A dictionary and grammatical outline of Chakali

Jonathan Brindle
African Language Grammars and Dictionaries

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A dictionary and grammatical outline of Chakali

Jonathan Brindle

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Preface

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

The content of this book is based on some parts of my unpublished doctoral thesis (Brindle 2011) and recent publications.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

For those who are sceptical about the time and energy spent on gathering and writing down linguistic knowledge for 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 Kpierekooh, 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
- adv: adverbial
- ant: antonym
- BWA: British West African
- cf: cross-reference
- clf: classifier
- comp: complementizer
- conn: connective
- cntr: contracted form
- cntrvar: contracted variant
- cpx: complex
- dem: demonstrative
- Du: Ducie lect
- enum: enumerative usage
- etym: etymology
- foc: focus
- from: borrowed word
- Gu: Gurumbele lect
- Ghsm: Ghanaianism
- hum+/-: (non-)human
- ideo: ideophone
- ints: intensifier
- interg: interrogative
- interj: interjection
- itr: iterative
- Ka: Katua lect
- lit: literal meaning
- Mo: Motigu lect
- n: nominal/noun
- neg: negation
- num: numeral
### Abbreviations

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations - Part IV

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

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Part I

Introduction
1 General remarks on the language

Chakali (ʧàkàlɪ́)¹ is a language spoken in seven communities in the Wa East District, Upper West Region of Ghana. It is currently classified into the Grusi Southwestern (or Western) subgroup of the Gur family, alongside 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 (wáálɪ́) and Bulengi (búléŋĩ́) 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 Grusi as a language cluster has been defined and confirmed in several publications (Delafosse 1912; Köhler 1958; Bendor-Samuel 1965; Manessy 1969a,b; 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...
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 ŋmā kàà (lit.) ‘I say that’, whereas that of the people of Bulenga and surrounding villages translate to ŋmínŋ dzɔŋ ‘What is it?’. In this folk-sociolinguistic categorisation, the Waala are the ŋje jàà ‘I say that’.

Another popular distinction is that of ‘black’ and ‘white’ Chakali: respectively, tfakñlbùmmò ‘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 ŋmā kàà represents. The notion of tfakñlpùmma ‘White Chakali’ corresponds, according to my ‘Black Chakali’ consultants, to talkative

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

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

Table 1.1: Collective Demonyms and associated villages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonym 1</th>
<th>Ńm m̩̀ ŋmá kàà</th>
<th>Ńmínûŋ dʒɔ̀ŋ</th>
<th>ñ jé jàà</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demonym 2</td>
<td>tfâkâlbûmmò</td>
<td>tfâkâlpòmmá</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goody (1954: 2-3)</td>
<td>Eastern Chakali</td>
<td>Western Chakali</td>
<td>Waala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>Ducie</td>
<td>Bulenga</td>
<td>Wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurumbele</td>
<td>Dupari</td>
<td>Busa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motigu</td>
<td>Bisikan</td>
<td>Gurupie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sogla</td>
<td>Chagu</td>
<td>Loggu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiisa</td>
<td>Gilan</td>
<td>Jayiri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuosa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chasia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Ńm m̩̀ ŋmá kàà, but are tfâkâlbûmmò.

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

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

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 kpâañ in Motigu, Gurumbele, and Ducie, it is pronounced pɪɪ in Tuosa, Tiisa, and Katua. Thus, if someone says tie kpâañ, he/she is easily identified as someone from either Gurumbele or Motigu. The expression di kpâañ is typically uttered by someone from Ducie, and tie pɪɪ 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,
### General remarks on the language

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

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
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.
2 User’s guide

Table 2.1: Dictionary orthography and other symbols

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

For users accustomed to the literacy work of GILLBT\(^1\) 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 ← n | ng ← η |
| ch ← tf | i ← ɪ, ɨ |
| j ← dʒ | u ← ʊ, ʊ |
| y ← j | Vh ← Ě |

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\(^1\) Reference is made to the literacy work on Vagla, Tampulma, and Pasaale of Marjorie Crouch, Patricia Herbert, Noah Ampen, Kofi Mensah, Mike Toupin, Vicky Toupin, Ian Gray, and Claire Gray.
2.1 Chakali-English dictionary

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”, “ŋm”, and “ŋ”, successively after “n”, and “tʃ” after “t”. All headwords are equal and appear at the left side of the column. Four representative entries of the Chakali-English dictionary are presented in Table 2.3.²

Table 2.3: Illustrations of dictionary entries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1fi 2[fi] 3num. 5ten</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1bozaal 2[bózáal] 3n. 6cf: bnzimii. 5Stone partridge, type of bird 9(Ptilopachus petrosus) 11pl: bozaalee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1suoŋbii 2[súómbíí] 10lit. shea.nut-seed 3n. kidney 11pl. suoŋbie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1kpa 2[kpà] 3v. 8cf: paa; jʊʊ. 41. 5take kpá à pár tiëŋ. 7Give me the hoe. 42 5to marry a woman 6ò kpáó rà. 7He married her.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

² The circled numbers are there for reference purposes only.
translation. For instance, the definition of the verb *zna* 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 unicase, 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 (̄), and super-low (̏). 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), GILLET (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.
2 User’s guide

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>①</th>
<th>②</th>
<th>③</th>
<th>④</th>
<th>⑤</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grasshopper (type of)</td>
<td>② n.</td>
<td>⑤ hɔ̃ʊ̃</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>③ n.</td>
<td>⑤ tfɛlmɛtʃɛ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>③ n.</td>
<td>⑤ kɔkɔlɪkɔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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Thanks to its creator Rod Casali for his continual help.

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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
1a [à] art. the • à bốná tféŋ à vii bá-rá bálìè. The goats have broken the cooking pots in two parts.

2a [à] conn. and, then • ò fì wìò à tfá tàmá ká ó sòwà, nín wà ò kpé-géó. He was very ill and almost died, but now he is well. ùù bié tfó-ngà à kpáámà à lì kùò dì wàà à tfélè, ámúý tfôrígì. His child carried the yams from farm and fell on his way back, they were all smashed.

3a [à] (foc. var. aa) pro. non-human third person plural pronoun • vâà-wísé há wà lît, à há wà lâlt sìé. The puppies are not going out since they have not yet opened their eyes. bà kàà dì búùrà è sìùù. They will want them to grow bigger.

a bò̃nì [èbò̃nì] cf: bẫnì adv.phr. maybe, perhaps • à bò̃nì nì dòóñ kàà wàò. Perhaps it is going to rain.

a nùú [ènùúùni] lit. head on (var. nùunì) conn. therefore • ì wà kpá-gá sákìr, à nùù nì ì dì vâłà nàásá. I do not have a bicycle, therefore I am walking.

aa (foc. var. of a)


âáni [èáãni] v. to suspect someone of hiding something, or telling a lie • ì ááñi tómá rá, ì wàá bì kpá ŋù fòôn tfímôó. I suspect Toma, so I will not lend him my phone again.

âánuuba [èáãnuúùbá] cf: nuui n. suffering • n̄mâáŋò âánuúbá gáálió ànì òò wóléé nì. Because of his family issues, Mangu’s suffering abound.

aarr [èááráí] v. to harvest unripe food • hàmâñá kàá àárt móngósó rò. Children will pick the premature mangoes.


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


abluu (var. of bluu)

â [èá] interj. no, express denial or refusal • òò kò wàà? àá, òò wà kò-nijë wàà. A: Was he able to come? B: No, he was not able.

aka [èáká] conn. and, then • wàá òòâ nìì àká têŋ. He drank water, then gave some to me. kâlá káált jàwá àká pîéši bûléŋà tûsà. Kala went to the market and asked for the Bulenga station.

ame [ʔàmè] interj. so be it, Amen • A: kùòsò tō tá tfáá. B: àmè. A: May God give us tomorrow B: So be it. (ultm. Hebrew ‘amen’).
amiò (var. of dʒɛbalaŋ)
amiè [àmìè] conn. particle confirming a proposition that was stated or is contextually inferred as premise e.g. if so, in that case • àmìè di nàmìá wàá tóò à sìímáá nì ɓà įàá dìì? So, if there is no meat in the food you won’t eat? dt bákuríí di kòó dìà hán nì záànì, àmìè nì wàá tòò nì. 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).
amuŋ [àmùŋ] cf: bamuŋ quant. all (hum-) • ɲ wà kìn jàwà àmùŋ, à bà-nilé tféjèo. I did not buy all, some are left.
an (var. of ɲ) 
anasse [ànááṣè] (var. naasì) num. four Enum: naase. pl. anassesa.
andʒelindʒe [ʔàndʒèlìndʒé] lit. who-house-poor-issue (‘whose house is poor of issues) nprop. dog name.
andʒelindʒe [ʔàndʒèlìndʒé] nprop. eighth month. (Waali <àndʒèlìndʒé).
angum [ʔàngùm] ono. monkey’s scream • àwìɛ̄ gbià jáà wíí áŋgùm, áŋgùm, áŋgùm. That is why the monkey sounds like angum, angum, angum.
ani [ànì] conn. (var. 1mi) 1 and, conjunction which joins nominal • ɲ
nî ḳó ṭféná kàá kàält wàá râ. Me and my friend will go to Wa. ḳó jàá bint-sâ mâťêō ânî fî. I am thirty years old. 2 with, particle which introduces an instrumental or a modifier phrase • ḳó ǹ̩mêña dâá râ ânî kàránt- tîē nî. I cut a tree with a cutlass.

Anî a muŋ [ànáā múŋ] adv.phr. in spite of, even though • ǹ̩ jáá bînsá màtʃēō ànî fî. I am thirty years old.

Annulie [ʔánnú líé] (Gu. var. nãã-nuule) n. dragonfly (Libelluloidea). pl. annulese.


Apââ [ʔàn̩áá] n. type of snake. pl. apââna.


Aŋmena (var. of ƭmêña) n. Black plum, type of tree (Vitex doniana). pl. aŋbuluŋso.

Aŋkîtî [ʔáŋkîtí] n. handkerchief, thin fabric intended for personal hygiene, such as wiping one’s hands or face. (ultm. English <handkerchief). pl. aŋkîtîsâ.


Asîbîtî [ʔàsîbîtí] 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. asîbîtsâ.


Awa [áwà] dem. particular • áwà tê-bîn nî, ò ɲûysê. On that particular night, he disappeared. áwà kôr tîŋ lēî ɲ di buûrê. That is not the chair I want. áwà tfîpsî tîŋ ̀ô wà wâá-wâ, tfôşâá pîsî ̀ô wà. That day he did not come, he came the following day.

Awa [áwà] pro. non-human third person plural emphatic pronoun • áwà lề bâ ̀fî buûrê. It is not them they used to want.
awaa [áwáá] pro. non-human third person plural strong pronoun.


awie [áwié] conn. therefore • biná hááŋ ñ̩̀ kpáámá wíréó, òwíe ñ̩̀ káá tiéi ñ̩̀ kpáàŋdúhó tìn nà. This year 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 • i hááŋ? ìwóó. A: How is your wife? B: Thank you (she is good). (Gonja).

b

1ba (var. of bar)

2ba [ba] be, (foc. var. 1baa) pro. human third person plural pronoun • gboló ńńlíbá wá. Gbolo looked at them. báá wáá bááŋ. They should come here. wáá báá jírá ástàmá. As for this, they call it “red”.

1baa (foc. var. of ba)

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

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


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

baalìì [báálìì] cf: bambiittììna n. bravery, manhood • báá ní bá-wólìì bá tjágalè báalìì. They and their colleagues, they are going to show bravery.

baalsa (Pl. var. baal)

1baaŋ [bááŋ] n. temper, anger • ìi bááŋ sìwóó. Your temper has raised.

2baaŋ [bááŋ] interrog. what • bááŋ i káá bùúrè? What do you want? ò nmá dì bááŋ? She said what?

3baaŋ [bááŋ] pv. just, already, immediately, obligatorily, suddenly, to do without other alternative • ì wá bááŋ sáná dè. You should just sit there. bááŋ gitû dá dì. Just leave it there. dìì bááŋ jàà tól. The fire suddenly became flame. ó tā bááŋ nàà wááò kéì. He came just now.

4baaŋ (cntrvar. bambaanga)

5baaŋ [bááŋ] cf: de 1 adv. here • ìñ̩̀ káá wáá bááŋ? Who is coming here? 2 n. a particular place or point visible and close to speaker • ììǹ̩ pítìì hááŋ bááamá bí-rèjòó. These spots on my pants are black. tʃìtʃàvɛ̀tìì díì i nààtswá báá-
mà nít. There are spots of mud on your shoes. pl. *baama*.

*baarï* [bààrì́] v. to be burnt slightly
• à dìn *baarï* nín ròbàkátásà, ṥó fòjù́. The fire slightly burnt my plastic bowl, it is crooked.

*baasi* [bààsì́] v. to carry over shoulder
• báà *baasi* kpáánmá kààlt dià rà. They have carried the yams to the house.


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

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

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

*badaarɛ* [bàdààrɛ̀] n. type of striped hyena syn: *kpatakpalɛ; zẹpɛgor* (Hyaena hyaena). pl. *badaarɛsa*.

*badaawise* [bàdààwìsé] n. thin body by nature
• ṣ jáá *badaawisétìímà rà*. He is thin. ṣ *kpágá* bádáawísèsì ré. She is thin. ant: *badaazenie; pòlì*

*badaazenie* [bàdààzɛ̆́nìí] n. large size, something large
• ṣ jáá bádààzɛnìítìíma rà. He is large. à tágàtà jáá bádààzɛnìí ré. The shirt is large. ant: *badaawise*

*badiga* [bàdìgá] nprop. Badiga, person’s name.


*badʒɔgʊbagɛna* [bàdʒɔ̀gʊ̀bàgɛ́nà] lit. monitor.lizard-neck n. type of tree. pl. *badʒɔgʊbagɛnasa*.

*bafɔrịgị* [bàfɔ̀rị́gị́] n. cuts and abrasions on the skin. pl. *bafɔrịgị́e*.

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

1*baga* [bàgà] adv. in vain, nothing
• ḳ káálì́ tòpàtʃìí bàgà. I went to the central part of the village in vain. à báàl bàgà i di tìńà ọ̀ọ́ nít. You will not get anything from the man you are following. bàgà màá sówáò. Anything that will come today will give us something (lit. baga’s mother is dead).

2*baga* [bàgà] cf: *bɔg* n. type of fibre. [Mo].

*bagabaga* [bàgàbàgà] ideo. done for no reason, done anyhow, pointless, in vain • bágbàbàgà ṣ kààlt kúò ṣ wà kìn tòntòmá. I went to farm in vain, I cannot work.

*bagena* [bàgyēnà] n. neck. pl. *bagenśa*.

*bagɛnɛtɛgị* [bàgɛntɛ́gẹ́] n. lateral goitre, enlargement of the thyroid. pl. *bagɛntɛ́gẹ́e*.

*bagɛnboà* [bàgɛnbòà] n. hollow be-
hind the collarbone.  *pl. bagensoura.*

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

**bagentsfugul** [bàgɛ́ntʃʊ́gʊ́l] *n.* dowager’s hump, outward curvature of the thoracic vertebrae of the upper back.  *pl. bagentsfugulo.*

**bagorii** [bàgò́ríì] *n.*  
1. location that is enclosed • ['n̩ ̀zà́gá ɲì́ ə tʃì́tʃàbʊ̀ ̀ á jàá  bàgò́ríí  rë] In my yard the toilet is at the corner and is enclosed.  
2. remote place, not easily accessible from the main road • ['m̀ ̀m̀ ́bì́árì̀ ̀ dʊ́á  bàgò́ríí  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 • ['kà́là  bìé  báhárágá ɲúú  nì, ʊ̀ ʊ̀  jáwà  lɔ́ɔ́lì.] It is due to Kala’s son hard work that he was able to buy a car. *ant: bajʊɔra.*  
2. zeal, enthusiasm.  *ant: bajʊɔra.*

**bahī̀ [báhī́̀]** *cf: hī̀*  *n.* old man.  *pl. bahī̀̀sə.*

**bajonj** [bàjó̃́n] *nprop.* Bayong, person’s name.

**bajʊɔra** [bàjʊ̀ ɔ̀rà] *n.* lazy, discouraged • ['ʊ̀ báàl  jáá  bājʊ̀ ɔ̀rátɪ́ ì́ nì.] Her husband is lazy.  *ant: bajaran.*

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


**balusu** [bàlù̀sù] *n.*  
1. ethnic division, tribe • ['lò́bì  bàlóò  wàá  tùò  jà́ tʃàká̃́lì  nì.] The Lobi are not found in the Chakali area.  
2. species • ['Gbì́ã̀ bàlʊ́ʊ̀ ̀ ànì́  fɔ̃́ʊ̃́ bālʊ́ʊ̀  wàà  wààvá] The monkey and the baboon do not live together.  *pl. balusu.*

**bambaaŋ** [bʊ́mbááŋ] *cntr.*  
1. *baaŋ*  
   - *n.* trunk, loin, middle part of the body.  
   - *reln.* middle of an object, in the midst of • ['ʊ̀ ɗòá  tìé́bù́l ɲúú  bàmbā̀ń  nì.] It is in the middle of the top of the table.  
   -  *reln.* half way and returned.  *pl. bambaà̀ma.*

2. *bambaaŋnebiwi* • ['nì  bą́mbaáŋnebiwi] *n.* middle finger *syn: nebizeŋji.*

**bambaaŋnebiwiwe** [bàmbááŋnebiwiwe] *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* [bɔmbiigɛragà] *cf:* *bambiwulà* *n.* affliction and indisposition around the chest area.

*bambiipùŋ* [bàmbíípʊ̀ ŋ] *n.* chest hair. *pl. bambiipuna*.

*bambiitɪɪna* [bàmbíítɪ́ɪ́ná] *cf:* *baalɪɪ* *n.* brave person *ant:* ɔŋgbɪar.

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

*bambiwɪɪla* [bàmbíwɪ́ɪ́lá] *cf:* *bambiigɛraga* *n.* chest pains. *pl. bambiwiisla*.

*bamuŋ* [bàmùŋ] *cf:* *amuŋ* *quant.* they all (hum⁺) • nará báníé wááwá, ká bàmùŋ lɛ̀ɪ́. Some people came, but not all.

*bani̊ [báníé] *cf:* a bon̊i̊ *ni* *quant.* some • à súómo báníé wá bĩ́wá. Some of the shea nuts are not ripe.

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

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

*banuma* [bànómá] *n.* sickness, constant high temperature and malaise, not fever.

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

*baŋmaalù* [bâŋmáalù] *lit.* place-talk *n.* place where a discussion takes place.

*baŋmɛna* (var. of ñmɛna)

*baŋsiɛn* [bâNSTàn] *n.* feeling uncomfortable with one’s chest or heart.

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

*baŋtʃɔɔzen* [bântʃɔ́ozëŋ] *n.* big trap. *pl. baŋtʃɔɔzene*.

*baŋtʃɔò* [bântʃɔ́ó] *n.* gin trap. *pl. baŋtʃɔòsa*.

