.	Gloss
CL.2	daa	dáá	dàásá	tree
CL.2	bøla	bølå	bølásá	elephant
CL.2	kuoru	kùórù	kùórùsó	chief
CL.2	tomo	tòmó	tòmósó	type of tree
CL.2	bele	bèlè	bèlèsé	type of wild dog
CL.2	tii	tìi	tìisè	type of tree

Table 3.4: *Uncertain class 1 or 2*

SG.	PL.	Gloss
dጀጀ	dጀጀsጀጀ	python
kirimá	kirimásá	tsetse fly
kòwìé	kòwìsá	soap
léhéé	lèhèsá	cheek

Two questions are raised by looking at the data in table 3.4: (i) What is the stem of these nouns? (ii) Is there a good reason to favor final vowel deletion instead of insertion, e.g. /kirima/ vs. /kirim/? Addressing the first question, consider the first pair of words of table 3.4, i.e. *dጀጀ* and *dጀጀsa*. On the one hand, if *dጀጀ* is treated as the stem and the word for ‘python’ is assigned to class 1, the refutation of the rule in (73) must be explained, i.e. vowel suffixes are always -hi. On the other hand, if the stem is *dጀጀ*, a deletion rule which reduces the length of the vowel, i.e. /dጀጀ-sa/ → [dጀጀsጀጀ], must be stated. Such a decision would assign the word for ‘python’ to class 2. The decision taken here is to respect the rule in (73), which is empirically supported, and assume an *ad hoc* deletion rule. The deletion rule may be explained by general prosody, something which is not considered here. The word pairs in table 3.4 are assigned the following classes: ‘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/, ‘soap’ is in class 1 and its stem is /kòwì/, and finally ‘cheek’ is in class 2 and the last stem vowel is deleted in the plural.

3.3.2.1.3 Class 3 Nouns in class 3 generally have a sonorant coda consonant, i.e. *l*, *n*, *r*, etc. Class 3 contains nouns whose singular forms have no overt suffix and plural forms which 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 (73).

Table 3.5: *Class 3*

CLASS	STEM	SG.	PL.	GLOSS
CL.3	n̥on	nóŋ	nóná	fruit
CL.3	hāān	hāāŋ	hāānà	woman
CL.3	gɔŋ	góŋ	góŋá	river
CL.3	nar	nár	nará	person
CL.3	?ol	?ól	?óló	type of mouse
CL.3	butet	bütér:	bütéte	turtle
CL.3	sel	sél:	sélé	animal

3.3.2.1.4 Class 4 The major characteristic of class 4 is that all the stems have a final syllable consisting of [+HI, -RO] vowel(s) (see table 3.6). Class 4 is analyzed in the following way: in both the singular and the plural, a vowel is added to the stem, 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, +HI] the plural suffix vowel is *-e*, and if the stem vowel is [-ATR, +HI], 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 *-e* in that position. Given the rules in (73), class 4 is certainly the most problematic in terms of uniformity. However, class 4 is productive. A similar noun class was found in both Tampulma, Vagla, and Dëg.

Class 4 also includes nominalized verbal lexemes. In Section 3.3.2.2, it is shown 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 lexeme *zin* may be translated into English ‘drive’, ‘ride’ or ‘climb’. In the word *kíñzíñí* ‘horse’, *lit.* thing-riding, the suffix *-[+HI, -RO]* is added to the verbal lexeme *zin* making it nominal. Consequently, the plural of *kíñzíñí* ‘horse’ is *kíñzíñé*. The sequences *-ie* and *-ie* of class 4 often coalesce and may be perceived as *-ee* and *-ee* respectively.

3.3.2.1.5 Class 5 The monosyllabic stems of class 5 nouns can either be CVV or CVC. Class 5 consists of nouns which form their singular with no overt suffix and

Table 3.6: *Class 4*

CLASS	Stem	SG.	PL.	Gloss
CL.4	begi	bégíí	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, thing
CL.4	wílh	wílíí	wílíé	star

form their plural with the suffix *-nV*. The quality of the consonant is determined by the stem and the place assimilation rules introduced in Section 2.3.2.2.2, some of which are repeated in (74). The vowel of the plural suffix is determined by the stem vowel and the rules in (73).

- (74) *Class 5 suffix -nV/ surfaces -[lV] if the coda consonant of the stem is [l].*
-/[NASAL]V/_nc > -/[LATERAL]V/_nc / [LATERAL] _

Table 3.7: *Class 5*

CLASS	Stem	SG.	PL.	Gloss
CL.5	zin	zíj	zínná	type of bat
CL.5	hõn	hõj	hõnná	farmer or hunter gear
CL.5	kuo	kúó	kúónò	farm
CL.5	nuu	núù	núúnò	head
CL.5	vii	víí	vííné	type of cooking pot
CL.5	din	díñ	dínné	fire
CL.5	pel	pél	péllé	burial specialist

3.3.2.1.6 Nasals in noun classes 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 (73). Furthermore, in all the noun classes, the nasal consonants surface differently depending on the phonological context. The rules in (75) pre-

dict the observed outputs and are derived from the nasal assimilation rules in Section 2.3.2.1.1.

(75) *Possible outputs of nasals*

- a. $C[+NASAL] > \eta / _\#$
 $/hāän/ > [hāān] 'female' CL.3.SG$
- b. $/m/ > n / _ C [-LABIAL, -VELAR]$
 $/tſuom/ > [tſuōnsó] 'togo hares' CL.1.PL$
- c. $/ŋ/ > n / _ C [-LABIAL, -VELAR]$
 $/kɔlɔŋ/ > [kɔlɔnsá] 'wells' CL.2.PL$

The rule in (75a) says that any nasal consonant occurring word finally becomes [ŋ]. The rule in (75b) changes a bilabial nasal into an alveolar when it precedes a non-labial and non-velar consonantal segment. The rule in (75c) changes a velar nasal into an alveolar in the same environment.

3.3.2.1.7 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 3.2 to 3.7 and the exponents are gathered in Table 3.8.¹⁷

Table 3.8: *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%

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

¹⁷ The percentage is based on a list of 978 singular/plural pairs (lexicon 02/10/10 version). The five classes in Table 3.8 make up 88% of the nouns which are assigned a class in the lexicon.

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the classes (sg./pl.) \emptyset/\emptyset , \emptyset/ta , \emptyset/ma and η/sV are included in the classification. Examples are given in table 3.9.

Table 3.9: *Noun classes 6, 7, 8, and 9*

CLASS	Stem	SG.	PL.	Gloss
CL.6	dʒiensa	dʒíɛnsá	dʒíɛnsá	twin
CL.6	kapv̥sɪε	kápv̥síé	kápv̥síé	kola nut
CL.6	kpibii	kpíbíí	kpíbíí	louse
CL.7	kuo	kúó	kùòtó	roan antelope
CL.7	kie	kìé	kìété	half of a bird
CL.7	fɔ᷑	fɔ᷑	fṣtá	baboon
CL.8	naal	náàl	nááləmà	grand-father
CL.8	ŋma	ŋínà	ŋínámà	father
CL.8	hřeŋ	híéŋ	híémbá	relative
CL.9	jo	jóŋ	jósò	slave
CL.9	zi	zíŋ	zísè	tail
CL.9	ŋmɛ	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 3.10, the percentage of occurrence of the less productive noun classes 6, 7, 8 and 9 is given.

Table 3.10: *Less productive noun classes*

	CL.6	CL.7	CL.8	CL.9
SING	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	-N
PLUR	\emptyset	-tV	-mV	-sV
	7%	1.8%	0.9%	0.8%

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 patterns. For example the color terms (sg./pl.) *pɔmmá/pɔlɔnsá* ‘white’ and *búmmó/bùlùnsó* ‘black’ do not have comparable pairs and do not fit the noun classes described above. One would expect **pɔmmasa* to be the plural form for ‘white’ (also **trinama* for *tiìná/tómà* ‘owner’). Other examples are the pairs *tíè/tésà* ‘foetus’ and *túò/tósó* ‘bow’. 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 surprisingly different forms (predominantly in the plural) from the same speaker on different elicitation sessions do arise, but the latter case rarely occurs.

3.3.2.1.8 Semantic assignment criteria Several authors have presented their 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. Similarly, 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 us comment on each point:

- (i) 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, an Oti-Volta language and linguistic ‘neighbor’ of 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 suggests that Chakali has dropped all animacy distinctions in the noun class system while preserving one distinction in agreement (see Section 3.3.11.1).

- (ii) Geographically and genetically, languages related to Chakali had noun class systems whose classifications were based, at least partially, on semantic criteria. 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. Some members of class 6 consist of nouns with mass or abstract denotations, i.e. rice, louse, struggle, profit, etc. Class 7 also contains mass and abstract nouns, i.e. oil, honey, water, and taboo, but also bush animals such as bushbuck, waterbuck, baboon, roan antelope and hartebeest. Class 7 represents 1.8% of the noun sample (see Table 3.10) and mass/abstract nouns and bush animals represent each 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 found with different suffixes excludes a purely phonologically-based class assignment. There is no way a speaker can correctly pluralize the stems *tii* ‘type of tree’ and *tii* ‘type of ants’ based entirely on their (segmental) phonological shape.¹⁸

¹⁸ I put segmental in parenthesis since homonyms *with the same tonal melody* belonging to two

A combination of both (i) and (ii) seems consistent with the data observed. Chakali speakers seem to acquire the noun classes as French or Dutch speakers acquire the grammatical gender of inanimate entities which lack natural gender. Finally, class assignment in complex stem nouns indicates that the denotation of a word plays no role in determining its noun class (see Section 3.3.2.3). The class of a complex stem noun is always determined by the rightmost stem. Given that compounding is highly productive, this purely formal process suggests that semantic criteria in noun class assignment are inoperative.

3.3.2.1.9 Tone patterns of noun classes Some tonal melodies are identified. One of them is the general tendency for the singular and plural words in a pair to display the same tonal melody. For instance, a HL melody may be associated with both the singular and the plural, e.g. *zíŋ/zísé* ‘tail’ (CL.9) and *lɔ́l/lɔ́là* ‘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/dáàsá* ‘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. Some cases involving singular CVC words with moraic coda exhibit the deletion of a low tone; *zíŋ/zínná* ‘bat’ (CL.5), *gèrí/gété* ‘lizard’ (CL.3) and *sá́l/sállá* ‘flat roof’ (CL.3) have a LH tonal melody in the singular but H in the plural. The downstep rule (Section 2.4.1) predicts that a high tone preceded by a low tone is perceived as lower than a preceding high tone, e.g. *váá HL, vá́sá HLH* ‘dog’ (CL.1). In spite of some variations, it seems that there are recurrent melodies. Representative examples are presented in Table 3.11.

3.3.2.1.10 Noun class reconstruction The numerical labeling of the noun classes in Table 3.8 and 3.10 is arbitrary. Given the state of the documentation on nominal classifications in other SWG languages, and the fact that almost all singular suffixes have disappeared in today’s SWG languages, a reconstruction is practically impossible. 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 field notes on neighboring 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

different classes have not yet been found. The pair *pól* (CL.5) ‘river’ and *pól* (CL.3) ‘vein’ may be treated as one example, but their meanings point to a common etymology. Nevertheless, Bonvini (1988), Awedoba (2007) and Tchagbalé (2007) provide data to support a similar claim.

Table 3.11: *Tonal melodies in noun classes 1–5*

CLASS	Tone melody sg.	Singular sg.	Tone melody pl.	Plural	Gloss
CL.1	HL	váà	HLH	vá+sá	dog
	LH	gùnó	LH	gùnsó	cotton
	HL	tjíníè	HL	tjínísè	type of climber
	L	dígìnà	LH	dígìnsá	ear
CL.2	H	síé	LH	síèsé	face
	L	bòlà	LH	bòlásá	elephant
	LH	tòmó	LH	tòmósó	type of tree
	LH	sòntògó	LH	sòntògósó	base
	HL	júò	HLH	júósó	quarrel
CL.3	H	hóg	H	hógó	bone
	H	sónná	H	sónnəsá	lover
	LH	gér	HH	gété	lizard
	LH	pàatfák	LH	pàatfágá	leaf
CL.4	H	síí	H	síé	type of dance
	H	bégíí	H	bégié	heart
	H	tjíí	H	tjíá	dawadawa seed
	LH	sòkié	LH	sòkiété	type of tree
CL.5	H	víí	H	víiné	cooking pot
	L	bòg	L	bòyənà	type of tree
	HL	bámpèg	HL	bámpègənà	half of nut
	LH	kúó	LHL	kúónò	farm
	LH	zíj	H	zínná	bat
	L	tfál	LH	tfàllá	blood
	LH	sáí	H	sállá	flat roof

being for the most part an up-date and synthesis of Manessy's work (Manessy 1969a,b, 1975, 1979, 1982, 1999). Needless to say, the following statements are first impressions.

Field notes on neighboring languages, supported with unpublished material pro-

duced by GILLBT's staff,¹⁹ 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 markers in Vagla are *-zi*, *-ni* and *-ri*. The pattern found in Chakali class 4 is similar to the one found in Vagla, i.e. (sg./pl.) *bàmpírí/bàmpíré* 'chest', *hübí/hübé* 'bee' and *gíngímí/gíngímé* 'hill'. In Deg, the most frequent plural markers are mid vowel suffixes, often rounded, and the *-rV*, *-nV* and *-lV* 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*.²⁰ 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.²¹

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 stresses often the tentative nature of his claims and sets forth more than one hypothesis on several occasions. The 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*

¹⁹ In 2008, Tony Naden gave me a copy of his ongoing Vagla and Deg lexicons. I am also indebted to: Kofi Mensa (New Longoro) for Deg, Modesta Kanjiti (Bole) for Vagla and Deg, Pastor Alex Kippo (Tuossa) for Vagla and Yusseh Jamani (Bowina) for Tampulma.

²⁰ These singular/plural pairings are extracted from the Vagla and Deg lexicons (fn. 19) and are not exhaustive.

²¹ As mentioned in footnote 16, 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 *mɔl/mɔłɔ* 'stalk'. If these words were part of the Chakali data, they would have been allotted to class 2 ($-\emptyset/-V$), 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, like A and E, which surface depending on harmony rules.

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(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 **-sI*, the plural suffix of class 5 *-nV* to Proto-Gur Class 2a **-n.ba* or Proto-Gur Class 10 **-ni*, class 7 *-tV* to Proto-Gur Class 21 **-ts* and class 8 *-mV* to Proto-Gur Class 2 **-ba*. The singular suffix *-η* would correspond to Proto-Gur Class 3 **-ηv*. 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, and the dialects of Sisaala are made available (see Figure ??). 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)), Kabiyé (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.

3.3.2.2 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 nominalizer, 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 3.3.2.3. An atomic stem is always a nominal or a verbal lexeme. A verbal lexeme may either be of the type ‘state’ or ‘process’. Three types of nominalization formation (i.e. nominalizers) are attested: suffixation, prefixation, and reduplication.

3.3.2.2.1 Nominal stem A nominal stem is a predicate denoting 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 can be juxtaposed with various noun class affixes, yielding forms with different meanings. For instance, the lexeme *baal* is associated with the general meaning ‘man’. 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; *baala* ‘men’ (CL.3) and *baalsa* ‘husbands’ (CL.2). Another example is the lexeme *natɔw* ‘shoe’. The word *natɔwa* refers to ‘a pair of shoes’ whereas *natɔssa* refers to ‘pairs of shoes’ or ‘unsorted shoes’. 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 found together with different noun classes.

Nominal stems exist in opposition to the verbal ones. To classify a stem in such a dichotomy, the linguistic test carried out consists of placing the stem in several core predicative positions, i.e. positions where an argument must appear. If the stem is perceived as grammatical in the given context by language consultants, it cannot be nominal. For instance, in French the word *bille* ‘marble’ cannot take a nominal argument in a non-genitive predication, e.g. *Marie billait/a billé ‘Mary marbled/has marbled’.²²

The examples in (76) illustrate a simple classification 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.

- (76) a. /di/ ‘eat’ → ɔ̄ *dijōō* |3.SG eat.PFV.FOC| ‘he ate’
- b. /kpeg/ ‘hard’ → ɔ̄ *kpégéō* |3.SG hard.PFV.FOC| ‘he is strong’
- c. /siama/ ‘red’ → *ɔ̄ *siamao*, but ɔ̄ *siárēō* |3.SG red.PFV.FOC| ‘it is red’
- d. /bi/ ‘child’ → *ɔ̄ *bio*

The test displayed in (76) shows that *di* and *kpeg* are verbal, whereas *siama* and *bi* are not. In chapter ??, it will be shown that color terms change forms depending on whether they occur in a nominal or verbal context.

3.3.2.2 Verbal process stem Verbal process stems denote non-stative events. Table 3.12 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.

²² French and English are not appropriate languages to use for the point I want to make because of their preference for the categorial derivation n>v. I believe that Chakali cannot as easily derive a verb from a noun.

Table 3.12: 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/	kpóórà ‘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]/	kpóíí ‘killing’
Action of X	búól ‘sing’	-/[+HI, -BK]/	búólíí ‘singing’
Action of X	sùmmè ‘help’	-/[+HI, -BK]/	súmmíí ‘helping’

In Table 3.12, the column entitled semantic value (i.e. 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. *?ɔra* ‘to sew’ vs. *?ɔta* ‘sewer’ and *maya* ‘to beat’ vs. *kŋymajana* ‘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 single vowel suffix (CL.3) whose surface form depends on harmony rules.²³ 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.²⁴ The surface form of the vowel depends on the quality of the stem vowel and ATR-harmony (see rule 12 in Section 2.4.2). Consider example (77).

²³ 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 *kpɔra/kpɔrɔsa* ‘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 *lɔ́lisáár*, or the English word *dərávə*, which is common all over Ghana, to refer to a ‘car driver’.

²⁴ 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?

- (77) *ø pílì wáíí rá*
 v pile wa-i-i ra
 3.SG start come-NMLZ-CL.4 FOC
 ‘He begins coming’

The final vowels in the words referring to ‘the process of X’ are analyzed as a sequence of two vowels: first a nominalizer suffix (i.e. NMLZ) on the verbal stem, and second, a noun class suffix. Such nominalized verbal stems are allotted to 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. *perii/perie* ‘weaving(s)’ (<*pera* ‘weave’, see class 4 in Section 3.3.2.1.4).

3.3.2.2.3 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 3.3.4. 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 *kpégíí* in *a tebul kpégii dsa de* ‘The hard table is there’ functions as qualifier in the noun phrase *a tebul kpégii lit.* ‘the table hard’.

- (78) Verbal state stem *kpeg* ‘hard’ in complex stem nouns
- púú'kpég* < HEAD-HARD ‘stubbornness’
 - nékpég* < ARM-HARD ‘stingy’
 - dààkpég* < WOOD-HARD ‘strong wood’

Examples are provided in (78) using *kpeg* again for the sake of illustration. Notice that only (78c) has a transparent and compositional meaning. Verbal state stems are usually found in complex stem nouns (Section 3.3.2.3).

3.3.2.3 Complex stem nouns

A complex stem noun, as opposed to an atomic one, is formed by the combination of 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 nominalizer)

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are the linguistic elements which take part in the formation of complex stem nouns.

