

# A dictionary and grammatical outline of Chakali

Jonathan Brindle

African Language Grammars  
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## African Language Grammars and Dictionaries

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# A dictionary and grammatical outline of Chakali

Jonathan Brindle



Jonathan Brindle. 2017. *A dictionary and grammatical outline of Chakali* (African Language Grammars and Dictionaries 2). Berlin: Language Science Press.

This title can be downloaded at:

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ISBN: 978-3-944675-91-6 (Digital)

978-3-944675-92-3 (Hardcover)

978-3-946234-93-7 (Softcover)

DOI:10.5281/zenodo.344813

Cover and concept of design: Ulrike Harbort

Typesetting: Jonathan Brindle, Sebastian Nordhoff

Proofreading: Ahmet Bilal Özdemir, Alessia Battisti, Anca Gâță, Andreas Hölzl,

Anelia Stefanova, Christian Döhler, Claudio Iacobini, Eitan Grossman, Elizabeth

Zeitoun, Jean Nitzke, Jezia Tavera, Martin Haspelmath, Melanie Röthlisberger,

Michael Marlo, Neal Whitman, Rosey Billington, Stathis Selimis, Steve Pepper,

Teresa Proto, Valeria Quochi, Winfried Lechner

Fonts: Linux Libertine, Arimo, DejaVu Sans Mono

Typesetting software: X<sub>Y</sub>TeX

Language Science Press

Unter den Linden 6

10099 Berlin, Germany

[langsci-press.org](http://langsci-press.org)

Storage and cataloguing done by FU Berlin



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# Preface

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

The content of this book is based on some parts of my unpublished doctoral thesis (Brindle 2011) and recent publications.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

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

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

Jonathan A. Brindle  
Leuven, Belgium  
March 2017

# Acknowledgement

The completion of this project was dependent upon a multitude of factors, the most important being the knowledge and generosity of Chakali-speaking individuals. I am indebted to Daniel Kanganu Karija, Fuseini Mba Zien, Afia Kala Tangu, Awie Bakuri Ahmed, Seidu Kassim Tangu, Henry Seidu Daannaa, Godfrey Bayon Tangu, Kpersi-Naa†, Kotia Nwabipe†, Mangwe-Naa†, Mark Zoon-Naa†, Amoa Bari-Naa, Siibu Jakalia, Kala Osman, and Adam Sakara Baduong, among many others, for their instructions and enlightenments. I owe special gratitude to Daniel Kanganu Karija for his loyal contribution since the very beginning of my learning journey. A special thank you goes to Jonas Kpierekoh, a specialist in agroforestry and principal programme officer at the Environmental Protection Agency, who spent time with me and local experts in Ducie working on the scientific name of many tree species. With immense gratitude, I thank everyone in the villages where I stayed – especially Ducie and Gurumbele – for their warm welcome, hospitality, and cooperation.

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



## Abbreviations - Part II & III

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

## *Abbreviations*

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



## Abbreviations - Part IV

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



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

## Abbreviations

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

## **Part I**

# **Introduction**



# 1 General remarks on the language

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

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

---

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



## 1.1 Previous work

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

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

Approximately ten years later, Chakali data is used to confirm the Grusi cluster in Bendor-Samuel (1965).<sup>3</sup> 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).

---

<sup>2</sup> 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".

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

## 1 General remarks on the language

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

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



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

## 1.2 Chakali lects

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

The collective demonym for the people of the latter seven villages literally translates to *ɲ̩ ɲ̩má kàà* (*lit.*) ‘I say that’, whereas that of the people of Bulenga and surrounding villages translate to *ɲ̩mínɲ̩ dzòɲ̩* ‘What is it?’. In this folk-sociolinguistic categorisation, the Waala are the *ɲ̩ jé jàà* ‘I say that’.<sup>5</sup>

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

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

<sup>5</sup> 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 *ɲ̩ ɲ̩má kàà*, ... ‘I say that, (...)’. To hear the Ghanaian English opening expression *à sé èè* ‘I say eh, (...)’ in Wa, with the last word being a complementiser introducing a new clause, is not unusual.

## 1 General remarks on the language

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

Table 1.1: Collective Demonyms and associated villages

Demonym 1	<i>ɪ̃ ɪ̃má kàà</i>	<i>ɪ̃mɪ́nɪ̃ dzɔ̃ɪ̃</i>	<i>ɪ̃ jé jàà</i>
Demonym 2	<i>ʈfàkàlbúmmò</i>	<i>ʈfàkàlpòmmá</i>	–
Goody (1954: 2-3)	Eastern Chakali	Western Chakali	Waala
Village	Ducie	Bulenga	Wa
	Gurumbele	Dupari	Busa
	Motigu	Bisikan	Gurupie
	Sogla	Chagu	Loggu
	Tiisa	Gilan	Jayiri
	Tuosa		Chasia
	Katua		

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

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

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

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

### 1.3 Language vitality

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

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

# 1 General remarks on the language

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

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

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

## 1.4 Data collection method

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

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

## *1 General remarks on the language*

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

## 2 User's guide

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

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

### 2.1 Chakali-English dictionary

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

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Table 2.1: Dictionary orthography and other symbols

p	voiceless bilabial plosive	w	labio-velar approximant
b	voiced 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
ʔ	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
ɣ	voiced velar fricative	[ ]	phonetic representation
h	voiceless glottal fricative	:	emphasis over or long segment
tʃ	voiceless postalveolar affricate	̥	extra short vowel
dʒ	voiced postalveolar affricate	̣	syllabic consonant
m	bilabial nasal	̃	nasalized vowel
n	alveolar nasal	̂	low tone
ɲ	palatal nasal	̄	mid tone
ŋ	velar nasal	̆	high tone
ɲm	velar-labial nasal	̇	extra-low tone
l	alveolar lateral approximant		

For users accustomed to the literacy work of GILLBT<sup>1</sup> the correspondences in Table 2.2 identify the differences between the transcriptions: the one adopted in this book appears to the right side of the arrows.

Table 2.2: Correspondences of orthographies

ny	←	ɲ	ng	←	ŋ
ch	←	tʃ	i	←	ɪ, i
j	←	dʒ	u	←	ʊ, u
y	←	j	Vh	←	̆

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



The headwords are structured alphabetically although an arbitrary decision was taken to place the letter “dʒ” after “d”, “gb” after “g”, “kp” after “k”, “ɲ”, “ɲm”, and “ɲ”, successively after “n”, and “tʃ” after “t”. All headwords are equal and appear at the left side of the column. Four representative entries of the Chakali-English dictionary are presented in Table 2.3.<sup>2</sup>

Table 2.3: Illustrations of dictionary entries

① <b>fi</b>	② [fi]	③ <i>num.</i>	⑤ <i>ten</i>
① <b>bʊzaal</b>	② [bʊzáàl]	③ <i>n.</i>	⑧ cf: bɪzɪmii. ⑤ Stone partridge, type of bird ⑨ ( <i>Ptilopachus petrosus</i> ) ⑪ pl: bʊzaaleɛ.
① <b>suoɲbii</b>	② [sùòmbíi]	⑩ <i>lit.</i>	shea.nut-seed ③ <i>n.</i> kidney ⑪ pl. <i>suoɲbie</i> .
① <b>kpa</b>	② [kpà]	③ <i>v.</i>	⑧ cf: paa; jʊv₁. ④ 1. ⑤ take ⑥ <i>kpá à pá r tēj</i> . ⑦ Give me the hoe. ④ 2 ⑤ to marry a woman ⑥ <i>ɔ kpáú rà</i> . ⑦ He married her.

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

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

<sup>2</sup> The circled numbers are there for reference purposes only.

## 2 *User's guide*

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

### 2.1.1 Capitalization

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

### 2.1.2 Prosody

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

### 2.1.3 Scientific name

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

### 2.1.4 Grammatical category

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

### 2.1.5 Loans and their etymology

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

## 2.2 English-Chakali reversal index

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

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

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

① grasshopper (type of)	③ <i>n.</i>	⑤ hɔ̃ɔ̃
	③ <i>n.</i>	⑤ tʃɛlɪntʃɛ
	③ <i>n.</i>	⑤ kɔkɔlɪkɔ

## 2.3 Grammatical outlines

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

<sup>3</sup> Thanks to its creator Rod Casali for his continual help.

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

## **2.4 Abbreviations**

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



## **Part II**

# **Chakali-English dictionary**





## a

<sup>1</sup>a [à] *art.* the • à bɔ́ɔ́ná tʃíɛ̃ɲì à víí bá-rá báliè. The goats have broken the cooking pots in two parts.

<sup>2</sup>a [à] *conn.* and, then • ɔ̀ fii wíò à tʃá tà má ká ɔ̀ sówà, níɲ wā ɔ̀ kpé-géó. He was very ill and almost died, but now he is well. ùù bié tʃó-ɲá à kpáámá à lì kùò dì wāā à tʃèlè, á múɲ tʃòrigi. His child carried the yams from farm and fell on his way back, they were all smashed.

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

a bɔ́nǐē nɪ [àbɔ́nǐēní] *cf:* banǐē *adv.phr.* maybe, perhaps • à bɔ́nǐē ní dósɔ́ɲ kāā wàò. Perhaps it is going to rain.

a juu nɪ [àjúúúní] *lit.* head on (*var. juuni*) *conn.* therefore • ɲ wà kpá-gá sákír, à júú nɪ ɲ dì válà nàásá. I do not have a bicycle, therefore I am walking.

aa (*foc. var. of a*)

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

ããnɪ [ʔããni] *v.* to suspect someone of hiding something, or telling a lie • ɲ áãni tó má rá, ɲ wáá bí kpá ɲɲ

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

ããnuuba [ʔáãnúúbá] *cf:* nuui *n.* suffering • ɲmááɲó ããnúúbá gáálió àní ɔ̀ ɔ̀ wóléé ní. Because of his family issues, Mangu's suffering abound.

aari [ʔáári] *v.* to harvest unripe food • hà mónà káá āār móngòsò rō. Children will pick the premature mangoes.

aari [ʔààri] *n.* grasscutter, cane-rat (*Thryonomys swinderianus*). *pl.* aarrie.

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

abe [ʔàbé] *n.* type of oil-palm tree *syn:* benie (*Elaeis guineensis*). (Akan <abe). *pl.* abesa.

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

abluu (*var. of bluu*)

ai [ʔáí] *interj.* no, express denial or refusal • ɔ̀ ɔ̀ kíɲ wáò? áí, ɔ̀ ɔ̀ wà kí-nijē wàà. A: Was he able to come? B: No, he was not able.

aka [àká] *conn.* and, then • wáá ɲóá níí àká tíēɲ. He drank water, then gave some to me. kálá kááli jáwá à-ká pièsì bùlèɲà tíisà. Kala went to the market and asked for the Bulenga station.

akraa [àkráà] *nprop.* Accra.

- alahaadi** [ʔàlàháádì] *n.* Sunday. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <lahàdì).
- alakadee** [ʔáálákádéè] *n.* type of tree, cashew tree (*Anacardium occidentale*). *pl.* **alakadeise**.
- alamusa** [ʔàlà̀mósà] *n.* Thursday. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <àlhàmìs).
- alarba** [ʔàlà̀rbá] *n.* Wednesday. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <là̀r̀bā).
- albasa** [ʔáálà̀básà] *n.* onion. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <à̀basà). *pl.* **albasasa**.
- aleɛfɔ** [ʔááléèfó] *n.* vegetable amaranths, Gh. Eng. spinach, leaf used as soup ingredient to improve taste (*Amarantus Debius*). (ultm. Hausa <à̀layyàhō ‘spinach’). *pl.* **aleɛfɔ**.
- alibaraka** [ʔà̀lìbáràkà] *n.* reduce price in a transaction. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa).
- alɛ** [á̀lìè] *num.* two *Enum:* **ɲewã** . *pl.* **alɛsa**.
- aloro** [á̀lòrò] *num.* six *Enum:* **loro** . *pl.* **aloroso**.
- alɔpɛ** [á̀lòpè] *num.* seven *Enum:* **lɔpɛ** . *pl.* **alɔpesa**.
- ame** [ʔàmé] *interj.* so be it, Amen • *A:* *kúòsò tíé já tʃíá*. *B:* *àmé*. *A:* May God give us tomorrow *B:* So be it. (ultm. Hebrew ‘amen’).
- amĩō** (*var. of* **dʒɛbalaŋ**)
- amĩè** [àmĩè] *conn.* particle confirming a proposition that was stated or is contextually inferred as premise e.g. if so, in that case • *àmĩèè dì nàmĩá wáá t̀uò à sìimáá nĩ ì wáá*

*dĩi?* So, if there is no meat in the food you won't eat? *dì bákúríí dí kòò dià hán nĩ zààn, àmĩèè ì wáá t̀uò nĩ*. If Bakuri eats food in this house today, then I am not here (If I were to be here, he would not get a chance).

**ammani** [ʔámmanĩ] *n.* whole tiny dried fish. (Akan <ámànĩ). *pl.* **ammanise**.

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

**amvɔvɔ** [ʔàmónó] *n.* type of bush cat. (Tampulma). *pl.* **amvɔvɔsa**.

**ana** (*var. of* **aŋ**)

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

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

**andzɛlindzɛ** [ʔàndzèlindzè] *nprop.* eighth month. (Waali <àndzèlindzè).

**angum** [ʔàngùm] *ono.* monkey's scream • *àwíé gbĩá jàá wĩ án-gùm, ángùm, ángùm*. That is why the monkey sounds like angum, angum, angum.

**anĩ** [ʔánĩ] *n.* African ebony, type of tree (*Diospyros mespiliformis*). *pl.* **anĩã**.

**anr** [àní] *conn.* (*var.* **¹nr**) **1** and, conjunction which joins nominal • *ŋ*

*ní ñ tʃéná kàà kààlì wàà rā.* Me and my friend will go to Wa. *ñ jáá bìn-sá màtʃēō àní fī.* I am thirty years old. 2 with, particle which introduces an instrumental or a modifier phrase • *ñ ñménéá dáá rá àní kàrán-ttē nī.* I cut a tree with a cutlass.

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

**annulie** [ʔánnú<sup>4</sup>líé] (*Gu. var. nãñ-nuule*) *n.* dragonfly (*Libelluloidea*). *pl. annulese.*

**ansa** [ʔánsà] *interj.* 1 welcome • *ánsà. àwóó.* A: Welcome. B: Thank you. 2 thanks • *ánsà, ì lógáó.* Thank you, you made an effort.

**apãã** [ʔapãã] *n.* type of snake. *pl. apããna.*

**apõ** [ʔapõ] *num.* five *Enum: põ . pl. apõsa.*

**apmɛna** (*var. of ñmɛna*)

**ap** [ʔáj] (*var. ana*) *interrog.* who • *áj ì kà ná à tóō nī.* Who did you see at the village?

**apbuluɲ** [ʔámbúlùŋ] *cf: sɔmanziga n.* Black plum, type of tree (*Vitex doniana*). *pl. apbuluɲso.*

**apkiti** [ʔáŋkítì] *n.* handkerchief, thin fabric intended for personal hygiene, such as wiping one's hands or face. (ultm. English <*handkerchief*). *pl. apkitisa.*

**apkorɔ** [áj<sup>4</sup>kórɔ] *n.* barrel, cask, drum container. (ultm. Dutch, via Akan <*anker*).

**aridzana** [ʔàrìdžánà] *cf: lɛl n.* heaven. (ultm. Hebrew, via Arabic and Mande <*aljanna*).

**aridzima** [ʔàrìdžímà] *n.* Friday. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*jum-màà*).

<sup>1</sup>**asibiti** [ʔásìbítì] *n.* 1 hospital. 2 yellowish powder medicine for healing sores used to be sold by Yoruba traders, no more available. [*old-fash*]. (ultm. English <*hospital*). *pl. asibitisa.*

<sup>2</sup>**asibiti** [ʔásìbítì] *n.* Saturday. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*ásabâr*).

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

**atalaata** [ʔàtáláátà] *n.* Tuesday. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*tálātā*).

**atanĩē** [ʔàtànĩē] *n.* Monday. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <*lītīnīn*).

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

<sup>1</sup>**awa** [áwà] *dem.* particular • *áwà té-bín nī, ò núnjé.* On that particular night, he disappeared. *áwà kór tíŋ lɛí ñ dī búúrè.* That is not the chair I want. *áwà tʃòpísítí tíŋ ò wà wáá-wá, tʃòsá písié òò wà.* That day he did not come, he came the following day.

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

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

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

awie [àwíé] *conn.* therefore • *bìná háj̄ ñ kpáámá wíréó, àwíé ñ ñ kàá tíéí ñ kpààndùhó tìn nā.* This year

## b

<sup>1</sup>ba (*var. of bar*)

<sup>2</sup>ba [ba]be, (*foc. var. <sup>1</sup>baa*) *pro.* human third person plural pronoun • *gbòló fiílí bá wā.* Gbolo looked at them. *báá wāā bāj̄.* They should come here. *wáá bàà jírà ásiàmā.* As for this, they call it “red”.

<sup>1</sup>baa (*foc. var. of ba*)

<sup>2</sup>baa [baa] *cf:* waa *v.* to come. [Ka].

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

baabaasʊ [bāābāāsʊ] *n.* gonorrhoea. (Akan < *bāābāāsʊ*). *pl. baabaasu.*

baabʊl [bāābʊl] *n.* Bible. (ultm. English).

baal [bāāl] *n. cf:* nɪbaal (*Pl. var. baal-sa*) 1 male, man. 2 husband. *pl. baala.*

baali [bāáli] *cf:* bambiitina *n.* bravery, manhood • *bà ní bà-wólíé bá tʃágálè bāáli.* They and

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

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

their colleagues, they are going to show bravery.

baalsa (*Pl. var. baal*)

<sup>1</sup>baaŋ [bāáŋ] *n.* temper, anger • *ì bááŋ síwóú.* Your temper has raised.

<sup>2</sup>baaŋ [bāáŋ] *interrog.* what • *bááŋ ñ kàà búúrè? What do you want? ʊ ŋmá dí bāāŋ? She said what?*

<sup>3</sup>baaŋ [bāāŋ] *pv.* just, already, immediately, obligatorily, suddenly, to do without other alternative • *í wā bāāŋ sáŋá dē.* You should just sit there. *bāāŋ gíléú dé ñ.* Just leave it there. *díŋ bàāŋ jàà tʊl.* The fire suddenly became flame. *ʊ tá bááŋ nàà wááŋ kèj̄.* He came just now.

<sup>4</sup>baaŋ (*cntrvar. bambaan*)

<sup>5</sup>baaŋ [bāáŋ] *cf:* de 1 *adv.* here • *àj̄ káá wāā bááŋ? Who is coming here? 2 n.* a particular place or point visible and close to speaker • *m̀m̀ píft̄́ háj̄ bāāmà bí-rèj̄òō.* These spots on my pants are black. *tʃit̄́f̄avèt̄́t̄́ d̄́sá ñ n̄ā́t̄́wá báá-*

- mà nĩ*. There are spots of mud on your shoes. *pl. baama*.
- baari** [bààrì] *v.* to be burnt slightly • *à díŋ báárf ññ róbàkàtásà, ɔ fòòmì*. The fire slightly burnt my plastic bowl, it is crooked.
- baasi** [bààsì] *v.* to carry over shoulder • *bàà báásí kpáámá kààlì dià rā*. They have carried the yams to the house.
- baatribi** [báátərbí] *lit.* battery-stone *n.* dry-cell battery. (ultm. English). *pl. báátərbíá*.
- baawa** [bááwà] *n.* type of singing and dancing performance with percussion and male lead voice. *pl. baawa*.
- babuolii** [bàbùòlìi] *cf: bolo n.* far place.
- badaa** [bàdáá] *n.* human limb. *pl. badaasa*.
- badaare** [bàdààrè] *n.* type of striped hyena *syn: kpatakpale; zepɛgor* (*Hyaena hyaena*). *pl. badaaresa*.
- badaawise** [bàdààwisé] *n.* thin body by nature • *ɔ jáá bàdààwisétííná rá*. He is thin. *ɔ kpágá bàdààwisē rē*. She is thin. *ant: badaazenie; pɔli*
- badaazenie** [bàdààzéníé] *n.* large size, something large • *ɔ jáá bàdàzéníétííná rá*. He is large. *à tàgàtà jáá bàdààzéníé ré*. The shirt is large. *ant: badaawise*
- badiga** [bàdígá] *nprop.* Badiga, person's name.
- badzɔgɔ** [bádɔ̀gɔ̀] *cf: bǎã n.* Bosc's monitor, type of monitor lizard, rougher skin and usually shorter than *bǎã syn: gbaga* (*Varanus exanthematicus*). *pl. badzɔgɔsa*.
- badzɔgɔbagen** [bádɔ̀gɔ̀bàgɛ̀nà] *lit.* monitor.lizard-neck *n.* type of tree. *pl. badzɔgɔbagenasa*.
- bafɔrigi** [bàfɔ̀rígí] *n.* cuts and abrasions on the skin. *pl. bafɔrigie*.
- bafragugu** [bàfràgúgú] *n.* type of war drum, also used when hunters return with plenty of game. [*old-fash*]. *pl. bafraguguso*.
- <sup>1</sup>**baga** [bàgá] *adv.* in vain, nothing • *ñ káálí tóópàtʃígíí bàgá*. I went to the central part of the village in vain. *à báál bàgá ì di tɛ̀nà ɔ̀ ɔ̀ nĩ*. You will not get anything from the man you are following. *bàgá mǎã sówáó*. Anything that will come today will give us something (*lit. бага's mother is dead*).
- <sup>2</sup>**baga** [bàgá] *cf: bɔg n.* type of fibre. [*Mo*].
- bagabaga** [bàgábàgá] *ideo.* done for no reason, done anyhow, pointless, in vain • *bàgábàgá ñ kààlì kùó ñ wà kín tɛ̀ntómá*. I went to farm in vain, I cannot work.
- bagena** [báyéná] *n.* neck. *pl. bagen-sa*.
- bagenapɔgɛ** [bàgɛ̀npósgí] *n.* lateral goitre, enlargement of the thyroid. *pl. bagenapɔgɛɛ*.
- bagenbwa** [bàgɛ̀nbwá] *n.* hollow be-

- hind the collarbone. *pl. bagen-  
bosa.*
- bagensorii** [bàgɛ̀sórií] *n.* atlas vertebra, first cervical vertebra which supports the skull. *pl. bagensoree.*
- bagentfugul** [bàgɛ̀ntfùgùl] *n.* dowager's hump, outward curvature of the thoracic vertebrae of the upper back. *pl. bagentfugulo.*
- bagorii** [bàgòrìí] *n.* 1 location that is enclosed • *ɲ zàgá ní à tfitfàbòá jáá bàgòríí rē* In my yard the toilet is at the corner and is enclosed. 2 remote place, not easily accessible from the main road • *m̀m̀ btári d́óá bàgòríí nì.* My brother lives at a remote place. *pl. bagoree.*
- baharaga** [bàhárágá] *n.* 1 to make an effort, to be hard-working, or to do well • *kálá bié bahárágá núú nì, òò jáwà lóólì.* It is due to Kala's son hard work that he was able to buy a car. *ant: bajɔra* 2 zeal, enthusiasm.
- bahĩ** [báhíĩ] *cf: hĩ* *n.* old man. *pl. bahĩesa.*
- bajon** [bájón] *nprop.* Bayong, person's name.
- bajɔra** [bàjòrà] *n.* lazy, discouraged • *òò bál jáá bàjòràtíí ná rá.* Her husband is lazy. *ant: baharaga*<sup>1</sup>
- baketii** [bàkétíí] *n.* broken part, usually body-part • *ɲ ńéj bàkétíí tìj kà wíò.* My broken arm is painful. *pl. baketie.*
- bakti** [bákēti] (*var. bokti*) *n.* bucket. (ultm. English). *pl. baktise.*
- bakuri** [bákúrí] *nprop.* Bakuri, person's name.
- bakpal** [bákpál] *n.* naked. *pl. bakpalla.*
- balalla** [bàlállà] *n.* gaiety, happiness • *bàlállà d́óá dé.* I am happy. *pl. balalla.*
- baleo** [bàléò] *n.* epidemic. (Waaali <bàléò).
- baluu** [bàlúù] *n.* balloon. (ultm. English). *pl. baluso.*
- balɔ** [bálɔ] *n.* 1 ethnic division, tribe • *lòbì bálɔ wáá tuò já tjàkàlì n̄.* The Lobi are not found in the Chakali area. 2 species • *gbìà bálɔ àní f́óó bálɔ wàà wálà.* The monkey and the baboon do not live together. *pl. balɔ.*
- bambaaj** [bómbááj] *cntr.* <sup>4</sup>*baaj* 1 *n.* trunk, loin, middle part of the body. 2 *reln.* middle of an object, in the midst of • *ò d́óá téébùl núú bábáán ní.* It is in the middle of the top of the table. *ò télé tìwíí bám-bááj ná àkà bira wàà.* He reached half way and returned. *pl. bambaa-  
ma.*
- bambaajnebi** [bám-báannébií] *n.* middle finger *syn: nebizejii* .
- bambaajnebiwie** [bám-báájnebíwíé] *n.* ring finger.
- bambii** [bàmbíí] *n.* 1 chest. 2 tree trunk, refers to the piece used in

- carving a large item, like a mortar. 3 condition or quality of being brave. *pl. bambie.*
- bambiigeraga** [bàmbíígeràgà] *cf:* **bambiwiɫa** *n.* affliction and indisposition around the chest area.
- bambiipɔŋ** [bàmbíipòŋ] *n.* chest hair. *pl. bambiipɔna.*
- bambiituna** [bàmbíítúná] *cf:* **baali** *n.* brave person *ant:* ɔŋgbiar .
- bambileo** [bàmbiléò] *n.* sternum. *pl. bambileono.*
- bambiwiɫa** [bàmbíwíɫá] *cf:* **bambiigeraga** *n.* chest pains. *pl. bambiwiɫsa.*
- baɔŋ** [bàmùŋ] *cf:* **amɔŋ** *quant.* they all (hum+) • *nára báníé wááwá, ká bàmùŋ lèí.* Some people came, but not all.
- baníé** [báníé] *cf:* **a bɔníé ni** *quant.* some • *à súómó báníé wá bɔwā.* Some of the shea nuts are not ripe.
- banu** [bání] *n.* section of a community, geographical and social quarter. *pl. banie.*
- banpeg** [bámpèg] *n.* half of a seed or nut, e.g. kola. *pl. banpegna.*
- banɔma** [bànómá] *n.* sickness, constant high temperature and malaise, not fever.
- banɔ̃áluro** [bánɔ̃àlúró] *n.* type of flying insect that sucks blood, similar but smaller to a house fly.
- banmaalɪ** [bànmaálí] *lit.* place-talk *n.* place where a discussion takes

- place.
- banmena** (*var. of* ημενα)
- banɔɪaŋ** [bànsíáŋ] *n.* feeling uncomfortable with one's chest or heart.
- banɪfɔwɪe** [bántʃóówíé] *n.* small trap, snare. *pl. banɪfɔwɪse.*
- banɪfɔzɛŋ** [bántʃóózèŋ] *n.* big trap. *pl. banɪfɔzɛne.*
- banɪfɔɔ** [bántʃóó] *n.* gin trap. *pl. banɪfɔɔsa.*
- bar** [bár] *n.* (*var.* <sup>1</sup>ba) 1 section, area, site, part, portion, place • *à binihááŋ tɔmbár dɔ́á dià pátfɪgɪ nɪ.* The lady's work place is inside the house. 2 chance • *bà wà tíém bār dí ñ jáá tʃítà.* They never gave me the chance to become a teacher. *pl. bara.*
- bara** [bárá] *n.* body • *à bié bára nɔ́-máá.* The child's body is hot. *pl. barasa.*
- baratɔgɔɔ** [báràtʃógóó] *lit.* place-spoil *n.* night *synt:* **tebin; sankara** .
- barege** [bàrègè] *v.* to be dormant, to have lost its function • *à gárágá bá-régé ñm̀m̀ bàtón ní rā.* The sickness is dormant in my body. *à kpààŋ wɔ́síf bārègèɔ, ɔ̀ wà bíwá, ɔ̀ ká wà bí jáà hùór.* The roasted yam is wasted, it is not cooked and it is not raw any more.
- basanɪ** [bàsání] *n.* sitting place. *pl. basanɪe.*
- basig** [básíg] *nprop.* Basig, male name related to *sigmaa*, follows

- the child named *ɣmããŋɔ synt: ɣmããŋɔ; hasɪg* .
- basɔŋ** [bàsɔŋ] *n.* shade.
- basɔna** [bàsónà] *n.* happy, proud, excited • *džímbàntō tʃópísíí jáá bà-sónà rā à tiè já tótōmâ*. The festival's days are days of happiness for our people.
- batieli** [bàtièlí] *n.* where and when meat is eaten. *pl. batielise*.
- batĩō** [bátĩō] (*var. vatĩō*) *n.* type of insect, similar to an ant, big and black. *pl. batĩōsa*.
- batɔŋ** [bátɔŋ] *n.* body skin. *pl. batɔna*.
- batʃaŋ** [bàtʃáán] *lit.* place-bright *n.* brightness *ant: birge* .
- batʃasɪɛ** [bàtʃásíɛ] *n.* rheumatism.
- <sup>1</sup>**batʃɔalɪ** [bàtʃòàlí] *n.* sleeping or lying place • *lãlĩ batʃòàlí*. Corpse sleeping place (i.e. grave) *pl. batʃɔalɛ*.
- <sup>2</sup>**batʃɔalɪ** [bàtʃóàlí] *n.* race, running competition. *pl. batʃɔalɛ*.
- bawa** [báwà] *pro.* human third person plural emphatic pronoun • *à ló-lĩ wíé báwà tʃòà tòòsà nĩ*. Because of the car issue, they slept in Tuosa.
- <sup>1</sup>**bawaa** [báwáá] [bówáá] *n.* energetic dance, singing and dancing for men and women.
- <sup>2</sup>**bawaa** [báwáá] *pro.* human third person plural strong pronoun.
- bawɪhã** [bàwìhã] *n.* 1 body pain • *ò líí kùò wàò bàwìhã kpágáó*. He came from farm and he had body pains. 2 laziness • *bàwìhãtɪnã wáá káálì kùò*. A lazy person does not go to farm.
- baʔɔrɪ** [bàʔòrĩ] *n.* swelling. *pl. baʔɔrɛ*.
- be** (*var. of ba*)
- begii** [béɡíí] *n.* heart. *pl. begie*.
- bele** [bèlè] *n.* type of African wild dog (*Lycaon pictus*). *pl. belese*.
- belege** [béléɡè] *n.* drain in bathing area, soak-away system. *pl. belege*.
- bendiir** [béndiir] *n.* type of bird, African Sacred Ibis (*Threskiornis aethiopia*). *pl. bendiire*.
- benie** [béníè] *n.* type of palm tree *syn: abɛ* (*Elaeis guineensis*). *pl. bense*.
- beŋ** [bèŋ] *n.* law. *pl. benne*.
- beso** [bésò] *n.* type of yam. *pl. besoso*.
- <sup>1</sup>**bega** [bèyà] *v.* to go past the centre, of sun or moon, not in the middle of the sky • *à wòsà bégáó*. The sun has passed the centre, it is afternoon.
- <sup>2</sup>**bega** [bèyà] *v.* to create the grave where the corpse will lie • *à péllé há wà bégá à bòàbié*. The burial specialists have not placed the small hole yet.
- bɛl** [bèl] *n.* 1 tool for scraping off adherent matter such as food on cooking recipient, originally made out of a piece of the *bɛl* nut. 2 type of tree (*Berlinia confusa*). *pl. bella*.



**belege** [bélegé] *v.* to dust, polish and wash with moist or dry rag, to clean a bowl of food by eating up the contents • *ì wá pètì, zòv kà bé- légé à diá.* When you finish, clean the room. *wà kpá kòv fálá à bé- légé.* Come and take the t.z. bowl and finish it.

**belenti** [bélentì] *n.* belt. (ultm. English). *pl.* **belentisa.**

**belili** [bélílí] *n.* 1 person from Gurumbele. 2 lect of Gurumbele. *pl.* **belilie.**

**bema** [bèmə] *v.* to tip a container down to slowly pour its contents • *bèmə sintók já nǎá sɪŋ.* Tip the container so that we can drink.

**beŋ** [béŋ] (*Pl. var.* **beŋa**) *n.* type of tree. *pl.* **benna.**

**beŋa** (*Pl. var.* **beŋ**)

**beŋkpale** [béŋkpálè] *n.* soya bean. (Waali < *bèŋkpálè*).

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

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

**bɛv** [bèv] *n.* laziness as applied to dogs • *à váá béóná tǎwáwá.* The lazy dogs are lying down. *pl.* **bɛvna.**

**bibɔŋ** [bíbɔŋ] *n.* bad child. *pl.* **bi- bɔma.**

**bidɪŋ** [bídíŋ] *cf:* **dɪŋ; nɪdɪŋ; kɪŋdɪŋ; wɪdɪŋ** *n.* obedient, faithful or truthful.

**bie** [bié] *cf:* **hamɔŋ; bisɔna** *n.* child. *pl.* **bise.**

**bifɔla** [bífɔlá] *n.* baby. *pl.* **bifɔlsa.**

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

**bigisi** [bígìsì] *v.* to demonstrate • *bi- gisi kén tɪŋ v̄ ká jááwá.* Demonstrate what he has done.

**bii** [bíí] *n.* 1 seed. 2 indispensable quality of something • *ì bíí líwáwá ká tǎá ì pètíí.* Your essence is gone leaving almost nothing. *pl.* **bie.**

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

**bilaadɔli** [bilààdɔlí] *cf:* **laa dɔ** *n.* child adopted by a relative. *pl.* **bilaadɔlie.**

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

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

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

**biligi** [bíligí] *v.* to rub, to touch with affection • *à biè háŋ kàà bíligí v̄v̄ nàál kinkán nā.* This child touches the grandfather with affection.

- bilii** [bilíí] *n.* white-tailed mongoose (*Ichneumia albicauda*). *pl.* **bilie**.
- bilinsi** [bilinsi] *v.* to tumble, to roll • à *bíí bilínsé tʃèlè*. The stone tumbled.
- bilólla** [bilóllá] *pl.n.* parents.
- binibaal** [binibáàl] *n.* young boy. *pl.* **binibaala**.
- binihãñ** [binihãñ] *cf:* **suŋguru**; **tulor** *cf:* **tulorwie**; **nihãwie** *n.* girl. *pl.* **binihãña**.
- binɔaŋ** [bunɔ́aŋ] *n.* handsome male. *pl.* **binɔansa**.
- binõãŋsɪŋ** [bunõãnsíŋ] *lit.* gentleman-drink *n.* moribund celebration after harvest organized by young men • *bõnõãŋstɪŋ jàà dí*. We are celebrating the youth festival. [*oldfash*]. *pl.* **binõãŋsinna**.
- bipɔli** [bipɔlí] *n.* young man. *pl.* **bipɔlɛ**.
- bipõã** [bipõã] *lit.* child-rotten *n.* rude or spoiled child. *pl.* **bipõãta**.
- <sup>1</sup>**bire** [bíré] *v.* 1 to be dark, to make dark • *tìè bár bíré ká jã káálì diá*. Let it be dark before we go home. *ò ká wà bí bíré ò ká wà bí síá-rí*. It is not yet totally black and not totally red. 2 to be black, to make black • à *biè kpá dójó bíré ññ diá múŋ*. The child used dirt to make my house black. (Gur 'dark').
- <sup>2</sup>**bire** [birè] *v.* to be abnormally unable to take or do, e.g. food, lessons, sleep • *òv pátʃíŋí bíréó òv wà kín à dí siimáá*. She cannot take food the way she uses to.
- birge** [bírǝgè] *n.* darkness • *ñ wàá kìn lĩ bírgè hàn nĩ*. I cannot go out in this darkness. *ant:* **batʃaŋ**
- birgi** [bírǝgi] *v.* to delay, to keep long, to stay for a long time, or to last • à *dúóŋ tíé jà birgi kùò nĩ*. The rain delayed us at the farm.
- birindiŋ** [bírindíŋ] *n.* sizeable road to which cars and lorries can access.
- birin** [bírín] *n.* whole, full, totality • *ààríí bírin dɔ́á ññ diá nĩ*. A whole grasscutter is in my house. *pl.* **birime**.
- birisitɔv** [bírísítɔ̀v] *n.* non-local medicine for yaws sore.
- bisiketi** [bísíkètì] *n.* biscuit. (ultm. English <*biscuit*>).
- bisɔɔna** [bìsò̀ɔná] *cf:* **bie**; **hamɔŋ** *n.* child. [*Ka*]. *pl.* **bisɔɔnasa**.
- bisɔɔnbie** [bìsò̀ɔnbìé] *cf:* **hamɔwie** *n.* small child. [*Ka*]. *pl.* **bisɔɔnbisi**.
- bivɪɪ** [bìvífèì] *cf:* **bivɪɪli** *n.* stubborn child. [*Ka, Gu*]. *pl.* **bivɪɪɪɛ**.
- bivɪɪli** [bìvìèlìí] *cf:* **bivɪɪ** *n.* stubborn child. *pl.* **bivɪɪɪɛ**.
- biwie** [bìwìé] *n.* youngest child.
- bi** [bí] *itr.* iterative particle, conveys the repetition of an event • *jà wí-ré jà kíná rá àkà vâlà gó dùùsèé múŋ nããvâl bítòrò*. We undress and walk around the whole Ducie three times. *ò bí kòòrè sãã ò diá rá*. He rebuilt his house.
- bĩ** [bí] *v.* 1 to fail to do • à *ŋmíér júóŋ mááfà bĩ*. The thief shot at me with

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

**bra** [bra] *cf:* **tɔv** *n.* settlement. [Ka].

**bã** [bã] *n.* duck. *pl.* **bãsa**.

**bragɛ** [biàgɛ] *v.* to displace or move, to let someone or something pass • *kpàgà à kúr biàgɛ*. Move the chair to give a way. *ɲ biàgɛjós ká tiè à baál tiwíí*. I make room and give the man the road.

**brɛgi** [biègi] *v.* to move sideways, to change direction, Gh. Eng. to branch • *kúri bíégjájós ká à lóólì wà kààlì*. Kuri shifted sideways and the car passed. *dì jà ká tèle tiwíítfáragásá ɲ kàá biègi néngál lā*. When we reach the junction, I will go left.

**brɛl** [bɛl] *n.* poisonous plant leaf, unused today, said to have been replaced by DDT. *pl.* **brɛla**.

**brɛli** [bɛlí] *v.* to be weak, unwell, and in need of assistance • *à hááj tɛsɛjājō à zíí bɛlí*. The woman vomited and is now weak.

**brɛri** [bɛrí] *cf:* **kpɛma** *n.* ego's senior brother. *pl.* **brɛrisa**.

**brɛsi** [bɛsɛ] *v.* to go a distance and meet someone or reach something • *tɛjɔpisi bímúj ɲ jáá bɛsɛ kààlì ɲ sítóó rā*. Every day I go to my store.

<sup>1</sup>**brɪ** [brɪ] *cf:* **brɪ** *n.* stone. *pl.* **bra**.

<sup>2</sup>**brɪ** [brɪ] *v.* *cf:* **sɪama**; **sɪari** 1 to be well cooked • *gílà ɔ́ó mārā brɪ*. Let

it be well cooked. *ò brwáó*. It is cooked. *òò mārā bijòó*. It is well cooked. *à kpáámá bíí gāāsóó* The yams are overcooked. 2 to be ripe, applicable to shea nuts and mangos • *à súómó brwáó*. The shea nuts are ripe. 3 to turn into, in processing food • *zàáj à nikàntkà sàó wáá biì, jà kàá tɛsɛuù*. Today the flour from the grinding mill is not properly done, we will have to sieve it.

**brɔɔg** [brɔ́bòg] *n.* type of tree. *pl.* **brɔɔgna**.

**brɔvɔ** [brɔ́vò] *lit.* stone-hole *n.* cave. *pl.* **brɔvsa**.

**brisi** [brɪsɪ] *v.* to narrate • *brisi ì tótíí*. Narrate your version of the story.

**brɪzimii** [brɔ́zímíí] *cf:* **brɔzaal** *n.* Stone Partridge, type of bird. [Gu]. *pl.* **brɪzimie**.

**brila** [brɪlā] *v.* to try to solve worries and problematic issues • *ɲn brílā ɲn biè tíj wíé kúsiù*. I tried to solve my child's problems but failed.

<sup>1</sup>**brina** [brɪnā] *n.* year • *wòsá ní áfiá bin-sá máásé dójá rà*. Wusa is as old as Afia. *pl.* **brinsa**.

<sup>2</sup>**brina** [brɪnā] *pl.n.* excrement.

<sup>3</sup>**brina** [brɪnā] *v.* to be old or experienced • *kálá wálánsè brínóó, àjújúnì ò jàwà wálánsè fólíí*. Kala's radio is old, therefore he bought a new one. *kánjángáóó ká brínā dùsèè níí tómá ní, bà brà kpáò, ò dì tómá*. Because Kanganu is experi-

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

**bmbilinsi** [bimbilinsi] *lit.* excrement-tumble (*var.* **bmbilinjkgogo**)  
*n.* Dung beetle (*Scarabidae* fam.).  
*pl.* **bmbilinsise**.

**bmbilinjkgogo** (*var. of* bmbilinsi)

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

**bintiratfĩĩ** [bintíràtʃĩĩ] *cf:* **tfĩĩ**  
*n.* drum rattles for closed single headed gourd drum. *pl.* **bintira-tfĩĩma**.

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

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

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

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

**bira** [bèrà] (*var.* **bra**) *v.* to return, to turn back, to go backwards • **birà** à **kááli**. Go back. **birà** à **àká** **tfáò**. Return and leave him.

**birgi** [bìrǵi] *v.* 1 turn, change direction • **birǵi** ì **sié** **tá** **tiimúŋ** **ní**. Turn your face towards the east. 2 to change, transform, metamorphose, turn into • à **hááhíè** **birǵi** **dóò**. The old lady turned into a python.

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

**biti** [biti] *cf:* **jolo** *v.* to empty by pouring, to pour all, to spill out, to pour in a stream, to scatter • **biti** à **fàlá** **ní** **tà**. Pour away the water that is in the calabash. **biti** ì **kàpó-siè** **bilè**. Scatter you kola nuts on the ground.

**brwie** [bíwié] *n.* small stone. *pl.* **brwise**.

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

**bluu** [bǎ̀lùù] (*var.* **abluu**) *n.* blue. (ultim. English <blue). *pl.* **bluuso**.

**bokti** (*var. of* **bakti**)

<sup>1</sup>**bolo** [bòlò] *cf:* **babuolii** *v.* to be far • **mòtigú** **wá** **bòlò**. Motigu is not far. *ant:* **duḡsɪɪ**

<sup>2</sup>**bolo** [bóló] *v.* to remove yet leaving most, to skim • **bóló** ì **gùndààbíí** **ŋméŋ** **tìŋ** **tēŋ**. Remove some of the thread from the holder for me. **bà-mùn** **ná** **kálá** **ká** **bòlò** à **kàpósifálá** **rá**. Everyone saw Kala remove nuts from kola container.

**bolonbɔɔɪɪ** [bòlòmbóótià] *nprop.* name of a constellation.

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

**bombosɔɔɪɪ** [bómbòsòòrɪi] *n.* Rain tree (*Samanea saman*). *pl.* **bombosɔɔɪɪ**.

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

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

**boŋ** [bój] *cf:* **bugulie** *n.* big water pot. *pl.* **boŋo.** [Tɔ].

<sup>1</sup>**boro** [bòró] *v.* to be short • *à dáá bóróó.* The wood is short. *dùsíéléé tǎá tìŋ è jáá bòrò rò.* The language of Ducie; it is short (truncated). *ant:* **zeŋ** *pl.* **boroso.**

<sup>2</sup>**boro** [bòró] *n.* portion • *má kpá à bár bóró à tíéba.* Give them some portion of land. *ñ dijò àkà tǎá à sìimáá bòró.* I ate but left some of the food. *pl.* **boroso.**

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

<sup>1</sup>**bɔ** [bɔ] *v.* to pay • *bɔ ñj̄ kàntíimá tíéj̄.* Pay me what you owe me.

<sup>2</sup>**bɔ** [bɔ] *v.* to be better than • *zǎáj̄ tó-má bɔ diá tìŋ tó-má.* Today's work is better than yesterday's work.

**bɔg** [bòg] *n.* *cf:* **baga** (*var.* **bɔk-bil**) **1** type of tree (*Pseudocedrales kotschyi*). **2** fibre used to attach grass or tubers and to make *sigmaa* costume. *pl.* **bɔgna.**

**bɔkbil** (*var. of* **bɔg**)

**bɔl** [ból] *n.* ball. (ultim. English). *pl.* **bɔlsa.**

**bɔla** [bòlà] *cf:* **dzigela** *n.* elephant *synt:* **selzeŋ; neŋtɔma** (*Loxodonta cyclotis*). *pl.* **bɔlasa.**

**bɔlakaj** [bòlàkáj] *n.* elephant trunk. *pl.* **bɔlakaja.**

**bɔlajɔŋ** [bòlàjɔŋ] *n.* ivory. *pl.* **bɔ-lajɔŋa.**

**bɔma** [bòmà] *v.* **1** to be dangerous, to be bad • *è bómáǎ kínkán.* He is a very dangerous person. **2** to be expensive • *à sákir jògùlò bómáǎ.* The bicycle is expensive. **3** to be hot • *à múró bómáǎ.* The rice is too hot. **4** to endow with power • *è bómáǎ, kùòsánáǎ kà wà kɔnjèè kpá-gáǎ.* He is powerful, the buffalo was not able to catch him. **5** to be difficult • *bifòlà níní bómáǎ.* Looking after a baby is difficult.

**bɔna** [bòná] *n.* loss • *ì diátɔnǎ jógólí è è kpáámá à tǎlè bòná.* Your landlord sold his yams at a loss. *ant:* **tɔna**

**bɔŋ** [bòŋ] (*var.* **bʷɔŋ**) *n.* bad. *pl.* **bɔ-ma.**

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

**bɔɔbɔ** [bòbɔ] *n.* type of undergarment. *pl.* **bɔɔbɔsa.**

**bɔɔl** [bóól] *n.* *cf:* **loŋbɔl** **1** oval shape • *zè è diá àkǎ kpá kɔn tìŋ kà kíí bóól à wà tíéŋ.* Enter the house and get the thing that looks oval and bring it to me. **2** type of edible gourd found at the farm.

**bɔrdɔ** [bòrðíá] (*var.* **bɔrɔndɔ**) *n.* plantain (*Musa paradisiaca*). (Akan <*bòðdiá*). *pl.* **bɔrdɔsa.**

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

*bɔsasa.*

**bɔsɔ** (*var. of bɔsa*)

**bɔtɪ** [bótíí] *n.* scooped ball of staple food, Gh. Eng. morsel. *pl. bɔtɪe.*

**bra** (*var. of bira*)

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

<sup>1</sup>**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 timpántié há wà búgò.* The talking drums are not yet stretched. 2 to be drunk • *ɪ̀m̀m̀ m̃áá há wà búgò mú̀.* My mother has never been drunk. *syn:* <sup>2</sup>**diesi**

<sup>2</sup>**bugo** [bùgò] *v.* of a chick, to be at a stage, after hatching, after approx. five days, when the feathers start to grow from the wings • *ǹǹ záàl tésijōó ká à bisé há wà búgò.* My fowl hatched but the chicks have not reached that stage.

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

**bugulie** [bùgəlìè] *cf: boɲ n.* big water pot made out of clay. (Waali). *pl. bugulise.*

**bugumuɲ** [bùgú<sup>4</sup>mún] *n.* farm camp, including at least a hut, a cooking area, and a tree for shade. *pl. bugumuno.*

**bugunso** [bùgùnsò] *n.* stupidity.

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

**bulenji** [búlénjí] *n.* 1 lect of Bulenga. 2 person from Bulenga. *pl. bulenje.*

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

<sup>2</sup>**bulo** [bùlò] *v.* to seep out • *à bùlùgò wá brà á bùlò n̄̄.* The spring is not producing water any more.

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

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

**bummo** [bùmmò] *cf: jiriti n.* black *synt: doɲ<sup>2</sup> . pl. bulunso.*

**bumo** [bùmò] *v.* to precede • *nádí-gíí búmó zòò ì dìà háj ká bà kpá t̄t̄.* Someone was in your room before they gave it to you.

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

**buɲbuɲ** [bùmbúɲ] *n.* first • *búɲbúɲ ní ñ fí wàà n̄̄á s̄̄.* At first, I was not drinking alcoholic beverage.

**buol** [bùól] *n.* song. *pl. buolo.*

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

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

**buolnã** [bùòlñáá] *n.* song track, division of a song. *pl. buolenãsa.*

**buro** [búró] *v.* to faint, to collapse from hunger or thirst • *òò p̄óɲsì*

- kàsá ní à búró.* He got lost in the bush and collapsed.
- busunu** [bùsùnù] *n.* type of flute made out of the horn. *pl. busunu-so.*
- buter** [bùtér:] *n.* turtle. *pl. butete.*
- <sup>1</sup>**buti** [bùtì] *v.* to be confused • *ìṣṣ bié gèrègá tíéṣ bùtì.* My child's sickness made me confused. *ìṣ bú-tió.* I'm confused.
- <sup>2</sup>**buti** [bùtì] *v.* to make soft and flat by levelling and ploughing • *bá tǝ ká bùtì ìṣṣ píkiétè tíéṣ.* Tomorrow they will level my yam farm for me.
- buu** [bùú] *n.* silo, granary. *pl. buuno.*
- <sup>1</sup>**bũũ** [bũũ] *v.* to mix water and soil, or to make concrete • *bũũ hàglí á sǎá díá.* Mix sand and build a house.
- <sup>2</sup>**bũũ** [bũũ] *v.* to become alight, of fire being at its burning stage • *gilá à dííṣ bũũ.* Let the fire start burning.
- buure** [bùùrè] *v.* **1** to want • *bǎáṣ í kà búùrè.* What do you want? **2** to acquire wealth • *ì pénéá búùré tǝrá rá.* Your father acquires wealth for the future. **3** to love, to make love • *ìṣ búùré à tùlòrwiè ré.* I love that young girl. *káláá búùré hákúrí.* Kala made love to Hakuri. **4** to seek, look to for help or advice, to search • *ò búùré bǔóná kààlì.* He searched for the goats.
- buuta** [būütà] *n.* kettle. (Hausa <būtā).
- buzon** [búzón] *cf: lubaal n.* bachelor, widower. *pl. buzomo.*
- bɔa** (*var. of bɔa*)
- bɔabie** [bòàbié] *n.* smaller hole in a grave designed to slide the corpse in.
- bɔbɔsa** (*var. of bɔsabɔsa*)
- bɔdau** [bòdáo] *n.* type of snake.
- bǔǔǔbǔǔǔ** [bǔǔǔbǔǔǔ] *ideo.* carefully, slowly • *dì sǎá bǔǔǔbǔǔǔ.* Drive carefully. *dì ṣmá bǔǔǔbǔǔǔ.* Talk slowly. (Waali <bōī).
- bɔi** [bói] *cf: bii n.* stone. [Ka]. *pl. bɔse.*
- bɔkɔrɔra** [bòkòròrá] *n.* type of medicine endowing hunters with supernatural power.
- bɔkpǎāṅ** [bòkpǎāṅ] *n.* type of wild yam. *pl. bɔkpǎāma.*
- bɔla** [bòlà] *v.* tasteless • *à áníí bòláo.* The Ebony fruit is tasteless.
- bɔmbɔr** [bòmbòr] *n.* dust.
- bɔmsi** [bòmòsì] *v.* to stutter, to stammer • *ò wà bòmsi, ò bááṣ síwó.* He is not stammering, he is angry and nervous.
- bɔntɔɔna** [bòntòóná] *n.* *cf: kajajo* **1** porter, a person who carries things for somebody else in exchange of money • *hákúrí jáá bɔntòóná rá kùmásí ní.* Hakuri is a porter in Kumasi. **2** location where porter jobs are exercised • *bà dǔá bɔntòóná ní.* They are at the place to work as porters. *ò káálí bɔntòóná.* She went to work as a porter. *pl. bɔntɔɔnasa.*
- bɔnɔ̃ã** [bòñòá] *n.* gentility.

**bɔnɔ̃hɔ̃** [bɔnɔ̃hɔ̃] *n.* hippopotamus.  
*pl.* **bɔnɔ̃hɔ̃na**.

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

**bɔ̃ŋ** [bɔ̃ŋ] *n.* load of items. *pl.* **bɔ̃nna**.

**bɔɲa** [bɔɲa] *v.* to bend down • bɔɲa à kpá à fàlá tíéŋ. Bend down and pick the calabash for me.

**bɔɔ** [bɔɔ] *n.* *cf:* bil (*var.* **bɔa**) **1** hole. **2** open grave. **3** boundary, separation between portions of land. *pl.* **bɔɔsa**.

**bɔɔga** [bɔɔgà] *cf:* **pɛna** *n.* moon. [Mo].

**bɔɔmanɪ** [bɔɔmání] *n.* leopard  
*synt:* **ɲuwietɪna**; **nebietɪna** (*Panthera pardus*). *pl.* **bɔɔmanɪɛ**.

**bɔɔna** [bɔɔnà] *n.* electric light bulb. (ultim. English <*bulb*). *pl.* **bɔɔnasa**.

**bɔɔtia** [bɔɔtíà] **1** *n.* bag • *ɲàmmtí* *bɔɔtíà*. maize bag. **2** *num.* 200 old Cedis (= 2 Ghana Pesewas), from a bag of cowries in pre-coinage days • *bɔɔtíè mátfēō àlìè àní fī*. 10 000 old Cedis (= 1 Ghana Cedi) *pl.* **bɔɔtiesa**.

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

an animal sacrifice is made on the tomb.

**<sup>1</sup>bɔra** [bɔrá] *v.* to be dusty • à téébùl wà bɔríjéé. The table is not dusty.

**<sup>2</sup>bɔra** [bɔrá] *n.* fermenting substance, yeast. (Waali).

**bɔrɪndia** (*var. of* **bɔrdia**)

**bɔrɪŋa** [bɔrɪŋà] *n.* Christmas. (Akan <*bɔ́rɔ́ŋá*).

**bɔsabɔsa** [bɔsàbɔsà] (*var.* **bɔbɔsa**)  
*ideo.* type of visual percept • à ní-híé sípɔnā dɔ bɔsàbɔsà rā. The eye lashes of the old man are greyish-white.

**bɔɔbie** [bɔɔbié] *n.* section of the grave where the corpse is inserted.  
*pl.* **bɔɔbise**.

**bɔɔŋ** [bɔɔŋ] *n.* goat. *pl.* **bɔɔna**.

**bɔɔŋbal** [bɔɔŋbál] *n.* he-goat, billy goat. *pl.* **bɔɔŋbal**.

**bɔɔŋbie** [bɔɔŋbié] *n.* young goat.  
*pl.* **bɔɔŋbise**.

**bɔwalɛ** [bɔwálè] *n.* type of African wild dog (*Lycaon pictus*). *pl.* **bɔwalisa**.

**bɔzaal** [bɔzáàl] *cf:* **ɲɪzimii** *n.* Stone partridge, type of bird (*Ptilopachus petrosus*). [Du]. *pl.* **bɔzaalɛɛ**.

**bɔɔŋ** (*var. of* **bɔŋ**)

## d

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

**daabãntolugu** [dáábãntólúgú]  
*nprop.* name of a major Gurumbele shrine.



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

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

**daahãã** [dààhãã] *n.* bitter tree • *nàà-sààrgbésà dāā jáá dààhãã rā.* The Neem tree is a bitter tree.

**daakõã** [dààkõã] *n.* Senegal parrot, type of bird (*Poicephalus senegalus*). *pl. daakõãna.*

**daakõãjalee** [dààkõãjàlèè] *n.* Rose-Ringed Parakeet, type of bird (*Psittacula krameri*). *pl. daakõãjalesa.*

**daakõãwoŋ** [dààkõãwòŋ] *n.* Brown-Necked parrot, type of bird (*Poicephalus robustus*). *pl. daakõãwonno.*

**daakõnɔ** [dààkõnɔ] *n.* staple dish, Gh. Eng. kenkey. (Akan < *dòkònò*).

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

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

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

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

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

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

tion • *bà ñmá dí ñ wáá dùsèè ñ kpá dààmì.* They told me to come to Ducie, but I ignored it.

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

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

**dããna** [dããná] *n.* mark on animal. *pl. dããnasa.*

**daanãã** [dàánãã] *n.* branch of a tree.

**dããni** [dããni] *v.* 1 to mark domestic animals in order to identify and show ownership • *ññ ñíná dããní òò sélé wó.* My father marked his animals. 2 to monitor someone closely • *kàlá káálí tiwíí rē ká ñmā dì ñ dí dããni òò háàŋ.* Kala travelled so he asked me to monitor his wife.

**daanõŋ** [dàánõŋ] *n.* fruit or seed of a tree • *bà ñmá dí já dũú dáánóná.* They say we must sow seeds. *pl. daanõna.*

**daaŋuukpoŋkpòlo** [dàáŋúúkpòŋkpòlò] *cf:* **kpòŋkpòŋpaatfaktfɔgu** *n.* type of ant that lives in trees.

**daaŋmena** (*var. of* **daaŋmenkoŋkoŋ**)

**daaŋmenkoŋkoŋ** [dààŋmèŋkòŋkòŋ] (*var. daaŋmena*) *n.* Fine-Spotted Woodpecker (*Campethera punctuligera*). *pl. daaŋmenkoŋkonso.*

**daapelimpe** [dààpélimpé] *n.* wooden board. *pl. daapelimpesa.*

**daapetri** [dààpétíí] *cf:* **petri** *n.* bark. *pl. daapetra.*

**daari** [dààrì] *v.* to be half asleep  
• *gìlà ì tón tìŋ ì dääròò*. Leave your book, you are almost asleep.

**daari** [dàárí] *v.* to take off the top, as in removing a dried layer of t.z. or porridge, leaves on the surface of the water, or as in shelling membrane from egg, to dig and scratch only the surface • *dáárí à níí jùú kindóŋó tíŋ tà*. Remove the dirt on the surface of the water. *dáárí à hàglfbúmmò trín tà*. Remove the layer of black soil. *tómá dáárí ò dià-nṣá rā, ò wà bí gāŋ*. Toma removed some soil in front of his door, it is no more heightened.

**daasāār** [dààsáār] *n.* carver. *pl. daasāāra*.

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

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

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

**daatoma** [dààtòmá] *n.* chin. *pl. daatomasasa*.

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

**daazovna** [dààzòvńá] *n.* 1 any spoon. 2 gourd ladle used to serve

soup or porridge *syn: fazeŋ . pl. daazovnasa*.

**dabaara** [dàbáárà] *n.* power of a shrine, spiritual power • *kòòlìì kpá-gá dàbááràsá kinkán nā*. Kuolii has a lot of power. *pl. dabaarasa*.

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

**dabuo** [dàbúó] *cf: tōhīē n.* deserted settlement • *lùòbānī tōmā líí dún-lúó dàbúó ró*. The people of the *luboanī* section came from a place called *dunluo*. *pl. dabuoso*.

**dadāī** [dàdāī] *n.* numbness, as in limbs falling asleep • *ŋ tŋóá ŋ nén nī sīì, dàdāī kpágáó*. I slept on my arm, when I got up it was numb.

**dadovŋ** [dàdòvŋ] *cf: dōvana n.* evening, approx. 16:00 - 18:00, before darkness. *pl. dadovnsa*.

<sup>1</sup>**daga** [dáyá] *cf: kparaama v.* to be necessary • *à wà jáá dàgā dí ŋŋ jáá jàálìè*. It is not necessary that I become a Muslim. *à dágáó dí ŋ dí sītṃáà tŋpīstì bíúmūŋ*. It is necessary that I eat food every day.

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

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

**dagav** [dágàò] *n.* Dagaare person. (Waali). *pl. dagaabasa*.

**dagboŋo** [dàgbòŋó] *n.* type of mouse

- usually found in or around the house. *pl. dagboṅoso.*
- dalia** [dálíê] *n.* cooking place. *pl. dalia.*
- dalibsa** [dálíbbà] *n.* inside of the three-stone stove. *pl. dalibsa.*
- dama** [dàmà] *v.* to disturb, trouble, or bother • *tí dàmà òn̄ t̄mā.* Do not disturb my work. (Hausa < *dàmà* 'bother').
- damba** [dàmbá] *nprop.* third month. (Waali < *dùmbá*).
- dambafulanaan** [dàmbàfúlánáán] *nprop.* fifth month. (Waali < *dùmbàfúlánáán*).
- dambakoroko** [dàmbàkòkòròkò] *nprop.* fourth month. (Waali < *dùmbàkòkòròkò*).
- dambria** [dàmbià] *n.* type of hyena. *pl. dambriasa.*
- dampɔ** [dámɔ] *n.* reservoir, lake retained by a dam. (ultim. English < *dam*). *pl. dampɔsa.*
- dandafulee** [dàndàfúlèè] *cf: zinza-puree n.* type of bat. [Mo]. *pl. dandafulese.*
- dandafulii** [dàndàfúlíí] *n.* small pieces of charcoal falling at the bottom of the coal-pot. *pl. dandafulie.*
- dandapɔsa** [dàndàpɔsà] (*var. pɔna*) *n.* beard. *pl. dandapɔsasa.*
- dansane** [dànséné] *n.* metal cooking pot. (Akan < *dàd̄is̄é̄*). *pl. dansane-sa.*
- dansatfi** [dànsátfi] *n.* smock without sleeves. (Hausa). *pl. dansatfise.*
- dansatfiwie** [dànsátfiwié] *n.* smock without sleeves. (Hausa). *pl. dansatfiwise.*
- danta** [dàntá] *n.* clan appellation, praise name, or title, used in identifying people who are members of a certain clan division • *ì wòsá dántá káá jàà bàáj?* What is your clan title? *pl. dantasa.*
- dantig** [dàntíg] *n.* grinding bowl. *pl. dantigna.*
- dapɛ** [dàpɛ̀] *n.* type of metal. (Waali < *dàpɛ̀*). *pl. dapɛsa.*
- danggorugo** [dànggórúgò] *n.* dagger, a knife with a pointed blade slightly bent downwards.
- dangɔ** [dánjí] *n.* wound • *à biè kpá kí-sié dɔ̀ ɔ̀ò tintìj dájí rá.* The child wounded himself with his knife. (W. Oti-Volta < *dang-*). *pl. dangɛ.*
- dangkpala** [dàngkpálá] *n.* walking stick. (Waali < *dangkpali*). *pl. dangkpalsa.*
- dangɔ sie** [dánjí siè] *cf: siidangɔ cpx.v.* to entertain, to make things interesting • *jirà hàmmónà bá wá dáj-ɔ́ jí jà sié.* Call the children to come and entertain us.
- <sup>1</sup>**dara** [dàrà] *n.* draughts, type of board game. (Waali < *dàrà*).
- <sup>2</sup>**dara** [dàrà] *cf: mɔga cf: heɔsi v.* to lie, to deceive • *òn̄ jíná òmá d̄í ñ t̄r wàà dárà wíé.* My father said that I should not tell lies. *ì dáráó!* You are lying!
- daraga** [dàràgá] *n.* reluctance, unwillingness • *dì ì fí wà jáá dà-*

ràgàttíná, ì kàá pàrà à kùò pētūū zààṅ. If you were not reluctant, you would finish weeding the farm today. (Hausa).

**datfibaal** [dàtʃibáál] *n.* brother in-law.

**datfɪɛ** [dàtʃíé] *n.* brother or sister in-law. *pl.* **datfɪesa**.

**datfihãṅ** [dàtʃihãṅ] *n.* sister in-law.

**dawarɛ** [dàwàrè] *cf:* **zamba** *n.* action against the benefit or prosperity of someone • *dàwàrè wàà sáá tɔ̀v̄.* Negative actions cannot build a community.

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

<sup>1</sup>**de** [dé] *cf:* **baaṅ** *adv.* there • *ì ná lóó-ì rā dé nī?* Do you see a car over there?

<sup>2</sup>**de** (*var. of di*)

**de ni** [dénì] *lit.* there-on *adv.phr.* upon this, thereupon • *nikáná sáṅḗḗ à ðì mómà zìàṅ, déni v̄ bááṅ sīi.* Many people were sitting and laughing at Ziang, thereupon he became angry.

**deḡeni** (*var. of deḡini*)

**deḡini** [dèḡinì] *v.* (*var. deḡili, deḡini, deḡeni*) **1** to put straight, to be straight, to unbend, to set in a direction • *tìè à pítʃóṅ dèḡinì.* Let the yam mound row be straight. *tìè à zíá dèḡilì.* Let the wall be straight.

**2** tolerant • *à tóótínā wā dèḡinì-jè.* The landlord is not tolerant. **3** to be honest, faithful • *à biè dèḡiníjóó v̄ kà kpá ṛṛṛ mólèbúú à wà tíéṅ.* The child is honest since he brought my money back.

**deḡinii** [dèḡiníí] *n.* straightness.

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

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

**dendilhĩɛsi** [dèndílhĩɛsì] *lit.* outside.ground-vibration *n.* bull-roarer *syn:* **sigmawiilii; tebinsigmaa** .

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

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

**deḡĩ** [dèḡíí] *n.* storing grain, like *siḡa* or *siíwíe*, with ash for conservation • *siḡá dèḡíí wáá tʃóḡáá.* Preserving the cow peas will not keep them from going bad.

**deḡili** (*var. of deḡini*)

**deḡini** (*var. of deḡini*)

**deŋsi** [dɛŋsɪ] *v.* 1 to balance on head • à biniháàn tʃɔ̀ŋà níí à káá dɛ̀ŋ-si. The girl carries water on her head without holding it. 2 to raise one's body to gain height in order to see • dɛ̀ŋsɪ jìnè tókóró ní sááfi tʃɔ̀á dé. Raise your body and look on the window frame, the key lies there.

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

<sup>1</sup>**dela** [dɛ̀lá] *v.* to rely on • ñ wàá kìn dɛ̀lá ññ mǎǎwìè ní. I cannot rely on my aunt.

<sup>2</sup>**dela** [dɛ̀lá] *v.* to sit and lean back • sá-ŋá à brà dɛ̀lá à kór ní. Sit and lean back on the chair.

**delembii** [dɛ̀lémbíí] *n.* stone of the three-stone stove. *pl.* **delembia**.

**densi** [dɛ̀nsɪ] *v.* to stretch, pull, and press body parts • dɛ̀nsɪ ññ nébíé tīēŋ. Stretch my fingers for me (in order to crack a knuckle).

**densi hogo** [dɛ̀nsɪ hógó] *lit.* stretch bone *v.* to exercise • ì káá kòntì dī ī wāá dɛ̀nsɪ ñ hógó. You will be weak if you do not exercise.

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

**di** [dì] *v.* *cf.* **tɔ̀ga** 1 to eat • bà wà dí sīimáà zǎāŋ. They did not eat food

today. 2 to be enskinned, to hold a chieftancy • à báhíè káá dí à kò-ró. The old man will be enskinned. 3 to be sharp • à kisié káá di kinkán nā. The knife is sharp. *ant:* **gbul**

**di jawa** [dí jàwā] *lit.* eat market *v.* to trade • ɔ̀ kááli ɔ̀ ká dí mòtigú já-wà. She is going to trade at the Motigu market.

**dibi** [díbí] *v.* to ask for forgiveness using sober words *syn:* <sup>1</sup>**mɔ̀sɪ**<sup>1</sup>. (ultm. Gonja).

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

**dieke** [dièkè] *num.* one *Enum of:* **digmaŋa**<sup>1</sup>.

**diese** [diésé] *n.* dream. *pl.* **diese**.

**diesi** [diésɪ] *v.* 1 to dream • ññ háàŋ diè diésuū káá ŋmā wīē. My wife was talking while dreaming. 2 to inhabit spiritually, to live in, as when an ancestor spirit inhabits another body • ññ mǎǎ díésɪ ññ biniháán nà. I gave my late mother's name to my daughter.

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

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

**dindia** [dínidià] *n.* kitchen.

**dintina** [dintínà] *cf.* **diŋtʃǎāŋ** *n.* lantern, lamp. [*Mo*].

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

- burns well. 2 electricity or light of cycle or lorry • *dùsèè ní díj wáá tùó*. In Ducie there is no electricity. *jà búúrè dín né já tʃáágí já báá-trì*. We need electricity to charge our batteries. *pl. dinne*.
- dijbamɔsɪ** [dɪmbámòsɪ] *lit.* fire-place-set.fire *n.* kitchen. *pl. dij-bamɔsɪe*.
- dijdaa** [dɪndáá] *n.* firewood. *pl. din-daasa*.
- dijhala** [dɪnhálá] *n.* charcoal fire.
- dijkimɔni** [dɪnkímmòní] *n.* device to carry fire. *pl. dij-kimmɔniɛ*.
- dijpapareɛ** [dɪmpápàrɛɛ] *n.* fire spark. *pl. dijpaparesa*.
- dijtɔl** [dɪntól] *cf: tɔl n.* flame. *pl. dijtsɔlsa*.
- dijtʃãɲ** [dɪntʃãɲ] *cf: dintna n.* lantern, lamp • *tʃògò à dɪn-tʃãɲ*. Light the lantern. *pl. dij-tʃãɲsa*.
- dijtʃãɲdaa** [dɪntʃãɲdáá] *cf: najɛlɪngbielie n.* lamp holder. *pl. dij-tʃãɲdaasa*.
- dijtʃɛna** [dɪntʃɛná] *lit.* fire-friend *n.* Abyssinian Roller, type of bird (*Coracias abyssinicus*). *pl. dij-tʃɛn-sa*.
- <sup>1</sup>dɪ** [dɪ] *conn.* 1 if • *dì ò wááwáá, ñ fí nāō rà*. If he had come, I would have seen him. 2 when • *dì ñ wá kòò, ññ néndúl sī jáá lú-gúsúú*. When I get tired, my right eye vibrates.
- <sup>2</sup>dɪ** [dɪ] *comp.* that • *ñ wà láá dì dʃ gbòló káá wàà*. I do not believe that Gbolo will come.
- <sup>3</sup>dɪ** [dɪ] *pv.* imperfective particle, in topic-marking strategy • *sígá rá ò dì tíè*. It is beans he is chewing. *wáá ò dì káálì*. It is to Wa he is going.
- <sup>4</sup>dɪ** [dɪ] *conn.* of doing simultaneously • *kpá sìimá háj dì káálì*. Take this food away!
- <sup>5</sup>dɪ** [dɪ] *cf: diare (var. <sup>2</sup>de) pv.* yesterday • *ì dì ná ññ biè rɛè?* Did you see my son yesterday?
- <sup>6</sup>dɪ** [dɪ] *comp.* do, imperative particle • *dì tʃó*. Run!
- diá** [diá] *n.* house. *pl. diusa*.
- diá tɪj** (*var. of diare*)
- dianɔ̃ã** [diánɔ̃ã] *lit.* house-mouth *n.* door. *pl. dianɔ̃ãsa*.
- dianɔ̃ãbɔwie** [diánɔ̃ãbòwié] *lit.* house-mouth-hole-small *cf: tokoro n.* window. *pl. dianɔ̃ãbuwise*.
- diare** [diàrɛ] *cf: dɪ (var. diá tɪj) n.* yesterday • *diàrɛ tɪj ò dí wà*. He came yesterday.
- diatɪna** [diàtíiná] *n.* landlord of a single compound. *pl. diusatɔma*.
- diatɔma** [diàtómà] *n.* group of people belonging to the same household. *pl. diatɔma*.
- <sup>1</sup>dɛsɪ** [dɛsɪ] *v.* 1 to feed and rear animal • *à báál kà díésí à bɔ́ón ná*. The man is feeding the goat. 2 to bring up, to take care of a child • *námùɲ wàà díēsī à biē háj*. No one takes care of this child.

<sup>2</sup>**diɛsi** [diɛ̀si] *v.* to be drunk • *wáá nǒá síŋ diɛ̀si tʃǒà gbél múŋ ní.* He drank alcohol and he is now lying drunk under the tree. *syn:* <sup>1</sup>**bugo**<sup>2</sup>

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

**digu** (*cntrvar.* **digimaŋa**)

**digintuo** [dígítúò] (*var.* **sanduso**) *num.* nine. *pl.* **digintuoso**.

**digimaŋa** [dígímánjá] *cntr.* **digu** 1 *num.* one *Enum:* **dieke** . 2 *num.* someone • *píési dígí à búkù jògùló.* Ask someone the price of the book. 3 *n.* same • *jà bárá tǒŋ wá jáà dígímánjá.* We do not have the same skin. *pl.* **digimaŋasa**.

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

**digimbirinsé** [dìgìmbìrìnsé] *lit.* ear-full *cf:* **woŋ** *n.* deafness.

**digimbirinsétima** [dìgìmbìrìnsétímná] *cf:* **woŋ** *n.* person who is hard of hearing.

**digimbɔa** (*var. of* **maafadigimbɔa**)

**diginwɪli** [dìgìnwìlì] *n.* earache. *pl.* **diginwɪliɛ**.

**diginlɪli** [dìgìŋlìlì] *n.* otitis. *pl.* **diginlɪliɛ**.

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

**digbelgɔs** [dìgbèlìgɔ] *n.* Senegal Coucal (*Centropus senegalensis*). *pl.* **digbelgɔsa**.

**dɪl** [dííl] *n.* inhabitant who was born and raised in the same community • *jágárí jáá dùsiè dííl lá.* Nyagari is an inhabitant of Ducie. *pl.* **dɪla**.

**dɪŋ** [díŋ] *cf:* **nɪdɪŋ**; **kɪŋdɪŋ**; **wɪdɪŋ**; **bɪdɪŋ** *n.* true, real, proper. *pl.* **dɪma**.

**dɪlumo** [dìlùmó] *n.* back room where one keeps one's personal items.

**dɪnɪ** [dìní] *n.* soup, Gh. Eng. light soup, mainly tomatoes, pepper, and water.

**dɪŋa** [dìŋà] *v.* to imitate • *dààrì kɪnà díŋà nárá kɪnkànà.* Daari can imitate people very well. *syn:* <sup>2</sup>**tʃaasi**

**dɪŋɔ** [dìŋó] *n.* someone's interest and choice of lifestyle • *nèn dìŋó síí-máà ñ dí wòhàà hán nī.* This afternoon I ate the food I like.

**dɪra** [dí́r:] *v.* to have a closed, reduced or small internal space • *nɪn pàtʃígíí wá dírà.* My stomach has a lot of space. *à simá díráó.* The bamboo stick is not hollowed, its cavity is filled.

**dɪsa** [dìsá] *n.* soup. *pl.* **dɪsasa**.

**dɪsugulii** [dìsùgùlì] *n.* multi-storey building. *pl.* **dɪsugulee**.

**dɪtʃɔli** [dìtʃòlì] *n.* sleeping room. *pl.* **dɪtʃɔlee**.

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

**dokagal** [dòkágàl:] *n.* rainbow.

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

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

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

**donu** [dónú] *lit.* rain-water *n.* rain-water • *dónú sòónjǎǎ*. The rain water is cold.

**don** [dón] *n.* 1 dirt • *à bisé káá dǎǎgì bádón ní rē*. The children are playing in a dirty place. 2 black • *à gār jáá ádōn nō*. The cloth is black. *synt:* **bummo**

**donji** [dónjì] *n.* dirtiness • *à biè tá-gàtà dónjì tíj írī wáwèrē*. The type of dirtiness on the child's shirt is not good. *ant:* **tfǎǎnr**<sup>1</sup>

**dojo** [dòjò] *v.* to be dirty, to soil • *jàà ní tiè ñ sò, ñ dónó kinkán nà*. Fetch water for me to bath, I am very dirty. *ant:* **tfǎǎnr**<sup>2</sup>

**dojojai** [dónójáí] *n.* menses *syn:* **nisonu; tfagasu**

**dojotuna** [dojotuna] *n.* unhygienic person.

**donu** [dònú] *nprop.* twelfth month. (Waali < *dònú*).

**donumakuna** [dònúmàkúná] *nprop.* eleventh month. (Waali < *dòñòmàkúná*).

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

**dogsi** [dòyísi] *v.* to punish • *tíí dóg-sí à làlìwié*. Do not punish the orphan.

**dakta** [dòyǎtà] *n.* doctor. (ultim. English). *pl.* **daktasa**.

**donu** [dónú] *cf:* **dwo** *n.* water accumulated from soaking, sieving, and dripping *dwo*.

<sup>1</sup>**donj** [dónj] *n.* comrade, a person in one's social class, a mate. *pl.* **donja**.

<sup>2</sup>**donj** [dónj] *n.* enemy. (Waali < *dōma* 'enemy'). *pl.* **dōma**.

<sup>3</sup>**donj** [dónj] *n.* placenta • *à bié donj líf-wáó*. The child's placenta is out. *pl.* **dōnna**.

**donja** [dònjà] *recp.* each other • *à nibáálá bàlìè kpó dōnjà rà*. The two men killed each other. *làgàmì dōnjà*. Join them to each other.

**donjuna** [dòntiiná] *cf:* **togama** *n.* person of the same size, or same status fellow. *pl.* **dontinsa**.

**dosi** [dòsí] *v.* to stalk, walk stealthily towards • *dósf kà kpàgà bǎǎj háj tíēj*. Walk stealthily and catch this goat for me. *nàjkpǎǎnsá já dōsī sél lé áká jùò*. Hunters normally walk stealthily towards animals before shooting.

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

**dugo** [dùgò] *v.* to infest, to ravage • *à nàmmí dógóú, tfǎǎjí zóóá*. The maize was ravaged, weevils infested it.



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

**dugunñǎ** [dùgúnñǎ] *n.* entrance of a spiritual location. *pl.* **dugun-  
nɔɔsa**.

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

**dul** [dúl] **1** *n.* right (side) *ant:* <sup>1</sup>gal<sup>1</sup>  
. **2** *reln.* right • wáá tɔ̀à ì n̄ n̄éj  
dúl n̄. It is on your right-hand side.  
*ant:* <sup>1</sup>gal<sup>2</sup> *pl.* **dullo**.

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

**dundatuo** (*var. of* **dunlatuo**)

**dunlatuo** [dùnlátuò] (*var.* **dun-  
datuo**) *n.* gall midge, type of insect (*Cecidomyiidae* fam). *pl.* **dunlato-  
so**.

**dunjusi** [dùnjùsì] *cf:* **zeɲsi** *v.* to limp  
• hembíí ré táwá ɔ̀ò n̄áá, àwíé ɔ̀ ò ò ò  
dúnjusi kéj̄. A nail entered his leg,  
that is why he is limping like that.

**duo** [dúò] *n.* asleep • à biè dí tɔ̀sá  
dúó wíwéré rē. The child slept well  
yesterday. dúó kpāgān n̄. I feel  
sleepy.

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

**duonkii** (*var. of* **duonkiir**)

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

**duonɔɔi** [dúònɔ̀sì] *cf:* **sɔ duon**  
*n.* lightning initiation, mystic pro-  
tection against lightning.

**duonfjiir** (*var. of* **duonkiir**)

**duori** [dùòrì] *v.* to assist somebody  
in crossing a water body • kpá lōj  
dùòrì sùkú bisē. Take the calabash  
and assist the school children in  
crossing the river.

**duoso** [dùòsò] *n.* information • jàlisá  
limááñ t̄t̄é dùòsò dí námùj t̄f̄i v̄s̄-  
wà n̄ǎá. The Muslim imam gave the  
information that everybody should  
fast tomorrow. *pl.* **duosuso**.

**dusee** (*var. of* **dusie**)

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

**dusi** [dùsì] *v.* to put on or increase in  
weight and size • à báál h̄āñ t̄j̄j̄ dú-  
síó. The man's wife has increased  
in weight.

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

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

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

**dɔ** [dɔ] *v.* **1** to put on, to put in, to  
put bait in water, or something into  
water to make bad, to dip • já ká  
dɔ n̄ī rā. We are putting bait in the  
water. dɔ bórá sín n̄. Put the fer-  
menting substance. **2** to seem, to



**dɔŋmɛŋbummo** [dɔŋmɛmbúmò] *n.* type of green-lined snake (*Hapsidophrys gen.*). *pl.* **dɔŋmɛŋbulunso**.

**dɔŋmɛŋsiama** [dɔŋmɛnsiámá] *n.* type of green-lined snake (*Hapsidophrys gen.*). *pl.* **dɔŋmɛsiansa**.

**dõŋgal** (*var. of* **dõõgal**)

**dɔŋtʃɔ** [dɔntʃɔ] *n.* state of a person when his or her soul has left *syn:* **nããhããta**.

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

<sup>1</sup>**dɔɔ** (*var. of* **dɔa**)

<sup>2</sup>**dɔɔ** [dòò] *v.* to fetch water in large quantity, specifically at a well or river • *ŋ ñmá ñ ká dɔò nɪ̀ pòl ní.* I want to fetch water from the river.

<sup>3</sup>**dɔɔ** [dóò] *cf:* **kãõ** *cf:* **dɔnɪ** *n.* sold as grey, crushable solid, liquefied and used as soup ingredient, but formerly used in the making of gun powder. *pl.* **dɔa**.

<sup>4</sup>**dɔɔ** [dòó] *n.* animal offering to a shrine • *ǹǹ dɔò jáá píésíí rē.* My of-

fering is a sheep.

**dɔɔga** [dòògá] *n.* play • *hámónà kàà búúré dòògá.* Children are fond of playing.

**dɔɔgi** [dòògì] *v.* to play • *à bìniháàn àní ò tʃɛnsá káá dɔɔgì zàgá ní.* The girl and her friends are playing in the yard.

**dɔ̀sɪ** [dò̀sɪ] *v. cf:* **ɲɔmmɪ 1** to quench, extinguish a fire, to put out • *dò̀sɪ díŋ háj.* Quench this fire. **2** to erase, clean, or cancel • *dò̀sɪ ìt nããnãstê tɪn tà à diànõã̀ nì.* Erase your foot prints by the door. *à tétʃà gílá bà dò̀sɪ à séóbinĩẽ̀ rã, ká ò sé-wá á fɪlẽ̀.* The teacher made them clean the old writing and he wrote a new one. **3** to blink, with one or two eyes • *dò̀sɪ síí.* Close an eye.

**dõõ** [dóõ] (*Pl. var.* **dɔta**) *n.* African rock python (*Python sebae*). *pl.* **dõsa**.

**dõõgal** [dõõgal] (*var.* **dõŋgal**) *n.* type of snake. *pl.* **dõõgalsa**.

## dʒ

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

**dʒaabiridʒa** [dʒáábírídʒà] *n.* mixture

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

**dʒaana** [dʒáánà] *n.* door mat. (Waali <*dʒaana* 'door mat').

**dʒaaŋãã** [dʒáánjãã] *cf:* **fili** *n.* bearing tray to carry load made with the fi-

- bre of the climber *tfinie*. *pl. dzaa-  
nããsa*.
- dzabelan** [dzàbèlàn] *n.* henna (*Lawsonia inermis*).
- dzagala** [dzàɣàlà] *n.* a third person referred to in a conversation, but not named. (Waali < *dzegala*).
- dzanɪ** (*var. of* **genɪ**)
- dzanse** [dzánsè] *n.* type of dance. (ultim. English < *jazz*).
- dzebuni** [dzèbùni] *nprop.* Jebuni, person's name.
- dzèbalan** [dzèbàlàn] *cf:* **diebie** (*var. amĩō*) *n. cat.* [*Gu*]. (Gonja).
- dzèberɛ** [dzèbèrè] *n.* porridge made out of cassava flour and boiled water.
- dzèbugokpɔrgɪ** [dzèbúgòkpórɔgí] *n.* gunpowder container. *pl. dzè-  
bugokpɔrgɛ*.
- dzèdzɛɪ** (*var. of* **gɛgɛɪ**) *n.*
- dzèfɛ** [dzèfɛ́] *n.* land-clearing period in the rainy season when the grasses are well grown and thick, crucial step for growing yam. *pl. dzèfɛ́sá*.
- dzèfɛbummò** [dzèfɛ̀búmmò] *n.* farm land with a considerable amount of moisture in the soil. Usually within August and September.
- dzèfɛpɔmma** [dzèfɛ̀pòmmá] *n.* dry farm land, or land with little moisture in the soil, usually in October and November.
- dzɛnɪ** (*var. of* **genɪ**)

- dzɛrɛga** [dzɛ̀rɛ̀gá] *cf:* **gɛrɛga** *n.* sickness, disease. *pl. dzɛrɛgasa*.
- dzɛrgɪ** [dzɛ̀rgí] *n.* sick and weak person. *pl. dzɛrgɛ*.
- dzɛɪ** [dzɛ̀ɪ] *n.* lion *synt:* **puzɛntɪna** . *pl. dzɛɪsa*.
- dzɛgɛla** [dzɛ̀gɛ̀là] *cf:* **bɔla** *n.* elephant. [*Mo*].
- dzɛnɛdzɛnɛ** [dzɛ̀nɛ̀dzɛ̀nɛ̀] *ideo.* (*var. ginɛgɛnɛ*) **1** sky appearance that suggests rain • à *tìimúnj dɔ dzɛnɛdzɛnɛ*. The east is not clear. **2** type of visual percept, mixture of colours • à *dámpɔ̀nɪ dɔ dzɛnɛdzɛnɛ*, à *wéré zàáj*. The dam water is greyish and greenish, it is no good today.
- dzɛ̀ndɔ̀ɲ** [dzɛ̀ɛ̀ndɔ̀ɲ] *n.* a twin, one of a pair of twins. *pl. dzɛ̀ndɔ̀ɲa*.
- dzɛ̀nsa** [dzɛ̀ɛ̀nsá] *n.* twins. *pl. dzɛ̀nsa*.
- dzɛ̀ɛɪɪ** [dzɛ̀ɛ̀ɪɪ́] *n.* sieve or sifter, made out of woven screen, mainly for flour. (Waali < *dzɛ̀ɛɪɪ*).
- dzɛ̀fá** [dzɛ̀fá] *n.* pocket. (ultim. Arabic, via Hausa < *aljifu* 'sheath').
- dzɛ̀gá** [dzɛ̀gá] *v.* to be mature, to master, to be brave, to be good at something • *pél lé tɪ̀j kà dzɛ̀gá*, *wáá káá ù̀ ù̀ lálí*. The burial specialist who masters his work, he is the one who buries the corpse.
- dzɛ̀gɪsɪ** [dzɛ̀gɪ̀sɪ] *v.* to act or say proudly • *dráábà háj kà dzɛ̀gɪ̀sɪ ní ló̀lì mílímí́ ní*. This driver is proud of driving a car. à *bìpòlì dzɛ̀gɪ̀sɪjáó*

*df ɔ kàá kɪn páráós, ɔ párà kùsì ká tʃɔ̄.* The boy said proudly that he could farm but failed and ran away.

**dzumbentɔ** [dzɪmbɛntɔ̄] *nprop.* first month. (Waali <dzɪmbɛntɪ̄).

**dzogo** [dzógó] *n.* character or attitude • *zàáj hámònā dzógó wá wī-rē.* The character of today's children is not good. *pl. dzogoso.*

**dzɔŋkoho** [dzɔŋkóhò] *n.* false accusation. *pl. dzɔŋkohoso.*

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

## e

**eeka** [ʔéékà] *n.* acre. (ultm. English).

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

## ɛ

**ɛɛ** [ʔɛ̀ɛ̀] (*var. ɔ̄ɔ̄*) *interj.* yes, expresses affirmation.

**ɛgla** [ʔɛ̀ɣlá] *n.* jaw. *pl. ɛglasa.*

**embɛli** [ʔɛ̀mbéli] *n.* cf: **siɛbi** 1 shoulder. 2 wing. *pl. embɛle.*

**embeltfugul** [ʔɛ̀mbéltʃùgùl] *n.* shoul-

## f

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

*jāgāsɪ dzɔ̀ràsá.* Let us go play the game (Waali <dzɔ̀ra).

**dzudzumo** (*var. of dzumodzumo*)

**dzumburo** [dzùmbúró] *n.* soup ingredient, also used as medicine for new mothers. (Waali <dzùmbúri). *pl. dzumburuso.*

**dzumodzumo** [dzùmòdzùmò] (*var. dzudzumo*) *ideo.* type of visual percept • *tìimúŋ dɔ́ dzùmòdzùmò rō.* The east appears very dark and has a menacing colour.

**dzɔwŋ** [dzɔ̀wɔŋ] *n.* hammock. *pl. dzɔwŋ.*

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

der joint. *pl. embeltfugulo.*

**ensi** [ʔènsì] *v.* to squeeze, to twist, to press • *ènsì lùmbúró níí tiè ìi bié.* Squeeze the orange juice for your child. *ènsì à kɪntʃàgàsìé à bèrà.* Twist the washed clothes and dry them.

days. *nín nà fàà tómà fɪ já jáà.* This is what the ancestors used to do.

[Tp].

**fãã** [fãã] *v.* **1** to do by force, do harshly • *ɲ kpá bááj tɣiási ɔ̀ò gár fãã.* I tear her cloth by force angrily. *tɣò̀sìm pìsá fãã, sii wá.* As soon as the day breaks, get up and come. **2** to depend on others cunningly and abusively • *à báál fãã ɔ̀ò tɣèná dì díù.* The man depends on his friend abusively all the time for eating. **3** to draw milk from • *fɔ̀-làhááj kàà fáá nɔ̀ʔil lá.* The Fulani woman draws milk from the udder of the cow. **4** to press out • *má ká fáá kálá kìnsóŋ ɔ̀ò nà̀pégíí ní à nń múŋ lìì.* You should go and press out the pus out of the swelling on Kala's leg.

**faal** [fáál] (*var.* **faatɔma**, **<sup>2</sup>faara**) *n.* ancestor • *fáálá fíí lāārè tóná.* Our grandparents used to wear skins. *pl.* **faala**.

**faamɪ** [fãàmì] *v.* **1** to grab hold of, as in wrestling, to put arm around • *à báál fãāmī ɔ̀ò dɔ̀ntííná lùrò bà lógíí nī.* The man grabbed the testicles of his enemy during wrestling. **2** to be tight • *à nà̀tà̀òpúró fáámí n̄n nà̀sá wá.* The shoes are tight for my feet.

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

**<sup>2</sup>faara** (*var.* of **faal**)

**<sup>1</sup>faari** [fààrì] *v.* **1** to plaster or smear • *ì sèléméntè kánáá ì kàá fāārì ì*

*dīā?* Is your cement enough to plaster your house? **2** to rub along, to scrape against • *à lóólísá àliè wá fāàrì dójá bāàn nī.* The two cars scraped against each other right here.

**<sup>2</sup>faari** [fáárí] *v.* to be between, to put between • *à kàràntīē fáári à lās lógún ní.* The cutlass is between the side of the farm hut.

**faasi** [fààsì] *v.* to be careless, negligent, to not be serious • *dì ì fáási à lóólì kāá tɣō kààlì ká tɣàì.* If you are negligent the car will leave you.

**faasɪ** [fáásí] *n.* carelessness.

**faatɔma** (*var.* of **faal**)

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

**fakelɪa** [fàkèlìè] *n.* broken piece of gourd. *pl.* **fakelisa**.

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

**fala** [fàlá] *cf:* **kapɔsɪfala** *cf:* **loŋ** *n.* section of a gourd used as container for liquid. *pl.* **falasa**.

**falabii** (*var.* of **fobii**)

**falanɛŋ** [fàlánɛŋ] *lit.* calabash-arm *n.* gourd stem. *pl.* **falanese**.

**faliŋ** [faliŋ] *n.* low land.

**faliŋbɔsa** [fàlìmbòá] *n.* valley. *pl.* **faliŋbɔsa**.

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

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

**fatfine** (*var. of fakiine*)

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

**fawietuma** (*var. of vɔgnihîè*)

**fazeŋ** [fàzèŋ] *n.* type of oblong gourd, used to fetch soup or porridge *syn:* **daazɔna**<sup>2</sup> . *pl.* **fazeŋěě**.

**faʔul** [fàʔúl] *lit.* calabash-navel *n.* gourd node. *pl.* **faʔulo**.

<sup>1</sup>**fefel** (*var. of fefel*)

<sup>2</sup>**fefel** [félfél] (*var.* <sup>1</sup>**fefel**) *ideo.* manner of movement, as a light weight entity, applicable to leaves, animals and humans • *ò tʃjèṽ kààlì félfél*. She ran away, lightly.

<sup>1</sup>**fega** [fègà] *v.* to stir soup and porridge • *fègà kùbúú tiè à gérégíí*. Stir the porridge for the sick person.

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

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

**ferigi** [férigí] *cf:* **feti** **1** *pl.v.* to loosen up tight muscles or joints by gently pressing on them • *à biè férigí ɔ̀ò jéná bārā rā*. The child pressed his father's body. **2** *pl.v.* to dial or type on phone or computer keys • *làà ǹ̀ǹ fòòn à férigí lísí ǹ̀ǹ námbà*. Take my

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

**ferii** [féríí] *n.* aerial yam (*Dioscorea bulbifera*). *pl.* **feréé**.

**feti** [fétí] *v.* *cf:* **ferigi** **1** to press lightly • *fétí ǹ̀ǹ nèbíwíé tíèŋ*. Press my little finger for me. *fétí à tóŋ mārā tééb̀̀l̀̀ ǹ̀ǹ, pèú tí wá kpāṽ kààlì* Hold the paper on the table, so the wind will not take it away. **2** to weight something down • *zòrò bíí fétí ì díá t́́énsì ǹ̀*. Pick a stone and put it on top of your metal roof.

**fi** [fi] *num.* ten. *pl.* **fiise**.

**fidalia** [fidàlià] *num.* twelve.

**fidaloro** [fidàlòrò] *num.* sixteen.

**fidalɔpɛ** [fidàlɔpè] *num.* seventeen.

**fidanaase** [fidànaásè] *num.* fourteen.

**fidanɔ** [fidánɔ̀] *num.* fifteen.

**fidatoro** [fidátòrò] *num.* thirteen.

**fididigii** [fididígíí] *num.* eleven.

**fididigintuo** [fididígíntùù] *num.* nineteen.

**fidinmentel** [fidinmɛ́ntél] *num.* eighteen.

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

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

**fiise** [fiísé] *v.* **1** to scrape off • *fiísé disá tà ì nèpíél ǹ̀*. Scrape off the

soup on your palm. 2 to wipe • ñ *fĩsè ññ mún nò*. I wiped my buttocks.

**fili** [fili] *cf: dʒaajã* *n.* tray carved in wood. *pl. filie.*

<sup>1</sup>**fiiii** [fiiii] *ints.* little, a bit of • *tíéj jísá táj finii*. Give me a little bit of salt. *támá finiiii ò fi sówá*. He came very close to die.

<sup>2</sup>**fiiii** [fiiii] *n.* type of punishment which only the authoritative figure and the individual are aware of the offence • *bàdijós wáá bũ-rè òò hááj, kěj wī ò dós ò finii, ò tʒ*. Badingu does not like his wife, that is the reason he punishes her: she left him.

**fio** [fio] *ideo.* absolutely not • ñ *wáá làà kěj fió*. I will not agree with this at all.

**fire** [fire] *v.* to be barren, applies only for animals • *à nǎò háj wārà wà firé*. This particular cow is not barren.

**fi** [fi] (*var. fi*) *pv.* particle referring to a past time and asserting that the actuality or possibility of the event in the past is not existing at the time of the utterance • ñ *fi kàà-lì kùò ró àkà ññ bára wá lēmā*. I would have gone to the farm, but I am not well. *ò fi jáá ñ tʒitʒà rā*. He was my teacher.

**fiɛbɪ** [fiɛbɪ] *v.* 1 to pound lightly, especially grains to remove their husk, to mill • *má jáá mūrō àkà fià-bè wáá*. You fetch the rice, pound

it and bring it back. 2 to whip, to strike with cane, rope or stick • *ò káá fièbì à bié rē*. He will whip the child. (*W. Oti-Volta <fiɛbɪ*).

**fiɛɪ** [fiɛɪ] *cf: gbiasɪ* *v.* to remove a little part of a whole, to cut and remove a small piece of meat and eat it for tasting • ñ *zímá dí ò fiéɪ ññ nànjúúrúj háñ nā*. I know that you cut and removed a part from my piece of meat. *à báál fiéɪ ññ mò-lébii tíj bóró ró*. The man removed part of my money.

**fi** (*var. of fi*)

<sup>1</sup>**fii** [fii] *n.* type of fish. *pl. fiina.*

<sup>2</sup>**fii** [fii] *v.* to urinate • *à bisé káá fii fiiññ di dō sùkúù zǎá ní*. The children urinate on the school wall.

<sup>3</sup>**fii** [fii] *v.* to bud, to bear flowers • *súómó fiiwáǎ tʒǎpsá àjmenà háj*. The shea trees have flowers these days.

**fiɪ** (*var. of tǎǎfiɪ*) *n.*

**fiɪɪ** [fiɪɪ] *v.* 1 to aim at with gun or catapult • *ññ bié káá fiɪɪ gèr ʒʒ 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 • *jinéá ñ kàà fiɪɪ kěj?* Why do you peek at me like that?

**fiiññ** [fiiññ] *n.* urine • ñ *fii fiiññ*. I will urinate. *pl. fiññsa.*

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



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

**fĩnĩ** [fĩnĩ] *lit. out-middle n. harassment. pl. fĩnĩẽ.*

**fira** [fĩrà] *v.* to force someone to do something • *firà ì bié ɔ kááli sùkúù.* Force your child to go to school.

**firigi** [fĩrigì] *v.* to put more effort into an activity • *má firigì já pētī à tómá.* Put more effort so we can finish the work.

**firigu** [fĩrigò] *n.* short burial dance performed when the corpse is lying on the funeral ground and during weeping. *pl. firigvusa.*

**firi** [fĩrí] *n.* force • *hámónɲ firí wàá tìè ɔ zfmà náhĩẽ.* Forcing a child will not make him clever.

**fo** (*var. of foo*)

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

**folo** [fòlò] *v.* to get loose, to detached • *ɲɲ pàbíi fóló lì ɔ̀ ɔ̀ dáá ní.* My hoe blade detached from its shaft.

**foo** [fóó] (*var. fo*) **1 conn.** unless, if not • *fó ɔ̀ kà wááwá, dí à lɛ́t já wáá ɲmá à wíé.* Unless he comes, we will not talk about the issues. **2 conn.** must, have to, as something is necessary in order for something else to happen • *dì ì káá jáwà mótò fóó wàá ní.* If you want to purchase

a motorbike, you must do it in Wa. **3 v.** to be already done • *ɲ fí ɲmá dí ɲ tíéɔ̀ kàdáási ká ù fójòò làà dígíí ɲ tʃèná pé ní.* I would have given him a paper but he already got one from my friend. *ì kà fójè dɔ̀à dé, à wíé káá kò̀rɔ̀ɔ̀.* If you are there already, the problems will be solved.

**foole** (*var. of fuoli*)

**foon** [fòòn] *n.* mobile telephone. (ult. English <phone). *pl. foonso.*

**foonɲmɛɲ** [fòónɲmɛ̀ɲ] *lit. phone-rope n. telephone line, network. (partly ult. English).*

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

**foosi** [fòòsì] *v.* to slip • *ɔ̀ fòósí tʃèlè.* He slipped and fell.

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

**<sup>1</sup>foro** [fòrò] *v.* to be proud, to boast • *à hááɲ kàá fòrò kinkán nà.* The woman is boasting a lot.

**<sup>2</sup>foro** [fòrò] *v.* to scald, to blanch, to put in hot water in order to remove feathers from a chicken or shell from grains • *tíé nìimóɲ ɲ dɔ̀ ǹn zàál àkà fòrò.* Give me hot water so I put my fowl in and remove the feathers.

**<sup>1</sup>foti** [fòtí] *v. 1* to do a slip of tongue, to say accidentally • *ǹn n̄á fòtìjè ɲ tʃàgàlì à lúhò.* I announced the death by a slip of tongue. **2** to drop inadvertently • *à záhal fòtìjè lì ǹn n̄éɲ ní tʃèlè hàglíi ní.* The egg

dropped from my hand and fell to the ground.

<sup>2</sup>**foti** [fòtì] *v.* to survive death • *kòdʒó làlɪwìè tɪ̀ tɪ̀ fótíjò*. Kojo's orphan survived. *syn:* **piti**

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

**fowie** (*var. of fawie*)

**fɔfɔta** [fɔfɔtá] *n.* lung. (Gonja <fɔtí 'breathe'). *pl.* **fɔfɔtasa**.

**fɔfɔtɪwɪla** [fɔfɔtɪwíla] *n.* lung pains.

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

**fɔgɔl** [fɔgɔ́l] *n.* **1** type of grass which resembles sorghum, found near bodies of water. **2** maize tassel. *pl.* **fɔgɔla**.

**fɔgɔlɪ** [fɔgɔ́lɪ] *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 • *fɔgɔ́lɪ ì nésē à hɔ̀là*. Rub your hands for them to dry.

**fɔgɔsɪ** [fɔgɔ́sɪ] *v.* **1** to make less, to remove to ease • *lùgùsì à kpáámá bò-rò káá fɔgɔ́sɪ à vù ñì*. Remove some of the yams so there is less in the bowl. **2** to alleviate by having tasks taken by others • *párasá dí wáá ñ̀ ñ̀ kùò ró ñ̀ tó má fɔgɔ̀sì*. Yesterday farmers came to my farm and alleviated my work.

**fɔgbaan** [fɔgɔ̀báán] *lit.* out-middle

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

**fɔlɪ** [fɔlɪ́] *n.* new.

**fɔma** [fɔmá] *v.* to collect and press together, like in making a rice ball or a portion to put in the mouth • *fɔ-má à sígá bòró wá tɪ́éj ñ̀ tiè*. Press some of the beans and bring it for me to eat.

**fɔna** [fɔnà] *n.* to be rough and dry • *dì ì sɔ ní ì bára wáá fɔnà*. If you bathe your skin will not be rough. *hirè à kpáámá làgá dì à lèí à káá fɔnà*. Dig the yams quickly, if not they will dry up.

**fɔŋa** [fɔŋá] *n.* strength • *ò wà kpágá fɔŋá*. She does not have strength. *à-í káá kíj kálà ñmèj kà kpágá fɔŋá zàáŋ?* Who can make a strong rope these days?

**fɔŋatuna** [fɔŋátínná] *lit.* strength-owner *n.* strong person.

**fɔŋfɔŋ** [fɔŋfɔ̀ŋ] *ideo.* new, at an early stage • *lɔ́lɪ háj fɔŋfɔ̀n ñ̀, ò fɪ tʃɔ́ kínkān nà*. When this car was new, it had much speed.

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

**fɔrɪ** [fɔrɪ́] *n.* narrow • *nàmbùgò wáá kí ñ̀ zòò bòfɔ̀rɪ*. The aardvark

cannot live a narrow tunnel. *ant:*  
penii

**fɔsi** [fɔsɪ] *v.* to get or collect by force, to seize, to swindle • *ò fɔsì à bié mǒngò à dí.* She took the child's mango and ate it. *ì fɔsín nā ànì bǒtìtià fì nī.* You swindled twenty pesewas from me.

**fɔti** [fɔtɪ] *v.* 1 to have a choked nose and cannot breath • *kábirimē kpá-gá ññ bié òò mǐsá fɔtì.* My child has catarrh, her nose is choked. 2 to tie or wrap in small packages • *fɔtì síkirì tiè bá jáwà.* Tie the sugar in packages for them to buy.

**fɔtɔ** [fɔtɔ] *n.* baboon (*Papio anubis*).  
*pl. fɔta.*

**fɔwa** [fɔwà] *v.* to wrap • *à hááj fɔwá mǒlèbié òò gàrnǒá nī.* The woman wrapped money into the edge of her cloth.

**fuful** [fufúl] *n.* burnt grass ash.

**fugusi** [fugùsɪ] *v.* 1 to fool by pretence • *à binibáàl kàà fúgùsì nárá kinkán nà.* The boy fools people a lot. 2 to express a threat against or give indications of taking hostile action against • *ñ bíérì fúgùsín nǒ dí ñ tí wá ñmá à tíé námùñ.* My brother threatened me not to tell anyone.

**fulumi** [fulùmì] *v.* to cheat, to fool, to deprive of by cheating • *ná-mūñ wáà kìn fùlùmì ññ mǎá búúñ háj.* Nobody can deprive me of my mother's goat.

**fuɲfuluɲ** [fùɲfùlùɲ] *n.* cheating • *kàlá káá dī fùɲfùlùɲ kíná rá.* Kala is a cheat. *ñ wà jáá fùɲfùlùɲ nibù-lùɲ.* I am not a cheat.

**fuoli** [fùòlì] (*var. foole*) *v.* to whistle • *ñ fúólí fùòlō rō.* I whistled. *ì wáà kìn fùòlì tǒó pátfígíí ní.* You cannot whistle in the village.

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

**fuori** [fùòrì] *v.* 1 to strip a plant from its leaves by pulling along the stem • *fùòrì à kpáásà tá.* Strip the leaves out of the cane. *fùòrì à mǎá páá-tfàgà tǎ à ná sù.* Remove the guinea corn leaves so they can grow. 2 to lose weight through sickness or fatigue and be thin • *kàlá wīlā háj tíé ò fùòrì.* The sickness of Kala made him thin.

<sup>1</sup>**fuosi** [fùòsì] *v.* to eat with a spoon porridge or soup-like liquids • *ò fúósí kùbíí ré.* She ate the porridge.

<sup>2</sup>**fuosi** [fùòsì] *v.* to escape out of a grip of another person • *bà kpágá à ñmíér rá àkà ò fùòsì tfó.* They caught the thief but he escaped.

**fuotuo** (*var. of footuo*)

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

**fũũ** [fũũ] *v.* to burn to charcoal, to burn food • *wòsá fũũ hólá*

- rá*. Wusa burnt charcoal. *i sìmmáá káá fũũ*. Your food will burn.
- fũũ** [fũũ] *n.* burning • *à lúlí fũũ wá bōmā*. The burning of medicine is not difficult.
- fuuri** [fũ̀̀rì] *v.* to blow • *ò fúúrí à díj dǒsì*. He quenched the flame by blowing it.
- fõ** [fõ] *v.* to prepare a skin in order to eat or to use for drum skin • *kùò-rùbáníf tǒmà fǒ tǒj ná à pú gǎj-gǎj rá*. People from the Kuoru section prepared the skin and covered the drum.
- fõá** [fõá] *cf. pɔmma n.* type of ash used as white paint, can also be used to describe something greyish-white • *kà lísí tàgtàfõá à dì káálì sùkúù*. Take the greyish-white shirt and go to school.
- fõfõgɛɛ** [fõfõgɛɛ] *n.* type of tree (*Grewia hookerama*). *pl. fõfõgesa*.
- fõfõl** [fõfõl] *n.* Gold Coast Bombax, or bush Kapok, type of tree (*Bombax buonopozense*). *pl. fõfõla*.
- fõga** [fõgà] *v.* 1 to be light • *à té-kpágár bǒnná fõgáǒ*. The load of the pregnant woman is light. 2 to foam • *à kǒwìè káá fõgáǒ*. The soap makes foam.
- fõl** [fõl] *n.* 1 type of climber plant whose leaves are plucked for soup ingredient. 2 soup ingredient. *pl. fõlla*.
- fõna** [fõnà] *v.* to shave • *fǒj bà fí kpá à fõnà núpóná*. They used to shave with a shaving knife.

- fõntɪ** [fõntɪ] *v.* to peel off by hand a fruit or a seed, after being roasted or not • *fõntɪ lùmbúró já dí*. Peel the orange so we eat. *fõntɪ máj-sá*. Crack the groundnut.
- fõŋ** [fõŋ] *n.* shaving knife • *fõn ná*. It is a shaving knife. *pl. fõnna*.
- fõŋfõgɔl** [fõŋfõgɔl] *n.* foam • *ŋmèŋsónná dísa kpágá fõŋfõgɔl lá*. The wet okro soup makes plenty of foam.
- fõɔlɪ** [fõɔlɪ] *v.* of a swelling, to decrease or shrink, to be reduced in size • *òò nàásá tɪj fõɔlɪjǎǒ*. His legs are contracted.
- fõɔmɪ** [fõɔmɪ] *v.* to dent, to be crooked, to be broken • *à díj báá-rí nèn rǒbákátásà, ò fõɔmɪ*. The fire slightly burnt my plastic bowl, it is crooked.
- fõɔra** [fõɔrà] *n.* path between buildings or space between mountains.
- fõra** [fõrà] *v.* to throw with a hand • *bádžǒǒ fõrá kálá jùú lúdí*. Bajogu threw a stone at Kala's head and made a hole.
- fõrɪgɪ** [fõrɪgɪ] *v.* to scratch, to be bruised • *i káá tǒlè ì nǎá fõrɪ-gɪ*. You will fall and your leg will be bruised.
- fõrɔ** [fõrò] *v.* to take off meat from the bone • *fõrò à nàmǎá ká kpá à hó-gó tíéj*. Take off meat and give me the bones.
- fõtɪ** [fõtɪ] *v.* to fill holes, to block a hole or space, to plug (many), to repair a leaking roof by filling holes

and cracks • *à māsìn zínjěě fòtì à zíě rá.* The mason went up and filled the holes between the roof and the wall. *à dúój wá pētī, jà kàà fòtì à sàl lā.* When the rain stops we will repair the roof. *kà lǝgà nàbíná wà ttéj ñ fòtì ñ tàwà nǝá.* Go scoop some cow dung for me to seal my tobacco container.

**fũũ** [fũũ] *n.* lower back. *pl.* **fũũna.**

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

## g

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

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

**gaafra** [gááfǝrà] *interj.* express excuse when interrupting or disturbing. (ultim. Arabic, via Hausa <gā-fāǝā).

**gaali** [gààli] *v.* 1 to be over or placed over something, to cover partially, to bend over partially • *à tǝn ní, ìì gǝàlì kǝj, màrà à jínè.* The skin, you are over and above it like that, just look carefully. *tí gǝáalì à bǝà nǝ kǝj.* Do not bend over the hole like that. 2 to abound • *ññ tǝmá gǝá-líó.* My work is too much.

**gaani** [gààni] *v.* to swagger • *tí gǝání à dǝ ñ ní ìì fǝjǝ wíé.* Do not swagger in front of me because of your power.

or head gear. *pl.* **fũũfũũsa.**

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

**fũũsi** [fũũsi] *v.* to insert air in a balloon, or as a sick person increases in size • *ò fũũsǝjǝó.* He increased in size from sickness or poisoning. *ò fũũsǝ nǝáttǝnǝlǝj ò bǝrǝgǝ bǝl.* He blew a cow's bladder into a football.

**gǝǝnǝgǝǝni** [gǝǝnǝgǝǝni] *ideo.* cloud state suggesting coming rain • *à táá-lá dǝ gǝǝnǝgǝǝni.* The clouds are gathering to produce rain.

**gaari** [gáári] *v.* to wind thread on sticks, to wind a small intestine on a finger or a stick • *gáári ñmǝj tiǝj ñ jǝrà ññ pátá.* Wind the thread for me so I can sew my pants.

**gaarii** [gààrii] *n.* type of food made from cassava tubers. (Akan <gǝli). *pl.* **gaariise.**

**gaasi** [gáási] *v.* to pass by way of, to pass through • *ì gǝási dǝ nǝ rǝ, brà wǝà.* You passed the place, come back. *bǝnsá fǝ kà gǝásijǝ, ò wǝà.* He had come ten years ago.

**gagamı** [gǝǝǝmı] *n.* hallucination. *pl.* **gagamısa.**

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

**gagati** [gǝǝtǝi] *v.* for dogs, to at-

tempt to bite yet barely scratching or pinching the target • à wáá wā dómí, ò gágátí rā. The dog did not bite you, he barely pinched you.

**gagti** [gáǵǵtì] *n.* type of shrub. *pl. gagtisa.*

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

<sup>1</sup>**gal** [gál] **1** *n.* left (side) *ant:* **dul**<sup>1</sup> . **2** *reln.* left • wáá tǵà ò ì néj gál nī. It is on your left hand side. *ant:* **dul**<sup>2</sup> *pl. galla.*

<sup>2</sup>**gal** [gál] *n.* unripe quality of a fruit or nut • bǝlā kínàà dí mǝngògāl-lā. An elephant can eat unripe mangoes. *syn:* **hema**<sup>2</sup> *pl. galla.*

<sup>1</sup>**gala** [gàlá] *n.* farm space measurement, one quarter of an acre. *pl. galasa.*

<sup>2</sup>**gala** [gàlá] *v.* **1** to go over and across, pass something or somewhere, to step over an obstacle • à báál gálà hàglííkì nī rā. The man went over the snake. **2** to exceed, to be more than • òn tǵená zérjú gálà òn nī rā. My friend's height exceeds mine.

**galaja** [gàláǵá] *cf:* **galanjzɔɔr** *n.* madness, craziness.

**galanjzɔɔr** [gàlǎnzɔɔr] *cf:* **galaja** *n.* mad person. *pl. galanzɔɔra.*

**galiŋga** [gàliŋgà] *reln.* middle • ò tǵé-lé tìwū galiŋgà rā àkà bìrā wàà. He reached half way and returned. [Mo, Ka, Tu, Ti]. *pl. galiŋgasa.*

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

Pied Crow (*Corvus albus*). *pl. galiŋgaasa.*

**gama** [gámá] *v.* to put and join together, gather together items that were spread • gámá à kpààndùgó múj lǎgàmì dǝjǎ nī à lǎs nī. Gather all the yam seedlings together in the farm hut.

**gana** [gànà] *v.* **1** to be in a state of severe pain • à bié fǝǝ káá gànà ànì tǝŋkpégé nī. The child's back will be in severe pain with the hard work. **2** to weed under the millet or guinea corn when the plants are well matured • òn há wàà gánà òn mǝá. I have not started weeding under my guinea corn.

**ganagana** [gànàgànà] *ideo.* to be under-ripe and still stiff and hard • tí tǝtì à mǝngò nǝj ò há dǝ gànàgànà. Do not pluck the mango fruit, it is still stiff.

<sup>1</sup>**gantál** [gàntál] **1** *n.* back, dorsum *ant:* **sɔɔ**<sup>1</sup> *syn:* **habɔɔ** . **2** *n.* follow • òn gantál tǝmà jáá bàliè wá. I have two siblings younger than me. **3** *reln.* back, behind • wáá dǝá à fàlá gantál nī. It is behind the calabash. *pl. gantala.*

<sup>2</sup>**gantál** [gántál] *n.* outside.

**gantál lǝha** [gàntál lǝhà] *cf:* **lgantál** *n.* backtalk • wǝsá gantál lǝhá ká-nǝǝ. The back-talking of Wusa is too much.

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

gantalgbou (*var. of* kɔŋ)

gaŋ [gáŋ] *n.* rabies.

gaŋabulo [gàŋàbúló] *n.* arthritis.

gaŋgaarɔɔ [gáŋgáárɔɔ] *n.* lost opportunity, loosing a skill or capacity by doing something different • *ɲ níná bié víé sùkú káálí, ɔ wáá kìn bí pàrà, ɔ zí tʃèlè gáŋgáárɔɔ.* My brother refuses to continue schooling and cannot work at the farm any more, he is now at loss. *pl. gaŋ-gaarɔɔsa.*

gaŋgalarɪ [gàŋgàlári] *cf. piŋgaasi n.* pickaxe. (Waali <gàŋgàlári 'pickaxe').

gaŋgaŋ [gàŋgàŋ] *n.* type of dance.

gaŋgaŋa [gàŋgàŋá] *n.* long and double-headed cylindrical drum beaten with curved sticks. *pl. gaŋ-gaŋasa.*

gaŋɪ [gàŋɪ] *v.* to appear uneven and unexpected against a background • *sòtá gáŋɪ nǎǎpíél nī, tʃúti tā.* Part of the thorn appears on the sole of my foot, pull it out. *pàànòò gáŋɪ ì dzí-fà nī, lògà tíéŋ.* Bread appears out of your pocket, cut some for me.

gapɔmma [gàpòmmá] *n.* woven cotton cloth. *pl. gapɔlɔnsa.*

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

<sup>2</sup>gar [gár] *n.* timber stable. *pl. gara.*

<sup>1</sup>gara [gàrà] *v.* 1 to pierce through • *tóbíí gára ɔ̀ò émbélíí ní.* An arrow pierced through his elbow. 2 to lie across • *hàglííkíŋ tʃóá gára à tíwíí*

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

<sup>2</sup>gara [gàrà] *v.* to omit, to miss out, to skip • *ɔ jāà gára kùò káálí rá.* He usually skips going to the farm.

garaga (*var. of* gɛɛɛga)

garamɔ̃fɔ̃ [gàrà̀mò̃fɔ̃] *n.* gramophone. [*oldfash.*] (*ultim. English.*)

garisi [gárisi] *v.* to burp • *à hááj pí-ŋāɔ à zí gárisi.* The woman was satisfied and then burped.

garɪŋzaŋɛ [gárisɪŋzàŋɛ] *n.* bearing device made out of a fork of a tree branch. *pl. garɪŋzaŋsa.*

garisi [gárisi] *v.* to trip and stumble • *kàlá gárisi dáá rá à tʃèlè.* Kala tripped over a stick and fell.

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

garsɔ̃r [gàsò̃r] *lit. cloth-weaver cf. sò̃āsɔ̃r n. weaver. pl. garsò̃ra.*

garzagati [gàrzáyátíí] *n. rag. pl. garzagata.*

gati [gátí] *v.* to be high, to be raised • *lési ì délémbíí tɪŋ ɔ̀ gátí.* Chock your stove stone so it is properly high. *à báál sǎǎ ɔ̀ò díá tʃíŋsí bàgátíí ní rā.* The man built his house on top of a higher ground.

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

gatɔɔli [gàtɔɔlí] *n.* cover cloth, used to cover the body.

gatuolie [gàtúóliè] *n.* Hen Harrier, type of bird (*Circus cyaneus*). *pl. gatuolise.*

geem [gèèm] *nprop.* game reserve, specifically Mole National Park. (ultim. English <game).

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

gere [gèrè] *v.* of food which is hard to digest for the stomach and not being properly processed • *à nàmǎá géréó ñm̄ pàtʃígíí ní.* The meat is undigested in my stomach. *bótigèrèè tó má tḗsī.* The morsel Toma vomitted was undigested.

gerege [gérégè] *n.* tip of arrow. *pl. geregese.*

gegera [gègèrà] *cf: gēgeta (var. dʒe-dʒeri) n.* type of monitor lizard found in rocky area. *pl. gegerasa.*

gegeta [gègètà] *cf: gēgera (var. gēgeti) n.* type of monitor lizard. [Mo]. *pl. getetasa.*

gegeti (*var. of gēgeta*)

gena [gènà] *v.* to be fool or stupid • *bà dià níhíè tìj gèná kínkàn nà.* The elder in their house is very stupid.

genie [gènié] *n.* type of skin rope used to tie head load. *pl. gensa.*

genii [gèníí] *cf: kintʃoma (var. dʒe-nii, dʒanii) n.* fool *ant: nahíè; silalla . pl. genie.*

genna [gènná] *n.* foolishness.

gejeli (*var. of gējene*)

gejene [gèjéné] (*var. gejeli*) *v.* to stagger, to stumble, like the way an intoxicated person walks • *wáá ká gējēnē à wāā kēj.* He is the one coming and staggering.

gerega [gèrègá] *cf: dʒerega (var. garaga) n.* sickness, disease. [*old-fash*]. *pl. geregasa.*

gerege [gèrègè] *v.* to be sick • *tíí tíé à nàmǎá ì kàá gèrègè.* Do not eat that meat, you will be sick.

geregi [gérégíí] *n.* sick person. *pl. geregie.*

gime [gimè] *v.* to rush somewhere or towards someone • *pòrúsòsò lóólì gímé kààlì kùòrùbáníf.* The police car rushed towards the chief's section.

gimii [gímíí] *n.* hill gradient or side.

gineline (*var. of dʒinedzine*)

girime [gírímé] *n.* respect, courtesy • *bàà kpáú gírímé ré.* They respect him. (Waali <*grima*).

gi [gí] *v.* to cross a border, a river, or a frontier • *ḡ gí à góḡ ná.* I crossed the river.

gila [gìlà] *v.* 1 to allow, let, or permit • *gìlà ḡ zímà.* Let me know. 2 to stop doing an activity • *gìlà kēj tìj ì kàà jáá, ḡ wàà būūrū.* Stop what you are doing, I do not need it any more.

gila tre [gìlà tíè] *lit.* let give *cpv.v.* to forgive • *kúòsò kàá gīlā já wíbómá tḗ jā.* God will forgive us for our sins.



**gla zima** [gìlà zímà] *lit.* let know  
*cp.v.* to prove • *gìlàḡ zímà dí ì*  
*lèí.* Prove to me that you are not  
the one.

**giri** [gírí] *cf:* *lèhèè* *n.* cheek skin  
and flesh. *pl.* *gírria.*

**giti** [gítí] *v.* **1** to cut, to pull apart,  
to break, especially for rope like  
items • *kpàgà à ḡmèḡ gítí à diànḡḡ*  
*nī.* Break the rope that is across  
the door. **2** to experience a net-  
work cut, when the mobile contact  
becomes non-existent • *ò ḡmá wīē*  
*dì tiē òò kpíémá ò fóòḡḡmèḡ gí-*  
*tí.* While she was talking to her sis-  
ter, the line cut.

**go** [gó] *v.* to gather close or around,  
to surround, to enclose • *à ḡmèḡ*  
*gō à dáá rā.* The rope is round  
the tree. *à váá dósí à bié baramúḡ*  
*gòú.* The dog bit the child all over  
his body.

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

**2gogo** [gògò] *v.* to hit with the finger  
tips, knuckle, or with a stick • *à tí-*  
*tfàsá fíí já gōgò já núúnó rō.* The  
teachers used to knock our head.

**gogosiana** [gógósiámá] *cf:*  
**haglibisiansa** *n.* type of ant. [*Mo*].

**golemí** [gòlèní] *v.* to be crooked, to  
twist or be twisted, to move with a  
contorted motion, as snake, worm  
or like a twisted rope • *à nólólḡ dáy-*  
*kpàlá gólémíjḡḡ.* The blind man's  
walking stick is twisted.

**golii** [gólíí] *n.* type of grass (*Sporobo-*  
*lus pyramidalis*). *pl.* *golee.*

**ḡḡḡḡbiri** (*var. of* **ḡḡḡḡbiridaa**)

**ḡḡḡḡbiridaa** [ḡḡḡḡbírídàà] (*var.*  
**ḡḡḡḡbiri**) *n.* desert date, type of  
tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). *pl.* **ḡḡ-**  
**ḡḡbiridaasa.**

**ḡḡḡḡ** [ḡḡḡḡ] *cf:* **ḡḡḡḡḡḡ** *n.* type of  
tree (*Nauclea latifolia*). *pl.* **ḡḡḡḡḡḡ.**

**ḡḡḡḡḡḡ** [ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ] *cf:* **ḡḡḡḡ** *n.* type  
of fruit. *pl.* **ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.**

**ḡḡḡḡḡḡ** [ḡḡḡḡḡḡ] *n.* type of tree.  
*pl.* **ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.**

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

**goro** [ḡòrò] *v.* **1** to be crooked, to  
bend down, to be curved or hooked  
• *ḡòrò ìì nḡḡ ḡḡ ná.* Bend your arm  
so I can see. *kòkòlèntébié jáá kin-*  
*ḡòrèè wō.* Fishing hooks are bent  
and curved things. **2** to be dishon-  
est • *à báál ḡòròò ànt òò wíkpágéé*  
*nī.* The man is dishonest whatever  
he does. **3** to circle • *bà ḡóró à dià*  
*rá.* They enclosed the house (with a  
fence or people stood around it)

**ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ** [ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ] *n.* snail. *pl.*  
**ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.**

**ḡḡḡḡḡḡ** [ḡḡḡḡḡḡ] *n.* governor. (ultm.  
English).

**ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ** [ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ] *n.* govern-  
ment. (ultm. English).

**ḡḡḡḡ** [ḡḡḡḡ] *n.* **1** river. **2** type of plant.  
*pl.* **ḡḡḡḡḡḡ.**

**ḡḡḡḡḡḡ** [ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ] *n.* river path,

where the water flows. *pl. gɔŋbɔsa*.

**gɔŋnãã** [gɔnnãã] *lit.* river-leg  
*n.* branch of a river.

**gɔŋnɔã** [gɔnnɔã] *n.* river bank.

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

**gɔŋzeŋ** [gɔn<sup>+</sup>zén] *n.* large river. *pl. gɔŋzene*.

**gɔŋzeŋii** [gɔn<sup>+</sup>zéníí] *n.* long river. *pl. gɔŋzeŋiĩ*.

**gɔriɣi** [gɔrìɣì] *v.* to bend outward, to be bowed • *ìt bié nààsá kàá gɔriɣi*. Your child's legs will be bowed.

**gulɔŋgulɔŋ** [gùlɔŋgùlɔŋ] *ideo.* circular, round shape • *kɔŋkɔlɔbɪ mǎ-ŋǎ dɔ gùlɔŋgùlɔŋ*. The grinding stone always has a round shape.

**gundaabii** [gùndààbíí] *cf: ŋmedaa*  
*n.* distaff, spindle for spinning cotton (without thread). *pl. guŋdaabie*.

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

**guno** [gùno] *n.* cotton. (Gur). *pl. gunso*.

**guŋmeŋ** [gùŋméŋ] *n.* cotton thread.

**guori** [gùorì] *cf: kapɔsɪe* *n.* kola nut. [Mo, Ka, Tu, Ti]. (Hausa <guorí).

**gurba** [gùrəbá] *n.* fibrous waste, product of beating the plant *piel*, used to choke the gunpowder in a gun barrel.

**guro** [gùrò] *v.* to gather together items like shea nuts, maize, or groundnut • *máwá gùrò à tʃúónó, à dúóŋ kàà bũūrè*. You gather together the shea nuts, rain is threatening.

**gurpe** [gùrpé] *n.* pin, may be used to decorate a gun. *pl. gurpese*.

**gurugi** [gùrùgì] *v.* 1 to grab a person firmly, by force • *tómá wá gùrùgì ɔ̀ò màábié à kààlì sùkúù*. Toma came and grabbed his brother and went to school. 2 to rape • *bà wàà gùrúgì háánà dùsiè nĩ*. There are no rape cases in Ducie.

**gusi** [gúsí] *v.* to nod, up and down • *ŋ ŋmá wīē tīē ɔ̀ò gúsí ɔ̀ò nùù*. I talked to him and he nodded his head.

**guti** [gùtì] *v.* to coil, to roll up, to rewind, to fold • *síí gùtì ìt kàlèŋ tìŋ*. Get up and roll up your mat. *kpàgà à kàlèŋ gùtì*. Roll up the mat. *gùtì à ŋméŋ dɔ ìt púr ní*. Roll up the rope and put it in your farm bag.

**gutugu** [gùtùgù] *n.* type of yam. *pl. gutuguso*.

**guugi** [gùùgì] *v.* to roam, to go back and forth • *má ná à tɪntàànĩ tʃɔ́á hàglíí nì à gúúgì*. See the earth worm on the ground not going anywhere.

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

<sup>1</sup>**gɔa** [gòà] (*var. gɔa*) *v.* to dance • *bà gɔ́á báwáá rá lúsínnàsá tɪn nĩ*. They

danced *bawaa* at the funeral.

<sup>2</sup>**gɔ̃a** [gòá] *n.* dance. *pl.* *gɔ̃ana*.

**gɔ̃agɔ̃ar** [gòàgòár] *n.* dancer. *pl.* *gɔ̃agɔ̃ara*.

**gɔ̃oma** [gòmá] *n.* 1 hump on the back.  
2 supernatural creature which lives in the bush. *pl.* *gɔ̃onsa*.

**gɔ̃omatɪna** [gòmátííná] *n.* hunchback, person with a humped back. *pl.* *gɔ̃matɪna*.

**gɔ̃mpera** [gòmpèrà] *n.* type of climber. *pl.* *gɔ̃mperasa*.

## gb

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

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

**gbaani** [gbáání] *v.* to crawl • à *bifòlá há* *wàà* *gbāāni*. The baby does not yet crawl.

**gbaani** [gbààni] *v.* to add sugar or salt in addition to the amount already contained in the dish or drink • *má* *tíén* *jìsá* *í* *gbááni*. Pass the salt I will add some more.

**gbaar** [gbáár] *n.* herder • *ɲɲ* *bié* *jáá* *nògbáár* *rá*. My son is a cowherd. *pl.* *gbara*.

**gbaasi** [gbáási] (*var.* <sup>2</sup>*gbrasɪ*) *v.* to take or collect from several places • *ɲmíér* *zòó* *nèn* *diá* à *gbìasi* *nèn* *diá*

**gɔ̃** (*var. of* *gɔ̃a*)

**gɔ̃ɔ̃rɛɛ** [gòòréè] *n.* spotted grass-mouse (*Lemniscomys striatus*). *pl.* *gɔ̃ɔ̃resa*.

**gɔ̃ɔ̃sɪ** [gòòsì] *v.* to rehearse and practice for an activity having a climax, to warm up, to build up • *dògò* *gòórá* *já* *gòòsòò* *àkà* *gòà*. The *dugu* dancers rehearse and practice before the dance. à *bòòlmánáná* *káá* *gòòsòò* *ká* *tʃálísì* *bà* *káá* *pīlī*. The football players are warming up before they start.

*kíná* *mūñ* *lìi*. The thief entered my house, took some items and left.

**gbaga** [gbàgà] *n.* type of monitor lizard • *i* *kóná* à *kii* *tòtʃááñ-gbàgà*. You are as thin as a dry season monitor lizard. *syn:* **badzɔ̃gɔ̃** (*Varanus*). [*Mo*]. (WaaLi <*gbaga*). *pl.* *gbagase*.

**gbagala** [gbàgàlá] *n.* type of cloth for elders. [*oldfash*].

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

**gbambala** [gbàmbàlà] *n.* albino. *pl.* *gbambalasa*.

<sup>1</sup>**gbanasa** [gbánǎsá] *n.* expectation • *ɲ* *nòó* à *mòlibié* *gbánǎsá* *rá*. I expect the money.

<sup>2</sup>**gbanasa** [gbánǎsá] *n.* inarticulate noise produced by the body or com-

ing from cars or planes at a distance.

**gbarasi** [gbàràsì] *v.* to touch • *gbàràsì ññ níú nò, èè wíè*. Touch my head, it is hurting me.

**gbangban** [gbàngbàn] *n.* harmattan. (Gonja <*gbàngbàn*>).

**gbaraga** [gbàràgá] *nprop.* 1 name of a god owned by some people in Ducie's *Gbòwólé* section. 2 medicine which protects against the taboo of having two burial specialists working together if they both have an affair with the same woman.

**gbarmi** [gbàrmì] *v.* to attempt to catch and fail, to try to arrest someone to no avail • *à pòlìsì gbàrmúú rā*. The police failed to arrest him.

**gbege** [gbègè] *cf: zaŋsa cf: kontii n.* early farm preparation, just after bush burning, involving clearing the land and cutting trees. [Mo].

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

**gbeliŋ** [gbèliŋ] *n.* hour, time • *gbèlinsé átòrò májà kèj*. It is three o'clock. *pl. gbelinse*.

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

**gbeliŋbì** [gbèliŋbí] *n.* type of bird. *pl. gbeliŋbisa*.

**gberegilegii** [gbèrègìlégíí] *n.* type of plant, its ashes can be used in making *dòò*. *pl. gberegilegee*.

**gbegbe** (*var. of gbagba*)

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

**gbelmuŋ** (*var. of zamparagn*)

**gbena** [gbéná] *n.* type of bean. *pl. gbena*.

**gbenu** [gbéníí] *n.* 1 red-coloured stone. 2 pinkish colour • *à gbéníí díjòò*. The pinkness is reached. *pl. gbenu*.

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

**gbentagasi** [gbèntàgàsì] (*var. sipumme*) *n.* type of plant. *pl. gbentagasisa*.

<sup>1</sup>**gbera** [gbèrà] *n.* sponge used to wash one's body. *pl. gberasa*.

<sup>2</sup>**gbera** [gbèrà] *v.* to soak soil for the preparation of bricks used as building material • *báá gbèrà hàglíú à téjési hàglibié*. They are going to soak soil and make bricks.

<sup>3</sup>**gbera** [gbèrà] *v.* to be crippled from the waist downwards • *lólò júò èè gbèrà*. He was crippled as a result of a car accident.

**gbern** [gbéríí] *n.* cripple. *pl. gberie*.

**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 • *ññ*

*binihááj tìn gbétíjǒó.* My daughter is unable to learn correctly.

**gbetɛ** [gbètɛ̀] *n.* clumsy person. *pl.* *gbetisa.*

**gbiegie** (*var. of* **gbiekie**) *n.*

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

**gbieli** [gbíélí] *v.* to shout out the items one is selling • *áj káá gbīēlī nǒǒ?* Who is shouting out her oil?

**gbinti** [gbíntí] *v.* to kneel • *niháá-ná bānǐè já gbīnti òò báal sǒǒ nī ká kpá nīnǒǒǎlǐ tīē.* Some women kneel in front of their husbands before giving them water.

**gbij** [gbín] *cf:* **neḡgbij** *n.* bracelet. *pl.* *gbinne.*

**gbijgbij** [gbíḡgbíḡ] *ideo.* crowded • *à dià sú gbíḡgbíḡ àní nārā.* The house is full of people.

**gbĩã** [gbĩã] *n.* monkey *synt:* **neḡ-galtuma** . *pl.* *gbĩãna.*

**gbĩãkanĩē** (*var. of* **kanĩē**)

**gbĩãkɔl** [gbĩãkɔ̀l] *lit.* monkey-t.z. *n.* Wild custard apple, type of tree *syn:* **duḡkiir** (*Anonna senegalensis*). *pl.* *gbĩãkɔlsa.*

<sup>1</sup>**gbrasɪ** [gbìàsì] *pl.v.* *cf:* **fieri** **1** to adjust a share, to harmonize an amount • *jáwá tǒmà zǒó dī gbá-sì kíná kīnjǒgùlèé tǒmà pé nī.* The market owners entered the market and collected their tokens from the sellers. **2** to pluck or pick the top shoot of bean leaves • *gbìàsì à sígá*

*núú nō, já kpá tǒjà dīsá.* Pluck bean shoots, we will make soup.

<sup>2</sup>**gbrasɪ** (*var. of* **gbaasi**)

**gbĩãsiama** [gbĩãsiámá] *n.* red patas monkey (*Erythrocebus patas*).

**gbĩãsɔnĩã** [gbĩãsɔ̀nĩã] *n.* Drongo, type of bird (*Dicrurus* genus). *pl.* *gbĩãsɔnisa.*

**gbĩãtii** [gbĩãtíi] *lit.* monkey-Akee.tree *n.* type of tree (*Agelaea paradoxa*). *pl.* *gbĩãtise.*

**gbinti** [gbínti] *v.* to over-prune by cutting away too many leaves on a plant • *dī ì gbínti à sígá, ì kàà kpǒā wà.* If you continue over-pruning your cow peas, you will kill them.

**gbol** [gbòl] *n.* type of skink (*Scincidae*). *pl.* *gbollo.*

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

**gboj** [gbój] *n.* type of tree. *pl.* *gbo-jo.*

**gborobii** [gbòròbíi] *cf:* **safibii** *n.* key. (Waali <*gbòròbíri*). *pl.* *gborobie.*

**gbugo** [gbùgò] *v.* to be plentiful, to be over-abundant • *sìimáá gbùgò bá wò bà dī ká viè.* The food was plentiful for them, they ate but refused some.