*بار* [bár] *n.* *1*ba 1 section, area, site, part, portion, place • à bini̊läháŋ tómbár dóá dià pátfgĩtñ ní. The lady’s work place is inside the house. 2 chance • bà wà tiém bár dì ń̩ jàá tʃítʃà. They never gave me the chance to become a teacher. *pl. bará*.

*bara* [bárà] *n.* body • à bié bárà nó-máó. The child’s body is hot. *pl. barasa*.

*baratʃɔgɔʊ* [bár ámbʃɔ́gɔ́ʊ́] *lit.* place-spoil *n.* night *synt:* tebin; sankara.

*barege* [bàrɛ́gɛ́] *v.* to be dormant, to have lost its function • à gárágá bárege ɪnùn båtán ní rà. The sickness is dormant in my body. à kpɜ̃ŋ wósíí bärɛgɛ́, ɔ̀ wà bĩ́wá, ɔ̀ ká wà bì jàà hùór. The roasted yam is wasted, it is not cooked and it is not raw any more.

*basanja* [bâsnàjì] *n.* sitting place. *pl. basanjaee*.

*basig* [básig] *nprop.* Basig, male name related to sigmmaa, follows
the child named ŋmããŋʊ synt: ŋmããŋʊ; hasɪg.
dasəŋ[basəŋ] n. shade.
basəŋna[basəŋná] n. happy, proud, excited • dzimbântō tfōpísí jáá bâ-

sōná rā ă tiē já tsōtōmā. The festi-

val’s days are days of happiness for
our people.
batielii[bâtièlîî] n. where and when
meat is eaten. pl. batielise.
batîūn(bâtîūn) (var. vatîū) n. type of
insect, similar to an ant, big and
black. pl. batîūnə.
batɔŋ[bàtɔ́ŋ] n. body skin. pl. bat-

ɔna.
batʃaaŋ[bàtʃááŋ] lit. place-bright
n. brightness ant: birge.
batʃaste[bâtʃâstî] n. rheumatism.
1batʃalîî[bâtʃâlîî] n. sleeping or ly-
ing place • lálîi bátʃalîî. Corpse
sleeping place (i.e. grave) pl. ba-

tʃalałe.
2batʃalîî[bâtʃâlîî] n. race, running
competition. pl. batʃalałe.
bawa[bâwà] pro. human third per-
son plural emphatic pronoun • à lô-
lii wié bâwâ tfōa tôsâ nî. Because
of the car issue, they slept in Tuosa.
1bawaa[bâwâá] bâwáá n. energetic
dance, singing and dancing for men
and women.
2bawaa[bâwâá] pro. human third
person plural strong pronoun.
bawînha[bâwînhâ] n. 1 body pain
• ḏ lîi kuô wàô bâwînhâ kpâgâô. He
came from farm and he had body
pains. 2 laziness • bâwînhâtînâ wâá
kââlt kuô. A lazy person does not
go to farm.
baʔoɾi[bâʔɔ̀rî] n. swelling. pl. ba-
ʔoɾee.
be (var. of ba)
begii[bégi] n. heart. pl. begie.
bele[bélè] n. type of African wild
dog (Lycaon pictus). pl. belese.
belege[bélèɡê] n. drain in bathing
area, soak-away system. pl. be-
leggese.
bendîr[béndîr] n. type of bird,
African Sacred Ibis (Threskiornis
aethiopica). pl. bendîire.
benie[béniè] n. type of palm tree
syn: abe (Elaeis guineensis). pl. 

benese.
benj[béj] n. law. pl. benne.
beso[bésô] n. type of palm tree.
pl. besoso.
1bega[bèɣà] v. to go past the centre,
of sun or moon, not in the middle of
the sky • à wʊ̀ sà bɛ́gáʊ́. The sun has
passed the centre, it is afternoon.
2bega[bèɣà] v. to create the grave
where the corpse will lie • à pêllé
hâ wà bégâ à bɔ̀əbié. The burial spe-
cialists have not placed the small
hole yet.
bel[bèl] n. 1 tool for scraping off ad-
herent matter such as food on cook-
ing recipient, originally made out
of a piece of the bel nut. 2 type
of tree (Berlinia confusa). pl. bella.
belege [bélégé] v. to dust, polish and wash with moist or dry rag, to clean a bowl of food by eating up the contents • i wá pëti, zò̀ kà bélégé à dtá. When you finish, clean the room. wà kpá kòò fàlá à bélégé. Come and take the t.z. bowl and finish it.


belèn [bélèn] n. 1 person from Gurumbele. 2 lect of Gurumbele. pl. belène.

bema [bèmà] v. to tip a container down to slowly pour its contents • bèmà sintók já nóá sìn. Tip the container so that we can drink.

bè [bèn] (Pl. var. bènà) n. type of tree. pl. benna.

bèna (Pl. var. bèn)

bènkpalè [bènkpalè] n. soya bean. (Waali < bènkpalè).

bera [bèrà] v. to dry or to put to dry by hanging, spreading or placing on something • à gàr bèrà à zàgà nì. The cloth is drying in the yard. líólí à kpòŋkpòŋ ká bèrà. Remove the cassava from the water and dry it.


bèo [bèò] n. laziness as applied to dogs • à váá bèñá njóá wàá. The lazy dogs are lying down. pl. bèna.

bì [bì] n. bad child. pl. bìbìna.

bidì [bidì] cf: dì; ndì; kìndì; wîndì n. obedient, faithful or truthful.

bie [bì] cf: hamò; bisòna n. child. pl. bise.

bifola [bifolà] n. baby. pl. bifolsa.

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

bigisi [bigisi] v. to demonstrate • bígisi këñ tiñ ò kà jááwá. Demonstrate what he has done.

bì [bì] n. 1 seed. 2 indispensable quality of something • i bì lîtìáò ká tfá i pètìì. Your essence is gone leaving almost nothing. pl. bìe.

bil [bì] cf: bò n. closed grave, as a hole filled with soil. pl. bille.

bilaadól [bìlaàdólì] cf: laa dò n. child adopted by a relative. pl. bilaadóle.

bile [bìlè] v. to put down or set down, especially of flat things • kpá à tòŋ bilè à téébul ñúú nì. Put the book down on the table.

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

bilesi [bìlesi] pl.v. to form and shape food preparation • bà bílesi à kpúlíkpúlí ré. They shape the groundnut balls

biligi [biligì] v. to rub, to touch with affection • à bié háñ kàà biligì òò nààl kinkán ná. This child touches the grandfather with affection.

bilinsi [bilinsi] v. to tumble, to roll • à bí lí biliṣe tʃèlè. The stone tumbled.

bilolla [bilólá] pl.n. parents.

binbaa [binbá] n. young boy. pl. binbaala.

binhāaŋ [binhåaŋ] cf: sunguru; tu-lor cf: tulorwie; nhāwie n. girl. pl. binhāaana.

binwaŋ [bûnwaŋ] n. handsome male. pl. binwaansa.

biñũaŋ [bû̃ũaŋ] n. handsome male. pl. binũansa.

bipɔlĩĩ [bìpɔ́lǐ́ĩ̃̀] n. young man. pl. bipɔlee.

bipɔ́a [bìpɔ́a] lit. child-rotten n. rude or spoiled child. pl. bipɔ́ata.

1 bire [bɪrɛ́] v. 1 to be dark, to make dark • tiè bár bire ká já kǎáli dià. Let it be dark before we go home. ò kà wà bì bìre ò kà wà bì stà- rì. It is not yet totally black and not totally red. 2 to be black, to make black • à biè kpá dòŋó bìre ìñì dià múyì. The child used dirt to make my house black. (Gur ‘dark’).

2 bire [bïrɛ̀] v. to be abnormally unable to take or do, e.g. food, lessons, sleep • òò pàtʃìgìí bíreò òò wà kìn à di siìmàà. She cannot take food the way she uses to.

birge [bìrège] n. darkness • ñ waà kìn lìt bìrège hàn nì. I cannot go out in this darkness. ant: bafṣaαŋ

biri [bìrì] v. to delay, to keep long, to stay for a long time, or to last • à dúọŋ tìe jà bìrège kùò nì. The rain delayed us at the farm.

biriń [bìrīń] n. sizeable road to which cars and lorries can access.

biri [bìrì] n. whole, full, totality • aàrìí biriŋ dòá ñì dià nì. A whole grasscutter is in my house. pl. bi-rime.

bisịtọ [bìsịtọ̀] n. non-local medicine for yaws sore.


bisọ́nbie [bìsọ́nbìé] cf: hamọ́we n. small child. [Ka]. pl. bisọ́nbiisi.


bivẹ́lìí [bìvẹ́lìí] cf: bivẹ́ n. stubborn child. pl. bivẹ́lẹ́.

biwie [bìwìé] n. youngest child.

bì [bì] itr. iterative particle, conveys the repetition of an event • jà wírẹ́ jà kìnà rà ìkà wàlà gò dúùsẹ́ mú́ŋ nààvàl bìtòrò. We undress and walk around the whole Ducie three times. ò bí kòɔrẹ̀ sàà ò dià rà. He rebuilt his house.

bì [bì] v. 1 to fail to do • à mìér jùọŋ màáfà bì. 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 hà́y̱, dù-siè lùsìnnísà hà́y̱ bìn nà. This year, this Dúcic funeral, I cannot make it.


biage [biàgè] v. to displace or move, to let someone or something pass • kpàgà à kúr biàgè. Move the chair to give a way. ñ biàgtjó ká tì è à báál tiwíí. I make room and give the man the road.

biégì [biègì] v. to move sideways, to change direction, Gh. Eng. to branch • kúrí biégìjáó ká à lòsí łá wà kàáli. Kuri shifted sideways and the car passed. dt já ká tèlè tiwúûfárá-gåså ñ káá biègì néngál là. When we reach the junction, I will go left.

bìel [bìél] n. poisonous plant leaf, unused today, said to have been replaced by DDT. pl. bìela.

biélī [bìélī] v. to be weak, unwell, and in need of assistance • à hàáñ tzéstjáó à zìt biélī. The woman vomited and is now weak.

biérrì [bìérrì] cf: kpiema n. ego’s senior brother. pl. biérrisa.

biéssi [bìéssì] v. to go a distance and meet someone or reach something • tfàpsì bìmùìñ ñ jàá bìëst kàált ñ sitiò rà. Every day I go to my store.


1bìì [bìì] v. cf: siìì; siàrtì 1 to be well cooked • gìlà óó márà bìì. Let it be well cooked. ó bìwáó. It is cooked. óó márà bìjòó. It is well cooked. à kpáámá bìí gàássóó The yams are overcooked. 2 to be ripe, applicable to shea nuts and mangos • à sùómó bìwáó. The shea nuts are ripe. 3 to turn into, in processing food • zàáñ à nìkàniká sàó wàá bìì, jà káá tfësùù. Today the flour from the grinding mill is not properly done, we will have to sieve it.

bìbòg [bìbòg] n. type of tree. pl. bìbògna.

bìbòusà [bìbòùsà] lit. stone-hole n. cave. pl. bìbòusa.

bìsi [bìsi] v. to narrate • biísì ii tòtíí. Narrate your version of the story.


bìla [bìlà] v. to try to solve worries and problematic issues • ñìù bìlá ñìù biè tíí wiè kúsiìù. I tried to solve my child’s problems but failed.

1bìna [bìnà] n. year • wòsá ní àfìá bìn-sá máàsé dùjá rà. Wusa is as old as Afia. pl. bìnsà.

2bìna [bìnà] pl.n. excrement.

3bìna [bìnà] v. to be old or experienced • kálá wàlánsè bìnáò, àpnúú-ní ò jàwà wàlánsè fòllì. Kala’s radio is old, therefore he bought a new one. kàngànòó ká bìná dù-sèè ní tómá ní, bà brà kpáò, ò dì tómà. Because Kanganu is experi-
enced with Ducie’s water system, they took him back to work.

**bɪnbiлинсі [bimbilinsi]** lit. excrement-tumble (var. bɪnbiлинкпого) n. Dung beetle (Scarabidae fam.). *pl. bɪnbiлинсізе.*

**bɪнбирі̀лні̀кпого (var. of bɪнбилинсі)**

**bɪнтtréa [bintírâ]** n. type of closed single headed gourd drum. *pl. bιнтте́расa.*


**bɪнттраві̀е [bintírawié]** n. type of closed single headed gourd drum, smallest. *pl. bінттрапзі̀е.*

**bɪнттрезе́ң [bintírzέŋ]** n. type of closed single headed gourd drum, largest.

**bінттук [bintúk]** n. regular free range defecation location. *pl. bінттукно.*

**bінбі̀рəл [bimbі́ёл]** n. type of fish. *pl. bінбі̀рəла.*


**бірғі [bі́рғі] v. 1 turn, change direction • бірғі́ іі́ сі́є́ та́ тіі́мі́н’ ні. Turn your face towards the east. 2 to change, transform, metamorphose, turn into • а́ хáаэі́т бірғі́ доò. The old lady turned into a python.

**бітəл [bі́тəл]** n. any large flat stone, which can function as solar drying or threshing floor. *pl. бітəла.*

**бітті [bі́тті] cf: jоло v. to empty by pouring, to pour all, to spill out, to pour in a stream, to scatter • бітті а́ фάлá ні́ та. Pour away the water that is in the calabash. бітті іі кáпò-сі̀ білè. Scatter you kola nuts on the ground.

**біві́е [bі́ві́е]** n. small stone. *pl. бі́ві́е.*

**бізє́ [bі́зє́]** n. big stone. *pl. бі́зє́не.*


**бокти (var. of бакти)**

1**боло [bолò]** cf: бабуолі̀ v. to be far • мòтігі́ уá болó. Motigu is not far. *ant: дòголі*

2**боло̀ [болò]** v. to remove yet leaving most, to skim • болó іі гундàабі̀ ы̀мë̀н’ ты̀̀н’ ты̀̀н. Remove some of the thread from the holder for me. бà- мун’ нà кàлà кá болò а́ кáпòсифа̀лà рá. Everyone saw Kala remove nuts from kola container.

**боло̀нбòті̀а [болòмбòті̀а]** nprop. name of a constellation.

**бомбо̀ [бомбò]** n. kicking and catching game played by your girls where leaves of bombosòрі̀ tree are tied in a form of a ball.


**бонсо [бо̀нсо]** n. cup. (Waali < бо̀нсуо). *pl. бонсо̀со.*
bonti [bónti] v. to divide and share • bonti à námłą já tíë. Divide and share the meat so we can eat.

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

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

2boro [bòrò] n. portion • mà kpá à bár bóró à títëá. Give them some portion of land. ñ dijò àká tfá à sitmáá bóró. I ate but left some of the food. pl. boroso.

bowo [bòwò] cf: tɔbou v. to be insufficient • tì tìę sìmáá bòwò à pàràsá. Do not let the farmers be short on food.

bo [bɔ] v. to pay • bɔ̀ŋ kàntʃìmá tìźtì. Pay me what you owe me.

2bo [bɔ] v. to be better than • zààŋ tòmà bò dià tíŋ tòmá. Today’s work is better than yesterday’s work.

bog [bɔɡ] n. cf: baga (var. bɔk-kbíl) 1 type of tree (Pseudocedrela kotschyi). 2 fibre used to attach grass or tubers and to make sigmaa costume. pl. bogna.

bɔkbíl (var. of bɔg)


bolakan [bɔlákàŋ] n. elephant trunk. pl. bolakaŋa.

bolanìŋ [bɔlànìŋ] n. ivory. pl. bolanìŋa.

bòma [bómà] v. 1 to be dangerous, to be bad • ò bómáó kìǹkàní. He is a very dangerous person. 2 to be expensive • à sákir jògùló bómáó. The bicycle is expensive. 3 to be hot • à múrò bómáó. The rice is too hot. 4 to endow with power • ò bómáó, kùósànà̀ kà wá kíǹjë̀ kpá-gáó. He is powerful, the buffalo was not able to catch him. 5 to be difficult • bifòlà níníí bómáó. Looking after a baby is difficult.

bòna [bónà] n. loss • ìì diàtítnà jògólí òò kpáámá à tʃèlè bɔ̀nà. Your landlord sold his yams at a loss. ant: tona

boŋ [bɔ́ŋ̀] (var. bʷɔŋ) n. bad. pl. bɔ̀ma.

bɔnbòwa [bɔmbówá] n. necessary item for a purpose, like ingredients for a recipe, tools for farming, or weapons for war. pl. bɔnbòwasa.

bɔbbì [bɔ́bbì] n. type of undergarment. pl. bɔbbìsa.

bɔɔl [bɔ́ɔ́l] n. cf: loŋbɔl 1 oval shape • zòò dià àká kpá kìn tíŋ kà kíí bɔɔl à wá tìźtì. Enter the house and get the thing that looks oval and bring it to me. 2 type of edible gourd found at the farm.


bosasa.

bosø (var. of bosa)

bott [bótti] n. scooped ball of staple food, Gh. Eng. morsel.  
pl. botte.

bra (var. of bira)

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

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

2bugo [bùgò] v. of a chick, to be at a stage, after hatching, after approx. five days, when the feathers start to grow from the wings • ñì ñì tí láal tésijóó ká à bisé há wà bùgò múŋ. 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 bùgémì kéŋ. Do not be senseless.

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

bugumunuŋ [bùgù'mùŋ] 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)

buleñji [bùlèñjì] n. 1 lect of Bulenga.  
2 person from Bulenga.  
pl. buleñee.

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

2bulo [bùlò] v. to seep out • à bùlùgó wà brá à bùlò nìí. The spring is not producing water any more.

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

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

bummo [bùmò] cf: jiriti n. black  
synt: don².  
pl. bulunso.

bumo [bùmò] v. to precede • nàdì-gít bùmó zòò ì dù háń ká bà kpá ììì. Someone was in your room before they gave it to you.

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

buŋbuŋ [bùmbúŋ] n. first • bùŋbùŋ ní ì fì wàà nòò sìŋ. At first, I was not drinking alcoholic beverage.

buol [bùól] n. song.  
pl. buolo.

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

buoli [bùolì] v. to sing • té bùólìi zááŋ. Do not sing today. bà bùolí bùóló wó. They are singing songs.

buolnãã [bùòlnãá] n. song track, di- vision of a song.  
pl. buolenããsā.

buro [búró] v. to faint, to collapse from hunger or thirst • òó núŋsi
kösá ní à búró. He got lost in the bush and collapsed.

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

**buter** [bûtér] n. turtle. *pl. butete.*

1**buti** [būti] v. to be confused • ḫin bié ǧerẹgá tíẹ́ būti. My child’s sickness made me confused. ḫin bū-tipó. I’m confused.

2**buti** [būti] v. to make soft and flat by levelling and ploughing • bá tʃì ká būti ḫin píkíetè tíẹ́. Tomorrow they will level my yam farm for me.

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

1**buū** [bù̀] v. to mix water and soil, or to make concrete • bùù hàglí á sàá diá. Mix sand and build a house.

2**buū** [bù̀] v. to become alight, of fire being at its burning stage • gìlà à dìíŋ buū. Let the fire start burning.