- (79) a. *nébíi* ‘finger’
ne-bi-i > ARM-SEED
NS + NS + CL.3.SG
- b. *pàtſigibúmmò* ‘secretive’
patſigi-bummo > STOMACH-BLACK
NS + NS (+ CL.1.SG)
- c. *ŋménjhòlìi* ‘dried okro’
ŋmenj-hvl-i-i > OKRO-DRY
NS + SS + NMLZ + CL.4.SG
- d. *jàwàdír* ‘business person’
jawa-di-r > BUY-EAT-AGENT
PS + PS + NMLZ (+ CL.3.SG)

In (79a) and (79b), all stems are nominal. In (79c), the verbal state stem *hvl* ‘dry’ follows a nominal stem, and in (79d) 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 (79a) and (79b), in which the leftmost stems *ne* and *patſigi* would appear as *néŋ* and *pàtſigí* 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 3.3.2.1.8 to support the claim that semantic criteria in noun class assignment may be nonexistent.

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. *lúhò*. 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 common (and visible) 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 3.3.2.3.1 and 3.3.2.3.2 below.

3.3.2.3.1 Completive modification A completive modification in a complex stem noun XY can translate as ‘Y of X’ of which Y is the head. For instance *sìipóŋ* ‘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. *sìipóŋ/sìipóŋá* (CL.3) and *?ilnðà/?ilnðásá* (CL.2). As mentioned earlier, either X or Y in a complex noun XY can be complex. The word *nèpíélpatſigí* ‘palm of the hand’ is an example of two completive modifications. It consists of a complex stem *nepiel* ‘hand’, which is composed of *ne* ‘arm’ and *piel* ‘flat’, and the atomic stem *patſigi* ‘stomach’, yielding in turn ‘flat of hand’ and then ‘inside of flat of hand’.

3.3.2.3.2 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 lexemes. 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 *nèbiwié* and *nèbiwisé* respectively. The first relation involved is a completive 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 3.13 illustrate the distinction between the completive 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 completive modification, and vice-versa for the quali-

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Table 3.13: 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/-/pèti/ ‘tree’-‘end’	dààpètí ‘bark’
	NS-NS	M-H	WHOLE-PART	/kpòñkpòñ/-/daa/ ‘cassava’-‘wood’	kpòñkpòñdāā ‘cassava plant’
Qualitative	NS-NS	H-M	THING-CHARAC	/daa/-/sòta/ ‘tree’-‘thorn’	dààsòtá ‘type of tree’
	NS-NS	H-M	THING-CHARAC	/jin/-/daa/ ‘tooth’-‘wood’	jíndáá ‘horn’
	PS-NS	H-M	PURPOSE-THING	/tjaasa/-/daa/ ‘comb’-‘wood’	tjáásadàà ‘wooden comb’

tative 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 completive modification. However, a word such as *patfigibummo* ‘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 particular case the complex stem noun may be seen as involving the abstract senses of *patfigii* and *bummo*, that is ‘essence’ and ‘subtle/restrained’ respectively, making *patfigibummo* a qualitative modification which can be formulated literally as ‘subtle/restrained essence’, i.e. a property applicable to humans. Thus, the stem *patfigii* 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 analyzed expres-

sions displayed in Table 3.13 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 *dààdùgò* as an exocentric compound, i.e. a complex stem noun without a head.

3.3.2.3.3 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 *kpatakpali* ‘type of hyena’ is treated by one language consultant as *kpa ta kpa lir lit.* ‘take let.free take leave’.²⁵ 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 *sówa ka n̩ di kuoro, 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 Dacie is known as *n̩wabip̩e, lit.* n̩ wa b̩ ip̩e ‘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 *n̩wábipe*.

3.3.2.4 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.

3.3.2.4.1 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/niita* ‘female’ are used as (80) illustrates.

- (80) a. *bɔ́là-wál-Ø / bɔ́là-wál-á*
elephant-male-sg / elephant-male-pl (cl.3)

²⁵ Yet *kpatakpali* is the word for ‘hunting trap’ in Gonja (Rytz n.d.).

- b. *bɔlà-nít-Ø / bɔlà-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. *bɔlabie/bɔlabise* ‘young elephant(s)’. In the second strategy both the sex and maturity distinctions are conveyed by the morpheme. This is shown in Table 3.14.

Table 3.14: *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. *bɔɔmbāl* ‘male goat’. One can also observe a difference in form between the word *piesi* ‘sheep’, *pembál* ‘male sheep’ and *pénii* ‘female sheep’. The words displayed in the first three rows of table 3.15 show the least transparent derivations. The annotation of tone is a first impression and the symbol - indicates that the consultants could not associate a word for the intended meaning.

3.3.2.4.2 Inhabitant of ... To express ‘I am from X’, where ‘be from X’ refers to the place where someone is born and/or the place where someone lives, the verb *lii* is used, e.g. *soyla n lii* ‘I am from Sogola’.

Expressions with the meaning ‘Inhabitant of X’ can be noun words referring to this same idea, that is ‘being from X’. The examples in table 3.16 show that the meaning is captured in suffixes *-(l)ii/(l)ee/la* which display vowel qualities in the singular and plural similar to those found in noun class 4.

3.3.2.4.3 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 (81).

- (81) *tòmà* (v) ‘work’ ↔ *tómá* (n) ‘work’
gòdà (v) ‘dance’ ↔ *gòdá* (n) ‘dance’

Table 3.15: Maturity and sex of animals

Animal	Generic	Adult		Young	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
fowl	zál	zím'bál	zápúò	zímbéléé	zápúwé
sheep	píésíí	pèmbál	pènìí	pémbéléè	pélór
goat	bɔ̄ɔ̄ñj	bɔ̄ɔ̄mbál	bɔ̄nìí	bɔ̄mbéléè	bɔ̄ɔ̄lór
pouched rat	sàpùhīe	sàpúwál	sàpúnìí	sàpúwáléè	sàpúlór
antelope	?áá	?ááwál	?áánìí	?ááwéléè	?áálór
dog	váà	váwál	vánìí	váwáléè	válór
cat	diébié	diébəwál	diébənìí	diébəwáléè	diébəlór
cow	náá	náwál	náñìí	náwáléè	nálór
elephant	bɔ̄lá	bɔ̄lwál	bɔ̄lənìí	-	bɔ̄llór
guinea fowl	súú	súwál	súñìí	-	-
bush mouse	?ól	?ólwál	?ólnìí	-	-
lizard	gér	géwál	génìí	-	-

Table 3.16: Inhabitant of ...

Location	sg.	pl.	Location	sg.	pl.
Chakali	tʃákálíí	tʃákáléé	Katua	kàtóálíí	kàtóáléé
Motigu	mòtígíí	mòtígíé	Tiisa	tíísàlí	tíísàlá
Ducie	dùsélíí	dùséléé	Chasia	tʃásílíí	tʃásíléé
Bulinga	búléñíí	búléñéé	Wa	wáálíí	wáálà
Gurumbele	gròmbèlílíí	gròmbèlíléé	Tuosa	tòòsálíí	tòòsálá

jɔ̄wà (v) 'buy' ↔ jɔ̄wá (n) 'market'

mòmà (v) 'laugh' ↔ mòmá (n) 'laughter'

góro (v) 'circle' ↔ góro (n) 'bent'

3.3.2.4.4 Agent- and event-denoting nominalizations Agent- and event-denoting nominalizations were discussed in Section 3.3.2.2 in connection with the licensing of verbal stems in atomic noun formation. Apart from their roles in complex stem nouns, it was shown that both verbal state and verbal process stems undergo these two nominalizations processes in order to function as atomic nouns. The

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two processes are summarized in (82) and (83). Notice in (82) that the two agent-denoting nominalizations can occur on a single stem. Also, the noun class does not seem to be determined by the suffix *-[r]*. While one consultant prefers that all agent nouns end as (sg./*pl.*) *-r/-rV*, another consultant varies between *-r/-rV(CL.3)* and *-ra/-rəsV(CL.1)*. In addition, there is another agent-denoting word formation which simply adds the word *kvɔṛi* ‘make’ to the noun denoting the product, e.g. *nāātɔ́kɔ́rá / nāātɔ́kɔ́rəsá* (CL.1) ‘shoemaker(s)’ < *nāātɔ́s(n)* ‘shoe’ + *kvɔṛi(v)* ‘make’.

(82) Agent nominalization

- a. A verb stem takes the suffix *-[r]* to express agent-denoting nominalization.

sɔ́sɔ́r / sɔ́sɔ́rá (CL.3) ‘weaver(s)’

< *sɔ́å* (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.

sùsùmmà / sùsùmmàsá (CL.3) ‘helper(s)’

< *sùmmè(v)* ‘help’

sááár / sááárá (CL.3) ‘carver(s)’

< *sååå(v)* ‘carve’

(83) Event nominalization

A verb stem takes the suffix *-/[+HI, -BK]/* to express event-denoting nominalization.

lólíí / lólíé (CL.4) ‘giving birth’

< *lvla(v)* ‘give birth’

kpégíí / kpégíé (CL.4) ‘hard’ or ‘strong’

< *kpeg(v)* ‘hard’ or ‘strong’

3.3.2.5 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 *gorogoro*, only one hill named *dòlbíí*, one village named *mòtigú*, only one shrine named *dàbàntólgú*, etc. Nevertheless more than one person can have the same name, and the same applies to a lesser extent to villages. For instance, *soyla*

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 *tfakalsyila*.

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 from Arabic, Hausa, and Gonja origins, probably due to the Islamization of Chakali (see Section ??).

Common names among the elders (over 50 years old) consist of the name of a non-Chakali village, together with *nàà* 'chief'. In Tuosa, Ducie, and Gurumbele, one finds one or more Kpersi Naa, Mangwe Naa, Jayiri Naa, Wa Naa, Sing Naa, Busa Naa, etc. The next generation (below 50 years old) 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 those places. The villages are not Chakali villages and these individuals have no connections with the villages used in their names. It seems that these common names are trendy nicknames 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. A drumming name is used in drummed messages sent to other villages about weddings or deaths, while a *sigù* name is a name one receives when initiated to the shrine *dààbàntólúgú*.

Because of their pragmatic function, proper nouns are rarely observed in a plural form, but some contexts may allow this. In (84), the proper name *Gbolo* takes the plural marker *-sV*.²⁶

²⁶ The context of (84) 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.

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- (84) *gbòlò-só bá-ñmènàá ká dòà dùsèè ní*
gbolo.(G.b)-PL G.b-Q 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 *ñwabipe*, lit. *ñ wa bi pe* 'I-not-again-add', was given in Section 3.3.2.3.3). A few examples of dog names are given in (85).

- (85) Examples of dog names

- a. *jásánábéé* 'Let's keep peace'
ja-sanya-bvé > *we-sit-slowly*
- b. *ñnɛ́wàjáhó* 'I will not open my mouth again'
ñ-nwá-wa-ja-hoo > *my-mouth-not-do-hoo*
- c. *kúósòzímá* 'God knows'
kuoso-zima > *god-know*

3.3.2.6 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, Akan, and Dagaare 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 loan words in domains which were in the past fundamental in Chakali lifestyle, but to a lesser degree for neighboring 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 Chakali men and women interact (see discussion in Section ??). 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: *lābəlù* ‘blue’, *lásibítí* ‘hospital’, *dóktà* ‘doctor’, *bálúù* ‘balloon’, *bátərbíí* ‘battery (-stone)’, *béléntí* ‘belt’, *təráádžà* ‘trouser’, *détí* ‘date’, *míntí* ‘minute’, *dzánsè* ‘type of dance’, *kápéntà* ‘carpenter’, *kálpjé* ‘coal pot’, *kóstà* ‘quarter’, *lázlı* ‘lorry (any four-wheel vehicle)’, *sákər* ‘bicycle’, *pén* ‘pen’, *sükúù* ‘school’, *tſitsá* ‘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 (GIILBT 1975; Dakubu, Atintono & Nsoh 2007).

People are aware of the linguistic fragility of Chakali; some of the language consultants confirm that many people do not bother making the effort to use Chakali and that many prefer to use Waali expressions. The knowledge and interest of our language consultants in their language made it possible to reduce the number of Waali expressions in the dictionary in Part/chapter ???. Despite that, 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 *džiérá* ‘sieve’, *džúmbúrò* ‘type of medicine’, *gbàgbá* ‘duck’, *kákádúrò* (Akan) ‘ginger’, *kápálà* ‘fufu’, *káú* ‘mixture of sodium carbonate’, *násará* (Hausa) ‘white man’, and *sénsénná* ‘prostitute’ are some of the Waali/Chakali nouns found in transcribed texts, or by chance.

The weekdays are from Arabic (probably via Hausa or Oti-Volta languages). Vagla and Tumulung Sisaala, but not Dég, use similar expressions (Naden 1996: 60): *atanea* ‘Monday’, *atalata* ‘Tuesday’, *alarba* ‘Wednesday’, *alamussa* ‘Thursday’, *ardzemaa* ‘Friday’, *asebete* ‘Saturday’

and *allahadi* ‘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 *džímbéntò* is celebrated and is considered the first month.²⁷ The lunar months are: *džímbéntò* ‘first month (1)’, *síférà* ‘second month (2)’, *dúmbá* ‘third month (3)’, *dúmbáfúlánààn* ‘fourth month (4)’, *dúmbákókóríkó* ‘fifth month (5)’, *kpínítfúmáàñkúná* ‘sixth month (6)’, *kpínítfú* ‘seventh month (7)’, *?àndzélindzé* ‘eighth month (8)’, *sóñkárè* ‘ninth month (9)’, *tſíñ-sùñù* ‘tenth month (10)’, *dúñúmáàñkúnà* ‘eleventh month (11)’ and *dúñú* ‘twelfth month (12)’. It was understood that these terms and concepts are not known by

²⁷ Dagbani *buyum* and Waali *džímbénti* are both treated as first month by the speakers of these languages.

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the majority.²⁸

3.3.2.7 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). In Ewe (Kwa) for instance, it is claimed that the prepositions have evolved from verbs and postpositions from nouns (Ameka & Essegbe 2006: 367–369).

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 *fōō* ‘lower back’, among others, cannot convey spatial meanings. Table 3.17 displays the body parts found in the data which convey spatial meaning.²⁹

Table 3.17: *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>juu(x,y)</i>	head	<i>juu(x)</i>
	CONTAINMENT	<i>patſign(x,y)</i>	stomach	<i>patſign(x)</i>
	SIDE	<i>logun(x,y)</i>	rib	<i>logun(x)</i>
	MOUTH	<i>nwā(x,y)</i>	mouth	<i>nwā(x)</i>
	BASE/UNDER	<i>murj(x,y)</i>	arse	<i>murj(x)</i>
	MIDDLE	<i>bambaan(x,y)</i>	chest box	<i>bambaan(x)</i>
Relative				
	LEFT	<i>neŋgal(x,y)</i>	left hand	<i>neŋgal(x)</i>
	RIGHT	<i>nendul(x,y)</i>	right hand	<i>nendul(x)</i>
	BACK	<i>gantal(x,y)</i>	dorsum	<i>gantal(x)</i>
	FRONT	<i>sʊv(x,y)</i>	front	<i>sʊv(x)</i>

²⁸ Thanks to Tony Naden, who helped me clarify some issues relating to this topic.

²⁹ The body part term *gantal* ‘back’ is from the Ducie lect and corresponds to *habṣa* in the Motigu, Gurumbele, Katua, Tiisa, and Tuosa lects.

The contrast between an intrinsic and a relative frame of reference was brought up in Section ?? where we confirmed that both an intrinsic and a relative exocentric and egocentric frames of reference were being used. An intrinsic frame of reference is invariant no matter how the spatial relation is viewed by the speaker or the addressee, whereas a relative frame of reference depends on how a spatial relation is viewed.

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 (86).

- (86) a. Possessive attributive phrase
 $[N_1\text{-}N_2]_{NP}$ where N_2 =body part, e.g. *baal puu* “a man’s head”
- b. Spatial nominal phrase
 $[N_1\text{-}N_2]_{NP}$ where N_2 =spatial relation, e.g. *tebul puu* “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 (86). The term *puu*, 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 (86a), even though *puu* 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 3.18.

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.³⁰ The first interpretation is the literal attribution of human characteristics (i.e. anthropomorphic) in reference

³⁰ This gray zone may receive a diachronic interpretation. In Ameka (2007: 1072), the postpositions in Sekpélé are seen as evolving “from body part and environment terms” and have a

Table 3.18: *Body part terms in compound nouns*

Body part term	Compound noun	Morph. gloss	Gloss
eye	tóó-síì	village-eye	village's center
	kpaăñ-n-síì	yam-eye	yam stem
	níì-síì	water-eye	deepest area of a river
	nàă-síì	leg-eye	ankle bump
mouth	góñę-n-vá	river-mouth	river bank
	?il-n-vá	breast-mouth	nipple
	dfà-n-vá	house-mouth	door
leg	góñ-náá	river-leg	split of a river
	dáá-náá	tree-leg	branch
head	kùósò-júù	god-head	sky
	tíì-júù	land-head (ëtym)	west
arse	tíì-múj	land-arse (ëtym)	east
neck	víì-báyəná	pot-neck	neck of a container
testicle	mááfà-lúrò	gun-testicle	gun powder container
penis	mááfà-péj	gun-penis	gun trigger
ear	mááfà-dígíná	gun-ear	flintlock frizzen
arm	fálá-n-èj	calabash-arm	calabash stem
navel	fálá-?úl	calabash-navel	calabash node
nose	píi-míísà	yam mound-nose	part of a yam mound
liver	tóó-pvòł	village-liver	important community member

to parts of object. In a 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 attributed to the 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. In such a case 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

similar, but not identical, function as those of Chakali relational nouns. For instance, Sekpelé’s postpositions “cannot be modified” nor can they vary “with respect to number marking”. As we shall see below, the latter property is not applicable to Chakali relational nouns. The former is undetermined as I do not know what counts as a ‘modified postposition’.

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.

In Heine (1997: 44), the variety of denotations of body part terms is accounted for in a diachronic perspective. The claim is sketched in (87).

- (87) From body part to spatial concept: A four-stage scenario (Heine 1997: 44)
- Stage 1: a region of the human body*
 - Stage 2: a region of an (inanimate) object*
 - Stage 3: a region in contact with the object*
 - Stage 4: a region detached from the object*

However, synchronically each of these stages is observable: A Chakali relational noun is more easily interpreted as a region in contact with or detached from an object, a body part term in a compound noun designates a part of an object, and a body part term used as a full-fledged noun is associated with a part of the human body. Nevertheless, the examples provided in Table 3.18 show that the distinction is not a clear-cut one: Does the expression *tebul juu* designate a spatial environment in contact with or detached from a table or a part of table? Both interpretations seem acceptable.

Relational nouns are rarely found in their plural form: but 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 (88) is appropriate.

- (88) *falasa saga a koro juuno ni*
 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 *koro juuno* is plural. Recall Section 3.3.2.3 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 **korjuuno*. 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

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tables, one may use the sentence in (89), in which case it cannot be argued that under of the table is a physical part of the table.³¹

- (89) *a bɔlsa dsa tebulso patfigie ni*
ART ball.PL be.at table.PL RELN.PL POSTP
'The balls are under the tables.'