**gbul** [gbùl:] *n.* blunt, dull *ant:* **dí**<sup>3</sup> . *pl.* *gbullo.*

**gbulo** [gbùlò] *v.* to be blunt • *à kísíé gbúlóó.* The knife is blunt. (Gonja <*gbíl*).

**gburugulugee** [gbùrùgùlùgèé] *n.* tadpole. *pl.* *gburuguluguso.*

**gbɔgɔl** [gbɔ́ɣɔ́l] *n.* heavily used area where activities are carried out, where ground becomes hard and sandy, and no grass grows for many years.

**gbɔgɔlmunɔ** [gbɔ́ɣɔ́lmunɔ] *n.* farm area for resting in the shade.

**gbɔktɔk** [gbɔ́ɣɔ́tɔ́g] *ideo.* thick • *tíè à kùbúú gbɔ́ɣà gbɔ̀ktɔ̀k.* Let the porridge be very thick.

**gbɔɣa** [gbɔ́ɣà] *v.* to be thick, thicken, to be dense, usually used

to describe the texture of a liquid • *tíè à kùbúú gbɔ́ɣà.* Let the porridge be thick.

**gbɔɣwɔlɛ** [gbɔ́ɣwɔ́lɛ́] *nprop.* section of Ducie. (Tampulma <*nig-bɔɣwɔlɛ* ‘dense family’).

**gbɔɔri** [gbɔ́ɔ̀rɪ] *cf:* taari; iiri *v.* to rush at, to move towards something rapidly and with force • *à váá gbɔ́ɔ̀rɪ kààlɪ à píésí pé rē.* The dog rushed at the sheep.

## h

<sup>1</sup>**ha** [ha] *pv.* yet, still • *ò há wà wáá-wá.* He has not yet come.

<sup>2</sup>**ha** [há] *v.* to hire • *jà há lóólɪ káálɪ à lúhó rō.* We hired a car to go to the funeral.

**hã** [há] *v.* to hate • *ɲ há ɲɲ tʃítʃã rã.* I hate my teacher.

**hãã** [hãã] *v.* **1** to open one’s mouth, to contribute to a topic of discussion • *ziàɲ háá òò nɔ́ã rã à wíé bà-ɲmáálí nī.* Ziang contributed during the discussion. **2** to lift one’s arm high as if to hit something or someone • *háã ì nɛ́ɲ mǎɲū.* Raise you hand and beat him.

**hããbuura** [háãbúúrã] *n.* chasing women.

**haalɪ** [háálɪ] *conn.* yet, still • *ò jíráó sǎɲã mùɲ, háálɪ ò há wà wááwá.* He called her a long time ago, yet she has not come. *kálá wāã ɲ pé rē háá-*

*lɪ dià̀rɪ mùɲ.* Kala has been with me since yesterday. *ɲ búúré mòlèbíé bírgɪ háálɪ ɲ há wà náã.* I struggled to get money for some time but still have not got any.

**haamɪ** [hààmɪ] *n.* boredom • *háàmí kɔ̀pǎgã kūrɪ rē, ò di wà kɪɲ wàá.* Kuri was bored because he could not come to Wa yesterday.

**hããɲ** [háãɲ] *n.* *cf:* **nɪhããɲ** **1** woman. **2** female. **3** wife. *pl.* **hããna.**

**haarɪ** [hààrɪ] *v.* to deprive • *ò háárɪ ɲɲ kɔ́ó tà.* She deprived me of my t.z. *sòú háárɪ ɲɲ mǎá tà.* Death deprived me from my mother.

**hããsa** [háãsá] *n.* husk, chaff or any particle to be separated from the grains themselves.

**hããsi** [háãsí] *v.* to yawn • *nɪdígɪ-máɲá wáá hããsí.* No one yawns alone.

**hããsii** [háãsí] *n.* 1 bitterness • *kìn-hããsí rà*. It is something bitter. 2 to be annoyed • *nihããsí rè jáá à báál*. That man easily becomes annoyed.

**hããsi** [háãsi] *v.* to be bitter • *nàà-sààrsíntfáó bíé háãsíjáó*. The Neem seeds are bitter.

**habɔ** [háɔò] *n.* back *syn:* <sup>1</sup>*gantal*<sup>1</sup>. *pl. habɔna*.

**hagası** [háýsí] *n.* type of candy. (ultm. English <*hacks* ‘candy brand’).

**hagla** [háýlálá] *n.* ground, soil, sand, earth *syn:* **haglı**.

**haglibie** [háýlíbié] *cf:* **solibie** (*var.* <sup>1</sup>*minã*) *n.* type of ant *syn:* <sup>2</sup>*minã*. *pl. haglibise*.

**haglibii** [háýlíbíi] *n.* mud or earth block used as building material. *pl. haglibie*.

**haglibisiansa** [háýlíbìsànsá] *cf:* **gogosıama** *n.* type of ant. *pl. haglibisiansa*.

**haglıbummo** [háýlíbúmmò] *n.* type of soil.

**haglı** [háýlín] *n.* ground, soil, sand, earth *syn:* **hagla**; **tagla**. *pl. haglıa*.

**haglıjɔgsı** [háýlíjɔgəsı] *n.* soft ground.

**haglıkɨ** [háýlíkɨ] (*var.* **tuur**) *n.* snake. *pl. haglıkina*.

**haglıkpeg** [háýlíkpég] *n.* hard ground.

**haglınɔgɔl** [háýlínɔýól] *n.* type of soil, without stones and roots, light and loose.

**haglıtfãã** [háýlɛłitfãã] *n.* sandy soil.

**hãhĩẽ** [háhĩẽ] *n.* old woman. *pl. hã-hĩẽta*.

**hajoŋ** [hájóŋ] *nprop.*

**hakıla** [háklà] *n.* thought, argument • *mìn máásı tfɔ sùkúù ní rè, ìm máã tíéŋ hákılà*. I once ran away from school, but my mother advised me to go back. *pl. hakılasa*.

**hal** [há] *n.* egg. *pl. hala*.

**hala** [há] *cf:* **pıga** *v.* to fry something on a hot surface using fat • *t káá kɨŋ hálà kpààn ná*. Can you fry yam?

**halınguoimii** [hálingùòmii] *cf:* **nõõ-manıer** *n.* millipede, underground pest which bores into yam tubers to feed (*Myriapoda*). *pl. halınguoimie*.

**halı** [hálı] *n.* frying • *kpààŋhàlıı*. Fried yam.

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

**hambag** [hámbák] *n.* type of tree (*Pilotigma thonningi*). *pl. hambaga*.

**hambajala** [hámbájálá] *n.* lying flat and facing the sky. *pl. hambajalasa*.

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

**hamɔnanãõ** [hàmónánãõ] *n.* assassin bug (*Reduviidae*). *pl.* **hamɔnanãõna**.

**hamõŋ** [hámõŋ] *cf:* **bie**; **bisɔɔna** *n.* child, not old, junior relative to others. *pl.* **hamɔna**.

**hamõwie** [hámõwíè] *cf:* **bisɔɔnbie** *n.* small child, from birth to approx. 5 years old. *pl.* **hamõwise**.

**handɔŋmɪsa** [hándɔmmìsá] *n.* jealousy.

**handɔŋ** [hándɔŋ] *n.* co-wife, Gh. Eng. woman's rival. *pl.* **handɔsa**.

**hanzon** [hánzón] *cf:* **luhãŋ** *n.* unmarried young woman. *pl.* **hanzomo**.

**haŋ** [hàn] *dem.* this • *ì nésé háma, áwèj ká kpàgà fɔ̀ŋá?* Which of your hands has most strength? *pl.* **hama**.

**haŋtfele** [hãŋtʃèlè] *cf:* **liegu** *nprop.* Motigu shrine, water source where the animate god lives.

**hara** [hàrà] *v.* to lock • *kpàgà nèn dià-nɔ́á hàrà tièɔ̀.* Lock my door for him. *ant:* <sup>1</sup>**lala**<sup>1</sup>

**haradia** [hàràdiá] *n.* prison. *pl.* **haradisa**.

**haraha** [hàràhá] *n.* inexpensive, cheapness, low price. (Hausa, ultm. Arabic < *ar̥āsā* 'cheapness').

**harigi** [hàrigì] *v.* to try, to do with all your might, to do seriously, to make an effort • *hàrigì páásí ì téesì nī.* Try to pass your test. *ɔ̀ɔ̀ hárigì à pàrà kùó.* He should try to have a farm.

**hasig** [hásìg] *nprop.* Hasik, female name related to *sigmaa*, follows *ŋmããŋɔ̀* *synt:* **ŋmããŋɔ̀; basig** .

**hasɔɔŋ** [hásóŋ] *n.* woman who recently gave birth. *pl.* **hasɔɔna**.

**hãwie** [háwíè] *n.* 1 ego's junior brother's wife. 2 ego's most recent wife. *pl.* **hãwise**.

**hèhèse** [héhésè] *n.* announcer. *pl.* **hèhèsese**.

<sup>1</sup>**hele** [hèlé] *n.* type of squirrel *synt:* **muŋzɛŋtɪna** . *pl.* **helese**.

<sup>2</sup>**hele** [hélé] *v.* to bend back one's head • *hélé ì jùú.* Lift your head up.

<sup>3</sup>**hele** [hélé] *v.* to send someone specially to do one's errand, Gh. Eng. to message someone • *nín hélé bá tɔ̀ kpá ñm̄n pátá à lî dúsèé wà tɛ̀ŋ.* I am going to send them to fetch my trousers tomorrow.

**hembii** [hèmbíi] *n.* metal nail. *pl.* **hembie**.

**hèsee** [hésèè] *n.* message. *pl.* **hèsee**.

**hèsi** [hésí] *v.* to announce, to beat a drum to announce • *tɔ̀tɔ̀tɔ̀nã ŋmã dɛ̀ bá hésí má ká pàrà kùó.* The landowner says they announced that you should go and work at the farm.

**hema** [hémá] *n.* 1 young, as in physically not mature • *ŋmããŋɔ̀ bié há jáá bihémíí rá.* Mangu's child is not yet fully grown. 2 to be unripe • *jà dià máŋgònóná hémáá̃ à há wà síá-rí.* The fruits of our mango tree are



- still hard, they are not yet ripe. *syn:*  
<sup>2</sup>gal
- hembie** [hèmbié] *n.* small bowl. *pl.* *henwise*.
- hembola** [hèmbòlá] *n.* medium size bowl. *pl.* *hembolasa*.
- hena** [hèná] *n.* bowl. *pl.* *hensa*.
- hẽṅ** [hẽṅ] *n.* arrow. *pl.* *hema*.
- hẽṅbaa** [hẽṅbàá] *n.* type of clay bowl, container used to stir shea butter. *pl.* *hẽṅbaana*.
- hẽṅsi** [hẽṅsì] *cf:*  **dara** *v.* to lie, to tell untruth • *à biè hẽṅsì wíé dós ñṅ nõá nĩ rà.* The child lied to me.
- hĩesi** [hĩèsì] *v.* **1** to rest, to relax • *kà sáná dáámún ní hĩesi.* Go sit under a tree and rest. **2** to breathe • *dì hĩé-si digiti dígítí.* Breathe slowly.
- hĩesipugo** [hĩèsìpùgó] *n.* asthma.
- hĩi** [hĩí] *cf:* **vaan** *n.* hind leg of an animal. *pl.* *hĩẽ*.
- hire** [hirè] *v.* to dig, to take out sand, to dig up new planted yams • *kà hirè ñàṅà tíē bā.* Dig some gravel for them. *m̀m̀ biè káálí kùò ó ká hirè kpàànfóléé.* My son has gone to dig the new yams.
- hirii** [hiríí] *n.* digging.
- hĩẽ** [hĩẽ] *cf:* **bahĩẽ** *v.* to age, to grow old, to be older than • *mín hĩéí.* I am older than you. *ì léí hĩéṅ.* You are not older than me. *ant:* **wie**
- <sup>1</sup>**hĩena** [hĩèná] *n.* family or blood relationship • *ṅinĩé wòjò hĩèná ká valà tḡasià nĩ?* What is Wojo's blood relation in Chasia? *dì hĩèná wíé léì,*

*ì wáá kìn zòvò ìt tóv nĩ.* Without family relations, you cannot live in your village. *pl.* *hĩena*.

<sup>2</sup>**hĩena** [hĩèná] *n.* ego's father's sister. *pl.* *hĩensa*.

**hĩẽṅ** [hĩéṅ] *n.* relative by maternal and paternal descent • *ì hĩéṅ ká jáà bááṅ?* Who is your relative? *wáà nĩ kpágúrí ní ñṅ hĩémbá d̀v̀.* In Wa, my relatives are in Kpaguri. *pl.* *hĩẽmba*.

**hĩera** [hĩèrá] *n.* appetite, craving, or an absence that creates a desire • *ìṅ bírgíjé ñ wà bí ná ñṅ bié v̀ hĩèrá dí jáṅ.* It is a long time since I have seen my child and his absence affects me. *kóv hĩèrā kpágá à bié.* The child has a craving for t.z..

**hĩeri** [hĩèrì] *v.* to be enthusiastic, to be voracious • *bátón káá hĩèr̀v̀.* Baton is a voracious meat eater.

**hĩesi** [hĩésì] *v.* **1** to be old • *ìṅ ṅíná hĩésij̀v̀.* My father is old. **2** to be ripe, to be mature, applicable to banana, yam, and plantain • *kpáámá hĩésij̀v̀.* The yams are mature and ready to dig up.

**hĩhĩ** [hĩhĩ] *n.* bank of mud and reeds forming pond to contain and catch fish. *pl.* *hĩhĩna*.

<sup>1</sup>**hĩi** [hĩí] *interj.* exclamation expressing disapprobation of an action carried out by someone else.

<sup>2</sup>**hĩi** [hĩí] *v.* to slam into someone to prevent his or her action • *té hĩíṅ.* Don't slam into me. *óv̀wà hĩín nā.* It is she who prevented me.

**hĩisa** [hĩísá] *n.* shyness, respectfulness • *hĩísá kpágóó rā*. She is shy (Shyness has her). *òò ómà hĩísá rá*. She is shy (She fears shyness).

**hĩisi** [hĩísí] *v.* to dry up • *à pòl ní hĩí-sijóò*. The water from the river has dried up.

<sup>1</sup>**hıl** [hıl:] *n.* witch. *pl.* **hıla**.

<sup>2</sup>**hıl** [hıl] *n.* drought.

**hıla** [hılá] *n.* in-law. *pl.* **hılasa**.

**hılıbaal** [hılıbáàl] *n.* father in-law. *pl.* **hılıbaala**.

**hılıhãñ** [hılıhãñ] *n.* ego's mother in-law. *pl.* **hılıhãña**.

**hıñ** [hıñ] *pro.* second person singular strong pronoun • *ñ zímáó dí hıñ kpéti à pá*. I know that it is you who broke the hoe.

**hıta** [hitá] *n.* witchcraft • *wáá kpóò àní hitá ní*. He killed him with witchcraft.

**hĩõ** [hĩó] *n.* type of trap, operated by a stone, various branches, grass, and shea nut as bait. *pl.* **hĩta**.

**hĩwa** [hĩwà] *v.* **1** to trap • *ò dè hí-wá hèle ré*. Yesterday he trapped a squirrel. **2** to put charm or spell on something to affect someone.

**hog** [hóg] *n.* bone. *pl.* **hogo**.

**hogo** [hògò] *cf:* **ogıı** *v.* to have nausea • *à pátřígıı hògó káá dşgşı à gérégıı rá*. The nausea is disturbing the patient.

**hogul** [hóyúl] *cf:* **holıñ** *n.* cockroach. *pl.* **hogulo**.

**hogulbummo** [hògùlbúmmò] *n.* type of cockroach, larger than *hogul*.

**hogulpõmma** [hògùlpõmmá] *n.* type of cockroach.

**hol** [hól] *n.* type of tree (*Afzelia bella*). *pl.* **holo**.

**holbii** [hólbii] *n.* *Afzelia bella* seed. *pl.* **holbie**.

**holıñ** [hólın] *cf:* **hogul** *n.* cockroach. [*Mo, Ka, Tu, Ti*]. *pl.* **holmo**.

**holnõpõtıı** [hólnõpõtıı] *n.* *Afzelia bella* seed shell.

**hõhõla** (*var.* of **hõlahõla**)

**hõl** [hól] *n.* piece of charcoal. *pl.* **hõla**.

**hõlahõla** [hõlàhõlà] (*var.* **hõhõla**) *ideo.* type of visual percept, yellowish colour • *ı kógláából tıñ há dş hõlàhõlà, tiè ó síarı ká í tótı*. Your paw-paw is still unripe, let it ripen before you pick it.

**hõlıı** [hólıı] *lit.* charcoal *n.* Sisaala person. *pl.* **hõlɛɛ**.

**hõsı** [hósí] *v.* **1** to shout or to cry out at someone • *hósí à bié dí ó brā wàà*. Shout to the child that he must come back. **2** to give forth thunder • *ı nõó à dúóñ hõsı rää?* Did you hear the (rain) thunder? **3** to rebuke, to criticize, to speak harshly to • *ò ñmá wıē dı tíē à biè ré káá hõsı*. He talks harshly to the child.

**hõõ** [hóõ] *n.* type of grasshopper. *pl.* **hõsa**.

**huor** [hùór] *n.* raw • à nànhùór ká-náǎǎ. The raw meat is abundant. à nàmǎǎ múh jáá áhùòr rō. All the meat is raw. *pl.* **huoto**.

**hur** [húr:] *n.* inevitably, unavoidably • húr mùn nō ò fí jàà wāā báàh. He always to come here. húr ñ kàá bì bilè kùò rō. I will inevitably start farming again.

**hũusi** [húúsi] *v.* to shout, the kind of vocalization that travels a long distance, mainly done in the bush • à pápátá káá kǎāli diá àká hũúsi jirà òò tǒgómà. The farmer goes home and shouts to alert his colleague.

**hɔla** [hólā] *v.* to be dry, to dry • ññ tǔónó hóláás ñ kàá sòàgì. My shea nuts are dry enough to pound

them. tiè à nàmǎǎ hólà. Let the meat be dry.

**hɔli** [hólí] *n.* drying • jòòkpóh-kpōhólíí bómáǎǎ. The drying of rainy season cassava is difficult. *ant:* sɔɔni<sup>5</sup> *pl.* **hɔlie**.

**hɔɲ** [hòh] *cf:* **pur** *n.* gear, equipment for a trade or activity, including all items required to take along for the day, the stay or the journey. *pl.* **hɔnna**.

**hɔɔr** [hóó] *n.* stranger. *pl.* **hɔɔra**.

**hɔɔrakaali** [hóórákáálí] *n.* sixth day of a second funeral.

**hɔɔ** [hòò] *v.* to blow a wind instrument • ññ báál kàá hóó búsúnù rō wíwíré. My husband plays the flute very well.

# i

**i** (*var. of* ɪ)

**ii** [ʔíí] *v.* to praise, to speak highly of • ñ kúòsó. Praise God.

**ĩ** [ʔíí] *v.* to push out, in childbirth • di ñ. Push!

**iiri** [ʔiiri] *cf:* **gbɔɔri; taari** *v.* to rush at somebody in anger • wɔsá ká páá ùù zómó, gbòlò úújé kààli òò pé ré. When Wusa insulted him, Gbolo rushed at him in anger.

**iko** [ʔíkò] *cf:* **wɔsakuolo** *interj.* praise name and title for the wɔsakuolo clan.

**ileʔile** [ʔíléʔílé] *ideo.* type of visual percept • kààli jàwá àká jàwà sóm-

máá tɪh kà dɔ ilèʔilè. Go to the market and get dawadawa balls that are dark in colour.

**indzi** [ʔíndzi] *n.* engine. (*ultim.* English).

**irii** [ʔiri] *n.* type, ethnic group, property, colour • ñiʔiríí wèh ká jàà jà nál tɪh? To which group of people does our grandfather belong? *bàáh iríí i kà búúré?* What type do you want? *tàgàtà pòmá, ásiámá ànì sisáò ñ kpàgà, iríí wèh i kà búúré?* I have white, red, and yellow shirts, which colour do you want? (Waali). *pl.* **irie**.



*múj*). He goes to the farm every-day. *táánú jáà tié gēr ré*. Tangu eats lizard regularly.

<sup>1</sup>jaari [jààri] *v.* to be lazy, be untrustworthy, be useless • *ññ hááñ jáárf-jáó*. My wife is lazy and unable to work.

<sup>2</sup>jaari [jààri] *v.* to scatter on the ground • *bóóñ bíí à nàmmī jààri à zágá ní*. A goat knocked the maize over and scattered it in the house.

jaga [jàyà] *v.* 1 to hit, to knock • *há-kúrí jágá váá tã*. Hakuri knocked the dog away. *ñ káá jágíí tóbī*. I will hit you with my arrow. 2 to put down brusquely • *tí wá kpà à bónsó jágà hàglíí*. Do not put the cup down brusquely.

jagasi [jàyàsì] *pl.v.* to hit • *à sánpóná jágásí pō à dāā ní*. The porcupine quills hit the tree and stuck in it.

jala [jálá] *v.* *cf:* *pō* (*var.* *jela*) 1 to sprout, to burst, to explode, to perspire • *à lóólí kóbà káá jālā*. The car tire will burst. *pétròró-bàgàlàn jálá dīn nē*. The container exploded. *ò jálà wiliñ né*. She perspires. 2 to germinate, to push up earth, sprout • *ññ sígá tiñ ñ kà dósó-wó à jálíjōó*. The cow peas I sowed have sprouted. 3 to rise (sun) • *síí, wòsá jálíjōó*. Get up, the sun is up.

jalasi [jàlāsì] *v.* 1 to sit and lean back, to be slanted, to relax on • *à bié sánà òò jíná kór ní ká brà kà jàlāsì*. The child sat on his father's chair and leaned back. 2 to depend on, to rely

on • *gbòló ñmá dí ò jálásí ñ ní dí ñ káá tiéó lààbàkò dùhó*. Gbolo said that he relies on me to give him yam seedlings.

jalie (*var. of* jarie)

jarata [járátá] (*var. parata*) *ints.* very clear or proper white • *à nàmmísáò kàà tólàò járátá*. The maize flour is very white.

jarie [jàrîé] (*var. jalie, wizaama*) *n.* Muslim. (*ultm.* Hausa). *pl. jarisa*.

jarri [jàrîí] *n.* Islam.

jasanjabōēi [jàsánjábōēi] *lit.* we-sit-slowly ('Let's keep peace') *nprop.* dog name.

<sup>1</sup>jawa (*var. of* jōwa)

<sup>2</sup>jawa [jávà] *pro.* first person plural emphatic pronoun • *jávà wà kín kààlì à lúhò*. We were not able to go to the funeral.

jawaa [jáváá] *pro.* first person plural strong pronoun.

jawadiir [jàòdíir] *cf:* *jōwa* *n.* trader, seller. *pl. jawadiire*.

jege [jègè] *v.* to shake from hunger or some sicknesses, feeling difficulty in moving • *ò tfárijjós, òò bára dí jégè*. She has diarrhoea and is dehydrated, her body is shaking.

jegisi [jégísí] *pl.v.* to rock or shake back and forth, to calm a crying baby by shaking • *kpá à bié sàgà ìr nààsá ní à dí jégísí*. Put the child on your lap and continue rocking her.

<sup>1</sup>jele [jélé] *v.* to crow • à zimbáál jélèù. The cock crowed.

<sup>2</sup>jele [jélé] *v.* to bloom, to produce and bear flowers • ìṣṣṣ máńsá káá jélèù. My groundnuts are blooming.

jeliu [jélíu] *n.* blooming, flower • bà wàà párà máńsijélèè pàtṣṣṣ. We do not weed under blooming groundnut plants. *pl.* jelee.

jerisi [jérísí] *v.* to shake up by being surprised • kálá nṓṓ mááfàwīlè à jérísí. Kala heard a gun sound and was shaken up.

jε (*var. of ja*)

jela (*var. of jala*)

jiriti [jírítí] *cf:* bummo *ints.* very black • à hááń, ò sààlítì tìń bírèò jí-rítí. The woman, her stirred t.z. is very black.

jibii [jìbíí] *n.* grain of salt.

jiesi [jìèsì] *v.* to pamper someone • tíí jìèsì ìì bisé. Do not pamper your children.

jira [jìrà] *v.* to call • kà jìrà à báàl dí ó wàà. Call the man and tell him that he should come.

jirigi [jìrìgì] *pl.v.* to call people one after the other • gó à tṓṓ jìrìgì à ní-hìèṣá báá lágámì à kùórù dià ní. Go around the village and call the elders for them to meet at the chief's house.

jirui [jírúí] *n.* calling. *pl.* jirre.

jisa [jìsá] *n.* salt. *pl.* jisasa.

joguli [jòyùlì] *v.* to sell • jògùlì ìì sá-kìr tìń à bṓ ì kàntṣṣ. Sell your bicycle and pay your debts.

jogulibon [jòyùlibón] *n.* high price, expensive • jògùlibón nūū nì, ì wàá kìn jáwúú. Because it is expensive, I cannot buy it.

jogulii [jòyùlíí] *n.* selling. *pl.* jogulie.

jogulileń [jòyùlilèń] *n.* moderate price, cheap • wòjò kpágá jògùlilèń nā, à nūú ní òò pàtùrúú pètí. Wojo had a moderate price, therefore his petrol got sold.

jogulo [jòyùlò] *n.* price • à sákìr jògùlò lémáṓ. The price of the bicycle is low. *pl.* joguloso.

<sup>1</sup>jolo [jóló] *cf:* bitri *v.* to pour but leave some in the container • jóló síń tīē. Pour some drink for him.

<sup>2</sup>jolo [jóló] *cf:* sampentε *n.* farming and gardening with raised beds.

jon [jòń] *n.* slave. *pl.* joso.

jogosi [jòyósí] *v.* 1 to be soft • à bié bàtṓń jógósijā. The baby's skin is soft. *ant:* kpege<sup>1</sup> 2 to not yet be set, to not be set properly • à hááń kṓṓ tìń jógósijā. The woman's t.z. is not set properly.

jurto [jórótó] *ideo.* in a line or straight manner • bàà tṓnsì fùólí rē jórótó. They are joined in a line.

josi [jósí] *v.* to trot • jósí kààlì bírín-dín ká wàà. Trot to the main road and come back.

**jɔʊsi** [jòʊsi] *pl.v.* to buy • *ɪ̃ búúré ɪ̃ jòʊsi kpáámá ní nàmmíé rá à jà-wá ní.* I want you to buy yam and maize at the market.

**<sup>1</sup>jɔwa** [jòwà] (*var.* **<sup>1</sup>jawa**) *v.* to buy • *kààlì jòwá ká jòwà kánsá à wà tɛɛɲ.* Go to the market and buy me bean cakes.

**<sup>2</sup>jɔwa** [jòwá] *cf:* **jawadiir** *n.* market. *pl.* **jɔʊsa**.

**jugii** [júgíí] *n.* heavy • *kpáàmbénsé júgíí káálí kpáàɲwótò.* Yam tubers are heavier than yam seedlings. *pl.* **jugee**.

**jugo** [júgò] *v.* **1** to weigh, to be heavy • *kálá júgò bàwólíé bámbáán ní.* Kala is the heaviest among his colleagues. **2** to be valuable • *kà-lá wíɲmáhá júgò kààlì bàmùɲ tó-tíé.* Kala's speech is more valuable than the others.

**julullu** [júlúllú] *ints.* very cold • *à píáwātá sósɔ̀nɪjǎǎ́ júlúllú.* The water

## k

**<sup>1</sup>ka** [ka] *conn.* (*var.* **<sup>1</sup>kaa**) **1** and, then • *kààlì ká wàà.* Go and come. *kàà-lì ká bɪ̀rà wàà.* Go, then come back. *kálá káálí jàwá ká jàwà mú-rò rō.* Kala went to the market and bought rice. **2** but • *ɪ̃ káálíʔ ká ɪ̃ wà náʔ.* I went but I did not see him.

**<sup>2</sup>ka** [ka] *cf:* **wa** *pv.* convey the process to the end point of an event • *à váá kà dɔ̀nsɪ à bié.* The dog bit

sachet is freezing. (Gonja).

**<sup>1</sup>juo** [júò] *v.* **1** to throw away, to fight, to put someone down in wrestling • *bákúrí júó dɪ̀ndáá tà.* Bakuri threw the firewood away. *dzébúni àní ʔʔ háàɲ jáá júòū.* Jebuni and his wife are always fighting. **2** to roof with mud • *jùò ɪ̃ dɪ́á ká jòʊ zòʊ.* Roof your house before the rainy season.

**<sup>2</sup>juo** [júó] *n.* fight. *pl.* **juoso**.

**jɔ̀lɪ̀ɲdɔ̀la** [jò̀lɪ̀ɲdò̀là] *lit.* rainy.season-fetch.location *nprop.* location south of Ducie.

**jɔ̀rɪ** [jò̀rɪ] *v.* to be weak • *ʔʔ bié bà-rà káá jɔ̀rɪ ʔʔ gàràgá núú ní.* The body of her child is weak because of his sickness.

**jɔ̀sa** [jò̀sá] *n.* spirit entering someone and making her/him show unusual behaviour.

**<sup>1</sup>jɔʊ** [jòʊ] *cf:* **kpa** *v.* to marry (a man) • *ʔ jòʊʔ rā.* She married him.

**<sup>2</sup>jɔʊ** [jòʊ] *n.* rainy season.

the child. *à váá kàà dɔ̀nsɪ à bié.* The dog bites the child.

**<sup>1</sup>kaa** (*var. of ka*)

**<sup>2</sup>kaa** [káá] *interrog.* where about, how about • *káá à kpúlíkúpúlí?* Where is the groundnut ball? *káá ɪ̃ ní-nà?* How is your father?

**<sup>3</sup>kaa** [káá] *pv.* will • *à vàà kàà dɔ̀nsɪ à bié.* The dog will bite the child.

<sup>4</sup>kaa [káá] *conn.* or • *já kártmì, káá já káálì kùó.* Let us read, or let us go to the farm. *ì káálì wàà rā zàáŋ káá tǎá?* Are you going to Wa today or tomorrow?

kaabaako [káábáákò] *cf:* **mamaatǎi** *interj.* expression of surprise, of shock.

kaabi [káábí] *v.* to curse, to communicate with a shrine for the downfall of someone • *káábí tiè vóg ó kpó ì dŋ.* Ask the shrine to kill your enemy.

kaafra [kááfrà] *n.* unbeliever or pagan. Used also as an insult towards a person who does not worship God, who is not a Muslim. (Hausa, ultm. Arabic <*kaafira* ‘any non-believer in Islam’).

kaakie [káàkíè] *n.* type of tree (*Zanthoxylum zanthoxyloides*). *pl.* **kaakiesà.**

kaakumo [káàkúmò] *cf:* **kogumie** *n.* donkey. *pl.* **kaakumoso.**

kaali [káàlì] *v.* 1 to go towards • *jà káálí sùkúù rō.* We went to school. 2 to surpass, to exceed • *wáá káálíŋ.* He is better than me. *wòsá káálí kálá bàtǎóŋ nī.* Wusa is better than Kala at running.

kaara [káárá] *n.* meal where bean flour is poured directly into the stew.

<sup>1</sup>kaasi [káàsì] *v.* to clear one’s throat, to eject by coughing • *ŋ káásí kààsibíí tǎ.* I brought up a phlegm from my throat. *à báál hàn sǎŋ à káásòò*

*tǎŋpì bǐt múŋ.* This man just sits and clears his throat every day.

<sup>2</sup>kaasi [káàsì] *v.* to coil • *kààsì à ŋmèŋ.* Coil the rope.

kaasibii [káàsibíí] *n.* phlegm, from the chest. *pl.* **kaasibie.**

kabirime [kábirimē] *n.* catarrh.

kabil [kábil] *n.* horn flute. (Gonja <*kabul*). *pl.* **kabila.**

kadaasi [káàáàsì] *cf:* **tŋ** *cf:* **piipa** *n.* paper. *pl.* **kadaasisa.**

kafuura [káfúúrà] *n.* camphor, moth balls (*Cinnamomum camphora*). (ultm. Arabic, via Gonja <*kāfūr* ‘camphor’).

kaga [káŋà] *v.* to cross or be across something, to choke, to prevent • *à hók kágá ññ lilèbòò nī.* The bone has choked my throat.

kagal [káŋál] *cf:* **naakpaaga** *n.* farm space measurement, twice as big as a *naakpaaga*. *pl.* **kagala.**

kagale [káŋàlè] *v.* to lie across, to put across • *ŋmèŋ kágálè à dàà-kpùtíí ní.* A rope lies across the tree stump. *kpàgà à dáá kàgàlè à tí-wíí.* Place the stick across the road.

kagba [kágbà] *cf:* **pintǎige** *n.* straw hat. *pl.* **kagbasa.**

kagbaama [kágbààmà] *n.* porridge made out of mashed yam and water. (Gonja <*kigbama*).

kajajo [kájájò] *cf:* **bontɔɔna** *n.* porter. (Hausa <*kaaja kaajajo* ‘load-load’).



**kaka** [káká] *n.* toothache. (Gonja).  
*pl. kaka.*

**kakanõõ** [kàkánõõ] *n.* sugar cane.  
(Waali <kakanõõ). *pl. kakanõõsa.*

<sup>1</sup>**kala** [kàlá] *nprop.* **1** Kala, person's name. **2** Buge village shrine.

<sup>2</sup>**kala** [kàlà] *v.* to make a rope • *báhíé-sà kálá ñmésà à jógóli.* Elders make ropes to sell.

**kalemazól** [kàlèmàzól] *n.* sweet potato tuber (*Ipomoea batatas*). *pl. kalemazvla.*

**kaleŋ** [kàlèŋ] *n.* mat. (Gonja <kalaŋ).  
*pl. kaleŋsa.*

**kaleŋbilenjěě** [kálèŋbìlènǰěě] *n.* adjuster used to support and stabilize cooking pots. *pl. kaleŋbilenjě.*

**kaleŋgbvgvǝtì** [kàlèŋgbògòtì] (*Gu. var. tjiirikaleŋgbvgvǝtì*) *n.* type of wasp. *pl. kaleŋgbvgvǝtsa.*

**kaleŋtǝia** [kàlèŋtǝiá] *n.* unwashed portion of the body where water has not touched. *pl. kaleŋtǝiasa.*

**kaleŋvilime** [kàlèŋvilimé] *n.* whirlwind. *pl. kaleŋvilimjě.*

**kalie** [kálíé] *cf: tǝlii n.* tomato. [Ka].

**kalpaaga** [kàlǝpààgá] *n.* farm land which has been used for two years in a row and lies fallow.

**kamboro** [kámòrò] *n.* half • *tí páá-sí à kpááj múj, lògà òò kámòrò bilè.* Do not peel the entire yam. Cut half and leave the rest. *pl. kamboroso.*

**kamsi** [kám-sí] *v.* **1** to blink repeatedly • *hàglí zòò ùù síé ò dì kám-sí.* Some sand got in his eyes so he is blinking. **2** to make a hand motion signalling to come • *kám-sí à wòj tǝéŋ.* Make a gesture to the deaf person to come. (Safaliba <kamsi).

<sup>1</sup>**kana** [kànà] *n.* arm ring. *pl. kanasa.*

<sup>2</sup>**kana** [kànà] *v.* to be abundant, to be many, to be big, to be plenty • *ná-rá kàá kànà à lúdéndìl ní rē.* People will be numerous at the funeral ground. *ññ tótíí wá kánā.* My share is not big.

**kandra** [kàndiá] **1** *n.* north. **2** *nprop.* Kandia village.

**kaniě** [káníě] (*var. gbĩākanĩě*) *n.* African green monkey (*Cercopithecus aethiops*). *pl. kansa.*

**kankima** (*var. of kantǝima*)

**kansii** [kánsíi] *n.* bean cake. *pl. kansa.*

**kantev** [kántěò] *n.* Standard-Winged Nightjar, type of bird (*Macrodipteryx longipennis*). *pl. kantevsa.*

**kantige** [kántígé] *n.* part or function of stomach which grinds the food.

**kantǝangulumo** [kántǝàŋgúlúmó] *cf: sar n.* ball of pumpkin seed paste.

**kantǝima** [kántǝimá] (*var. kankima*) *n.* debt, or bill for a communal contribution. *pl. kantǝimsa.*

**kapaaga** [kàpáàgà] *n.* retaliation, feud, complaint • *kpàgà ì kàpáà-*

*gà dì káálì diá, ñ wà zímá wíf-mùṅ.* Take your complaint with you and go home, I do not know anything about it.

**kapeti** [kàpèti] *n.* patience • *dí kàṅiti.* Be patient. (Gonja, ultm. Arabic <*kapeti*>).

**kaṅa** [kàṅá] *n.* 1 part of the upper back. 2 piece of meat of the upper back of an animal, usually given to women. *pl. kaṅasa.*

**kaṅbeli** [kàṅbéli] *n.* cerebrospinal meningitis (CSM) (*Meningococcal meningitis*). (Waali <*kaṅbeli*>).

**kaṅkabulo** [kàṅkábùlò] *n.* ulcer that will never heal.

**kaṅṅi** [kàṅṅí] *v.* to compete • *à kà-ràṅbisé káá kàṅṅi dójá wā.* The students are competing with each other.

**kapala** [kàpàlá] *cf:* **kapalasṅ** *n.* fufu, staple food. (Waali <*kapala*>).

**kapalasṅ** [kàpàlàsṅ] *cf:* **kapala** *n.* cold, left-over fufu usually eaten in the morning.

**kapenta** [kàpéntà] *n.* carpenter. (ultm. English). *pl. kapentasa.*

**kaputi** [kàpùti] *n.* pillow. (Gonja <*kaputi*>). *pl. kaputuso.*

**kapòsiè** [kàpòsiè] *cf:* **guori** *n.* kola nut (*Cola*). (Gonja <*kàpúfé?*>). *pl. kapòsiè.*

**kapòsífala** [kàpòsífalá] *cf:* **fala** *n.* kola nut container or its content

• *biti ì kàpòsífalá tìṅ bilè hàglí nì jà nà.* Scatter you kola nuts on the ground so we can see.

**karansiin** [kàrànsiìn] *n.* kerosene, lantern oil. (ultm. English <*kerosene*>).

**karantiè** [kàràntiè] *n.* cutlass. (Akan <*karantie*>). *pl. karantièsa.*

**karāṅbie** [kàràṅbié] *n.* student. (partly Oti-Volta). *pl. karāṅbise.*

**karatfi** [kàràtfi] *n.* person who has received a formal education, e.g. officer, teacher. (ultm. English <*clerk* 'clerk'). *pl. karatfise.*

**karífa** [kàrifá] *cf:* **tija** *n.* responsibility. (Gonja).

**karíma** [kàrimá] *cf:* **tfitja** *n.* teacher. (ultm. Arabic <*karima*>).

**karími** [kàrimi] *v.* to read • *kàràṅbi-káná wáá kìn kàrimī wíwíré.* Many students cannot read well. (ultm. Arabic <*qirā'a*>).

**karími** [kàrimí] *n.* learning by reading. (ultm. Arabic).

**kasí** (*var. of tfasti*)

**kasíma** [kàsímá] *n.* corpse dressing uniform consisting of a hat, trousers, smock and a cloth.

**katasa** [kàtásà] *cf:* **tasa** *n.* type of bowl. (Gonja <*katasaṅ*>). *pl. katasasa.*

**katasazeṅ** [kàtásàzèṅ] *n.* basin. *pl. katasazenè.*

**katiere** [kàtíèrè] *n.* canoe paddler or someone helping to cross a body of water. (Gonja).

**katwa** [kàtòò] *nprop.* Katua village. (<katfwa 'bush-lie.down').

**katwoli** [kàtòólí] *n.* 1 person from Katua. 2 lect of Katua. *pl.* **katwolee**.

**katfal** [kátfál] *n.* type of tree (*Daniellia oliveri*). *pl.* **katfala**.

**katfalkpuñiimuj** [kátfálkpùñìimùj] *nprop.* place name in Ducie.

**katfig** [kàtfig] *n.* Martial Eagle, type of bird (*Polemaetus bellicosus*). *pl.* **katfigne**.

**katfigkuol** [kàtfigkúól] *lit.* eagle-t.z. *n.* African Hawk Eagle, type of bird (*Hieraaetus spilogaster*). *pl.* **katfigkuolo**.

**katfigkuolsiay** [kàtfigkùòlsiáy] *n.* Bonelli's Eagle, type of bird (*Hieraaetus fasciatus*). *pl.* **katfigkuolsiama**.

**kãõ** [káõ] *cf:* **doõ** *n.* saltpetre, potassium nitrate, Gh. Eng. kanwu, used a thickening agent for the preparation of soups and stews. (Ghsm). *pl.* **kãõ**.

**kawaa** [kàwáá] *n.* pumpkin plant. *pl.* **kawaasa**.

**kawaadadag** [kàwààdādāg] *n.* ringworm (*Tinea corporis*).

**kegeme** [kègè mè] *v.* to be uneven, to be on one side, to become asymmetric • *ò kpágá òò nǝ́ǝ́ kègè mè.* She turned her lips to the side. *à hàglibíí háj kègè mèó.* This mud block is uneven.

**kelembi** [kélèmbì] *n.* pen, a hollow grass stalk that is sharpened to a

point and dipped in ink to write with. (Hausa, ultm. Arabic <alkalamí).

**ken** (*var. of* **kej**)

**kej** [kej] (*var. ken*) *adv.* like that, that, so • *záàj òò tàá káá zéné kéj.* Today he is talking loudly like that. *à hááj ñmā dī, kèēj?* The woman said: "Is that so?". *ñínéá ì kàà fííléj kéj?* Why do you peek at me like that? *gbèlinsé átòrò májá kéj.* It is three o'clock.

**keje** [kéjé] *v.* to be tipped, to lean to one side, to incline • *à dáá kéjē kààlì tìimúj nó.* The tree leans towards the east. *a zīā kèjèjòó.* The wall is not straight.

**kere** [kèrè] *n.* to be under-sized, to fail to thrive • *hìl gílá ñ sígá kèrè kùò nī.* Drought has affected the growth of my cow peas. *pòdzíémà kpágá tíà sàgà ù biè ní, ù kèrè.* Pojjama had successive pregnancies. That is why her child fails to thrive.

**keregi** (*var. of* **kerigi**)

**kerigi** [kérígí] (*var. keregi*) *pl.v.* to break many, to be broken • *kérígí dààsá dós díj ní.* Break firewood and put it into the fire. *kùndúú-gù tíwíí kòdórogósó múj à kérégi-jē.* The bridges on the Kundugu road are broken.

**kesi** (*var. of* **tjesi**)

**keti** [kèti] *v. cf:* **kpèti** (*var. tjeti*) 1 to break • *à hááj nēj kètíjō.* The woman's arm is broken. *kétí kpā-sà tíēj.* Cut a branch and make a

whip for me. **2** to pick from a living plant, especially for maize • *ò káálí kùó ó ká kēti nàmmíí*. He went to the farm to pick a maize cob.

**kie** [kié] *n.* half of a bird, one part of a bird which has been divided into two. *pl. kiete*.

**kiesi** [kièsi] *n.* to be few, relative to an expectation, to be more than one or once but not many • *ḡ àk-ráá káálí kíésíjójó*. My trips to Accra are few. *nára tti kà káálí à míntiḡ bà wà kíésíjé, àwíé jà wà sá-ḡéé*. Those who were to attend the meeting were too few, so we did not hold it.

**kiesii** [kiésíi] (*var. tjiiesii*) *n.* type of bird. *pl. kiesie*.

**kiesimunluo** [kiésímúnlùó] *lit.* bird-back-? *n.* type of plant. *pl. kiesimunluso*.

<sup>1</sup>**kii** [kii] **1** *conn.* like, as • *ì ómà kii gbíá*. You fear like a monkey. **2** *v.* to be like, to resemble • *pà-táásè wà wíré kii hàmmónà káá dī nḡá*. Akpeteshie is bad for children to drink. *jà bára tóḡ wá kī dḡ-ḡà*. Our skin is not the same.

<sup>2</sup>**kii** [kii] (*var. tjii*) *v.* to forbid, to refuse, to place under a taboo and abstain from • *ḡ kii áá rá*. I place under a taboo and abstain from the bushbuck. *ùù kii lúdéndíslì nā*. He places under a taboo drinking at the funeral ground.

<sup>3</sup>**kii** [kii] *cf. tjiir n.* taboo. [Gu].

**kiige** [kiègè] *v.* to move to a better position • *kiègè ì kór tiḡ, wòsá káá wāḡ*. Move your chair, the sun is coming.

**kiini** [kiini] *v.* (*var. tjiini*) **1** to bring out, remove • *kiini ì lḡà pàtḡḡí kina múḡ bilè*. Bring out everything that is in your bag and put it down. **2** to take up the last of food, to clean a bowl • *zòḡ ḡḡḡ máá pé ó kpá nḡ kòḡ fálá tíé í kíini*. Go to my mother she will give you my t.z. bowl so you can finish it.

**kiir** (*var. of tjiir*)

**kiiri** [kiiri] *v.* to breathe with difficulty, because of asthma or exertion • *ù kíirù*. She is breathing with difficulty.

**kil** [kil:] *n.* dance-floor.

**kilimie** [kilimie] *cf. tjiimãã n.* pepper. [Ka].

**kimmãã** (*var. of tjiimãã*)

**kisi** [kisi] *v.* to bless, to protect, to save from suffering • *wòsá káá kí-sii*. God will protect you.

**kisie** [kisié] *n.* knife. *pl. kisise*.

**krasi** [kriasi] (*var. tjiiasi*) *v.* to tear apart, to be torn • *à hááḡ gār kíá-síjé*. The woman's cloth is torn.

**kre** [kriè] *v.* to collect a contribution • *dùsééléé já kīè mòlèbié bó ásib-ti wòtḡimáá*. The people from Ducie collected a contribution and paid the watchman of the clinic.

**kiemr** [kièmr] (*var. tjiemr*) *v.* to make noise • *ḡ wàá búúré námùḡ*

*kìèmi báàn nɪ.* I do not want anybody to make a noise here.

**kɪɛŋɪ** (var. of **tʃɪɛŋɪ**)

**kɪɛɪ** (var. of **tʃɪɛɪ**)

**kɪɪɪ** [kììrɪ̀] cf: **tʃɪɪɪ** *n.* type of wasp. *pl.* **kɪɪɛ.**

**kɪɛɛ** [kǐ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀] (var. **kɪɪɛ**) *n.* Booted Eagle, type of bird (*Hieraaetus pennatus*). *pl.* **kɪɛsa.**

**kɪɛɛsɪaŋ** [kǐ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀sɪ́aŋ] *n.* Booted Eagle, type of bird, smaller than *kɪɛɛ* and reddish (*Hieraaetus pennatus*). *pl.* **kɪɛɛsɪama.**

**kɪɪɛ** (var. of **kɪɛɛ**)

**kɪma** (var. of **tʃɪma**)

**kɪmpɪŋɪ** [kɪmpìŋgɪ̀] *lit.* thing-mark *n.* broom *synt:* **tʃãã** . [Gu].

<sup>1</sup>**kɪn** [kɪ́ŋ] cf: **kɪn-** (var. **kɪŋ**) *n.* thing. *pl.* **kɪna.**

<sup>2</sup>**kɪn** [kɪ̀ŋ] *v.* to be able, can or could •  
*òò wáá kɪn wáá.* He is not able to come. *ìì káá kɪŋ káàlòò.* You may go. *òò kɪŋ wáá?* *áí, òò wà kɪnɪjě wáá.* A: Was he able to come? B: No, he was not able.

**kɪn-** [kɪn] cf: **kɪn** classifier particle for concrete entity.

**kɪnbaj** [kɪmbaj] cf: **kɪnbəŋ** *n.* bad thing. [Ka].

**kɪnbɪrɪŋ** [kɪmbírɪŋ] *n.* whole.

**kɪnbəŋ** [kɪmbóŋ] cf: **kɪnbaj** *n.* bad thing.

**kɪndiilii** [kɪndíilii] cf: **sɪma** *n.* meal. *pl.* **kɪndiilie.**

**kɪnduho** [kɪndùhó] *n.* offspring.

**kɪnkpagasɪ** [kɪnkpàgàsɪ] *n.* prey. *pl.* **kɪnkpagasɪɛ.**

**kɪnlari** [kɪnlàrɪ̀] *n.* piece of clothing. *pl.* **kɪnlareɛ.**

**kɪnliemii** [kɪnlièmíi] *n.* hanging object, ornament or piece of jewellery attached to a necklace or bracelet. *pl.* **kɪnliemee.**

**kɪnpaatʃag** [kɪnpààtʃák] *lit.* thing-leaf *n.* greenish thing. *pl.* **kɪnpaa-tʃaksa.**

<sup>1</sup>**kɪnsəŋ** [kɪnsónŋ] *n.* something cold.

<sup>2</sup>**kɪnsəŋ** [kɪnsónŋ] *n.* highly infected swelling full of pus.

**kɪntʃagɪ** [kɪntʃágɪ̀] *n.* fragile, something easily breakable. *pl.* **kɪntʃagɛɛ.**

**kɪntʃɔali** [kɪntʃɔalɪ̀] *n.* mat or mattress. *pl.* **kɪntʃɔaleɛ.**

**kɪntʃɔma** [kɪntʃò má] cf: **genɪ** *n.* dirty or bad thing, may also be used to refer to an unappreciated person.

**kɪnwɪli** [kɪnwílɪ̀] *n.* sore, a skin lesion or wound. *pl.* **kɪnwɪɪɛ.**

**kɪnzeŋ** [kɪnzèŋ] *n.* big thing. *pl.* **kɪnzeneɛ.**

**kɪnzɪni** [kɪnzínɪ̀] *n.* horse. *pl.* **kɪnzɪniɛ.**

**kɪnzɪŋɪ** [kɪnzínŋí] *n.* long thing. *pl.* **kɪnzɪŋɛɛ.**

**kɪŋmajana** [kɪmmájáná] *n.* drummer. *pl.* **kɪŋmajnesa.**

**kɪŋ** (var. of **kɪn**)

**kɪŋdɪŋ** [kɪndíŋ] cf: **dɪŋ**; **nɪdɪŋ**; **wɪdɪŋ**; **bɪdɪŋ** *n.* valuable thing.

**kɪŋkaŋ** [kɪŋkáŋ] *quant.* many, much, abundantly • *dúó t̄f̄ōāī kɪŋkàŋ wà wéré.* Sleeping too much is not good.

**kɪŋkuree** (*var. of kɪŋkurugie*)

**kɪŋkurokɔ̀wɔ̀ri** [kɪŋkùròkò̀rɪ] *n.* calculator, computer. *pl. kɪŋkurokɔ̀wɔ̀ri.*

**kɪŋkurugie** [kɪŋkùrùgiè] (*var. kɪŋkuree*) *n.* enumeration, number • *ɪ̀ŋ̀ŋ̀ bié kàà zìgìtì kɪ̀nkùrùgíè rē.* My child will learn how to count.

**kɪrɪsaal** [kɪrɪsààl] *n.* wasp's nest.

**kɪrɪma** [kɪrɪmá] *cf: nakav cf: nakpafugul n.* tsetse fly (*Glossina*). *pl. kɪrɪnsa.*

**kɪrɪmamɔ̀mpusa** [kɪrɪmámɔ̀mpùsà] *n.* witchweed (*Striga*).

<sup>1</sup>**ko** [kó] *adv.* too, as well • *ì kó, wáà.* You too, come. *à já n̄m̄ā̀ṑ b̄à j̄r̄à já kó.* If they (the issues) are serious, they call us too.

<sup>2</sup>**ko** [kó] *conn. or* • *kó d̄i ì wàá kàà-lì?* Or you will not go? *ná k̄ó̀s̄, kó d̄i ì wàá d̄i?* There is t.z., or you will not eat? (Hausa <kō 'kō').

**kodorogo** [kòdórógò] *n.* bridge. (Waalì <kodoriko). *pl. kodorogoso.*

**kogii** [kógíí] *n.* protection.

**kogo** [kògò] *v.* to hold and keep from falling by supporting or protecting • *kpá ì n̄èj̄ kògò à téébùl̄ j̄úù à s̄i-biè tí wá bilinsì t̄f̄élíí.* Put your hand

on the table top so that the beans do not roll and fall.

**kogulii** [kógúlíí] *n.* farm measurement. [*Gu*].

**kogulinppaa** [kóyúlímpàà] *n.* morning glory plant, type of climber (*Ipomoea mauritiana*).

**kogumie** [kóyómíè] *cf: kaakumo n.* donkey. [*Mo*].

**kokobeg** [kòkòbég] *n.* shell of palm nut. *pl. kokobege.*

**kokoduro** [kókódúró] *n.* ginger. (Akan <kákádò̀rò 'toothache-medicine'). *pl. kokoduroso.*

**kokolentebii** [kòkòlèntébií] *n.* fishing hook. *pl. kokolentebie.*

**kokoluŋ** [kòkólún] (*var. p̄r̄ɛga*) *n.* boat. *pl. kokolunso.*

**kokorowie** [kòkòròwié] *n.* type of drum beaten with straight sticks.

**kole** [kòlé] *nprop.* Kole, person's name.

**kolo** [kòlò] *v.* to carry under one's arm • *ìì bíèrì ká kòlò kpáámá d̄i wāā.* Your brother is coming with yams under his arm.

**kolokolo** [kòlòkòlò] *ono.* turkey. (Gonja <kolokolo). *pl. kolokoloso.*

**kolopɔ̀ti** (*var. of k̄l̄p̄ɔ̀ti*)

**konsraŋ** [kónsɪán] *n.* Laughing dove (*Streptopelia senegalensis*). *pl. konsrɪama.*

**konti** [kòntì] *v.* to put one's arm around • *d̄i p̄úput̄íná kpáì kpá ì n̄é-s̄e à kòntúú, d̄í á l̄éí ì kàà t̄f̄èl̄è.* If

- a motorcycle rider picks you, put your arms around him otherwise you will fall.
- kontii** [kòntíí] *cf:* gbege *cf:* zaŋsa  
*n.* early farm preparation, just after bush burning, involving clearing the land and cutting trees. [Gu].
- koŋ** [kón] *cf:* kpalimaalige  
*n.* Kapok, type of tree (*Ceiba pentandra*). *pl.* **komo**.
- koŋbugul** [kómbúgúl] *n.* Rock Dove, type of bird (*Columba livia*). *pl.* **koŋbugulo**.
- koŋjelemĩ** [kónjèlèmiĩ] *n.* Bruce's Green Pigeon, type of bird (*Treron waalia*). *pl.* **koŋjelemiẽ**.
- koŋkogulepɔmma** [kónkókýúlèpòm má] *n.* Cattle Egret, type of bird (*Bubulcus ibis*). *pl.* **koŋkogulepɔ-lɔnsa**.
- koŋkoliilikoo** [kòŋkòlìlìkòò] *ono.* cock-a-doodle-doo, sound of the rooster.
- koŋpɔliŋ** [kónpóliŋ] *n.* Vinaceous Dove, type of bird (*Sreptopelia vinacea*). *pl.* **koŋpɔlima**.
- koŋzaazug** [kónzáázùg] *n.* Red-Eyed Dove, type of bird (*Streptopelia semitorquata*). *pl.* **koŋzaazuguno**.
- kor** [kór:] *n.* seat, bench, chair. (ult. Arabic <*kursii* 'chair'). *pl.* **koro**.
- koro** [kòró] *n.* chieftanship. *pl.* **koroso**.
- korumbɔra** [kòrùmbórà] *n.* dusty weather.
- kotaal** [kótààl] *n.* asphalt, bitumen. (ult. English <*coal tar*).
- koti** [kótí] *v.* to die prematurely • ɔ̀ɔ̀ *binibáál tɪŋ kótijō*. Her son died prematurely.
- kɔba** [kóbà] *n.* tyre. (ult. English <*cover* 'cover'). *pl.* **kɔbasa**.
- kɔbɪni** [kóbíní] *n.* type of cloth used by elderly men, made out of thick cotton and dyed with the bark extract of *walaŋzaŋ*. [*oldfash*]. *pl.* **kɔbɪniɛ**.
- kɔglaabɔl** [kókýóáából] *n.* papaya, paw-paw (*Carica papaya*). *pl.* **kɔglaabɔlsa**.
- kɔgɔli** [kókɔ̀li] *v.* 1 to come loose • ɔ̀ɔ̀ *níŋ kókɔ̀lìjós ká há dòò dé ni*. 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 *zǐé há kókɔ̀lì kén ni*. The wall is still standing like this.
- kɔgɔsɔg** [kókɔ̀sòg] *ideo.* rough • à *gèr bárá dós nīŋ kókɔ̀sòg*. The lizard's skin is rough like this. *ant:* **soloŋ-soloŋ**
- kɔkɔ** [kòkò] *n.* former farm land, which has lost its yield potential. *pl.* **kɔkɔsa**.
- kɔkɔla** (*var. of kɔlakɔla*)
- kɔkɔliko** [kòkòlìkò] *n.* type of grasshopper. *pl.* **kɔkɔliko**.
- kɔla** [kòlà] *v.* 1 to be loose • *m̩m̩ pá-tá káá kɔ̀lān nà*. My pants are too loose for me. 2 to notice yet to ignore • *i síí kɔ̀lá ñ tɔ̀ŋtòmǐẽ*. You

have looked over the work I have done and it is not up to your expectations. 3 to defeat • à níhîè gèrègá tíy kóláó rā. The elder's sickness killed him.

<sup>2</sup>kɔla [kólá] *v.* to sharpen a grinding stone • má ká kɔlā nònnà. You go and sharpen the grinding stones.

kɔlakɔla [kɔlákɔlā] (*var.* kɔkɔla) *ideo.* type of visual percept, light grey colour • zákɔlákɔlā wàà zóó dùsiè jáwà, à jáá kiir ré. Light grey fowls are not allowed in the Ducie market, it is a taboo.

kɔlbaa [kólíbaá] *cf:* pírintɔa *n.* bottle. (ultm. Hausa <kwalabā). *pl.* kɔlbaasa.

kɔliɪ [kólíí] *n. cf:* zul 1 stem or stalk of millet and guinea corn. 2 second year of a new farm land. *pl.* kɔliɛ.

kɔlɔlɔ [kólɔlɔ] *ideo.* 1 smooth and fine, like the texture of finely ground flour • kòtì à sàò á bí kólɔlɔ. Grind the flour finely. 2 to appear unhealthy, to be thin, weak, or frail, especially children • wógítì mùy èò já bààŋ dɔ kɛy kólɔlɔ. He always appears weak and frail.

kɔlɔŋ [kɔlɔŋ] *cf:* vil *n.* deep hole in the earth for getting water. (Wali <kɔlɔŋ). *pl.* kɔlɔŋsa.

kɔlpɔti [kɔlpótì] (*var.* kolopɔti) *n.* metal cooking stove. (ultm. English <coal pot). *pl.* kɔlpɔtisa.

kɔmbɔŋa [kɔmbónà] *n.* Ashanti person. *pl.* kɔmbɔŋasa.

kɔmĩá [kɔmíá] *n.* guinea corn that has been soaked, left to germinate, then dried.

kɔmĩákpaɪ [kɔmíákpátí] *n.* first day of second funeral where the guinea corn is presented.

kɔmĩáŋpaɪ [kɔmíáŋpátí] *lit.* malt-grind *n.* funeral activity which takes place on the second day of a second funeral where the malt is ground.

kɔnti [kòntì] *v.* to be physically weak, due to sickness and/or old age • ì káá kòntì dí ì wáá dénsì ì hògò. You will be weak if you do not exercise.

<sup>1</sup>kɔntɔŋ [kòntón] *n.* fairy *synt:* puzĩtina . (Mande <kɔnkɔma 'evil spirit'). *pl.* kɔntɔma.

<sup>2</sup>kɔntɔŋ [kòntón] *n.* soup ingredient made out of baobab seeds, substitute for other non-available ingredients to make the soup thicker.

kɔŋ [kón] (*var.* gantalgbou) *n.* cobra *synt:* nɪtina . *pl.* kɔŋa.

<sup>1</sup>kɔŋa [kòŋà] *v.* to be thin, to become thin and skinny because of sickness • wíflá gífláò èò kòŋà. Sickness made him thin. tʃòpísà àŋmènà háŋ òò kòŋá kínkàn nà. These days I am getting thin and skinny.

<sup>2</sup>kɔŋa [kòŋá] *n.* comb of a rooster.

kɔŋkɔŋ [kónkón] *ono.* can or tin. (North. Ghsm).

kɔŋkɔɔŋɪ [kòŋkóóŋí] *n.* type of fish. *pl.* kɔŋkɔɔŋɛɛ.



kɔɔ (Mo. var. of kɔwa)

kɔɔti [kòsɔ́tɪ] *n.* court. (ultm. English <court>).

kɔpul [kòpúl] *n.* type of grass (*andropogon gayanus*). *pl.* **kɔpul**.

kɔpɔ [kòpò] *n.* cup • *tʃiá dɔ́á kòpò nɪ*. There is a fly in the cup. (ultm. English <cup>). *pl.* **kɔpɔsa**.

kɔr [kòr:] *n.* thick, dense forest • *à kòr pɛ́nǎǎ́*. The forest is large. *pl.* **kɔr**.

kɔrigi [kòrígí] *v.* to cut a throat • *kà kòrígí à nǎǎ́ tiè à báál*. Go and slaughter the cow for the man.

kɔsa [kòsá] *n.* 1 bush • *kòsásélé wá bráá wàà díá làgálàgá háj*. Bush animals do not come to the village any more. 2 grass • *kòsá wá jǔ òn òn sàl nɪ*. Grass does not grow on my roof. *pl.* **kɔsasa**.

kɔsabirijuoni (var. of kɔsagbɛgbɛ)

kɔsagbɛgbɛ [kòságbɛ̀gbɛ́] (var. **kɔsabirijuoni**) *n.* Spur-Winged Goose (*Plectropterus gambensis*). *pl.* **kɔsagbɛgbɛsa**.

kɔsakiŋ [kòsákíŋ] *n.* bush thing. *pl.* **kɔsakina**.

kɔsanǎǎ [kòsánǎǎ] *lit.* bush-cow *n.* buffalo (*Syncerus caffer*). *pl.* **kɔsanǎǎna**.

kɔsasel [kòsásél] *n.* bush animal. *pl.* **kɔsasele**.

kɔsasũũ [kòsàsúũ] *n.* bush guinea fowl. *pl.* **kɔsasũũno**.

kɔsi [kòsɪ] *v.* to be overgrown, to be thick • *tí wá tiè à kùó dí kòsɪ*. Do not let weeds take over the farm.

kɔta [kòtá] *n.* a measure unit for akpeteshie, approx. 3-4 oz • *ɲ tʃɛ́ná jáwá pàtààsè kòtá tién nā*. My friend bought me a glass of akpeteshie. (ultm. English <quarter>).

kɔwa [kòwá] (Mo. var. **kɔɔ**) *num.* hundred. (Oti-Volta). *pl.* **kɔwsa**.

kɔwia [kòwíá] *n.* soap. *pl.* **kɔwisa**.

kɔzɔɔr [kòzòóɔr] *lit.* bush-enter-agent *n.* someone in the diaspora, expatriate • *kálá jáá kòzòóɔr rá*. Kala is in the diaspora.

kube [kùbé] *n.* coconut. (Akan <kùbé>). *pl.* **kubese**.

kubii [kùbíí] *n.* porridge. *pl.* **kubie**.

kugdaabii [kùgdààbíí] *n.* rib. *pl.* **kugdaabie**.

kugso [kùgsó] *n.* rib cage. *pl.* **kugso**.

kulo [kúló] *v.* to tilt, or to be tilted and likely to fall • *kpá kálɛ̀ŋbílɛ̀ŋjéé lésí à dǎlǎ, dí à lèí à víí kàá kũlò*. The pot is tilted, take the adjuster to support it.

kummi [kùmmì] *v.* to grip an object, to hold in the palm of one's hand • *ɲ já kpā òn òn mòlèbié kùmmùũ*. I usually hold my money in my hand.

kummii [kùmmíí] *n.* fist. *pl.* **kummie**.

**kumpii** [kúmpíí] *n.* thorny spear grass. *pl.* **kumpii**.

**kundiŋa** [kùndiŋà] *n.* person with physical abnormalities who is cognitively normal • *kùndiŋá òò lòlà*. She gave birth to a deformed child. *pl.* **kundiŋasa**.

**kuntunbɔa** [kúntúnbóà] *n.* bundles of grass for roofing, especially for the farm hut. *pl.* **kuntunbɔasa**.

**kuntuŋ** [kùntún] *n.* blanket. (ultm. Hausa <*kuntu*). *pl.* **kuntunso**.

**kuŋkuksiɛŋ** [kúŋkùksiéŋ] *nprop.* uninhabited area south of Ducie's sections Lobani and Zingbani.

<sup>1</sup>**kuŋkuŋ** [kùŋkùŋ] *n.* brain. *pl.* **kuŋkunno**.

<sup>2</sup>**kuŋkuŋ** [kùŋkùŋ] *n.* highland.

**kũŋsũŋ** [kũŋsũŋ] *cf:* **ziɛziɛ** *n.* tough and resistant object, tough person. *pl.* **kũŋsũŋ**.

<sup>1</sup>**kuo** [kùó] *n.* farm. *pl.* **kuono**.

<sup>2</sup>**kuo** [kúó] *n.* roan antelope (*Hippotragus equinus*). *pl.* **kuoto**.

**kuodu** [kùòdú] [kòdú] *n.* banana. (Akan <*kòèdú*). *pl.* **kuoduso**.

**kuokuo** [kùòkúò] *n.* cocoa (*Theobroma cacao*). (ultm. Spanish, via English).

**kuolie** [kúóliè] *n.* type of tree (*Anogeissus leiocarpus*). *pl.* **kuo-luso**.

**kuonihĩɛ** [kùònihĩé] *n.* person in charge of decisions over farm land. *pl.* **kuonihĩɛta**.

**kuori** (*Mo. var. of kuoru*)

**kuoru** [kùòrù] (*Mo. var. kuori*) *n.* chief. *pl.* **kuoruso**.

**kuorubanni** [kùòrùbání] *lit.* chief-section *nprop.* section of Ducie.

**kuosi** [kùòsì] *v.* to stir, to mix • *kùò-sì à sígá dɔ́ à vìì ní*. Stir the beans in the pot.

**kuoso** [kùòsò] *cf:* **wɔsa** *n.* supreme God, unseen creator, above everything. (<*kùòrù wɔsá*).

**kuosopuu** [kùòsòpúú] *lit.* god-head *n.* sky.

**kuosozima** [kùòsòzímá] *lit.* god-know *nprop.* dog name.

**kuotima** [kùòtíímá] *n.* farm owner.

**kuotuto** [kùòtútò] *cf:* **tundaa**; **tuto** *n.* farm mortar. *pl.* **kuotutoso**.

**kurii** [kúríí] *n.* counting.

**kuro** [kùrò] *v.* to count • *kpá mólèbié wàà ñ kùrò*. Bring the money for me to count. (Gonja <*kàrígá*).

**kurungboŋ** [kúríŋgbòŋ] *n.* hunter rank of a person who has killed a human being. (Gonja).

**kuruso** [kúrusò] *n.* trousers, Gh. Eng. pantaloons, hand-sewn piece which accompanies a smock.

<sup>1</sup>**kusi** [kùsì] *v.* to be unable, do in vain • *bà dógónŋ kùsì*. They chased me but were unable to catch me. *ñ káá-lí à kùò kùsì*. I could not go to the farm.

<sup>2</sup>**kusi** [kùsì] *v.* to steam, to cook something by letting steam pass over it

- *kpòŋkpòŋkúsíjè ñ di búúrè*. I like steamed cassava. *kúsí gààríí tiè hǎǎrá*. Steam
- kuu** [kúù] (*var.* **kuubummo**) *n.* Pel's Fishing owl, type of bird (*Scotopelia peli*). *pl.* **kuuso**.
- kũũ** [kúũ] *v.* to take excessively to the surprise of others • *m̀m̀ bisé kúũ ñ̀ǹ nǎ̀títíi*. My children took a lot out of my pomade container.
- kuubummo** (*var. of* **kuu**)
- kuudiginsa** [kúúdiginsá] (*var.* **zaaŋgberi**) *n.* White-Faced owl (*Ptilopsis leucotis*). *pl.* **kuudiginsasa**.
- kuukuu** [kúúkúù] *n.* small insect leaving traces in sand like tunnels. *pl.* **kuukuuso**.
- kuusiŋ** [kúúsiŋ] *n.* type of owl. *pl.* **kuusama**.
- kuuwolie** [kúúwóliè] *n.* type of owl.
- kɔl** [kól] *cf:* **kɔs** *n.* staple food (t.z.). [Ka].
- kɔlɔmbɔl** [kòlòmbòl] *n.* improper, fuzzy, not clear • *à báál fótòsò té-ŋésié dǎ kòlòmbòl*. The man's pictures are not clear. *pl.* **kɔlɔmbɔlsa**.
- kɔma** [kòmà] *v.* to cut off a head, to top millet, gourd, rice or guinea corn, to harvest • *má ká kòmà mū-rō*. Go harvest some rice. *bátón káá kómà mǎá ní kisiè rē*. Baton is harvesting guinea corn with a knife.
- kɔŋkɔlbɪ** [kòŋkólábɪ] *n.* grinding stone of 5-10 cm. diameter, used especially to grind charcoal or gun powder. *pl.* **kɔŋkɔlbɪa**.
- kɔɔɛ** [kòòlè] *v.* to be lethargic, to be inactive or not energetic, to be weak from sickness • *tí wá tiè ìì biè kóólè*. Do not let your child be inactive. *à báál kàà wíjò, àwíé ò kòòlè*. The man is suffering, that is why he is weak.
- kɔɔli** [kòòlì] *nprop.* Sawla shrine.
- kɔɔli** [kòólí] *n.* thin, skinny or bony person.
- kɔɔrɛ** [kòòrèé] *n.* cloth weaver's workshop. *pl.* **kɔɔresa**.
- kɔɔri** [kòòrì] *v.* 1 to make • *jà wáá kinkòòrì lóólì*. We can't make cars. 2 to prepare food, to cook • *òò kóórì sìmáá rā*. She is preparing food. 3 to repair • *kòòrì ñ̀ñ̀ sákir tīēŋ*. Repair my bicycle for me. 4 to solve an issue • *ò kóórì à wíé pé-tùù*. She solved the issues. 5 to perform a ceremony in connection with a fetish • *ò káá kààlì vógtíí-ná pé rē àkà kòòrì òò wíé*. She will go to the priest and raise her issues. 6 to develop a community • *námùŋ wá wāá kòòrì jà tóò*. Nobody comes to develop our community.
- kɔɔsi** [kòòsì] *v.* to express dissatisfaction over a performance below standard • *dzàhíní wá kíníē gòà, bā wóléé kòòsòò*. Jahini could not dance as expected, his colleagues expressed their dissatisfaction.
- kɔra** [kòrà] *v.* to be different • *ñ̀ñ̀ váá kòrā ìì váá nī rā*. My dog is different from your dog.
- kɔrkɪ** [kòrəkì] *n.* difference.

(Gonja <kórʔ>).

**kɔrɔgbāŋɔ** [kòrògbāŋó] *n.* type of tree (*Dracaena arborea*). *pl.* **kɔrɔgbāŋɔsa**.

**kɔrɔmbɔra** [kòròmbɔrà] *n.* fog.

**kɔtɪ** [kòtì] *v.* *cf:* **tiisi**; **paari** **1** to skin, to cut an animal into pieces • *lágálá-gā hán nī ñ kòtì à áá pētī*. I have just finished skinning the antelope. **2** to grind very fine with a smooth stone or the finest grinding at the mill, for food or medicine preparation • *ññ níná kótí à lúlíí ré*. My father ground the medicine.

**kɔtɔra** [kòtɔrá] *n.* thick porridge made of maize dough.

**kɔɔ** [kòó] *cf:* **kɔl** *cf:* **zakɔɔl** *cf:* **kɔɔsɔŋ** *cf:* **kɔɔtʃɔsa** *n.* staple food, Gh. Eng. t.z.. (ultm. Hausa <*tuo zaafi* ‘very hot’). *pl.* **kɔɔsla**.

**kɔ̃ɔ̃** [kò̃ɔ̃] *v.* **1** to tire, to be tired physically • *ñ kɔ̃ɔ̃wɔ̃ɔ̃*. I am tired. **2** to wonder • *à kɔ̃ɔ̃ ñ nà dí ò kàá wà̃̃*. I wonder if he will come. **3** to be upset • *ñ kàá kɔ̃ɔ̃ dí ì víé ññ wí-ŋmáhá háŋ*. I will be upset if you refuse my advice. **4** to surprise, to be unexpected • *à kàá kɔ̃ɔ̃ hákúrí ré dí ùù biè háŋ sɔwá*. Hakuri will be surprised to lose her daughter.

**<sup>1</sup>kɔɔri** [kòòrì] *v.* to snore • *tí kɔ̃ɔ̃rī ká ñ tʃúó dūò*. Do not snore so I can sleep.

## kp

**kpa** [kpà] *v.* *cf:* **paa** *cf:* **jɔɔ**

**<sup>2</sup>kɔɔri** [kòòrì] *v.* to be almost rotten • *bákúrí lóó nàmíá tɪŋ kóórí-jóó*. Bakuri’s hartebeest meat is almost rotten.

**<sup>3</sup>kɔɔri** [kòòrì] *v.* to stink, almost getting rotten • *à nà̃̃ dí sɔwá̃̃, àwfé òò nàmíé kòòrì*. The cow died yesterday, therefore its meat stinks.

**kɔ̃ɔ̃sa** [kò̃ɔ̃sá] *n.* tiredness • *òò kɔ̃ɔ̃-sá tɪŋ nā kpūū kéŋ*. His tiredness killed him.

**kɔɔsɔŋ** [kòòsɔŋ] *cf:* **kɔɔtʃɔsa** *cf:* **kɔɔ** *n.* cold t.z., usually eaten in the morning.

**kɔɔtʃɔsa** [kòòtʃòá] *lit.* t.z.-lie *cf:* **kɔɔ** *cf:* **kɔɔsɔŋ** *n.* staple food left-overs for the morning. *pl.* **kɔɔtʃɔsa**.

**kɔvii** [kòvii] *n.* t.z. stirring pot.

**kɔzaa** [kòzáà] *cf:* **tisie** *n.* woven basket with guinea corn stalks. *pl.* **kɔzaasa**.

**kɔzaakpaɪ** [kòzáàkpáɪ] *cf:* **kɔzaalimmii** *n.* funeral event happening on the first day of the second funeral where the items left by the deceased are transferred to the heir.

**kɔzaalimmii** [kòzáàlímíí] *lit.* basket-glance *cf:* **kɔzaakpaɪ** (*var.* **kɔzaapinii**) *n.* funeral event where the family heads look at the items left by the deceased.

**kɔzaapinii** (*var. of kɔzaalimmii*)

**1** take • *kpá à pár tīēŋ*. Give me

the hoe. 2 to mark the beginning or commencement of an action • à dǒǒ kpá kàṅkàlàṅ kàṅkàlàṅ. The python started crawling rapidly. 3 to marry (a woman) • ɔ̀ kpáǒ rà. He married her.

**kpa jug** [kpá júǵ] *lit.* take weigh v. to respect • bà kpá júǵ tiè bà kàrà má 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 sū dǒǵá wā. They respect each other.

**kpa ta** [kpá tà] *cpx.v. lit.* take drop 1 to stop • kpá ì sìnṅǒhǎ háṅ tā. Stop this drinking habit of yours. 2 to drop • kpa a bɪ ta. Drop the stone.

**kpa wa** [kpá wà] *lit.* take come *cpx.v.* to bring • kpá à kpááṅ wà. Bring the yam.

**kpaá** [kpáá] *n.* type of dance, performed by women only. *pl.* **kpaá.**

**kpaakpugun** [kpáákpúǵún] *n.* type of stone. *pl.* **kpaakpugumo.**

**kpaakpuro** [kpàákpúrò] *n.* tortoise. *pl.* **kpaakpuruso.**

**kpaambilɪ** [kpààmbilí] *n.* cooked yam. *pl.* **kpaambilɛ.**

**kpaamparɪ** [kpààmpàrí] *n.* portion of a yam farm. *pl.* **kpaampareɛ.**

**kpaanã** [kpáánáá] *n.* type of dance, formerly for warriors and hunters.

**kpãñnrɪ** [kpãñnrɪ] *v.* 1 to hunt for killing • ɔ̀ ɔ̀ bíérí háṅ kàà kpáá-nì. His brother hunts. 2 trail, look

for something and walk about from place to place • bá ká kpãñnrɪ fól à kùò nɪ. They are going to search for certain leaves at the farm.

**kpãñnsii** [kpãñnsíi] *lit.* yam-eye (*var.* **kpãñnsíi**) *n.* yam stem. *pl.* **kpãñnsie.**

**kpãñnugul** [kpãñnúǵùl] *n.* yam flesh.

**kpãññ** [kpãññ] *cf:* **pn** *n.* yam. *pl.* **kpãñma.**

**kpãññbãññ** [kpãññbááññ] *n.* very large yam. *pl.* **kpãññbãñña.**

**kpãññbeṅe** [kpãññbéṅè] *n.* medium size yam. *pl.* **kpãññbeṅese.**

**kpãññbɪnrɪ** [kpãññbɪnrɪ] *n.* old yam, remaining from last harvest. *pl.* **kpãññbɪnrɛ.**

**kpãññbuso** [kpãññbùsò] *n.* boiled yam eaten without stew. (partly Akan <buso).

**kpãññduho** [kpãññdùhó] *cf:* **kpãññwou** *n.* yam seedlings. *pl.* **kpãññduhoso.**

**kpãññfɔlɪ** [kpãññfólí] *n.* new yam, harvested at an early stage. *pl.* **kpãññfɔlɛ.**

**kpãññhiredaa** [kpãññhìrèdáá] *n.* wooden stick used as tool for digging yams, replaced today by cutlass.

**kpãññlawɔ** [kpãññláwɔ] *n.* yam hut. *pl.* **kpãññlawɔ.**

**kpãññnrɪ** [kpãññnrɪ] *cf:* **sieribile** *n.* water-yam (*Dioscorea alata*). *pl.* **kpãññnrɪta.**

kpããñnɪdɪsɑ [kpããnnɪfdɪsɑ] *n.* soup in which grated water-yam was added for thickness.

kpããñpɛtɪ [kpããñpɛtɪ] *n.* outer skin or peel of yam. *pl.* **kpããñpɛtɪɛ.**

kpããñpɔ̃ɑ (*var.* of **kpããñtɔ̃ɔɪ**)

kpããñtɔ̃ɔɪ [kpããñtɔ̃ɔɪ] (*var.* **kpããñpɔ̃ɑ**) *n.* spoiled yam. *pl.* **kpããñtɔ̃ɔɛɛ.**

kpããñwou [kpããñwou] *cf.* **kpããñduho** (*Mo. var.* **kpããñwɔdɪ**) *n.* yam seedlings, second product of the plant.

kpaaasa [kpáásà] *n.* wooden whip. *pl.* **kpaaasasa.**

kpããsí (*var.* of **kpããnsii**)

kpaaasi [kpáási] *v.* 1 to nail, knock • *kpáási hɛmbíí zīā nī.* Knock the nail in the wall. 2 to warn • *bà kpáásín nà n̄n̄ báál wē.* They had warned me about my husband. (*WaaLi* <*kpááhè*).

kpããwɔdɪ (*Mo. var.* of **kpããñwou**)

<sup>1</sup>kpaga [kpàgà] *v.* 1 to have, possess • *wòsá kpágá à bɔ̀l̄ lā.* Wusa has the ball. 2 to catch, to grab • *wòsá kpágá à bɔ̀l̄ lā.* Wusa caught the ball. *bà kpágá à ñm̄èr rā.* They caught the thief. 3 to hold, to take • *ò kpágá kpáásà rā.* He held the whip.

<sup>2</sup>kpaga [kpàgà] *n.* type of arm-ring worn by men. *pl.* **kpagasa.**

kpaga bambii [kpàgà bàmbíí] *v.* to have courage • *kàlá wà kpágá bàmbíí.* Kala is not courageous.

kpaga huor [kpàgà húór] *v.* to take care of a guest or a stranger • *ñáá wáá gīlā ñ kpágá húór.* Poverty will not allow me to take care of guests.

kpaga kaali [kpàgà kááli] *lit.* have go *cp.x.v.* to hold on, keep • *wáá ì káá bààn jòò à kpágá kááli ì mibòà bá-pétii.* 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 [kpàyási] *pl.v.* to catch (many) • *ñ kpágási à zálíé rā.* I caught chickens.

kpaleɲ (*var.* of **kpaleɲkpaleɲ**)

kpaleɲkpaleɲ [kpáléɲkpáléɲ] (*var.* **kpaleɲ**) *ideo.* entirely • *bà zóó à báál díá à ñm̄è ò mòlèbíé múñ kpáléɲkpáléɲ.* They entered the man's room and stole all his money.

kpalige [kpàlìgè] (*var.* **kpaligɪ**) *n.* baldness.

kpaligɪ (*var.* of **kpalige**)

kpalimaalige [kpàlimààlìgè] *cf.* **koɲ** *n.* flower of the *fufɔl* tree. *pl.* **kpalimaaligese.**

kpamamuro [kpàmàmúró] *n.* type of yam. *pl.* **kpamamuroso.**

kpambria [kpàmbríà] *n.* linguist, chief's spokesman. (*WaaLi* <*kpambrié*).

<sup>1</sup>kpãnna [kpãnnà] *n.* lead, heavy grey metal. *pl.* **kpãnna.**

<sup>2</sup>kpãnna [kpãnnà] *n.* type of mollusc. *pl.* **kpãnna.**

**kpantɪ** [kpántíí] *n.* sickness with unknown cause where the patient becomes very thin.

**kpəŋə** [kpəŋà] *v.* to freeze, to be cold • *dúóŋ tūgō à báál ɔ̀ lìì kùó, ɔ̀ wà kpəŋà.* The rain beats the man on his way back from the farm, he came back freezing.

**kpəŋkpəŋtɪ** [kpəŋkpəŋɔ̀tíí] *n.* Namaqua dove (*Oena capensis*). *pl.* **kpəŋkpəŋtɪa.**

**kpəŋkpamba** [kpəŋkpámá] *n.* type of cloth. *pl.* **kpəŋkpambasa.**

**kpəŋkpəŋ** [kpəŋkpán] *cf:* **nɔ̀ma ints.** very hot • *nòmà kpəŋ-kpəŋ.* very hot.

**kpəŋkpəŋ** [kpəŋkpán] *ideo.* interrupting, energetic talk weak in content • *ì kpágá nǔǔ kpəŋkpəŋ bà-gá.* You talk too much (and the content is somehow weak) for nothing.

**kpəŋkpəŋlerɪe** [kpəŋkpán]lɛrɪe] *n.* Black Saw-wing, type of bird (*Psalidoprocne pristoptera*). *pl.* **kpəŋkpəŋlerɪe.**

**kpəra** [kpárá] *v.* to be adjacent and similar to one another • *kúrí ní ɔ̀ bíéri kùó kpárá dǔŋá nī.* Kuri's and his brother's farm are beside one another.

**kpəraama** [kpàráámà] *cf:* **daga n.** necessity • *dúó tǔǔāī jāā kpà-ráámà rā.* To sleep is necessary. (Waali).

**kpəsàdʒɔ** [kpàsàdʒɔ] *n.* type of yam. *pl.* **kpəsàdʒɔsa.**

**kpatakpalɛ** [kpàtàkpàlé] *n.* type of hyena *syn:* badaare; <sup>2</sup>tǔǔ *synt:* **tebintɪna . pl.** **kpatakpalesa.**

**kpətfəkpətfə** [kpàtfəkpàtfə] *ideo.* type of texture, thoroughly wet from immersion in water • *à dúóŋ wāwā à kùòtíwíí tǔǔ à níí kpətfəkpətfə.* It rained and the path to the farm was thoroughly wet.

**kpɛ** [kpé] *v.* to crack and remove a seed from a shell, especially for gourd seeds • *à hááj kpɛ fòbíí àkà tǔŋà disá zàáj.* The woman cracked the calabash seeds to prepare soup today.

**kpɛgɛ** [kpégé] *v.* 1 to be strong, to be hard • *à róbábákti wà kpégé.* The plastic bucket is not strong. *à hááj wà kpégé à níúú ní ɔ̀ wà kǔórí síimáà.* The woman has her menses therefore she is not cooking. *ant:* **jǔgɔsɪ**<sup>1</sup> 2 to overcome, to cure, to be able • *dí ɔ̀ wá kpégé ɔ̀ káá kààlì kùmásí ré.* If he recovers, he will go to Kumasi.

**kpɛgii** [kpégíí] *n.* hard, solid, or rigid. *pl.* **kpɛgie.**

**kpɛkpɛ** [kpékpè] *n.* type of grasshopper. *pl.* **kpɛkpese.**

**kpɛŋjɛ** [kpéŋjé] *v.* to sprain, to wrench the ligaments of a joint, to dislocate a joint • *ɔ̀ɔ̀ émbélí kpéŋ-jɛjé.* His shoulder is dislocated.

**kpere** [kpèrè] *cf:* **mamaatfi v.** to be unusual and unexplainable • *à báál wī kpèrè, ɔ̀ já kpā dīŋhál lá lilè.* The man's behaviours are un-

usual and unexplainable, he takes burning charcoal and swallows it.

**kperii** [kpèrîi] *n.* unusual and unexplainable • *nìkpèrîi wàà tùò dùsiè ní.* People with unusual and unexplainable behaviours are not found in Ducie.

**kperii** [kpèrii] *n.* gizzard. *pl.* *kperee.*

**kpesi** [kpésí] *v.* to break off a little of an extremity • *kpésí à dindáá dè.* Break off the firewood to leave the burning part in the fire. *kpésí à páranóásá tà ká tāmā dè.* Repair my hoe by cutting the weak end then lightly hammer it.

**kperigi** [kpérígi] *pl.v.* to break off • *ɲménsà kpérígi mǒngò pààtfágá à wà sùgùli.* Mensa broke off some mango leaves and brought them to boil. *kpérígi à zàal émbéllí à wà tīē-bā.* Break off the fowl's wing and give it to them.

**kpese** [kpèsè] *v.* to be expected, imagined, or likely to happen • *ní-híé kùó káálíí wá bí kpèsè.* Going to the farm for the elderly men is not as it was. *nihákóllá dónójái kpésíjájó.* The menstruation of fertile women is regular. *páríí wá jāā wí-kpésíí.* Farming is not something likely to happen without effort.

**kpeti** [kpétí] *v. cf:* *keti* 1 to pick during harvesting when the plant has already been felled • *kpétí nàmmíí wà tīēɲ í wási tiè.* Pick a maize cob and give it to me to roast and eat.

2 to crack and break • *à báál délà à kúr ní, òò kpétí.* The man leaned on the chair and it broke.

**kpibii** [kpìbii] *n.* louse. *pl.* *kpibii.*

**kpinitjuu** [kpínitjúù] *nprop.* seventh month. (Waali <*kpínitfúù*>).

**kpinitjuumaanjuna** [kpínitfúùmàànjúná] *nprop.* sixth month. (Waali <*kpinitjuumaanjuna*>).

<sup>1</sup>**kpriema** [kpriémá] *cf:* *biēri* *n.* ego's senior sibling. *pl.* *kpriensa.*

<sup>2</sup>**kpriema** [kpriémá] *n.* ego's senior sister, or also used as a polite form of addressing a woman. *pl.* *kpriensa.*

**kpisi** [kpísí] *v.* to sneeze • *tíéɲ tòwà í dǒ ɲɲ mibòásá ní à kpísí.* Give me tobacco to put in my nostrils to sneeze.

**kpogo** [kpógò] *n.* hard swelling of the cheek or the thigh. *pl.* *kpogoso.*

**kpogulo** [kpógùlò] *n.* dish made of soya beans. (Waali <*kpógùlò*>).

<sup>1</sup>**kpoluŋkpoo** [kpólúnjkpòò] *n.* type of tree (*Sterculia tragacantha*). *pl.* *kpoluŋkpooso.*

<sup>2</sup>**kpoluŋkpoo** [kpólúnjkpòò] *n.* Eastern Grey Plaintain-eater (*Crinifer zonurus*). *pl.* *kpoluŋkpooso.*

**kponno** [kpònnò] *n.* type of yam. *pl.* *kponnosso.*

**kpon** [kpòń] *nprop.* Kpong village, abandoned settlement between Ducie and Motigu.



**kpõṅkpõṅ** [kpõṅkpõṅ] *n.* cassava (*Manihot esculenta*). *pl.* **kpõṅ-kpõṅso**.

**kpõṅkpõṅbɔazimbie** [kpõṅkpõṅbɔà zimbìé] *n.* wood warbler (*Phylloscopus sibilatrix*). *pl.* **kpõṅkpõṅbɔazimbise**.

**kpõṅkpõṅdaa** [kpõṅkpõṅdāā] *n.* cassava plant.

**kpõṅkpõṅhɔli** [kpõṅkpõṅhɔlì] *n.* peeled and dried cassava. *pl.* **kpõṅkpõṅhɔlie**.

**kpõṅkpõṅriṅa** [kpõṅkpõṅriṅá] *n.* lumps and particles in cassava flour that do not pass through a sieve, normally given to fowl.

**kpõṅkpõṅpaatfag** [kpõṅkpõṅpààt fák] *n.* cassava leaf. *pl.* **kpõṅ-kpõṅpaatfaga**.

**kpõṅkpõṅpaatfaktɔṅɔ** [kpõṅkpõṅ pàtʃààktʃɔṅɔ] *lit.* cassava-leaf-spoil *cf:* **daaruukpõṅkpõlo** *n.* disease transmitted by a type of ant. Affected plants show leaves reduced in size and twisted (*Cassava mosaic disease*).

**kpõṅkpõṅpeti** [kpõṅkpõṅpétí] *n.* cassava peel. *pl.* **kpõṅkpõṅpetie**.

**kpõṅkpõṅpɔmma** [kpõṅkpõṅpɔm má] *n.* white cassava.

**kpõṅkpõṅsiama** [kpõṅkpõṅsiámá] *n.* red cassava, *bantfe* in Akan.

**kpõṅkpõṅte** [kpõṅkpõṅté] *n.* dried cassava. (Akan <*kòkòntē*).

**kpõṅkpõṅzɔl** [kpõṅkpõṅzɔ́l] *n.* cassava tuber. *pl.* **kpõṅkpõṅzɔla**.

**kpõṅ** [kpõṅ] *v.* to be stained and very dirty • *òv kùò tó má tíé òv kìn-làréè kpõṅò*. His farm work made his clothes stained and very dirty.

**kpòtokporogo** [kpòtòkpòrògò] *n.* buttress, log which supports a wall from collapsing. *pl.* **kpòtokporogoso**.

**kpulii** [kpúlíí] *n.* spherical object. *pl.* **kpulie**.

**kpulikpulii** [kpúlííkpūlì] *n.* fried ball made of ground nut paste. (Hausa <*kulikulì*). *pl.* **kpulii***kpulie*.

**kpulunjo** [kpùlùṅjò] *n.* to make an exit in a group • *ól tíṅ kà té sṳṳ m̀àṅà kpùlùṅjò k̀éṅ, bà wà kìn n̄āṳ kpò*. The mouse that came out first was not killed. *pl.* **kpulunso**.

**kpun** [kpún] *n.* body joint. *pl.* **kpunjo**.

**kpunṅkpulintfelese** [kpùṅkpúlìntfélé sé] *cf:* **tjetfelese** *n.* a person who has epilepsy.

**kpunṅkpulunso** [kpùṅkpúlùṅsò] *cf:* **tjetfelese** *n.* epilepsy.

**kpuoḡii** [kpúóḡíí] *n.* protruded as a consequence of healing, bulge formed on a wounded area • *à pr̀íṅ dáá kpágá kpúóḡíí ré*. The mothony has bulges. *pl.* **kpuoḡie**.

**kputi** [kpútí] *v.* to demolish • *má kpútí à diā háṅ zàáṅ*. Demolish this house today.

**kpɔ** [kpɔ́] *v.* 1 to kill • *nàŋkpááj ká kpɔ̀ nànsá à wà tɛ̀lɛ̀.* A hunter went and killed meat and came back. *à nibáálá bálìè kpɔ́ dɔ́ŋā rā.* The two men killed each other. 2 to overtake or overwhelm, as with perceptual stimuli, to affect strongly • *jìtsá kpɔ́jèè.* It is too salty. 3 to cut yam from its plant and leave the tuber in the ground for the second harvest • *kpɔ́ kpááj dɔ́.* Cut the yam and leave it in the yam mound.

**kpɔr** [kpɔ́r] *cf.* **siŋpɔmma** *n.* type of palm tree (*Borassus aethiopum*). *pl.* **kpɔta.**

# I

**la** (*var. of ra*)

**laa** [làà] *v.* 1 to take something from a source, to receive • *làà ì m̀òlibíí tótíí.* Take your share of money. 2 to take a road or a direction • *kùl-kpɔ́ŋ tiwíí 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 ì jíríí rā.* I will attend to your call. 4 to agree with (collocate with *nɔ̀ā*) • *bà làà ǹòá nī.* They agreed. 5 to yield well (for plants) • *òò m̀áá lááwɔ́.* His guinea corn yielded well.

**laa di** [làà dí] *lit.* collect eat *cpv.v.* to believe • *ñ láá kùòsò dīū.* I believe in God. *nárá báníé wá lāā tɔ̀tīnā*

**kpɔra** [kpɔ̀rà] *v.* to pick fruits • *ò káálì kùó ó ká kpɔ̀rà sɪŋkpilíí.* He is going to the farm to pick some wild fruits.

**kpɔrgɪ** [kpɔ̀rgíí] *n.* type of small gourd, often used as a medicine container. *pl.* **kpɔrgɛ.**

**kpɔrɪ** [kpɔ̀rɪí] *n.* gallbladder. *pl.* **kpɔrɛɛ.**

**kpɔrɪnɪ** [kpɔ̀rínìí] *n.* bile.

**kpɔsɪ** [kpɔ̀sɪ] *v.* to singe off feathers with fire • *má kpɔ̀sɪ à záàl tìè bá tɔ́-ŋà.* You singe off the fowl so they can cook.

*dì.* Some people do not believe the landlord.

**laa dɔ** [làà dɔ́] *lit.* collect put *cf.* **bi-laadɔlɪ** *cpv.v.* to adopt • *ñ láá bié dɔ̀ɔ̀.* I adopted a child. *ñ m̀áá-binihááj bié, ñ káá làà wà dɔ́.* I will adopt my sister's child.

**laa sɔŋ** [làà sɔ́ŋ] *n.* to be famous • *zièŋ búólí ǹáá-lóŋó lààsɔ́ŋ d̀ùsìè nī b̀ùlèŋè páálòò nī.* Ziang is famous for his singing performance in Ducie and Bulenga.

**laabɔkɔ** [lààbɔ̀kò] (*var.* **laarɪbɔkɔ**) *n.* type of yam. *pl.* **laabɔkɔsa.**

**laadimii** [làádímíí] *n.* worries, disturbances • *ziàŋ m̀áá ládímíí wàá pḗtī dī ù bisé háŋ wà líf k̀òsá wàà.* The worries of Ziang's mother will not stop until her children re-

turn from the bush. *syn:* **nimisa**

<sup>1</sup>**laanfra** [láánfɪà] *n.* good health • *bà kpágá láánfíá rā.* They are in good health. *ant:* <sup>1</sup>**wɪ** (Hausa, ultm. Arabic < *lāfiyā* 'health').

<sup>2</sup>**laanfra** [làànfià] *n.* pineapple.

**laari** [lààri] *v.* *cf:* **vɔwa**; **lije** 1 to wear, to dress, to put clothes on • *lààri ì sùkúù kíná.* Wear your school dress. 2 to rub, as in rubbing oil over t.z. for it not to harden • *lógà nǝ́ǝ láàri à kǝ́ǝ.* Take some oil and smear the top of the t.z. 3 to paint • *bà tǝ́ káà láàri nèn dìá pénti rē.* They will paint my house tomorrow. 4 to touch and feel, as a blind person feeling objects and people • *jǝ́lómá kpá bà nésē dì láàri nárá bārā.* Blind people use their hands to feel other people.

**laaribɔkɔ** (*var. of* **laabɔkɔ**)

**laasi** [láási] *v.* to separate people fighting, to calm someone down • *láási bé à jùòsò ní.* Separate them from their fight.

<sup>1</sup>**laga** [làgà] *v.* to hang, to suspend • *à dzòǝ́ǝ lágá à dáá bámbáǝ́ ní.* The hamok is hanging from the middle of the trees. *kpá ì lógà làgà à dáá ní.* Hang your bag on the tree.

<sup>2</sup>**laga** [làǝ́] *v.* to do fast, quickly • *wàà làgá.* Come now and fast. *hì-rè à kpáámá làgá dì à lèì à kàà fǝ́nà.* Dig the yams quickly, if not they will dry up. *ant:* **sɔ̀nɪ**<sup>4</sup>

**lagalaga** [làǝ́làǝ́] *ideo.* quickly • *là-gálàgá hán nī ǝ́ wàà báǝ́ǝ.* He came

here just now.

**lagale** [làǝ́lélé] *v.* to taste for testing using the tip of the tongue • *làà dǝ́ǝ lágālē nà.* Taste the saltpetre and see.

**lagamɪ** [làǝ́àmì] *v.* 1 to gather things or people together • *jìrà má wǝ́lǝ́ mǝ́ǝ má wá làgàmì já sǝ́ǝ.* Call all your people to gather for a meeting. 2 to partner in dance • *à bì-niháǝ́ǝ àní à binibáàl kàà làgāmī gǝ́ǝ.* The boy and the girl will dance together.

**lagamɪ** [làǝ́ámí] *n.* meeting *syn:* **mintɪ** .

**lagasi** [làǝ́àsì] *cf:* **lalaga** *pl.v.* to be spotted, to be speckled, to put spots on, to apply at places • *làgàsì à bà?ǝ́rī.* Apply the medicine on the swollen places. *à bǝ́ǝmání lágásí-jéǝ.* The leopard is spotted.

**lagɪŋgasɪ** [làǝ́ŋgàsí] *n.* type of climber. *pl.* **lagɪŋgasia.**

**lal** [lál] *n.* war. *pl.* **lala.**

<sup>1</sup>**lala** [lálá] *v.* 1 to open • *ǝ́ lálà à dìà-nǝ́ǝ rā.* She opened the door. *ant:* **hara**; **tɔ**<sup>3</sup> 2 to wake up • *à biè há wà lálà à báàl dúó ní.* The child has not yet woken the man up.

<sup>2</sup>**lala** [lálá] *v.* to scratch, to be brushed off, to brush off with quick movements • *à sígmàǝ́núú lálàgàsá lálìjǝ́ǝ báàn nī.* The colour on the head of the Sigma was scratched.

**lalaga** [làlágá] *n.* *cf:* **lagasi** 1 plumage, spot(s), mark on some-

thing • *sùù lálàgàsá wàá kùŋ kù-rò*. The colors of a guinea fowl cannot be counted. 2 spiritual weapon used to protect new farm. *pl. lalagasa*.

**lalasa** [làlàsá] *n.* infertile piece of land. *pl. lalasa*.

**lalɛɛkpakparɛɛ** [láléékpákparéè] (*var. larekpakparɛɛ*) *n.* White Helmet-shrike, type of bird (*Prionops plumatus*). *pl. lalɛɛkpakparɛsa*.

**lalɛ** [lálí] *n.* 1 corpse • *tí bí wàá s-mà lálí mūŋ*. Never fear a corpse again. 2 ancestor • *dùsiè láléé kǎā tíŋà ñ ní rà*. The ancestors of Ducie are guarding me. *pl. lalɛ*.

**lalrwie** [láliwié] *cf. nɪpǎǎ; sulumbie* *n.* orphan, person having no living parents.

**lambaraga** [lambàràgá] *n.* veil. (Waali <lambaraga). *pl. lambaragasa*.

**lanjbe** [lànjbè] *n.* 1 Rufous Scrub Robin (*Cercotrichas galactotes*). 2 good singer. *pl. lanjbesa; lanjgbesa*.

<sup>1</sup>**lanjsi** [lànjsi] 1 *pl.v.* to gather bit by bit, to collect from place to place • *à nárá káá lāŋsùū*. The people are gathering. *lāŋsè à tóv níhìèsā, bá wá làgàmì*. Gather the village elders, they have to meet. 2 *v.* to scatter • *lāŋsè à díŋ tā*. Put out the fire.

<sup>2</sup>**lanjsi** [lànjsi] *v.* to obstruct, to choke, to go the wrong way • *à disá lāŋsérŋ nā*. The soup caused me to choke

(as it passed through the wrong tube, not the oesophagus).

**lanzaj** [lánzáŋ] *n.* outskirts of a village, outside and near a village • *ì nǎǎ tìn dǎá lánzáŋ ní*. Your cow is at the outskirts of the village.

**larekpakparɛɛ** (*var. of lalɛɛkpakparɛɛ*)

<sup>1</sup>**laɔ** [láo] *n.* farm hut. *pl. lawa*.

<sup>2</sup>**laɔ** (*var. of laɔ*)

**le** (*var. of ra*)

**lenti** [lèntì] *v.* to lick • *à váá kàà léntì ì ì kòv fálá*. The dog is licking your t.z. bowl.

**leŋsi** [lénjsi] *v.* to move back and forth one's neck in dancing, seen especially in *zùŋva* • *zùŋvǎà gǎár káá léŋsí bágéná*. The dancer is moving his neck back and forth.

**lerete** [lérété] *ideo.* as in moving or running fast • *ò tǎǎjǎǎ lérété*. She ran fast.

**lesi** [lési] *v.* to chock, to prevent movement • *lési ì délémbíí tíŋ ó gátí*. Chock your stove stone so it is properly high. *kpá à bíí lésí à lǎǎ-ì*. Take a stone and prevent the car from moving.

**leu** [lèù] *n.* chamber pot for elderly or disabled people. *pl. leuno*.

**lebva** [lèbǎá] *n.* saline soil. *pl. lebvasa*.

**lɛdaa** [lèdáá] *n.* 1 mandible, lower jaw. 2 flintlock hammer. *pl. lɛdaasa*.

<sup>1</sup>lehe [lèhéé] cf: giru *n.* entire cheek bone. *pl.* **lehesa.**

<sup>2</sup>lehe [lèhéè] *n.* wooden spoon. *pl.* **lehesa.**

lei [lèi] *neg.* not, negation with scope over nominals • à dièbié háj lèf, háñ nā tíé ì nàmǎá títj. It is not this cat, it is that cat that ate your meat. di kááli làgálàgá háj, di à lèi ì káá tìj à mūj. Go right away, if not you will follow us.

lel [lèl] cf: aridzana *n.* line of ancestors.

leleponj [lélépónj] *n.* type of cricket, smaller than *ponj* and found in the house. *pl.* **leleponjo.**

lema [lèmə] *v.* 1 to be good or pleasant, Gh. Eng. to be sweet • ñññ mǎá tóhá díléma rá. My mother cooks delicious soup. à kpááj lémaá. The yam is sweet. 2 to be nice, to be good • ñ mūr wá léma. Your story is not good.

lemana [lèmə nā] *v.* to taste • ò léma à dísa rá nā. He tasted the soup.

lemanana [lèmə náná] *n.* food sample to taste and try. *pl.* **lemanasa.**

lemu [lémí] *n.* 1 good, nice, pleasant. 2 sweet.

lemsi [lémí] cf: lej *pl.v.* to taste food from all the pots, to try to get as much as possible from many places • tít lémsí à víiné múj dísa-sá. Stop tasting the soup here and there from pot to pot.

<sup>1</sup>lej [lèj] *n.* enjoyment. *pl.* **lej.**

<sup>2</sup>lej [lèj] cf: sungoro cf: lemsi *n.* long pole used to reach fruits in trees. *pl.* **lej.**

lejsi [lèj sí] *v.* to crane the neck up • ò léjsi òò bāgēnā rá ó ná. She cranes her neck to be able to see.

lerete [lérété] *ideo.* good taste, sweet enough • à dísa mára dós lérété. The soup tastes good enough. ñ píná wáá dí kínlérétésá. My father does not eat sweet stuff.

lesirije [lésíríjé] *n.* tradition, culture. *pl.* **lésíríjésé.**

leora [lèórá] *n.* door hinge. (Waali <leora). *pl.* **leorasa.**

lewalewa [lèwáléwá] *ideo.* thin, light and easily breakable • à fàlá dós lèwáléwá. The calabash is thin.

lie [lié] (*var.* lie ni) 1 *interrog.* where • lié nī ì kà kpágóó. Where did you catch it? 2 *n.* part, segment of a whole • à bǒóh lié pē bà kà tíé? Which part of the goat did they give you?

lie ni (*var.* of lie)

liegu [liègù] cf: hanjfele *nprop.* Motigu shrine, in the form of a living monitor lizard.

liemi [lièmì] *v.* to suspend, to be suspended • píéj káá liēmì téébùl núú nī. The piece of cloth is hanging from the table. à móh gònóh káá liēmì òò dáá núú nī. The mango fruit is hanging down from its tree.

lien [lièj] *n.* 1 type of climber. 2 fruit of the *lien*. *pl.* **lien.**

**ligili** [lígíli] *v.* to make repairs and restoration, like to seal the cracks of a building or mend a dress • *à tìlā lígíli à bié pátá rá.* The tailor mended the child's trousers. *bùùrè sèlèmentè à wà lígíli ì zàgá.* Find cement and seal the cracks in your yard.

**liile** [lílílé] *v.* to pour off carefully, separating the clean from the dirty • *lílílé à níí tà ká gílá à múró.* Pour off the water and leave the rice there.

**liiri** [liiri] *v.* 1 to rub gently • *liiri ì bié nǎǎ tìŋ, ò kàá sǒǒnǒǒ.* Rub you child's leg, it will relieve the pain. 2 to pamper a child • *tí wǎà lírí ì bìsé ká bá já nārā.* Do not pamper your children, so that they can stand on their own.

**liise** [lísíse] *n.* thought. *pl.* *liisese.*

**liisi** [liisi] *v.* 1 to remember, to remind • *ò líisúū òò kàntfímá wé wá.* He reminded him about his debt. 2 to wish, to hope • *kàlá líísí dí ò tífí kàá kààli wàà rá.* Kala hopes that he will go to Wa tomorrow. 3 think • *ŋ líísíje dí diàrè ò dí wàà.* I thought that he came yesterday.

<sup>1</sup>**lile** [lilè] *v.* to swallow • *dǒǒ kà lílé hálá ñ sǒǒ ní.* The python is swallowing eggs in front of me.

<sup>2</sup>**lile** [lilé] *n.* throat.

**lilebwa** [lilèbǒá] *n.* opening of the throat. *pl.* *lilebvasa.*

**lilesi** [lìlìsi] *pl.v.* to swallow (many) • *à dǒǒ lílésí kíŋkáná rá à dǒ ò pà-tfígíí ní.* The python swallowed diverse things in his stomach.

**limaan** [lìmǎǎŋ] *n.* imam, prayer-leader. (ultim. Arabic). *pl.* *limǎǎn-sa.*

**lime** [lìmè] *v.* to be submerged, to sink • *tìè à záhálá límè níí ní á mǎrà bìi.* Let the eggs be submerged for them to cook well.

**limmi** [lìmmì] *v.* to peep at, to glance at • *lìmmì à tókóró nā sùkúù bìsé.* Peep at the school children through the window.

**limpeu** [lìmpèù] *n.* fan to blow fire, usually made out of *korogbāŋv.* *pl.* *limpeuso.*

**lije** [línjé] *v.* *cf:* *vǒwa; laari* 1 to dress up, to put clothes on • *à nàŋkpááŋ líjè òò tìntāārā rā.* The hunter is wearing his hunting smock. [*oldfash.*] 2 to cover and be concealed • *ò líjé à dààsá pàtfígíí ní, já wáá kíŋ nǎǒ.* He is concealed by the tree leaves, we cannot see him.

**lieri** [lièrì] *v.* 1 to glide close to the ground • *kàtfígíí wá lièrì à záàl ká ò wà kíŋ kpágāǒ.* The eagle glided towards the fowl but could not catch it. 2 to come close but miss • *máá-fábíí wá lièrì ùù júù.* A bullet came close but missed his head.

**lri** [lii] *v.* *cf:* *zǒv* 1 to go away, to go out • *lii dèndíl ká kpá ññ dàŋ-kpàlá wà tīēŋ.* Go outside and get my walking stick. 2 to leak out of

a broken container, to flow out • à vùsìámá káá līv̄. The drinking pot is leaking. à pɔ́mpì kàà lí nī rā. The water flows in the pipe. 3 to shine • wòsá káá lī kínkán nā. The sun is shining a lot. 4 to originate from • ò lí dūsèè rē. She is from Ducie.

**lɪmɪmɪnɔ** [lɪmɪmɪnɔ] *cf.* lɔɔnɔ *n.* dry season. [Gu].

**lɪsɪ** [lɪsɪ] *v. cf.* mɔsɪ *cf.* lugusi 1 to remove from somewhere, to take off or out • líst nàmíá tīēŋ. Remove some meat and give it to me. líst à kpààŋtɔŋí tà. Remove that spoiled yam. 2 to subtract • líst àliè à lì àŋó nī. Subtract two from five. 3 to choose • bà kàà kààli sòglá rá àkà líst sònnàsá. They will go to Sawla to choose their girlfriends.

**lo** (*var. of* ra)

**lobannɪ** [lɔbānɪ] (*var.* luolibannɪ) *nprop.* section of Ducie.

**lobi** [lɔbi] *n.* Lobi people or language. *pl.* lobise.

<sup>1</sup>**logo** [lɔgò] *v.* to be half-full, not containing all its capacity • à sɪnvíí ì kà kpájēē tīēŋ kēj, ù lógóó. The pot you gave me is not containing all its capacity.

<sup>2</sup>**logo** [lɔgò] *n.* prop to support a head-load when unaccompanied, to not have to lift it up again • bà kà tɔ́-ŋà nàmíá bà wá māŋà lógò rō tìwíí nī. As they carried the meat, on the way, they put their load at a height to rest. *pl.* logoso.

<sup>3</sup>**logo** [lɔgò] *v.* to be smooth, to make smooth • bà zì kàà lōgō à zàgá rá àní sèléméntè. They will then smooth the yard with cement.

**logologobɪ** [lɔgɔlɔgɔbɪ] *n.* stone used as a smoothing instrument when applying cement. *pl.* logologobia.

**logumoanaase** [lɔyúm?ànáásè] *n.* square.

**logunɪ** [lɔgúnɪ] 1 *n.* rib. 2 *reln.* side • wáá tɔ́à à fàlá lōgūn nī. It lies on the side of the calabash. *pl.* logumo.

**logunɪbembel** [lɔgúmbēmbèl] *n.* half side or part of something.

**lololo** [lɔlɔlɔ] (*var.* lolunɪlolunɪ) *n.* type of flower. *pl.* lololoso.

lolunɪlolunɪ (*var. of* lololo)

**lomo** [lòmò] *v.* 1 to tie, to be knotted • ò lómóú. It is tied up. ò wà mára lòmò. It is not tied well enough. *ant:* puro 2 to be in an early stage of pregnancy • ò lómó pènsá àliè. She is two-month pregnant.

**lompoó** [lòm-pòò] *n.* tax. (French <I'impôt 'tax').

**lonɪ** [lòŋ] *cf.* fala *n.* gourd, type of vine fruit (*Lagenaria sp.*).

**lonɪbɔl** [lòmbɔl] *cf.* bɔɔl *n.* oval non-edible gourd, often turned into a container. *pl.* lonɪbɔla.

**lonkpɔrgɪ** [lòŋkpɔrɔgɪ] *n.* small gourd, medicine container for a farmer or hunter. *pl.* lonkpɔrgɪe.

**lonji** [lɔŋjí] *v.* **1** to jump from branch to branch, from tree to tree • à gbǎǎ lónjǎ dààsá dī káálì. The monkey jumps from tree to tree and is going away. **2** to be contagious • tàgàtǎfúúnè gèrègá káá lónj-ñǔ. Measles is contagious.

**lono** [lɔŋò] *n.* hourglass-drum beaten with a curved stick. *pl.* **lonoso**.

**lonodaa** [lɔŋòdáá] *n.* curved drumming stick. *pl.* **lonodaasa**.

**lonpoglii** [lɔŋpògǎlǐi] *n.* type of tree (*Strychnos spinosa*). *pl.* **lonpoglee**.

**lonwie** [lòǎwǐé] *n.* wooden flute. *pl.* **lonwise**.

**loori** [lòòrì] *v.* to wither, to hang limp and lacking rigidity • dààsá múj nō lóòrì gbàngbàng nī. All the trees wither during the season of harmattan.

**looto** [lòòtò] *n.* intestine. *pl.* **lootoso**.

**lootowie** [lòòtòwǐé] *n.* small intestine. *pl.* **lootowise**.

**lootozenj** [lòòtòzèj] *n.* big intestine. *pl.* **lootozenee**.

**lor** [lór] *n.* natural cavity in wood, holes for insects or animals. *pl.* **loro**.

**loro** [lòrò] *num.* six *Enum of:* **aloro** .

**loroto** [lórótó] *ideo.* very sweet, sugary • à tǐ dǎ lórótó rō. The tea is very sweet.

**lotoremuj** [lòtórémúj] *n.* head of mandible, lower back extremity of

the jaw bone. *pl.* **lotoremuno**.

**lo** [lɔ] *v.* to insult, to talk behind a person's back • ñ zímá dí ì ló ññ gàntàl lā. I know that you talked behind my back.

<sup>1</sup>**loga** [lɔgà] *n.* **1** bag used by farmers and hunters *syn:* **pur** . **2** pouch made by women around their waist in front to keep small items. *pl.* **logasa**.

<sup>2</sup>**loga** [lɔgà] *v.* to claw, to scratch • lógà òò bára tǐēò òò sán gbéná káá tǎrǐgǐ. Scratch his body, the craw-craw is itchy.

<sup>3</sup>**loga** [lɔgà] *v.* *cf:* **teje** **1** to scoop • lógà kǎó tǐēj. Take some **2** to cut, to cut the rotten part of a tuber, to cut a piece in order to give away • ñ lógà gbésà rā. I am cutting a chewing stick. lógà kpáán tǐè ì ì bié. Cut a piece of yam for your child.

**logantal** [lɔgàntàl] *cf:* **gantallha** *n.* backtalking.

**logisi** [lɔgǎsǐ] *pl.v.* to scoop, to cut morsel • ò lógǐsǐ bótǐzéníé ré. He scoops big morsels.

**loja** [lɔjà] *n.* lawyer. (ult. English).

**loja** (*Mo. var. of* **loja**)

**loli** [lɔlí] (*var.* **loori**) *n.* car, vehicle. (ult. English < *lorry*). *pl.* **lolisa**.

**loligberbi** [lɔlígbèrbǐ] *n.* car key. *pl.* **loligberbi**.

**lolimilima** [lɔlílimílimá] *n.* car driver. *pl.* **lolimilimasa**.

**lolimunzvalunzva** [lɔlílimùnzvalúnzvà] *n.* semi-trailer, articulated ve-



hicle, Gh. Eng. articulator. [*old-fash*].

**lɔɔlɪsãār** [lɔɔlɪsãār] *n.* car driver. *pl.* **lɔɔlɪsãāra**.

**lɔɔɪ** (*var. of* **lɔɔɪ**)

**lɔɔɪ** [lɔɔɪ] *cf:* **ɲɪdɔma** *n.* human ghost, a dead person is believed to return home after burial. Believed to be imported concept from Sisaala. *pl.* **lɔɔɪɛ**.

**lɔɔ** [lɔɔ] (*var.* **²lɔɔ**) *n.* hartebeest (*Alcelaphus buselaphus major*). *pl.* **lɔɔta**.

**lubaal** [lúbáàl] *cf:* **buzoŋ** *n.* widower.

**ludendil** [lúdéndil] (*var.* **luhodendil**) *n.* funeral ground. *pl.* **ludendile**.

**ludi** [lúdí] *v.* to make a hole in something • **lúdí à kùbé**. Make a hole in the coconut.

**¹lugo** [lùgò] *v.* 1 to bore a hole, to hollow out • **dààsáárá lùgó dáá rá à sãã tìmpántié**. The carvers hollowed out a tree and carved talking drums. 2 to change one's name • **ùù lùgó ɔ̀ɔ sɔ́n ná**. He changed his name. 3 to withdraw one's words • **ɲ lùgó nèn nɔ́á rã**. I withdrawn my words.

**²lugo** [lùgó] *n.* 1 animal trail or tracks. 2 way of doing or process of something or someone • **ɔ̀ lùgó jáá báŋ**. Here is his way. **bà hĩẽŋ lùgó ré kéŋ**. That is the way they are related. *pl.* **lugoso**.

**¹lugusi** [lùgùsì] *cf:* **lɪsɪ** *pl.v.* to remove items from a container •

**lùgùsì kpáámá à vìì ní**. Remove yams from the pot. **lùgùsì kpààm-bilíè kòzázá nĩ à tíēō**. Remove the cooked yams from the basket and give them to him.

**²lugusi** [lùgùsì] *v.* to rinse out mouth • **jàà nĩ lùgùsì ì nɔ́á**. Take some water and rinse your mouth.

**³lugusi** [lùgùsì] *v.* 1 to be lumpy • **à kàpálà lùgùsìjò**. The fufu is lumpy. 2 to be different in a set, to be an outsider • **ɲ jáá nìbúlùgùsì rē zàgà tíŋ nĩ ɲ kàà zóó wàà nĩ**. I am an outsider at the house that I am staying in at Wa.

**⁴lugusi** [lùgùsì] *v.* to throb, to vibrate, to pulsate, to have eye spasms • **ì pól káá lùgùsì**. Your vein pulsates. **dì ɲ wá kòò, ɲn néndúl sī jáà lùgùsùū**. When I get tired, my right eye has spasms.

**⁵lugusi** [lùgùsì] *v.* to cause someone's laughter • **lùgùsì à bié ɔ̀ mómà**. Make the child laugh.

**luguso** [lùgùsò] *pl.n.* lumps in staple food.

**lugin** [lùgùbá] *n.* armpit. *pl.* **lugin**.

**lugin** [lùgùbá] *n.* armpit hair. *pl.* **lugin**.

**luhããŋ** [lúhããŋ] *cf:* **hanzoŋ** *n.* widow not yet ready to remarry due to funeral customs. *pl.* **luhããna**.

**¹luho** [lúhò] *n.* funeral. *pl.* **luhoso**.

**²luho** [lùhó] *n.* Double-spurred Francolin (*Francolinus bicalcaratus*). *pl.*

**luhono.**

**luhodendil** (*var. of ludendil*)

**luhokɔɔɔɔɔɔ** (*var. of selekpɔɔɔɔ*)

**luhosiaŋ** [lùhòsɪáŋ] *n.* White-throated Francolin (*Francolinus albogularis*). *pl. luhosɪama.*

**lulibii** [lùlɪˈbii] *n.* drug pill or capsule. *pl. lulibii.*

**lulibummo** [lùlɪbúmò] *n.* local medicine, such as a concoction made from plants and trees.

**lulibummojaar** [lùlɪbúmòjáár] *cf: patfakjaar n.* healer, herbalist, or traditional doctor. *pl. lulibummojaara.*

**lulii** [lùlɪi] *n.* medicine. *pl. lylie.*

**lulisas** [lùlɪsàs] *n.* powder or undissolved particles of medicinal agents, usually mixed with a liquid for oral administration.

**lulo** [lùlò] *v.* to leak • *à diá káá lùlò.* The house is leaking. *nèn disá múŋ nō à lùlò tà.* All my soup leaked out.

**lumbu** [lùmbù] *n.* hall *syn: zaŋtfa-galiŋ* . (Gonja <*lamu*).

**lumburo** [lùmbúró] *n.* orange. (ult. Arabic <*lêmun*). *pl. lum-buroso.*

**lumo** [lùmó] *cntr. luŋ n.* area situated at the back, furthest away from the entrance • *hàmónà, má ká sãŋā lás lúmō nī.* Children, you go and sit at the back of the hut.

**lunɔŋ** [lúnɔŋ] *lit. funeral-hot cf: lusinna n.* first funeral, fast fu-

neral, at a person's death. *pl. lunɔma.*

**luŋ** (*cntrvar. lumo*)

**luŋo** [lùŋò] *v.* to be deep • *à bɔ̀à lù-ŋó.* The hole is deep. *má híré à bɔ̀á ú lùŋò.* You dig the hole so it is deep. *ant: tɪsɪ*

**luo** [lùó] *cf: tia; lɔla n.* pregnancy • *bà kpágásí lūōnā wā* They are pregnant. [Gu]. (Tampulma). *pl. luona.*

**luoli** [lùólɪ] *v.* to pull out an item from liquid • *hááná kàà káálì kùò rō bá ká lūólì kpòŋkpòŋ.* Women are going to farm, they will remove the cassava from water to dry it.

**luolibannɪ** (*var. of lobannɪ*)

**luore** [lùòrè] *v.* to shed, pour forth, or fall off • *à dààsá pààt/ágá múŋ lúóréó.* All the leaves fell off.

**lurigi** [lùrígɪ] *cf: luti v.* to puncture many times, to make holes in something • *diŋpápàrèsá lúrígɪ nèn jíná tàgàtà rā.* Sparks made holes in my father's shirt.

**luoro** [lùró] *n.* scrotum or testicle. *pl. luroso.*

**lurobii** [lùròbii] *n.* testicle. *pl. lu-robie.*

**luoroɔɔɔɔɔɔ** [lùròɔ̀ɔ̀rɪi] *n.* orchitis.

**lusinna** [lúsinnà] *lit. funeral-pito cf: lunɔŋ n.* last funeral, integrated funeral, or second funeral, usually referred to using the plural form *lusinnasa* as the celebration gathers one than *lalɪ*. *pl. lusinnasa.*

**luti** [lúti] *cf: lurigi* *v.* to puncture, to make a hole in something • *lú-tí nǝʔíl kǝŋkǝŋ*. Make a hole in the milk tin.

**luto** [lütó] *n.* root. *pl. lutoso*.

**lɔga** [lògà] *v.* 1 to forge and shape iron • *lólótá káá lōgà prégà*. A blacksmith is forging finger bells. 2 to struggle or strive, to be engaged with a problem or a task • *lōgà já pétí já tómá làgà nì*. Strive, so we can finish our work fast. 3 to wrestle • *hámǝwísè jáá lōgà dèndíl ní rē*. Children usually wrestle outside.

<sup>1</sup>**lɔgɪ** [lògɪ] *n.* iron. *pl. lɔgɛɛ*.

<sup>2</sup>**lɔgɪ** [lògɪ] *n.* wrestling.

**lɔl** [lòl] *n.* biological relation, family tie • *níníé mā lól kà dǝʔ ò jáá ññ híé-ná biè rē*. A: How are you related? B: He is my aunt's child. *pl. lɔla*.

**lɔla** [lòlà] *cf: luo; tria* *v.* to bear, to bring forth, to give birth • *kpàgà ìt*

## m

**m** (*var. of n*)

**ma** [mà] *pro.* second person plural pronoun • *ñ súmmù mā ná jú-wéríí*. I pray for you to succeed.

**mãã** [mää] *n.* mother. *pl. mããma*.

**mããbie** [määbié] *n.* 1 brother or sister younger than ego. 2 cousin younger than ego, child of an aunt or uncle. *pl. mããbise*.

**mããbiewaatelepusiŋ** [määbiéwáátè

*háàŋ kààlì ásíbtí ò ká lólà*. Take your wife to the hospital to give birth.

**lɔli** [lólí] *n.* giving birth • *ò lólí kpegéò àwíé ò dī pémà*. Her delivery is hard that is why she groans. *pl. lɔlie*.

**lɔlɔta** [lólótá] *cntr. lɔta* *n.* blacksmith. *pl. lɔlɔtasa*.

**lɔŋ** [lòŋ] *n.* mane, hair on the neck of a mammal. *pl. lɔŋma*.

**lɔŋa** [lòŋá] *cf: limmaŋa* (*Mo. var. lɔŋa*) *n.* dry season.

**lɔɔri** [lòòrɪ] *v.* to sneak, to move stealthily with agility • *lòòrɪ ká jínè ná à wǝtʃimáǎ kàà tʃóá dùò rò*. Sneak and check whether the watchman is asleep.

**lɔpɛ** [lòpè] *num.* seven *Enum of: alɔpɛ*.

**lɔsa** [lòsá] *n.* hunger • *lòsá kpágáŋ ná*. I am hungry.

**lɔta** (*cntrvar. lɔlɔta*)

**lèpúsíŋ** [*lit. sibling-will.not-reach-meet.me* *n.* type of snake *syn: suon-daawie* .

**mããbinibaal** [määbinibáàl] *n.* male cousin of female ego.

**mããbinihããŋ** [määbinihããŋ] *cf: mããbise* *n.* female cousin of male ego.

**mããbise** [määbisè] *cf: mããbinihããŋ* *n.* maternal lineage.

- mããbõõŋ** [mããbõõŋ] *n.* ostrich (*Struthio camelus*). *pl.* **mããbõõna**.
- maafa** [mááafà] *n.* gun. (ultim. Arabic <midfa<sup>c</sup> ‘gun, canon’).
- maafabiri** [mááfàbíí] *lit.* gun-stone *n.* bullet. *pl.* **maafabira**.
- maafadaa** [mááfàdáá] *lit.* gun-wood *n.* gun stock. *pl.* **maafadaasa**.
- maafadigina** [mááfàdíginá] *lit.* gun-ear *n.* flintlock frizzen.
- maafadiginbwa** [mááfàdíginbòá] *lit.* gun-ear-hole (*var.* **diginbwa**) *n.* flintlock pan.
- maafaluro** [mááfàlúró] *lit.* gun-testicle *n.* gunpowder container.
- maafamundaapiã** [mááfàmùndàà pǎá] *lit.* gun-back-stick-open *n.* gun baton, butt and stock of a gun. *pl.* **maafamundaapiãna**.
- maafapeŋ** [mááfàpéŋ] *lit.* gun-penis *n.* gun trigger.
- maafatuo** [mááfàtúò] *lit.* gun-bow *n.* gun barrel.
- mããhĩẽ** [mããhĩẽ] *n.* *cf:* **mããwie**  
1 ego’s mother’s senior sister.  
2 ego’s step-mother, if the woman is older than the biological mother. *pl.* **mããhĩẽma**.
- maali** [máálí] *v.* to blister, to cause a blister to form on • à *dín tógósrò* òò *bára mūŋ máálí*. The fire burned him and all his body blistered.
- mããnsuŋ** [mããnsũŋ] *n.* machine. (ultim. English <machine).
- maasi** [màási] *v.* 1 to be earlier or already, Gh. Eng. ever • *i kà máási*

*kààlì bèlèé dī ñ wàà tùó*. The time you went to Gurumbele, I was not there. *ñ máási bigisi tīē kēŋ tìŋ bà kà jáó*. I have already demonstrated to you how to do it. 2 to be enough, in satisfactory state, to be right amount or size • à *máástó kēŋ, tí brà jólī*. It is okay like that, stop pouring. ò *máási kpō kirinsá wá à-ká ná bár pàrà*. He killed enough tsetse flies to get a chance to the farm. 3 to fit, to be worthy • *nààt-ó wá háma, áwèmé kàà màási nèn nàà-sá?* These sandals, which of them would fit my feet? 4 to be equal, to make equal or even • *nibúlúmmò múŋ wá mãási dójà*. Human beings are not equal. *wòsá ní áfiá binsá mãási dójà rà*. Wusa is as old as Afia.

- maataa** [mããtàà] *n.* glue from the *katfal* tree, used in trapping birds.
- mããwie** [mããwié] *n.* *cf:* **mããhĩẽ**  
1 ego’s mother’s younger sister.  
2 ego’s step-mother, if the woman is younger than the biological mother. *pl.* **mããwise**.
- magsi** (*Gu. var. of magsi*)
- maka** [mákà] *n.* Mecca • *bákúríí ní hātōŋ ká kãālī bà mákàsā ká wàà à wà tiè bà bisé tàgàtà wírée*. Bakuri and Hatong went to Mecca, come back, and gave nice shirts to their children. *pl.* **makasa**.
- mamaatfi** [màmáátfi] *cf:* **kaabaako** *cf:* **kpere interj.** expression of surprise. (Hausa <mããmãkì ‘surprise’).

- mana** [máná] *n.* elastic made out of tyre inner-tube. *pl. manasa.*
- mandwɔɔɔɔ** [mándwɔɔɔɔ] *n.* type of mouse. *pl. mandwɔɔɔɔe.*
- mankani** [màŋkàní] *n.* cocoyam (*Colocasia esculenta*). (Akan <màŋkèni). *pl. mankanise.*
- mankir** [mánkɛr:] *n.* type of yam. *pl. mankire.*
- mapãã** [mápãã] *n.* dwarf mon-goose (*Crossarchus obscurus*). *pl. mapããsa.*
- mapããtuogu** [mápããtúógú] *n.* slender mongoose (*Herpestes sanguineus*). *pl. mapããtuoguso.*
- <sup>1</sup>**maɲa** [màɲà] *v. cf. tugo; tɛsɛ* 1 to beat, slap, strike, or hit • ò máɲá dáá rá. He fought someone. bà má-ɲá dáá rá. They exchange blows. 2 to kick a football • ò máɲá à bɔ̀l dɔ̀ tókóró ní. He kicked the ball in the window. 3 to cause a plant to change appearance, usually caused by drought stress • híf tʃíɲiã, à mú-ró màɲà. Due to drought, the rice changed appearance.
- <sup>2</sup>**maɲa** [máɲá] *n.* only • ì máɲá kàá kíɲ wàà. Only you can come.
- maɲgbɪɲ** [máɲgbíɲ] *n.* giant pangolin (*Manis gigantea*). *pl. maɲgbɪnna.*
- maɲkɪsɪ** [màɲkísì] *n.* matches. (ultim. English <matches).
- maɲsɪi** [máɲsɪí] *n.* groundnut. *pl. maɲsa.*
- maɲsɪjɛlii** [máɲsɪsɪjélí] *n.* ground-nut flower. *pl. maɲsɪjɛlee.*

**maɲsɪ** [máɲsɪ] *v.* (*Gu. var. mag-sɪ*) 1 to measure • máɲsɪ ñ̀ ñ̀ zɪɲ-zɪɲ tɪɛɲ. Measure my height for me. 2 to doubt, to wonder about • bà wà máɲsɪ dí ñ̀ wàà tùò dùsiè ní. They do not doubt that I'm not in Ducie.

<sup>1</sup>**mara** [mára] *v.* 1 to adhere, to append, to glue, to be fixed on • à fótò mára à zɛ́ ní. The picture is on the wall. 2 to be unable to say due to being silenced by others, being talked down • kípó nõá mára wíé, bà wó-léé ɲmā wɛ́ díú. Kipo was unable to talk, his companions talked before and over him.

<sup>2</sup>**mara** [màrà] *pv.* to do well, to be properly done • ò wà mára jàà. He did not do well. à fótò mára mārā zɛ́ ní rà. The picture is well fixed to the wall. ò mára tʃɪɲã. It is standing well.

<sup>3</sup>**mara** [màrà] *v.* to destroy with fire • kààlì kùò kà màrà píé pátʃɪgɪ dāā-sà. Go to the farm and burn the trees in the yam field.

<sup>4</sup>**mara** [mára] *n.* to commit suicide • kípó zóó mára sòwà. Kipo killed himself. bà zòò màràsá à sòtì. They killed themselves. *pl. mara.*

**maragi** [máragí] *pl.v.* to adhere, to be fixed on • tʃɪásá káá mārāgɪ à nàmpòá ní. Flies are on the rotten meat. ñ̀ ñ̀ ní ná káá mārāgɪ kàrán-tiè-sá rá. My father is fixing the cutlass handles.

**masi** [màsì] *pl.v.* to beat • màsì à kìn-rinsá múɲ kpó. Beat all the tsetse

flies to death.

**matfeo** [màtʃéó] *num.* twenty. *pl.* **matfewo**.

**mawa** [máwà] *pro.* second person plural emphatic pronoun • *bà lí-sì mávà rā, ká gílà mávâ.* They choose you (people here), but left you (people there) (with gesture).

**mawaa** [máváá] *pro.* second person plural strong pronoun.

**meeli** [mééli] *n.* mile. (ultm. English).

**meesin** [méésin] *n.* mason. (ultm. English).

**mej** [mèj] *n.* dew, mist. *pl.* **mej**.

**mējñĩ** [mējñĩ] *v.* 1 to sieve by turning the container sideways • *kpá à fálá wà mējñĩ jàmmĩĩ.* Take the calabash and sieve the maize. 2 to balance from one side to another in walking • *à hááj válá mējñĩ à wā.* The woman walks balancing towards us.

**merekete** [mérékété] *n.* woven mat made of guinea corn stalks. *pl.* **mereketesa**.

**miidaa** [miidáá] *n.* space between the eyebrows. *pl.* **miidaasa**.

**miimi** [míimì] *n.* shrub with pinkish flower bundles (*Bougainvillea glabra*). *pl.* **miimise**.

**miiri** [mìiri] *v.* to dive, to swim under water • *ziàj mírí ní à kpàgà jínéé.* Ziang dived and caught fish.

**minti** [mínti] *n.* minute. (ultm. English). *pl.* **mntisa**.

**mintij** [míntij] *n.* meeting *syn:* **lagamɪ**. *pl.* **mintinse**.

**misi** [mísí] *v.* to whisper • *ò mísí wīē dós uù bié dígíná ní.* He whispered into his child's ear.

**misiri** (*var. of* **wɔsɔandɪa**)

**mita** [mítà] *n.* metre, measure of length. (ultm. English). *pl.* **mitasa**.

**mĩābrwawɔ** [mĩābɪwáwɔ] *lit.* guinea. corn-matured *n.* type of beetle (*Lucanidae fam.*). *pl.* **mĩābrwawɔ**.

<sup>1</sup>**mĩĩ** [mĩĩ] *n.* guinea corn, used in making porridge, t.z. and brewing *sɪsɪama* (*Sorghum*). *pl.* **mĩĩ**.

<sup>2</sup>**mĩĩ** [mĩĩ] *v.* to send out a current of air out of the nose to eject phlegm • *mĩĩ ì mĩisá tà.* Blow the phlegm out of your nose.

<sup>3</sup>**mĩĩ** [mĩĩ] *n.* gun front sight. *pl.* **mĩĩna**.

**mɪɪbɔa** [mɪɪbɔá] *n.* 1 nostril. 2 life • *ñ mɪɪbɔà fɪ bɪɪgɪ.* May I live long! *wòsá tíéí mɪɪbɔà zéjéé.* May God give you long life. *pl.* **mɪɪbɔasa**.