**buure** [bùùrè] v. 1 to want • bááŋ t kà buūrè. What do you want? 2 to acquire wealth • ɪ̀ jẹ́ná buūrè tʃìá ra. Your father acquires wealth for the future. 3 to love, to make love • ɪ̀ buūrè à tʊ́lọ́rwiè rẹ́. I love that young girl. kàlàá buūrè hàkúrí. Kala made love to Hakuri. 4 to seek, look to for help or advice, to search • ʊ̀ buūrè bọ́óná kààlì. He searched for the goats.

**buuta** [bùùtà] n. kettle. (Hausa <bùtà).


**booa** (var. of *bọa*)

**boabie** [bọàbié] n. smaller hole in a grave designed to slide the corpse in.

**bobusa** (var. of *busabusa*)

**boda** [bódà] n. type of snake.

**bọ̀gíbọ̀gí** [bọ̀gíbọ̀gí] ideo. carefully, slowly • ɗì sàá bọ̀gíbọ̀gí. Drive carefully. ɗì ɡíma bọ̀gíbọ̀gí. Talk slowly. (Waali <bōi).

**bui** [bòi] cf: bui n. stone. (Ka). *pl. bọse.*

**bukororo** [bòkòròrò] n. type of medicine endowing hunters with supernatural power.

**bokpàan** [bòkpàán] n. type of wild yam. *pl. bòkpàáma.*

**bula** [bòlà] v. tasteless • à ánii bòlàó. The Ebony fruit is tasteless.

**bombor** [bòmbòr] n. dust.

**bomsi** [bòmòsì] v. to stutter, to stammer • ʊ̀ wà bòmsì, ʊ̀ bááŋ sìwó. He is not stammering, he is angry and nervous.

**bontono** [bòntòńá] n. cf: kajajo 1 porter, a person who carries things for somebody else in exchange of money • hàkúrí jáá bòn- tòńá ra kùmási ní. Hakuri is a porter in Kumasi. 2 location where porter jobs are exercised • bà dọ́á bòntòńá ní. They are at the place to work as porters. ʊ̀ kàáli bòn- tòńá. She went to work as a porter. *pl. bontonasa.*

**bonôa** [bònôá] n. gentility.
bonōhō [bɔnɔhɔ] n. hippopotamus. pl. bonōhōna.

bōje [bɔjɛ] n. treating others with respect • à pásîtà kpágá bōnje rà. The pastor has respect for others. (Waali <bōje).

bōŋ [bɔŋ] n. load of items. pl. bōŋna.

bōŋa [bɔŋa] v. to bend down • bōŋa à kpá à fàlá tíę. Bend down and pick the calabash for me.

bʊɔ [bʊɔ́] n. cf: bil (var. bʊa) 1 hole. 2 open grave. 3 boundary, separation between portions of land. pl. bʊɔsā.


bʊɔtɪa [bʊɔtìà] 1 n. bag • pànnɪ̀ bʊɔtɪà. maize bag. 2 num. 200 old Cedis (= 2 Ghana Pesewas), from a bag of cowries in pre-coinage days • bʊɔtìà mätʃē dìì ànì fl. 10 000 old Cedis (= 1 Ghana Cedi) pl. bʊɔtɪesə.

bʊɔtɔɪ [bʊɔtɔ̀ɪ̀] lit. hole-closing n. third day of first funeral, when an animal sacrifice is made on the tomb.

bʊra [bɔrɔ] v. to be dusty • à téébul wà bʊrɪjɛ. The table is not dusty.

bʊsabʊsa [bʊsàbʊsà] (var. bʊbʊsa) ideo. type of visual percept • à nì-hiē sùpōná dò bʊsabʊsà rà. The eye lashes of the old man are greyish-white.

boobie [bʊòbìé] n. section of the grave where the corpse is inserted. pl. boobise.

bʊʊbie [bʊʊbìé] n. section of the grave where the corpse is inserted. pl. boobise.

bʊʊŋ [bʊʊŋ] n. goat. pl. bʊʊnà.

bʊʊŋbal [bʊʊŋbàl] n. he-goat, billy goat. pl. bʊʊŋbal.

bʊʊŋbie [bʊʊŋbìé] n. young goat. pl. bʊʊŋbise.


bwɔŋ (var. of bɔŋ)

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

daabāŋtolugu [dáábāŋtólùgù] nprop. name of a major Gurumbele shrine.
daabii [daǎbii] n. hardest part of the log, located in the middle. *pl. daa-bie.*
daahââ [daǎhâá] n. bitter tree • *nàà-sààrgbèsà daǎh jáá daǎhââ râ.* The Neem tree is a bitter tree.
daakôô [daǎkôà] n. Senegal parrot, type of bird (*Poicpehalus senegalus*). *pl. daakôôana.*
daakûnû [daǎkûnû] n. staple dish, Gh. Eng. kenkey. (Akan < dɔ̀kürû.)
daakpuogii [daǎkpûøgîi] n. tree scar, bulge formed on a wounded area. *pl. daakpuogie.*
daaluhii [daǎluhîî] n. wooden beam supporting the roofing structure. *pl. daaluhie.*
daamî [daǎmî] n. self-denial, or blindly ignoring relevant information • *bà ṣàà ni dú í wàà dúșèè à kpá dààmî.* They told me to come to Ducie, but I ignored it.
daamnu [daǎmnû] n. lit. tree-under 1 resting area. 2 location for initiation. *pl. daamuno.*
daâna [daǎnà] n. mark on animal. *pl. daânâsa.*
daanââ [daǎnâá] n. branch of a tree.
daâní [daǎnî] v. 1 to mark domestic animals in order to identify and show ownership • *ǹn ŋî́ná daǎní ọ̀ ọ̀ sélè wó.* My father marked his animals. 2 to monitor someone closely • *kàlá kàálî tiwî wè kà ŋmâ dì́ dì dààní ọ̀ ọ̀ hààŋ.* Kala travelled so he asked me to monitor his wife.
daanøŋ [daǎnøŋ] n. fruit or seed of a tree • *bà ṣàà ni dú já dàà dàànøŋ-nà.* They say we must sow seeds. *pl. daànøna.*
daamuukpoŋkpolo [daǎmûukpøŋkpolò] *cf: kpoŋkpoŋpaatʃaktʃɔgîi* n. type of ant that lives in trees.
daamûnema (var. of daamûnkoŋkoŋ)
daamûnkoŋkoŋ [daǎmûnêŋkoŋkóŋ] (var. daamûnema) n. Fine-Spotted Woodpecker (*Campethera punctuligera*). *pl. daamûnkoŋkonso.*
daari [dààrì] v. to be half asleep
• gīlā tī tōnj tīn tī dāårō. Leave your book, you are almost asleep.

daari [dáárí] v. to take off the top, as in removing a dried layer of t.z. or porridge, leaves on the surface of the water, or as in shelling membrane from egg, to dig and scratch only the surface • dāårí à nīt jū:jū kindōnj tīn tā. Remove the dirt on the surface of the water. dāårí à ḥąglībūmmō tū:jū tā. Remove the layer of black soil. tōmā dāårī ḍi dānō:ā rā, ḍi wà bī gātt. Toma removed some soil in front of his door, it is no more heightened.


daasiiga [dààsiːiɡa] n. 1 of trees pushing, rubbing, or pressing each other, abrasion between branches • tʃąɡó:nā:ā gbél kpąːgā dāsiigā rā. Chagunaaa’s fig trees are rubbing and pressing each other. 2 suicide • ā bāːl tā dāsiigā rā ā sów:ā. The man hanged himself and died.

daasiamā [dààsìːːmá] n. type of tree. pl. daasiamsa.


daatūma [dàːtʊːmā] n. chin. pl. daatūmasa.

daatʃaraga [dąːtʃarąːɡa] n. forked stick, branch. pl. daatʃarąːgasà.

daazʊʊna [dàːzʊːná] n. 1 any spoon. 2 gourd ladle used to serve soup or porridge syn: fazeŋ . pl. daazaːnasa.

dabaara [dábaːrā] n. power of a shrine, spiritual power • kɔːliː tɔːgə dabaːr:asā kinkā:n nā. Kuolii has a lot of power. pl. dabaːarasā.

dabaga [dąːbáːɣa] cf: gaadin n. garden.

dabuo [dąːbuː] cf: tɔːhiː n. deserted settlement • luːbǎːnii tɔːmā lìː dünːtuː dąːbuː rō. The people of the luːbasn section came from a place called dunluo. pl. dabuːoso.

dadā [dąːdā] n. numbness, as in limbs falling asleep • ɲ tʃıː ɲ nɛn ní sìː, dąːdā kąːgąː. I slept on my arm, when I got up it was numb.

dadɔːŋ [dąːdɔːŋ] cf: duːna n. evening, approx. 16:00 - 18:00, before darkness. pl. daadɔːnsa.

¹daga [dąːɣa] cf: kparaama v. to be necessary • ā wà jąː dąːɡa dí ɲɲ jąː jąːlìː. It is not necessary that I become a Muslim. ā dąːgąːọ dí ɲ dí siːmąː tʃːpisi bůːmũŋ. It is necessary that I eat food every day.

²daga [dąːɡa] n. box, usually belonging to a person who passed away and containing personal items. (ultm. Latin, via Hausa <ąːdakąː). pl. dagąːsa.


dagboŋo [dąːgbɔːŋó] n. type of mouse
usually found in or around the house. *pl. dagboŋoso.*


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

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


dambakokoroko [dàmbàkòkòròkò] *nprop.* fourth month. (Waali <dùm-bàkòkòròkò).

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


dandafuli (dàndàfùlìí) *n.* small pieces of charcoal falling at the bottom of the coal-pot. *pl. dandafulie.*

dandapoṣa [dàndàpòsà] *var. póna* *n.* beard. *pl. dandaposasa.*


dansatʃi [dánsatʃì] *n.* smock without sleeves. (Hausa). *pl. dansatʃiwe.*


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

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


daŋgorugo (dàŋgòrùgò) *n.* dagger, a knife with a pointed blade slightly bent downwards.

daŋja (dàŋjà) *n.* wound • *à biè kpá kìsiè dò oò tintìŋ dàŋja rá.* The child wounded himself with his knife. (W. Oti-Volta <dàŋjà). *pl. daŋje.*


daŋṣi (dàŋṣì) *cf.* siidàŋṣa *cpx.v.* to entertain, to make things interesting • *jìrà hàmɔ́nà bá wá dàŋṣì já siè.* Call the children to come and entertain us.

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

dara (dàrà) *cf.* mọga *cf.* heŋsi *v.* to lie, to deceive • *ŋìn ṣìmá ṣìmá dì n tí wàà dàrà wìè.* My father said that I should not tell lies. *i dàráò!* You are lying!

daraga [dàràgà] *n.* reluctance, unwillingness • *dì i fì wà jàà dà-
rágàtíná, i káá pàrà à kúó pëtuũ záán. If you were not reluctant, you would finish weeding the farm today. (Hausa).

datʃibaal [dàtʃìbáál] n. brother in-law.
datʃie [dàtʃié] n. brother or sister in-law. *pl. datʃiesa.*
datʃihããŋ [dàtʃìhã́ã̀ŋ] n. sister in-law.
dawarɛ [dàwárɛ̀] cf: zamba n. action against the benefit or prosperity of someone • *dàwárɛ̀ wàà sã́ã́ tɔ̄ʊ̀.* Negative actions cannot build a community.
daworo [dáwòrō] n. type of bell used to alert people of an announcement, Gh. Eng. gong-gong. (Akan <dawuro).

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

de [dě] cf baaŋ adv. there • *ɪ̀ ná lɔ́ɔ́-li rà dé nĩi?* Do you see a car over there?
de ni [déni] lit. there-on *adv.phr.* upon this, thereupon • *nìkáná sàŋjë̀ à di mó mà zìàn, déni ò báãŋ sìi.* Many people were sitting and laughing at Ziang, thereupon he became angry.

degeni (var. of degini)
degini [dëgìnì] v. (var. dëjìli, dëjìni, degeni) 1 to put straight, to be straight, to unbend, to set in a direction • *tiè à pìfísìŋ dëgini.* Let the yam mound row be straight. *tiè à zìá dëjìli.* Let the wall be straight. 2 tolerant • *à tɔ́ɔtìmá wà dëgìnì-jè.* The landlord is not tolerant. 3 to be honest, faithful • *à biè dëgínìjìjóó ò kà kpá ʃìŋì mòlèbìí à wà tíeŋ.* The child is honest since he brought my money back.
deginií [dëgínií] n. straightness.
dembelee [dèmbélèè] n. place within the compound where fowls are kept. *pl. dembelese.*
dendil [dèndìl] 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.*
dendilhëšì [dèndilhë́šì] lit. outside.ground-vibration n. bull-roarer syn: sigmawiilii; tebinsgmaa.
dendilsaŋana [dèndílsāŋānà] n. someone who sits at home or stays at the village, who does not go to the farm.
dendilsìgmaa [dèndílsìgmàā] lit. outside.ground-Sigmaa n. type of dirge where men wearing masks and costumes perform during the day at the funeral ground.
dëjì [dëjìí] n. storing grain, like *sìga* or *sìiwiie,* with ash for conservation • *sìgá dëjìí wàà tʃògàá.* Preserving the cow peas will not keep them from going bad.
dëjìli (var. of degini)
dëjìni (var. of degini)
deŋsi [déŋsi] v. 1 to balance on head • à bintháàŋ tʃọ́ńà ní à káá deŋsi. The girl carries water on her head without holding it. 2 to raise one’s body to gain height in order to see • deŋsi pì̀ǹ tókó́rò ní sàáfi tʃọ́á dë́. Raise your body and look on the window frame, the key lies there.


dela [délá] v. to rely on • ñà wàá kìn dë́lá ñàǹ mànàwìè ní. I cannot rely on my aunt.

dela [délá] v. to sit and lean back • sà-ña à brà dë́lá à kòr nì. Sit and lean back on the chair.

delembi [délèmbì] n. stone of the three-stone stove. pl. delembia.

densi [dènsì] v. to stretch, pull, and press body parts • dënsì ñù̀ nébìé tọ̀̀. Stretch my fingers for me (in order to crack a knuckle).

densi hogo [dènsì hógó] lit. stretch bone v. to exercise • i kàá kòntì dì i wàá dënsì iì hógó. You will be weak if you do not do exercise.

dewa [dëwà] 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 • ñà dëwà ñù̀ dtà rá kà ñà hà wà jùówò. I finished with the house but I have not started with the roof mud.

di [dì] v. cf: tọgà 1 to eat • bà wà dì sìmàà zààù. They did not eat food today. 2 to be enskinned, to hold a chieftancy • ñà báàhì̀ kàá dì à kòrò. The old man will be enskinned. 3 to be sharp • ñà kísì kàá dì kinkàn nà. The knife is sharp. ant: gbul

di jawa [di jàwà] lit. eat market v. to trade • ù káá dì mòtìgù jàwà. She is going to trade at the Motigù market.

dibi [dìbì] v. to ask for forgiveness using sober words syn: 1mösì¹ (ultm. Gonja).


dieke [dìèkè] num. one Enum of: digmana¹.

diese [dìèsì] n. dream. pl. diese.

diesi [dìèsi] v. 1 to dream • ñù̀ hààŋ diì dìèsùù kàá ñmà wìë. My wife was talking while dreaming. 2 to inhabit spiritually, to live in, as when an ancestor spirit inhabits another body • ñù̀ màà diìsì ñù̀ bintháàŋ nà. I gave my late mother’s name to my daughter.

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

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

dinda [díndìà] n. kitchen.

dintina [díntinà] cf: diıtʃáàŋ n. lantern, lamp. [Mo].

din [díŋ] n. 1 fire • tíè din dì. Feed the fire. à din márá à diù. The fire
burns well. 2 electricity or light of cycle or lorry • dúsèè ní dìŋ wáá túdo. In Ducie there is no electricity. já bùùrè dìn nê já ìfáádí já báá-trí. We need electricity to charge our batteries. pl. *dinne*.


dìŋda [dîndaá] n. firewood. pl. *dîndaasa*.

dìŋhala [dînhálá] n. charcoal fire.

dìŋkínnmónî [dînkímmańnî] n. device to carry fire. pl. *dìnkímmónne*.

dìŋpapare [dînpáparèè] n. fire spark. pl. *dìnpaparesa*.


dìŋtʃãã [dîntʃãń] cf: dintma n. lantern, lamp • tʃògò à dìntʃãń. Light the lantern. pl. *dìntʃãannya*.


1 *dr [dî] conn. 1 if • dì ŋì wáá wáá, è fì ná̄o rà. If he had come, I would have seen him. 2 when • dì ñ fì wáá kò̄o, ñnì nènúl sìí jàá lú-gúsùú. When I get tired, my right eye vibrates.

2 *dr [dî] comp. that • ì ŋì láá dì ñ gbólò kàá wáá. I do not believe that Gbolo will come.

3 *dr [dî] pv. imperfective particle, in topic-marking strategy • sigá rà ò dì tíè. It is beans he is chewing. wáá ò dì kàáíí. It is to Wa he is going.

4 *dr [dî] conn. of doing simultaneously • kpá siímá háíjì dì kàáíí. Take this food away!

5 *dr [dî] cf: dìaré (var. 2 de) pv. yesterday • i dì ná ŋì biè rée? Did you see my son yesterday?

6 *dr [dî] comp. do, imperative particle • dì tʃò. Run!


dìa tʊ̀ (var. of dìaré)


dìaré [dîaré] cf: *dr (var. dìa tʊ̀) n. yesterday • dìaré tʊ̀ ò dì wà. He came yesterday.


dìatìma [dîátì́mà] n. group of people belonging to the same household. pl. *dìatìma*.