Another aspect of relational nouns and oblique phrases in general is that they are structurally very rigid, that is, one does not usually extract from them nor does one preposes the oblique object phrase or elements from the phrase. Although rarely topicalized, the sentences in (90-i) is acceptable.

- (90) i. *a tebul puu ni, a fala saga*
ART table RELN POSTP ART calabash sit
'On top of the table, the calabash sits.'
ii. *tebul lo, a fala saga v puu ni*
table FOC ART calabash sit 3.SG.POSS RELN. top POSTP
'Table, the calabash sits on top of it.' (lit. 'sits on its head')
iii. * *tebul lo, a fala saga puu ni*
iv. * *v puu ni, a fala saga tebul*
v. * *puu ni, a fala saga tebul*

The sentence in (90-ii) is acceptable but odd. It shows that the nominal complement of the relational noun *puu* 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* (90-iii), or if the oblique object phrase is preposed but the nominal *tebul* stranded, whether an anaphora referring to *tebul* is present (90-iv) or absent (90-v).

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.

³¹ One may argue that it is indeed a part of the table, identical to the interior space of a container.

- (91) [[[*a dia*]_{NP} *juu*]_{RelP} *ni*]_{PP} ‘on the roof of the house’

In the structure of the BLC oblique phrase in (91), 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 diachronical 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 synchronical basis, only *patfigii* ‘stomach’, *logun* ‘rib’, *gantal* ‘dorso’, *muŋ* ‘arse’, *nvā* ‘mouth’, *svv* ‘front’, *bambaan* ‘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.

3.3.3 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 3.5.1, the adverbial pro-forms are introduced.

3.3.3.1 Personal pronouns

Table 3.19 gives an overview of the personal pronoun forms in the language. The personal pronouns presented in Table 3.19 do not encode a gender distinction in the singular. In the plural however an animacy distinction is made between non-human and human. They are glossed 3.PL.GA and 3.PL.GB respectively (see Section 3.3.11.1 for the role of gender in agreement). The weak forms can surface either with a low or high tone; the former being conditioned by the irrealis mood (??). The strong and emphatic forms are attested with the melodies with which they are associated.

While an emphatic pronoun can co-occur with a focus marker, a strong pronoun cannot. Both emphatic and strong pronouns may be fronted but weak pronouns cannot. While both emphatic and strong pronouns may appear at the front of the sentence, the canonical object position tells us that a strong pronoun is an argument while the emphatic pronoun is a co-referent, a sort of cleft pronoun.

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Table 3.19: *Weak, Strong, and Emphatic forms of personal pronouns*

Pronoun Gram. function	Weak form (wk) s A and o	Strong form (st) s A	Emphatic form (EMPH) s A
1.SG.	n̩	míŋ	ńwà
2.SG.	I	hín̩	ííwà
3.SG.	o	wáá	óówà
1.PL.	ja	jáwáá	jáwà
2.PL.	ma	máwáá	máwà
3.PL.Ga	a	áwáá	áwà
3.PL.gb	ba	báwáá	báwà

- (92) a. Ḍ dí kōō rā
3.SG eat t.z. FOC
'She ate T. Z.'
b. wáá dí kōō (*ra)
3.SG.ST eat t.z.
'SHE ate t. z.'
c. óówà dí kōō rā
3.SG.EMPH eat t.z. FOC
'It is her who ate t. z.'
- d. * o m̩ man̩vv ra
e. wáá n̩ m̩àŋà
3.SG.ST 1.SG beat (*ra)
'Him, I beat.'
f. óówà n̩ m̩án̩v̩ rā
3.SG.EMPH 1.SG beat.3.SG FOC
'It is him who I beat.'

The first person singular pronoun is a syllabic nasal which assimilates its place feature from the following phonological material (see Section 2.3.2.2.1). The distinction between weak (wk) and strong (st) 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.

- (93) a. míŋ jáwàà kinzíní
1.SG.ST buy horse
'I bought a horse.'
- b. n̩ jáwá kinzíní rā
1.SG.WK buy horse FOC
'I bought a HORSE.'

- c. *ñ wà jàwá kinzíní*
1.SG.WK NEG buy horse
'I did not buy a horse.'
- d. **miŋ jawa kinzinii ra*
e. **miŋ wa jawa kinzinii*
- (94) a. *ñ pétijó*
1.SG.WK terminate.PFV.FOC
'I finished.'
- b. *miŋ pétijé*
1.SG.ST terminate.PFV
'I finished.'
- c. **miŋ petijo*
d. **miŋ wa petije*

Thus, 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] (see examples (93d) and (94c)). In addition, in sentences where a negative operator occurs, strong pronouns are disallowed, as (93e) and (94d) show.

3.3.3.2 Impersonal pronouns

An impersonal pronoun does not refer to a particular person or thing. The form *a* is treated as an impersonal pronoun in some particular context.

- (95) *à mááséjó kérj*
3.SG.IMPS enough.PFV.FOC ADV
'That's enough' or 'That's it' or 'Stop'

Example (95) is treated as a type of impersonal construction. It is characterized by its subject position being occupied by the pronoun *a*, which may be seen as referring to the situation, but not to any participant. The example in (95) may be 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. Nonetheless, an argument can be demoted by placing it in object position. This is shown in (96).

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- (96) *ká à nàmìá? bá tíéú rò*
Q ART meat 3.PL.Gb eat.PFV.3.SG.OBJ FOC
'Where is the meat? It has been eaten.'

This type of impersonal construction illustrated in (96) is characterized by the personal pronoun *ba* (3.PL.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.

3.3.3.3 Demonstrative pronouns

In the examples (97) to (99), the demonstrative pronouns function as noun phrases. All the examples below were accompanied with pointing gestures when uttered.

- (97) Replies to the question: Which cloth has she chosen?
- a. *hán nā*
DEM.SG FOC
'It is this one'
 - b. *hámà rā*
DEM.PL FOC
'It is these ones'
- (98) The speaker asks the addressee whether he had moved a certain object.
i jáá hán nā
2.SG do DEM.SG FOC
'You did THIS?'
- (99) Explanation on how the fingers cooperate when they scoop t. z. from a bowl.
hámáā ká zì pégèè à zí já wà tìisè 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 English 'this' and 'these' respectively. The language does not offer another set for distal demonstratives.

3.3.3.4 Interrogative words

Interrogative constructions are of two types: *yes/no* interrogatives and *pro-form* interrogatives (see Section 3.2.2). 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 3.20 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. The examples are listed in (100). The question words are glossed as Q.

Table 3.20: *Interrogative pronouns*

Pronoun	Gloss	Meaning requested	Example
bàáj	what	non-animate entity, event	100a
àj	who	animate entity	100b
lié	where	location	100c
jìnìé	why/how	condition, reason	100d
(ba/a)wèj	which	entity, event	100e
(ba/a)ñmènà	(how) much/many	entity, event	100f
sán(a)-wèj	when	time	100g

- (100) a. *bàáj i kàà jáà*
 Q 2.SG EGR do
 ‘What are you doing?’
- b. *àj i kà ná à tż́v nī*
 Q 2.SG EGR see ART village POSTP
 ‘Whom did you see in the village?’
- c. *lié nī dì tʃøɔlíf kà døɔ*
 Q POSTP COMP sleeping.room EGR exist
 ‘Where is the room for sleeping?’
- d. *jìnìé i já kà jááó*
 Q 2.SG HAB EGR do.3.SG.OBJ
 ‘How do you do it?’

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- e. áwèj̊ i kà kpàyà
Q 2.SG EGR catch
'Which one did you catch?'
- f. àjymèná i kà kpàgàsì
Q 2.SG EGR catch.PV
'How many of them did you catch? (non-human reference)'
- g. sáŋáwèj̊ i kàà wáá
Q 2.SG EGR come
'When are you coming?'

When the question word *lie* 'where' is followed by the locative postposition *ni*, a request for a particular location is interpreted. 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. *lie pe i ka vala* 'Where did he go by?'. Another form used to request information on a location is *ká(a)*. This form is neither specific to Chakali nor to location *per se*: the languages Waali and Dagaare use 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 three languages. It might be that Chakali borrowed the form from Waali. It was employed consistently in an experiment I carried out, which is discussed in Section ???. Example (96), repeated below, illustrates the use of *ka(a)* as interrogative word.

- (96') ká à nàmíá? bà tíéú rò
Q ART meat 3.PL.B chew.PFV.3.SG.OBJ FOC
'Where is the meat? It has been eaten.'

When they stand alone as interrogative words, the expressions *wéj* 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 3.3.11.1). The expression *saya wéj* in (??) is literally translated as 'time which'. The question word *baaŋ* can be used together with *wii* to correspond to English 'why', i.e. *baaŋ wii ka wa i di wii?* 'Why are you crying?'. The expression *baaŋ wii* is equivalent to English 'what matter'.

3.3.3.5 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns are displayed in Table 3.21.

A possessive pronoun with a form C or V tend to be lengthened, although their length have no meaning. These pro-forms are used in the possessor slot (PSOR),

Table 3.21: Possessive pronouns

Pronoun Gram. function	Form Possessive
1.SG.POSS	ɳ(:)
2.SG.POSS	i(:)
3.SG.POSS	ɔ(:)
1.PL.POSS	ja
2.PL.POSS	ma
3.PL.A.POSS	a(:)
3.PL.B.POSS	ba

but never in the possessed slot (PSED) of an attributive possessive relation. This is shown in (102).

- (101) à kùórù ɳmá dí òò hääŋ tʃjḗ
 PSOR PSED
 ART chief say COMP 3.sg.poss wife ran.PFV.FOC
 ‘The chief said that his wife ran away.’

The weak personal pronouns and the possessive pronouns have the same forms, the differences between the two being their respective syntactic positions and their 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.

- (102) míñ' ná
 míñ na
 1.SG.ST. FOC
 ‘It is MINE.’

Phrasal possessives, as in English ‘mine, yours, etc.’, are expressed with the strong personal pronoun in a verbless identificational construction. This is shown in (102).

3.3.3.6 Reciprocity and reflexivity

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns do not exist in Chakali. Instead, reciprocity and reflexivity are encoded in the nominals *dɔŋja* and *tintin*, which are glossed in the texts as RECP and REFL respectively. Reciprocity is illustrated in (103) and reflexivity in (104).

- (103) a. à nibáálá báliè kpó dɔŋjá wā
ART men two kill RECP FOC
'The two men killed EACH OTHER.'
- b. jà kàá kpó dɔŋjá wá
1.PL FUT kill RECP FOC
'We will kill EACH OTHER.'
- c. à hámɔ́wísè káá júó dɔŋjá rā
ART children EGR fight RECP
'The children are fighting against one another.'

- (104) a. à báál kpɔ̄ ɔ̄ tintìŋ
ART man kill 3.SG.POSS REFL.SG
'The man killed himself.'
- b. jà kàá kpɔ̄ jà tintinsá wá
1.PL FUT kill 1.PL.POSS REFL.PL FOC
'We shall kill OURSELVES.'
- c. à bié kpá kísié dɔ̄ ɔ̄ tintìŋ dáŋjíí
ART child take knife put 3.SG.POSS REFL.SG wound.NMLZ
'The child wounded himself with his knife.'

3.3.4 Qualifiers

Since qualifiers display singular/plural pairs (as do nouns) and verbs do not inflect for number (but see pluractional verb in Section 3.4.3.2), qualifiers are treated as nominals. Examples are presented in (105).

- (105) a. siàmá sg., siànsá pl. (CL.1) 'red'
b. bɔ̄ŋ sg., bɔ̄má pl. (CL.3) 'bad'
c. dííŋ sg., díímá pl. (CL.3) 'true, real'

As shown in (105), qualifiers agree in number with the head of the noun phrase.

- (106) a. à *nihääñ* *póllí*
 ART woman.CL.3.SG fat.CL.4.SG
 ‘The fat woman’ (*hápólí*)
 b. *a nihääna* *pólee*
 ART woman.CL.3.PL fat.CL.4.PL
 ‘The fat women’ (*hápólíè*)

The examples in (105) differ from complex stem nouns (Section 3.3.2.3) since they are phrases and not words: each is provided with a possible equivalent word. Many qualifiers are assigned to noun class 4, the reason being that qualifiers are often nominalized verbal stems, e.g. *hvlíi/hvlié* (*qual*) ‘empty’ < *hvl* (v) ‘dry’. Examples are provided in (107).

- (107) a. *jira* ‘call’ > *jíríí* sg., *jíríé* pl. ‘calling’
 b. *lvla* ‘give birth’ > *lólíí* sg., *lólíé* pl. ‘giving birth’
 c. *s̥wva* ‘die’ > *s̥wvíí* sg., *s̥wvíé* pl. ‘corpse’

Nonetheless, the two categories, noun, and qualifier, are differentiated by the following characteristics: (i) 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 (108).

- (108) /nɔm/ ‘hot’
- a. *nìinóñ* *ná*
 nii-nɔñ na
 water-hot FOC
 ‘It is HOT WATER.’
- b. à *níí* *nómáð*
 a nii nɔma-v
 ART water hot-PFV.FOC
 ‘The water is HOT.’
- c. à *nìí* *nómíí* *dóá* *dé* *ní*
 [a nii nɔm-i-i]NP dɔá de
 ART water hot-NMLZ-CL.4 exist DEM
 ‘The hot water is there.’

In (108a) the stem *n̩m* ‘hot’ is part of the complex stem noun *n̩ínð̩y* ‘water-hot’ (see Section 3.3.2.3). In this morphological configuration, a qualitative modification is established between the stem *n̩m* and the stem *n̩i*. In (108b), *n̩m* functions as a verbal predicate in the intransitive clause, and the definite noun phrase *a n̩i* ‘the water’ occupies the argument position. In (108c) the stem *n̩m* is nominalized and the singular of noun class 4 is suffixed. The word *n̩míí* may be translated as ‘the result of heat’. It is treated as a qualifier since *n̩i* ‘water’ is (the head of) the argument of the predicate, and *d̩va* is a predicate which needs one core argument. Since *n̩m* can neither function as main predicate nor as head noun of the argument phrase, and since *n̩m* is understood to be a property of the entity and not of the event, then *n̩m* in (108c) is viewed as a qualifier.

Given the arguments put forward, one could analyze 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. For instance, the lexeme ‘intelligent’ in English is an adjective in all linguistic contexts and can ‘never’ function as a noun or as a verb.³² There are no such lexemes in Chakali. Qualifiers are either derived linguistic entities or idiomatic expressions. More than one procedure is attested to construct qualifiers. In (109), some types of qualifiers are provided.

- (109) a. *àbúmmò* ‘black’
 b. *àp̩láp̩lá* ‘pointed, sharp’
 c. *wìézímíí* ‘wise’

The expression *bummo* in (109a) is a nominal lexeme. When it functions as a qualifier within a noun phrase, the prefix vowel *a-* is suffixed to the nominal stem. Notice that this prefix vowel also occurs on numerals (see chapter ??). The type of qualifier found in (109b) is often used to describe perceived patterns, including color, texture, sound, manner of motion, e.g. *gáánigááni* ‘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.³³ The word in

³² Although ‘intelligent’ is a noun in a construction like ‘the intelligent find cryptic crosswords challenging’ (S. Foldvik, p. c.), it would not be controversial to say that ‘intelligent’ undergoes a sort of zero-derivation, i.e. adjective > noun. As mentioned in footnote 22, distinctions between categories in English and French (and other Indo-European languages) are often not formally signaled.

³³ Although the prefix *a-* on qualifier tends to disappear in normal speech. The prefix *a-* is unacceptable in (109c).

(109c) is segmented as [[[THEME-V]-NMLZ]-CL.4]. The verbal stem *zim* ‘know’ sees its theme argument incorporated, i.e. *wie-zim* ‘matters-know’, a structure which is in turn nominalized by what I called in Section 3.3.2.4.4 event-nominalization. The qualifiers in (109) are presented in corresponding syntactic positions in (110).

- (110) a. *[X àbúmmò]_{NP} dòà dé* ‘The black X is there’
 b. *[X àpélápélá]_{NP} dòà dé* ‘The sharp X is there’
 c. *[X wiézímíí]_{NP} dòà dé* ‘The wise X is there’

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 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 language 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 *v kpaya bambii*, *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’ is *bambii-tína*, *lit.* ‘owner of heart’. Other examples are *síi-nòmà-tíínà*, *lit.* ‘eye-hot-owner’, ‘wild, violent person’ and *síi-tíínà*, *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 *ò jáá sísiàmàtííná*, *lit.* she is eye-red-owner, ‘she is serious’. As mentioned in Section 3.5.6.2, it is often hard to establish whether an expression is idiomatic when only one of its components is used in a non-literal sense.

3.3.5 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are expressions denoting quantities. They refer to the size of the referent ensemble. The words *muj* ‘all’, *banie* ‘some’ and *tama* ‘few, some’ constitute the monomorphemic quantifiers. The former can be expanded with a nominal prefix. For instance, in *ba-muj* ‘HUM-all’ and *wi-muj* ‘ABST-all’, the prefixes identify the semantic class of the entities which the expressions quantify (see Section 3.3.11.2). The form of the quantifier *banie* ‘some’ is invariable: **anie*, **abanie* and **babanie* are unacceptable words. The same can be said for the word *tama* ‘few’, which stays unchanged even when it modifies nouns of different semantic

classes. Another word treated as quantifier is *máŋá* ‘only’ as in *a nihāñ maya kaa waa* ‘Only the woman is coming’.

The expression *kɪŋkáj* ‘a lot, many’, which is made out of the classifier *kɪŋ-* and the quantitative verbal state lexeme *kaj* ‘abundant’ (Sections 3.3.11.2 and 3.4.1.2, respectively) should not be confused with the intensifiers, to which we turn to examine the difference.

The expression *kɪŋkáj* ‘a lot, many’, which is made out of the classifier *kɪŋ-* plus the quantitative verbal state lexeme *kan* ‘abundant’ (Sections 3.3.11.2 and 3.4.1.2, respectively) should not be confused with the intensifiers examined in Section 3.3.6. 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 kánáð* ‘they are many’ compared to *à jáá támá* ‘they are few’. In the former, *kan* 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 3.2.1.1). Apart from *kɪŋkan* ‘a lot, many’, other plurimorphemic (or complex) quantifiers are based on the suffixation the morpheme *-lei* ‘not’. The expression *wi-muŋ-lei*, *lit. ABST-all-not*, as well as *kɪŋ-muŋ-lei*, *lit. CONC-all-not*, both correspond to the English word ‘nothing’ (Section 3.3.11.2 on negation).

The meaning ‘a few’ can be conveyed by the word *aymēna* ‘how much/many’, which was introduced in Section 3.3.3.4 as an interrogative word. Example (111) suggest that the word *aymēna* 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’.

- (111) *àŋmènà máŋá tʃájɛɛ*
amount only remain.PFV
'Only a few are left.'

Another way to express ‘(a) few’ is to duplicate the numeral *digiII* ‘one’, e.g. *digiII-digiII ra* ‘There are just a few of them’. The examples in (112) show that the numeral *digiII* ‘one’ can participate in the denotations of both total and partial quantities.