**mɪfɔɪɪ** [mɪɪfɔɪɪ] *n.* nasal congestion.

**mĩĩjalɪ** [mĩĩjálɪ] *n.* nose bleed, epistaxis, common for some in harmattan.

**mĩĩnɪ** [mĩĩní] *v.* to betray • *bákúrí mĩĩnín tíè òò jíná.* Bakuri betrayed me by telling his father.

**mĩisa** [mĩisá] *n.* nose • *mĩĩ mĩisá.* Blow your nose. *pl.* **mĩisasa**.

**mila** (var. of **mina**)

**milimi** [milimì] v. cf: *sãã* 1 to turn, to twist • *òò mílími ññ nén nē*. She is twisting my arm. 2 to drive, to steer a vehicle • *ññ wāá kìn mílimi lóólì*. I cannot drive a car.

**milimii** [milímíí] n. turning, driving • *à pómipimílimíí bómáá*. The pumping of the bore hole is tedious.

**mimbii** [mímbíí] n. guinea corn grain. pl. **mimbie**.

**mina** [mìnà] v. (var. **mila**) 1 to attach • *mìnà à ñméjé ú kpégé*. Attach the rope to make it strong. 2 to turn something around something else • *làà àñkítí à mílà à kisièdáá*. Take the handkerchief and put it around the handle of the knife. 3 to twine around something, to be twisted • *tiè ì bìé kpàgà à kpááñsúí mìnà dāā*. Let your child twist the yam dial around the stick. 4 to cross fingers or legs • *wáá ká sãñā à kpàgà òò nààsá mìnà dójà*. It is her sitting with the legs crossed.

<sup>1</sup>**mimĩã** (var. of **haglibie**)

<sup>2</sup>**mimĩã** [mìniã] n. type of ant syn: **haglibie**. pl. **minsa**.

**minzoga** [mínzógá] n. guinea corn chaff.

**mijmena** [míjmená] lit. guinea.corn-okro cf: **pammi** n. maize. [Gu].

**mij** [míj] pro. first person singular strong pronoun • *mín ná*. I am the one.

**misi** [mísí] v. to sprinkle • *bà mísi*

*à báál lūlū rē, ò sù*. They sprinkled medicine on the man, he recovered.

**mĩsɪama** [mísìámá] n. guinea corn, reddish type.

**molebii** [mòlbíí] n. money. (Oti-Volta <*libie* 'cowrie'). pl. **molebie**.

**molebipɔmma** [mòlèbìpɔmmà] n. cowrie.

**momuj** [mòmùj] n. appendicitis.

**mõŋgo** [mõŋgò] n. mango (*Mangifera indica*). (ultm. Tamil, via Portuguese). pl. **mõŋgoso**.

**mɔ** [mó] v. to mould, to shape, to sculpt with clay • *ññ nàhá káá mɔ vù ré*. My grandmother is moulding a cooking pot.

**mɔmõã** [mòmõã] n. type of fish. pl. **mɔmõãna**.

<sup>1</sup>**mɔna** [mõná] v. to carry embers or fire • *mɔnà díj wàà*. Carry the fire here.

<sup>2</sup>**mɔna** [mõná] v. to snatch, to find something dead or lost by someone, to take something found dead • *ññ jíná mɔnà néñtīnā rā*. My father snatched a dead elephant.

<sup>3</sup>**mɔna** [mõná] v. to be used to, to be familiar with • *ñ mɔnà sigáá-ri jùúú ní rà*. I am used to smoking cigarettes. *ñ mɔnà dèndíl sáññ ní rā*. I am used to sitting outside the house.

**mɔŋ** [móŋ] n. vulva, vagina. pl. **mɔna**.

**mɔŋpɔŋ** [mòŋpóŋ] n. female pubic hair. pl. **mɔŋpɔna**.

- mɔŋsugo** [mɔŋsùgò] *n.* uterine fibroids. *pl.* **mɔŋsugoso**.
- mɔŋtuosii** [mɔŋtúósíí] *lit.* vagina-pick *n.* type of spider. *pl.* **mɔŋtuosie**.
- mɔŋzɪg** [mɔŋzíg] *n.* clitoris. *pl.* **mɔŋziga**.
- <sup>1</sup>**mɔsɪ** [mɔsí] *v.* 1 to plead with explanations and complaints • à hááŋ wā mɔsɪ dí ɔ̀ wà kpágá sɪmáà. The woman came and complained that she had no food. *syn:* **dibi** 2 to mourn, to lament • à hááŋà dì mɔsɪ à sɔwíí wíé tʃòsá wà písi. The women were mourning the death until the morning.
- <sup>2</sup>**mɔsɪ** [mɔsí] *v.* to make and start a fire • mɔsí díŋ. Start a fire.
- mɔta** [mɔtá] *n.* behaviour resulting from one's upbringing • dì ñ bìé mɔtá káá wirè à líf ñ pé rē. My child's good behaviour come from me. *pl.* **mɔtasa**.
- mɔtigii** [mɔtígíí] *n.* 1 person from Motigu. 2 lect of Motigu. *pl.* **mɔtigee**.
- mufu** [múfú] *interj.* exclamation signalling surprise • múfú, bààŋ kíŋ ì tà búúrè báān nī? Ah, what do you want in here?
- muhĩē** [mùhĩē] *n.* tigernuts (*Cyperus esculentus*). (Akan <mbwe).
- mul** [mùl] *n.* food that has not been prepared correctly • kòmùl ñ hááŋ dí sàà. Yesterday my wife's t.z. was badly cooked.
- munii** [múníí] *cf:* **tiwii** *n.* road. [Ka].
- muno** [mùnò] *n.* pair • nàtòòmúnó á-tōrō bákúrí kpàgà. Bakuri has three pairs of sandals. *timpàn múnó álɛ dɔ́á dùsiè nī.* Ducie has two pairs of talking drums.
- <sup>1</sup>**muŋ** [mùŋ] *quant.* all, everything • à zàgàsá múŋ tɛ́ à kùòrù rō kpáámá fí. All the houses gave ten yams to the chief. ñ zímá sígmáá mún nó. I know everything about Sigmaa.
- <sup>2</sup>**muŋ** [mùŋ] 1 *n.* buttocks. 2 *n.* meaning • ùù múŋ ká jāā? What is its meaning? 3 *reln.* base, under • wáá tʃòà à fàlá mūn nī. It lies at the base of the calabash. *pl.* **muno**.
- muŋkaaŋ** [mùŋkááŋ] *n.* buttock. *pl.* **muŋkaama**.
- muŋputii** [mùmpútíí] *n.* anus. *pl.* **mumputie**.
- muŋtɪi** [mùntíí] *n.* intergluteal cleft, butt crack. *pl.* **muŋtie**.
- muŋtuolie** [mùŋtùòlié] *n.* type of shrub. *pl.* **muŋtuoluso**.
- muŋtɔ** [mùŋtɔ́] *n.* saliva. *pl.* **muŋtɔsa**.
- muŋzaj** [mùnzàŋ] *n.* tail of fish or birds. *pl.* **muŋzanna**.
- muŋzɛntɪna** [mùŋzɛntɪnā] *lit.* back-big-owner *n.* type of squirrel *synt:* <sup>1</sup>**hele** .
- murisi** [múrisí] *v.* to stifle one's laughter, laugh with restraint • à báál sáárí tʃèlè, hà mɔnà dì mú-rísí. The man slipped and fell, the children stifled their laughter.



**muro** [múró] *n.* rice. *pl.* **muro**.

**murobii** [mùròbíí] *n.* grain of rice.  
*pl.* **murobie**.

**murpetu** [mùrpétíí] *n.* rice chaff. *pl.*  
**murpete**.

**musi** (*var. of diebie*)

**mũsooro** [mũsóóró] *n.* clove, food ingredient used for the taste and smell of porridge and soup (*flower buds of Syzygium aromaticum*). (Waali).

**muuri** [múúrí] *v.* to cover completely with a cloth • à hááj múú-ri ùù jùú àní làmbàràgá ní. The woman covered her head with a veil. jáláháánà já mūūrī bà bára múj ká t̄fā bà síé. Muslim women cover their entire body except their face.

**mɔ** [mɔ] *v.* to take away virginity • ìì bié mɔ òn̄ òn̄ òn̄ òn̄ òn̄. Your son took my daughter's virginity.

**mɔ̄** [mɔ̄] *adv.* before • òn̄ dí s̄imāā m̄ɔ̄ ká já káálí t̄ómá. Let me eat before we go to work. t̄f̄íjá k̄éj m̄ɔ̄ há té káálí. Wait there, do not go yet.

**mɔg** [mɔ́g] *n.* sea, big river. *pl.* **mɔg-na**.

**mɔga** [mɔ́gà] *cf:* **dara** *v.* to lie, to deceive • òn̄ s̄ukúú bié m̄ógáñ à làà mòlèbié dí. My child, the one who goes to school, deceived me and used the money. [Gu].

**mɔgnɔ̄** [mɔ́ḡn̄ɔ̄] *n.* shore, beach.

**mɔgɔsi** [mɔ́ḡɔ̀sì] *v.* to suck out a liquid • hà m̄ónà jáà m̄óḡsì m̄óngò ká

*kpá à bié à jùò tá.* Children generally suck mangoes and throw away the seed.

**mɔgzimbie** [mɔ́gz̄imbíé] *lit.* river-bird *n.* Barbet, type of bird (*Lybiidae* family). *pl.* **mɔgzimbise**.

**mɔl** [mɔ́l] *n.* ripe stage of a fruit, especially shea nuts and mangos • s̄ùòmmòl lá. It is a ripe shea nut. s̄ùòmmólá rá. It is ripe shea nuts. *pl.* **mɔla**.

**<sup>1</sup>mɔma** [mɔ̀mà] *v.* **1** to laugh, to smile • ò k̄óórè s̄imáà káá m̄ómà. She is preparing the food while laughing. **2** to be opened and ripe (of Akee apples) • à t̄í m̄ómáá. The Akee apple is opened.

**<sup>2</sup>mɔma** [mɔ̀má] *n.* laughter.

**mɔmɔi** [mɔ́míí] *n.* laughing.

**mɔmɔj** [mɔ̀mòj] *n.* prolapse of rectum.

**mɔr** [mɔ́r:] *cf:* **mɔra** *n.* story. *pl.* **mɔra**.

**<sup>1</sup>mɔra** [mɔ̀rà] *v.* to stop water from spilling out while being carried • làà fàlá m̄òrà ìì n̄ì t̄íj à t̄í wàà táì. Take a calabash (and put it in the basin) to avoid the water from spilling (while you carry the basin on your head).

**<sup>2</sup>mɔra** [mɔ̀rà] *cf:* **sianɔ** *cf:* **mɔr** *v.* to tell a story • t̄ébin hàn n̄ ò káà m̄òrà m̄órá wá. Tonight I will tell stories.

**mɔsaa** [mɔ́sáá] *nprop.* Musa, person's name.

**mɔsi** [mósí] *v.* to rain gently • à dúòŋ wáá pétūū à káá mōsī. The rain has eased off but it still falls lightly.

**mɔti** [mòtì] *cf: lisi v.* to spit, to remove from mouth • dí í mōtì kpú-lík-púlí tà. Spit the candy out.

**mɔtɔl** [mòtòl] *n.* West African mole

## n

**n** [ŋ] (*var. m, ŋ*) *pro.* first person singular pronoun • bàà jááṽ dí ñŋ tǎ-lé. They are doing everything for me to fail.

<sup>1</sup>**na** [ná] *v.* 1 to see • ñ ná dī òṽ wík-págíè wíréó. I see that his behaviour are good. 2 to feel, to perceive • tàgà à dísá dí nā jìsá nǔṽ-wáṽ. Dip your finger and taste it to see. 3 to caution, to tell someone to avoid danger • ná, tí wàà kááli à jùò-síbar. Exercise caution, do not go to the fighting ground.

<sup>2</sup>**na** (*var. of nar*)

<sup>3</sup>**na** (*var. of ra*)

**nāā** [náá] *n.* 1 leg. 2 process, way, manner • ò bùòlnāásá ré kéj. That is the way she sings. *pl. nāāsa.*

**nāābibaambaŋ** [nāābíbáám-báŋ] *n.* middle toe. *pl. nāābibaambaŋsa.*

**nāābibaambaŋwie** [nāābíbáám-báŋwíè] *n.* fourth toe. *pl. nāābibaambaŋwise.*

**nāābii** [nāābí] *n.* toe. *pl. nāābie.*

rat (*Cryptomys zechi*). *pl. mɔtɔlsa.*

**mɔvri** [móvri] *v.* to be dissolved, to dissolve, to erode • à jìsá há wà móvri à dísá ní. The salt has not dissolved in the soup. à diá tǎ-léó à zǎá múj móvri. The house got destroyed and now the walls are eroded.

**nāābikaŋkawal** [nāābíkàŋkàwál] *n.* big toe. *pl. nāābikaŋkawala.*

**nāābiwie** [nāābíwíè] *n.* little toe. *pl. nāābiwise.*

**nāābiziri** [nāābìzírí] *n.* index toe. *pl. nāābiziri.*

**nāāgbaŋahog** [nāāgbàŋáhòk] *n.* tibia. *pl. nāāgbaŋahogo.*

**nāāgbaŋzeje** [nāāgbàŋzèjé] *n.* limping in a way to avoid the heel.

**nāāhāāta** [nāāhāātá] *lit.* leg-bitter *n.* state of a person when his or her soul has left *syn: dɔŋtɔ .*

**nāāhūfowie** [nāāhūfówíè] *n.* kneecap. *pl. nāāhūfowise.*

**nāāhūū** [nāāhūū] *n.* knee. *pl. nāāhūūno.*

**nāājelɛɛ** [nāājélɛ̀ɛ̀] *n.* cracked and dried skin, usually on and around the heels.

**nāākelinjke** [nāākélìŋkè] *n.* hopping on one leg, usually due to pain on the other.

nāākorbɔa [nāākòrbòá] *n.* hollow and bend of the knee. *pl.* **nāākorbɔa**.

naakpaaga [nāàkpàgá] *cf.* kagal *n.* smallest farm space measurement. [*oldfash.*] *pl.* **naakpaagasa**.

nāākpaazugo (*var. of* duu)

nāākputi [nāàkpútí] *n.* leg amputated.

naal [náàl] *n.* ego's grandfather. *pl.* **naalma**.

naalbilie [nāàlbiliè] *n.* ego's maternal or paternal great-grandfather • *n̄n̄ nāàlbiliè líí dùsiè rē àkà sá-ŋá m̀tìgù n̄.* My great-grandfather moved from Ducie to settle in Motigu.

nāālomo [nāàlómó] *n.* nāāloŋo, **pilinsii 1** type of idiophone, hollowed and dried gourd used as percussion instruments. **2** type of dirge featuring dancing and playing of seed rattle, called *nāàlúmé* in Bulenga.

nāāloŋo (*var. of* nāālomo)

naaltulo [nāàltùlō] *n.* ego's great-grandfather of any rank. *pl.* **naatuluso**.

nāālumó [nāàlùmó] *n.* heel. *pl.* **nāālumoso**.

nāānasɪ [nāànasí] *n.* footprint. *pl.* **nāānasie**.

nāānawɔsɪ [nāànàwɔsíf] *n.* groin, pelvis. *pl.* **nāānawɔsie**.

nāāni [nāàni] *v.* to be similar • *ì né-pítíí háj̄ àní n̄n̄ kíj̄ nāání dójá n̄ r̄a.* Your ring and mine are similar.

nāānuule (*Gu. var. of* annulie)

nāāpɛɪ [nāàpégí] *n.* thigh. *pl.* **nāāpɛɛ**.

nāāpɪɛl [nāàpíèl] *n.* foot. *pl.* **nāāpɪɛla**.

nāāpɪɛlgantal [nāàpíèlgàntàl] *n.* top of the foot.

nāāpɪɛlpatʃɪɪ [nāàpíèlpàtʃígí] *n.* sole of the foot.

nāāpol [nāàpól] *n.* Achilles tendon. *pl.* **nāāpolo**.

naasaara [nààsáará] (*var.* **nansaa-raa**, **naasaarpɔmma**) *n.* Caucasian person, may also apply to non-Africans generally. (ultim. Arabic, via Hausa <*nasaara* 'Nazarenes (Christians)'). *pl.* **naasarasa**.

naasaarbaal [nààsààrbáàl] *n.* white, Caucasian man. *pl.* **naasaarbaala**.

naasaardaa [nààsààrdáá] *n.* Neem tree *syn:* **naasaarsɪŋtʃaʋ**; **naasaargbesa** (*Azadirachta indica*). *pl.* **naasaardaasa**.

naasaargbesa [nààsààrgbésà] *n.* type of tree *syn:* **naasaardaa**.

naasaarhāāŋ [nààsààrhāāŋ] *n.* white, Caucasian woman. *pl.* **naasaarhāāna**.

naasaarlulii [nààsààrlúlíí] *n.* non-local medicine, such as pills and other packaged medicine.

naasaarpɔmma (*var. of* naasaara)

naasaarsɪŋtʃaʋ [nààsààrsɪŋtʃáʋ] *n.* Neem tree *syn:* **naasaargbesa**; **naasaardaa**.

**naasartaa** [nààsàrtàá] *n.* foreign language, especially one spoken by non-African people.

**naase** [náásè] *num.* four *Enum of: anaase* .

**nãásii** [nãàsíí] *n.* prominence on the outer or inner side of the ankle. *pl. nãásie.*

**naasi** (*var. of anaase*)

**nãätinna** [nãätííná] *cf: niëra n.* ego's mother's brother. *pl. nãätinsa.*

**nãätɔɔ** [nãätɔ́ɔ] *n.* shoe, sandal. *pl. nãätɔɔsa.*

**nãätɔɔkɔɔr** [nãätɔ́ɔkɔ́ɔr] *n.* shoemaker. *pl. nãätɔɔkɔɔra.*

**nãätɔɔsɪŋgɪrɪgɪsá** [nãätɔ́ɔsɪŋgɪrɪgɪsá] *n.* car-tyre sandals, *dakɔlada* in Waali.

**nãätɔwa** [nãätɔ́wá] *n.* pair of shoes.

**nãätuto** [nãätútó] *lit.* leg-mortar *n.* elephantiasis of the leg.

**nãätʃig** [nãätʃíg] *n.* claw. *pl. nãätʃige.*

**nãätʃigɪ** [nãätʃígí] *n.* calf. *pl. nãätʃigɛ.*

**nãätʃog** [nãätʃóg] *n.* ankle. *pl. nãätʃogɔna.*

**nããval** [nããvál] *n. lit.* leg-walk **1** circuit or route being walked • *kálá káálí áfíá pé rè nããvál bɔliè.* Kala has been to Afia's twice. **2** pace or stride. *pl. nããvalsa.*

**nããwal** [nããwál] *n.* any relatively large sore on the body. *pl. nããwalla.*

**nahã** [nàhá] *n.* ego's grandmother. *pl. nahãma.*

**nahãbilɛ** [nàhãbilè] *n.* ego's great-grandmother.

**nahiẽ** [náhíẽ] (*var. nehíẽ*) *n.* sense, practical wisdom *ant: gɛɪɪ* .

**najelingbielie** [nájélingbièliè] *cf: diŋtʃããŋdaa n.* lantern which uses rolled cotton and shea oil. *pl. najelingbielise.*

**nakaɔ** [nàkàó] *cf: nakpafugul cf: kirima n.* tsetse fly. [*Ip*]. [*Gu*].

**nakeliŋ** [nàkéliŋ] *n.* type of tree. *pl. nakelima.*

**nakodol** [nàkòdól] (*var. nokodol*) *n.* type of tree (*Rhodognaphalon breviuspe*). *pl. nakodolo.*

**nakuŋ** [nàkùŋ] *n.* jathropha, type of plant (*Jatropha curcas*). *pl. nakuŋ.*

**nãkpaazugo** [nãkpaázùgò] *n.* type of vulture *syn: zaarhiẽ* (*Gyps africanus; Necrosyrtes monachus*). *pl. nãkpaazugoso.*

**nakpafugul** [nàkpaáfùgúl] *cf: nakaɔ cf: kirima n.* tsetse fly. [*Mo*].

**nakpagti** [nàkpaýətíí] *n.* type of tree (*Detarium microcarpum*). *pl. nakpagtia.*

**nama** [nàmà] *v.* **1** to press and smooth with a heated iron • *nàmà nèn tàgàtà tʃéŋ.* Iron my shirt for me. **2** to pulverize, to make or become like powder, to press horizontally and moving forwards and backwards, like in rubbing back and forth a kola nut on a grater

- *òò hááñj káált nòj dí ó ká nàmà mǎá.* Her wife has gone to the mill to grind flour.
- namba** [námbà] *n.* number. (ultm. English <number). *pl.* **nambasa**.
- nambèra** [námbèrà] *n.* cooked meat for sale at the market.
- namĩá** [nàmĩá] (*var.* **namĩè**) *n.* meat, flesh. *pl.* **nansa**.
- namĩè** (*var.* of **namĩá**)
- nampuniwĩla** [nàmpúniwĩlá] (*var.* **nampunwĩla**) *n.* muscle pain.
- nampunwĩla** (*var.* of **nampuniwĩla**)
- namuñ** [námùñ] *quant.* everyone, anyone • *pièsì námùñ dí lié pē dùùsiè tíwī kà dèà.* Ask anyone where Ducie road is. *záàñ námùñ kààli kùó.* Today everyone should go to the farm. *námùñ wà tùò dià nĩ.* There is no one in the house. *námùñ mǎá líísé dí ù bié wéréú.* Everyone's mother thinks he is a good boy.
- nanbugo** [nàmbùgò] *n.* aardvark (*Orycteropus afer*). *pl.* **nanbugoso**.
- nandala** [nàndálá] *n.* type of worm, hairy, seen on rotten meat. [*Gu*].
- nãnhuor** [nãnhuór] *n.* raw, coarse meat.
- nanpunii** [nànpúnií] *n.* flesh.
- nansaaraa** (*var.* of **naasaara**)
- nansieliu** (*var.* of **siè**)
- nantɔñu** [nàntɔñũ] *n.* boiled meat.
- nanfɛñta** [nànfɛntá] *n.* bits of meat scraped with a knife, removed from an animal skin being dried.
- nanjuruñ** [nàñgúrúñ] *n.* measured piece of meat for sale. *pl.* **nàñgúrú-mó**.
- nanjɔwɔñ** [nàñgòwɔñ] *n.* millet ergot (fungi) disease (*Claviceps*).
- nanjogul** [nàñjójúul] *n.* butcher. *pl.* **nanjogulo**.
- nanjɔpǎáliñ** [nàñjɔpǎáliñ] *n.* meat hunting period • *ññ bíárè káált nàñjɔpǎáliñ.* My brother went hunting for meat.
- nanjɔpǎáñ** [nàñjɔpǎáñ] *n.* hunter. (Gonja <ñ-kpǎñ 'hunt'). *pl.* **nanjɔkpǎñsa**.
- nanjɔzima** [nàñjɔzimà] *n.* knowledge.
- nanjɔzinna** [nàñzinnà] (*var.* **wizimii**) *n.* wise person. *pl.* **nanjɔzinna**.
- nãñ** (*var.* of **nõñ**)
- naparapiriñ** [nàpàràpiriñ] *n.* type of tree (*Ximenia americana*). *pl.* **naparapirièè**.
- nar** [nár] (*var.* <sup>2</sup>na) *n.* person. *pl.* **nara**.
- nara** [nára] *pl.n.* people • *tóó hàn nĩ bà wàà kpó nára.* In this village they don't kill people. *nára há wà wāwā, bà tiwí zíñáá.* The people have not come yet, their road is long.
- narabɔ** [nárábɔ] *lit.* people-hole *nprop.* cave located north of Ducie.
- nasãñj** [nàsáñj] *cf:* **nasata** *n.* joking partner, Gh. Eng. playmate,

person with whom one can violate some social rules and take belongings from. *pl. nasāāna*.

**nasata** [nàsátà] *cf: nasāān* *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 • *jà jáá nàsátá rā*. We are playmates.

**nasì** [nàsì] *v.* to step on something with a foot • *tí wá nāsì n̄n̄ kin-wilì*. Do not step on my sore.

**nasie** [nàsifè] *n.* thunder • *nàsifè h̄s̄-siāō*. The thunder booms.

**nasol** [nàsól] *n.* type of tree (*Grewia carpinifolia*). *pl. nasollo*.

**nāō** [nāō] *cf: nōō* *n.* cow. *pl. nāō*.

**naōpiŋa** [nāōpiŋá] *n.* type of insect. *pl. naōpiŋəna*.

**nbuoŋō** [n̄búòŋō] *n.* hunter rank of a person who has killed a buffalo. (Gonja).

**ne** (*var. of ra*)

**nebietima** [nébiéttíná] *lit.* fingers-owner *n.* leopard *synt: bōmani*; *puwietima* .

**nebii** [nébíi] *n.* finger. *pl. nebie*.

**nebiifetɪ** [nébíífétì] *n.* fingerprint. *pl. nebiifetɪ*.

**nebikaŋkaŋwal** (*var. of nebikaŋkawal*)

**nebikaŋkawal** [nébíkàŋkàwál] (*var. nebikaŋkaŋwal*) *n.* thumb. *pl. nebikaŋkawala*.

**nebikaŋkawalnānpunii** [nébíkàŋkà wálnānpúníi] *lit.* thumb-flesh *n.* ball of the thumb (*Thenar eminence*).

**nebiɛtɪ** [nébíɛtɪ] *n.* fingernail. *pl. nebiɛtɪ*.

**nebisunu** [nébísùnū] *n.* little finger *syn: nebiwie* . *pl. nebisunuso*.

**nebiwie** [nébíwié] *n.* little finger *syn: nebisunu* . *pl. nebiwise*.

**nebizɛjii** [nébízɛŋjii] *n.* middle finger *syn: bambaŋnebi* .

**nebinii** [nébíníi] *lit.* hand-old *n.* experienced person. *pl. nebinii*.

**negoma** [négómā] *n.* elbow. *pl. negonsa*.

**negbaŋa** [négbáŋà] *n.* interior or crevice of an elbow. *pl. negbaŋsa*.

**nekepeg** [nékpég] *cf: siitima* *n.* quality of someone who is never ready to help *ant: sɔŋtima* . *pl. nekepege*.

**nekepeɪ** [nékpégfɪ] *n.* biceps. *pl. nekepeɛ*.

**nekpun** [nékpún] *n.* any joint along the arm (finger, elbow, shoulder). *pl. nekpuno*.

**nej** [néj] *n.* arm, hand. *pl. nese*.

**neŋbakpaŋi** [némbàkpàgɪ] *n.* handle. *pl. neŋbakpaŋɛ*.

**neŋgaltima** [néŋgáltimā] *lit.* arm-left-owner *n.* monkey *synt: gbīā* .

**neŋgbij** [néŋ<sup>g</sup>gbij] *cf: gbij* *n.* wrist ring.

**neŋtina** [néŋtīmā] *lit.* arm-owner *n.* elephant *synt: bōla; selzeŋ* .

**nepiel** [népièl] *n.* hand. *pl. nepiela*.

- neprelgantal** [népélgàntàl] *n.* back of the hand.
- neprelpatʃɪŋ** [népélpàtʃíŋí] *cf:* **netisiŋ** *n.* palm of the hand.
- nepitɪ** [népítí] *n.* finger ring. *pl.* **nepitɛ**.
- nepol** [népól] *n.* arm vein. *pl.* **nepolo**.
- netisiŋ** [nétísíŋ] *cf:* **neprelpatʃɪŋ** *n.* lowest part of the inner surface of the hand. *pl.* **netisime**.
- netʃug** [nétʃúŋ] *n.* wrist. *pl.* **netʃuguna**.
- nezeŋeetɪma** [nézɛŋééetífná] *lit.* hand-long-owner *n.* thief *syn:* **ŋmĩēr**.
- neesi** [néési] *n.* nurse. (ultim. English <nurse).
- nehĩē** (*var. of* **nahĩē**)
- nigimi** [nìgìmi] *v.* to disappear or vanish by magic, usually the effect of a special medicine • *kòsánáđ dɔ-góní nàŋkpāāŋ ùù nigimì.* The buffalo chased the hunter, he vanished into thin air.
- nigimii** [nìgímíí] *n.* spiritual disappearance, possible only after taking a special medicine.
- nigimiilulii** [nìgímííllulíí] *n.* disappearance medicine, when one faces danger.
- nikana** (*var. of* **nar**)
- <sup>1</sup>**ni** (*var. of* **ani**)
- <sup>2</sup>**ni** [nì] *postp.* locative particle.
- ni-** [ni] classifier particle for human entity.
- nibaal** [nibáàl] *cf:* **baal** *n.* man. *pl.* **nibaala**.
- nibɔŋ** (*var. of* **nibubɔŋ**)
- nibubɔŋ** [nìbúbɔŋ] (*var.* **nibɔŋ**) *n.* bad person *ant:* **nibuwerii**. *pl.* **nibubɔma**.
- nibubummo** [nìbúbúmmò] (*var.* **nibummo**) *n.* African, black skinned person. *pl.* **nibubulunso**.
- nibudɪŋ** (*var. of* **nidɪŋ**)
- nibukamboro** [nìbúkámòrò] *lit.* person-half *n.* untrusty and undependable person. *pl.* **nibukamboroso**.
- nibukperii** [nìbúkperíí] *n.* 1 person who has unusual and exceptional behaviours. 2 person with conformations and deformities. *pl.* **nibukperee**.
- nibukpør** [nìbúkpør:] *n.* murderer. *pl.* **nibukpørə**.
- nibummo** (*var. of* **nibubummo**)
- nibuɔãsi** [nìbúɔãsí] *n.* person with some extraordinary powers performing action hard to believe.
- nibupɔmma** [nìbúpɔmmà] (*var.* **nipɔmma**) *n.* sincere and honest person.
- nibusɪama** [nìbúsiámá] (*var.* **nisiama**) *n.* reddish skinned person, atypical skin colour.
- nibutʃãŋ** [nìbútʃãŋ] *n.* fair-skinned person. *pl.* **nibutʃãma**.
- nibuwerii** [nìbúwérií] *n.* honest and sincere person *ant:* **nibubɔŋ**; **sitɪma**. *pl.* **nibuwerree**.

**nɪbʊzɔŋ** (var. of **nɪzɔŋ**)

**nɪdɪgɪmɔŋa** [nɪdɪgɪmɔŋá] *n.* lonely person.

**nɪdɪŋ** [nɪdɪŋ] *cf:* **dɪŋ**; **kɪŋdɪŋ**; **wɪdɪŋ**; **bɪdɪŋ** (var. **nɪbudɪŋ**) *n.* truthful, helpful, generous, trustworthy, or faithful person • *ɪ̀nɪ̀n bíá-rì jáá nɪdɪŋ ná.* My brother is a truthful person. *pl.* **nɪdɪma**.

**nɪdɔma** [nɪdɔmá] *cf:* **lɔsɪ** *cf:* **dɔma** *n.* soul or spirit of a human being.

**nɪera** [nɪérá] *cf:* **nǎātɪna** *cf:* **nɪeri** *n.* ego's mother's brother. [*Gu*]. (Gonja). *pl.* **nɪerasa**.

**nɪeri** [nɪèrì] *cf:* **nɪera** *v.* to collect meat from the maternal side during funerals or after a successful hunt, especially the neck part • *ì nǎàtɪ̀nsá kàá wā nɪèrì à nàmíà bágé-ná.* Your uncles will come and take away the neck (of the animal).

**nɪěsa** [nɪěsá] *n.* needle for sewing clothes. *pl.* **nɪěsasa**.

**nɪgsɪa** [nɪgsɪá] *n.* Spotted blind snake. *pl.* **nɪgɔ́sɪsá**.

**nɪhǎǎŋ** [nɪhǎǎŋ] *cf:* **hǎǎŋ** *n.* woman.

**nɪhǎlɔlla** [nɪhǎlɔllá] *n.* fertile woman. *pl.* **nɪhǎlɔllasa**.

**nɪhǎsɪ** [nɪhǎsɪ] *cf:* **nɪpage** *n.* character of someone who easily gets angry.

**nɪhǎwie** [nɪhǎwíè] *cf:* **binɪhǎǎŋ**; **tu-lorwie** *n.* young girl. [*Gu*].

**nɪhǐè** [nɪhǐè] *n.* elder. *pl.* **nɪhǐèta**.

**nɪhǐèlɪŋ** [nɪhǐèlɪŋ] *n.* tenure, time which a most senior fellow holds

office as head of a group • *nɪhǐèlɪŋ wà télé bákúrí àká ɔ̀ sòwà.* Bakuri never got tenure because he died too early.

**nɪ** [nɪ] *n.* water. *pl.* **nɪta**.

**nɪbata** [nɪbátà] *n.* bravery.

**nɪbuluŋ** [nɪbúlùŋ] *n.* human being. *pl.* **nɪbulumo**.

**nɪhǎ** [nɪhǎ] *n.* bitter water.

**nɪjogulo** [nɪjɔ́gúló] *n.* water seller. *pl.* **nɪjoyuloso**.

**nɪluŋ** [nɪlúŋ] *n.* deep part of a body of water • *nɪlúŋ né nèn nē, nɪtɪsɪ kó wáá nèn nē.* Here is deep, here is shallow.

**nɪmɔ̀ǎlɪ** [nɪmɔ̀ǎlɪ] *n.* drinking water, potable water.

**nɪpagan** [nɪpáyàŋ] *n.* sour and fermented water, from added substance, such as corn flour or tree extract.

**nɪpɔ́gɔsa** (var. of **nɪpɔ́ksa**)

**nɪpɔ́ksa** [nɪpɔ́ɔ́sá] (var. **nɪpɔ́gɔsa**) *n.* thirst • *nɪpɔ́ksá kpágɪ ná.* I'm thirsty.

**nɪpuugbangbulii** [nɪpúúgbàng-búlíí] (var. **nɪpuukangkiiri**) *n.* Whirligig beetle, black beetle which swims on surface of water (*Gyrinidae*). *pl.* **nɪpuugbangbulie**.

**nɪpuukangkiiri** (var. of **nɪpuugbangbulii**)

**nɪpɔ́rvii** [nɪpɔ́rvíí] *n.* drinking pot. *pl.* **nɪpɔ́rviiine**.

**nɪpala** [nɪpálá] *n.* running water, continuously flowing.



**nɪpɔmma** [nɪpɔmmá] *n.* 1 liquid coming out of a swelling which is lanced. 2 sap of a tree.

**nɪsɪi** [nɪsɪí] *lit.* water-eye *n.* bottom, deepest part of a river. *pl.* **nɪsɪe**.

<sup>1</sup>**nɪsɔta** [nɪsɔtá] *n.* jaundice.

<sup>2</sup>**nɪsɔta** [nɪsɔtá] *n.* puerperal or childbed fever.

**nɪtaan** [nɪtáan] *n.* pond created by a river drying out. *pl.* **nɪtaana**.

**nɪtɪna** [nɪtɪfíná] *lit.* water-owner *n.* type of snake *synt:* **kɔŋ** .

**nɪkanɪka** [nɪkáníkà] *n.* powered corn-mill. (Hausa, via Akan <*nɪkáníkà*>).

**nɪmɪsa** [nɪmɪsà] *n.* worries or disturbances *syn:* **laadimii** .

**nɪpage** [nɪpágé] *cf:* **nɪhãsu** *n.* character of someone who easily gets angry. [Mo].

**nɪpãõ** [nɪpãõ] *cf:* **lɪlɪwie**; **sulumbie** *n.* someone having no living parents or relatives • *nɪpãõsá wá kpãgã híẽmbá*. Parentless people are those without living blood relatives. *pl.* **nɪpãõsa**.

**nɪŋ** [nɪŋ] *adv.* like this, this, so • *hɪŋ jáá nɪŋ*. Did you do this? à *gèr bárá dɔ nɪŋ kɔgɔsɔg*. The lizard's skin is rough like this. *lié ì kà tà-rà, káá jáá nɪŋ?* From where are you getting your support to be boasting like this?

**nɪpɔmma** (*var. of* **nɪbupɔmma**)

**nɪsɪama** (*var. of* **nɪbusɪama**)

**nɪsɔnɪ** [nɪsɔnɪf] *n.* menses *syn:* **doŋojar**; **tʃagasɪ** .

**nɪvɪetaalu** [nɪvɪetàálɪfɪ] *n.* person who is rejected or sacked from a family or a work group. *pl.* **nɪvɪetaalɛ**.

**nɪzɔŋ** [nɪzɔŋ] (*var.* **nɪbɔzɔŋ**) *n.* weak person.

**nɪnɔ̃ãwajahoo** [nɪnɔ̃ãwàjàhòò] *lit.* my-mouth-not-do-hoo ('I will not open my mouth again') *nprop.* dog name.

**no** (*var. of* **ra**)

**nokodol** (*var. of* **nakodol**)

**nokun** [nòkún] *n.* type of tree. *pl.* **nokun**.

**nɔ̃gar** [nɔ̃gár:] *n.* cattle pen, enclosure for confining livestock. *pl.* **nɔ̃gara**.

**nɔ̃gbar** [nɔ̃gbár] *n.* cowherd. *pl.* **nɔ̃gbara**.

**nɔ̃lor** [nɔ̃lòr:] *n.* heifer, cow that has not given birth. *pl.* **nɔ̃loto**.

**nɔ̃mbukutii** [nɔ̃mbúkútii] *n.* type of grinding stone, used for the last grinding stage of guinea corn flour.

**nɔ̃mbutiisii** (*var. of* **nɔ̃nbupaarii**)

**nɔ̃na** [nɔ̃nà] *v.* to bear fruit (one or many) • *súómó wá nɔ̃nā bɪnà háj*. The shea did not fruit this year.

**nɔ̃nɪ** [nɔ̃nɪf] *n.* cow that has given birth. *pl.* **nɔ̃nɪta**.

<sup>1</sup>**nɔ̃ŋ** [nɔ̃ŋ] *n.* 1 type of grinding stone for flour. 2 grinding activity area

• *nòŋ ní ñ dì kááli*. I am going to the grinding area. *pl. nɔŋna*.

<sup>2</sup>*nɔŋ* [nɔŋ] *n.* fruit. *pl. nɔŋna*.

*nɔŋa* [nɔŋà] *v.* 1 to love, to like • *bi-lóllá múj nɔŋá bà bisé ré*. All parents love their children. 2 to carry on one's back • *ò wà birà à nɔŋà ùù bié*. She does not carry her child any more.

*nɔŋbuluŋ* [nɔmbúlúŋ] *n.* type of grinding stone for flour.

*nɔŋbupaarii* [nɔmbúpiárii] (*var. nɔmbutiisii*) *n.* type of grinding stone, used for the first grinding stage of guinea corn flour.

*nɔŋbutiisii* [nɔmbútíisii] *n.* type of grinding stone, used for the first grinding stage of flour.

*nɔpiŋa* [nɔpiŋá] *n.* type of insect (*Lygaeidae*). *pl. nɔpiŋasa*.

*nõõ* [nɔõõ] *cf: nãõ* (*var. nãõ*) *n.* cow. *pl. nõõna*.

*nõwal* [nɔwál] *n.* bull.

*nõwalee* [nɔwáléè] *n.* bull calf.

*nõwii* [nɔwíi] *n.* calf. *pl. nõwie*.

*nɔŋɔrɔŋ* [nɔŋɔrɔŋ] *n.* type of climber (*Acalypha neptunica*). *pl. nɔŋɔrɔma*.

*nuhõ* (*var. of nuhũ*)

*nuhũ* [nùhú] (*var. nuhõ*) *n.* grandchild. *pl. nuhũniẽ*.

*nuui* [nùù] *cf: ããnuuba* *n.* suffering • *à káá nũũi*. You will suffer!

*nõã* [nɔã] 1 *n.* mouth. 2 *reln.* entrance, orifice • *ŋméŋtél sí bilè ùù*

*kùó tíwíi zèŋ nõã ní*. Spider went to establish his farm by a main road. *pl. nõsa*.

*nõã digimaŋa* [nɔã dígimáná] *lit.* mouth one *v.* to agree • *bá jáá nõã dígimáná à sùmmè dɔŋá*. They should agree and help each other.

*nõãpɔmma* [nɔãpɔmmá] *n.* lack of reserve or control, of someone who cannot keep secrets, who cannot hold back • *ì kpágá nõãpɔmmá rá*. You exhibit no reserve. *ì jáá nõãpɔmmátífná rá*. You are someone who cannot keep secrets.

<sup>1</sup>*nõãtɪma* [nɔãtífná] *lit.* mouth-owner *n.* dog *synt: vaa* .

<sup>2</sup>*nõãtɪma* [nɔãtífná] *n.* indiscreet person, tattletale, or someone who cannot keep secret.

*nõãtɪvar* [nɔãtíʃór] *n.* mouth mark, tribal or accidental scar. *pl. nõãtɪvara*.

*nõdigimaŋa* [nɔdígimáná] *lit.* mouth-one *n.* cooperative group or society.

*nɔga* [nɔgà] *v.* to grate, to grind, to chip into pieces • *nɔgà kápúsiè, ñ wà kpágá jíŋá*. Grate the kola nut, I have no teeth.

*nɔgɔl* [nɔgól] *n.* fleshy part and relative texture of the core or centre of a tuber or fruit, usually less hard than its surrounding layer. *pl. nɔgɔl*.

*nõheŋ* [nɔhéŋ] *lit.* mouth-arrow *n.* lytta, firm cartilage lying along

the median ventral surface under the tip of the dog's tongue which is usually removed at an early stage as it is believed to prevent the animal to eat or grab a prey properly. *pl. nōhema.*

**nɔhɔg** [nɔhɔk] *n.* thrush, contagious disease caused by a fungus.

**nɔma** [nɔmà] *v.* *cf:* **kpaŋkpaŋ** 1 to be hot, to burn by heat • *tìè à níí nómà.* Let the water be hot. 2 to be active.

**nɔmanɔma** [nɔmànɔmà] *lit.* hot-hot *ideo.* fast, in a hurry • *jàà nòmà-nòmà, já káálì diá bára tí bírìjè.* Do it fast so we go home before the darkness.

**nɔmɪ** [nɔmí] *n.* hot.

**nɔnnɔŋ** *n.* (*var. of* **nɔŋ**) 1. 2. 3 *syn:* **tɔra** . 4.

**nɔŋ** [nɔŋ] (*var. nɔnnɔŋ*) *v.* to be hot • *nììnóŋ nā.* It is hot water. *bànóŋ wá kīn à sáŋá.* It is not easy to sit at a hot place.

**nɔɔr** [nɔɔ́r] *n.* chaff.

**nɔra** [nɔrà] *v.* to be pierced by a tiny device, like a splinter or needle • *kín nɔrā òò nébíí.* He got a splinter in his finger.

**nɔtunii** [nɔtúníí] *n.* lip. *pl. nōtunie.*

<sup>1</sup>**nɔɔ** [nɔɔ́] *cf:* **nɔɔlɔgɔsɪ** *n.* shea butter, oil, grease or fat. *pl. nōɔta.*

<sup>2</sup>**nɔɔ** [nɔɔ́] *v.* 1 to hear, to listen • *ì nɔɔ́ à báàl ɔ̀ò wíŋmáhá rää?* Do you hear the man talking? 2 to perceive, to sense • *à jìisá nɔɔ́ à disá rää?* Is the salt enough in the soup?

**nɔɔkpuogohena** [nɔɔkpuògòhèná] *lit.* mouth-bulge-bowl *n.* type of insult, describing the person as having big lips. *pl. nɔɔkpuogohena.*

**nɔɔlɔgɔsɪ** [nɔɔ́lɔ̀gɔ̀sɪ́] *cf:* **nɔɔ** *n.* shea butter ball. *pl. nōɔlɔɔɛ-sɛ.*

**nɔɔma** [nɔɔ́má] *n.* scorpion. *pl. nōɔnsa.*

**nɔɔmanier** [nɔɔ́máníér] *lit.* scorpion-uncle *cf:* **halinguomii** *n.* type of millipede (*Myriapoda*). *pl. nōɔmáníérsá.*

**nɔɔmɪ** [nɔɔ́mì] *v.* to complain to oneself • *nɔɔ́míí wáá kìn kò̀rè à wíé.* Complaining to oneself cannot solve the problems.

**nɔɔsuo** [nɔɔ̀sùó] *lit.* mouth-curse *cf:* **suo** *n.* curse • *nò̀sùò tíé ì tó́má wáá káálì sɔ̀ɔ.* It is because of the curse that your work is not going forward. *pl. nɔɔsuo.*

**nɔɔtɪtɪ** [nɔɔ́títí] *n.* pomade, body cream.

**nɔɔzɔlɔŋ** [nɔɔ̀zólɔ̀ŋ] *lit.* mouth-enter-back.area *n.* tongue. *pl. nɔɔzɔlɔma.*

**nwa** [ńwà] *pro.* first person singular emphatic pronoun.

# n

**nã** [nã] *v.* 1 to defecate • *tózén nī bà wàà nã bíná dèndíl ní.* In big towns they do not defecate outside. 2 to lay eggs • *jíṅsè káá nã hálá rá, ká ówà wà nã.* Fish lay eggs, but this one does not. 3 to rust • *nì nì sákír jàjàṅ.* My bicycle is rusty.

<sup>1</sup>**nãã** [nãã] *n.* poverty.

<sup>2</sup>**nãã** [nãã] *v.* 1 to be lacking, to be short of • *gbòlò nãã dindààsá rá ò dià nī.* Gbolo is short of fire wood in her house. 2 to be poor • *kùòrùsò wà nããwà.* Chiefs are not poor. *ààṅ ká nãã wíé?* Who has no problem?

**naabi** [nãábí] *v.* to expose, to reveal the guilt or wrongdoing of someone • *bà nãábí zìàṅ níkáná báán ní.* Ziang was exposed in the midst of people.

**naari** [nãàrì] *cf:* **kutri**; **tiisi** *v.* to grind roughly by breaking slightly, only stage for malt and first stage for making flour • *nààrì kòmíá tònà stì.* Grind the malt for brewing.

**nããsii** [nããsí] *n.* unexpected, unanticipated and extraordinary • *nibúnããsìí jááí, ì kà gílá sìnṅòhà ká jàà jálè.* You are an extraordinary person, you left the drinking habit and became a Muslim. *dúóṅ dī tī-nā, pèpããsíú dīgī dī lālāṅ tà.* The clouds were threatening, but an unexpected wind took them away.

**padwa** [nãdóá] *n.* garden egg, egg-plant (*Solanum melongena*). *pl.* **na-**

**dwasa.**

**naga** [nàgà] *v.* 1 to be sour • *à dósá háṅ nãgãṅ.* That soup ingredient is fermented. 2 to be harsh • *à báál nãgãṅ.* The man is harsh.

**nagami** [náyámí] *v.* to ferment • *tìè à kùbúú nágámí.* Let the porridge ferment.

**nagasi** [nàyási] *v.* to heat a cut or wound using hot water or a hot cloth in order to protect from infection • *nàgàsì hákúrí nãábúú tṣzṅṅ tī wà kpágṣṣ.* Heat the wound on Hakuri's toe so that it does not get infected.

**nagenpentii** [náyémpéntíí] *n.* hedgehog (*Erinaceinae subfam.*). *pl.* **na-genpentie.**

**pagee** [nágéé] *n.* 1 fermented liquid which can be produced by various plants and trees, but specifically *nagṅṅ* • *nágíṅ kpágá nãgēē rá.* The plant *nagṅṅ* contains fermented liquid. 2 sour • *wáálá káá dī nàgèè kṣṣ.* The Waalas eat sour t.z.

**nagi** [nágí] *n.* anger.

**nagimbii** [nàyimbíí] *n.* 1 seed of *nagṅṅ*. 2 type of snake *syn:* **suon-daawie** . *pl.* **nagimbie.**

**nagṅṅ** [náyíṅ] *n.* type of plant. *pl.* **nagima.**

**nãí** [nãì] *n.* rust.

**nakpate** [nàkpàtè] *cf:* **tṣṅbrièl** *n.* grain



**jine** [jìnè] *v.* 1 to take care of, to watch • *màrà jínè ññ dàbàgà dī ñ wá kààlì.* Take care of my garden while I am away. *dī jínè ññ kpáá-má.* Look after at my yams. 2 to depend on, to rely on • *ñ jínè ì síé ní.* I depend on you.

**jinee** [jínèè] *n.* fish. *pl.* **jijise.**

**jiniē** (*var. of jiniē*)

<sup>1</sup>**jinne** [jínéné] (*var. jipine*) *n.* caretaker. *pl.* **jipisé.**

<sup>2</sup>**jinne** [jínéné] *n.* someone with great timing, who knows the movement of others and always shows up at the right time for food and other enjoyments but never for labour.

**jintfige** [jínťígè] *cf:* **kagba** *n.* hat, cap, Muslim hat. *pl.* **jintfigese.**

**jipine** (*var. of jinne*)

**jij** [jínj] *n.* type of sore, usually on head, ears or lips. *pl.* **jij.**

**jijhal** [jínjhál] *n.* fish egg. *pl.* **jijhala.**

**jijhog** [jínjhòg] *n.* fish bone.

**jijʔɔ̃rɪ** [jínjʔɔ̃rɪ] *n.* dental abscess. Swollen jaw, painful tooth, with difficulty eating or chewing.

**jima** [jímà] *v.* to show silent resentment, to make a face, to frown • *ò ñmá wíé dī tīēñ nà àkà jímà.* While he was speaking to me, he was frowning.

**jina** [jínà] *n.* father. *pl.* **jinama.**

**jınabie** [jínábíé] *n.* 1 ego's father's children of a different mother.

2 ego's father's brother's children. *pl.* **jınabise.**

**jınabise** [jínábísé] *cf:* **jınawɔ̃lɛɛ** *n.* children of a paternal line.

**jınawɔ̃lɛɛ** [jínáwɔ̃léé] *cf:* **jınabise** *pl.n.* members of a paternal relation.

**jiniē** [jíníē] (*var. jiniē*) *interrog.* how, what, why • *jiniē ì hiēsī kàà púgò kéñ?* Why are you panting like this? *jiniē ì jéná kà dós.* How is your father? *jiniē ñ kà jãã?* What did I do?

**jijpaŋ** [jínjpaŋ] *n.* ascaris, intestinal parasitic roundworm. *pl.* **jijpansa.**

**jijpaŋa** [jínjpaŋá] *cf:* **patfigihãã** *n.* wickedness, wicked and deliberate act towards someone • *ò kpágá jijnàŋá.* He is wicked. *pl.* **jijpaŋasa.**

**jij** [jínj] *n.* tooth. *pl.* **jijpa.**

**jijdaa** [jínjdaá] *n.* horn. *pl.* **jijdaasa.**

**jijhĩē** [jínjhíē] *n.* 1 ego's father's senior brother. 2 ego's step-father, if the man is older than the biological father. *pl.* **jijhĩēsa.**

**jijtieli** [jínjtíèlì] *n.* back tooth, molar and premolar. *pl.* **jijtielée.**

**jijvaa** [jínjváà] *n.* canine tooth. *pl.* **jijvasa.**

**jijwie** [jínjwíé] *n.* 1 ego's father's junior brother. 2 ego's step-father, if the man is younger than the biological father. *pl.* **jijwise.**

**jɔ̃** [jɔ̃] *num.* five *Enum of:* **apɔ̃** .

**ɲɔgma** [ɲɔ́ɣǎmā] *n.* camel. (Mande, via Waali <ɲɔ́ɣǎmā). *pl.* **ɲɔgmasa**.  
**ɲɔɲi** [ɲɔ̀ti] *n.* 1 any nut or bolt. 2 flintlock locking screw. (ultm. English <*nut*).  
**ɲubiriŋtɪna** [ɲúbíríŋtííná] *lit.* head-full-owner *n.* blind *synt:* **ɲɔ̀lɔŋ** .  
**ɲubɔŋ** [ɲúbɔ̀ŋ] *n.* bad luck.  
**ɲudɔŋ** [ɲúdóŋ] *n.* abused person, someone whose reputation has been discredited. *pl.* **ɲudɔŋo**.  
**ɲukpal** [ɲúkpàl] *n.* baldness. *pl.* **ɲukpalla**.  
**ɲukpaltɪna** [ɲúkpàltííná] *n.* bald headed. *pl.* **ɲukpaltɔma**.  
**ɲukpeg** [ɲúkpèg] *n.* stubbornness.  
**ɲukpulii** [ɲúkpùlíí] *n.* head of animal without a neck. *pl.* **ɲukpulee**.  
**ɲuperii** [ɲùpé̀rií] *cf:* **pera** *n.* type of hairdressing. *pl.* **ɲuperie**.  
**ɲupɔŋ** [ɲùpɔ̀ŋ] *n.* head hair. *pl.* **ɲupɔna**.  
**ɲupɔɔsa** [ɲùpɔ̀ɔsà] *n.* soft spot on an infant's skull (*Fontanelle*). *pl.* **ɲupɔɔsasa**.  
**ɲusɔŋ** [ɲúsɔ̀ŋ] *v.* to have good luck • à biè ɲúúsūmōō, ɔ̀ kà páási ɔ̀ téé-si. The child had good luck, he passed his test.  
**ɲuu** [ɲúù] 1 *n.* head. 2 *reln.* top of • wòjò dɔ́á à bízéh ɲūū ni. Wojo is on top of the big rock. *pl.* **ɲuuno**.  
**ɲuudɔr** [ɲúú́dɔ̀r] *lit.* head-put-agent *n.* hypocrite. *pl.* **ɲuudɔra**.  
**ɲuufugo** [ɲúú́fúgò] *n.* frontal headache.

**ɲuuni** (*var. of a* **ɲuu ni**)  
**ɲuvɔwii** [ɲúvɔ̀wíí] *n.* plaiting the hair, type of hairdressing.  
**ɲuwerii** [ɲúwé̀ríí] *n.* success.  
**ɲuwietɪna** [ɲúwíé̀tííná] *lit.* head-small-owner *n.* leopard *synt:* **ɲɔ̀-  
manii; nebietɪna** .  
**ɲuwɪla** [ɲúwíí́lá] *n.* headache.  
**ɲuzerɪna** [ɲúzé̀rɪíná] *n.* lion *synt:* **dʒeti** .  
**ɲuzíitɪna** [ɲúzíí́tííná] *n.* fairy *synt:* **¹kɔntɔŋ** .  
**ɲɔ** [ɲɔ̀] *cf:* **jala** *v.* to germinate, seen individually • ɔ̀ wà ɲɔ́jèè. It did not germinate.  
**ɲɔ̄** [ɲɔ̀à] *v.* 1 to drink • ɲi ɲúá níí rá. I drank water. 2 to smoke • ɲi wáá kíŋ ɲúá ɲúáásá. I cannot smoke.  
**ɲɔ̄asa** [ɲɔ̀à́sá] *n.* smoke.  
**ɲɔasi** [ɲɔ̀à́si] *n.* type of girl initiation ritual which upon completion allows young female to see a masquerade.  
**ɲɔg** [ɲɔ̀g] *n.* crocodile. *pl.* **ɲɔga**.  
**ɲɔgii** [ɲɔ̀gíí] *n.* smoking away insects. *pl.* **ɲɔgee**.  
**ɲɔlɔŋ** [ɲɔ̀lɔ̀ŋ] *n.* blind • ɲólómá ká nù wíè kínkàn nà. Blind people can hear better (than others). *synt:* **ɲubiriŋtɪna** *pl.* **ɲɔlɔma**.  
**ɲɔmmi** [ɲòmmì] *cf:* **ɲɔsi** *v.* to close one's eyes in order not to be able to see • ɲòmmi ìì síé. Close your eyes.  
**ɲɔɲsi** [ɲɔ̀ɲsí] *v.* to get lost, to lose sight of • ìì kàràntiè ɲɔ̀ɲsí kùò tì-wíí ní. Your cutlass got lost on the





<sup>2</sup>ημίῃ [ημίῃ] *n.* theft • ημίῃ wà wírē. Theft is not good. wàà ní ημίῃ d'òà kààlì d'ùsié. There are more thefts in Wa than in Ducie. *pl.* ημίῃ.

ημίῃ [ημίῃ] *n.* stealing • k'òrì ì mò-lèbíé d'ò ì dzíà ní, t'ò h'àn ημίῃ wá wírē. Put your money well in your pocket, the stealing in this town is bad.

ημίῃ [ημίῃ] *n.* thief *syn:* nezeṣeṣina . *pl.* ημίῃra.

ημίῃ [ημίῃ] *v.* to melt • à d'ò-bíé ημίῃ l'ágá ní. The hail melts fast. ημίῃ n'òò t'ēη ḡ h'álà nà-m'á. Melt the butter for me to fry the meat.

ημίῃ [ημίῃ] *v.* to swear • ḡ ημίῃ-sì áá. I swear by the bushbuck.

ημίῃ [ημίῃ] *n.* oath, Gh. Eng. swear. *pl.* ημίῃsisa.

ημίῃ [ημίῃ] *v.* to heal and close a laceration or a wound • ì p'èmp'él t'ín

## η

η (*var. of n*)

## O

oi [ʔóí] *interj.* expression of surprise, absence of expectation, or pain exclamation.

ol [ʔól] *n.* type of mouse. *pl.* olo.

oluplen [ʔólùplèn] (*var.* oripere) *n.* airplane. (ultim. English <aeroplane).

ημίῃt'jé t'òò. Your sore has closed up.

ημίῃnaημίῃna [ημίῃnàημίῃnà] *ideo.* type of visual percept, of dull colouration • b'òsá d'ò ημίῃnà-ημίῃnà rá. The Puff adder skin is a patterning and mixing of ground colours (blackish, dark-brown, etc.).

<sup>1</sup>ημίῃ [ημίῃ] *v.* to grumble, mutter discontentedly • à b'áál bisé k'áá ημίῃrì w'íé dià ní. The man's children are grumbling in the house.

<sup>2</sup>ημίῃ [ημίῃ] *v.* 1 to chew thoroughly leaving little • à v'áá k'áá ημίῃrì à h'ógó ré. The dog is chewing on the bone. 2 to remove or take more than expected or agreed upon • h'ád'íg'í k'áál'ì ì k'ùò àk'á ημίῃrì ì l'ón'ó múḡ k'áàlì. A woman went to your farm and collected almost all your gourd containers away.

ombul [ʔómbúl] *n.* type of mouse. *pl.* ombulo.

onsiaḡ [ʔóns'íáḡ] *n.* type of mouse found in the bush. *pl.* onsiama.

ontolee [ʔóntòlèè] *n.* type of mouse, smallest of all types. *pl.* ontolese.

onzasii [ʔónz'ásíí] *n.* type of mouse.

õõ (var. of ẽẽ)

## Ɔ

ɔgɪɪ [ʔɔyɪ] cf: tɪɛɪ cf: hogo v. to eject a particle from the throat, or having an urge to vomit because of it • *níỳhòg kpágá ñ̀ñ̀ lìlèb̀òá ñ̀ ñ̀ dì ɔgí-lí*. A fish bone is stuck in my throat and I feel like vomiting.

ɔla [ʔɔlà] v. to decay, on its way to rot • *bà kpá à tɔỳ bìlà̃ ɔ̀ò ɔ̀là*. They kept the skin until it was nearly rotten.

ɔma [ʔɔmà] v. to fear, to be afraid • *tí bí wàà ɔ̀mà lálí́ múj̃*. Never fear a corpse again.

ɔnsɪ [ʔɔnsì] v. to scare, to threaten, to talk harshly • *hàmɔỳ wàà ɔ̀nsì n̄h̄īt̄ā*. A child does not threaten elders.

ɔngbɪa [ʔɔngbiá] n. fearfulness.

ɔngbɪar [ʔɔngbiár] n. coward ant: bambiituna . pl. *ɔngbɪara*.

## P

paa [pàà] pl.v. cf: kpa 1 to take, to collect or gather up several things • *kà pàà bíná hámã t̄ā*. Go and take these faeces away. 2 to marry women • *mòtígíé káá pā̄ d̀ùséléé bí-nih̄ááná r̄ā*. The men from Motigu marry women from Ducie.

paamãã [pààmãã] n. type of tree (*Combretum aphanopetalum*). pl. *paamããna*.

oripere (var. of oluplen) n..

ɔɪɪ [ʔɔ̀ɪɪ] (var. ɔ̀ɪɪ) v. to not be clean as in washing one's body, clothes or cooking utensils without soap • *ì ñí t̄íỳ ì kà ɔ̀j̄é k̄éj̄ ì ɔ̀l̄í-j̄á̃*. You are not clean despite the bath you took.

<sup>1</sup>ɔra [ʔɔ̀rà] v. to cause to swell up, to swell up through infection, to be bloated • *ĩá̃ ɔ̀rá òò n̄n̄ n̄ì*. Guinea worm swollen his hand. *ñ̀ñ̀ n̄áá̃ ɔ̀-rá̃*. My leg is swollen.

<sup>2</sup>ɔra [ʔɔ̀rà] v. to sew • *hákúrí kàá k̄iỳ ɔ̀rà gár rá*. Hakuri can sew clothes.

ɔsɪ [ʔɔ̀sì] v. to suck on breast • *kà làà ì bìé ɔ̀ ɔ̀sì ìl̄*. Go and get your child so she can suck on your breast.

ɔtɪ [ʔɔ̀tì] pl.v. to swell • *zièn nàà-sá mún n̄ā̄ ɔ̀t̄íj̄é*. Zien's legs are swollen.

paani [pááni] v. to make loose, to become less tight, to open • *pááni à lógà ñ̀ ná ɔ̀ò pà̀t̄f̄ígíí*. Open the bag wider so I can look inside. *máná ɔ̀ kpá v̀wà à dààsá, àwíé à bùj̄ dì pááni k̄éj̄*. He used an elastic to tie the firewood, that is why the load is loose.

paani [pááni] v. to put the blame on someone • *bà páán̄ñ̄ n̄í ká ñ̀ wà j̄áá*

wíí mùŋ. They put the blame on me but I did not do anything. (Waaali <paããná 'blame').

**paanõã** [pàànõã] *n.* most extensive labour, typically planned to be carried out early • *n̄n̄ t̄f̄òòs̄imp̄àànõã j̄áá b̄áŋ.* My early labour is right there.

**paanõõ** [pàànõõ] *n.* bread. (Akan, ultm. Coast Portuguese <paããõõ).

**<sup>1</sup>paasi** [pàási] *v.* 1 to peel with a knife • *p̄àási kp̄ááŋ s̄ùḡùlì j̄á dí.* Peel a yam and boil it so we can eat. *p̄à-si à s̄àp̄úh̄ié p̄úná múŋ t̄á.* Peel off the hair of the rat. 2 to scoop out, like staple food from a pot to bowls • *à k̄óó wá k̄ānā ñ k̄áá p̄àási h̄èn-s̄á àt̄òrò.* The t.z. is not abundant, I can scoop it up to three bowls. 3 to weed on surface without digging the soil • *p̄àási s̄ígá p̄àt̄f̄ígí.* Weed the grass around the bean plants.

**<sup>2</sup>paasi** [páási] *v.* to pass an exam • *b̄àmùŋ p̄áási à t̄éés̄i r̄ā.* Everyone passed the examination. (ultm. English <pass).

**paati** [pááti] *n.* political party. (ultm. English).

**paatfag** [pààt̄fák] *n.* leaf. *pl.* **paatfaga.**

**paatfakjaara** [páát̄f̄aȳj̄áárà] *n.* healer. *pl.* **paatfakjaarsa.**

**paatfaranõŋ** [pààt̄f̄arànõŋ] *lit.* take-barter-cow *n.* type of bird, very small, moves in group, can hatch up to 20 at a time. *pl.* **paatfaranõna.**

**pabii** [pàbíi] *n.* hoe blade. *pl.* **pabie.**

**paga** [pàvã] *v.* to do intentionally, without a particular reason • *ñ p̄á-gá vīèò dí ñ wáá k̄ààlì dùs̄éé z̄áàŋ.* I intentionally refused to go to Ducie today.

**pagbetɪ** [pàgbétí] *cf:* **patɪla** *n.* small hoe. [*Gu*].

**paki** [pákì] *n.* park, field, football field • *mólípákì ní dùs̄éé wá b̄ō-lō.* Mole national park and Ducie are not far from one another. (ultm. English <park).

**<sup>1</sup>pala** [pàlà] *v.* to flow • *à ḡóŋ p̄àlà k̄áá-lì t̄iŋjúú rò.* The river flows to the west.

**<sup>2</sup>pala** [pálá] *n.* fowl tick. *pl.* **pala.**

**pama** [pámá] *v.* to load a gun, to cock • *pámá à mááf̄á t̄īēŋ.* Load the gun for me.

**panti** [pànti] *v.* to fall short of a target • *ñ j̄íná k̄áá b̄ūūrè mákà k̄áálí ká ò mòlèbíé p̄ànti.* My father wishes to go to Mecca but his money is too short.

**paŋ** [pán] *n.* molar. *pl.* **paŋa.**

**paŋbanɪ** [pánbání] *lit.* molar-section *nprop.* section of Ducie.

**paŋʒɪɪ** [pánʒɪɪ] *n.* gingivitis.

**papata** [pápátá] *n.* farmer. *pl.* **pa-patasa.**

**par** [pár:] *n.* hoe. *pl.* **para.**

**para** [pàrà] *v.* to farm, to weed • *t̄f̄à-káléé k̄áá p̄àrà kp̄áámá k̄iŋk̄áŋ.* The Chakali people farm a lot of yam.

**parage** [pàràgè] *v.* to be dependent on someone else's facilities, or share someone else's belongings • *ɲɲɲ määbié páragé ɲ ní ɲɲ hááj ní rā.* My brother lives with me and my wife. *òò binihááj páragé òò hí-lá dīndīā nì.* Her daughter shares the kitchen with her in-law.

**parakun** [pàràkùn] (*var.* **perəkō**) *n.* pig. (Akan, ultm. Coast Portuguese <*prokoo*). *pl.* **parakunso.**

**parasa** [pàràsá] *pl.n.* temporary farm workers.

**parasi** [pàràsì] *v.* to crackle, noise made by burning charcoal or fire • *à díj káá pārasī.* The fire is crackling.

**parata** (*var. of jarata*)

**parisumii** [pàrisúmíí] *n.* asking for help at the farm, gathering people for a farm work and thanking them with small remuneration.

**pasì** [pàsì] *v.* to shade by taking leaves or grass and putting them on yam mounds and weigh down with some soil • *bà wà pásì nèn kpáámá, à júú nì à wà ɲójjěě.* They did not shade my yam, therefore they did not germinate.

**pasita** [pàsítà] *n.* pastor. (ultm. English).

**pata** [pátá] *n.* trousers, pants, or underpants *syn:* **ɲɲɲɲ** . *pl.* **patasa.**

**pataasi** [pàtáásì] *n.* locally distilled alcoholic spirit. (ultm. Ga <*àkpètèfì* 'to keep out of sight').

**pati** [pàtì] *v.* of a fowl flouncing around and fluttering after being

slaughtered, or when it feels danger • *à kilìè káá túù à záál pátíó ò bìrà zàà kààlì.* When the eagle was coming down, the hen jumped up and down and the eagle flew away. *à zákórigíú pátíjé à wà zòò nàsá pátfigíí.* The slaughtered fowl flapped the wings and came in between my legs.

**patiisa** [pàtíísà] *n.* curtain used to subdivide rooms. (ultm. English <*partition*).

**patila** [pàtílá] *cf:* **pagbeti** *n.* small hoe. *pl.* **patilasa.**

**paturuu** [pàtùrúù] *cf:* **petro** *n.* fuel. (ultm. English <*petrol*).

**patfakjaar** [pàtʃàʃjájáár] *cf:* **lulibummojaar** *n.* traditional healer, herbalist. *pl.* **patfakjaara.**

**patfigibummo** [pàtʃigíbúmmò] *n.* liar, person who is not truthful, not transparent, or secretive.

**patfigihãã** [pàtʃigíhãã] *cf:* **ɲɲɲɲ** *n.* wickedness.

**patfigi** [pàtʃígí] **1** *n.* abdomen, belly. **2** *n.* intrinsic properties that characterise someone • *òò pátfigíí bírèò.* He is not truthful and sincere. *òò pátfigíí pólíjàò.* She is open and truthful. **3** *reln.* inside • *wáá dòà à fàlá pátfigíí ní.* It is inside the calabash. *pl.* **patfigee.**

**patfigi gbanjasa** [pàtʃígíí gbānjāsā] *lit.* stomach noise *n.* colic pain.

**patfigusunno** [pàtʃígíísúnnò] *n.* ascite, accumulation of fluid in the ab-

dominal cavity caused by advanced liver disease or cirrhosis.

**patfigipomma** [pàtʃíɡípòm̩má]

*n.* generous, fair and plain person.

**patfigitwora** [pàtʃíɡítòórá] *n.* gratefulness, happy.

**patfigtɔgsa** [pàtʃíɡtʃòɣəsá] *n.* sadness, grief, depression.

**patfigwula** [pàtʃíɡwùl̩à] *n.* stomach ache. *pl.* **patfigwula**.

**pawie** [pàwíé] *n.* small hoe used for weeding. *pl.* **pawise**.

**pazɛŋ** [pàzèh̩ŋ] *n.* big hoe used for ploughing. *pl.* **pazene**.

**pe** [pé] *n.* by someone's or some thing's location, end, side, place or limit • *ɪ̀m̩ bisé múɪ̀ nō tʃóʒèè kàà-lì bà màá pé.* All my children have run to their mother. *à kàpósìè dósá ùù pé n̩.* The kola nuts are by him.

<sup>1</sup>**pel** [pél] *n.* third and top layer of wooden beams in roofing structure.

<sup>2</sup>**pel** [pél] *n.* sexton, burial specialist who has been initiated to carry out the activities related to corpse manipulation. *pl.* **pelle**.

**peleŋ** [pèlɛŋ] *n.* breeze. *pl.* **pelema**.

**peligi** [pélíɡí] *v.* 1 to separate from each other • *bákúrí pélíɡí òò háá-nà dóná n̩ rā, òò háwíé d̀̀à wàà n̩.* Bakuri separated his wives, the youngest lives in Wa now. 2 to unroll a mat or unfold blanket • *pélíɡí kùntún bilè à tʃòà.* Unfold the blanket and lie down.

**pelor** [pélòr] *n.* lamb.

**pembal** [pèmbál] *n.* ram.

**pemballɔŋ** [pèmbállóóŋ] *lit.* male.sheep-neck.hair *n.* type of grass.

**pembelee** [pèmbéléè] *n.* ram lamb.

**peni** [pèni] *cf:* **piesii** *n.* ewe, a female sheep.

**pentɛŋ** [péntɛŋ] *ideo.* clear, as in seeing or hearing • *ɪ̀ ná à báál là péntéŋ.* I saw the man clearly.

**peŋ** [péŋ] *n.* penis. *pl.* **pene**.

**peŋpɔŋ** [pèmpóŋ] *n.* male pubic hair. *pl.* **peŋpɔna**.

**peomãã** [pèómãã] *lit.* wind-mother *n.* type of insect, similar size to a cricket.

**peopeo** (*var.* of **peupeu**)

**pere** [pèrè] *n.* to separate from a group and continue on his or her own • *ò ní ò jíná wá bí làgàmì, ù péré ù kùò rō.* He and his father are no more together, he separated and he is now on his own.

**peti** [péti] *v.* to finish, to stop • *jà pétijòò.* We are done. *m̩m̩ pàtùrúú kàà pétúú.* My petrol is finishing. *à dúóŋ há wà pétijè.* The rain has not yet stopped.

**petro** [pétrò] *cf:* **paturuu** *n.* fuel. (*ult.* English <*petrol*).

**peu** [pèù] *n.* wind. *pl.* **peuno**.

**peuli** [péúli] *v.* to let an area become much larger and wider • *já tíè à z̀̀ng̀̀òà kíí péúli.* Let the dancing

floor be wider. *peúlí ìì mǎákúō ó ná kǎnà*. Make your guinea corn farm much larger for you to get more.

**peupeu** [pèùpèù] *cf: pɔmma* (var. **peopeo**) *ints.* very white • *pòmǎmà pèùpèù*. Very or pure white.

**peusi** [pèùsì] *v.* to winnow, separate grain from chaff using the wind only • *à tómá jáá dí í péùsì múró, zúló, mǎá àní nǎmmǎíí*. The work is that you should winnow rice, millet, guinea corn and maize.

**pewo** [pèwò] *v.* to blow with instrument to revive • *kpá à ìmpèù à pè-wò à díŋ dǎ*. Take the fan and blow on the fire.

**pɛ** [pɛ́] *v.* to add to, to increase • *jà kùòrù bǎníí péjèè à jáà bǎníé à-lǎpè*. Our chief's section was added to make seven sections.

**pɛgsi** [pèɣəsì] *v.* to split up, to crack, to cut open • *pègsi à kǎpósiè bǎrá bǎliè*. Split the kola nut into two parts.

**pɛla** [pɛ́lá] *v.* to lean on with own support • *ɲmíérá dí pɛlá bákúrí zǎà nī à dí pígsúú*. Yesterday thieves were leaning against Bakuri's wall spying on him.

**pɛma** [pèmə] *n.* to groan, to make sounds of effort or pain • *kàlá nīnǎ tǎsá dià nī dí pɛmá, dí òò pòògá líí-wá*. Kala's father lies in the room and groans, he has a strangulated hernia.

**pɛmpɛl** [pèmpɛ́l] *n.* mark, wound, sore, or bite. *pl. pɛmpɛla*.

**pɛmpiamɪ** [pèmpɪàmɪ] *n.* fibrous meat. *pl. pɛmpiamɛ*.

**pɛn** [pèn] *n.* pen. (ult. English). *pl. pɛnsa*.

<sup>1</sup>**pɛna** [pèná] *cf: bɔɔga n.* moon. *pl. pɛnsa*.

<sup>2</sup>**pɛna** [pènà] *v.* 1 to be wide • *ìì dià-nǎá wà pènā*. Your door is not wide. 2 to be hollow • *à gǎngǎndáá pátǎfǎ-gǎí wá mǎrǎ pènà*. The inside of the drum is not hollowed enough.

**pɛnɪ** [pɛníí] *n.* wide *ant: fɔrɪ* .

**pɛɲɪ** [pɛ̀ɲì] *cf: pɛpɛɲa v.* to farm in the *pɛpɛɲa* period • *à tǎá pɛnsá á-lǎē ká já pɛ̀ɲì*. In two months we will start farming.

**pɛɲpɛglɪmpɛ** [pèmpɛ̀ɣəlɪmpɛ̀] *n.* butterfly. *pl. pɛɲpɛglɪmpɛsa*.

**pɛpɛɲa** [pèpɛ̀ɲá] *cf: pɛɲɪ n.* farming period for sowing, between April and June.

**pɛra** [pèrà] *cf: ɲupɛrɪ v.* to weave rope or hair • *tǎéɲ bòk ɲí pèrà síg-mǎā ɲmɛ̀ɲ*. Give me fiber to weave a mask rope.

**pɛrɛga** (var. of *kokolun*)

**pɛrɛkɔ̃** (var. of *parakun*)

**pɛrɛtɛ** [pèrètɛ̀] *n.* dish, plate. (ult. English <plate). *pl. pɛrɛtɛsa*.

**pɛsɪ** [pɛ́sɪ] *v.* to slap, smack, or zap • *pɛsí kàlá tièɲ*. Draw the attention of Kala for me. *zòɲgòrèè mǎrà ìì gǎntàl nī, ɲí pɛsí tǎēí*. There is a mosquito on your back, I am going to zap it.

**petřdmdagal** [pétřdmdāyāl] *n.* layer in-between, as egg shell membrane and orange pith.

**petř** [pétří] *cf:* **daapetř** *n.* bark, cover, outside, part that is protecting and covering the actual item. *pl.* **petře**.

**pewa** [pèwà] *v.* to grill meat in order to dry or cook it • *nàdígú wá tiè nànpèwú*. Some people do not eat smoked meat. *pèwà à áá ná-miá*. Grill the bushbuck meat. *syn:* **wiisi**<sup>1</sup>

**pewř** [péwří] *n.* smoking or grilling meat.

**piel** [piél] *n.* type of plant. *pl.* **piel**.

**piesii** [piésíí] *cf:* **penř** *n.* sheep. *pl.* **piesie**.

**pigsi** [pìgsì] *v.* to spy • *tí válà à pigsi à hááŋ*. Do not go and spy on the woman.

**pii** [pií] *n.* yam mound. *pl.* **pie**.

**piili** [piíli] *v.* to start • *bì piíli*. Start again. *gbàngbàŋ kàà piíli tótfaáŋ gántàl nĩ*. Harmattan will start after the *tótfaaŋ* season.

**piimřsa** [piímřsà] *lit.* yam.mound-nose *n.* part of yam mound.

**piipa** [piípa] *cf:* **kadaasř** *cf:* **tŋ** *n.* paper. (ult. English).

**piipelee** [piipéléè] *n.* small yam mound leaning against another yam mound, built for matching the *piimřsa* on the opposite line. *pl.* **piipelesa**.

**pikiete** [píkíétè] *n.* old yam field where the mounds are open and yams have been removed.

**pile** [pilè] *v.* to roof with grass or zinc • *kòsá ñ kpá pilè à diá*. I covered the house with grass. (Oti-Volta).

**pilinsii** (*var. of* **nāālo**)

**pini** [pínì] *n.* safety pin. (ult. English <*pin*). *pl.* **pinise**.

**pinti** [pìntì] **1** *pl.v.* to pick up from the ground • *pinti tǔónó tēŋ*. Pick up shea nut seeds for me. *pinti mólèbié háma tēŋ*. Pick up that money for me. **2** *n.* whole process of shea harvest, from the picking to the storage.

**pipi** [pípì] *ints.* very early morning • *diàri tǔòsìn pípì ò dí liè*. Yesterday he left very early in the morning.

**piregi** [pirègì] *v.* to take by surprise • *ñ ká pirègūū dí ù kėti ññ dià-nóá*. I took him by surprise while he was breaking my door to enter my room.

**pisi** [písì] *v.* to shake • *pisi dōŋō tà ì nūú nĩ*. Shake the dirt out of your hair. *dì ì wà pisi bára tontómá, bára kàà bíréí rē kùò nĩ*. If you do not shake up at work, you will not get the chance to complete the farm work.

**piti** [pítì] *v.* to survive • *à gérégí wàá piti*. The sick person will not survive. *syn:* <sup>2</sup>**foti**

**pitieteo** [pítíétéò] *n.* Bearded barbet,

- type of bird (*Lybius dubius*). *pl. piteeso*.
- pitiɲaɲa** [pítíɲàɲà] *n.* type of tree (*Ficus sur*). *pl. pitiɲaɲasa*.
- pitiisolo** [pítíisòlò] *n.* type of tree (*Ficus conraui*). *pl. pitiisoloso*.
- pitɔŋ** [pítɔŋ] *n.* row or line of yam mounds. *pl. pitɔnsa*.
- pĩ** [pĩ] *v.* to be fed up with the same matter, or the same food • *òò hááɲ pĩé rā àní òò sɪŋpòhá ní*. His wife is fed up with his drinking habit.
- pĩá** [pĩá] *n.* to open slightly, or to hold down the eyelid • *pĩá ì sítí à dɔktà ná*. Pull the skin away from your eye for the doctor to see. *kálá pĩá òò nòá rá, ñ ná òò jítá*. Kala slightly opened the mouth and I saw his teeth.
- pĩáni** [pĩáni] *v.* to open or make wide a little more within certain limits • *bà pĩáni dùsèè tíwí rē*. They widen the Ducie road. *pĩáni ì lógànòá ñ ná*. Open your bag a little more for me to see. *syn: wɛga*
- prasi** [pɪàsɪ] *v. cf: vɔga (var. pɪɛsɪ)*  
**1** to ask • *à hááɲ píási òò bààl dí lié ɔ kà káálì*. The woman asked her husband where he was going. **2** to investigate, to soothsay • *ñ ká piási ná bàáɲ ká tiè ñ dí wíí*. I shall soothsay to know what makes me sick.
- prawata** [píáwátà] *n.* water sachet. (ultim. English ‘pure water’).
- prɛŋ** [píɛŋ] *n.* piece of fabric. *pl. prɛma*.
- prɛsɪ** (*var. of prasi*)
- priga** [pìgà] *cf: hala v.* to fry with no other ingredients than oil and salt • *wà làà zímíé háɲ pìgà já tíé*. Come and take this fowl meat and fry it for us to eat.
- prigu** [pígíí] *n.* frying • *zápígéé áliè ñ vóg dì dí*. My shrine takes two fried fowls. *pl. prigɛ*.
- prɪ** [píí] *cf: kpãáɲ n.* yam. [Ka]. *pl. pra*.
- <sup>1</sup>pĩ** [pĩ] *v.* to mark items or livestock • *má pĩ má bār kòrà*. You should mark your share differently from each other.
- <sup>2</sup>pĩ** [pĩ] *v.* to soak items in water for a length of time • *kpà kindónó dɔ nī nī á pĩ, ká í dí tɔgāsí*. Take the dirty items and soak them, you will be washing them.
- prigi** [pìgì] *pl.v.* to make lines or marks, to mark a field or cut a face, to draw a line • *kùòrù bisé jáà pfiḡi bà bára rá*. People from the chief’s family usually make marks on their body. *pìgì à bié gríí àkà dè lú-líí*. Cut the child’s cheek then apply medicine.
- prɪlɪ** [pííli] *v.* to tear carefully, to pull apart or into pieces • *pííli kàdáásè tàamá tíéɲ*. Tear a piece of paper for me.
- prɪtɔ** [pítɔ́] *n.* underpants *syn: pata*. (Akan < *píótó*). *pl. prɪtɔsa*.
- pɪla** [pílà] *v.* to hit down repeatedly, to compact by hitting • *jà fii pílà sàl*



*lá.* We used to compact our roof top by hitting repeatedly on its surface.

**pɪŋa** [pɪŋà] *v.* to be satisfied, with food or information, to be full • *ɲ dí k̄ɔ̄ k̄ɪnkán nà, ɪ̀ ɲ pɪŋáá.* I ate a lot of t.z., I am satisfied. *ò wà n̄óóá pɪŋà.* He did not hear the information to his satisfaction.

**pɪŋgaasi** [pɪŋgāāsɪ] *cf:* **gaŋgalari** *n.* pickaxe. (ult. English).

**pɪŋɪsɪ** [pɪŋɪsɪ] *pl.v.* to be satisfied with food, to satisfy one's appetite • *à b̄óóná pɪŋɪsɪ ànɪ à s̄imáá rā.* The goats are satisfied with the food. *à lúhó bār nárá mú̀ ɲ pɪŋɪsɪjéó.* All people at the funeral are satisfied.

**pɪra** [pɪrà] *v.* to injure or wound • *dì ì líf à dááɲúú t̄fèlè, ì kàá pɪrāó.* If you fall from the tree you will be injured.

**pɪraago** [pɪrààgō] *n.* big needle for large size food sacks. *pl.* **pɪraagoso.**

**pɪrintɔa** [pɪrɪntòá] *cf:* **kɔlbaa** *n.* bottle. (Akan <pèntòá).

**pɪsa** [pɪsá] *n.* grass mat. *pl.* **pɪsa.**

**pɪsɪ** [pɪsɪ] *v.* to scatter, disappear, or vanish, to spread or come out, e.g. day, season • *námù̀ ɲ pɪsɪ ɲ̀ ɲ s̄íí n̄í.* People should disappear from my presence. *pɪsɪ à kp̄òŋkp̄óŋ t̄ā à b̄íí n̄í à hólá.* Spread the cassava on the rock to dry. *t̄f̄òs̄í káá pɪs̄íó.* Morning is breaking.

**pɪtɪ** [pítí] *n.* refers to a fowl used as blood sacrifice. [*oldfash.*] *pl.* **pɪtɛ.**

**<sup>1</sup>po** [pó] *v.* to divide into parts • *kà pó à lójó ànɪ f̄alàsá.* Go and divide the calabash into parts.

**<sup>2</sup>po** [pó] *v.* to take mud out of a pond • *já káálì pó vèt̄t̄i à ḡóŋ n̄í.* Let us go and take mud out of the pond.

**pogo** [pógó] *n.* guinea corn, whitish type.

**<sup>1</sup>pol** [pól] *n.* vein. *pl.* **polo.**

**<sup>2</sup>pol** [pól] *n.* place where water is fetched from for drinking or household work. *pl.* **pollo.**

**poleme** [pòlèmè] *v.* to do in a hurry, to rush, to hasten • *má pólèmè já káálì díá, dúóŋ kàà búrūū.* Hurry so we can go home, the rain is threatening.

**polpiesii** [pòlpíésíí] *lit.* water.source-sheep *n.* Black-and-white colobus, type of monkey (*Colobus*). *pl.* **polpiesie.**

**pomo** [pómó] *v.* to knock bark off • *zááŋ bisé káá p̄m̄ō dààsá b̄àgábà-gá.* Today's children are removing the bark off trees anyhow.

**pompo** (*var. of* **zɪnah̄ō**)

**pontii** [póntíí] *n.* liniment tree (*Securidaca longepedunculata*). *pl.* **pontie.**

**poŋ** [póŋ] *n.* cricket, type of insect. *pl.* **pomo.**

**poŋpoglii** [pòmpòḡèl̄íí] *n.* type of tree. *pl.* **poŋpoglie.**

**poŋpogo** [pòmpógò] *n.* type of tree (*Ficus trichopoda*). *pl.* **poŋpogoso.**

**poruso** [pòrusò] *n.* police. (ultm. English). *pl.* **porusoso**.

**1pɔ** [pɔ] *v.* *cf.* **tõõ** **1** to insert, to plant, to transplant, to set upright in ground, to pierce • *ñ pɔ dāā rā.* I planted a tree. *hẽmbít pɔ dāā nĩ, fó-tò làgà.* A picture hangs from a nail on a pole. **2** to aim at with a gun • *làà mááfà pɔ ñ nà dí ì kàà kìn jùò mááfà rā.* Take the gun and aim so I see whether you can use a gun. **3** to protect, to keep in case of emergency, to trap or catch for securing • *pɔ à diànǝǝ, bǝǝñ ná ñ dì búúré ñ kpágà.* Keep the door, I want to catch a goat. *bà bǝǝñ dígíímáyá bà kà kpájèè pɔ bā tìntìñ.* They rely on the only goat they have. *à bié má-rá pɔ à góòl lō, àwíé bà wà kíj dí bè.* The child has protected the goal well so the others could not win.

**2pɔ** [pɔ] *v.* to make a sacrifice for twins to survive • *bà pɔ dziẽnsá rá.* They sacrifice for the twins to survive.

**pɔɪ** [pɔɪ] *n.* planting • *dáápóɪ wé-réó.* Tree planting is good.

**pɔla** [pòlà] *v.* to be fat • *nìn níhĩé̃tĩnā pólá kààlìñ.* My senior is fatter than me.

**pɔli** [pólí] *n.* fat • *à nihápólíè fĩ há-mà mùnāā wāāwā.* All those ten fat women came. *ant:* badaawise *pl.* **pɔliɛ.**

**pɔmpɪ** [pómɔpì] *n.* hand pump, water pump. (ultm. English <pump). *pl.* **pɔmpisa.**

**pɔmpivigii** [pómɔpìvìgì] *lit.* pump-move.up.and.down *n.* borehole. (partly ultm. English <pump).

**pɔntɔliɛ** [póntólíè] *n.* spleen.

**pɔntɔrɔtɕĩ** [póntòròtɕĩ] *n.* type of gourd seed. *pl.* **pɔntɔrɔtɕĩása.**

**pɔntɕa** [póntɕà] *n.* puncture in tyre. (ultm. English <puncture).

**pɔñ** [póñ] *n.* pound, introduced in BWA currency. (ultm. English <pound).

**pɔti** [pótí] *v.* to damage a container or a head to its non-functioning, to crush-and-spoil • *tíf jūō bià, à nìñpòǝrvii kàá pɔtĩ.* Stop throwing stones, the drinking water pot will be damaged. *à lóólɪ zín ù júú pɔ-tt.* The car crushed his head.

**pɛga** [péregà] *n.* iron castanets, finger bell. *pl.* **pɛgasa.**

**1pɪñ** [prín] *n.* type of Mahogany (*Khaya senegalensis*). *pl.* **prima.**

**2pɪñ** [prín] *n.* type of fish. *pl.* **prima.**

**1pu** [pú] *v.* **1** to cover, as in covering a drum with a skin • *ñ pú ñññ bìn-ttɪrà.* I am going to cover my drum. **2** to lie on stomach • *pú ì kìntɕòà-lí nĩ.* Lie on your stomach in your bed.

**2pu** [pú] *v.* to drink water straight from stream • *má pú nõǝ ní ká já kààlì.* Drink from the stream then we go.

**1pugo** [pùgò] *v.* to pant, to breathe rapidly in short gasps, as after exertion • *jìníé̃ ì hĩé̃sĩ kàá pùgò*

*kéj?* Why are you panting like this?

<sup>2</sup>**pugo** [pùgò] (*var. puguli*) *v.* to nurse seeds • *hákúrí wàá pùgò tšimmáá biná háj.* Hakuri will not nurse pepper seeds this year.

**puguli** (*var. of pugo*)

**pul** [púl] *n.* type of river grass. *pl. pul.*

**pulisi** [pùlisi] *v.* to cool down, to dilute by pouring in cold water • *pùlisi ní tìè ìì báál sō.* Cool down the hot water for your husband to bath.

**pumii** [púmī] *n.* 1 hiding • *à nàj-kpàrhíē púmī júnì géèmtómà wà kín kpágóó.* Because of the hiding of the experienced hunter, the rangers could not catch him. 2 incubation • *zál pūmì há wà télé.* The incubation period has not started yet. *pl. pumie.*

**pumo** [púmó] *v. cf: sogoli* 1 to hide by squatting or getting down to the ground • *ñ ná à bòòmáníí rá à tùù púmó.* When I saw the leopard I hid. 2 to sit on eggs for incubation • *à zál kàà púmó èè hálá ní.* The fowl sits on its eggs to hatch.

**pumpuniina** [pùmpúnìnà] *n.* stomach. *pl. pumpuninasa.*

**puoli** [pùòlì] *v.* to be thin, to be watery • *à kùbíí púólíó.* The porridge is thin.

**puoti** [púótí] *v.* 1 to report, to tell others about one's situation, to let others know • *zièj káálí à lágámíí*

*bár rá à wà púótí tìè à tóó nārā mūj.* Zieng went to the meeting and came to report to the people of the community. 2 to confess witchcraft action • *à báál púótíó dí wáá kpó à bié.* The man confessed that he killed the child.

**pupu** [púpù] *n.* motorbike. [*old-fash*]. *pl. pupuso.*

**pupuree** [púpùrèè] *n.* cowpea aphid (*Aphis craccivora*). *pl. púpùresó.*

**pur** [púr:] *cf: hōj* *n.* farmers' and hunters' bag, originally made out of skin, may refer to any bag *syn: <sup>1</sup>lōga<sup>1</sup> . pl. puro.*

**puro** [pùrò] *v.* to untie • *è púró à bōōn ná.* She untied the goat. *ant: vōwa<sup>1</sup>; lomo<sup>1</sup>*

**purusi** [púrúsí] *v.* to mash, to pound lightly • *púrúsí kpááj dō váà óó dí.* Mash some yams for the dog to eat.

**pusi** [pùsì] *v.* 1 to meet, to reach or to join someone • *dí vālà àkà púsúú.* 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 • *kálá, pùsì à mòlibié tíj ñ kà tšímíí kēj.* Kala, keep the money I lent you.

**puuri** [púúrí] *v.* to reduce in quantity or in height • *à kóvíínòá múj nō púúrìjē.* The rim of the t.z. pot has been reduced by being chipped over and over.

**pɔ** [pɔ] *v.* to spit • *pɔ tɑ*. Spit it out. *ɪ wáá kɪn pɔ mʉntɔ̀sá n̄n diá n̄*. You cannot spit in my room.

**pɔ́ǎ** [pɔ́ǎ] *v.* to be rotten • *bóntí à nà-mǎǎ, àwíé léi ɔ̀ káá pɔ́ǎ*. Share the meat, if not it will rot.

**pɔ́ǎl** [pɔ́ǎl] *n.* liver. *pl.* **pɔ́ǎlsa**.

**pɔ́ǐpɔ́ǐ** [pɔ́ǐpɔ́ǐ] *ideo.* stinky, of a bad smell • *ɔ̀ sɔ́rɪ kinkán nā pɔ́ǐpɔ́ǐ*. It smells too bad.

**pɔ́la** [pɔ́lá] *cf:* **tɔ́la** *v.* to be white • *n̄n n̄áátɔ́wá wá b̄i pɔ́lá*. My shoes are not white anymore. [*Mo, Ka, Gu*].

**pɔ́lapɔ́la** [pɔ́lá pɔ́lá] *ideo.* pointed, sharp • *hèmbíí n̄s̄á d̄s̄ pɔ́lá pɔ́lá káá-li kisié n̄s̄á*. The tip of a nail is more pointed than the tip of a knife.

**pɔ́lpɔ́l** [pɔ́lpɔ́l] *ideo.* high water pressure or flow caused by rain • *dúóŋ wāwā, à kùògɔ́ŋ di pála pɔ́lpɔ́lpɔ́l*. The rain came so the river at the farm overflowed.

**pɔ́lzɪmbal** [pɔ́lzɪmbál] *n.* Ross's Turaco, type of bird (*Musophaga rossae*). *pl.* **pɔ́lzɪmbala**.

**pɔ́mma** [pɔ́mmá] *cf:* **fɔ́ǎ** *cf:* **tɔ́la** *cf:* **peupeu** *n.* white • *à b̄s̄óná múŋ nā jáá ápòlònsá*. All the goats are white. *bóléníí jáá t̄fàkàlpòlònsá rá*. People from Bulenga are white Chakali. *pòm̄má péúpéù*. Very or pure white. *jà kpágá gápòm̄má rá, ɔ̀ jáá t̄s̄là̄s̄ níŋ péópéó*. We have a

white cloth, it is white, very white. *pl.* **pɔ́lɔ́nsa**.

**pɔ́na** (*var. of dandapɔ́sa*)

**pɔ́ntɪ** [pɔ́ntí] *v.* to be squashed by stepping on or running over • *à l̄s̄ó-li n̄ásí záál pɔ́ntí tiw̄i n̄*. The car drove over a fowl, it was squashed on the road.

**pɔ́ŋ** [pɔ́ŋ] *n.* 1 hair. 2 feather. *pl.* **pɔ́na**.

**pɔ́ɔda** [pɔ́ɔdà] *n.* cosmetic powder. (ultim. English <powder).

**pɔ́ɔga** [pɔ́ɔgá] *n.* hernia.

**pɔ́ɔgi** [pɔ́ɔgí] *v.* to not be self-sufficient, still immature or juvenile, and in need of care-giving • *à bíé háŋ há p̄ɔ́ɔḡj̄j̄ē̄*. This child is still in need of support.

**pɔ́ɔsɪ** [pɔ́ɔsí] *v.* to make a derogatory sound with the lips • *w̄s̄á n̄s̄á wáá kɪn p̄ɔ́ɔs̄í*. Wusa is unable to make those derogatory sounds with the lips.

<sup>1</sup>**pɔ́tɪ** [pɔ́tí] *n.* to make a mistake, to deviate from a normal procedure • *ŋ̄ ŋ̄m̄énà sígí r̄ē kà p̄òt̄i àm̄òǎ lááŋ*. When I sang Sigu I deviated and Amoa took over.

<sup>2</sup>**pɔ́tɪ** [pɔ́tí] *v.* to spread a message about the death of someone • *t̄im-pántíé t̄fàkáléé kpá à di p̄ót̄i lú-hò*. The Chakali use talking drums to spread the news of a death.

# R

**ra** [ra] (*var.* **re**, **ro**, <sup>3</sup>**na**, **ne**, **no**, **la**, **lo**, **le**, <sup>1</sup>**wo**) *loc.* focus particle • *wòjò kpágá gèrègá rá.* Wojo has a sickness.

**re** (*var. of ra*)

**ro** (*var. of ra*)

**rɔ̀bagalan** [rɔ̀bàgàlàn] *n.* large plastic bottle, reused oil container typi-

cally used for fuel. (ultm. English <rubber gallon).

**rɔ̀bakatasa** [rɔ̀bàkàtàsà] *lit.* rubber-bowl *cf.* **tasa** *n.* plastic bowl. (partly ultm. English <rubber).

**rɔ̀barɔ̀ba** [rɔ̀bàrɔ̀bà] *n.* light, plastic covered motorbike. (Waali <rɔ̀barɔ̀ba).

# S

**saa** [sàà] *v.* to prepare or cook, Gh. Eng. stir, porridge, or t.z. • *sàà kóó já dí.* Prepare t.z. so we can eat.

<sup>1</sup>**sãã** [sãã] *n.* axe. *pl.* **sããna**.

<sup>2</sup>**sãã** [sãã] *v.* *cf.* **mɪlɪmɪ** **1** to carve, to sharpen • *à sããrá sãã tütó ró.* The carver carved a mortar. **2** to drive a car or a motorbike, to row a boat • *ɲ wà zfmá lóólí sããf̄.* I do not know how to drive a car. **3** to build • *bà tʃí kàá sãã dià rā.* Tomorrow they will build a house.

**saabii** [sáábìì] *n.* shaggy rat (*Dasymys (incomtus or rufulus)*). *pl.* **saabie**.

**sããdiilii** [sããdíííí] *n.* type of sharp hoe for carving. *pl.* **sããdiilee**.

**sããgbulie** [sããgbùlié] *n.* type of hoe which functions as an axe to dig tree stumps or termites. *pl.* **sããgbuluso**.

**saakɪr** [sáákìr̄] [sáákìr̄i] *n.* bicycle. (ultm. English). *pl.* **saakɪrsa**.

**saal** [sààl] *n.* **1** building, may refer as well to a community as a whole, involving everyone • *dùsiè sããl mùŋ nãà bà káá pòm̄p̄i zòŋgòrò-só lúlíí.* They will spray chemicals against mosquitoes in the whole of Ducie. *mòtigu sããl mùŋ wà káálí nòdígfmáná tómá.* Not all the Motigu people attended the communal work. *tsítʃà dià sáál tìn wà kpégé.* The teacher's building is not strong. **2.** *pl.* **saal**.

**sããni** [sããní] *v.* to play, to joke among *nasããŋ*, playmate • *jà káá kìn sããní dónā rā.* We can joke with each other. *dàbáábá wáá kìn sããní tʃákáléé.* The Dagaaba people are not playmates to the Chakali people.

**saari** [sáárí] *v.* to slip, to be slippery • *dúóŋ wããwãõ tìwíí di sáárf̄.* The rain came, the road is slippery.

**saasi** [sáásí] *v.* to grind in order to obtain paste, e.g. groundnut

- and shea • à *bíí háj̄ wáá kìn sáá-sí nḗḗ*. This stone cannot grind to make paste.
- sããtʃɔŋ** [sããtʃɔŋ] *n.* adze, type of very sharp hoe used for carving the inside of a mortar or a drum.
- sabaan** [sàbáán] *n.* flat house roof top. *pl. sabaama.*
- safibii** [sáfíbií] *cf: gborobii n.* key. (Akan < *safē, safōwá*).
- safokala** [sáfókàlà] *nprop.* shrine of Bulenga village.
- saga** [sàyà] *v. cf: tʃɔa; suguli; tɔŋa*  
1 to sit on, to be on, to lie on top of • à *bíí ságá à kór j̄úú nī*. The stone is on the bench. 2 to fall on, e.g. responsibility, blame • à *sòm-bɔŋ káá sǎgá ìì nī*. The blame will fall on you.
- sal** [sál] *n.* flat roof. *pl. salla.*
- salɛŋgoŋo** [sálɛŋgòŋò] *n.* type of praying mantis (*Mantidae*). *pl. salɛŋgoŋoso.*
- salɛŋ** [sálɛŋ] *n.* gold. *pl. salima.*
- <sup>1</sup>**sama** [sàmà] *v.* to wash body parts  
• *sàmà ìì síé àní ìì bára múj̄*. Wash your face and your body.
- <sup>2</sup>**sama** [sàmà] *v.* to commit adultery  
• *ìì sámááó*. You committed adultery. *dì lúhó wā kpò, bà jáá sá-mà kɛŋkáj̄*. Whenever there is a funeral, they commit adultery.
- sambalkuso** [sámáalkùsò] *n.* type of grass (*Rottboellia cochinchinensis*). *pl. sambalkuso.*
- sambalɛŋa** [sámáɛŋà] *n.* type of grass (*Rottboellia exaltata*). *pl. sambalɛŋa.*
- samkpaŋtulɔŋu** [sámkpáŋtúlɔŋù] *n.* type of hamerkop, type of bird (*Scopus umbretta*). *pl. samkpaŋtulɔŋuso.*
- sampentɛ** [sámpeŋtíé] *cf: jolo n.* farming and gardening with raised beds. [Gu].
- sampil** [sám pí] *n.* wooden tool used to beat a surface in order to compact it. *pl. sampila.*
- sanduso** (*var. of dɛgɛtu*)
- sankara** [sánkárá] *n.* night *synt: tebin; baratʃɔgɔɔ*. (Vagla, Tampulma < *saŋkara* ‘dead of night’).
- sanlare** [sànlárè] *n.* child of a previous relation adopted by the new husband. *pl. sanlarena.*
- sansanbie** [sànsànbié] *n.* a child whose father cannot be identified due to the mother having several partners. *pl. sansanbise.*
- sansandugulii** [sànsàndùgùlí] *n.* type of caterpillar. *pl. sansandugulee.*
- sansanduguliibummo** [sànsàndùgùlííbúmmò] *n.* type of caterpillar.
- sansanduguliìhòhòla** [sànsàndùgùlíìhòhòlà] *n.* type of caterpillar.
- sansanduguliinier** [sànsàndùgùlííníér:] *n.* type of caterpillar.
- sansanna** [sànsánná] *n.* prostitution  
• *sànsánná wáá tūò dùsèè nī*. There



taking place on the fourth day of a second funeral where animals are killed and meat is shared among relatives of the deceased.

**selemente** [sèlèmentè] *n.* cement. (ultm. English).

**selzeŋ** [sèzèŋ] *lit.* animal-big *n.* elephant *synt:* **bòla**; **neŋtina** . *pl.* **sezenēē**.

**seŋambi** [sénāmbi] *cf:* **taŋgara** *n.* chickenpox. (Gonja).

**seŋsegelie** [sénségéliè] *n.* play activities for children including chasing, wrestling, singing, among others.

**seweree** [sèwèrèé] *n.* pure or unused • *à nāmíá wá jǎā nàŋsèwèrèé, bà wá kórigijē.* The meat cannot be consumed, it has not been slaughtered properly. *wàà jáwà kínlàréé mùŋ wá jǎā kínsèwèrisé.* The clothing at the Wa market are all second-hand. *pl.* **sewereese**.

**<sup>1</sup>sel** [sél] *n.* wood shaving. *pl.* **sela**.

**<sup>2</sup>sel** [sél] *n.* herbal medicine for treating suspected leprosy. *pl.* **sela**.

**sellì** [sèlì] *v.* to reduce by sharpening, or cut with a razor • *sèllì né-bípētīē tièŋ.* Cut my fingernails.

**seŋebii** [sénébīi] *n.* second layer of roofing structure. *pl.* **seŋebie**.

**sereka** [sèrékà] *n.* voluntary alms, gift. (ultm. Arabic <*sadaka*>).

**setia** [sètíà] *n.* steering wheel of a car or handle bar of a bicycle or motorbike. (ultm. English <*steer*>).

**sew** [sèó<sup>w</sup>] *n.* death.

**<sup>1</sup>sewa** [séwà] *v.* to write • *nikáná wáá kìn séwá.* Many people cannot write. (ultm. Arabic <*ṣafha* ‘paper’).

**<sup>2</sup>sewa** [séwà] *n.* talisman in the form of a waistband. *pl.* **sewasa**.

**<sup>3</sup>sewa** [séwà] *v.* to hunt by searching in the bush • *já ká séwà bùùrè àà-rfè.* Let us go and hunt grasscutters.

**sibihalŋ** [sìbìhálfi] (*var.* **siwihalŋ**) *n.* fried bambara bean. *pl.* **sibiha-lɛ**.

**sibii** [sìbīi] (*var.* **siwii**) *n.* bambara bean (*Vigna subterranea*). *pl.* **sibie**.

**sidi** [sídì] *lit.* eye-eat *n.* disrespect • *tí ŋmá sídí wíé dì tíé níhìèsá.* Do not talk with disrespect to elders.

**sie** [síé] *n.* face. *pl.* **siese**.

**sie viigi** [síé vùgì] *cpx.v. lit.* eye turn 1 to faint • *hàglíkíŋ dómá ñm̄ mǎáábíé, ò síévùgì.* A snake bit my brother, he fainted. 2 to get lost • *tómá káálí kùó, ò síé kà vùgì.* Toma went to the farm and got lost.

**sielii** [sièlīi] *n.* perforated pot used for washing dawadawa seeds. *pl.* **sielie**.

**sieribile** (*var. of* **sieribile**)

**sieribile** [siéribílé] *cf:* **kpǎāŋŋŋ** (*var.* **sieribile**) *n.* water-yam. (Waali).

**sierie** [siérié] *n.* witness. (ultm. Arabic <*šahida*>).

**sigaari** [sigáári] *n.* cigarette. (ultm. English). *pl.* **sigaarise**.



<sup>1</sup>**sige** [sìgè] *v.* to mark • *sìgè à dáá ñ ñmēnà*. Mark the wood for me to cut it.

<sup>2</sup>**sige** [sìgè] *n.* unsure • *ñ jáá sígè rē à bisé wááí wíé*. I am not sure about the children's coming.

**sigi** (*var. of sigu*)

**sigii** [sìgii] *n.* suffering, misery • *ññ sigii gáálíó*. My suffering is abundant. *ì bájòòrá tíé ñ ò dí sígii háj*. Because of your laziness, I am suffering.

**sigisi** [sìgìsì] *v.* to catch breath, as in crying • *à hááj wii pētùù à káá sígìsì*. The woman finished crying and was catching her breath.

**sigitaa** (*var. of sigu*)

**sigu** [sìgù] *cf.* **sigmaa** (*var. sigitaa, sigi*) *nprop.* alternate language used in connection with funeral dirge and ancestors praise.

<sup>1</sup>**sii** [síí] *n.* 1 eye. 2 sprout • *jàmmí-síí*. Maize sprout or stem. 3 greedy • *ò kpágá síí kinkán nā*. He is very greedy. *pl. sie*.

<sup>2</sup>**sii** [sìì] *v.* 1 to raise • *sii tšíná*. Get up and stand. 2 to relocate by changing settlement or farmland • *bà fí-rán nā ñ sii kùò fólíí*. They forced me to move, so I went to create a new farm. 3 to grow • *ñ mídúliē tìj síwóú*. The guinea corn I sowed has grown.

<sup>3</sup>**sii** [síí] *n.* dance performed by men, especially by Tampulma, hardly seen today.

<sup>4</sup>**sii** [síí] *n.* appearance, type, or sort • *síí bááj ká jáāō?* What type is it? *gàrwéj sī ì kàà búúrè à gátá múñ ní?* Which type of cloth do you like among all the cloths? *pl. sie*.

**sii baraga** [síí bārágà] *n.* inability to sleep • *síí bārágā kpāgān nā*. I cannot sleep.

**sii bire** [síí bírè] *lit.* eye black *v.* to be dizzy • *ññ síé kàà bírè ò ñ nǒǒ nǒǒsá*. I will be dizzy if I smoke.

**siibii** [sííbíí] *n.* eyeball. *pl. siibie*.

**siidaŋŋa** [síídaŋŋà] *cf.* **daŋŋi sie** *n.* entertainment.

**siidi** [síídi] *n.* cedi, current Ghanaian currency, divided into 100 pesewas. (Akan <*sedí* 'cowrie shell').

**siikoŋo** [síikóŋò] *n.* eyebrow. *pl. siikoŋso*.

**siilalla** [síilállà] *n.* knowledgeable person *ant.* **genii**. *pl. siilallasa*.

**siinaara** [síínáàrà] *n.* soothsayer *syn.* **vovvota**.

**siinni** [sííníí] *n.* tear. *pl. siinnita*.

**siinɔmatɪna** [síínɔmátííná] *lit.* eye-hot-owner *n.* fearless and careless person, also a polite way to refer to a mad person. *pl. siinɔmatɪma*.

**siipɔŋ** [síipɔŋ] *n.* eyelash. *pl. siipɔŋna*.

**siipɔŋwile** [síipɔŋwílé] *n.* entropion, a condition in which the eyelid rotates inward, causing abrasions on the cornea of the eye.

**siitima** [síttífná] *cf.* **nekpeg** *n.* miserliness, stinginess • ì jáá siitīnā rā ká ñ bíérì wà dó kẹ̀j. You are stingy, unlike my brother. *ant:* **nibuwerii**

**siitɔŋ** [síttɔŋ] *n.* eyelid. *pl.* **siitɔna**.

**sikiri** [síkirí] *n.* sugar. (Akan/Ga, ultm. English < *sikyiri/sikli*).

**siler** [sílfér] *n.* furtive glance, manner of covertly looking at somebody from the corner of the eye • ñ kà t́fínà ñ diànòá ní, báníé ḱpá sílér rá di jínéj nē. I was standing at my door and some people looked at me covertly from the corner of their eye. *pl.* **silera**.

**silogto** [sílogtò] *n.* eye discharge. *pl.* **silogto**.

**simisi** [símisí] *v.* to take pity on • ñ sí-mísí ì nī birgì àkà ì wà zímá. I pitied you for a long time but you did not know.

**simɔŋ** [símoŋ] *lit.* eye-vagina *n.* caruncle, inner corner of the eye (*lacrinal caruncle*). *pl.* **simɔna**.

**sinahã** [sínahã] *n.* extra-natural visual power.

**sinsige** [sínsigè] *n.* throat spasm • sínsigè kà jáá à bié. The child has throat spasms.

**sijumme** (*var. of* **gbentagasi**)

**siŋgeta** [siŋgétà] *n.* type of yam. *pl.* **siŋgetasa**.

**siŋsigirii** [siŋsigírií] *n.* type of hyena. *pl.* **siŋsigiree**.

**siri** [síri] *n.* ready, looking forward to, anxious • ñ jáá síri rē dí ñ káálì

dùùsié. I'm anxious to go to Ducie. (Hausa < *siri* 'ready').

**sisrama** [sísìàmà] *lit.* eye-red *n.* seriousness. *pl.* **sisiansa**.

**siwihalɪ** (*var. of* **sibihalɪ**)

**siwii** (*var. of* **sibii**)

**siwɪla** [síwíflá] *n.* conjunctivitis.

**sia** [síá] (*var.* <sup>1</sup>**sɪɛ**) *n.* teasing, mocking, imitating in a way to make fun of someone • à báál kàà jáá ùù bì-sé sià rā. The man makes fun of his children. ì sià t́té bááj ḱpà-gàj. Your teasing makes me angry. ñ ñ t́fèná jáá jáá nárá siè rā. My friend has been mocking people.

**sĩã** [síã] (*var.* **sĩɛ**) *v.* to respond to a call, to pay attention to • ɔ śsá-wóó. She responded. ñ śsá ɔ̀ò jíríí t́n nà. I responded to his call.

**siama** [siàmá] *n.* *cf.* **biɪ**; **siari** *cf.* **t́fũit́fũ** 1 red • ḱtj kà sárí múí-múí, wáá wíí jáá kinsìàmá. When something is very red, this thing is (called) red. 2 ripe (be) • mán-gòsiànsá sú jāwá. There are many ripe mangoes at the market. ánsiàmá wá bì t̀uò sájà háj. There is no more ripe ebony fruit at this time. *pl.* **siansa**.

**siari** [síáni] *cf.* **mɔra** *v.* to tell a proverb or story • t́ébin hàn nī ñ káá síáni siànsá wà. Tonight I will tell proverbs.

**siariã** [siàniã] *n.* proverb. *pl.* **siàn-sá**.

**siari** [siàri] *v.* *cf.* **biɪ**; **siamá** 1 to be red, reddish • à táálá síariòò. The

clouds have turned reddish. 2 to be ripe, e.g. paw-paw, pepper, mango, tomato, and *sɪŋkpɪli* • *tɪè à tʃélicé síárí*. Let the tomatoes be ripe.

<sup>1</sup>sɪɛ (var. of sɪa)

<sup>2</sup>sɪɛ [sìè] (var. **nansɪɛli**) *v.* for fresh meat, to have a substandard quality, with no blood content, a lightweight and watery • *sèlgárigíí nàmíá káá sɪè*. The meat of sick animal has a substandard quality. à *nàònámíá síéwáó*. The cow meat has a substandard quality.

sĩē (var. of sĩa)

sɪɛbɪ [sìèbɪ] *cf:* **embɛli** *n.* butchered wing of a bird or a fowl. *pl.* **sɪɛbɛ**.

sɪfra [sɪfrá] *n.* second month. (Waali <sɪfrá).

sɪg [sɪg] *n.* cowpea. *pl.* **sɪga**.

sɪgɛra [sɪgɛrà] *n.* type of climber (*Rhigiocarya racemifera*). *pl.* **sɪgerasa**.

sɪgɔŋɔ [sɪgɔŋɔ] *n.* cooked bean with membrane, plucked early before harvest.

sɪgmaa [sɪgmáá] *cf:* **sigu** *n.* funeral tradition deploying masquerade. *pl.* **sɪgmaasa**.

sɪgmaazimbie [sɪgmáàzimbìè] *n.* type of bird. *pl.* **sɪgmaazimbise**.

sɪgmawii [sɪgmàwìli] *n.* bull-roarer *syn:* **dendilhĩɛsɪ**; **tebinsɪgmaa** .

sɪgpaatʃag [sɪgɔ̀pààtʃák] *n.* fresh bean leaf *syn:* **sɔɔsa** . *pl.* **sɪgapaa-tʃaga**.

sɪgɔmma [sɪgɔ̀pòmmá] *n.* white bean.

sɪgsɪama [sɪgɔ̀sìámá] *n.* red bean.

sɪgbummo [sɪgɔ̀búmmò] *n.* black bean.

sɪli [sɪlí] *v.* to strip off fibrous bark • *síllt bòk wà tɛɛŋ ñ vówà kpáámá*. Strip off some fiber for me to tie yams together.

sɪmaa [sɪmáà] *cf:* **kɪndiili** *n.* food. (Waali). *pl.* **sɪímsà**.

sɪmaadia [sɪmáádià] *n.* food storage room.

sɪla [sɪlá] *v.* to lay one's head on something • *silà kápùti nì*. Lay your head on the pillow.

sɪma [sɪmá] *n.* bamboo. *pl.* **sɪmasa**.

sɪmbɔti [sɪm<sup>4</sup>bótí] *n.* third day of second funeral where the ground malt is boiled.

sɪna [sɪnà] *v.* to soak • *kpá à míá sínà*. Take the guinea corn and soak it.

<sup>1</sup>sɪnlɔg [sɪnlɔ̀g] *n.* location where men repair the ritual artefacts and dress for performing *sigmaa* • *bí-ná mùŋ bà já kààlì sɪnlɔg rà*. Every year they go to the place where they make and repair the costumes.

<sup>2</sup>sɪnlɔg [sɪnlɔ̀g] (*Mo.* var. **sɔnlɔg**) *n.* vomit and bile • *òò tíásé sɔnlɔg rà*. She is vomiting a yellowish substance.

sɪŋpɔã [sɪn<sup>4</sup>póáí] *n.* fifth day of a second funeral.

sɪntɔŋ (var. of tɔŋ)

sintɔgɔ (*var. of* tɔgɪ)

sɪŋ [sɪŋ] *n.* alcoholic drink, Gh. Eng. pito. *pl.* *sinna*.

sɪŋbiilii [sɪmbiilii] *n.* fermented pito.

sɪŋbɔtɪ [sɪŋbɔtɪ] *n.* first boiling of the malt in pito preparation.

sɪŋbɔl [sɪmbɔl] *cf:* sɪŋsɪama; sɪŋhũor; sɪŋtʃaara *n.* remaining of sɪŋtʃaara, after a night in its container, much sweeter than other pitos.

sɪŋgilingi [sɪŋgilingi] *n.* crazy chick disease, also used to describe dizziness among human (*Encephalomalacia*).

sɪŋgbegliŋ [sɪŋgbɛgɛliŋ] *n.* chameleon (*Chamaeleonidae* fam.). *pl.* *sɪŋgbegliŋsa*.

sɪŋgbegliŋnebie [sɪŋgbɛgɛliŋnɛbiɛ] *lit.* chameleon-fingers *n.* type of grass whose tip resembles the chameleon's front legs. *pl.* *sɪŋgbegliŋnebie*.

sɪŋhũor [sɪŋhũɔr] *cf:* sɪŋbɔl; sɪŋsɪama; sɪŋtʃaara *n.* pito served before fermentation.

sɪŋkpɔl [sɪŋkpɔl] *n.* not wearing beads on the waist • ɔ̄ kpágá sɪŋkpɔl lā. She does not wear beads on her waist.

sɪŋkpɪli [sɪŋkpɪli] *n.* type of tree (*Copaifera salikounda*). *pl.* *sɪŋkpɪliɛ*.

sɪŋpɔhã [sɪŋpɔhã] *n.* drinking habit, alcoholism.

sɪŋpɔmma [sɪmpɔmma] *cf:* kpɔr *n.* palm wine.

sɪŋsagal [sɪnsáyál] *n.* 1 descending position among siblings • ɔ̄ sɪn-ságál bútorò jááj̄. After him, I am the third. 2 remaining • ɪ̄ kpáân-dùgó tʃé túsù àní sɪnságál kalá pé nī. I have a thousand and something yam seedlings left with Kala.

sɪŋsɪama [sɪnsiámá] *cf:* sɪŋbɔl; sɪŋhũor; sɪŋtʃaara *n.* pito, local fermented drink brewed from guinea corn.

sɪŋtɔg [sɪntɔk] *n.* pito pot • à bɔ̄ɔ̄ŋ tʃtʃáŋi n̄n̄ sintɔgsá múŋ n̄. The goat broke all my drinking pots. *pl.* *sɪŋtɔgsa*.

sɪŋtʃaara [sɪŋtʃáará] *cf:* sɪŋbɔl; sɪŋsɪama; sɪŋhũor *n.* pito sieved after boiling the malt.

sɪŋtʃaw [sɪntʃáw] *n.* type of tree (*Lanea acida*). *pl.* *sɪŋtʃawa*.

sɪŋvii [sɪnvii] *n.* drinking pot made out of clay *syn:* <sup>2</sup>tɔg . *pl.* *sɪŋviine*.

<sup>1</sup>sɪŋwaasɪ [sɪŋwāāsɪ] *n.* second boiling of the malt in pito preparation.

<sup>2</sup>sɪŋwaasɪ [sɪŋ<sup>4</sup>wáásíí] *lit.* drink-pour.libation *cf:* selekpɔsɪ *n.* fourth day of a second funeral.

sira [sɪrã] *v.* 1 to assemble, to meet together • bàmùŋ káálí wáá à kà sɪrã. They all went to Wa and met there. 2 to call for a confidential meeting • bà sɪrá à bɪpòlíí rã, ɔ̄ hããbũūrã wíé. They called the young man for a confidential meet-

ing because of his habit of chasing women.

**sisi** [sisi] *v.* **1** to sharpen a blade • *má ká sisi n̄n̄ kisié wà tiè.* You should go and sharpen my knife for me. **2** to wash by brushing, with sponges or brush • *niháánā má wá kpā n̄n̄ kóvíiné sisi.* Women should come and wash my t.z. pots.

**sisia** [sisié] *n.* Tamarind, type of tree (*Tamarindus indica*). *pl.* **sisisa**.

**sitaani** [sitáání] *n.* evil. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa < *shaidan*).

**sitɔ** [sitɔ̀] *n.* store, shop. (ultm. English < *store*).

**sodza** [sódzà] *n.* soldier. (ultm. English).

**sogoli** [sòyòli] *v.* *cf.* **pumo** **1** to hide, to conceal from view, to disappear or hide behind • *nibáálá múj̄ válà à búúríí, sògòli.* All the men are looking for you, hide. **2** to bury • *bà há wà sògólí à lālɪ.* They have not yet buried the corpse.

**sokie** [sòkié] *n.* type of tree (*Abrus precatorius*). *pl.* **sokiete**.

<sup>1</sup>**sol** [sól:] *ideo.* in the clear, to be without blame or debt • *jà ká bìisi à wíé rá, ñ líwáó sól.* After our judgement, I was fully acquitted. *jà nòdɔ́-gtámájá pártí ní, hà móntīmā májá sól wá dī kàntfímá.* In our farming group, only the youngest did not owe anything.

<sup>2</sup>**sol** [sól] *n.* type of fish. *pl.* **solo**.

**solibie** [sòlibié] *cf.* **haglɪbie** *n.* type of ant. [Gu].

**solisi** [sólisi] *v.* to smooth • *à kápén-tà sólisi à téébùl n̄úú rò.* The carpenter smoothens the top of the table.

**soloŋsoloŋ** [sólóŋsólóŋ] *ideo.* smooth • *fòná ò n̄póná múj̄ tā ká ò dɔ́ sólóŋsólóŋ.* Shave all his hair so his head is smooth. *ant:* **kɔ́gɔ́sɔ́g**

**sontogo** [sòntògò] *n.* base element for supporting and holding still a big clay water container. *pl.* **son-togoso**.

**sosolii** [sòsólíi] *n.* slippery place found in the bush and on roads during the rainy season.

**sɔ** [sɔ̀] *v.* to wash one's body • *ì kàá sò n̄i rää?* Will you bath?

**sɔ duoŋ** [sò dúòŋ] *lit.* bath rain *cf.* **duoŋsɔi** *v.* to receive mystic protection against lightning • *ì sɔ́ dùón nòð?* Have you taken the lightning initiation?

**sɔbummo** [sòbúm̀mò] *n.* Black thorn, type of tree (*Acacia gourmaensis*). *pl.* **sɔbulunso**.

**sɔbɔl** [sòbòl] *n.* shovel. (ultm. English).

**sɔgɪɪ** [sòyíí] *n.* **1** person from Sawla. **2** lect of Sawla. *pl.* **sɔgɪɛɛ**.

**sɔgla** [sòglá] *nprop.* Sawla, village situated between Tuosa and Motigu.

**sɔgbɪari** [sògbíári] *n.* person who never attempted to dance. *pl.* **sɔ-gbɪarisa**.

**sɔkoro** [sòkòró] *n.* type of tree (*Clausena anisata*). *pl.* **sɔkoroso**.

- sɔkɔsu** [sɔkɔsɪ] *n.* defilement, unhygienic nature • *kɔtiá wáá di sɔkɔsɪ sɪimáá.* Kotia does not eat unhygienic food. *ɪɪ wáá búúrè sɔkɔsɪ hááj stɪ.* I do not want this woman's unhygienic pito. (Wali < sɔkɔhu).
- sɔmpɔrɛ** [sɔmpɔrɛɛ] *n.* type of frog. *pl. sɔmpɔresa.*
- sɔmpɔrlilese** [sɔmpɔrlilɛsɛ] *lit.* frog-swallow *n.* Egg-eating snake (*Dasypeltis scabra*). *pl. sɔmpɔrlesise.*
- sɔnɛ** [sɔnɛɛ] *n.* 1 fever, health condition as a result of cold weather. 2 malaria.
- sɔnna** [sɔnná] *n.* lover. *pl. sɔnna.*
- sɔntɔga** [sɔntɔgá] *lit.* name-spoil *n.* defamation, the act of tarnishing somebody's image.
- sɔntɔgatɪma** [sɔntɔgátɪmá] *n.* defamer.
- <sup>1</sup>**sɔɪ** [sɔɪ] *n.* (*var. sɔsɔɪ*) 1 cool, cold • *nɪsɔɪ káá nɪnɔɪ i di búúrè?* Do you want cool or hot water? 2 fresh or wet • *kùórù kùó kpáámá wá bɪ kpàgà pààtɔáksóná.* The yams at the chief's farm do not have fresh leaves anymore. *dààsóná wáá kɪɪ mósí díɪ.* Wet wood cannot catch fire. *pl. sɔna.*
- <sup>2</sup>**sɔɪ** [sɔɪ] *n.* name. *pl. sɔna.*
- sɔɪbɔɪ** [sɔɪbɔɪ] *lit.* name-bad *n.* reputation • *gááná bisé fi láá sɔɪbɔɪ nàgírìá nɪ, bà dógóní bá tã.* Ghanaians had a bad reputation in Nigeria, so they were deported.
- sɔɪgɪgɪ** [sɔɪgɪgɪ] *n.* nickname. *pl. sɔɪgɪgɪɛ.*
- sɔɪtɪma** [sɔɪtɪmá] *n.* generous and helpful person whose intention is to be known *ant: nekpeg.*
- sɔpɔmma** [sɔpɔmmá] *n.* White thorn, type of tree (*Acacia dudgeoni*). *pl. sɔpɔlɔnsa.*
- sɔra** [sɔrà] *v.* to leak with a narrow flow • *ní láá zɪá sɔrà à tūú díá.* Some water leaked along the wall inside the house.
- sɔri** [sɔrí] *n.* type of frog.
- sɔsɪama** [sɔsɪámá] *n.* Red thorn, type of tree (*Acacia hockii*). *pl. sɔsɪansa.*
- sɔsɔɪ** (*var. of sɔɪ*)
- sɔta** [sɔtá] *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 hááj** [sú hááj] *v.* to be inexperienced with men, to be a virgin • *ɪɪ bɪnɪhááj wá zɪmá bàálsá, ù sú hááj nà.* My daughter doesn't know men, she is still a virgin.
- sug** [sùg] *n.* type of tree (*Grewia lasiodiscus*). *pl. suguno.*
- suglo** [sùgló] *nprop.* Suglo, person's name.
- suguli** [sùgùli] *v. cf: saga; tɔsa; tɔɪa* 1 to cook by boiling • *sùgùli kpááj já dí.* Boil yam for us to eat. 2 to be on • *nɪnɛ i kà sùgúláá mààsè kéj?* Why are you putting them on top of each other like this? *hènáá*

- súgúlí téébùl jùú bāmbāān nī.* A bowl is on the center of a table.
- sukuu** [sùkùù] *n.* school. (ultm. English). *pl. sukuuso.*
- sulee** [sùlēē] *n.* shilling (12 pence) of BWA currency, old ten-pesewa coin. (ultm. English, via Hausa).
- sulumbie** [sùlùmbiē] *cf:* **lalrwie; nɲãõ** *n.* orphan. [*Ka, Gu*].
- sumbol** [sùmból] *n.* chimney, hole in the roof covered with a large flat stone. *pl. sumbolo.*
- summe tuu** [sùmmè tùù] *cpv.* to be predisposed by God, requested to God • *bié við kólíí jáá òn sùmmètúí ré.* Not giving birth to a child is my destiny. *wíwéréé ò sùmmè lìì kùòsò jùú tùù.* She asked God for goodness.
- suɲgoro** [sùɲgórò] *cf:* **lɛɲ** *n.* long pole with a hooked end designed to reach and catch dead branches and pull them down. *pl. suɲgoroso.*
- suɲguru** [sùɲgúru] *cf:* **tulor; binhããɲ** *n.* young girl who can get married and has never given birth. [*Gu*]. (Mande). *pl. suɲgurunso.*
- suo** [sùò] *cf:* **nɔ̀suo** *v.* to curse, to invoke misfortune upon • *dì ì wàà jáá wíwíré ì màá káá sùò nǔá tíéí.* If you do not do well your mother will curse you.
- suonj** [sùónj] *cf:* **tʃuonj** *n.* Red Shea tree (*Vitellaria paradoxa*). *pl. suomo.*
- suonjbeɲa** [sùómbéɲà] *n.* type of tree, similar to the shea tree but without edible fruits. *pl. suombeɲasa.*
- suonjbigariga** [sùómbigárigá] *n.* kidney stones.
- suonjbii** [sùómbíí] *lit.* shea.nut-seed *n.* kidney. *pl. suonjbie.*
- suonjdaawie** [sùòndááwié] *lit.* shea.nut-stick-small *n.* type of snake *syn:* **ɲagimbii<sup>2</sup>; mãã-biewaatelepusing; dɔhãã** . *pl. suonjdaawise.*
- surum** [sùrúm] *cf:* **tʃerim** *n.* silence, quietness • *à tóó mūɲ jáá sùrúm.* The village is silent. *má jáá sùrùm.* Be quiet. *ant: tʃĩãma<sup>1</sup>* (Hausa <*shirū* ‘silence’).
- susumma** [sùsúmmá] *n.* beggar. *pl. susummasa.*
- susummana** [sùsúmmáná] *n.* helper. *pl. susummanasa.*
- sũũ** [sùũũ] *n.* Helmeted Guinea Fowl (*Numida meleagris*). *pl. sũũno.*
- sũũhal** [sùũũhál] *n.* guinea fowl egg. *pl. sũũhala.*
- suuter** [sùút<sup>1</sup>ér] *n.* leader. *pl. suutere.*
- sɔa** [sòá] *n.* relation of age mate • *kí-pó wá jãã ñ sòá.* Kipo is not my age mate.
- <sup>1</sup>**sõã** [sõã] *v.* to weave • *kpágáá sǔá kàlèɲ tĩē.* Kpaga wove a mat for you.
- <sup>2</sup>**sõã** [sõã] *n.* sense of smell • *há-dòmā wáá nǔõ sǔã.* Haduma cannot smell.

**sɔʒɑɪ** [sòʒàɣì] *v.* to pound lightly, in order to remove hard shell from grain or nut • *n̄n̄ tʃúónó hóláó n̄ kàá sòʒàɣì.* My shea nuts are dry enough to pound them.

**sɔʒamanziga** [sòʒàmànzígá] *cf:* **ɑŋbuluŋ** *n.* fresh leaves of black berry, used in preparing a meal bearing the same name usually consumed in the morning.

**sɔʒani** (*var. of* **sɔʒni**)

**sɔʒāsɔʒ** [sòʒàsóʒ] *cf:* **garsɔʒ** *n.* weaver. *pl.* **sɔʒāsɔʒa.**

**sɔʒawali** [sòʒàwálí] *n.* person of in same age group. *pl.* **sɔʒawalee.**

**sɔʒēē** (*var. of* **ʃɔʒēē**)

**sɔʒɑ** [sòʒà] *v.* to court, to seek another person's love or pay special attention to people to win their favour • *ɲáó wàá kìn sòʒà hááŋ.* Poor people cannot court women. *bà já sòʒà hááná rá, à ná hádíŋ kpà.* They court women in order to select the right one to marry. *kálá káá bũrè ŋmááŋó rá, ká ɔ wà zímá háásɔʒēē.* Kala loves Mangu, but he does not know how to court women. *dùsééléé káá sòʒà dààbàŋtólúgú bá kááli dáámúŋ.* People from Ducie go to court the people of the shrine since they wish to go to the initiation.

**sɔʒɔli** [sòʒólí] *v.* to forget • *n̄ sòʒólí ŋŋ mòlèbíú tà dìà n̄.* I forgot my money in the house.

**sɔl** [sól:] *n. cf: sɔmmãã cf: sɔŋkpulii*  
1 African locust bean tree, Gh. Eng.

dawadawa tree (*Parkia sp.*). 2 porridge made out of the locust bean. *pl.* **sɔlla.**

**sɔlbii** [sòlbíí] *n.* dawadawa seed *syn: tʃíí . pl. sɔlbie.*

**sɔlimi** [sòlimì] *cf: sɔmmi v.* to beg. [*Ka, Ti, Tu*].

**sɔlnɔŋ** [sòlnòŋ] *n.* dawadawa fruit. *pl. sɔlnɔna.*

**sɔlsaɔ** [sísáò] *n.* 1 dawadawa flour. 2 yellowish.

**sɔma** [sòmə] *v.* to have luck • *ɔ káálf ɔ ká làà ɔ mòlèbíé ká sómá wá tɪŋā ɔ n̄, ɔ wà náā.* He went to collect his money but he was unlucky, so he did not get it.

**sɔmmãã** [sòmmãã] *cf: tʃíí cf: sɔl n.* food flavoring, made out of fermented dried dawadawa seeds. *pl. sɔmmããsa.*

**sɔmmi** [sòmmì] *v. cf: sɔlimi* 1 to borrow • *ɔ sùmmé ŋŋ pàr rá.* He borrowed my hoe. 2 to help, to assist • *báwáá sùmméjá sãã já díá.* They helped us to build our house. 3 to beg • *wàá n̄ n̄káná káá sùmmé.* In Wa many people beg.

**sɔmpɔa** [sòmpòà] *n.* three pence in BWA currency, old 2½ pesewa coin. (Akan).

**sɔnkare** [sòŋkáré] *nprop.* ninth month. (Waali < *sòŋkáré*).

**sɔnlɔg** (*Mo. var. of* **sɔnlɔg**)

**sɔŋkpulii** [sòŋkpúlíí] *cf: sɔl n.* flower of the dawadawa tree. *pl. sɔŋkpulee.*



**sɔɔla** [sòòlá] *n.* locally woven cotton cloth. *pl.* **sɔɔlasa**.

**sɔɔni** [sòóní] *v.* (*var.* **sɔani**) **1** to be cold • à kpááń sòóníj̃ǒ̃. The yam is cold. **2** to be quiet, soft, low-toned or hushed • ɲmá à wé dī sòó-ní. Speak with softer voice. **3** to be happy • ɲɲ̃ bára sòóníj̃ǒ̃. I am happy. **4** to be slow • ɲ sòóníj̃ǒ̃ à kíná séwī ní. I am slow in writing the things. *ant:* <sup>2</sup>laga **5** to be wet • ɲm̃ wilij̃ t̃é ɲñ t̃àgàt̃à sòó-ní. My perspiration makes my shirt wet. *ant:* **hɔli**

**sɔɔra** [sòòrá] *n.* scent or odor • à jí-néé sòòrá wá wē̃rē. The scent of the fish is not good.

**sɔɔri** [sòòrì] *v.* **1** to smell • ɲɲ̃ sòórí òò ñǒá, òò sòòrá wá wīrē. I smelled his mouth, its smell bad. à ñǒ̃t̃it̃it̃i kàà sòórí b̃umbál j̃úú r̃ō. The rubbing pomade smells like the head of a he-goat. **2** to emit an unpleasant odor, to stink • ɲ̃ ñam̃ɛ̃ t̃ij̃ kàà sòó-ri k̃i k̃imp̃ǒá. Your meat stinks like something rotten.

**sɔɔsa** [sòòsá] *n.* white bean leaf *syn:* **sigpaatjag** . *pl.* **sɔɔsa**.

**sɔɔsañi** [sòòsɛ̃ñí] *n.* **1** stock of boiled bean leaves. **2** greenish colour. **3** Emerald snake (*Gastropyx smaragdina*). [*Gu*].

**sɔti** [sòtì] *pl.v.* to die • já náálm̃à t̃ij̃ kà j̃úó b̃ààb̃ààt̃ù, b̃àm̃ùɲ s̃út̃t̃j̃é kàà-lì ká t̃f̃éj̃ā. Our grandfathers who fought Babatu, they all died and left

us behind.

**sɔɔ** [sòó] (*var.* <sup>1</sup>sɔ̃ɔ̃) **1** *n.* front *ant:* <sup>1</sup>gantal<sup>1</sup> . **2** *n.* precedent • ɲ s̃ó̃ó t̃ó-mà jáá b̃àl̃è wā. I have two siblings older than me. **3** *reln.* front • wáá t̃f̃òà à f̃alá s̃ò̃ò ní. It lies at the front of the calabash. *pl.* **sɔɔsa**.