1 *dèsi [dèśi] v. 1 to feed and rear animal • à báál kà dèsi à bòón nà. The man is feeding the goat. 2 to bring up, to take care of a child • ná̃mùnì wàá dîèst à biè háíjì. No one takes care of this child.
two dobi [dòbì] v. to be drunk • wáá nóá stíy dìèṣì tfóà gbél múŋ ni. He drank alcohol and he is now lying drunk under the tree. syn: 1bugó²
digie [dígię] n. 1 traitor. 2 type of bird that alerts hunters about a nearby animal. pl. digesá.
dígí (cntrvar. digímana)
dígítuo [dígiıtùò] (var. sanduso) num. nine. pl. digítuoso.
dígímana [dígiémáŋá] cntr. digí 1 num. one Enum: dieke . 2 num. someone • piéši digí ò bükú jógúlò. Ask someone the price of the book. 3 n. same • jà bárà tɔŋ wá jàa dígímana. We do not have the same skin. pl. dígímanasa.
dígína [díginà] n. ear. pl. digínsa.
dígíbirinsetíína [dígímbirin-sétíína] cf: wonj n. person who is hard of hearing.
dígíbooa (var. of maafadigíboa)
dígíwiílií [dígíwiílií] n. earache. pl. digíwiílií.
dígíliílií [dígíliílií] n. otitis. pl. digíliílií.
dígívienóóra [dígívienóórá] 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. digívienóóra-sa.
díil [díil] n. inhabitant who was born and raised in the same community • nágári jáá dúsiè díil lá. Nyagari is an inhabitant of Ducie. pl. díila.
dím [dím] cf: núdíŋ; kíñdíŋ; wídiŋ; bidíŋ n. true, real, proper. pl. díma.
dílumo [dílúmò] n. back room where one keeps one’s personal items.
dímí [dímí] n. soup, Gh. Eng. light soup, mainly tomatoes, pepper, and water.
díña [díńá] v. to imitate • dáári kíńá díńá nárá kíñkáná. Daari can imitate people very well. syn: 2ťfaasi
díńó [díńó] n. someone’s interest and choice of lifestyle • nú díńó síí-máá ɨ dí wòháá háń nt. This afternoon I ate the food I like.
díra [díː́rː] v. to have a closed, reduced or small internal space • nún pàfíyíí wá dírá. My stomach has a lot of space. ñimá díráó. The bamboo stick is not hollowed, its cavity is filled.
dís [díá] n. soup. pl. disasa.
dítsíílií [dítsíílií] n. sleeping room. pl. ditúííleé.
dobíi [dóbíí] n. hail. pl. dobíe.
dokagal [dɔkágàː] n. rainbow.
dokeg [dɔkège] n. type of centipede (Chilopoda). pl. dokege.
dolo [dɔló] n. largest roofing beam, first layer of flat roof. pl. doloso.
dondoli [dɔndólí] n. fingerling, any fish that is very small and is at an early stage of development. pl. dondole.
donìì [dónì́í́] lit. rain-water n. rain-water • dónì́ì sʊ́ɔ́nì̃̀jã̄ʊ̃̄. The rain water is cold.
donì [dòŋ] v. 1 dirt • à bìsé káá dɔ́ɔgì̀ bàdón nì́ rë. The children are playing in a dirty place. 2 black • à gár jáá ádòn nò. The cloth is black. synt: bummo
donìi [dònìí] n. dirtiness • à bìé tá-gátà dònìí tìŋ írìí wáwèrë. The type of dirtiness on the child’s shirt is not good. ant: tʃããńi1
donjo [dòŋjo] n. 1 dirt • à bisé káá dɔ́ɔgì̀ bàdón nì́ rë. The children are playing in a dirty place. 2 black • à gár jáá ádòn nò. The cloth is black. ant: tʃããńi2
donjojái [dònjojáí] n. menses syn: nisɔńi; tʃagasyi.
donotína [dònọtína] n. unhygienic person.
donu [dòŋu] nprop. twelfth month. (Waali <dòŋù).
dọgsì [dỳ́gísì] v. to punish • tìí dìg-sì à làltwíé. Do not punish the orphans.
dóni [dòńi] cf: dɔ̀ n n. water accumulated from soaking, sieving, and dripping dɔ̀.
1dọnj [dọ́nj] n. comrade, a person in one’s social class, a mate. pl. dọ́nja.
2dọnj [dọ́nj] n. enemy. (Waali <dɔ́mà ‘enemy’). pl. dɔ́mà.
3dọnj [dọ́nj] n. placenta • à bìé dọ́nj líi-wàwà. The child’s placenta is out. pl. dɔ́nna.
dọnjà [dɔ́njà] recp. each other • à nìbàálà bâliè kpò dọ́n jà. The two men killed each other. lágàmì dọ́n-jà. Join them to each other.
donjtìna [dɔ̀ntì́nà] cf: tɔgama n. person of the same size, or same status fellow. pl. dɔntìnsa.
dɔsì [dɔ́sì] v. to stalk, walk stealthily towards • dɔ́sì kà kpàgà bèşò̃̃ hâñ tìtìn. Walk stealthily and catch this goat for me. nàŋkpàánsà já dɔ́sì sèl lè ẹkà jùò. Hunters normally walk stealthily towards animals before shooting.
dugo [dùgò] v. to infest, to ravage • à ɲàmmìí dúgóú, tʃɔ́gìí zòóà. The maize was ravaged, weevils infested it.
duguŋ [dùgúŋ] n. spiritual location of a village section or division, place where people gather for rituals.

duguŋnɔ̀ [dùgùnnɔ̀] n. entrance of a spiritual location.

duho [dùhɔ] n. seedling. pl. duhoso.

dul [dùl] 1 n. right (side) ant: 1gal
. 2 reln. right • wáá tfɔà ii nɛŋ dul ni. It is on your right-hand side. ant: 1gal2 pl. dullo.


dundatuo (var. of dunlatuo) dunlatuo [dùnlàtúò] (var. dunlatuo) n. gall midge, type of insect (Cecidomyiidae fam). pl. duno- tso.

duŋusi [dùŋùsì] cf: zeŋsi v. to limp • hɛmbíí ré tɛ̀wà ɔɔ̀ náá, àwìè ɔò dì duŋùsì kéj. A nail entered his leg, that is why he is limping like that.

duo [dùò] n. asleep • à biè dì tfɔà dúó wàwèré rɛ̀. The child slept well yesterday. dúó kpàgàn nà. I feel sleepy.

duŋ [dùɔŋ] n. rain • à dúŋ wàawàáɔ. The rain has come. pl. doso.

duoŋkii (var. of duoŋkiir)

duoŋkiir [dùoŋkìír] (var. duoŋkii, duoŋtʃii) n. type of tree syn: gbìákɔl. [Du].

duoŋsɔ̀ [dùoŋsɔ̀] cf: sɔ duoŋ n. lightning initiation, mystic protection against lightning.

duoŋtʃii (var. of duoŋkiir)

duori [dùɔrì] v. to assist somebody in crossing a water body • kpá lọŋ dúɔrì sùkù bisé. Take the calabash and assist the school children in crossing the river.

duoso [dùɔsɔ̃] n. information • jàlisá limààŋ tìe dúɔsò dì nàmùŋ t̠ɔ̃ wà nɔ̀á. The Muslim imam gave the information that everybody should fast tomorrow. pl. duoso.

dusee (var. of dusie)

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

dusi [dùsì] v. to put on or increase in weight and size • à bááháàŋ tìŋ dúsiò. The man's wife has increased in weight.


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

dũũ [dũũ̀ ũ̀] v. to sow, to plant • báŋmá dì ì dũũ dàánɔ̀nà. They say that we must sow seeds. (Gonja <dù ‘plant yam’).

dů [dů́] v. 1 to put on, to put in, to put bait in water, or something into water to make bad, to dip • já ká dů̀ nǐ rà. We are putting bait in the water. dů̀ bòrá sì̂n nì. Put the fermenting substance. 2 to seem, to
appear • à dó kìì bà kà bùúrí dúsiè né. It seems that they are looking for you in Ducie. 3 to be • jinié ì néná kà dó. How is your father?

du tɔɔ [dó tɔó] cpx.v. to take care • nìì dò á bié tɔó rā. I am taking care of the child. ì dò nìì kùò tìn tɔó ràà. Are you taking care of my farm?

du [dɔa] v. (var. 1dɔɔ) 1 to be in, at or on, to be located • kípò dɔ̀jí síndìà nì. Kipo is in the bar. 2 to adhere to a religion • ɔ dɔ̀jí járrí nì. He is a Muslim.

duana [dɔ̀ánà] cf: dadjọ́ n. evening • dɔ̀ánà nì ụ kàá kààli dià. I will go to the house this evening. [Mo].

duani [dɔ̀ání] v. to greet in the evening • i wà dɔ̀ání má wòlèé? Didn’t you greet your people?

duasì [dɔ̀ásì] pl.v. to arrange items in a certain way • kìnà ọpọ́ ọpọ́ rà, à hááyí dɔ̀sì t fìélèé. The woman arranged the tomatoes in groups of 5.

dugu [dɔ́ggù] n. type of dance.

duguù [dɔ́ggùl] v. to be near to • à báál dɔ́ggùl ìlà nì rà. The man is near the house. dáánóní fọ́sá dɔ́ggùl à fàlá nì rà. A fruit lies near the calabash. ant: 1bolo

dugumì [dɔ́ggùmì] v. to chase away, to be after something or someone • dɔ́ggùmì à váá tà. Chase away the dog.

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

doháá [dɔ́háá] lit. bite-bitter n. type of snake syn: suoŋdaawie .


dskpene (var. of ḍokpeni)


dım [dɔ́mà] v. to bite • à ól dòmà́n ná. The mouse bit me.

1dòma [dɔ́má] cf: nìdòma n. soul or spirit contained in most organisms. pl. dòmasa.

dùmì [dɔ́mí] n. bite.

dúnì [dɔ́nì] n. world. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <dùniyà).}


dùnna [dɔ́nnà] n. behaviour or attitude • bà dònnà háyí bà kà dòjì nìì tfiòmáá. The behaviour that they display is bad.

dùnsì [dɔ́nsì] pl.v. to bite • à váá kà dùnsì à bié gíláá oò bàrá múń jàà pèmpèlté. The dog bit the child and his body is full of marks.

dùnsì [dɔ́nsì] n. type of maggot found on dogs but also on filthy places. pl. dùnsìe.

dʊŋmɛŋbummo [dʊŋmɛ́mbùmmɔ] n. type of green-lined snake (Hapsidophrys gen.). pl. dʊŋmɛŋbulunso.
dʊŋgala (var. of dʊʊgala)
dʊŋtʃɔ̀ [dʊ̀ ntʃɔ́] n. state of a person when his or her soul has left syn: nããhããta.
dʊŋwia [dʊŋwìé] n. type of snake. pl. dʊŋwia.
1 dʊɔ̀ (var. of dʊa)
2 dʊɔ̀ [dʊɔ̀] v. to fetch water in large quantity, specifically at a well or river • ŋ̩̀ ŋmá ŋ̩́ ká dʊɔ̀ nɪ̄ɪ̄ pòl nɪ̀. I want to fetch water from the river.
3 dʊɔ̀ [dʊɔ̀] cf: kãʊ̀ cf: dɔnɪɪ n. sold as grey, crushable solid, liquefied and used as soup ingredient, but formerly used in the making of gun powder. pl. dʊa.
4 dʊɔ̀ [dʊɔ̀] n. animal offering to a shrine • ńn dʊɔ̀ jàá pîésìí rè. My offering is a sheep.
dʊɔgala [dʊɔgá] n. pl. hámönà káà buúrè dʊɔ̀gá. Children are fond of playing.
dʊɔ̃gì [dʊɔgì] v. to play • à bìnìháàñ åntò tsënsá káà dʊɔgì zàgá nì. The girl and her friends are playing in the yard.
dʊọ̀si [dọ̀sì] v. cf: ìmìmi 1 to quench, extinguish a fire, to put out • dọ̀sì dîŋ hààj. Quench this fire. 2 to erase, clean, or cancel • dọ̀sì it nàànàsìë tìn tà à diànòò ni. Erase your foot prints by the door. à tétfà gílà bá dọ̀sì à sèóbììñë rà, ká ò sé-wà á fòlëë. The teacher made them clean the old writing and he wrote a new one. 3 to blink, with one or two eyes • dọ̀sì sìi. Close an eye.
dʊọ̀gal [dọ̀gal] (var. dʊŋgal) n. type of snake. pl. dʊọ̀galśa.
bre of the climber tʃinie. pl. dʒæalezaŋ

dʒabelaŋ [dʒæbælæŋ] n. henna (Lawsonia inermis).

dʒagala [dʒægalæ] n. a third person referred to in a conversation, but not named. (Waali < dʒegala).

dʒanɪɪ (var. of gɛnɪɪ) n.


dʒebuni [dʒèbùnì] n prop.

Jebuni, person’s name.

джебала [dʒebala] n.

cf: diebie (var. amiô) n. cat. [Gu]. (Gonja).

dʒebɛrɛ [dʒɛ̀bɛ̀rɛ̀] n.

porridge made out of cassava flour and boiled water.

dʒebuŋokpʊrgɪɪ [dʒèbùŋokpʊrkɪɪ] n.

gunpowder container. pl. dʒebuŋokpʊrgɪɛ.

dʒɛfɛ [dʒɛ̀fɛ́] n.

land-clearing period in the rainy season when the grasses are well grown and thick, crucial step for growing yam. pl. dʒɛfɛ́sá.

джебульо [dʒebullo] n.

farm land with a considerable amount of moisture in the soil. Usually within August and September.

dʒefɛbʊmma [dʒɛ̀fɛ̀bʊ̀ mmá] n.

dry farm land, or land with little moisture in the soil, usually in October and November.

dʒɛnɪɪ (var. of gɛnɪɪ)
dʒɪmbɛntʊ faa dɪ́ ʊ̀ kàá kɪ̀n páráʊ́, ʊ̀ pàrà kùsì ká tʃɔ̄. The boy said proudly that he could farm but failed and ran away. dʒɪmbɛntʊ [dʒɪmbɛntʊ] nprop. first month. (Waali <dʒɪmbɛntɪ).
dʒogo [dʒógó] n. character or attitude • zàáŋ hámònà dʒógó wá wi-rê. The character of today’s children is not good. pl. dʒogoso.
dʒoŋkoho [dʒòŋkóhò] n. false accusation. pl. dʒoŋkohoso.
dʒora [dʒɔ̀rà] n. type of plant with soft stem, used by children in a game with the same name • jā ká jāgāsɪ̄ dʒɔ̀ràsá. Let us go play the game (Waali <dʒɔra).
dʒudʒumo (var. of dʒumodʒumo)
dʒumburo [dʒùmbúrò] n. soup ingredient, also used as medicine for new mothers. (Waali <dʒùmbúrì). pl. dʒumburuso.
dʒumodʒumo [dʒùmòdʒùmò] (var. dʒudʒumo) ideo. type of visual percept • tiímùŋ dó dʒùmòdʒùmò rō. The east appears very dark and has a menacing colour.
dʒʊɔŋ [dʒʊ̀ ɔ́ŋ] n. hammock. pl. dʒʊɔŋ.
ɛɛ [ʔɛɛ] (var. ŏô) interj. yes, expresses affirmation.
egla [ʔèylá] n. jaw. pl. eglasa.
embei [ʔembél] n. cf: siebì 1 shoulder. 2 wing. pl. embele.
embeltʃugul [ʔembeltʃùgùl] n. shoulder joint. pl. embeltʃugulo.
enși [ʔènsì] v. to squeeze, to twist, to press • ènsì lùmbúrò nìí tiè ɨ bié. Squeeze the orange juice for your child. ènsì à kîntʃāgāsìè à bèrə. Twist the washed clothes and dry them.
faa [fàà] n. ancient • kẹŋ fì wàà jáá fàà nì. This was not done in those days. nìn nà fàà tómà fì jà jáá. This is what the ancestors used to do.
fāa [fāá] v. 1 to do by force, do harshly • ŋ kpá bááŋ tʃläsi ɗo ɗar fāa. I tear her cloth by force angrily. tʃʊɔ̃sim pisá fāa, sii wà. As soon as the day breaks, get up and come. 2 to depend on others cunningly and abusively • ɗa bááŋ tʃǐàsì ʊ̀ ʊ̀ gàr fāa. As soon as the day breaks, get up and come.

2faarí [fāári] v. to be between, to put between • ɗa kààrānttē fāarí ɗa láò ló-gūn ɲí. The cutlass is between the side of the farm hut.

faasí [fāási] v. to be careless, negligent, to not be serious • di i fāàsí ɗa lɔ̃lì kàà tʃɔ̃ kààlɪ̀ kà tʃàɪ. If you are negligent the car will leave you.

faasíí [fāásií] n. carelessness.

faatúma (var. of faal) n. ancestor • fāalá fii láarɛ̀ tɔ́-ná. Our grandparents used to wear skins. pl. faala.

fakɛlɪa [fàkɛ́lɪ́ɛ̀] n. broken piece of gourd. pl. fakɛlìsa.

falaneŋ [fàlánéŋ] lit. calabash-arm n. section of a gourd used as container for liquid. pl. falasà.

falabii (var. of fobii) n. index finger. pl. fakììné.

falu [fàlú] cf: kapɔssìfala cf: loŋ n. section of a gourd used as container for liquid. pl. falasà.

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

fapʊmma [fàpʊ́ mmá] 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: gbɛntaga.
fatʃine (var. of fakiine) fawie [fòwìé] (var. fowie) n. type of gourd, used to drink locally brewed alcoholic drink.

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

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

fɛga [fɛ̀gà] v. to stir soup and porridge • fɛ̀gà kùbíí tɪ̀ɛ̀ à gɛ́rɛ́gɪ́ɪ́. Stir the porridge for the sick person.

fɛl [fí] num. ten. pl. fise.
fidalá [fídàlá] num. twelve.
fidaloro [fídálòrò] num. sixteen.
fidanáase [fídànáásɛ̀] num. fourteen.
fidapɔ̀ [fídáɲɔ̃̀] num. fifteen.
fidatoro [fídátòrò] num. thirteen.
fididigí [fídìdɪ́gɪ́ì] num. eleven.
fididigítuo [fídìdɪ́gɪ́ítùù] num. nineteen.
fidiŋmɛ́ntɛ́l [fídìŋmɛ́ntɛ́l] num. eighteen.
fiil [fíél] n. hollow grass. pl. fiiele.
fiile [fiilé] n. initiation for new hunters.

fisi [físé] v. 1 to scrape off • fíísé disá tà ɪ̀i népíél nì. Scrape off the 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 bté fɛrɪgít à kpɔ̀ŋ-kpɔ̀ŋ. Take some stones and put them on the cassava.

fɛt [fɛt̪] v. cf: fɛrɪgɪ 1 to press lightly • fɛ̀tɪ ₵ù nɛ̀bìwìé tìɛ̀. Press my little finger for me. fɛ̀tɪ à tɔ́ŋ márɔ̀ tɛ́ɛ̀bʊ̀ lʊʊ nì, pɛ̀ tì wá kpɔ̀ɔ kààli. Hold the paper on the table, so the wind will not take it away. 2 to weight something down • zòrò bìi fɛ̀tɪ ìì dià tʃɛ̀nsì nt. Pick a stone and put it on top of your metal roof.
soup on your palm. 2 to wipe • ḋi fūsè ṭiŋ mūn nò. I wiped my butt-
tocks.


1finii [finū] ints. little, a bit of • ttēŋ jisā tāy finū. Give me a little bit of salt. tāmā finiini ḋi fi sówā. He came very close to die.

2finii [finū] n. type of punishment which only the authoritative figure and the individual are aware of the offence • bàdīŋʊ́ wāá būū-
rē ḋo ḡāaŋ, ḋeŋ wī ḋo fīnī, ḋo tfō. Badingu does not like his wife, that is the reason he punishes her: she left him.

fio [fió] ideo. absolutely not • ḋi wāá làà ḡēŋ fīo. I will not agree with this at all.

fire [fīrè] v. to be barren, applies only for animals • à nāu hāŋ wārā wā fīrè. This particular cow is not barren.

fī [fī] (var. fī) 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 • ḋi fī kāa-
li kū só rō ḋā kū ṭiŋ bārā wā lēmā. I would have gone to the farm, but I am not well. ḋi fī jáá ḋi fītīsā rā. He was my teacher.

fiebi [fēbī] v. 1 to pound lightly, especially grains to remove their husk, to mill • mà jáa mūrō ḋā fī-
bē wāā. You fetch the rice, pound it and bring it back. 2 to whip, to strike with cane, rope or stick • ḋà fēbī ḋà bīę rē. He will whip the child. (W. Oti-Volta <fēbī).

fiiri [fērī] cf: gbiasi v. to remove a little part of a whole, to cut and re-
move a small piece of meat and eat it for tasting • ḋi zīmā dī i fīrē ḋī nā nāgbūrūŋ hān nā. I know that you cut and removed a part from my piece of meat. ā bāāl fīrē ḋī mō-
lēbī ḋīn bōrō rō. The man removed part of my money.

fi (var. of fī)

1fī [fī] n. type of fish.  pl. fīna.