- (112) a. *mùŋ* ‘all’ (total collective)
b. *dígíí mùŋ* ‘each’ (total distributive)
c. *dígiI dígíí* ‘some, few’ (partial distributive)

The word *galŋga* ‘waist’ or ‘middle’ can also carry quantification. In (113), *galŋga* is equivalent to *bákánà* (< *bar-kaj*, *lit. part-abound*), and means ‘most’.

- (113) à kpážmá gálɪŋgà/bákánà tʃájéé à láš 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. (114c)-(114f). In (114a), 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 (114b), 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 3.3.9 and 3.5.3), example (114) suggests that *gba* is not a focus particle.

- (114) a. ñ gbà máŋá m̩ bìè rē
 1.SG QUANT beat 1.SG.POSS child FOC
 'I beat my child too.' (*lit.* I too/as well/also beat my child)
- b. ñ gbà lèí máŋá m̩ bìé
 1.SG QUANT NEG beat 1.SG.POSS child
 'I do not beat my child.' (*lit.* It is not me who also beat my child)
- c. *gba m̩ máŋa a bie re
- d. *m̩ máŋa gba a bie re
- e. *m̩ máŋa a bie gba re
- f. *m̩ máŋa a bie re gba

3.3.6 Intensifiers

Although semantically it is a predicate modifier, marks a degree, and make a statement stronger, I identify an intensifier on compatibility ground. Only color and temperature terms have been found to be selected by intensifiers.

- (115) a. ásiàmā tʃɔ́ítʃɔ́í ‘very/pure red’
- b. ábúmmò jírití ‘very/pure black’
- c. ápɔ́mmá piópió ‘very/pure white’
- d. sɔ́ñi júlúllú ‘very cold’
- e. nɔ́má kpáŋkpáŋ ‘very/pure hot’

The intensifier ideophones *tʃɔ̃tʃɔ̃tʃ*, *jiriti*, *piopio*, *julullu*, and *kparjkpar* are translated into English as ‘very’ (or ‘pure’ in the case of color) in (??). 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 color other than black, white, or red, one has to employ the degree modifier *pááá* following the term, which is a common expression in many Ghanaian languages.

3.3.7 Numerals

3.3.7.1 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 3.22 displays the twelve atoms of the numeral system.

Table 3.22: *Atomic numerals from 1 to 8, 10, 20, 100, and 1000*

Chakali	English	Chakali	English
dígímáŋá	one	àlópè	seven
áliè	two	ŋménjtél	eight
átòrò	three	fí	ten
ànáásè	four	màtjéó	twenty
àŋ́	five	kòwá (pl. kòsá)	hundred(s)
álòrò	six	tósò (pl. tósà)	thousand(s)

The term for ‘one’ is expressed as *dígímáŋá*, but *dígí* alone can also be used. In general, the meaning associated with the morpheme *máŋá* is ‘only’, e.g. *bahiɛ marja ñ 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 *kilafá* '100' and *kigbín* '1000'. Similar form-denotation can be found in other North Guang languages (e.g. Krache, Kplang, Nawuri, Dwang, and Chumburung) and *lafa* 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 Degas 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. Of all Western Oti-Volta languages, the Tampulmas have had more contact with Mampruli than any other, whereas the Chakali and the Pasaale 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 *dígítɔ́ð* expresses the number 9. It is the only expression associated with subtraction. The subtrahend is the expression *digi'* 'one'. In *dígítɔ́ð*, the last syllable is analyzed as the operation. It may originate from the state predicate *tùwó* which is translated 'not exist' or 'absent from' (Section 3.2.1.2). 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 *sandossá* in Tuosa and Katua). This expression is used by some individuals in Dacie, 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 3.3.11.1 and repeated in section 3.3.7.2, comes from the gender agreement between the head of a noun phrase and the cardinal numeral functioning as modifier. Table 3.23 provides the numerals from 11 to 19 with a common structure [$f_{10}-d(1)-X_{1-9}$].

Table 3.23: *Complex numerals from 11 to 19*

Chakali	English
<i>fí dī dígíí</i>	eleven
<i>fí dī áliè</i>	twelve
<i>fí dī átòrò</i>	thirteen
<i>fí dī ànáásè</i>	fourteen
<i>fí dī àpjé</i>	fifteen
<i>fí dī álòrò</i>	sixteen
<i>fí dī álòpè</i>	seventeen
<i>fí dī ñménjtél</i>	eighteen
<i>fí dī dígítòò</i>	nineteen

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-progression. This expression is called the base. In the progression from eleven to nineteen shown in Table 3.23, 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 *dī* and its vowel surfaces only when the following word starts with a consonant (i.e. *fídìñménjtél* ‘18’, but *fídànáásè* ‘14’).

Table 3.24 provides the sequences of numeral atoms forming the complex numer-

als referring to numbers from 21 to 99.

Table 3.24: *Complex numerals from 21 to 99*

Number	Numeral	Meaning
21-29	atom <i>ani</i> atom	$20 + (1 \text{ through } 9)$
30	atom <i>ani</i> atom	$20 + 10$
31-39	atom <i>ani</i> complex	$20 + (11 \text{ through } 19)$
40	atom atom	20×2
41-49	atom atom <i>ani</i> atom	$20 \times 2 + (1 \text{ through } 9)$
50	atom atom <i>ani</i> atom	$20 \times 2 + 10$
51-59	atom atom <i>ani</i> complex	$20 \times 2 + (11 \text{ through } 19)$
60	atom atom	20×3
61-69	atom atom <i>ani</i> atom	$20 \times 3 + (1 \text{ through } 9)$
70	atom atom <i>ani</i> atom	$20 \times 3 + 10$
71-79	atom atom <i>ani</i> complex	$20 \times 3 + (11 \text{ through } 19)$
80	atom atom	20×4
81-89	atom atom <i>ani</i> atom	$20 \times 4 + (1 \text{ through } 9)$
90	atom atom <i>ani</i> atom	$20 \times 4 + 10$
91-99	atom atom <i>ani</i> complex	$20 \times 4 + (11 \text{ through } 19)$

Table 3.24 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 one atom and one complex numeral. Case (i) is understood as a phrase which multiplies the numerical values of two atoms. For instance, *matseo atoro* [20 3] results in the product ‘sixty’. All numeral phrases from 20 to 99 use *matseo* 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. The same form is also found in noun phrases expressing the union of two or more entities (see Section 3.3.10.1). 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’. So, 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 3.25.

Table 3.25: General structure of complex numerals

Argument	Meaning	Restriction
(y) x tuo	subtraction	$y = 10$ $x = 1$
x ani y	addition	$x > y$
x dr y	addition	$x = 10$ $y = 1\text{-}9$
xy	multiplication	$x = 20$ $y = 2, 3, 4$
xy	multiplication	$x = 100$ $y = 2\text{-}9$
xy	multiplication	$x = 1000$ $y = 2\text{-}999, 1000$

As earlier mentioned, in subtraction the minuend y is covert. The only case of subtraction is the numeral *dígítvø* ‘nine’. Both addition and multiplication take two overt arguments x and y . They are presented in the first column of Table 3.25 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 *tssv* ‘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 *tssv tssv* [1000 · 1000] ‘million’ was common, but became archaic even before the change of currency in July 2007. Examples of numerals are presented in (116).

- (116) a. *matfeo anaase ani alie*
 twenty four and two
 ‘82’
- b. *kɔwa ani matfeo ani digimaya*
 hundred and twenty and one
 ‘121’

- c. *kɔsa alie ani matseo ani fidalie*
hundred two and twenty and twelve
'232'
- d. *kɔsa atoro ani matseo anaase ani fidanj*
hundred three and twenty four and fifteen
'395'
- e. *kɔsa apɔ̄ ani digimaya*
hundred five and one
'501'
- f. *tɔssv ani kɔsa alie ani matseo ani apɔ̄*
thousand and hundred two and twenty and five
'1225'
- g. *tɔssv matseo ani digimaya ani kɔsa alie matseo ani fi ani*
thousand twenty and one and hundred two twenty and ten and
digimaya
one
'21231'
- h. *tɔssv kɔsa aloro ani matseo anaase ani alie ani kɔwa*
thousand hundred six and twenty four and two and hundred
atoro ani matseo anaase ani fi di digii
three and twenty four and ten and one
'682 391'

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*.

3.3.7.2 Numerals as modifiers

To a certain extent, Chakali offers a rigid word order within the noun phrase (Section 3.3.9). Table 3.31 offers an overview of the noun phrase structure, supported by the data in (??). The numeral occurs following the head and the qualifier(s). It precedes the article, the demonstrative and the quantifier. The noun phrases in (??) were collected on a paradigm filling session.³⁴

³⁴ The examples in (??) were elicited in subject position of the sentence frame *X ka waa ra* 'X is/are going to Wa'.

3 Grammar Outline

Table 3.26: Linear order of elements in a noun phrase

	ART/POSS	HEAD	QUAL ₁	QUAL ₂	NUM	QUANT	DEM	FOC/NEG
117a	✓	✓				✓		
117b	✓	✓			✓	✓		
117c	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
117d	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
117e	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	
117f	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓
117g	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓

- (117) a. *a nihāān-a muŋ*
 ART woman-PL QUANT
 ‘All women’
- b. *a nihāān-a fi muŋ*
 ART woman-PL NUM QUANT
 ‘All ten women’
- c. *a nihāān-a pɔlɛɛ fi muŋ*
 ART woman-PL QUAL NUM QUANT
 ‘All ten fat women’
- d. *o nihāān-a pɔlɛɛ pɔlsma alie muŋ*
 POSS woman-PL QUAL QUAL NUM QUANT
 ‘Both his two fat blind wives’
- e. *a nihāān-a pɔlɛɛ fi muŋ hama*
 ART woman-PL QUAL NUM QUANT DEM
 ‘Those all ten fat women’
- f. *a nihāān-a pɔlɛɛ fi muŋ lei*
 ART woman-PL QUAL NUM QUANT NEG
 ‘Not all ten fat women’
- g. *a nihāān-a pɔlɛɛ fi muŋ hama lei*
 ART woman-PL QUAL NUM QUANT DEM NEG
 ‘Not all those ten fat women’

When they appear as noun modifiers (or in predicative position), 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 3.3.11.1, Chakali is analyzed as having two values for the feature gender (i.e. *ga* or *gb* in Section 3.3.3.1). The assignment is based on the humanness property and plurality of a referent. Table 3.29(c) is repeated as Table 3.27 for convenience.

Table 3.27: *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 *bõñnà* ‘goats’ in (118a), *viíné* ‘cooking pots’ in (118b), *táátá* ‘languages’ in (118c) and *bisé* ‘children’ in (118d). Again, the only numerals that agree in gender with the noun they modify are *áliè* ‘two’, *átòrò* ‘three’, *ànáásè* ‘four’, *ànjó* ‘five’, *álòrò* ‘six’, and *àlòpè* ‘seven’ (see examples 118e and 118f). The data in (118a)-(118d) 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-*].

(118) Agreement Domain: Numeral + Noun

- a. *ŋ kpaga bõñ-na a-naase*
1.SG have goat(Ga)-PL 3PL.Ga-four
'I have four goats.'
- b. *ŋ kpaga vii-ne a-naase*
1.SG have pot(Ga)-PL 3PL.Ga-four
'I have four cooking pots.'
- c. *ŋ ŋma taa-ta a-naase*
1.SG speak language(Ga)-PL 3PL.Ga-four
'I speak four languages.'
- d. *ŋ kpaga bi-se ba-naase*
1.SG have child(Gb)-PL 3PL.Gb-four
'I have four children.'

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- e. $\eta \ kpaga \ vii-ne \ *a\eta m\eta tel/*adigit\omega \ (\eta m\eta tel/digit\omega)$
1.SG have pot(GA)-PL eight/nine
'I have eight/nine cooking pots.'
- f. $\eta \ kpaga \ bi-se \ *ba\eta m\eta tel/*badigit\omega \ (\eta m\eta tel/digit\omega)$
1.SG have child(GB)-PL eight/nine
'I have eight/nine children.'
- g. $\eta \ kpaga \ vii-ne \ fidanaase$
1.SG have pot(GA)-PL fourteen
'I have fourteen cooking pots.'
- h. $\eta \ kpaga \ bi-se \ *fidanaase/fidibaanaase$
1.SG have child(GB)-PL fourteen
'I have fourteen children.'

Recall that in Table 3.23 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 $[fi_{10}-d(i)-[X_{1-9}]_{atom}]_{complex}$ 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 (118g) and (118h) 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.

3.3.7.3 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. The forms are *diekee* 'one', *n̄ewāā* 'two', *toroo* 'three', *naase* 'four', *n̄ɔɔ* 'five', *loroo* 'six', *lsp̄ee* 'seven', *ηm̄etel* 'eight', etc. Basically, what differentiate the numerals of Table 3.22 from the list above are (i) a specific enumerative use, (ii) the tendency to lengthen the last vowel,³⁵ (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 correspond almost entirely to those shown in table 3.22. In (119), an excerpt of a folk tale displays the enumerative use of numerals.

³⁵ I also perceived lengthening in Waali, D̄eg and Vagla for the same sequences.

- (119) *gbīā piili diekee, pnewā, toroo, naase, pñ, loro, lōpe, ani hāŋ ñ
 Monkey starts one two three four five six seven CONN DEM 1.SG
 ka saŋee niŋ, digits, fi
 EGR sit ADVM nine ten*
 ‘The monkey started to count: one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, the one I’m sitting on, nine, ten.’ (CB 013)

3.3.7.4 Distribution

Reduplication has several functions in Chakali and example (120) shows that the meaning of distribution is expressed by the reduplication of a numeral.

- (120) *nii-ta alie-lie ñ di tieba digi-digi
 water-PL two-two 1.SG HEST give.3.PL one-one*
 ‘Yesterday I gave two water bags to each individual.’

In (120) the phrase containing the thing distributed and its quantity opens the utterance. The recipient of the giving event is covert but is understood here as being more than one individual. Both forms express the quantity of things distributed and the number of recipients per things distributed. This is how the distributive reading is encoded in the utterance. Compare (121a) and (121b) with (121c).

- (121) a. *a kuoru zvs dia muŋ no a laa kpāām-a fi-fi
 ART chief enter house.SG all FOC CONN collect yam-PL ten-ten*
 ‘From each house the chief takes 10 yams.’
- b. *a zaga muŋ tie a kuoru ro kpāām-a fi-fi
 ART compound all give ART chief FOC yam-PL ten-ten*
 ‘Each house gives 10 yams to the chief.’
- c. *a zaga muŋ tie a kuoru ro kpāām-a fi
 ART compound all give ART chief FOC yam-PL ten*
 ‘All the houses (the village) give 10 yams to the chief.’

In (121b) and (121c), 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. *fi fi*).

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- (122) a. *tie a gar nwā zenii a nāñ-na ja zw̄s alie-lie*
 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. *a tii baniē ato-toro wo baniē jaa ana-naase*
 ART akee.apple some three-three FOC some IDENT four-four
 ‘Akee apples have sometimes three seeds, sometimes four seeds.’

The reduplication of the numeral *áliè* ‘two’ in (122a) makes the hearer understand that not only two cows might enter the cattle fence but a possible sequence of pairs. Similarly, example (122b) conveys a proposition which tells us that the fruit *tū* ‘Akee apple’ (*Blighia sapida*) can reveal sometimes three and sometimes four seeds.

3.3.7.5 Frequency

When the morpheme *b1* (Section 3.4.2.3.7) is prefixed to a cardinal numeral stem, it specifies the exact number of times an event happens.

- (123) A duty of the male's initiation for funeral caretaker
ja wire ja kina ra aka vala go dusie muj naval
 1.PL undress 1.PL.POSS thing FOC CONN walk cross Dusie QUANT circuit
bi-toro
 ITR-NUM
 'We undress then walk around Dusie three times.'

The meaning of *bi*-NUM corresponds to English ‘times’ or French ‘fois’. Example (123) illustrates a case where the morpheme *bi* is prefixed to the numeral stem *toro* ‘three’ and translates into ‘three times’.

3.3.7.6 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.

- (124) a. *A: lie ni i ka gila par*
 where POSTP 2.SG.POSS EGR leave hoe
 ‘Where did you leave the hoe?’

- B: *η gila a par ra a pie atoro gantal ni*
 1.SG leave ART hoe FOC ART yam.mound three RELN POSTP
 'I left the hoe behind the third yam mound.'

In example (124a), the expression *a pie atoro gantal ni* is best translated as 'behind the third yam mound' and not as 'behind the three yam mound'. 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 *tósɔ nī sínsáyál* 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 (125) *sinsagal* is understood as 'follower(s)'.

(125) Sibling relationship

- a. *v sinsagal batoro jaa-η*
 3.SG.POSS follower three IDENT-1.SG
 'After him/her, I'm the third.'
- b. *η gantal tɔma jaa balie wa*
 1.SG.POSS back owners IDENT two FOC
 'I have two siblings younger than me.'
- c. *η svv tɔma jaa balie wa*
 1.SG.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 *η jaa digimanya tiina*, 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. *η jaa anaase tiina*, lit: I-is-4-owner, 'I am fourth'). However, there are other ways to express the same proposition: any of the expressions given in (126) is appropriate in this context.

(126) Position on a race

- a. *a batʃɔli ni η na alie ra*
 ART race POSTP 1.SG see two FOC
 'At the race, I arrived second.'
- b. *mij dije*
 1.SG.ST eat.PFV
 'I arrived first.' or 'I won.'

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- c. *miŋ ni te sow, i saya*
1.SG.ST postp early front 2.SG be.on
'I arrived first, you followed.'

Finally, the word *búŋbúŋ* is translated into 'first' and refers to a past state, its beginning or origin.

- (127) *búŋbúŋ ní ñ fí wàà nðā sñj*
first POSTP 1.SG PST NEG drink alcoholic.drink
'At first, I was not drinking alcoholic beverage.'

3.3.7.7 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 Lobanir section of Deric 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 *Sigmāá*, 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 navel-string 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 *tʃɔpisi alie* is used in greetings (Section 178b). 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). 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 *tʃɔpisi alie* '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 *v lsla fidalie*, lit. 'She give.birth twelve'.

3.3.7.8 Currency

One peculiarity of Chakali appears when numerals are used in the domain of currency. For example, in (128) the speaker needs to sell a grasscutter (*Thryonomys swinderianus*) for the price of seven Ghana cedis.

- (128) *kɔsa atoro ani matfeo alie ani fi*
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.³⁶ Secondly, the Chakali word denoting 'bag' is *bɔɔtia* (pl. *bɔɔtisá*, etym. *bɔɔ-tia* 'hole-give'). There is evidence that the word has at least one additional sense in the language. In (129) the prices of some items are presented.³⁷

- (129) a. *bɔɔtia matfeo atoro ani fi dr apɔ*
bag twenty three and ten and five
'15,000' (for three yam tubers)
- b. *bɔɔtia tvssv*
bag thousand
'200,000' (for a bag of groundnuts)
- c. *bɔɔtia kɔsa alie*
bag hundred two
'40,000' (for a basin of dried cassava)
- d. *bɔɔtia kɔsa ŋmeytel*
bag hundred eight
'160,000' (for a bag of dried cassava)

³⁶ 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 Nkrumah 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.