<sup>1</sup>sɔ̃ɔ̃ (*var. of* **sɔɔ**)

<sup>2</sup>sɔ̃ɔ̃ [sòò̃] *v.* to be quiet, to order for quietness, as used when a child is crying or when pacify a quarrel • t̃íi b̃ū̃l̃i, s̃ò̃ò̃ òò ñǒá, ñará káá t̃f̃óá d̃ū̃ò r̃ō. Do not sing and be quiet, people are sleeping.

**sɔwa** [sòwà] *v.* **1** to die • à ñàɲkpááń j̃ǒá à l̃úúí r̃é àwíé ò wá s̃òwā. The hunter drank the medicine that is why he did not die. **2** to be ragged • à g̃àr s̃ówáó. The cloth is ragged.

**sɔwakandikuro** [sòwákándik̃uró] *lit.* die-and-I-become-chief *n.* type of parasitic plant. *pl.* **sɔwakan-dikuroso**.

<sup>1</sup>sɔwii [sòwíi] *n.* dying • ò s̃ówíi b̃ān ñi, ñará p̃ííí d̃i wíi. As he was dying, people started crying.

<sup>2</sup>sɔwii [sòwíi] *n.* corpse, not yet buried • já k̃ā h̃ir̃è s̃ówíi b̃òá. Let us go and dig the grave for the corpse. *pl.* **sɔwiiɛ**.

ʃɔ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃ [ʃ̃ó̃ɛ̃ɛ̃] (*var.* **s̃ó̃ɛ̃ɛ̃**) *interj.* exclamation expressing a disrespectful attitude towards what is being said and the one saying it. (Ghsm <ʃ̃iãã).

## t

<sup>1</sup>ta [tá] v. 1 to let free, let loose, leave, or abandon • *kpá ññ néj tà*. Leave my hand (let me go). à *bóóŋ tá ùù biè rē*. The goat abandoned its kids. 2 to initiate for burial specialization • *bàà tá à báálà pél ni*. They initiate the men for them to become burial specialists.

<sup>2</sup>ta [tá] v. to share a proverb • à *nihîê tá sièníê*. The elderly person shared proverbs.

<sup>3</sup>ta [tá] v. to exist • *bààj tà?* What is it? *áj tà?* Who is it?

ta dɔŋa [tá dɔŋà] v. to agree in the act of departing or taking leave • *jà tá dɔŋā rā*. We have agreed and left each other. ò *ní ò háàŋ tá dɔŋā rā*. He and his wife divorced.

taa [táá] n. language. pl. *taata*.

taal [táál] n. cloud. pl. *taala*.

taali [táàlì] v. to drench and overflow, to contain too much liquid as what is required • *níf táálí ò múró ní, jàà níf bóró à káá máásè*. There is too much water in your rice, take some out and it will be fine.

taantuni [táántúnì] n. stem borer caterpillar. (Waali). pl. *taantuni*.

tāāŋō [táāŋō] nprop. Tangu, person's name.

<sup>1</sup>taari [tààrì] v. cf: *gbɔɔrri; iiri* 1 to rush at or towards • ò *táárfjé kààlì ó ká māŋōō rā bà kpágóó*. He rushed to beat him but they held him. 2 to

spin into a thread • ò *kàá tààrì à gù-nó ró*. She will spin the cotton.

<sup>2</sup>taari [tààrì] v. to creep • *kàwáá bààŋ tààrì kéŋ*. A pumpkin just crept like that. à *fàlá táárí tèle à dāā rā*. The calabash creeps to the tree.

taarɔ [táárɔ] n. at all times, always • *tááró múnāā, ñ já dèà dià nī bà-gábàgá*. At all times I sit in the house doing nothing. ò *vàlá ñ dià-nóá rā tááró*. She always passes in front of my door. pl. *taarɔsa*.

taavii [táávì] n. tobacco pipe. pl. *taavise*.

taga [tàyà] v. to dip or touch with a finger in order to taste • *tàgà à disá dí nā, à jìisá nòòwáò?* Dip a finger in the soup to see, is the salt enough?

tagla [tàyəlá] n. ground, soil, sand; earth syn: *hagli*. [*oldfash*].

taja [táájà] n. catapult. (ultim. English <tyre). pl. *taajasa*.

takatjuune [tàyàtʃúúnè] n. measles. (Waali).

takta [táyətà] n. shirt. pl. *taktasa*.

tala [tálà] v. to stretch, to hand up to • *tálà ò néj*. Stretch your hand.

talala [tálàlà] ideo. flat • à *téébùl júú dós kēŋ tálàlà*. The table top is flat.

talimr [tálìmrì] v. to move with difficulty because of pain or malformation • ñ *máŋá hàglíikìŋ dāā ò tʃòà*

*dì tálmì*. I hit a snake with a stick, it was lying and moving with difficulty.

<sup>1</sup>**tama** [támá] *cntr. taŋ quant.* small, few • *támá finî ò káá kààlòò*. He will be leaving in a moment. *támáá ò fì tfélé*. A little more and he would have fallen.

<sup>2</sup>**tama** [támá] *v.* to hammer metal lightly • *tómáá támà ì kisié-nóá*. Toma hammered your knife.

**tamãã** [tãmãã] *n.* hope.

**tambõ** [tãmbõ] *n.* absorbent cloth material used as nappy *syn: tʃaŋtʃul*. (Waali). *pl. tambõsa*.

**tamputie** [tãmpútié] *n.* malt that has been boiled, when strained results in *siŋtʃaara*.

**tangarafo** [tãngàrafò] *n.* telegraph.

**tantaanɪ** [tãntãànɪ̃] (*var. tintaanɪ*) *n.* earthworm. *pl. tantaanɪe*.

**tantama** [tãntãmã] *ideo.* a little, Gh. Eng. small-small • *jáá tòmà tán-tãmã*. Let us work a little bit. *à bá-híé wà bráá nã tántãmã múŋ*. The old man cannot see a little anymore. *òò nóá nī rà tãntãmã*. He drinks water slowly.

**taŋ** (*cntrvar. tama*)

**taŋkama** [tãŋkãmá] *n.* show-off, a person who makes a vain display of himself. (Hausa).

**tapulsa** [tãpúləsá] *n.* burnt wood or charcoal ash. *pl. tapulsa*.

**tara** [tãrà] *v.* 1 to support oneself in order to do something • *lié ì kà tà-*

*rà, káá jāā niŋ?* From where are you getting your support to be boasting like this? 2 to stand firmly on feet. (Waali < *tare*).

**tarage** [tãràgè] *cf: tati pl.v.* to pull continuously, to stretch • *ì taragé ññ nébíí ré*. You pulled my finger. *à bóóŋ wáá lãà dí ñ tarágóó wàà diá*. The goat does not want me to drag it home. *à bóóŋ wáá láá ñ tarágóó wàà diá*. The goat does not accept me pulling it to the house.

**tasa** [tásà] *cf: rɔbakatasa cf: katasa n.* iron bowl, water basin. (ultm. Arabic, via Coast Portuguese < *taça* 'cup'). *pl. tasasa*.

**tasazeŋ** [tásazèŋ] *lit.* bowl-big *n.* headpan, metal bowl or basin, used to carry construction material (e.g. sand, stones, etc) or water. *pl. tasazene*.

**tateĩ** (*var. of tetēĩ*)

**tati** [tãti] *cf: tarage v.* to pull, to stretch, to suck out • *niñ jnãá dɔ ñméŋ bóóŋ bágéná ní ñ tãti wàà diá*. My father put a rope around a goat's neck, I pulled it to the house. *tãti à pàtùrúú àŋkòrò pãtʃi-gɪ nī tíéŋ dɔ ñ mótò nī*. Suck out fuel from the drum for me to put in my motorbike. *bèliléé táá tiŋ ò já tá-tóò*. The language of Gurumbele; it pulls (stretches, lengthens).

**taɔgara** [tãògàrà] *cf: sepanbi n.* chickenpox (*Varicella*). (Waali < *tãògàrà*).

**tawa** [tãwà] *cf: tɔsi (var. 1tɔwa) v.* to

- inject, to prick or pierce slightly • *ɲ wáá tāwā à hèm̄bíí, ɲ ɔm̄ð̄ȭ*. I will not take the injection, it scares me.
- te** [té] *v.* to be early, to get up early • *ì téj̄ȭ*. You are early. *t̄f̄ȭsá p̄is̄i ɔ̄ò báál t̄ɪ̄j̄ té l̄ālā à há̄á̄ɲ d̄í ɔ̄ s̄ī dúó ní*. Early the next morning the husband woke up the wife from sleep.
- tebin** [tébin] *n.* night, approx. 18:00 onward up to dawn • *b̄ááɲ j̄á k̄áá d̄i téb̄in n̄i?* What will we eat this evening? *synt*: *barat̄f̄ɔ̄ḡɔ̄; sankara pl. tebinse*.
- tebinsigmaa** [tébinsigmáá] *n.* night funeral performance, type of dirge usually associated with the bull-roarer *syn*: *sigmawiili; dendilhĩ̄s̄i*.
- tebintina** [tébintīnā] *n.* type of hyena *synt*: *kpatakpaie*.
- teebul** [téébùl] *n.* table. (ult. English <table). *pl. teebulso*.
- <sup>1</sup>**tele** [tèlè] *v.* to reach, to arrive at destination • *j̄á k̄ááli s̄áɲà tél̄èȭ*. Let's leave, the time has reached.
- <sup>2</sup>**tele** [télé] *v.* to stand or lean against • *à s̄anz̄īj̄ tél̄è z̄íé n̄i*. The ladder leans against the wall. *d̄áá tél̄è k̄òz̄àà n̄i*. A stick leans on a basket.
- telegi** [télégi] *pl.v.* to stand or lean against • *p̄àà à dàásá tél̄égi à z̄íé ní*. Take the sticks and make them lean on the wall. *p̄àà à dàásá t̄ɪ̄j̄ k̄à tél̄égi à z̄íé ní k̄ēɲ l̄īi dé*. Take off the sticks that are leaning on the wall.
- tem̄ī** [tém̄ī] *cf*: *tii* (*Gu. var. tfem̄ī*) *n.* type of army ant. *pl. tem̄ī*.
- tempilie** [tém̄p̄ilié] *cf*: *tuolie n.* type of cooking pot. [*Gu*].
- teɲe** [tènè] *v. cf*: *loga 1* to cut • *t̄f̄én-si ré téɲé ɔ̄ò n̄āā*. The zinc cut her foot. *ɲ téɲé gbésà r̄ā*. I am cutting off a chewing stick. **2** to take a picture • *jir̄à f̄òtòdr̄áábà ɔ̄ wá t̄ēɲēn f̄òtò*. Call the photographer so he can come and take a picture of me. **3** to hinder, to stop • *l̄úh̄ò líí t̄f̄às̄iá à wá téɲé ɲ tiw̄ī ɲ wá k̄ááli k̄ùó*. A funeral came up in Chasia, it hindered me from going to the farm.
- teɲesi** [tèn̄ès̄i] *pl.v.* to cut off many or into pieces, to form mud bricks for construction • *ìi téɲés̄i à n̄à-mīà ràà?* Did you cut the meat? *b̄á há wá téɲés̄i à hàgl̄ib̄ié p̄ēt̄i*. They are not yet finish making the mud bricks.
- teɲteɲ** [tén̄tén] *n.* single, alone, only • *kp̄āāɲ d̄íḡím̄áɲá t̄éɲt̄éɲ ɲ kp̄àḡà*. I have one yam only.
- teo** (*var. of tou*)
- tesi** [tés̄i] *v.* **1** to crack and remove shea nuts from the shell • *t̄f̄úónó ɲ d̄i t̄és̄i*. I am cracking and removing shea nuts. *syn*: *t̄f̄iaḡi* [*rare*]. **2** to hatch • *à z̄ál t̄és̄iȭ*. The fowl has hatched. *s̄ũũ w̄àá k̄iɲ t̄és̄i ɔ̄ò há-lá*. A guinea fowl cannot hatch its eggs.
- teteɲse** [tèt̄èɲsé] *n.* night blindness, believed to be due to vitamin deficiency.
- teu** [tèu] *n.* warthog (*Phacochoerus africanus*). *pl. t̄ét̄é*.

**teukarj** [tèukán] *n.* warthog ivory.  
*pl.* **teukaja**.

**teesi** [téésì] *n.* test, examination.  
(ultm. English < *test*).

**tehēē** (*var. of* **tehīē**)

**tehīē** [tèhíé] (*var.* **tehēē**) *n.* oribi  
(*Ourebia ourebi*). *pl.* **tehīēsa**.

**tekpagar** (*var. of* **tekpagar**)

**tel** [tél] *n.* page or sheet • *lísí ìt búkù tél dígímáná tīēŋ*. Remove a sheet from your book and give it to me.  
*pl.* **tela**.

**tesiamá** [tèsiámá] *n.* red-flanked duiker (*Cephalophus rufilatus*). *pl.* **tesiansa**.

**tetēī** [tètēī] (*var.* **tatēī**) *n.* flintlock leather pad. *pl.* **tatēīna**.

**tibii** [tíbíi] *n.* Akee tree seed. *pl.* **tibie**.

**tie** [tíē] *v.* *cf.* **tjagamɪ** **1** to chew, Gh. Eng. to chop meat • *òò màáwíé tíj dí à tiè nàmíá*. Her stepmother ate and chewed the meat. **2** to cheat or to swindle someone • *nèn hílá tién nē à mòlibíi bábònti nì*. My in-law cheated when money was shared.

**tigiti** [tígítì] *n.* ticket, in public transport or to register oneself as seller in a market. (ultm. English < *ticket*).

**tigsi** [tìyìsì] *v.* to gather, to group in a uniform way • *dùséléé tǐ kàá tigsì dǎjá rā à kòòrè lùsinnàsā*. Tomorrow, the people of Ducie will gather and prepare the last funeral

rites. *súmméŋ tigsì kpòŋkpòŋpà-tǐgá háj*. Help me to group and arrange these cassava leaves.

**<sup>1</sup>tii** [tíi] *cf.* **temīi** *n.* type of ant. [Mo].  
*pl.* **tie**.

**<sup>2</sup>tii** [tíi] *n.* Akee tree (*Blighia sapida*).  
*pl.* **tise**.

**<sup>3</sup>tii** [tìi] *v.* **1** to make a visible trace, such as a line or spot, to indicate a location • *kà tíi bá tīŋ já kàá sǎá 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 lúli tii ì èm-béltwīlī*. Take some medicine and mark you affected shoulder.

**<sup>4</sup>tii** [tíi] *n.* any hot drink, e.g. tea, coffee. (ultm. English < *tea*). *pl.* **tiise**.

**tiijagu** [tíjágú] *n.* type of bird. *pl.* **tiijagie**.

**tiila** [tíilà] *n.* sewing machine. (ultm. English < *tailor*).

**tiime** [tìimè] *v.* to treat, to cure • *tíimé ññ gǎràgá rá*. He cured my disease. (Waali < *tiim* 'medicine').

**tiimuŋ** [tìimúŋ] (*var.* **wɪjalɪ**) *n.* east. (Tampulma < *tienε muŋ* 'land bottom').

**tiine** [tíiné] *v.* to insist • *níhíēsā ŋmá à wíé pētúū, ká bà hàmonsà háá tī-nē à wóŋmáháá*. The elders are finished with the matter but their children still insist.

**tiipuu** [tìipúu] (*var.* **wɪfelii**) *n.* west. (Tampulma < *tienε juu* 'land head').

**tiiri** [tìiri] *v.* to manipulate and rub vigorously by pressing hard with one or more fingers and drag • *wà tìiri nèn nààtʃóg tíéj, ɔ kpéj-ŋjǒ.* Come and rub my ankle, it is dislocated.

**tiisa** [tíisà] *n.* station. (ult. English).

**tiisaali** [tíisááli] *n.* 1 person from Tiisa. 2 lect of Tiisa. *pl.* **tiisaaleɛ.**

**tiise** [tìisè] *v.* to help, to support • *tíisèj já párà kùó.* Help me cultivate a farm. *hámà kà zì péjèè áwáá zì já tiisè háj.* These (two fingers) are then added, and they come to support this one (finger).

**tiisi** [tíisi] *cf:* **kovri, paari** *v.* to grind, finer than *paari* but more rough than *kovri* • *kà tíisi sàó wàà já sáá kǒǒ.* Go grind some flour and come back so we can prepare t.z.

**tile** [tilé] *n.* forehead. *pl.* **tilese.**

**timpaanii** [tìmpáání] *n.* boiled bean cake dish made from bambara bean flour. (Hausa < *tùbá:ní*).

**timpanni** [tìmpànnì] *cf:* **timpanwal** *n.* female talking drum, with the lowest pitch of the two. (partly Akan < *atumpan*). *pl.* **timpanniita.**

**timpantii** [tìmpántíi] *n.* talking drum beaten with curved sticks. *pl.* **timpantie.**

**timpanwal** [tìmpànwál] *cf:* **timpanni** *n.* male talking drum, with the highest pitch of the two. *pl.* **timpanwala.**

**tindaana** [tìndāānā] *cf:* **tɔstina** *n.* landlord. (Waali).

**tinti** [tíntí] *v.* to nag, to put pressure on or remind somebody to his or her irritation • *ò bíári kàà tìntí-tí-tí dí ò jǒá síj kìnkán nà.* His brother reminds him about his excessive drinking to his irritation.

**tintuolii** [tíntùólíi] (*var.* **tuntuolii**) *n.* African grey hornbill, type of bird (*Tockus nasutus*). *pl.* **tintuoluso.**

**tiŋ** [tíŋ] *n.* spear. *pl.* **time.**

**tisie** [tisié] *cf:* **kovzaa** *n.* woven basket with guinea corn stalks. [*Ka, Ti, Tu*].

**titfa** (*var.* of **tfitfa**)

**tiwii** [tìwíi] *cf:* **munii** *n.* road. *pl.* **tiwie.**

**tiwiibanlengeregise** [tìwíibāŋlɛŋgèrègìè] *n.* type of lizard. *pl.* **tiwiibanlengeregise.**

**tiwiitfaraga** [tìwíitfáràgà] *n.* junction. *pl.* **tiwiitfaragasa.**

**ti** [tɪ] *neg.* not • *tí káálí.* Do not leave!

**tiá** [tíà] *n.* *cf:* **luo; lɔla** 1 pregnancy • *wáá dǒó tíà.* He impregnated her. 2 fetus. *pl.* **tesa.**

**tɪɛ** [tìè] *v.* 1 to give, to deliver • *kpá òò pár tìèò.* Give him his hoe. *ŋ wá bí ŋmá wíimùŋ tìè òò jíná.* I won't tell anything to my father again. 2 to allow, to let • *tìè à níí nómá.* Let the water be hot.

**tɛkpagar** [tʃékpáyár] (*var.* tɛkpagar) *n.* pregnant woman. *pl.* *tɛkpagara*.

**tɛsɪ** [tʃésɪ] *cf.* ɔgɪli *v.* to vomit • *nàntfòmá* ì tiè à tʃésɪ. It is bad meat you ate and vomited.

**tɛsɪɛ** [tʃésɪɛ] *n.* vomit.

**tɪga** [tɪgà] *v.* to rub hard by pressing on one place, to massage an area to relieve pain and encourage blood flow • *tɪgà n̄n̄ tilé d̄ɔ, bà f̄órán b̄íí rá.* Rub my forehead, I have been stoned. *òò màá tɪgá à biè tilē, àwíé òò wà bí òrà.* The mother massaged the child's forehead so that it does not swallow.

**tɪgɪmɪ** [tɪyìmi] (*var.* tɪrimɪ) *v.* to stamp on with feet • *kòsānāò k̄pá-gá n̄n̄kpān̄ à tɪgɪmí d̄ɔ hàglíí n̄í.* The buffalo caught the hunter and stamped on him.

**tɪglaa** [tɪgələā] *n.* type of yam. *pl.* *tɪglasa*.

**tɪna** [tɪnà] *n.* owner, person characterised by, or in possession of. *pl.* *tɪnma*.

**tɪsaa** [tɪsàā] *nprop.* Tiisa village.

**tɪtaa** [tɪtāā] *n.* African Yellow Warbler, type of bird (*Chloropeta palustris*). *pl.* *tɪtaasa*.

**tɪl** [tɪl] *n.* sap, resin, gum from tree-bark. *pl.* *tɪla*.

**tɪla** [tɪlá] *quant.* minute, extremely small, tiny measure of something • *ɲ s̄ummé p̄ān̄òò, à hááŋ b̄ān̄ lóḡóó tɪláá k̄éŋ tɪɛŋ.* I begged for

bread, the woman just gave me a little. *ɲ búúré ì n̄óó tɪn n̄á tɪláá k̄éŋ.* I need just a bit of your cream.

**tɪmpitɪɛ** [tɪmpítíɛ] *cf.* tɔŋsi *n.* from *kɔnm̄ā*, guinea corn which has been cooked and brewed for *sɪsɪama*, Gh. Eng. pito.

**tɪna** [tɪnà] *v.* to lower, to form rain-threatening cloud • *s̄iì, já z̄óó díá d̄úóŋ k̄àà tɪnà.* Raise up, we should go to the house because the clouds are forming rain. *té k̄áálíí, dúóŋ k̄àà tɪn̄áò.* Do not go, the rain is threatening.

**tɪn̄áò** [tɪn̄áò] *n.* cloud state, gathering of clouds.

**tɪntaanɪ** (*var.* of *tantaanɪ*)

**tɪntaaraa** [tɪntááráá] *n.* woven smock used for battles or hunting, fortified with protective medicine, believed to be bullet-proof. *pl.* *tɪntaaraasa*.

**tɪntɪn** [tɪntɪn] *n.* 1 self • *à bisé zé-ŋésíjéó bà k̄àá k̄ɪŋ ɲinè bà tintinsá rá* The children are old enough to take care of themselves *ì bíérí dí ɲɲ k̄àntf̄imá rá, òò tintɪn n̄á ɲ dí búúré dí ɔ w̄áá.* Your brother owes me, I want him to come himself. 2 use to emphasise the person or thing being referred to • *à k̄ín tintɪn d̄óá ùù pé.* The thing itself is with him. *à s̄ɪh̄ááŋ tintɪn w̄àà t̄ùò.* The woman in charge of the pito, she herself is not there. *pl.* *tɪntɪnsa*.

**tɪŋ** [tɪŋ] *art.* the • *à báál tɪŋ té lálá òò hááŋ dí ɔó s̄íí d̄úò n̄í.* The husband

woke the wife up early.

<sup>1</sup>tɪŋa [tɪŋà] *v.* 1 to follow • *dì káá-lì làgálàgá háj, dí à lèí ì kàà tɪŋà mūŋ.* Go right away, if not you will follow us. 2 to obey • *ziàŋ kàà tɪŋà dààbàŋtòlúgú ní, ñ sít ní rē.* Ziang is obeying the shrine Daabangtolugu, I witnessed it.

<sup>2</sup>tɪŋa [tɪŋà] *cf:* *karifa* *n.* responsibility • *híŋ tɪŋá à kùò páríí.* Your responsibility is the weeding of the farm. *bátóŋ tɪŋá à vɔg nífwáásíí.* Liberation is the responsibility of Batong. *pl.* *tɪŋasa.*

tɪŋgbɛhɛɛ [tɪŋgbéhéɛɛ] *n.* type of rope trap made of warthog hair to trap birds feeding on pepper plant. *pl.* *tɪŋgbɛhɛsa.*

tɪrɪmɪ (*var. of* tɪgɪmɪ)

tɪsɪ [tɪsì] *v.* to be shallow • *à bɔ̀à wá tɪsɪjɛ, ù lúnjɔ̀.* The hole is not shallow, it is deep. *à góŋ tɪsɪjɛ kínkàn nà.* The river is too shallow. *ant:* *lujo*

tɪtɪ [tɪtì] *v.* to rub or massage with or without applying a liquid or oil • *wà tɪtì nèn fɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀vò wíɔ̀v.* Come and massage my lower back, it is paining.

togo [tógò] *n.* smock with sleeves.

toguni [tógúní] (*var.* toŋini) *v.* to squat • *à dièbié tógúni kàlèŋ nī.* The cat squats on the mat.

tokobii [tókòbíí] *n.* double-edged knife, sword. (Hausa < *takobi*). *pl.* *tokobie.*

tokoro [tókórò] *cf:* *dianɔ̀bɔ̀wie* *n.* window. (Hausa < *tāgā, tak-ware*).

tolibii [tòlibíí] *n.* baobab seed. *pl.* *tolibie.*

tolii [tòlií] *n.* baobab, type of tree (*Adansonia digitata*). *pl.* *tolee.*

tolipaafɔg [tòlipààtɔ̀fák] *cf:* *sāŋkum-sɔ̀na* *n.* leaf of baobab. *pl.* *tolipaa-tɔ̀faga.*

tolɔg [tòlɔg] *n.* quiver, portable case for holding arrows. *pl.* *tolɔgsa.*

tomo [tòmó] *cf:* *tɔ̀uomonaatɔ̀wa* *n.* type of tree. *pl.* *tomoso.*

toŋini (*var. of* toguni)

toŋo [tòŋò] *v.* to take off, as a load on head or a pot off the fire • *kpà-gà nèn níí já tóŋò.* Hold the water container with me so we can put it down.

toŋsi [tòŋsì] *v. cf:* *tɪmpitie* 1 to drip • *à dúóŋ kàà tóŋsi hàglíí nī.* The rain is dripping on the ground. 2 to sieve by letting drip, like when placing the *tɪmpitie* in a basket to gather the lighter ‘pito’ • *à tɪm-pítíé káá tóŋsù.* The malt is being sieved.

toro [tórò] *n.* type of gecko. *pl.* *toroso.*

toroo [tòròò] *num.* three *Enum of:* *atoro.*

totii [tótíí] *n.* share of a set or version of a story • *ìì mòlibíí tótíí níŋ nī.* Here is your share of money. *biisi ìì tótíí.* Narrate your version of the story. *pl.* *totie.*



**tou** [tòù] (*var. teo*) *interj.* exclamation expressing agreement or understanding, or a ritualised transition in a discourse • *ɲ nɔ́ó ò kà láá dí téò à tʃágálfjé dí ò láá nǔǎ ní rā.* I heard him accepting with *téò*, it shows that he has agreed. (Hausa <tô).

**tɔ** [tɔ] *v. cf: tʃige* **1** to cover • *kpá kɪŋ tɔ kónkōŋ háŋ.* Take this thing and cover that metal box. **2** to wear, to close a cloth on body • *kpá gá-ŕ tɔ.* Take a cloth and cover yourself. **3** to close • *tɔ ì síé.* Close your eyes. *tʃɔ́pósí tíŋ ñ kàá tɔ ñŋ síé.* The day of my death (lit. the day I will close my eyes). *ò tɔ à diànǔǎ rā.* She closed the door. *ant: ¹lala¹* **4** to imprison • *bà tɔ ñŋŋ mǎǎbíé dià nī, dí nàmĩẽ ò kpó géèem nī.* They imprisoned my brother for poaching in the protected area. **5** to hoe to form yam mounds • *à báál tɔ ùù píé tíŋ mùŋ nō.* The man has completed making his yam mounds. **6** to protect, as in God covering the whole world • *kùósò tɔ dórŋǎ mūŋ.* God protects the whole world.

**tɔbou** [tɔbòù] *lit.* community-insufficient *cf: bowo* *n.* non-resident, people from a different community • *tɔbóútǔmà* People from another community have stolen the chief of Ducie's cow. *tó-bóúnār wáá lɔgà sɪmáá nūù.* A non-resident does not scoop food from the central top of the bowl. *pl. tɔ-bouso.*

**¹tɔg** [tòg] *n.* ammunition pouch. *pl. tɔgna.*

**²tɔg** [tóg] *cf: tɔgɪ (var. sintɔg)* *n.* clay pot generally containing local beer *syn: sɪŋvii . pl. tɔga.*

**tɔga** [tòyà] *cf: di* *v.* to set fire to, to make charcoal • *má tíí tɔgà kòsà díŋ.* Do not put fire to the grass. *ná-mùŋ wàà tɔgà hólá dùsèè nī.* No one makes charcoal in Ducie.

**tɔgama** [tòyǔmà] *n. cf: dɔŋtɪna* **1** namesake, someone who shares the same name as somebody else. **2** comrade, colleague, or fellow, someone who shares an activity with somebody else • *à pápátá káá kǎáli diá áká húúsí jìrà òò tɔgá-mà.* The farmer goes home and shouts to alert his colleague. *pl. tɔ-gamasa.*

**tɔgɔfa** [tòyǔfà] *n.* six pence in BWA currency, old 5 pesewa coin. (Akan).

**tɔgɔli** [tòyǔli] *v.* to be loose, not tight • *tiè à ŋmɛŋ tɔgɔli.* Let the rope be loose.

**tɔgɔsi** [tògǔsi] *v.* to burn, as hot food or drink burning the mouth • *kù-bíí nómáǔ à kàá tɔgɔsi ì nǔǎ.* The porridge is hot, it will burn your mouth.

**tɔgɔmi** [tògòmì] *v.* to consider someone or some ideas • *ŋ ŋmá wié di tíēō, ká ò wà tɔgómíŋ.* I was talking to her but she did not mind me.

**¹tɔhĩẽ** [tòhíẽ] *cf: dabuo* *n.* old community, in terms of settlement prece-

dence over others. *pl. tɔhĩẽta.*

<sup>2</sup>tɔhĩẽ [tɔhĩẽ] *n.* midnight.

tɔɪ [tɔɪ] *n.* closing • à bié wáá búúré à diànóá tɔì, dí wílìŋ dɔá dé. The child does not like the door to be closed, he is sweating.

tɔlatɔla [tɔlátɔlá] *ideo.* lukewarm • à níí dɔ tɔlātɔlā, ì wá bī pùlìsì. The water is lukewarm, you do not need to cool it with cold water.

tɔma [tɔmà] *nprop.* person's name, names someone who obeys a tɔmɪ, acquired in one's lifetime or from one's father.

tɔmɪ [tɔmĩ] *n.* acquired reptile idol. *pl. tɔmɪɛ.*

tɔmɔsɔ [tɔmɔsò] *n.* day before yesterday, or day after tomorrow.

tɔmɔsɔ gantal [tɔmɔsò gāntál] *n. phr.* day after tomorrow or day before yesterday • tɔmɔsò gāntál kàá jáà à làribá. The day after tomorrow is Wednesday. tɔmɔsò gāntál tìn nì jáá àsíbítì. The day before yesterday was Saturday.

tɔna [tɔná] *n.* profit *ant: bɔna . pl. tɔnasa.*

tɔŋ [tɔŋ] *n. cf: kadaasi cf: piipa* 1 animal skin. 2 book. 3 paper. *pl. tɔna.*

<sup>1</sup>tɔŋa [tɔŋà] *cf: saga; tɔsa; suguli v.* to cook food in water, to boil • à nàntòŋŋù kánáá. The boiled meat is abundant. tɔŋà kpááŋ já dí. Cook yam so we can eat.

<sup>2</sup>tɔŋa [tɔŋà] *n.* sickness related to a consequence of under-aged marriage • tááŋó há wà télé hááŋ kpāgī, ká kpá hááŋ tɔŋà kpágáó. Tangu was not mature enough to marry, he got married and he got the sickness.

tɔŋfɛŋtɪdaa [tɔnfɛntɪdáá] *n.* peg placed at the edge of an animal skin to stretch it in the drying process. *pl. tɔŋfɛŋtɪdaasa.*

tɔŋɪ [tɔŋí] *n.* boiling, brewing • sín-tɔŋī bómáá. Pito brewing is difficult.

tɔr [tɔr] *n.* skin disease of a dog, with hairless spots and rashes.

tɔrɪgɪ [tɔrígí] *cf: tɔtɪ pl.v.* to pluck, to pick fruits or beans • bà káálí kòsá bá ká tɔrīgī síŋkpilí. They went to the bush to pluck fruits. má káálí ñ kùó kà tɔrígí mánásá. Go to my farm and harvest the groundnuts.

tɔsɪ [tɔsì] *cf: tawa pl.v.* to pierce many times • òò kà zús à sòrisá, à tɔsì òò tàgàtà mùŋ lūrīgúù. When he entered the thorns, they pierced all over his garment.

tɔta [tɔtá] *n. cf: tɔagbariga* 1 palm leaf fiber, used in making mat. 2 type of palm tree bearing non-edible fruit (*Raphia*). *pl. tɔta.*

<sup>1</sup>tɔtɪ [tɔtí] *cf: tɔrɪgɪ v.* to pluck, to pick a fruit • tɔtí liéŋ tīēŋ. Pick the vine's fruit for me.

<sup>2</sup>tɔtɪ [tɔtì] *v.* to sprout, to come out (as leaves), to bud • tɔlìsì jáwàsá álīē, ñ

- tíimáá kàá tòtòò.* Wait two weeks, your pepper will sprout.
- tɔtɔsa** [tɔtɔsà] *n.* debate, misunderstanding, argumentation • *ɲ nɔ́ɔ́ à tɔtɔsā rā àkà ɲ wà péjèè.* I heard the debate but I am not part of it.
- tɔtfaaŋ** [tɔtfaáŋ] *n.* season spanning from September to November.
- tɔtfaaŋbummo** [tɔtfaámbummò] *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.
- tɔtfaaŋsiamama** [tɔtfaáŋsiámámá] *n.* season or transition period spanning from mid-October to November identified by the end of the rain and the grass turning yellow. The quantity of rain usually reduces drastically, so the grasses begin to dry up leading to bush burning and related activities.
- tɔs** [tɔs] *cf: bria n.* settlement, village or community. *pl. tɔsa.*
- tɔskpurgii** [tɔskpúrégíí] *n.* tobacco container.
- tɔspaatsfaga** [tɔspààtsfáyá] *n.* tobacco leaf.
- tɔspatfɪgu** [tɔspàtsfígíí] *n.* inside the village, within its inhabited limits.
- tɔspval** [tɔspóvəl] *lit. community-liver n.* prominent community

- member. *pl. tɔspvalsa.*
- tɔsavaɔ** [tɔsàvəɔ] *n.* powdered tobacco, snuff.
- tɔsaii** [tɔsəií] *n.* 1 village's centre, the busiest place of the village. 2 prominent community member.
- tɔstina** [tɔs'tíná] *cf: tindaana n.* land owner, landlord. *pl. tɔs'tómá.*
- tɔvɔgzimbie** [tɔvɔgzímbié] *n.* Hoopoe, type of bird (*Upupa epops*). *pl. tɔvɔgzimbise.*
- <sup>1</sup>**tɔwa** (*var. of tawa*)
- <sup>2</sup>**tɔwa** [tɔwà] *n.* tobacco. *pl. tɔsa.*
- tɔwie** [tɔwié] *n.* small village. *pl. tɔwise.*
- tɔzeŋ** [tɔzéh] *n.* town. *pl. tɔzenèè.*
- tradza** [táradzà] *n.* trousers. (ult. English). *pl. tradzasa.*
- tufutufu** [tùfùtùfù] *ideo.* lacking starch • *à kápàlà dɔ tùfùtùfù, è wà zúgò.* The fufu lacks starch, it is soft.
- tugo** [tùgò] *v. cf: maŋa; tfasí* 1 to beat a person or an animal • *bà túgò dɔŋā.* They fought each other. 2 to pound with sharp movements • *èè túgò kápàlà rā.* She pounds the fufu.
- tugosi** [tùgòsì] *pl.v.* to beat • *ɲ túgòsì à biè ré.* I beat the child (more than once, over a short period of time). *dzímàntí wɔzɔ̀ɔ̀rì nibáálá já tùgòsì kápàlāsā rā.* In those days at Jimbanti, men used to pound fufu.

- tugul** [túgúl] *n.* type of mouse. *pl. tugulo.*
- tũk** [tuk] *n.* guinea fowl nest. *pl. tukno.*
- tulaadi** [túlààdí] *n.* perfume, body-oil, Gh. Eng. pomade. (Hausa <tùràrē).
- tulemi** [tùlèmi] *v.* to do by mistake, to make a mistake • *kàlá túlémí kpá ɔ̀ɔ̀ tʃèná tàgàtà.* Kala took his friend's shirt by mistake.
- tulor** [tùlór:] *n.* *cf:* **sunguru; binhãñ** 1 young girl who can get married and has never given birth. 2 very beautiful girl, married or not. *pl. tuloro.*
- tulorwie** [tùlòrwié] *cf:* **binhãñ; nhãwie** *n.* young girl.
- tundaa** [tùndáá] *cf:* **tundaaboro** *cf:* **tuto; kuotuto** *n.* pestle, pounding stick. *pl. tundaasa.*
- tundaaboro** [tùndààbòrò] *lit.* pestle-portion *cf:* **tundaa** *n.* piece of pestle, various usage at home. *pl. tundaaboruso.*
- tuntuolii** (*var. of tintuolii*);
- tuntuolisrama** [tùntùòlísìámá] (*var. tutukɔ̀kɔ̀*) *n.* Red-billed hornbill, type of bird (*Tockus sp.*).
- <sup>1</sup>**tuo** [tùò] *n.* shooting bow. *pl. toso.*
- <sup>2</sup>**tuo** [tùò] *v.* to not exist, to not be there • *ɔ̀ wàà tùò.* He is not there.
- tuolie** [tùólié] *cf:* **tempilie** *n.* type of cooking pot.
- tuosi** [tùòsi] *v.* 1 to add an amount or items after a deal is closed • *à jà-*
- wàdirè wā jāà túòsi kfnmùŋ.* The sellers never add any amount or items. 2 to pick or take fast • *tʃɔ̀ kà tùòsi mòlèbié wàà.* Run and go pick the money and come back.
- tuosii** [tùósií] *cf:* **tuoso** *n.* added amount of goods by a seller after a closed transaction, Gh. Eng. dash • *ɔ̀ɔ̀ jìsà túósií wáá līsī.* Her added amount of salt is insufficient.
- tuoso** [tùòsó] *cf:* **tuosii** *n.* added amount, Gh. Eng. dash. *pl. tuoso.*
- tupu** [túpù] *n.* tyre innertube. (ult. English <tube). *pl. tupuso.*
- turo** [túrò] *v.* 1 to move or rub back and forth by pressing on a hard surface • *kpá ñ ñàtáɔ̀ túrò à sèléméntè, dójó líì.* Rub your shoe against the cement to remove the dirt. 2 to go in and out a place over a certain period of time • *ìmm mǎábié bááŋ sīì, ɔ̀ɔ̀ já bààŋ à túrò kùò rō tʃɔ̀pìsì bíf-mùŋ.* Every day, immediately my brother gets up, he always go to the farm.
- turuŋkaa** [túrúŋkáà] *lit.* Europe-car *n.* car. (partly Hausa, partly English).
- tusu** [túsù] *num.* thousand. (Oti-Volta). *pl. tususo.*
- tuti** [tùti] *cf:* **zaga** *v.* to push upwards or forwards, to shove • *tùti à lóólì ɔ̀ sīì.* Push the car for it to start.
- tuto** [tùtó] *cf:* **tundaa; kuotuto** *n.* mortar. *pl. tutoso.*

**tutosii** [tùtùsí] *n.* centre of a mortar, around the smallest concentric ring.

**tutukɔ̀kɔ̀** (*var. of* **tuntuolisiamá**)

**tuu** [tùù] *cf:* **zina** *v.* to go down, to descend, to come low • *ɲ tũú dià rā.* I went down to the house. *kpá tũú.* Put it down.

**tuubi** [tũúbí] *v.* **1** to repent, to change from evil doing to a better lifestyle • *kálá tũúbijō, ɔ̀wà bírà à ɲmíé.* Kala has repented, he does not steal any more. **2** to convert to one of the modern religions • *à vóg-tĩnà wàá kìn tũúbí tʃééft̃ nĩ.* The priest cannot convert to Christianity. (*ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <tu-ubaa* ‘change one’s religion’).

**tũũbii** [tũũbí] *n.* bee. *pl.* **tũũbie.**

**tuur** (*var. of* **haglikɪŋ**)

**tuuri** [tũùri] *v.* **1** to drag • *hàglíkiná jáà tũúri à kìnkpàgàsè.* Snakes usually drag their prey. **2** to move like a snake, lateral undulation locomotion • *à dɔ̀ɔ̀ tũúrijé zòò dià pátʃígí ní.* The python crawled and entered the house.

**tuuti** [tũúti] *ideo.* repeatedly • *tómá ɲnā ɲmájéè di tʃéé tũúti dí ɔ̀ té wàà zòò géèmkò̀sá.* Toma’s father tells him repeatedly not to enter the national park.

**tɔ** [tɔ] *v.* to accompany someone or a group to a place for a purpose • *bà di tɔ hákúrí ká tiè ɔ̀ò báál là.* Yesterday they accompanied Hakuri to her future husband.

**tɔa** [tòò] *v.* **1** to deny • *ɔ̀ tɔ́ɔ̀ ìt wɪɲmáhá tìn nā.* He denied your words. *ɔ̀ò ɲíná píésóò dí ɔ̀ wà káálí kùó, ɔ̀ tòà nɔ̀á.* His father asked him whether he went to the farm, he denied having been there. *ɔ̀ ɲmájáò kāā tòà.* She is talking and denying. *ɲ ɲmá hákúrí ɲmíé ɲɲ mòlèbí, ɔ̀ tòò* I said Hakuri stole my money and she denied. **2** to argue • *hámónà àní níhĩésá wàá kìn tòò dónà.* Children and elders cannot argue.

**tõã** [tõá] (*var.* **tõõ**) *n.* sheath, knife close-fitting case. *pl.* **tõãna.**

**tɔasi** [tòási] *v.* to pick out, to pick up • *tòási bíé átòrò tĩɛŋ.* Pick three stones for me.

**tɔgi** [tógí] *cf:* **tɔg** (*var.* **sɪntɔgɔ**) *n.* clay pot used for local beer. [Mo]. *pl.* **tɔgisi.**

**tɔgɔsi** [tógɔsí] *v.* to become weak, to become powerless • *dzèbùni wà dí sùmmà di ɲɲà à tógɔsí.* Jebuni is always underfed, that is why he became weak.

**tɔl** [tól] *cf:* **dɪŋtɔl** *n.* flame. *pl.* **tɔla.**

**tɔla** [tòlà] *cf:* **pɔla** *cf:* **pɔmma** *v.* to be white • *sũhálá wáá tɔ̀lā.* Guinea fowl eggs are not white.

**<sup>1</sup>tɔma** [tòmə] *v.* to work • *ɲ wáá tòmə tómá zááj.* I will not work today.

**<sup>2</sup>tɔma** [tómá] *n.* work. (Oti-Volta). *pl.* **tɔmasa.**

**<sup>3</sup>tɔma** [tòmə] *pl.n.* people.

**<sup>4</sup>tɔma** [tòmə] *v.* to send someone • *tɔ̀mán ɲ káálí dù̀sèé.* Send me to

Ducie.

**tɔmbar** [tɔmbár] *n.* location where one usually works. *pl.* *tɔmbara*.

**tɔntʃɔma** [tɔntʃòmá] *n.* work badly done. *pl.* *tɔntʃɔnsa*.

**tõõ** (*var. of* *tõã*)

**tɔɔɛɛ** [tòòléé] *n.* 1 person who loses at a game, competition, or challenge • *dzèbùní jáá tòòléé à kùò bá-pàrífí nì.* Jebuni was the loser at the farm work. 2 weak person • *súgló wáá kìnà lógà, ò jáá tòòléé rā.* Suglo cannot wrestle because he is a weak person.

**tɔɔnɪ** [tòóní] *v.* to stretch • *gòmátíí-ná wáá kìn tóóní.* A hunchback person cannot stretch.

**tɔɔnĩã** [tòóníã] *n.* type of genet (*Genetta spp.*). *pl.* *tɔɔnsa*.

**tɔɔnɪɪ** [tòóníí] *n.* act of stretching.

**tɔɔra** [tòórà] *n.* trouble, problem *syn:* *nɔnɔnɔʃ*<sup>3</sup>. *pl.* *tɔɔrasa*.

**tɔɔsaa** [tòòsáá] *nprop.* Tuosa village.

**tɔɔsaal** [tòòsáál] *n.* person from Tuosa. *pl.* *tɔɔsaala*.

**tɔɔsaalɪ** [tòòsáálí] *n.* lect of Tuosa.

**tɔɔri** [tòrí] *cf:* *tʃi* *v.* really, certainly: verbal which puts emphasis on the

event, the event is a priority for the speaker and must happen • *ɪ tòrí kàá tùgúí rē.* I will beat you. [*Mo*].

**tɔɔrɪɪ** [tòrìgì] *v.* to itch • *zòɲ-gòrèè dómíí, ɪɪɪ bára dì tòrí-gì.* Mosquitoes bit me, my body is itching.

**tɔɔri** [tòsí] *v.* to move over • *tòsí wà kààlì néndúl.* Move over to the right.

<sup>1</sup>**tõõ** [tòò] *v. cf:* *pɔ* 1 to be inserted or to insert, to wear shoes or clothes from the waist downwards • *à hèm-bíí tóó à dáánɔ́ɲ nì.* The nail pierced the fruit and is now in it. *kpá ì píí-tóó tóó.* Wear your underpants. 2 to thread beads or needle • *làà nĩèsá tóó tĩɛɲ.* Take this needle and insert it for me.

<sup>2</sup>**tõõ** [tòò] *n.* type of hyena *syn:* *kpatakpale*. *pl.* *tɔɔnna*.

<sup>3</sup>**tõõ** [tòó] *n.* honey. *pl.* *tõõta*.

**tõõfɪl** [tòòfíí] (*var.* *fɪl*) *n.* bee's sting. *pl.* *tõõfɪlsa*.

**tɔɔnɪ** (*var. of* *zɔɔnɪ*)

**tɔɔri** [tòòrì] *v.* to tighten, to draw close • *tòòrì à ɲmèɲ dɔ à píésí bāgē-nā nī, ò tógóljájó.* Tighten the rope on the sheep's neck, it is loose.

almost died, but now he is well.

**tʃãã** [tʃáá] *n.* broom *synt:* *kɪmpɪɪɪɪ*. [*Du*]. *pl.* *tʃããna*.

## tʃ

**tʃa** [tʃá] (*var.* *tʃɛ*) *v.* to remain, to be left over, to be stranded, to dwell • *ò fì wíò à tʃá tà má ká ó sówà, níɲ wā ò kpégéó.* He was very ill and

**tfaagr** [tʃááɡɪ] *n.* to charge an electric appliance • *dùsèè ní jà wà kpágá díŋ dì tʃááɡɪ jà fòòn.* In Ducie we do not have electricity to charge our phones. (ultm. English <charge).

**tfaandiri** [tʃáándìrɪ] *n.* candle. (ultm. English).

**tjããri** [tʃãã̀rɪ] *v.* 1 to be bright, to shine • *à dià pátfɪgɪ tʃãã̀rɪ.* The room is bright. *ant:* **dojii** 2 to be clean, to be pure • *à nǝʔɪ tʃãã̀rɪ.* The cow milk is pure. *ant:* **dojo**

**tjaantʃiŋ** [tʃáántʃiŋ] *cf:* **tʃimɪ** (*Gu. var. tʃimɪnsa*), **tjaŋtʃiɛŋ** *n.* insect which makes a loud noise in the hottest part of the dry season, especially in the afternoon. It marks the end of harmattan (*Homoptera cicadidae*). *pl.* **tjaantʃiŋsa.**

**tjaantʃinsa** [tʃáántʃɪnsá] *n.* acute, inflammatory, contagious disease.

<sup>1</sup>**tjaari** [tʃààrɪ] *v.* 1 to pour over, to pour down in a stream • *à dūóŋ káá tʃààrɪ.* The rain is pouring down. 2 to have diarrhoea • *ɪ̀nɪ̀ bì-wiè tɪ̀ŋ káá tʃààrɪ, dì ɪ̀ wà jáwá lúli tʃé.* My youngest child will have diarrhoea if I do not buy medicine for her.

<sup>2</sup>**tjaari** [tʃààrɪ] *n.* diarrhoea (bacillary, in general).

**tjaasa** [tʃáásá] *n.* comb. *pl.* **tfaasasa.**

**tjaasadaa** [tʃáásàdā] *n.* wooden comb. *pl.* **tfaasadaasa.**

**tfaasariŋ** [tʃáásáɪŋ] *n.* tooth of a comb. *pl.* **tfaasariŋa.**

**tjaasi** [tʃáásɪ] *v.* to cry with loud voice, to shout strongly and suddenly, to exclaim • *ò tʃáásɪ dí lóólí tʃíŋá.* He shouted at the car for it to stop. *ò tʃáásū dí òò diá káá dí díŋ.* She is shouting that her house is burning.

<sup>1</sup>**tjaasi** [tʃáásɪ] *v.* 1 to comb • *ɪ̀ wà kpá-gá núpóná ká à tʃáásɪ.* I do not have hair to comb. 2 to sweep, to clear out rubbish • *tí tʃáásɪ bár dí òò jíná káá di kíndíliè.* Do not sweep the place when your father is eating.

<sup>2</sup>**tjaasi** [tʃáásɪ] *v.* to imitate, to mimic • *tí tʃáásɪ à bál di válí tʃérá, gà-ràgá káá jáāw kéré.* Do not imitate the man's walk, sickness made him so. *syn:* **driŋa**

**tjabariga** [tʃàbárigá] *n.* wickedness.

<sup>1</sup>**tjaga** [tʃàgá] *v.* to face, be or go towards • *kpá òò síé tʃàgá wítʃé-lí.* Face west. *sáá à diánóá tʃàgá dààzèŋ háŋ.* Build the door such that it faces this big tree. *líé òò sósò kà tʃàgá?* Where are you going?

<sup>2</sup>**tjaga** [tʃàgá] *v.* to produce a liquid through straining with sieve or filter, e.g. in making soap or in brewing local beer • *tʃàgá sɪŋtʃáárá já nǝá.* Strain the malt to make beer so we can drink.

<sup>3</sup>**tjaga** [tʃàgá] *n.* type of basket made out of a gourd suspended from the roof by fibre. [*oldfash.*] *pl.* **tʃàgá.**

<sup>4</sup>**tʃaga** [tʃàvà] *v.* to cause an increase in number, to grow and multiply • *ɪ̀n pènìizèŋ háj tʃágáó.* My large sheep produces multiple lambs regularly. *tènèsì ì tʃéléé núú nó, á tʃágà.* Prune your tomatoes, they will shoot more branches.

<sup>5</sup>**tʃaga** [tʃàvà] *n.* to support • *ɪ̀mènà dáá wà tʃàgà gbélnáá tɪ̀ŋ já kàà sã-ŋà ò múŋ ní kéréj.* Cut a stick and come support the branch we sit under.

**tʃagalɪ** [tʃàvǎli] *v.* to teach, show, or indicate • *bà fi tʃágálijá wā bán-tʃáóhíwít kùò nī.* They taught us how to trap at the farm. *tʃágálijá à kùò tíwī.* Show me the road to the farm. *ò tʃágálijá òò tɪ̀tɪ̀n ná kíŋkáj.* He shows off too much.

**tʃagamɪ** [tʃàvámì] *cf: tie v.* to chew, to masticate • *tʃágámì à kpáánj à lìlè.* Masticate and swallow the yam.

**tʃagasɪ** [tʃàvǎsɪ] **1** *pl.v.* to wash, e.g. clothes, floor, house • *ɪ̀ ŋmá nèn nùhó wá pāā nèn kíndóŋó kà tʃàgàsì.* I told my grandchild to come and take my dirty clothes and wash them. **2** *v.* to menstruate • *dì hááj kà tʃágásì àkà kòòrì sìimáà ñ níná wáá dì.* If a woman menstruates and cooks food, my father will not eat.

**tʃagasɪɪ** [tʃàvǎsɪí] *n.* menstrual period • *tʃágásíí jáá níhááná wít rá.* Menses is a women's phenomenon. *syn: doŋojar; nɪ̀sɔ̀nɪ̀*

**tʃagtʃag** [tʃàvǎtʃák] *n.* tattoo. *pl.*

*tʃagtʃagsa.*

**tʃagtʃagasa** [tʃàvǎtʃàvǎsá] *n.* **1** individual who washes the clothing of a diseased person. **2** person menstruating. *pl. tʃagtʃagasa.*

**tʃagbariga** [tʃàgbárígá] *cf: tɔ̀ta n.* palm leaf whip. *pl. tʃagbarrigasa.*

<sup>1</sup>**tʃakalɪ** [tʃàkálí] *n.* ethnically Chakali person. *pl. tʃakalɛɛ.*

<sup>2</sup>**tʃakalɪ** [tʃàkálí] *n.* Chakali language.

**tʃal** [tʃál] (*var. tʃɛl*) *n.* blood. *pl. tʃalla.*

**tʃalasɪ** [tʃàlǎsɪ] *v.* (*var. tʃɛlɪsɪ*) **1** to pay attention to, to keep track of, be careful • *tʃálásí nǔòò à wíé wí-wíré.* Pay attention and listen to the matter carefully. **2** to wait • *bà tʃálásòò bá náí.* They are waiting to see you.

**tʃalɪhǔò** [tʃàlɪhǔòsa] *n.* type of grasshopper. *pl. tʃalɪhǔòsa.*

**tʃama** (*var. of tʃɛma*)

**tʃaminĩá** [tʃàminĩá] *pl.n.* boil, small abscesses. *pl. tʃaminĩsa.*

**tʃaŋ** [tʃàŋ] *n.* fishing net. *pl. tʃanna.*

**tʃaŋŋɪ** [tʃàŋŋí] *v.* to offer willingly • *dì ò dí sìimáà òò wàá tʃàŋŋí nārā.* When he is eating he offers reluctantly to people and hopes for a refusal. *dì ò dí sìimáà òò já tʃàŋŋí nārā.* When he is eating he offers willingly to people.

<sup>1</sup>**tʃaŋsɪ** [tʃàŋsɪ] *v.* to catch or receive something with two hands • *tʃàŋ-*



*sì bɔ̀l à jùò tʃéŋ.* Catch the ball and throw it to me. *à bié tʃáŋsí làà mòlèbúú àní gírímé ní.* The child received the money with respect.

<sup>2</sup>tʃaŋsɪ [tʃaŋsɪ] *v.* to be striped, typically on fabric • *à tàgàtà tʃáŋsí á-búlúnsò àní ápùlúnsá rā.* The shirt has black and white stripes.

<sup>3</sup>tʃaŋsɪ [tʃaŋsɪ] *v.* to give birth to both male and female in one's life, not at the same time • *à hááŋ lǒlāà tʃáŋ-sòv.* The woman has given birth to both sexes.

tʃaŋtʃiɛŋ (*var. of tʃaŋtʃiŋ*)

tʃaŋtʃul [tʃaŋtʃúl] *n.* absorbent cloth material used as diaper *syn. tambɔ* . *pl. tʃaŋtʃulo.*

tʃap [tʃáb] *ideo.* red-handed, in the act of committing a crime • *bátón kpágá v̄ ñm̄tér t̄n tʃāp, v̄ sòm̄m̄ d̄i v̄ tó v̄ m̄n n̄i.* Baton finally caught his thief red-handed, he begged for his silence.

tʃaparapĩ [tʃàpàràpĩ] *n.* Four-Banded Sandgrouse (*Pterocles quadricinctus*). *pl. tʃaparapĩna.*

<sup>1</sup>tʃara [tʃàrà] *v.* to straddle, to sit with a leg on each side of something • *báál sáŋèè tʃàrà dáánáá ní.* A man straddles a tree branch.

<sup>2</sup>tʃara (*var. of tʃera*)

tʃaratʃara [tʃàràtʃàrà] (*var. tʃatʃara*) *ideo.* visual pattern of a heterogeneous design, like in the description of fabric or animal skin • *bòsá d̄ó tʃàràtʃàrà.* The snake has a certain skin pattern. *pl. tʃaratʃarasa.*

tʃareɛ [tʃàréè] *n.* Western Wattle Cuckoo-Shrike, type of bird (*Lobotos lobatus*). *pl. tʃareesa.*

tʃarga [tʃàràgà] *n.* intersection. *pl. tʃargasa.*

tʃasɪ [tʃásí] *v. cf. maŋa; tugo (var. kasɪ) 1* to knock, to slap • *tʃásí v̄v̄ gàntál ú s̄í d̄ūō n̄i.* Slap his back to wake him up. **2** to pound in order to spread fibres and make soft, e.g. meat, tuber • *tʃásí kpòŋkpóŋ tá b̄ŋ n̄i.* Pound the cassava and leave it on a rock to dry. **3** to cough • *v̄v̄ f̄f̄t̄à tʃógáó, v̄ d̄i tʃásí.* His lungs have deteriorated, he is coughing.

tʃasɪa [tʃàsɪá] *nprop.* Chasia village.

tʃasɪɛ [tʃàsɪè] *n.* cough.

tʃasɪlɪ [tʃàsɪlí] *n.* **1** person from Chasia. **2** lect of Chasia. *pl. tʃasɪlɛ.*

tʃasɪzɛŋ [tʃàsɪzèŋ] *lit. cough-big n. tuberculosis, deadly infectious disease.*

tʃatɪ [tʃáti] *n.* type of guinea corn. *pl. tʃatɪ.*

tʃatʃara (*var. of tʃaratʃara*)

tʃatʃawɪlɛɛ [tʃàtʃàwílèè] *n.* type of weaver bird (*Ploceus gen.*). *pl. tʃatʃawɪlesa.*

<sup>1</sup>tʃaʊ [tʃáó] *n.* **1** termites that attack yams under the ground by feeding on the sprouting vines of the yam setts (*Macrotermes*). **2** small termite mound. **3.** *pl. tʃaʊna.*

<sup>2</sup>tʃaʊ [tʃáó] *n.* tongs, grasping device. *pl. tʃawa.*

**tfawa** (var. of **tfewa**)

**tfel** [tʃél] *n.* tree gum. *pl.* **tfel**.

**tfele** [tʃèlè] *v.* 1 to fall • *dì tfálasì ì káá tfèlè*. Mind you don't fall. 2 to be deflated • *à hááń sákìrì tféle pɔn-tfà*. The woman's bicycle wheel is deflated.

**tfele nɪ** [tʃèlè ní] *lit.* fall water (var. **tfesesi nɪ**) *v.* to swim • *ò tféle ní à gí góń*. He swam across the river. *ò jáà tfélesi ní rá*. She can swim.

**tfesesi nɪ** (var. of **tfele nɪ**)

**tfelii** [tʃélíí] *cf:* **kalie** *n.* tomato. *pl.* **tfelee**.

**tfelle** [tʃéllé] *n.* 1 a person who breaks or disregards a law or a promise. 2 guilt. *pl.* **tfellese**.

**tfeme** [tʃèmè] *v.* to meet • *jáá tfèmè dɔńà kàlá dià nī*. We are going to meet each other at Kala's house.

**tfemii** [tʃémíí] *n.* load-support, rag twisted and put on the head to support a load. *pl.* **tfemie**.

**tfemii** (*Gu.* var. of **temii**)

**tfensi** [tʃénsì] *n.* roofing zinc plate. *pl.* **tfensise**.

**tfendzi** [tʃéndzì] *n.* loose change, money returned as balance. (ultim. English <*change*).

**tferim** [tʃérím] *cf:* **surum** *ideo.* quietly • *à hááń sáńà tférím*. The woman sat quietly.

**tfesi** [tʃésì] (var. **kesi**) *v.* to sieve, to sift • *tfésì sàó*. Sift the flour.

**tfesu** [tʃèsù] *interj.* expression of surprise and unexpectedness.

**tfeti** (var. of **keti**)

**tfetfe** [tʃètʃé] *n.* wheel. (Hausa <*keke*). *pl.* **tfetfese**.

**tfetfelese** [tʃétʃélésé] *cf:* **kpuńkpu-  
luńso**; **kpuńkpuɪńtfesele** *n.* a person who has epilepsy • *tfétʃélésé wáá tùò dùsèè nī*. No one is epileptic in Ducie.

**tfewii** [tʃéwíí] *n.* dowry. *pl.* **tfewie**.

**tfɛ** (var. of **tʃa**)

**tfɛɛtʃɪ** [tʃéétʃɪ] *n.* church. (ultim. English).

**tfɛɛtʃɪbie** [tʃéétʃɪbíé] *n.* Christian.

**tfěi** [tʃěì] *interj.* newness and attractiveness of an item • *bákúríí jáwá gàfólíí tfěì à tiè òò hááń*. Bakuri bought a brand new cloth to give to his wife. *ò ká lístì mòlèbíé tfěì bán-kì nī*. He went to the bank to withdraw new money. (Akan <*tʃɔ̃i*).

**tfel** (var. of **tʃal**)

**tfela** [tʃèlà] *v.* to reward for a performance • *líì gòà ì hááń tfélíí há-gásì*. Go and dance, your wife will reward you with candies.

**tfelɪntʃɪɛ** [tʃèlɪntʃɪè] *n.* type of grasshopper. *pl.* **tfelɪntʃɪɛsa**.

**tfelɪsɪ** (var. of **tʃalasi**)

**tfɛma** [tʃèmà] (var. **tʃama**) *v.* to stir and mash flour and water with hands to make a solid substance, Gh. Eng. smash • *ò tfámá sól là*. She smashed the dawadawa powder. *làà kól tfèmà, já nǒǎ*. Take this t.z. and mash it so we can eat.

**tfena** [tʃènà] *n.* friend. *pl.* **tfensa**.

**tʃɛntʃɛni** [tʃɛntʃɛni] *ideo.* type of visual percept • *nàònámiã nǒó dǒ tʃɛntʃɛni.* The cow fat is brownish-yellow.

<sup>1</sup>**tʃɛra** [tʃɛrá] *n.* waist. *pl.* **tʃɛrasa.**

<sup>2</sup>**tʃɛra** [tʃɛrà] (*var.* <sup>2</sup>**tʃara**) *v.* to exchange, to trade for goods or services without the exchange of money • *áj káá tʃɛrà nǒó ní kpòŋ-kpòŋ?* Who wants to trade oil against cassava? *ñ kpá ññ kisié tʃɛrà kàràntiè.* I exchanged my knife for a cutlass.

**tʃɛrakɪŋ** [tʃɛrákɪŋ] *n.* waist beads. *pl.* **tʃɛrakɪna.**

**tʃɛrbɔa** [tʃɛrɔbɔá] *n.* hip. *pl.* **tʃɛrbɔsa.**

**tʃɛriɣi** [tʃɛriɣi] *v.* to look different in appearance • *à kpáá má tʃɛriɣi dǒŋá nī rā.* The yams are different in size. [Tp].

**tʃɛtʃɛra** [tʃɛtʃɛrà] *cf:* **tʃitʃara** *n.* bathroom. [Ka].

**tʃɛwa** [tʃɛwà] *v.* (*var.* **tʃawa**) **1** to grab with fingers, tongs or teeth, to hold in place • *à váá tʃéwá à áá lú-ró, bà kpóó.* The dog held the bush-buck's testicles, they killed it. *gàr-zágátíí tʃéwá òò núpóná.* A hairband holds her hair. **2** to operate upon swelling pores • *bà tʃéwá kà-lá nǎá?ñá.* They operated upon the guinea worm on Kala's leg.

<sup>1</sup>**tʃi** [tʃi] *v.* to spit through the upper incisors • *tʃi mùntòòsá ñ ná.* Spit saliva for me to see.

<sup>2</sup>**tʃi** [tʃi] *cf:* **tɔri** *v.* really, certainly, verbal which puts emphasis on the event, the event is a priority for the speaker and must happen • *ñ káá bàn tʃi tǔgú rē.* I will really beat you. *ñ ñmá wié di tǔé à bié ré, ká ò wà tʃijé di nǒó.* I am talking to the child but he really does not want to listen. *ñ káá tʃi kààlòó.* I will definitely go. *kálá káá tʃi wàá báàn nā.* Kala will certainly come here.

**tʃiesii** (*var. of* **kiesii**)

**tʃig** [tʃig] *n.* fishing trap. *pl.* **tʃige.**

**tʃige** [tʃigè] *v. cf:* **tɔ** **1** to cover, to trap under, to put on face down, to turn upside down, to be upside down • *ñ tʃigè ññ níŋtʃigè.* I am going to put on my hat. *à vii tʃigé à dààkpútíí ní.* The pot is face down on the tree stump. **2** to inhabit • *já btrà à wà tʃigè dùùsèé.* Let's return to inhabit Ducie.

**tʃigesi** [tʃigèsi] *pl.v.* to turn, to cover many things • *mì m páá à hèn-sá à tʃigésū.* I am turning the bowls upside down.

**tʃii** (*var. of* **kii**)

**tʃiime** [tʃiimé] *n.* headgear, scarf, or cloth used to cover the head of a woman • *ò vóó tʃiimé ré.* She wears a headscarf. *pl.* **tʃiinse.**

**tʃiini** (*var. of* **kiini**)

**tʃiir** [tʃiir] *cf:* **kii** (*var.* **kiir**) *n.* taboo, traditionalism. *pl.* **tʃiite.**

**tʃiirikalɛŋgbʊgʊti** (*Gu. var. of* **kalɛŋgbʊgʊti**)

**tʃimmãã** [tʃímmãáá] *cf:* **kilimie** (*var.* **kimmãã**) *n.* pepper. *pl.* **tʃimmãã**.

**tʃimmeħvɪɪ** [tʃímmèħvɪí] *n.* dried pepper. *pl.* **tʃimmeħvɪɛ**.

**tʃimmesav** [tʃímmèsàv] *n.* ground dried pepper.

**tʃimmesɔŋ** [tʃímmèsɔŋ] *n.* fresh pepper. *pl.* **tʃimmesɔna**.

<sup>1</sup>**tʃinie** [tʃíníè] *n.* type of climber (*Ipomoea* gen.). *pl.* **tʃinise**.

<sup>2</sup>**tʃinie** [tʃíníè] *n.* rash, itchy pimples usually situated on the head and neck. *pl.* **tʃinise**.

**tʃintʃeli** [tʃíntʃéí] *n.* piece of broken clay pot. *pl.* **tʃintʃele**.

**tʃinjisi** [tʃínjìsì] *v.* to jump down • *gbǎǎ tʃínjísí tʃùdómó ní.* A monkey jumped down on a togo hare.

**tʃitʃa** [tʃítʃà] *cf:* **karɪma** (*var.* **titʃa**) *n.* teacher. (ultim. English). *pl.* **tʃitʃasa**.

**tʃitʃara** [tʃítʃàrá] *cf:* **tʃetʃera** *n.* bathroom. *pl.* **tʃitʃarasa**.

**tʃitʃarabva** [tʃítʃarabvə] *n.* bathroom gutter.

**tʃitʃasɔrɪɪ** [tʃítʃàsɔrɪí] *n.* roof gutter. *pl.* **tʃitʃasɔrɪɛ**.

**tʃitʃi** [tʃítʃí] *ono.* cockroach sound.

**tʃiusũũ** [tʃíúsũũ] *nprop.* tenth month. (Waali < *tʃíúsũũ*).

**tʃɪ** [tʃɪ] *pv.* tomorrow • *ɲ tʃí kàá mà-sì kpó à kírinsá rá.* I will be beating and killing the tsetse flies tomorrow.

**tʃĩã** [tʃĩá] *n.* (*var.* **tʃĩɛ**) 1 type of fly usually found in houses. 2 gun sight. *pl.* **tʃĩãsa**.

**tʃĩãbii** [tʃĩãbíí] *n.* dawadawa seed. *pl.* **tʃĩãbie**.

**tʃĩãbummo** [tʃĩãbúmmò] *n.* flesh fly, big black fly which feeds on carcasses (*Sarcophagidae* fam.).

**tʃiagɪ** [tʃíáǵí] *v.* to crack an object • *kùò ní, dì hiŋ tʃíáǵí fàlá bà kàá fíábíí rā.* At the farm, if you break a calabash they will cane you. *syn:* **tesɪ**<sup>1</sup>

**tʃĩãma** [tʃĩãmá] *n.* 1 noise • *má tá tʃĩãmá.* Stop the noise. *ant:* **surum** 2 quarrel • *má ǵilà mà tʃĩãmá tɪŋ.* Stop your quarrel.

**tʃĩãmi** [tʃĩãmì] *v.* to make a noise • *tʃĩãmì bǎàn nī ká ñ púsíí.* If you make noise, I will deal with you. *ì kà ñmá kèŋ ñ wà nǔǎ dí bà tʃĩãmì.* I could not hear what you said, they were making noise.

**tʃĩãpetɪ** [tʃĩãpétíí] *n.* dawadawa seed shell. *pl.* **tʃĩãpetɛ**.

**tʃiãɛ** [tʃiãè] *v.* to winnow, to blow the chaff away from the grain • *má ká tʃiãè mǎá, mínzógá dúá à nī.* Winnow the guinea corn, there is chaff in it.

**tʃiãsi** (*var.* of **kriasi**)

**tʃĩãsiama** [tʃĩãsiámá] *n.* small red fly usually found around domestic animals.

**tʃĩɛ** (*var.* of **tʃĩã**)

**tʃiãmɪ** (*var.* of **kriãmɪ**)

**tfieŋɪ** [tʃiɛŋɪ] (*var.* **kieŋɪ**) *v.* to crack, to break pot or cup into pieces • à *bóóná tʃiɛŋɪ* à *vii bára baliè*. The goats have broken the cooking pots in two parts.

**tfieri** [tʃiɛri] (*var.* **kieɪɪ**) *v.* to take leaves from branches for preparing food • *tʃiɛri kpòŋkpòŋpààtʃágá* à *tòŋà disá*. Take some cassava leaves and prepare a soup.

**tfii** [tʃii] *cf:* **sømmää** *n.* dawadawa seed *syn:* **sølbii** . *pl.* **tfiã**.

**tfiij** [tʃiij] *cf:* **bintɪratʃiij** *n.* pair of ankle-rattles, percussion instrument. *pl.* **tfiima**.

**tfiijgbansii** [tʃiijgbánsii] *n.* noise made by ankle bells worn by dancers.

**tfiiri** [tʃiiri] *v.* to make tight, to be too tight • *stgmààpúù tʃiirjásó*, *púró tàmá*. The mask is too tight, loosen it a little.

**tfiiri** [tʃiiri] *cf:* **kiiri** *n.* type of wasp. [*Gu*]. *pl.* **tfiireɛ**.

**tfima** [tʃimà] (*var.* **kima**) *v.* to borrow, to lend • *tʃimíŋ mólèbúú ñ ká jàwà disá*. Lend me some money to buy soup. *ñ káá kin tʃimà mólèbúú ré ì pé nii?* Can I borrow money from you?

**tfiminu** [tʃinini] *cf:* **tʃaantʃiij** *n.* insect which produces a loud noise in the hottest part of the dry season, especially in the afternoon. It marks the end of harmattan. [*Gu*].

**tfiminisa** (*Gu. var. of tʃaantʃiij*)

**tfintʃeri** [tʃintʃéri] *n.* edge • *zòò ññ diá*, *ññ kàràntià tʃóá* à *dià tʃintʃéri ní*. Go in the house, my cutlass is at the edge of my room, somewhere along a wall. *pl.* **tfintʃere**.

**tfij keŋ** [tʃij kɛŋ] *lit.* stand like that *v.* to ask someone to stop from moving, to stay in a position • *tʃij kɛŋ*, *púúpú káá wàà*. Stop, a motorbike is coming.

**tfiŋa** [tʃiŋá] *v.* to stand • à *báál tʃiŋà* à *dià púú ní*. The man stands on the roof of the house. *dáá fɪ tʃiŋà* à *dià háŋ sɔ̀ɔ̀ ní*. A tree used to stand in front of that house.

**tfiŋasɪ** [tʃiŋásɪ] *v.* to put down, set down, especially of non-flat things • *kpá* à *biè tʃiŋásí hàglí ní*. Put the child on the ground.

**tfiriɔ̀** [tʃiriɔ̀] *n.* gun firing pin. (Akan). *pl.* **tfiriɔ̀sa**.

<sup>1</sup>**tfogo** [tʃògò] *v.* to ignite, to light a torch or a light • *tʃògò díŋ*. Ignite the fire. *tʃògò díŋ*. Open your torch light.

<sup>2</sup>**tfogo** [tʃògò] *cf:* **tfogosi** *v.* to peck, to strike with beak • à *zimbíè tʃógó mímbúú dígū dígú* à *dí dí*. The chick is pecking guinea corn grains one by one.

**tfogosi** [tʃògòsi] *cf:* **tfogo** *pl.v.* to peck • à *zál tʃógósi mímbié* à *dí dí*. The fowl pecks guinea corn grains and eats.

**tfokoli** [tʃòkòlí] *n.* spoon. (Waali).

**tfokpore** [tʃòkpòrè] *n.* type of bird. *pl.* **tfokporoso**.

**tfonsi** [tʃónsɪ] *v.* **1** to join • *làà à ŋméŋ tfónsɪ ì kìn nì.* Take the rope and join it to yours. **2** to put in a row, or be in a straight line • *tiè à dààsá tfónsɪ dóŋá nī.* Let the sticks be in a row.

**tfonggoli** [tʃóngólí] *n.* type of tree (*Gardenia erubescens*). *pl.* **tfong-golee.**

**tfoori** [tʃòòrì] *v.* to strain water to get impurity out • *tfòòrì gónní à jǒá, ìá wàà bì òrì nī.* Strain the river water then drink it, so guinea worms do not swell you up again.

**tfopetii** [tʃópétí] *n.* type of fish. *pl.* **tfopetie.**

**tfosi** [tʃósɪ] *v.* to scout, to search for someone or something going from place to place • *à báál tfósíjé à búúrè òò hááŋ, ò há wà zímá bátɪŋ ò kà káálíjé.* The man is searching for his wife, he does not know where she has gone.

**tfɔ** [tʃɔ] *v.* **1** to run • *tí tíé ì váá gílà à bóóná tfɔ.* Do not let your dog make the goats run. *ò tfɔ làà kàwàà tíwī.* She ran along the pumpkin road. **2** to flee • *nì hááŋ tfɔ jà dià nī.* My wife fled from our house.

**tfɔbɪɛl** [tʃòbìɛl] *cf:* **nakpate** *n.* type of termite. *pl.* **tfɔbɪɛlla.**

**tfɔbul** [tʃòbúl] (*var.* **tfɔpuzen**) *n.* termites that build giant mounds. *pl.* **tfɔbulo.**

**tfɔga** [tʃògà] *v.* to spoil, to be spoiled, to destroy • *m̀m̀ máábíé tfɔgá ñm̀m̀ pá rá.* My brother spoiled my hoe.

**tfɔgdɔ** [tʃògɔdɔ] *n.* rotten meat. *pl.* **tfɔgdɔsa.**

**1tfɔgɪ** [tʃògɪ] *n.* type of weevil (*Curculionoidea*). *pl.* **tfɔgɪ.**

**2tfɔgɪ** [tʃògɪ] *n.* credulous, naive, or easily imposed person • *tfɔgɪ wáá kɪŋ kàràmi sùkúú.* A credulous person cannot learn in school.

**tfɔgɔmɪ** [tʃògɔmì] *v.* to retrogress, to change to the worse • *kàlá máá à-ní ò jíná sówá, ò wíé tfɔgɔmì.* The mother and father of Kala died, his condition has changed to the worse. *m̀m̀ mòlbié tfɔgɔm̀jǒó, ñ wáá kìn bì jàwà púpù.* My money situation has changed to the worse, I cannot afford to buy a motorbike any longer.

**tfɔgsɪ** [tʃògɔsɪ] *v.* **1** to move an arm and hand up and down, especially to make a hole • *má tfɔgsɪ bòòsá, já dũũ.* Make holes for us to sow. **2** to arrange in order, to organise • *dì hɪŋ tfɔgsáá wéré, à kpáámá kàà zòò.* If you arrange them well, the yams will all fit.

**tfɔgtaa** [tʃògɔtáà] *n.* appeasing gift as apology. *pl.* **tfɔgtaasa.**

**tfɔĩ** [tʃòĩ] *n.* ramrod, stick used to press gunpowder in the barrel. *pl.* **tfɔĩna.**

**tfɔkdaa** [tʃògɔdáá] *n.* dibble, farm instrument with long shaft and spoon-shape extremity but no concavity. *pl.* **tfɔkdaasa.**

**tfɔkɔŋa** [tʃòkɔŋá] *n.* large termite mound. *pl.* **tfɔkɔŋasa.**

**tfɔpuzeŋ** (var. of **tfɔbul**)

**tfɔpisi** (var. of **tfɔsɪn pisa**)

**tfɔra** [tfɔrà] v. for plants, to sprout after cutting • *tómá ká ñméná sūōŋ sáá tūtó, à súōŋ bí tfɔráō*. Toma cut the shea tree to make a mortar, it sprouted with shoots from the stump.

**tfɔrigi** [tfɔrɪgi] v. to smash fresh tubers, intentionally or by accident • *ùù bié tfɔŋá à kpáámá à lii kùó dī wāá à tfɛlè, á múŋ tfɔrigi*. His child carried the yams from farm and fell on his way back, they were all smashed.

**tfɔrimi** [tfɔrimɪ] n. to be unreliable, cannot be trusted • *tí wá kpā mò-lébié dī tíé kálá, òò tfɔrimíŋjǎó*. Do not give money to Kala, he is unreliable.

**tfɔzɔɔr** [tfɔzɔɔr] n. infection. pl. **tfɔzɔɔra**.

**tfugo** [tfùgò] v. 1 to shove, to push forward or along, or push rudely or roughly • *à nǎnǎi tfúgó ùù bié tá*. The cow pushed her calf away. 2 to be deep and long • *à nàmbùgò bòó tìŋ tfúgó tùú*. The hole of the aardvark is deep down.

**tfugosi** [tfùgòsi] pl.v. to shove repeatedly • *tíí tfùgòsi ññ bàm bíí kéŋ*. Do not shove at my chest like this.

**tfũitfũi** [tfũítfũí] cf: **sɪama** ints. pure, complete, or very red • *siámá tfũítfũí*. very or pure red.

**tfumo** [tfùmò] cf: **furusi** v. to take large sips, large quantities at once • *hákúrí tfúmó à kùbíí múŋ*. Hakuri drank all the porridge in large sips.

**tfuomo** [tfùòmó] n. Togo hare, Gh. Eng. rabbit (*Lepus capensis*). pl. **tfuonso**.

**tfuomonaatɔwa** [tfùòmónààtòwá] lit. rabbit-shoes cf: **tomo** n. thorny and dried flower of the tree named **tomo**. pl. **tfuomonaatɔwa**.

**tfuon** [tfúón] cf: **suon** n. shea nut seed. pl. **tfuono**.

**tfuonbul** [tfùòmbùl] n. liquid waste of shea butter making process.

**tfuori** [tfùòri] n. to strain liquid through sieve in making porridge.

**tfurugi** [tfúrúgi] pl.v. to pull out many with force • *pèú tfúrúgi ññ tfénsi hèm bíé*. The wind pulled the roofing nails out.

**tfurutu** [tfúrútú] ints. very true, in accordance with facts • *à wíŋmáhá bèà nī à báál kpágá wídíŋ ná tfúrútú*. Within the settling of their matter, the man was very right.

**tfuti** [tfútí] v. to pull out, e.g. teeth, nail or horn, to pry out, to loosen, to uproot, to unearth • *tfútí hèm bíí tíēŋ*. Pull out the nail and give it to me. *ññ níŋ dígímáná tfútijē*. One tooth of mine has been pulled out.

**tfutfug** [tfùtfúk] n. type of closed single headed gourd drum, second largest after **bmtɔrazeŋ**. pl. **tfu-  
tfugno**.

**tʃuur** [tʃúúr:] *ideo.* very, exactly, identifying the exact identity of something • *báněé láá dí dí tʃákàli tàà tʃúúr jáá dùsílíí.* Some believe that the exact Chakali language is the one from Ducie.

**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 tii já nǒá.* Pour the tea from one cup to the other continuously for us to drink. 2 to pour grains or nuts from the roof of a house to the central ground • *má tʃūūrì 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 lòm-búrò ró.* The child sucked the juice from the orange.

<sup>1</sup>**tʃʊa** [tʃʊà] *cf:* *saga; suguli; tɔŋa* *v.* to lie down • *ɲ tʃʊáwáó.* I'm lying down.

<sup>2</sup>**tʃʊa** [tʃʊá] *lit.* lie *interj.* shut up.

**tʃʊa duo** [tʃùò dúò] *lit.* lie sleep *v.* to sleep • *dià tǒmā kàà tʃʊá dūō rò.* People in the house are sleeping.

**tʃʊar** [tʃʊár] *n.* line, may describe a pattern on an animal skin or a mark on someone's face. *pl.* *tʃʊara.*

**tʃʊl** [tʃʊl] *n.* clay. *pl.* *tʃʊl.*

**tʃʊma** [tʃʊmà] *v.* 1 to be bad • *kpààŋtʃʊmá ì kpá tīēŋ.* You gave me a bad yam. *ant:* **were** 2 to be ugly • *à báál tʃʊmǎǎ.* The man is ugly. 3 to be lower than expectation, in terms of customs • *à báál tʃʊmǎǎ.* The man's behaviours are not correct. *pl.* *tʃʊnsa.*

**tʃʊŋa** [tʃʊŋá] *v.* to carry load on the head • *gǒmátííná wàá kìn tʃʊŋá bǒnnā.* A hunchback cannot carry loads on his head.

**tʃʊŋgɔŋ** [tʃʊŋgòŋ] *n.* chewing gum. (ultim. English <chewing gum). *pl.* *tʃʊŋgɔŋsa.*

**tʃʊɔŋ** [tʃʊóŋ] *n.* type of fish. *pl.* *tʃʊɔ-na.*

**tʃʊɔsa** [tʃʊòsá] *n.* morning. *pl.* *tʃʊɔsa.*

**tʃʊɔsin pisa** [tʃʊòsɪmpísá] (*var.* **tʃʊ-pisi**) *n. phr.* day break, early morning • *tʃʊòsin písá háŋ nī à lúhò tǎléjé.* This early morning, the funeral came to us.

**tʃʊʊri** [tʃʊórí] *v.* to tear into pieces, or be torn, beyond possibilities of reparation • *nǎn gátǎǎlǎ mǎŋ tʃʊó-rǎjé.* My cloth is torn all over.

**tʃʊʊsi** [tʃʊósf] *v.* to tut, expressing disdain, to make an ingressive derogatory sound with the mouth, Gh. Eng. to paf • *bà wà tʃʊósfí lòbísé, bà wà nǎŋá kéré.* They do not make derogatory sound to Lobis, they do not like this.



# U

**u** (*var. of* **ɔ**)

<sup>1</sup>**ugo** [ʔùgò] *v.* 1 to proliferate, to multiply • *ññ náǎná úgòó.* My cattle have multiplied. *ñ píná ká sīārī sīí páríí ní, ɔ kpààmpàréè úgòó.* Because my father is taking farming seriously, his yam farm has increased in size. *syn:* wasɪ 2 to swell, to expand • *jàà nī dè à gàà-ríí ní à úgò.* Pour water in the *gaarii* for it to expand.

<sup>2</sup>**ugo** [ʔùgò] *v.* to bring up food purposely, push up food from the stomach to the mouth • *à vää úgò nà-mǎǎ tiè ùù bisé.* The dog brought up meat from his stomach for its puppies to eat.

**ugul** [ʔúgúl] *n.* type of fish. *pl. u-gulo.*

**uguli** [ʔúgúlí] *v.* to push up earth, as when seedlings germinate • *kpááj-*

# U

**ɔ** [ɔ] (*var. uu, ɔɔ, u*) *pro.* third person singular pronoun • *ɔɔ tǔmà kó-dí já túgúú.* Either he works or we beat him.

**ɔɔli** (*var. of* **ɔɔli**)

**ɔɔti** [ʔòti] *v.* to knead by folding, mix-

# V

**vaa** [vää] *n.* dog *synt:* <sup>1</sup>*nǎätinna* . *pl. vasa.*

*síé káá úgúlūū.* The yam shoots are coming out.

**ul** [ʔúl] *n.* navel. *pl. ulo.*

**ulo** [ʔùlò] *v.* to carry in arms • *sii lààrì kiná túú kààli ká làà ì píná úló kpáámá à wāā.* Stand up, get dressed, go down to your father, and bring yams.

**ulzva** [ʔùlzvà] (*var. zva*) *n.* umbilical cord. *pl. ulzvasa.*

**uori** [ʔùòrì] *v.* to shout to alert others, especially done at the farm • *ù úórì kinkáj, bà tǔɔ wàà làgá.* He shouted very loud, they ran quickly to him.

**uu** (*var. of* **ɔ**)

**ũũ** [ʔúũ] *v.* to bury • *òò náàl zì-bilím úú mòlèbíé à ká sòwà.* His grandfather Zibilim buried money and died.

ing and working into a mass, especially fufu • *òti à kàpàlá já dí.* Knead the fufu so we can eat.

**ɔɔ** (*var. of* **ɔ**)

**ɔɔwa** [ɔɔwà] *pro.* third person singular emphatic pronoun.

**vãã** [vää] *v.* to be beyond one's power • *ásibítì kàntfímá vää òò*

- fɔ̃há ní rā.* The hospital bill is beyond my capacity.
- vaan** [vɑ̃ɑ̃ŋ] *cf:* **hĩĩ** *n.* animal front leg. *pl.* **vaan̄sa.**
- vaan̄per** [vɑ̃ɑ̃pɛ̃r] *n.* shoulder blade. *pl.* **vaan̄peta.**
- vaari** [vɑ̃ɑ̃rĩ] *v.* to do something abruptly • *ò kpá à tɔ̃n nà váari tée-bùl júú nĩ.* He put the book down on the table abruptly.
- vaasi** [vɑ̃ɑ̃sĩ] *v.* to rinse • *nàmĩá tʃélé hǎglĩ nĩ ñ zòrò vɑ̃ɑ̃sĩ níí.* The meat fell on the ground; I picked it up and rinsed it.
- vagan** [vɑ̃gɑ̃ŋ] *n.* rabies.
- vala** [vɑ̃lɑ̃] *v.* to walk, to travel • *nihááná válá kààlì sòglá lú-hò.* Women walked to the funeral in Sawla.
- valor** [vɑ̃lòr] *n.* female puppy.
- van̄n** [vɑ̃n̄n] *n.* bitch, female dog.
- vara** [vɑ̃rɑ̃] *v.* to castrate • *ñ kàá várá ñn̄ vawál lá.* I will castrate my male dog. (Waali < *vara* 'castrate').
- vatĩö** (*var. of* **batĩö**)
- vawal** [vɑ̃wɑ̃l] *n.* male dog.
- vawalee** [vɑ̃wɑ̃lɛ̀] *n.* male puppy.
- vawie** [vɑ̃wĩɛ̀] *n.* puppy. *pl.* **vawise.**
- vesi** [vɛ̀sĩ] *v.* to grow a little in height • *ñn̄ kà wáá nā à bié dī òò bí vé-sí.* When I came to see the child, he had grown a bit.
- vet̄n** [vɛ̀t̄n̄] *n.* mud. *pl.* **vet̄n̄.**
- vige** [vĩgɛ̀] *v.* to skim out, to move or push away obstacles • *vĩgɛ̀ níídónó* *tá, ká dòò.* Skim the debris from the water and draw some out. *bákúríí vígɛ̀ à bisé tā.* Bakuri pushed the children away in order to pass.
- vii** [vĩ] *n.* cooking pot (type of). *pl.* **viine.**
- viibagena** [vĩibáyɛ̃nɑ̃] *n.* neck of a container.
- viigi** [vĩigĩ] *v.* 1 to swing around • *nibáálá kàá viigi tɛ̀bín-sigmáá.* Men will swing the bull-roarer. 2 to shake head from side to side • *à tóótĩnā víéwó ká viigi ùù júú.* The landlord refused and shook his head.
- viisama** [vĩisiámɑ̃] *n.* type of water container made out of reddish clay. *pl.* **viisansa.**
- viisugulii** [vĩisùgùlĩ] *n.* type of cooking pot which forms a stack when put together. *pl.* **viisugulee.**
- vil** [vĩ] *cf:* **kɔ̃lɔ̃ŋ** *n.* a well, a deep hole into the earth to obtain water. *pl.* **ville.**
- vilimi** [vĩlimĩ] *v.* to spin round and round • *jinè ñn̄ sákĩrnáá nà, òò má-rà à vilímüü?* Look at my bicycle tire, is it turning well?
- viwo** [vĩwò] *n.* 1 to wag • *à váá kàá víwò ò zín nē.* The dog is wagging his tail. 2 to suffer from erectile dysfunction • *kálá zín wàá ví-wò.* Kala suffers from erectile dysfunction.
- vía** (*var. of* **viɛ**)
- viɛ** [vĩɛ̀] *v.* (*var.* **vía**) 1 to refuse, to reject, to neglect • *bà víé dī bá*

wá tòmà jà tòmā. They refused to come to do our work. 2 to abandon • à hááj vié ùù bisé tà. The woman abandoned her children.

**vɛhɛga** [vɛ́hɛ́gá] *cf.* **vɛhɛgɛ** *interj.* title and praise name for the **vɛhɛgɛ** clan.

**vɛhɛgɛ** [vɛ́hɛ́gɛ́] *cf.* **vɛhɛga** *nprop.* clan found in Gurumbele.

**vɛŋ** [vɛ̀ŋ] *pv.* other, in addition • kùòrù zàgá dígíí viéŋ dɔ̀à lóólìbānī nī. The chief has another house in the Looli section. viéŋ kààlì à hááj pē. Return to the woman. nárá bá-tòrò viéŋ wàà. Three persons came in addition. kàlá kàá viéŋ dī. Kala will eat in addition to what he has eaten already.

**vɛra** [vɛ́rǎ] *n.* dirt, rubbish. *pl.* **vɛ-ra**.

**vɛrɛ** [vɛ́rɛ́] *v.* to miscarry • ò̀n̄ hááj ná sígmààsá wá ò̀ wà dí lúlíí, à vɛ́rɛ́ tà. My wife saw the masks and she did not take the medicine, she had a miscarriage.

**vɛzɛntʃɪa** [vɛ̀zɛntʃíá] *lit.* refuse-know-tomorrow *n.* ungrateful.

**vinninni** [vɛ́nnɛ́nní] *ideo.* long and thin • à tántààn̄í dɔ̀ kēn vīnnīn-nī. The earthworm is long and thin.

**vira** [vɛ̀rǎ] *v.* to hit with fast and hard motion, to hit with a stone using a catapult in order to kill, to kick with the foot in order to wound, to push or knock over something • bákúrí lísí ò̀ò náá virà ùù bié múŋ. Bakuri hit the child's

buttock with his foot. làà táájà virà zímbié tīēŋ. Take the catapult and shoot the bird for me.

**vɛsɪ** [vɛ́sɪ́] *v.* to pull with a quick or strong movement, to pull away with force • vɛ́sɪ́ à jínéé, ù dīù. Pull in the fish, it is eating the bait. vɛ́sɪ́ à bié wà lìì dià nī, dīŋ kàá dīù. Pull the child out of the room, or else the fire will burn him.

**vɛsɪŋ** [vɛ́sɪ́ŋ] *n.* type of climber (*Psychotria conuta*). *pl.* **vɛsɪma**.

**vɛtɪ** [vɛ̀tɪ̀] *pl.v.* to prance, to spring forward on the hind legs, to kick the legs • bà vɔ́wá à píésí ré ò̀ dī vttì náàsá. They tied the sheep and it was kicking, thrashing about.

**vɛŋgɔlíí** [vɔ̀ŋgólíí] *n.* hollow percussion wood instrument made resonant through one or more slits in it. *pl.* **vɛŋgɔlíe**.

**vɛtɪi** [vɔ̀tɪ̀i] *n.* election. (ultm. English <vote 'vote').

**vɛŋ** [vɔ̀ŋ] *n.* south.

**vɛŋla** [vɔ̀ŋlǎ] *n.* Vagla person. *pl.* **vɛŋlasa**.

**vɛŋtɪmɛŋpeu** [vɔ̀ŋtɪ̀mɛ̀ŋpɛ̀ù] *lit.* south-east-wind *n.* south-east wind.

**vɔ̀lɔ̀ŋvɔ̀lɔ̀ŋ** [vɔ̀lɔ̀ŋvɔ̀lɔ̀ŋ] *ideo.* smooth and slippery, even, or flat surface • à diàpátʃígíí dɔ̀ vɔ̀lɔ̀ŋvɔ̀lɔ̀ŋ káálì à zàgá. The floor of the room is smoother than the cement in the yard.

**vɔ̀tɪ** [vɔ̀tɪ̀] *pl.v.* 1 to tie • kpá záá-líé vɔ̀tɪ à dáá ní. Tie the fowls to

the tree. 2 to braid • *niháánâ vótí bà júú nō*. The women braid their hair.

vɔwa [vɔwà] v. cf: **lije; laari** 1 to tie, to attach, to wind around • *ò vówá à bǔǔn nā*. She tied up the goat. *bǔǔná tíŋ kà wà vówá, má kpágásāā wàà*. The goats are not tied, you catch them and bring them. *ant: puro* 2 to braid hair with thin plastic thread • *bàà vó-wà júú rò à dáámúŋ ní*. They are braiding hair under the tree. 3 to wear, as a cloth attached around the waist • *kpá gár vɔwà ì tfá-rá*. Wear a cloth around your waist.

<sup>1</sup>vuuŋi [vúúgi] v. to stir • *jàà sàó vúú-gí nī nī já jǔǔ*. Fetch some flour and stir it in the water for us to drink.

<sup>2</sup>vuuŋi [vúúgi] v. to be rude and impolite • *nááttíná biniháán tíŋ vúúgijò, ò záámì níhǔésá rà kù ò sòá*. My uncle's daughter is rude, she greets elders like her agemates.

<sup>1</sup>vɔg [vɔg] n. shrine. pl. *vɔga*.

<sup>2</sup>vɔg [vɔg] n. prediction made using a shrine • *à vòg jáá dí ì káá sòwàò tòmòsò*. The prediction is that you will die the day after tomorrow.

vɔga [vɔgà] cf: **piasi** v. to soothsay, to divine • *làà mòlèbíí ká vògà tíēŋ, nǔǔmá dí dǔmāŋ*. Take some money and soothsay for me, a scor-

pion bit me yesterday.

vɔgjoŋ [vɔgǔjòŋ] n. shrine slave, person who is compelled to admit his witchcraft intention and becomes the servant of the shrine that found out about his or her intention. [oldfash]. pl. *vɔgjosò*.

vɔgñihǔē [vɔgǔñihǔē] (var. **fawietri-na**) n. the most elderly person at a shrine event, member of the lodge, who can take responsibility in case the leader is absent.

vɔgtiina [vɔgǔtííná] n. a single person who owns a shrine, whose ownership is passed on by patrilineal inheritance. pl. *vɔgtiina*.

vɔlɔŋvɔs [vɔlòŋvóò] n. type of wasp (*Hymenoptera apocrita*). pl. *vɔlɔŋvɔsa*.

vɔsɔ [vòòsì] v. to release pus at intervals • *bà tfáwá nèn náá rā, ò dí vóósi*. They operated my leg, it has an intermittent flow of pus.

vɔta [vòtá] n. prophecy, blessing or curse which can be uncovered by soothsaying • *kà lísi ì vòtá síínáá-rá pē nī*. Go and remove your curse with the soothsayer.

vɔvɔri [vòòrì] v. to arrange, to decide, to make a plan or agreement • *jàà vóóvóò já vólà tfíá*. We are arranging to travel tomorrow.

vɔvɔta [vónvótá] n. soothsayer syn: *siinaara*. pl. *vɔvɔtasa*.

# W

<sup>1</sup>wa [wa] *cf*: waa (*var.* <sup>5</sup>waa) *pv.* not • *ò wà dí gbìàsìámá, ò kír ré.* He does not eat monkey, he taboos it. *à dáá-nón ká ñmā úó síárí òò há wà síá-ríjé* The fruit wants to be ripe but is not yet ripe. *sígá déñíí wáá tʃó-gáá.* Preserving the cow peas will not let them go bad.

<sup>2</sup>wa [wa] *cf*: ka *pv.* ingressive particle, conveys the process from the starting point of an event • *jà kpàgà dàà dígíí rá jà jírúú ?ámbúlùŋ dí ò wá nònà à wàà bìí à nón jáá bíréú.*

<sup>3</sup>wa (*cntrvar.* wara)

<sup>1</sup>waa [wàá] *nprop.* Wa town.

<sup>2</sup>waa [wàà] *cf*: baa *v.* to come • *ññ wááó.* I am coming. *làgálàgá hán nì ò wàà.* He came just now. *ñ wáá-wáó.* I arrived.

<sup>3</sup>waa [wáá] *pro.* third person singular strong pronoun • *wáá híéñ.* He is older than me.

<sup>4</sup>waa [wàá] *cf*: wa *pv.* will not • *hámónj fírfí wáá tíè ó ztmà ná-híé.* Forcing a child will not make him clever. *à gérégíí wáá píí.* The sick person will not survive.

<sup>5</sup>waa (*var. of* wa)

waal [wáál] *n.* Waala, person from Wa. *pl.* waala.

waaliŋzan [wálinzán] *n.* type of tree. *pl.* waaliŋzansa.

waali [wáálí] *n.* language of Wa town and surroundings.

waapele [wàpélè] *nprop.* former settlement between Ducie and Katua.

<sup>1</sup>waasi [wáási] *v.* 1 to state of liquid reaching the boiling point • *wáási nñ ñ kóórè tíí.* Boil some water, I am going to make tea. 2 to be angry • *òò bárá káá wāāsí.* He is angry.

<sup>2</sup>waasi [wààsi] *v.* to pour libation, to communicate with the shrine • *jàà níí wààsi ìí vóŋ.* Fetch water and pour libation on your shrine.

waasiwɛ [wàásiwíé] *n.* issues concerning a clan, clan rights and related performances in times of funerals, and taboos • *wàásiwíé bàà jáà.* They are doing their clan performance. *pl.* wɔsawie.

walanse [wólánsè] *n.* radio. (ultm. English < wireless). *pl.* walansisa.

walaŋzan [wálanzán] *n.* type of tree. *pl.* walaŋzansa.

war [wàr] *n.* cold weather.

wara [wàrà] *cntr.* <sup>3</sup>wa *dem.* specific, certain, particular, very • *à tónj háj wárà, ñ wà zímá òò wíé.* This particular book, I do not know about it. *ñ dià kíná jáā hámā mūñ, ká kà-lèñ háj wā ñ dià kín léí.* All those items are mine, but this mat is not my belonging.

wasɪ [wàsi] *v.* to reproduce, to breed, to multiply by producing a generation of offspring • *nñ bóóñ tíñ wásí-jóó.* My goat has reproduced many offspring. *syn:* <sup>1</sup>ugo<sup>1</sup>

**watfeheɛ** [wátʃɛhéɛ] *n.* Gambian mongoose (*Mungos gambianus*). *pl.* **watfesa**.

**wegimi** [wègìmi] *v.* to be wild, to be untamed • *tí gílá à sùúnó wégími*. Do not let the guinea fowls be wild.

**wegj** [wèj] *interrog.* which • *kpáàŋ wèj ká nīj?* Which type of yam is this? *lùlí wémé ì kàà búúrè íf jáwā?* Which drugs you want to buy? *séŋwèj í káà wàà?* When will you return? *pl.* **weme**.

**were** [wèrè] *v.* to be good, to be handsome, to be beautiful • *ì gà-rà háj wéréú*. Your cloth is beautiful. *à báál wéré kinkán nā*. The man is handsome. *ant:* **tʃɔma**<sup>1</sup>

**weti** [wèti] *v.* 1 to be independent, being able to live and judge on his or her own • *tiè ì bié wéti*. Let your child do things and reason on its own. 2 to be active and competent • *à bié wétíjò àní sáákír zénì né*. The child is competent in bicycle riding.

**wega** [wègà] *v.* to open up slightly, to widen • *wègà ì lógàndǎ ñ ná ɔ̀ò pàtʃígíí*. Open your pocket for me to look inside. *wègà à tiwíí lógúŋ níí dí válà dē*. Create a gutter for the water to pass by the road. *syn:* **pǎni**

**wie** [wié] *n.* small, young *ant:* **hĩɛ** . *pl.* **wise**.

**wieme** [wièmé] *n.* bohor reedbuck, type of antelope. *pl.* **wiense**.

<sup>1</sup>**wii** [wii] *v.* to weep, to cry • *dí ñ má-ŋíí, ì káà wiiū*. If I hit you, you will cry.

<sup>2</sup>**wii** [wii] *n.* cannabis. (ultim. English <weed). *pl.* **wii**.

**wiile** (*var.* of **wilie**)

**wiisi** [wiisi] *v.* 1 to put fresh meat near hot coals *syn:* **pewa** . 2 to heat one's body by placing a towel over the head and around the body, trapping the steam or heat produced by the hot water or burning coal • *sùgùlí sòndé lùlí tíɛŋ ñ wíisi*. Boil some malaria medicine for me, I will trap its steam.

**wile** [wilé] *n.* opposite position or direction than expected • *à góŋ káà pālà wilé ré zàháj*. The river is flowing in the opposite direction today. *tàgàtà wilésé bàmuŋ làà-rì*. They are wearing their shirt inside out.

**wilie** [wiliè] (*var.* **wiile**) *n.* sound that alerts people of a danger, made with the mouth • *dzètìí káà dógó-ntŋ, tʃó màŋà wiliè tiè nārā nī*. A lion is coming after me: run and alert the people. *ùù wíilé káà tʃīā-mǔǔ*. His crying is unpleasant.

**wiliŋ** [wiliŋ] *n.* perspiration, sweat • *wiliŋ káà jálá ñ nī*. Perspiration is coming out of me. *pl.* **wiliŋse**.

**wiliŋsaŋa** [wiliŋsánà] *lit.* perspiration-time *n.* hottest period of the dry season.

**wir** [wír] *n.* snake skin after moulting. *pl.* **wire**.

**wire** [wìrè] *v.* 1 to undress • *jà wí-ré já kíná rá àkà valà gó dùùsèé múṅ nǎǎvǎl bítòrò.* We undressed then walked around Ducie three times. 2 to remove the skin of an animal, to shave a head • *wirè à píésí tón wàà.* Remove the skin of the sheep and come. 3 to moult, as when a snake cast off its skin • *biná múṅ hàglíkíṅ já wirèò.* Every year snakes moult.

**wisi** [wísí] *v.* to shake up and down as in winnowing.

**wiwilii** [wìwílí] *n.* type of bird, large in size with shiny black feathers. *pl. wiwilee.*

**wɪ-** [wɪ] *cf:* **wɪ** (*var. wɔ, wɔ-*) classifier particle for abstract entity.

**wɪdɪŋ** [wídíŋ] *cf:* **dɪŋ**; **nɪdɪŋ**; **kɪdɪŋ**; **bɪdɪŋ** *n.* truth. *pl. wɪ-dɪma.*

**wɪdɪŋtɪna** [wídíntínà] *n.* loyal and committed person.

<sup>1</sup>**wɪ** [wì] *v.* to be ill, to be sick • *ò wàà wí.* She is not sick. *ant:* <sup>1</sup>laanfia

<sup>2</sup>**wɪ** [wí] *cf:* **wɪ-** *n.* matter, palaver, issue of abstract nature. *pl. wɪɛ.*

**wɪla** [wílá] *n.* sickness • *bàán wí-lá ká kpāgɪ?* What sickness do you have? *pl. wɪla.*

**wɪli** [wìlí] *n.* quality of being injured or ill • *ì nábíwìllè ká jàà á-wèṅ?* Which fingers are those injured? *pl. wɪliɛ.*

**wɪjaali** [wíjálí] *n.* duty, moral obligation and activities that must be

carried out • *sìimákóórí jáà hááj wíjálí rà.* Food preparation is a woman duty.

**wɪjali** (*var. of tiimuṅ*)

**wɪkpaɪ** [wókpágí] *n.* behaviour or deeds. *pl. wɪkpaɛɛ.*

**wɪkpegelegii** [wókpegèlégí] *n.* difficulty. *pl. wɪkpegelee.*

**wɪl** [wíl] *n.* mark on body made by incision or paint. *pl. wɪla.*

**wɪlɪ** [wílí] *v.* to dismantle • *à lóó-likóórá wílí à lóólí índzì rē.* The mechanic dismantled the car's engine.

<sup>1</sup>**wɪli** [wílí] *n.* star. *pl. wɪliɛ.*

<sup>2</sup>**wɪli** [wílí] *n.* tortoise. [*Mo, Ka, Tu, Ti*]. *pl. wɪliɛ.*

**wɪlɔ** [wíló] (*var. wɪlɔ*) *n.* kob (*Kobus kob*). *pl. wɪlɔsa.*

**wɪllaɪ** [wíllá] *n.* simple, light, trivial matter • *wílláámá* Any simple matters happening and my child gets angry. *pl. wɪllaama.*

**wɪlɔ** (*var. of wɪlɔ*)

**wɪmɪ** [wímù] *quant.* anything, everything • *wímùṅ wàà túò ñ kàà jááò kùsì.* There is nothing I cannot do. *wímùṅ nò òò zímà.* She knows everything.

**wɪmahā** [wómáháà] *n.* word, speech. *pl. wɪmahāasa.*

**wɪmalagamīē** [wímálagámíē] *n.* dictionary.

**wɪsɪ** (*Mo. var. of wɔsa*)

**wɪfɛlii** (*var. of tiipuu*)

**wizaama** (*var. of jarɛ*)

**wizimɪ** (*var. of nanzinna*)

**wizɔɔr** [wizɔɔr] *n.* interruptive person. *pl. wizɔɔra.*

<sup>1</sup>**wo** (*var. of ra*)

<sup>2</sup>**wo** [wó] *v.* 1 to produce and harvest the second yam, after the first has been cut off the plant • *dí ì wà híré ì kpráámá à wàá wō.* If you do not dig your yams, they will not produce seedlings. 2 to excel at one's occupation • *à néésì wójòò àní hèmbúí tówíí ní.* The nurse excels at giving injections.

**wojo** [wòjò] *nprop.* Wojo, person's name.

**wondzomo** [wòndzómò] *n.* person who performs male circumcision. (Hausa, ultm. Arabic < *wanzaamí*).

**won** [wòh] *cf:* **diginbirinse** *cf:* **diginbirinsetɪna** *n.* deaf person or mute person, or both. *pl. wonno.*

**wonli** [wòhli] *v.* to act boastfully • *kálá fí já wòhli dɔ́ já nī rā sùkúú nī.* Kala used to boast at school.

**woo** [wòó] *v.* to be empty, to be vacant • *à kàràhbiè dígíí wá wāāwā ɔ̀ɔ̀ bàsánjítí fɔ̀vā wòó.* One student did not come, his place is vacant.

**woori** [wòòrì] *v.* to hoot at someone, especially of derision or contempt • *dí ì wá ñmíè bà kàá wòòrī.* If you steal they will hoot at you.

**wosi** [wósí] *v.* to bark • *à vāá kàà wósɔ̀ɔ̀.* The dog is barking.

**wou** [wóù] *n.* second yam harvest. *pl. woto.*

**wɔ** (*var. of wi-*)

**wɔgadi** [wóyádì] *n.* time. (Hausa, ultm. Arabic < *wokací*).

**wɔlɛ** [wólɛ̀] *n.* type of fish. *pl. wɔlɛsa.*

**wɔli** [wólí] *n.* 1 group of people considered colleagues or age mates • *tébin ni, ñ ní ñ sòàwóléé ká và-là.* At night me and my colleagues hang out. 2 blood related people forming a clan • *tjíá gànɔ̀wóléé tí kàá sāñā à bóntí bàlúkóórè nāmíā rā.* Tomorrow the Gan clan will share their funeral meat. 3 ego's inferior, staff • *bàmùh jáá kùòrùwóléé wá.* Everyone is under a chief. *ñ télé jáùsā àlìè dí ñ wóléé wá bī nāh túmá bār nī.* It is two weeks now that my staff has not seen me at work. *pl. wɔlɛ.*

**wɔli** [wòlì] *v.* to skim off, to shake, to bring refuse to top • *wòlì à háá-sá múh à míá ní.* Skim off the chaff from the guinea corn.

**wɔra** [wòrà] *v.* to strip, to come off, to shell (maize) • *tjíá já tí kàá wòrà à nāmíí múh.* Tomorrow we will shell all the maize.

**wɔsakuolo** [wòsíkuòlò] *cf:* **iko** (*Mo. var. wɔsikuole*) *nprop.* clan found in Sawla, Motigu, Tiisa, Tuosa, and Gurumbele.

**wɔsaleɛla** [wòsiléélá] *cf:* **ile** *nprop.* clan found in Motigu.



**wɔsasiile** [wòsìsìílé] *cf:* **isi**  
*nprop.* clan found in Sawla, Motigu  
and Gurumbele.

**wɔsatjaala** [wòsɪtʃáálá] *cf:* **ɪtʃa**  
*nprop.* clan found in Ducie and Gu-  
rumbele.

**wɔsatʃii** [wòsɪtʃíí] (*var.* **wɔsikii**)  
*n.* taboo inherited by clan affilia-  
tion. *pl.* **wɔsatʃiite**.

**wɔsawɪla** [wòsɪwíflá] *cf:* **ɪwe**  
*nprop.* clan found in Sawla and Tu-  
osa.

<sup>1</sup>**wɔsɪ** [wòsɪ] *v.* to roast, to cook with  
dry heat in ashes, sand or over fire  
without oil, or to put directly on  
fire • *ii bié wósí kpááj̄n pētūū.* Your  
child finished roasting the yam. *ò*  
*ɪmá dí ññ kpósí à sũũ àká wòsɪ*  
*tĩēō.* She said I should singe off the  
guinea fowl and roast it for her.

<sup>2</sup>**wɔsɪ** [wòsɪ] *v.* to summon, to bring  
a case to a chief • *ñ wà kpágá mò-*  
*lèbíé kàá kààlɪ kùòrdiá kà wòsɪ bá-*  
*kúrí.* I do not have money to go  
to the chief's house and summon  
Bakuri.

**wɔsikii** (*var. of wɔsatʃii*)

**wɔsikuole** (*Mo. var. of wɔsakuolo*)

**wɔsɪna** [wòsɪnà] *n.* type of yam. *pl.*  
**wɔsɪnasa.**

**wɔsɪwɪjaalɪ** [wòsɪwíjǎálíí] *n.* clan  
funeral performance, includes du-  
ties like marks on a corpse, ways to  
handle a corpse, or accepting offer-  
ings. *pl.* **wɔsɪwɪjaalɛ.**

**wɔtʃɪmǎi** [wòtʃɪmǎí] *n.* security

guard. (ultm. English < *watchman*).  
*pl.* **wɔtʃɪmǎisa.**

**wusi** [wúsí] *v.* to throb, to ache • *à*  
*biè ɪmá dí ùù júú kàà wūsí ùù*  
*nɪ.* The child said that he felt a  
throbbing in his head.

**wuuli** [wúúlí] *v.* to cook partially  
• *wúúlí à nàmǎǎ bilè, já tʃí tó-*  
*ɪnà.* Cook the meat partially, tomor-  
row we will boil it.

**wɔ-** (*var. of wɪ-*)

**wɔhǎǎ** [wòhǎǎ] *lit.* sun-bitter *n.* af-  
ternoon, approx. between 12 p.m.  
and 3 p.m..

**wɔjalɪ** [wòjǎlíí] *n.* east.

**wɔra** [wòrà] *v.* to thresh maize, or  
remove soil from a tuber • *ná-*  
*mùnā káá kɪɪ wòrà jǎmmíé.* Ev-  
eryone can thresh maize. *wòrà*  
*kpáámá háglíí tǎ.* Remove the sand  
from the yams.

**wɔrigɪ** [wòrigí] *v.* to collapse, to  
make collapse • *à zǎmpáragíí*  
*wórigíjós.* The resting area col-  
lapsed. *bóóná wórigí ñ hàglibíé*  
*tǎ.* Goats scattered my heap of  
bricks.

**wɔsa** [wòsá] *n.* *cf:* **kuoso** (*Mo. var.*  
**wɪsɪ**) 1 god. 2 sun. 3 clan. *pl.*  
**wɔsasa.**

**wɔtʃelii** [wòtʃélíí] *n.* west.

**wɔzaandra** [wòzǎàndiá] *lit.* God-  
greet-house (*var.* **misiri**)  
*n.* mosque.

**wɔzanihĩẽ** [wòzàníhĩê] *n.* leader of  
any modern religion activities. *pl.*  
**wɔzanihĩesa.**

**wuzúrí** [wòzúrí] *n.* day • *wòzú-  
rì wèj lóólì káá wàà?* On which  
day comes the car? • *à wòzúrí ñ  
wàà tùwò nī.* That day I was not

there. *wòzúrí wèj i kà līt dùsèè  
wàà wáá?* On what day did you  
leave Ducie to come to Wa?

## Z

**zaa** [zàà] *v.* to fly • *záára háma záá  
dī gó ja tóò.* These birds are flying  
over our village.

**zaa paari** [zàà pààri] *v.* to nag, to  
excessively remind, to constantly  
bring back a matter • *gbóló máá  
záá dī pāārīj ò tǽjǽzi wíé.* Gbolo's  
mother keeps nagging me about  
her change.

**zaajaga** [zààjàgà] *n.* tiny bird with  
light weight, seen flying from tree  
to tree. *pl. zaajagasa.*

**zaali** [zààlì] *v.* to float • *à níjǽsòwíí  
záálí nī níú nī.* The dead fish floats  
on the water.

**zaami** [zààmì] *v.* 1 to greet • *ñ záá-  
míí rā.* I am greeting you. 2 to pray  
• *ñ záámì kúòsò rō dī ó wáá záàn.* I  
pray to God that he comes today.

**zaanj** [zàáj] (*Mo. var. zilañ*) *n.* today  
• *i káá tó má tìè à kùòrù rō záán kāā  
tǽà?* Will you work for the chief to-  
day or tomorrow?

**zaanjgberi** (*var. of kuudiginsa*)

**zaar** [záár] *cf: zimbie n. bird. pl.  
zaara.*

**zaarhīē** [zààrhīē] *n.* type of vulture  
*syn: nākpazugo . pl. zaarhīēsa.*

**zaasi** [zààsì] *pl.v.* to jump • *sóm-  
pǽrèsáá záásí à wāā.* The frogs are

jumping towards us.

**zaawi** [zààwì] *v.* to work or decorate  
with leather • *ziàn zááwí ùù kisiè  
rē.* Ziang decorated his knife with  
leather.

**zaaza** [zààzáá] *ideo.* up standing, up-  
right • *mím bié káá tǽjǽ záàzáá rá,  
òò há wà wálà.* My child is stand-  
ing upright, but cannot walk yet.  
(partly Oti-Volta <za).

**zabaga** [zàbáyà] *n.* Gonja person. *pl.  
zabagasa.*

<sup>1</sup>**zaga** [zàyá] *n.* courtyard, compound.  
*pl. zagasa.*

<sup>2</sup>**zaga** [zàyà] *v.* to be furious • *dzè-  
bùni páá ñññ bié zómó, ñññ bára  
zàgà.* Jebuni insulted my son, I was  
furious.

<sup>3</sup>**zaga** [zàyà] *v. cf: tuti 1* to push, to  
shove • *má ká zàgà à lóólì ú sí.* You  
go and push the car for it to start.  
2 to blow, of breeze or wind • *pè-  
lèj káá zàgà.* We are experiencing  
a good breeze.

**zagafī** [záyǽfī] *n.* yellow fever. *pl.  
zagafīsa.*

<sup>1</sup>**zagalr** [zàyàlì] *v.* to be worn out  
• *tó má bié kinlárìè zágáljéé.* The  
clothes of Toma's child are worn  
out.

<sup>2</sup>zagali [záyálí] *v.* to shake in order to empty, or to dust • *zágálí à tàgàtá, à búmbór líi*. Shake the shirt to remove the dust.

zagan [záyán] *n.* leper. *pl.* *zagan*.

zagansa [záyànsá] *n.* leprosy. *pl.* *zagansa*.

zagasí [záyàsì] *v.* 1 to press down and support oneself when standing up • *à níhîé zágásí à kór sîi*. The elder supported himself on the chair to stand up. 2 to shake for fruits to fall • *kà zágásí sūōŋ*. Go and shake the shea tree for the fruits to fall.

zagati [zágàtì] *v.* to be holey, tattered, or damaged • *hín gílá à kà dáásì zágàtì kéj*. It is you who made the paper to be so damaged. *ì kàlèŋ zágàtíjájó, jáwà áfólí*. Your mat is tattered, buy a new one.

zahal [záhál] *n.* hen egg. *pl.* *zahala*.

zahabapɔmma [záhábápɔmmá] *n.* egg white.

zahabasiama [záhábásiámá] *n.* egg yolk.

zahulii [záhúlíí] *n.* type of tree (*Azelia africana*). *pl.* *zahulee*.

zakwɔl [zák<sup>w</sup>ɔ́l] *lit.* fowl-t.z. *cf:* *kɔw* *n.* yam tuber beetle grub (*Heteroligus*). *pl.* *zakwɔla*.

zal [zá] *cf:* *zimíí* *n.* chicken, fowl. *pl.* *zaliɛ*.

zamba [zámbá] *cf:* *daware* *n.* spitefulness, plotting, action against the benefit or prosperity of someone. (Hausa < *zambaa*). *pl.* *zamba*.

zamparagɪ [zámpárágí] *cf:* *zaŋ* (*var.* *gbɛlmuŋ*) *n.* covered wooden platform used as a resting area. *pl.* *zamparagɛ*.

zantɛɛ [zántɛ̀ɛ̀] *n.* type of grass that germinates in early July.

zantɔg [zántɔ́g] *n.* basket used as fish trap in shallow water. *pl.* *zantɔga*.

zanzig [zánzíg] *n.* type of plant. *pl.* *zanziga*.

zaŋ [záŋ] *n.* *cf:* *zamparagɪ* 1 wooden platform erected as a rest area. 2 nest. *pl.* *zaŋa*.

zaŋguoŋmuŋsulisu [záŋgùòmmùŋsùlísù] *n.* type of grasshopper.

zaŋgbiera [záŋgbìèrà] *nprop.* Hausa people. *pl.* *zaŋgbierasa*.

zaŋgbierisabulugo [záŋgbìèrìsábùlùgò] *lit.* Hausa-spring *nprop.* location south of Ducie. (partly Oti-Volta).

zaŋsa [záŋsá] *cf:* *gbege*; *kontii* *n.* early farm preparation, just after bush burning, involving clearing the land and cutting trees. [*Du*].

zaŋsɪ [záŋsì] *v.* to clear land, in preparation for new farm • *ìŋŋ búúré pápátásá ká zāŋsī kùó tīēŋ biná háj*. I need farmers to clear the land for a new farm this year.

zaŋtʃagalɪŋ [záŋtʃàgàlɪŋ] *n.* hall, common room where visitors are received *syn:* *lumbu*.

zapɛga [zápɛ̀gá] *n.* outer part of a house, outside a house and its yard • *wòsá gó zápɛ̀gàsá, ɔ́ ká kpàgà záàl*. Wusa went to the outskirts of

- the house to catch a fowl. *pl. za-pegasa.*
- zapuo** [zápuó] *n.* hen, adult female fowl. *pl. zapuoso.*
- zapuwie** [zápúwié] *n.* pullet, young female chicken.
- zazehēē** [zàzèhēē] *n.* roofing pillar, supporting *dolo*. *pl. zazehēsa.*
- zene** [zènè] *v.* to be big, to be large  
• *wòsá zéné káált bá.* Wusa is the biggest among them. *sàŋkòáj kùò wá zēnē, ùù kùó jáá wièwiè rē.* Sankuang's farm is not big, it is very small.
- zenii** [zénii] *n.* big. *pl. zenie.*
- zeŋ** [zèŋ] *n.* big *ant:* <sup>1</sup>*boro* . *pl. zenee.*
- zeŋsi** [zèŋsì] *cf: duŋusi v.* to limp in a way to avoid the heel • *òò náá tíŋ gílá ò dì zéŋsi.* His leg makes him limp.
- zepegor** [zèpèg<sup>w</sup>ór:] *n.* type of hyena *syn: badaare* . *pl. zepegoro.*
- zesa** [zèsá] *n.* type of gecko (*Hemidactylus*). *pl. zesasa.*
- zigilii** [zígíli] *v.* to shake, to shiver  
• *wàf tíé ò dì zígíli.* The cold weather makes him shiver.
- ziige** [zíigé] *v.* to make shake • *pèú káá zīgē dààsá.* The wind makes the trees shake.
- zimbál** [zimbál] *n.* cock, adult male fowl. *pl. zimbala.*
- zimbelee** [zimbélèè] *n.* cockerel, young rooster.

**zimbie** [zìmbiè] *n.* *cf: zaar 1* any small bird. *2* chick of the fowl. *pl. zimbise.*

**zimbimunzwalonzwa** [zìmbìmùnzòà lónzòà] *n.* pin-tailed wydah, type of bird (*Vidua macroura*).

**ziŋ** [zìŋ] *n.* tail of mammals. *pl. zise.*

**zi** [zì] *1 pv.* expected outcome, finally • *bà zi lááwáó dí bà káá kàà-lòò.* They finally agreed that they will go. *2 adv.* after, then • *dì gbàmgbàŋ wá pētī áwèj jí jà kà wàá?* When harmattan finishes, which season follows?

**zĩã** (*var. of zĩē*)

**zĩē** [zĩē] (*var. zĩã*) *n.* wall. *pl. zĩesa.*

**ziɛŋ** [zìɛŋ] *n.* *1* spiritual protection after homicide • *ò só zĩɛŋ nā.* She washed her spiritual action away, so she is now clean. *2* snake venom. *pl. ziɛŋ.*

**ziɛziɛ** [zìɛzìɛ] *cf: kũŋsũŋ* *ideo.* light weight and weak, for person or crop • *bíná háj ñ kpáámá dó zĩē-zĩē.* This year my yam plants are weak and poor.

**ziga** [zìgà] *v.* to be protruded, to bulge out or project from its surroundings, to have one's skin made tough and thick through use • *nì nèpíélá zígáó.* My palms are hard through working. *à jàrébáàl tilé zígáó.* Muslim men have a circle of callused skin on their forehead, a prayer bump.

**zigiti** [zìgìtì] *v.* to learn, to study • *bà*

*pé ni já zìgìtì nààsàrtáá.* We learned English from them.

**zĩĩ** [zĩĩ] *v.* to have bushy hair, to have hair grown beyond normal • *ìṅ búú-rè ì já kà fòná ì púú dì ò há wà zĩĩ-wá.* I want you to shave your head before it becomes bushy.

**zĩĩmì** [zĩĩmì] *v.* to be wrinkled due to fluid loss or bodily substance • *à hááṅ lùmbúròsò zĩĩmíjǎǎ.* The woman's oranges are wrinkled. *há-híésà sīē já zĩĩmǎ.* The face of old women are generally wrinkled.

**zĩĩlɔŋ** (*Mo. var. of zaan*)

**zĩĩlɔmbìl** [zĩĩlɔmbìl] *n.* describe how an item or a person is covered or smeared with matter • *à fègá míntí kósó zĩĩlɔmbìl lā.* The stirring stick is covered with t.z.

**zĩĩlɔtɔnǎ** (*var. of zolɔtɔnǎ*)

**zĩĩmá** [zĩĩmá] (*var. <sup>1</sup>zĩĩ*) *v.* to know, to understand, to be aware • *ò zĩĩmá púmìi rē.* She knows how to hide.

**zĩĩmá sii** [zĩĩmá síi] *lit.* know eye *cp.v.* to confirm • *ìṅṅ bírì há wà zĩĩmá òò wíé síi.* My senior brother has not yet confirmed his issues.

**zĩĩmá** (*var. of zĩĩmá*)

**zĩĩmǎ** [zĩĩmǎ] *cf: zal n.* fowl, chicken. [*Gu*]. *pl. zĩĩmǎ.*

**zĩĩkpáŋǎ** [zĩĩkpáŋǎ] *lit.* know-have-mouth *n.* discretion • *zĩĩkpáŋǎ wíró.* Discretion is good.

**zĩĩkpáŋǎtĩmá** [zĩĩkpáŋǎtĩmá] *lit.* know-have-mouth-owner

*n.* discreet person, someone who can keep secrets • *kàlá wá jǎā zĩĩkpáŋǎtĩmá.* Kala is not a discreet person.

**zĩĩmá** [zĩĩmá] (*var. zĩĩmá*) *n.* knowledgeable, professional. *pl. zĩĩmá.*

**zĩĩ** (*var. of zĩĩ*)

**zĩĩ** [zĩĩ] *v. cf: tuu (var. zĩĩ) 1* to drive or ride, or sit on, e.g. bicycle, motorcycle, horse • *ì wà búúrè há-mónà dì zĩĩ ìṅṅ púúpù háj.* I do not want children to ride on my motorbike. **2** to climb, to go up, to be with a great deal of volume • *ì zĩĩ sàl lá ì páá tǔōnō.* I go up on the roof to collect my shea nuts. *ìṅṅ á dí zĩĩ.* Speak loud.

**zĩĩhǎ** [zĩĩhǎ] (*var. pompo*) *n.* type of locust which comes in large quantity and destroys crops rapidly.

**zĩĩzǎpú** [zĩĩzǎpú] *cf: danda-fulee (var. zĩĩzǎpú) n.* house bat. *pl. zĩĩzǎpú.*

**zĩĩzǎpú** (*var. of zĩĩzǎpú*)

<sup>1</sup>**zĩĩ** (*var. of zĩĩ*)

<sup>2</sup>**zĩĩ** [zĩĩ] *n.* large-eared slit-faced bat (*Nycteris macrotis*). *pl. zĩĩ.*

<sup>3</sup>**zĩĩ** (*var. of zĩĩ*)

**zĩĩ** [zĩĩ] *v.* to be tall, to be long • *báál hàn nī zĩĩ kààlì ò píná.* This man is taller than his father. *wàá nī dùsèè tíwī zĩĩ.* The Wa-Ducie road is long.

**ziŋbanii** [ziŋbàni] *lit.* tall-section *nprop.* section of Ducie.

**zɪŋɪ** [zɪŋɪ́] (*var.* <sup>3</sup>**zɪŋ**) *n.* length, height • à dǒǒ zɪŋɪ́ jáá mítàsá ànàásè rā. The length of the python is four meters. *pl.* **zɪŋɪɛ**.

**zɪsá** [zɪsá] *n.* slender-tailed squirrel, squirrel which lives on trees (*Protonotus aubinnii*). *pl.* **zɪsasa**.

**zɔlɔŋtɔnǒǎ** [zɔlɔŋtɔnǒǎ] (*var.* **zɪlɪŋtɔnǒǎ**) *n.* Black Wood-Hoopoe, type of bird (*Rhinopomastus aterrimus*). *pl.* **zɔlɔŋtɔnǒǎsa**.

**zomɪɛ** [zòmɪɛ] *n.* person who wishes and acts for the downfall of somebody else. *pl.* **zomɪsɛ**.

**zɔŋ** [zɔŋ] *n.* insult. *pl.* **zomɔ**.

**zɔŋbɪɪ** [zɔŋbɪɪ] *n.* specific insult or mockery, usually targeting appearances • à háǎŋ zɔŋbɪɪ múŋ nāá jáá gríízɛnǐɛ. They mock the woman with her big cheek. *pl.* **zɔŋbɪɛ**.

**zɔŋgɔrɛɛ** [zɔŋgɔrɛɛ] *n.* mosquito. *pl.* **zɔŋgɔruso**.

**zɔrɔ** [zòrò] *v.* to pick someone or something up from the ground, or as in providing transportation, to raise, to lift or pick up something • à biè zóró ɔ̀ɔ̀ jɪnà sàgà mótò nǐ. The child picked up his father on his motorbike. zòrò à sɪmáà lɪ dɛndíl. Pick up the food and send it outside.

**zɔgsɪɛŋ** [zògsɪɛŋ] *n.* maize silk. *pl.* **zɔgsɪɛma**.

**zǒɪ** [zǒɪ́] *ideo.* exclusively • lààbǒkǒsá máná zǒɪ́ ñ jɪnà dɪ párà. My father produces exclusively *laabokɔ* yams.

**zɔŋ** [zòŋ] *n.* weak from birth • kò-lòkòlòzɔŋ wáá tùò ñ kòlòkòlòsò nǐ. There are no weak turkeys among my rafter. *pl.* **zɔŋna**.

**zɔŋkɔgosiŋ** [zòŋkògòsɪŋ] *n.* large pit formed naturally. *pl.* **zɔŋkɔgosiama**.

**zɔŋkɔŋɛ** [zòŋkòŋɛɛ] *n.* type of slate rock. *pl.* **zɔŋkɔŋɛsa**.

<sup>1</sup>**zugo** (*var.* of **duu**)

<sup>2</sup>**zugo** [zùgò] *v.* **1** to be thick, stiff but flexible • à kàpála zùgòú. The fufu is well pounded and starchy. **2** to be slow • gbòlò zùgò kínkàn nà, ɔ̀ wà písi bārā dɪ jáá wīɛ. Gbolo is very slow, she does not get on with things.

**zugumi** [zùgùmì] *v.* **1** to not receive good care and suffering the consequences • làlɪwísé káá zùgùmì. Orphans are not receiving good care. **2** to be stunted, to stop, slow down, or hinder the growth or development of • ñ kàà tiè í zùgùmì. I will hinder your development.

**zul** [zúl] *cf:* **kɔlɪ** *n.* millet, used in making porridge and t.z.. *pl.* **zulo**.

**zɔŋgɔŋ** [zùŋgùŋ] *n.* elongated carved log drum, beaten with curved stick. *pl.* **zɔŋgɔŋso**.

**zɔŋgɔɔ** [zùŋgòò] *n.* type of dance for women and men, not specific to a particular event. *pl.* **zɔŋgɔɔ**.

<sup>1</sup>**zɪu** [zùù] *n.* dull weather, no sun and no rain. *pl.* **zɪu**.

<sup>2</sup>**zɪu** [zùù] *n.* the biggest part of a

share • *ɪ totii jaa zuu*. Your share is the biggest share.

**zɔa** (var. of **ulzɔa**)

**zɔã** [zɔã] (var. **zɔɔ**) *n.* waterbuck, type of antelope (*Kobus ellipsiprymnus*). *pl.* **zɔãta**.

**zɔgsɪ** [zɔɣsɪ] *n.* type of tree. *pl.* **zɔgsɪɛ**.

**zɔgɔsɪ** [zɔgɔsɪ] *v.* to shrink, to become small by sickness, implies unattractive thinness, as with undernourishment • *à zál kàà wííwò ìì wà ná ɔ̀ò kà zògòsɪjèè?* The fowl is sick, haven't you seen it has shrunk?

**zɔɔ** (var. of **zɔã**)

**zɔɔmɪ** [zɔ̀òmì] *v.* for leaves, to be dehydrated, have spots and be wrinkled • *à múró pààtʃágá zóómmíí.* The rice plant is dehydrated.

**zɔɔ** [zɔ̀ò] *v.* cf: **li** **1** to enter, to go inside • *dí zɔ̀ò*. Come in! *à kúòrū zóó dià múj̄ nō à làà kpáámá fí fí*. From each house the chief took 10 yams. **2** to live somewhere and not necessarily be a native of that place • *kù-máásí ɔ̀ di zó̀ò*. He lives in Kumasi.

**3** to join, to cooperate • *nítámá káá zó̀ò kóólíí làgálàgá háj̄*. Few people join the shrine Kuolii these days. *já zóó d̄ɔ̀ηà à pè̀j̄i binà háj̄*. Let us cooperate and do the first weeding this year.

**zɔ̀ò** [zɔ̀ò] *n.* laziness, lack of courage, or dullness originating from depression, unhappiness or illness • *zàáj̄ ìì bára d̄ɔ̀ zɔ̀ò*. Today I am lazy and lack courage. *pl.* **zɔ̀ò**.

**zɔ̀òdɔ̀ηà** [zɔ̀òdɔ̀ηà] **1** *n.* work relation or process, when each works for the other in turn • *jà káá zò̀òd̄ɔ̀-ηà à t̄ɔ̀ píé wó biná háj̄*. We will come together to raise yam mounds this year. **2** *pl.n.* neighbours or people one stays with.

**zɔ̀òl** [zɔ̀òl] *n.* tuber. *pl.* **zɔ̀òla**.

**zɔ̀òni** [zɔ̀òni] (var. **ɬɔ̀òni**) *v.* to pout, to protrude the lips in an expression of displeasure • *à sùkúú bisé wáá kìn zò̀òni n̄́á d̄ɔ̀ t̄fít̄jà n̄́*. The students cannot pout at a teacher. *tí t̄ɔ̀òní ìì n̄́á d̄ɔ̀ ìì n̄́ kéj̄*. Do not protrude your mouth at me like that.