2fī [fī] v. to urinate • à bīsē kāa fī fīnī dī dō sūkū ú jā nī. The chil-
dren urinate on the school wall.

3fī [fī] v. to bud, to bear flow-
ers • sūmō fīwā̆ tʃpēţā āṁmēnā hāŋ. The shea trees have flowers these days.

fīl (var. of tōosphu) n..

fīlī [fīli] v. 1 to aim at with gun or catapult • ḋī bīę kāa fīlī gēr ḋo vrā. My child is aiming at the lizard to kill it. 2 to look at, to stare at, with the purpose of showing dis-
agreement or with anger • pīnē ā fī fīlēŋ kēŋ? Why do you peek at me like that?

fīnī [fīnī] n. urine • ḋi fī fīnī. I will urinate.  pl. fīnītsa.

fīnīftoro [fīnīftŏrō] n. 1 bil-
harzia, a blood fluke (Schistosomiasis). 2 cystitis (chronic).
filéñfintu [filéñfintí] n. type of Roundleaf bat, very small in size and usually found around buildings (Hipposideros gen.). pl. filéñfintie.

finti [fíntí] lit. out-middle n. harassment. pl. finté.

fira [fírà] v. to force someone to do something • fírà ìi bié ó kááli sükúù. Force your child to go to school.

fìrigì [fìrigì] v. to put more effort into an activity • má fìrigì já pètì à tómá. Put more effort so we can finish the work.

fìrigò [fìrigò] n. short burial dance performed when the corpse is lying on the funeral ground and during weeping. pl. fìrigòosa.

fìrí [fìrí] n. force • hàmón fìrí waá tìè ó zimá náhìé. Forcing a child will not make him clever.

fo (var. of foo)

fòbìi [fòbìí] (var. falabìi) pl.n. type of gourd seed. pl. fobìic.

fòlo [fòlò] v. to get loose, to detached • imphì pàbìi fòlò lii óò dàá ní. My hoe blade detached from its shaft.

fóó [fóó] (var. fo) 1 conn. unless, if not • fóó ìì kàá wááwá, dì à lèt jáwaá ìì màamá à wìè. 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 i kàá jàwà móto fóó wàá ní. If you want to purchase a motorbike, you must do it in Wa.

3 v. to be already done • ìì fìì ìì màamá dì ìì tíêò kàááάsì kàá ìì fòjòò làà dìgìì ìì tfànà pé ní. I would have given him a paper but he already got one from my friend. ìì kà fòjè dòà dé, à wìè kàá kòòròò. If you are there already, the problems will be solved.

foole (var. of fuoli)


foorì [fòorìí] n. type of monkey. pl. fooree.

foósi [fóósi] v. to slip • òi fóósi tfè-lè. He slipped and fell.

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

1forò [fòrò] v. to be proud, to boast • à hááñ kàá fòrò kinkán nà. The woman is boasting a lot.

2forò [fòrò] v. to scald, to blanch, to put in hot water in order to remove feathers from a chicken or shell from grains • tíì nìmònì ìì dò ìì nàál ìì kàá kòòrò. Give me hot water so I put my fowl in and remove the feathers.

1foti [fòtí] v. 1 to do a slip of tongue, to say accidentally • ìì nòá fòtíì ìì tfàgàlt à lùfòò. I announced the death by a slip of tongue. 2 to drop inadvertently • à zàhál fòtíì liì ìì nèìì ní tfélè hàglíí ní. The egg
dropped from my hand and fell to the ground.

2 fotì [fòtì] v. to survive death • kòdżó làltwiè ttỳ fòtìjó. Kojo’s orphan survived. syn: pìti


fowie (var. of fawie)

fòótà [fòótà] n. lung. (Gonja <fɔ̀tí ‘breathe’). pl. fòótasa.

fòótìwìlà [fòótìwìlà] n. lung pains.

fòga [fògà] 1 nprop. Foga, person’s name. 2 n. spendthrift, person who spends lavishly.

fògol [fògòl] n. 1 type of grass which resembles sorghum, found near bodies of water. 2 maize tassel. pl. fògòla.

fògòlì [fògòlì] 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 • fògòlì ụ̀ nésē à hòlà. Rub your hands for them to dry.

fògosì [fògosì] v. 1 to make less, to remove to ease • lùgùsì à kpàámá bòrò káá fògòst à vìì nì. Remove some of the yams so there is less in the bowl. 2 to alleviate by having tasks taken by others • pàràsà ụ̀ wáá nì̀ kùò ró ńn tòmá fògòsì. Yesterday farmers came to my farm and alleviated my work.


fòlu [fòltì] n. new.

fòma [fòmá] v. to collect and press together, like in making a rice ball or a portion to put in the mouth • fòmá à sígá bòrò wá ttìę ụ̀ tiè. Press some of the beans and bring it for me to eat.

fòna [fònà] n. to be rough and dry • ụ̀ wá kpàámá fòna. If you bathe your skin will not be rough. hìrè à kpàámá lágà ụ̀ à lèì à káá fònà. Dig the yams quickly, if not they will dry up.

fònà [fònà] n. strength • ọ̀ wá kpàámá fònà. She does not have strength. ài jì káá kìnálà nmmèn ñà kpàámá fòną zàáñ? Who can make a strong rope these days?

fònjìna [fònjìnná] lit. strength-owner n. strong person.

fònjọ [fònjọ́] ideo. new, at an early stage • Lòòłì hàyì fònjìnn nị́, ọ́ ìfị́ kìn kàn nà. When this car was new, it had much speed.

fòra [fòrà] v. 1 to stuck, choke, block a flow, or close an opening with dirt or clay • zìnà ụ̀kà fòrà à dàá-lór. Go up and block the hole in the tree. 2 to be narrow • à diàwùà fòrà, kàtáráìí wáá kìn zòò. The door is narrow, the basin cannot enter.

fòrì [fòrì] n. narrow • nàmbùgò wáá kìn zòò bòfòrì. The aardvark
cannot live a narrow tunnel. ant: penni

fɔsi [fɔsɪ] v. to get or collect by force, to seize, to swindle • ɔ fɔsɪ à bié möŋgɔ à dì. She took the child’s mango and ate it. ɪ fɔsinya nà ànì bɔòtìà ì nì. You swindled twenty pesewas from me.

fɔti [fɔtɪ] v. 1 to have a choked nose and cannot breath • kábirimé kpá-gá ṭìmr bié ɔò mìsá fɔtì. My child has catarrh, her nose is choked. 2 to tie or wrap in small packages • fɔtì sikiri tìe bá jáwà. Tie the sugar in packages for them to buy.


fɔwà [fɔwà] v. to wrap • à hããŋ fɔwà mòlèbié ɔò gàrnòá nì. The woman wrapped money into the edge of her cloth.

fufù [fùfù] n. burnt grass ash.

fuŋfulù [fùŋfùlù] n. cheating • kàlá káá dì fuŋfulùn ktná rà. Kala is a cheat. ɪ wà jáá fuŋfulùn nìbú-łùntì. I am not a cheat.

fuoli [fùoli] (var. foole) v. to whistle • ɪ fuólì fuólò rò. I whistled. ɪ wàá kìn fuólì tsọ pàtìgíntì nì. You cannot whistle in the village.

fuolo [fùóló] n. whistle. pl. fuoloso.

fuori [fùɔrì] v. 1 to strip a plant from its leaves by pulling along the stem • fuɔrì à kpáásà tà. Strip the leaves out of the cane. fuɔrì à móá páá-tʃàgà tà à ná sìi. Remove the guinea corn leaves so they can grow. 2 to lose weight through sickness or fatigue and be thin • kàlá wì lá hà́njí fùòrì. The sickness of Kala made him thin.

fuosi [fùòsì] v. to eat with a spoon porridge or soup-like liquids • ɔ fuòsì kúbìí rë. She ate the porridge.

fuosù [fùòsù] v. to escape out of a grip of another person • bà kòpà-gá à ɲmtèr rà àkà ɔ fuòsì tʃà. They caught the thief but he escaped.

fuotuo (var. of footuo)

furusi [fùrùsì] cf: tfumbo 1 pl. v. to take small sips • à tíí nòmáà, ɔ dì fùrùsì. The tea is hot, he is sipping. 2 v. to sniff in, to draw phlegm into nose • hàmònà kàá furùsì mìsá. Children are fond of drawing their phlegm back into their nose.

fùù [fùù] v. to burn to charcoal, to burn food • wòsá fùù hólá
rá. Wusa burnt charcoal. *i siṁáá káá fũũ. Your food will burn.

fũũí [fũũí] n. burning • ā lũũí fũũí wá bõmá. The burning of medicine is not difficult.

fuuri [fuuri] v. to blow • ō fuürü ā dĩŋ dũsi. He quenched the flame by blowing it.

fũ [fũ] v. to prepare a skin in order to eat or to use for drum skin • kũ-zů- rũbãńíí tômá fũ tony ná à pú gáŋ- gáŋá rã. People from the Kuoru section prepared the skin and covered the drum.

fũã [fũã] cf: pũmma n. type of ash used as white paint, can also be used to describe something greyish-white • kã lũst tãtãfũá ā dĩ kãali sũkũũ. Take the greyish-white shirt and go to school.


fũga [fũgá] v. 1 to be light • ā tě- kpágā rũnná fũgã. The load of the pregnant woman is light. 2 to foam • ā kwiĩ kãá fũgã. The soap makes foam.

fũl [fũl] n. 1 type of climber plant whose leaves are plucked for soup ingredient. 2 soup ingredient. *fũlo.

fũna [fũnã] v. to shave • ō fũŋ bá fi kũ pûpûnã. They used to shave with a shaving knife.

fũnti [fũnti] v. to peel off by hand a fruit or a seed, after being roasted or not • fũnti lũmbûrò já dĩ. Peel the orange so we eat. *fũnti máŋ- sâ. Crack the groundnut.

fũŋ [fũŋ] n. shaving knife • fũn nã. It is a shaving knife. *fũnna.

fũŋfůgol [fũŋfůyl] n. foam • nũnẽsõnnã dĩsã kpágã fũŋfůgol lã. The wet okro soup makes plenty of foam.

fũolí [fũolí] v. of a swelling, to decrease or shrink, to be reduced in size • ōvó nãásã tĩŋ fũólíjáã. His legs are contracted.

fũomi [fũomi] v. to dent, to be crooked, to be broken • ā dĩŋ bãá- rt nũ ṭũbãkâtãsã, ō fũɔmì. The fire slightly burnt my plastic bowl, it is crooked.

fũora [fũrá] n. path between buildings or space between mountains.

fũra [fũrá] v. to throw with a hand • báʤogó fũrá kãái niũ lũdã. Ba- jogu threw a stone at Kala’s head and made a hole.

fũrĩgĩ [fũríjì] v. to scratch, to be bruised • i kãá tšelo ìi nãá fũrí- gi. You will fall and your leg will be bruised.

fũro [fũro] v. to take off meat from the bone • fũro ā nãmíí kãá kũpā ā hó- gó tĩj. Take off meat and give me the bones.

fũti [fûtì] v. to fill holes, to block a hole or space, to plug (many), to repair a leaking roof by filling holes
and cracks • à másin zínjë̀ fòtì à zé lá. The mason went up and filled the holes between the roof and the wall. à dúóŋ wá pēti, jà kàá fòtì à sàl lá. When the rain stops we will repair the roof. kà lægà nábíńà wà tíëŋ ŋ fòtì ŋ tawá nóá. Go scoop some cow dung for me to seal my tobacco container.

**fōo** [fōó] n. lower back. pl. **fōōna**.

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

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

**fōośi** [fōōśi] v. to insert air in a balloon, or as a sick person increases in size • ŋ fōōśi̍jɔ̀. He increased in size from sickness or poisoning. ŋ fōōśi nãšřńw̃ilö́ ñ bérègí bóól. He blew a cow’s bladder into a football.

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**g**

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


**gaafra** [gááfərá] interj. express excuse when interrupting or disturbing. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <gā-farə).

**gaali** [gààlì] v. 1 to be over or placed over something, to cover partially, to bend over partially • à tɔ́n ní, ń̩i gàa̍lí kéŋ, màrə à jîné. The skin, you are over and above it like that, just look carefully. tí gàa̍lì à bóà ní kéŋ. Do not bend over the hole like that. 2 to abound • ŋu tɔ̍má gàa̍lï. My work is too much.

**gaani** [gàànì] v. to swagger • tì gáánt à dò ŋ̃ ní ŋ fɔ̃já wíé. Do not swagger in front of me because of your power.

**gaanig phòng** [gàanigpàa̍nì] ideo. cloud state suggesting coming rain • à táâlá dó gaanig(Xml/latex2html)gàãnni. 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 ńmɛ̄ŋ tìëŋ ń̩ ɔ́rà m̩̃ m̩̃ pátá. Wind the thread for me so I can sew my pants.

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

**gaasì** [gáási] v. to pass by way of, to pass through • i gáási dé ní rē, brà wàà. You passed the place, come back. bìnsá ñí kà gáási̍jé, ñ wàà. He had come ten years ago.

**gagami** [gàyàmì] n. hallucination. pl. **gagamísìa**.

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

**gagati** [gàyàti] v. for dogs, to at-
tempt to bite yet barely scratching or pinching the target • à váá wá dòmíi, à gágátíí rà. The dog did not bite you, he barely pinched you.
gagtì [gàɣə̆̀tì̀] n. type of shrub. pl. gagtìsa.
gaha [gáhà] n. virgin land for farming.

gal [gál] 1 n. left (side) ant: dul1. 2 reln. left • wáá tfòà ìì nèŋ gál nì. It is on your left hand side. ant: dul2 pl. galla.

gala [gàlá] n. unripe quality of a fruit or nut • bòlà kínaá di móngógàlá. An elephant can eat unripe mangoes. syn: hema2 pl. galla.

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

gala [gálá] v. 1 to go over and across, pass something or somewhere, to step over an obstacle • à baál gálá hàglìíkìí nì rà. The man went over the snake. 2 to exceed, to be more than • ṑò ṯfèná zèŋií gálà ṑò nì rà. My friend’s height exceeds mine.

galanà [gàlánà] cf: galanząur n. madness, craziness.

galanząur [gàlanząʊ̀r] cf: galanja n. mad person. pl. galanzʊʊ́ra.

galinga [gàlingà] reln. middle • ò té-lé tiwìi galingà rà ìkà birà wàà. He reached halfway and returned. [Mo, Ka, Tu, Ti]. pl. galìngasa.


gama [gàmana] v. to put and join together, gather together items that were spread • gàmana à kpààŋdúgò múñ lágàmì dòsà nì à láò nì. Gather all the yam seedlings together in the farm hut.

gana [gàmanà] v. 1 to be in a state of severe pain • à bié fòó kàá gàmanà ânt tônkpégé nì. 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 • ṑò hà wàà gàmanà ṯiŋi mìá. I have not started weeding under my guinea corn.
ganagana [gànagànà] ideo. to be under-ripe and still stiff and hard • ò tí tòtí à móngò nòŋ ṑò hà dò gànanà. Do not pluck the mango fruit, it is still stiff.

gantal [gàntàl] 1 n. back, dorsum ant: suù1 syn: habù. 2 n. follow • ṑò gàntal tòmà jàá bàlíè wà. I have two siblings younger than me. 3 reln. back, behind • wáá dòa à fàlà gàntál nì. It is behind the calabash. pl. gantala.
gantan [gàntàn] n. outside.
gantalbaanhog [gàntálbaánhók] n. spine, vertebral column. pl. gantalbaanhogo.
gantalgbou (var. of kɔŋ)
ganja [gànja] n. rabies.
ganja bulo [gànjàbuló] n. arthritis.
ganjaarwɔ [gànjàárwɔ] n. lost opportunity, loosing a skill or capacity by doing something different • ṭiŋ mà bié vié sükú kállì, ø wàà kìn bi pàrà, ø zì tfèlè gànjàárwɔ. My brother refuses to continue schooling and cannot work at the farm any more, he is now at loss. pl. ganjaarwɔsa.
gangalarì [gànjìalàrì] cf: pìnghaasi n. pickaxe. (Waali <gànjìalàrì ‘pickaxe’).
ganjaŋ [gànjàŋ] n. type of dance.
ganjaŋa [gànjìŋà] n. long and double-headed cylindrical drum beaten with curved sticks. pl. ganjaŋasa.