³⁷ The prices are those recorded at the market in Ducie in February 2008.

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- e. *bwɔtia matfeo anaase ani fi*
bag twenty four and ten
'18,000' (for a bowl of rice)
- f. *bwɔtia tɔsɔ ani kɔwa apɔ*
bag thousand and hundred five
'300,000' (for a bag of rice)

In (129) the word *bwɔtia* initiates each expression. Since the expressions refer solely to the amount of money, it is clear that the word *bwɔtia* does not have the meaning 'bag' but that the meaning of a numeral, i.e. 200 can be inferred. The distinction between *bwɔtia*₁ (=bag) and *bwɔtia*₂ (=200) is supported by the following observations: On some occasions where *bwɔtia* is used, the word cannot refer to 'bag' since there are no potential referents available. In the position it occupies in (129) *bwɔtia* is usually not pluralized, which is obligatory for a modified noun. Further, the word *kómbòrò* 'half' can modify *bwɔtia*₁ to mean 'half a bag' (i.e. maize, groundnuts, etc), but the expression *bwɔtia komboro* cannot mean '100 cedis' in the language.³⁸ Going back to the form of the expression given in (128), it was also observed that in a conversation in which the reference to money is understood, *bwɔtia*₂ is often not pronounced. One can use the utterance *tɔsɔ* 'thousand' to refer to the price of a bag of groundnuts, that is an amount of two hundred thousand old cedis.³⁹ Provisionally, I can say that the distinguishing characteristic of *bwɔtia*₁ is that it is a common noun and refers to 'bag' and that *bwɔtia*₂ 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.

³⁸ This claim was recently challenged by one of my consultants who recalls his mother using *bwɔtia komboro* to mean '100 cedis'. Compare this with English where one can say *half a grand* to mean 500 dollars. The reason why *bwɔtia 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.

³⁹ While a synchronic account of a sense distinction for the form *bwɔtia* 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 *bwɔtia*, and its equivalent, is found to be widespread in West Africa. The lexical item being discussed here is in Yoruba *?àkpó*, Baatonum *bwɔrɔ*, Hausa *kàtákù*, Dagbani *kpalinya*, Dagaare *bwɔra*, Dagaare (Nandom dialect) *wɔra*, Sisaala *bɔtɔ* and Waali *bwɔra*. Whether the word is polysemous in all these languages as it is in Chakali, I do not know. Akan and Gā had something similar but seem to have lost the reference to currency: a study of the words *bɔtɔ* and *kotoko/kɔtɔkɔ* is needed.

3.3.8 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 3.3.3.3, i.e. (sg./pl.) *han*/*hama*.

- (130) Priest talking to the shrine, holding a kola nut above it
 má láá [kápósiè háj]NP ká já mōsē tìè wíí tìŋ bà tàà
 2.PL take kola.nut DEM CONN 1.PL plead give matter ART 3.PL.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 (132b) below). In example (131), the demonstrative is placed before the quantifier, which is not its canonical position, as will be shown in the summary examples in Section 3.3.12.⁴⁰

- (131) *dí ò nőd dí [tʃákàlì tósá hájì mùŋ]NP, dí biìsáà jáá
 COMP 3.SG hear COMP Chakali villages DEM QUANT COMP Biisa IDENT
 níhié, bánié ká bì ȳmá dí sòylá jáá níhié
 old some EGR ITR say COMP Sogola IDENT old*
 ‘He hears that of all Chakali settlements, some say that Biisa (Bisikan) is
 the oldest, some also say Sogola is the oldest.’ (Katua, 28/03/08, Jeo Jebuni)

The examples in (132) show that the typical position of the demonstrative is after the head noun and before the postposition, after the numeral, but before the article *tη*.

- (132) a. [tʃòðsá háj]NP ní ñì dí kōrā rā
 morning DEM POSTP 1.SG eat t.z. FOC
 ‘This morning I ate T. Z.’

b. [nárá báliè háj]NP nā séwíjé à mór
 person two DEM FOC write ART story
 ‘THESE TWO MEN wrote the story.’

⁴⁰ The plural form of *tsw* ‘village’ in Katua is *tsti*. In the lect of Katua, the noun classes resemble the noun classes of the Pasaale dialect, especially the lect of the villages Kulun and Yaala.

- c. *làà [mʊsá záál háj̊ tñ̊]NP*
 collect Musa fowl DEM ART
 ‘Collect Musah’s fowl’

3.3.9 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 2.3.2.2 for the various forms the focus particle can take). The particle *lei* ‘not’ negates a noun phrase, but it is part of the word in the case of a complex quantifier (see Sections 3.3.5 and 3.3.11.2). Focus and negation particles cannot co-occur together in a single noun phrase.

- (133) *[à dièbísè hámà]NP lèf, [hámà]NP rā*
 ART cats DEM.PL NEG DEM.PL FOC
 ‘Not these cats, THESE CATS.’

In (133), *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.

Still in need of validation is the contrast offered in (134), where one consultant insisted that if the focus particle does not appear after the object of *kpaga* the subject needs to be lengthen and display high tone. This appears to co-relate to the distinction offered for personal pronoun in Section 3.3.3.1.

- (134) a. *wáá/káláá kpágá bòjpé*
 3.SG.ST/K.FOC have respect
 ‘HE/KALA has respect for others’
- b. *ò/kálá kpágá bòjpé rá*
 3.SG.K. has respect FOC
 ‘He/Kala has RESPECT FOR OTHERS.’
- c. *wáá/bélée kpágá záál*
 3.SG.ST/wild.dog catch fowl
 ‘IT/WILD DOG catches fowls.’
- d. *ò/bélè kpágá záál là*
 3.SG/wild.dog catch fowl FOC
 ‘It/Wild dog catches FOWLS.’

3.3.10 Coordination of nominals

3.3.10.1 Conjunction of nominals

The coordination of nominals is accomplished by means of the conjunction particle *ani* (*gl. 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 (135).

- (135) *váá àní dièbié 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 (136). It is possible to repeat the connective *ani*, but a pause between the items in a sequence is more frequently found.

- (136) *bɔ́ɔŋ, váà àní dièbié 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 (137).

- (137) *ṇ kpáyá tàyta zèn né àní (tàyta) ábūmmò*
 1.SG 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 *tịŋ* follows both conjuncts. This is shown in (138) where the connective appears between two qualifiers.

- (138) *à kór ábúmmò àní ápɔ̄mmá tịŋ*
 ART bench black CONN white ART
 ‘the black and white chair’

since kpaga(kpagi)

When the weak personal pronouns 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 the sequences where a singular pronoun is placed after a plural one. Examples are provided in (139).

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(139)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. Acceptable | b. Unacceptable |
| 1.sg CONN 2. <i>pl</i> > /η ani ma/
‘I and you (pl)’ | 2. <i>pl</i> CONN 1.sg > */ma ani η/
3. <i>pl.Ga</i> CONN 1.sg > */a ani η/ |
| 1.sg CONN 3. <i>pl.Ga</i> > /η ani a/
‘I and they (hum-)’ | 2. <i>pl</i> CONN 3.sg > */ma ani ϖ/
3. <i>pl.Gb</i> CONN 3.sg > */ba ani ϖ/ |
| 3.sg CONN 2. <i>pl</i> > /ϖ ani ma/
‘she and you (pl)’ | |
| 3.sg CONN 3. <i>pl.Gb</i> > /ϖ ani ba/
‘she and they (hum+)’ | |

Secondly, the first person pronoun *η* 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 (140), 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.

- (140) /ϖ ani ϖ/ 3.sg. CONN 3.sg. > [ϖnϖnϖ] ‘she and she’
 /ϖ ani I/ 3.sg. CONN 2.sg. > [ϖnίnί] ‘she and you’
 /η ani ϖ/ 1.sg. CONN 3.sg. > [ηnϖnϖ] ‘I and she’
 /η ani I/ 1.sg. CONN 2.sg. > [ηnίnί] ‘I and you’
 /I ani η/ 2.sg. CONN 1.sg. > *[In(V)nη]

If the first person pronoun *η* 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)nη*.

As shown in Table 3.28, these problems do not arise when the strong pronouns (ST) are used.

Table 3.28: *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	υνυνυ	υνυνι	*	*
WK CONN WK	υνυνυ	μνυνυ	ηνυνυ	ηνηνι
WK CONN ST	υνιρω	υνιηη	υνιμηη	μιμηη
ST CONN WK	wanυνυ	hmnυνυ	minυνυ	mnnηηη
ST CONN ST	wanirwa	waniηηη	waniηηη	mnnηηη

3.3.10.1.1 Apposition

- (141) *kùórù biniháñj ñmá tiè [ð jíná kùórù]NP dí à báàl párá*
 chief young.girl say give 3.SG.POSS father chief that ART man farm
 à *kúó pétùù* (...)
 ART farm finish.FOC (...)

‘The chief’s daughter told her father that the young man had finished weed-ing the farm (...)’ (CB 014)

There is another conjunction-type of nominal coordination. The noun phrase *ð jíná kùoru* ‘her father chief’ in (141) is treated as two noun phrases in apposition. In this case, apposition is represented as $[[ð jíná]_{NP} [kùoru]_{NP}]]_{NP}$.

3.3.10.2 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. This is shown in (142).

- (142) a. *i búurè tí rē káá kófí*
 2.SG want tea FOC CONN coffee
 ‘Do you want tea or coffee?’
 b. *i búurè tí rē káá kófí rā i dì búurè*
 2.SG want tea FOC CONN coffee FOC 2.SG 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 3.2.4.1).

- (143) *i káá tòmà tiè à kùórù ró zááñj káá tfíá*
 2.SG FUT work give ART chief FOC today or tomorrow
 ‘Will you work for the chief today or tomorrow?’

Example (143) shows that the same particle may also occur between temporal nominals.

3.3.11 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

(2004); 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.

3.3.11.1 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*. It is usually accepted that “(g)ender is not restricted to sex-based classifications ('male/female'); other semantic possibilities include 'animate', 'small', 'insect', 'non-flesh food' and so on” (Corbett & Fraser 2000: 293). Therefore, treating humanness as gender is not controversial.

In Chakali the values for the feature GENDER are presented in Table 3.29. A description that specifies the lexemes in those terms will properly capture agreement in the language.

In addition to the gender values proposed in Table 3.29(a), a condition constrains the controller to be plural to observe the humanness distinction in agreement. As Table 3.29(b) and 3.29(c) show, the personal pronouns in the language do not distinguish humanness in the singular but only in the plural.⁴¹

The boundary separating human from non-human is subject to conceptual flexibility. In story telling non-human characters are “humanized”, sometimes called personification, as (144) exemplifies: animals talk, are capable of thoughts and

⁴¹ Brindle (2008a) argues that the situation violates universal 37 (and perhaps 45) of Greenberg (1963): “A language never has more gender categories in non-singular numbers than in the singular”. Although very rare, four languages, i.e. Fur (Sudan: Nilo-Saharan, Fur), Kiowa (Oklahoma, USA: Kiowa Tanoan, Kiowa-Towa, Kiowa), Sinhala (Sri Lanka: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Sinhalese-Maldivian) and Dagaare are known to display a pronominal system resembling that of Chakali. The information was extracted from Dik Bakker's typological database (<http://www.lotschool.nl/Research/ltrc/agreement.htm>). Vagla (vag), Deg (mzw), Tampulma (tpm), Safaliba (saf), Hanga (hag) and Waali (wlx), to my knowledge, can also be considered languages which violate Greenberg's universal 37.

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Table 3.29: *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
3.sg.	<i>o</i>	<i>wa</i>
3.pl.a	<i>a</i>	<i>awa</i>
3.pl.b	<i>ba</i>	<i>bawa</i>

(c) Agreement prefix forms

-HUM=G a		+HUM=G b
sg.	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>
<i>pl.</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ba-</i>

feelings, and can plan to go to funerals. If one compares the non-human referents in example (144) and (145b), the former reflects personification, while the latter does not.

(144) Domain: antecedent-anaphor

váá māá sówá. ò ymá dí ò tñéná ymálíñymíñò dí bá
 dog.SG mother.SG die he said COMP his friend bird's name COMP 3PL.GB
 káálì ò māá lúhò
 go his mother funeral

'The Dog's mother died. Dog asks his friend Bird (*Ardea purpurea*) to accompany him to his mother's funeral.' (lit: (...) that they should go to his mother's funeral.)

In (145) the quantifier *muj* 'all' agrees in gender with the nouns *nibaala* 'men'

and *bolasə* ‘elephants’. The form *amuj* is used with non-human, irrespective of the number value, and for human if the referent is unique. The form *bamuj* 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.

(145) Domain: Quantifier + Noun

- a. *nì-báál-á* *bā-mùŋ*
person(Gb)-male-PL Gb-ALL
'all men'
- b. *bɔlà-sá* *á-mùŋ*
elephant(Ga)-PL Ga-ALL
'all elephants'

In Section 3.3.3.5, it was shown that the possessive pronouns have the same forms as the corresponding weak pronouns. In (146), 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).

(146) Domain: Possessive (possessor) + Noun

- a. (*määma* *muŋ na*) *bà* *bì-sé*
mother(Gb) all FOC POSS.3PL.Gb child-PL
'their children' (possessor = human mothers)
- b. (*määma* *muŋ na*) *à* *bɔ́ðn-á*
mother(Ga) all FOC POSS.3PL.Ga goat-PL
'their goats' (possessor = goat mothers)

Example (147) displays agreement between the numeral *à-náásə* ‘four’ and the nouns *bɔ́ðnà* (CL.3) ‘goats’, *tàátá* (CL.7) ‘languages’, *vííné* (CL.5) ‘cooking pots’ and *bísé* (CL.1) ‘children’. The numerals that agree in gender with the noun they modify are *á-liè* ‘two’, *à-tòrò* ‘three’, *à-náásə* ‘four’, *à-jɔ́* ‘five’, *à-lòrò* ‘six’ and *á-lòpè* ‘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

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same agreement pattern (ANIM in (147a), ABST in (147b), CONC in (147c) vs. HUM in (147d)). Clearly, as shown below, noun class membership is not reflected in agreement (*táátá* (CL.7) ‘languages’ triggers *ga* in (147b) and *bísé* (CL.1) ‘children’ triggers *gb* in (147d)).

(147) Domain: Numeral + Noun

- a. *ṇṇ kpáyá bɔ̄ɔ̄n-á à-náásè rā*
1SG have goat(GA)-PL 3PL.GA-four FOC
‘I have four goats.’
- b. *ṇṇ ɳmá tɔ̄à-tá à-náásè rā*
1SG speak language(GA)-PL 3PL.GA-four FOC
‘I speak four languages.’
- c. *ṇṇ kpáyá víi-né à-náásè rā*
1SG have cooking.pot(GA)-PL 3PL.GA-four FOC
‘I have four cooking pots.’
- d. *ṇṇ kpáyá bi-sé bà-náásè rā*
1SG have child(Gb)-PL 3PL.Gb-four FOC
‘I have four children.’

Example (148) 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 (148a) 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* (3.PL.*b*). The rule in (148f) 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.

(148) Domain: Coordinate structure with *ni*

- a. *[à báál nì ḥv kààkúmò-sō]NP váláà káálì támàlè rā*
ART man CONN 3.SG.POSS donkey-PL walk go Tamale FOC
‘The man and his donkeys walked to TAMALE’
- b. *bà kɔ̄ɔ̄wáá*
3PL.Gb tire.PFV.FOC
‘They are tired’

- c. *bà-mùŋ nààsá tʃɔgáá*
3.PL.Gb-all feet.PL spoil.PFV.FOC
'All feet were hurting'
- d. *bà nààsá tʃɔgáá*
3.PL.POSS.Gb feet.PL spoil.PFV.FOC
'Their feet were hurting them'
- e. *bà jáá bà-nɔ́ rā*
3.PL.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 + Gb = Gb, Ga + Gb = Gb, Gb + Ga = Gb and Gb + Gb = Gb).*

Examples (144) to (148) 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 3.3.11.2 presents a phenomenon which shows some similarity to gender agreement.

3.3.11.2 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 (149):

- (149)
- a. *dʒètì kìm-bón ná*
lion.SG ANIM-dangerous.SG FOC
'A lion is DANGEROUS' (generic reading)
 - b. *dʒètísá kìm-bómá rá*
lion.PL CONC; ANIM-dangerous.PL FOC
'The lions are DANGEROUS' (individual reading)
 - c. *ㄇ bièrəsá nì-bómá rá*
POSS.1.SG 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)

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- e. à jáá kìm-bómá rá
 3PL.GA IDENT CONC; ANIM-dangerous.PL FOC
 ‘They are DANGEROUS’ (non-human, non-abstract participants)
- f. záíí wì-bón ná
 fly.NMLZ ABST-dangerous.SG FOC
 ‘Flying is dangerous’
- g. à tfigísíí wì-bómá rá
 ART turn.PV.NMLZ ABST-dangerous.PL FOC
 ‘The turnings are DANGEROUS’ (repetitively turning clay bowls for drying)

The sentences in (149) 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 verb *jaa* 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 marker 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 /bɔm/ ‘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). The number agreement is illustrated in (149a) and (149b).⁴²

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 dummy substantive, i.e. *lit.* ‘lion is *thing*-dangerous’, where *thing* stands for the slots where animacy is encoded. This is represented in (150).

- (150) [[*thing*_{animacy-property}]_{NP} FOC]_{NP}

In (149) there are three dummy substantives: *ni-*, *wi-* and *ki-*. Each of them has a fully fledged noun counterpart; it can be pluralized, precede a demonstrative, etc. Those forms are *kiñ/kina* (CL.3) ‘thing’, *nar/nara* (CL.3) ‘person’ and *wii/wie* (CL.4) ‘matter, palaver, problem, etc.’

⁴² Notice that the nominalized verbal lexemes in (149f) and (149g) each triggers a different form for /bɔm/. The form *tfigisii* ‘turning’ is analyzed as a nominalized pluractional verb (see Section 3.4.3.2).

Table 3.30: *Classifiers and Nouns*

Classifier	Animacy	Noun class	Sing.	Plur.
nr-/na-	[HUM]	Class 3	nár	nará
wi-	[ABST]	Class 4	wíí	wíé
km-	[CONC; ANIM]	Class 3	kìn	kìnà

In Table 3.30, the three possible distinctions are provided. Also, a dummy substantive is now labelled a *classifier*. That is because the construction concordance between the form of 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). It is clear that the phenomenon under investigation shows certain similarities with classifier systems, and perhaps could be on a grammaticalization path towards being one. Since there are form and sense compatibilities between the inflecting noun pairs and the forms of the expressions preceding the qualitative predicate, a common radical form for each is identified: *km-* [CONC; ANIM] ‘thing, non-human, non-abstract’, *ni-* [HUM] ‘person, human being’ and *wi-* [ABST] ‘non-concrete, non-person’ are the three classifiers in Chakali.

All the sentences in (149) are ungrammatical without a classifier. The three classifiers combine with *bɔŋ/bɔma* to make proper constituents for an identificational construction. They provide animacy information, and their forms are determined by the sense properties relevant to animacy encoded in the head of the first noun phrase. The complex unit made out of a property and a licensing classifier is schematically presented in (151).