## **Part III**

# **English-Chakali reversal index**



## a

- aardvark nanbugo *n.*  
 abandon ta<sub>1</sub> *v.*; vie<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 abdomen patʃiŋɪ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 able kin *v.*; kpege<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 abound gaali<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 abrasion (branch) daasiiga<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 abruptly (do) vaari *v.*  
 abscess ʃammiã *pl.n.*  
 absolutely not fio *ideo.*  
 abstract entity wi-  
 abundant kana *v.*  
 abused (person) ɲudoŋ *n.*  
 Accra akraa *nprop.*  
 ache wusi *v.*  
 Achilles tendon nããpol *n.*  
 acquire wealth buure<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 acre eeka *n.*  
 across (be) kaga *v.*  
 act proudly dzigisi *v.*  
 active nɔma<sub>2</sub> *v.*; weti<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 add pe *v.*; tuosi<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 add (condiment) gbaani *v.*  
 added amount tuosii *n.*; tuoso *n.*  
 additional vieŋ *pv.*  
 adhere mara<sub>1</sub> *v.*; maragi *pl.v.*  
 adhere to a religion dɔa<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 adjacent (be) kpara *v.*  
 adjust gbras<sub>1</sub> *pl.v.*  
 adjuster kalɛŋbilenjẽẽ *n.*  
 adopt laa dɔ *cpx.v.*  
 adopted child sanlare *n.*  
 adultery (to commit) sama *v.*  
 adze sããtʃɔŋ *n.*  
 afraid (be) ɔma *v.*  
 African nibubummo *n.*  
 after zi<sub>2</sub> *adv.*  
 afternoon wɔhãã *n.*  
 again bi *itr.*  
 age hiẽ *v.*  
 age mate sɔawali *n.*  
 age mate (relation) sɔa *n.*  
 agitation nɔnnɔŋ<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 agree nɔã digimaŋa *v.*  
 agree (to leave) ta dɔŋa *v.*  
 agree with laa<sub>4</sub> *v.*  
 AIDS eesi *n.*  
 aim at fiɪɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*; pɔ<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 airplane oluplen *n.*; oripere *n.*  
 Akee tree tii *n.*  
 albino gbambala *n.*  
 alcoholic drink pataasi *n.*; siŋ *n.*  
 alcoholism siŋŋwɔhã *n.*  
 alert pɔti *v.*  
 alight (become) bũũ *v.*  
 all muŋ *quant.*  
 all (hum+) bamuŋ *quant.*  
 all (hum-) amuŋ *quant.*  
 alleviate fɔgɔsi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 alley fɔgbaŋ *n.*  
 allow gila<sub>1</sub> *v.*

- alms** sereka *n.*  
**alone** teŋteŋ *n.*  
**already** baan *pv.*; foo<sub>3</sub> *v.*; maasi<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**also** gba *quant.*  
**always** taarɔ *n.*  
**amaranths (vegetable)** alɛɛfɔ *n.*  
**ammunition pouch** tɔg *n.*  
**amount** ŋmena<sub>2</sub> *n.*; zuu *n.*  
**ancestor** faal *n.*; lali<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**ancestors (line)** lel *n.*  
**ancient** faa *n.*  
**and** a *conn.*; aka *conn.*; ani<sub>1</sub> *conn.*; ka<sub>1</sub> *conn.*  
**anger** baan *n.*; pagɪ *n.*  
**angry (be)** waasi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**animal** sel *n.*  
**animal skin** tɔŋ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**ankle** nãāsii *n.*; nãātɕog *n.*  
**ankle-rattles (pair)** tɕĩŋ *n.*  
**announce** hēsi *v.*  
**announcer** hēhēse *n.*  
**annoyed (be)** hãāsii<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**answer** laa<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
**ant (type of)** daanpuukponkpolo *n.*; gogo *n.*; gogosɪama *n.*; guurii *n.*; haglibie *n.*; haglibisiansa *n.*; minĩã *n.*; solibie *n.*; temĩ *n.*; tii *n.*  
**antelope (type of)** ãã *n.*; kuo *n.*; wieme *n.*; zãã *n.*  
**anus** munputii *n.*  
**anxious** siri *n.*  
**anyone** namuŋ *quant.*  
**anything** wimuŋ *quant.*  
**appear** ganɪ *v.*  
**appearance** sii *n.*  
**append** mara<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**appendicitis** momuŋ *n.*  
**appetite** hĩẽra *n.*  
**apply** titi *v.*  
**argue** tɕa<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**argument** hakɪla *n.*  
**arm** neŋ *n.*  
**arm joint** nekpun *n.*  
**arm ring** kana *n.*  
**armpit** lugbɔa *n.*  
**armpit hair** lugbɔapuruŋ *n.*  
**arrange** dɔasi *pl.v.*; tɕɔgsi<sub>2</sub> *v.*; vɔɔɔɪ *v.*  
**arrow** hẽŋ *n.*  
**arthritis** ganabulo *n.*  
**articulated vehicle** lɔɔlimunzɔalunzɔa *n.*  
**as** kii<sub>1</sub> *conn.*; kii<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**as well** ko *adv.*  
**ascaris** ɲɲaŋ *n.*  
**ascite** patɕiŋisunno *n.*  
**ash** fufu *n.*; tapulsa *n.*  
**ash (type of)** fɔã *n.*  
**Ashanti (person)** kɔmbɔŋa *n.*  
**ask** prasi<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**ask (for forgiveness)** dibi *v.*  
**asking (farm help)** parisumii *n.*  
**asleep** duo *n.*  
**asphalt** kotaal *n.*  
**assassin bug** hamɔnanãɔ *n.*  
**assemble** sira<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**assist in crossing water** duori *v.*

asthma hĩēsipugo *n.*

at (be) dʊa<sub>1</sub> *v.*

at all times taarɔ *n.*

atlas vertebra bagensorii *n.*

attach mma<sub>1</sub> *v.*; vɔwa<sub>1</sub> *v.*

attempt to catch gbarmɪ *v.*

## b

baboon fʊʊ *n.*

baby bifɔla *n.*

bachelor buzɔŋ *n.*

back gantal<sub>1</sub> *n.*; gantal<sub>3</sub> *reln.*; habɔɔ *n.*

back (part of) kaŋa<sub>1</sub> *n.*; kaŋa<sub>2</sub> *n.*

back area lumo *n.*

backtalk gantal lɔha *n.*

backtalking lɔgantal *n.*

backwards bira *v.*

bad bɔŋ *n.*; hĩ *interj.*; tʃɔma<sub>1</sub> *v.*

bad (be) bɔma<sub>1</sub> *v.*

bad (person) nɪbubɔŋ *n.*

Badiga (person's name) badiga *nprop.*

bag bɔɔtia<sub>1</sub> *n.*; pur *n.*

bag (type of) lɔga<sub>1</sub> *n.*

Bakuri (person's name) bakuri *nprop.*

balance deŋsi<sub>1</sub> *v.*

bald headed nukpaltɪma *n.*

baldness kpalige *n.*; nukpal *n.*

ball bɔl *n.*

ball (dawadawa) sɔmmãã *n.*

attitude dɔnna *n.*; dzogo *n.*

avoid (spill) mɔra *v.*

Awie (person's name) abie *nprop.*;  
awie *nprop.*

axe sãã *n.*

ball (groundnut) kpulikpulii *n.*

ball (pumpkin seed paste) kan-  
tʃaŋgulumo *n.*

ball (shea butter) nɔɔlɔgɔsɪ *n.*

ball of the thumb nebikaŋkawaln-  
punii *n.*

balloon baluu *n.*

bambara bean sibii *n.*

bambara bean (fried) sibihalɪ *n.*

bamboo sima *n.*

banana kuodu *n.*

baobab seed tolibii *n.*

baobab tree tolii *n.*

bark daapɛɪ *n.*; wosi *v.*

barrel aŋkɔɔ *n.*

barrel (gun) maafatuo *n.*

barren hambara *n.*

barren (be) fire *v.*

barter tʃɛra *v.*

base muŋ<sub>3</sub> *reln.*; sontogo *n.*

Basig (person's name) basig *nprop.*

basin katasazeŋ *n.*; tasazeŋ *n.*

basket (type of) kɔzaa *n.*; tisie *n.*;  
tʃaga *n.*

**bat (type of)** dandafulee *n.*; filɪŋfintɪr  
*n.*; zinzapuree *n.*; zɪŋ *n.*  
**bath** sɔ *v.*  
**bathroom** tʃɛtʃɛra *n.*; tʃitʃara *n.*  
**baton (gun)** maafamundaapĩã *n.*  
**battery** baatɪrbɪ *n.*  
**Bayong (person's name)** bajonɟ  
*nprop.*  
**be** dɔ<sub>3</sub> *v.*; jaa<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**be about** ɲaŋɲɪ *v.*  
**be on** saga<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**beach** mɔŋnɔã *n.*  
**beadless (be)** sɪŋkpal *n.*  
**beam (wood)** daaluhii *n.*  
**bean (black)** sɪgbummo *n.*  
**bean (type of)** gbena *n.*; sɪggoŋgo *n.*  
**bean (white)** sɪgpɔmma *n.*  
**bean cake** kansii *n.*  
**bear (foetus)** lɔla *v.*  
**bear fruit** nɔna *v.*  
**beard** dandapɔsa *n.*  
**bearing device (type of)** garɪŋzanɛɛ  
*n.*  
**bearing tray** dzaanãã *n.*  
**beat** maŋa<sub>1</sub> *v.*; masɪ *pl.v.*; tugo<sub>1</sub> *v.*; tu-  
gosi *pl.v.*  
**become** wa *pv.*  
**bee** tũũbii *n.*  
**beetle (type of)** bɪmbilinsi *n.*;  
mĩãbrwaɔ *n.*; ɲɪŋuugbanɟbulii *n.*  
**beetle grub** zakɔɔl *n.*  
**before** mɔã *adv.*  
**beg** sɔlimɪ *v.*; sɔmmɪ<sub>3</sub> *v.*

**beggar** susumma *n.*  
**behaviour** dɔnna *n.*; wɪkpagɪ *n.*  
**behaviour (type of)** mɔta *n.*; ɲɛgɛke  
*n.*  
**behind** gantal<sub>3</sub> *reln.*  
**believe** laa di *cp.v.*  
**bell (finger)** pɛga *n.*  
**bell (type of)** daworo *n.*; gbeline *n.*  
**belly** patʃɪŋɪ *n.*  
**belt** belɛntɪ *n.*  
**bench** kor *n.*  
**bend** goro<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**bend back** hele *v.*  
**bend down** bɔŋa *v.*; fɛla *v.*  
**bend outward** gɔɪŋɪ *v.*  
**bend over** gaali<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**betray** mĩɪnɪ *v.*  
**better (be)** bɔ *v.*  
**between (be)** faari *v.*  
**beyond (be)** vãã *v.*  
**Bible** baabɔl *n.*  
**biceps** nekɛgɪ *n.*  
**bicycle** saakɪ *n.*  
**big** kana *v.*; zene *v.*; zenii *n.*; zɛŋ *n.*  
**bile** kpɔrɪmɪ *n.*  
**bilharzia** fɪɪnɪtʃoro<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**billy goat** bɔɔŋbal *n.*  
**bird** zaar *n.*  
**bird (small)** zimbie<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**bird (type of)** bendiir *n.*; bɪzɪmii *n.*;  
bɔzaal *n.*; daakɔã *n.*; daakɔãjalɛɛ  
*n.*; daakɔãwoŋ *n.*; daanɲmenkonɲonɲon

*n.*; diɲtʃɛna *n.*; dɪgɛ₂ *n.*; dɪgbel-  
gɔɔ *n.*; dulugu *n.*; duu *n.*; galɪŋ-  
gaa *n.*; gatuolie *n.*; gbelɪŋbɪ *n.*;  
gbiekie *n.*; gbĩāsɔɔnĩā *n.*; kantɛɔ *n.*;  
katʃɪg *n.*; katʃɪgkuol *n.*; katʃɪgkuol-  
sɪaŋ *n.*; kiesii *n.*; kɪlɛ *n.*; kɪlɛsɪaŋ  
*n.*; konsɪaŋ *n.*; koŋbugul *n.*; koŋ-  
jelemĩ *n.*; koŋkogulepɔmma *n.*;  
koŋpɔlɪŋ *n.*; koŋzaazug *n.*; kɔsag-  
begbe *n.*; kuu *n.*; kuudɪgɪmsa *n.*; ku-  
usɪaŋ *n.*; kuuwolie *n.*; kpaŋkpaŋtɪ  
*n.*; kpaŋkpaŋlɛrɛ *n.*; kpoluŋkpoo  
*n.*; kpoŋkpoŋbɔazimbie *n.*; lalɛek-  
pakpareɛ *n.*; laŋgbe₁ *n.*; luho  
*n.*; luhosɪaŋ *n.*; mǎābōōŋ *n.*;  
mɔgzimbie *n.*; ŋmalɪŋŋmĩōō *n.*;  
paatʃaranɔŋ *n.*; pititeo *n.*; pɔlzim-  
bal *n.*; samkpaŋtulɔŋu *n.*; saŋgbaŋ-  
dugulee *n.*; saŋgboŋ *n.*; sɪgmaazim-  
bie *n.*; tiijaŋu *n.*; tintuoli *n.*; tɪtaa  
*n.*; tɔvɔgzimbie *n.*; tuntuolisama *n.*;  
tʃaparapĩ *n.*; tʃareɛ *n.*; tʃatʃawɪlɛɛ *n.*;  
tʃokpore *n.*; wiwili *n.*; zaajaga *n.*;  
zimbimunzɔalɔnzɔa *n.*; zolɔŋtɔnōā  
*n.*

**biscuit** bisiketi *n.*

**bitch** vanɪ *n.*

**bite** dɔma *v.*; dɔmɪ *n.*; dɔnsɪ *pl.v.*;  
ŋmena₂ *v.*; pɛmpɛl *n.*

**bite (attempt)** gagati *v.*

**bitter (be)** hǎāsɪ *v.*

**bitterness** hǎāsii₁ *n.*

**black bummo** *n.*; doŋ₂ *n.*

**black (be)** bire₂ *v.*

**black (person)** nɪbubummo *n.*

**Black plum** aŋbuluŋ *n.*

**Black thorn** sɔbummo *n.*

**blacksmith** lɔlɔta *n.*

**blade** bileedi *n.*

**blame** paanɪ *v.*

**blame (without)** sol *ideo.*

**blanch** foro *v.*

**blanket** kuntuŋ *n.*

**bless** kisi *v.*

**blind** ɲubirɪŋtɪna *n.*; ɲɔlɔŋ *n.*

**blink** kamsɪ₁ *v.*

**blink (eye)** dɔsɪ₃ *v.*

**blister** maali *v.*

**blood** tʃal *n.*

**blood relationship** hǐɛna *n.*

**bloom** jele *v.*

**blooming** jeli *n.*

**blow** fuuri *v.*; hōō *v.*; pewo *v.*; zaga₂  
*v.*

**blow nose** mĩ *v.*

**blue** bluu *n.*

**blunt** gbul *n.*

**blunt (be)** gbulo *v.*

**board (wooden)** daapɛlɪmpe *n.*

**boast** foro *v.*

**boastful** taŋkama *n.*

**boastfully (act)** woŋli *v.*

**boat** kokoluŋ *n.*

**body** bara *n.*

**body joint** kpuŋ *n.*

**bohor reedbuck** wieme *n.*

**boil** tʃamɪnĩā *pl.n.*; waasɪ₁ *v.*

**boiling** tɔŋɪ *n.*

- bolt** ɲɔtɪ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**bone** hog *n.*  
**book** tɔŋ<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**bore** lugo<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**boredom** haamɪ *n.*  
**borehole** pɔmpɪvɪgii *n.*  
**borrow** sɔmmɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**bother** dama *v.*  
**bottle** kɔlbaa *n.*; pɪrɪntɔa *n.*  
**bottom (river)** nɪsɪi *n.*  
**boundary** bɔɔ<sub>3</sub> *n.*  
**bow** tuo *n.*  
**bowed (be)** gɔrɪgɪ *v.*  
**bowl** tasazeŋ *n.*  
**bowl (grinding)** dantɪg *n.*  
**bowl (plastic)** rɔbakatasa *n.*  
**bowl (type of)** hembie *n.*; hembɔla *n.*;  
 hena *n.*; hɛŋgbaa *n.*; katasa *n.*; tasa  
*n.*  
**box** daga *n.*  
**boy (young)** binɪbaal *n.*  
**bracelet** gbiŋ *n.*  
**braid** vɔtɪ<sub>2</sub> *pl.v.*; vɔwa<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**brain** kuŋkuŋ *n.*  
**branch (forked)** daatɕaraga *n.*  
**branch (tree)** daanãã *n.*  
**branch of a river** gɔŋŋnãã *n.*  
**brave** bambiitɪma *n.*; dʒɪga *v.*  
**bravery** baalɪ *n.*; bambii<sub>3</sub> *n.*; nɪɪbata  
*n.*  
**bread** paanɔɔ *n.*  
**break** gɪtɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*; kerigi *pl.v.*; keti<sub>1</sub> *v.*;  
 tʃɪɛŋɪ *v.*  
**break off** kpesi *v.*; kperɪgɪ *pl.v.*  
**breast** ɪl *n.*  
**breathe** hĩɛsi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**breathe with difficulty** kiiri *v.*  
**breed** wasɪ *v.*  
**breeze** pelɛŋ *n.*  
**brewing** tɔŋɪ *n.*  
**bridge** kodorogo *n.*  
**bright** tʃããɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**brightness** batʃaaŋ *n.*  
**bring** kpa wa *cp.v.*  
**bring out** kiini<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**bring up** food ugo *v.*  
**broken (be)** fɔɔmɪ *v.*; kɔgɔɪ<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**broken part** baketii *n.*  
**broken piece of gourd** fakɛɪa *n.*  
**broken pot (piece)** tʃɪntʃɛli *n.*  
**broom** kɪmpɪŋɪ *n.*; tʃãã *n.*  
**brother (senior)** biɛɪɪ *n.*  
**brother's wife (junior)** hãwie<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**bruised (be)** fɔrɪgɪ *v.*  
**bucket** bakti *n.*  
**bud** fɪɪ *v.*  
**buffalo** kɔsanãã *n.*  
**build** sãã<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
**building** saal<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**bulb (light)** bɔɔna *n.*  
**Bulenga (lect of)** bulɛŋji<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**Bulenga (person from)** bulɛŋji<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**bulge out** zɪga *v.*  
**bulges** kpuogii *n.*  
**bull** nɔwal *n.*  
**bullet** maafabɪ *n.*



bullroarer dendilhĩēsi *n.*; sigmoidwiili  
*n.*  
 burial specialist pel *n.*  
 burn fũũ *v.*; tɔgɔsi *v.*  
 burning fũũ *n.*  
 burnt slightly (be) baari *v.*  
 burp garisi *v.*  
 burst jala<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 bury sogoli<sub>2</sub> *v.*; ũũ *v.*  
 bush kɔsa<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 bush animal kɔsasel *n.*  
 bush cat (type of) amɔnɔ *n.*  
 bush dog (type of) bele *n.*; bɔwalɛ  
*n.*

## C

calculator kɪŋkurokɔɔri *n.*  
 calf nãätʃigi *n.*; nɔwii *n.*  
 calf (bull) nɔwalee *n.*  
 call jira *v.*; jirigi *pl.v.*; sira<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 calling jiri *n.*  
 camel ɲɔgma *n.*  
 camp (farm) bugumuɲ *n.*  
 camphor kafuura *n.*  
 can kin *v.*; kɔŋkɔŋ *ono.*  
 cancel dɔsi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 candle tʃaandiri *n.*  
 candy (type of) hagasɪ *n.*  
 cane fiɛbi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 cane-rat aari *n.*  
 cannabis wii *n.*  
 capsule lulibii *n.*

bush guinea fowl kɔsasũũ *n.*  
 bushbuck ãã *n.*  
 bushy hair (have) zĩĩ *v.*  
 but ka<sub>2</sub> *conn.*  
 butcher nanjogul *n.*  
 butterfly pɛŋpɛglmpɛ *n.*  
 buttock muŋkaan *n.*  
 buttocks muŋ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 buttress kpotokporogo *n.*  
 butt crack muŋtii *n.*  
 buy jɔɔsi *pl.v.*; jɔwa *v.*  
 by pe *n.*  
 by force (do) fãã<sub>1</sub> *v.*

car lɔɔli *n.*; turuŋkaa *n.*  
 care (guest) kpage huor *v.*  
 care (not receive) zugumi<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 careful (be) tʃalasɪ *v.*  
 carefully bɔēbɔē *ideo.*  
 careless (be) faasi *v.*  
 careless (person) siinɔmatɪna *n.*  
 carelessness faasi *n.*  
 caretaker pinne *n.*  
 carpenter kapenta *n.*  
 carry baasi *v.*; kolo *v.*; kɔŋa<sub>2</sub> *v.*; tʃɔŋa  
*v.*; ulo *v.*  
 carry (fire) mɔna *v.*  
 caruncle simɔŋ *n.*  
 carve sãã<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 carver daasãã *n.*; sãsaar<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 cassava kpɔŋkpɔŋ *n.*

cassava (dried) kpõᅇkpõᅇhɔli *n.*;  
 kpõᅇkpõᅇnte *n.*  
 cassava (red) kpõᅇkpõᅇsiama *n.*  
 cassava (white) kpõᅇkpõᅇpɔmma *n.*  
 cassava flour lumps kpõᅇkpõᅇɲɲa  
*n.*  
 cassava peel kpõᅇkpõᅇpetɪ *n.*  
 cassava plant kpõᅇkpõᅇdaa *n.*  
 cassava tuber kpõᅇkpõᅇzɔɔl *n.*  
 castrate vara *v.*  
 cat diebie *n.*; dʒɛbalaŋ *n.*  
 catapult taja *n.*  
 catarrh kabirime *n.*  
 catch kpaɠa<sub>2</sub> *v.*; kpaɠasi *pl.v.*; tʃaŋsi  
*v.*  
 catch breath sigisi *v.*  
 caterpillar (type of) sansandugulii  
*n.*; sansanduguliibummo *n.*;  
 sansanduguliihɔhɔla *n.*; sansan-  
 duguliiner *n.*; taantuni *n.*  
 cattle pen nɔ̄gar *n.*  
 Caucasian (person) naasaara *n.*  
 Caucasian man naasaarbaal *n.*  
 Caucasian woman naasaarhããŋ *n.*  
 cause a blister maali *v.*  
 cause someone's laughter lugusi *v.*  
 caution na<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
 cave bɪbɔɔ *n.*  
 cave name narabɔɔ *nprop.*  
 cavity (wood) lor *n.*  
 cedi siidi *n.*  
 ceiling sapete *n.*  
 celebration (type of) binɔ̄ãŋsiŋ *n.*

cement selemente *n.*  
 centipede (type of) dokeg *n.*  
 cerebro-spinal meningitis kaŋgbeli  
*n.*  
 certain wara *dem.*  
 certainly tɔri *v.*; tʃi *v.*  
 chaff hããsa *n.*; nɔɔr *n.*  
 chaff (guinea corn) minzɔga *n.*  
 chaff (rice) murpetɪ *n.*  
 chair kor *n.*  
 Chakali (ethnically) tʃakali *n.*  
 Chakali (language) tʃakali *n.*  
 chameleon siŋgbegliŋ *n.*  
 chance bar<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 change birɠi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 change (direction) biɠi *v.*  
 change (money) tʃɛŋdzi *n.*  
 change appearance (plant) maŋa<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
 change name lugo<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 character dʒogo *n.*  
 character (type of) nihãsi *n.*; niŋage  
*n.*; zomie *n.*  
 charcoal (piece) hɔl *n.*  
 charcoal (small pieces of) dandafulii  
*n.*  
 charcoal fire diŋhala *n.*  
 charge tʃaɠi *n.*  
 chase dɔgɔni *v.*  
 Chasia (lect of) tʃasiɪ<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 Chasia (person from) tʃasiɪ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 Chasia village tʃasia *nprop.*  
 chasing women hããbuura *n.*  
 cheat fulumi *v.*; tie<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 cheating fuŋfuluŋ *n.*

cheek ɣɪɾɪ *n.*; leheɛ *n.*  
 chest bambii<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 chest hair bambiipɔŋ *n.*  
 chest pains bambiigeraga *n.*; bambi-wɪla *n.*  
 chest problem baŋsɪaŋ *n.*  
 chew ŋmɔɔɾɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*; tie<sub>1</sub> *v.*; tʃagami *v.*  
 chewing gum tʃɔŋgɔŋ *n.*  
 chewing stick gbɛsa *n.*  
 chick zimbie<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 chicken zal *n.*; zimĩ *n.*  
 chickenpox sepambi *n.*; taɔgara *n.*  
 chief kuoru *n.*  
 chieftanship koro *n.*  
 child bie *n.*; bisɔɔna *n.*; hamɔŋ *n.*  
 child (adopted) bilaadɔɾɪ *n.*  
 child (bad) bibɔŋ *n.*  
 child (small) bisɔɔnbie *n.*; hamɔwie *n.*  
 child (youngest) biwie *n.*  
 children of a paternal line ŋmabise *n.*  
 chimney sumbol *n.*  
 chin daatɔma *n.*  
 chisel ŋmɛna *n.*  
 chock lesi *v.*  
 choke fɔra<sub>1</sub> *v.*; laŋsɪ *v.*  
 choked (be) fɔtɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 choose lɪsɪ<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
 Christian tʃɛɛtʃibie *n.*  
 Christmas bɔɾɪŋa *n.*  
 church tʃɛɛtʃɪ *n.*

cigarette sigaari *n.*  
 circle goro<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
 circuit nããval<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 circular gulɔŋgulɔŋ *ideo.*  
 circumciser wondʒomo *n.*  
 clan wɔsa<sub>3</sub> *n.*  
 clan name itolo *nprop.*; ijela *nprop.*; ŋaŋuwɔlɛɛ *nprop.*; viɛhiɛgɪɛ *nprop.*; wɔsakuolo *nprop.*; wɔsalɛɛla *nprop.*; wɔsasiile *nprop.*; wɔsatʃaala *nprop.*; wɔsawɪla *nprop.*  
 clan rights waasɪwɛ *n.*  
 clan title danta *n.*  
 claw lɔga *v.*; nããtʃig *n.*  
 clay tʃɔɪ *n.*  
 clean dɔsɪ<sub>2</sub> *v.*; tʃããɪ<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 clean (not be) ɔɔɪ *v.*  
 clear pentɛŋ *ideo.*  
 clear land zaŋsɪ *v.*  
 clear throat kaasɪ *v.*  
 climb zɪna<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 climber (type of) fɔɪ<sub>1</sub> *n.*; gɔmpɛra *n.*; koguliŋpaa *n.*; lagɪŋgasɪ *n.*; liɛŋ<sub>1</sub> *n.*; nɔʔɔɔŋ *n.*; sɪgɛra *n.*; tʃɪnie *n.*; vɪsɪŋ *n.*  
 clitoris mɔŋzɪg *n.*  
 close tɔ<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
 close (eyes) ŋɔmmɪ *v.*  
 closing tɔɪ *n.*  
 cloth gar *n.*  
 cloth (cover) gatɔɔɪ *n.*

**cloth (type of)** fõõfõõ *n.*; gapõmma *n.*; gbagala *n.*; kòbını *n.*; kpaŋk-pamba *n.*; sòola *n.*; tambò *n.*; tfaŋtful *n.*  
**clothing (piece)** kınları *n.*  
**cloud** taal *n.*  
**cloud state** gãänigãänı *ideo.*; tñãõ *n.*  
**clove** mūsóoro *n.*  
**clumsy (person)** gbètè *n.*  
**co-wife** handòŋ *n.*  
**coal pot** kòlpòtı *n.*  
**cock** zımbal *n.*  
**cock-a-doodle-doo** kòŋkòlilıkoo *ono.*  
**cockerel** zimbelee *n.*  
**cockroach** hogul *n.*; holıŋ *n.*  
**cockroach (type of)** hogulbummo *n.*; hogulpõmma *n.*  
**cockroach sound** tfitfi *ono.*  
**cocoa** kuokuo *n.*  
**coconut** kube *n.*  
**cocoyam** mankani *n.*  
**coil** gutı *v.*; kaası *v.*  
**cold** kınısòŋ *n.*; sòŋı *n.*; sòòını *v.*  
**colic pain** patfiŋ gbaŋasa *n.*  
**collapse** buro *v.*; wòrıŋı *v.*  
**colleague** tógama<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**collect** laa<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**collect (contribution)** kıè *v.*  
**comb** tfaasa *n.*; tfaası *v.*  
**comb (rooster)** kòŋa *n.*  
**comb (wooden)** tfaasadaa *n.*  
**come** baa *v.*; waa *v.*

**come (close)** lıeri<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**come loose** kògòlı *v.*  
**come low** tuu *v.*  
**come to do** wa *pv.*  
**community** tòò *n.*  
**community (old)** tòhıè *n.*  
**community member (prominent)** tòòpòal *n.*; tòòsıi<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**compete** kaŋŋı *v.*  
**competent** weti<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**complain (to oneself)** nòõmı *v.*  
**complaint** kaŋaaga *n.*  
**computer** kınkurokòòrı *n.*  
**comrade** dòŋ *n.*; dòŋtına *n.*; tógama<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**conceal** sogoli *v.*  
**concrete entity particle** kın-  
**confess** puoti<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**confirm** zıma sıi *cpv.*  
**confused (be)** butı *v.*  
**conjunctivitis** sıwıla *n.*  
**consider** tògòmı *v.*  
**constellation** bolòŋbòòtıa *nprop.*  
**contagious (be)** loŋŋı<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**container (gunpowder)** dzebugokpòrgı *n.*; maafaluro *n.*  
**container (kola nut)** kapòsıfala *n.*  
**container (tobacco)** tòòkpurgıi *n.*  
**container (type of)** ròbagalan *n.*; vıisıama *n.*  
**convert** tuubi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**cook** kòòrı<sub>2</sub> *v.*; saa *v.*; suguli *v.*; tòŋa *v.*  
**cook partially** wuuli *v.*

cooked (be) ɓɪɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 cooking place dalia *n.*  
 cooking pot (type of) dansanɛ *n.*;  
 tempilie *n.*; tuolie *n.*; vii *n.*; viisug-  
 ulii *n.*  
 cool sɔŋ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 cool down pulisi *v.*  
 cooperate zɔɔɔ<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
 cooperative group nɔdɪgɪmaŋa *n.*  
 core (central) daa<sub>3</sub> *n.*  
 corpse lali<sub>1</sub> *n.*; sɔwɪɪ *n.*  
 corpse uniform kasɪma *n.*  
 cotton guno *n.*  
 cotton thread guŋmeŋ *n.*  
 cough tʃasɪ<sub>3</sub> *v.*; tʃasɪɛ *n.*  
 count kuro *v.*  
 counting kurii *n.*  
 courage kpaga bambii *v.*  
 court kɔɔɪ *n.*; sɔga *v.*  
 courtyard zaga *n.*  
 cousin ɲɪmabie<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 cousin (female) mǎābinɪhǎāŋ *n.*  
 cousin (male) mǎābinɪbaal *n.*  
 cousin (younger) mǎābie<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 cover liŋe<sub>2</sub> *v.*; muuri *v.*; pu<sub>1</sub> *v.*; tɔ<sub>1</sub> *v.*;  
 tʃige<sub>1</sub> *v.*; tʃigesi *pl.v.*  
 cover partially gaali<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 cow nǎō *n.*; nǎɪɪ *n.*; nǎō *n.*  
 coward ɔŋgbɪar *n.*  
 cowherd nǎgbar *n.*  
 cowpea sig *n.*  
 cowpea aphid pupuree *n.*

cowrie molebipɔmma *n.*  
 crack kpɛɪ<sub>2</sub> *v.*; tʃɪagɪ *v.*; tʃɪɛŋɪ *v.*  
 crack and remove kpe *v.*  
 cracked skin nǎājeleɛ *n.*  
 crackle parasɪ *v.*  
 crane leŋsɪ *v.*  
 craving hǐɛra *n.*  
 crawl-crawl saŋgbena *n.*  
 crawl gbaani *v.*  
 cream (body) nǎōtɪtɪɪ *n.*  
 create grave bɛga *v.*  
 creature (supernatural) gɔma<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 credulous tʃɔŋɪ *n.*  
 creep taari *v.*  
 cricket poŋ *n.*  
 cricket (type of) leleɪpoŋ *n.*  
 cripple gbɛɪɪ *n.*  
 crippled (be) gbera *v.*  
 crocodile ɲɔg *n.*  
 crooked (be) fɔɔmɪ *v.*; golemǐ *v.*;  
 goro<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 cross gɪ *v.*; kaga *v.*; mma<sub>4</sub> *v.*  
 crow jele *v.*  
 crowd ɲōō *v.*  
 crowded gbɪŋgbɪŋ *ideo.*  
 crush-and-spoil pɔɪɪ *v.*  
 cry tʃaasi *v.*  
 cry out hǎsɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 cup bonso *n.*; kɔpɔ *v.*  
 cure kpege<sub>2</sub> *v.*; tiime *v.*  
 curse kaabi *v.*; nǎɔsuo *n.*; suo *v.*  
 curtain patiisa *n.*  
 curved (be) goro<sub>1</sub> *v.*

cut bafɔrigɪ *n.*; fiɛɪ *v.*; gitɪ *v.*; kɔtɪ *v.*; kpɔɔ *v.*; lɔga *v.*; ɲmɛna *v.*; teɲe *v.*; teɲesi *pl.v.*

cut (power, network) gitɪ *v.*

## d

Dagaare (language) dagataa *n.*

Dagaare (person) dagas *n.*

dagger daɲgorugo *n.*

dam dampɔ *n.*

damaged zagatɪ *v.*

damaged (be) pɔtɪ *v.*

dance gɔa *v.*; gɔa *n.*

dance (type of) baawa *n.*; bawaa *n.*; dɔgɔ *n.*; dzanse *n.*; firigɔ *n.*; gaɲ-gaɲ *n.*; kpa *n.*; kpaanãã *n.*; sii *n.*; zunɔgɔ *n.*

dance-floor kil *n.*

dancer gɔagɔar *n.*

dangerous (be) bɔma *v.*

dark bire *v.*

darkness birge *n.*

date deti *n.*

dawadawa sɔl *n.*

dawadawa flower sɔɲkpulii *n.*

day wɔzɔɔɪ *n.*

day after tomorrow tɔmɔsɔ *n.*; tɔmɔsɔ gantal *n. phr.*

day before yesterday tɔmɔsɔ *n.*; tɔmɔsɔ gantal *n. phr.*

day break tɔɔɔm pisa *n. phr.*

cut off head (plant) kɔma *v.*

cut throat kɔrigɪ *v.*

cutlass karantɛ *n.*

cystitis fɪnɪɪtɔro *n.*

deaf (person) dɪɲmbirinsetɪma *n.*; wɔɲ *n.*

deafness dɪɲmbirinse *n.*

death sɛɔ *n.*

debate tɔtɔɔsa *n.*

debt kantɔma *n.*

debt (without) sol *ideo.*

decay ɔla *v.*

deceive dara *v.*; mɔga *v.*

decide wɔɔɪ *v.*

decrease (swelling) fɔɔlɪ *v.*

deeds wɪkpagɪ *n.*

deep luɲo *v.*

deep and long tɔɲgo *v.*

defamation sɔntɔga *n.*

defamer sɔntɔgatɪma *n.*

defeat kɔla *v.*

defecate ɲã *v.*

defilement sɔkɔsɪ *n.*

deflated (be) tɔle *v.*

deformed (person) kundɪɲa *n.*; nɪbukperii *n.*

dehydrated (plant) zɔɔmɪ *v.*

delay birgi *v.*

demolish kputi *v.*

- demonstrate bigisi *v.*  
 dense (be) gbɔŋa *v.*  
 dent fɔɔmɪ *v.*  
 dental abscess ɲiŋʔɔɔɪ *n.*  
 deny tɔa<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 depend on fãã<sub>2</sub> *v.*; jalasɪ<sub>2</sub> *v.*; ɲine<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 dependent parage *v.*  
 depressed patʃigtʃɔgsa *n.*  
 deprive haari *v.*  
 derogatory sound (make) pɔɔɔɪ *v.*  
 descend tuu *v.*  
 descending position among siblings sɪŋsagal<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 desert date goŋgobiridaa *n.*  
 desiderative ŋma<sub>2</sub> *pv.*  
 desperation nɔnnɔŋ<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 destroy tʃɔga *v.*  
 destroy with fire mara *v.*  
 detached folo *v.*  
 develop kɔɔɪ<sub>6</sub> *v.*  
 device to carry fire diŋkiŋmɔɔɪ *n.*  
 dew meŋ *n.*  
 dial fɛɪɪ<sub>2</sub> *pl.v.*  
 diarrhoea dɔgɔsa *n.*; tʃaari<sub>2</sub> *v.*; tʃaari *n.*  
 diaspora (person) kɔɔɔɪ *n.*  
 dibble tʃɔkdaa *n.*  
 dictionary wiŋmalagamfɛ̃ *n.*  
 die sɔti *pl.v.*; sɔwa<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 die prematurely koti *v.*  
 difference kɔɔɪ *n.*  
 different kɔra *v.*  
 difficult (be) bɔma<sub>5</sub> *v.*  
 difficulty wikpegelegii *n.*  
 dig daari *v.*; hire *v.*  
 digging hirii *n.*  
 dilute pulisi *v.*  
 dirge (type of) dendilsigmaa *n.*;  
     nãålomo<sub>2</sub> *n.*; tebinsigmaa *n.*  
 dirt doŋ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 dirtiness doŋii *n.*  
 dirty (be) doŋo *v.*  
 disappear nigimi *v.*; pɪsɪ *v.*  
 disappearance (spiritual) nigimii *n.*  
 discouraged bajɔɔra *n.*  
 discourse manner kpãŋkpãŋ *ideo.*  
 discreet (person) zimkpaganõâtɪna *n.*  
 discretion zimkpaganõã *n.*  
 discussion (place) baŋmaali *n.*  
 disdain (express) tʃɔɔɪ *v.*  
 disease dzɛɛga *n.*; gɛɛga *n.*  
 disease (type of) siŋgilingi *n.*  
 dish pɛɛɛ *n.*  
 dishonest (be) goro<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 dismantle wɪɪɪ *v.*  
 disrespect sisi *n.*  
 dissolve mɔɔɪ *v.*  
 distaff gundaabii *n.*; ŋmɛdaa *n.*  
 disturb dama *v.*  
 disturbances laadimii *n.*; nɪmisa *n.*  
 dive miiri *v.*  
 divide bonti *v.*; po *v.*  
 dizziness siŋgilingi *n.*  
 dizzy (be) sii bire *v.*  
 do di *comp.*; ja *v.*

**doctor** dəkta *n.*  
**dog** nōātuma *n.*; vaa *n.*  
**dog (female)** vanii *n.*  
**dog (male)** vawal *n.*  
**dog name** andiañããwɛ *nprop.*;  
 jasanabɔ̃ɛi *nprop.*; kuosozima  
*nprop.*; ññōãwajahoo *nprop.*  
**Doga** dɔga *nprop.*  
**donkey** kaakumo *n.*; kogumie *n.*  
**door** dɔanōã *n.*  
**dormant** barege *v.*  
**doubt** maŋsi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**dowager's hump** bagentfugul *n.*  
**dowry** tɛwii *n.*  
**drag** tuuri<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**dragonfly** annulie *n.*  
**drain** belege *n.*  
**draw close** tɔɔri *v.*  
**draw milk from** fãã<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
**dream** diese *n.*; diesi<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**drench** taalɪ *v.*  
**dress** laari<sub>1</sub> *v.*; lije<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**drink** ɲōã<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**drink (hot)** tii *n.*  
**drink from stream** pu *v.*  
**drink preparation (step)** siŋbɔti *n.*;  
 siŋwaasi *n.*  
**drip** toŋsi<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**drive** mɪlɪmɪ<sub>2</sub> *v.*; sãã<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**driver** draaba *n.*; sãsaar<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**driver (car)** lɔlɪmɪlɪma *n.*; lɔlɪsãär  
*n.*

**driving** mɪlɪmɪ *n.*  
**drop** kpa ta<sub>2</sub> *cpv.v.*; tɛuuri<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**drop inadvertently** foti<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**drought** hɪl *n.*  
**drum (type of)** bafragugu *n.*; bɪmtra  
*n.*; bɪntrawie *n.*; bɪntrazeŋ *n.*; gaŋ-  
 gaŋa *n.*; kokorowie *n.*; loŋo *n.*; tim-  
 pannu *n.*; timpantii *n.*; timpanwal  
*n.*; tɛtɛfug *n.*; zunguŋ *n.*  
**drum rattles** bɪntratɛfɪŋ *n.*  
**drummer** kiŋmaŋana *n.*  
**drumming stick** loŋodaa *n.*  
**drunk** bugo<sub>2</sub> *v.*; dɛsi *v.*  
**dry** bera *v.*; hɔla *v.*  
**dry season (period within)** wil-  
 iŋsaŋa *n.*  
**dry up** hɪsi *v.*  
**drying** hɔli *n.*  
**Ducie (lect of)** duselii<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**Ducie (person from)** duselii<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**Ducie village** dusie *n.*  
**duck** bɪã *n.*; gbagba *n.*  
**duiker (red-flanked)** tɛsiama *n.*  
**dull** gbul *n.*  
**dullness** zōō *n.*  
**dust** belege *v.*; bɔmbɔr *n.*  
**dusty (be)** bɔra *v.*  
**dusty weather** korumbɔra *n.*  
**duty** wijaali *n.*  
**dying** sɔwɪ *n.*  
**dysentery** dɔksa *n.*  
**each other** dɔŋa *recp.*



## e

- ear digma *n.*  
 earache digmwılı *n.*  
 earlier (be) maası *v.*  
 early te *v.*  
 early stage fɔŋfɔŋ *ideo.*  
 early stage of pregnancy (be in) lomo<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 earth hagla *n.*; haglı *n.*; tagla *n.*  
 earthworm tantaanı *n.*  
 east tiımuŋ *n.*; wɔjalı *n.*  
 eat di<sub>1</sub> *v.*; fuosi *v.*  
 eat (without soup) ɲaŋa *v.*  
 ebony tree anı *n.*  
 edge tʃɪntʃɛrɪ *n.*  
 edge (cloth) garnõã *n.*  
 educated (person) karatʃi *n.*  
 eel (type of) digilii *n.*  
 effort baharaga<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 egg hal *n.*  
 egg (guinea fowl) sũhal *n.*  
 egg (hen) zahal *n.*  
 egg white zahalɓõmma *n.*  
 egg yolk zahalɓasıama *n.*  
 eggplant ɲadɔa *n.*  
 eight ɲmɛŋtel<sub>2</sub> *num.*  
 eighteen fidiŋmɛŋtel *num.*  
 eighth month andzɛlindzɛ *nprop.*  
 eject out ɔgılı *v.*  
 elastic mana *n.*  
 elbow negɔma *n.*  
 elbow (interior) negbaŋa *n.*  
 elder nhĩẽ *n.*  
 election votii *n.*  
 electricity diŋ<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 elephant ɓɔla *n.*; dzigela *n.*; neŋtɪma *n.*; selzeŋ *n.*  
 elephant trunk ɓɔlakaŋ *n.*  
 elephantiasis of the leg nããtuto *n.*  
 eleven fididigɪ *num.*  
 eleventh month doŋumakuna *nprop.*  
 empty woo *v.*  
 enclose go *v.*  
 enclosed (location) bagorii<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 end pe *n.*  
 endow with power ɓõma<sub>4</sub> *v.*  
 enemy dɔŋ *n.*  
 engine indzi *n.*  
 enjoyment læŋ *n.*  
 enough maası<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 enskinned (be) di<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 enter zɔɔ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 entertain daŋŋi sie *cpx.v.*  
 entertainment siidaŋŋa *n.*  
 enthusiasm baharaga<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 enthusiastic hĩẽrɪ *v.*  
 entirely kpaleŋkpaleŋ *ideo.*  
 entrance nõã<sub>2</sub> *reln.*  
 entrance of a spiritual location duguŋnõã *n.*  
 entropion siipɔŋwile *n.*  
 enumeration kɪŋkurugie *n.*

**epidemic** baleo *n.*  
**epilepsy** kpɔŋkpuluŋso *n.*  
**epileptic (person)** kpɔŋkpuluŋtfelese *n.*; tjetfelese *n.*  
**equal** jaa<sub>2</sub> *v.*; maasi<sub>4</sub> *v.*  
**erase** dɔsi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**erectile dysfunction** viwo<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**erode** mɔɔɔɔɔ *v.*  
**escape** fuosi *v.*  
**escort** tɔ *v.*  
**essence** bii<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**essence (of someone)** patʃigɪɪ<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**ethnic division** bakɔɔ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**even** maasi<sub>4</sub> *v.*; vɔɔɔɔvɔɔɔ *ideo.*  
**evening** dadɔɔɔ *n.*; dɔana *n.*  
**everyone** namuɔ *quant.*  
**everything** wimuɔ *quant.*  
**evil** sitaani *n.*  
**exactly** tʃuur *ideo.*  
**examination** tɛɛsi *n.*  
**exceed** gala<sub>2</sub> *v.*; gara<sub>3</sub> *v.*; kaali<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**excel** wo<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**exchange** tʃɛra *v.*  
**excited** basɔɔna *n.*  
**exclamation (type of)** abba *interj.*; mufu *interj.*

## f

**fabric (piece)** piɛɔ *n.*  
**face** sie *n.*; tʃaga *v.*  
**fail** bi<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**fail to attend** bi<sub>2</sub> *v.*

**exclusively** zɔɔ *ideo.*  
**excrement** bina *pl.n.*  
**excuse** gaafra *interj.*  
**exercise** dɛnsi hogo *v.*  
**exist** ta *v.*  
**exist (not)** tuo *v.*  
**exit (many)** kpuluɔ *n.*  
**expand** ugo<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**expatriate** kɔɔɔɔɔ *n.*  
**expectation** gbanasa *n.*  
**expected** zi<sub>1</sub> *pv.*  
**expected (be)** kpɛɛ *v.*  
**expensive (be)** bɔma<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**experienced (person)** nebmɪ *n.*  
**explode** jala<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**expose** jaabi *v.*  
**extraordinary** nããsii *n.*  
**extraordinary (person)** nibukperii *n.*; nibunããsii *n.*  
**eye** sii<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**eye discharge** silogto *n.*  
**eyeball** siibii *n.*  
**eyebrow** siikonjo *n.*  
**eyelash** siipɔɔ *n.*  
**eyelid** siitɔɔ *n.*

**fail to thrive** kere *n.*  
**faint** buro *v.*; sie viigi<sub>1</sub> *cpv.*  
**fair** patʃigɪɔɔmma *n.*  
**fair-skinned (person)** nibutʃããɔ *n.*

fairy kəntəŋ *n.*; juzĩĩtĩna *n.*  
 faithful bidĩŋ *n.*  
 faithful (be) degini<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
 fall tjele<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 fall off luore *v.*  
 fall on saga<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 fall short panti *v.*  
 false accusation dʒoŋkoho *n.*  
 family diatoma *n.*  
 family relationship hĩẽna *n.*  
 famous (be) laa səŋ *n.*  
 fan limpeu *n.*  
 far bolo *v.*  
 far place babuolii *n.*  
 farm kuo *n.*; para *v.*; pɛŋɪ *v.*  
 farm (period) dʒɛfɛ *n.*; pɛpɛŋa *n.*  
 farm (state) dʒɛfɛbummo *n.*;  
 dʒɛfɛpɔmma *n.*; gaha *n.*; kalpaaga  
*n.*; kəkə *n.*; kəlɪ<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 farm preparation gbege *n.*; kontii *n.*;  
 zaŋsa *n.*  
 farm rest area (type of) gbɔgɔlmɔŋ  
*n.*  
 farmer papata *n.*  
 fast laga *v.*; nɔmanɔma *ideo.*;  
 nɔnnɔŋ<sub>4</sub> *n.*  
 fast (movement) lerete *ideo.*  
 fat n̄ɔ̄ *n.*; pəlɪ *n.*  
 fat (be) pɔla *v.*  
 father ɲina *n.*  
 Father faara *n.*  
 father's junior brother ɲĩŋwie<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 father's senior brother ɲĩhĩẽ<sub>1</sub> *n.*

father's sister hĩẽna *n.*  
 fear ɔma *v.*  
 fearfulness ɔŋgbɪa *n.*  
 fearless (person) siinɔmatĩna *n.*  
 feather pɔŋ<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 fed up (be) pĩ *v.*  
 feed dɪɛsɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 feel na<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 fellow tɔgama<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 female hããŋ<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 female pubic hair mɔŋpɔŋ *n.*  
 ferment ɲagamɪ *v.*  
 fermented liquid ɲageɛ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 fermenting substance bɔra *n.*  
 fetch dɔɔ *v.*  
 fetch (liquid) jaa<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 fever sɔnĩẽ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 few tama *quant.*  
 few (be) kiesi *n.*  
 fiber tɔta<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 fibre (type of) бага *n.*; bɔg<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 fibrous meat pɛmpɪamɪ *n.*  
 field pakɪ *n.*  
 fifteen fidap̄ *num.*  
 fifth month dambafulanaan *nprop.*  
 fight juo *n.*  
 fight: throw away juo<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 fill holes fɔtɪ *v.*  
 filled dɪra *v.*  
 find mɔna *v.*  
 finger nebi *n.*  
 finger (index) fakiine *n.*  
 finger (little) nebisunu *n.*; nebiwie *n.*

**finger (middle)** bambaajnebiei *n.*;  
 nebizerjii *n.*  
**finger (ring)** bambaajnebiwie *n.*  
**fingerling** dondoli *n.*  
**finger nail** nebiPETI *n.*  
**fingerprint** nebiifETI *n.*  
**finish** PETI *v.*  
**fire** diŋ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**fire (make)** mɔSI *v.*  
**firewood** diŋdaa *n.*  
**firing pin (gun)** tʃiriɓɔ *n.*  
**first** buŋbuŋ *n.*  
**first month** dzɪmbentɔ *nprop.*  
**fish** pinee *n.*  
**fish (type of)** ammani *n.*; biŋbiɛl *n.*;  
 fii *n.*; kɔŋkɔɔŋ *n.*; mɔmɔã *n.*; priŋ  
*n.*; sol *n.*; tʃopetii *n.*; tʃɔɔŋ *n.*; ugul  
*n.*; wɔɛɛ *n.*  
**fish bone** niŋhog *n.*  
**fish egg** niŋhal *n.*  
**fishing hook** kokolentebii *n.*  
**fishing net** tʃaŋ *n.*  
**fishing trap** tʃig *n.*  
**fist** kummii *n.*  
**fit** maasi<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
**five** aŋɔ *num.*; ɲɔ *num.*  
**fixed on (be)** mara<sub>1</sub> *v.*; maraŋ *pl.v.*  
**flame** diŋtɔl *n.*; tɔl *n.*  
**flat** talala *ideo.*  
**flat roof** sal *n.*  
**flee** tʃɔ<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**flesh** namĩã *n.*; nanpunii *n.*

**fleshy part** nɔgɔl *n.*  
**flintlock frizzen** maafadɪgma *n.*  
**flintlock hammer** lɛdaa<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**flintlock leather pad** tetɛĩ *n.*  
**flintlock locking screw** ɲɔtɪ<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**flintlock pan** maafadɪgmbɔa *n.*  
**float** zaali *v.*  
**flour** saɔ *n.*  
**flour (dawadawa)** sɔlsaɔ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**flow** li<sub>2</sub> *v.*; pala *v.*  
**flower** jelii *n.*  
**flower (dawadawa)** sɔŋkpulii *n.*  
**flower (groundnut)** maŋsijelii *n.*  
**flower (type of)** kpalɪmaalige *n.*;  
 lololo *n.*; tʃuomonaatɔwa *n.*  
**flute** loŋwie *n.*  
**flute (type of)** busunu *n.*  
**fly** zaa *v.*  
**fly (tsetse)** kirɪma *n.*; nakaɔ *n.*;  
 nakpafugul *n.*  
**fly (type of)** tʃĩã<sub>1</sub> *n.*; tʃĩãbummo *n.*;  
 tʃĩãstama *n.*  
**foam** fɔga<sub>2</sub> *v.*; fɔŋfɔgɔl *n.*  
**focus particle** ra *foc.*  
**foetus** tɪa<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**fog** kɔrɔmbɔra *n.*  
**Foga (person's name)** fɔga<sub>1</sub> *nprop.*  
**fold** guti *v.*  
**follow** gantal<sub>2</sub> *n.*; tɪŋa<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**food** sɪmaa *n.*  
**food (scooped ball)** bɔti *n.*

**food (type of)** fʊɔra *n.*; gaarii *n.*;  
kaara *n.*; kpogulo *n.*; sʊamanziɔga *n.*;  
timpaanii *n.*

**food left-overs** kʊɔtʃʊa *n.*

**food preparation (incorrect)** mul *n.*

**food storage room** sɪmaadia *n.*

**fool** fugusi<sub>1</sub> *v.*; gɛnɪ *n.*

**fool (be)** gɛna *v.*

**foolishness** gɛna *n.*

**foot** nããpiɛl *n.*

**foot (sole of)** nããpiɛlpatʃɪɪ *n.*

**foot (top of)** nããpiɛlgantal *n.*

**footprint** nããnasɪ *n.*

**forbid** kii *v.*

**force** fira *v.*; firɪ *n.*

**forehead tile** *n.*

**forest** kɔr *n.*

**forge** lʊga<sub>1</sub> *v.*

**forget** sʊgʊli *v.*

**forgive** gɪla tɛ *cp.v.*

**form** bileɪ *pl.v.*

**four** anaase *num.*; naase *num.*

**fourteen** fidanaase *num.*

**fourth month** dambakokoroko  
*nprop.*

**fowl** zal *n.*; zimɪ *n.*

**fowl (type of)** pitɪ *n.*; sũ *n.*

**fowl house** dembelee *n.*

**fowl tick** pala *n.*

## g

**gaiety** balalla *n.*

**fragile** kɪntʃɪaɪɪ *n.*

**freeze** kpaɪa *v.*

**fresh** sɔɪ<sub>2</sub> *n.*

**Friday** arɪdzɪma *n.*

**friend** tʃɛna *n.*

**frog (type of)** sɔmpɔrɛɛ *n.*; sɔɪɪ *n.*

**front** sʊɔ<sub>1</sub> *n.*; sʊɔ<sub>3</sub> *reln.*

**front sight (gun)** mɪ *n.*

**fruit** daanɔɪ *n.*; nɔɪ *n.*

**fruit (dawadawa)** sʊlnɔɪ *n.*

**fruit (type of)** goɪɔnɔɪ *n.*; lien<sub>2</sub> *n.*

**fry** hala *v.*; piɪa *v.*

**frying** halɪ *n.*; piɪɪ *n.*

**fuel** paturuu *n.*; petro *n.*

**fufu** kapala *n.*

**full** birɪɪ *n.*; piɪa *v.*; piɪɪɪ *pl.v.*

**full (be)** su *v.*

**funeral** luho *n.*

**funeral (first)** lunɔɪ *n.*

**funeral (last)** lusɪna *n.*

**funeral event (type of)** bʊɔtɔɪ  
*n.*; hʊɔrakaalɪ *n.*; kɔmɪākpaɪ *n.*;  
kɔmɪāɪpaɪ *n.*; kʊzaakpaɪ *n.*; kʊza-  
alimmɪ *n.*; selekpɔɪ *n.*; sɪgmaa *n.*;  
sɪmbɔtɪ *n.*; sɪɪpʊā *n.*; sɪɪwaasɪ *n.*;  
wɔsɪwɪjaalɪ *n.*

**funeral ground** ludendil *n.*

**furious (be)** zaga *v.*

**gallbladder** kpɔɪɪ *n.*

game (type of) bombo *n.*; dara *n.*;  
seŋsegelie *n.*

game reserve geem *nprop.*

garden dabaga *n.*; gaadin *n.*

garden egg ɲadɔa *n.*

gather lagam<sub>1</sub> *v.*; laŋsi<sub>1</sub> *pl.v.*; tigs<sub>1</sub> *v.*

gather close go *v.*

gather together gama *v.*; guro *v.*

Gbolo (person's name) gbolo *nprop.*

gear hõŋ *n.*

gecko (type of) toro *n.*; zesa *n.*

generous patʃigipɔmma *n.*; sɔŋtina  
*n.*

genet (type of) tɔɔnɩ̃ *n.*

gentility bɔnɔ̃ *n.*

germinate jala<sub>2</sub> *v.*; ɲɔ̃ *v.*

gesture bigise *n.*

get by force fɔs<sub>1</sub> *v.*

get lost sie viigi<sub>2</sub> *cpx.v.*

ghost lɔs<sub>11</sub> *n.*

gift (type of) tʃɔgtaa *n.*

ginger kokoduro *n.*

gingivitis paŋʔɔr<sub>11</sub> *n.*

girl binhããŋ *n.*

girl (beautiful) tulo<sub>2</sub> *n.*

girl (mature) tulo<sub>1</sub> *n.*

girl (mature, young) suŋguru *n.*

girl (young) nihãwie *n.*; tulo<sub>1</sub> *n.*

give tiɛ<sub>1</sub> *v.*

give birth lɔla *v.*

give birth (history) tʃaŋsi *v.*

give way brage *v.*

giving birth lɔli *n.*

glance (furtive) silier *n.*

glance at limmi *v.*

glide (close) liɛr<sub>1</sub> *v.*

glue mara<sub>1</sub> *v.*

glue (type of) maataa *n.*

go ka *pv.*; kaal<sub>1</sub> *v.*

go away li<sub>1</sub> *v.*

go down tuu *v.*

go in and out turo<sub>2</sub> *v.*

go over gala<sub>1</sub> *v.*

go up zina<sub>2</sub> *v.*

goal gool *n.*

goat bõõŋ *n.*

goat (young) bõõŋbie *n.*

god wɔsa<sub>1</sub> *n.*

God (supreme) kuoso *n.*

goitre bagɛnapɔɔŋ *n.*

gold salŋ *n.*

Gonja (person) zabaga *n.*

gonorrhoea baabaasɔ *n.*

good lɛm<sub>11</sub> *n.*

good (be) lɛma<sub>1</sub> *v.*; were *v.*

gourd fala *n.*

gourd (type of) bɔɔl<sub>2</sub> *n.*; fabummo  
*n.*; faɔɔmma *n.*; fataga *n.*; fawie *n.*;  
fazeŋ *n.*; gbentaga *n.*; kpɔrg<sub>11</sub> *n.*; loŋ  
*n.*; loŋbɔl *n.*; loŋkpɔrg<sub>11</sub> *n.*

gourd ladle daazɔɔna<sub>2</sub> *n.*

gourd node faʔul *n.*

gourd seed (type of) fobii *pl.n.*; pɔn-  
tɔɔtʃɩ̃ *n.*

gourd stem falanɛŋ *n.*

government gɔmɔnanti *n.*

- governor** gɔmɪna *n.*  
**grab** kpaga<sub>2</sub> *v.*; tʃɛwa<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**grab firmly** gurugi<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**grab hold** faam<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**grain (guinea corn)** mimbii *n.*  
**grain weevil** jakpate *n.*  
**gramophone** garamɔ̄fɔ̄ɔ̄ *n.*  
**grandchild** nuhū *n.*  
**grandfather** naal *n.*  
**grandmother** nahā *n.*  
**grass** kɔsa<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**grass (type of)** fiel *n.*; fɔgɔ<sub>1</sub> *n.*; golii *n.*; kɔpul *n.*; pɛmballɔɔɔ *n.*; pul *n.*; sambalkuso *n.*; sambalɔnaɔ *n.*; sɪŋg-bɛgliɔnebie *n.*; zanterɛɛ *n.*  
**grass bundles** kuntunbɔa *n.*  
**grasscutter** aarii *n.*  
**grasshopper (type of)** hɔɔ̄ *n.*; kɔkɔlikɔ *n.*; kpekpe *n.*; tʃalɪhɔ̄ɔ̄ *n.*; tʃɛlɪntʃɛ *n.*; zanɔŋuŋmuɔsulisu *n.*  
**grate** nɔga *v.*  
**gratefulness** patʃɪgɪtɔɔra *n.*  
**grave** bɔɔ<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**grave (closed)** bil *n.*  
**grave section** bɔɔbie *n.*  
**grease** nɔɔ̄ *n.*  
**great-grandfather** naalbilɛ *n.*; naal-tulo *n.*  
**great-grandmother** nahābilɛ *n.*  
**greedy** sii<sub>3</sub> *n.*  
**greet** zaam<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**greet (evening)** dɔam<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**grief** patʃɪgɪtʃɔgsa *n.*  
**grill** pɛwa *v.*  
**grilling meat** pɛwɪ *n.*  
**grind** kɔti<sub>2</sub> *v.*; nama<sub>2</sub> *v.*; jaari *v.*; saasi *v.*; tiisi *v.*  
**grinder (stomach)** kantige *n.*  
**grinding area** nɔɔ<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**grinding stone (type of)** kɔɔkɔlbɪ *n.*; nɔmbukutii *n.*; nɔɔ<sub>1</sub> *n.*; nɔɔbu-luɔ *n.*; nɔɔbɔnaam<sub>1</sub> *n.*; nɔɔbutiisii *n.*; sasɪbɪ *n.*  
**grip** kummi *v.*  
**groan** pɛma *n.*  
**groin** nāānawɔsɪ *n.*  
**ground** hagla *n.*; hagli *n.*; tagla *n.*  
**ground (hard)** haglikpeg *n.*  
**ground (soft)** hagljɔgsɪ *n.*  
**groundnut** maɔsɪ *n.*  
**groundnut flower** maɔsɪjɛlii *n.*  
**group** tɪgsɪ *v.*  
**grow** sii<sub>3</sub> *v.*; vɛsɪ *v.*  
**grow old** hɪɛ *v.*  
**grumble** ŋmɔɔɪ *v.*  
**guilt** tʃelle<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**guinea corn** mɪ *n.*  
**guinea corn (cooked)** timpitie *n.*  
**guinea corn (type of)** mɪsɪama *n.*; pogo *n.*; tʃatɪ *n.*  
**guinea fowl** sū *n.*  
**guinea worm** ã *n.*  
**gum** tɪl *n.*  
**gum (tree)** tʃɛl *n.*  
**gun** maafa *n.*  
**Gurumbele (lect of)** bɛlɪɪ<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**Gurumbele (person from)** bɛlɪɪ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**gutter (bathroom)** tʃɪtʃarabɔa *n.*  
**gutter (roof)** tʃɪtʃasɔɪ *n.*

## h

habit (drinking) sɪŋɔhã *n.*habitually jaa *pv.*hail dobie *n.*hair pɔŋ<sub>1</sub> *n.*hairdressing (type of) ɲupɛɾɪ *n.*; ɲu-  
vɔwɪ *n.*half kamboro *n.*half asleep daari *v.*half of a bird kie *n.*half side loguɲbembel *n.*half-full logo *v.*half-sibling ɲɪnabie<sub>1</sub> *n.*hall lumbu *n.*; zaɲtʃagalɪ *n.*hallucination gagamɪ *n.*ham nããkorbɔa *n.*hamerkop samkpaɲtuluɲu *n.*; sang-  
baɲdugulee *n.*hammer hamba *n.*hammer (lightly) tama *v.*hammock dzɔɔŋ *n.*hand neɲ *n.*; nepɪɛl *n.*hand (back of) nepɪɛlgantal *n.*hand (palm of) nepɪɛlpatʃɪɾɪ *n.*;  
netisiɲ *n.*hand up tala *v.*handkerchief aɲkitɪ *n.*handle neɲbakpaɾɪ *n.*hang laga *v.*hang limp loori *v.*happiness balalla *n.*happy basɔɔna *n.*; patʃɪɟitɔɔra *n.*happy (be) sɔɔɪɪ<sub>3</sub> *v.*harassment fɪnɪ *n.*hard kpege<sub>1</sub> *v.*; kpegii *n.*hardship ɲɔɲɲɔŋ<sub>3</sub> *n.*harmattan gbaɲgbaɲ *n.*harmonize gbɪasi<sub>1</sub> *pl.v.*harsh (be) ɲaga<sub>2</sub> *v.*hartebeest lɔɔ *n.*harvest aari *v.*; kɔma *v.*; ŋmena<sub>3</sub> *v.*harvest (shea) pinti<sub>2</sub> *n.*harvest second yam wo<sub>1</sub> *v.*Hasik (person's name) hasig *nprop.*hasten poleme *v.*hat ɲintʃige *n.*hatch tesi<sub>2</sub> *v.*hate hã *v.*Hausa zaɲgbiera *nprop.*have kpaga<sub>1</sub> *v.*Hayong (person's name) hajon  
*nprop.*he ɔ *pro.*; ɔɔwa *pro.*; waa *pro.*he-goat bɔɔŋbal *n.*head ɲuu<sub>1</sub> *n.*head hair ɲupɔŋ *n.*head of animal ɲukpulii *n.*headache ɲuwɪla *n.*headache (frontal) ɲuufugo *n.*headgear tʃiime *n.*headpan tasazeɲ *n.*heal ŋmɪɪɪ *v.*



- healer** lulibummojaar *n.*; paatfak-  
 jaara *n.*; patfakjaar *n.*  
**health (good)** laanfia *n.*  
**hear** nōō<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**heart** begii *n.*  
**heat** nōma<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**heat a wound** jagasi *v.*  
**heaven** arıdzana *n.*  
**heavy** jugii *n.*  
**hedgehog** jagenpentii *n.*  
**heel** nāälumo *n.*  
**heifer** nōlor *n.*  
**height** zıııı *n.*  
**help** sūmmı<sub>2</sub> *v.*; tiise *v.*  
**helper** susummana *n.*  
**helpful** sōııtıma *n.*  
**helpless child** janōgıı *n.*  
**hen** zapuo *n.*  
**hen (bush)** bōzaal *n.*  
**henna** dzabeları *n.*  
**herbalist** patfakjaar *n.*  
**herd** gbaa *v.*  
**herder** gbaar *n.*  
**here** baarı<sub>1</sub> *adv.*  
**hernia** pōōga *n.*  
**hide** pumo<sub>1</sub> *v.*; sogoli<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**hiding** pumii *n.*  
**high (be)** gatı *v.*  
**highland** kuıkuıı *n.*  
**hill gradient** gimii *n.*  
**hinder** teıe<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
**hinge (door)** leōra *n.*  
**hip** tıerbōa *n.*  
**hippopotamus** bōnōhō *n.*  
**hire** ha *v.*  
**hit** gogo *v.*; jaga<sub>1</sub> *v.*; jagası *pl.v.*; vira  
*v.*  
**hit down repeatedly** pıla *v.*  
**hoe** par *n.*  
**hoe (type of)** pagbetıı *n.*; patıla *n.*;  
 pawie *n.*; pazery *n.*; sādıilii *n.*; sādıg-  
 bulie *n.*; sādııııı *n.*  
**hoe blade** pabii *n.*  
**hold** kogo *v.*; kpağa<sub>3</sub> *v.*; tıewa<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**hold on** kpağa kaalı *cp.v.*  
**hole** bōō<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**hole (grave)** bōabie *n.*  
**holey** zagatı *v.*  
**hollow (be)** pēna<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**hollow behind the collarbone**  
 bagēnbōa *n.*  
**homer** dendilsarıjana *n.*  
**honest (be)** degini<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
**honest (person)** nııupōmma *n.*;  
 nııbuwerii *n.*  
**honey** tōō *n.*  
**hooked (be)** goro<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**hoot at** woori *v.*  
**hope** liisi<sub>2</sub> *v.*; tamāā *n.*  
**hopping (one leg)** nāākeliııke *n.*  
**horn** nıııııı *n.*  
**horn flute** kabıl *n.*  
**horse** kımzııııı *n.*  
**hospital** asıbtıı<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**hot** nōma<sub>1</sub> *v.*; nōmııı *n.*; nōııı *v.*  
**hot (be)** bōma<sub>3</sub> *v.*

*hot (feeling)*

*incubation (hen)*

**hot (feeling)** nɔnnɔŋ<sub>1</sub> *n.*

**hour** gbeliŋ *n.*

**house** dia *n.*

**how** ɲiniẽ *interrog.*

**how many** ŋmena<sub>1</sub> *interrog.*

**how much** ŋmena<sub>1</sub> *interrog.*

**human being** nɪbuluŋ *n.*

**human entity particle** nɪ-

**hump** gɔma<sub>1</sub> *n.*

**hunchback** gɔmatɪna *n.*

**hundred** kɔwa *num.*

**hunger** lɔsa *n.*

**hunt** kpããni<sub>1</sub> *v.*; sewa *v.*

## **i**

**idol (type of)** tɔmɪ *n.*

**if** di<sub>1</sub> *conn.*

**if so** amĩẽ *conn.*

**ignite** ŋmena *v.*; tʃogo *v.*

**ill** wɪ *v.*

**illegitimate child** sansanbie *n.*

**imam** limaan *n.*

**imitate** diŋa *v.*; tʃaasi *v.*

**imitating** sia *n.*

**immediately** baan *pv.*

**imperfective** di *pv.*

**impotent** hambara *n.*

**imprison** tɔ<sub>4</sub> *v.*

**improper** kɔlɔmbɔl *n.*

**in (be)** dɔa<sub>1</sub> *v.*

**in line** jɔrɔtɔ *ideo.*

**hunter** nanɲkpããŋ *n.*

**hunter rank** digboŋ *n.*; kurungboŋ *n.*; nbuonɔ̃ *n.*

**hunting period** nanɲkpããliŋ *n.*

**hurry (in a)** nɔmanɔma *ideo.*

**husband** baal<sub>2</sub> *n.*

**husk** hããsa *n.*

**hut (farm)** laɔ *n.*

**hyena (type of)** badaare *n.*; dambria *n.*; kpatakpaɛ *n.*; siŋsigirii *n.*; tebin-tɪna *n.*; tɔ̃ɔ̃ *n.*; zepɛgor *n.*

**hypocrite** ɲuudɔr *n.*

**I** miŋ *pro.*; n *pro.*; nwa *pro.*

**in spite of** anɪ a muŋ *adv.phr.*

**in that case** amĩẽ *conn.*

**in vain** бага *adv.*

**in-law** hɪla *n.*

**in-law (brother)** datʃɪbaal *n.*

**in-law (brother, sister)** datʃɪe *n.*

**in-law (father)** hɪlɪbaal *n.*

**in-law (mother)** hɪlɪhããŋ *n.*

**in-law (sister)** datʃɪhããŋ *n.*

**inability** gbɛti *v.*

**inability to sleep** sii baraga *n.*

**inactive (be)** kɔɔɛ *v.*

**incline** keŋe *v.*

**increase** pɛ *v.*

**increase in weight** dusi *v.*

**incubation (hen)** pumii<sub>2</sub> *n.*



*nprop.*jewellery (type of) kpaga *n.*join pusi<sub>1</sub> *v.*; tʃonsi<sub>1</sub> *v.*; zʊʊ<sub>3</sub> *v.*joke sããni *v.*joking partner nasããŋ *n.*joy (do with) naŋsi *v.*

# k

Kala (person's name) kala<sub>1</sub> *nprop.*Kandia village kandia<sub>2</sub> *nprop.*kapok koŋ *n.*Katua (lect of) katʊʊli<sub>2</sub> *n.*Katua (person from) katʊʊli<sub>1</sub> *n.*Katua village katʊʊ *nprop.*keep kpaga kaali *cpx.v.*; pɔ<sub>3</sub> *v.*keep (tell to) pusi<sub>2</sub> *v.*keep from falling kogo *v.*keep long birgi *v.*kenkey daakʊʊʊ *n.*kerosene karansiin *n.*kettle buuta *n.*key gborobii *n.*; safibii *n.*key (car) lɔʊliŋberbi *n.*kick maŋa<sub>2</sub> *v.*kidney suoŋbii *n.*

# l

labour (extensive) paanõã *n.*lack nãã<sub>1</sub> *v.*ladder sanzɪŋ *n.*jump loŋŋi<sub>1</sub> *v.*; zaasi *pl.v.*jump (fowl) pati *v.*jump down tʃiŋisi *v.*junction tiwiitʃaraga *n.*junior hamõŋ *n.*just baan *pv.*kidney stones suoŋbigariga *n.*kill kpʊ<sub>1</sub> *v.*kitchen dindia *n.*; diŋbamõsi *n.*knead ʊti *v.*knee nããhũũ *n.*kneecap nããhũfõwie *n.*kneel gbinti *v.*knife kisie *n.*knock jaga<sub>1</sub> *v.*; kpaasi<sub>1</sub> *v.*; tʃasi<sub>1</sub> *v.*knock bark off pomo *v.*know zima *v.*knowledge nanzima *n.*knowledgeable siilalla *n.*; zimna *n.*kob wɪɪʊ *n.*kola nut guori *n.*; kapʊʊʊ *n.*Kole (person's name) kole *nprop.*Kpong village kpon *nprop.*lamb pelor *n.*lamb (ram) pembelee *n.*lament mɔʊʊ<sub>2</sub> *v.*

- lamp** dintna *n.*; diŋtʃããŋ *n.*  
**landlord** diatima *n.*; tindaana *n.*;  
 tɔtɔtɔma *n.*  
**lane** fɔgbaaŋ *n.*  
**language** taa *n.*  
**language (foreign)** naasartaa *n.*  
**lantern** dintna *n.*; diŋtʃããŋ *n.*  
**lantern (type of)** najelɪŋgbielie *n.*  
**lantern holder** diŋtʃããŋdaa *n.*  
**lantern oil** karansiin *n.*  
**large** badaazenie *n.*; zene *v.*  
**large (make)** peuli *v.*  
**last** birgi *v.*  
**lateral goitre** bagenapɔɔŋɪ *n.*  
**laterite** nãŋŋa *n.*  
**laugh** mɔma<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**laughing** mɔmɪ *n.*  
**laughter** mɔma *n.*  
**laughter (stifled)** murisi *v.*  
**law** beŋ *n.*  
**lawyer** loja *n.*  
**lay eggs** nã<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**lay head on** sila *v.*  
**laziness** bawɪha<sub>2</sub> *n.*; zõõ *n.*  
**laziness (dog)** beɔ *n.*  
**lazy** bajɔɔra *n.*  
**lazy (be)** jaari *v.*  
**lead** gara<sub>3</sub> *v.*; kpãna *n.*  
**leader** suuter *n.*  
**leaf** paatʃag *n.*  
**leaf (baobab)** sãŋkumsɔna *n.*; toli-  
 paatʃag *n.*  
**leaf (bean)** sigpaatʃag *n.*  
**leaf (black berry)** sɔmanziga *n.*  
**leaf (cassava)** kpõŋkpõŋpaatʃag *n.*  
**leaf (onion)** gaabu *n.*  
**leaf (tobacco)** tɔɔpaatʃaga *n.*  
**leaf (type of)** biɛl *n.*  
**leaf (white bean)** sɔɔsa *n.*  
**leak** li<sub>2</sub> *v.*; lulo *v.*; sɔra *v.*  
**lean against** tele *v.*; telegi *pl.v.*  
**lean back** jalasi<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**lean on** pela *v.*  
**learn** zigiti *v.*  
**leave** gila<sub>2</sub> *v.*; ta<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**left** gal<sub>2</sub> *reln.*  
**left (side)** gal<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**left-over (fufu)** kapalasɔŋ *n.*  
**leg** nãã<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**leg (amputated)** nããkputi *n.*  
**leg (front)** vaan *n.*  
**leg (hind)** hĩĩ *n.*  
**lend** tʃima *v.*  
**length** zɪŋɪ *n.*  
**leopard** bɔɔmanɪ *n.*; nebietɪma *n.*;  
 ŋuwietɪma *n.*  
**leper** zagan *n.*  
**leprosy** zagansa *n.*  
**less (make)** fɔgɔsi<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**let** gila<sub>1</sub> *v.*; tiɛ<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**let free** ta<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**lethargic (be)** kɔɔɛ *v.*  
**level** buti *v.*  
**liar** patʃigibummo *n.*

**lick** lenti *v.*  
**lie** dara *v.*; heŋsi *v.*; mɔga *v.*; tʃɔa *v.*  
**lie across** gara<sub>2</sub> *v.*; kagaɛ *v.*  
**lie on stomach** pu<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**lie on top** saga<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**life** mɪbɔa<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**lifestyle** dɪŋɔ *n.*  
**lift arm** hãã<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**light** diŋ<sub>2</sub> *n.*; fɔga<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**lightning initiation** duoŋsɔɪ *n.*  
**like** kii<sub>1</sub> *conn.*; kii<sub>2</sub> *v.*; nɔŋa<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**like that** keŋ *adv.*  
**like this** niŋ *adv.*  
**limb** badaa *n.*  
**limp** duŋusi *v.*; zeŋsi *v.*  
**limping** nããgbanzeŋe *n.*  
**line** tʃɔar *n.*  
**lines (make)** pɪŋi *pl.v.*  
**linguist** kpambɪa *n.*  
**liniment tree** pontii *n.*  
**lion** dzɛti *n.*; juzeŋtɪna *n.*  
**lip** nɔtunii *n.*  
**liquid (of sore)** niɪpɔmma<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**liquid (type of)** dɔni *n.*  
**listen** nɔɔ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**little** finii *ints.*; jegeke *ideo.*; tantama *ideo.*  
**live** zɔv<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**liver** pɔal *n.*  
**lizard (type of)** dzɛdzɛri *n.*; gagatin *n.*; ger *n.*; gɛgɛra *n.*; gɛgɛta *n.*; gbaga *n.*; tiwiibanlɛŋgeregie *n.*

**load** bɔŋ *n.*  
**load (gun)** pama *v.*  
**load-support** tʃemii *n.*  
**Lobi** lobi *n.*  
**location (type of)** bagorii<sub>1</sub> *n.*; bagorii<sub>2</sub> *n.*; bɪntuk *n.*; bɔntɔɔna<sub>2</sub> *n.*; daamuŋ<sub>2</sub> *n.*; dendil *n.*; duguŋ *n.*; gbɔgɔl *n.*; lanzanj *n.*; sɪnlɔg *n.*; zapɛga *n.*  
**lock** hara *v.*  
**locust (type of)** zɪnahɔɔ *n.*  
**log** daakputii<sub>1</sub> *n.*; dolo *n.*  
**log part** daabii *n.*  
**lonely (person)** niɪdɪgɪmaŋa *n.*  
**long (be)** zɪŋa *v.*  
**long and thin** vɪnnɪnnɪ *ideo.*  
**look at** fiɪ<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**look different** tʃɛriɪɪ *v.*  
**look to** buure<sub>4</sub> *v.*  
**loose** paani *v.*  
**loose (be)** kɔla<sub>1</sub> *v.*; tɔgɔɪ *v.*  
**loose (make)** folo *v.*  
**lose sight of** juŋsi *v.*  
**lose weight** fuori<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**loser (person)** tɔɔɛɛ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**loss** bɔna *n.*  
**lost (get)** juŋsi *v.*  
**louse** kpibii *n.*  
**love** buure<sub>3</sub> *v.*; nɔŋa<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**lover** sɔnna *n.*  
**low land** falŋ *n.*  
**low-toned (be)** sɔɔni<sub>2</sub> *v.*

lower tina *v.*  
 lower back fõõ *n.*  
 lower than expectation tʃõma<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
 loyal (person) wĩdĩntĩna *n.*  
 luck sũma *v.*  
 luck (bad) ɲubõɲ *n.*  
 luck (have) ɲusõɲ *v.*  
 lukewarm tɔlatɔla *ideo.*  
 lumps luguso *pl.n.*  
 lumpy (be) lugusi<sub>1</sub> *v.*

## m

maize mĩɲmẽna *n.*; ɲammĩ *n.*  
 maize cob ɲammĩdaa *n.*  
 maize husk ɲammĩpẽtĩ *n.*  
 maize silk zɔgsĩɛɲ *n.*  
 maize tassel fɔgɔl<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 make kũɔrĩ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 make hole ludi *v.*  
 make love buure<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
 make soft bugo<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 malaria sɔnĩẽ<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 male baal<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 male (handsome) binõɔɲ *n.*  
 male pubic hair peɲpõɲ *n.*  
 malnourished child ɲẽsa *n.*  
 malt tamputie *n.*  
 malt (guinea corn) kɔmĩã *n.*  
 man baal<sub>1</sub> *n.*; nĩbaal *n.*  
 man (old) bahĩẽ *n.*  
 man (young) bipɔlĩ *n.*  
 manager (farm) kuonihĩẽ *n.*

lung fɔfɔta *n.*  
 lung pains fɔfɔtrwĩla *n.*  
 lying flat hambajala *n.*  
 lytta nõhɛɲ *n.*  
 machine mããnsĩɲ *n.*  
 mad (person) galaɲzõõr *n.*  
 madness galaɲa *n.*  
 maggot (type of) dõnsũ *n.*  
 mahogany prĩɲ *n.*

mandible (head) lotoremũɲ *n.*  
 mane kũɔɲ *n.*  
 mango mõɲgo *n.*  
 Mangu (person's name) ɲmããɲõ  
*nprop.*  
 manhood baalĩ *n.*  
 manipulate tiiri *v.*  
 manner nãã<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 many kũkɔɲ *quant.*  
 mark dããna *n.*; pempel *n.*; pĩĩ *v.*; sigɛ  
*v.*; tii<sub>1</sub> *v.*; tii<sub>2</sub> *v.*; wĩl *n.*  
 mark (animal) dããnrĩ *v.*  
 mark (mouth) nõãtʃɔar *n.*  
 market jɔwa *n.*  
 marks (make) ɲĩgrĩ *pl.v.*  
 marry jõõ *v.*; kpa<sub>3</sub> *v.*; paa<sub>2</sub> *pl.v.*  
 mash purusi *v.*; tʃɛma *v.*  
 mason meesĩn *n.*  
 masquerade (funeral) sigmaa *n.*  
 master dzĩga *v.*  
 masticate tʃagami *v.*

mat kalerj *n.*; kintʃʊalɪ *n.*  
 mat (door) dʒaana *n.*  
 mat (grass) pɪsa *n.*  
 matches maŋkɪsɪ *n.*  
 maternal lineage mǎābise *n.*  
 matter wɪ *n.*  
 matter (trivial) willaŋ *n.*  
 mattress kintʃʊalɪ *n.*  
 mature dʒɪga *v.*  
 maybe a bɔnɪē nɪ *adv.phr.*  
 meal kɪndiilii *n.*  
 meaning muŋ<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 measles takatʃuune *n.*  
 measure maŋsɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 measurement (farm) gala *n.*; kagal  
*n.*; kogulii *n.*; naakpaaga *n.*  
 meat namĩā *n.*; naŋguruŋ *n.*  
 meat (boiled) nantɔŋɪ *n.*  
 meat (forbidden) bulumbunti *n.*  
 meat (porcupine) saŋŋammɪ *n.*  
 meat (raw) nānhuor *n.*  
 meat (type of) naŋfɛŋta *n.*  
 meat for sale nambɛra *n.*  
 Mecca maka *n.*  
 medical powder lulisaʊ *n.*  
 medicine lulii *n.*  
 medicine (type of) asɪbɪtɪ<sub>2</sub> *n.*;  
 birisitɔʊ *n.*; bɔkɔrɔra *n.*; gbaraga<sub>2</sub>  
*nprop.*; lulibummo *n.*; naasaarlulii  
*n.*; nigimiilulii *n.*; sel *n.*  
 meet tʃeme *v.*  
 meeting lagamɪ *n.*; mintɪŋ *n.*

melt ŋmɪɛɪ *v.*  
 members of a paternal relation ɲɪ-  
 nawɔlɛ *pl.n.*  
 membrane pɛtɪdɪndagal *n.*  
 menses doŋoʒai *n.*; nɪsɔnɪ *n.*  
 menstruate tʃagasi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 menstruating (person) tʃagtʃagasa<sub>2</sub>  
*n.*  
 message hēsee *n.*  
 metal (type of) daŋē *n.*  
 metamorphose bɪrgɪ<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 metre mita *n.*  
 middle bambaarj<sub>1</sub> *n.*; bambaarj<sub>2</sub> *reln.*;  
 galɪŋga *reln.*  
 midnight tɔhĩē *n.*  
 mile meeli *n.*  
 mill fiɛbɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*; nɪkanika *n.*  
 millet zul *n.*  
 millet ergot (fungi) disease  
 naŋgɔɔŋ *n.*  
 millipede (type of) halɪŋguomii *n.*;  
 nɔ̄ɔmanɪɛɪ *n.*  
 mimic tʃaasi *v.*  
 minute minti *n.*; tɪla *quant.*  
 miscarry vɪɛɪ *v.*  
 miserliness siitɪma *n.*  
 misery sigii *n.*  
 miss out gara *v.*  
 mist mɛŋ *n.*  
 mistake (make) pɔtɪ *n.*; tulemi *v.*  
 mistake (to do by) tulemi *v.*  
 mix bũũ *v.*; kuosi *v.*  
 mixture of kinds dʒaabɪrɪdʒa *n.*



- mocking sia *n.*  
 mocking relation nasata *n.*  
 molar paŋ *n.*  
 mole saŋkpaŋzıgıl *n.*  
 mollusc (type of) kpānna *n.*  
 Monday ataniē *n.*  
 money molebii *n.*  
 mongoose (type of) maŋāō *n.*;  
 maŋāōtuogu *n.*; watʃehɛɛ *n.*  
 monitor dāānı₂ *v.*  
 monitor lizard (type of) bāā *n.*;  
 badʒɔgɔ *n.*  
 monkey gbīā *n.*; nenɟaltıma *n.*  
 monkey (type of) foori *n.*; gbīāsıama  
*n.*; kanīē *n.*; polpiesii *n.*  
 monkey's scream angum ono.  
 moon bɔɔga *n.*; pena *n.*  
 more than (do) gara₃ *v.*  
 morning tʃɔɔsa *n.*; tʃɔɔsın pısa *n.*  
*phr.*  
 morsel bɔtı *n.*  
 mortar tuto *n.*  
 mortar (centre) tutosii *n.*  
 mortar (farm) kuotuto *n.*  
 mosque wɔzaandia *n.*  
 mosquito zɔŋgoree *n.*  
 mother māā *n.*  
 mother (new) hasɔɔŋ *n.*  
 mother's brother nāātıma *n.*; nıera  
*n.*  
 mother's senior sister māāhīē₁ *n.*  
 mother's younger sister māāwie₁ *n.*  
 Motigu (lect of) mɔtigii₂ *n.*  
 Motigu (person from) mɔtigii₁ *n.*  
 motion (manner) felfel *ideo.*  
 motorbike pupu *n.*  
 motorbike (type of) rɔbarɔba *n.*  
 mould mɔ *v.*  
 moult wire₃ *v.*  
 mound (form) tɔ₅ *v.*  
 mourn mɔsı₂ *v.*  
 mouse (type of) dagboŋo *n.*; gɔɔrɛɛ  
*n.*; mandɔɔgı *n.*; ol *n.*; ombul *n.*; on-  
 sıaŋ *n.*; ontolee *n.*; onzası *n.*; tugul  
*n.*  
 mouth nōā₁ *n.*  
 move kiige *v.*; vige *v.*  
 move (up and down) tʃɔgı₁ *v.*  
 move (wavily) tuuri₂ *v.*  
 move neck leŋsi *v.*  
 move over tɔsı *v.*  
 move with difficulty talıı *v.*  
 much kɪŋkaŋ *quant.*  
 mud vɛtı *n.*  
 mud (bank) hıhı *n.*  
 mud block haglıbii *n.*  
 multi-storey building dısuɟulii *n.*  
 multiply tʃaga *v.*; ugo₁ *v.*  
 mumps tʃaŋtʃınsa *n.*  
 murder kpɔ₁ *v.*  
 murderer nıbukpɔr *n.*  
 Musa (person's name) mɔsaa *nprop.*  
 muscle pain nampuniıwıla *n.*  
 Muslim jarıɛ *n.*  
 must foo₂ *conn.*  
 mute (person) woŋ *n.*

## n

- nag tinti *v.*; zaa paari *v.*  
 nail kpaasi<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 nail (metal) hembii *n.*  
 naive (person) tʃɔŋɪ *n.*  
 naked bakpal *n.*  
 name sɔŋ *n.*  
 namesake tɔgama<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 narrate biisi *v.*  
 narrow fɔri *n.*  
 narrow (be) fɔra<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 nasal congestion miɸɔti *n.*  
 nausea (have) hogo *v.*  
 navel ul *n.*  
 near dɔgɔli *v.*  
 necessary (be) daga *v.*  
 necessity kparaama *n.*  
 neck bagena *n.*  
 neck of a container viibagena *n.*  
 needle (type of) niēsa *n.*; piraago *n.*  
 neem tree naasaarsɪŋtʃaɔ *n.*  
 negative action daware *n.*  
 negligent (be) faasi *v.*  
 neighbours zɔɔdɔŋa<sub>2</sub> *pl.n.*  
 nest zaŋ<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 nest (guinea fowl) tuk *n.*  
 never dance (person) sɔgbiri *n.*  
 new fɔli *n.*; fɔŋfɔŋ *ideo.*  
 newness tʃēi *interj.*
- nice (be) lɛma<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 nickname sɔŋgriɛŋ *n.*  
 night baratʃɔgɔɔ *n.*; sankara *n.*; tebin *n.*  
 night blindness tetɛŋse *n.*  
 nine dɪgɪtuɔ *num.*  
 nineteen fididɪgɪtuɔ *num.*  
 ninth month sɔnkare *nprop.*  
 nipple ilnɔã *n.*  
 no aɪ *interj.*  
 nod gusi *v.*  
 noise gbaŋasa *n.*; tʃiãma<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 noise (make) kiɛmi *v.*; tʃiãmi *v.*  
 noise (type of) tʃiŋgbaŋsɪi *n.*  
 non-resident tɔbou *n.*  
 north kandia<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 nose miisa *n.*  
 nose bleed miŋjalɪ *n.*  
 nostril miɪbɔa<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 not lɛi *neg.*; ti *neg.*; wa *pv.*  
 nothing бага *adv.*  
 notice kɔla<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 number namba *n.*  
 numbness dadã *n.*  
 nurse nɛɛsi *n.*  
 nurse seeds pugo *v.*  
 nut ɲɔti<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 nut (half) banpɛg *n.*

## O

oath ɲmĩḗsɪɛ *n.*  
 obedient bidɪŋ *n.*  
 obey tɪŋa<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 obligatorily baan *pv.*  
 obstruct laŋsɪ *v.*  
 odor sɔɔra *n.*  
 offer willingly tʃaŋŋɪ *v.*  
 offering dɔɔ *n.*  
 offspring kinduho *n.*  
 oil nɔɔɔ *n.*  
 okay ɛɛ *interj.*; maasi<sub>2</sub> *v.*; tou *interj.*  
 okro ɲmɛŋ *n.*  
 okro (dried) ɲmɛŋhɔlɪ *n.*  
 okro (fresh) ɲmɛŋsɔŋ *n.*  
 old bɪna *v.*  
 old (be) hĩḗsɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 omit gara *v.*  
 on nɪ *postp.*  
 on (be) dɔa<sub>1</sub> *v.*; suguli<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 one dieke *num.*; digɪmaŋa<sub>1</sub> *num.*  
 onion albasa *n.*  
 only maŋa *n.*; tenŋɛŋ *n.*  
 open lala<sub>1</sub> *v.*; mɔma<sub>2</sub> *v.*; paani *v.*; pĩã  
*n.*  
 open mouth hãã<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 operate tʃɛwa<sub>2</sub> *v.*

## P

pace nããval<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 paddler katɪɛɛ *n.*

opportunity (lost) gaŋgaarɔɔ *n.*  
 opposite wile *n.*  
 or kaa *conn.*; ko *conn.*  
 orange lumburo *n.*  
 orchitis luroʔɔɪɪ *n.*  
 oribi tɛhĩɛ *n.*  
 originate lɪ<sub>4</sub> *v.*  
 orphan lalɪwie *n.*; sulumbie *n.*  
 other viɛŋ *pv.*  
 otitis digɪŋlɪlɪ *n.*  
 outlaw tʃelle<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 outside gantal *n.*; pɛɪɪ *n.*  
 outsider (be) lugusi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 outskirts laŋzaŋ *n.*  
 oval shape bɔɔl<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 over (be) gaali<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 over-abundant (be) gbugo *v.*  
 over-prune gbɪntɪ *v.*  
 overcome kpege<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 overgrown (be) kɔsɪ *v.*  
 overtake kpɔ<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 own way pere *n.*  
 owner tɪna *n.*  
 owner (farm) kuotɪna *n.*  
 owner (shrine) vɔgtɪna *n.*

page tɛl *n.*  
 pain (be in) gana<sub>1</sub> *v.*

pain (body) bawɪha<sub>1</sub> *n.*

paint laari<sub>3</sub> *v.*

pair muno *n.*

pair (be in) kpara *v.*

palaver wɪɪ *n.*

palm tree (type of) abe *n.*; benie *n.*;  
kpɔr *n.*; tɔta<sub>2</sub> *n.*

palm wine sɪŋpɔmma *n.*

pamper jɪɛsɪ *v.*; liiri<sub>2</sub> *v.*

pangolin maŋgbɪŋ *n.*

pant pugo *v.*

pantaloons kuruso *n.*

pants pata *n.*

papaya kɔglaabɔl *n.*

paper kadaasi *n.*; piipa *n.*; tɔŋ<sub>3</sub> *n.*

parasitic plant (type of)  
sɔwakandikuro *n.*

parentless nɪŋãɔ̃ *n.*

parents bilɔlla *pl.n.*

park pakɪ *n.*

part lie<sub>2</sub> *n.*

particular wara *dem.*

partner lagamɪ<sub>2</sub> *v.*

party paati *n.*

pass gaasi *v.*; paasi *v.*

pass centre bɛga *v.*

past fi *pv.*

pastor pasɪta *n.*

path (type of) fɔɔra *n.*

patience kapeti *n.*

paw-paw kɔglaabɔl *n.*

pay bɔ *v.*

pay attention to tʃalasi<sub>1</sub> *v.*

peck tʃogo *v.*; tʃogosi *pl.v.*

peel fɔntɪ *v.*; paasi<sub>1</sub> *v.*

peep at limmi *v.*

peg (type of) tɔŋfɛŋtɪdaa *n.*

pelvis nããnawɔsɪɪ *n.*

pen kelembi *n.*; pen *n.*

pendant kmliemii *n.*

penis peŋ *n.*

people nara *pl.n.*; tɔma *pl.n.*; wɔli<sub>1</sub>  
*n.*; wɔli<sub>2</sub> *n.*

pepper kilimie *n.*; tʃimmãã *n.*

pepper (dried) tʃimmehɔliɪ *n.*

pepper (fresh) tʃimmesɔŋ *n.*

pepper (ground dried) tʃimmesaɔ *n.*

perceive na<sub>2</sub> *v.*; nɔɔ̃ɔ<sub>2</sub> *v.*

percussion instrument (type of)  
nããlomo<sub>1</sub> *n.*; prega *n.*; tʃĩĩŋ *n.*

perform (poorly) kɔɔsɪ *v.*

perform ceremony kɔɔrɪ<sub>5</sub> *v.*

perfume tulaadi *n.*

perhaps a bɔnĩẽ nɪ *adv.phr.*

period saɲa *n.*

period (menstrual) tʃagasɪ *n.*

permit gɪla<sub>1</sub> *v.*

person nar *n.*

person (type of) jinne *n.*

person (weak) tɔɔlɛɛ<sub>2</sub> *n.*

perspiration wiliŋ *n.*

perspire jala<sub>1</sub> *v.*

pestle tundaa *n.*

pestle (piece) tundaaboro *n.*

phlegm kaasɪbii *n.*

pick gbɪasi<sub>2</sub> *pl.v.*; keti<sub>2</sub> *v.*; kpetɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*

**pick (fruit)** kpɔra *v.*  
**pick fast** tuosi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**pick out** tɔasi *v.*  
**pick up** pinti<sub>1</sub> *pl.v.*; zoro *v.*  
**pickaxe** ganɔalari *n.*; piŋgaasi *n.*  
**picture** foto *n.*  
**pierce** pɔ<sub>1</sub> *v.*; tawa *v.*; tɔsi *pl.v.*  
**pierce through** gara<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**pierced (be)** nɔra *v.*  
**pig** parakun *n.*  
**pill** lulibii *n.*  
**pillar (type of)** zazeħēē *n.*  
**pillow** kaputi *n.*  
**pin** gurpe *n.*; pini *n.*  
**pineapple** laanfia *n.*  
**pipe** taavii *n.*  
**pit (natural)** zɔŋkogosiɔŋ *n.*  
**pito** siŋ *n.*  
**pito (fermented)** siŋbiilii *n.*;  
 siŋsɔama *n.*  
**pito (less fermented)** siŋhūor *n.*  
**pito (unfermented)** siŋbɔl *n.*;  
 siŋtʃaara *n.*  
**place** bar<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**place (type of)** batielii *n.*  
**place down** tʃiŋasi *v.*  
**place name** gunnããsiŋtʃaɔ-  
 muŋ *nprop.*; jɔlɔŋdɔɔla *nprop.*;  
 katʃalkpɔŋjiimuŋ *nprop.*; kuŋkuk-  
 siɛŋ *nprop.*; waapeɛ *nprop.*; zaŋ-  
 bɛriɔsɔbulugo *nprop.*  
**placenta** dɔŋ *n.*  
**plant** dūũ *v.*; pɔ<sub>1</sub> *v.*

**plant (type of)** dzɔra *n.*; gɔŋ<sub>2</sub> *n.*;  
 gberegilegii *n.*; gbɛntagasi *n.*; kiesi-  
 munluo *n.*; ŋaŋiŋ *n.*; piel *n.*; zanzig  
*n.*  
**plant product (type of)** gurba *n.*  
**plantain** bɔrdia *n.*  
**planting** pɔi *n.*  
**plaster** faari<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**plate** pɛrɛtɛ *n.*  
**play** dɔɔga *n.*; dɔɔgi *v.*; sããŋi *v.*  
**playmate** nasããŋ *n.*  
**playmate relation** nasata *n.*  
**plead** mɔsi<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**pleasant** lɛmi<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**plenty** kana *v.*  
**plotting** zamba *n.*  
**plough** buti *v.*  
**pluck** gbiasi<sub>2</sub> *pl.v.*; tɔrigi *pl.v.*; tɔti *v.*  
**plug** fɔti *v.*  
**plumage** lalaga<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**pocket** dzɔfa *n.*  
**pointed** pɔlapɔla *ideo.*  
**pointless** bagabaga *ideo.*  
**poison** bɛraa *n.*  
**pole** lɛŋ *n.*; sunɔoro *n.*  
**police** poruso *n.*  
**polish** beɛge *v.*  
**pomade** nɔɔtiti *n.*; tulaadi *n.*  
**pond** gbetara *n.*; nɔtaŋ *n.*  
**poor (be)** ŋãã<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**poor (person)** ŋãɔ *n.*  
**porcupine (type of)** saŋ *n.*  
**porridge** kubii *n.*

porridge (type of) dʒɛbɛɾɛ *n.*; kagbaama *n.*; kɔtɔra *n.*; sɔl<sub>2</sub> *n.*

porter bɔntɔɔna<sub>1</sub> *n.*; kajajo *n.*

portion boro *n.*

portion (unwashed) kalɛŋtʃɪa *n.*

pot (type of) kɔvii *n.*; leu *n.*; niŋɔarvii *n.*; sielii *n.*; sɪŋtɔg *n.*; sɪŋvii *n.*; tɔg *n.*; tɔgi *n.*

potassium nitrate dɔɔ *n.*; kãɔ̃ *n.*

pouch (type of) lɔga<sub>2</sub> *n.*

pouched rat sapuhiẽ *n.*

pound fiɛbɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*; sɔagi *v.*; tugo<sub>2</sub> *v.*; tʃasi<sub>2</sub> *v.*

pound (currency) pɔŋ *n.*

pound lightly purusi *v.*

pour tʃuuri<sub>1</sub> *v.*

pour all bitɪ *v.*

pour down tʃaari<sub>1</sub> *v.*

pour libation waasi *v.*

pour off liile *v.*

pour some jolo *v.*

pout zɔɔni *v.*

poverty nãã *n.*

powder saɔ *n.*

powder (cosmetic) pɔɔda *n.*

power dabaara *n.*

powerless (become) tɔgɔsi *v.*

praise ii *v.*

praise name danta *n.*; iko *interj.*; isi *interj.*; ito *interj.*; ije *interj.*; iɛ *interj.*; itʃa *interj.*; iwe *interj.*; paŋu *interj.*; viɛhiɛga *interj.*

prance vitɪ *pl.v.*

pray zaami<sub>2</sub> *v.*

praying mantis (type of) salɛŋgoŋo *n.*

precede bumo *v.*

precedent sɔɔ<sub>2</sub> *n.*

prediction vɔg *n.*

predisposed (be) summe tuu *cp.v.*

pregnancy luo *n.*; tia<sub>1</sub> *n.*

pregnant woman tɛkpagar *n.*

prepare kɔɔri<sub>2</sub> *v.*

prepare (new wife) saŋasi *v.*

prepare skin fɔ̃ *v.*

press ɛnsɪ *v.*; fɛrigi<sub>1</sub> *pl.v.*; fɛrigi<sub>3</sub> *v.*; fɛti<sub>1</sub> *v.*

press out fãã<sub>4</sub> *v.*

press together fɔma *v.*

prey kɪkpagasi *n.*

price jogulo *n.*

price (high) jogulibɔŋ *n.*

price (low) haraha *n.*

price (moderate) jogulilɛŋ *n.*

price (reduce) alibaraka *n.*

prick tawa *v.*; tʃugosi *pl.v.*

prison haradia *n.*

problem nɔnnɔŋ<sub>3</sub> *n.*; tɔɔra *n.*

process lugo<sub>2</sub> *n.*; nãã<sub>2</sub> *n.*

produce liquid tʃaga *v.*

professional zɪmna *n.*

profit tɔna *n.*

prolapse of rectum mɔmɔŋ *n.*

proliferate ugo<sub>1</sub> *v.*

prop logo *n.*

proper diŋ *n.*

properly (do) mara *pv.*

**prophecy** vɔta *n.*  
**prostitution** sansanna *n.*  
**protect** kisi *v.*; pɔ<sub>3</sub> *v.*; tɔ<sub>6</sub> *v.*  
**protect (against lightning)** sɔ duoŋ  
*v.*  
**protection** kogii *n.*  
**protruded (be)** ziga *v.*  
**proud** basɔɔna *n.*; foro *v.*  
**prove** gila zima *cp.v.*  
**proverb** sianĩã *n.*  
**proverb (share)** ta *v.*  
**puerperal fever** niisɔta *n.*  
**pull** taragɛ *pl.v.*; tati *v.*; visi *v.*  
**pull out** tʃurugi *pl.v.*; tʃuti *v.*  
**pull out (from liquid)** luoli *v.*  
**pullet** zapuwie *n.*  
**pulsate** lugusi *v.*  
**pump (water)** pɔmpɪ *n.*  
**pumpkin plant** kawaa *n.*  
**punch** tʃugosi *pl.v.*

## Q

**quarrel** tʃĩãma<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**quarter** kɔta *n.*  
**quench** dɔsɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**quick** nɔnnɔŋ<sub>4</sub> *n.*  
**quickly** laga *v.*; lagalaga *ideo.*

## R

**rabbit** tʃuomo *n.*  
**rabies** gan *n.*; vagan *n.*  
**race** batʃɔalɪ *n.*

**puncture** lurigi *v.*; luti *v.*  
**puncture (tyre)** pɔntʃa *n.*  
**punish** dɔgsɪ *v.*  
**punishment (type of)** finii *n.*  
**puppy** vawie *n.*  
**puppy (female)** valor *n.*  
**puppy (male)** vawalee *n.*  
**pure** seweree *n.*; tʃããni<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**push** ï *v.*; tuti *v.*; vige *v.*; zaga<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**push down** fɛla *v.*  
**push up earth** uguli *v.*  
**put** dɔ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**put (in a row)** tʃonsi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**put arm around** faamɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*; konti *v.*  
**put down** bile *v.*; tʃɪŋasɪ *v.*  
**put down brusquely** jaga<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**put effort** firigi *v.*  
**put on face down** tʃige<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**put spell on** hĩwa<sub>2</sub> *v.*

**quiet (be)** sɔɔni<sub>2</sub> *v.*; sɔɔ *v.*  
**quietly** tʃerim *ideo.*  
**quietness** surum *n.*  
**quills (porcupine)** sanpɔŋ *n.*  
**quiver** tolog *n.*

**radio** walanse *n.*  
**rag** garzagatɪ *n.*  
**ragged** sɔwa<sub>2</sub> *v.*

rain duorŋ *n.*  
 rain gently mʊsɪ *v.*  
 rainbow dokagal *n.*  
 rainwater donɪ *n.*  
 raise lɛŋsɪ *v.*; sii<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 raise body denʒi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 raised bed jolo *n.*; sampentɛ *n.*  
 ram pembal *n.*  
 ramrod tʃɔ̃ɪ *n.*  
 rape gurugi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 rapid nʊnnʊŋ<sub>4</sub> *n.*  
 rash tʃinɪ *n.*  
 rat (type of) mʊtʊl *n.*; saabi *n.*  
 ravage dugo *v.*  
 raw huor *n.*  
 reach biɛsɪ *v.*; tele *v.*  
 read karimɪ *v.*  
 reading karimɪ *n.*  
 ready siri *n.*  
 real diŋ *n.*; tintim<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 really tʊrɪ *v.*; tʃi *v.*  
 rear diɛsɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 rebuke hɔ̃sɪ<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
 receive laa<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 reclusive (person) digɪŋviɛnɔ̃ɔ̃ra *n.*  
 red sɪama<sub>1</sub> *n.*; siari<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 red (person) nɪbusɪama *n.*  
 red bean sigsɪama *n.*  
 Red thorn sɔ̃sɪama *n.*  
 red-handed tʃap *ideo.*  
 reduce puuri *v.*  
 reduce by sharpening sellɪ *v.*

refuse viɛ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 regularly jaa *pv.*  
 rehearse gʊɔ̃sɪ *v.*  
 reject viɛ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 rejected (person) nɪviɛtaali *n.*  
 relation (biological) kɔ̃l *n.*  
 relative hɪɛŋ *n.*  
 release pus vʊɔ̃sɪ *v.*  
 relocate sii<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 reluctance daraga *n.*  
 rely on dɛla *v.*; jalasi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 remain tʃa *v.*  
 remaining siŋsagal<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 remember liisi<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 remind tinti *v.*  
 remote (place) bagorii<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 remove bolo *v.*; lisi<sub>1</sub> *v.*; lugusi *pl.v.*;  
 ŋmʊsɪ<sub>2</sub> *v.*; wire<sub>2</sub> *v.*; wɔ̃ra *v.*  
 remove (shea nut) tesi<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 remove part of a whole fiɛrɪ *v.*  
 repair kʊɔ̃rɪ<sub>3</sub> *v.*; ligili *v.*  
 repair leakage fʊrɪ *v.*  
 repeatedly tuuti *ideo.*  
 repent tuubi<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 reply laa<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
 reply to greetings awoo *interj.*  
 report puoti<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 reproduce wasɪ *v.*  
 reputation sɔ̃ŋbɔ̃ŋ *n.*  
 resent ŋɪma *v.*  
 reserve (lack of) nɔ̃ɔ̃pɔ̃mma *n.*  
 reservoir dampʊ *n.*  
 resistant kʊŋsʊŋ *n.*



- respect girime *n.*; kpa jug *v.*; kpa su *v.*  
 respect (with) bɔŋɛ *n.*  
 respectfulness hīisa *n.*  
 respond sīā *v.*  
 respond to laa<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
 responsibility karifa *n.*; tɪŋa *n.*  
 rest hīēsi<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 rest area zamparagɪ *n.*; zaŋ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 resting area daamuŋ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 restore ligili *v.*  
 retaliation kapaaga *n.*  
 retrogress tʃɔgɔmɪ *v.*  
 return bira *v.*  
 reward tʃela *v.*  
 rewind guti *v.*  
 rheumatism batfasɛ *n.*  
 rib kugdaabii *n.*; loguŋ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 rib cage kugso *n.*  
 rice muro *n.*  
 rice (grain) murobii *n.*  
 rich bundaana *n.*  
 ride on zina<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 right dul<sub>2</sub> *reln.*; maasi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 right (side) dul<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 ring nenɡbiŋ *n.*; nepiti *n.*  
 ringworm kawaadadag *n.*  
 rinse lugusi *v.*; vaasi *v.*  
 ripe (be) bi<sub>2</sub> *v.*; hīēsi<sub>2</sub> *v.*; siama<sub>2</sub> *n.*; siari<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 ripe (stage) mɔl *n.*  
 ripe (under-) ganagana *ideo.*  
 rise jala<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
 rival (woman) handɔŋ *n.*  
 river gɔŋ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 river (big) mɔg *n.*  
 river (large) gɔŋzeŋ *n.*  
 river (long) gɔŋzeŋii *n.*  
 river bank gɔŋnɔā *n.*  
 river path gɔŋbɔɔ *n.*  
 road birindiŋ *n.*; munii *n.*; tiwii *n.*  
 roam guugi *v.*  
 roast wiisi<sub>1</sub> *v.*; wɔsi *v.*  
 rock jegisi *pl.v.*  
 roll bilinsi *v.*  
 roll up guti *v.*  
 roof juo<sub>2</sub> *v.*; pile *v.*  
 roof top sabaan *n.*  
 roofing beam dolo *n.*; pel *n.*; seŋɛbii *n.*  
 room (back) dilumo *n.*  
 room-mates zɔɔɔɔŋa<sub>2</sub> *pl.n.*  
 root luto *n.*  
 root (tree) daaluto *n.*  
 rope ŋmeŋ *n.*  
 rope (make) kala *v.*  
 rope (type of) genɛ *n.*  
 rotten pɔā *v.*  
 rotten (almost) kɔɔri *v.*  
 rotten meat tʃɔgdɔ *n.*  
 rough kɔgɔsɔg *ideo.*  
 rough (be) fɔna *n.*  
 round go *v.*  
 route nāāval<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 row sāā<sub>2</sub> *v.*

rub biligi *v.*; fəgəli *v.*; laari<sub>2</sub> *v.*; liiri<sub>1</sub>  
*v.*; nama<sub>2</sub> *v.*; tiga *v.*; titi *v.*; turo<sub>1</sub> *v.*

rub along faari<sub>2</sub> *v.*

rubbish viera *n.*

rude (be) vuugi *v.*

rude (child) bipõã *n.*

## S

sacrifice pə *v.*

sadness patfɪgtfɔgsa *n.*

saline soil ləbɔa *n.*

saliva muŋtɔɔ *n.*

salt jisa *n.*

salt (grain) jibii *n.*

saltpetre dɔɔ *n.*; kãõ *n.*

same digımaŋa<sub>3</sub> *n.*

sample ləmana *n.*

sand hagla *n.*; haglı *n.*; tagla *n.*

sandal nããtɔɔ *n.*

sandals (type of) nããtɔɔsmŋgırgısa  
*n.*

sap nuɔɔmma<sub>2</sub> *n.*; til *n.*

satisfied (be) pıŋısa *pl.v.*

satisfy pıŋa *v.*

Saturday asıbitı *n.*

Sawla sɔgla *nprop.*

Sawla (lect of) sɔgıɪɪ<sub>2</sub> *n.*

Sawla (person from) sɔgıɪɪ<sub>1</sub> *n.*

say ŋma<sub>1</sub> *v.*

say (unable) mara<sub>2</sub> *v.*

scald foro *v.*

scare ɔnsı *v.*

run tɔɔ<sub>1</sub> *v.*

rush gime *v.*; poleme *v.*

rush at gbɔɔɪ *v.*; taari<sub>1</sub> *v.*

rush at in anger (to) iiri *v.*

rust ɲã<sub>3</sub> *v.*; ɲã *n.*

scatter bitı *v.*; jaari *v.*; laŋsi<sub>2</sub> *v.*; pısa  
*v.*

scattered gatıgatı *ideo.*

scent sɔɔra *n.*

school sukuu *n.*

scissors ɲamekasa *n.*

scoop lɔga<sub>1</sub> *v.*; lɔgısa *pl.v.*; paasi<sub>2</sub> *v.*

scorpion nõõma *n.*

scout tɔso *v.*

scrape against faari<sub>2</sub> *v.*

scrape off fiise<sub>1</sub> *v.*

scraper bel<sub>1</sub> *n.*

scratch fɔrgı *v.*; lala *v.*; lɔga *v.*

scrotum luro *n.*

sculpt mɔ *v.*

sea mɔg *n.*

search buure<sub>4</sub> *v.*

season tɔtfaaŋ *n.*; tɔtfaaŋbummo *n.*;  
tɔtfaaŋsıama *n.*

season (dry) limmaŋa *n.*; lɔɔŋa *n.*

season (rainy) jɔɔ *n.*

seat kor *n.*

second month sıfra *n.*

secretive patfıgıbummo *n.*

section banı *n.*; bar<sub>1</sub> *n.*

- section of Ducie gbɔŋwɔɛɛ *nprop.*;  
 kuorubanɪ *nprop.*; lobanɪ *nprop.*;  
 paŋbanɪ *nprop.*; zɪŋbanɪ *nprop.*  
 security guard wɔtʃɪmãɪ *n.*  
 see na<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 see (part) ɲiise *v.*  
 seed bii<sub>1</sub> *n.*; daanɔŋ *n.*  
 seed (Afzelia) holbii *n.*  
 seed (Akee tree) tibii *n.*  
 seed (baobab) tolibii *n.*  
 seed (dawadawa) sɔlbii *n.*; tʃĩãbii *n.*;  
 tʃĩ *n.*  
 seed (gourd) sar *n.*; sarabii *n.*  
 seed (half) banpɛg *n.*  
 seed (maize) ɲammibii *n.*  
 seed (shea nut) tʃuɔŋ *n.*  
 seed (type of) ɲagɪmbii<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 seed shell (Afzelia) holnɔŋpɛtɪ *n.*  
 seed shell (dawadawa) tʃĩãpɛtɪ *n.*  
 seedling duho *n.*  
 seek buure<sub>4</sub> *v.*  
 seem dɔ<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 seep out bulo *v.*  
 seize fɔsɪ *v.*  
 self tɪntɪ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 self-denial daamɪ *n.*  
 self-sufficient (not be) pɔɔɔɪ *v.*  
 sell joguli *v.*  
 seller jawadiir *n.*  
 selling jogulii *n.*  
 semi-trailer ɔɔɔɪmunzɔɔalunzɔɔa *n.*  
 send tɔma *v.*  
 send (someone) hele *v.*  
 senior sibling kɔɔɛma *n.*  
 sense nahĩɛ *n.*; nɔɔɔ<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 separate laasi *v.*; peligi<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 seriousness sisɪama *n.*  
 set fire tɔga *v.*  
 set in a direction degini<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 set up roofing structure dɛwa *v.*  
 settle saŋa<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 settlement bia *n.*; saal<sub>1</sub> *n.*; tɔɔ *n.*  
 settlement (deserted) dabuo *n.*  
 seven akɔpɛ *num.*; kɔpɛ *num.*  
 seventeen fidakɔpɛ *num.*  
 seventh month kpinitʃuu *nprop.*  
 sew ɔra *v.*  
 sewing machine tiila *n.*  
 sexton pel *n.*  
 shade basɔŋ *n.*  
 shade (yam mounds) pasɪ *v.*  
 shake jege *v.*; jegisi *pl.v.*; pisi *v.*; wisi  
*v.*; zagalɪ *v.*; zagasi<sub>2</sub> *v.*; zigilii *v.*  
 shake (make) ziige *v.*  
 shake head viigi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 shake up jerisi *v.*  
 shallow tɪsɪ *v.*  
 shape bilesi *pl.v.*  
 share parage *v.*; totii *n.*; zuu *n.*  
 sharp (be) di<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
 sharpen kɔla *v.*; sisɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 shave fɔna *v.*; wire<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 shaving knife fɔŋ *n.*  
 she ɔ *pro.*; ɔɔwa *pro.*; waa *pro.*

- shea butter n<sup>õõ</sup> *n.*  
 shea nut seed tʃuoŋ *n.*  
 shea tree suoŋ *n.*  
 sheath t<sup>õ</sup>ã *n.*  
 shed luore *v.*  
 sheep penɪ *n.*; piesii *n.*  
 sheet tɛl *n.*  
 shell wɔra *v.*  
 shell (palm nut) kokobeg *n.*  
 shilling sulee *n.*  
 shine ɪɪ<sub>3</sub> *v.*; ɲalsɪ *v.*; tʃããɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 shirt takta *n.*  
 shiver zigilii *v.*  
 shoe nããtɔɔ *n.*  
 shoemaker nããtɔkɔɔr *n.*  
 shoes (pair) nããtɔwa *n.*  
 shop sɪtɔɔ *n.*  
 shore mɔŋn<sup>õ</sup>ã *n.*  
 short boro *v.*  
 shoulder embɛɪ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 shoulder blade vaanper *n.*  
 shoulder joint embɛɪtʃugul *n.*  
 shout gbieli *v.*; h<sup>õ</sup>sɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*; hũũsi *v.*;  
 tʃaasi *v.*; uori *v.*  
 shove tʃugo<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 shovel sɔbɔl *n.*  
 show tʃagalɪ *v.*  
 show-off tanɲkama *n.*  
 shrine vɔg *n.*  
 shrine (Buge) kala<sub>2</sub> *nprop.*  
 shrine (Bulenga) safokala *nprop.*  
 shrine (Gbanwale) gbaraga<sub>1</sub> *nprop.*  
 shrine (Gurumbele) daabãŋtolugu  
*nprop.*  
 shrine (Holumuni) dɔga *nprop.*  
 shrine (Motigu) hanɲtʃele *nprop.*;  
 liegu *nprop.*  
 shrine (Sawla) kɔɔɪ *nprop.*  
 shrink zɔgɔsɪ *v.*  
 shrub (type of) gagɪ *n.*; miimi *n.*;  
 muɲtuolie *n.*  
 shut up tʃɔa *interj.*  
 shyness hĩisa *n.*  
 sibling (younger) mããbie<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 sick wɪ *v.*; wɪɪɪ *n.*  
 sick (be) gɛɛɛɛ *v.*  
 sick (person) dzɛɛɛɪ *n.*; gɛɛɛɪ *n.*  
 sickness banɔma *n.*; dzɛɛɛga *n.*;  
 gɛɛɛga *n.*; wɪla *n.*  
 sickness (type of) kpantɪ *n.*; tɔŋa *n.*  
 side loguŋ<sub>2</sub> *reln.*; pe *n.*  
 sieve dzɛɛra *n.*; mɛŋŋɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*; tɔŋsi<sub>2</sub> *v.*;  
 tʃesi *v.*  
 sift tʃesi *v.*  
 sifter dzɛɛra *n.*  
 sight (gun) tʃĩã<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 sign to come kamsɪ<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 signing bigise *n.*  
 Sigu language sigu *nprop.*  
 silence surum *n.*  
 silo buu *n.*  
 similar (be) kpara *v.*; nããni *v.*  
 sincere (person) nɪbupɔmma *n.*;  
 nɪbuwerii *n.*  
 sing buoli *v.*

- singe off** kpɔsɪ v.  
**singer** buolbuolo n.  
**singer (good)** langbe<sub>2</sub> n.  
**single** teŋteŋ n.  
**sip** furusi<sub>1</sub> pl.v.; tfumo v.  
**Sisaala (person)** hɔli n.  
**sister (senior)** kɔriema n.  
**sit** dɛla v.; pumo<sub>2</sub> v.; saga<sub>1</sub> v.; saŋa<sub>1</sub> v.  
**site** bar<sub>1</sub> n.  
**sitting place** basanɪ n.  
**six** aloro num.; loro num.  
**six pence** tɔgɔfa n.  
**sixteen** fidaloro num.  
**sixth month** kpinitfuumaanjkuna nprop.  
**skim** vige v.  
**skim off** wɔɔli v.  
**skin** batɔŋ n.; kɔti<sub>1</sub> v.  
**skin disease (dog)** tɔr n.  
**skink (type of)** gbol n.  
**skip** gara v.  
**sky** kuosɔpuu n.  
**sky appearance** dzinedzine<sub>1</sub> ideo.  
**slam into** hɪɪ v.  
**slap** maŋa<sub>1</sub> v.; pɛsɪ v.; tʃasɪ<sub>1</sub> v.  
**slaughter** kɔriŋ v.  
**slave** jɔŋ n.  
**slave (shrine)** vɔgɔŋ n.  
**sleep** tʃɔa duo v.  
**sleeping place** batʃɔali n.  
**sleeping room** ditʃɔali n.  
**slip** foosi v.; saari v.  
**slip of tongue (do)** foti<sub>1</sub> v.  
**slippery place** sosolii n.  
**slit drum** vonɔgoli n.  
**slow** sɔɔni<sub>4</sub> v.  
**slow (be)** zugo<sub>2</sub> v.  
**slowly** bɔ̃ɛ̃ibɔ̃ɛ̃ ideo.  
**smack** pɛsɪ v.  
**small** tama quant.; wie n.  
**smash (tuber)** tʃɔriŋ v.  
**smear** faari<sub>1</sub> v.  
**smear** zɪmbɪl n.  
**smell** sɔ̃ã n.; sɔɔri<sub>1</sub> v.  
**smile** mɔma<sub>1</sub> v.  
**smock (type of)** dansatʃi n.; dansatʃi-wie n.; tɪntaaraa n.; togo n.  
**smoke** ɲɔã<sub>2</sub> v.; ɲɔãsa n.  
**smoking away** ɲɔgɪ n.  
**smooth** logo v.; solisi v.; solɔŋsolɔŋ ideo.; vɔɔŋvɔɔŋ ideo.  
**snail** gɔɔɛwɛgɔ v.  
**snake** haglikɪŋ n.  
**snake (type of)** aɲãã n.; bɔsa n.; brige n.; bɔdaɔ n.; dɔshãã n.; dɔkpeni n.; dɔŋmɛŋ n.; dɔŋmɛŋbummo n.; dɔŋmɛŋsɪama n.; dɔŋwie n.; dɔ̃ɔ n.; dɔ̃ɔgal n.; kɔŋ n.; määbiewaatelepusiŋ n.; nɪgsɪa n.; nɪtɪma n.; ɲagɪmbii<sub>2</sub> n.; sɔmpɔrlilese n.; suɔŋdaawie n.; sɔɔsanɪ<sub>3</sub> n.  
**snake skin (moulted)** wir n.  
**snatch** mɔna v.  
**sneak** lɔɔri v.

- sneeze kpisi v.  
 sniff in furusi<sub>2</sub> v.  
 snore kɔʊri v.  
 snuff tɔʊsaʊ n.  
 so be it ame *interj.*  
 soak pĩ v.; sma v.  
 soak soil gbera v.  
 soap kɔwɪa n.  
 soft jɔgɔsi<sub>1</sub> v.  
 soft spot ɲupɔʊsa n.  
 soften buti v.  
 soil hagla n.; hagli n.; tagla n.  
 soil (type of) haglibummo n.;  
 haglimɔgɔl n.; haglitfãã n.  
 soldier sodza n.  
 solid kpegii n.  
 solve kɔʊri<sub>4</sub> v.  
 some baniẽ *quant.*  
 someone digimaŋa<sub>2</sub> *num.*; dzagala n.  
 song buol n.  
 song track buolnãã n.  
 soothsay piasɪ<sub>2</sub> v.; vɔga v.  
 soothsayer siinaara n.; vɔvɔta n.  
 sore kinwɪli n.; nããwal n.; ɲij n.;  
 pempɛl n.  
 sort sii n.  
 soul dɔma n.; nidɔma n.  
 soul (lacking) dɔŋtʃɔ n.; nããhããta n.  
 sound (alert) wilie n.  
 soup disa n.  
 soup (type of) dimi n.; footuo n.;  
 kpããŋnidisa n.
- soup ingredient dzumburo n.; fɔl<sub>2</sub>  
 n.; kontɔŋ n.  
 sour ɲagɛɛ<sub>2</sub> n.  
 sour (be) ɲaga<sub>1</sub> v.  
 south vɔg n.  
 south-east wind vɔgtimɔŋpeu n.  
 sow dũũ v.  
 soya bean berɲkpaɛ n.  
 space (little) dira v.  
 space between the eyebrows miidaa  
 n.  
 spark (fire) diŋpapareɛ n.  
 spasm (throat) sinsige n.  
 speak ŋma<sub>1</sub> v.  
 spear tiŋ n.  
 spear grass kumpii n.  
 species balɔʊ<sub>2</sub> n.  
 specific wara *dem.*  
 speckled lagasi *pl.v.*  
 speech wiŋmahã n.  
 spendthrift fɔga<sub>2</sub> n.  
 spherical object kpulii n.  
 spider ŋmɛŋtɛl<sub>1</sub> n.  
 spider (type of) mɔŋtuosii n.  
 spill bitɪ v.  
 spin taari<sub>2</sub> v.; vilimi v.  
 spindle gundaabii n.; ŋmedaa n.  
 spine gantalbaanhog n.  
 spirit (type of) jɔʊsa n.; ŋmaara n.  
 spiritual leader (type of) limaan n.;  
 vɔgɲihĩẽ n.; wɔzanhiẽ n.  
 spiritual protection zɪɛŋ<sub>1</sub> n.  
 spiritual weapon lalaga<sub>2</sub> n.  
 spit mɔti v.; pɔ v.; tʃi v.

- spitefulness zamba *n.*  
 spleen pɔntɔlɛ *n.*  
 split up pɛgsɪ *v.*  
 spoil tʃɔga *v.*  
 spoiled (child) bipɔã *n.*  
 sponge gbera *n.*  
 spoon daazɔvna<sub>1</sub> *n.*; tʃokoli *n.*  
 spoon (wooden) leheɛ *n.*  
 spot baan<sub>2</sub> *n.*; lalaga<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 spotted lagasɪ *pl.v.*  
 sprain kpeɲɲɛ *v.*  
 spread pɪsɪ *v.*  
 spread (news) pɔtɪ *v.*  
 spring bulugo *n.*  
 sprinkle mɪsɪ *v.*  
 sprout jala<sub>1</sub> *v.*; jala<sub>2</sub> *v.*; sii<sub>2</sub> *n.*; tɔtɪ *v.*;  
 tʃɔra *v.*  
 spy pigsɪ *v.*  
 square logumoanaase *n.*  
 squashed (be) pɔntɪ *v.*  
 squat toguni *v.*  
 squeeze ɛnsɪ *v.*  
 squirrel (type of) hele *n.*;  
 muɲzeɲtɪna *n.*; zɪsa *n.*  
 stable gar *n.*  
 stage (chick life) bugo *v.*  
 stagger geɲɛɛ *v.*  
 stained kpoɲo *v.*  
 stalk kɔlɪ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 stammer bɔmsɪ *v.*  
 stamp tɪgɪmɪ *v.*  
 stand tara<sub>2</sub> *v.*; tʃɪɲa *v.*  
 stand against tele *v.*; telegi *pl.v.*  
 staple food kɔl *n.*; kɔv *n.*  
 star wɪlɪ *n.*  
 starch (lacking) tufutufu *ideo.*  
 stare fɪlɪ<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 start kpa<sub>2</sub> *v.*; piili *v.*  
 station tiisa *n.*  
 stay long birgi *v.*  
 steal ɲmĩɛ̃ *v.*  
 stealing ɲmĩɛ̃ɪ *n.*  
 steam kusi *v.*  
 steam (trap) wiisi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 steer sãã<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 steering setra *n.*  
 stem kɔlɪ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 step on nasɪ *v.*  
 step-father ɲɲɪhĩɛ̃<sub>2</sub> *n.*; ɲɲɪwie<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 step-mother mããhĩɛ̃<sub>2</sub> *n.*; mããwie<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 sternum bambileo *n.*  
 stick (forked) daatʃaraga *n.*  
 still ha *pv.*; haalɪ *conn.*  
 sting (bee) tɔɔfɪl *n.*  
 stinger (bee) fɪl *n.*  
 stinginess siitɪna *n.*  
 stingy nekpeg *n.*  
 stink kɔvɪ *v.*; sɔvɪ<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 stinky pɔɪpɔɪ *ideo.*  
 stir fɛga *v.*; kuosi *v.*; tʃɛma *v.*; vuugi  
*v.*  
 stirring-stick fɛga *n.*  
 stock (bean leaves) sɔɔsanĩ<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 stock (gun) maafadaa *n.*

- stomach pumpunima *n.*  
 stomach ache patfigwila *n.*  
 stone biri *n.*; bwi *n.*  
 stone (big) bizenj *n.*  
 stone (flat) bital *n.*  
 stone (small) brwie *n.*  
 stone (smooth) logologobii *n.*  
 stone (stove) delembei *n.*  
 stone (type of) gbennii *n.*;  
 kpaakpugun *n.*; zɔŋkɔŋɛɛ *n.*  
 stop gila<sub>2</sub> *v.*; kpa ta<sub>1</sub> *cp.v.*; peti *v.*;  
 teŋe<sub>3</sub> *v.*; tʃiŋ keŋ *v.*  
 store sitɔɔ *n.*  
 storing (grain) denji *n.*  
 story mɔr *n.*  
 stove (three-stone) dalɔba *n.*  
 stove (type of) kɔlɔɔti *n.*  
 straddle tʃara *v.*  
 straight deŋini<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 straightness deŋinii *n.*  
 strain tʃoori *v.*; tʃuori *n.*  
 stranger hɔɔr *n.*  
 straw hat kagba *n.*  
 stream gɔŋwie *n.*  
 strength ɔŋa *n.*  
 stretch densi *v.*; tala *v.*; tarage *pl.v.*;  
 tati *v.*; tɔɔni *v.*  
 stretch drum skin bugo<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 stretching tɔɔni *n.*  
 stride nããval<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 strike fiɛbi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 strip fuori<sub>1</sub> *v.*; wɔra *v.*  
 strip off sɔli *v.*  
 striped (be) tʃaŋsi *v.*  
 strive lɔga<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 strong kpege<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 strong (person) ɔŋatima *n.*  
 struggle lɔga<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 stubborn child biviei *n.*; biviei *n.*  
 stubbornness nukpeg *n.*  
 stuck for<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 student karanbie *n.*  
 study zigiti *v.*  
 stump (tree) daakputii<sub>2</sub> *n.*; daa-  
 munputii *n.*  
 stunt zugumi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 stupid (be) bugomi *v.*; gena *v.*  
 stupidity bugunso *n.*  
 stutter bɔmsi *v.*  
 submerged (be) lime *v.*  
 substance (type of) ise<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 substandard (meat) siɛ *v.*  
 subtract lisi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 success juwerii *n.*  
 suck in tʃuuse *v.*  
 suck on (breast) ɔsi *v.*  
 suck out mɔgɔsi *v.*; tati *v.*  
 suddenly baŋ *pv.*  
 suffering ããnuuba *n.*; nuui *n.*; sigii *n.*  
 sugar sikiri *n.*  
 sugar cane kakanɔɔ *n.*  
 Suglo (person's name) suglo *nprop.*  
 suicide daasiiga<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 suicide (commit) mara *n.*



**summon** wɔsɪ v.

**sun** wɔsɑ<sub>2</sub> n.

**Sunday** alahaadi n.

**support** tara<sub>1</sub> v.; tiise v.; tʃaga n.; zagasɪ<sub>1</sub> v.

**surpass** kaalɪ<sub>2</sub> v.

**surprise** kaabaako *interj.*; kɔ̃ɔ̃<sub>4</sub> v.; mamaatʃi *interj.*; oi *interj.*; tʃesu *interj.*

**surprise (take by)** piregi v.

**survive** foti v.; piti v.

**suspect** āānɪ v.

**suspend** laga v.; liemi v.

**swagger** gaanɪ v.

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**table** teebul n.