1gan [gàŋ] v. to appear uneven and unexpected against a background • sìtà gàŋ nààpìél nì, tfùtí tà. Part of the thorn appears on the sole of my foot, pull it out. páànòò gàŋ iì dyî-fà nì, lògà tìëñ. Bread appears out of your pocket, cut some for me.
gapùmma [gàpùmì] n. woven cotton cloth. pl. gapùlùnsa.

gara [gàr] n. single piece of cloth covering the body. pl. gata.

gara [gàr] n. timber stable. pl. gara.

gara [gàr] v. 1 to pierce through • tòbùi gàrà øò èmòbbìi nì. An arrow pierced through his elbow. 2 to lie across • hàglìikìì tʃòà gàrà à tìwìi nì. A snake lies across the road. 3 to lead and exceed others in achievements, to do more than others • nìì mà pàrà gàrà à bìnìbbàám là. I achieved more farm work than the boy.

gar [gàr] v. to omit, to miss out, to skip • ò jàà gàrà kùò kàllì rà. He usually skips going to the farm.
garaga (var. of gërga)
garisi [gàrìsì] v. to burp • à hààñ pìi-ɲàò à zì gàrìsì. The woman was satisfied and then burped.
garinzànee [gàrinzànì] n. bearing device made out of a fork of a tree branch. pl. garinzànìsa.
garisi [gàrìsì] v. to trip and stumble • kàlá gàrìst dáá rà à tfèlè. Kala tripped over a stick and fell.
garnɔ̀ [gàrnɔ̀] n. edge of cloth, used by women to wrap coins, kola nuts, and other items.
garsòor [gàrsòòr] lit. cloth-weaver cf: sòòsòor n. weaver. pl. garsòorra.
garzagatì [gàrzàyàtí] n. rag. pl. garzagatìa.
gati [gàti] v. to be high, to be raised • lësi iì dëlèmbùi tinj ò gàti. Chock your stove stone so it is properly high. à báàl sàà øò dià tʃìnsì bàgàtíi nì rà. The man built his house on top of a higher ground.
gatigatì [gàtìgàti] ideo. scattered • dùù à pàmmìì gátìgàtí. Sow the corn one by one here and there.
gatɔɔlɪɪ [gàtɔ́ɔ́lɪ́ɪ̀] n. cover cloth, used to cover the body.
gere [gèrè] v. of food which is hard to digest for the stomach and not being properly processed • à nàmá géréó ñi̊ñi̊ pàt∫igii ni̊. The meat is undigested in my stomach. bọtigèreé tóma tîési. The morsel Toma vomited was undigested.
gerege [gérégè] n. tip of arrow. pl. geregese.
gɛgɛra [gɛ̀gɛ́rã] cf: gɛgɛta (var. dʒɛ-ʒɛrɪ) n. type of monitor lizard found in rocky area. pl. gegerasa.
g egeti (var. of gegeta)
ge  [gèńã] v. to be fool or stupid • bà dìà nìñé tìṣ́ géná kíkàán nà. The elder in their house is very stupid.
gene [gènè] n. type of skin rope used to tie head load. pl. gensa.
genna [gènnà] n. foolishness.
gila zima [gilà zìmà] lit. let know cpx.v. to prove • gilá́n zìmà dt i lè́. Prove to me that you are not the one.
girr [gírrí] cf: lehe | n. cheek skin and flesh. pl. girra.
gtī [gítí] v. 1 to cut, to pull apart, to break, especially for rope like items • kpàgà à ɲménj gtt à dtàñóâ ntí. Break the rope that is across the door. 2 to experience a network cut, when the mobile contact becomes non-existent • ò ɲmá wié dt tíc oò kptémá o fòó̊ñménj gttít. While she was talking to her sister, the line was cut.
go [gó] v. to gather close or around, to surround, to enclose • à ɲménj gò à dá́á rá. The rope is round the tree. à váá dósí à bié bárámúñ goù. The dog bit the child all over his body.
gogo [gògò] v. to hit with the finger tips, knuckle, or with a stick • à tʃí-tʃàsá fí́́ já gōgò jà ɲuúnó rò. The teachers used to knock our head.
gogosiama [gógósiámá] cf: haglísìansa | n. type of ant. [Mo].
golemi [gólèmì] v. to be crooked, to twist or be twisted, to move with a contorted motion, as snake, worm or like a twisted rope • à jòòłóŋ dán-kpàlá gólèmíjóó. The blind man’s walking stick is twisted.
golì [gòlì́] n. type of grass (Sporobolus pyramidalis). pl. golee.
gongobiri (var. of gongobiridaa)
gongobiridaa [gôngòbiridàà] (var. gongobirì) n. desert date, type of tree (Balanites aegyptiaca). pl. gòngobiridaasa.
goñonọ [góñònọ́] cf: goño | n. type of fruit. pl. goñotoga.
goñotoga [gòntógà] n. type of tree. pl. goñotogasa.
goro [gòrò] v. 1 to be crooked, to bend down, to be curved or hooked • gorò ii né́j ɲú ná. Bend your arm so I can see. kòkòlèntébíé jáá kìn-gòréè wò. Fishing hooks are bent and curved things. 2 to be dishonest • à báál goròō ànì́ ʊ̀ wì́kpágɛ́ɛ́ nít. The man is dishonest whatever he does. 3 to circle • bà gorò à dtà́rá. They enclosed the house (with a fence or people stood around it)
gòléwègò [gòléwègò] n. snail. pl. gòléwègosa.
gó [gó̊n] n. 1 river. 2 type of plant. pl. góna.
gòmbó [gòmbò́] n. river path,
where the water flows. *pl. gônhaosa.*

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

**gônñóá** [góññóá] *n.* river bank.

**gônwie** [góñwie] *n.* stream, small river. *pl. gônwise.*

**gônzenj** [gón‘zénj] *n.* large river. *pl. gônzene.*

**gônzenjii** [gón‘zénjíí] *n.* long river. *pl. gônzenjíë.*

**górí górgi** v. to bend outward, to be bowed • ḳì Ḳie näásá käá górí. Your child’s legs will be bowed.

**gulongulon** [gùlóngùlón] *ideo.* circular, round shape • kónkólóbíí mà-nà do gulongulón. The grinding stone always has a round shape.

**gundaabii** [gùndaábíí] *cf.* ñmedaa *n.* distaff, spindle for spinning cotton (without thread). *pl. gundaabie.*

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

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

**gunmeñ** [gùnmeñ] *n.* cotton thread.

**guori** [gùori] *cf.* kaposse *n.* kola nut. [Mo, Ka, Tu, Ti]. (Hausa < guori).

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

**guro** [gùró] v. to gather together items like shea nuts, maize, or groundnut • máwá gùró à tfúónó, à dúóñ kàà buùrè. You gather together the shea nuts, rain is threatening.

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

**gurugi** [gùrúgí] v. 1 to grab a person firmly, by force • tómá wá gù-rúgí òò màabìé à kàllì sùkùù. Toma came and grabbed his brother and went to school. 2 to rape • bà wàà gùrúgí háánà dùsiè nì. There are no rape cases in Ducie.

**gusi** [gùsì] v. to nod, up and down • ṣì ñìà màè tìèè òò gùsì òò pùù. I talked to him and he nodded his head.

**guti** [gùtì] v. to coil, to roll up, to rewind, to fold • sìí gùtì ñì kàlèñ tìñ. Get up and roll up your mat. kpàgà à kàlèñ gùtì. Roll up the mat. gùtì à ñmèñ dò ñì pùr nì. Roll up the rope and put it in your farm bag.

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

**guugi** [gùùgì] v. to roam, to go back and forth • ñì ñìà wàà tìèè òò gùsì òò pùù. I talked to him and he nodded his head.

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

**gùa** [góà] (var. guo) v. to dance • bà góá báwáá rá lúsìnnàsà tìn nì. They
danced bawaa at the funeral.

2gʊa [gòâ] n. dance. pl. gʊana.
gʊma [gömá] n. 1 hump on the back. 2 supernatural creature which lives in the bus. pl. gʊnsa.
gʊmatɪɪna [gʊ̀ mátɪ́ɪ́ná] n. hunched-back, person with a humped back. pl. gʊmatɪʊma.
gʊmera [gʊ̀ mpɛ̀rà] n. type of climber. pl. gʊmpɛrasa.
gʊɔsɪ [gʊɔsı] v. to rehearse and practice for an activity having a climax, to warm up, to build up • dʊ̀ gʊ́ gʊ́ɔ́rá já gʊ̀ ɔ̀sʊ̀ ʊ̄ àká gʊ̀ à. The dugu dancers rehearse and practice before the dance. à bɔ́ɔ̀lmáŋáná káá gʊ̄ɔ̄sʊ̀ ʊ̀ ká tʃálɪ́sɪ̀ bà kàá pìīlì. The football players are warming up before they start.

gb

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

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

gbaani [gbáání] v. to crawl • à bifólá há wàà gbāānì. The baby does not yet crawl.

gbaani [gbáani] v. to add sugar or salt in addition to the amount already contained in the dish or drink • má tɪ́ɛ́ŋ jɪ̀ɪ̀sá ŋ́ gbáánɪ̀. Pass the salt I will add some more.

gbaar [gbáár] n. herder • ɪ̀ gbìé jáá nàgbáàr rá. My son is a cowherd. pl. gbaru.

gbaasɪ [gbáásì́] (var. 2 gbɪasɪ) v. to take or collect from several places • ɪmìır zóɔ̀ ین dià à gbiásì ŋ̀ dià kíná múŋ lii. The thief entered my house, took some items and left.


gbagalá [gbagàyá] n. type of cloth for elders. [oldfash].


gbaλala [gbambáλá] n. albino. pl. gbambalasà.

gbañasa [gbañásá] n. expectation • ɪ̀ nòó à mòlibié gbañásá rá. I expect the money.

gbañasa [gbañásá] n. inarticulate noise produced by the body or com-
ing from cars or planes at a distance.

gbanasi [gbâŋasì] v. to touch • gbâ-ŋâsì ṭò ŋú ŋò, òò wìò. Touch my head, it is hurting me.

gbângbân [gbàngmbàn] n. harmattan. (Gonja <gbângbân).

gbara [gbârâ] nprop. 1 name of a god owned by some people in Dúcì’s Gbuvwolè 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 [gbârmì] v. to attempt to catch and fail, to try to arrest someone to no avail • à pòlìsì gbàrmúú rà. The police failed to arrest him.

gbegbe (var. of gbagba)

gbêl [gbél] (var. gbêl) n. type of tree (Ficus elasticoides). pl. gbêla.

gbêlmun [var. of zamparagùn]

gbêna [gbéná] n. type of bean. pl. gbêna.

gbênu [gbéní] n. 1 red-coloured stone. 2 pinkish colour • à gbéní dijóó. The pinkness is reached. pl. gbênn.

gbentaga [gbêntâyá] n. big gourd used as bucket, the biggest natural container syn: fataga . pl. gbentagasà.

gbentagasi [gbêntàgâsì] (var. sìjum-me) n. type of plant. pl. gbentagasesà.

1gbëra [gbèrà] n. sponge used to wash one’s body. pl. gberasà.

2gbëra [gbèrà] v. to soak soil for the preparation of bricks used as building material • báá gbèrà hàglìì à tènësi hàglìbié. They are going to soak soil and make bricks.

3gbëra [gbèrà] v. to be crippled from the waist downwards • lòlì jùò òò gbèrà. He was crippled as a result of a car accident.

gbërì [gbèrì] n. cripple. pl. gberìe.

gbësa [gbèsa] n. chewing stick. pl. gbësàsà.

gbetara [gbêtârá] n. shallow pond found in the bush. pl. gbetarasà.

gbeti [gbèti] v. to be unable to learn, act, or demonstrate correctly • ììì...
biniháŋ tin gbétíjóó. My daughter is unable to learn correctly.

gbette [gbètìè] n. clumsy person. pl. gbetisa.

gbiegie (var. of gbielie) n.

gbieli [gbíli] v. to shout out the items one is selling • àŋ́ káá gbīēlī nʊ̃̀ʊ̃̀? Who is shouting out her oil?

gbinti [gbíntì] v. to kneel • nihāā-nā bānì̀ já gbinti ṣàá bāáł soó ni ká kpá nìnōálì́li tìëò. Some women kneel in front of their husbands before giving them water.


gbingbin [gbìngbin] ideo. crowded • à dià sù gbìngbin ànì nàrà. The house is full of people.

gbia [gbìà] n. monkey synt: nengaltìna . pl. gbìána.

gbìàkanìë (var. of kanìë)


1gbiasi [gbìási] pl.v. cf: fierî 1 to adjust a share, to harmonize an amount • jàwà tòmà zòò dì gbìási kììna kìnùògùlùé tòmà pé ni. The market owners entered the market and collected their tokens from the sellers. 2 to pluck or pick the top shoot of bean leaves • gbìási à sìgá nùú nò, já kpá tònà disá. Pluck bean shoots, we will make soup.

2gbiasi (var. of gbaasi)

gbiásiama [gbìàsìàmà] n. red patas monkey (Erythrocebus patas).


gbinti [gbìntì] v. to over-prune by cutting away too many leaves on a plant • dì i gbìntì à sìgá, i kàá kpōā wà. If you continue over-pruning your cow peas, you will kill them.

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

gbolo [gbòló] nprop. Gbolo, person’s name.

gbaŋ [gbɔŋ] n. type of tree. pl. gboŋo.


gbugó [gbùgò] v. to be plentiful, to be over-abundant • sììmáá gbùgó bò bà di ká viè. The food was plentiful for them, they ate but refused some.


gbulo [gbùló] v. to be blunt • à kísìé gbúlóó. The knife is blunt. (Gonja <gbìí).

gburugulugee [gbùrùgùlùgèè] n. tadpole. pl. gburuguluguso.
**gbogol** [gbóyó] n. heavily used area where activities are carried out, where ground becomes hard and sandy, and no grass grows for many years.

**gbogolmun** [gbóyólìmg] n. farm area for resting in the shade.

**gboktok** [gbóyóttōg] ide. thick • tīe à kūã bi gbóna gbõktōk. Let the porridge be very thick.

**gbônja** [gbóna] v. to be thick, thicken, to be dense, usually used to describe the texture of a liquid • tīe à kūã bi gbóna. Let the porridge be thick.

**gbunjwolée** [gbóynwólée] nprop. section of Ducie. (Tampulma < ng-benjwolée ‘dense family’).

**gburr** [gbórr] cf: taarì; İiri v. to rush at, to move towards something rapidly and with force • à vā ñbürri kāált à piési pé rē. The dog rushed at the sheep.

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**h**

1**ha** [ha] pv. yet, still • ḥā wā wāáwā. He has not yet come.

2**ha** [hâ] v. to hire • jā ḥā lōlī kāált à lūhō rō. We hired a car to go to the funeral.

**hā** [hâ] v. to hate • ṃ ḥā ṃ ṃ tɪfṣa rā. I hate my teacher.

**hāā** [hââ] v. 1 to open one’s mouth, to contribute to a topic of discussion • zìān ḥāā ṃ ṃ nā rā à wīe bànmaalí nī. Ziang contributed during the discussion. 2 to lift one’s arm high as if to hit something or someone • ḥāā Ĳį nēy māŋūū. Raise you hand and beat him.

**hāābuura** [hââbûûrâ] n. chasing women.

**haalí** [háálí] conn. yet, still • ṃ jīтра sānā mūŋ, ḥāalí ṃ ḥā wā wāáwā. He called her a long time ago, yet she has not come. ḫālā wāâ ṃ pé rē ḥāā-li diārī mūŋ. Kala has been with me since yesterday. ṃ ḫūûrē mōlēbiē bīrg ĥāālī ṃ ḥā wā nāā. I struggled to get money for some time but still have not got any.

**haamí** [hâaṃî] n. boredom • hāa-mí kpāgā kūrīī rē, ṃ ī dī wā kîŋ wāā wāā. Kuri was bored because he could not come to Wa yesterday.

**hāān** [hâān] n. cf: nhāān 1 woman. 2 female. 3 wife. pl. hāāna.

**haarí** [hâârî] v. to deprive • ṃ hâârî ṃ ṃ kôō tā. She deprived me of my t.z. sōu hâârî īŋī māā tā. Death deprived me from my mother.

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

**hāāsí** [hââsî] v. to yawn • niḏîgī-mājā wāā hâ̄āsî. No one yawns alone.
hã̃sii [hã̃sii] n. 1 bitterness • kin-

hã̃sii rà. It is something bitter. 2 to be annoyed • nihã̃sii rè jáá à báàl. That man easily becomes annoyed.

hã̃sì [hã̃sì] v. to be bitter • nàà-
sààrsì́ŋtʃáʊ́ bíé hã́ã́sì́jáʊ́. The Neem seeds are bitter.

habʊɔ [habʊ̀ ɔ́] n. back syn:1'gantal. pl. habʊɔna.

hagasɪ [háɣɪ̆́sɪ̀] n. type of candy. (ultm. English <hacks ‘candy brand’).

hagla [hàɣə̆̀lá] n. ground, soil, sand, earth syn: haglɪ́ɪ; tagla. pl. haglɪa.

haglɪ́bìé [hàɣlɪ́bìé] cf: solibie (var. 1'minìà) n. type of ant syn: 2'minìà. pl. haglɪ́bìse.


haglɪ́bummo [hàɣə̆̀lɪ́búmmò] n. type of soil.

haglɪ́nʊ́ɣʊ́l̀ [hàglɪ́nʊ́ɣʊ́l̀] n. type of soil, without stones and roots, light and loose.

haglɪ́nʊ́ɣʊ́l̀ [hàglɪ́nʊ́ɣʊ́l̀] n. sandy soil.

hãhɪ̃ɛ̃ [hã́hɪ̃́ɛ̃̀] n. old woman. pl. hã-

hɪɛ̃ta.

hajoŋ [hájóŋ̀] nprop..

hakɪla [hákɪ́là] n. thought, argument • m̀ m̀ máásɪ́ tʃɔ́ sùkúù ní rè, m̩̀ mã̀ã́ tɪ́ɛ́ŋ hākɪ̄là. I once ran away from school, but my mother advised me to go back. pl. hakɪlɔsa.

hal [hál] n. egg. pl. hala.

hala [hàlà] cf: pɪga v. to fry some-
thing on a hot surface using fat • i káà kɪ̀ŋ hàlà kpààn nā. Can you fry yam?

haliŋguomii [hálíŋgùòmíì] cf: nō̃-manier n. millipede, underground pest which bores into yam tubers to feed (Myriapoda). pl. haliŋguomie.

halu [hálú] n. frying • kpàâŋhiftária. Fried yam.


hambag [hámbák] n. type of tree (Pi-

lostigma thonningi). pl. hambaga.

hambajala [hámbágàlá] n. lying flat and facing the sky. pl. hambajalara.

hambara [hámbàrà] n. barrenness, lack of reproductivity attributed to male or female. pl. hambarasa.
hamɔnanãʊ̃ (hàmɔ́nánã̀ʊ̃́) n. assassin bug (Reduviidae). pl. hamɔnana

hamɔŋ (hándɔ̀ŋ) n. co-wife, Gh. Eng. woman’s rival. pl. handɔsa

hanzɔŋ (hànzóŋ) cf: luhããŋ n. unmarried young woman. pl. hanzomo

haŋ (hàŋ) dem. this • ɪ̀ɪ̀ nésé hámà, á-wèŋ́ ká kpàgà fɔ̀ŋá? Which of your hands has most strength? pl. hama.

haŋtʃele (háŋtʃèlē) cf: liegu nprop. Motigui shrine, water source where the animate god lives.

hara (hàrà) v. to lock • kpàgà ǹǹ dɪ̀à-nʊ̃́ã̀ hàrà tɪ̀ɛ̀ʊ̄. Lock my door for him. ant: 1lala

haradia (hàràdiá) n. prison. pl. haradusa.

haraha (hàrahá) n. inexpensive, cheapness, low price. (Hausa, ultm. Arabic <àr̃àsā ‘cheapness’).

hargi (hàrɪ̆̀gɪ̀) v. to try, to do with all your might, to do seriously, to make an effort • hàrɪ́gɪ̀ páásɪ́ ɪ̀ɪ̀ tɛ́ɛ́sɪ̀ nɪ̄. Try to pass your test. óó hargi à pàrà kùó. He should try to have a farm.

hasig (hásɪ́g) nprop. Hasik, female name related to sigmaa, follows ɳmáapu synt: ɳmáapu; basig.

hasɔŋ (hásɔ́ŋ) n. woman who recently gave birth. pl. hasɔna.

hàwie (háwíè) n. 1 ego’s junior brother’s wife. 2 ego’s most recent wife. pl. hàwise.

hēhēse [hēhēsè] n. announcer. pl. hēhēsesee.

1hele (hélè) n. type of squirrel synt: muŋzeŋtuna . pl. heleese.

2hele (hélè) v. to bend back one’s head • hélè ɪ̀ɪ̀ ɲúù. Lift your head up.