- (151) *Identificational Construction with a classifier*

$$[\text{[}^{topic} \text{ head}_x \text{]}_{NP} (jaa)[\text{[}^{comment} \text{CLF}_x \text{-property} \text{]}_{NP} \text{ FOC}]_{NP}]_S$$

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 (??) and (??):

(152)	a. <i>ná-mùŋ-léí</i> HUM-all-not 'no one'	(153)	a. <i>nì-dígíí</i> HUM-one 'someone'
	b. <i>wí-mùŋ-léí</i> ABST-all-not 'nothing'		b. <i>wí-dígíí</i> ABST-one 'something'
	c. <i>kín-mùŋ-léí</i> CONC; ANIM-all-not 'nothing'		c. <i>kín-dígíí</i> 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. The grammar of Chakali arranges the four 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.

3.3.12 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.

To summarize, Table 3.31 lists acceptable noun phrases. Certain orders are favored, but a strict linear order, especially among the qualifiers, needs further investigation. Notice that each noun phrase in (154), except for the weak personal pronoun in (154a), may or may not be in focus and may or may not be definite (i.e. accompanied by the article *tn̩*). Also, the column HEAD in Table 3.31 is not only represented in the examples by a noun; example (154g) 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 (154), particularly those towards the end of the list, are the result of elicitation. The order of appearance in table 3.31 may

be interpreted as an approximation of the frequency of each kind of noun phrase.
(see manuscript p.278)

Table 3.31: *Noun phrase members and linear order*

ART/POSS	HEAD	QUAL	QUAL	NUM	QUANT	DEM	QUANT	ART	FOC/NEG	ex.
	✓									154a
	✓								(✓)	154b
✓	✓								(✓)	154c
✓	✓						✓	(✓)	154d	
✓	✓							(✓)	154e	
✓	✓						✓	(✓)	154f	
	✓					✓		(✓)	154g	
	✓				✓		✓	(✓)	154h	
	✓				✓			(✓)	154i	
	✓				✓			(✓)	154j	
	✓				✓			(✓)	154k	
	✓				✓			(✓)	154l	
✓	✓	✓			✓			(✓)	154m	
✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		(✓)	154n	
✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		(✓)	154o	
✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	(✓)	154p	
✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				(✓)	154q	
✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	(✓)	154r	
✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		(✓)	154s	

- (154) a.
- i*
- 'you'

HEAD

- b.
- háññ*
- 'woman'

HEAD

- c.
- à háññ*
- 'the woman'

ART1 HEAD

- d.
- à háññ tñ*
- 'the woman'

ART1 HEAD ART2

- e.
- òò háññ*
- 'his woman'

POSS HEAD

- f.
- òò háññ tñ*
- 'his woman'

POSS HEAD ART2

- g.
- hámā mùñ*
- 'all these'

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HEAD QUANT

- h. *niháaná hámā mùŋ* ‘all these women’

HEAD DEM QUANT

- i. *háñj háñj* ‘this woman’

HEAD DEM

- j. *niháaná mùŋ* ‘all women’

HEAD QUANT

- k. *nihákáná* ‘many women’

HEAD-QUANT

- l. *nárá bálìè* ‘three person’

HEAD NUM

- m. *à niháaná pólèè bálìè* ‘the two fat women’

ART1 HEAD QUAL NUM

- n. *à niháaná bálìè hámà* ‘these two women’

ART1 HEAD NUM DEM

- o. *à niháaná pólómá pólèè bálìè* ‘the two fat blind women’

ART1 HEAD QUAL QUAL NUM

- p. *à niháaná pólèè káná* ‘many fat women’

ART1 HEAD QUAL QUANT

- q. *à niháaná pólèè pólómá káná* ‘many fat blind women’

ART1 HEAD QUAL QUAL QUANT

- r. *à niháaná pólèè pólómá káná hámà* ‘these many fat blind women’

ART1 HEAD QUAL QUAL QUANT DEM

- s. *à niháaná pólèè pólómá káná hámà* ‘some of my three good hoes’

1.SG.POSS HEAD QUAL NUM QUANT

3.4 Verbs

Any expression which can take the place of the predicate *P* in (1) is identified as *verbal*.

$$(1') \quad \text{ADJ} \pm \text{s|A} + \text{P} \pm \text{o} \pm \text{ADJ}$$

The term can also refer to a semantic notion at the lexeme level. The language is analyzed as exhibiting two types of verbal lexeme: the *stative* lexeme and the *active* lexeme were both shown in Section 3.3.2.4.4 to take part in nominalization processes. The verbal stem in (155) must be instantiated with a verbal lexeme.

- (155) $[[\text{preverb}]_{\text{EVG}} [[\text{stem}]-[\text{suffix}]]_{\text{verb}}]_{\text{VG}}$

In addition, the term can refer to the whole of the verbal constituent, including the verbal modifiers. The verbal group (VG) illustrated in (155) 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 3.4.2), 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 3.2.1.5).⁴³

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 3.4.3.1). 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.

3.4.1 Verbal lexeme

3.4.1.1 Syllable structure and tonal melody

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 12% 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 R0-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.

⁴³ The term and notion are inspired from analyses of the verbal system of Gā (Dakubu 1970). A verbal group is unlike the (traditional) 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.

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Table 3.32 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.

Table 3.32: *Tonal melodies on verbs*

Syllable type	Tonal melody	Form	Gloss
CV	H	pó	divide
	H	pó	plant
	L	tò	cover
CVV	L	pàà	take
	L	tòà	argue
	H	kíí	forbid
	LH	wòó	vacant (be)
CVCV	H	hé sí	announce
	H	kúló	tilt
	L	bílè	put
	L	hàlà	fry
	HL	lúlò	leak
	HM	pílē	cover
CVCCV	H	bóntí	divide
	H	kámsí	blink
	L	sùmmè	beg
	L	zènsì	limp
	HL	lógsì	scoop
CVVCV	H	pílí	start
	H	tíásí	vomit
	L	kààlì	go
	L	bùòlì	sing
	LM	jòòsí	possessed (be)
CVCVCV	H	záglí	shake
	H	vílimí	spin
	L	hàrigì	try
	L	dògòní	chase

The high (H) and low (L) register tones are assumed and two minimal pairs are identified: one is *télé* ‘lean on’ and *télè* ‘reach’, but this may turn out to be a kind of ‘aspectual switch’ (from stative to process, or vice-versa), similar to the category switch discussed in Section 3.3.2.4.3, and the other is *pò* ‘protect’ and *pó*

‘plant’. The mid tone (M) is not contrastive and only describes a verb’s intonation in the sentence frames compared.

3.4.1.2 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 *dva* (and its allolexe *tuwo*) 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 3.4.1.4.3). Their meaning and distribution was introduced in the sections concerned with the identificational construction (Section 3.2.1.1) and existential construction (Section 3.2.1.2). The possessive verb *kpaga* ‘have’ is treated as a verbal state lexeme as well (see possessive clause in Section 3.2.1.3). A qualitative verbal state lexeme establishes a relation between an entity and a quality. Examples are given in (156).

(156) Qualitative verbal state lexeme

- bòró* ‘short’ > à dáá bóróó ‘The tree is short’
- gòrò* ‘curved’ > à dáá góróó ‘The wood is curved’
- jógósi* ‘soft’ > à bié bátñj jógósijòð ‘The baby’s skin is soft’

Similarly, a quantitative verbal state lexeme establishes a relation between an entity and a quantity. Yet, in (157), the subject of *maase* is the impersonal pronoun *a* which refers to a situation and not an individual. The verb *híë* ‘age’ or ‘old’ is a quantitative verbal state lexeme since it measures objective maturity between two individuals, i.e. *míj híë-i*, lit. 1.SG.ST age-2.SG.WK, ‘I am older than you’.

(157) Quantitative verbal state lexeme

- kánà* ‘abundant’ > bà kánáð ‘They are plenty (people)’
- mààsì* ‘enough’ > à máásíjò ‘It is sufficient’
- híë* ‘age’ > míj híëi ‘I am older than you’

Cognitive verbs such as *liise* ‘think’, *kõð* ‘wonder’, *kisi* ‘wish’, *tsii* ‘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 3.4.3 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.

3.4.1.3 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 3.2.1.5), they denote separate taking and eating event. A complex verb denotes a single event.

- (158) a. *ṇ láá kúosò díūū*
 1.SG take G. eat.FOC
 ‘I believe in God.’
- b. *ṇ láá bié dóō*
 1.SG take child put.FOC
 ‘I adopted a child.’

The sequences *laa+di* ‘believe’ and *laa+dó* ‘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 (158) shows. Other examples, among others, are *zimà síí*, *lit.* know raise, ‘understand’, *kpa tā*, *lit.* take abandon, ‘drop’ or ‘stop’, and *gila zimà*, *lit.* allow know, ‘prove’.

3.4.1.4 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: 51.⁴⁴ Besides the derivational suffixes (Section 3.4.3.3), 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. *kpú*

⁴⁴ 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.

'Kill', *tíi kpɔɪ* '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 3.2.3, 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.

3.4.1.4.1 Base form of a verb The form of the verb displayed in the dictionary is called the base form. It is identified as the segmental sequence and melody which would appear in a positive imperfective transitive clause (Section 3.4.1.4.4).

This sentence frame is one that does not affect the segmental sequence and melody the verb. The base form can also correspond to a verb elicited in isolation, although consultant are generally not at ease with verbs in isolation, unless they are framed in an utterance.

3.4.1.4.2 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 (160), two suffixes are attached on one verbal process stem and one verbal state stem (see Section 2.3.2.1.2 for the general phonotactics involved).⁴⁵

- (160) Perfective intransitive construction

 - a. *Verbal process*: s + p
àfiá díóō
 - A. di-j[-LO, -HI, -RO]-[+HI,+RO]
'Afia ate.'
 - b. *àfiá wá díjē* 'Afia didn't eat'

⁴⁵ The presence of a schwa (\emptyset) in a CVC \emptyset CV surface form, as in (160c), is explained in Sections 2.3.2.1.3 and 2.3.1.2.

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- c. *Verbal state: S + P*
 à dáá télèjōó
 ART daa tele-j[-LO, -HI, -RO]-[+HI,+RO]
 ‘The stick leans’
- d. à dáá wà télàjē ‘The stick doesn’t lean.’

The first suffix to attach is the perfective suffix, i.e. -j[-LO, -HI, -RO] or simply /jE/. Although it appears on every (positive and negative) stem in (160), it does not surface on all verb stems. The information in Table 3.33 partly predicts whether or not a stem will surface with a suffix, and if it does, which form this suffix will have.

Table 3.33: *Perfective intransitive suffixes*

Suffix /-jE/	Suffix /-wA/	No suffix
CV	CVV	CVCV ¹
CVCV ²		

Table 3.33 shows that, in a perfective intransitive construction, a CV stem must be suffixed with -jE and a CVV verb with -wA. The examples in (161) are negative in order to prevent the assertive suffix from appearing (see Section 3.5.3 on why negation and the assertive suffix cannot co-occur).

(161) a. *CV*

- po* > àfiá wá pójē ‘Afia didn’t divide’
- pɔ* > àfiá wá pójē ‘Afia didn’t plant’
- pu* > àfiá wá pújē ‘Afia didn’t cover’
- pɔ* > àfiá wá pójē ‘Afia didn’t spit’
- kpe* > àfiá wá kpéjē ‘Afia didn’t crack and remove’
- kpa* > àfiá wá kpájē ‘Afia didn’t take’

b. *CVV*

- tuu* > àfiá wá tūūwō ‘Afia didn’t go down’
- tie* > àfiá wá tīēwō ‘Afia didn’t chew’
- sii* > àfiá wá sūwō ‘Afia didn’t raise’
- jsv* > àfiá wá jsvwā ‘Afia didn’t marry’
- tiε* > àfiá wá tīēwā ‘Afia didn’t give’
- wii* > àfiá 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 2.4.2. Notice that ro-harmony does not operate in that domain.

Rule 14 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.

$-/wA/ > \alpha RO_{\text{suffix}} / \alpha ATR_{\text{stem}}$

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 (14), which assumes that the segment [o] is the [+RO, +ATR]-counterpart of [a].
the

Predicting which of set CVCV¹ or set CVCV² in Table 3.33 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 *púmó* ‘hatch’ is a counter-example, i.e. *a zal wa pumøje* ‘the fowl didn’t hatch’. The CVCCV, CVVCV, and CVCVCV stems have not been investigated, but *kaali* ‘go’, a common CVVCV verb, takes the /-jE/ suffix [to do].

3.4.1.4.3 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 3.4.2.1) suggest that the imperfective may be interpreted as a progressive event. The imperfective is indicated by the base form of a verb. As in the perfective intransitive, the assertive suffix may be found attached to the verb stem.

(162) $[[\text{verb stem}]-[\text{+HI}, \text{+RO}]]_{\text{verb in focus}}$

Again, the constraints licensing the combination of the verb stem and the vowel features shown in (162) are (i) none of the other constituents in the clause are in focus, (ii) the clause does not include negative polarity items, and (iii) the clause is intransitive, that is, there is no grammatical object. [to do: note p. 199, + non-pronominal subject)

(163) a. Positive

ò kàá kpá ‘She will take’

òò kpáò ‘She is taking/takes’

- b. Negative
 $\dot{o} wàá kpā$ 'She will not take'
 $\dot{o}\dot{o} wàá kpá$ '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. **o* *kpa**s* *a bii* 'She is taking/takes the stone'
- f. **oo* *waa* *kpa**s* 'She is not taking/does not take'

In (163), 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. [to do] The assertive suffix cannot appear when the subject is in focus (163c) or when the strong pronoun is used as subject (163d), when a grammatical object follows the verb (163e), or when the negation preverb *waa* is present (163f).

3.4.1.4.4 Intransitive vs. transitive Many verbs can occur in either intransitive or transitive clauses. The subject of the intransitve (s) in (164a) and (164c) correspond to the subject of the transitive (A) in (164b) and (164d), and the same verb is found with and without an object (o).

(164)	a.	<i>kàlá díjōō</i>	<i>òò búólùū</i>
		S P	S P
		Kala eat.PFV.FOC	3.SG sing.IPFV.FOC
		'Kala ATE.'	'He is SINGING.'
	b.	<i>kàlá dí siìmáá rā</i>	<i>òò búólù bùol lō</i>
		S P O	A P O
		Kala eat.PFV food FOC	3.SG sing.IPFV song FOC
		'Kala ate FOOD'	'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 (165), 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 (165b) and (165c) into acceptable utterances, the optimal solution is to use the impersonal pronoun *ba* in subject position (see impersonal pronoun in Section 3.3.3.2).

(165)	a.	<i>à bòò káá híréū</i> 'the hole is being dug'
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- b. **a bɔɔŋ kaa maŋāɔ* ‘the goat is being beaten’ > *bàà mánjà à bɔɔŋ ná*
- c. **a daa kaa zināɔ* ‘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 (166) and (167) illustrate relevant contrasts.

(166) Transitive perfective

- a. *ṇ dí kɔɔ̄ rā*
‘I ate T. Z..’
- b. *ṇ pɔ̄ dāā rā*
‘I planted a TREE.’
- c. *ṇ tʃigé viī rē*
‘I covered a POT.’
- d. *ṇ lómó bɔɔŋ ná*
‘I tied a GOAT.’
- e. *ṇ móná díŋ né*
‘I carried FIRE.’

(167) Transitive imperfective

- a. *ṇṇ dí kɔɔ̄ rā*
‘I am eating T. Z..’
- b. *ṇṇ pɔ̄ dāā rā*
‘I am planting a TREE.’
- c. *ṇṇ tʃigé viī rē*
‘I am covering a POT.’
- d. *ṇṇ lómò bɔɔŋ ná*
‘I am tying a GOAT.’
- e. *ṇṇ móná díŋ né*
‘I am carrying FIRE.’

Each pair in the verbal frames of (166) and (167) presents fairly regular patterns: the high tone *versus* the falling tone on the CVCV verbs is one instance, the systematic change of the tonal melodies on the grammatical objects in the two CV-verb cases, and the length of the pronoun in the imperfective are identified. 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 a phonological string 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 (168) are three polar questions (see Section 3.2.2.2), one perfective and two 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.

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- (168) a. _ - - - - - - -
 I tejesi a namĩä raa
 2.SG cut.PV ART meat FOC
 'Did you cut the meat (into pieces)?'

b. _ - - - - - - -
 I tejesi a namĩä raa
 2.SG cut.PV ART meat FOC
 'Are you cutting the meat (into pieces)?'

c. _ - - - - - - -
 I kaa tejesi a namĩä raa
 2.SG IPFV.FUT cut.PV ART meat FOC
 'Will you (be) cut(ting) the meat (into pieces)?'

The only distinction perceived between (168a) and (168b) is a pitch difference on the third syllable of the verb. The tonal melody associated with the verb in (168c) is the same as the one in (168b).

3.4.1.4.5 Ex-situ subject imperfective particle One topic-marking strategy is to prepose a non-subject constituent to the beginning of the clause. In (169), 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 *di* 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.

- (169) a. Imperfective
sígá (*rá*) ḹ dì tīē
 bean (FOC) 3SG IPFV chew
 'It is BEANS he is
 chewing'

b. Perfective
sígá (*rá*) ḹ tiē
 bean (FOC) 3SG chew
 'It is BEANS he chewed'

c. Imperfective
wàà (*rá*) ḹ dì káálí
 Wa (FOC) 3SG IPFV go
 'It is to WA that he is
 going'

d. Perfective
wàà (*rá*) ḹ kààlì
 Wa (FOC) 3SG go
 'It is to WA that he went'

The position of *di* in (169a) and (169c), that is between the subject and the verb, is generally occupied by linguistic items called *preverbs*, to which the discussion

turns in Section 3.4.2. Provisionally, the particle *di* may be treated as a preverb constrained to occur with a preposed non-subject constituent and an imperfective aspect.⁴⁶

3.4.1.4.6 Subjunctive [to do: wish, potential event, dependent clause]

3.4.2 Preverb particles

Preverb particles encode various event-related meanings. They are part of the verbal domain called the expanded verbal group (EVG), discussed in (3.4) and schematized in (155). 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 3.4.2.1.

Nevertheless, given the data available, it would not be incorrect to analyze some of the preverbs as additional SVC verbs. However, we will see that 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 analyzed as grammaticalized verbs in series. These characteristics are not special to Chakali; similar, but not identical, behavior are described for Gã and Gurene (Dakubu 2007, 2008).

3.4.2.1 Egressive and ingressive particles

The egressive particle *ka(a)* (gl. EGR) ‘movement away from the deictic centre’ and the ingressive particle *wa(a)* (gl. INGR) ‘movement towards the deictic centre’ are assumed to derive from the verbs *kaali* ‘go’ and *waa* ‘come’.⁴⁷ Table 3.34 shows that *kaali* ‘go’ and *waa* ‘come’, like other verbs, change forms (and are acceptable) in these paradigms, but *ka(a)* is not.

⁴⁶ I do not treat topicalization in this work, although the left-dislocation strategy in (169) is the only one I know to exist.

⁴⁷ 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 *itiv* (i.e. away from the speakers, ‘thither’) and ingressive is known as *ventiv* (i.e. towards the speakers, ‘hither’).