**taboo** kii n.; tʃiir n.; wɔsatʃi n.

**tadpole** gburugulugee n.

**tail** muɲzan n.; ziŋ n.

**take** kpa<sub>1</sub> v.; kpaɡa<sub>3</sub> v.; laa<sub>1</sub> v.; paa<sub>1</sub> *pl.v.*

**take (food)** kiini<sub>2</sub> v.

**take (grains)** jaa<sub>2</sub> v.

**take (leaves)** tʃiɛɪɪ v.

**take (many)** gbaasɪ v.

**take (meat)** niɛɪɪ v.

**take (mud)** po v.

**take a direction** laa<sub>2</sub> v.

**take a picture** teɲe<sub>2</sub> v.

**take care** dɔ tɔs *cp.v.*; ɪla v.

**take care (child)** diɛsɪ<sub>2</sub> v.

**swallow** lile v.; lilesi *pl.v.*

**swear** ŋmĩɛsɪ v.

**sweep** tʃaasɪ<sub>2</sub> v.

**sweet** lɛmɪ<sub>2</sub> n.; lɛɛɛ *ideo.*; loroto *ideo.*

**sweet potato** kalɛmazɔl n.

**swell** ɔra v.; ɔɪ *pl.v.*; uɡo<sub>2</sub> v.

**swelling** baʔɔɪɪ n.; kɪnsɔɲ n.; kpogo n.

**swim** tʃele nɪ v.

**swindle** fɔsɪ v.; tie<sub>2</sub> v.

**swing** viigi<sub>1</sub> v.

**sword (type of)** tokobii n.

**take care of** pine<sub>1</sub> v.

**take excessively** kũũ v.

**take off** toŋo v.

**take off (meat)** fɔrɔs v.

**take off the top** daari v.

**take pity** simisi v.

**talisman** sewa n.

**tall (be)** ziŋa v.

**tamarind** sisɪa n.

**Tangu (person's name)** tããŋɔ̃ *nprop.*

**taste** lagalɛ v.; lɛma na v.; lɛmsɪ *pl.v.*; taga v.

**taste (good)** lɛɛɛ *ideo.*

**tasteless** bɔla v.

**tattered** zagatɪ v.

**tattoo** tʃagɪʃag n.

tax lompoo *n.*  
 teach tʃagalɪ *v.*  
 teacher karɪma *n.*; tʃitʃa *n.*  
 tear kɪasi *v.*; piɪɪ *v.*; siɪɪɪ *n.*; tʃɔɔɪ *v.*  
 teasing sia *n.*  
 telegraph tangarafɔ *n.*  
 telephone foon *n.*  
 telephone line foonɲmɛɲ *n.*  
 tell puoti<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 tell (story) mɔra *v.*; siani *v.*  
 temper baarɲ *n.*  
 ten fi *num.*  
 tenth month tʃiusũ *nprop.*  
 tenure nihiɛɪɲ *n.*  
 termite (type of) tʃaɔ<sub>1</sub> *n.*; tʃɔbiɛɪ *n.*;  
 tʃɔbul *n.*  
 termite mound tʃaɔ<sub>2</sub> *n.*; tʃɔkɔɲa *n.*  
 test tɛɛɪ *n.*  
 testicle luro *n.*; lurobii *n.*  
 texture (type of) kɔɔɔɔ<sub>1</sub> *ideo.*;  
 kpatʃakpatʃa *ideo.*  
 thanks ansa<sub>2</sub> *interj.*  
 that dɪ *comp.*; keɲ *adv.*  
 that (particular) awa *dem.*  
 the a *art.*; tɪɲ *art.*  
 theft ɲmiɛ *n.*  
 then a *conn.*; aka *conn.*; zɪ<sub>2</sub> *adv.*  
 there de *adv.*  
 therefore a ɲuu ni *conn.*; awɪɛ *conn.*  
 thereupon de ni *adv.phr.*  
 they (hum+) ba *pro.*; bawa *pro.*;  
 bawaa *pro.*

they (hum-) a *pro.*; awa *pro.*; awaa  
*pro.*  
 thick gbɔktɔk *ideo.*  
 thick (be) gbɔɲa *v.*; kɔɔɪ *v.*; zugo<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 thief nezeɲeetɪna *n.*; ɲmiɛr *n.*  
 thigh nããpɛɲɪ *n.*  
 thin badaawise *n.*; kɔɲa *v.*; lɛwalewa  
*ideo.*; puoli *v.*  
 thin (be) fuori<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 thin (person) kɔɔɪɪ *n.*  
 thing kɪɪ *n.*  
 thing (bad) kɪɪbaɲ *n.*; kɪɪbɔɲ *n.*; kɪɪ-  
 tʃɔma *n.*  
 thing (big) kɪɪzeɲɪ *n.*  
 thing (bush) kɔɔsakiɲ *n.*  
 thing (greenish) kɪɪpaatʃag *n.*  
 thing (long) kɪɪzɪɲɪ *n.*  
 thing (valuable) kɪɪɲɪɲ *n.*  
 think liisi<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
 third month damba *nprop.*  
 thirst niɲɔksa *n.*  
 thirteen fidatoro *num.*  
 this haɲ *dem.*; niɲ *adv.*  
 thorn sɔta<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 thought hakɪla *n.*; liise *n.*  
 thousand tusu *num.*  
 thread tɔɔ<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 threaten fugusi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 three atoro *num.*; toroo *num.*  
 three pence sɔmpɔa *n.*  
 thresh wɔra *v.*  
 throat lile *n.*  
 throat (opening) lilebɔa *n.*  
 throb lugusi *v.*; wusi *v.*

**throw** fəra *v.*  
**thrush** nɔhɔg *n.*  
**thumb** nebikaŋkawal *n.*  
**thunder** hɔsi<sub>2</sub> *v.*; nasɛ *n.*  
**Thursday** alamɔsa *n.*  
**tibia** nããgbanjahog *n.*  
**tick** kpagal *n.*  
**ticket** tigiti *n.*  
**tie** lomo<sub>1</sub> *v.*; vɔti<sub>1</sub> *pl.v.*; vɔwa<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**tie in packages** fɔti<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**tigernuts** muhiẽ *n.*  
**tight** tjiiri *v.*  
**tight (be)** faami<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**tighten** tɔɔri *v.*  
**Tiisa (lect of)** tiisaali<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**Tiisa (person from)** tiisaali<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**Tiisa village** tiisaa *nprop.*  
**tilt** kulo *v.*  
**time** gbeliŋ *n.*; saŋa *n.*; wɔgadi *n.*  
**tin** kɔŋkɔŋ *ono.*  
**tiny** tɪla *quant.*  
**tip** bema *v.*  
**tip (arrow)** gerege *n.*  
**tipped (be)** keŋe *v.*  
**tire** kɔɔ<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**tiredness** kɔɔsa *n.*  
**tobacco** tɔwa *n.*  
**tobacco (powdered)** tɔsasɔ *n.*  
**today** zaan *n.*  
**toe** nããbii *n.*  
**toe (big)** nããbikaŋkawal *n.*  
**toe (fourth)** nããbibaambaŋwie *n.*

**toe (index)** nããbiziri *n.*  
**toe (little)** nããbiwie *n.*  
**toe (middle)** nããbibaambaŋ *n.*  
**Togo hare** tɟuomo *n.*  
**tolerant** degini<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**Toma (person's name)** tɔma *nprop.*  
**tomato** kalie *n.*; tɟelii *n.*  
**tomorrow** tɟi *pv.*; tɟiẽ *n.*  
**tongs** tɟaɔ *n.*  
**tongue** nɔzɔlɔŋ *n.*  
**too** gba *quant.*; ko *adv.*  
**tool (type of)** sampil *n.*  
**tool (yam digging)** kpããŋhiredaa *n.*  
**tooth** ŋiŋ *n.*  
**tooth (back)** ŋiŋtieli *n.*  
**tooth (canine)** ŋiŋvaa *n.*  
**tooth of a comb** tɟaasaŋiŋ *n.*  
**toothache** kaka *n.*  
**top of** ŋuu<sub>2</sub> *reln.*  
**tortoise** kpaakpuro *n.*; wɪli *n.*  
**totality** biriŋ *n.*  
**touch** biligi *v.*; gbanasɪ *v.*; laari<sub>4</sub> *v.*  
**tough** kũŋsũŋ *n.*  
**towards (be)** tɟaga *v.*  
**town** tɔzeŋ *n.*  
**tracks** lugo<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**trade** di jawa *v.*  
**trade for** tɟera *v.*  
**trader** jawadiir *n.*  
**tradition** lesrije *n.*  
**trail** kpããni<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**trail (animal)** lugo<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**traitor** diɟɛ<sub>1</sub> *n.*

**transform** birg<sub>2</sub> *v.*

**trap** baŋtʃɔɔ *n.*; hīwa<sub>1</sub> *v.*; tʃige<sub>1</sub> *v.*

**trap (big)** baŋtʃɔɔzeŋ *n.*

**trap (type of)** baŋtʃɔɔwie *n.*; hīɔ̄ *n.*;  
tɪŋgbəhēē *n.*; zantɔg *n.*

**tray (wood)** filii *n.*

**treat** tiime *v.*

**tree** daa<sub>1</sub> *n.*

**tree (bitter)** daahāā *n.*

**tree (type of)** alakadee *n.*; anī *n.*;  
aŋbuluŋ *n.*; badʒɔgɔɔbagena *n.*; bel<sub>2</sub>  
*n.*; beŋ *n.*; bīrbɔg *n.*; bombosɔɔrii  
*n.*; bɔg<sub>1</sub> *n.*; bulo *n.*; daasiama *n.*;  
daasota *n.*; duoŋkiir *n.*; fɔfɔgɛɛ  
*n.*; fɔfɔl *n.*; goŋo *n.*; goŋtoga *n.*;  
gbel *n.*; gbīākɔl *n.*; gbīātii *n.*; gboŋ  
*n.*; hambag *n.*; hol *n.*; kaakɛ *n.*;  
katfal *n.*; koŋ *n.*; kuolie *n.*; kɔrɔg-  
bāŋɔ *n.*; kpoluŋkpoo *n.*; loŋpoglii  
*n.*; naasaardaa *n.*; naasaargbesa  
*n.*; naasaarsɪŋtʃaɔ *n.*; nakelɪŋ *n.*;  
nakodol *n.*; nakpagrii *n.*; napara-  
pɪrii *n.*; nasol *n.*; nokun *n.*; paamāā  
*n.*; pitiŋpaŋa *n.*; pitiisolo *n.*; poŋ-  
poglii *n.*; poŋpogo *n.*; priiŋ *n.*; saŋk-  
paŋtulɪŋ *n.*; siŋkpɪlii *n.*; siŋtʃaɔ  
*n.*; sisiā *n.*; sokie *n.*; sɔbummo *n.*;  
sɔkoro *n.*; sɔsiama *n.*; sɔta<sub>2</sub> *n.*; sug  
*n.*; suoŋ *n.*; suoŋbeŋa *n.*; tii *n.*; tolii  
*n.*; tomo *n.*; tʃoŋgoli *n.*; waaliŋzaŋ  
*n.*; walaŋzaŋ *n.*; zahulii *n.*; zɔgsii *n.*

**tree hole** daalor *n.*

**tree scar** daakpuogii *n.*

**tree trunk** bambii<sub>2</sub> *n.*

**tribe** balɔɔ<sub>1</sub> *n.*

**trigger (gun)** maafapeŋ *n.*

**trip** garisi *v.*

**trot** jɔsi *v.*

**trouble** dama *v.*; tɔɔra *n.*

**trousers** kuruso *n.*; pata *n.*; tradʒa *n.*

**true** diiŋ *n.*

**trunk** bambaan<sub>1</sub> *n.*

**truth** wiɔiŋ *n.*

**truthful** bidiiŋ *n.*

**truthful (person)** niɔiŋ *n.*

**try** harigi *v.*

**try to solve** bila *v.*

**tube** tupu *n.*

**tuber** zɔɔl *n.*

**tuber (cassava)** kpōŋkpōŋzɔɔl *n.*

**tuber (type of)** asii *n.*

**tuberculosis** tʃasiŋɛŋ *n.*

**Tuesday** atalaata *n.*

**tumble** bilinsi *v.*

**Tuosa (lect of)** tɔɔsaali *n.*

**Tuosa (person from)** tɔɔsaal *n.*

**Tuosa village** tɔɔsaa *nprop.*

**turkey** kolokolo *ono.*

**turn** birg<sub>1</sub> *v.*; miɔmi<sub>1</sub> *v.*; miɔa<sub>2</sub> *v.*

**turn back** bira *v.*

**turn into** bi<sub>3</sub> *v.*; birg<sub>2</sub> *v.*

**turn upside down** tʃige<sub>1</sub> *v.*; tʃigesi  
*pl.v.*

**turning** miɔmi *n.*

**turtle** buter *n.*

**tut** tʃɔɔsi *v.*

**twelfth month** doŋu *nprop.*

**twelve** fidalia *num.*

**twenty** matʃeo *num.*

twin dʒiɛndɔŋ *n.*

twine around mɪna<sub>3</sub> *v.*

twins dʒiɛnsa *n.*

twist ɛnsɪ *v.*; mɪlɪmɪ<sub>1</sub> *v.*

twisted (be) mɪna<sub>3</sub> *v.*

two alɛ *num.*; jɛwã *num.*

## U

ugly tʃɔma<sub>2</sub> *v.*

ulcer (type of) kaŋkabulo *n.*

umbilical cord ulzɔa *n.*

unable (be) gbɛtɪ *v.*; kusi *v.*

unable to take (be) bire *v.*

unavoidably hur *n.*

unbeliever kaafra *n.*

unbend degini<sub>1</sub> *v.*

under muɲ<sub>3</sub> *reln.*

under-sized (be) kere *n.*

undergarment bɔɔbɪ *n.*

underpants pata *n.*; pɪtɔɔ *n.*

undigested (be) gere *v.*

undress wire<sub>1</sub> *v.*

uneven (be) kegeme *v.*

unexpected nãāsii *n.*

unexpectedness tʃesu *interj.*

unfold peligi<sub>2</sub> *v.*

ungrateful viɛziɲtʃia *n.*

unhealthy (be) kɔlɔlɔ<sub>2</sub> *ideo.*

unhygienic (person) doŋotɪna *n.*

unhygienic nature sɔkɔsɪ *n.*

unknowingly dʒaa *adv.*

two Ghana Pesewas bɔɔtɪa<sub>2</sub> *num.*

type fɛriɲɪ<sub>2</sub> *pl.v.*; irii *n.*; sii *n.*

tyre kɔba *n.*

t.z. kɔl *n.*; kɔɔ *n.*

t.z. (cold) kɔɔsɔŋ *n.*

unless foo<sub>1</sub> *conn.*

unmarried (woman) hanzɔŋ *n.*

unreliable (be) tʃɔrɪmɪ *n.*

unripe gal *n.*; hɛma<sub>2</sub> *n.*

unroll peligi<sub>2</sub> *v.*

unset jɔgɔsɪ<sub>2</sub> *v.*

unsure sige *n.*

untamed wegimi *v.*

untie puro *v.*

untrusty (person) nɪbukamboro *n.*

unused seweree *n.*

unusual kperii *n.*

unusual (be) kperɛ *v.*

unwillingness daraga *n.*

up zaaza *ideo.*

upon this de ni *adv.phr.*

uproot tʃurugi *pl.v.*; tʃuti *v.*

upset (be) kɔɔɔ<sub>3</sub> *v.*

urinate fɪɪ *v.*

urine fɪɪnɪ *n.*

used to mɔna *v.*

usually jaa *pv.*

uterine fibroids mɔŋsugo *n.*

## V

vacant woo *v.*  
 vagina mɔŋ *n.*  
 Vagla person vɔgla *n.*  
 valley falɲbɔsa *n.*  
 valuable (be) jugo<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 vanish nigimi *v.*; pɪsɪ *v.*; sogoli<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
 vehicle lɔɔɪ *n.*  
 veil lambaraga *n.*  
 vein pol *n.*  
 vein (arm) nepol *n.*  
 venom (snake) zɪɲɔ<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
 version totii *n.*  
 very tʃuur *ideo.*; wara *dem.*  
 very (black) jiriti *ints.*  
 very (cold) julullu *ints.*  
 very (early) pipi *ints.*  
 very (hot) kpaŋkpaŋ *ints.*  
 very (red) tʃüütʃüi *ints.*  
 very (true) tʃurutu *ints.*  
 very (white) jarata *ints.*; peupeu *ints.*

## W

Wa (language) waalɪ *n.*  
 Wa town waa *nprop.*  
 Waala (person from Wa) waal *n.*  
 wag viwo<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 waist tʃera *n.*  
 waist beads tʃerakɪŋ *n.*  
 wait tʃalasi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 wake up lala<sub>2</sub> *v.*

village tɔɔ *n.*  
 village (small) tɔwie *n.*  
 village's centre tɔɔsɪi<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
 virginity (take) mɔɔ *v.*  
 virus (cassava) kpõŋkpõŋpaatʃak-  
 tʃɔgɪ *n.*  
 visual pattern tʃaratʃara *ideo.*  
 visual perception (type of) bɔs-  
 abɔsa *ideo.*; dzinedzine<sub>2</sub> *ideo.*; dzu-  
 modzumo *ideo.*; gbenu<sub>2</sub> *n.*; hɔlahɔla  
*ideo.*; ileʔile *ideo.*; kolakɔla *ideo.*;  
 ŋmɔnaŋmɔna *ideo.*; sɔɔsanĩ<sub>2</sub> *n.*;  
 tʃenitʃenɪ *ideo.*  
 visual power (extra-natural) sinahã  
*n.*  
 vomit tɪesi *v.*; tɪesiɛ *n.*; ugo *v.*  
 vomit (bile) sɪnɔg *n.*  
 voracious hĩɛɪ *v.*  
 vulture (type of) nãkpaazugo *n.*  
 vulture (type) zaarhĩɛ *n.*  
 vulva mɔŋ *n.*

walk vala *v.*  
 walk (way of) mɛŋŋĩ<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
 walk stealthily dɔsi *v.*  
 walking stick danʃkpaɪa *n.*  
 wall zĩɛ *n.*  
 want buure<sub>1</sub> *v.*; ŋma<sub>2</sub> *pv.*  
 war lal *n.*  
 warm up gɔɔsi *v.*

**warm up moderately** ꞑĒĒSĪ *v.*  
**warn** kpaasi<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**warthog** teu *n.*  
**warthog ivory** teukan *n.*  
**wash** belege *v.*; sama *v.*; sisi<sub>2</sub> *v.*;  
 tʃagasi<sub>1</sub> *pl.v.*  
**washer (person)** tʃagtʃagasa<sub>1</sub> *n.*  
**wasp (type of)** kalenʒbögöti *n.*; kiiii  
*n.*; tʃiiii *n.*; völöŋvöŋ *n.*  
**wasp's nest** kiiiiisaal *n.*  
**waste (type of)** tʃuonʒbul *n.*  
**watch** jine<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**water** nii *n.*  
**water (bitter)** niĩhã *n.*  
**water (deep)** niĩluŋ *n.*  
**water (high flow)** pölpöł *ideo.*  
**water (lock)** hiĩhiĩ *n.*  
**water (potable)** niĩmõãliĩ *n.*  
**water (running)** niĩpala *n.*  
**water (sour)** niĩpagan *n.*  
**water pot** boŋ *n.*; bugulie *n.*  
**water sachet** prawata *n.*  
**water seller** niĩjogulo *n.*  
**water source** pol *n.*  
**water-yam** kpããŋniĩ *n.*; sieribile *n.*  
**waterbuck** zõã *n.*  
**way** lugo<sub>2</sub> *n.*; nãã<sub>2</sub> *n.*  
**we** ja *pro.*; jawa *pro.*; jawaa *pro.*  
**weak** jöŋri *v.*; kōnri *v.*; zĩeziē *ideo.*;  
 zōŋ *n.*  
**weak (be)** biēli *v.*; kōŋle *v.*  
**weak (become)** tögöŋi *v.*

**weak (person)** niĩzōŋ *n.*  
**wear** laari<sub>1</sub> *v.*; tō<sub>2</sub> *v.*; tõõ<sub>1</sub> *v.*; vōwa<sub>3</sub> *v.*  
**weather (cold)** war *n.*  
**weather (type of)** zuu *n.*  
**weave** pera *v.*; sõã *v.*  
**weaver** garsõör *n.*; sõãsoör *n.*  
**weaver's workshop** kōŋreē *n.*  
**Wednesday** alarba *n.*  
**weed** gana<sub>2</sub> *v.*; paasi<sub>3</sub> *v.*; para *v.*  
**weep** wii *v.*  
**weevil** tʃōŋii *n.*  
**weigh** jugo<sub>1</sub> *v.*  
**weight** feti<sub>2</sub> *v.*  
**welcome** ansa<sub>1</sub> *interj.*  
**well** kōlōŋ *n.*; vil *n.*  
**well (do)** mara *pv.*  
**west** tiĩpuu *n.*; wōtʃeliĩ *n.*  
**wet** söŋri<sub>5</sub> *v.*  
**what** baan *interrog.*; niĩĩē *interrog.*  
**wheel** tʃetʃe *n.*  
**when** di<sub>2</sub> *conn.*; saŋa weŋ *interrog.*  
**where** lie<sub>1</sub> *interrog.*  
**where about** kaa *interrog.*  
**which** weŋ *interrog.*  
**while** di *conn.*  
**whip** fiēbi<sub>2</sub> *v.*; kpaasa *n.*  
**whip (palm leaf)** tʃagbariga *n.*  
**whirlwind** kalenʒvilime *n.*  
**whisper** misi *v.*  
**whistle** fuoli *v.*; fuolo *n.*  
**white** pōmma *n.*  
**white (be)** pōla *v.*; tōla *v.*

- White thorn** sɔpɔmma *n.*  
**white-tailed mongoose** bilii *n.*  
**who** aŋ *interrog.*  
**whole** biriŋ *n.*; kimbirŋ *n.*  
**why** ɲimĩ *interrog.*  
**wickedness** ɲɪŋa *n.*; patʃigihã *n.*;  
 tʃabariga *n.*  
**wide** penɪ *n.*  
**wide (be)** penɔ *v.*  
**wide (make)** peuli *v.*; pĩani *v.*; wega  
*v.*  
**widow** luhããŋ *n.*  
**widower** buzorŋ *n.*; lubaal *n.*  
**wife** hããŋ *n.*  
**wife (most recent)** hãwie *n.*  
**wild** wegimi *v.*  
**will** kaa *pv.*  
**will not** waa *pv.*  
**wind** gaari *v.*; peu *n.*  
**wind around** vɔwa *v.*  
**window** dianõãbɔwie *n.*; tokoro *n.*  
**wing** embel *n.*; sɛbɪ *n.*  
**winnow** peusi *v.*; tʃiare *v.*  
**wipe** fiise *v.*  
**wise (person)** nanɲɪna *n.*  
**wish** liisi *v.*  
**witch** hɪl *n.*  
**witchcraft** hita *n.*  
**witchweed** kɪrɪmamɔmpusa *n.*  
**with** ani *conn.*; pe *n.*  
**withdraw** lugo *v.*  
**wither** loori *v.*  
**witness** sierie *n.*  
**Wojo (person's name)** wojo *nprop.*  
**woman** hããŋ *n.*; nihããŋ *n.*  
**woman (fertile)** nihãkɔlla *n.*  
**woman (old)** hãhĩ *n.*  
**wonder** kõõ *v.*  
**wood (piece)** daa *n.*  
**wood shaving** sel *n.*  
**word** wɪŋmahã *n.*  
**work** tɔma *v.*; tɔma *n.*  
**work (bad)** tɔntʃɔma *n.*  
**work leather** zaawi *v.*  
**work relation (type of)** zɔɔdɔŋa *n.*  
**workers (farm)** parasa *pl.n.*  
**working place** tɔmbar *n.*  
**world** dɔnĩã *n.*  
**worm (type of)** nandala *n.*; ɲepaŋ  
*n.*  
**worn out (be)** zagali *v.*  
**worries** laadimii *n.*; nɪmɪsa *n.*  
**worse (be)** ɲaŋŋɪ *v.*  
**worthy** maasi *v.*  
**would** fi *pv.*  
**wound** daŋŋɪ *n.*; pɛmpɛl *n.*; pɪra *v.*  
**woven mat** merɛkɛtɛ *n.*  
**wrap** fɔwa *v.*  
**wrestle** lɔga *v.*  
**wrestling** lɔgɪ *n.*  
**wrinkle** ŋmiire *v.*; zɪmɪ *v.*  
**wrist** netʃug *n.*  
**write** sɛwa *v.*



# Y

yam kpãāŋ *n.*; pii *n.*

yam (big) kpãāŋbãāŋ *n.*

yam (boiled) kpãāŋbuso *n.*

yam (cooked) kpaambılı *n.*

yam (medium) kpãāŋbeŋe *n.*

yam (new) kpãāŋfolı *n.*

yam (old) kpãāŋbını *n.*

yam (spoiled) kpãāŋtʃɔŋ *n.*

yam (type of) beso *n.*; bɔkpãāŋ *n.*;  
fɛrı *n.*; gutugu *n.*; kparamuro *n.*;  
kpasadzɔ *n.*; kponno *n.*; laabɔkɔ  
*n.*; mankir *n.*; singeta *n.*; tıglaa *n.*;  
wɔsına *n.*

yam farm (portion) kpaamparı *n.*

yam field (state) pikiete *n.*

yam flesh kpãānugul *n.*

yam harvest wou *n.*

yam hut kpãāŋlaɔ *n.*

yam mound pii *n.*

yam mound (part) piimısa *n.*

# Z

zeal baharaga<sub>2</sub> *n.*

yam mound (small) piipelee *n.*

yam mound row pitʃɔŋ *n.*

yam outer skin kpãāŋpetı *n.*

yam seedlings kpãāŋduho *n.*; kpãāŋ-  
wou *n.*

yam stem kpãānsii *n.*

yawn hãāsi *v.*

yaws sanjberema *n.*

year bına *n.*

yeast bɔra *n.*

yellow fever zagaffı *n.*

yellowish sɔlsaɔ<sub>2</sub> *n.*

yes ɛ̃ɛ *interj.*

yesterday dı *pv.*; dıare *n.*

yet ha *pv.*; haalı *conn.*

yield laa<sub>5</sub> *v.*

you hıŋ *pro.*; ı *pro.*; ıwa *pro.*

you (pl.) ma *pro.*; mawa *pro.*; mawaa  
*pro.*

young hema<sub>1</sub> *n.*; wie *n.*

zinc plate tʃensi *n.*



## **Part IV**

# **Grammatical outlines**



# Phonology outline

## 1 Introduction

This section presents a brief outline of Chakali phonology. An inventory of phonetic and phonemic vowels and consonants, the syllable structures, the 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<sup>h</sup>æʔ] ‘cat’. The former is an abstraction, while the latter represents an utterance. For the rest of this exposition, if a Chakali expression is presented without the slash or square brackets, it should be interpreted as a broad phonetic transcription. The parts of speech of Chakali expressions are provided in many instances: on the one hand, having the information on the part of speech avoids ambiguity since the English gloss is often inadequate. On the other hand, it assists the search for phonological behaviour conditioned by lexical category. All the examples used as evidence are candidates for look-up in the dictionary of Part II. The abbreviation list starts on page xiv.

## 2 Segmental phonemes inventory

This section introduces the segmental phonemes of Chakali and their contrasts by determining the phonetic properties in minimal contexts of speech sound patterns, when possible. Near-minimal pairs appear, yet the majority of the evidence provided is based on minimal pairs. The vowels are examined first, followed by the consonants.

### 2.1 Vowels

Chakali is treated as a language with nine underlying vowels and eleven surface vowels. They are presented in Figure 1 in vowel diagrams. The surface vowels [ɑ] and [ə] are discussed at the end of this section.

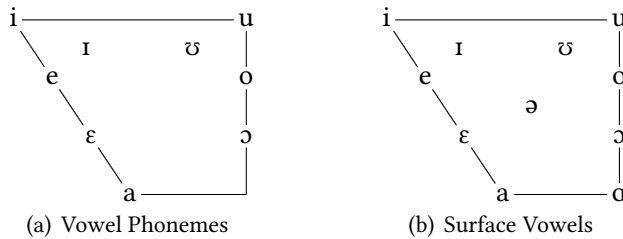


Figure 1: Vowel phonemes and surface vowels in Chakali

Each vowel is presented below with minimal contrasts to motivate their phonemic status. Two sounds are contrastive if interchanging the two can change the meaning of the word. The vowels are presented in opposition for their height, roundness, and tongue root properties. Since Chakali does not show any contrast of roundness and backness in the non-low vowels, roundness, and backness are put together in the description under a RO(und) feature. The tongue root distinction is gathered under the feature ATR (i.e. advanced tongue root). Low and high are treated under HEIGHT in the subsequent tables, but are captured in the summary Table 1 with the features HI and LO, and the feature values + and –.

## 2.1.1 Close front unrounded i.

The vowel [i] is front, unrounded, high, and tense.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	zínj	tail	n
	zánj	rest area	n
	pítí	survive	v
	pétí	finish	v
RO	gbínj	bracelet	n
	gbónj	type of tree	n
	kísi	pray	v
	kùsi	unable	v
ATR	ɲìj	sore	n
	ɲínj	tooth	n
	dì	eat	v
	dì	if	conn

## 2.1.2 Near-close near-front unrounded ɪ.

The vowel [ɪ] is front, unrounded, high, and lax.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	pìsì	scatter	v
	pésí	slap	v
	híl:	witch	n
	hál	egg	n
RO	tìsì	shallow (be)	v
	tósí	move over	v
	tʃínjá	stand	v
	tʃónjá	carry load	v
ATR	fì	would	pv
	fí	ten	num
	zìj	bat	n
	zínj	tail	n

### 2.1.3 Close-mid front unrounded e.

The vowel [e] is front, unrounded, mid, and tense.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	bèlè	type of bush dog	n
	bìlè	put down	v
	péŋ	penis	n
	páŋ	molar	n
RO	zèŋ	big	n
	zóŋ	insult	n
	pél	roofing beam	n
	pól	vein	n
ATR	bèŋ	law	n
	béŋ	type of tree	n

### 2.1.4 Open-mid front unrounded ε.

The vowel [ɛ] is front, unrounded, mid, and lax.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	tʃèrà	barter	v
	tʃàrà	straddle	v
	pélá	lean on	v
	pìlà	hit down repeatedly	v
RO	mèŋ	dew	n
	móŋ	vagina	n
	pé	add	v
	pò	protect	v
ATR	sél:	animal	n
	sél	wood shaving	n



## 2.1.5 Close-mid back rounded o.

The vowel [o] is back, rounded, mid, and tense.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	ʔól	type of mouse	n
	ʔúl	navel	n
	hól	type of tree	n
	hál	egg	n
RO	bóŋ	big water pot	n
	bèŋ	law	n
	pól	pond	n
	pél	roofing support	n
ATR	kóŋ	Kapok tree	n
	kóŋ	cobra	n
	hól	type of tree	n
	hól	charcoal	n

## 2.1.6 Open-mid back rounded ɔ.

The vowel [ɔ] is back, rounded, mid, and lax.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	pò	protect	v
	pó	spit	v
	kólá	sharpen	v
	kàlà	rope	v
RO	móŋ	vagina	n
	mèŋ	mist	n
	pòlà	fat	v
	pélá	lean on	v
ATR	pò	protect	v
	pó	collect	v
	kóŋ	cobra	n
	kóŋ	type of tree	n

2.1.7 Close back rounded u.

The vowel [u] is back, rounded, high, and tense.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	pú	lie on stomach	v
	pó	collect	v
	súl	mud fish	n
	sál	flat roof	n
RO	bùú	silo	n
	bíí	seed	n
	kùsì	unable	v
	kísì	pray	v
ATR	zúl	millet	n
	zóól	tuber	n
	pú	cover	v
	pó	spit	v

2.1.8 Near-close near back rounded ʊ.

The vowel [ʊ] is back, rounded, high, and lax.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
HEIGHT	vóg	shrine	n
	vòg	south	n
	lólá	give birth	v
	lálá	open	v
RO	mósf	rain	v
	mísf	sprinkle	v
	bòlà	tasteless	v
	bilà	try to solve	v
ATR	tʃóórí	torn	v
	tʃùùrì	pour	v
	zóól	tuber	n
	zúl	millet	n

## 2.1.9 Open front unrounded a.

The vowel [a] is unrounded and low.

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
e	gàr	cloth	n
	gèr	lizard	n
ɛ	pàrà	farm	v
	pèrà	weave	v
i	záŋ	rest area	n
	zíŋ	tail	n
ɪ	tàtì	stretch	v
	tìtì	rub	v
o	hál	egg	n
	hól	type of tree	n
ɔ	pàlà	flow	v
	pòlà	be fat	v
u	páj	molar	n
	púj	feather	n
ʊ	bár	chance	n
	bór	dust	n

When considering Rowland & Rowland (1965); Crouch & Smiles (1966); Bergman, Gray & Gray (1969); Toupin (1995); Crouch & Herbert (2003), the Chakali vowel phoneme inventory appears to match one of the two posited types of phonemic inventories found in other Southwestern Grusi (SWG) languages.<sup>1</sup> In Rowland & Rowland (1965: 15) the chart of Sisaala phonemes gives one [LOW,

<sup>1</sup> 'Phonemic' is used in its broad sense. Since phonology has diverse theoretical orientations, an inventory of phonemes does not mean much unless the features making those phonemes are expressed in the model. Thus in the phonological descriptions of the five SWG languages cited (i.e. Sisaala, Vagla, Tampulma, Pasaale, and Deg), it is assumed that the phonemic inventory in each monograph is built upon the classification proposed in their tables and charts, which use features like ATR, ROUND, BACK, etc.

CENTRAL] vowel /a/ and one [MID, OPEN, CENTRAL] vowel /Λ/. Crouch & Smiles (1966: 17) provides the same symbols /a/ and /Λ/ for Vagla, the former for a [LOW, OPEN, CENTRAL] vowel and the latter for a [LOW, CLOSE, CENTRAL] one. In Crouch & Herbert (2003: 3), the same symbols /a/ and /Λ/ are found for Dɛg. For them /a/ represents a [LOW, –ATR, CENTRAL] vowel and /Λ/ a [LOW, +ATR, CENTRAL] vowel.<sup>2</sup> 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 [Λ] occur in free variation. In fact, Toupin provides the reader with [a] and [Λ] in exactly the same environment: the word for ‘hoe’ and ‘back’ are both transcribed with [a] and [Λ] (Toupin 1995: 26). He postulates one [LOW] phoneme (i.e. /a/) in the inventory (Toupin 1995: 16).

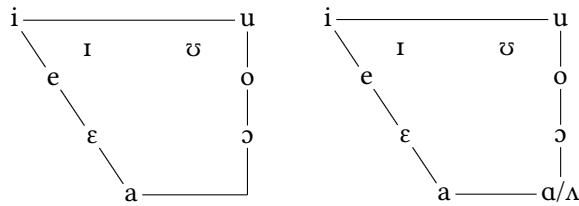


Figure 2: 9- vs. 10-vowel inventory in some Southwestern Grusi languages

Even though Manessy (1979) reconstructs a 7-vowel inventory for Proto-Central Gur, the phonological inventories appearing in Figure 2 are common to many Volta-Congo languages (Dakubu 1997: 81, Casali 2003a: 18). Further, they usually encode a phenomenon known as Cross-Height Vowel Harmony (CHVH) (Stewart 1967; Casali 2003b; 2008), in which harmony is operative at more than one height. In Chakali, the two ATR harmony sets {i, e, u, ɔ} and {ɪ, ε, ʊ, ɔ̃} contain high and non-high vowels, and as a rule, vowels agree in ATR value within the stem domain. Typically the vowel /a/ co-occurs with –ATR vowels within monomorphemic words.<sup>3</sup> The topic is discussed in detail in Section 4.2, but for now let us say that a monomorphemic word cannot carry two vowels of different ATR sets,

<sup>2</sup> Modesta Kanjiti, a Dɛg speaker, and I reviewed in April 2009 the words given as evidence for the contrast /a/ and /Λ/ in Crouch & Herbert (2003: 20–21). Despite Crouch & Herbert’s assertion, Mme. Kanjiti could not confirm that /a/ and /Λ/ were different sounds based on the word list provided. This contrast needs to be verified, although dialect difference could account for this.

<sup>3</sup> This is common among 9-vowel inventory according to Casali (2008: 528). However, some English loans violate that statement, e.g. *sigáári* ‘cigarette’, *ʒéékà* ‘acre’, *sódzà* ‘soldier’, and *mítà* ‘meter’.

that is, [kɔpɛ] is possible (it means ‘seven’) but \*[lɔpɛ], \*[lɛpɛ] \*[lɔpɛ] and \*[lɔpɛ] are ungrammatical strings.

Apart from the nine vowels presented above, the surface vowels [ɑ] and [ə] can be heard; [ɑ] is perceived as if it was produced with the tongue further back in the mouth compared to [a]. In addition, the vowel [ɑ] is often found following the -ATR vowels (i.e. ɪ, ɛ, ɔ, ʊ). Despite the fact that vowel harmony predicts a ‘lax version’ of /a/ in some environments (Section 4.2), a distinction between [ɑ] and [a] is not established. Yet, there is evidence which shows that Chakali should be considered to have only one phonemic low vowel, which would make its vowel inventory equivalent the one described for Pasaale by Toupin (1995). And, as written in the description of the noun class system (Section 3.2.1), Chakali behaves similarly to other 9-vowel languages (see Casali 2003a: 41).

The vowel [ə] is either an epenthetic vowel or a reduction of a full vowel. It surfaces only in specific environments and is never a part of the underlying form (see Section 3). While both [ɑ] and [ə] are treated as phonetic vowels, only [ə] appears in the dictionary in the phonetic form of an entry. Table 1 displays the set of features which determines the nine vowel phonemes.

Table 1: Vowel inventory and distinctive features bundles

IPA	features
i	[ +ATR, +HI, -LO, -RO ]
ɪ	[ -ATR, +HI, -LO, -RO ]
e	[ +ATR, -HI, -LO, -RO ]
ɛ	[ -ATR, -HI, -LO, -RO ]
o	[ +ATR, -HI, -LO, +RO ]
ɔ	[ -ATR, -HI, -LO, +RO ]
u	[ +ATR, +HI, -LO, +RO ]
ʊ	[ -ATR, +HI, -LO, +RO ]
a	[ -ATR, -HI, +LO, -RO ]

### 2.1.10 Nasal vowels.

Except for [ə], all vowels have a nasalized counterpart. As expected, nasal vowels are less frequent than their oral counterparts. Nasalized low vowels are the most frequent, whereas close-mid back rounded vowels are the least frequent. Consider the examples in Table 2.

At first glance the treatment of nasal vowels may be reduced to the influence of a nasal speech sound. Overall, nasal vowels are mainly found adjacent to a nasal consonant (or sometimes preceded by a glottal fricative). So it may be more accurate to specify them as oral and explain the perception of nasality as a coarticulation phenomenon. Nonetheless, nasal vowels are attested where adjacent nasal features are absent. The (near-)minimal pairs *fāà* ‘ancient’ / *fā̃à* ‘do by force’, *fī* ‘preverb particle’ / *fī̃* ‘type of fish’, *zòv* ‘enter’ / *zò̃v* ‘laziness’ and *tùù* ‘go down’ / *tú̃ú* ‘honey’ show that nasal and oral vowels do contrast.

### 2.1.11 Vowel sequences

This section is concerned with the duration of vowel sounds and their segmental content. It is shown that Chakali contrasts word meanings based on vowel length. Section 3.1 will present the syllables types in which various vowel sequences can occur.

**2.1.11.1 Vowel length.** A phonetic contrast exists between short and long vowels. The fourth column of Table 3 gives an hypothesised CV-form of selected words spoken isolation by six speakers. Judging from this data, which consists of (near-)minimal pairs, a difference in vowel length can change the meaning of a word. Further, as we will see in Section 4.2, there are in addition slight differences in meaning when some preverb particles are longer.

While these are no conclusive experimental evidence, in Section 3.1, it is shown that nouns in the language cannot have a CV surface form, whereas verbs can. Still, many noun roots are of the type CV. The lexical database contains a few pairs of words with exactly the same consonant and vowel quality but differing in length, i.e. *jàà* ‘lack’ and *jà́* ‘defecate’, *záŋ* ‘rest area’ and *zàáj* ‘today’, and *wàsì* ‘reproduce’ and *wààsì* ‘pour libation’. The following sections present evidence for two types of vowel-vowel sequence in the language.

Table 2: Nasal vowels

Contrast	cli. example	Gloss	PoS
ẽ	héhésè	announcer	n
	sàpúhíẽ	pouched rat	n
	kálèŋ-bílèŋéẽ	adjuster	n
ẽ̃	hẽŋ	arrow	n
	tʃẽĩ	attractiveness	n
	ɲésà	malnourished child	n
ĩ	hĩí	hind leg	n
	mĩí	gun front sight	n
	záyáfĩ	yellow fever	n
ĩ̃	fĩí	type of fish	n
	fĩĩ	urinate	v
	pĩ	be fed up	v
õ	mõŋgò	mango (ultm. Eng.)	n
	kpòŋkpóŋ	cassava	n
õ̃	nǎó	cow	n
	àŋó	five	num
	hóò	type of grasshopper	n
ũ	dũũ	sow	v
	sũú	guinea fowl	n
	fũũ	burn	v
ȭ	bóóŋ	goat	n
	đóò	type of snake	n
	kóò	to be tired	v
ã	ʔáá	bushbuck	n
	báá	type of monitor lizard	n
	sàà	carve	v

Table 3: Vowel duration. Abbreviation: cli = Chakali, Gloss = English gloss,  $\sigma$  = syllable type, PoS = part of speech, and V-duration = mean of vowel duration for six speakers in milliseconds.

cli.	Gloss	PoS	$\sigma$	V-duration
tá	abandon	v	CV	142
tàá	language	n	CVV	227
kpà	take	v	CV	139
kpáá	type of dance	n	CVV	255
mà	2.pl.w	pro	CV	170
màá	mother	n	CVV	202
ná	see	v	CV	102
nàà	leg	n	CVV	233

2.1.11.2  $V_iV_i$  vowel sequences. A  $V_iV_i$  vowel sequence identifies a sequence of two vowels of the same quality without intervening consonants or vowels. Table 4 provides some attested cases of  $V_iV_i$  sequence.

The  $V_iV_i$  sequences can also surface nasalized, except for the front mid vowels: only one sequence [ẽẽ] (i.e. *kálèŋbílèŋjéé* ‘adjuster’) and one [ɛ̃ɛ̃] (i.e. interjection *èèè* ‘yes’) are recorded. The vowel sequences in Table 4 can either be treated as cases of long vowels or as a sequence of two short vowels: the two underlying structures assumed are presented in (1).

- (1) a.  $V_i]$ - $V_i$ : a morpheme boundary intervenes  
*mí]í* → *míí* ‘guinea corn’, PL. *míá* (CLASS 4, Section 3.2.1.4)  
*lèh]é* → *lèhé* ‘cheek’, PL. *lèhèsá* (CLASS 1, Section 3.2.1.1)
- b.  $V_iV_i$ : no morpheme boundary intervenes  
*ɲúú* ‘head’, PL. *ɲúúnò* (CLASS 5, Section 3.2.1.5)  
*bóóŋ* ‘goat’, PL. *bóóná* (CLASS 3, Section 3.2.1.3)



Table 4:  $V_iV_i$  sequence

$V_iV_i$	Gloss	PoS	$V_iV_i$	Gloss	PoS
aa			ãã		
váà	dog	n	fàà	draw milk from	v
táál	cloud	n	ɲàá	poverty	n
táá	language	n	sàá	axe	n
bááj	temper	n	tʃáá	broom	n
ɪɪ			ĩĩ		
wìì	sick (be)	v	fíníí	harassment	n
ʔárfí	grasscutter	n	míí	guinea corn	n
níí	water	n	fíí	urinate	v
bíí	stone	n	tʃíí	ankle-rattles	n
ɛɛ			ɔɔ		
lèhéé	cheek	n	bòòbí	undergarment	n
sòm̀p̀òr̀éé	type of frog	n	l̀ó̀l̀ì	car	n
wátʃèhèè	type of mongoose	n	b̀ó̀l̀	type of shape	n
ʔalééfó	type of leaf	n			
ʊʊ			õõ		
f̀ò̀ò̀s̀ì	inflate	v	b̀ó̀ó̀ŋ	goat	n
j̀ò̀ò̀	rainy season	n	d̀ó̀ò̀	African rock python	n
j̀ò̀ò̀	marry	v	f̀ò̀ò̀	lower back	n
tʃ̀ó̀ó̀rí	torn	v	ǹó̀ó̀	shea butter	n
ii			ĩĩ		
b̀à̀m̀b̀íí	chest	n	ʔíí	push	v
p̀ìè̀s̀íí	sheep	n	híí	bad	interj
p̀íí	yam mound	n	míí	gun front sight	n
t̀íí	grind roughly	v	záyáíí	yellow fever	n
ee			oo		
d̀è̀m̀b̀é̀l̀èè	fowl house	n	tʃ̀ò̀ò̀r̀ì	strain	v
z̀à̀ǹz̀à̀p̀ù̀r̀èè	type of bat	n	l̀ò̀ò̀t̀ó	intestine	n
z̀ò̀ŋ̀g̀ò̀r̀èè	mosquito	n	m̀ù̀s̀ó̀ó̀r̀ó	clove	n
t̀éèb̀ùl̀	table (ultm. Eng.)	n	kp̀ó̀g̀ù̀l̀ò̀	soya bean dish	n
uu			ũũ		
b̀ùù	silo	n	s̀ùù	guinea fowl	n
p̀ùùrí	reduce	v	t̀ùù	honey	n
ɲ̀ùù	head	n	ʔ̀ùù	bury	v
t̀ùù	go down	v	d̀ùù	sow	v

2.1.11.3  $V_iV_j$  vowel sequences. A  $V_iV_j$  vowel sequence identifies a sequence of two vowels of different quality without intervening consonants or vowels. Most of the sequences in the data involve the set of high vowels {i, u, ɪ, ʊ} as first vowel.<sup>4</sup>

Similar to the  $V_iV_i$  vowel sequences, the  $V_iV_j$  sequences in Table 5 may be the result of two underlying structures; one with a morpheme boundary intervening and the other without such a boundary. They are shown in (2). It includes both underlying structures, and among them, examples of words formed with the nominaliser suffix  $-[+HI, -RO]$ , e.g. *tɔ* v. ‘cover’ → *tɔ́ɪ* n. ‘covering’, and the verbal assertive suffix  $-[+HI, +RO]$ , e.g. *jéle* v. ‘bloom’ → *jéleó* v. ‘bloom.PFV.FOC’ (Sections 3.2.2.2 and 5.3). These two productive morphological mechanisms are responsible for the prevalence of  $V_iV_j$  sequences, of which  $V_j$  is a high front vowel or a high rounded one. Their surface forms depend on phonotactics, which is the topic of Section 3.

- (2) a.  $V_i]-V_j$  : a morpheme boundary intervenes  
*tɔ*]ɪ → *tɔ́ɪ* ‘covering’ (see CLASS 4, Section 3.2.1.4)  
*jele*]u → *jéleó* ‘bloom.PFV.FOC’, (see Section 4.1.4)  
*bi*]e → *bié* ‘child’, *bisé* PL., (see CLASS 1, Section 3.2.1.1)
- b.  $V_iV_j$  : no morpheme boundary intervenes  
*dɔ̀à*] ‘be in/at/on’  
*tʃáó*] ‘type of termite’

The  $V_iV_j$  vowel sequences are summarized in Figure 3. Each vowel diagram displays possible vowel-to-vowel transitions. For the first two diagrams, i.e. (a) and (b), the transitions are arranged according to the first vowel on the basis of their ATR value. The third diagram displays the transitions in which the vowel /a/ is the first vowel.

<sup>4</sup> An alternative would be to treat them as the set of glide consonants {j, w}. As a matter of fact, the notion of ‘suspect sequences’ was coined by GILLBT/GIL fieldworkers when faced with transcription involving the segments {i, u, ɪ, ʊ} (Bergman, Gray & Gray 1969: 4, Toupin 1995: 8, among others). “‘Suspect’ is an old SIL heuristic term for phonetic sounds which may have different phonemic function in different languages” (T. Naden, p.c.). Some tokens of  $V_iV_j$  vowel sequences would then be treated as suspect sequences under their analyses. For instance, *bie* ‘child’, a monosyllabic word, would be represented as *bije*, a disyllabic word (see also Kedrebéogo 1997: 100). Correspondingly, ‘arrow’ could be transcribed as *tuo*, *t<sup>vo</sup>* or *tuwo*. My decision is purely based on the impression of consultants who do not favour a syllable break. Further, unlike Dég, 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 Dég (see footnote 2).

Table 5:  $V_iV_j$  sequence

$V_iV_j$	Gloss	PoS	$V_iV_j$	Gloss	PoS
ɔɪ			ui		
bóì	stone	n	múfúí	exclamation	ideo
póì	spitting	n	súì	being full	n
ɔɔ			uo		
sòrà	odor	n	bùól	song	n
lòòḡ	animal chest hair	n	túò	bow	n
ɔa					
tʃòà	lie	v			
dòà	be in/at/on	v			
ɪɛ			ie		
sìè	poor quality meat	n	bié	child	n
kìè	collect contribution	v	fíél	type of grass	n
ɪʊ			iu		
wílíó	kob	n	kásiù	cashew (ultm. Eng.)	n
ɪa			io		
díá	house	n	fíó	totally not	interj
tíásí	vomit	v			
ɛʊ			eu		
léórá	door hinge	n	pèú	wind	n
sèó	death	n	tèú	warthog	n
ɛɪ			eo		
lèì	not	neg	màtféó	twenty	num
bìvìèì	stubborn child	n	bàléò	calamity	n
ɔɪ			oi		
póì	planting	n	ʔóí	surprise	interj
tóí	covering	n			
ɔʊ			ou		
lòò	hartebeest	n	tóù	o.k. (ultm. Hausa)	interj
tóò	settlement	n	wóù	yam harvest	n
aʊ			ar		
láó	hut	n	ʔàí	no	interj
tʃàó	type of termite	n	ɲáí	rusty	n

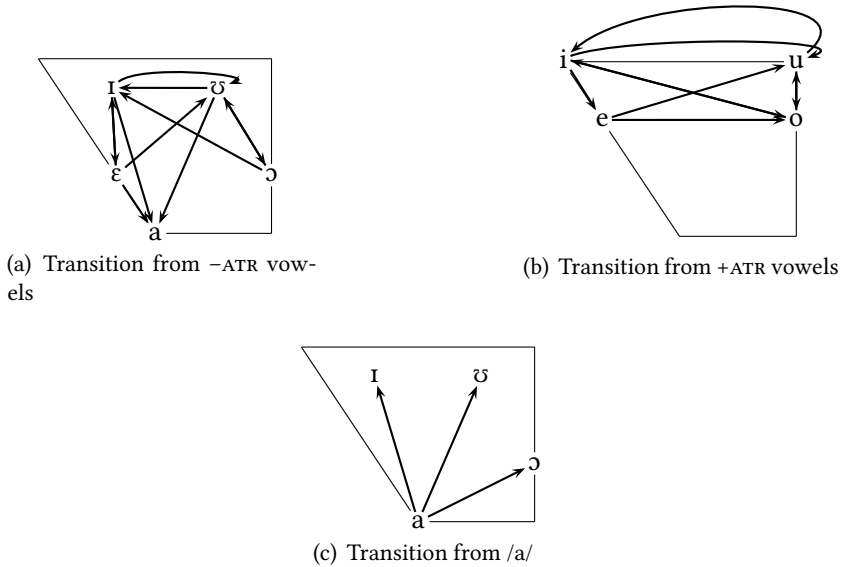


Figure 3: Attested vowel transitions

The direction of the arrow reproduces the transitions. A step in the analysis of vowel sequences would be to identify them as either unit diphthongs or two independent vowels. On the one hand there are relatively few languages with unit diphthongs (Maddieson 1984: 133), and on the other hand it is necessary to understand better syllable structures, phonotactics, and the effect of coarticulation when vowel features are suffixed to vowel-ending stems in Chakali. In theory, true restrictions are due to obligatory harmonies, specifically with regard to the ATR and RO features: more sequences should be attestable than those presented in Figure 3. The most common sequences are {*ɔa*, *ɔɔ*, *ɛa*, *ɛa*, *ɔi*, *uo*, *ie*, *eu*, *aɔ*}, the remaining ones being very rare or unattested. For instance, the [ei] and [aɛ] sequences never occur, the [ɛa] sequence occurs only once (and *ʔàtànɛ̀à* ‘Monday’ is ultimately of Hausa origin), and the sequence [aɔ], which occurs in *máɲáǎ̀* ‘type of mongoose’, is found twice. In the latter case, both tokens are nasalized so it affects the vowel quality and how I perceived it.

## 2.2 Consonants

The consonantal phonemes amount to twenty-five, a number close to the average number of consonants in the consonant inventories of languages catalogued in Maddieson (2009). In this section, the phonemic status of the consonants is identified using distributional criteria. When possible the segments are aligned in three word positions: initial, medial, and final. Although it is crucial to identify a stem boundary in a word in order to differentiate between the onset of a non-initial stem (e.g. in a compound word) and the medial position of a monomorphemic word, this is often not possible given our knowledge of the language. The feature VOICE represents voicing (i.e. voiced vs. voiceless) and is reflected in the way the description is organized below. Table 6 provides an overview of the segments introduced in this section.

Table 6: Phonetic and phonemic consonants in Chakali

	Bilabial	Labial-dental	Alveolar	Postalv.	Palatal	Velar	Glottal	Labial-velar
Plosives	p b		t d			k g	ʔ	kp gb
Fricatives		f v	s z			(y)	h	
Affricates				tʃ dʒ				
Nasals	m		n		ɲ	ŋ		ɲm
Liquid			l r					
Semi-vowels					j			w (ɥ)

### 2.2.1 Plosives and affricates

All plosives and affricates contrast pairwise for the glottal stricture feature VOICE (except the glottal plosive /ʔ/). They are moderately aspirated word-initially. They all involve a single primary place of articulation, except the doubly articulated [dʒ], [tʃ], [kp] and [gb]. The affricates [dʒ] and [tʃ] have two sequential parts, while labiovelars [kp] and [gb] have two parts which overlap temporally.<sup>5</sup>

**2.2.1.1 Bilabial plosives.** The bilabial plosives can occur in word-initial and -medial positions, although, in many cases, when they are found in word-medial positions, they are onsets of a non-initial stem. This position can be problematic,

<sup>5</sup> For the remainder, the linking diacritic over the labial-velars is not used, since there are just a few ambiguous contexts and these are accounted for by the syllabification procedures presented in Section 3.1.

since one cannot always treat words as compounds in the synchronic sense. For instance, *álòpè* ‘seven’ is treated in Section 3.6.1 as monomorphemic, however, it is obvious that taken from a Proto-SWG perspective it is not. Bilabial plosives can also be found in borrowed words’ medial positions, e.g. *kàpèntà* (ultm. Eng.) ‘carpenter’ and *kàpàlà* (Waali) ‘type of staple food’. Neither the voiceless nor the voiced bilabial plosive are attested word-finally. Table 7 provides examples of contrast between /p/ and /b/ for the VOICE opposition.

Table 7: Bilabial plosives

(a) Voiceless bilabial plosive		
pàŋ	molar	n
pèrà	weave	v
pìlè	cover with	v
púl	type of river grass	n
kúmpíí	thorny spear grass	n
àlòpè	seven	num
kàpèntà	carpenter (ultm. Eng.)	n
kàpàlà	staple food, Gh. Eng. <i>fufu</i>	n
(b) Voiced bilabial plosive		
bàŋ	here	adv
bèrà	dry	qual
bìlè	put	v
bùl	type of tree	n
?àbé	palm tree (Akan)	n
fìèbì	whip	v
hámbák	type of tree	n

**2.2.1.2 Alveolar plosives.** The alveolar plosives can occur in word-initial and -medial positions. Similar to the bilabial plosives, the voiceless and the voiced alveolar plosives are not attested word-finally.<sup>6</sup> When it occurs in word-medial position, [d] is found only at the onset of a non-initial stem of polymorphemic words or in loans, whereas [t] does not have such a restriction. Examples of such loans are *síídì* ‘cedi’, *kùòdú* ‘banana’, and *b̀̀rdíá* ‘plaintain’ for words of Akan origin, and *gáádin* ‘garden’, *biléédì* ‘blade’, and *p̀̀sódà* ‘powder’ for words of English origin. An example of occurrences in onset of non-initial stem of polymorphemic words is *fi-dr-anaase* [*fidànáásé*] ‘fourteen’ (Section 3.6.1), *nín-dáá* ‘horn’, and *nì-dòmá* ‘spirit’. Examples *kàndíà* ‘Kandia’ and *kódi* ‘or’ appear to be lexicalized polymorphemic words or loans. The rhotic [r] may be argued to be an allophone of /d/ as [r] occurs mostly where [d] is never found, e.g. intervocalically in monomorphemic words (Section 2.2.4.2). Table 8 provides examples of contrast between the two alveolar plosives for the VOICE opposition in word-initial and -medial positions.

Table 8: Alveolar plosives

(a) Voiceless alveolar plosive			(b) Voiced alveolar plosive		
té	early	adv	dé	there	adv
tíŋ	spearhead	n	díŋ	fire	n
tóŋ	book	n	dóŋ	enemy	n
túò	bow	n	dùò	sleep	v
tómá	work	n	dòmá	soul	n
kàp̀̀t̀̀t̀̀	patience	n	síídì	cedi	n
	(Hausa)			(Akan)	
kèti	break	v	lè-dáá	lower jaw	n
s̀̀t̀̀á	thorn	n	kàndíà	Kandia	propn

The segment [r] can surface when [t] is expected. For instance, the plural form of the word *g̀̀ér* ‘lizard’ is *g̀̀été* ‘lizards’ and the plural form of the word *s̀̀t̀̀á* ‘thorn’ is *s̀̀ràsá*. The underlying segmental representation /get/ may be given for the lexeme ‘lizard’.

<sup>6</sup> On one of the field trips, I was given a dog and called it [*táát*]. People in Ducie would repeat its name and call the dog [*táát̀̀*]. The way they pronounced the name suggests that alveolar plosives are disallowed in word-final position.

Rule 1 is postulated, which turns a /t/ into [r] in word-final position and in weak syllables (see Section 3.1.2).<sup>7</sup>

### Rule 1 Lenition

An alveolar stop changes into a trill in word-final position or in word-medial onset.

[ALVEOLAR, OBSTRUENT] → r / \_ # or CV.\_ V.CV

Rule 1 operates only on a few nouns, probably due to the fact that an underlying coda /t/ is rare. Further, all the examples involve [+ATR, -RO] vowels, e.g. *bùtér*: - *bùtété* ‘turtle(s)’ and *tǎír* - *tǎíté* ‘taboo(s)’. Examples of minimal pairs involving a [r]-[t] contrast are *pàrà* ‘farm’ - *pátá* ‘trousers’, *lúró* ‘scrotum’ - *lùtó* ‘root’, and *tǎrí* ‘diarrhoea’ - *tǎtí* ‘type of guinea corn’.

**2.2.1.3 Velar plosives.** The velar plosives are found in word-initial and -medial positions. In addition, among the plosives, the velar plosive is the only one which is allowed word finally. This is shown in Tables 9(a) and 9(b).

Further the segment [ɣ], which appears between vowels in a weak syllable (see Section 3.1.2), is underlyingly a /k/ or a /g/.<sup>8</sup> Since the notion of weak syllable has not been justified, Rule 2 partially accounts for the spirantization of velar plosives.

### Rule 2 Spirantization

The velar obstruents /k/ and /g/ change into [ɣ] when they occur between vowels in a weak syllable.

[VELAR, OBSTRUENT] → ɣ / V.\_ V or \_ . C

As shown in Table 9(c), the segment [ɣ] appears in word-medial position, but never in word-initial or -final position. A voicing distinction between [ɣ] and a potential voiceless velar fricative [x] is not perceived, which, if identified, would create two corresponding pairs with /g/ and /k/ respectively. However, it seems that /g/ and /k/ are spirantised medially except when adjacent to a [+ATR, +HI, -RO] vowel. Nevertheless a few counterexamples, such as *kpégíí* ‘hard’ and *sígíí* ‘misery’, must be taken into account.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Since the voiced alveolar plosive never occurs in word-medial position, there may be another rule involved which devoice the /d/ in *gété* ‘lizards’. In fact, by omitting [-VOICED], Rule 1 captures /d/ as well. Notice that Rule 1 undergenerates in some instances, e.g. *bùtér* ‘turtle’, *bùtété* ‘turtles’ \**burete*.

<sup>8</sup> For simplicity, I use [g] throughout instead of the IPA symbol for the voiced velar plosive [g].

<sup>9</sup> In Mòoré and Koromfe /g/ is spirantised medially except when adjacent to a [+ATR, +HI] vowel (John Rennison, p.c.). Chakali *hóyúl* ‘cockroach’ and *nànjóyúl* ‘butcher’ are clear spirantization cases.



Table 9: Velar plosives and fricative

(a) Voiceless velar plosive			(b) Voiced velar plosive		
kààsì	clear throat	v	gáásí	pass	v
kóŋ	cobra	n	góŋ	type of plant	n
kòtì	fine grinding	v	gōtí	roll	v
hákílá	cognition	n	bégíí	heart	n
kàkà	toothache	n	kùgsó	rib cage	n
tùk	type of nest	n	hóg	bone	n
pààtǎk	leaf	n	vóg	small god	n

(c) Velar fricative					
/kpaɡa/	[kpàɣà]	have	v		
/dɔɡa/	[dɔɣà]	Doga	propn		
/tʃaktʃak/	[tʃáɣətʃák]	tattoo	ono		
/tig-si/	[tíɣísí]	gather	v		
/hogul/	[hóɣúl]	cockroach	n		

**2.2.1.4 Glottal plosive.** The glottal plosive, or “glottal stop”, occurs only at the beginning of vowel-initial word stems. Word-initially it is optional, but it is obligatory at the beginning of a vowel-initial stem contained within polymorphemic words such as *nóʔóróŋ* ‘type of tree’ and *fáláʔúl* ‘calabash node’. Table 10 provides examples of word-initial and (stem-initial) word-medial positions.

Table 10: Glottal plosive

ʔàbé	palm tree (Akan)	n
ʔáá	bushbuck	n
ʔíl	breast	n
ʔilèʔilè	type of colour	ideo
bàʔərǎ	swelling	n
nóʔóróŋ	type of tree	n

**2.2.1.5 Labial-velar plosives.** Among the twenty-five consonants, five are complex segments. These include the plosives /kp/ and /gb/. The term “complex” in this context means that two primary places of articulation are involved in the production of the sounds, that is, the velum and the lips. Nonetheless, they behave as single phonemes. The labial-velar plosives can occur in initial and medial positions, but as the bilabial plosives, when they are found in a word-medial position, the position is typically the onset of a non-initial stem. Table 11 gives examples of labial-velar plosives in word-initial positions and shows that they contrast with both the labial and the velar plosives.

Table 11: Labial-velar plosives

(a) Voiceless labial-velar plosive			(b) Voiced labial-velar plosive		
kpà	take	v	gbà	also	quant
kpáá	type of dance	n	gbáà	control animal	v
kpòḡ	location	propn	gbóḡ	type of tree	n
(c) Contrast with /k/ and /p/			(d) Contrast with /g/ and /b/		
kpòḡ	location	propn	gbár	watcher	n
kóḡ	Kapok	n	gár	stable	n
kpísí	sneeze	v	gbéníí	pink	qual
pìsì	scatter	n	géníí	fool	n
kpò	kill	v	gbòḡḡà	dense	v
pó	spit	v	bòḡḡà	bend	v

**2.2.1.6 Affricates.** The affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are treated as single phonemes. They can occur in word-initial and word-medial positions, although the voiced affricate is comparatively less used. Notice that while /kp/ and /gb/ do contrast with /p/, /b/, /k/, and /g/, /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ do not exist in the language (except for the interjection *ʃíáá* ‘insult’). Table 12 provides (near-)minimal pairs, when available.

Also, the sound [tʃ] is pronounced [k] by some members of the oldest generation, e.g. *tʃíír* ~ *kíír* ‘taboo’, *tʃímmáá* ~ *kímmáá* ‘pepper’, *tʃíéḡé* ~ *kíéḡé* ‘break’, etc. This could be evidence that, in the recent past, the affricates originated as stops in an environment conditioned by a high front vowel. However, examples of minimal pairs [tʃ]-[k] exist: *tʃòḡò* ‘ignite’ vs. *kòḡò* ‘hold’, *tʃól* ‘clay’ vs. *kól* ‘type of staple food’, *tʃàḡà* ‘to face’ vs. *kàḡà* ‘to choke’, among others.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> It could be that the lexemes involved in these minimal pairs underwent semantic change and

Table 12: Affricates

(a) Voiceless affricate			(b) Voiced affricate		
tʃòòŋ	type of fish	n	dʒòóŋ	hammock	n
tʃáásá	comb	n	dʒàá	unexpectedly	adv
tʃààni	shine	v	dʒájáá	bearing tray	n
kátʃál	type of tree	n	təráádʒà	trousers (ultm. Eng.)	n
pààtʃák	leaf	n	bádʒòó	type of lizard	n

### 2.2.2 Fricatives

The four fricatives /f/, /v/, /s/, and /z/ are distinguished by their place of articulation and by their voicing.

**2.2.2.1 Labio-dental fricatives.** In general, the segments /f/ and /v/ have the same distribution: they can occur in word-initial and -medial positions, but never in a final position, and they both can precede any vowel. They contrast exclusively on the feature VOICE. This is shown in Table 13. Contrasts with alveolar fricatives are given in Table 14 of Section 2.2.2.2.

Table 13: Labio-dental fricatives

fàà	ancient time	n
vàà	dog	n
fàà	do by force	v
vàà	be beyond	v
fááí	be between	v
vààrì	do abruptly	v

**2.2.2.2 Alveolar fricatives.** The alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/ can occur in word-initial and -medial positions, but never word-finally. The glottal stricture is the only property which differentiates the alveolar and labio-dental fricatives. Overall, the voiceless alveolar fricative is more frequent than the voiced one. In word-medial positions, the voiceless alveolar fricative acts mainly as the onset of a

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phonological change, but originated from a single source. Vagla data suggest that a conditioning of front vowel is not unique to Chakali (see footnote 17). Looking at the form/meaning of cognates in other related languages would be revealing.

non-initial stem. Table 14(a) presents the alveolar fricatives in opposition for the feature VOICE, and Table 14(b) presents the alveolar fricatives contrasting with the labio-dental fricatives in word-initial positions.

Table 14: Alveolar fricatives

(a) Alveolar fricatives			(b) Contrast with /f/ and /v/		
sìé	imitating	n	sǎǎ́	axe	n
zìé	wall	n	fǎǎ́	do by force	v
sóŋ	name	n	zìé	wall	n
zòŋ	weakling	n	viè	refuse	v
sóó	front	n	sùì	bambara bean	n
zòò	enter	v	víí	cooking pot	n
pìsá	grass mat	n			
kózàà	basket	n			
tʃàsɛ̀	cough disease	n			
zìézìé	light weight	ideo			

### 2.2.3 Nasals

There are five distinct nasal consonants in the language: a bilabial, an alveolar, a palatal, a velar, and a labial-velar. Phonological processes involving the nasal feature are frequent in the language. One is discussed in Section 3.2.1.2. In word-initial position, only [ŋ] is not attested. The distribution of nasals in word-final position is as follows: rare cases with the bilabial [m], a few words with the alveolar [n], and the large majority with the velar [ŋ]. Chakali appears to have one velarization alternation, as stated in Rule 3.

#### Rule 3 Velarization

Nasals surface as [ŋ] word-finally.

[+NASAL] → ŋ / \_ #

**2.2.3.1 Bilabial nasal.** The bilabial nasal /m/ occurs in word-initial and -medial positions. This is shown in Table 15. It is rarely found in word-final positions: the onomatopoeia *ʔángù̀m* ‘monkey’s scream’, the adverbial *tʃérím* ‘quietly’, the noun *súrùm* ‘silence’ (ultm. Hausa), and *géè̀m* ‘game reserve’ (ultm. Eng.) are the only examples. However, the languages Vagla and Kasem, surely among others, allow final [m]. Both languages are genealogically related, but only the former

is in contact with Chakali. It is assumed that Chakali speakers are accustomed to hearing a bilabial nasal in final position. However, an underlying final /m/ is possible, e.g. /dɔm/ → *dóŋ* SG. *dómá* PL. ‘enemy’ and /dɔŋ/ → *dóŋ* SG. *dóŋà* PL. ‘comrade’ (see Section 3.2.1 and Rule 3). Table 15(b) displays two minimal pairs involving the bilabial nasal in opposition with a bilabial plosive and a labial-velar.

Table 15: Bilabial nasal

(a) Bilabial nasal			(b) Contrast with a /b/ and /ŋm/		
mǎǎ	mother	n	mèŋ	mist	n
mó	work clay	v	béŋ	type of tree	n
múr:	story	n	ŋméŋ	okro	n
dòmá	soul	n			
ŋòmè	blind	n			
kìm-bóŋ	bad thing	n			

**2.2.3.2 Alveolar nasal.** The alveolar nasal /n/ can occur in all three positions: word-initial, word-medial and word-final. Table 16(a) presents the alveolar nasal in those positions. However, as mentioned in Section 2.2.3.1, Rule 3 turns word-final nasals into a velar nasal. The number of words which allow a word-final alveolar nasal is very limited, and the majority are ultimately ‘non-native’: *dàm-bàfúlánáán* ‘fifth month’ (Waali), *límáàn* ‘imam, prayer-leader’ (Arabic), *méesin* ‘mason’ (Eng.), *ʔólùplén* ‘airplane’ (Eng.), *pèn* ‘pen’ (Eng.), and *gáádìn* ‘garden’ (Eng.). In Table 16, the alveolar nasal is found in word-final positions in *nòkùñ* and *sábáán*. If these words were uttered at the end of a phrase in normal speech, they would be velarized. Nonetheless, when elicited in isolation, the alveolar

Table 16: Alveolar nasal

(a) Alveolar nasal			(b) Contrast with a /l/ and /r/		
náál	grand-father	n	bìlà	try to solve	v
ná	see	v	bìnà	old	v
kànà	arm ring	n	náhíè	sense	n
zùpòná	millet crazy top disease	n	lèhéè	wooden spoon	n
nòkùñ	type of tree	n	pèná	moon	n
sábáán	roof top	n	pèrà	weave	v

nasals do not always surface velarized, so a certain number of lexical exceptions may exist (cf. Rule 3). Table 16(b) provides evidence that the alveolar nasal, the lateral, and the trill are indeed distinct phonemes.

**2.2.3.3 Palatal nasal.** The palatal nasal /ɲ/ is found in word-initial and word-medial positions, but never in a word-final position. It never precedes another consonant and only one word where a consonant precedes the palatal nasal is identified, i.e. *sámbáɲàɲá* ‘type of grass’. Table 17(a) provides examples where the palatal nasal occurs word-initially and -medially. The examples in Table 17(b) show that [n] and [ɲ] contrast in word-initial position.

Table 17: Palatal nasal

(a) Palatal nasal			(b) Contrast with a /n/		
ɲǎǎ́	poverty	n	ɲǎǎ́	poverty	n
ɲínè	look	v	nǎǎ́	leg	n
ɲínà	father	n	ɲíɲ	tooth	n
ɲǒǒ̀	smoke	v	níɲ	this	adv
ɲéɲáɲ	worm	n	ɲǒǒ̀	crowd	v
ʔàɲǎǎ́	type of snake	n	nǒǒ̀	hear	v
bòɲé	respect with (Waali)	n			

**2.2.3.4 Velar nasal.** The segment [ŋ] is by far the most frequent nasal sound found in word-final position. When it precedes a consonant, the velar nasal is the last segment of a preceding syllable. Unlike the other nasals it never appears in word-initial position. Table 17(a) provides examples of the velar nasal in word-

Table 18: Velar nasal

(a) Velar nasal			(b) Contrast with a /n/		
bòɲà	bend	v	kàɲá	back	n
dóɲá	people	n	kànà	arm ring	n
piɲà	be satisfied	v	tòɲà	type of sickness	n
kónsíáɲ	red dove	n	tóná	profit	n
ɲméri	okro	n	tíɲà	follow	v
kùɲkùɲ	brain	n	tínà	cloud gather	v

medial and -final positions. In Table 17(b), [n] and [ŋ] show contrast in word-medial positions.

**2.2.3.5 Labial-velar nasal.** The labial-velar nasal /ɲm/ is one of the four doubly-articulated segments in the language. It occurs in both word-initial and word-medial positions, as shown in Table 19(a), but never in a word-final position. Table 19(b) displays minimal pairs involving the labial-velar nasal in opposition with the other nasals. A single near-minimal pair with a palatal nasal is identified, but no minimal pair involving the labial-velar and the velar nasal is found. The labial-velar nasal mainly occurs in word-initial position, whereas the velar nasal occurs in word-final position. All SWG languages of Ghana have been reported with a phonemic contrast between a labial-velar and a velar nasal (Crouch & Smiles 1966; Bergman, Gray & Gray 1969; Toupin 1995; Crouch & Herbert 2003). Even though the labial-velar nasal is sometimes perceived as slightly palatalized when followed by a non-high front vowel, e.g. *ɲm'ɛnà* 'chisel', it is not rendered in the transcription.

Table 19: Labial-velar nasal

(a) Labial-velar nasal			(b) Contrast with /m/, /ɲ/, and /n/		
ɲmá	tell	v	ɲmá	say	v
ɲmédàà	thread holder	n	má	you	2.pl.wk
ɲmɛ̃tɛ̃l	eight	num	ɲá	defecate	v
ɲm'ɛ̃r	thief	n	ná	see	v
dòɲmɛ̃ɲ	type of snake	n	ɲmɛ̃ɲ	okro	n
ɲmònàɲmònà	type of colour	ideo	mɛ̃ɲ	dew	n

## 2.2.4 Lateral and trill

**2.2.4.1 Alveolar lateral approximant.** The alveolar lateral approximant /l/ is found in word-initial positions, as well as word-medial and word-final positions. This is shown in Table 20(a). There is only one token where the alveolar lateral precedes a nasal vowel, e.g. *kól'òɲ* 'well' (but see Section 2.1.10 on nasal vowels). In Table 20(b) [r] and [l] are shown to contrast in word-medial and word-final positions.

Table 20: Alveolar lateral approximant

(a) Alveolar lateral approximant			(b) Contrast with /r/		
làà	take	v	pàlà	flow	v
liì	go out	v	pàrà	farm	v
jálá	burst	v	sòólá	type of cloth	n
pàtílá	small hoe	n	sòórá	odor	n
gántál	outside	n	púl	type of river grass	n
ʔil	breast	n	púr:	skin bag	n

**2.2.4.2 Alveolar trill or flap.** In careful speech, the rhotic consonant is often produced with the blade of the tongue vibrating against the alveolar ridge. However, it would be wrong to treat the production of /r/ in Chakali and, for instance, the /r/ in Spanish, as similar. In normal speech, the rhotic consonant is usually perceived as a flap-like sound. For instance, the rhotic in *pàrà* ‘to farm’ sounds as if the tongue strikes its point of articulation once, instead of repetitively. There is only one rhotic consonant, but even though it is not perceived as an alveolar flap in most cases, it is transcribed as *r*, instead of (the standard and more precise but less practical) *r*. Nonetheless, /r/ in coda position is especially subject to tongue vibration, e.g. *gàr* ‘cloth’.

Rhotic /r/ is found both word-medially and word-finally. In coda position, it is often emphasized; in such cases a diacritic is used to represent a lengthy trill, i.e. [r:]. It is also the only consonant which occurs in the second position of a CC sequence (Section 3.1 example 5). It never occurs word-initially, except for the focus marker *ra*, which is nevertheless treated as a word unit (see Section 3.2.2.2 for the different forms the focus marker can take), and the English loan *róbà* ‘rubber’ in *róbàkàtásà* ‘plastic bowl’. Given that [r] can be found in coda position but never in word-initial onset, and [d] is mainly found in word-initial onset but never in the word-medial position of a monomorphemic word, the rhotic consonant could be treated as an allophone of /d/ (see Awedoba 2002: 30–31 and Dakubu 2002: 62–64). Provisionally, though, this solution is not favoured since it creates two issues which cannot be accommodated at this stage: (i) the CC sequence in onset becomes /Cd/, e.g. /pd/ in *prín* ‘type of tree’ and /dd/ in *dráábà* ‘driver’, and (ii) [r] and [t] are sounds distinguished by several minimal pairs, as opposed to [d], e.g. *tjárì* ‘diarrhoea’ and *tjátì* ‘type of guinea corn’, *pàrà* ‘farm’ and *pátá* ‘trousers’, *lúró* ‘scrotum’ and *lùtó* ‘root’.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Another piece of evidence would be the alveolar flap as the realization of a /t/ in a weak syllable, e.g. (SG/PL) *sótá/sòràsá*.



Minimal pairs involving the alveolar rhotic and alveolar lateral approximant are given in Table 21(b).<sup>12</sup>

Table 21: Alveolar trill

(a) Alveolar trill			(b) Contrast with /l/ and /d/		
pàrà	farm	n	fòrò	blanch	v
kòòrì	built	v	fòlò	make loose	v
ʔàrfí	grass cutter	n	hàrà	lock	v
gríí	cheek	n	hàlà	fry	v
gáá:	stable	n	bílígí	rub	v
gèé:	lizard	n	bìrìgì	delay	v
kóó:	bench	n	kùóù	chief	n
kpóó:	palm tree	n	kùòdú	banana	n

## 2.2.5 Glides

**2.2.5.1 Voiced labio-velar approximant.** The voiced labio-velar approximant /w/ appears both in word-initial and word-medial positions, but never in a word-final position.<sup>13</sup> There are a few words which are transcribed with superscript [w] (e.g. *b<sup>w</sup>óŋ* ‘difficult’ and *zàk<sup>w</sup>óól* ‘beetle’), representing a labialized consonant, but there are no definite regularities. When it occurs, it is in front of a round vowel.<sup>14</sup> In Table 22(b) examples are offered which set in opposition the voiced labio-velar approximant and the palatal approximant.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> In 21(b), the word *kùòdú* ‘banana’ is part of a minimal pair used as evidence for a nonallophonic alternation between [r]/[d]. However, the word *kùòdú* is ultimately borrowed as it “exists all over West Africa in some form or other” (M. E. Kropp-Dakubu, p. c.). It is the only minimal pair [r]/[d] in the lexicon.

<sup>13</sup> Whether /w/ and /j/ occur word-finally results from one’s decision about syllable structure. Is [aw] phonologically /aʊ/ or /aw/? This question will not be resolved without a finer phonological model.

<sup>14</sup> As mentioned in footnote 4, Dɛg is claimed to have an inventory of 13 phonemic labialized consonants (Crouch & Herbert 2003: 2).

<sup>15</sup> In field notes I transcribed [ɥ] a highly aspirated and palatalized version of /w/ found before high front vowels, e.g. *ɥìì* ‘weep’ and *ɥíí* ‘matter’. This sound needs further investigation because I did not perceive it consistently in that environment. It is transcribed throughout with w.

Table 22: Voiced labio-velar approximant

(a) Voiced labio-velar approximant			(b) Contrast with /j/		
wáá	he, she, it	3.sg.st.	wàá	Wa town	propn
wíí	matter	n	jàà	fetch	v
wóŋ	deaf person	n	wàà	come	v
fɔ̀wà	wrap	v	jà	we, our	1.pl.wk
jòwá	market	n	tàwà	inject	v
pèwò	blow	v	tájà	catapult (ultm. Eng.)	n

**2.2.5.2 Palatal approximant.** The palatal approximant /j/ appears both in word-initial and word-medial positions, as shown in Table 23(a), but never in a word-final position. Table 23(b) provides additional minimal pairs in which the palatal approximant and the voiced labio-velar approximant contrast.

Table 23: Palatal approximant

(a) Palatal approximant			(b) Contrast with /w/		
júò	fight, quarrel	n	jàà	fetch	v
tájà	catapult (ultm. Eng.)	n	wáá	he, she, it	3.sg.st.
bàjúòrà	lazy	qual	jóŋ	slave	n
ìjèlà	clan name	propn	wóŋ	deaf	n

**2.2.5.3 Glottal approximant.** The glottal approximant /h/ occurs only in word-initial and -medial positions. Table 24(b) shows examples in which [h] contrast with the fricatives and the glottal plosive.

Table 24: Glottal approximant

(a) Glottal approximant			(b) Contrasts		
há	hire	v	hàlà	fry	v
hól	piece of charcoal	n	vàlà	walk	v
hìrè	dig	v	fàlà	calabash	n
nàhà	ego's grand-mother	n	híéŋ	relative	n
lúhò	funeral	n	zíéŋ	snake venom	n
lèhéè	wooden spoon	n	hól	type of tree	n
			sól:	clearly	adv
			?ól	type of mouse	n

### 2.2.6 Summary

The consonants of Chakali were introduced and the majority were presented in a pairwise fashion to highlight specific contrasts. In Table 25, the consonantal phonemes are arranged according to their place and manner of articulation. Among them, the surface consonant [ɣ] is derived from underlying phonemes, i.e. /g/ or /k/. Due to the limited scope of the present section, the phonological features making up the consonant phonemes were not introduced. They will be presented along the way when necessary.<sup>16</sup>

Table 25: Phonetic and phonemic consonants in Chakali

	Bilabial	Labial-dental	Alveolar	Postalv.	Palatal	Velar	Glottal	Labial-velar
Plosives	p b		t d			k g	ʔ	kp gb
Fricatives		f v	s z			(ɣ)	h	
Affricates				tʃ dʒ				
Nasals	m		n		ɲ	ŋ		ɲm
Liquid			l r					
Semi-vowels					j			w (ɥ)

<sup>16</sup> In order to maintain neatness, the label 'Liquid' was given to laterals, approximants and trills.

### 3 Phonotactics

#### 3.1 Syllable types

This section deals with the restrictions on possible syllable types. The necessary generalizations responsible for (im)possible segment sequences are introduced. Again, the syllabification procedure used to extract the syllable types is implemented in *Dekereke* and uses the database's pronunciation field.<sup>17</sup> First, syllabic nasals are marked with a diacritic and are treated as one syllable. Secondly, all word-initial consonant clusters are assigned to the onset of the first syllable, and all word-final consonant clusters to the coda of the last syllable. Then, 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. An onset cluster respects a sonority slope similar to the one given in (3).

- (3) Phonetically grounded sonority scale for consonants (Parker 2002: 236)  
*laterals* > *trills* > *nasals* > /*h*/ > *voiced fricatives* > *voiced stops* > *voiceless fricatives* > *voiceless stops* > *affricates*

This means that (i) as one proceeds towards the nucleus the sonority must increase, and (ii) as one proceeds away from the nucleus the sonority must decrease. This sonority-based implementation generates the ill-formed onset clusters given in (4).

- (4) a. \**mb*  
      .*?ε.mbe.lɪ*. 'shoulder' (*?εm.be.lɪ*)  
      b. \**ɣl*  
          .*ha.ɣl.bie*. 'type of ants' (*hag.lɪ.bie*)  
      c. \**ɣj*  
          .*pa.tʃɪ.ɣja.ra*. 'healer' (*pa.tʃɪg.ja.ra*)

The forms in parentheses following the glosses in (4) are correctly syllabified. The forms preceding the glosses are clusters that either satisfy (i.e. *ɣl*, *ɣj*) or do not satisfy (i.e. *mb*) the sonority requirement, but are nonetheless not correctly syllabified. To remedy this problem, \**mb*, \**ɣl*, and \**ɣj* become *ad hoc* constraints on onset clusters. This leaves us with a few attested C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> sequences in (5), which will be discussed below.

<sup>17</sup> Software written and maintained by Rod Casali (version 1\_0\_0\_180 <http://casali.canil.ca/>).

- (5)  $C_1 = \text{SONORANT}$   $C_2 = \text{TRILL}$   
*.pɾɪŋ.* ‘type of Mahogany’  
*.bri.ge.* ‘type of snake’  
*.draa.ba.* ‘driver’ (Eng.)

The first column of Table 26 displays the ten syllable types attested. The other columns display the number of instances of a given syllable in three positions, i.e. word-initial, word-medial, and word-final, regardless of grammatical category distinctions. The table shows that Chakali words mainly comprise CV, CVC, and CVV syllables. Table 27 provides examples of words which contain each of the ten syllable types. They are given in the same order as in Table 26.

Table 26: Attested syllable types (version 10/09/15)

Syllable type	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
CV	1528	1184	1483
CVV	717	242	903
CVC	572	222	388
CVVC	79	22	122
V	25	0	5
N	5	0	3
CVVV	5	0	12
CCVC	2	0	2
CCVV	2	0	1
CCV	1	0	1

The low-frequency syllable types of Table 26 need explanation. The syllabic nasal has a few tokens, e.g. the various surface forms of the first person singular pronoun, the word *.m̩.bu.o.ŋõ.* ‘hunter’s rank’ (borrowed from Gonja), and the name of one of my consultants, Fuseini Mba Zien, whose second name originally means ‘my father’ (in several Oti-Volta languages and beyond) and is syllabified [*.m̩.ba.*]. Adding to these examples, there are contexts in which a nasal makes the syllable peak following an onset consonant. For instance, when involved in some compounds, the stem /*bagɛna/* ‘neck’ yields [*.ba.g̃n̩.*], as in *.ba.g̃n̩.pvɔ.gɾi.* ‘lateral goiter’, *.ba.g̃n̩.bva.* ‘hollow behind the collarbone’, and *.ba.g̃n̩.tfu.gul.* ‘dowager’s hump’.

Table 27: Tokens for each syllable type

Syllable type	Instantiation	Gloss	PoS
CV	.pa.tʃi.gɪ.	abdomen	n
	.gbɛ.ta.ra.	pond	n
	.ʔɔ.ma.	fear	v
CV <sub>α</sub> V <sub>α</sub>	.bãã.	type of lizard	n
	.ʔa.lɛɛ.fɔ.	type of leaf	n
	.sɪɪ.maa.	food	n
CV <sub>α</sub> V <sub>β</sub>	.dia.tɪɪ.na.	landlord	n
	.ba.juo.ra.	lazy	n
	.tɔɔ.nĩã.	type of genet	n
CVC	.ʔɛm.bɛ.lɪ.	wing	n
	.ga.lan.zvɪ.	mad person	n
	.nãã.pol.	Achilles tendon	n
CVVC	.baal.	man	n
	.bõõŋ.	goat	n
	.tʃiir.	taboo	n
V	.ɪ.	you, your	2.sg.wk.
	.a.	the	art
N	.ŋ.	I, my	1.sg.wk
	.ŋ.buo.ŋõ.	hunter's rank (Gonja)	n
	.pɪŋ.	type of Mahogany	n
CCVC	.bri.ge.	type of snake	n
CCV	.draa.ba	driver (ultm. English)	n
CCVV	.bõẽĩ.bõẽĩ.	carefully	ideo
	.ŋmĩẽĩ.	stealing	n
	.paaʋ.	collect.FOC	v
	.paaʋ.	collect.3.SG	v
	.ʃĩãã.	insult	interj

There are restrictions on the type of segments which can act as coda. All velars are permitted in coda position, i.e. {k, g, ɣ, ŋ}. The alveolar nasal [n], lateral [l], trill [r], plus rare instances of [m], are also permitted.

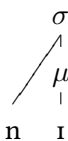
For the CC sequences, it was mentioned in Section 2.2.5.1 that labialized consonants are rarely perceived. Still, a few words are transcribed as [C<sup>w</sup>], a sequence

that could be read as [Cw] by the syllabification procedure, i.e. *b<sup>w</sup>óġ* ‘bad’ and *zák<sup>w</sup>óġl* ‘beetle grub’. That leaves us with one instance of the syllable type CCVC, i.e. [.pɾɪŋ.], a sequence mentioned in (5) above. Syllable types CCVV and CVVV are scarce, but for different reasons. The former involves a CC onset cluster which is infrequent, as mentioned in Section 2.2.4.2. The latter is also rarely attested in the lexical database, but could become very frequent if some cases of suffixation were consistently included in the lexicon. That is, given a verbal lexeme with a CVV final syllable, a CVVV sequence is produced by adding the nominalization or the assertion suffix (i.e. CVV-i/I and CVV-u/ʊ, respectively). These are described in Sections 3.2.2.2 and 4.3.

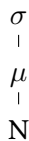
### 3.1.1 Syllable representation

In this section, a unified representation of the syllable is provided. The notion of *weight unit* captures aspects of the internal structure of a syllable. Weight distinctions are encoded in mora count, which has been proposed as an intermediate level of structure between the segments and the syllable (Hyman 1985). The mora is of particular importance since it determines vowel length and tone assignment, among other things. In (6) the top node symbol  $\sigma$  represents the syllable. At a level under the syllable, the symbol  $\mu$  represents the mora. The main opposition is between monomoraic (light) and bimoraic (heavy) syllables, but trimoraic (superheavy) syllables are also possible. The light syllables are composed of a single consonant and a single vowel (CV), a single vowel (V), or a syllabic nasal (N). The heavy and superheavy syllables are CVV, CVVC, CCVC, CCV, CVVV, and CCVV. The type CVC can be both light and heavy.

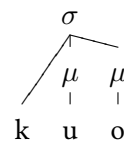
(6) a. *light*



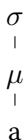
c. *light*



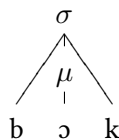
e. *heavy*



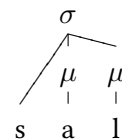
b. *light*



d. *light*



f. *heavy*



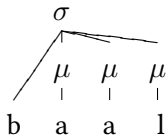
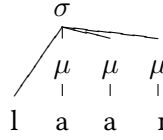
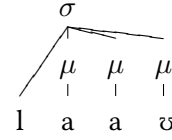
The syllable structure in (6a) is found in many verbs and function words (e.g. postposition *ni*, focus marker *ra*, preverbal particles *ka*, *bi*, and *ha*, verbs *na* ‘see’, *pe* ‘add’, and *to* ‘cover’, etc.) The light syllable in (6b) is exemplified by the definite article *a* ‘the’ and the second and third person singular weak pronouns *i* ‘you, yours’ and *o* ‘he, she, it, his, her, its’. Vowel coalescence (i.e. when two consecutive vowels fuse into a long one) suggests that these pronouns are not CV-syllables with glottal plosives in onset positions (see Section 3.2.1). A syllabic nasal constitutes a light syllable (6c): apart from their segmental content, structure (6b) and (6c) are identical, that is, they are also both syllable structures of singular pronouns. Another light syllable is the one in (6d). The choice of treating a CVC sequence as light comes from a certain division in the consonants, that is, those which are perceived with a tone and those which are not. Thus both (6d) and (6f) can represent the structure of a CVC sequence, but only the latter contains a moraic coda.<sup>18</sup>

The heavy syllables are those with two moras. The structure in (6e) represents any vowel sequence, e.g. *sáá* ‘axe’ or *kùó* ‘farm’, and the one in (6f) a sequence in which the final consonant projects a mora, e.g. *sáí* ‘flat roof’. Thus, the set of consonants which are found to bear tones are those which project moras; namely /l/, /r/, and the nasals. This suggests that at least a feature SONORANT must be involved for a segment to bear tone. However, a tone on a SONORANT segment in syllable final position is not always transcribed.

The superheavy syllables are commonly described as consisting of CVCC or CVVC. The former syllable is not attested; a coda consisting of two or more consonants does not exist. The latter type is instantiated in (7a) with the word *báál* ‘male’: other examples are *hùór* ‘raw’, *vàáj* ‘front leg’, among others. Although not attested in a single morpheme (except perhaps in the ideophone *bòèìbòèì* ‘slowly’ and the interjection *íáá* ‘insult’), the CVVV syllable types are treated as trimoraic. The words in (7b) ‘collect.NMLZ’ and (7c) ‘collect.FOC’ are made from the verbal CVV stem *laa* ‘collect’. In these examples, CVVV syllables arise from the suffixation of nominal and assertive morphology, (7b) and (7c) respectively. As presented in Sections 3.3.1 and 4.3.1, cliticized pronouns in object positions also create CVVV syllables.

<sup>18</sup> A reviewer pointed out that tonological generalizations are much better evidence concerning the moraic status of coda consonants. There are many suggestions for further research, but studies of tone and intonation are urgently needed for the languages of the area. For instance, questions relevant to moraic coda consonants are how to properly account for consonants which are found to bear tones and how to treat contour tones on CVC words. This distinction between (6d) and (6f) would need to be spelt out carefully in a phonological study.



(7) a. *superheavy*b. *superheavy*c. *superheavy*

Likewise, some of the representations in (6) can either be projected by a single lexeme or by the combination of one lexeme and a vowel suffix. For example, the word *bié* ‘child’ is analysed as being composed of the stem *bi* and a singular suffix vowel, but the word *tàá* ‘language’ is formed by the stem *taa* and a zero-suffix for singular. Noun class morphology is discussed in Section 3.2.1.

### 3.1.2 Weak syllable

It has already been noted in Section 2.2.1.3 that a segment may change into another in a phonological domain called a weak syllable. This is defined as the state resulting from a reduction or augmentation of a syllable in a specific environment. For instance, in noun formation, the generalizations in (8) are observed when a CV number suffix attaches to a CVC stem, i.e. CVC ] -CV, or a CVCV stem, i.e. CVCV ] -CV.

(8) a. Vowel epenthesis

*Insert a [+SYLL] segment between medial adjacent consonants*

b. Vowel weakening

*Reduce the duration and loudness of a vowel between medial consonants*

c. Intervocalic lenition

*Velar stops become fricatives between vowels*

In the case of a CVC stem, vowel epenthesis creates a vowel between the stem’s coda consonant and the suffix’s onset consonant (more on epenthesis in Section 3.2.1.3). In a resulting CVCVCV environment the quality of the second interconsonantal vowel is not as full as other vowel(s) in the same word: possible outcomes are the reduction of any vowel to [ə], shortening (marked as extra-short, e.g. [ǎ]), or its deletion. Also in the same CVCVCV environment, intervocalic spirantization operates on the onset consonant of the second syllable, turning the velar obstruents /k/ and /g/ into [ç] (see Sections 2.2.1.2 and 2.2.1.3).

### 3.1.3 Consonant cluster

A sequence of consonants is not phonologically distinctive and many tokens are the results of place assimilation. It is treated as a repetition of adjacent and identical segments within a word, closing one and opening the next syllable. Only the set of consonants {n, l, m, ŋ} is attested.

- (9) Transparent polymorphemic
- a. *kpàà̀n-níí* [yam-water] ‘water yam’
  - b. *gón-náá́* [river-leg] ‘branch of a river’
  - c. *bà-lál-là* [body-open-NMLZ] ‘happiness’
- (10) Opaque
- a. *kúmmì* ‘fist’
  - b. *ńáńńí* ‘be worse’
  - c. *tímmáá́* ‘pepper’

Example (9) shows a consonant cluster in fully transparent polymorphemic lexical items, while (10) in morphologically opaque ones.<sup>19</sup>

## 3.2 Sandhi

In this section, some morphophonological processes are introduced. First, the processes occurring within the word are presented, then the processes occurring at word boundaries.

### 3.2.1 Internal sandhi

Internal sandhi refers to insertions, deletions, or modifications of sounds at morpheme boundaries within the word.

**3.2.1.1 Nasal place assimilation.** In words composed of more than one stem, a nasal ending the first stem assimilates the place feature of the following consonantal segment. In this manner, the bilabial [m] surfaces when the first consonant of the second stem is LABIAL, the velar [ŋ] when it is VELAR and the alveolar [n] elsewhere. Yet, in front of [h], the underlying velar nasal stays unchanged. The same process takes place when a stem and a noun class suffix are combined,

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<sup>19</sup> Despite being infrequent in Chakali (*n* = 19, *l* = 6, *m* = 54, *ŋ* 8), “the verb *ńáńńí* ‘be worse’ is a Vagla verb with normal-for-Vagla form” (T. Naden, p.c.).

e.g /*gɔm*/ (CL.3), *gɔmá* SG and *gɔnsá* PL ‘hump(s)’. Table 28 provides some examples (see Section 3.2.2.1 for similar processes at word boundaries).

Table 28: Word-internal nasal place assimilation

Stems	Literal meaning	Word	Gloss	PoS
kɪn-bɔŋ	thing-bad	kɪmbɔŋ	bad	n
loŋ-bɔla	calabash-oval	lɔmbɔl	calabash type	n
nɔŋ-buluŋ	stone-black	nɔmbúlúŋ	grinding stone type	n
sɪŋ-tʃaʊ	drink-termite	sɪntʃáʊ	type of tree	n
sɪŋ-pɔmma	drink-white	sɪmpɔmmá	palm wine	n
sɪŋ-sɪama	drink-red	sɪnsɪámá	fermented pito	n
galaŋa-zɔʊ-r	madness-enter-agent	gàlànzɔʊr	mad person	n

Rule 4 captures the phenomenon.

#### Rule 4 N-regressive assimilation

A nasal consonant assimilates the place feature of the following consonant (conditions: internal and external sandhi).

$C[+NASAL] \rightarrow [\alpha PLACE] / \_ C [\alpha PLACE]$

**3.2.1.2 Nasalisation of verbal suffixes.** The two suffixes under consideration are discussed in Section 4.1.4.1 and 5.3. The first is the perfective suffix. It takes either the form *-je/je* or *-wa*. The quality of the surface vowel depends on (i) whether the verb takes the assertive suffix (glossed FOC, standing for ‘in focus’), and (ii) the vowel quality of the verbal stem. To isolate each effect, negating a proposition makes sure that the assertive suffix does not appear on the verb. The second is the assertive suffix, which can appear on a verb stem both in the imperfective and perfective aspects. To portray the two suffixes in a non-nasal environment, the verb *kpé* ‘crack and remove’ in Table 29 is placed in two paradigms (reproduced from Section 4.3).

Since this section is concerned with nasalisation, the meaning and function of each form is ignored. As seen from the examples, and leaving tones aside, the verbal stem *kpé* has two forms in the negative and three in the positive. The positive is seen as a paradigm in which the event is in focus, as opposed to the argument *ɔ* ‘she’ of the predicate *kpé*. Because of ATR-harmony (Section 4.2), the perfective suffix *-je/je* agrees in ATR with the stem vowel and is rendered *-je* (perfective negative form *kpéjè*). In the affirmative, when assertive suffix *-u/ɔ*

Table 29: *kpé* ‘crack and remove’ (c&r)

(a) Positive		
FUT	ò kàá kpē	‘She will c&r’
IPFV	òò kpéū	‘She is c-&r-ing’
PFV	ò kpéjòò	‘She c-&r-ed’
IMP	kpé	‘C&r!’
(b) Negative		
	ò wàá kpè	‘She will not c&r’
	ò wàá kpé	‘She is not c-&r-ing’
	ò wà kpéjè	‘She did not c-&r-ed’
	té kpéi	‘Don’t c&r!’

follows *-je*, the two vowels coalesce, the assertive suffix is lowered and the two surface as [oo]. A process similar to (11) accounts for the negative and positive perfective forms.

$$(11) \quad kpe-j[-HI, -RO] \rightarrow \alpha_{ATR} \rightarrow kpe-je \rightarrow kpeje-[+HI, +RO] \rightarrow kpejoo$$

The explanation for the form *kpéū* is equivalent, except that the perfective suffix is not involved. Thus, the verbal stem triggering the ATR agreement on the assertive suffix is the only step accounted for. The process is shown in (12).

$$(12) \quad kpe-[+HI, +RO] \rightarrow \alpha_{ATR} \rightarrow kpeu$$

Nasalisation takes place within these two processes. For instance, when the verb stem *sáŋá* ‘sit’ is placed in the same environment as *kpé* in Table 29, all vowels following the velar nasal are nasalized.<sup>20</sup> The process is shown in (13).

$$(13) \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } saŋa-j[-HI, -RO] \rightarrow \alpha_{ATR} \rightarrow \alpha_{NASAL} \rightarrow saŋ(\ə)j\tilde{e}(\tilde{e})-[+HI, +RO] \rightarrow saŋ(\ə)j\tilde{o}\tilde{o} \\ \text{b. } saŋa-[+HI, +RO] \rightarrow \alpha_{ATR} \rightarrow \alpha_{NASAL} \rightarrow saŋ\tilde{o}\tilde{o} \end{array}$$

In this environment, the vowels are automatically nasalized, even when the approximant of the perfective suffix intervenes. Rule 5 attempts to capture the process.

<sup>20</sup> The interplay of vowel coalescence and length is not yet fully understood. This is reflected in the current state of the orthography.

**Rule 5 N-harmony**

A non-nasal vowel assimilates the nasal feature of a nasal segment, with or without an intervening consonant.

$V \rightarrow [+NASAL] / [+NASAL] C_0 \_$

**3.2.1.3 Vowel epenthesis and vowel reduction.** Vowel epenthesis refers to the insertion of a vowel in specific phonological contexts. First, the pronunciation of loan words is treated.<sup>21</sup> Second, the occurrences of the surface vowel [ə] are regarded as either cases of vowel epenthesis or the reduction of underlying vowels in specific environments.

One should be careful in assuming that the insertion of [ə] is phonologically-driven. Take the case of loan words, particularly those ultimately coming from English. It is not clear whether the presence of [ə] in the Chakali word form [bǝ̀lùù] ‘blue’ is an example of vowel epenthesis, i.e. (< *bluu*), or perhaps a case of vowel reduction, i.e. (< *buluu*). On the one hand, the consonant sequence /bl/ is not attested, therefore vowel epenthesis in an impossible consonant sequence could provide an explanation for the presence of the vowel [ə]. On the other hand, given our knowledge of the sociolinguistic situation, the majority of the English words used by Chakali speakers were introduced by speakers of neighbouring languages. Thus it is more likely that a speaker borrows the form *bəluu* – with the schwa – than without it. The latter scenario suggests that [ə] in *bəluu* does not come from vowel epenthesis produced by the phonology of Chakali, but perhaps from other phonologies. Other examples of loan words from English are *tǝ̀rádzà* ‘trouser’ and *báátǝ̀rbíí* ‘battery’, to mention a couple. However if [ə] in *bəluu* is rejected as a case of vowel epenthesis, ‘live’ examples of borrowing which are or have been nativized are needed.

On a field trip, I was given a dog and named it ‘Taat’, but the community members called him *táátǝ̀* (see footnote 6). In this case the vowel [ə] could be treated as a true case of vowel epenthesis: alveolar plosives are prohibited in word-final position and the vowel [ə] is inserted, which allows for the syllabification of the expression as CVV.CV, i.e. *.taa.tǝ̀*. In general, it seems that vowel epenthesis in loan words should be treated case by case. Nonetheless there are good reasons to believe that Chakali uses vowel epenthesis as a common strategy to allow the syllabification of some phonological sequences (see Section 3.1.2).

**Rule 6 Vowel reduction**

A vowel changes into a schwa in a weak syllable.

$V \rightarrow \text{ə} / CV.C \_ .CV$

<sup>21</sup> On loan nouns in particular, see Section 3.2.6. Section 3.1.2 touches upon a similar topic.

**Rule 7** Vowel epenthesis

A schwa is inserted between a coda consonant and an onset consonant.

$\emptyset \rightarrow \text{ə} / \text{VC} \_ . \text{CV}$

In addition to its presence in loan words, the vowel [ə] is found in cases of vowel reduction and vowel epenthesis conditioned by the position of certain segments and syllabification procedures. A vowel reduction takes place when a vowel occurs in a weak syllable (Section 3.1.2). Also, as mentioned above, vowel epenthesis can create proper sequences for syllabification. In Table 30, the first three examples are cases of vowel reduction, whereas the four at the bottom of the table are cases of vowel epenthesis. Rules 6 and 7 account for the observed phenomena.<sup>22</sup>

Table 30: Vowel reduction and epenthesis

	Underlying form	Phonetic form	Gloss
Vowel reduction			
	bugulie	.bù.ɣə.líè.	big water pot
	bifɔla	bifəlá	baby
	mankir	.mán.kə̀rː.	type of yam
Epenthesis			
	maŋsa	.má.ŋə.sá.	groundnuts
	tʃɛrbɔa	.tʃé.rə.bòá.	hip
	tʃagʃag	.tʃá.ɣə.tʃák.	tattoo

The words in Table 30 show that it is either in the weak syllables, or in order to create a weak syllable (due to the adjacency of two consonants in the underlying form) that a vowel [ə] surfaces. The position of the vowel [ə] in the word *mánkə̀rː* ‘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.<sup>23</sup>

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

<sup>22</sup> Rule 7 overgenerates: an improvement would say that the less sonorant the flanking consonants are, the more likely the schwa is perceived.

<sup>23</sup> The tone melody HL on disyllabic words is rare and typical of English loan words, but, obviously, no yam appellations come from English.

ends with a consonant and the second begins with a consonant, i.e. VC<sub>i</sub>][C<sub>j</sub>V, the vowel [ə] is inserted between the two consonants. After syllabification the last consonant of the first morpheme becomes onset of a syllable and the vowel [ə] functions as the nucleus of that syllable, i.e. V]<sub>σ</sub>[C<sub>i</sub>ə]<sub>σ</sub>[C<sub>j</sub>V.

### 3.2.2 External sandhi

External sandhi refers to processes found at word boundaries. Two cases of assimilation are presented.

**3.2.2.1 Nasal place assimilation.** Nasal place assimilation at word boundaries occurs in the environment where the subject pronoun 1.SG.WK ‘I’ immediately precedes a verbal lexeme. The 1.SG.WK pronoun is represented by /N/ in (14).

- (14) a. /N]<sub>wb</sub> *kaali sukuu* FOC/ → [ɲ *kááɫì sùkúù rō*] ‘I go to school’  
 b. /N]<sub>wb</sub> *buure*-3.SG FOC/ → [ɲ *búúruú rō*] ‘I love it’  
 c. /N]<sub>wb</sub> *sɔ nu* FOC/ → [ɲ *sɔ ní rā*] ‘I’m bathing’

Moreover, the same nasal place assimilation occurs in an environment where the possessive pronoun immediately precedes a nominal lexeme. As in (14) /N/ stands for the first person singular possessive pronoun in (15). Rule 4 of Section 3.2.1.1 describes both word-internal and -external nasal place assimilation.<sup>24</sup>

- (15) a. /N]<sub>wb</sub> *gar*/ → [ɲ *gáɾ*] ‘My cloth’  
 b. /N]<sub>wb</sub> *par*/ → [ɲ *páɾ*] ‘My hoe’  
 c. /N]<sub>wb</sub> *ʔul*/ → [ɲ *ʔúl*] ‘My navel’

**3.2.2.2 Focus particle’s place assimilation and vowel harmony.** Focus encodes assertive information and has different forms in the language (Section 5.3). One of the forms is a focus particle which always follows a noun phrase. This particle is glossed as FOC and represented as /RV/, in which R is an abstract consonant (the surface default is [r]) and V a vowel. The possible patterns responsible for the form of the focus particle are listed in (16).<sup>25</sup>

- (16) a. V[-ATR] C[-LAT, -NAS] ]<sub>wb</sub> /RV/ → [ra]  
*par ra* ‘hoe FOC’

<sup>24</sup> The possessive pronouns are sometimes lengthened (Section 3.3.5).

<sup>25</sup> Note that this is not a case of syntactic gemination since no underlying segments are doubled.

- b. V[-ATR] C[+LAT] ]<sub>wb</sub> /RV/ → [la]  
*tl la* ‘gum FOC’
- c. V[-ATR] C[+NAS] ]<sub>wb</sub> /RV/ → [na]  
*tɔn na* ‘skin FOC’
- d. V[+ATR+RO] C[-LAT, -NAS] ]<sub>wb</sub> /RV/ → [ro]  
*hog ro* ‘bone FOC’
- e. V[+ATR+RO] C[+LAT] ]<sub>wb</sub> /RV/ → [lo]  
*pul lo* ‘river FOC’
- f. V[+ATR+RO] C[+NAS] ]<sub>wb</sub> /RV/ → [no]  
*lon no* ‘calabash FOC’
- g. V[+ATR-RO] C[-LAT, -NAS] ]<sub>wb</sub> /RV/ → [re]  
*ger re* ‘lizard FOC’
- h. V[+ATR-O] C[+LAT] ]<sub>wb</sub> /RV/ → [le]  
*bil le* ‘grave FOC’
- i. V[+ATR-RO] C[+NAS] ]<sub>wb</sub> /RV/ → [ne]  
*nen ne* ‘arm FOC’

The patterns presented in (16) are exhaustive. Taking (16a) as an example, it should be read as follows: [ra] is the surface form of the focus particle if the preceding vowel is -ATR and the immediately preceding consonant is {-LAT(ERAL), -NAS(AL)}. The quality of the vowel is predicted by the harmony rules of Section 4.2. When there is no immediately preceding consonant, the surface consonant is [r], e.g. *à tàà rá* ‘the language FOC’, *à púú ré* ‘the yam mound FOC’, and *à kpólúŋkpōō rò* ‘the type of bird FOC’. The surface consonant [w] is sometimes found in environments where [r] is expected. An alternation [w] - [r] as onset of the focus marker is presented in Section 4.3.1.

## 4 Suprasegmentals

At a word level, nasalisation, tone patterns, and vowel harmony are phenomena which are treated as suprasegmentals. Nasalisation phenomena were discussed under sandhi processes. In this section, two suprasegmental aspects of language are treated: tone and intonation, and vowel harmony.

### 4.1 Tone and intonation

Chakali is a tone language with both lexical and grammatical tone. Tones are distinctive pitch variations and are contrastive in the language since they can



affect the meaning of words/phrases, where the words/phrases consist of exactly the same segmental sequences.

Distinct tonal melodies at the lexical level provide evidence that a pitch distinction affects the meaning of words comprising identical sequences of segments. An example of three different tonal melodies, using the minimal triplet, is *ɲmé-ná* ‘okro’, *ɲménà* ‘to cut’ and *ɲmèná* ‘chisel’. The same can be said about tonal melodies at the phrasal level. Thus, the sentences *ɲɲ dí kɔ̄ɔ̄ rá* ‘I am eating t.z.’ and *ɲ dí kɔ̄ɔ̄ rá* ‘I ate t.z.’ are composed of the same sequence of segments (except the length of the pronoun in subject function), but it is mainly the tonal melody which distinguishes the former utterance from the latter. Minimal examples involving intonation are shown in Section 4.1.4.3.

Table 31 displays the tonal melodies of the singular noun category. These are words uttered in isolation, so the tones are cut off from contextual influences. The subtables are divided according to the moraic content of the syllable. The logical possibilities are accommodated with an example.

Based on the evidence of nominal paradigms, two tones are suggested, i.e. high (H) and low (L). They are transcribed on segments with an acute and a grave accent, respectively. Since tones are assigned to moras, light syllables can get a single tone, i.e. H or L. The heavy syllables may get high (H) or low (L), or either one of the contour tones, i.e. falling (HL) or rising (LH). A mid tone is often perceived, but no contrast is found at the lexical level. Provisionally, the mid tone is said to be a derived tone, that is, a raised low tone or a lowered high tone. On rare occasions I perceived a falling tone on the last vowel of a word, e.g. *bùgùnsô* ‘stupidity’.

Vagla, Deg, Tampulma, Sisaala, and Pasaale are all described with two tones (Rowland & Rowland 1965; Crouch & Smiles 1966; Bergman, Gray & Gray 1969; Toupin 1995; Crouch & Herbert 2003) One finds in this literature descriptions of two-tone systems and a considerable number of tone rules. I am not going to delve in that area in detail, but among them, a downstep rule lowers a high tone (i.e. ‘H) when a low tone intervenes between two high tones, e.g. *dɔ̄ɔ̄* (sg. HL), *dɔ̄́sá* (pl. HLH). This is however not consistently identified in the dictionary.

Falling intonation is a phrasal property by which a sequence of tones is cumulatively lowered; underlyingly though, the tones are either high or low. This gradual pitch fall may result in a low tone at the beginning of a phrase being as high as a high tone at the end of the phrase. Example (17) illustrates the phenomenon. While the first line shows how the tones are perceived, the second line provides the lexical tones normally associated with each of the words.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> There is an important level of analysis lacking in this description in that there are no tone rules to account for phrasal and lexical intonations, so example (17) must be interpreted with vigilance.

Table 31: Tonal patterns of singular nouns

(a) One light syllable CVC: non-moraic coda			(b) One heavy syllable CVC: moraic coda		
H	hóg	bone	H	kór:	seat
H	vóg	small god	L	sòl:	dawadawa
L	bòg	type of tree	HL	fól	type of climber
			LH	pól	pond
(c) One heavy syllable CVVC			(d) One heavy syllable CVV		
H	fiél	type of grass	H	bíí	seed
L	tʃòàr	line	L	zùù	type of weather
HL	báàl	male	HL	lòò	hartebeest
LH	vàáj	front leg	LH	bié	child
(e) Two light syllables CVCV			(f) One heavy CVC: non-moraic coda, one light		
H	bíná	excrement	H	tʃéllé	outlaw
L	bòlà	elephant	L	kpànnà	lead
HL	gónò	type of tree	HL	dántà	clan title
LH	bìná	year	LH	kùksó	ribs
(g) One light CV, one heavy CVC			(h) One heavy CVV, one light CV		
H	búzónj	bachelor	HHH	díésé	dream
HL	bózál:	type of bird	HHL	kpáásà	whip
LH	kàtʃíj	type of bird	LHL	kùórù	chief
			LHH	tùósó	added amount
			LLH	fùòlò	whistle
			LLL	bòògà	moon
(i) Three light syllables CVCVCV					
HHH	kásimá	corpse uniform			
HHL	bélégè	drain			
LHL	dùlúgù	type of bird			
LLH	gèrègá	sickness			
LLL	dìginà	ear			
LLH	tʃírìbó	gun firing pin			
LHH	ʔámónó	type of bush cat			
HLL	dókpèni	Royal python			

- (17)    - - - - -    - -    -  
           váà tʃòá díá    nòá    ní  
           dog lie    house mouth POSTP  
           ‘A dog lies at the entrance of a house.’

Generally seen as a discourse function, Chakali has a falling final pitch at the end of polar question (see Section 2.2.2). Final vowel lengthening is also perceived, but not consistently. Falling final pitch is marked with a bottom tone diacritic on a vowel [v̈]. Rule 8 describes the intonation of polar questions (drop of pitch) by the addition of an extra-low tone.

**Rule 8** Polar question drop

An extra-low tone is added at the utterance-final boundary in polar question

## 4.2 Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is a process in which all the vowels in a particular domain come to share one or more phonological feature(s). This agreement is triggered in specific phonological domains and has a particular direction which is often treated as the spreading of one or more vowel feature(s). In Section 2.1, evidence was provided for the establishment of nine underlying vowels with five *-ATR* and four *+ATR* vowels. This type of vowel inventory has been referred to as a five-height (5Ht) system (Casali 2003b: 308), in which the feature *ATR* is contrastive within both the *+HI* and [*-HI, -LO*] vowels (see Table 1). Dakubu (1997: 81–82) and Casali (2003b: 312) maintain that it is the most common inventory among Gur and Kwa languages.

In Section 2.1.9, the *-ATR* specification of the low vowel at the phonemic level was assumed on the basis of its behavior with the set of *-ATR* vowels. In fact, the realization of the low vowel in vowel harmony suggests that the set of vowels specified as *-ATR* contains the low vowel. To illustrate the properties of vowel harmony, let us consider how they function in monosyllabic noun roots. Consider the data in Table 32.

Chakali is a language with noun classes (see Section 3.2.1). A class is defined as a pair of singular and plural suffixes associated with a particular root. Table 32 shows that only three vowels can occur in the plural suffix position, i.e. [a], [e], and [o]. The distribution is such that when the suffixes occur after a stem containing any member of the set {i, ε, ɔ, u, a}, they are realized as *-a*. The plural suffix vowel *-e* is realized when the root features are [*+ATR, -RO*], whereas the

Table 32: Vowel harmony in nouns

Root vowel feature	Root	Singular	Plural	Gloss
[+ATR, -HI, -LO, -RO]	sel	sél:	sélé	animal
[+ATR, +HI, -LO, -RO]	bi	bíí	bíé	seed
[+ATR, -LO, -RO]	kie	kìé	kìété	half of a bird
[+ATR, +HI, -LO, +RO]	ʔul	ʔúl	ʔúló	navel
[+ATR, -HI, -LO, +RO]	hol	hól	hóló	type of tree
[+ATR, -LO, +RO]	buo	bùó	bùósó	funeral item
[-ATR, +HI, -RO]	bɪ	bíí	bíá	stone
[-ATR, -HI, -LO, -RO]	bɛl	bèl	béllá	type of tree
[-ATR, +HI, -LO, +RO]	ɲɔg	ɲóg	ɲógá	crocodile
[-ATR, -HI, -LO, +RO]	hɔl	hól	hólá	piece of charcoal
[-ATR, -LO, +RO]	bʊɔ	bòó	bòòsá	hole
[-ATR, +LO]	vaa	váá	vásá	dog
[-ATR, +LO]	baal	báàl	báàlá	male

plural suffix vowel *-o* is realized when the root features are [+ATR, +RO]. Notice that the height feature(s) of a vowel is irrelevant in all cases (see Stewart & Leynseele (1979) for cross-height vowel harmony). Rules 9 and 10 accommodate the surface forms of Table 32.

**Rule 9** Noun classes realization (1)

A noun class suffix vowel becomes +ATR if preceded by a +ATR stem vowel, and shares the same value for the feature RO as the one specified on the preceding stem vowel.

$$-V_{nc} \rightarrow [\beta_{RO}, +ATR, -HI] / [\beta_{RO}, +ATR] C_0 \_$$

**Rule 10** Noun classes realization (2)

A noun class suffix vowel becomes *-a* if the preceding stem vowel is *ɪ, ɛ, ɔ, ʊ* or *a*.

$$-V_{nc} \rightarrow +LO / -ATR C_0 \_$$

The same rules may be used to account for the vowel quality of the focus marker (Section 3.2.2.2) and the verbal suffixes (Section 3.2.1.2). Yet, the rules need to be rewritten in order to be applicable to wider domains and elements than those defined in their definition. Rules 11 and 12 break down Rules 9 and 10 into components able to be applied to other relevant domains.

**Rule 11** ATR harmony

A vowel suffix agrees with the ATR value of the preceding stem/word vowel (domains: noun classes, verbal suffixes, focus marker).

$V \rightarrow [\alpha_{ATR}] / [\alpha_{ATR}] C_0 \_$

**Rule 12** RO harmony

A vowel suffix agree with the RO value of the preceding stem/word vowel (domains: noun classes, verbal suffixes, focus marker).

$V \rightarrow [\alpha_{RO}] / [\alpha_{RO}] C_0 \_$

Up to the present, the data suggest that the low vowel is excluded from co-occurring with +ATR vowels. So the prediction seems to be that if a word contains a +ATR vowel, either the low vowel /a/ cannot be realized and is thus changed by (one of) the above rules, or the low vowel is banned altogether from the underlying form. Caution is necessary, however, since complex stem nouns (Section 3.2.3) are attested containing both low vowels and +ATR vowels, e.g. *pàzèj* (*par-zeŋ*, HOE-BIG) ‘big hoe’. Moreover, some multisyllabic words which cannot be treated as morphologically complex due to their lack of morphological transparency do appear with both a +ATR vowel and the low vowel, e.g. *dáárí* ‘dig’ vs. *dààri* ‘be half asleep’. When they do co-occur the general tendency is for a low vowel to precede any +ATR vowels in a word.

Across phrase boundaries, when the postposition *ni* occurs between the focus particle and the preceding nominal (see Section 2.6.4 on the postposition and Sections 3.8 and 5.3 on the focus particle), the focus particle’s vowel agrees with the vowel features of the preceding word despite the fact that the required adjacency is no longer satisfied (Section 3.2.2.2). This can be noticed especially in normal-speech rate and context.

- (18) a. *à máŋkísi núú ní rò/rè.*  
 ART match RELN POSTP FOC  
 ‘on the top of the matchbox’
- b. *à pùl ní rō/rē.*  
 ART river POSTP FOC  
 ‘on/at the river’

In (18), there is a retention of harmony across phrase boundaries, either because the postposition becomes ‘transparent’ and vowel-harmony can still operate (i.e. though not the place assimilation of consonant) or because the high

### *Grammatical outlines*

vowel of the postposition itself acquires the relevant vowel features of the preceding word. The fact that either *ro* or *re* can surface as focus marker shows that i) the RO feature may be controlled by a non-adjacent word, and/or ii) +ATR may be a vowel feature of the postposition.<sup>27</sup> Because it is more reduced, the quality of the high front vowel is difficult to hear at normal speech rate in that position, thus the distinction between the -ATR and +ATR versions is not always reflected in the transcription of the postposition.

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<sup>27</sup> A more extreme case is found in example (71c).

# Grammar outline

## 1 Introduction

This chapter provides a broad outline of the grammar and introduces those aspects needed to understand the formations of words and sentences found in the dictionary. Further, it acts as a preliminary grammar of the language, which is and will always be essential for future description and analysis since it sets forth claims to be confirmed, rejected, challenged, or improved. First, the common clause structure, the main elements of syntax and clause coordination and subordination are presented. Then, elements of the nominal domain are introduced, followed by the elements of the verbal domain. Finally, aspects of grammatical pragmatics and selected language usage phenomena are examined. The work is descriptive and employs theory grounded in traditional grammar, but influenced by recent work in linguistic typology. When necessary, the relevant theoretical assumptions are introduced and the relevant literature provided. Recall that the full list of glossing tags is available on page xiv and the glossing convention is discussed in Section 2.3.

## 2 Clause

A clause is a grammatical unit that can express a proposition. A clause which can stand as a complete utterance is an independent clause. When a grammatically correct clause cannot stand on its own, it is dependent on a main clause. Three sorts of speech act are presented in this section: the statement, the question, and the command. The former is by default encoded in a declarative clause (Section 2.1), and the latter two are usually encoded in interrogative clauses (Section 2.2), imperative clauses (Section 2.3), and exclamative clauses (Section 2.4) respectively. Constructions are treated as clause-types; constructions are formal and semantic frames which are conventionalized and display both compositional and non-compositional characteristics. In this section the components of the common independent clauses and constructions encountered are presented. In Section 2.5, clause coordination and subordination are introduced. Section 2.6

covers the adjunct constituents responsible for modifying a main predicate and the function of the postposition.

## 2.1 Declarative clause

Statements may be expressed by a series of declarative clause types. The structure of most common clauses consists of a simple predicate, one or two arguments and an optional adjunct. This structure is represented in (1)

- (1) s|A + P ± O (± AJC)
- (2) a. S + P  
 b. A + P + O  
 c. S + P + AJC  
 d. A + P + O + AJC

The predicate (P) is represented by a verbal syntactic constituent (v) whereas the arguments (S, A, O) are represented by nominal syntactic constituents (n). The adjunct constituent (AJC) may consist of words or phrases referring to time, location, manner of action, etc. (see Section 5 on adjunct types). An argument may be seen as core or peripheral. The core argument of an intransitive clause is realized in the subject position (s), which precedes the predicate.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(3) a. <i>áfíá díjōō.</i><br/>         S P<br/> <i>n v.FOC</i><br/>         ‘Afia ate.’</p>                    | <p>c. <i>áfíá dí sìmáá rā.</i><br/>         A P O<br/> <i>n v n FOC</i><br/>         ‘Afia ate food.’</p>                        |
| <p>b. <i>áfíá díjōō kɪ̀nkáɲ.</i><br/>         S P AJC<br/> <i>n v.FOC qual</i><br/>         ‘Afia ate a lot.’</p> | <p>d. <i>áfíá dí sìmáá kɪ̀nkáɲ nà.</i><br/>         A P O AJC<br/> <i>n v n qual FOC</i><br/>         ‘Afia ate food a lot.’</p> |

The core arguments of a transitive clause are realized in the subject (A) and object (O), the former preceding and the latter following the predicate in their canonical positions. These characteristics are illustrated in (3).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Focus (FOC) may be integrated into the verb or coded in a focus particle, among others. Section 3.2.2.2 presents the various forms FOC can take.



Grammatical relations are primarily determined by constituent order. Thus, the subject and object functions are not morphologically marked, except that the subject pronouns in s and A positions can have strong or weak forms (see Section 3.3.1). This is extraneous to the marking of grammatical functions but pertinent to the emphasis put on an event's participant. A peripheral argument consists of a constituent foreign to the core predication, that is, an argument which is not part of the core participant(s) typically associated with a predicate. As peripheral argument, an adjunct (AJC) may be realized by a single word or a phrase. Reference to space, manner, and time are the typical denotations of peripheral arguments. Adjuncts will be briefly discussed here; details are offered in Sections 2.6 and 5.

Adjuncts are optional with respect to the main predication and can be added to both intransitive and transitive clauses, as shown in (4a), as well as (3b) and (3c) above (see Sections 2.1.6, 2.6.4, and 2.6.3 for discussions on the postposition).

- (4) a. Manner expression in intransitive clause

ò ɲóá làyá ñì.  
PSG drink IDEO POSTP

'He drank quickly.'

- b. Manner expression in transitive clause

ò ɲóá à níí làyálàyá ñì.  
PSG drink ART water IDEO POSTP

'He drank the water quickly.'

A variation of the prototype clause in (1) is a clause containing an additional core argument. Dixon (2010: 116) calls a clause which contains an additional core argument, that is, an extended argument (i.e. E), an *extended* (intransitive or transitive) clause. The difference between an adjunct and an additional core argument is not a clear-cut one; still, the locative phrase in (5) is treated as an additional core argument of the predicate *bile* 'put'. In Section 2.6.3, an oblique phrase is defined as a clause constituent whose semantics is characterized by an affected or effected object, although realized in a postpositional phrase. Thus, the extended argument *tìwizéŋ ɲóá ní* 'by a main road' in (5) should be treated as an oblique object.

- (5) A + P + O + E  
*ɲmɛ́ntél sù à bilè ò kùó tiwizéŋ nɔ̀á nĩ.*  
 spider raise.up CONN put 3.SG.POSS farm road.large RELN POSTP  
 A P O E  
 ‘Spider went to establish his farm by a main road.’ [LB 003]

A ditransitive clause consists of a transitive clause with an additional core argument. In Chakali, the verb *tre* ‘give’, a predicate that conceptually implies both a Recipient (R) and a Theme (T), forces its (right-)adjacent argument in object position to be interpreted as beneficiary of the situation. The thing transferred (T) can never follow the verb if the beneficiary of the transfer (R) is realized. This is shown in (6).

- (6) a. *kàlá tɛ́ áfiá à lóólì.*  
 A P O<sub>R</sub> E<sub>T</sub>  
 K. give A. ART car  
 ‘Kala gave Afia the car.’  
 b. *kàlá tɛ́ ɔ̀ à lóólì.*  
 A P O<sub>R</sub> E<sub>T</sub>  
 K. give 3SG ART car  
 ‘Kala gave her the car.’  
 c. \**Kala tre a lóólì Afia.*  
 d. \**Kala tre ɔ̀ Afia.*

The assumption is that the verb *tre* ‘give’ is transitive and its extended argument is always the transferred entity (i.e. Theme) in a ditransitive clause. This is supported by the extensive use of the *manipulative serial verb construction* (see Section 2.1.5), used as an alternative strategy, in order to express transfer of possession and information.

- (7) *kàlá kpá à lóólì / ɔ̀ tiè áfiá.*  
 A P O<sub>T</sub> P O<sub>R</sub>  
 K. take ART car / 3.SG give A.  
 ‘Kala gave the car/it to Afia.’ (*lit.* Kala take the car/it give Afia.)

The extended argument in sentence (6a) and (6b) above is the Theme argument of the verb *kpa* ‘take’ in the serial verb construction in (7). Ditransitive clauses are very rare in the text corpus despite their grammaticality (see 2.3 for information on the text corpus). If both Recipient and Theme occur in one clause it is usually

when the Recipient is pronominal. Multi-verb clauses, which are discussed in Section 2.1.5, may offer better strategies for arranging arguments and predicates than ditransitive clauses as they do not overload a predication with new information. The following subsections present various clause types and constructions which are based on the declarative clause structure introduced above.

### 2.1.1 Identificational clause

An identificational clause can express generic and ordinary categorizations, or assert the identity of two expressions. Generic categorization involves the classification of a subset to a set (e.g. Farmers are humans), whereas an ordinary categorization holds between a specific entity and a generic set (e.g. Wusa is a farmer). The clause can assert the identity of the referents of two specific entities, a clause type also known as equative (e.g. Wusa is the farmer). The examples in (8) illustrate the distinctions.

- (8) a. Generic categorization  
*bòlā jáá kòsásēl lē*  
 elephant IDENT bush.animal FOC  
 ‘The/An elephant is a bush animal.’
- b. Ordinary categorization  
*wòsá jáá pápátá rá*  
 W. IDENT farmer FOC  
 ‘Wusa is a farmer.’
- c. Identity
- i. *wòsá jáá à tóótīnā*  
 W. IDENT ART landlord  
 ‘Wusa is the landlord.’
- ii. *wòsá jáá à báàl tìŋ ká sánġĕĕ kékĵ*  
 W. IDENT ART man ART EGR sit.PFV DXM  
 ‘Wusa is the man sitting like this.’
- iii. *à báàl tìŋ ká sánġĕĕ kékĵ jáá wòsá*  
 ART man ART EGR sit.PFV DXM IDENT W.  
 ‘The man sitting like this is Wusa.’

The verb *jaa* (glossed IDENT) always occurs between two nominal expressions, and, as shown in the last two examples in (8c), their order does not matter, except

for the generic categorization where the order is always [hyponym *jaa* hyperonym]. So, the sentences *pápátá rá jāā wòsá* ‘farmer FOC is Wusa’ and *à tóótīnā jāā wòsá* ‘landlord FOC is Wusa’ are as acceptable as in the order given in (8b) and the first example in (8c).

### 2.1.2 Existential clause

One type of existential clause is the basic locative construction, which is described in Section 2.1.6. Its two main characteristics are the obligatory presence of the postposition *nɪ*, which signals that the phrase contains the conceptual ground, and the presence of a locative predicate or the general existential predicate *dva*. An example is provided in (9).

- (9) *à báál dós à dià nɪ.*  
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 *nɪ*, e.g. *ò dósá jàríí nɪ* ‘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 *nɪ*.

- (10) a. Availability construction  
*à mólèbíí dósá dé.*  
ART money be.at DEM  
‘There is money (available).’  
b. *à mólèbíí dōā dé nɪ*  
ART money be.at DEM POSTP  
‘The money is there.’

Another use is the attribution of a property ascribed to a participant. The example in (11) reads literally ‘a sickness is at Wojo’, i.e. a person named Wojo is sick. In addition to the clause presented in (11), an ascribed property may also be conveyed in a possessive clause (see Section 2.1.3).

- (11) *gàràgá dǎá wòjò nī.*  
 sickness be.at W. POSTP  
 ‘Wojo is sick.’

The verb *dǎa* is the only verb with an allolexe (i.e. a combinatorial variant of a single lexeme) used only in the negative. Consider (12).

- (12) a. *ò dǎá dià nī.*  
 3SG be.at house POSTP  
 ‘She is in the house.’  
 b. *ò wáá tǔò dià nī.*  
 3SG NEG NEG.be.at house POSTP  
 ‘She is not in the house.’  
 c. *\*ò tuo dia nī*  
 d. *\*ò waa dǎa dia nī*

### 2.1.3 Possessive clause

A possessive clause expresses a relation between a possessor and a possessed. It consists of the verb *kpaga* ‘have’, and two nominal expressions acting as subject and object; the former being the possessor (PSOR) of the relation, while the latter being the possessed (PSED).

- (13) *kàlá kpágá nǎǎ rā.*  
 K. have cow FOC  
 PSOR PSED  
 ‘Kala has a cow’

Example (13) says that an animate alienable possession relates Kala (possessor) and a cow (possessed). Since the *have*-construction does not encode animacy or alienability features, staple food can ‘have’ lumps, i.e. *kàpálà kpágá bīē*, and someone can ‘have’ a senior brother, i.e. *ò kpágá bíérì*. Abstract possession may also be conveyed using the same construction. In (14), shame, hunger, thirst, and sickness are conceived as the possessors, the possessed being the person experiencing these feelings.

- (14) a. *hǐsáá kpāgā à háǎñ kìnkáñ.*  
 shame have ART woman much  
 ‘The woman was ashamed ...’ [CB 034]

## Grammatical outlines

- b. *lòsá kpágáŋ nà.*  
hunger have.1.SG FOC  
'I am hungry.'
- c. *níŋlòksá kpágáŋ nà*  
thirst have.1.SG FOC  
'I am thirsty.'
- d. *gàràgá kpágáŋ nà*  
sickness have.1.SG FOC  
'I am sick.'

Some characteristics ascribed to animate entities are expressed by the relational term *tíma* 'person characterized by, or in possession of' and thus may be expressed in an existential clause (15a) rather than a possessive clause (15b).

- (15) a. *ò jáá sístámà-títná.*  
3.SG IDENT seriousness-owner  
PSOR PSED  
'He is serious'
- b. *ò kpágá sístámà rá.*  
3.SG have seriousness FOC  
'He is serious'

### 2.1.4 Non-verbal clause

As its name suggests, a non-verbal clause is a clause without verbal elements. Its main function is to identify or assert the (non-)existence of something. The examples in (16b) and (17) assert the (non-)existence of a referent with a single nominal expression, followed by the focus particle in the affirmative and the negative particle in the negative (see Section 3.8 on focus and negation).

- (16) a. *áj kíŋ ká jàà kíŋ háŋ?*  
Q.who thing IPFV IDENT thing DEM  
'Whose thing is this thing.'
- b. *ŋ kín nā.*  
1SG thing FOC  
'It is mine.'

- (17) a. *fón ná.*  
knife FOC  
'It is a shaving knife.'
- b. *ɲ fón ná.*  
1SG.POSS knife FOC  
'It is my shaving knife.'
- c. *fón lèí.*  
knife NEG  
'It is not a shaving knife.'
- d. *ɲ fón lèí.*  
1SG.POSS knife NEG  
'It is not my shaving knife.'

Correspondingly the manner deictics *keɲ* and *niɲ* are also found in non-verbal clauses. For instance, *kéɲ né* means 'That is it!', but the same string is more often heard as *kéɲ nèè* 'Is that so/it?', i.e. constructed as a polar question (see Section 2.2.2 on polar questions, and Section 5.1 on *keɲ* and *niɲ*).

Finally, a speaker may utter *mín nà* 'it is me' in order to say that he or she must be identified by the addressee. This utterance consists solely of the third singular strong pronoun, which refers to the discourse-given entity and someone whose identity will be established by the addressee, and is followed by the focus particle (see Section 3.3 on pronouns).

### 2.1.5 Multi-verb clause

A multi-verb clause is a clause containing more than one verb. The main type of multi-verb clause is the serial verb construction (SVC), the definition of which is still subject to contention. Let us start by stating that the SVC in Chakali has the following properties: (i) a SVC is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, (ii) each verb in the series could occur as a predicate on its own, (iii) no connectives surface (coordination or subordination), (iv) tense, aspect, mood, and/or polarity are marked only once, (v) a verb involved in a SVC may be formally shortened, (vi) transitivity is common to the series, so arguments are shared (one argument obligatorily), (vii) the verbs in the series are not necessarily contiguous, and (viii) the grammar does not limit the number of verbs. These characteristics are not uncommon for SVCs in West Africa (Ameka 2005).

Even though the construction has more than one verb, it describes a single event and does not contain markers of subordination or coordination. The first sequence of verbs in (18) illustrates the phenomenon.

- (18) *à kirinsá ɲ màsì kpó àká dògònì tá.*  
ART tsetse.fly.PL 1.SG beat kill CONN chase let.free  
[v v] [v v]  
'I beat and killed the tsetse flies, and drove them away.' [CB 023]

Together, the verbs *masi* ‘beat’ and *kpɔ* ‘kill’ in (18) constitute a single event. The same can be said about the verbs *dɔgɔni* ‘chase’ and *ta* ‘let free’ in the second clause following the connective. If the clause following the connective *aka* lacks a subject, the subject of the preceding clause shares its reference in the two clauses (see Section 2.5.1.2 on the connective *aka*). The situation in (18) is one where an SVC is separated from another multi-verb clause by the connective *aka*, and the three verbs *masi*, *kpɔ* and *dɔgɔni* share the reference of the nominal *a kirinsa* ‘the tsetse flies’ as their Theme argument and *ɲi* as their Agent argument, i.e. o and s respectively. The role of the verb *ta* in the sentence depicted in (18) is discussed at the end of this section.

Tense/aspect (19a), mood (19b), and/or polarity value (19c) are marked only once, usually with preverb particles. This means that they are not repeated for each verb of the predicate. The preverb particles are discussed in Section 4.2.

- (19) a. *ɲi tʃi kàá màsi kpɔ à kirinsá rá.*  
 1.SG CRAS FUT.PROG beat kill ART tsetse.fly.PL FOC  
 ‘I will be beating and killing the tsetse flies tomorrow.’
- b. *ɲi há màsi kpɔ à kirinsá rá.*  
 1.SG MOD beat kill ART tsetse.fly.PL FOC  
 ‘I am still beating and killing the tsetse flies.’
- c. *ɲi wà màsi kpɔ à kirinsá.*  
 1.SG NEG beat kill ART tsetse.fly.PL  
 ‘I did not beat and kill the tsetse flies.’

SVCs must share at least one core argument. The example (20) is an instance of argument sharing: the two verbs in the construction share the (referent of the) noun *foto* ‘picture’ and are not contiguous. The transitive verb *tawa* ‘pierce’ takes *foto* as its object, and similarly *laga* takes *foto* as its subject. A representation of object-subject sharing (or switch sharing) appears under the free translation in (20).

- (20) Object-subject sharing  
*hèmbíí táwá fótò làgà dáá ní.*  
 nail pierce picture hang wood POSTP  
           v                                   v  
 ‘A picture hangs from a nail on a wooden pole.’  
*foto* <  $x_i$  >  
*tawa* < A=  $y$ , O=  $x_i$  >  
*laga* < A=  $x_i$ , O=  $z$  >



Subject-subject and object-object sharing are more common than object-subject sharing. In (21), the nominal expression *a kirnsa* is the shared object of three verbs, i.e. *masi*, *kpɔ* and *dɔgɔni*, and similarly the pronoun *m* is the shared subject for the same three verbs. However, only *masi* and *kpɔ* make up the SVC.

## (21) Subject-subject and Object-object sharing

à *kirnsá*    *m*    *màsi* *kpɔ*    *àká*    *dògòni* *tá*.  
 ART tsetse.fly.PL 1.SG beat kill CONN chase let.free  
 ‘I beat and killed the tsetse flies, and drove them away.’  
*m* <  $x_i$  >  
*kirnsa* <  $y_j$  >  
*masi* <A=  $x_i$  , O=  $y_j$  >  
*dɔgɔni* <A=  $x_i$  , O =  $y_j$  >

SVCs often involve two verbs, but there can be three or more verbs involved. Examples of three-verb and four-verb sequences are given in (22). Each of the verbs involved can otherwise act alone as main predicate. Notice that the free translations provided do not accommodate well the idea that the two examples in (22) are conceived as single event. In Section 2.5, it will be shown that connectives are usually present when one wishes to distinguish events.

(22) a. *ò síi kààlī nà.*

3.SG rise go see

 $v_1$   $v_2$   $v_3$ 

‘She stood, went, and saw (it).’

b. *ò brá tùù tʃɔ kààlì.*

3.SG turn go.down run go

 $v_1$   $v_2$   $v_3$   $v_4$ 

‘She returned down and ran away’ (from a tree top or hill)

A manipulative serial verb construction (Ameka & Essegbey 2006: 378) is a SVC which expresses a transfer of possession (e.g. give, bring, put) or information (e.g. tell). It consists of the verb *kpa* ‘take’ and another verb following it. The example in (7), repeated in (23), illustrates a transfer of possession.

- (23) Manipulative serial verb construction

*kàlá kpá à lóólì / ɔ̀ tiè áfíá.*

K. take ART car / 3.SG give A.

v v

‘Kala gave the car/it to Afia.’

Frequent collocations of the type presented in (23) are *kpa wa, lit.* take come, ‘bring’, *kpa kaali, lit.* take go, ‘send’, *kpa pɛ, lit.* take add, ‘add’, *kpa ta, lit.* take let free, ‘remove’, *kpa bile, lit.* take put, ‘put (on)’ and *kpa dɔ, lit.* take take put, ‘put (in)’. The two verbs may or may not be contiguous; usually the Theme argument of the verb *kpa* ‘take’ is found between the two verbs.

Finally, some multi-verb clauses are not SVCs. There are a few verbs which bear a relation to the main predication and contribute aspects of the phase of execution or scope of an event.<sup>2</sup> For instance, a *terminative* construction describes an event coming to an end or reaching a termination, and a *relinquishment* construction describes an event whose result is the release or abandonment of someone or something. The verbs *peti* ‘finish’ and *ta* ‘abandon’ in (24a) and (24c), together with a non-stative predication, determine each construction.

- (24) a. Terminative construction

*làyálàyá hán nì ñ kòtì à ʔáá pɛ́tí.*

IDEO DEM POSTP 1.SG skin ART bushbuck finish

v v

‘I just finished skinning the bushbuck.’

- b. *ñ pɛ́tì à tó má rá.*

1.SG finish ART work FOC

‘I have finished the work.’

- c. Relinquishment construction

*kpá ñ néŋ tà.*

take 1.SG hand let.free

v v

‘Let me go!’

- d. *à bɔ́ɔŋ tá ɔ̀ò biè rē.*

ART goat abandon 3.SG.POSS child FOC

‘The goat abandoned its kids.’

<sup>2</sup> These verbs are similar to what Bonvini (1988: 108) calls *auxiliant*.