3hele (hélè) v. to send someone specially to do one’s errand, Gh. Eng. to message someone • ńń hélè bá tʃɪ̀ kpá ɪ̃̃ ká hélè ĩ̃ ɲúù. I am going to send them to fetch my trousers tomorrow.

hembii (hèmbií) n. metal nail. pl. hembie.

hēsee [hēsèè] n. message. pl. hēsee.

hēsi (hésí) v. to announce, to beat a drum to announce • tɔ́ʊ́tɪ́ɪ́ná ŋmá dɪ́ bá hēsí má ká pàrà kùó. The landowner says they announced that you should go and work at the farm.

hema (hèmá) n. 1 young, as in physically not mature • ɳmáapu bié há jiáá bìhémti rá. Mangu’s child is not yet fully grown. 2 to be unripe • jiá dià màngònóná hémáá à há wà siá-rí. The fruits of our mango tree are
still hard, they are not yet ripe. syn: 2 gal

hembie [hèmbié] n. small bowl. pl. henwise.

hembola [hèmbòlá] n. medium size bowl. pl. hembolasa.

hena [hèná] n. bowl. pl. hensa.

hë [hë] n. arrow. pl. hëma.

hëmbà [hèmbìá] n. small bowl. pl. hëmbàsà.

hëna [hèná] n. medium size bowl. pl. hënsà.

hëŋ [hë̃́ŋ] n. arrow. pl. hëma.

hëngbaa [hèngbaá] n. type of clay bowl, container used to stir shea butter. pl. hëngbaana.

hënsì [hë̀nsì] v. 1 to lie, to tell untruth • à bìè hënsì wìé dò ụ̀ nọ̀ ọ̀ n t à. The child lied to me.

hënsìpugo [hë̀nsìpùgó] n. asthma.

hìri [hìrì] n. hind leg of an animal. pl. hìri.

hire [hìrè] v. to dig, to take out sand, to dig up new planted yams • kà hìrè nààtì ụ̀ bà. Dig some gravel for them. mì̀ bié kàálì kùọ̀ ọ̀ kà hìrè kpàànfìléé. My son has gone to dig the new yams.

hirii [hìríí] n. digging.


hì [hì] cf: bahì v. to age, to grow old, to be older than • miy hìì. I am older than you. i lèt hìì. You are not older than me. ant: wie

hì [hì] interj. exclamation expressing disapprobation of an action carried out by someone else.

hì [hì] v. to slam into someone to prevent his or her action • té hìì. Don’t slam into me. óòwà hììn nà. It is she who prevented me.

i wàa kin zòò ụ̀ tóò nì. Without family relations, you cannot live in your village. pl. hìë̀nà.

hìënà [hìëná] n. ego’s father’s sister. pl. hìënsà.

hìë [hìë] n. relative by maternal and paternal descent • i hìë kà jàà báàn? Who is your relative? wàa nì kpààgùí nì ụ̀ hìëmbà dòà. In Wa, my relatives are in Kpààgùí. pl. hìënba.

hìëra [hìërá] n. appetite, craving, or an absence that creates a desire • ìyì bìrígù é ụ̀ bìí nà ụ̀m bié ọ̀ hìërá dì jàà. It is a long time since I have seen my child and his absence affects me. kòò hìërá kpààgà à bìí. The child has a craving for t.z.

hìëri [hìëri] v. to be enthusiastic, to be voracious • bátìn kàà hìë́ròò. Batón is a voracious meat eater.

hìësì [hìësì] v. 1 to be old • ụ̀ nìní hìë́sìjòò. My father is old. 2 to be ripe, to be mature, applicable to banana, yam, and plantain • à kpààmá hìë́sìjàà. The yams are mature and ready to dig up.

hìhì [hìhì] n. bank of mud and reeds forming pond to contain and catch fish. pl. hìhtiìnà.

hì [hì] v. to slam into someone to prevent his or her action • té hìì. Don’t slam into me. óòwà hììn nà. It is she who prevented me.
**Hohulbummo**  [hògùlbummò]
n. type of cockroach, larger than hogul.

**Hogulpomma**  [hògùlpòmmá]
n. type of cockroach.

**Hol**  [hól]
1. n. type of tree (Afzelia bella).  *pl. holmo.*
2. n. piece of charcoal.  *pl. hòla.*

**Holbii**  [hòlbìì]
n. Afzelia bella seed.  *pl. holbie.*

**Holín**  [hòlín]  *cf: hogul*  n. cockroach.  *[Mo, Ka, Tu, Ti].  pl. holmo.*

**Holínpeti**  [hòlínìnpètíì]
n. Afzelia bella seed shell.

**Holala**  *(var. of hòlalahóla)*

**Hol**  [hól]  n. piece of charcoal.  *pl. hòla.*

**Holalahóla**  [hòlalahòlà]  *(var. hòlala)*

ideo. type of visual percept, yellowish colour  *i kàgláábùl tìnì hà dò hòlahòlà, tìè ó sìári ká i tòtí.  Your paw-paw is still unripe, let it ripen before you pick it.*


**Hösi**  [hòsì]
1. v. to shout or to cry out at someone  *hòsì à biè dì ó brà wàà.  Shout to the child that he must come back.*
2. to give forth thunder  *i nòó à dùóŋ hòsì ràà?  Did you hear the (rain) thunder?*
3. to rebuke, to criticize, to speak harshly to  *Ò  mà wàà dì tìè à biè ré kàá hòsì.  He talks harshly to the child.*

**Hoss**  [hòss]  n. type of grasshopper.  *pl. hòsa.*

**Hùsa**  [hùssá]
n. shyness, respectfulness  *hùssá kpàgòò rà.  She is shy (Shyness has her).  óò òmà hùssá rà.  She is shy (She fears shyness).*

**Hùssí**  [hùssì]  v. to dry up  *à póò ní hùssì-sìjò.  The water from the river has dried up.*

**Hùsaál**  [hùsáàl]  n. father in-law.  *pl. hùsáala.*

**Hùshàán**  [hùsháàán]
n. ego’s mother in-law.  *pl. hùsháànàa.*

**Hùta**  [hùtá]
1. witchcraft  *wàá kpùù ànì hùta nì.  He killed him with witchcraft.*
2. to put charm or spell on something to affect someone.

**Hùg**  [hòg]  n. bone.  *pl. hògo.*

**Hùgo**  [hògò]  *cf: ɔglù*  v. to have nausea  *à póòstuff hùgo kàá dògòst à gérégìì rà.  The nausea is disturbing the patient.*

**Hùgùla**  *(var. of hùla)*

**Holín**  [hòlín]  *cf: hogul*  n. cockroach.  *[Mo, Ka, Tu, Ti].  pl. holmo.*

**Holínpeti**  [hòlínìnpètíì]
n. Afzelia bella seed shell.


**huor** [hùôr] n. raw • à nánhuôr kà-
nâô. The raw meat is abundant. à
námïë múŋ jáá áhuôr rô. All the
meat is raw. *pl. huoto.*

**hur** [húr:] n. inevitably, unavoidably
• hûr múŋ nô o fî jàá wââ báany. He
always to come here. hûr ŋ kâá bi
bîlê kûò rô. I will inevitably start
farming again.

**hûúsí** [hûúsí] v. to shout, the kind of
vocalization that travels a long dis-
tance, mainly done in the bush • à
pápâtá kâá kâáli ìtâ âkâ hûúsí jîrâ
ôô tôgômâ. The farmer goes home
and shouts to alert his colleague.

**hûlå** [hólå] v. to be dry, to dry •
nû tfùónô hûlå ñ kâá sôñàñ. My
shea nuts are dry enough to pound
them. tië à námîë hólå. Let the meat
be dry.

**hûlî** [hólî] n. drying • jôôkôŋ-
kpônghólî bômââ. The drying of
rainy season cassava is difficult.
*ant: sùnî. pl. hólî.*

**hôñ** [hôñ] 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.
hônna.*

**hôôr** [hôôr] n. stranger. *pl. hôôra.*

**hoorakaalî** [hôôràkâálî] n. sixth
day of a second funeral.

**hôô** [hôô] v. to blow a wind instru-
ment • mîm bâål kàá hôô bûsûndû rô
wîwîrî. My husband plays the flute
very well.

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**i**

i (var. of ìi)

ii [ʔíi] v. to praise, to speak highly of
• ìi kùósó. Praise God.

ǐi [ʔíi] v. to push out, in childbirth •
dît ŋìi. Push!

**iri** [ʔìiri] cf: *gbûûri; taari* v. to
rush at somebody in anger • wòsà
kà páá ŋìì zómmô, gbóló ìiri jîrè
kàáli ôô pé ré. When Wusa insulted him,
Gbolo rushed at him in anger.

iko [ʔíkò] cf: *wosakuolo* in-
terj. praise name and title for the
wosakuolo clan.

ileʔile [ʔîlèʔîlè] *ideo.* type of visual
percept • kàáli jàwà âkà jàwà sóm-

**màà tîñ kà dà îlèʔîlè. Go to the mar-
ket and get dawadawa balls that are
dark in colour.**

**indʒi** [ʔîndʒì] n. engine. (ultm. En-
grish).

**iri** [ʔîri] n. type, ethnic group, prop-
erty, colour • ñîëîrî wëñ kâ jáá já
nàl tînî? To which group of people
does our grandfather belong? bâany
iri i kà bûûrê? What type do you
want? tãgàtà pômmà, àsiàmmà ànî
stsàá ȷ kàá âkà ɗíà bûûrê? I
have white, red, and yellow shirts,
which colour do you want? (Waali).
*pl. irî.*
ise [îsé] n. 1 type of insect which likes the sweat of human beings, produces a thick substance sweeter than honey called ise, but tiny in quantity. 2 thick substance produced by an insect called ise. pl. ise.

isi [ʔisi] cf: wɔsasiile interj. title and praise name for the wɔsisiile clan.

ito [ʔitò] cf: itolo interj. praise name and title for the itolo clan.

itolo [ʔitoló] cf: ito nprop. clan found in Gurumbele.

pàmmí kùò ní. Go and take care of the maize at the farm.

ile [ʔilé] cf: wɔsaleela interj. title and praise name for the wɔsaleela clan.

ilnõa [ʔilnõà] n. nipple. pl. ilnõasa.

itfa [ʔitfà] cf: wɔsatʃaala interj. praise name and title for the wɔsatʃaala clan.

itwe [ʔitwè] cf: wɔsavula interj. praise name and title for the wɔsavula clan.

j

1ja [ja] (var. jaa) v. to do • tfɔpisi bí mʊnj ɔ já jáò. He does it every day. jinìjì ì kà jáà? What did I do?

2ja [ja] (var. je) pro. first person plural pronoun • já kááli. Let us go (non-initiated action). já káálíjì. We went.

1ja (var. of ja)

2ja [jáà] v. 1 to fetch water, to dip out liquid • jàà ní tíì ʃ pɔà. Fetch water and give it to me. jàà pé. Fetch and add more. 2 to take grains in quantity • jàà pàmmí kà tíì ʃ hìlà-hìlà. Take some maize for your female in-laws.

3já [jáà] v. 1 to be • ʃ jàà ìòù jìnìrà. He is my father. 2 to be equal • ktnúlò t kpà pé álò nì, à jàà ánnà-sè. Two plus two equals four.

4já (var. of jú)
múŋ. He goes to the farm everyday. tááŋú jáà tá é gér ré. Tangu eats lizard regularly.

1jaari [jààrí] v. to be lazy, be untrustworthy, be useless • ń́ ná hàáŋ jàárí jàáö. My wife is lazy and unable to work.

2jaari [jààrí] v. to scatter on the ground • bóóŋ bití à náànmí jààrí à zágá ní. A goat knocked the maize over and scattered it in the house.

jaga [jàɣà] v. 1 to hit, to knock • hà-kúríí jágá váá tā. Hakuri knocked the dog away. ń káà jágíí tóbíí. I will hit you with my arrow. 2 to put down brusquely • tì wá kpà à bónsó jàgà hàglíí. Do not put the cup down brusquely.

jalasí [jàláśí] v. 1 to sit and lean back, to be slanted, to relax on • à bié sánỳà ńń̀ níń kíí ká bà kà jáláśí. The child sat on his father’s chair and leaned back. 2 to depend on, to rely on • gbóló ńmá dí ń jáláśí ń ní dí ń káà tćeó làábàkò dùhó. Gbolo said that he relies on me to give him yam seedlings.

jalie (var. of jàrìe)

jarata [járátá] (var. parata) ints. very clear or proper white • à nàànmísáó káà tóláà járátá. The maize flour is very white.


jasanaboï [jàsáñábóïí] lit. we-sit-slowly (‘Let’s keep peace’) nprop. dog name.

1jawa (var. of jōwa)

2jawa [jáwā] pro. first person plural emphatic pronoun • jàwà wà kín kààlì à lúhò. We were not able to go to the funeral.

jawaa [jáwáá] pro. first person plural strong pronoun.


jege [jègè] v. to shake from hunger or some sicknesses, feeling difficulty in moving • ń tʃákíjìí, ńń̀ bárà dí jègè. She has diarrhoea and is dehydrated, her body is shaking.

jegisi [jègísí] pl.v. to rock or shake back and forth, to calm a crying baby by shaking • kpå à bié ságà ľì nàásá nì à dí jègísí. Put the child on your lap and continue rocking her.
jélé [jélélé] v. to crow • à zímráá jálélěū. The cock crowed.

ejelii [jélíí] n. blooming, flower • bá waà pàrà màńṣîjélèè pàñjîgú. We do not weed under blooming ground-nut plants. pl. jelii.

jerisi [jérísí] v. to shake up by being surprised • kàlá nʊ̃́ʊ̃́ màáfàwîì jérísí. Kala heard a gun sound and was shaken up.

jèle [jélé] v. to bloom, to produce and bear flowers • tölñ màńṣá káá jélèū. My groundnuts are blooming.

joŋ [jóŋ̀] n. slave. pl. joŋo

joŋsì [jósì] v. to trot • jósì kàáli birîndîñ ká waà. Trot to the main road and come back.

joguli [jóyúli] v. to sell • jògùli ii sâ-kir tîñ à bó i kàntînsâ. Sell your bicycle and pay your debts.

jogulìbòń [jóyúlibóń] n. high price, expensive • jògùlîbòń n[col]ú ni, ò wáá kîn jáwùû. Because it is expensive, I cannot buy it.

jogulì [jóyúli] n. selling. pl. jogulie.

jogulîlè [jóyúlîlè] n. moderate price, cheap • wòjò kpágà jògùlîlè nà, à nùú nò oò pàtùûût pè. Wojo had a moderate price, therefore his petrol got sold.

jogulo [jóyúlo] n. price • à sâ-kir jò-gulô lêmâo. The price of the bicycle is low. pl. jogulosò.

jolo [jóló] cf: bìtì v. to pour but leave some in the container • jóló sìñ tìɛʊ. Pour some drink for him.

jolo [jóló] cf: sampɛntìɛ n. farming and gardening with raised beds.

joso [jóso] n. slave. pl. josò.

jósì [jósì] v. to trot • jósì kàálì birîndîñ ká waà. Trot to the main road and come back.
jɔusi [jɔ̃sɪ] pl.v. to buy • ŋ̀ bùùrè t̟ t̟ j̟̃s̟̃t̟ kṕ̟á̃m̟̃á̃ n̟ j̟̃m̟̃m̟̃t̟̃ẽ r̟̀ à j̟̃w̟̃á̃ n̟. I want you to buy yam and maize at the market.

j̟̃w̟̃a [jɔ́w̟̃á] (var. 1j̟̃w̟̃a) v. to buy • k̟̃àĩl̟̃i j̟̃w̟̃á k̟̃á j̟̃w̟̃á kánsá à wá t̟̃ĩń̟. Go to the market and buy me bean cakes.

j̟̃w̟̃a [jɔ́w̟̃á] cf: jawadiir n. market. pl. j̟̃w̟̃ũs̟̃a.

jugii [j̟̃ũ̟̃g̟̃ĩ] n. heavy • kp̟̃á̃m̟̃b̟̃é̃ns̟̃e j̟̃g̟̃ĩ k̟̃á̃l̟̃i kp̟̃á̃m̟̃w̟̃ót̟̃ò. Yam tubers are heavier than yam seedlings. pl. j̟̃ũg̟̃ee.

j̟̃ũgo [j̟̃ũ̟̃g̟̃o] v. 1 to weigh, to be heavy • k̟̃á̃l̟̃á j̟̃ũg̟̃o b̟̃á̃w̟̃ó̃l̟̃ĩ b̟̃á̃m̟̃b̟̃á̃á̃n ǹ̟ t̟̃. Kala is the heaviest among his colleagues. 2 to be valuable • k̟̃á̃l̟̃á w̟̃ĩɲ̟̃m̟̃á̃h̟̃á j̟̃ũg̟̃o k̟̃á̃l̟̃i b̟̃á̃m̟̃ũn̟ t̟̃ỗt̟̃ĩę̃. Kala’s speech is more valuable than the others.

j̟̃ũl̟̃ũl̟̃ũ [j̟̃ũ̟̃l̟̃ũ̟̃l̟̃ũ̟̃] ints. very cold • à p̟̃ĩw̟̃á̃t̟̃a s̟̃ʊ̃ò̃ñ̟ĩj̟̃ã̃̀ j̟̃ũ̟̃l̟̃ũ̟̃l̟̃ũ̟̃. The water sachet is freezing. (Gonja).

j̟̃uo [j̟̃ũ̟̃õ] v. 1 to throw away, to fight, to put someone down in wrestling • b̟̃á̃k̟̃ũr̟̃i j̟̃ũo d̟̃ĩñ̟d̟̃á̃á t̟̀. Bakuri threw the firewood away. dz̟̃é̃b̟̃ú̃ñ̟i ãń̟̃ ũō h̟̃á̃ń̟̃ j̟̃á̃ j̟̃ũū̃̃. Jebuni and his wife are always fighting. 2 to roof with mud • j̟̃ũo ĩ d̟̃ĩá k̟̃á j̟̃õó z̟̃ō̃. Roof your house before the rainy season.

j̟̃ũo [j̟̃ũ̟̃õ] n. fight. pl. jũs̟̃õ.

j̟̃ũl̟̃ũd̟̃ũl̟̃a [j̟̃ũ̟̃l̟̃ũd̟̃õl̟̃a] lit. rainy.sea-son-fetch.location nprop. location south of Ducie.

j̟̃ũr̟̃i [j̟̃ũ̟̃r̟̃i] v. to be weak • ŋ̀ ù̃b̟̃ĩé b̟̃á̃r̟̃à k̟̃á̃ j̟̃ũr̟̃i ŋ̀ g̟̃ã̃r̟̃ã̃g̟̃ã̃ ñ̟ũú ǹ̟. The body of her child is weak because of his sickness.

j̟̃ũs̟̃a [j̟̃ũ̟̃s̟̃a] n. spirit entering someone and making her/him show unusual behaviour.

j̟̃ũ [j̟̃ũ̟̃] v. 1 to marry (a man) • ŋ̀ ù̃j̟̃õó r̟̀. She married him.

j̟̃ũ [j̟̃ũ̟̃] n. rainy season.

k

1ka [ka] conn. (var. 1kaa) 1 and, then • k̟̃á̃l̟̃i k̟̃á w̟̃á̃. Go and come. k̟̃á̃l̟̃i k̟̃á b̟̃ĩr̟̃à w̟̃á̃. Go, then come back. k̟̃á̃l̟̃á k̟̃á̃l̟̃i j̟̃á̃w̟̃á k̟̃á j̟̃á̃w̟̃á m̟̃ú̃ r̟̃ò r̟̃ò. Kala went to the market and bought rice. 2 but • ŋ̀ k̟̃á̃l̟̃ĩo k̟̃á ŋ̀ w̟̃á ñ̟á̃õ. I went but I did not see him.