Table 3.34: *Deictic verbs and preverbs*

Verb	σ	Aspect	Positive	Negative
<i>waa</i> ‘come’	CVV	PFV	ò wááwáó ‘she came’	ò wà wááwá ‘she didn’t come’
		IPFV	òò wááó ‘she is coming’	ò wà wáá ‘she is not coming’
<i>kaali</i> ‘go’	CVVCV	PFV	ò káálfjó ‘she went’	ò wà káálfjé ‘she didn’t go’
		IPFV	òò káálóó ‘she is going’	ò wà káálí ‘she is not going’
<i>ka</i>	CV	PFV	*ò kaw	*ò wa kaje
		IPFV	*òò kaw	*òò wa ka

If the verbs *kaali* ‘go’ and *waa* ‘come’ occur in a SVC, they surface as *ka* and *wa* respectively. In (170), both verbs take part in a two-verb SVC in which they are first in the sequence.

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 *kaa* contributes temporal information to an expression. Consider in (171) the distribution and contribution of *kaa* to the clauses headed by the verbs *kpe* 'crack a shell and remove a seed from it' (henceforth 'c&r') and *mara* 'attach'.⁴⁸

- (171) a. *ø kàá kpē* 'She will c&r'
øø kpéū 'She is c-ing&r-ing/c-s&r-s'
ø kpéjòō 'She c-ed&r-ed'
kpé 'C&r!'
- b. *ø kàá mārā* 'She will attach'
øø māráø 'She is attaching/attaches'
ø mārijø '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 the subject is not a pronoun and its tone melody differs from that of the future tense. These contrasts are given in (172).

- (172) *ø kàá mārā* 'She will attach'
øø māráø 'She is attaching'
wøsá kàá mārā 'Wusa will attach'
wøsá káá māráø 'Wusa is attaching'
**wøsá māráø* 'Wusa is attaching'

The paradigm in (172) 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.

In (173b) *kaa*'s melody is shown to be affected by the pitch of the preceding noun *bie* (LH) 'child' and the demonstrative *haŋ* (HL) 'this'.

⁴⁸ 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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- (173) a. à bié káá biliğī òò nàál kinkán nà
 ART child IPFV touch POSS.3.SG grand.father QUANT FOC
 ‘The child touches his grand-father.’
- b. à biè háj̄ kàà biliğī òò nàál kinkán nà
 ART child DEM IPFV touch POSS.3.SG grand.father QUANT FOC
 ‘This child touches his grand-father.’

Although little evidence is available, the preverb *wa* may also be used to express a sort of hypothetical mood. In (174), the preverb *wa* should be seen as contributing a supposition, or a hypothetical circumstance where someone would be found calling the number 8.

- (174) ȳménjtél ȳmā dí, kòsáná, tóótīnā ȳmá dí, námùŋ wá jirà
 spider say COMP buffalo land.owner say COMP anyone INGR call
 ȳménjtél s᷇, bá kpáyév̄ wàà bá kp̄v̄
 eight name 3.PL.HUM+ catch.3.SG FOC 3.PL.HUM+ kill
 ‘Spider told Buffalo that landowner said anyone who calls the number 8
 should be brought to him to be killed.’ (LB 009)

Finally, the example in (175) intends to show that some elders of Ducie and Gurumbele use *ta* instead of *ka(a)*, as a variant of the preverb.⁴⁹

- (175) Priest talking to the shrine, holding a kola nut above it
 má láá kàpésié háj̄ ká jà mósé tiè wíí tìŋ bà tà/kàà búúré
 2.PL take kola.nut DEM CONN 1.PL plead give matter ART 3.PL.b EGR want
 ‘Take this kola nut, we implore you to give them what they desire.’

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.

⁴⁹ 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.

3.4.2.2 Negation preverb

There are three different particles of negation in the language: the forms *lei* and *ti* were discussed in Sections 3.2.3 and 3.3.9 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 [to do: ex].

- (176) a. ḵ wàá p̄é
3.SG NEG add
'She will not add.'
- b. ḵ᳚ wàá p̄é
3.SG NEG add
'She is not adding.'
- c. ḵ wà p̄éj̄
3.SG NEG add
'She didn't add.'

The examples in (176) 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 172). The length of the negation particle can also function as a cue.

- (177) a. námùŋ wà ná-ṝ
CLF.all NEG see-1.SG
'Nobody saw me.' (lit. everyone not see me)
- b. ñ wà ná námùŋ
1.SG NEG see CLF.all
'I did not see anyone.' (lit. I not see everyone)

Example (177) shows that when the negation particle *wa(a)* and a quantifier appear in the same clause the quantifier is in the positive.

- (178) a. ḵ wà wá d̄í
3.SG NEG come eat
'She did not come to eat.'
- b. ḵ wàá wà d̄í
3.SG 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 (178) 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 3.3.3.1, 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 3.5.3). Consider the forms of the verb *mara* ‘attach’ in the two paradigms in (179).⁵⁰

- (179) a. Positive

ጀ kàá mārā ‘She will attach’
 ዝጀ māráጀ ‘She is attaching/attaches’
 ዝ mārijጀ ‘She attached’

- b. Negative

ጀ wàá mārā ‘She will not attach’
 ዝጀ wàá mārá ‘She is not attaching/does not attach’
 ዝ wà mārijጀ ‘She did not attach’

The paradigms in (179) suggest that the negation particle and the assertive suffix are in complementary distribution.

3.4.2.3 Tense preverbs

3.4.2.3.1 *fi* The preverb *fi* is identified with two different but interrelated meanings. First, as (180) shows, the preverb *fi* (*gl. PST*) is a neutral past tense particle (i.e. as opposed to the specific *di* of Section 3.4.2.3.2), and the event referred to in the past can no longer be in effect in the present.

- (180) a. ም jáá እኩ tſítſà rā
 3.SG IDENT 3.SG.POSS teacher FOC
 ‘He is my TEACHER.’
- b. ም fi jáá እኩ tſítſà rà
 3.SG PST IDENT 3.SG.POSS teacher FOC
 ‘He was my TEACHER.’

⁵⁰ The particle *la* in Dagaare has similar constraints. Bodomo (1997: 94) calls it a *factive* particle.

Secondly, the preverb *fí* (gl. MOD) can have deontic meaning.

- (181) a. ḡ fí jáà ḷṇ tṣítṣà rā
3.SG MOD IDENT 3.SG.POSS teacher FOC
'He should have been my TEACHER.'
- b. ḡ fí wáá jáà ḷṇ tṣítṣà
3.SG MOD NEG IDENT 3.SG.POSS teacher
'He should not have been my teacher.'
- c. ḡ fí jáá ḷṇ tṣítṣà rā 'He was my TEACHER.'
- d. ḡ fí wá jáá ḷṇ tṣítṣà 'He was not my teacher.'

In (181), its presence 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 *fí* in the positive is not accounted for, but I suspect it signals the imperfective. Compare the first two sentences in (181) with the last two which convey the neutral past. The positive sentence in (181a) 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.

- (182) a. ḷṇ mibòà fí bìrg̊
1.SG.POSS life MOD delay
'May I live long!'
- b. t̊t̊e ḷṇ mibòà bìrg̊
give 1.SG.POSS life delay
'Let me live long!'

Finally, the preverb *fí* in (182) 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 (182) have a corresponding meaning. Example (182b) is framed in an imperative clause (see *optative* in Section 3.2.3).

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* (gl. HEST), or specifically tomorrow, as opposed to later today and the day after tomorrow, i.e. *crastinal tense* (gl. CRAS). The hesternal tense particle *di/de* (gl. HEST) refers to the day

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preceding the speech time. It has the temporal nominal counterpart *diare (tn)* ‘yesterday’.

- (183) (*dìàrè tn*) ḩ ní ḩ *tʃéná dí wāāwā* (*dìàrè tn*)
(yesterday) 3.SG CONN 3.SG.POSS friend HEST come.PFV (yesterday)
‘He arrived with his friend yesterday.’

In (183), the phrase *diare tn* ‘yesterday’ is optional, and when it is used it must be expressed at the end or at the beginning of the clause.

- (184) *Will you work for the chief today or tomorrow?*
ṇ *tsí káá tòmà tīēv* rà, záñ, ḩ *káá hìēsòō*
1.SG CRAS go work give.3.SG FOC, today, 1.SG EGR rest.FOC
‘I shall work for him tomorrow, today, I shall rest.’

The crastinal tense preverb *tsí* (gl. CRAS) in (184) 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 *tsí* is *tsia* ‘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 3.4.1.4.5. 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 3.4.2.1. Consider their distribution and meaning in the examples given in (185).

- (185) a. Imperfective
sígá (rá) ḩ dí tíē
bean (FOC) 3SG IPFV chew
‘It is BEANS he is chewing’
- b. Perfective/Past
sígá (rá) ḩ tiè
bean (FOC) 3SG chew
‘It is BEANS he chewed’
- c. Hesternal past
sígá (rá) ḩ dí tiè
bean (FOC) 3SG HEST chew
‘It is BEANS he chewed yesterday’

- d. Hesternal past progressive
 sígá (*ra*) ḩ díí tìè
 bean (FOC) 3SG HEST chew
 'It is BEANS he was chewing yesterday'
- e. Future (progressive)
 sígá (*rá*) ḩ kàá tíē
 bean (FOC) 3SG FUT chew
 'It is BEANS he will be chewing / will chew'
- f. Crastinal future (progressive)
 sígá (*rá*) ḩ tʃí kàá tìè
 bean (FOC) 3SG CRAS FUT chew
 'It is BEANS he will be chewing / will chew tomorrow'

A specific tonal melody associated with the sequence *di tie* can express either a present progressive, as in (185a), or a hesternal past, as in (185c). Lengthening the hesternal past particle allows one to express the tense associated with the particle, in addition to indicating progressive (185d). This strategy seems to correspond semantically to the apparent syntactic anomaly **di di*, *lit.* HEST IPFV. The example in (185f) shows that the crastinal tense particle and the egressive particle signaling future can co-occur. Inserting the imperfective particle *di* between the egressive particle and the verb in (185e) and (185f) is unacceptable. It is unclear whether these two examples must be interpreted as progressive or not.

3.4.2.3.3 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.

- (186) a. *i téjòō*
 2.SG early.FOC
 'You are early.'
- (170a') *gbìǎ bààŋ té kà sáñá 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 (186). It contributes a manner, one in which the event is carried out before the expected or usual time. It cannot be used in adjunct positions (Section 3.5).

3.4.2.3.4 *zi* The preverb *zi* is marginal in the corpus.⁵¹

- (187) a. A father is giving a sequence of tasks to his son

<i>tòmà</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>zíé</i>	<i>máñá</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>tòmà</i>	<i>kúó</i>	<i>áká</i>	<i>zí</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>tòmà</i>	<i>à</i>
work	ART	wall	before	CONN	EGR	work	farm	CONN	after	go	work	ART
										<i>pv</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>

gár
cattle.fence

'First repair the wall, then go and farm, then repair the cattle fence.'

- b. *káàlì diá* *ká* *zí* *káàlì kúó*
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 *mváñ* 'before' and *zi* 'after' and the connective *ka/aka* 'and/then' are used, as (187a) shows. However, as (187b) illustrates, the preceding event may be presupposed, so it is not necessarily uttered.

3.4.2.3.5 *baañ* The preverb *baañ* (*gl. MOD*) is primarily modal and is usually translated into English 'must', 'immediately', 'quickly' or 'just'.

- (188) a. *kúórù ñmá dí* *ñ* *káá báañ bá* *bóñá fí* *ré*
chief say COMP 1.SG FUT MOD pay goat.PL ten FOC
'The chief says that I must pay him ten goats.'

⁵¹ There is another similar particle, *ze* (*gl. 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 hearer, 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 hearer (or only the speaker). Consider the following example:

(i) *ba* *ze* *waawas* 'They (the expected people) have come.'
3.PL.B EXP come.PFV

- b. *ii kàá bààŋ jáá rā*
 2.SG FUT MOD do.3.SG FOC
 ‘You must do it.’

First, the examples in (188) show that the preverb *baaŋ* conveys an obligation and the notion of temporality is secondary.

- (189) (...) à kpá ḥò néŋ à sàgà ḥò nī dí ḥò bààŋ
 (...) CONN take 3.SG.POSS arm CONN be.on 3.SG POSTP CONN 3.SG MOD
pv
 té bérègì d᷇᷇
 early turn.into python
pv v
 ‘(...) then put his hand on her and quickly turned into a python.’ (Python story 025)

Secondly, as illustrated in (189), the preverb *baaŋ* can express an abrupt or swift manner.

- (190) a. ḥ zímá dí jà kàá ñmá ḥò wíé rá ḥò bààŋ tʃùò
 3.SG know COMP 1.PL FUT talk 3.SG.POSS matter FOC 3.SG MOD lie
dúò
 sleep
 ‘He knew that we would talk about him, so he quickly slept.’
- b. kàwàá bààŋ tárì kékééén
 pumpkin just creep DXM
 ‘A pumpkin just crept like that ...’
- c. à kùò ní ḥ bààŋ jírúú kéké néé à wà k᷇᷇
 ART farm POSTP 3.SG MOD call.IPFV DXM FOC CONN INGR tire
 ‘At the farm he kept calling (for someone) but got tired (gave up).’
- d. díŋ bààŋ jàá díŋtší
 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 (190).

3.4.2.3.6 *ŋma* [desiderative mood preverb particle]

3.4.2.3.7 *bí* The examples in (191) show that the preverb particle *bí* expresses iteration, but also the single repetition of an event, and follows the negation particle.

- (191) a. *ò bí kòɔrè sàà òò dìà rá*
 1.SG ITR make build 3.SG.POSS house FOC
 ‘He rebuilt his hut’
- b. *à bìtʃélí bí siúú*
 ART child.fall ITR raise.FOC
 ‘The fallen child gets up again.’
- c. *ò wà bí tòwò*
 3.SG NEG ITR be.at
 ‘She is not here again.’

Unlike other preverbs, *bí* may also appear within noun phrases to express frequency time. This is shown in (192) (see Section 3.3.7.5).

- (192) *ñ jáà káálì ùù pé ré tfɔpìsì bí mùŋ*
 1.SG HAB go 3.SG.POSS end FOC day.break ITR all
 ‘I do visit him every day.’

3.4.2.3.8 *bra* The preverb *bra* has a corresponding verb with the same form. It is primarily a motion verb which conveys a change of direction.

- (193) a. *brà à káálì*
 return CONN go
 ‘Go back.’ (Hearer coming towards speaker, speaker ask hearer to turn and go back)
- b. *brà àká tfáò*
 return CONN leave.3.SG
 ‘Return and leave him.’ (Speaker ask hearer to turn and go away from the person the hearer is with)

The examples in (193) present the verb *bra* in imperative clauses separated by the connectives *a* and *aka*.

- (194) ḵ brá tòmà à tótmá tíŋ kà wà wíré kék
 3.SG 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 (194), it loosely keeps its motion sense and conveys in addition a sort of repetition. It differs from the morpheme *bi* introduced in Section 3.4.2.3.7 because 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’.

3.4.2.3.9 ja The preverb *ja(a)* (gl. HAB) indicates habitual aspect.

- (195) a. ñ já kàálì kùó
 1.SG HAB go farm
 ‘I do go to the farm.’
 b. ñ jáà káálì kùó
 1.SG HAB go farm
 ‘I have been going to the farm.’

Comparing the examples in (195), the variation in length seems to convey an (im)perfective aspectual distinction. [to do: confirm]

- (196) tʃɔpìsì bí-múŋ ḵò jáà jááv
 day.break ITR-all 3.SG HAB do.3.SG
 ‘He does it every day.’

3.4.2.3.10 ha The morpheme *ha* (gl. MOD) is similar in meaning to the English morpheme ‘yet’.

- (197) a. ḵò háá díūú
 3.SG MOD eat.FOC
 ‘He is still eating.’
 b. ḵ há wà díijé
 3.SG MOD NEG eat.PFV
 ‘He has not eaten yet.’
 c. bá píné ḵò gèrègá rá àká ḵò háá wíí
 3.PL.HUM+ look 3.SG.POSS sickness FOC CONN 3.SG MOD ill
 ‘He has been cared for to no avail; he is still ill.’

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- d. ḡ há wà wāā báàŋ mūŋ
3.SG MOD NEG come DEM QUANT
'He does not come here (ever).'
- e. ḡ há wà wáawá
3.SG MOD NEG come.PFV
'He has not come yet.'

It 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 the morpheme *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, similar to English 'still', as in (197a) and (197c).

3.4.2.3.11 tu and zin The verbs *tuu* and *zin* are motion expressions making reference to two opposite paths.

- (198) a. ñ zínà sàl lá mí páá tʃùòñò
1.SG go.up flat.roof FOC 1.SG take.PV shea.nut.seed.PL
'I go up on the roof to collect my shea nuts.'
- b. ñ túú dìà rá
1.SG go.down house FOC
'I went down to the house.'

When they are used as main predicate, as in example (198), they denote 'go down' and 'go up' and surface as *tuu* and *zin* respectively.

- (199) a. zíná tʃ́ à káálí
go.up run CONN go
'Go up, run, and leave' (*Run upwardly and go)
- b. tūù tʃ́ à káálí
go.down run CONN go
'Go down, run, and leave' (*Run downwardly and go)

The verbal morphemes *tuu* and *zin* in (199) are not treated as preverbs, but first verbs in SVCs. As explained at the beginning of Section 3.4.2, more criteria are required to be considered in order to categorize verbals of that particular kind.

3.4.3 Verbal suffixes

In Section 3.4.1.4, 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 negative polarity items, and (iii) the clause is intransitive, that is, there is no grammatical object. Also, as mentioned in Section 3.2.3, 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.

3.4.3.1 Incorporated object index

The object index is represented as being incorporated into the verb, and together they form a phonological word (e.g. *wòsá tiéń nā* < *wòsá tie-η na* ‘Wusa gave-1.SG FOC’). For that reason I refer to this incorporated object index 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. Recall that the weak subject and object pronouns are identical (see Section 3.3.3.1).

Table 3.35 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 3.35(b) and 3.35(c) display. 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 2.3.2.2.2. The irregularities in Table 3.35(d) are not accounted for. I did perceive rounding throughout in conversations (i.e. *wòsá poma ra* > *wòsá pomo ro* ‘Wusa divided you.PL’), but I was unable to get a consultant produce it in an elicitation session. Table 3.35(d) should be seen as displaying various renditions, i.e. with and without ATR-harmony or RO-harmony.