The examples in (24a) and (24c), which may be called *phasal constructions*,<sup>3</sup> are treated as multi-verb clauses since the predication is expressed with more than one verb. Yet, they are not SVCs because the second verb in each example only specifies aspects of the process of the event and does not contribute to the main predication as verb sequences in SVCs do. Nonetheless, these verbs can function otherwise as main predicates, as shown in (24b) and (24d). Similarly, the verb *baga* ‘attempt to no avail’ conveys nonachievement, e.g. *ɔ̀ búúré kísīē báyá* (*lit.* he look.for knife fail) ‘he looked for a knife to no avail’, and the verb *na* ‘see’ conveys confirmation or verification, e.g. *sòòrè à disá nā* (*lit.* smell soup see) ‘smell the soup’. Going back to example (21) above, the verb *ta* contributes to a *relinquishment* multi-verb construction, similar to (24c) above, and not to a SVC.

### 2.1.6 Basic locative construction

The basic locative construction of a language is the prototypical and predominant construction used to locate a figure with respect to a ground (Levinson & Wilkins 2006: 15). In Chakali, it resembles the construction given in (25), although some sentences produced in elicitation contexts appear with the focus particle following the postposition *ni*. The focus particle is a pragmatic marker which identifies for the addressee the topical subject (i.e. may be distinct from the grammatical subject) and does not convey locative meaning (Section 5.3). The focus particle will be ignored in the discussion. The third line in (25) associates parts of the sentence with a conceptual level. On that line, one can find notions such as *figure* and *ground*, and TRM, which stands for topological relation marker (see Brindle & Atintono 2012). These are the linguistic expressions which convey the spatial relationships in Chakali. The nominal phrase *a gar* ‘the cloth’ functions as subject and the postpositional phrase *a teebul juu ni* ‘on the table’ functions as oblique object of the main predicate. The last line is a free translation which captures the general meaning of the situation. It is accompanied by a reference to the illustration which the first line describes.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The analysis of the progressive and prospective in Ewe and Dangme in Ameka & Dakubu (2008) influences the way I approach and name the phenomenon.

<sup>4</sup> Subscribing to the typology of locative predicates proposed in Ameka & Levinson (2007), the illustrations of the four stimuli created by the Language and Cognition Group at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (Bowerman & Pederson 1993; Ameka, De Witte & Wilkins 1999; Meira & Levinson 2001a,b) were used in chapter 7 of Brindle (2011) to provide a description of the means by which Chakali encodes spatial meaning. The results are compared with Gurene data (Oti-Volta) in Brindle & Atintono (2012).

- (25) [à gár] [ságá] [à téébùl juù nì].  
 ART cloth be ART table RELN POSTP  
*figure* TRM *ground*+TRM  
 ‘The cloth is on the table.’ [PSPV 4]

In (25), the spatial relation is expressed via topological relation markers: the main predicate *saga* ‘be on’ or ‘sit’ and the relational nominal predicate *juu* ‘top of’. The main predicate *saga* denotes a stative event which localizes the figure with respect to the ground. The relational nominal predicate *juu* designates the search domain and depends on the reference entity of the ground (i.e. *teebu*). The postposition *ni* has no other function than to signal that the oblique object is a locative phrase. The latter two topological relation markers are discussed in more detail in Sections 3.2.7 and 2.6.4.

### 2.1.7 Comparative construction

A comparative construction has the semantic function of assigning a graded position on a predicative scale to two (possibly complex) objects. The comparative construction of inequality can be expressed with the transitive predicate *kaali* ‘exceed, surpass’, whose two arguments are the objects compared.<sup>5</sup> One of the arguments represents the standard against which the other is measured and found to be unequal. The nominal expression in subject position is the *comparee*, i.e. the objective of comparison, whereas the one in object position is the *standard*, i.e. the object that serves as yardstick for comparison (Stassen 2008). The predicative scale is verbal and is normally adjacent to the comparee, but may be repeated adjacent to the standard. Given that both the scale and the transitive predicate *kaali* are verbs, a comparative construction is a type of multi-verb clause. If the predicative scale is absent, as in (26b), one may still interpret the construction as a comparative one, in which case both the context and the meaning of the nominals involved provide the property on which the comparison is made. These characteristics are illustrated in (26).

- (26) Comparative transitive construction

- a. wòsáá zíjá kààlì áfíá.  
 W. grow surpass A.  
 [*n*]<sub>comparee</sub> [*v*]<sub>scale</sub> *v* [*n*]<sub>standard</sub>  
 ‘Wusa is taller than Afia.’

<sup>5</sup> Brindle et al. (2005) presents a Lexical-Functional Grammar account of the comparative construction in Gã, a language also exhibiting an exceed- or surpass-comparative.

- b. *wòsá bàtʃólí káálí kàlá bàtʃólí.*  
 W. running surpass K. running  
 [n n] v [n n]

‘Wusa’s running is better/faster than Kala’s running.’

Another way to compose a comparative construction of inequality is with the identificational clause, as in (27). It is referred to as a comparative intransitive construction since the standard is not encoded in the grammatical object of a transitive verb, but in an oblique object following the scale.

- (27) Comparative intransitive construction

*wòsá jáá níhîê àfía ní.*  
 W. IDENT old A. POSTP  
 [n]<sub>comparee</sub> v [v]<sub>scale</sub> [n]<sub>standard</sub>

‘Wusa is older than Afia.’

The same two strategies are used to express a superlative degree: surpassing or being superior to all others is explicitly expressed by the pronoun *ba* ‘they, them’. This is shown in (28).

- (28) Superlative construction

a. *wòsá zíná káálí bá.*  
 W. grow surpass 3PL  
 v v

‘Wusa is the tallest.’

b. *wòsá jáá níhîê bà ní.*  
 W. IDENT old 3PL POSTP

‘Wusa is the oldest.’

A comparison of equality (i.e. X is same as Y) consists of a subject phrase containing both objects to be compared joined by the connective (*a*)*ní* followed by the scale, the verb *máàsí* ‘equal, enough, ever’ and the reciprocal word *dòhà* ‘each other’ (see Section 3.3.6 on reciprocity and reflexivity). This is shown in (29).

- (29) Comparison of equality construction

*wòsá ní àfīā bīnsá máásé dòhà rā.*  
 W. CONN A. year equal RECP FOC

‘Wusa is as old as Afia.’

Finally, the verb *bó* in (30) is a comparative transitive verb which can be translated with the English comparative adjective and preposition ‘better than’.

- (30) *zàáj tómá bó diàrè tìj tōmā.*  
 today work better.than yesterday ART work  
 v  
 ‘Today’s work is better than yesterday’s work’

### 2.1.8 Modal clause

A modal clause is a clause type expressing ability, possibility, obligation, desire, etc. The two following sections exemplify the modal clause.

**2.1.8.1 Ability-possibility** An ability-possibility construction is a clause containing the verbal *kìn* immediately preceding the main verb(s). The construction conveys either the physical or mental ability of something or someone, or probability or possibility under some circumstances. The construction is more frequent in the negative, but affirming an ability or possibility is also possible using this construction. The word *kìn* is glossed ABI to refer to ‘ability’.

- (31) Ability-Possibility construction
- a. *ò wà kīj wàà.*  
 3.SG NEG ABI come  
 ‘He is not able to come.’
- b. *ì kàá kīj kààl̄ó.*  
 2.SG FUT ABI go.FOC  
 ‘You may go.’
- c. *ḡ kàá kīj wàò t̄f̄iä?*  
 1.SG FUT ABI come.FOC tomorrow  
 ‘May I come tomorrow?’

However the elicitation data in (32) shows that, unlike most preverbs (Section 4.2), *kìn* may take inflectional morphology, in this case the perfective suffix (Section 4.1.4.1).

- (32) a. *A: ò wà kīj wää?*  
 3.SG NEG able come  
 ‘Couldn’t he come?’ (declarative: *ò wà kīj wàà.*)

- b. B:  $\acute{e}\acute{e}\acute{e}, \grave{o}$  wà ktnjē wàà  
 yes 3.SG NEG able.PFV come  
 ‘Yes, he couldn’t come.’

The dubitative modality construction is a construction marked by the presence of *abonĩēni* in clause initial position. The expression is transcribed into a single word but may come from *a-banĩē-ni*, *lit.* ART-some-POSTP. It is used when the occurrence of a situation or an achievement is in doubt (see *ni* in Section 2.6.4).

(33) Dubitative construction

- a.  $\grave{a}b\acute{o}n\acute{i}\acute{e}n\acute{i}$   $d\acute{o}j\eta$   $k\grave{a}a$  wà $\grave{o}$ .  
 perhaps rain FUT come.FOC  
 ‘Perhaps it is going to rain.’
- b.  $\grave{a}b\acute{o}n\acute{i}\acute{e}n\acute{i}$   $\grave{o}$   $d\acute{i}$  wááwá $\acute{o}$ .  
 perhaps 3.SG HEST come.PFV.FOC  
 ‘Perhaps he came yesterday.’

In some contexts, a speaker may prefer to use a cognitive verb in a phrase like  $\eta$  *lisie* ‘I think (...)’ or the phrase  $a$  *k\check{o}\check{o}*  $\eta$  *na*, *lit.* it tires me FOC, ‘I wonder (...)’ as an alternative to the dubitative construction.

**2.1.8.2 Desiderative** As an independent verb *ηma* means ‘say’. The same verb can also function in a construction [NP *ηma* [NP VP]] conveying a desiderative mood, corresponding to the English modal expression ‘want to’.

- (34)  $\eta$   $\eta m\acute{a}$  [ $\eta$   $k\acute{a}a\grave{l}\grave{i}$   $d\grave{u}s\grave{e}\grave{e}$   $t\check{f}\bar{a}$ ].  
 1SG say 1SG go D. tomorrow  
 ‘I want to go to Ducie tomorrow.’

Notice that the high tone on the 1SG pronoun subject of *kààli* ‘go’ in (34) suggests that the embedded clause is in the subjunctive mood (Section 4.1.4.5).

## 2.2 Interrogative clause

An interrogative clause consists either of a clause (i) with an initial interrogative word/phrase (Section 3.3.4 on pro-form interrogatives), or (ii) with the absence of an initial interrogative word but the presence of an extra-low tone at the end of the clause. The former is called a ‘content’ question and the latter a ‘polar’ question.

### 2.2.1 Content question

A content question contains an interrogative word/phrase whose typical position is clause-initial. In (35), *baaŋ* ‘what’ replaces the complement of the verb *jaa*, whereas *(a)aŋ* ‘who’ replaces the subject constituent of the clause. The inventory of interrogative words/phrases can be found in Section 3.3.4.

- (35) a. *bááŋ kàlá kàà jáà?*  
 Q.what 3.SG IPFV do  
 ‘What is Kala doing?’  
 b. *àáŋ káá wáá báŋ?*  
 Q.who IPFV come here  
 ‘Who is coming here?’

When an interrogative word/phrase is located clause-initially, it is found in the canonical position of the constituent replaced. In (36a), which is semantically equivalent to (36b), the question word *aŋ* ‘who’ appears in the object position following the transitive verb *maŋa* ‘beat’ and is slightly lengthened.

- (36) a. *zièn ká màŋà àŋŋ?*                      b. *àŋ zièn kà màŋà?*  
 Z. EGR beat Q.who                      Q.who Z. EGR beat  
 ‘Zien beat who?’                      ‘Who did Zien beat?’

### 2.2.2 Polar question

A polar question is characterized by an interrogative intonation, consisting primarily of an extra-low tone at the end of the utterance (see Section 4.1). Additionally, lengthening of the penultimate vocalic segment takes place. The properties differentiating an assertive clause from a polar question are illustrated in (37). The extra-low tone is represented with a double grave accent (i.e.˘˘).

- (37) Assertion vs. question
- a. *ò wááò.*                      b. *ò wāāòò.*  
 3.SG come.IPFV.FOC                      3.SG come.IPFV.Q  
 ‘He is coming.’                      ‘Is he coming?’

Common to many Ghanaian languages, the agreeing response to a negative polar interrogative takes into account the logical negation, as (38) illustrates.



- (38) a. Speaker  
*ì wàà kǎǎlǐ.*  
 2SG NEG go.Q  
 ‘Aren’t you going?’
- b. Addressee  
*ééé.*  
 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 *ì wàà kǎǎlǐ*, the speaker’s belief is that the addressee is not going. That is probably why we get ‘yes’ in Chakali and ‘no’ in English for a corresponding negative polar interrogative.

### 2.3 Imperative clause

An imperative clause is clause expressing direct commands, requests, and prohibitions. It can be an exclusively addressee-oriented clause or can include the speaker as well. This distinction, i.e. exclusive-inclusive, is rendered in (39). In (39a) the speaker excludes herself from the performers of the action, i.e., only the addressee(s) is urged to perform the action, while in (39b) the speaker includes herself among the performers.

- (39) a. Exclusive  
*fùrì à díḡ dòsì.*  
 blow ART fire quench  
 ‘Blow on this flame (to extinguish it).’
- b. Inclusive  
*tìè jà mùḡ làyàmè kǎàlì tóótíná pé.*  
 give 1PL all gather go landlord end  
 ‘Let’s all go to the landlord together.’

When an order is given directly to the addressee, as in (40), the clause may be introduced with the particle *dr*. Some consultants believe that omitting the particle may be perceived as rude. The particle *dr* can also implicate that performing

the action is requested by someone else than the speaker.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

- |      |  |  |
|------|--|--|
| (40) | a. <i>(dì) wàà.</i><br>COMP come<br>‘Come!’                            | c. <i>máá wáà.</i><br>2PL come<br>‘Come!’  |
|      | b. <i>dì wáá.</i><br>COMP come<br>‘Come!’ (keep coming! or follow me!) | d. <i>dí máá wāā.</i><br>COMP 2PL come<br>‘Come!’ (requested by someone else than speaker) |

Example (41a) expresses a wish of the speaker and no addressees are called for. Such a meaning is sometimes associated with optative mood. Similarly but not identically, an utterance like the one in (41b) assumes one or more addressees, yet the desired state of affairs is not in the control of anyone in particular, but of everyone. As in (39b), the strategy in both cases is to use the verb *tɛ* ‘give’.

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| (41) | a. Optative<br><i>tìè ìṃ mibòà bírgì.</i><br>give 1SG.POSS life delay<br>‘Let me live long!’ |
|      | b. Hortative<br><i>tìè à gòà píílé.</i><br>give ART dance start<br>‘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 *tɪ/te* ‘not’ (glossed NEG.IMP) occurring in clause initial position.

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| (42) | <i>té káálíí, dóóṅ kàà wáò.</i><br>NEG.IMP go rain IPFV come.FOC<br>‘Don’t go, rain is coming.’ |
|------|---|

<sup>6</sup> It is not known whether these ‘*dɪ*-strategies’ give rise to multiple interpretations.

<sup>7</sup> 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 *dɪ* heads a clause which introduces indirect speech and the second is an imperfective particle, the latter being covered in Section 4.1.4.4.

The prohibitive also involves a high front vowel suffixed to its verb. The quality of the vowel, i.e. *-i/-i*, is determined by the quality of the verbal stem.

- (43) a. *gó.*  
circle  
'Move in a circle around.'
- b. *té góíí.*  
NEG.IMP circle  
'Don't move in a circle around.'
- c. *kpó.*  
kill  
'Kill.'
- d. *tí kpóíí.*  
NEG.IMP kill  
'Don't kill.'

In addition, a distinction within the prohibitive can be made between a prohibition (or advice) for a future situation (44a), and for an on-going situation (44c).

- (44) a. *kòòrì à sìmáà.*  
make ART food  
'Make the food.'
- b. *té kóórí sìmáà*  
NEG make food  
'Do not make food.'  
(addressee not in the process)
- c. *tíí kòòrìí.*  
NEG.IMP make  
'Do not make (food).'  
(addressee in the process of making)
- d. *tíí kòòrì à sìmáà.*  
NEG.IMP make ART food  
'Do not make the food.'  
(addressee in the process of making)

## 2.4 Exclamative clause

It is generally known that the difference between a declarative and an exclamative clause is that the former is meant to be informative and the latter expressive. One criterion for determining the class of exclamative clause is the use of exclamatory codas (Allan 2014: 242), i.e. exclamatory words or particles such as *woo* in (45), which modify the illocution of the clause and are usually found clause-finally.

- (45) a. *bèlèé tíí mùŋ nè kéré wòòò.*  
G. ART meaning FOC DXM INTERJ  
'That is the meaning of Gurumbele!' [BH 016]

- b. *dóó jú kpára rá wōōō.*  
 python head double FOC INTERJ  
 ‘Python is double-headed!’ [PY 074]

After offering a chronicle of the history of his village and the reason why it has its name, the speaker uttered (45a) to intensify his stance in the presence of other community members. In (45b), the narrator of the folktale wants to mark the surprising fact that the African rock python is equipped with extraordinary visual power.

- (46) a. *ò kà báj wà zú dià, ò báj ηmá dí ěhěě.*  
 3SG IPFV just come enter room 3SG just say COMP INTERJ  
 ‘When he entered the room, she said: “yes!”’ [PY 008]
- b. *dí ?ábbā!, dí òò bàmúú nár wááwáó.*  
 COMP INTERJ COMP 3SG.POSS heart person come.PFV.FOC  
 (Mother said) ‘Indeed, her love has finally come.’ [PY 009]

In (46a), the speaker is a mature girl who waited a long time and met many aspirants to finally encounter the right man to marry. In this context, the exclamative word *ěhěě*, which generally code a positive reaction (Section 5.6.1), can be translated into ‘yes, exactly, finally’ and paraphrased as ‘this is the person I like’. The speaker confirms that the man is the right one, with a strong emotional reaction, allowing the addressee – in this case her parents – to know about her stance and feeling. The sequence in (46b) is the reaction of her mother who confirms the daughter’s reaction. Notice however that the interjections *ěhě*, *?abba*, and *woo* are not specific to Chakali: they are *Ghanaianism*, i.e. words found in most, if not all, languages of Ghana, and surely beyond (see Section 5.6.1 for interjections).

## 2.5 Clause coordination and subordination

A relation between two clauses is signaled with or without an overt marker, and various structures and morphemes are used to relate clauses. Two relations are discussed below: coordination and subordination.

### 2.5.1 Coordination

The distribution of four clausal connectives which are used in coordinating clauses is presented: these are *a*, *ka*, *aka* and *di*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See McGill, Fembeti & Toupin (1999: 143–149) for an account of similar clausal connectives in Pasaale.

**2.5.1.1 Connective *a*** The connective *a* ‘and’ introduces a clause without an overt subject. When it occurs between two clauses, the subject of the first clause must cross-refer to the covert subject of the second clause (and subsequent clauses). It links a sequence of closely related events carried out by the same agent, and the events are encoded in verb phrases denoting temporally distinct events. The example in (47) is an illustration of four consecutive clauses introduced by the connective *a*. This phenomenon is often referred to as ‘clause chaining’.<sup>9</sup>

- (47) *diàrè tìŋ ñ dì káálí bèlèè rá, à [jàwà nàmíé], à [kpá*  
 yesterday ART 1SG HEST go G. FOC CONN buy meat CONN take  
*wàà díá], à [wà tiè ñ háàŋ], à [ŋmá tiè ñ háàŋ] dí*  
 come home CONN come give my wife CONN say give my wife COMP  
*óó tóŋà. ò tòŋà jà dí.*  
 3SG cook 3SG cook 1PL eat

‘Yesterday I went to Gurumbele, bought some meat, brought it home to my wife, told her to cook it. She cooked and we ate.’

**2.5.1.2 Connectives *ka* and *aka*** Generalizing from the examples available, for both the connectives *ka* and *aka* ‘and’, either (i) the subject of the clause preceding the connective is inferred in the second clause, i.e. as for the connective *a* in Section 2.5.1.1, or (ii) a different subject surfaces in the second clause. Each case is shown in (48) and (49) respectively.

- (48) *[ŋmèŋtél láá nòá ní] ká [ŋmá dí óó wá jòá ní]*  
 spider collect mouth POSTP CONN say COMP 3SG come drink water  
 ‘(Monkey went to spider’s farm to greet him.) Spider accepted (the greetings) and (Spider) asked him (Monkey) to come and drink water.’  
 [LB 011]

- (49) a. *[dì ì wáà párà] ká [kirimá wà dómíí]*  
 CONN 2SG INGR farm CONN tsetse.fly.PL INGR bite.2SG  
 ‘When you are doing the weeding and tsetse flies bite you (...)’ [CB 003]

<sup>9</sup> The last sentence of example (47) can be analysed as a coordination by clause apposition.

- b. [dɪ námùŋ tɪ bɪ wàà jɪrà kɪŋkùrùgíé ɲmɛ̀ŋtél sɔ̀ŋ] àká [ɪ  
 COMP anyone NEG ITR INGR call enumeration eight name CONN 2SG  
 jɪrà kɛ̀y̌]  
 call DXM

‘(The monkey said: “They said) that anyone should not say the number eight and you have said the number eight”. [LB 017]

Secondly, the connectives *ka* and *aka* may encode a ‘logical’ or ‘natural’ sequence of events. For instance, in (48), someone traveling (or coming from the road) expects to be offered water to drink after the greetings are exchanged. The connectives *ka* and *aka* appear to suggest a causal relation between interdependent clauses. In (50), it is the counting of the mounds which caused Spider to be confused, which can be seen as an unexpected outcome.

- (50) ówà ɲmɛ̀ŋtél já kùrò àkà bùtì  
 3SG.EMPH spider do count CONN confuse

‘(Because) he himself (Spider) did count and he became confused’ [LB 007]

Nevertheless the connectives *ka* and *aka* can introduce a clause denoting an event which is not necessarily related to the event of the previous clause. It looks as if the connectives in (51) are used to integrate an unrelated event to the overall situation.

- (51) [nànsá sú bára múŋ.] ká [dɔ́ɔ̀ tɪŋ ɲmá dɪ kɪndígíí dɔ́s à  
 meat fill place all CONN python ART say COMP something is ART  
 dīā ní]  
 house POSTP

‘Meat was all over the place. Then, Python said: “there is something in the room”. [PY 069]

- (52) [à bipòlɪí sɪi tʃíŋá] àká [ɲmá, ámièè̀ ì ɲíná] ...  
 ART young.man raise stand CONN said, ADV 2SG.POSS father ...

‘The young man stood up and said: “So, when your father (...)”’. [CB 010]

Notice that the ‘standing’ and ‘saying’ events in (52) are strictly transitional, but this is not the case in (51). The connective *ka* in (51) opens a sentence which marks a shift from a scene description (i.e. ‘there was meat all over the place’) to a character’s intervention (i.e. ‘Python speaking’). Perceived event integration

seems to be what predicts the choice between *ka* and *aka*, but no firm conclusions can be drawn.

- (53) a. *kàlá káálí jàwá ká jàwà múró rō.*  
 K. go market CONN bought rice FOC  
 ‘Kala went to the market and bought rice.’  
 b. *kàlá káálí jàwá àká pìèsì bùlèngà tíisà.*  
 K. go market CONN ask B. station  
 ‘Kala went to the market and asked for the Bulenga station.’

The cause-consequence relation in (53a) may be seen as ‘tighter’ than the relation between the clauses in (53b). Buying items is a stronger effect of going to the market than looking for a location; market is where buying items happens. The examples in (53) thus suggest that *aka* connects less-integrated clauses.

- (54) a. *ò zóó díá ká dí sìimáá rā.*  
 3SG enter house CONN eat food FOC  
 ‘She entered the house and ate the food.’ (expected)  
 b. *ò zóó díá àká vrà sìimáá rā.*  
 3SG enter house CONN knock food FOC  
 ‘She entered the house and knocked the food over.’ (unexpected)  
 c. *ò zóó díá ká vrà sìimáá rā.*  
 3SG enter house CONN knock food FOC  
 ‘She entered the house and knocked the food over.’ (knowledge of intention)

Commenting on each hypothetical situation in which (54) may be uttered, one consultant agreed that in (54c) the intention of the subject’s referent are known and confirmed in the second clause, which is not the case in (54b). The events expressed in the second clause in (54a) and (54c) are perceived as more predictable given the first clause (and world knowledge) than the event expressed in the second clause in (54b).<sup>10</sup>

**2.5.1.3 Connective *dí*** The clausal connective *dí* ‘and’ or ‘while’ is homophonous with a complementizer particle (Section 2.5.2.1), a connective used in conditional constructions (Section 2.5.2), and a preverb particle signaling imperfective

<sup>10</sup> The connectives *aj* and *ka* in Pasaale (McGill, Fembeti & Toupin 1999) offer a good baseline for comparison.

aspect (Section 4.1.4.4). It connects two clauses which encode different events, yet these events must be interpreted as occurring simultaneously. A clause introduced by the connective *dì* has no overt subject, instead the subject is inferred, as it has the same referent as the subject of the preceding clause. Two examples are provided in (55).

- (55) a. *líé ò kààlì dì wá.*  
 Q 3SG go CONN come  
 ‘Where is he coming from?’ (*lit.* where he left and come)
- b. *kpá sìmá hájì dì káálì.*  
 take food DEM CONN go  
 ‘Take this food away!’ (*lit.* take this food and go)

### 2.5.2 Subordination

The morpheme *tìj* is mainly used as a determiner in noun phrases (see Section 3.1.2). However, there are instances where the discourse following *tìj* must be treated as subordinated and related to the noun phrase of which *tìj* is part. One may argue that the morpheme *tìj* can function as a relativizer.

- (56) *kúrò [[píé tìj]<sub>NP</sub> ò<sub>i</sub> kà tó à kùò ní kékì]<sub>NP</sub>*  
 count yam.mound.PL ART 3SG EGR COVER ART farm POSTP DXM  
*tìèò<sub>i</sub>*  
 give.3SG  
 ‘(Spider<sub>i</sub> asked Buffalo to) count for him<sub>i</sub> the yam mounds which he<sub>i</sub> covered at the farm.’ [LB 006]

In (56), the phrase *ò kà tó à kùò ní kékì* is (i) in apposition to the noun phrase *píé tìj*, and (ii) in a subordination relation with the noun phrase *píé tìj*. The low tone *kà* frequently appears in subordinated clauses with *tìj* (see example 178b in Section 4.2.1). In a conditional construction like the one in (57a), the subordinate clause is headed by the particle *dì*, whereas the main clause follows the subordinate clause.

- (57) a. *dì ñ fí tú kààlì dē, bà káá tùgùn nō.*  
 CONN 1SG MOD go.down go DXL 3PL.H+ FUT beat.1SG FOC  
 ‘If I were to go down there, then they will beat me.’
- b. *dì ì zìj wā zìjà, ì wàá kìj gáálí díj nī.*  
 CONN 2SG tail INGR long 2SG NEG.FUT ABI be.over fire POSTP  
 ‘If you have a long tail, you cannot cross fire.’



Proverbs are typically conditional constructions. An example is given in (57b).

- (58) a. *ò wááwáó ànáàmùŋ dí ò wífò.*  
 3SG come.PFV.FOC CONN COMP 3SG sick.FOC  
 ‘He came in spite of his illness.’
- b. *ñ wà kpágá sákìr, ànúúni ñ dī válà nǎàsá.*  
 1SG NEG have bicycle CONN 1SG IPFV walk leg.PL  
 ‘I don’t have a bicycle, therefore I am walking.’

The subordinate clause of a concessive construction is introduced by the expression *ani amuŋ* [ànáàmùŋ] (*lit.* and-all) ‘despite’, ‘in spite of’, ‘although’ or ‘even though’. A subordinate clause which conveys a consequence or a justification of the proposition in the main clause is introduced by the expressions *a nuu ni* [ànúúni] or *a wɛ* [àwíé] (*lit.* the-head-on and the-matter) respectively, ‘therefore’ or ‘because’. Examples are shown in (58).

2.5.2.1 Complementizer *dī* Example (59) shows that the complementizer *dī* introduces indirect speech.

- (59) *kùòrù biniháàŋ ñmá dī “èééè”.*  
 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* (*trɛ*) ‘say (give)’, *tfagalɪ* ‘teach, show, indicate’, *hěsi* ‘announce’, etc. This is shown in (60) with *hěsi* ‘announce’.

- (60) *tóótííná ñmá dī bá hěsí má ká pàrà kùó.*  
 landlord say COMP 3PL.Gb announce 2PL EGR farm farm  
 ‘The landowner says that they announced: “You go and work at the farm”’.

In (61a), the complementizer *dī* introduces a clause which conveys the intention of the event in the main clause. In a literal sense, the husband *lala* ‘open’, in the sense of waking up, the wife in order to have her *sii* ‘raise up’.

- (61) a. *tfòòsá písì, ò báál tìŋ té lálá à háàŋ dī*  
 morning scatter 3SG.POSS husband ART early wake.up ART wife COMP  
*ó sí dùò nì.*  
 3SG raise.up asleep POSTP  
 ‘Early in the morning her husband woke up the wife from sleep.’ (*lit.* that she must stand up) [CB 030]

- b. *ò káálí (dí) óó ká jòá nī.*  
 3SG go COMP 3SG EGR drink water  
 ‘He went to have a drink of water.’

In (61b) it is shown that purpose (or intention) can be encoded when *dí* introduces the goal. In the latter case, however, consultants say that the complementizer *dí* is optional.

**2.5.2.2 Clause apposition** Example (62) shows that a desire can be encoded by two clauses in apposition. In this example the pronominal subject of the final clause carries high tone (see Section 2.1.8.2 on desiderative).

- (62) *jà búúrè nī rā já jòá.*  
 1PL want water FOC 1PL drink  
 ‘We want some water to drink.’

## 2.6 Adjunct adverbials and postposition

The notion ‘adverbial’ is used in the sense of ‘modifying a predicate’, that is, adding information to a state of affairs. An adverbial is an expression, clause or non-clause, which is not an argument of the main predicate and is positioned at the periphery in an adjunct constituent (AJC). The clause frame in (1) is repeated in (63).

- (63) s|A + P ± O ± AJC

Adjuncts are usually found following the core constituent(s), but may also be found at the beginning of a clause. As shown in (64), reference to time may be found at the beginning of a clause before the subject.

- (64) AJC + S + P + O  
*[tʃòsá písi] à bipòlī kpa ò páí*  
 AJC S P O  
 morning scatter ART young.man take 3.SG.POSS hoe  
 ‘The following day the young man took his hoe along ...’ [CB 005]

In Section 2.1.7, the dubitative construction was identified with the expression *àbóníéńí* ‘perhaps’ opening the clause. There are other constructions in which temporal, locative, manner, or tense-aspect-mood meaning is signaled by the presence of an adjunct adverbial initially that introduces new information.

- (65) a. Temporal  
 [támá finí] ò fí sówá.  
 few little 3SG MOD die  
 ‘A little longer and she would have died.’
- b. Evidential  
 [wídíń ná] dí ò náó rā.  
 truth FOC COMP 3SG see.3SG FOC  
 ‘It is certain that he saw him.’

In (65a), the phrase *tama finii* ‘a little’ is not inherently temporal, but must be interpreted as such in the given context. In (65b) the verbless clause *widíń na* can be seen as adding an illocutionary force; it additionally signifies that the speaker has evidence and/or wish to convince the addressee about the proposition. In the next sections, temporal and manner adverbials, then the postposition *ni* and the oblique phrase are discussed.

### 2.6.1 Temporal adjunct

A temporal nominal adjunct is an expression which typically indicates when an event occurs.

- (66) a. [àwòzòòrì dígíí] kòsánáǎ wálá  
 the.day one buffalo walked  
 ‘One day a buffalo walked (and greeted the spider) (...)’. [LB 005]
- b. [déní], [sánà dígíí] à háǎń já pàà à báál zòmō  
 thereupon time one ART wife HAB take.PL ART husband insult.PL  
 ‘Then, during their life, it happened on one occasion that the woman did insult the man (...)’. [CB 017]
- c. ñ já kàǎli ò pé rē [tʃɔ̀pisi bí-mùń].  
 1SG HAB go 3SG end FOC day.break ITR-all  
 ‘I visit him every day.’
- d. [láyáláyá hán nī] ñ kòtì à ʔáá péti.  
 IDEO.fast DEM POSTP 1.SG skin ART bushbuck finish  
 ‘I just finished skinning the bushbuck.’

Some expressions tagged as temporal nominal are treated as complex, though opaque, expressions. For instance, *awòzòòrì* is translated into ‘that day’ in (66a), but the forms *wòsa* ‘sun’ and *zòò* ‘enter’ are perceptible. The phrase *láyáláyá*

*háń nĩ* in (66d) literally means ‘now.now this on’ (IDEO DEM POSTP), but ‘only a moment ago’ is a better translation. Similarly, *denĩ*, analysed as the spatial demonstrative *de* and the postposition *nĩ* and translated into English as ‘there-upon’, ‘after that’, ‘at that point’, or simply ‘then’, is a temporal nominal, but usually functions as a connective. It is mainly used at the beginning of a sentence to signal a transition between the preceding and the following situations; (67) suggests a transition indicating what happens ‘next’ or ‘afterward’.

- (67) *dénĩ rě, ɔ̀ɔ̀ hááń tĩŋ ŋmá dí “ààí, (...)”*  
 thereupon FOC 3SG.POSS wife ART say COMP no  
 ‘Then, the wife said: “No, (I won’t say anything to my father)”’. [CB 036]

### 2.6.2 Manner adjunct

A manner expression describes the way the event denoted by the verb(s) is carried out. Manner expressions tend to appear at the right periphery of an utterance. The examples in (68) illustrate the meaning and distribution of manner expressions.

- (68) a. *dì sáá bǒǒ̀ǐ̀bǒ̀ǐ̀.*  
 COMP drive IDEO.carefully  
 ‘Drive carefully.’
- b. *dì ŋmà bǒǒ̀ǐ̀bǒ̀ǐ̀.*  
 COMP talk IDEO.slowly  
 ‘Talk slowly.’
- c. *ɔ̀ tǒjě kààlì félfél.*  
 3SG run.PFV go IDEO.lightly  
 ‘She ran away lightly (manner of movement, as a light weight entity).’
- d. *ń kàà wáá dì à hááń sáŋà tǒrím.*  
 1SG IPFV come COMP ART woman sit IDEO.quietly  
 ‘When I was coming, the woman sat quietly.’

It is common for an ideophone to function as a manner expression (Section 5.5). One could argue that all the manner expressions in (68) are ideophones, i.e. they display reduplicated forms and *tǒrím* is one of a few words which ends with a bilabial nasal. The examples in (69) show the repetition of two expressions; one is an ideophone, i.e. *kaŋkalaŋ* ‘crawl of a snake’, and the other a reduplicated manner expression, i.e. *lagalaga* ‘quickly’ from *laga* ‘now’. The formal repetition

depicts the motion occurring with great speed and the inceptive sense of *kpà* marks the initial stage of the activity.

- (69) a. *à bààŋ kpá kàŋkàlàŋ kàŋkàlàŋ kàŋkàlàŋ.*  
 CONN just take IDEO.rapidly  
 ‘(She was after the python) but (he) started to crawl away like a shot.’  
 (PY-137)
- b. *kà bààŋ kpá làyàlàyà làyàlàyà.*  
 CONN just take IDEO.quickly  
 ‘(She) started to (walk) quickly.’

The manner adverbial *kɪŋkaŋ* ‘abundantly’, which is composed of the classifier *kin* and the verb *kana* ‘abundant’, typically quantifies or intensifies the event and always comes after the word encoding the event. Notice in (70a) and (70b) that *kɪŋkaŋ* follows a verb and a nominalized verb respectively. However, in (70c), *kɪŋkaŋ* does not function as a manner adverbial but as a quantifier.

- (70) a. *gbǎá ì jáárijé kɪŋkǎŋ nà (...)*  
 monkey you unable.PFV DXM FOC  
 ‘Monkey, you are so incompetent, (...).’ [LB 016]
- b. *dúó tǫǫ̀ì kɪŋkǎŋ wà wíré.*  
 asleep lie.NMLZ DXM NEG good  
 ‘Sleeping too much is not good.’
- c. *kùòrù kùò tɪŋ kà kpágá kírinsá kɪŋkǎŋ, dé rē jà*  
 chief farm ART REL have tsetse.fly.PL QUANT.many DXL FOC 1PL  
*kààlì*  
 go  
 ‘The chief’s farm that has many tsetse flies, there we went.’

### 2.6.3 Oblique phrase

The oblique phrase is an element of a clause realized as a postpositional phrase. It usually follows the verbal predicate. In Section 2.6.4, it is claimed that the postposition *ni* (i) identifies an oblique phrase, (ii) conveys that the oblique phrase contains the ground object (Section 2.1.6), and (iii) follows its complement. While *ni* mainly appears in sentences expressing localization, the postposition can also be found when there is no reference to space.

For instance, in Section 2.6.2, the connective *denr* (i.e. DEM+POSTP) is said to signal a temporal transition and not a spatial one. It is also analysed in adverbials and connectives: *a-bɔnĩĩ-nr* ‘maybe, perhaps’, *a-ɲuu-ni* ‘therefore’, *buɲbuɲ-ni* ‘at first’, etc. These expressions do not have a purely locative function, but are rather used as clausal adjuncts or to introduce logical conclusion (see Sections 2.5.2 and 2.6).

- (71) a. *bááj̄ ì f̄f̄ kàà s̄óóǵì [t̄f̄òòsá t̄ín n̄ĩ].*  
 Q 2PL PST EGR crush morning ART POSTP  
 ‘What were you crushing this morning?’
- b. *ò ɲóá [l̄àýálàýá n̄ĩ].*  
 PSG drink IDEO.fast POSTP  
 ‘He drinks quickly.’
- c. *à kùórù ɲmá dí ò bááj̄ káá s̄ĩ [ɲ n̄ĩ] r̄ē.*  
 ART chief say COMP 3SG.POSS temper EGR raise 1SG POSTP FOC  
 ‘The chief told me that he was very angry with me.’

The examples in (71) illustrate some of the non-spatial uses of the oblique phrase headed by *nr*. The postposition’s complement is a temporal nominal phrase in (71a), an ideophone in (71b), and a personal pronoun in (71c).

#### 2.6.4 Postposition *nr* and (non-)locative adjunct

The ground object in localization is found in an oblique phrase (see Section 2.6.3 for oblique phrase and 2.1.6 for basic locative construction), therefore the postposition *nr* is present irrespective of the locative verb involved or whether or not a relational noun occurs. Only a few exceptions can be found, and they are systematically accounted for by two factors: (i) non-locative and transitive verbs do not co-occur with *nr*, e.g. *tɔ* ‘cover’, *kpaǵa* ‘have’ and *su* ‘fill’, and (ii) some situations are described using an intransitive clause, e.g. *à bónsó t̄f̄íégìj̄ō* ‘the cup is broken’ [TRPS 26]. In describing the illustrations of the TRPS, Ameka & Essegbey (2006: 370) showed that it is the verb *le*, glossed ‘be at’, in Ewe which is used in the majority of the sentences. The translation of Ewe *le* to Chakali would then be equivalent to *d̄va* NP *nr*.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The Ewe verb *le* may also function as predicator of qualities (Ameka & Essegbey 2006: 373). In Chakali, it was shown in Sections 2.1.1 and 3.10.2 that *jaa* predicates over qualities, not *d̄va*.

- (72) a. [[[à dià]<sub>NP</sub> nùú]<sub>RelnP</sub> ni]<sub>PP</sub> ‘on the roof of the house’  
 b. [[à dià]<sub>NP</sub> ni]<sub>PP</sub> ‘in/at the house’  
 c. [[báî]<sub>NP</sub> ni]<sub>PP</sub> ‘here’  
 d. [[dé]<sub>NP</sub> ni]<sub>PP</sub> ‘there’  
 e. [[ò]<sub>NP</sub> ni]<sub>PP</sub> ‘at/on/in him/her/it’

As shown in (72), the postposition always follows its complement (see Section 3.2.7 for relational nouns). Since there are no prepositions in the language, the abbreviation PP in (72) unambiguously stands for Postpositional Phrase. None of the concepts of proximity, contiguity, or containment is encoded in *ni*. The postposition does not inform the addressee about any of the elementary topological spatial notions. It never selects particular figure-ground configurations, but must be present for all of them.

### 3 Nominal

The term “nominal” identifies a formal and functional syntactic level and lexemic level. At the syntactic level, a noun phrase is a nominal which can either function as core or peripheral argument. Its composition may vary from a single pronoun to a noun with modifier or series of modifiers. At the lexeme level, two categories of lexemes are assumed: nominal and verbal. These two types correspond roughly to the semantic division *entity* and *event*, but do not correspond to the syntactic categories *noun* and *verb*. That is because lexemes are assumed to not be specified for syntactic categories. The diversity of forms and functions of nominals is presented below.

#### 3.1 Noun phrases

A noun phrase (NP) consists of a nominal head, and optionally, its dependent(s). In this section, the internal components of noun phrases and the roles these components have within the noun phrase are described. First, indefinite and definite noun phrases are considered. Then, the elements which can be found in the noun phrase are introduced.

##### 3.1.1 Indefinite noun phrase

Indefinite noun phrases are used when “the speaker invites the addressee to construe a referent [which conforms with] the properties specified in the term” (Dik

1997: 184). In Chakali, a noun standing alone can constitute a noun phrase (N = NP). Such a noun phrase can be interpreted as indefinite, i.e. the noun phrase is a non-referring expression, or generic, i.e. the noun phrase denotes a kind or class of entity as opposed to an individual. In rare cases, a definite noun phrase can be interpreted from a single noun, i.e. lacking an article. Each interpretation is obviously dependent on the context of the utterance in which the noun occurs.

(73) N = NP

- a. *kàlá jáwá píeŋ ná.*  
Kala buy mat FOC  
'Kala bought a mat.'
- b. *dzèti kìm-bón ná.*  
lion.SG CLF-dangerous.SG FOC  
'A lion is dangerous.'

In (73), the noun phrase *píeŋ* describes any mat and is interpreted as a novelty in the addressee's knowledge of Kala, while *dzèti* describes the entire class of lions.

- (74) a. *píésì dígíí à búkù jògùlò.*  
ask one ART book price  
'Ask someone the price of the book.'
- b. *nàdígíí búmó zòvò ìì dià háŋ ká bà kpá tīē.*  
person.one precede enter 2SG room DEM CONN 3PL.H+ take give.2SG  
'Someone was in your room before they gave it to you.'

The examples in (74) show that noun phrases containing the numeral *dígíí* 'one' may be translated as English 'a certain', 'one of them', or 'someone'.

### 3.1.2 Definite noun phrase

Definite noun phrases are employed when "the speaker invites the addressee to identify a referent which he (the speaker) presumes is available to the addressee" (Dik 1997: 184). Proper nouns are assumed to be definite on the basis that they are identifiable by both the speaker and the addressee. A definite noun phrase may consist of a single pronoun (pro = NP), as shown in (75).



- (75) pro = NP  
 ɔ̃ sɔ́wáɔ̃.  
 3SG die  
 ‘She died.’

A possessive noun phrase is always definite. A possessive pronoun followed by a noun is analysed as a succession of a noun phrase and a noun. Thus, the noun phrase in (76) is analysed as a sequence of the noun phrase ɔ̃ and the noun *mãã* (pro + N = NP).

- (76) pro + N = NP  
 ɔ̃ mãã̃ ñmá dí “óí”.  
 3SG.POSS mother say COMP INTERJ  
 ‘Her mother said, “Oi!”’

The treatment of possessive noun phrase is motivated by the possibility of recursion of an attributive possession relation. The complex stem noun *pàbīī* (< *par-bīī*, hoe-seed) ‘hoe blade’ is the head in the three possessive noun phrases *súgló pàbīī* ‘Suglo’s hoe blade’, *súgló ñīnā pàbīī* ‘Suglo’s father’s hoe blade’, and *súgló ñīnā bíérì pàbīī* ‘Suglo’s father’s brother’s hoe blade’. Notice that in these examples the nominal head consists of the right-most element in the noun phrase, e.g. [[[[súgló]<sub>NP</sub> [ñīnā]<sub>N</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> [bíérì]<sub>N</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> [pàbīī]<sub>N</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>. Section 3.2.3 discussed complex stem nouns.

**3.1.2.1 Articles *a* and *tiŋ*** There are two articles in Chakali: *à* (glossed ART1) and *tiŋ* (glossed ART2). The article *à* is translated with the English article *the*. It must precede the head noun and cannot co-occur with the possessive pronoun. In the context of (77), the speaker assumes that the addressee is informed about Kala’s interest in buying a mat.

- (77) a + N = NP  
*kàlá jáwá à ptéŋ ná.*  
 Kala buy ART1 mat FOC  
 ‘Kala bought the mat.’

The type of mat, its colour or the location where Kala bought the mat and so on are not necessarily shared pieces of information between the speaker and addressee in (77). The only information the speaker believes they have in common is Kala’s interest in purchasing a mat. The article *à* is treated as a functional word

which makes the noun phrase specific but not necessarily definite. When a noun phrase is specific, the speaker should have a particular referent in mind whereas the addressee may or may not share this knowledge.

The article *tɪŋ* (glossed ART2) can also be seen to correspond to English *the*, but a preferable paraphrase would be ‘as referred previously’ or ‘this (one)’. The article *tɪŋ* appears when the speaker knows that the addressee will be able to identify the referent of the noun phrase. In that sense, the referent is familiar.<sup>12</sup> When *tɪŋ* follows a noun, the referent must either have been mentioned previously or the speaker and addressee have an identifiable referent in mind. Thus, compared to the examples (73) and (77) above, a proper interpretation of example (78) requires that both the speaker and addressee have a particular mat in mind. In terms of word order, the article *à* initiates the noun phrase and the article *tɪŋ* belongs near the end of the noun phrase. The article *à* in (78) is optional.

- (78) ( a + ) N + *tɪŋ* = NP  
*kàlá jáwá [à píéŋ tɪŋ]<sub>NP</sub> nā.*  
 Kala buy ART1 mat ART2 FOC  
 ‘Kala bought the MAT.’

Consider the slight meaning difference between (79a) and (79b).

- (79) a. *ɲìníě́ ì ɲíná kà dɔ́.*  
 Q.how 2SG.POSS father EGR be  
 ‘How is your father?’  
 b. *ɲìníě́ ì ɲíná tɪŋ kà dɔ́.*  
 Q.how 2SG.POSS father ART2 EGR be  
 ‘How is your father?’

Both sentences may be translated with ‘How is your father?’. However, whereas the sentence (79a) can request a general description of the father (i.e. physical description, general health, etc.), the sentence in (79b) asks for a particular aspect of the father’s condition which both the speaker and the addressee are aware of, for instance the father’s sickness. As sketched above, the article *tɪŋ* in (79b) establishes that a particular disposition of the father is known by both the speaker and the addressee, and the speaker asks, with the question word *ɲìníě́* ‘how’, for details.

<sup>12</sup> In the givenness hierarchy of Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski (1993: 278), the status *familiar* is reached when “the addressee is able to uniquely identify the intended referent because he already has a representation of it in memory.”

The two articles *a* and *tiŋ* are not in complementary distribution. The article *tiŋ* may occur following the head of a possessive noun phrase, although it is not attested following a weak pronoun. When the articles *a* and *tiŋ* co-occur, language consultants could omit the preposed *a* without affecting the interpretation of the proposition.

While the two articles in Chakali are presented under the same heading, they are believed to be of different origin. Evidence shows that pre-nominal articles are not found in the SWG group, nor in Kasem (Bonvini 1988: 153). Assuming that specificity and definiteness morphemes always come after the noun in Grusi languages, and that Waali and Dagaare make use of an identical pre-nominal article, the article *à* in Chakali is believed to be a contact-induced innovation. However, a preposed article in the northwestern languages is alien to the general Oti-Volta pattern as well. The phenomenon needs more study to see if a locus for this areal innovation can be identified. Apparent cognates of *tiŋ* are attested in Grusi. For example Bonvini (1988: 180) writes that Kasem *tim* “sert à thematiser ce qui est déjà connu” (i.e. used to bring up what is already known). Chakali *tiŋ* is discussed in Section 2.5.2 in relation to its role as a relativizer in subordination.

Now that the indefinite and definite noun phrases have been presented, the subsequent sections introduce the elements which can compose either indefinite or definite noun phrases.

## 3.2 Nouns

In this section, the elements admitted in the schematic representation (80) are discussed.

$$(80) \quad [[\text{LEXEME}]_{stem} - [\text{NOUN CLASS}]]_n$$

A stem may have nominal or verbal lexeme status. The latter has either a state (i.e. stative) or a event (i.e. active) meaning. A stem can be either atomic or complex and a noun class suffix may be overt or covert. In a process which turns a lexeme into a noun-word, the noun class provides the syntactic category *noun*.

### 3.2.1 Noun classes

The accepted view is that “the Gurunsi languages, and indeed all Gur languages, had historically a system of nominal classification which was reflected in agreement. The third person pronominal forms and other parts of speech were at a certain time a reflection of the nominal classification” (Naden 1989). Similar affirmations are present in Manessy (1969b); Wilson (1971); Naden (1982); Crouch

& Naden (1998); Tchagbalé (2007). In this section and in Section 3.10.1, it is suggested that an eroded form of this “reflection” is still observable in Chakali. Brindle (2009) claims that in Chakali inflectional class (i.e. noun class) and agreement class (i.e. gender) should be distinguished and analysed as separate phenomena at a synchronic level.

The identification of noun classes is based on non-syntagmatic evidence; noun class is a type of inflectional affix, independent of agreement phenomena, where the values of number and class are exposed. In Chakali, as in all other SWG languages,<sup>13</sup> the values are exposed by suffixes: number refers to either singular or plural, and class can be regarded as phonological and/or semantic features encoded in the lexemes for the selection of the proper pair of singular and plural suffixes. This will be considered in Section 3.2.1.8.

Table 1: The five most frequent noun classes

	CL.1	CL.2	CL.3	CL.4	CL.5
SING	-V	∅	∅	-V	∅
PLUR	-sV	-sV	-V	-V	-nV

One method used to identify the noun classes of a language appears in Rowland (1966: 23). The author writes that “[t]he nouns in Sissala may be assigned to groups on the basis of the suffixes for singular and plural”. According to this definition, there are nine noun classes, of which four are rare. A synopsis is displayed in Table 1, and each of them is discussed below.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Crouch & Naden (1998: 136) state that “[i]n Vagla most traces of this [noun-class system where paired singular/plural noun affixes correlate with concurring 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, Fembeti & Toupin (1999) (5) and Isaalo in Moran (2006) (4). The number of classes is of course determined by the linguist’s analysis.

<sup>14</sup> Some scholars treat each singular type as a class, and each plural type as a class. In their terminology a *nominal declension* is a singular/plural marker pairing, which corresponds to a *noun class* in this work.

**3.2.1.1 Class 1** Class 1 allows a variety of stems: CV, CVC, CVVCV, and CVCV are possible. It gathers the nouns whose singular is formed by a single vowel suffix *-V* and plural by a light syllable *-sV*.

Table 2: Class 1

CLASS	Stem	SG	PL	Gloss
CL.1	va	váà	vá <sup>4</sup> sá	dog
CL.1	pɛn	pèná	pènsá	moon
CL.1	gun	gùno	gùnsó	cotton
CL.1	tʃuom	tʃùòmó	tʃùònsó	Togo hare
CL.1	bi	bìé	bìsé	child
CL.1	gbieki	gbìèkiè	gbìèkisé	type of bird

The quality of the vowels of the singular and plural is determined by the quality of the stem vowel and the harmony rules in operation. The rules were stated in Section 4.2 and correspond to the noun class realization rules given in (81).

- (81) a.  $-(C)V_{nc} > [\beta_{RO}, +ATR, -HI] / [\beta_{RO}, +ATR] C^* \_$   
*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 ɪ, ɛ, ɔ, ʊ or a.*

**3.2.1.2 Class 2** Table 3 displays nouns assigned to class 2. Typically, this class consists of nouns whose stems are CVV or CVCV. While the singular form displays no overt suffix, *-sV* is suffixed onto the stem to form the plural.

The rules in (81) capture the majority of the singular/plural pairs of class 1 and 2. However, it is insufficient in some cases, that is, there are cases which raise uncertainty in the allotment of the pairs into one class or the other. Consider the examples in Table 4.

Two questions are raised by looking at the data in Table 4: (i) What is the stem of these nouns and how are they analysed? (ii) Is there a good reason to favour final vowel deletion instead of insertion, e.g. /kɪrma/ vs. /kɪrim/ ‘tsetse

Table 3: Class 2

CLASS	Stem	SG	PL	Gloss
CL.2	daa	dáá	dààsá	tree
CL.2	bɔla	bɔ̀là	bɔ̀làsá	elephant
CL.2	kuoru	kùórù	kùòrùsó	chief
CL.2	tomo	tòmó	tòmòsó	type of tree
CL.2	bele	bèlè	bèlèsé	type of bush dog
CL.2	tii	tîi	tísè	type of tree

Table 4: Pending class 1 or 2

SG	PL	Gloss
dǒǒ	dǒs'á	African rock python
kìrimá	kìrinsá	tsetse fly
léhéé	lèhèsá	cheek
tîi	tísè	type of tree
bìé	bìsè	child

fly'? Addressing the first question, consider the first pair of words of Table 4, i.e. *dǒǒ* and *dǒsa*. On the one hand, if *dǒ* is treated as the stem and the word for 'African rock python' is assigned to class 1, the refutation of the rule in (81) must be explained, i.e. vowel suffixes are always -HI. On the other hand, if the stem is *dǒǒ*, a deletion rule which reduces the length of the vowel, i.e. */dǒǒ-sa/* → *[dǒs'á]*, must be stated. Such a decision would assign a stem */dǒǒ/* to class 2. The decision taken here is to respect the rule in (81), which is empirically supported, and assume an *ad hoc* deletion rule. This deletion rule, which may be driven by general prosody or phonological structure, will not be considered here. The word pairs in Table 4 are assigned the following classes: 'African rock python' is in class 2 and the last stem vowel is deleted in the plural, 'tsetse fly' is in class 1 and its stem is */kìrim/*, and 'cheek' is in class 2 and the last stem vowel is deleted in the plural. Finally, the final vowel of the stem */tii/* is deleted in the plural, and a vowel is added to the stem of */bi/* in the singular.

**3.2.1.3 Class 3** Table 5 shows that the noun stems allotted to class 3 generally have a sonorant coda consonant in the singular, i.e. *l, r, ŋ*, etc. Class 3 is analysed as containing nouns whose singular forms have no overt suffix and whose plural forms have a single vowel as suffix. As for class 1 and 2, the plural vowel suffix of class 3 is determined by the harmony rule given in (81).

Table 5: Class 3

CLASS	Stem	SG	PL	Gloss
CL.3	nɔn	nóŋ	nóná	fruit
CL.3	háãn	háãŋ	háãná	woman
CL.3	pɔŋ	póŋ	póná	hair
CL.3	nar	nár	nárá	person
CL.3	ʔol	ʔól	ʔóló	type of mouse
CL.3	butet	bùtér:	bùtété	turtle
CL.3	sel	sél:	sélé	animal

**3.2.1.4 Class 4** As shown in Table 6, the major characteristic of class 4 is that all the stems are analysed as having a final syllable consisting of a [+HI, -RO] vowel. In class 4, a vowel is added to the stem on both the singular and the plural, i.e.  $V]# > V]-V\#$ . The suffix vowel of the singular is always an exact copy of the stem vowel. If the stem vowel is [+ATR], the plural suffix vowel is *-e*, and if the stem vowel is [-ATR], the plural suffix vowel is *-a*. This low vowel is then raised due to the height of the stem vowel. In normal speech, one can perceive either *-a* or *-ε* in that position. A similar noun class is found in other SWG and Western Oti-Volta languages (see Section 3.2.1.10).

Class 4 also includes nominalized verbal lexemes. In Section 3.2.2.2, it is observed that one way to make a noun from a verbal lexeme is to suffix a high-front vowel to the verbal stem. For instance, the verbal lexeme *zin* may be translated as ‘drive’, ‘ride’ or ‘climb’. The suffix  $-[+HI, -RO]$  can be added to the verbal lexeme *zin* making it nominal, i.e. *kínzíní* ‘horse’, *lit.* thing-riding. Consequently, the plural of *kínzíní* ‘horse’ is *kínzíníé*. The sequences *-ie* and *-ie* of class 4 often coalesce and may be perceived as *-ee* and *-εε* respectively, e.g. *féríí/féréé* (SG/PL) ‘air potato’.

Table 6: Class 4

CLASS	Stem	SG	PL	Gloss
CL.4	begi	bégíí	bégié	heart
CL.4	si	síí	sié	eye
CL.4	fili	filíí	filíé	bearing tray
CL.4	bi	bíí	bíá	stone
CL.4	wi	wíí	wíé	matter
CL.4	wiri	wííí	wííé	star

**3.2.1.5 Class 5** The monosyllabic stems of class 5 can either be CVV or CVC. Class 5 consists of nouns which form their singular with no overt suffix and their plural with the suffix *-nV*. The quality of the suffix's consonant is determined by the stem and the place assimilation rules introduced in Section 3.2.2.2, some of which are repeated in (82). The vowel of the plural suffix is determined by the stem vowel and the rules in (81).

- (82) Class 5 suffix *-nV* surfaces *-[IV]* if the coda consonant of the stem is *l*  
*-/[NASAL]V/nc > -/[LATERAL]V/nc / [LATERAL] \_*

Table 7: Class 5

CLASS	Stem	SG	PL	Gloss
CL.5	zm	zǐj	zǐnná	type of bat
CL.5	hǝn	hǝǐj	hǝnná	farmer or hunter gear
CL.5	kuo	kùó	kùónò	farm
CL.5	juu	juù	juúnò	head
CL.5	vii	víí	víiné	type of cooking pot
CL.5	din	díj	dínné	fire
CL.5	pel	pél	péllé	burial specialist



**3.2.1.6 Nasals in noun classes' morpho-phonology** Apart from the singular of class 4, much of the same vocalic morpho-phonology is found in all classes. This was reduced to the two rules in (81). Furthermore, in all the noun classes, the nasal consonants surface differently depending on the phonological context. The rules in (83) predict the observed outputs and are derived from the nasal assimilation rules in Section 3.2.1.1.

(83) Possible outputs of nasals

- a. C[+NASAL] > ŋ / \_ #  
/hããŋ-Ø/ > [hããŋ] 'female' CL.3SG
- b. /m/ > n / \_ C [-LABIAL, -VELAR]  
/tʃuom-sV/ > [tʃùònsó] 'Togo hares' CL.1PL
- c. /ŋ/ > n / \_ C [-LABIAL, -VELAR]  
/kɔlõŋ-sV/ > [kɔlònsá] 'wells' CL.2PL

The rule in (83a) says that any nasal consonant occurring word finally becomes [ŋ]. The rule in (83b) changes a bilabial nasal into an alveolar when it precedes a non-labial and non-velar consonantal segment. The rule in (83c) changes a velar nasal into an alveolar in the same environment.

**3.2.1.7 Generalization and summary** While the method proposed suggests that one should look for pairs of forms, the present classification treats phonologically empty suffixes as “exponents”. What counts as a noun class is the paradigm determined by the inflectional pattern of the lexeme. The five most frequent pairs were presented in Tables 2 to 7 and the exponents are gathered in Table 8.<sup>15</sup>

Table 8: The five most frequent noun classes

	CL.1	CL.2	CL.3	CL.4	CL.5
SING	-V	Ø	Ø	-V	Ø
PLUR	-sV	-sV	-V	-V	-nV
	8%	32%	23%	17%	8%

<sup>15</sup> The percentage is based on a list of 978 singular/plural pairs (02/10/10). The five classes in Table 8 make up 88% of the nouns which are assigned a class in the lexicon.

In practice the most productive and regular patterns are those recognized as noun classes. However, some words do not fit perfectly into the patterns described above but are not totally alien to genetically related languages and the reconstructions of Proto-Grusi in Manessy (1969a,b) and Proto-Grusi-Kirma-Tyurama in Manessy (1982). In fact, there are more possibilities and surface forms when the classes (SG/PL)  $\emptyset/\emptyset$ ,  $\emptyset/ta$ ,  $\emptyset/ma$  and  $\eta/sV$  are included in the classification. Examples are given in Table 9.

Table 9: Noun classes 6, 7, 8, and 9

CLASS	Stem	SG	PL	Gloss
CL.6	dziensa	dziènsá	dziènsá	twin
CL.6	kapɔsɛ	kàpɔsìè	kàpɔsìè	kola nut
CL.6	kpibii	kpìbìi	kpìbìi	louse
CL.7	kuo	kúó	kùòtó	roan antelope
CL.7	kie	kié	kièté	half of a bird
CL.7	fɔɔ	fɔ̀ɔ̀	fótá	baboon
CL.8	naal	náàl	nááləmə	grand-father
CL.8	ɲina	ɲínà	ɲínámà	father
CL.8	hĩɛŋ	hĩɛŋ	hĩɛmbá	relative
CL.9	jo	jóŋ	jósò	slave
CL.9	zi	zíŋ	zísè	tail
CL.9	ɲmɛ	ɲméŋ	ɲmésà	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  $-ŋ$  in the singular and  $-sV$  in the plural. In Table 10, the percentage of occurrence of the less productive noun classes 6, 7, 8 and 9 is given.

In addition, there are pairs which can only imperfectly be reduced to the nine classes presented until now. However, the problem lies in the stem and not in the inflectional pattern, and thus suggests suppletion rather than phonotactics. For example the colour terms (SG/PL) *pòmámá/pòlònsá* ‘white’ and *búmmó/bùlùnsó* ‘black’ do not have comparable pairs and do not fit the noun classes described above. One would expect *\*pòmámasa* to be the plural form for ‘white’ (also *\*tinnama* for *tìiná/tómá* ‘owner’). Other examples are the pairs *tíè/tésá* ‘foetus’ and

Table 10: Less productive noun classes

	CL.6	CL.7	CL.8	CL.9
SING	Ø	Ø	Ø	-N
PLUR	Ø	-tV	-mV	-sV
	7%	1.8%	0.9%	0.8%

*túò/tósó* ‘bow’ (see Brindle 2015a for an account of a similar situation in Waali). Also here, one expects the last vowel to delete in each of the plural forms instead of the penultimate one. Moreover, inconsistent class assignment across speakers, across villages, and even different forms (predominantly in the plural) from the same speaker on different elicitation sessions do arise.

**3.2.1.8 Semantic assignment criteria** Several authors have presented different views on the semantic classification of nominals. The general idea is that there must be an underlying system which can explain, first, why some words display identical number morphology, and second, how these words are related in meaning. Tchagbalé (2007: 23) shows that Tem organizes its nominals on the basis of semantic values such as humanness, size, and countability. Awedoba (2007: 41) argues that nominal groupings in Kasem should take into consideration phonological and semantic characteristics, in addition to other more cultural factors. Amidu (2007) argues at length on the shortcoming of traditional semantic rules and argues for abandoning them.

The semantic value of the noun class suffixes has proven difficult to establish. It is possible that there are analogies in class assignment based on semantic criteria, but it is more likely that synchronically (i) the phonological shape of the stem triggers the suffix type, and that (ii) some classes can be identified as residues of former semantic assignment. Let me comment on each of these points.

First, most class 3 nouns have a sonorant consonant in the coda position, the stems of class 4 nouns must have their last vowel specified for [-HI, -RO] and a typical class 2 noun is either CVV or CVCV. These are some of the characteristics described for the noun classes. It seems that the phonological shape of the stem plays a role in class assignment and that there is no productive class where most of its members are assigned to a particular semantic domain. Using four features of the animacy hierarchy of Comrie (1989), i.e. human [HUM], animal (exclude human) or other-animate and insects [ANIM], concrete inanimate

[CONC] and abstract (inanimate) [ABST], Brindle (2008b) shows that the noun classes do not encode any of these distinctions. Such distinctions may have been expected given the nominal classification of other Gur languages. For instance in Dagaare, a Western Oti-Volta language in contact with Chakali, Bodomo (1994: 124) presents the Class 2 (V/ba) as “unique in that it is the only class that has exclusively [+human] nouns in it”. From a diachronic point of view, this could suggest that Chakali has dropped all animacy distinctions in the noun class system while preserving one distinction in agreement (see Section 3.10.1).

Secondly, languages related to Chakali, e.g. geographically and genetically, have or had noun class systems whose classifications were based, at least partially, on semantic criteria (Naden 1982). To my knowledge, the most conservative system today within Grusi is Tem (see “identification sémantique” in Tchagbalé 2007). When and how the speakers of Chakali classified nouns based on semantic criteria is impossible to know, but traces can be detected in the *less productive noun classes*, that is class 6, 7, 8, and 9 (see Table 10). Some members of class 6 consist of nouns with mass or abstract denotations, e.g. rice, louse, struggle, profit, etc. Recall that number has no exponent in class 6. Class 7 also contains mass and abstract nouns, e.g. oil, honey, water, and taboo, but also bush animals such as bushbuck, waterbuck, baboon, roan antelope and hartebeest. Class 7 represents approximately 2% of the noun sample (see Table 10) and mass/abstract nouns and bush animals each represent 30% of class 7 membership. Class 8 is likely to be the class where kinship and human classification terms were assigned, as mother, father, and ‘owner of’ are among remnant members of that class. Finally, a common trait of class 9 may be ‘elongated things’, since words referring to rope, arm, tail, and ladder are members. Yet, only eight nouns are assigned to class 9. Despite the arbitrary nature of the semantic assignment of class 9, Manessy (1975: 94) maintains that there are Oti-Volta languages which show relics of the Proto Oti-Volta class \**ɲu-* \**u-*, which is itself a remnant of Proto-Gur class 3 according to Miede & Winkelmann (2007: 11), and that this class contains “les noms du bâton, du pilon, du balai, de la corde, de la peau et du chemin”. Although these nouns seem to denote ‘elongated things’, Manessy claims that they cannot contribute to an hypothesis. Generally, however, the fact that members of classes 6, 7, 8, and 9 are similarly clustered in other languages suggests that these classes are remnants of a more productive semantic assignment system. Beside semantic domains, the simple empirical fact that homonyms are allotted different classes excludes a purely phonologically-based assignment. There is no way a speaker can correctly pluralize the stems *kuo* (CL.5) ‘farm’ and *kuo* (CL.9) ‘type

of antelope' based entirely on their (segmental) phonological shape.<sup>16</sup> It seems that apart from phonological and semantic features, combinatorial features on lexical units are necessary to account for noun class assignment.

**3.2.1.9 Tone patterns of noun classes** In spite of variations, nouns have recurrent tonal melodies and representative examples are presented in Table 11. The general tendency for nouns is for the singular and plural forms to display the same tonal melody. For instance, a HL melody may be associated with both the singular and the plural, e.g. *zìj/zísè* 'tail' (CL.9) and *lól/lólà* '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/dààsá* 'tree' (CL.2). While it seems that the plural suffix *-sV* depresses a preceding H, it does not do so in class 9 nouns. The majority of class 4 nouns in the data available are high tone irrespective of the number of moras and they are all tonally regular. An exception is the LHL melody, of which a dozen or so pairs are attested, e.g. *tʃìrù/tʃìrèè* 'type of wasp' and *lògù/lògèè* 'iron'. Some cases involving singular CVC words with moraic coda exhibit the deletion of a low tone; *zìj/zínná* 'bat' (CL.5), *gèr/gété* 'lizard' (CL.3), and *sàl/sállá* 'flat roof' (CL.5) have a LH tonal melody in the singular but H in the plural. A downstep rule (Section 4.1) predicts that a high tone preceded by a low tone is perceived as lower than a preceding high tone, e.g. *váá* HL, *vá<sup>+</sup>sá* HLH 'dog' (CL.1).

**3.2.1.10 Noun class reconstruction** The numerical labelling of the noun classes in Table 8 and 10 is arbitrary. Nonetheless, some observations on similarities between the noun class system in Chakali and other SWG noun class systems can be put forward. The information sources are my own field notes on neighbouring languages, the reconstruction of the noun class suffixes of Grusi in Manessy (1969a,b), and the reconstruction of noun classes in Gur in Mieke & Winkelmann (2007); the latter being for the most part an update and synthesis of Manessy's work (Manessy 1969a,b; 1975; 1979; 1982; 1999). Needless to say, the following statements are first impressions.

<sup>16</sup> I put segmental in parenthesis since homonyms *with the same tonal melody* belonging to two different classes have not yet been found. The pair *pól/pólló* (CL.5) 'water source' and *pól/póló* (CL.3) 'vein' may be treated as one example, but their meanings could be thought of as pointing to a common etymology. Another is the pair *tíi/tísè* (CL.2) 'type of tree' and *tíi/tíísè* (CL.2) 'tea', but the latter is a recent loan from English. Nevertheless, Bonvini (1988), Awedoba (2007) and Tchagbalé (2007) provide data to support a similar claim.

Table 11: Tonal melodies in noun classes 1–5

CLASS	Tone melody SG	Singular	Tone melody PL	Plural	Gloss
CL.1	HL	vàà	HLH	vá <sup>˥</sup> sá	dog
	LH	gùnó	LH	gùnsó	cotton
	HL	tʃíníè	HL	tʃínísè	type of climber
	L	dìgìnà	LH	dìgìnsá	ear
CL.2	H	síé	LH	sièsé	face
	L	bòlà	LH	bòlàsá	elephant
	LH	tòmó	LH	tòmòsó	type of tree
	LH	jùó	LH	jùòsó	quarrel
	HL	kánà	HLH	kánàsá	arm ring
CL.3	H	hóg	H	hógó	bone
	HL	háàŋ	HL	hááà	woman
	LH	gèr	H	gété	lizard
	LH	pààtʃák	LH	pààtʃàgá	leaf
CL.4	H	síí	H	síé	appearance
	H	tʃíí	H	tʃíá	dawadawa seed
	LHL	ààrří	LHL	ààrřè	grasscutter
CL.5	H	víí	H	víiné	cooking pot
	LH	bèj	H	bénné	law
	LH	sàí	H	sállá	flat roof
	HL	tʃàl	LH	tʃállá	blood
	HL	pél	H	péllé	burial specialist

Field notes on neighbouring languages, supported with unpublished material produced by GILLBT's staff,<sup>17</sup> 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

<sup>17</sup> 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, Joseph Kipo (Bole) for Vagla and Yusseh Jamani (Bowina) for Tampilma.

markers in Vagla are *-zi*, *-ni* and *-ri*. The pattern found in Chakali class 4 is similar to the one found in Vagla, e.g. (SG/PL) *bàmpíri/bàmpírè* ‘chest’, *hūbí/hūbé* ‘bee’ and *gíngímí/gíngímé* ‘hill’. In Dɛg, the most frequent plural markers are mid-vowel suffixes, often rounded, and the *-rV*, *-nV* and *-IV* suffixes, with which the vowel harmonizes in roundness and ATR with the stem vowel. Both Vagla and Dɛg 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. Dɛg *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 Dɛg *-a/-e*, *-e/-a*, *-i/-e*, *-o/-i* and *-i/-a*.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup>

It is important to keep in mind that the analysis in Manessy (1969a,b) is based on a very limited set of SWG data, most of the data being extracted from Bendor-Samuel (1965). He often stresses the tentative nature of his claims and sets forth more than one hypothesis on several occasions. Based on a comparison of word forms and meanings, Chakali plural suffix of class 8 *-mV* may be treated as a descendant of the Proto-Grusi Class  $*B_1A$  (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  $*K_1A$  (Manessy 1969b: 39), classes 1, 2, and 9 *-sV* as descendants of the Proto-Grusi Class  $*SE$  (Manessy 1969b: 39) and class 7 *-tV* as a descendant of the Proto-Grusi Class  $*TE/O$  (Manessy 1969b: 43). The vowel suffixes of class 1 and 4 may also descend from the Proto-Grusi Class  $*YA$  (Manessy 1969b: 34). In consulting Mieke & 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  $*-sr$ , the plural suffix of class 5 *-nV* to Proto-Gur Class

<sup>18</sup> These singular/plural pairings are extracted from the Vagla and Dɛg lexicons (fn. 17) and are not exhaustive.

<sup>19</sup> As mentioned in footnote 13, the number of noun classes is determined by the linguist’s analysis. McGill, Fembeti & Toupin (1999: 5–12) is a good example of the consequence of analyzing noun classes differently. For instance, McGill, Fembeti & Toupin (1999: 7) postulate a subclass (SG/PL) *-l/-lA* for word pairs like *baal/baala* ‘man’, *gul/gulo* ‘group’, *miibol/miibolo* ‘nostril’ and *mɔl/mɔlo* ‘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 (underspecified segments), like A and E, which surface depending on harmony rules.

2a \*-*n.ba* or Proto-Gur Class 10 \*-*ni*, class 7 -*tV* to Proto-Gur Class 21 \*-*tɔ* and class 8 -*mV* to Proto-Gur Class 2 \*-*ba*. The singular suffix -*ŋ* would correspond to Proto-Gur Class 3 \*-*ŋɔ*.

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, Dɛg, Siti/Kyitu, and the dialects of Sisaala are made available. A synthesis of these descriptions could be compared to “better-documented” nominal classifications of Grusi languages such as Kasem (Northern Grusi, Awedoba 1979; Bonvini 1988; Awedoba 2003), Lyélé (Northern Grusi, Delplanque 1979), Lama (Eastern Grusi, Aritiba 1987; Ourso 1989), Kabiye (Eastern Grusi, Tchagbalé 2007), Chala (Eastern Grusi, Kleinwillinghamöfer 2000) and Tem (Eastern Grusi, Tchagbalé 1972; 2007), to evaluate the Proto-Grusi noun class suffixes of Manessy (1969b) and Proto-Gur of Miehé & Winkelmann (2007), and to reconstruct the nominal classifications of SWG languages.

### 3.2.2 Atomic stem nouns

The notion of stem in the present context refers to the host of a noun class suffix or the host of a nominaliser, i.e. the element which conveys the lexical meaning and to which affixes attach. A stem can be either irreducible or reducible morphologically: they are referred to as atomic and complex stem respectively. Complex stems are presented in Section 3.2.3. An atomic stem is always a nominal or a verbal lexeme. A verbal lexeme may either be of the type “process” or “state” (Sections 3.2.2.2 and 3.2.2.3). Three types of nominalization formation (i.e. nominalisers) are attested: suffixation, prefixation, and reduplication.

**3.2.2.1 Nominal stem** A nominal stem denotes a class of entities. Nouns composed by the combination of a nominal stem and a noun class affix are the most common. A nominal stem has the potential to be juxtaposed with various noun class affixes, yielding forms with different meanings. For instance, the lexeme *baal* is associated with the general meaning ‘male’. In a context where the lexeme is used in the singular, *baal* can mean either ‘a man’ or ‘a husband’. Given the same context but used in the plural, the lexeme *baal* is disambiguated by the plural suffix it takes; *bààlá* ‘men’ (CL.3) and *bààlsá* ‘husbands’ (CL.2). Evidence from other Grusi languages suggests that the situation where lexemes are found in different noun classes was certainly a more common phenomenon than it is today



(Bonvini 1988: 126–128). This may coincide with semantically richer noun class suffixes. In addition, for many noun classes the singular forms are not overtly marked and the plural forms are by and large less frequent. This situation makes it difficult to provide the necessary evidence which would demonstrate that nominal stems are attested with different noun classes.

Nominal stems exist in opposition to the verbal ones. To classify a stem in such a dichotomy, the simple test carried out consists of placing the stem in several core predicative positions, i.e. positions where an argument must appear. If the sentence is perceived as grammatical and felicitous by language consultants, it cannot be nominal. The examples in (84) illustrate the procedure. It uses a frame where the predicate is in the perfective aspect and the same predicate, as opposed to the argument, is in focus. The assumption is that this position cannot be satisfied by nominal lexemes.

- (84) a. /*di*/ ‘eat’ → *ò díjōó* |3SG eat.PFV.FOC| ‘he ate’  
 b. /*kpeg*/ ‘hard’ → *ò kpégéó* |3SG hard.PFV.FOC| ‘he is strong’  
 c. /*siama*/ ‘red’ → \**ò siamao*, but *ò síárēó* |3SG red.PFV.FOC| ‘it is red’  
 d. /*bi*/ ‘child’ → \**ò bio*

The grammatical sentences in (84) show that *di* and *kpeg* are verbal, whereas *siama* and *bi* are not. In Section 3.4, it will be shown that some colour properties change forms depending on whether they occur in a nominal or verbal context, so ‘red’ can be verbal but *siama* is not.

**3.2.2.2 Verbal process stem** Verbal process stems denote non-stative events. Table 12 displays two types of nominalization formation – suffixation and reduplication – involving verbal process stems, ‘agent of X’ and ‘action of X’, where X replaces the meaning of the verbal process stem.

In Table 12, the column entitled semantic value (Sem. value) identifies the meaning of the verbal nominalization. In such a context, ‘agent of X’ refers to the instigator or doer of the state of affairs denoted by the predicate X and the nominalization is generally accomplished by the suffix *-r(a)*. However, there are some expressions with the equivalent agentive denotation which do not suffix *-r* to the predicate, e.g. *ʔɔra* ‘to sew’ vs. *ʔɔta* ‘sewer’ and *maɲa* ‘to beat’ vs. *kiɲ-maɲana* ‘drummer’. The singular forms are given in the fourth column: the plural of agent nominals of this type, i.e. nominalized by the suffix *-r*, is made by a sin-

Table 12: Examples of nominalization of verbal process stem

Sem. value	Verb. process stem	NMLZ	Form
Agent of X	gòò ‘dance’	-/ɾ/	góór ‘dancer’
Agent of X	kpó ‘kill’	-/ɾ/	kpóórâ ‘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’

gle vowel suffix (CL.3) whose surface form depends on harmony rules.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> The surface form of the vowel depends on the quality of the stem vowel and ATR-harmony (Section 4.2). Consider example (85).

- (85)  $\varnothing$  píilè wáfí                      rá.  
 ɔ piile wa-I-I                      ra  
 3SG start come-NMLZ-CL.4 FOC  
 ‘He begins coming.’

The final vowels in the words referring to ‘the process of X’ are analysed as a sequence of two vowels: first a nominaliser suffix (i.e. NMLZ) on the verbal stem, and second, a noun class suffix. Such nominalized verbal stems are allotted to

<sup>20</sup> 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 *sā* can mean both ‘carve’ and ‘drive vehicle’. People usually use *lɔ́lɔ́sáá*, or the English word *dɔ́rɔ́vɛ*, which is common all over Ghana, to refer to any driver of a vehicle.

<sup>21</sup> The nominalization ‘the process X’ is often not distinguishable from ‘the result of a process X’. Does ‘dancing’ refer to ‘the process of dance’, ‘the result of the process of dance’ or both?

noun class 4; their singular suffix is a copy of the NMLZ vowel, and their plural suffix is the low vowel *a*, raised to a mid height, e.g. *pɛɾɪ/pɛɾɪɛ* ‘weaving(s)’ (< *pɛɾa* ‘weave’, see class 4 in Section 3.2.1.4).

**3.2.2.3 Verbal state stem** Verbal state stems denote static events. They generally function as verbs, but they can take the role of attributive modifiers in noun phrases, referred to as ‘qualifiers’ in Section 3.4. In that role, their semantic value is similar to the value of adjectives in English: they denote a property assigned to a referent. To function as a qualifier, some verbal state predicates must be nominalized. As with verbal process stems, verbal state stems are found in nouns which have been nominalized by suffixation of a high front vowel, i.e. ‘the state of X’. For instance, the verbal state predicate *kpeg* has a general meaning which can be translated into English as ‘hard’ and ‘strong’. The expression *kpegíí* in a *teebul kpegíí dsa de* ‘The hard table is there’ functions as qualifier in the noun phrase *a teebul kpegíí*, lit. ‘the table hard’.

(86) Verbal state stem *kpeg* ‘hard’ in complex stem nouns

- a. *ɲúú<sup>4</sup>kpeg* < head-hard ‘stubbornness’
- b. *nékpeg* < arm-hard ‘stingy’
- c. *dààkpeg* < wood-hard ‘strong wood’

Examples are provided in (86) using *kpeg* again for the sake of illustration. Notice that only (86c) has a transparent and compositional meaning. Verbal state stems are mainly found in complex stem nouns (Section 3.2.3).

### 3.2.3 Complex stem nouns

A complex stem noun, as opposed to an atomic one, is formed by the combination of at least two stems (XY). Either X or Y in a XY-complex stem noun may be atomic or complex. Nominal stems (NS), verbal state stems (SS) and verbal process stems (PS), together with a single noun class suffix (and/or other types of nominaliser) are the elements which take part in the formation of complex stem nouns.

- (87) a. *nébíí* ‘finger’  
*ne-bi-i* [arm-seed]  
 NS + NS + CL.3SG

- b. *pàtʃɪgʃbúm̀m̀ò* ‘liar’  
*patʃɪgʃ-bummo-Ø* [stomach-black]  
 NS + NS (+ CL.1SG)
- c. *ɲm̀éɲh̀òl̀í* ‘dried okro’  
*ɲm̀eɲ-h̀ɔl-ɪ-ɪ* [okro-dry]  
 NS + SS + NMLZ + CL.4.SG
- d. *j̀àẁàd̀í* ‘business person’  
*jawa-di-r-Ø* [buy-eat-agent]  
 PS + PS + NMLZ (+ CL.3SG)

In (87a) and (87b), all stems are nominal. In (87c), the verbal state stem *h̀ɔl* ‘dry’ follows a nominal stem, and in (87d) both stems are of the type verbal process. In these stem appositions, it is the noun class suffix of the rightmost stem which appears. Further, stems are lexemes, as opposed to nouns or verbs. This is readily apparent in (87a) and (87b), in which the leftmost stems *ne* and *patʃɪgʃ* would appear as *neɲ* and *patʃɪgɪ* if they were full-fledged nouns. Thus, although complex stem nouns contain more than one stem, there is only one noun class associated with the noun and it is always the noun class associated with the rightmost stem. This was mentioned in Section 3.2.1.8 to support the claim that semantic criteria in noun class assignment may be non-existent.

If stems are treated as lexemes, there is still a problem in accounting for the “reduced” form of some lexemes when they occur in stem appositions. That is, the first stem of a complex stem noun is often reduced to a single syllable in the case of a polysyllabic lexeme, or a monosyllabic lexeme of the type CVV is reduced to CV. For example, *l̀úh̀ò* and *l̀úh̀òs̀ò* are respectively the singular and plural forms for ‘funeral’ (CL.2). The expectation is that when the lexeme takes part in position X of a XY complex stem noun, it should exhibit its lexemic form, i.e. *luho*. Yet, the word for ‘last funeral’ is *l̀ús̀ínǹà*, lit. funeral-drink, and not *\*luhosínǹa*. Not all lexemes get reduced in that particular environment; nevertheless, it is more discernible for polysyllabic lexemes or monosyllabic ones built on a heavy syllable. Moreover, some lexemes are more frequent in that environment than others.

The relation between the stems in a complex stem noun is asymmetric. The relation is defined in terms of what the referents of the stems and the complex noun as a whole have to do with each other. As in a syntactic relation between a head and a modifier, one of the stems modifies while the other stem is modified. The semantic relations between the stems are of two types: “completive” modification and “qualitative” modification. These distinctions are discussed in Sections 3.2.3.1 and 3.2.3.2.

**3.2.3.1 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 *siipóŋ* ‘eyelash’, *lit.* eye-hair, is a kind of hair and not a kind of eye. And *ʔilnõá* ‘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. *siipóŋ/siipóná* (CL.3) and *ʔilnõá/ʔilnõásá* (CL.2). As mentioned earlier, either X or Y in a complex noun XY can be complex. The word *néptélpàtʔigíí* ‘palm of the hand’ is an example of two completive modifications. It consists of a complex stem *nep̄tél* ‘hand’, which is composed of *ne* ‘arm’ and *p̄tél* ‘flat’, and the atomic stem *patʔigí* ‘stomach’, yielding in turn ‘flat of arm’ and then ‘inside of flat of arm’.

**3.2.3.2 Qualitative modification** A qualitative modification in a complex stem noun is the same as the syntactic modification noun-modifier. The difference lies in the formal status of the elements: when the relation is held at a syntactic level, the elements are words, whereas at the morphological level they are stems. As mentioned earlier, either X or Y in a complex noun XY can be complex. For instance, the word *nebiwíe* 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 *nebiwíe* and *nebiwísé* 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 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 qualitative modification. A semantic relation between the stems may be a whole-part relation, a characteristic added to define an entity or a purpose associated with an entity.

So far, XY-complex stem nouns were assumed to be endocentric compounds whose head is X in qualitative modification and the head is Y in completive modification. However, a word such as *pàtʔigibúmmò* ‘liar, secretive’, *lit.* stomach-black, suggests that some XY-complex stem nouns may either lack a head or have more than one head. These possibilities are not ignored, but in this particu-

Table 13: Distinction between completive and qualitative modification using /daa/ ‘tree’ or ‘wood’. Abbreviations: H= head, M= modifier, NS= nominal stem, SS= verbal state stems, PS= verbal process stem,

	Structure			Stems	Word
	Lex. type	Function	Semantic		
Completive	NS-NS	M-H	WHOLE-PART	/daa/-/luto/ ‘tree’-‘root’	dààlútó ‘root of tree’
	NS-SS	M-H	WHOLE-PART	/daa/-/peti/ ‘tree’-‘end’	dààpétíí ‘bark’
	NS-NS	M-H	WHOLE-PART	/kpõŋkpõŋ/-/daa/ ‘cassava’-‘wood’	kpõŋkpõŋdāā ‘cassava plant’
Qualitative	NS-NS	H-M	THING-CHARAC	/daa/-/sɔta/ ‘tree’-‘thorn’	dààsɔ́tá ‘type of tree’
	NS-NS	H-M	THING-CHARAC	/ɲin/-/daa/ ‘tooth’-‘wood’	ɲíndáá ‘horn’
	PS-NS	H-M	PURPOSE-THING	/tʃaasa/-/daa/ ‘comb’-‘wood’	tʃáásàdāā ‘wooden comb’

lar case the complex stem noun may be seen as involving the abstract senses of *patfigi* 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 *patfigi* is treated as the head, and *bummo* as the stem functioning as the qualitative modifier. Another example is *dààdùgó*. This word consists of the stems *daa* ‘tree’ and *dugo* ‘infest’ and refers to a type of insect. Unlike the analysed expressions displayed in Table 13 none of the stems can be treated as the head of the expression and the meaning of the whole noun cannot be transparently predicted from its constituent parts. This leads me to provisionally consider the expression *dààdùgó* as an exocentric compound, i.e. a complex stem noun without a head.

**3.2.3.3 Compound or circumlocution** For a few expressions, it is hard to tell whether they are compounds, i.e. the results of morphological operations, or circumlocutions, i.e. the results of syntactic operations (Allan 2001: 165). Clear

cases of circumlocution nevertheless exist. For instance, the word *kpatakpari* ‘type of hyena’ is treated by one language consultant as *kpa ta kpa li*, lit. ‘take let.free take leave’.<sup>22</sup> Another example is *sówàkándíkùró* ‘parasitic plant’. This expression refers to a type of parasitic plant lacking a root which grows upon and survives from the nutrients provided by its hosts. The word-level expression originates from the sentence *sòwà ká ñ dí kùóró*, lit. die-and-I-eat-chief, ‘Die so that I can become the chief’. It is common to find names of individuals being constructed in this way: the oldest woman in Ducie is known as *ñwábìpè*, lit. *ñ wa bì pè* ‘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 *ñwábìpè*.

### 3.2.4 Derivational morphology

A derivational morpheme is an affix which combines with a stem to form a word. The meaning it carries combines with the meaning of the stem. By definition, a derivational morpheme is a bound affix, and thus cannot exist on its own as a word. This property keeps apart complex stem nouns and derived nouns. Yet, the distinction between a bound affix and a lexeme is not obvious, mainly because some bound affixes were probably lexemes at a previous stage, or still are today (see the morpheme *bì* in Section 3.6.5).

**3.2.4.1 Maturity and sex of animate entities** The specification of the maturity and sex of an animate entity is accomplished in the following way: male, female, young, and adult are organized in morphemes encoding one or two distinctions. These morphemes are suffixed to the rightmost stem. To distinguish between male and female, the morphemes (SG/PL) *wal/wala* ‘male’ and *nii/nita* ‘female’ are used as (88) illustrates.

- (88) a. *bòlà-wál-Ø / bòlà-wál-á*  
 elephant-male-SG / elephant-male-PL (CL.3)  
 b. *bòlà-níí-Ø / bòlà-nìí-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 *-bí* ‘child’ to the head, e.g. *bòla-bie/bòla-bise* ‘young elephant(s)’. In the second strategy both the sex and maturity distinctions are conveyed by the morpheme. This is shown in Table 14.

<sup>22</sup> Yet *kpatakpari* is the word for ‘hunting trap’ in Gonja (Rytz n.d.).

Table 14: Morphemes encoding maturity and sex of animate entities

	MALE	FEMALE
YOUNG	-w(a e)lee	-lor
ADULT	-wal	-nii

Some examples are more opaque than others. For instance, the onset consonant of the morpheme *wal/wala* ‘male’ may surface as a bilabial plosive, e.g. *bǔǔmbál* ‘male goat’. One can also observe a difference in form between the word *pièsíí* ‘sheep’, *pěmbál* ‘male sheep’ and *pěnií* ‘female sheep’. The words displayed in the first three rows of Table 15 show the least transparent derivations. The annotation of tone is a first impression.

Table 15: Maturity and sex/gender of animals

Animal	Generic	Adult		Young	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
fowl	<i>záì</i>	<i>zím<sup>h</sup>bál</i>	<i>zápúò</i>	<i>zímbéléè</i>	<i>zápúwié</i>
sheep	<i>piésíí</i>	<i>pěmbál</i>	<i>pěnií</i>	<i>pěmbéléè</i>	<i>pélòr</i>
goat	<i>bǔǔŋ</i>	<i>bǔǔmbál</i>	<i>bǔǔnií</i>	<i>bǔǔmbéléè</i>	<i>bǔǔlòr</i>
pouched rat	<i>sàpúhiè</i>	<i>sàpúwál</i>	<i>sàpúníí</i>	<i>sàpúwéléè</i>	<i>sàpúlòr</i>
antelope	<i>ʔáá</i>	<i>ʔááwál</i>	<i>ʔáánií</i>	<i>ʔááwéléè</i>	<i>ʔáálòr</i>
dog	<i>váà</i>	<i>váwál</i>	<i>vánií</i>	<i>váwéléè</i>	<i>válòr</i>
cat	<i>diébié</i>	<i>diébówál</i>	<i>diébóníí</i>	<i>diébówéléè</i>	<i>diébólòr</i>
cow	<i>nǎǎ</i>	<i>nǎwál</i>	<i>nǎnií</i>	<i>nǎwéléè</i>	<i>nǎlòr</i>
elephant	<i>bòlà</i>	<i>bòlwál</i>	<i>bòlènií</i>	<i>bòwéléè</i>	<i>bòllòr</i>

**3.2.4.2 Native or Inhabitant of** To express ‘I am from X’, where ‘be from X’ refers to the place where someone was born and/or the place where someone lives, the verb *lii* is used, e.g. *sòylá ñ lii* ‘I am from Sawla’. Expressions with the meaning ‘native of X’ or ‘inhabitant of X’ can be noun words referring to this same idea, that is ‘being from X’. Table 16 shows that the suffixes *-(l)ii/(l)ee/la* express the meaning ‘native of X’ or ‘inhabitant of X’. The suffixes display vowel



qualities in the singular and plural similar to those found in noun class 4 (Section 3.2.1.4).

Table 16: Native or Inhabitant of

Location	SG	PL	Location	SG	PL
Chakali	<i>tʃàkálíí</i>	<i>tʃàkáléé</i>	Katua	<i>kàtòólíí</i>	<i>kàtòóléé</i>
Motigu	<i>mòtígíí</i>	<i>mòtígíé</i>	Tiisa	<i>tíísàlí</i>	<i>tíísàlá</i>
Ducie	<i>dùsélíí</i>	<i>dùséléé</i>	Chasia	<i>tʃàsílíí</i>	<i>tʃàsíléé</i>
Bulenga	<i>búlénjíí</i>	<i>búlénjéé</i>	Wa	<i>wáálfí</i>	<i>wáálà</i>
Gurumbele	<i>gròmbèlílíí</i>	<i>gròmbèlíléé</i>	Tuosa	<i>tòòsálíí</i>	<i>tòòsàlá</i>

**3.2.4.3 Category switch** The phenomenon called ‘category switch’ refers to a derivational process whereby two words with related meanings and composed of the same segments change category based entirely on their tonal melody. Examples are provided in (89).

- (89) *tòmà* (v) ‘work’ ↔ *tómá* (n) ‘work’  
*gòà* (v) ‘dance’ ↔ *gòá* (n) ‘dance’  
*jòwà* (v) ‘buy’ ↔ *jòwá* (n) ‘market’  
*mòmà* (v) ‘laugh’ ↔ *mòmá* (n) ‘laughter’  
*gòrò* (v) ‘circle’ ↔ *góró* (n) ‘bent’

**3.2.4.4 Agent- and event-denoting nominalizations** Apart from their roles in complex stem nouns, it was shown in Section 3.2.2.2 that both verbal state and verbal process stems undergo these two nominalizations processes in order to function as atomic nouns. The two processes are summarized in (90) and (91).

(90) Agent nominalization

- a. A verb stem takes the suffix  $[-r]$  to express agent-denoting nominalization.

*sòǎ̀sòǎ̀r* / *sòǎ̀sòǎ̀rá* (CL.3) ‘weaver(s)’

← *sòǎ̀* (v) ‘weave’

*lúlíbummùjár* / *lúlíbummùjára* (CL.3) ‘healer(s)’

← *lulibummo* (n) ‘medicine’ + *ja* (v) ‘do’

- b. A verb stem gets partially reduplicated to express agent-denoting nominalization.

*súsúmmá / súsúmmásá* (CL.2) ‘helper(s)’

← *sùmmè* (v) ‘help’

*sásáár / sásáará* (CL.3) ‘carver(s)’

← *sáá* (v) ‘carve’

- (91) Event nominalization

A verb stem takes the suffix *-/[+HI, -BK]/* to express event-denoting nominalization.

*lólí / lólíé* (CL.4) ‘giving birth’

← *lɔla* (v) ‘give birth’

*kpégí / kpégíé* (CL.4) ‘hard’ or ‘strong’

← *kpeg* (v) ‘hard’ or ‘strong’

Some consultants prefer agent nouns ending with (SG/PL) *-r/-rV* (CL.3), others prefer *-ra/-rəsV* (CL.2). In addition, there is another agent-denoting word formation which simply adds the word *kɔɔri* ‘make’ to the noun denoting the product, e.g. *nǎǎtòòkóórá / nǎǎtòòkóórásá* (CL.1) ‘shoemaker(s)’ < *nǎǎtɔv* (n) ‘shoe’ + *kɔɔri* (v) ‘make’.

### 3.2.5 Proper nouns

As a rule, proper nouns have unique referents: they name people, places, spirits, and so on. So in the area where Chakali is spoken, there is only one river named *gòlógòló*, only one hill named *dǎlbít*, one village named *mòtigú*, only one shrine named *dàbàntólógó*, etc. Nevertheless more than one person can have the same name, and the same applies to a lesser extent to villages. For instance, *sòylá* ‘Sawla’ (Sogla) may refer to the Chakali village situated between Tuosa and Motigu, or to a Vagla village situated at the junction of the Bole-Wa and Damongo-Wa road. To identify the former, one must say *tǎkàlsòylá* ‘Chakali Sawla’.

A Chakali person may bear two or three names: his/her father’s name, the name of his/her grandfather or great-grandfather, and his own (common) name. In the case of the (great-)grandfather’s name, it is a feature of the newborn or an external sign which suggests the child’s name. The common name may be changed in the course of one’s life. Today, regardless of whether a person is Muslim or not, common names are mainly of Arabic, Hausa, and Gonja origin, probably due to the Islamization of the Chakali (Brindle 2015b).

Common names among the elders (approximately above 50 years) consist of the name of a non-Chakali village, together with *nàà* ‘chief’. In Tuosa, Ducie, and Gurumbele, one finds one or more Kpersi Naa, Mangwe Naa, Jayiri Naa, Wa Naa, Sing Naa, Busa Naa, etc. The next generation (approximately below 50 years) tend to have either “Muslim” names or “English-title” names. Common Muslim names are Idrissu, Fuseini, Mohamedu, Ahmed, Mohadini, etc. Typical “English-title” names are *Spéntà* ‘inspector’, *Dóktà* ‘doctor’, *Títfà* ‘teacher’, etc. Apart from ‘teacher’, which can identify actual teachers in communities in which schools are present, none of the individuals are actual teachers, doctors or inspectors. The same can be said about the older generation, none of them are/were chief of Kpersi, Mangwe, Jayiri, etc.. These villages are not Chakali villages and these individuals have no real connections with the villages used in their names. It seems that these common names were trendy nicknames that peers assign to each other. One consultant claims that the elders can be ranked in terms of power and influence according to their nicknames. In Chakali society, one may have two additional names, a drumming name and a Sigu name (*sígù*). A drumming name is used in drummed messages sent to other villages about weddings or deaths, while a Sigu name is a name one receives when initiated to the shrine *dààbàṅtólúgú*.

Because of their pragmatic function, proper nouns are rarely observed in a plural form, but some contexts may allow this. In (92), the proper name *Gbolo* takes the plural marker *-sV*.<sup>23</sup>

- (92) *gbòlò-só bá-ṅmènàá ká dǝà dǝsèè ní.*  
*gbolo.(G.b)-PL G.b-Q.many EGR exist Ducie POSTP*  
 ‘How many Gbolos are there in Ducie?’

Finally, circumlocution is a common process found in names of people and dogs (e.g. the example of *ṅwabipe*, lit. *ṅ wa bɪ pe* ‘I-not-again-add’, was given in Section 3.2.3.3). A few examples of dog names are given in (93).

- (93) Dog names  
 a. *jàsáṅábǝǝ̀* ‘Let’s keep peace’  
*ja-saṅa-bǝǝ̀* [we-sit-slowly]

<sup>23</sup> The context of (92) makes sense when one understands that the name ‘Gbolo’ has a particular meaning. It is understood that when a couple has a fertility problem, it is common to travel to the community of Mankuma and to consult their shrine. If the woman gets pregnant after the visit, they must return to Mankuma to appease the shrine. Subsequently, the child must be named ‘Gbolo’ and automatically acquires the Red Patas monkey as totem.

- b. *ɲnɔ́áwàjàhóò* ‘I will not open my mouth again’  
*ɲ-nɔ́á-wa-ja-hoo* [my-mouth-not-do-hoo]
- c. *kùósòzímá* ‘God knows’  
*kuoso-zima* [god-know]

### 3.2.6 Loan nouns

A loan noun, or more generally a loanword, can be defined as “a word that at some point came into a language by transfer from another language” (Haspelmath 2008: 58). When a word is found in both Chakali and in another language, many loan scenarios are conceivable. However, for some semantic domains such as bicycle or car parts, school material, and so on, the past and present sociolinguistic situations suggest that Chakali is the recipient language and Waali, English, Hausa, and Akan are the donor languages. Loan scenarios differ and are harder to establish when other SWG languages are involved. It is often unfeasible to demonstrate whether the same form/meaning in two languages was inherited from a common ancestor, or borrowed by one and subsequently passed on to other SGW languages. Moreover, it may be unwise to assume that in all cases Chakali is the recipient language, especially for loanwords in domains which were in the past fundamental in Chakali lifestyle, but to a lesser degree for neighbouring ethnic groups. Thus, Chakali as a donor language can be evaluated in a wider Grusi-Oti Volta genesis, or at a micro-level where the influence of Chakali on Bulengi is established. It is unlikely that Chakali borrowed from English through contact. And Ghanaian English, in Wa town and Chakali communities, is not an effective mode of communication, at least in social spheres where the majority of Chakali men and women interact (see discussion in Section 1.3 and in Brindle 2015b). Nonetheless, the situation is different for school children who are exposed to Ghanaian English on a regular basis. I believe that Ghanaian English spoken by native speakers of Waali, Dagaare, or Chakali is the only potential variety of English which can function as a donor language. Examples of words ultimately from English origin are: *bɛ́lùù* ‘blue’, *ʔásibítì* ‘hospital’, *dóktà* ‘doctor’, *bàlùù* ‘balloon’, *bé́lɛ́ntì* ‘belt’, *té́rɛ́dʒà* ‘trouser’, *déti* ‘date’, *míntì* ‘minute’, *dʒánsɛ́* ‘type of dance’, *kápé́ntà* ‘carpenter’, *kólpòtè* ‘coal pot’, *kótà* ‘quarter’, *lólì* ‘lorry (any four-wheel vehicle)’, *sákàr* ‘bicycle’, *pèn* ‘pen’, *sùkúú* ‘school’, *tʃítʃà* ‘teacher’ and many more. There is a recurrent falling tonal melody (i.e. HL) among the loan nouns of ultimately English origins. Many of them, if not all, can be found in other languages of the area (GILLBT 1975; Dakubu, Atintono & Nsoh 2007).

When a word is found both in Waali and Chakali, it is not automatically classified as borrowed from Waali, yet it is only suspected to be non-Chakali. Examples such *dzíérá* ‘sieve’, *dzùmbùró* ‘type of medicine’, *gbàgbá* ‘duck’, *kókódúró* ‘ginger’, *kàpálà* ‘fufu’, *káǎ* ‘mixture of sodium carbonate’, *nààsáará* (Hausa) ‘Caucasian person’, and *sànsánná* ‘prostitute’ are some of the Waali/Chakali nouns found in transcribed texts, or by chance.

The weekdays are from Arabic (probably via Hausa). Vagla and Tumulung Sisaala, but not Dɛg, use similar expressions (Naden 1996: 60): *?àtànîê* ‘Monday’, *?àtáláátá* ‘Tuesday’, *?àlárǎ* ‘Wednesday’, *?àlámósà* ‘Thursday’, *?àridzímà* ‘Friday’, *?àsíbítí* ‘Saturday’, and *?àláháádi* ‘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 *dzímbèntó* is celebrated and is considered the first month.<sup>24</sup> The lunar months are: *dzímbèntó* ‘first month (1)’, *sífèrà* ‘second month (2)’, *dùmbá* ‘third month (3)’, *dùmbá-fúlánààn* ‘fourth month (4)’, *dùmbákókórikó* ‘fifth month (5)’, *kpínítfùmààŋkùnà* ‘sixth month (6)’, *kpínítfù* ‘seventh month (7)’, *?àndzèlindzé* ‘eighth month (8)’, *sóŋkàrè* ‘ninth month (9)’, *tŋsùŋù* ‘tenth month (10)’, *dùjùmààŋkùnà* ‘eleventh month (11)’ and *dùjù* ‘twelfth month (12)’. It was understood that these terms and concepts are not known by the majority, especially the younger generations.

### 3.2.7 Relational nouns

Many languages present formal identity between body parts terms and expressions used to designate elements of space. The widely accepted view is that diachronically spatial relational nouns – sometimes called spatial nominals (Hellwig 2007: 895), or adpositions (Heine 1997: 137) – are “the result of functional split” and that “they are derived from nouns denoting body parts or locative concepts through syntactic reanalysis” (Heine & Reh 1984: 256).

Chakali relational nouns are formally identical to body part nouns although not all body part nouns have a relational noun counterpart. For instance, whereas *nuu* 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 *fěě* ‘lower back’, among others, cannot convey spatial meanings. Table 17 displays the body parts found in the data which convey spatial meaning.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Dagbani *buyum* and Waali *dzimbenti* are both treated as first month by the speakers of these languages.

<sup>25</sup> The body part term *gántál* ‘back’ is from the Ducie lect and corresponds to *hábòá* in the Motigu, Gurumbele, Katua, Tiisa, and Tuosa lects.

Table 17: Spatial nominal relations and body part nouns: similar forms and different, but related, meanings

Projection	Spatial relation	PoS: <i>reln</i>	Body parts	PoS: <i>n</i>
Intrinsic				
	TOP	<i>juu</i> (x,y)	head	<i>juu</i> (x)
	CONTAINMENT	<i>patfigu</i> (x,y)	stomach	<i>patfigu</i> (x)
	SIDE	<i>logun</i> (x,y)	rib	<i>logun</i> (x)
	MOUTH	<i>nõã</i> (x,y)	mouth	<i>nõã</i> (x)
	BASE/UNDER	<i>muŋ</i> (x,y)	arse	<i>muŋ</i> (x)
	MIDDLE	<i>bambaaŋ</i> (x,y)	chest box	<i>bambaaŋ</i> (x)
Relative				
	LEFT	<i>nengal</i> (x,y)	left hand	<i>nengal</i> (x)
	RIGHT	<i>nendul</i> (x,y)	right hand	<i>nendul</i> (x)
	BACK	<i>gantál</i> (x,y)	dorsum	<i>gantál</i> (x)
	FRONT	<i>sɔv</i> (x,y)	front	<i>sɔv</i> (x)

How can we distinguish a relational noun from a noun? Above all, the differentiation between relational nouns and body part nouns cannot rely solely on surface syntax criteria, precisely because the configuration of a possessive noun phrase and a relational noun phrase are identical. This is shown in (94).

- (94) a. Possessive attributive phrase  
 $[N_1-N_2]_{NP}$  where  $N_2$  = body part, e.g. *báál júù* ‘a man’s head’
- b. Spatial nominal phrase  
 $[N_1-N_2]_{NP}$  where  $N_2$  = spatial relation, e.g. *téébùl júù* ‘top of the table’

Even though the two corresponding nominal structures may cause ambiguities, the interpretation is generally disclosed by the meaning of the nominal preceding the  $N_2$  in (94). The term *juu*, for instance, can only mean ‘top of’ in a phrase in which it follows another nominal and refers to a projected location of  $N_1$ ’s referent. In (94a), even though *juu* immediately follows a nominal, it would not normally refer to the projected location ‘on the top’ but only to the man’s head. Nevertheless, despite any attempts to identify structural characteristics which may contribute to the disambiguation of a phrase involving a body part term, ambiguities may still arise.

Another aspect of body part terms is their different function in morphological and syntactic structure. While a relational noun is a syntactic word, body part

terms may also function as morphemes in compound nouns to express a specific part-whole relationship or a conventionalized metaphor (Heine 1997: 141). Whereas the distinction may be formally and semantically hard to distinguish, the number of body part terms which can be the stem in a compound noun is larger than those functioning as relational nouns. Some examples are shown in Table 18.

Table 18: Body part terms in compound nouns

Body part term	Compound noun	Morph. gloss	Gloss
eye	<i>tóó-<sup>4</sup>síí</i>	village-eye	village's center
	<i>kpáàn-síí</i>	yam-eye	yam stem
	<i>nìi-síí</i>	water-eye	deepest area of a river
	<i>nàà-síí</i>	leg-eye	ankle bump
mouth	<i>gòη-nòá</i>	river-mouth	river bank
	<i>?il-nòá</i>	breast-mouth	nipple
	<i>díà-nòá</i>	house-mouth	door
leg	<i>gón-<sup>4</sup>náá</i>	river-leg	split of a river
	<i>dáá-<sup>4</sup>náá</i>	tree-leg	branch
head	<i>kùósò-<sup>4</sup>núù</i>	god-head	sky
	<i>tìi-<sup>4</sup>núù</i>	land-head ( <i>etym</i> )	west
arse	<i>tìi-múη</i>	land-arse ( <i>etym</i> )	east
neck	<i>vii-báyǎná</i>	pot-neck	neck of a container
testicle	<i>mááfà-lúró</i>	gun-testicle	gun powder container
penis	<i>mááfà-péη</i>	gun-penis	gun trigger
ear	<i>mááfà-dígíná</i>	gun-ear	flintlock frizzen
arm	<i>fàlá-néη</i>	calabash-arm	calabash stem
navel	<i>fà-?úl</i>	calabash-navel	calabash node
nose	<i>píi-míísà</i>	yam mound-nose	part of a yam mound
liver	<i>tóó-pòól</i>	village-liver	important
			community member

Ignoring for the moment the structure in which they are involved, there seem to be two types of spatial interpretation accessible with body part terms. And there also seems to be a gray zone between the two.<sup>26</sup> The first interpretation

<sup>26</sup> This gray zone may receive a diachronic interpretation. In Ameka (2007: 1072), the postpositions in Sekpelé are seen as evolving “from body part and environment terms” and have a similar, but not identical, function as those of Chakali relational nouns. For instance, Sekpelé’s postpositions “cannot be modified” nor can they vary “with respect to number marking”.

is the literal attribution of human characteristics (i.e. anthropomorphic) in reference to parts of object. In such a case, a body part term refers to a part of an object in analogy to an animate entity. For instance, a trigger of a gun (i.e. the lever that activates the firing mechanism) is called its ‘penis’, to characterize its physical appearance. The second interpretation does not designate a fixed part of an object but a location projected from a part of an object. It designates a spatial environment in contact with or detached from an object (Heine 1997: 44). To make the distinction clear, in the sentence ‘a label is glued on the neck of the bottle’ the body part term ‘neck’ designates a breakable part of the bottle, whereas in the sentence ‘John is standing at the back of the car’ the body part term ‘back’ does not designate any part of the car but a relative spatial location, the area behind the car.

Relational nouns are rarely found in the plural. Yet, on grammatical grounds, nothing prevents them from being expressed in the plural. To describe a situation where for every bench there is a calabash sitting on it, the sentence in (95) is appropriate.

- (95) à fàlàsá ságá à kóró jùúnó nī.  
ART calabash.PL sit ART bench.PL RELN.PL POSTP  
‘The calabashes sit on top of the benches.’

One may argue that the ‘top of a bench’ is a spatial environment in contact with the bench, even a physical part of the bench, so pluralization may simply suggest that the ‘top of a bench’ is a word referring to an entity, and not a locative phrase. Two pieces of evidence go against this view: first, notice that *koro* ‘bench’ in *koro juuno* is plural. Recall Section 3.2.3, in which a noun class (SG/PL marking) was argued to appear only at the end of a word. If ‘top of a bench’ was a word and not a phrase, we would expect its plural form to be \**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 tables, one may use the sentence in (96), in which case it cannot be argued that under of the table is a physical part of the table.<sup>27</sup>

- (96) à bósā dósá à téébùlsō pátfigīē nī.  
ART ball.PL be.at ART table.PL RELN.PL POSTP  
‘The balls are under the tables.’

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<sup>27</sup> One may argue that it is indeed a part of the table, identical to the interior space of a container.



Another aspect of relational nouns and oblique phrases in general is that they are structurally very rigid, that is, they are not easily extracted or preposed. The sentences in (97a) and (97b) are nevertheless acceptable.

- (97) a. *à téébùl júú nī, à fálá sàgà.*  
 ART table RELN POSTP ART calabash sit  
 ‘On top of the table, the calabash sits.’
- b. *téébùl lō, à fálá ságá ò júú nī.*  
 table FOC ART calabash sit 3.SG.POSS RELN. top POSTP  
 ‘Table, the calabash sits on top of it.’ (*lit.* ‘sits on its head’)
- c. \**teebul lo, a fala saga juu ni.*
- d. \**ɔ juu ni, a fala saga teebul.*
- e. \**juu ni, a fala saga teebul.*

The sentence in (97b) is acceptable but odd. It shows that the nominal complement of the relational noun *juu* can be uttered at the beginning of the sentence while the possessive pronoun *ɔ* is located in the complement slot of the relational noun, functioning as anaphora. The sentence is ungrammatical if the pronoun is absent *in situ* (97c), or if the oblique phrase is preposed but the nominal *teebul* stranded, whether an anaphora referring to *teebul* is present (97d) or absent (97e).

We now have evidence for treating the relational nouns as members of a closed class of lexical items whose function is to localize the figure to a search domain. It is not only that body part terms acquire spatial meaning following a noun referring to inanimate entities, but that, in diachrony, only a limited set of body part terms has acquired that spatial meaning, and, in synchrony, they form a subtype of nominal identified as relational noun. They are nouns since they can pluralize, but they acquire the status of functional words since they constitute a formal class with limited membership where each of the members expresses spatial meaning and requires a nominal complement.

- (98) [[[*a dra*]<sub>NP</sub> *juu*]<sub>RelP</sub> *ni*]<sub>PP</sub> ‘on the roof of the house’

In (98), the relational noun *juu* is within the complement phrase of the postposition *ni*. A relational noun phrase (RelP) consists of a head and noun phrase complement. We are now in a better position to state that the complement phrase of the postposition is a (nominal) phrase which corresponds to the conceptual ground.

To summarize, on a diachronic basis, it is believed that the function of relational nouns as locative adpositions originates from their purely ‘entity’ meaning through grammaticalization (Heine & Reh 1984: 44, 83). The form of Chakali body part terms supports the claim. On a synchronic basis, only *patfigu* ‘stomach’, *logun* ‘rib’, *gantál* ‘dorso’, *muŋ* ‘arse’, *nǝã* ‘mouth’, *sɔv* ‘front’, *bambaan* ‘chest box’ and *puu* ‘head’ are relational nouns. Relational nouns are nouns which lack the referential power of the default interpretation of body part term (i.e. interpreted in isolation), and which take a complement which must obligatorily be filled by an entity capable of projecting a spatial environment.

### 3.3 Pronouns and pro-forms

A pronoun is a type of pro-form. The difference between pronouns and pro-forms depends on whether they can be anaphors of nominal arguments. In this section, the personal, impersonal, demonstrative, and possessive pronouns are introduced, followed by the expressions used to convey reciprocity and reflexivity. In Section 5.1, the adverbial pro-forms are introduced.

#### 3.3.1 Personal pronouns

Table 19 gives an overview of the personal pronoun forms.

Table 19: weak pronounWeak, strong pronounstrong, and emphatic pronounemphatic forms of personal pronouns

Pronoun Gram. function	Weak (wk) s A and o	Strong (st) s A	Emphatic (EMPH) s A
1SG	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>míŋ</i>	<i>ǰwà</i>
2SG	<i>ɪ</i>	<i>híŋ</i>	<i>íwà</i>
3SG	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>wáá</i>	<i>ɔ́wà</i>
1PL	<i>ja</i>	<i>jáwáá</i>	<i>jáwà</i>
2PL	<i>ma</i>	<i>máwáá</i>	<i>máwà</i>
3PL.Ga	<i>a</i>	<i>áwáá</i>	<i>áwà</i>
3PL.Gb	<i>ba</i>	<i>báwáá</i>	<i>báwà</i>

The weak form first person singular pronoun is a syllabic nasal which assimilates its place feature to the following phonological material (Section 3.2.2.1). All

weak forms may be lengthened in the imperfective (Section 4.1.4.3). The personal pronouns do not encode a gender distinction in the singular but an animacy distinction is made between non-human and human in the plural. They are glossed 3PL.Ga and 3PL.Gb respectively (Section 3.10.1). The weak forms can surface either with a low or high tone; when an action has not yet occurred or a wish is expressed the pronoun is perceived with a high tone (Section 4.1.4.5). Otherwise the weak forms normally have low tones. The strong and emphatic forms are attested with the melodies with which they are associated in Table 19.

- (99) a. *ò dí k̄òò rā.*  
 3SG eat t.z. FOC  
 ‘She ate t.z.’
- b. *wáá dí k̄òò (\*ra).*  
 3SG.ST eat t.z. FOC  
 ‘SHE ate t.z.’
- c. *óówà dí k̄òò rā.*  
 3SG.EMPH eat t.z. FOC  
 ‘IT IS HER who ate t.z.’
- d. *wáá ñ màṅà (\*ra).*  
 3SG.ST 1SG beat FOC  
 ‘HIM, I beat.’
- e. *óówà ñ máṅóó rā.*  
 3SG.EMPH 1SG beat.3SG FOC  
 ‘IT IS HIM who I beat.’
- f. *\*(ò/waa) ñ maṅóó ra.*

The sentences in (99a)-(99c) show that while a weak or an emphatic pronoun can co-occur with a focus particle, a strong pronoun cannot. In addition, (99f)-(99e) confirm that both emphatic and strong pronouns may be fronted, but weak pronouns cannot. Both emphatic and strong pronouns typically appear at the beginning of a sentence. An emphatic pronoun may be coreferential with a weak pronoun in the clause, while weak and strong pronouns may not, as (99d-99f) demonstrate. The distinction between weak and strong is relevant when pronouns function as subject. Their proper use is conditioned by the emphasis placed on the participant(s) of the event or the event itself, and by the polarity

of the clause in which they appear.<sup>28</sup> In this way, strong pronouns cannot co-occur in a sentence in which another constituent is in focus, that is a nominal phrase flanked by the focus marker or a verb ending with the assertive suffix vowel  $[-+RO, +HI]$  (compare examples (100b) and (100f) with (100a) and (100e)). In addition, in sentences where a negative operator occurs, strong pronouns are disallowed, as (100d) and (100h) show.

- (100) a. *míŋ jáwàà kìnzínfí.*  
 1SG.ST buy horse  
 ‘I bought a horse.’
- b. \**míŋ jawa kìnzíní ra.*
- c. *ɲì wà jáwá kìnzínfí.*  
 1SG.WK NEG buy horse  
 ‘I did not buy a horse.’
- d. \**míŋ wa jawa kìnzíní.*
- e. *ɲì pètíjó.*  
 1SG.WK terminate.PFV.FOC  
 ‘I finished.’
- f. \**míŋ petijo.*
- g. *míŋ pètíjé.*  
 1SG.ST terminate.PFV  
 ‘I finished.’
- h. \**míŋ wa petije.*

### 3.3.2 Impersonal pronouns

An impersonal pronoun does not refer to a particular person or thing. The form *a* is used as an impersonal pronoun in some particular context.

- (101) *à mááséjó kéréj.*  
 3SG.IMPS enough.PFV.FOC DXM  
 ‘That’s enough’ or ‘That’s it’ or ‘Stop’

Example (101) is a type of impersonal construction. It is characterized by its subject position being occupied by the pronoun *a*, which may be seen as referring

<sup>28</sup> The purpose of such distinctions derives mainly from the articulation of information. Purvis (2007) offers an analysis for Dagbani whereby personal pronoun forms vary depending on their position in relation to their lexical host.

to the situation, but not to any participant: this particular example is appropriate in contexts involving pouring liquids or giving food on a plate, or when people are quarrelling. In these hypothetical contexts, using the personal pronoun *ɜ* instead of the impersonal pronoun *a* would be unacceptable.

The language does not have a passive construction as one finds in English, for example. Nonetheless, an argument can be demoted by placing it in object position, here as o-clitic (see Section 4.3.1). This is shown in (102).

- (102) *ká à nàmǎá? bà tíéú rò.*  
 Q.where ART meat 3PL.Gb eat.PFV.3SG.O FOC  
 ‘Where is the meat? It has been eaten.’

The type of impersonal construction illustrated in (102) is characterized by the personal pronoun *ba* (3PL.Gb) in subject position. In this context, the subject is not a known agent and the pronoun *ba* does not refer to anyone/anything in particular. Therefore, the pair *a/ba* is treated as the singular and plural impersonal pronouns, only when they occur in impersonal constructions, as shown above.

### 3.3.3 Demonstrative pronouns

In the examples (103) to (104), the demonstrative pronouns function as noun phrases. All the examples below were accompanied with pointing gestures when uttered.

- (103) Replies to the question: Which cloth has she chosen?

a. *hán nā.*  
 DEM.SG FOC  
 ‘It is this one’

b. *hámà rā.*  
 DEM.PL FOC  
 ‘It is these ones’

- (104) The speaker asks the addressee whether he had moved a certain object.

*ì jáá hán nǎ?*  
 2SG do DEM.SG FOC  
 ‘You did THIS?’

- (105) How the fingers cooperate when they scoop t.z. from a bowl.

*hámàā ká zì pèjèè à zí já wà tiisè háj.*  
 DEM.PL EGR then add.PFV CONN then do come support DEM.SG

‘These (two fingers) are then added, and then they come to support this one.’

The expressions *háj* (SG) and *hámà* (PL) are employed for spatial deixis, specifically as proximal demonstratives, corresponding to ‘this’ and ‘these’ respectively. The language does not offer another set for distal demonstratives.

### 3.3.4 Interrogative words

Interrogative constructions are of two types: yes/no interrogatives and pro-form interrogatives (see Section 2.2). The former type, as the dichotomy suggests, requires a ‘yes’ or a ‘no’ answer. A pro-form interrogative uses an interrogative word which identifies the sort of information requested. In Chakali, some interrogative words may be treated as pronouns, while others may be treated as the combination of a noun and a pronoun. Table 20 gives a list of interrogative words, together with an approximate English translation, the sort of information requested by each and a link to an illustrative example of pro-form interrogatives. Some examples are listed in (106), where the question words are marked as Q together with a compatible gloss.

Table 20: Interrogative pronouns

Pronoun	Gloss	Meaning requested	Example
<i>bàáj</i>	what	non-animate entity, event	106a
<i>áj</i>	who	animate entity	106b
<i>lié</i>	where	location	106c
<i>jìníě</i>	why/how	condition, reason	106d
<i>(ba/a)wèj</i>	which	entity, event	106e
<i>(ba/a)ɲmènà</i>	(how) much/many	entity, event	106f
<i>sáj(a)-wèj</i>	when	time	106g

- (106) a. *bàáj ì kàà jáà?*  
 Q.what 2SG EGR do  
 ‘What are you doing?’

- b. *àj i kà ná à tóó nī?*  
 Q.who 2SG EGR see ART village POSTP  
 ‘Whom did you see in the village?’
- c. *lié nī dì tʃòòlíí kà dòò?*  
 Q.where POSTP COMP sleeping.room EGR exist  
 ‘Where is the room for sleeping?’
- d. *níníé i já kà jááó?*  
 Q.how 2SG HAB EGR do.3SG.O  
 ‘How do you do it?’
- e. *áwèj i kà kpàyà?*  
 Q.which 2SG EGR catch  
 ‘Which one did you catch?’
- f. *àj mèná i kà kpàgàsì?*  
 Q.many 2SG EGR catch.PV  
 ‘How many of them did you catch? (non-human reference)’
- g. *sájáwèj i kàà wáá?*  
 Q.when 2SG 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 expressed. This question word can also be followed by the noun *pe* ‘end’ in which case it should be interpreted as ‘where-towards’ or ‘where-by’, e.g. *lié pé i kà vâlà?* ‘Where did you go by?’. Another form used to request information on a location is *ká(á)*. This form is neither specific to Chakali nor to location *per se*: Waali uses it for the same purpose and the form is even used to request other types of information. For instance, *káá tó má?* means ‘how is work?’ in the two languages. It might be that Chakali borrowed the form from Waali. It was employed consistently in an experiment which appears in Brindle (2011). Example (102), repeated in (107), illustrates the use of *ká(á)* as interrogative word.

- (107) *ká à nàmǎá? bà tíú rò.*  
 Q.where ART meat 3PL.B chew.PFV.3SG.O FOC  
 ‘Where is the meat? It has been eaten.’

When they stand alone as interrogative words, the expressions *wèj* and *j mɛ-na*, roughly corresponding to English ‘which’ and ‘how much/many’, must be

prefixed by either *a-* or *ba-* reflecting a distinction between non-human and human entities respectively (see Section 3.10.1). The expression *saŋa-weŋ* in (106g) is literally translated as ‘time which’. The question word *baaŋ* can be used together with *wii* to correspond to English ‘why’, i.e. *bááŋ wíí ká wàà ì dì wíí?* ‘Why are you crying?’. The expression *baaŋ wii* is equivalent to English ‘what matter’.

### 3.3.5 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns are displayed in Table 21.

Table 21: Possessive pronouns

Pronoun	Form
Gram. function	Possessive
1SG.POSS	<i>ŋ(:)</i>
2SG.POSS	<i>ɪ(:)</i>
3SG.POSS	<i>ɔ(:)</i>
1PL.POSS	<i>ja</i>
2PL.POSS	<i>ma</i>
3PL.A.POSS	<i>a(:)</i>
3PL.B.POSS	<i>ba</i>

A possessive pronoun with a form C or V tend to be lengthened, although their length has no meaning. These pro-forms can function as possessor (PSOR), but never as possessed (PSED), in an attributive possessive relation. This is shown in (108).

- (108) *à kùórù ŋmá dí ɔ̀̀ hááŋ tʃʒjěɔ̀.*  
 ART chief say COMP PSOR.3sg.poss PSED.wife ran.PFV.FOC  
 ‘The chief said that his wife ran away.’

The weak personal pronouns have the same forms as the possessive pronouns, the differences between the two being their respective syntactic positions and argument structures: the weak pronoun normally precedes a verb while the possessive pronoun normally precedes a noun, and the weak pronoun is an argument of a verbal predicate while the possessive pronoun can only be the possessor in a possessive attributive construction.



### 3.3.6 Reciprocity and reflexivity

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns do not exist in Chakali. Instead, reciprocity and reflexivity are encoded in the nominals *dɔŋa* and *tɪntɪn*, which are glossed in the texts as RECP and REFL respectively. Reciprocity is illustrated in (109) and reflexivity in (110).

- (109) a. *à nɪbáálá bálìè kpɔ́ dɔ́ŋá wā.*  
 ART men two kill RECP FOC  
 ‘The two men killed EACH OTHER.’
- b. *jà kàá kpɔ́ dɔ́ŋá wá.*  
 1PL FUT kill RECP FOC  
 ‘We will kill EACH OTHER.’
- c. *à hàǹmǹwísè káá júó dɔ́ŋá rā.*  
 ART children EGR fight RECP FOC  
 ‘The children are fighting against ONE ANOTHER.’
- (110) a. *à báál kpɔ́ ɔ̀ tɪntɪŋ.*  
 ART man kill 3SG.POSS REFL.SG  
 ‘The man killed himself.’
- b. *jà kàá kpɔ́ jà tɪntɪnsá wá.*  
 1PL FUT kill 1PL.POSS REFL.PL FOC  
 ‘We shall kill OURSELVES.’
- c. *à bié kpá kɪsìé d̄ɔ́ ɔ̀ɔ̀ tɪntɪŋ dárjíf.*  
 ART child take knife put 3SG.POSS REFL.SG wound  
 ‘The child wounded himself with his knife.’

### 3.4 Qualifiers

Qualifiers are treated as part of the nominal domain. They display singular/plural pairs, as nouns do. Examples are presented in (111).<sup>29</sup>

- (111) a. *siámá / siánsá* (CL.1) ‘red’  
 b. *bój / bómá* (CL.3) ‘bad’  
 c. *díf / dífímá* (CL.3) ‘true, real’

<sup>29</sup> Qualifiers are marked as *n.* in the dictionary since they are treated as nominal lexemes.

The examples in (112) are complex stem nouns of which the qualifier ‘fat’ is a property of the head ‘woman’ (Section 3.2.3.2).

- (112) a. à *há-pólí*  
 ART woman-fat.CL.4.SG  
 ‘The fat woman’  
 b. à *há-pólíè*  
 ART woman-fat.CL.4.PL  
 ‘The fat women’

Many qualifiers are assigned to noun class 4, the reason being that qualifiers are often nominalized verbal stems (Section 3.2.4.4), e.g. *pólí/pólíé* (*qual*) ‘fat’ ← *pólà* (v) ‘fat (be)’. Examples are provided in (113).

- (113) a. *jirà* ‘call’ > *jírí* ‘calling’  
 b. *lòlà* ‘give birth’ > *lólí* ‘giving birth’  
 c. *sòwà* ‘die’ > *sówí* ‘corpse’

Nonetheless, the two categories, noun and qualifier, are differentiated by the following characteristics: (i) while a qualifier must be semantically verbal (i.e. denoting a state or an event), a noun must not necessarily be, and (ii) while a qualifier modifies a noun, a noun functions as the nominal argument of the qualifier. The asymmetry is reflected in (114).

- (114) /nɔm/ ‘hot’
- a. *nìnóŋ ná.*  
 nɪ-nɔŋ na  
 water-hot FOC  
 ‘It is HOT WATER.’
- b. à *ní nómáǎ.*  
 a nɪ nɔma-ɔ  
 ART water hot-PFV.FOC  
 ‘The water is HOT.’
- c. à *ní nómí dóá dé ní.*  
 [a nɪ nɔm-I-I]<sub>NP</sub> dɔa de nɪ  
 ART water hot-NMLZ-CL.4 exist DXL POSTP  
 ‘The hot water is there.’

In (114a) the stem *nvm* ‘hot’ is part of the complex stem noun *nìnóyí* ‘water-hot’ (see Section 3.2.3). In this morphological configuration, a qualitative modification is established between the stem *nvm* and the stem *nri*. In (114b), *nvm* functions as a verbal predicate in the intransitive clause, and the definite noun phrase *a nri* ‘the water’ occupies the argument position. In (114c) the stem *nvm* is nominalized and the singular of noun class 4 is suffixed. The word *nómíí* may be translated as ‘the result of heat’. It is treated as a qualifier since *nri* ‘water’ is (the head of) the argument of the predicate, and *dva* is a predicate which needs one core argument. Since *nvm* can function neither as main predicate nor as head noun of the argument phrase, and since *nvm* is understood to be a property of the entity and not of the event, then *nvm* in (114c) is viewed as a qualifier.

Given the arguments put forward, one could analyse the qualifiers as adjectives. Both are seen categorically as nominals and semantically as properties or states. However, there are no lexemes in Chakali which can be assigned the category adjective; that is, no lexeme which, in all linguistic contexts, can be identified as categorically distinct from nouns and verbs. Qualifiers are either derived linguistic entities or idiomatic expressions. More than one procedure is attested to construct qualifiers. In (115), some types of qualifiers are provided.

- (115) a. *àbúmmò* ‘black’  
 b. *àpólápólá* ‘pointed, sharp’  
 c. *wìézímíí* ‘wise’

The expression *bummo* ‘black, dark’ in (115a) is treated as a nominal lexeme. When it functions as a qualifier within a noun phrase, the prefix vowel *a-* is suffixed to the nominal stem (see Section 3.6). The type of qualifier found in (115b) is ideophonic and is used to describe perceived patterns, including colour, texture, sound, manner of motion, e.g. *gáánigááni* ‘cloud state’, *adzìnèdzìnè* ‘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.<sup>30</sup> The word in (115c) is segmented as [[[THEME-V]-NMLZ]-CL.4]. The verbal stem *zim* ‘know’ sees its theme argument incorporated, i.e. *wɛ-zim* ‘matters-know’, a structure which is in turn nominalized by what is called event-nominalization in Section 3.2.4.4.

There are limitations on the number of qualifiers allowed within a noun phrase. Noun phrases with more than three qualifiers are often rejected by language

<sup>30</sup> Although the prefix *a-* on qualifiers tends to disappear in normal speech. The prefix *a-* is unacceptable in (115c).

consultants in elicitation sessions. The language simply employs other strategies to stack properties. In fact noun phrases with two qualifiers are rarely found in the texts collected. The linear order of qualifiers within the noun phrase are provided in Section 3.11.

Chakali has phrasal expressions which correspond to monomorphemic adjectives in some other languages. These expressions have the characteristic of being metaphorical; their lexemic denotations may be seen as secondary, and phrasal denotations as non-compositional. For instance, a speaker must say *ò kpáyá bàm-bíí*, lit. 'he has heart', if he/she wishes to express 'he is brave'. The word 'brave' cannot be translated to *bambii*, since its primary meaning is 'heart', but to *kpaya bambii* 'to be brave'. Another way of expressing 'brave person' is *bàmbii-tííná*, lit. 'owner of heart'. Other examples are *síi-nòmà-tííná*, lit. 'eye-hot-owner', 'wild, violent person' and *síi-tííná*, lit. 'eye-owner', 'stingy, greedy person'. These expressions are more frequently used as nouns in the complement position of the identificational construction, such as in *ò jáá sísíámātīnā*, lit. she is eye-red-owner (*si-siama-tina*), 'she is serious'. As mentioned in Section 5.6.2, it is often hard to establish whether an expression is idiomatic when only one of its components is used in a non-literal sense.

### 3.4.1 Intensifiers

An intensifier is a predicate modifier and appears following the word it modifies. It marks a degree and magnifies the meaning of the word it modifies.

- (116) a. *ásiàmā tšóítšóí* 'very/pure red'  
b. *ábúmmò jírítí* 'very/pure black'  
c. *ápòmmá píópíó* 'very/pure white'  
d. *sóónì júlúllú* 'very cold'  
e. *nòmà kpáŋkpáŋ* 'very hot'

The intensifier ideophones *tšóítšóí*, *jírítí*, *píópíó*, *júlúllú*, and *kpáŋkpáŋ* are translated into English 'very' (or 'pure' in the case of colour, for instance) in (116). They are treated together as one kind of degree predicate modifier. Note that no other properties have been found together with a (unique and) corresponding degree modifier. For instance, if one wishes to express 'very X', where X refers to a colour other than black, white, or red, one has to employ the degree modifier *pááá* 'very' following the term, which is a common expression in many Ghanaian languages.

### 3.5 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are expressions denoting quantities and refer to the size of a referent ensemble. The words *mùŋ* ‘all’, *báníě* ‘some’ and *támá* ‘few, some’ constitute the monomorphemic quantifiers. The former can be expanded with a nominal prefix. For instance, in *ba-muŋ* ‘HUM-all’ and *wi-muŋ* ‘ABST-all’, the prefixes identify the semantic class of the entities which the expressions quantify (see Section 3.10.2). The form of the quantifier *báníě* ‘some’ is invariable: \**aniě*, \**abanie* and \**babanie* are unacceptable words. The same can be said for the word *támá* ‘few’, which stays unchanged even when it modifies nouns of different semantic classes.

The expression *kìŋkáj* ‘a lot, many’ is made out of the classifier *kìŋ*- plus the quantitative verbal state lexeme *kan* ‘abundant’ (Sections 3.10.2 and 4.1.2, respectively). The lexeme *kan* ‘abundant’ is semantically verbal but turns into a quantifier when *kìŋ*- is prefixed to it. Other evidence for its verbal status is the utterance *à kánáó* ‘they are many’ compared to *à jáá támá* ‘they are few’. In the former, *kana* is the main verb of an intransitive perfective clause, while in the latter, *tama* is the complement of the verb *jaa* in an identificational construction (Section 2.1.1). Other plurimorphemic (or complex) quantifiers are based on the suffixation the morpheme *-lei* ‘not’. The expression *wi-muŋ-lei* (*lit.* ABST-all-not) and *kìŋ-muŋ-lei* (*lit.* CONC-all-not) both correspond to the English word ‘nothing’ (Section 3.10.2 on negation).

- (117) *àŋmèná májá tǎjěě.*  
 amount only remain.PFV  
 ‘Only a few are left.’

The meaning ‘a few’ can be conveyed by the word *àŋmena* ‘how much/many’, which was introduced in Section 3.3.4 as an interrogative word. Example (117) suggest that the word *àŋmena* can also be used in a non-interrogative way, co-occurring here with *maja* ‘only’, in which case it is interpreted as ‘amount’ or ‘a certain number’. Another way to express ‘(a) few’ is to duplicate the numeral *digi* ‘one’, e.g. *digi-digi ra* ‘there are just a few of them’. The examples in (118) show that the numeral *digi* ‘one’ can participate in the denotations of both total and partial quantities.

- (118) a. *mùŋ* ‘all’ (total collective)  
 b. *dígíí mùŋ* ‘each’ (total distributive)  
 c. *dīgīī dígíí* ‘some, few’ (partial distributive)

The word *gàlìngà* ‘waist’ or ‘middle’ can also carry quantification. In (119), the word is equivalent to *bàkánà* (< *bar-kaŋ*, *lit.* part-abound), and means ‘most’.

- (119) à kpáámá gəlìngà/bàkánà tǫǫǫǫ à lác ní.  
 ART yam.PL most remain.PFV ART farm.hut POSTP  
 ‘Most of the yams remain/are left in the farm hut.’