A CVCV stem differs from a CV or CVV stem by exhibiting vowel apocope and/or vowel coalescence. Table 3.36 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 care-

Table 3.35: Incorporated object index on CV(V) stems

(a) <i>tre</i> ‘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) <i>tie</i> ‘cheat’		
wòsá tíé-ń nē	‘Wusa cheated ME’	
wòsá tíé-í rē	‘Wusa cheated YOU’	
wòsá tíé-ú rō	‘Wusa cheated HER’	
wòsá tíé-já rā	‘Wusa cheated US’	
wòsá tíé-má rā	‘Wusa cheated YOU’	
wòsá tíé-á rā	‘Wusa cheated THEM’	
wòsá tíé-bá rā	‘Wusa cheated THEM’	
(c) <i>tie</i> ‘cheat’		
wòsá tíé-jé rē	‘Wusa cheated US’	
wòsá tíé-mé rē	‘Wusa cheated YOU’	
wòsá tíé-é rē	‘Wusa cheated THEM’	
wòsá tíé-bé rē	‘Wusa cheated THEM’	
(d) <i>po</i> ‘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’	

fully pronounced (see Section 2.3.1.2). The paradigm in Table 3.36(b) can also be uttered in the plural as *górójé rē* (1.PL), *góremá rā* (2.PL), *góráá rā* (3.PL.-H), and *górébá rā* (3.PL.+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

Table 3.36: Incorporated object index on CVCV stems

(a) kpaga ‘catch’		
wòsá kpáyń nā	‘Wusa caught ME’	
wòsá kpáyíí rā	‘Wusa caught YOU’	
wòsá kpáyńń rā	‘Wusa caught HER’	
wòsá kpáyéjá wā	‘Wusa caught US’	
wòsá kpáyómá wā	‘Wusa caught YOU’	
wòsá kpáyáá wā	‘Wusa caught THEM’	
wòsá kpáyébá 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 góréjá 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’	

particularly subject to unnaturalness.⁵²

3.4.3.2 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 always high and front and ATR value determined by the stem vowel(s).⁵³ According to (i) above, the iterativeness may affect the interpretation of the number of

⁵² 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 ‘ME’ and ending with ‘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 CVCVC, 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.

⁵³ 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 *-se*). Among the West African languages, it is the pluractional verbs in Hausa which have received most attention (see José 2008). [Storch forthcoming]

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participants of an event. Consider the contrasts between the sentences in (200), where none of the arguments are in the plural (i.e. contra (ii)).

- (200) a. *ṇ téŋé à nàmìā rā*
1.SG 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 nàmìā rā*
1.SG cut-PV ART meat FOC
'I cut the meat into pieces.'

In (200b), the formal distinction on the verb 'cut', compared to (200a), causes the event to be interpreted as one which involves the repetition of the 'same' sub-event. The word *namìā* 'meat' is allowed in both the contexts of (200a) and (200b), although one may argue that the word *namìā* 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 *namìā* which makes (200b) acceptable.

- (201) a. *ṇ tſigé à hèná rā*
1.SG turn ART bowl.SG FOC
'I turn (upside down) the bowl.'
b. *ṇ tſigé-sí à hènsá rā*
1.SG turn-PV ART bowl.PL FOC
'I turn (upside down) the bowls (one after the other).'
c. (?) *ṇ tſige-si a hena ra*
1.SG turn-PV ART bowl.SG FOC
'I turn (upside down in a repetitional fashion) the bowl.'

In (201), however, the grammatical object of a pluractional verb *tſigesi* 'turn iteratively' or 'put on face down iteratively' must refer to individuated entities. Comparing (201a) and (201c) with (201b), the pluractional verb cannot coexist with a singular noun as grammatical object due to the fact that some 'turning' events cannot be conceived as affecting the same object in a repetitive fashion. However, in (202) the 'beating' can affect one or several individuals.

- (202) a. *ṇ túgó à biè rē*
1.SG beat ART child.SG FOC
'I beat the child.'

- b. *ŋ tágó-sí à bisé ré*
1.SG beat-PV ART child.PL FOC
'I beat the children.'
- c. *ŋ tágó-sí à bìè rē*
1.SG beat-PV ART child.SG FOC
'I beat the child (more than once, over a short period of time).'

Whereas (202c) has a possible interpretation, two language consultants could not assign a meaning to (203d) below.

- (203) a. *ŋ kpágá à zál là*
1.SG caught ART chicken.SG FOC
'I caught a chicken.'
- b. *ŋ kpágá-sí à zálé rà*
1.SG caught-PV ART chicken.PL FOC
'I caught chickens (i.e. in repeated actions).'
- c. *ŋ kpágá à zálé rà*
1.SG caught ART chicken.PL FOC
'I caught chickens (i.e. in one move).'
- d. (?) *ŋ kpaga-si a zal la*
1.SG 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 (203), the sense of *kpaga*₁ is related to 'catch', and not to the possessive sense of the verbal state lexeme *kpaga*₂ 'have'.⁵⁴ Beside /-sI/, the suffix /-gE/ may also turn a verbal process lexeme into a pluractional verb, e.g. *tɔtɪ* 'pluck' > *tɔrəgɛ* 'pluck iteratively' and *keti* 'break' > *kerigi* 'break iteratively'.

- (204) a. *kà kpá zál hárj tà*
go take.PL fowl.SG DEM let.free
'Go and take this fowl away.'

⁵⁴ 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.

3 Grammar Outline

- 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 (204).

3.4.3.3 Possible derivational suffixes

Dakubu (2009: 37) and Bonvini (1988: 69) identify some derivational suffixes in Gurene and Kasem respectively, but write that their signification is hard to establish. However, their descriptions indicate that derivational suffixes mainly encode aspectual distinctions.

As mentioned in Section 3.4.1.1, about 90% of the verbs are monosyllabic or bi-syllabic, 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. However, apart from the pluractional suffix discussed in the previous section, 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.

- (205) a. *ò wórlígí à hàylíbíé ré*
3.SG scatter ART block.PL FOC
'He scattered the mud blocks.' (they were piled and packed)
- b. *ò wórlá à hàylíbíí ré*
3.SG move ART block FOC
'He moved a mud block.' (they are uneven, but still piled)

The example provided in (205a) and Table 3.37 presents some indications that *m*, *l* and *g*, i.e. CVCV{m, l, g}V, are involved in some kinds of derivation, although the glosses (and part of speech categories) assigned to them clearly indicate that the next step would be to determine their exact meaning (and category).⁵⁵

⁵⁵ The verb pair *go* 'round' and *goro* '(go in) circle' is manifestly a derivation as well, i.e. CV > CV-rV.

Table 3.37: 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'	>	vílímí (v)	'whirl'
mìlà (v)	'turn round'	>	mìlímì (v)	'turn'
<i>-lV</i>				
kàgà (v)	'choke'	>	kàgàlè (v)	'lie across'

3.5 Grammatical Pragmatic and Language Usage

3.5.1 Manner deictics *keŋ* and *nɪŋ*

Chakali has a two-term exophoric system of manner deixis (Koenig 2012). The expressions *keŋ* and *nɪŋ* are treated as two manner deictics (gl. DXM). Manner is a cover term since the content dimension appears to cover degree and quality as well. Consider the examples in (206c).

- (206) a. *keŋ/nɪŋ*
DXM
'That's the way to do it (manner)'
b. *keŋ/nɪŋ*
DXM
'The snake was that/this big (degree)'
c. *keŋ/nɪŋ*
DXM
'Kala is like that (quality) [depictive gesture]'

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. Example (207) illustrates this point.

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- (207) a. *bàáŋ pòɔ̄sá káá sìi báj̄ nɪ̄ nɪ̄ŋ*
 Q smoke EGR rise DEM POSTP DXM
 'What smoke is rising here like this?'
 b. *bàáŋ káá jāā kēŋ?*
 Q EGR do DXM
 'What is doing like that?' (Reaction to a sound coming from inside a pot)

The meaning difference between *nɪ̄ŋ* and *kēŋ* 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 (208).

- (208) a. *A: nín nā báàbá ɳmá*
 DXM FOC B. say
 'Is this what Baaba said?'
 b. *B: ɛ̄ɛ̄ kén^t né ɔ̄ ɳmá*
 yes DXM FOC 3.SG say
 'Yes, that is what he said.'

Similarly, the (fictional) discourse excerpt in (209) concerns a father (A) addressing his son (B) on the topic of how to ignite kapok fiber. The sentence (209c) is accompanied with a demonstration on how to strike a cutlass on a stone.

- (209) a. *A: kpá kóŋ à ɳmènà díŋ*
 take kapok CONN ignite fire
 'Take some kapok and start a fire.'
 b. *B: jìn̄ié bá já ká ɳmènà*
 Q 3.PL do EGR ignite
 'How does one ignite.'
 c. *A: ɳmènà níŋ*
 ignite DXM
 'Ignite like this.'
 d. *A: tʃíá dí tʃí wááwá ɳmènà kéj̄*
 tomorrow CONN CRAS come.PFV ignite DXM
 'Tomorrow when you come, ignite like that.'

In the context of (209), at the farm the next day, the boy (B) would tell a colleague: *ken ne ba ja ñmēna*, lit. like.that they do ignite, ‘that is how one ignites’.

- (210) *níŋ lèf ḥò dìà háŋ já dò*
DXM NEG 3.SG.POSS house DEM HAB be
‘This is not how his room used to be.’

In (210), *níŋ* refers to the condition of the room, which is not a manner but a property of the room. In addition, *keŋ* and *níŋ* can function as discourse particles, whose meanings resemble English ‘like’ in some registers (Siegel 2002). In (211), *keŋ* is considered superfluous since it does not contribute to the manner of motion or the state of the participant.⁵⁶

- (211) *ñ káálɔ̄s kéŋ*
1.SG 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, *keŋ* 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 *kééèŋ* or *kén né* 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 *keŋ* and *níŋ* seem to have the same function.

3.5.2 Spatial deictics *bááŋ* and *dé*

A speaker-subjective, two-way contrast exists to locate entities in space. The spatial deixis demonstrative *bááŋ* 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 place deixis. In (212a) and (212c), they are translated as ‘here’ and ‘there’ respectively, and

⁵⁶ Something identical to the translation of (211) may be heard in some varieties of English spoken in Wa. This suggest that Waali and/or Dagaare has at least similar expression.

glossed DXL, standing for ‘locative deixis’. In these two examples the postposition *ni* is optional. The spatial deixis demonstrative cannot occur clause initially, as (212b) and (212d) show.

- (212) a. *wa ban (ni)*
come DEM POSTP
'Come here'
- b. **baŋ wa*
- c. *o dsa de (ni)*
3.SG be.at DEM POSTP
'He is there'
- d. **de o dsa*

Notice that unlike the single demonstrative modifier discussed in Section 3.3.8, *bááj* and *dé* encode a proximal/distal distinction.

3.5.3 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, we saw two ways in which a speaker can integrate focal information, and both of them put ‘in focus’ a constituent.⁵⁷ 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 2.3.2.2.2 and 3.3.9). The second, which was called the assertive suffix, takes the form of vowel features which are suffixed onto the verb (see Sections 3.4.1.4.3 and 3.4.3). 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 negative polarity items, and (iii) the clause is intransitive. The second criterion (ii) is applicable to the particle *ra* as well: thus

⁵⁷ The terminology employed in the literature is probably the result of complex and still obscure phenomena. For instance, for the post-verbal particle *lá* in Dagaare, Bodomo (1997) uses the term ‘factitive’ 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. 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).

focal information can only exist in affirmative clauses, negation automatically prevents information from being in focus.⁵⁸ In (213), the examples illustrate how the focal information is encoded when the object (213a), the subject (213b) and the predicate (213c) are considered the most important piece of information.

- (213) a. Focus on object: What has the man chewed?

à báál tíē sígá rá
ART man chew bean FOC
'The man chewed BEANS'
kàlá tiē 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 tiē 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 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.

3.5.4 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

⁵⁸ Bodomo (1997: 94) writes (for Dagaare) that “[the factitive particle *lá*] is in complementary distribution with the negative polarity particles, as one would expect of an affirming particle”.

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 *tʃāā* ‘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 (Section ??), 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.

(214) Taboo synonyms

- bɔlā* ↔ *sèl-zèj* (animal-big), or *néŋ-tīnā* (arm|hand-owner) ‘elephant’
- dʒètì* ↔ *pú-zén-tīnā* (head-big-owner) ‘lion’
- bódmáníí* ↔ *pú-wié-tīnā* (head-small-owner) ‘leopard’
- váà* ↔ *nɔ̄á-tííná* (mouth-owner) ‘dog’
- kój* ↔ *níí-tííná* (water-owner) ‘cobra’
- gbiá* ↔ *néŋ-gál-tīnā* (arm|hand-left-owner) ‘monkey’
- hélē* ↔ *mùŋ-zíŋ-tīnā* (back-big-owner) ‘type of squirrel’
- tébíj* ↔ *bà-tsíg-íí* (place-spoil-NMLZ), or *sáàŋkárá* (Vagla loan) ‘night’
- nólšŋ* ↔ *pú-bírlý-tííná* (head-full-owner) ‘blind’
- tfáá* ↔ *kím-piig-íí* (thing-mark-NMLZ) ‘broom’
- búmmò* ↔ *dóŋ* (dirt) ‘black’
- dòɔ̄wié* ↔ *mábíé-wāá-tèlè-púsíŋ* (sibling-will.not-reach-meet.me) ‘type of snake’

The examples in (214) are called taboo synonyms; the word on the left of the arrow is the word avoided and the one on the right is its substitute(s). The substitutes are majoritarily complex stem nouns with a transparent descriptive meaning. Most of them use the stem *tīnā* ‘owner of’, e.g. *neŋ-tīnā*, lit. arm|hand-owner.of, ‘elephant’, the one with a big arm.

3.5.5 Ideophones and iconic strategies

In Chakali, ideophones typically suggest the description of an abstract property or the manner in which an event unfolds. The majority of ideophones functions like qualifiers (Section 3.3.4) or adjunct adverbials (Section 3.5). Ideophones tend to appear with a low tone.

- (215) a. à *díŋ káá díù gàligàligàli/pèpèpè*

ART fire IPFV eat IDEO

‘The fire is burning at an increasing rate.’

- b. à dő̄d̄ sìe jáá w̄rw̄rw̄w̄r
 ART python eye IDENT IDEO
 ‘The python’s eyes are glittery.’
- c. à dáánṣṇ márá b̄jṓ́ ligèligèligè
 ART tree.fruit well ripe.PFV IDEO
 ‘The fruit is perfectly riped.’
- d. à sibíé wàà márá biì à dó n̄ñj wùròwùròwùrò
 ART beans NEG well ripe CONN be DXM IDEO
 ‘The bambara beans are not well cooked, they are still hard.’

The translations into English in (215) were not tested for consistency across many speakers.

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 *púpú* ‘motorbike’, *tſétſé* ‘bicycle’, *tʃk̄j̄ tʃk̄j̄* ‘sound of a guinea fowl’, *krrrr* ‘sound of running’, *påå* ‘sound of an eruption caused by lighting a fire’, *gbàgbá* ‘duck’,⁵⁹ 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.

- (216) kawaa sii tarí keeeeeen, aka d̄sa ba dianvā ni
 pumpkin rise creep DXM CONN be.at 3.SG.POSS door POSTP
 ‘The pumpkin crept, crept, crept, and crept up to their door mat.’

In (216) the manner deictics *key* (Section 3.5.1) is stretched to simulate the extension in time of the event, i.e. the pumpkin grew until it reached the door.⁶⁰ 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 3.3.4), all of which are reduplicated expression.

- (217) Visual perception expressions and non-attested stems

- a. (*km/a*)-*hɔlahɔla* [áhɔlahɔlá] **hɔla*

⁵⁹ The word for ‘duck’ is probably borrowed from Waali. This bird was introduced recently and was hard to find in the villages visited.

⁶⁰ An equivalent meaning may be expressed in some varieties of Gh. E. with the adverbial expression *ääää*, as in *Today I worked äääää, until night time*.

- b. (*kn/a*)-*ahɔhɔla* [áhɔhɔlà] **hɔla*
- c. (*kn/a*)-*busabusa* [ábùsàbùsà] **busa*
- d. (*kn/a*)-*adʒumodʒumo* [ádʒùmòdʒùmò] **dʒumo*
- e. (*kn/a*)-*bvɔbvɔna* [ábvbɔnàbvbɔnà] **bvɔna*
- f. (*kn/a*)-*?ile?ile* [á?ilè?ilè] **?ile*

If we accept 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 Table (217) that there is a ‘form-doubling’ on the surface, yet such expressions are not made out of attested stems.

3.5.6 Interjection and formulaic language

This section introduces some pieces of formulaic language, which is defined as conventionalized and idiomatic words or phrases. It usually include greetings, idioms, proverbs, etc. (Wray 2005). First, common interjections are introduced in Table 3.38,⁶¹ then some greetings and idioms are presented. Needless to say, since they are conventionalized and idiomatic, the translation formulaic language is always a rough approximation.

3.5.6.1 Greetings

Crucial and obligatory 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. Clan names can be used in greetings, e.g. *Itṣà* ‘respect to you and to your clan’. In Table 3.39, I provide typical greeting lines with some responses.

The second singular pronoun *i* is replaced by the second singular plural *ma*, i.e. *ánsùmōō* ↔ *māánsùmōō*, 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 distinction *i*/*ma* does not correspond to the politeness function of French *tu/vous*. Chakali morning and afternoon greetings resemble those of Waali and other languages of the area. The response to various greetings such as *í dìà* ‘and your

⁶¹ The etymology of *?àmè* has not been confirmed and *gáfrà* is ultimately Hausa. The word *ʃtāà* is equivalent to the function associated with the action of *tʃuuse* in Chakali (*tʃewri* in Dagaare, *tʃewhe* in Waali, ‘puf’ or ‘paf’ in Gh. E. (< 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.

Table 3.38: Selected interjections

Interjection	Gloss
?àí	no
?éé	yes
gáfrà	excuse
tóù	o.k. (<i>from Hausa</i>)
?àmé	so be it (<i>etym. Amen</i>)
?óí	indicates surprise
fió	totally not
?ánsà	1) welcome, 2) thank you (<i>from Gonja</i>)
?ñí	expressing 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>)
?ábà	indicates new and unexpected information
sóéé	insult when uttered after someone's remark or simply intended at someone

Table 3.39: Greetings

Time	Speaker A	Following by either speaker A or B
Morning	ánsùmōō	í siwòò 'You stood?', í dì tʃóàwòò 'And your lying?', í bátfválí wíròò 'Your sleeping place was good?'
Afternoon	ántérēē	í wfísí télèë 'Has the sun reached you?' í dìà 'And your house?' í bíré mún 'And all your children?'
Evening	í dɔ́ñn télèë	í dɔ́ñn télèë 'Your evening has reached', í kúó 'And your farm?'

house?', ?ánsà '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 it may have different functions. 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 ásúmōō, but prefer something like áánsùmōō. Other expressions often used are *tʃɔ́pisi alie* 'two days' [to complete].

3.5.6.2 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 3.3.4. In Chakali, words identifying mental states and habits/behaviors are often idiomatic, e.g. §siínò-màtfíñà (sií-nòmà-tífnà, *lit.* eye-hot-owner), ‘wild’ or §nòðàpòmmá (nòñ-pòmma, *lit.* mouth-white), ‘unreserved’. Even though the expression §siínò-màtfíñà 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 nòñ dígimája in (218), *lit.* do-mouth-one, is also treated as an idiomatic expression.

- (218) *bà jáá nòñà dígimáñá à sùmmè dónjà*
3.PL 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. [to do *di kapiti*]

3.5.7 Clicks

Naden (1989: 151) writes that clicks⁶² 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.

⁶² 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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