The word *gba* ‘too’ is treated as a quantifier and restricted to appear after the subject, e.g. (120c)-(120f). In (120a), the speaker considers himself/herself as part of a previously established set of individuals who beat their respective child. The quantifier is additive such that the denotation of the subject constituent is added to this previously established set. In (120b), it is shown that negating the quantified expression results in an interpretation where the speaker asserts that he/she is not a member of the set of individuals who beat their child. Since generally there is only one ‘in focus’ constituent in a clause and that negation and focus cannot co-occur (see Sections 3.8 and 5.3), example (120) suggests that *gba* is not a focus particle.

- (120) a. ò gba máǫǫ ò biè rē.  
 1SG QUANT.too beat 1SG.POSS child FOC  
 ‘I beat my child too.’ (*lit.* I too/as well/also beat my child)
- b. ò gba lēí máǫǫ ò bié.  
 1SG QUANT.too NEG beat 1SG.POSS child  
 ‘I do not beat my child.’ (*lit.* I am numbered with those known who refrain from beating their child)
- c. \*gba ò maǫǫ a biè re  
 d. \*ò maǫǫ gba a biè re  
 e. \*ò maǫǫ a biè gba re  
 f. \*ò maǫǫ a biè re gba

### 3.6 Numerals

#### 3.6.1 Atomic and complex numerals

Following Greenberg (1978: 263), I assume that the simplest lexicalisation of a number is called a numeral atom, whereas a complex numeral is an expression in which one can infer at least one arithmetical function. A numeral atom can stand alone or can be combined with another numeral, either atomic or complex,

to form a complex numeral. Atoms are treated as those forms which are not decomposable morpho-syntactically at a synchronic level. Table 22 displays the twelve atoms of the numeral system.

Table 22: Atomic numerals from 1 to 8, 10, 20, 100, and 1000

Chakali	English	Chakali	English
dígfmánjá	one	àlòpè	seven
álîè	two	ημέηητέλ	eight
átòrò	three	fí	ten
ànáásè	four	màtjéó	twenty
àpǎ	five	kòwá (pl. kòsá)	hundred(s)
álòrò	six	tòsò (pl. tòsà)	thousand(s)

The term for ‘one’ is expressed as *dígfmánjá*, but *dígfi* alone can also be used. In general, the meaning associated with the morpheme *mánjá* is ‘only’, e.g. *bahîè maŋa η na old.man-only-I-saw* ‘I saw only an old man’. The number 8 is designated with *ημέηητέλ*, 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 Dεg are similar to Gonja’s forms with the same denotation, i.e. Gonja *kilâfá* ‘100’ and *kígβín* ‘1000’. Similar form-denotation can be found in other North Guang languages (e.g. Krache, Kplang, Nawuri, Dwang, and Chumburung) and *lafá* is found in many other Kwa languages, as well as non-Kwa languages, e.g. Kabiye (Eastern Grusi) (Chan 2009). Borrowing is supported by the claim that the Vaglas and Dεgas were where they are today before the arrival of the Gonjas (Goody 1954: 12-13; Rattray 1932a: 516), and the fact that they, but mostly the Vaglas, are still in contact with the former conquerer, the Gonjas. Another Grusi language, Tampulma, has had more contact with Mampruli than with any other Western Oti-Volta languages, whereas the Chakali and the Pasaale have contact with Waali, a language close to Dagbani and Dagaare, all of them classified as Western Oti-Volta

languages. Variations of Manessy's *oti-volta commun* reconstructed forms \**KO* / \**KOB* 'hundred' and \**TUS* 'thousand' are found distributed all over Northern Ghana, cutting across genetic relationship. It seems that the two high numerals are areal features spread by Western Oti-Volta languages, and that Chakali, Pasaale, and Tampulma speakers may have borrowed them from languages with which they had the most contact, i.e. Waali, Dagbani, Dagaare, and Mampruli.

From the atoms, the complex numerals are now examined. The arithmetical functions inferred are called operations. In Chakali three types of operation are found: addition, multiplication, and subtraction. An operation always has two arguments which are identified in Greenberg (1978) as:

Augend:	A value to which some other value is added.
Addend:	A value which is added to some other value.
Multiplicand:	A value to which some other value multiplies.
Multiplier:	A value which is multiplied to some other value.
Subtrahend:	The number subtracted.
Minuend:	The number from which subtraction takes place.

The numeral *dígtūō* expresses the number 9. It is the only expression associated with subtraction. The subtrahend is the expression *dígtū* 'one'. In *dígtūō*, the last syllable is analysed as the operation. It may originate from the state predicate *tùó* which is translated 'not exist' or 'absent from' (Section 2.1.2). Thus, assuming the covert minuend 10, the numeral expression receives the functional notation [1 ABSENT FROM 10], or 10 minus 1. The number 9 may also be expressed as *sàndòsó* (or *sandòsə* in Tuosa and Katua). This expression is used by some individuals in Ducie, Tuosa, and Katua, all of them from the most senior generation. One language consultant associates *sàndòsó* with the language of women, but his claim is not sustained by other language consultants. For the number 9, Goody (1954: 33) reports *saanese* from the village Katua and Rattray (1932b: 117) puts *sandoso* as the form for 9 in Tampulma.

A proper treatment of atomic versus complex numerals relies on evidence as to whether a numeral is synchronically decomposable. In that spirit, numbers from 11 to 19 are expressed with complex numerals: one piece of evidence, which is presented in Section 3.10.1 and repeated in section 3.6.2, comes from the gender agreement between the head of a noun phrase and the cardinal numeral functioning as modifier. Table 23 provides the numerals from 11 to 19 with a common structure [f<sub>10</sub>-d(t)-X<sub>1-9</sub>].

The criterion employed for the distinction between augend and addend is that an augend is serialized, that is, it is the expression which is constant in a sub-



Table 23: Complex numerals from 11 to 19

Chakali	English
<i>fidídígíí</i>	eleven
<i>fidááliè</i>	twelve
<i>fidáātòrò</i>	thirteen
<i>fidànáásè</i>	fourteen
<i>fidàpǎ</i>	fifteen
<i>fidáālòrò</i>	sixteen
<i>fidākǎpè</i>	seventeen
<i>fidìnméǎtél</i>	eighteen
<i>fidídígtúò</i>	nineteen

progression. This expression is called the base. In the progression from eleven to nineteen shown in Table 23, the augend is *fi* and the addends are the expressions for one to nine. Given the above definition of a base, the expression *fi* is the base in complex numerals from 11 to 19. The operator for addition is *di* and its vowel surfaces only when the following word starts with a consonant (i.e. *fidìnméǎtél* ‘18’, but *fidànáásè* ‘14’). Table 24 provides the sequences of numeral atoms forming the complex numerals referring to numbers from 21 to 99. Some numeral forms will come after an explanation of the table.

Table 24 shows us that either (i) an atom can follow another atom without any intervening particle or (ii) the particle *anr* can step in between two atoms, or between one atom and one complex numeral. Case (i) is understood as a phrase which multiplies the numerical values of two atoms. For instance, *màtféó ànáásè* [20 times 4] results in the product ‘eighty’. All numeral phrases from 20 to 99 use *matfeo* ‘20’ in their formation. In case (ii), the particle *anr* 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 *màtféó ànáásè àní àliè* [20 times 4 + 2]. The same form is also found in noun phrases expressing the union of two or more entities (see Section 3.9.1). The vowels of *anr* are reduced when preceded and followed by vowels. The same criterion applies for the distinction between multiplier and multiplicand: the latter is identified on the basis of what Greenberg calls ‘serialization’. A base may be a serialized multiplicand as well since it is the constant term in the complex expressions involved in a sub-progression. The expression *matfeo* ‘20’ is therefore the base in complex numerals from 21 to 99. The composition of complex numerals is summarized in Table 25.

Table 24: Complex numerals from 21 to 99

Number	Numeral	Meaning
21-29	atom <i>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	$20 \times 2$
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	$20 \times 3$
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	$20 \times 4$
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 25: General structure of complex numerals

Argument	Meaning	Restriction
$(y) x \text{ tuo}$	subtraction	$y = 10$ $x = 1$
$x \text{ anI } y$	addition	$x > y$
$x \text{ di } y$	addition	$x = 10$ $y = 1-9$
$xy$	multiplication	$x = 20$ $y = 2, 3, 4$
$xy$	multiplication	$x = 100$ $y = 2-9$
$xy$	multiplication	$x = 1000$ $y = 2-999, 1000$

As mentioned earlier, in subtraction the minuend  $y$  is covert. The only case of subtraction is the numeral *dígítūō* ‘nine’. Both addition and multiplication take two overt arguments  $x$  and  $y$ . They are presented in the first column of Table 25 with their surface linear order. The operator for addition *di* is used only for the sum of 10 and numbers between 1 and 9. The form *am* 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 *tvsɔ* ‘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 *tvsɔ tvsɔ* [1000 · 1000] ‘million’ was common, but became archaic even before the change of currency in July 2007. Examples of numerals are presented in (121).

- (121) a. *màtféó ànáásè àní àliè.*  
 twenty four and two  
 ‘82’
- b. *kòwá àní màtféó àní dígímájá.*  
 hundred and twenty and one  
 ‘121’
- c. *kòsá átòrò àní màtféó ànáásè àní fidāāp̄ñ.*  
 hundreds three and twenty four and fifteen  
 ‘395’
- d. *kòsá áp̄ñ àní dígímájá.*  
 hundreds five and one  
 ‘501’
- e. *tòsò àní kòsá àliè àní màtféó àní āp̄ñ.*  
 thousand and hundreds two and twenty and five  
 ‘1225’
- f. *tòsà màtféó àní dígímájá àní kòsá àliè àní màtféó àní*  
 thousands twenty and one and hundreds two and twenty and  
*fidídígíí*  
 eleven  
 ‘21231’

In summary, the numeral system of Chakali is decimal (base-10) and vigesimal (base-20) and the base-20 operates throughout the formation of 20 to 99. In Comrie (2008), numeral systems similar to the one described here are called *hybrid vigesimal-decimal*.

### 3.6.2 Numerals as modifiers

To a certain extent, Chakali offers a rigid word order within the noun phrase (Section 3.8). The heading of (122) offers an overview of the linear order of elements in a noun phrase containing a numeral. The data shows that the numeral occurs following the head and the qualifier(s) and precedes the demonstrative and the quantifier.<sup>31</sup>

- (122) ART/POSS HEAD QUAL<sub>1</sub> QUAL<sub>2</sub> NUM QUANT DEM FOC/NEG
- a. à *niháán-á* *mùŋ* *wááwáó.*  
ART woman-PL QUANT.all come.PRF.FOC  
'All women came.'
  - b. à *niháán-á* *fí* *mùŋ* *wááwáó.*  
ART woman-PL NUM QUANT.all come.PRF.FOC  
'All ten women came.'
  - c. à *nihápólēē* *fí* *mùŋ* *wááwáó.*  
ART woman-QUAL NUM QUANT.all come.PRF.FOC  
'All ten fat women came.'
  - d. ò *niháǵólómá* *pòlēē* *bàlìé* *mùŋ* *wááwáó.*  
POSS woman-QUAL QUAL NUM QUANT.all come.PRF.FOC  
'Both his two fat blind wives came.'
  - e. à *nihápólēē* *fí* *háŋ* *mùŋ* *wááwáó.*  
ART woman-QUAL NUM DEM QUANT.all come.PRF.FOC  
'Those all ten fat women came.'
  - f. à *nihápólēē* *fí* *mùŋ* *lèī* *wááwá.*  
ART woman-QUAL NUM QUANT.all NEG come.PRF  
'Not all ten fat women came.'
  - g. à *nihápólēē* *fí* *háŋ* *mùŋ* *lèī* *wááwá.*  
ART woman-QUAL NUM DEM QUANT.all NEG come.PRF  
'Not all those ten fat women came.'

<sup>31</sup> Note that the noun phrases in (122) and (161) were collected in an elicitation session. They were elicited in subject position of the sentence frame *X wááwáó/wááwá* 'X has come'.

When they appear as noun modifiers, a limited number of numerals act as targets in gender agreement, i.e. only the forms 2-7. This grammatical phenomenon provides us with a motivation to treat the expressions for numbers 11-19 as complex numerals. In Section 3.10.1, Chakali is analysed as having two values for the feature gender (i.e. *Ga* or *Gb*, see also the personal pronouns in Section 3.3.1). The assignment is based on the humanness property and plurality of a referent. Table 28(c) is repeated as Table 26 for convenience.

Table 26: Prefix forms on the numeral modifiers from 2 to 7

	-HUM= <i>Ga</i>	+HUM= <i>Gb</i>
SG	a	a
PL	a	ba

The following examples display gender agreement between the numeral *a-naase* ‘four’ and the nouns *bǔǔnà* ‘goats’ in (123a), *vííné* ‘cooking pots’ in (123b), *táátá* ‘languages’ in (123c) and *bísé* ‘children’ in (123d). Again, the only numerals that agree in gender with the noun they modify are *álié* ‘two’, *átòrò* ‘three’, *ànáásè* ‘four’, *àpǔ* ‘five’, *álòrò* ‘six’, and *àlǔpè* ‘seven’ (see examples 123e and 123f). The data in (123a)-(123d) tells us that, when they function as controllers of agreement, nouns denoting non-human animate, concrete inanimate and abstract entities trigger the prefix form [*a-*] on the modifying numeral, whereas nouns denoting human entities trigger the form [*ba-*].

## (123) Agreement Domain: Numeral + Noun

- a. *ɲ kpágá bǔǔ-ná à-náásè rā.*  
 1SG have goat(*Ga*)-PL 3PL.*Ga*-four FOC  
 ‘I have four goats.’
- b. *ɲ kpágá víí-né à-náásè rā.*  
 1SG have pot(*Ga*)-PL 3PL.*Ga*-four FOC  
 ‘I have four cooking pots.’
- c. *ɲ ɲmá táá-tá à-náásè rā.*  
 1SG speak language(*Ga*)-PL 3PL.*Ga*-four FOC  
 ‘I speak four languages.’

- d. *ɨ kpágá bi-sé bà-náásè rā.*  
 1SG have child(*Gb*)-PL 3PL.*Gb*-four FOC  
 ‘I have four children.’
- e. *ɨ kpágá víí-né ημέητέλ rā / dígítūō rō (\*aημεητέλ/\*adígítov).*  
 1SG have pot(*Ga*)-PL eight FOC nine FOC  
 ‘I have eight/nine cooking pots.’
- f. *ɨ kpágá bi-sé ημέητέλ rā / dígítūō rō (\*baημεητέλ/\*badígítov).*  
 1SG have child(*Gb*)-PL eight FOC nine FOC  
 ‘I have eight/nine children.’
- g. *ɨ kpágá víí-né fídànáásè rā.*  
 1SG have pot(*Ga*)-PL fourteen  
 ‘I have fourteen cooking pots.’
- h. *ɨ kpágá bi-sé fídíbànáásè rā (\*fidanaase ra).*  
 1SG have child(*Gb*)-PL fourteen FOC  
 ‘I have fourteen children.’

Recall that in Table 23 the numbers from 11 to 19 were all presented with the form *fid(t)X* ‘Xteen’. Their treatment as complex numerals makes one crucial prediction: since they have a common structure  $[f_{10-d}(t)-[X_{1-9}]_{atom}]_{complex}$  and not  $[fid(t)X]_{atom}$ , agreement has access to the atoms  $X_{2-7}$  within *fid(t)X*. This is illustrated with the examples (123g) and (123h) using the word *fidanaase* ‘fourteen’. These two examples show that in cases where a controller is specified for both *Gb* and *PL*, it must trigger the form [ba-] on  $X_{2-7}$  within the expressions referring to the numbers 12-17.

### 3.6.3 Enumeration

Chakali has enumerative forms. These are numerals with a purely sequential order characteristic and are used when one wishes to count without any referential source or to count off items one by one.

- (124) *dìèkèè, jéwáá, tòròò, náásè, jǎ́, lòrò, lǒpè, ημέητέλ, dígítūō (...)*  
 one two three four five six seven eight nine  
 ‘One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, (...)’

Basically, the difference between the forms in (124) and the forms in Table 22 are: (i) a specific enumerative use, (ii) the tendency to lengthen the last vowel,<sup>32</sup> (iii) the numerals expressing two, three, four, five, six, and seven do not usually display the agreement prefix, and (iv) the forms for ‘one’ and ‘two’ differ to a greater extent. The rest of the enumerative numerals, i.e. eight, nine, ten, etc., correspond entirely to those shown in Table 22. In (125), an excerpt of a folk tale displays the enumerative use of numerals.

- (125) *gbǎǎ púílí dièkèè, jéwǎǎ, tòròò, náásè, jǎ, lòrò, lèpè, àní háj̄ j̄*  
 Monkey starts one two three four five six seven CONN DEM 1SG  
*kà sájēē níj̄, dígítūo, fí.*  
 EGR sit DXM nine ten

‘The monkey started to count: one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, the one I’m sitting on, nine, ten.’ [CB 013]

### 3.6.4 Distribution

Reduplication has several functions in Chakali and example (126) shows that the meaning of distribution is expressed by the reduplication of a numeral.

- (126) *nìt-tá áliē-liē ñ dí tíéba dígì-dígí.*  
 water-PL two-two 1SG HEST give.3PL.GB one-one

‘Yesterday I gave two water bags to each individual.’

In (126) the phrase containing the thing distributed and its quantity opens the utterance. The recipient of the giving event is suffixed to the verb and is understood as being more than one individual. From left to right, the reduplicated forms express the quantity of things distributed and the number of recipients per things distributed, respectively. This is how the distributive reading is encoded in the utterance. Compare (127a) and (127b) with (127c).

- (127) a. *à kùòrù zóó zágá múj̄ nò à làà kpáámá fí-fí.*  
 ART chief enter compound.SG all FOC CONN collect yam.PL ten-ten  
 ‘From each house the chief takes 10 yams.’  
 b. *à zágá múj̄ tíé à kùòrù rō kpáámá fí-fí.*  
 ART compound all give ART chief FOC yam.PL ten-ten  
 ‘Each house gives 10 yams to the chief.’

<sup>32</sup> I also perceived lengthening in Waali, Deg and Vagla for the corresponding enumerative sequence.

- c. à zágá múj tḗ à kùórù rō kpáámá fí.  
 ART compound all give ART chief FOC yam.PL ten  
 ‘All the houses (the village) give 10 yams to the chief.’

In (127b) and (127c), the sources of the giving event are kept constant. The reading in which ten yams per house are being collected by the chief is accessible only if the numeral *fí* ‘ten’ is reduplicated (i.e. *fifi*).

- (128) a. tiè à gár nǒá zènè à náǎná jáà zǒǒ áliè-liè.  
 give ART fence mouth big ART COW.PL do enter two-two  
 ‘Make the door large enough since the cows often enter two by two.’  
 b. à tí báníé jáā átò-tòrò wō, à báníé jáā  
 ART akee.apple some IDENT three-three FOC ART some IDENT  
 àná-náásē.  
 four-four  
 ‘Akee apples (have) sometimes three (seeds), sometimes four (seeds).’

The reduplication of the numeral *áliè* ‘two’ in (128a) makes the addressee understand that not only two cows might enter the cattle fence but a possible sequence of pairs. Similarly, example (128b) conveys a proposition which tells us that the fruit *tí* ‘Akee apple’ (*Blighia sapida*) can reveal sometimes three and sometimes four seeds.

### 3.6.5 Frequency

When the morpheme *bi* (Section 4.2.3.6) is prefixed to a cardinal numeral stem, it specifies the number of times an event happens.

- (129) já wíré já kíná rá àkà vǎlà gó dùsèè múj nàvǎl  
 1PL undress 1PL.POSS thing FOC CONN walk cross Ducie QUANT.all circuit  
*bí-tòrò.*  
 ITR-NUM  
 ‘We undress then walk around Ducie three times.’

The meaning of *bi*-NUM corresponds to English ‘times’. Example (129) illustrates a case where the morpheme *bi* is prefixed to the numeral stem *toro* ‘three’ and translates into ‘three times’.



## 3.6.6 Ordinals

Ordinal numerals are seen as those expressions conveying ranks or orders. The investigation carried out showed that the language does not have a morphological marker or unique forms responsible for such a phenomenon. Chakali expresses ranking and order by other means.

- (130) a. *A: lié i kà tá à pár?*  
 where 2SG EGR leave ART hoe  
 ‘Where did you leave the hoe?’
- b. *B: ñ gílá à pár rá pié ātòrò tìn gàntàl nī.*  
 1SG leave ART hoe FOC yam.mound.PL three ART RELN POSTP  
 ‘I left the hoe behind the third yam mound.’

In example (130b), the expression *pié ātòrò tìn gàntàl nī* is best translated as ‘behind the third yam-mound’ and not as ‘behind the three yam-mounds’. In the context of B’s utterance, there is no salient set of three mounds.

The word *sinsagal* is frequently used in combination with a numeral to express a non-specific amount. For example *tósò nī sinsáyál* can be translated into English as ‘thousand and something’. In addition, the word *sinsagal* can be combined with a numeral to identify sibling ranks. In (131) *sinsagal* is understood as ‘follower(s)’.

- (131) Sibling relationship
- a. *ò sinságál bátòrò jáá-ñ.*  
 3SG.POSS follower three IDENT-1SG  
 ‘After him/her, I’m the third.’
- b. *ñ gàntàl tó má jáá bàliè wā.*  
 1SG.POSS back owners IDENT two FOC  
 ‘I have two siblings younger than me.’
- c. *ñ sósó tó má jáá bàliè wā.*  
 1SG.POSS front owners IDENT two FOC  
 ‘I have two siblings older than me.’

Further, in a situation where a speaker wishes to express the fact that he/she won a race by getting to an a priori agreed goal, a natural way of expressing this would be *ñ jaa digimaṅa tīna*, lit. I-is-1-owner, ‘I am first’. The second and third (and so on) positions can also be expressed using the same construction, e.g. *lit.*

I-is-N-owner, 'I am Nth'). However, there are other ways to express the same proposition: any of the expressions given in (132) is appropriate in this context.

(132) Position in a race

a. à bàt/óálfí ní ñ ná àliè rā  
ART race POSTP 1SG see two FOC  
'At the race, I arrived second.'

b. míj díjèè  
1SG.ST eat.PFV  
'I arrived first.' or 'I won.'

c. míj ní té sōō, ì sàyà  
1SG.ST postp early front 2SG be.on  
'I arrived first, you followed.'

Finally, the word *búmbúj* is translated into the non-numeric English idiom 'at first' and refers to a past state, its beginning or origin.

(133) *búmbúj ní ñ fí wàà nōā sīj*.  
first POSTP 1SG PST NEG drink alcoholic.drink  
'At first, I was not drinking alcoholic beverage.'

### 3.6.7 Miscellaneous usage of number concept

In the performance of some rituals or customs, the number concepts 3 and 4 are associated with male and female respectively. Let us illustrate this phenomenon with some examples. The *lóbānī* section of Ducie has a funeral song which is performed at the death of a co-inhabitant. The song is repeated three times if the deceased is a man and four in the case of a woman. When a person is initiated to *sígmàá*, a male must drink the black medicine in three successive occurrences and a female in four. On the fifth day of the last funeral (*lúsinnà*), the children of the deceased are given food in a particular way which involves offering the food and pulling it back repeatedly: three times for a male and four for a female. The same associations number-sex (i.e. *three-male* and *four-female*) are found in Cardinall (1920: 68-70) where it is reported that, among the Kasena, a woman must stay in her room three days after delivering a boy but four after delivering a girl. Also, the umbilical cord of a boy is twisted three times around her finger after being removed, but four times in the case of a girl.

Two unusual phenomena involving numbers must be included. The first is also found in neighboring languages (Dagaare, Waali, Buli, and probably others).

The phrase *tʃɔ̀pɪsɪ́ ǎliè* is used in greetings (Section 5.6.1). It literally means ‘two days’, yet it implies that the speaker has not met the addressee for a long period (i.e. days, weeks or years), or an interval longer than usual interactions between co-inhabitants. In other languages, I have been informed that one can say ‘two months’ or ‘two years’, but in Chakali, even if someone has not seen another person for years it is appropriate to say *tʃɔ̀pɪsɪ́ ǎliè* ‘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 *ɔ̀ kólá fidǎliè*, *lit.* ‘She give.birth twelve’.

### 3.6.8 Currency

One peculiarity of Chakali appears when numerals are used in the domain of currency. For example, in (134) the speaker needs to sell a grasscutter (cane-rat) for the price of seven Ghana cedis.

- (134) *kɔ̀sá            ǎtòrò ǎni màtféó ǎliè ǎni fí.*  
 hundred.PL three and twenty two and ten  
 ‘Seven new Ghana Cedis, or seventy thousand old Ghana Cedis’ (*lit.*  
 three hundred and fifty)

Accounting for the reference to seven Ghana cedis with an expression literally meaning three hundred and fifty (as was demonstrated in the previous sections) is done in two steps. First, Chakali speakers (still) refer to the old Ghanaian currency (1967-2007), which after years of depreciation was redenominated (July 2007). Today, one new Ghana cedi (¢) is worth 10,000 old Ghana cedis.<sup>33</sup> Secondly, the Chakali word denoting ‘bag’ is *bò̀tíà* (PL *bò̀tíásá*, *etym.* *bɔ̀ɔ̀-ɪa* ‘hole-give’). There is evidence that the word has at least one additional sense in the language. In (135) the prices of some items are presented.<sup>34</sup>

- (135) a. *bò̀tíà màtféó ǎtòrò ǎni fí ðì ǎnǎ́.*  
 bag    twenty three and ten and five  
 ‘15,000’ (for three yam tubers)

<sup>33</sup> The term *old* and *new* were especially used in the period of transition. The redenomination of July 2007 is the second in the cedis history. The cedi was introduced by Kwame N’krumah in 1965, replacing the British West African pound (2.4 cedis = 1 pound), but lasted only two years. Thus, the first redenomination actually occurred in 1967.

<sup>34</sup> The prices are those recorded at the market in Ducie in February 2008.

- b. *bòḡtià tósò.*  
bag thousand  
'200,000' (for a bag of groundnuts)
- c. *bòḡtià kòsá āliè.*  
bag hundred two  
'40,000' (for a basin of dried cassava)
- d. *bòḡtià kòsá ḡmémentél.*  
bag hundred eight  
'160,000' (for a bag of dried cassava)
- e. *bòḡtià màtféó ànáásè àní fī.*  
bag twenty four and ten  
'18,000' (for a bowl of rice)
- f. *bòḡtià tósò àní kòsá àḡḡ.*  
bag thousand and hundred five  
'300,000' (for a bag of rice)

In (135) the word *bòḡtia* initiates each expression. Since the expressions refer solely to the amount of money, it is clear that the word *bòḡtia* does not have the meaning 'bag' but that the meaning of a numeral, i.e. 200 can be inferred. The distinction between *bòḡtia*<sub>1</sub> (=bag) and *bòḡtia*<sub>2</sub> (=200) is supported by the following observations: On some occasions where *bòḡtia* is used, the word cannot refer to 'bag' since there are no potential referents available. In the position it occupies in (135) *bòḡtia* is usually not pluralized, which is obligatory for a modified noun. Further, the word *kómbòrò* 'half' can modify *bòḡtia*<sub>1</sub> to mean 'half a bag' (i.e. maize, groundnuts, etc), but the expression *bòḡtià kómbòrò* cannot mean '100 cedis' in the language.<sup>35</sup> Going back to the form of the expression given in (134), it was also observed that in a conversation in which the reference to money is understood, *bòḡtia*<sub>2</sub> is often not pronounced. One can use the utterance *tósò* 'thousand' to refer to the price of a bag of groundnuts, that is an amount of two

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<sup>35</sup> This claim was recently challenged by one of my consultants who recalls his mother using *bòḡtia komboro* to mean '100 cedis'. Compare this with English where one can say *half a grand* to mean 500 dollars. The reason why *bòḡtia komboro* was originally rejected was perhaps that 100 old cedis was a very small sum in 2008 and it was almost impossible to hear the expression. In 2009, another informant claimed never to have heard such an expression to mean 100 old cedis.

hundred thousand old cedis.<sup>36</sup> The distinguishing characteristic of *bɔ̀tɔ̀a*<sub>1</sub> is that it is a common noun and refers to ‘bag’ and that *bɔ̀tɔ̀a*<sub>2</sub> is an atomic (and a base) numeral. The latter is a kind of hybrid numeral, a blend of a measure term and a numeral term, which is only used in the domain of currency.

### 3.7 Demonstratives

Unlike the pronominal demonstrative which acts as a noun phrase, a demonstrative within the noun phrase modifies the head noun. The demonstratives in the noun phrase are identical to the demonstrative pronouns introduced in Section 3.3.3, i.e. *haŋ/hama* (SG/PL).

- (136) Priest talking to the shrine, holding a kola nut above it  
*má láá [kàpósiè háŋ]<sub>NP</sub> ká já mɔ̀sɛ̀ tìè wíí tìŋ bà tàà*  
 2PL take kola.nut DEM CONN 1PL plead give matter ART 3PL.B EGR  
*búúrè.*  
 want

‘Take this kola nut, we implore you to give them what they desire.’

Demonstrative modifiers are mostly used in spatial deixis, but they do not encode a proximal/distal distinction. Further, when a speaker uses *haŋ* in a non-spatial context, he/she tends to ignore the plural form (see example (138b) below). In example (137), the demonstrative is placed before the quantifier, which is not its canonical position, as will be shown in the summary examples in Section 3.11.<sup>37</sup>

- (137) *dí ɔ̀ nɔ̀ɔ̀ dí [tʃàkàlì tósá háŋ mùŋ]<sub>NP</sub>, dí bìisáà jáá*  
 COMP 3SG hear COMP Chakali villages DEM QUANT.all COMP Biisa IDENT  
*níhîè, báníè ká bì ñmá dí sàylá jáá níhîè.*  
 old some EGR ITR say COMP Sawla IDENT old

‘He hears that of all Chakali settlements, some say that Biisa (Bisikan) is the oldest, some also say Sawla is the oldest.’ (*Katua*, 28/03/08, *Jeo Jebuni*)

<sup>36</sup> While a synchronic account of a sense distinction for the form *bɔ̀tɔ̀a* 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 *bɔ̀tɔ̀a*, and its equivalent, is found to be widespread in West Africa. The lexical item being discussed here is in Yoruba *ṣàkápó*, Baatonum *bɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀*, Hausa *kàtākù*, Dagbani *kpalijà*, Dagaare *bɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀*, Dagaare (Nandom dialect) *vɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀*, Sisaala *bòtɔ̀* and Waali *bɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀*. Whether the word is polysemous in all these languages as it is in Chakali, I do not know. Akan and Gã had something similar but seem to have lost the reference to currency: a study of the words *bòtɔ̀* and *kotoko/kɔ̀tɔ̀kɔ̀* is needed.

<sup>37</sup> The plural form of *tɔ̀ɔ̀* ‘village’ in *Katua* is *tɔ̀sɪ*. In the lect of *Katua*, the noun classes resemble the noun classes of the Pasaale dialect, especially the lect of the villages Kuluŋ and Yaala.

The examples in (138) show that the typical position of the demonstrative is after the head noun and before the postposition, after the numeral, but before the article *tɪŋ*.

- (138) a. [tʃòðsá háŋ]<sub>NP</sub> ní ññ dí kɔ̃ɔ̃ rā.  
morning DEM POSTP 1SG eat t.z. FOC  
‘This morning I ate t.z.’
- b. [nára báliè háŋ]<sub>NP</sub> nā séwíjé à mór.  
person two DEM FOC write ART story  
‘THESE TWO MEN wrote the story.’
- c. làà [mósá záál háŋ tɪŋ]<sub>NP</sub>.  
collect Musa fowl DEM ART  
‘Collect Musah’s fowl’

### 3.8 Focus and negation

When the focus is on a noun phrase, the free-standing particle *ra* appears to the right of the noun phrase (see Section 3.2.2.2 for the various forms the focus particle can take). The particle *lei* ‘not’ also appears free-standing to the right of the noun phrase, but it is part of the word in the case of a complex quantifier (see Sections 3.5 and 3.10.2). Focus and negation particles cannot co-occur together in a single noun phrase.

- (139) Identification repair for sets of cats shown on an illustration  
[à dièbísè háma]<sub>NP</sub> lèí, [háma]<sub>NP</sub> rā.  
ART cats DEM.PL NEG DEM.PL FOC  
‘Not these cats, THESE CATS.’

In (139), *lei* ‘not’ negates the noun phrase *a diebise hama* and *ra* puts the focus on the demonstrative pronoun *hama*, referring to a different set of cats. Both focus and negation particles can be thought as having scope over the noun phrases, functioning as discourse particles.

- (140) a. mòlibíí lèí kàà tíè nára tòðrà.  
money NEG IPFV give people problem  
‘It is not money that gives people problems.’
- b. mòlibíí wàà tíè nára tòðrà.  
money NEG.IPFV give people problem  
‘Money does not give people problems.’

Example (140) compares similar propositions involving negation. While (140a) presupposes it is something else than money that gives problems to people, (140b) says that money does not give people problems.

- (141) a. *wáá/káláá kpágá bòně́.*  
 3SG.ST/K.FOC have respect  
 ‘HE/KALA has respect for others’
- b. *ò/kálá kpágá bòně́ rá.*  
 3SG/K. has respect FOC  
 ‘He/Kala has RESPECT FOR OTHERS.’
- c. *wáá/bèléé kpágá záàl.*  
 3SG.ST/bush.dog.FOC catch fowl  
 ‘IT/BUSH DOG catches fowls.’
- d. *ò/bèlè kpágá záál là.*  
 3SG/bush.dog catch fowl FOC  
 ‘It/bush dog catches FOWLS.’

The focus contrast offered in (141) is still in need of validation: one consultant insisted that if the focus particle does not appear after the object of *kpaga*, the subject – in this case a pronoun or a proper noun – needs to be lengthened and display high tone. This appears to co-relate to the distinction offered for personal pronoun in Section 3.3.1.

### 3.9 Coordination of nominals

#### 3.9.1 Conjunction of nominals

The coordination of nominals is accomplished by means of the conjunction particle *aní* (glossed CONN). The vowels of the connective are heavily centralized and the initial vowel is often dropped in fast speech. The particle can be weakened to [nə], or simply [ŋ], when the preceding and following phonological material is vocalic. A coordination of two indefinite noun phrases is displayed in (142).

- (142) *váá àní dièbiè káá válà.*  
 dog CONN cat EGR walk  
 ‘A dog and a cat are walking.’

The coordination of a sequence of more than two nouns is given in (143). It is possible to repeat the connective *aní*, but a pause between the items in a sequence is more frequently found.

- (143) *bóóŋ, vâà àní dièbiè káá vâlà.*  
 goat, dog CONN cat EGR walk  
 ‘A goat, a dog, and a cat are walking.’

When a sequence of two modified nouns are conjoined, the head of the second noun phrase may be omitted if it refers to the same kind of entity as the first head noun. This is shown in (144).

- (144) *ŋ kpáyá tàytà zén nē àní (tàytà) ábūmmò.*  
 1SG have shirt large FOC CONN (shirt) black  
 ‘I got a large shirt and a black shirt.’

If the conjoined noun phrase is definite, the article *tɪŋ* follows both conjuncts. This is shown in (145) where the connective appears between two qualifiers.

- (145) *à kór ábūmmò àní ápèmmá tɪŋ.*  
 ART bench black CONN white ART  
 ‘the black and white chair (one particoloured chair)’

When the weak personal pronouns (Section 3.3.1) are conjoined there are limitations on the order in which they can appear. The disallowed sequences seem to be caused by two constraints. First, consultants usually disapproved of the sequences where a singular pronoun is placed after a plural one. Examples are provided in (146).

- (146) a. Acceptable  
 1SG CONN 2PL > /*ŋ anɪ ma/ [n̄n̄ímā]*  
 ‘I and you (PL)’  
 1SG CONN 3PL.Ga > /*ŋ anɪ a/ [n̄n̄ánāā]*  
 ‘I and they (-HUM)’  
 3SG CONN 2PL > /*ʊ anɪ ma/ [ɛ̀n̄ímā]*  
 ‘she and you (PL)’  
 3SG CONN 3PL.Gb > /*ʊ anɪ ba/ [ɛ̀n̄íbā]*  
 ‘she and they (+HUM)’
- b. Unacceptable  
 2PL CONN 1SG > \*/*ma anɪ ŋ/*  
 3PL.G.a CONN 1SG > \*/*a anɪ ŋ/*  
 2PL CONN 3SG > \*/*ma anɪ ʊ/*  
 3PL.G.b CONN 3SG > \*/*ba anɪ ʊ/*



Secondly, the first person pronoun *n* cannot be found after the conjunction, irrespective of the pronoun preceding it. The reason may be a constraint on the syllabification of two successive nasals. In (147), it is shown that the vowels of the conjunction *ani* either drop or assimilate the quality of the following vowel. In addition, a segment *n* is inserted between the conjunction and the following pronoun.

- (147) /*ʊ ani ʊ*/ 3SG CONN 3SG > [ʊnʊnʊ] ‘she and she’  
 /*ʊ ani ɪ*/ 3SG CONN 2SG > [ʊnɪni] ‘she and you’  
 /*n ani ʊ*/ 1SG CONN 3SG > [nʊnʊnʊ] ‘I and she’  
 /*n ani ɪ*/ 1SG CONN 2SG > [nɪnɪni] ‘I and you’  
 /*ɪ ani n*/ 2SG CONN 1SG > \*[m(V)nɪ]

If the first person pronoun *n* were to follow the conjunction, there would be (i) no vowel quality to assimilate, and (ii) three successive homorganic nasals, i.e. one from the conjunction, one inserted and one from the first person pronoun, which would give rise to a sequence *n(V)nɪ*. As shown in Table 27, these problems do not arise when the strong pronouns (ST) are used.

Table 27: Conjunction of pronouns; weak pronoun (WK) and strong pronoun (ST)

	3.SG & 3.SG	3.SG & 2.SG	3.SG & 1.SG	2.SG & 1.SG
WK CONN WK	ʊnʊnʊ	ʊnʊnɪ	*	*
WK CONN WK	ʊnʊnʊ	nʊnʊ	nʊnʊnʊ	nʊnɪ
WK CONN ST	ʊnɪwɑ	ʊnɪhɪj	ʊnɪmɪj	mɪmɪj
ST CONN WK	wɑnʊnʊ	hɪnnʊnʊ	mɪnnʊnʊ	mɪnnɪ
ST CONN ST	wɑnɪwɑ	wɑnɪhɪj	wɑnɪmɪj	mɪnnɪhɪj

In Section 4.2.3.2, the temporal nominal *dɪarɛ* ‘yesterday’ and *tʃɪɑ* ‘tomorrow’ are said to have preverbs counterpart in a three-interval tense subsystem. The temporal nominal *zɑɪj* (or *zɪlɑj*) expresses ‘today’, and *tɔmʊsʊ* can express either ‘the day before yesterday’ or ‘the day after tomorrow’, yet neither have a corresponding preverb. Thus *dɪarɛ* ‘yesterday’, *tʃɪɑ* ‘tomorrow’, and *zɑɪj* ‘today’, which typically function as adjunct and can be disjunctively connected by the nominal connective *ani*, as in (148), are treated as nominals.

- (148) *diàrè, ziláŋ àní tʃíá mūŋ jáá dtgfmáŋá rá.*  
 yesterday today CONN tomorrow QUANT.all IDENT one FOC  
 ‘Yesterday, today, and tomorrow are all the same.’

### 3.9.1.1 Apposition

- (149) *kùórù bìnihááŋ ŋmá tiè [ɔ́ jíná kùórù]<sub>NP</sub> dʃ à báàl párá*  
 chief young.girl say give 3SG.POSS father chief that ART man farm  
*à kùó pètùù (...)*  
 ART farm finish.FOC  
 ‘The daughter told her father the chief that the young man had finished weeding the farm (...)’ [CB 014]

There is another conjunction-type of nominal coordination. The noun phrase *ɔ́ jíná kuoru* ‘her father chief’ in (149) is treated as two noun phrases in apposition. In this case, apposition is represented as  $[[\text{ɔ́ jíná}]_{NP} [\text{kuoru}]_{NP}]_{NP}$ .

### 3.9.2 Disjunction of nominals

In a disjunctive coordination, the language indicates a contrast or a choice by means of a high tone and long *káá*, equivalent to English ‘or’. The connective *káá* is placed between two disjuncts. The alternative questions in (150) are given as examples.

- (150) a. *ì búúrè tí rē káá kófi?*  
 2SG want tea FOC CONN coffee  
 ‘Do you want tea or coffee?’  
 b. *ì búúrè tí rē káá kófi rā ì dì búúrè?*  
 2SG want tea FOC CONN coffee FOC 2SG IPFV want  
 ‘Do you want tea or do you want coffee?’

This connective should not be confused with the three conjunctions used to connect verb phrases and clauses, i.e. *aka*, *ka* and *a* (see Section 2.5.1).

- (151) *ì káá tòrà tiè à kùórù ró zàáŋ káá tʃíá?*  
 2SG FUT work give ART chief FOC today or tomorrow  
 ‘Will you work for the chief today or tomorrow?’

Example (151) shows that the same particle may also occur between temporal nominals.

### 3.10 Two types of agreement

Agreement is a phenomenon which operates across word boundaries: it is a relation between a controller and a target in a given syntactic domain. In Corbett (2006) agreement is defined as follow: (i) the element which determines the agreement is the controller, (ii) the element whose form is determined by agreement is the target and (iii) the syntactic environment in which agreement occurs is the domain. Agreement features refer to the information which is shared in an agreement domain. Finally there may be conditions on agreement, that is, there is a particular type of agreement provided certain other conditions apply. Chakali has two types of agreement based on animacy. They are presented in the two subsequent sections.

#### 3.10.1 The gender system

Gender is identified as the grammatical encoding of an agreement class. Chakali has four domains in which agreement in gender can be observed; antecedent-anaphor, possessive-noun, numeral-noun and quantifier-noun. The values shared reflect the humanness property of the referent, dichotomizing the lexicon of nominals into a set of lexemes *a* (i.e. human-) and a set *b* (i.e. human+), thus GENDER *a* or *b* (Brindle 2008b; 2009). The values for the feature GENDER are presented in Table 28.

In addition to the gender values proposed in Table 28(a), a condition constrains the controller to be plural to observe the humanness distinction in agreement. As Tables 28(b) and 28(c) show, the personal pronouns in the language do not distinguish humanness in the singular but only in the plural.

The boundary separating human from non-human is subject to conceptual flexibility. In storytelling non-human characters are “humanized”, sometimes called personification, as (152) exemplifies: animals talk, are capable of thoughts and feelings, and can plan to go to funerals. If one compares the non-human referents in example (152) and (153b), the former reflects personification, while the latter does not.

- (152) Domain: antecedent-anaphor  
*váá máá sówá. ò ημά dí ò tʃèná ηmáltɪŋmĩʒò dí*  
 dog.SG mother.SG die he said COMP his friend bird’s name COMP  
*bá káált ò máá lúhò.*  
 3PL.Gb go his mother funeral  
 ‘The Dog’s mother died. Dog asks his friend Bird (*Ardea purpurea*) to

Table 28: Gender in Chakali

(a) Criteria for gender

GENDER	Criteria
<i>a</i>	<i>residuals</i>
<i>b</i>	things that are categorized as human

(b) Gender in weak and strong third-person pronouns

Pronoun	WK	ST
Grammatical function	s o	s
3sg.	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>waa</i>
3pl. <i>Ga</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>awaa</i>
3pl. <i>Gb</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>bawaa</i>

(c) Agreement prefix forms

	-HUM= <i>Ga</i>	+HUM= <i>Gb</i>
SG	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>
PL	<i>a-</i>	<i>ba-</i>

accompany him to his mother’s funeral.’ (*lit.* that they should go to his mother’s funeral.)

In (153) the quantifier *mùŋ* ‘all’ agrees in gender with the nouns *nibáálá* ‘men’ and *bàlása* ‘elephants’. The form *àmùŋ* is used with non-human, irrespective of the number value, and for human if the referent is unique. The form *bàmùŋ* can only appear in such a phrase if the referent is human and the number of the referent is greater than one. In this example a contrast is being made between human-reference and animal-reference to show that it is not animacy in general but humanness which presents an opposition in the language.

(153) Domain: Quantifier + Noun

- a. *nì-báál-á*                      *bā-mùŋ*.  
 person(*Gb*)-male-PL *Gb*-ALL  
 ‘all men’
- b. *bàlà-sá*                      *ā-mùŋ*.  
 elephant(*Ga*)-PL *Ga*-ALL  
 ‘all elephants’

In Section 3.3.5, it was shown that the possessive pronouns have the same forms as the corresponding weak pronouns. In (154), the target pronouns agree with the covert controller, which is the possessor of the possessive kinship relation. The nouns referring to goat and human mothers, trigger *G(ENDER)a* and *G(ENDER)b* respectively. In cases where the possessor is covert the proper assignment of humanness is dependent on the humanness of the possessed argument (i.e. ‘their child’ is ambiguous in Chakali unless one can retrieve the relevant semantic information of the possessed entity).

(154) Domain: Possessive (possessor) + Noun

- a. *à*                      *bǝǝn-á*.  
 POSS.3PL.*Ga* goat.(*Ga*)-PL  
 ‘their goats’ (possessor = goat mothers)
- b. *bà*                      *bì-sé*.  
 POSS.3PL.*Gb* child.(*Gb*)-PL  
 ‘their children’ (possessor = human mothers)

Example (155) displays agreement between the numeral *à-náásé* ‘four’ and the nouns *bǝǝnà* (CL.3) ‘goats’, *táátá* (CL.7) ‘languages’, *vííné* (CL.5) ‘cooking pots’ and *bìsé* (CL.1) ‘children’. The numerals that agree in gender with the noun they modify are *á-liè* ‘two’, *á-tòrò* ‘three’, *à-náásé* ‘four’, *à-ɲó* ‘five’, *à-lòrò* ‘six’ and *á-lèpè* ‘seven’. Here again, animate (other than human), concrete (inanimate) and abstract entities on the one hand, and human on the other hand do not trigger the same agreement pattern (ANIM in (155a), ABST in (155b), CONC in (155c) vs. HUM in (155d)). Clearly, as shown below, noun class membership is not reflected in agreement (*táátá* (CL.7) ‘languages’ triggers *Ga* in (155b) and *bìsé* (CL.1) ‘children’ triggers *Gb* in (155d)).

(155) Domain: Numeral + Noun

- a. *ɲɲ kpáyá bǔ́ǔn-á à-náásè rā.*  
 1SG have goat(Ga)-PL 3PL.Ga-four FOC  
 ‘I have four goats.’
- b. *ɲɲ ɲmá tàà-tá à-náásè rā.*  
 1SG speak language(Ga)-PL 3PL.Ga-four FOC  
 ‘I speak four languages.’
- c. *ɲɲ kpáyá víí-né à-náásè rā.*  
 1SG have cooking.pot(Ga)-PL 3PL.Ga-four FOC  
 ‘I have four cooking pots.’
- d. *ɲɲ kpáyá bì-sé bà-náásè rā.*  
 1SG have child(Gb)-PL 3PL.Gb-four FOC  
 ‘I have four children.’

Example (156) shows that in a coordination construction involving the conjunction form *(a)ni*, the targets display consistently *Gb* when one of the conjuncts is human-denoting. In (156a) the noun phrase *a baal* ‘the man’ and the noun phrase *ɔ kakumuso* ‘his donkeys’ unite to form the noun phrase acting as controller. The noun phrase *a baal ni ɔ kakumuso* ‘the man and his donkeys’ triggers *Gb* on targets. Consequently, the form of the subject pronoun, the quantifier, the possessive pronoun and the numeral must expose *ba* (3PL.*b*). The rule in (156f) constrains coordinate noun phrases to trigger *Gb* if any of the conjuncts is specified as *Gb*. No test has been applied to verify whether the alignment of the conjunct noun phrases affects gender resolution.

(156) Domain: Coordinate structure with *ni*

- a. [*à báál ni ɔ̀̀̀ kààkúmò-sò*]<sub>NP</sub> *váláà káálì tà̀̀̀mà̀̀̀lè rā.*  
 ART man CONN 3SG.POSS donkey-PL walk go Tamale FOC  
 ‘The man and his donkeys walked to TAMALE.’
- b. *bà kǔ́ǔwáǔ.*  
 3PL.Gb tire.PFV.FOC  
 ‘They are tired.’
- c. *bà-mù̀̀̀ ɲǎǎ́́́sá tǔ́́́gáǔ.*  
 3.PL.Gb-all feet.PL spoil.PFV.FOC  
 ‘They all had painful feet.’ (*lit.* the feet of all.of.them)

- d. *bà nǎǎsá tʃóǵáó.*  
 3PL.POSS.Gb feet.PL spoil.PFV.FOC  
 ‘Their feet were hurting them.’
- e. *bà jáá bà-ṣǎ rǎ.*  
 3PL.Gb IDENT 3.PL.Gb-five FOC  
 ‘They were five altogether.’
- f. RESOLUTION RULE: When unlike gender values are conjoined (i.e. GENDER *a* and GENDER *b*), the coordinate noun phrase determines GENDER *b* (i.e.  $G_a + G_a = G_a$ ,  $G_a + G_b = G_b$ ,  $G_b + G_a = G_b$  and  $G_b + G_b = G_b$ ).

Examples (152) to (156) demonstrate how one can analyse the humanness distinction as gender. The comparison between humans, animals, concrete inanimate entities and abstract entities uncovers the sort of animacy encoded in the language. Section 3.10.2 presents a phenomenon which shows some similarity to gender agreement.

### 3.10.2 The classifier system

While there is abundant literature describing Niger-Congo nominal classifications and agreement systems, the grammatical phenomenon described in this section has not received much attention. Consider the examples in (157):

- (157) a. *dʒètì kìm-bón ná.*  
 lion.SG ANIM-dangerous.SG FOC  
 ‘A lion is DANGEROUS.’ (generic reading)
- b. *dʒètìsá kìm-bómá rá.*  
 lion.PL CONC;ANIM-dangerous.PL FOC  
 ‘The lions are DANGEROUS.’ (individual reading)
- c. *ṁ bìèrəsá nì-bómá rá.*  
 POSS.1SG brother.PL HUM-dangerous.PL FOC  
 ‘My brothers are DANGEROUS.’
- d. *bà jáá nì-bómá rá.*  
 3PL.Gb IDENT HUM-dangerous.PL FOC  
 ‘They are DANGEROUS.’ (human participants)
- e. *à jáá kìm-bómá rá.*  
 3PL.Ga IDENT CONC;ANIM-dangerous.PL FOC  
 ‘They are DANGEROUS.’ (non-human, non-abstract participants)

- f. *záǎf wì-bón ná.*  
 fly.NMLZ ABST-dangerous.SG FOC  
 ‘Flying is DANGEROUS.’
- g. *à tǎǎǎsú wì-bómá rá.*  
 ART turn.PV.NMLZ ABST-dangerous.PL FOC  
 ‘The turnings are DANGEROUS.’ (repetitively turning clay bowls for drying)

The sentences in (157) are made of two successive noun phrases. The referent of the first noun phrase is an entity or a process while the second noun phrase is semantically headed by a state predicate denoting a property. Although speakers prefer the presence of the identificational verb *jaa* ‘to be’ between the two noun phrases, its absence is acceptable and does not change the meaning of the sentence. In these identificational constructions, the comment identifies the topic as having a certain property, i.e. being bad, dangerous, or risky. The focus particle follows the second noun phrase, hence [NP1 NP2 ra] means ‘NP1 is NP2’ in which salience or novelty of information comes from NP2.

The form of */bóm/* ‘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 [*bón*] while a plural triggers [*bómá*] (i.e. CL.3, Section 3.2.1.3). The number agreement is illustrated in (157a) and (157b).<sup>38</sup>

Properties do not appear as freestanding words in identificational constructions. To say ‘the lion is dangerous’, the grammar has to combine the predicate with a nominal classifier (or dummy substantive) that will license a noun, i.e. *lit.* ‘lion is *thing*-dangerous’, where *thing* stands for the slots where animacy is encoded. This is represented in (158).

(158) [[*thing*<sub>animacy</sub>-property] FOC]

There are three dummy substantives in (157): *nr-*, *wr-*, and *km-*. Each of them has a fully fledged noun counterpart; it can be pluralized, precede a demonstrative, etc. Those forms are *km/kma* (CL.3) ‘thing’, *nar/nara* (CL.3) ‘person’ and *wii/wie* (CL.4) ‘matter, palaver, problem, etc.’. Table 29 provides the three possible distinctions.

Since there are form and sense compatibilities between the inflecting noun pairs and the forms of the expressions preceding the qualitative predicate, a com-

<sup>38</sup> Notice that the nominalized verbal lexemes in (157f) and (157g) each triggers a different form for */bóm/*. The form *tǎǎǎsú* ‘turning’ is analysed as a nominalized pluractional verb (see Section 4.3.2).



Table 29: Classifiers and Nouns

Classifier	Animacy	Noun class	Sing.	Plur.
<i>ni-/na-</i>	[HUM]	Class 3	<i>nár</i>	<i>nára</i>
<i>wi-</i>	[ABST]	Class 4	<i>wíí</i>	<i>wíé</i>
<i>kin-</i>	[CONC;ANIM]	Class 3	<i>kìn</i>	<i>kìnà</i>

mon radical form for each is identified; *kin-* [CONC;ANIM] ‘concrete, non-human, non-abstract’, *ni-* [HUM] ‘person, human being’ and *wi-* [ABST] ‘non-concrete, non-person’ are the three classifiers.<sup>39</sup>

All the sentences in (157) are ungrammatical without a classifier. The three classifiers combine with *bɔŋ/bɔma* to make proper constituents for an identificational construction. The structural setting is the result of a combination of grammatical constraints which specify that: (i) a property in predicative function cannot stand on its own, (ii) in predicative function, a property must be joined with a classifier, (iii) the merging of the classifier and the property forms a proper syntactic constituent for an identificational construction, and (iv) the form of the classifier is dependent on the animacy encoded in the argument of a qualitative predicate.

Finally, classifiers are also found in the formation of the words meaning ‘something’ and ‘nothing’. Consider the examples in (160) and (159):

- (159) a. *ná-mùŋ-lèí*  
 HUM-all-not  
 ‘no one’
- b. *wí-mùŋ-lèí*  
 ABST-all-not  
 ‘nothing’
- c. *kín-mùŋ-lèí*  
 CONC;ANIM-all-not  
 ‘nothing’

<sup>39</sup> The classifier and the semantic information encoded in the head of the first noun phrase reflects one major analytical criterion for classifier systems (Dixon 1986; Corbett 1991; Grinevald 2000).

- (160) a. *nì-dígíí*  
 HUM-one  
 ‘someone’
- b. *wí-dígíí*  
 ABST-one  
 ‘something’
- c. *kìn-dígíí*  
 CONC;ANIM-one  
 ‘something’

As with the role of classifiers in identificational constructions, here again the classifiers narrows down the tracking of a referent when one of those quantifiers is used. Again, the grammar arranges animacies into three categories, i.e. ABST, CONC;ANIM, and HUM. A distinction is also made in English between HUM (i.e. someone, no one) and ANIM;CONC;ABST (i.e. something, nothing), however English does not have a distinction which captures specifically abstract entities.

### 3.11 Summary

The term nominal in the present context was argued to represent two separate notions. The first is conceptual. Nominal stems denote classes of entities whereas verbal stems denote events. The second notion is formal. A nominal stem was opposed to a verbal stem in noun formation. As a syntactic unit, the nominal constitutes an obligatory support to the main predicate and was presented above in various forms: as a pro-form, a single noun, or noun phrases consisting of a noun with a qualifier(s), an article(s), a demonstrative, among others. The heading of (161) represents the order of elements in the noun phrase in Chakali.<sup>40</sup>

- (161) ART/POSS HEAD QUAL NUM QUANT DEM QUANT ART FOC/NEG
- a. *ì wááwáó* ‘you came’  
 HEAD
- b. *hááj wāāwāō* ‘a woman came’  
 HEAD
- c. *à hááj wāāwāō* ‘the woman came’  
 ART1 HEAD

<sup>40</sup> In (161) ‘woman’ may also be interpreted as ‘wife’.

- d. *à hááj tìŋ wāwāō* ‘the woman came’  
ART1 HEAD ART2
- e. *òò hááj wāwāō* ‘his woman came’  
POSS HEAD
- f. *òò hááj tìŋ wāwāō* ‘his woman came’  
POSS HEAD ART2
- g. *hámā mùŋ wāwāō* ‘all these came’  
HEAD QUANT.all
- h. *nihááná hámā mùŋ wāwāō* ‘all these women came’  
HEAD DEM QUANT.all
- i. *hááj háj wāwāō* ‘this woman came’  
HEAD DEM
- j. *nihááná mùŋ wááwáó* ‘all women came’  
HEAD QUANT.all
- k. *nihákáná wāwāō* ‘many women came’  
HEAD-QUANT
- l. *nará bátòrò wāwāō* ‘three persons came’  
HEAD NUM
- m. *à nihááná pólèè bálìè wāwāō* ‘the two fat women came’  
ART1 HEAD QUAL NUM
- n. *à nihááná bálìè hámà wāwāō* ‘these two women came’  
ART1 HEAD NUM DEM
- o. *à nihápólómá pólèè bálìè wāwāō* ‘the two fat blind women came’  
ART1 HEAD QUAL QUAL NUM
- p. *à nihápólèè káná wāwāō* ‘many fat women came’  
ART1 HEAD QUAL QUANT.many
- q. *à nihápólèè jólónkáná wāwāō* ‘many fat blind women came’  
ART1 HEAD QUAL QUAL QUANT.many
- r. *à nihápólèè jólónkáná hámà wāwāō* ‘these many fat blind women came’  
ART1 HEAD-QUAL QUAL-QUANT.many DEM
- s. *à nihápólèè jólómá fí bānīē wāwāō* ‘some of the ten fat blind women came’  
ART1 HEAD-QUAL QUAL NUM QUANT.some

To summarize, each noun phrase in (161) is a grammatically and semantically acceptable noun phrase and respects the linear order offered on the first line. They were all elicited in a frame 'X came'. Certain orders are favored, but a strict linear order, especially among the qualifiers, needs further investigation. Notice that each noun phrase in (161), except for the weak personal pronoun in (161a), may or may not be in focus and may or may not be definite (i.e. accompanied by the article *the*). Also, the slot HEAD in (161) is not only represented in the examples by a noun or pronoun; example (161g) is headed by a demonstrative pronoun. Needless to say, this list of possible distributions of nominal elements within the noun phrase is not exhaustive. Again, caution should be taken since the examples in (161), particularly those towards the end of the list, are the result of elicitation. Their order of appearance can only be interpreted as an approximation of the noun phrase.

## 4 Verbal

Any expression which can take the place of the predicate P in (162) is identified as *verbal*.

(162) AJC ± s|A + P ± O ± AJC

The term can also refer to a semantic notion at the lexeme level. The language is analysed as exhibiting two types of verbal lexeme. In Section 3.2.4.4, the *stative* lexeme and the *active* lexeme were both shown to take part in nominalization processes. The verbal stem in (163) must be instantiated with a verbal lexeme.

(163) [[preverb]<sub>EVG</sub> [[stem]-[suffix]]<sub>verb</sub>]<sub>VG</sub>

In addition, the term can refer to the whole of the verbal constituent, including the verbal modifiers. The verbal group (VG) illustrated in (163) consists of linguistic slots which encode various aspects of an event which may be realized in an utterance. A free standing verb is the minimal requirement to satisfy the role of a predicative expression. The verbal modifiers, which are called preverbs (Section 4.2), are grammatical items which specify the event according to various semantic distinctions. They precede the verb(s) and take part in the expanded verbal group (EVG). The expanded verbal group identifies a domain which excludes the

main verb, so a verbal group without preverbs would be equivalent to a verb or a series of verbs (see SVC in Section 2.1.5).<sup>41</sup>

While a verbal stem provides the core meaning of the predication, a suffix may supply information on aspect, whether or not the verbal constituent is in focus and/or the index of participant(s) (i.e. o-clitic, Section 4.3.1). Despite there being little focus on tone and intonation, attention on the tonal melody of the verbal constituent is necessary since this also affects the interpretation of the event. These characteristics are presented below in a brief overview of the verbal system.

## 4.1 Verbal lexeme

### 4.1.1 Syllable structure and tonal melody of the verb

There is a preponderance of open syllables of type CV and CVV, and the common syllable sequences found among the verbs are CV, CVV, CVCV, CVCCV, CVVCV, and CVCVCV. In the dictionary, monosyllabic verbs make up approximately 13% of the verbs, bisyllabic 65%, and trisyllabic 22%. All segments are attested in onset position word initially, but only *m*, *t*, *s*, *n*, *r*, *l*, *g*, *ŋ*, and *w* are found in onset position word-medially in bisyllabic verbs, and only *m*, *t*, *s*, *n*, *l*, and *g* are found in onset position word-medially in trisyllabic verbs. All trisyllabic, CVVCV, and CVCCV verbs have one of the front vowels (*{e, ε, i, ɪ}*) in the nucleus of their last syllable. The data suggests that ATR-harmony is operative, but not RO-harmony, in these three environments, e.g. *fùòlì* ‘whistle’. There is no restriction on vowel quality for the monosyllabic or bisyllabic verbs and both harmonies are operative.

Table 30 presents verbs which are classified based on their syllable structures and tonal melodies. Despite the various attested melodies, instances of low tone CV verbs, CVV verbs other than low tone, and rising or falling CVCV, CVCCV, and CVVCV verbs are marginal.

Typically, CV verbs have a high melody, while CVV verbs are a low one. The mid tone (M) is not contrastive. Only a handful of minimal pairs can be found in the dictionary, e.g. *pɔ̀* ‘protect’ and *pɔ́* ‘plant’.

<sup>41</sup> The term and notion are inspired from analyses of the verbal system of Gã (Dakubu 1970). A verbal group is unlike the verb phrase in that it does not include its internal argument, i.e. direct object. I am aware of the obvious need to unify the descriptions of the nominal constituent and the verbal constituent.

Table 30: Tonal melodies on verbs

Syllable type	Tonal melody	Form	Gloss
CV	H	<i>pó</i>	plant
	L	<i>sò</i>	wash
CVV	L	<i>pàà</i>	take
	H	<i>kíí</i>	forbid
	LH	<i>wòó</i>	vacant (be)
	HL	<i>gbáà</i>	herd
CVCV	H	<i>kúló</i>	tilt
	L	<i>bilè</i>	put
	HL	<i>lúlò</i>	leak
	HM	<i>pílē</i>	cover
CVCCV	H	<i>bóntí</i>	divide
	H	<i>kámsí</i>	blink
	L	<i>sùmmè</i>	beg
	L	<i>zèṅsì</i>	limp
CVVCV	H	<i>pííí</i>	start
	H	<i>tíásí</i>	vomit
	L	<i>kààlì</i>	go
	L	<i>bùòlì</i>	sing
CVCVCV	H	<i>zágálí</i>	shake
	H	<i>vííímí</i>	spin
	L	<i>hàrigì</i>	try
	L	<i>dògòṅnì</i>	chase

#### 4.1.2 Verbal state and verbal process lexemes

A general distinction between stative and non-stative events is made: *verbal state* (stative event) and *verbal process* (active event) lexemes are assumed. A verbal state lexeme can be identificational, existential, possessive, qualitative, quantitative, cognitive or locative, and refers more or less to a state or condition which is static, as opposed to dynamic. The ‘copula’ verbs *jaa* and *dva* (and its allolexe *tuo*) are treated as subtypes of verbal stative lexemes since they are the only verbal lexemes which cannot function as a main verb in a perfective intransitive construction (see Section 4.1.4.1). Their meaning and distribution was introduced in the sections concerned with the identificational construction (Section 2.1.1) and existential construction (Section 2.1.2). The possessive verb *kpaɡa* ‘have’ is

treated as a verbal state lexeme as well (see possessive clause in Section 2.1.3). A qualitative verbal state lexeme establishes a relation between an entity and a quality. Examples are given in (164).

- (164) Qualitative verbal state lexeme  
*bòró* ‘short’ > *à dáá bóróó* ‘The tree is short.’  
*gòrò* ‘curved’ > *à dáá góróó* ‘The wood is curved.’  
*jógósí* ‘soft’ > *à bié bàtónj jógósjòò* ‘The baby’s skin is soft.’

Similarly, a quantitative verbal state lexeme establishes a relation between an entity and a quantity. Yet, in (165), the subject of *maasr* is the impersonal pronoun *a* which refers to a situation and not an individual. The verb *hĩĩ* ‘age’ or ‘old’ is a quantitative verbal state lexeme since it measures objective maturity between two individuals, i.e. *mĩj hĩĩ-I, lit. 1SG.ST age-2SG.WK*, ‘I am older than you’.

- (165) Quantitative verbal state lexeme  
*kánà* ‘abundant’ > *bà kánáá* ‘They are plenty (people).’  
*màási* ‘enough’ > *à máásjò* ‘It is sufficient.’  
*hĩĩ* ‘age’ > *mĩj hĩĩ* ‘I am older than you’

Cognitive verbs such as *liise* ‘think’, *kõõ* ‘wonder’, *kisi* ‘wish’, *tjii* ‘hate’, etc. are also treated as verbal state lexemes.

Verbal process lexemes denote non-stative events. They are often partitioned along the (lexical) aspectual distinctions of Vendler (1957), i.e. activities, achievements, accomplishments. Such verbal categories did not formally emerge, so I am not in a position to categorize the verbal process lexemes at this point in the research (but see Bonvini 1988: 51 for a thorough description of a Grusi verbal system), although Section 4.3 suggests that there is a system of verbal derivation that uses verbal process lexemes which needs to be uncovered. Thus, verbs which express that the participant(s) is actively doing something, undergoes a process, performs an action, etc. all fall within the set of verbal process lexemes.

#### 4.1.3 Complex verb

A complex verb is composed of more than one verbal lexeme. For instance, when *laa* ‘take’ and *di* ‘eat’ are brought together in a SVC (Section 2.1.5), they denote separate taking and eating event. A complex verb denotes a single event.

- (166) a. *ñ láá kúòsò díūū.*  
 1SG take G. eat.FOC  
 ‘I believe in God.’

- b.  $\eta$  láá bié dǝǝ.  
1SG take child put.FOC  
'I adopted a child.'

The sequences *laa+di* 'believe' and *laa+dǝ* 'adopt' are non-compositional, and less literal. Also, unlike complex stem nouns, but like SVCs, the elements which compose a complex verb must not necessarily be contiguous, as (166) shows. Other examples, among others, are *zimà síí*, *lit.* know raise, 'understand', *kpá tǎ*, *lit.* take abandon, 'drop' or 'stop', and *gǐlà zimà*, *lit.* allow know, 'prove'.

#### 4.1.4 Verb forms and aspectual distinction

The inflectional system of Chakali verbs displays few verb forms and is closer to neighbor Oti-Volta languages than, for instance, a 'conservative' Grusi language like Kasem (Bonvini 1988: 51).<sup>42</sup> Besides the derivational suffixes (Section 4.3.3), the verb in Chakali is limited to two inflectional suffixes and one assertive suffix: (i) one signals negation in the negative imperative clause (i.e. *kpǝ* 'Kill', *tú kpǝí* 'Don't kill'), (ii) another attaches to some verb stems in the perfective intransitive only, and (iii) the other signals assertion and puts the verbal constituent in focus. Since the negative imperative clause has already been presented in Section 2.3, the perfective and imperfective intransitive constructions are discussed next. Both are recurrent clauses in data elicitation. The former may contain both the perfective suffix and the assertive suffix simultaneously, while the latter displays the verb, with or without the assertive suffix.

**4.1.4.1 Perfective intransitive construction** As its name suggests, a perfective intransitive construction lacks a grammatical object and implies an event's completion or its reaching point. In the case of verbal state, the perfective implies that the given state has been reached, or that the entity in subject position satisfies the property encoded in the verbal state lexeme. In (167), two suffixes are attached on one verbal process stem and one verbal state stem (see Section 3.2.1.2 for the general phonotactics involved).<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> 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.

<sup>43</sup> The presence of a schwa (ə) in a CVCəCV surface form, as in (167c), is explained in Sections 3.2.1.3 and 3.1.2.



## (167) Perfective intransitive construction

- a. *Verbal process: s + p*  
*àfiá díōō.*  
 A. di-j[-LO, -HI, -RO]-[+HI,+RO]  
 ‘Afia ate.’
- b. *àfiá wá díjē.* ‘Afia didn’t eat.’
- c. *Verbal state: s + p*  
*à dáá télèjōó.*  
 ART daa tele-j[-LO, -HI, -RO]-[+HI,+RO]  
 ‘The stick leans.’
- d. *à dáá wá tēlàjē.* ‘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 (167), it does not surface on all verb stems. The information in Table 31 partly predicts whether or not a stem will surface with a suffix, and if it does, which form this suffix will have.

Table 31: Perfective intransitive suffixes

Suffix /-jE/	Suffix /-wA/	No suffix
CV	CVV	CVCV <sup>1</sup>
CVCV <sup>2</sup>		

Table 31 shows that, in a perfective intransitive construction, a CV stem must be suffixed with -jE and a CVV verb with -wA. The examples in (168) are negative in order to prevent the assertive suffix from appearing (see Section 5.3 on why negation and the assertive suffix cannot co-occur).

- (168) a. *CV*  
*po > àfiá wá pójē* ‘Afia didn’t divide’  
*po > àfiá wá pójē* ‘Afia didn’t plant’  
*pu > àfiá wá pújē* ‘Afia didn’t cover’  
*pσ > 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 sīīwō ‘Afia didn’t raise’

*j̄ɔɔ* > àfiá wá j̄ɔ̄ɔwā ‘Afia didn’t marry’

*tɛ* > 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 4.2. Notice that RO-harmony does not operate in that domain.

**Rule 13** Prediction for perfective intransitive *-wA/* suffix

If the vowel of a CVV stem is +ATR, the vowel of the suffix is +RO, and if the vowel of a CVV stem is -ATR, the vowel of the suffix is -RO.

*-wA/* >  $\alpha_{RO_{suffix}}$  /  $\alpha_{ATR_{stem}}$

The CVV stems display harmony between the stem vowel(s) and the suffix vowel which is easily captured by a variable feature alpha notation, as shown in Rule (13), which assumes that the segment [o] is the [+RO, +ATR]-counterpart of [a].

Predicting which of set CVCV<sup>1</sup> or set CVCV<sup>2</sup> in Table 31 a stem falls has proven unsuccessful. Provisionally, I suggest that a CVCV stem must be stored with such an information. One piece of evidence supporting this claim comes from the minimal pair *télé* ‘reach’ and *télé* ‘lean against’: the former displays CVCV<sup>2</sup> (i.e. tele-jE), whereas the latter displays CVCV<sup>1</sup> (i.e. tele-Ø). The data shows that a CVCV stem with round vowels is less likely to behave like a CVCV<sup>1</sup> stem, yet *púmó* ‘hatch’ is a counter-example, i.e. *a zal wa puməje* ‘the fowl didn’t hatch’. The CVCCV, CVVCV, and CVCVCV stems have not been investigated, but *kaalɪ* ‘go’, a common CVVCV verb, takes the *-jE/* suffix.

**4.1.4.2 Imperfective intransitive construction** The imperfective conveys the unfolding of an event, and it is often used to describe an event taking place at the moment of speech. In addition, the behavior of the egressive marker *ka* (Section 4.2.1) suggest that the imperfective may be interpreted as a progressive event. As in the perfective intransitive, the assertive suffix may be found attached to the verb stem.

(169) [[verb stem]-[+HI,+RO]]<sub>verb in focus</sub>

Again, the constraints licensing the combination of the verb stem and the vowel features shown in (169) are (i) none of the other constituents in the clause are in focus, (ii) the clause does not include a negation element, and (iii) the clause is intransitive, that is, there is no grammatical object.

- (170) a. Positive  
           *ò kàá kpá* ‘She will take’  
           *òò kpáò* ‘She is taking/takes.’
- b. Negative  
           *ò wàá kpā* ‘She will not take’  
           *òò wàá kpá* ‘She is not taking/does not take.’
- c. \**kalaa kpav* ‘Kala is taking/takes.’
- d. \**waa kpav* ‘SHE is taking/takes.’
- e. \**ò kpav a bii* ‘She is taking/takes the stone.’
- f. \**òò waa kpav* ‘She is not taking/does not take.’

In (170), the forms of the verb in the intransitive imperfective take the assertive suffix to signal that the verbal constituent is in focus, as opposed to the nominal argument. The assertive suffix cannot appear when the subject is in focus (170c) or when the strong pronoun is used as subject (170d), when a grammatical object follows the verb (170e), or when the negation preverb *waa* is present (170b).

**4.1.4.3 Intransitive vs. transitive** Many verbs can occur in either intransitive or transitive clauses. The subject of the intransitive in (171a) and (171c) correspond to the subject of the transitive in (171b) and (171d), and the same verb is found with and without an object.

- (171) a. *kàlá díjòò*.  
           Kala eat.PFV.FOC  
           ‘Kala ATE.’
- b. *kàlá dí sìmáá rā*.  
           Kala eat.PFV food FOC  
           ‘Kala ate FOOD.’
- c. *òò búólùù*.  
           PSG sing.IPFV.FOC  
           ‘He is SINGING.’

- d. *èè búólù būól lō.*  
 PSG sing.IPFV SONG FOC  
 ‘He is singing a SONG.’

It is possible to promote a prototypical theme argument to the subject position. However, informants have difficulty with some nominals in the subject position of intransitive clauses. The topic needs further investigation, although it is certainly related to a semantic anomaly. The data in (172), where the prototypical o(bject) is in A-position, illustrates the problem. In order to concentrate on the activities of ‘goat beating’ and ‘tree climbing’, and turn the two clauses (172b) and (172c) into acceptable utterances, the optimal solution is to use the impersonal pronoun *ba* in subject position (see impersonal pronoun in Section 3.3.2).

- (172) a. *à bèè káá hírèū* ‘the hole is being dug’  
 b. \**a bēēη kaa maŋãō* ‘the goat is being beaten’ → *bàà máŋà à bēēη ná*  
 c. \**a daa kaa znãō* ‘the tree is being climbed’ → *bàà ztná à dáá rá*

Given that the inflectional system of the verb is rather poor, and that the perfective and assertive suffixes occur only in intransitive clauses, how does one encode a basic contrast like the one between a transitive perfective and transitive imperfective? The paired examples in (173) and (174) illustrate relevant contrasts.

(173) Transitive perfective

- a. *ɲ dí kōō rā*  
 ‘I ate T. Z.’  
 b. *ɲ pɔ́ dāā rā*  
 ‘I planted a TREE.’  
 c. *ɲ tʃígé vìì rē*  
 ‘I turned a POT.’  
 d. *ɲ lómó bēēη ná*  
 ‘I tied a GOAT.’  
 e. *ɲ móná díŋ né*  
 ‘I carried FIRE.’

(174) Transitive imperfective

- a. *ɲɲ dí kóó rá*  
 ‘I am eating T.Z.’

- b. *ḡḡḡ pɔ dáá rá*  
 ‘I am planting a TREE.’
- c. *ḡḡ ḡfígè vì rē*  
 ‘I am turning a POT.’
- d. *ḡḡ lómò bḡḡḡ nā*  
 ‘I am tying a GOAT.’
- e. *ḡḡḡ mónà díḡ nē*  
 ‘I am carrying FIRE.’

Each pair in the verbal frames of (173) and (174) presents fairly regular patterns: the high tone *versus* the falling tone on the CVCV verbs, the systematic change of the tonal melodies on the grammatical objects in the two CV-verb cases, and the length of the weak pronoun in the imperfective. The data suggest that it is the tonal melody, and not exclusively the one associated with the verb, which supports aspectual function in this comparison. When the verb is followed by an argument, both perfective and the imperfective are expressed with the base form of the verb. However, the tonal melody alone can determine whether an utterance is to be understood as a bounded event which occurred in the past or an unbounded event unfolding at the moment of speech.

Tonal melody is crucial in the following examples as well. The examples in (175) are three polar questions (see Section 2.2.2), one in the perfective and two in the imperfective. The two first have the same segmental content, and the last contains the egressive preverb *kaa* with a rising tone indicating the future tense. In order to signal a polar question, each has an extra-low tone and is slightly lengthened at the end of the utterance.

- (175) a. *– – – – – – – –*  
*ɪ teḡesi a namĩã raa?*  
 2SG cut.PV ART meat FOC  
 ‘Did you cut the meat (into pieces)?’
- b. *– – – – – – – –*  
*ɪ teḡesi a namĩã raa?*  
 2SG cut.PV ART meat FOC  
 ‘Are you cutting the meat (into pieces)?’
- c. *– – – – – – – –*  
*ɪ kaa teḡesi a namĩã raa?*  
 2SG IPFV.FUT cut.PV ART meat FOC  
 ‘Will you (be) cut(ting) the meat (into pieces)?’

The only distinction perceived between (175a) and (175b) is a pitch difference near the third syllable of the verb. The tonal melody associated with the verb in (175c) is the same as the one in (175b).

**4.1.4.4 Ex-situ subject imperfective particle** One topic-marking strategy is to prepose a non-subject constituent to the beginning of the clause. In (176), the focus particle may or may not appear after the non-subjectival topic. Notice that one effect of this topic-marking strategy is that the particle *dì* appears between the subject and the verb when the non-subject constituent is preposed and when the clause is used to describe what is happening at the moment of speech.

- (176) a. Imperfective  
*sígá (rá) ò dì tíē.*  
bean (FOC) 3.SG IPFV chew  
'It is BEANS he is chewing.'
- b. Perfective  
*sígá (rá) ò tiè.*  
bean (FOC) 3.SG chew  
'It is BEANS he chewed.'
- c. Imperfective  
*wàà (rá) ò dì káálì.*  
Wa (FOC) 3.SG IPFV go  
'It is to WA that he is going.'
- d. Perfective  
*wàà (rá) ò kààlì.*  
Wa (FOC) 3.SG go  
'It is to WA that he went.'

The position of *dì* in (176a) and (176c), that is between the subject and the verb, is generally occupied by linguistic items called *preverbs*, to which the discussion turns in Section 4.2. Provisionally, the particle *dì* may be treated as a preverb constrained to occur with a preposed non-subject constituent and an imperfective aspect.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> I do not treat topicalization in this work, although the left-dislocation strategy in (176) is the only one I know to exist.

**4.1.4.5 Subjunctive** In Section 2.1.8.2 the preverbal *ɲma* is said to convey a desiderative mood, corresponding to the English modal expression ‘want to’, in a construction [NP *ɲma* [NP VP]]. The embedded clause is said to be in the subjunctive mood, which is singled out by its high tone on the subject pronoun and the non-actuality and potentiality of the event. In the examples (177a) and (177b) a subjunctive is interpreted because it involves clauses expressing a future hypothetical time and realization. In all these cases, the clauses of which the high tone pronoun is the subject seem to depend on and complement a more central event.

- (177) a. *ò kááli ó ká dí m̀̀tìgú jáwà.*  
 3.SG go 3.SG IPFV eat M. market  
 ‘She is going to trade at the Motigu market.’ (*lit.* eat-market, ‘trade’)
- b. *zòò ìm̀̀m m̀̀áá pé, ó kpá ò̀̀ kòò fàlá tíéí, í*  
 enter 1.SG mother end 3.SG take 1.SG POSS t.z. bowl give.2SG 2SG  
*kíini.*  
 clean.bowl  
 ‘Go to my mother, she will give you my t.z. bowl so you can finish it.’

In (177a), according to the speaker, the trading activity is the intention of the woman and it will take place in all likelihood, and in (177b), the speaker tells about two situations that the addressee will most likely experience.

## 4.2 Preverb particles

Preverb particles encode various event-related meanings. They are part of the verbal domain called the expanded verbal group (EVG), discussed in (4) and schematized in (163). This domain follows the subject and precedes the main verb(s) and is generally accessible only to a limited set of linguistic items. These grammatical morphemes are not verbs, in the sense that they do not contribute to SVCs as verbs do, but as ‘auxiliaries’. Still, some of the preverbs may historically derive from verbs, and some others may synchronically function as verbs. Examples of the latter are the egressive particle *ka* and ingressive particle *wa*, which are discussed in Section 4.2.1. Nevertheless, given the data available, it would not be incorrect to analyse some of the preverbs as additional SVC verbs. A preverb differs from a verb in that it exposes functional categories, cannot inflect for the perfective or assertive suffix, and never takes a complement, such as a grammatical object, or cannot be modified by an adjunct. But again, a first verb in a SVC and a preverb are categories which can be hard to distinguish. Structurally

and functionally, many of them may be analysed as grammaticalized verbs in series. These characteristics are not special to Chakali; similar, but not identical, behavior are described for Gã and Gurene (Dakubu 2007; 2008).

#### 4.2.1 Egressive and ingressive particles

The egressive particle *ka(a)* (glossed EGR) ‘movement away from the deictic centre’ and the ingressive particle *wa(a)* (glossed INGR) ‘movement towards the deictic centre’ are assumed to derive from the verbs *kaali* ‘go’ and *waa* ‘come’.<sup>45</sup> Table 32 shows that *kaali* ‘go’ and *waa* ‘come’, like other verbs, change forms (and are acceptable) in these paradigms, but *ka(a)* is not.

Table 32: Deictic verbs and preverbs

Verb	$\sigma$	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 kááljój ‘she went’	ò wà kááljé ‘she didn’t go’
		IPFV	òò káálóó ‘she is going’	ò wà káálí ‘she is not going’
<i>ka(a)</i>	CV	PFV	*ó kaó	*ó wa kaje
		IPFV	*ó kaó	*ó wa ka

When the verbs *kaali* ‘go’ and *waa* ‘come’ occur in a SVC, they surface as *ka* and *wa* respectively. In (178), both *ka* and *wa* take part in a two-verb SVC in which they are first in the sequence.

<sup>45</sup> A discussion on some aspects of grammaticalization of ‘come’ and ‘go’ can be read in Bourdin (1992). In the literature, egressive is also known as *itive* (i.e. away from the speakers, ‘thither’) and ingressive is known as *ventive* (i.e. towards the speakers, ‘hither’).





the subject is not a pronoun and its tone melody differs from that of the future tense. These contrasts are given in (180).

- (180) *ò kàá mārā* ‘She will attach’  
*òò mārāó* ‘She is attaching’  
*wòsá kàá mārā* ‘Wusa will attach’  
*wòsá káá mārāó* ‘Wusa is attaching’  
 \**wòsá mārāó* ‘Wusa is attaching’

The paradigm in (180) shows that when the preverb particle *kaa* appears with a rising tonal melody it expresses the future tense, but in order to convey that a situation is ongoing at the time of speech (i.e. present progressive), the preverb particle *kaa* has a high tone. Thus, it is the tonal melody on *kaa* which distinguishes between the future and the present progressive (both treated as imperfective), plus the fact that pronouns cannot co-occur with the preverb particle *kaa* in the present progressive.

- (181) a. *à bié káá bilīgī òò nàál kinkán nà.*  
 ART child IPFV touch POSS.3SG grand.father many FOC  
 ‘The child touches his grand-father.’  
 b. *à biè háj kàà bilīgī òò nàál kinkán nà.*  
 ART child DEM IPFV touch POSS.3SG grand.father many FOC  
 ‘This child touches his grand-father.’

In (181b) *kaa*’s melody is shown to be affected by the pitch of the preceding noun *bie* (LH) ‘child’ and the demonstrative *haj* (HL) ‘this’. Although little evidence is available, the preverb *wa* may also be used to express a sort of hypothetical mood. In (182), the preverb *wa* should be seen as contributing a supposition, or a hypothetical circumstance where someone would be found calling the number 8.

- (182) *ημέητέλ ημά δί, kòsánáá, tóótīnā ημά δί, námùη wá jìrà*  
 spider say COMP buffalo land.owner say COMP anyone INGR call  
*ημέητέλ sóη, bá kpáyóó wàà bá kpó.*  
 eight name 3PL.HUM+ catch.3SG FOC 3PL.HUM+ kill  
 ‘Spider told Buffalo that landowner said anyone who calls the number 8 should be brought to him to be killed.’ [LB 009]



*Grammatical outlines*

- (185) a. *námùŋ wà ná-ŋ.*  
CLF.all NEG see-1.SG  
'Nobody saw me.' (*lit.* everyone not see me)
- b. *ì wà ná námùŋ.*  
1.SG NEG see CLF.all  
'I did not see anyone.' (*lit.* I not see everyone)

Example (185) shows that when the negation particle *wa(a)* and a quantifier appear in the same clause the quantifier is in the positive.

- (186) a. *ò wà wá dī.*  
3SG NEG come eat  
'She did not come to eat.'
- b. *ò wàá wà dī.*  
3SG NEG come eat  
'She will not come to eat.'

The negative preverb always precedes the verb *waa* 'come'. Although length (CV or CVV) is hard to differentiate in natural speech, the examples in (186) suggest that the tonal melody and length establish meaning differences.

Assertion and negation seem to avoid one another and constrain the grammar in the following way: *If a clause is negated, none of its constituents can be in focus.* In Section 3.3.1, it was shown that (i) negation cannot co-occur with the strong pronouns, and (ii) negation cannot co-occur with an argument of the predicate in focus, i.e. with *ra* or one of its variants having scope over the noun phrase. The third non-occurrence of negation concerns the assertive form of the verb (Section 5.3). Consider the forms of the verb *mara* 'attach' in the two paradigms in (187).

- (187) a. Positive  
*ò kàá mārā* 'She will attach'  
*òò mārāō* 'She is attaching/attaches'  
*ò mārìjō* 'She attached'
- b. Negative  
*ò wàá mārā* 'She will not attach'  
*òò wàà mārā* 'She is not attaching/does not attach'  
*ò wà mārìjē* 'She did not attach'

The paradigms in (187) suggest that the negation particle and the assertive suffix are in complementary distribution.

## 4.2.3 Tense, aspect, and mood preverbs

4.2.3.1 *fi* The preverb *fi* is identified with two different but interrelated meanings. First, as (188) shows, the preverb *fi* (glossed PST) is a neutral past tense particle (i.e. as opposed to the specific *di* of Section 4.2.3.2), and the event referred to in the past can no longer be in effect in the present.

- (188) a. *ɔ̃ jáá ññ tʃítʃà rā.*  
 3SG IDENT 3SG.POSS teacher FOC  
 ‘He is my TEACHER.’
- b. *ɔ̃ fi jáá ññ tʃítʃà rā.*  
 3SG PST IDENT 3SG.POSS teacher FOC  
 ‘He was my TEACHER.’

Secondly, the preverb *fi* (glossed MOD) can have deontic meaning.

- (189) a. *ɔ̃ fít jáà ññ tʃítʃà rā.*  
 3SG MOD IDENT 3SG.POSS teacher FOC  
 ‘He should have been my TEACHER.’
- b. *ɔ̃ fi wáá jáà ññ tʃítʃà.*  
 3SG MOD NEG IDENT 3SG.POSS teacher  
 ‘He should not have been my TEACHER.’
- c. *ɔ̃ fi jáá ññ tʃítʃà rā* ‘He was my TEACHER.’
- d. *ɔ̃ fi wà jáá ññ tʃítʃà* ‘He was not my teacher.’

In (189), the presence of the preverb *fi* still conveys past tense, but in addition it expresses that the situation did not really occur, yet it was objectively supposed to occur or subjectively expected to occur or awaited. The lengthening of the preverb *fi* in the positive is not accounted for, but I suspect it signals the imperfective. Compare the first two sentences in (189) with the last two which convey the neutral past. The positive sentence in (189a) can receive a translation along these lines: In a desirable possible world, he was my teacher, but it is not what happened in the real world.

- (190) a. *ññ mibòà fi birgì.*  
 1SG.POSS life MOD delay  
 ‘May I live long!’

- b. *tìè ìṃṃ mibòà bṛgì.*  
 give 1SG.POSS life delay  
 ‘Let me live long!’

Finally, the preverb *fri* in (190) still conveys deontic modality, where the speaker prays or asks permission for a situation. Notice, however, that it cannot refer to a past event. The two sentences in (190) have a corresponding meaning. Example (190b) is framed in an imperative clause (see *optative* in Section 2.3).

**4.2.3.2 Preverb three-interval tense** Chakali encodes in preverbs a type of time categorization known as three-interval tense (Frawley 1992: 366). It is possible to express that an event occurred specifically yesterday, as opposed to earlier today and the day before yesterday, i.e. *hesternal tense* (glossed HEST), or specifically tomorrow, as opposed to later today and the day after tomorrow, i.e. *crastinal tense* (glossed CRAS). The hesternal tense particle *di/de* (glossed HEST) refers to the day preceding the speech time. It has the temporal nominal counterpart *diàrè* ‘yesterday’.

- (191) (*diàrè tm*) *ò ní ò tḗnà dí wāwā (diàrè tm).*  
 (yesterday) 3SG CONN 3SG.POSS friend HEST come.PFV (yesterday)  
 ‘He arrived with his friend yesterday.’

In (191), the phrase *diare tm* ‘yesterday’ is optional, and when it is used it must be expressed at the end or at the beginning of the clause.

- (192) Will you work for the chief today or tomorrow?  
*ṃ tḥi kàà tòrà tḗḗ rà, záàṃ, ṃ kàà hḗḗḗ.*  
 1SG CRAS go work give.3SG FOC, today, 1SG EGR rest.FOC  
 ‘I shall work for him tomorrow, today, I shall rest.’

The crastinal tense preverb *tḥi* (glossed CRAS) in (192) functions as future particle, but is limited to the day following the event time. In that sentence the event time referred to follows the utterance time by one day. The temporal nominal counterpart of *tḥi* is *tḥiá* ‘tomorrow’. As for the hesternal tense and the corresponding nominal, the nominal may or may not co-occur with the crastinal tense particle.

The hesternal tense particle *di* is homophonous with the (*ex-situ subject*) imperfective particle *di* discussed in Section 4.1.4.4. In addition, the question arises as to whether the crastinal tense is inherently future, and if so, whether or not

it can co-occur with the future-encoding egressive preverb discussed in Section 4.2.1. Consider their distribution and meaning in the examples given in (193).

- (193) a. Imperfective  
*sígá (rá) ò dì tíē.*  
 bean (FOC) 3.SG IPFV chew  
 ‘It is BEANS he is chewing.’
- b. Perfective/Past  
*sígá (rá) ò tiè.*  
 bean (FOC) 3.SG chew  
 ‘It is BEANS he chewed.’
- c. Hesternal past  
*sígá (rá) ò dí tiè.*  
 bean (FOC) 3.SG HEST chew  
 ‘It is BEANS he chewed yesterday.’
- d. Hesternal past progressive  
*sígá (ra) ò díí tiè.*  
 bean (FOC) 3.SG HEST chew  
 ‘It is BEANS he was chewing yesterday.’
- e. Future (progressive)  
*sígá (rá) ò kàá tíē.*  
 bean (FOC) 3.SG FUT chew  
 ‘It is BEANS he will be chewing / will chew.’
- f. Crastinal future (progressive)  
*sígá (rá) ò tǝ kàá tiè.*  
 bean (FOC) 3.SG CRAS FUT chew  
 ‘It is BEANS he will be chewing / will chew tomorrow.’

A specific tonal melody associated with the sequence *dí tiè* can express either a present progressive, as in (193a), or a hesternal past, as in (193b). Lengthening the hesternal past particle allows one to express the tense associated with the particle, in addition to indicating progressive (193d). This strategy seems to correspond semantically to the apparent syntactic anomaly \**dí dí, lit. HEST IPFV*. The example in (193f) shows that the crastinal tense particle and the egressive particle signaling future can co-occur. Inserting the imperfective particle *dí* between the egressive particle and the verb in (193e) and (193f) is unacceptable. It is unclear whether these two examples must be interpreted as progressive or not.

4.2.3.3 **te** Lacking a corresponding verb to capture its meaning, the verb *te* is glossed with the English adverb ‘early’. Even though it is attested as main verb, *te* can function as a preverb and it is indeed more common to find it in that function.

- (194) a. *ì téjòō.*  
 2SG early.FOC  
 ‘You are early.’
- b. *gbíá bààŋ té kà sáŋá à píé (...)*  
 monkey quickly early go sit ART yam.mound.PL  
*pv pv v v*  
 ‘Monkey quickly went and sat on the (eighth) yam mounds (...)’ [LB 012]

The main verb *te* and the preverb *te* are shown respectively in (194). They contribute a relative time, one in which the event is carried out before the expected or usual time.

4.2.3.4 **zi** The preverb *zi* is marginal in the corpus.<sup>48</sup>

- (195) a. A father is giving a sequence of tasks to his son  
*tòmà à zíé mǒǎ ká kà tòmà kùó àkà zí kà tòmà à*  
 work ART wall before CONN go work farm CONN after go work ART  
*pv v v*  
*gár*  
 cattle.fence

‘First repair the wall, then go and farm, then repair the cattle fence.’

<sup>48</sup> There is a formally similar particle, *ze* (glossed EXP), which is still not understood: (i) it occurs after the noun phrase, and (ii) its meaning corresponds to ‘expected (by both the speaker and the addressee, or only by the speaker)’. It informs that the referent of the noun phrase was anticipated before the utterance time (or relative time) by the speaker and addressee (or only the speaker). Consider the following example:

- (i) *bà zé wāwāwā.*  
 3PL.B EXP come.PFV  
 ‘They (the expected people) have come.’



- b. *kààlì diá ká zí kààlì kùó.*  
 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 *mǝǝ* ‘before’ and *zì* ‘after’ and the connective *ka/aka* ‘and/then’ are used, as (195a) shows. However, as (195b) illustrates, the preceding event may be presupposed, so it is not necessarily uttered.

4.2.3.5 *baaŋ* The preverb *baaŋ* (glossed MOD) is primarily modal and is usually translated into English ‘must’, ‘immediately’, ‘quickly’ or ‘just’.

- (196) a. *kùórù ñmá dí ñ kàá bààŋ bó bǝǝná fí rē.*  
 chief say COMP 1SG FUT MOD pay goat.PL ten FOC  
 ‘The chief says that I must pay him ten goats.’

- b. *ì kàá bààŋ jáó rā.*  
 2SG FUT MOD do.3SG FOC  
 ‘You must do it.’

First, the examples in (196) show that the preverb *baaŋ* conveys an obligation.

- (197) (...) *à kpá ǝǝ néŋ à sàgà ǝǝ nī dí ǝ bààŋ té*  
 (...) CONN take 3SG.POSS arm CONN be.on 3SG POSTP CONN 3SG MOD early  
*pv pv*  
*bèrègì dǝǝ*  
 turn.into python  
*v*  
 ‘(...) then put his hand on her and quickly turned into a python.’ [PY 025]

Secondly, as illustrated in (197), the preverb *baaŋ* can express an abrupt or swift manner.

- (198) a. *ǝ zímá dí já kàá ñmá ǝǝ wíé rá ǝǝ bààŋ tǝùò*  
 3SG know COMP 1PL FUT talk 3SG.POSS matter FOC 3SG MOD lie  
*dúò.*  
 sleep  
 ‘He knew that we would talk about him, so he quickly slept.’

- b. *kàwàá bààŋ tàrì kééééŋ ...*  
 pumpkin just creep DXM  
 ‘A pumpkin just crept like that ...’
- c. *à kùò ní ɔ̀ bààŋ jíúú kɛŋ néé à wà kòò.*  
 ART farm POSTP 3SG MOD call.IPFV DXM FOC CONN INGR tire  
 ‘At the farm he kept calling (for someone) but got tired (gave up).’
- d. *díŋ bààŋ jàà díŋtòl.*  
 fire just IDENT flame  
 ‘The fire suddenly became flame.’

Finally, the preverb *baaŋ* may act as a discourse particle used mainly to emphasize or intensify the action carried out, reminiscent of the use of ‘just’ in some English registers. It is often translated in text as ‘immediately’, ‘suddenly’, ‘then’, or simply ‘just’. Examples are given in (198).

4.2.3.6 **BI** The examples in (199) show that the preverb particle *bi* expresses iterative iteration, but also the single repetition of an event, and follows the negation particle.

- (199) a. *ɔ̀ bɪ kòòrè sǎǎ ɔ̀ò dià rá.*  
 3SG ITR make build 3SG.POSS house FOC  
 ‘He rebuilt his hut.’
- b. *à bitfèlíí bɪ sīú.*  
 ART child.fall ITR raise.FOC  
 ‘The fallen child gets up again.’
- c. *ɔ̀ wà bɪ tùò.*  
 3.SG NEG ITR be.at  
 ‘She is no longer here.’

Unlike other preverbs, *bi* may also appear within noun phrases to express frequency time. This is shown in (200) (see Section 3.6.5).

- (200) *ɲ jàà káálì ùù pé rè tʃòpìsì bíí mùŋ.*  
 1SG HAB go 3SG.POSS end FOC day.break ITR all  
 ‘I do visit him every day.’

4.2.3.7 **bra** The verb *bra* ([bǝrà]) is a motion verb which conveys a change of direction.

- (201) a. *brà à káálì.*  
 return CONN go  
 ‘Go back.’ (Hearer coming towards speaker, speaker asks addressee to turn and go back.)
- b. *brà àká tfáò.*  
 return CONN leave.3SG  
 ‘Return and leave him.’ (Speaker asks addressee to turn and go away from the person the addressee is with.)

The examples in (201) present the verb *bra* in imperative clauses separated by the connectives *a* and *aka*.

- (202) *ò brá tòrà à tòmá tíj kà wà wíré kēj.*  
 3SG again work ART work ART EGR NEG well DXM  
 ‘He redid the work that was badly done.’

When *bra* functions as a preverb, as in (202), it loosely keeps its motion sense and conveys in addition a sort of repetition. It differs from the morpheme *br* introduced in Section 4.2.3.6 since it does not mean that an action is done repeatedly. Instead, the preverb *bra* is associated with actions done ‘once more’, ‘over again’, or ‘anew’.

4.2.3.8 **ja** The preverb *ja(a)* (glossed HAB) indicates habitual aspect. It expresses that the subject’s referent is accustomed to, familiar with, or routinely do the action described by the predicate.

- (203) *tfǝpìsì bɪ-múj ǝǝ jáà jááǝ.*  
 day.break ITR-all 3SG HAB do.3SG  
 ‘He does it every day.’

A variation in length and intonation suggest an (im)perfective aspectual distinction. In (203) there is a vowel sequence *aa* pronounced with a falling intonation. Compare this with the examples in (204).

- (204) a. *kàlá já tǔgòsì bísé ré.*  
 K. HAB beat.PL child.PL FOC  
 ‘Kala beat children.’ (He used to do it.)

- b. *kàlá jáà túgòsì bísé ré.*  
K. HAB beat.PL child.PL FOC  
'Kala beats children.' (He regularly does it.)

The aspectual distinction in (204) is reflected by the preverb's vocalic length and intonation, but also on the following verb's intonation.

4.2.3.9 *ha* The morpheme *ha* (glossed MOD) is similar in meaning to the English morpheme 'yet' and is circumscribed to the expanded verbal group. The expression *haalr* (glossed CONN) has a similar meaning but is mainly used as a discourse connective. It is not frequent and is ultimately of Arabic origin, but like many other words, have been acquired via another language, in this case Hausa (Baldi 2008: 157-158). An example is provided in (205f).

- (205) a. *òò háá díūū.*  
3.SG MOD eat.FOC  
'He is still eating.'
- b. *ò há wà díjē.*  
3.SG MOD NEG eat.PFV  
'He has not eaten yet.'
- c. *bà jíné òò gèrègá rá àká òò háá wīī.*  
3PL.HUM+ look 3SG.POSS sickness FOC CONN 3SG MOD ill  
'He has been cared for to no avail; he is still ill.'
- d. *ò há wà wāā báàŋ múŋ.*  
3.SG MOD NEG come DEM QUANT.all  
'He does not come here (ever).'
- e. *ò há wà wááwá.*  
3.SG MOD NEG come.PFV  
'He has not come yet.'
- f. *m̀ búúré m̀lèbíé birgì háálì ò há wà náá.*  
1.SG want money delay CONN 1SG MOD come see.3PL  
'I struggled to get money for some time but still have not got any.'

The morpheme *ha* is used when an event is or was anticipated and a speaker considers or considered probable the occurrence of the event. As for the English 'yet', it is frequently found in negative polarity. In such cases *ha* indicates that the event is expected to happen and the negative marker *wa* indicates that the

event has not unfolded or happened at the referred time. In the cases where *ha* is found in a positive polarity, it conveys a continuative aspect, that the event is happening at the time, similar to English ‘still’, as in (205a) and (205c).

**4.2.3.10 tu and zin** The verbs *tuu* and *zina* are motion expressions making reference to two opposite paths.

- (206) a. *ɲ zínà sàl lá ɲ páá tʃùòò.*  
 1SG go.up flat.roof FOC 1SG take.PV shea.nut.seed.PL  
 ‘I go up on the roof to collect my shea nuts.’  
 b. *ɲ túú dià rá.*  
 1SG go.down house FOC  
 I went down to the house.’

When they are used as main predicate, as in example (206), they denote ‘go down’ and ‘go up’ and surface as *tuu* and *zina* respectively.

- (207) a. *zíná tʃó à kááli.*  
 go.up run CONN go  
 ‘Go up, run, and leave’ (\*Run upwardly and go)  
 b. *tùù tʃó à kááli.*  
 go.down run CONN go  
 ‘Go down, run, and leave’ (\*Run downwardly and go)

The verbal morphemes *tuu* and *zin* in (207) are not treated as preverbs, but first verbs in SVCs. As explained at the beginning of Section 4.2, more criteria are required to be considered in order to categorize verbals of that particular kind.

### 4.3 Verbal suffixes

In Section 4.1.4, two suffixes were introduced: the perfective intransitive suffix and the assertive suffix. It was shown that the perfective intransitive suffix surfaces either as *-jE*, *-wA* or *-Ø* depending on the verb stem. The assertive suffix appears in the imperfective and perfective intransitive construction if (i) none of the other constituents in the clause are in focus, (ii) the clause does not include propositional negation, and (iii) the clause is intransitive, that is, there is no grammatical object. Also, as mentioned in Section 2.3, the suffix *-i/-i* appears in the negative imperative. In this section, the incorporated object index (o-clitic), the

pluractional suffix, and other derivative suffixes whose functions are not fully understood are introduced.

#### 4.3.1 Incorporated object index

The object index is represented as being incorporated into the verb, and together they form a phonological word (e.g. *wòsá tǎ́n nā* < *wòsá tǎ-ŋ na* ‘Wusa gave-1SG roc’). For that reason the incorporated object index is referred to as the o-clitic. Given the constraints governing the appearance of the perfective intransitive suffix and the assertive suffix, it is obvious that the o-clitic cannot coexist with any of them. Table 33 shows that the ATR-harmony operates in the domain produced by the o-clitic merging with a CV or CVV stem, but may or may not affect the plural pronouns, as Tables 33(b) and 33(c) display.<sup>49</sup>

The form of the focus particle is determined by the preceding material (i.e. the phonological word verb+o-clitic) and the harmony rules introduced in Section 3.2.2.2. Table 33(d) should be seen as displaying various renditions, i.e. with and without ATR-harmony or RO-harmony. I did perceive rounding throughout in conversations (i.e. *wòsá pómá rā* > *wòsá pómó wō* ‘Wusa divided you.PL’), but I was unable to get a consultant produce it in an elicitation session.

A CVCV stem differs from a CV or CVV stem by exhibiting vowel apocope and/or vowel coalescence. Table 34 provides paradigms for *kpaɣa* ‘catch’ and *goro* ‘(go in) circle’.

The schwa (ə) in *kpaɣəja* and *gorəja* are perceived as fronted, and the ones in *kpaɣəma* and *gorəma* as rounded. Although this is certainly due to the following consonant, they are so weak that they can only be heard when they are carefully pronounced (see Section 3.1.2). The paradigm in Table 34(b) can also be uttered in the plural as *górójé rē* (1PL), *górémá rā* (2PL), *góráá rā* (3PL.-H), and *górébá rā* (3PL.+H). The focus particle *wa* is a variant of *ra*. Some consultants agree that these forms are in free variation, yet the *wa* form coexists only with the plural in the paradigms elicited. Nonetheless, such paradigm elicitation are particularly subject to unnaturalness.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> The question mark following the third person plural non-human examples flags a grammatical but infelicitous example.

<sup>50</sup> I personally believe that the alteration is determined by some kind of sandhi, not number. As to why *wa* appears only in the plural, a scenario may be that (i) first, I install a routine by starting with the 1.SG ME and ending with the 3.PL THEM, (ii) in the process of eliciting, the passage from third singular to first plural triggers a different verb shape, i.e. CVCVV/CVCN to CVCVCV, and (iii) although formally identical to the verb forms of the singular, the reason why *wa* follows the third plural non-human could be explained by psychological habituation.

Table 33: Incorporated object index on CV(V) stems

	(a) tɛ 'give'
wòsá tíé-ń nā	'Wusa gave ME'
wòsá tíé-í rā	'Wusa gave YOU'
wòsá tíé-ó rā	'Wusa gave HER'
wòsá tíé-já rā	'Wusa gave US'
wòsá tíé-má rā	'Wusa gave YOU'
wòsá tíé-á rā	'Wusa gave THEM'
wòsá tíé-bá rā	'Wusa gave THEM'
	(b) tie 'swindle'
wòsá tíé-ń nē	'Wusa swindled ME'
wòsá tíé-í rē	'Wusa swindled YOU'
wòsá tíé-ú rō	'Wusa swindled HER'
wòsá tíé-já rā	'Wusa swindled US'
wòsá tíé-má rā	'Wusa swindled YOU'
wòsá tíé-á rā	'Wusa swindled THEM'(?)
wòsá tíé-bá rā	'Wusa swindled THEM'
	(c) tie 'swindle'
wòsá tíé-jé rē	'Wusa swindled US'
wòsá tíé-mé rē	'Wusa swindled YOU'
wòsá tíé-é rē	'Wusa swindled THEM'(?)
wòsá tíé-bé rē	'Wusa swindled THEM'
	(d) po 'divide'
wòsá pó-jé rē	'Wusa divided US'
wòsá pó-mó rō	'Wusa divided YOU'
wòsá pó-á rā	'Wusa divided THEM'
wòsá pó-bé rē	'Wusa divided THEM'

#### 4.3.2 Pluractional suffixes

A pluractional verb is defined as a verb which can (i) express the repetition of an event, (ii) subcategorize for a plural object and/or plural subject, and/or (iii) be marked by the pluractional suffix *-sI*, a derivative suffix whose vowel quality is

Table 34: Incorporated object index on CVCV stems

	(a) <i>kpaga</i> ‘catch’
wòsá kpáyí nā	‘Wusa caught ME’
wòsá kpáyí rā	‘Wusa caught YOU’
wòsá kpáyí rā	‘Wusa caught HER’
wòsá kpáyí já wā	‘Wusa caught US’
wòsá kpáyí má wā	‘Wusa caught YOU’
wòsá kpáyí áá wā	‘Wusa caught THEM’
wòsá kpáyí bá wā	‘Wusa caught THEM’
	(b) <i>goro</i> ‘(go in) circle’
wòsá górí nō	‘Wusa circled ME’
wòsá górí rē	‘Wusa circled YOU’
wòsá górí rō	‘Wusa circled HER’
wòsá górí já wā/rā	‘Wusa circled US’
wòsá górí má wā/rā	‘Wusa circled YOU’
wòsá górí áá wā/rā	‘Wusa circled THEM’
wòsá górí bá wā/rā	‘Wusa circled THEM’

always high and front and whose ATR value is determined by the stem vowel(s).<sup>51</sup> According to (i) above, the iterativeness may affect the interpretation of the number of participants of an event. Consider the contrasts between the sentences in (208), where none of the arguments are in the plural (i.e. contra (ii)).

- (208) a. *ɲ tɛŋɛ à nàmíà rā.*  
 1SG cut ART meat FOC  
 ‘I cut a piece of meat (i.e. made a cut in the flesh or cut into two pieces).’
- b. *ɲ tɛŋɛ-sí à nàmíà rā.*  
 1SG cut-PV ART meat FOC  
 ‘I cut the meat into pieces.’

<sup>51</sup> 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 plurifunctional verbs in Hausa which have received most attention (see José 2008).



In (208b), the formal distinction on the verb ‘cut’, compared to (208a), causes the event to be interpreted as one which involves the repetition of the ‘same’ sub-event. The word *namĩã* ‘meat’ is allowed in both the contexts of (208a) and (208b), although one may argue that the word *namĩã* 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 *namĩã* which makes (208b) acceptable.

- (209) a. *ŋ tʃíɡé à hèná rá.*  
 1SG turn ART bowl.SG FOC  
 ‘I turn (upside down) the bowl.’
- b. *ŋ tʃíɡé-sí à hènásá rá.*  
 1SG turn-PV ART bowl.PL FOC  
 ‘I turn (upside down) the bowls (one after the other).’
- c. (?) *ŋ tʃíɡe-si a hena ra.*  
 1SG turn-PV ART bowl.SG FOC  
 ‘I turn (upside down in a repetitional fashion) the bowl.’

In (209), however, the grammatical object of a pluractional verb *tʃíɡesi* ‘turn iteratively’ or ‘put on face down iteratively’ must refer to individuated entities. Comparing (209a) and (209c) with (209b), the pluractional verb cannot coexist with a singular noun as grammatical object due to the fact that some ‘turning’ events are hard to conceive as affecting the same object in a repetitive fashion. However, in (210) the ‘beating’ can affect one or several individuals.

- (210) a. *ŋ túɡó à biè rē.*  
 1SG beat ART child.SG FOC  
 ‘I beat the child.’
- b. *ŋ túɡó-sí à bisé ré.*  
 1SG beat-PV ART child.PL FOC  
 ‘I beat the children.’
- c. *ŋ túɡó-sí à biè rē.*  
 1SG beat-PV ART child.SG FOC  
 ‘I beat the child (more than once, over a short period of time).’

Whereas (210c) has a possible interpretation, two language consultants could not assign a meaning to (211d) below.

- (211) a. *ɨ kpágá à zál là.*  
 1SG caught ART chicken.SG FOC  
 ‘I caught a chicken.’
- b. *ɨ kpágá-sí à zálé rà.*  
 1SG caught-PV ART chicken.PL FOC  
 ‘I caught chickens (i.e. in repeated actions).’
- c. *ɨ kpágá à zálé rà.*  
 1SG caught ART chicken.PL FOC  
 ‘I caught chickens (i.e. in one move).’
- d. (?) *ɨ kpaga-sí a zal la.*  
 1SG caught-PV ART chicken.SG FOC  
 ‘I caught a chicken (i.e. after unsuccessful attempts until finally succeeding with one particular chicken).’

A pluractional verb usually denotes an action, but not a state. Therefore, in (211), the sense of *kpaga*<sub>1</sub> is related to ‘catch’, and not to the possessive sense of the verbal state lexeme *kpaga*<sub>2</sub> ‘have’.<sup>52</sup> Beside /-sI/, the suffix /-gE/ may also turn a verbal process lexeme into a pluractional verb, e.g. *tɔtr* ‘pluck’ > *tɔrɛgɛ* ‘pluck iteratively’ and *keti* ‘break’ > *kerigi* ‘break iteratively’.

- (212) a. *kà kpá zál háɨ tà.*  
 go take.PL fowl.SG DEM let.free  
 ‘Go and take this fowl away.’
- b. *kà páá zálé háàmà tà.*  
 go take.PL fowl.PL DEM.PL let.free  
 ‘Go and take these fowls away.’

Finally, a pluractional verb must not necessarily display the suffixation pattern described above. This is confirmed by the pair *kpa/paa* ‘take’ in (212).

#### 4.3.3 Possible derivational suffixes

Dakubu (2009b: 37) and Bonvini (1988: 69) identify some derivational suffixes in Gurene and Kasem respectively, but write that their signification is hard to

<sup>52</sup> 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 lose its literal signification.

establish. However, their descriptions indicate that derivational suffixes mainly encode aspectual distinctions.

As mentioned in Section 4.1.1, about 90% of the verbs are monosyllabic or bisyllabic, and only the consonants *m*, *t*, *s*, *n*, *l*, and *g* are found in onset position word-medially in trisyllabic verbs. This situation could suggest that 10% of the verbs in the current lexicon are the product of verbal derivation, and that the consonants found in onset position word-medially in trisyllabic verbs are part of derivational suffixes.

- (213) a. *ò wòrígí à hàylíbíé ré.*  
 3SG scatter ART block.PL FOC  
 ‘He scattered the mud blocks.’ (they were piled and packed)
- b. *ò wòrá à hàylíbíé ré.*  
 3SG move ART block FOC  
 ‘He moved the mud block.’ (they are uneven, but still piled)

However, apart from the pluractional suffix discussed in Section 4.3.2, it is impossible at this stage of the research to establish a systematic mapping between the third syllable of a trisyllabic verb and a meaning.

Table 35: Possible derivational suffixes

-gV			
wòrà (v)	‘move, shift’	>	wòrigì (v) ‘scatter’
tàrà (v)	‘support’	>	tàràgè (v) ‘pull’
brà (v)	‘return’	>	bèrègì (v) ‘change direction’
-mV			
nàgà (v)	‘be sour’	>	nàgàmi (v) ‘ferment’
víl (n)	‘well’	>	vílímí (v) ‘whirl’
milà (v)	‘turn round’	>	mílímì (v) ‘turn’
-IV			
kàgà (v)	‘choke’	>	kàgàlè (v) ‘lie across’

The example provided in (213a) and Table 35 presents some indications that *m*, *l*, and *g*, i.e. CVCV{*m*, *l*, *g*}V, are involved in some kinds of derivation, although the next step would be to determine their exact meaning.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>53</sup> The verb pair *go* ‘round’ and *goro* ‘(go in) circle’ is manifestly a derivation as well, i.e. CV > CV-rV.

## 5 Grammatical pragmatics and language usage

In this section are presented aspects of the grammar which do not naturally fit within the distinction *clause*, *verbal* or *nominal* and “which involve encoded conventions correlating between specific linguistic expressions and extra-grammatical concepts” (Ariel 2010: 256). Sections 5.1 and 5.2 present adverbial deixis particles, Section 5.3 offers an overview of what has been stated on *focus*, and the remaining covers selected pieces of language usage and everyday communication.

### 5.1 Manner deictics

Chakali has a two-term exophoric system of manner deixis (Koenig 2012); the expressions *keŋ* and *niŋ* are treated as two manner deictics (glossed DXM). Manner is a cover term since the content dimension appears to cover degree and quality as well. Consider the examples in (214).

- (214) a. *kén nè bà já jǎ̀.*  
 DXM FOC 3PL.H+ HAB do  
 ‘That’s the way to do it. (manner)’
- b. *hà̀yíkìj̄ zéné mà̀àsì nín nà.*  
 snake long equal DXM FOC  
 ‘The snake was that/this big. (degree)’
- c. *kà̀lá má̀ásíí níj̄.*  
 K. equal.NMLZ DXM  
 ‘Kala is like that. (quality) [of size]’
- d. *kà̀lá dǒnná kèj̄.*  
 K. type DXM  
 ‘Kala is like that. (quality) [of nature]’

The expressions *keŋ* and *niŋ* are very frequent and bring to mind the English ‘like this/that’, that is, an expression which refers to something extralinguistic yet in the context of the utterance. In that sense they can be treated as pro-forms. Example (215) illustrates this point.

- (215) a. *bà̀áj̄ j̄ò̀àsá káá s̄iì báj̄ nī n̄j̄?*  
 Q smoke EGR rise DEM POSTP DXM  
 ‘What smoke is rising here like this?’ [PY 059]

b. *bàáj káá jāā kēj?*

Q.what EGR do DXM

‘What is doing like that?’ (Reaction to a sound coming from inside a pot)

The meaning difference between *nij* and *kej* seem to be motivated by the way they encode a sort of psychological saliency on a proximal/distal dimension. This distinction needs more evidence than the one I provide, but consider the conversation between A and B in (216).

(216) a. *A: nín nā bààbá ḡmă?*

DXM FOC B. say

‘Is this what Baaba said?’

b. *B: êêê kén<sup>+</sup> né ò ḡmá.*

yes DXM FOC 3SG say

‘Yes, that is what he said.’

Similarly, the (fictional) discourse excerpt in (217) concerns a father (A) addressing his son (B) on the topic of how to ignite kapok fiber. The sentence (217c) is accompanied with a demonstration on how to strike a cutlass on a stone.

(217) a. *A: kpá kóḡ à ḡmènà díḡ!*

take kapok CONN ignite fire

‘Take some kapok and start a fire!’

b. *B: ḡnìḡḡ bà já kà ḡmènà?*

Q 3PL do EGR ignite

‘How does one ignite?’

c. *A: ḡmènà níḡ!*

ignite DXM

‘Ignite like this!’

d. *A: tḡá ðì ì tḡí wááwá ḡmènà kēj.*

tomorrow CONN 2SG CRAS come.PFV ignite DXM

‘Tomorrow when you come, ignite like that.’

In the context of (217), at the farm the next day, the boy (B) would tell a colleague: *kén nē bà já ḡmènà*, *lit.* like.that they do ignite, ‘that is how one ignites’.

- (218) *nɪŋ lɛt ɔɔ dià háŋ já dɔ.*  
 DXM NEG 3SG.POSS house DEM HAB be  
 ‘This is not how his room used to be.’ [PY 78]

In (218), *nɪŋ* refers to the condition of the room, which is not a manner but a property of the room. In addition, *keŋ* and *nɪŋ* can function as discourse particles, whose meanings resemble English ‘like’ in some registers (Siegel 2002). In (219), *keŋ* is considered superfluous since it does not contribute to the manner of motion or the state of the participant.<sup>54</sup>

- (219) *ŋ káálɔɔ kɛŋ.*  
 1SG go.IPFV.FOC DXM  
 ‘I am leaving like that.’

Also, depending on the intonation associated with it, and whether or not the focus particle is present, *keŋ* and *nɪŋ* can function as interjections used to convey comprehension or surprise. So a phrase like *kén nɛ̃* could be roughly translated as ‘Is that so?’, *kén nɛ* has a similar function to the English tag-question ‘Isn’t it?’, but *kéèŋ* or *kén<sup>+</sup> né* could be translated as ‘yes, that is it’.

Finally, McGill, Fembeti & Toupin (1999) presents *nyɛ* and *ɛɛ* (variant *gɛɛ*) 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 *nɪŋ* seem to have the same function.

## 5.2 Spatial deictics

A speaker-subjective, two-way contrast exists to locate entities in space. The spatial deixis demonstrative *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 spatial deixis.

- (220) a. *wàà bááŋ.*  
 come DXL  
 ‘Come here.’

<sup>54</sup> Something identical to the translation of (219) may be heard in all over the country, in both the Ghanaian languages and Ghanaian English.

- b. *ɔ́ dʒá dé (nɪ̃)*.  
 PSG be.at DXL POSTP  
 ‘He is there.’

In (220a) and (220b), they are translated as ‘here’ and ‘there’ respectively, and glossed DXL, standing for ‘locative deixis’. Notice that unlike the single demonstrative modifier discussed in Section 3.7, *bááɲ* and *dé* do encode a proximal/distal distinction.

### 5.3 Focus

Since the notion of focus has been discussed separately in connection with nominals and verbals, this section offers a basic overview of what has been stated. Dik (1997: 326) writes that “the focal information in a linguistic expression is that information which is relatively the most important or salient in the given communicative setting”. In Chakali, there are several ways in which a speaker can integrate focal information, and all of them put ‘in focus’ a constituent.<sup>55</sup> The first encodes focal information in a particle which always follows a nominal, i.e. *ra* and variants. Its phonological shape is determined by the preceding phonological material (see Sections 3.2.2.2 and 3.8). The second, which was called the assertive suffix, takes the form of vowel features which are suffixed onto the verb (see Sections 4.1.4.1 and 4.3). It was claimed that the assertive suffix surfaces only if (i) none of the other constituents in the clause are in focus, (ii) the clause does not include propositional negation, and (iii) the clause is intransitive. The second criterion (ii) is applicable to the particle *ra* as well: thus focal information can only exist in affirmative clauses, negation automatically prevents information from being in focus. In (221), the examples illustrate how the focal information is encoded when the object (221a), the subject (221b) and the predicate (221c) are considered the most important piece of information.

<sup>55</sup> The terminology employed in the literature is probably the result of complex and still obscure phenomena. For instance, for the post-verbal particle *la* in Dagaare, Bodomo (1997) uses the term ‘factive’ and ‘affirmative’ particle interchangeably, Dakubu (2005) uses ‘(broad- and narrow-)focus’ and glosses it either as AFF or FOC, and Saanchi (2003) uses post-verbal particle and glosses it as AFF. The latest contribution to the discussion is Sakurai (2014) which uses a Lexical-Functional Grammar formalism to account for the special distribution of *la*. In-depth accounts of focus in Grusi languages can only be found in Blass (1990), but see also McGill, Fembeti & Toupin (1999). Anne Schwarz has worked extensively on the topic in some Gur and Kwa languages (Schwarz 2010).

- (221) a. Focus on object: What has the man chewed?  
*à báál tíē sígá rá.*  
ART man chew bean FOC  
'The man chewed BEANS.'  
*kàlá tíē sígá rá.*  
K. chew bean FOC  
'Kala chewed BEANS.'
- b. Focus on subject: Who has chewed the beans?  
*à báál là tíē sígá.*  
ART man FOC chew bean  
'THE MAN chewed beans.'  
*kàláá tíē sígá.*  
K. chew bean  
'KALA chewed beans.'
- c. Focus on predicate: What happened?  
*à báál tíéwóó.*  
ART man chew.PFV.FOC  
'The man CHEWED.'

The focus particle does not differentiate between grammatical functions and some times appears to be optional. Also, the assertive suffix is quite rare in narratives. Blass (1990: 94) is the only author to my knowledge who identifies the presence of evidentiality – hearsay, more precisely – in Gur languages. According to her the morpheme *rɛ* 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.<sup>56</sup>

Also, a third way to encode focus is the lengthening and emphasis of vocalic material. The issue remains far from clear and stands in need of more information.

- (222) a. *à bɔ̀là tìn dí kɔ̀sá rá.*  
ART1 elephant ART2 eat.PFV grass FOC  
'The elephant ate GRASS.'

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<sup>56</sup> A promising avenue to follow in the study of focus would be the recent work of Anne Schwarz who looks at the phenomenon from a perspective of encoding athetic vs. categorial distinction.



- b. à bɔ̀là tɪ́n: dí kɔ̀sá.  
 ART1 elephant ART2 eat.PFV grass  
 ‘THE ELEPHANT ate grass.’
- c. \*à bɔ̀là tɪ́n: dí kɔ̀sá rá.
- d. kálá káá híé̃r̃ō̃.  
 K. IPFV voracious.FOC.  
 ‘Kala is A VORACIOUS MEAT EATER.’
- e. káláá káá híé̃r̃.  
 K.FOC IPFV voracious.  
 ‘KALA is a voracious meat eater.’
- f. \*káláá káá híé̃r̃ō̃.

Example (222) shows that since only one constituent can be focused, the lengthening of and special intonation on *kálá* and *tɪn* which is assumed to signal focus, together with another constituent in focus, is ungrammatical (cf. 222c and 222f).

#### 5.4 Linguistic taboos

A linguistic taboo is defined here as the avoidance of certain words on certain occasions due to misfortune associated with those words. These circumstances depend on belief; they can be widespread or marginal. The avoidance of certain words may depend on the time of the day or action carried out. For instance, not only is sweeping not allowed when someone eats, but uttering the word *tĩãã* ‘broom’ is also forbidden. Also, mentioning certain animal names is excluded as they may either be tabooed by someone present, due to his/her animal totem and/or its meat is forbidden, or attract the animal’s attention, i.e. the belief that the animal may feel it is called out. The strategy is to substitute a word with another, often undertaking a metonymic strategy.

The second column of Table (36) contains expressions called taboo synonyms; they are substitutes to the words of the first column. The substitutes are usually complex stem nouns with a transparent descriptive meaning. Most of them use the stem *tííná* ‘owner of’, e.g. *néŋ-tííná*, lit. arm|hand-owner.of, ‘elephant’, the one with a big arm. The stem *tííná* ‘owner of’ can be characterized as a noun with an incomplete semantics which normally requires to be in an associative construction with another noun (i.e. person characterised by, owner of, or responsible for) and always appear following the ‘possessed’ stem.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Mampruli *daana*, Hausa *mai*, and Arabic *dhū* seem to correspond to the meaning of Chakali

Table 36: Taboo synonyms

Avoided word	Substitute word	Literal meaning	Gloss
<i>bɔ̀là</i>	<i>sé-zèj</i>	animal-big	‘elephant’
<i>bɔ̀là</i>	<i>néj-tīnā</i>	arm hand-owner	(trunk>) ‘elephant’
<i>dʒèti</i>	<i>ɲú-zéj-tīnā</i>	head-big-owner	‘lion’
<i>bɔ̀máníf</i>	<i>ɲú-wié-tīnā</i>	head-small-owner	‘leopard’
<i>váà</i>	<i>nǔǎ-tíná</i>	mouth-owner	‘dog’
<i>kɔ̀j</i>	<i>nít-tíná</i>	water-owner	‘cobra’
<i>gbǎǎ</i>	<i>néj-gál-tīnā</i>	arm hand-left-owner	‘monkey’
<i>hélé</i>	<i>mùj-zíj-tīnā</i>	back-big-owner	‘type of squirrel’
<i>tébiɲ</i>	<i>bára-tʃóǵó</i>	place-spoil.PFV.FOC	‘night’
<i>ɲólój</i>	<i>ɲú-bíríj-tíná</i>	head-full-owner	‘blind’
<i>búmmò</i>	<i>dóǵ</i>	dirt	‘black’

### 5.5 Ideophones and iconic strategies

Ideophones typically suggest the description of an abstract property or the manner in which an event unfolds.<sup>58</sup> The majority of ideophones function like qualifiers or intensifiers (Section 3.4.1) or adjunct adverbials (Section 5). In Chakali ideophones tend to appear at the right periphery of the sentence and with a low tone. Examples are provided in (223).<sup>59</sup>

- (223) a. à *dín káá diù gàligàligàli/pèpèpè.*  
 ART fire IPFV eat IDEO  
 ‘The fire is burning at an increasing rate.’
- b. à *dǔǔ síè jáá wàrwàrwèr.*  
 ART python eye IDENT IDEO  
 ‘The python’s eyes are glittery.’
- c. à *dáánóǵ mára bǐjǔǔ ligèligèligè.*  
 ART tree.fruit well ripe.PFV IDEO  
 ‘The fruit is perfectly ripe.’

*tina.*

<sup>58</sup> See a discussion in relation to African languages in Samarin (2001), and a review of the term in Newman (1968); Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz (2001); Dingemans (2011).

<sup>59</sup> The translations into English in (223) were not tested for consistency across many speakers.

d. à sibié wàà mára bìt à dɔ nɪŋ wùròwùròwùrò.

ART beans NEG well ripe CONN be DXM IDEO

‘The bambara beans are not well cooked, they are still hard.’

An onomatopoeia is a type of ideophone which not only suggests the concept it expresses with sound, but imitates the actual sound of an entity or event. Examples of onomatopoeia are *púpù* ‘motorbike’, *tʃétʃé* ‘bicycle’, *tʃòkóí tʃòkóí* ‘sound of a guinea fowl’, *kìrìrì* ‘sound of running’, *pǎǎ* ‘sound of an eruption caused by lighting a fire’, *gbàgbá* ‘duck’,<sup>60</sup> and *kpókòkpókòkpókò* ‘sound of knocking on a clay pot’. Similarly, an iconic strategy to convey an amplified meaning or the idea of continuity is to lengthen the sound of an existing word.

(224) *kàwāá sii tàrì kéééééééŋ, àkà dɔ́á bà diànǒǒ nì.*

pumpkin rise creep DXM CONN be.at 3SG.POSS door POSTP

‘The pumpkin crept, crept, crept, and crept up to their door mat.’ [PY 56]

In (224) the manner deictics *keŋ* (Section 5.1) is stretched to simulate the extension in time of the event, i.e. the pumpkin grew until it reached the door.<sup>61</sup>

Reduplication of one or two syllables is the general structural shape of ideophones and onomatopoeias. A large set of visual perception expressions can be treated as ideophonic expressions (Section 3.4), all of which are reduplicated expressions.

(225) Visual perception expressions and non-attested stems

a. *(kɪn/a)-hɔlahɔla [áhòlàhòlà] \*hɔla*

b. *(kɪn/a)-ahɔhɔla [áhòhòlà] \*hɔla*

c. *(kɪn/a)-busabusa [ábùsàbùsà] \*busa*

d. *(kɪn/a)-adzumodzumo [ádžùmòdžùmò] \*džumo*

e. *(kɪn/a)-bɔɔbɔɔna [ábòònábòòná] \*bɔɔna*

f. *(kɪn/a)-?ile?ile [á?ilè?ilè] \*?ile*

Assuming that reduplication is a morphological process in which the root or stem is repeated (fully or partially), then it is questionable whether one can treat most of the naming data as reduplication. It is obvious from the examples in

<sup>60</sup> The word for ‘duck’ is probably borrowed from Waali. I was told that the bird was introduced recently. It was hard to find one in the villages visited.

<sup>61</sup> An equivalent meaning may be expressed in some varieties of Gh. Eng. with the adverbial expression *āāāā*, as in ‘Today I worked *āāāā*, until night time.’

(225) that there is a ‘form-doubling’ on the surface, yet such expressions are not made out of attested stems (and they do not have loci in the chromatic space, see Brindle 2016).

## 5.6 Interjections and formulaic language

This section introduces some pieces of formulaic language, which is defined as conventionalized words or phrases. It usually include greetings, idioms, proverbs, etc. (Wray 2005). First, common interjections are introduced in Table 37,<sup>62</sup> then some greetings and idioms are presented.

Table 37: Selected interjections

Interjection	Gloss
ʔáí	express denial or refusal
ʔěě	express affirmation
gááfòrà	express excuse when interrupting or disturbing ( <i>from</i> Hausa)
tóù	express agreement or understanding ( <i>from</i> Hausa)
ʔámé	so be it ( <i>etym.</i> Amen?)
ʔóí	express surprise
fíó	express strong denial or refusal
ʔánsà	1) greet hospitably, welcome, 2) accept and thank ( <i>from</i> Gonja)
ʔíí	express disappreciation of an action carried out by someone else
ʔàwó	reply to greetings, a sign of appraisal of the interlocutor’s concerns ( <i>from</i> Gonja)
ʔábbà	express a reaction to an unpalatable proposition, with disagreement and unexpectedness
ʔóěě	express a disrespectful attitude towards what is being said and the one saying it

Since they are conventionalized and idiomatic, the translations of formulaic language in Table 37 are rough approximations. The dictionary offers various

<sup>62</sup> The etymology of ʔámé has not been confirmed and gááfòrà is ultimately Hausa. The word ʔóěě is equivalent to the function associated with the action of *tʃuuse* in Chakali (*tʃovɔɪ* in Dagaare, *tʃovɔhɛ* in Waali, ‘puf’ or ‘paf’ in Gh. Eng., < English ‘pout’), which is a fricative sound produced by a non-pulmonic, velarized ingressive airstream mechanism, articulated with the lower lip and the upper front teeth while the lips are protruded.

spellings since variations are regularly perceived.

### 5.6.1 Greetings

Compulsory prior to any communicative exchange, greetings trigger both attention and respect. When meeting with elders, one should squat or bend forward hands-on-knees while greeting. Praise names can be used in greetings, e.g. *tɪfà* ‘respect to you and to your clan’. In Table 38, typical greeting lines with some responses are provided. Note that the forms for morning and afternoon greetings are also used by the Gonjas.

Table 38: Greetings

Time	Speaker A	Followed by either speaker A or B
Morning	<i>ánsùmōō</i>	<i>í siwōō</i> ‘You stood?’, <i>ī dī tʃóáwōō</i> ‘And your lying?’, <i>í bàtʃòáíí wīrōō</i> ‘You sleeping place was good?’
Afternoon	<i>ántèrēē</i>	<i>í wísí tɛlɛɛ</i> ‘Has the sun reached you?’ <i>í díá</i> ‘And your house?’ <i>ī bisé mūŋ</i> ‘And all your children?’
Evening	<i>í dōānāā</i>	<i>í dōān tɛlɛɛ</i> ‘Your evening has reached’, <i>í kúó</i> ‘And your farm?’

The second singular plural *ma* is added, i.e. *ánsùmōō* ↔ *māānsùmōō*, when there is more than one addressee or when there is a single person but the greetings are intended to the entire house/family: thus the number distinction *í/ma* does not correspond to a politeness function. Chakali morning and afternoon greetings resemble those of Waali and other languages of the area. The response to various greetings such as *í díá* ‘(how is) your house?’, *?ánsà* ‘welcome, thanks’ and many others is the multifunctional expression *?áwó*, which is, among other things, a sign of appraisal of the interlocutor’s concerns. The same expression is found in Gonja, but its function is believed to be slightly different. I was told that the more extensive the greetings, the more respect one shows the addressee. For instance, the elders do not appreciate the tendency of the youths to morning-greet as *ā́sūmō*, but prefer something like *áánsùmōōō*.

Other ritualized expressions often used are: *tʃɔ́pīsí ā́lìè* lit. morning two, ‘long time no see’ (Section 3.6.7); *bámùŋ kórɛ́í* lit. all.+HUM extent (unknown origin), ‘how are all your people?’, *ání mà wòzòórí tìŋ*, lit. and your day, used after any bad event which happened to someone, e.g. referring to a funeral day, when the

speaker has not seen the addressee since that day, among other expressions.

### 5.6.2 Idioms

An idiom is a composite expression which does not convey the literal meaning of the composition of its parts. Common among many African languages is a strategy by which abstract nominals are expressed in idiomatic compounds. These compounds are made of stems whose meanings are disassociated from their ordinary usage.

Some examples have already been provided in Section 3.4. In Chakali, words identifying mental states and habits/behaviors are often idiomatic, e.g. *sínò-màtíínà* (*sii-nòma-tíina*, lit. eye-hot-owner) ‘wild’ or *nǒǎpòmá* (*nǒǎ-pòmá*, lit. mouth-white) ‘unreserved’. Even though the expression *sínò-màtíínà* 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 nǒǎ dígmaŋa* in (226), lit. do-mouth-one, is also treated as an idiomatic expression.

- (226) *bà jáá nǒǎ dígmaŋá à sùmmè dǒŋà.*  
3PL do mouth one CONN help RECP  
‘They should agree and help each other.’

Needless to say, it is often difficult to distinguish between an idiomatic expression and an expression in which only one of the components is used in a non-literal sense.

### 5.7 Clicks

Naden (1989: 151) writes that clicks<sup>63</sup> 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.

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<sup>63</sup> 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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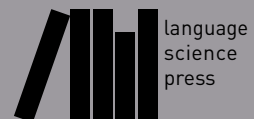




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# A dictionary and grammatical outline of Chakali

This book is the first comprehensive monograph dedicated to Chakali, a Southwestern Grusi language spoken by less than 3500 people in north-west Ghana. The dictionary offers a consistent description of word meaning and provides the basis for future research in the linguistic area. It is also designed to provide an inventory of correspondence with English usage in a reversal index. The concepts used in the dictionary are explained in a grammar outline, which is of interest to specialists in Gur and Grusi linguistics, as well as any language researchers working in this part of the world.

ISBN 978-3-944675-91-6



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