2ka [ka] cf: wa pv. convey the process to the end point of an event • à ṽ̟á̃ k̟̃á d̟̃õń̟̃s̟̃i à b̟̃ĩę̃. The dog bites the child. à ṽ̟á̃ k̟̃á d̟̃õń̟̃s̟̃i à b̟̃ĩę̃. The dog bites the child.

1kaa (var. of ka)

2kaa [k̟̃á̃] interrog. where about, how about • k̟̃á̃ á k̟̃á̃ k̟̃p̟̃ú̃l̟̃ĩk̟̃ú̃l̟̃i? Where is the groundnut ball? k̟̃á̃ t̟̃t̟ ŋ̟̃t̟̃ ǹ̟́? How is your father?

3kaa [k̟̃á̃] pv. will • à ṽ̟á̃ k̟̃á d̟̃õń̟̃s̟̃i à b̟̃ĩę̃. The dog will bite the child.
kaa [káá] conn. or • já kárímì, káá já kááli kùó. Let us read, or let us go to the farm. i kááli wàá râ záâñ káá tʃiá? Are you going to Wa today or tomorrow?


kaa [káá] v. to curse, to communicate with a shrine for the downfall of someone • káá bi tiè vóg ò kpó iì dɔ̀ŋ. 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’).


kaalɪ [kààlɪ̀] v. 1 to go towards • já kááli sùkùù rò. We went to school. 2 to surpass, to exceed • wáá kááliŋˈ. He is better than me. wòsá kááli káá bàtʃùsíì nì. Wusa is better than Kala at running.

kaara [káárá] n. meal where bean flour is poured directly into the stew.

kajajo [kájájò] cf: bʊntʊɔna n. porter. (Hausa <kaaja kaaja-joo ‘load-load’).
1kala [kálá] nprop. 1 Kala, person’s name. 2 Buge village shrine.
2kala [kálá] v. to make a rope • báhîë-sà kálá ŋmɛ́sà à jógólì. Elders make ropes to sell.
kaleŋbileŋẽẽ [kálèŋbílèŋẽ́̀] n. adjuster used to support and stabilize cooking pots. pl. kaleŋbileŋse.
kaleŋbogɔtì [kàlèŋbɔgɔtì] (Gu. var. tʃiirikalèŋbogɔtì) n. type of wasp. pl. kaleŋbogɔtisà.
kaleŋtʃia [kàlèŋtʃìá] n. unwashed portion of the body where water has not touched. pl. kaleŋtʃìasà.
kaleŋvilîme [kàlèŋvilîmè] n. whirlwind. pl. kaleŋvilînse.
kalie [kàlîé] cf: tjelîi n. tomato. [Ka].
kàlpaaga [kàlòɲáàgà] n. farm land which has been used for two years in a row and lies fallow.
kàmboro [kàmbòrò] n. half • tí pàá-st à kpáán múñ, lògà óó kàmbòrò bilè. Do not peel the entire yam. Cut half and leave the rest. pl. kàmboroso.
kamsì [kámsì] v. 1 to blink repeatedly • hàglîtì zòò ùù síé òì di kàmsì. Some sand got in his eyes so he is blinking. 2 to make a hand motion signalling to come • kàmsì à wòj tiëj. Make a gesture to the deaf person to come. (Safaliba <kamsì).
kàna [kàṇà] n. arm ring. pl. kanasà.
kàna [kàṇà] v. to be abundant, to be many, to be big, to be plenty • nú-rá kàā kàṇà à lūdëndîl nî rë. People will be numerous at the funeral ground. nú tòtîí wà kàṇà. My share is not big.
kàndìa [kàndìà] 1 n. north. 2 nprop. Kandia village.
kàntfìma (var. of kàntfìma)
kànsìi [kànsìi] n. bean cake. pl. kansà.
kàntìge [kàntìgè] n. part or function of stomach which grinds the food.
kàntfìanguluiùmo [kàntfìanguílùmò] cf: sar n. ball of pumpkin seed paste.
kàntfìma [kàntfìmà] (var. kàntfìma) n. debt, or bill for a communal contribution. pl. kàntfìnsà.
kàpañåaga [kàɲàáágà] n. retaliation, feud, complaint • kpågà i kàɲàá-
Take your complaint with you and go home, I do not know anything about it.

Be patient. (Gonja, ultm. Arabic < kaɲeti).

1 part of the upper back.
2 piece of meat of the upper back of an animal, usually given to women. pl. kaɲasa.

cerebro-spinal meningitis (CSM) (Meningococcal meningitis). (Waali < kaŋgbeli).

An ulcer that will never heal.

The students are competing with each other.

cold, left-over fufu usually eaten in the morning.


pillow. (Gonja < kaputi). pl. kaputuso.

fufu, staple food. (Waali < kapala).

corpse dressing uniform consisting of a hat, trousers, smock and a cloth.

type of bowl. (Gonja < katasan). pl. katasasa.

pl. katasazenë. basin.

canoe paddler or someone helping to cross a body of water. (Gonja).
katɔ [kɔtɔ̀] nprop. Katua village. ( <kɔtʃɔ̀ ‘bush-lie.down’).

katɔlì [kɔtɔːlì] n. 1 person from Katua. 2 lect of Katua. pl. katɔlìè.

katʃal [kɔtʃɔ́] n. type of tree (Danielia oliveri). pl. katʃala.

katʃalkpuŋiimuŋ [kàtʃálpùŋììmùŋ] nprop. place name in Ducie.


katɔlɛɛ [kɔtɔːlɛɛ] nprop.


kawaa [kàwáá] n. pumpkin plant. pl. kawaasa.

kawaadadag [kàwààdādāg] n. ringworm (Tinea corporis).

kegeme [kègemè] v. to be uneven, to be on one side, to become asymmetric • ă kpágá ằ nɔ̀ ă kègemè. She turned her lips to the side. à hà̄g̪-̄lìbù̀ hàŋ̪̀ kègemèè. This mud block is uneven.

kelembi [kèlèmbì] n. pen, a hollow grass stalk that is sharpened to a point and dipped in ink to write with. (Hausa, ultm. Arabic <alka-lami>.

ken (var. of keŋ)

keŋ [kèŋ] (var. ken) adv. like that, that, so • ă záàŋ ằ tåà kàà țéé kéŋ. Today he is talking loudly like that. à hâáŋ ńmà ńr, këëŋ? The woman said: “Is that so?”. jìnì̄dà it kàà fiíléŋ kéŋ? Why do you peek at me like that? gbèlìnse átòrò mànà kéŋ. It is three o’clock.

keŋe [kèŋé] v. to be tipped, to lean to one side, to incline • ă dàá kéŋè kààlì tiimùŋ nò. The tree leans towards the east. a zìà kènèjòò. The wall is not straight.

kere [kèrè] n. to be under-sized, to fail to thrive • hil gílá ụ́ sågà kèrè kùò nì. Drought has affected the growth of my cow peas. pɔ̀dʒìé̀mà kpágá tià sågà ụ́ bìè nì, ù kèrè. Pojiama had successive pregnancies. That is why her child fails to thrive.

keregi (var. of kerigi)

kerigi [kèrìgì] (var. kerigi) pl.v. to break many, to be broken • kèrìgì dààsà dò dìn nì. Break firewood and put it into the fire. kùn̄dùú-gù tìwù kòdù̀rògòsò múŋ à kèrìgì-jè. The bridges on the Kundugu road are broken.

ken (var. of tfesi)

keti [kètì] v. cf: kpetù (var. tfeti) 1 to break • ă hâáŋ nè́j kétìjò. The woman’s arm is broken. kétì kpā̀-sà tìëì. Cut a branch and make a
kie [kìɛ] n. half of a bird, one part of a bird which has been divided into two. pl. kiete.
kiesi [kìɛsi] n. to be few, relative to an expectation, to be more than one or once but not many • ŋì ąk-ráá kááltí kìésíjóó. My trips to Accra are few. nárá tíňà kà kááli à mínítìn bà wà kìésíjé, àwíé jà wà sá-ñéé. Those who were to attend the meeting were too few, so we did not hold it.
kiesii [kìèsíi] (var. tʃiesii) n. type of bird. pl. kiesie.

1kii [kìì] 1 conn. like, as • i ɔ́má kìì gbiá. You fear like a monkey. 2 v. to be like, to resemble • pà-táášè wà wiré kìì hàmòñà kàá di ɲòà. Akpeteshie is bad for children to drink. jà bárá tòñ wà kìì dò-ñá. Our skin is not the same.

2kii [kì́] (var. tfjì) v. to forbid, to refuse, to place under a taboo and abstain from • ŋì kìì ʔàà rà. I place under a taboo and abstain from the bushbuck. ʉ̀ù kìì lüdëndilísìì nà. He places under a taboo drinking at the funeral ground.

3kii [kìi] cf: tfjì́r n. taboo. [Gu].

kiige [kììgè] v. to move to a better position • kììgè ɪ̀ kór tìñ̩, wòsá kàá wàó. Move your chair, the sun is coming.

kiini [kììnì] v. (var. tfjiinì) 1 to bring out, remove • kììnì ììgà pàëfìgìí kì-nà mú́nì́ bìlè. Bring out everything that is in your bag and put it down. 2 to take up the last of food, to clean a bowl • zòó ɪ̀nì màà pé ɔ́ kpà ɲù kòò fàlá ñìè i kììnì. Go to my mother she will give you my t.z. bowl so you can finish it.

kiir (var. of tfjììr)

kiiri [kìirì] v. to breathe with difficulty, because of asthma or exertion • ŋì kììrùù. She is breathing with difficulty.

kil [kìl:] n. dance-floor.

kilimie [kìlimìè] cf: tfjimàà n. pepper. [Ka].

kimmàà (var. of tfjimàà)

kisi [kìsi] v. to bless, to protect, to save from suffering • wòsá kàá kì-sìì. God will protect you.

kisie [kìsìé] n. knife. pl. kisise.

kïasi [kìàsì] (var. tfjasi) v. to tear apart, to be torn • à hàáñ gàr kìa-sìjó. The woman’s cloth is torn.

kie [kìɛ] v. to collect a contribution • dũséélèé jà kìɛ mõlèbié bó ásíbìti wòtjìmàà. The people from Dúcì collected a contribution and paid the watchman of the clinic.

kiemí [kìɛmì] (var. tfjìemì) v. to make noise • ŋì wàà búùrè nàmùñ
kiɛŋi kɪŋdɪɪŋ

I do not want anybody to make a noise here.

kiɛŋi (var. of tʃiɛŋi)

kɪɛmɪ̀ báàn nɪ̀. I do not want anybody to make a noise here.

kɪɛŋi (var. of tʃiɛŋi)

kɪɛrɪ (var. of tʃɪɛrɪ)


kɪlɛɛ [kɪ̆̀lɛ̀ɛ́] (var. of kɪlɪɛ n). Booted Eagle, type of bird, smaller than kɪlɛɛ and reddish (Hieraaetus pennatus). pl. kɪlɛsa.


1kɪn [kɪ́ŋ̀] cf: kɪn- (var. kɪŋ) n. thing. pl. kɪna.

2kɪn [kɪ̀ŋ] v. to be able, can or could • ʊ̀ wàá kɪ̀ŋ wàà. He is not able to come. ɪ̀ɪ kàá kɪ̀ŋ kààlʊ̀ ʊ̄. You may go. ʊ̀ kɪ́ŋ wȁʊ̏ ? àɪ́, ʊ̀ wà kɪ́ŋɪ̀jɛ̃̄ wàà. A: Was he able to come? B: No, he was not able.

kɪn- [km] cf: kɪn classifier particle for concrete entity.

kɪnbaŋ [kmɪbaŋ] cf: kɪnboŋ n. bad thing. [Ka].

kɪnbiríŋ [kmɪbiríŋ] n. whole.


kinduho [kindúhó] n. offspring.

kɪŋpagaši [kɪŋpą́gašiì] n. prey. pl. kɪŋpagašie.

kɪnlari [kɪnlarári] n. piece of clothing. pl. kɪnlaree.

kɪnlieemii [kɪnlieemíí] n. hanging object, ornament or piece of jewellery attached to a necklace or bracelet. pl. kɪnlieemee.

kɪnpaatʃag [kɪmpàátʃák] lit. thing-leaf n. greenish thing. pl. kɪmpaa-tʃaksá.

1kɪnsɔŋ [kɪnsɔ́ŋ] n. something cold.

2kɪnsɔŋ [kɪ̀nsɔ́ŋ] n. highly infected swelling full of pus.

kɪntʃiagɪɪ [kɪntʃíágíí] n. fragile, something easily breakable. pl. kɪntʃiagee.

kɪntʃoalɪ [kɪntʃoalí] n. mat or mattress. pl. kɪntʃoałeε.

kɪntʃoama [kɪntʃoamá] cf: geni n. dirty or bad thing, may also be used to refer to an unappreciated person.

kɪnwɪlɪɪ [kɪ̀nwɪ̀lɪ́ɪ̀] n. sore, a skin lesion or wound. pl. kɪnwɪle.

kɪnzɛn [kɪ̀nzɛn] n. big thing. pl. kɪnzenee.

kɪnzini [kɪnzi̯nì] n. horse. pl. kɪnziniε.

kɪnziinii [kɪnziiníí] n. long thing. pl. kɪnziineε.

kɪŋmaŋana [kɪmmáŋáná] n. drum-mer. pl. kɪŋmáŋnəsə.

kɪŋ (var. of km)

kɪŋdɪɪŋ [kindiin] cf: dɪi; nɪdɪi; wɪdɪi; bidɪi n. valuable thing.
Kingkan [kɪŋkáŋ] quant. many, much, abundantly • dúó tfóōt kɪŋkáŋ wá wéré. Sleeping too much is not good.

Kìŋkuree (var. of kìŋkurugie)

Kìŋkurokɔrɪɛ [kìŋkùro kʊ̀ rɪ̀ ɛ̀] n. calculator, computer. pl. kìŋkurokɔrìɛ.

Kìŋkurugie [kìŋkùrùgíè] (var. kìŋkuree) n. enumeration, number • iɪ mɪ̀ biè kàá zɪ̀gɪ̀ tì kìŋkurugie rë. My child will learn how to count.

Kìrɪɪsàal [kìrɪ́ísàál] n. wasp’s nest.


Kìrɪmamɔmpusa [kìrɪmámɔ́mpùsà] n. witchweed (Striga).

1 ko [kó] adv. too, as well • i kó, wáà. You too, come. À jà nõmåò bà jɪ́r̄a jà kó. If they (the issues) are serious, they call us too.

2 ko [kó] conn. or • kó di i wáá kààlti? Or you will not go? ná kóó, kó di i wáá di?' There is t.z., or you will not eat? (Hausa <k̀o ‘kò’).


Kogii [kògii] n. protection.

Kogo [kògò] v. to hold and keep from falling by supporting or protecting • kpá iɪ nèj kògò à téébul niùù à si-biè tì wá bilinsi tfélii. Put your hand on the table top so that the beans do not roll and fall.

Kogulii [kògúlíí] n. farm measurement. [Gu].

Kogulìnpaa [kòyúlìmpàá] n. morning glory plant, type of climber (Ipomoea mauritiana).


Kokobeg [kòkòbè̀g] n. shell of palm nut. pl. kokobege.


Kokolentebi [kòkòlèntèbií] n. fishing hook. pl. kokolentebie.

Kokolunj [kòkòlùnj] (var. pèrègà) n. boat. pl. kokolunso.

Kokorovie [kòkòrówìé] n. type of drum beaten with straight sticks.


Kolo [kòlò] v. to carry under one’s arm • iì biéri kà kòlò kpááma dì wáá. Your brother is coming with yams under his arm.


Colopɔtɪ (var. of kɔlpɔtɪ)


Konti [kòntì] v. to put one’s arm around • dì púpùtiá kpáá kpá iì nèše à kòntúú, dì a lèì i kàá tféllè. If
a motorcycle rider picks you, put your arms around him otherwise you will fall.

kontii [kōntī] cf: gbege cf: zanja
n. early farm preparation, just after bush burning, involving clearing the land and cutting trees. [Gū].

koŋ [kōŋ] cf: kpalmalige
n. Kapok, type of tree (Ceiba pentandra). pl. komo.


kor [kórː] n. seat, bench, chair.
(ultm. Arabic < kursii ‘chair’). pl. koro.

koro [kóró] n. chieftanship. pl. koro.

korumbɔra [kɔrùmbɔrà] n. dusty weather.


koti [kóti] v. to die prematurely • ọ̀bọ̀ binibáál tọ̀ọ̀ kọ́tijọ́. Her son died prematurely.

kọba [kòbà] n. tyre. (ultm. English < cover ‘cover’). pl. kọbasa.

kóbìni [kóbìní] n. type of cloth used by elderly men, made out of thick cotton and dyed with the bark extract of walaŋzaŋ. [oldfash]. pl. kóbìnie.


kọgọlī [kọ́gọ́lì] v. 1 to come loose • ọ̀bọ̀ níyí kọ́gọ́líjọ́ó ká há dọ̀ 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 zíé há kọ́gọ́lì kẹ́n ní. The wall is still standing like this.

kọgọsag [kọ́gọ́sáɡ] ideo. rough • à gèr bárá dọ̀ níyí kọ́gọ́sag. The lizard’s skin is rough like this. ant: solọ̀n–solọ̀nj.

kọkọ [kòkò] n. former farm land, which has lost its yield potential. pl. kọkọsà.

kọkọla (var. of kọlakọla)

kọkọlikọ [kòkọlíkɔ] n. type of grasshopper. pl. kọkọlikɔsà.

kọla [kòlã] v. 1 to be loose • m̀m̀ pàtá káá kọ́làn nà. My pants are too loose for me. 2 to notice yet to ignore • i síí kọ́là ụ tọ́ntɔ̄mì̀. You
have looked over the work I have done and it is not up to your expectations. 3 to defeat • à níhìè gérègà tíj kála rà. The elder’s sickness killed him.

2kòla [kòlá] v. to sharpen a grinding stone • má kýòla nònnà. You go and sharpen the grinding stones.

kòlakòla [kòlákòlà] (var. kòkòla) ideo. type of visual percept, light grey colour • zákòlakòlà wàà zòò dúsiè jáwà, à jáá kíir ré. Light grey fowls are not allowed in the Dúcìe market, it is a taboo.


kòlní [kòlìní] n. cf: zul 1 stem or stalk of millet and guinea corn. 2 second year of a new farm land. pl. kòlìñìe.

kòlsò [kòlsò] ideo. 1 smooth and fine, like the texture of finely ground flour • kòtt à sàòò à bòò kòl-lsò. Grind the flour finely. 2 to appear unhealty, to be thin, weak, or frail, especially children • wògòtì mùnò òò já bààñ dó kèn kòlsò. He always appears weak and frail.


kɔmbɔŋà [kɔmbɔ̃̀nà] Ashanti person. pl. kɔmbɔnàsà.

kòmìá [kòmìá] n. guinea corn that has been soaked, left to germinate, then dried.

kòmìákɔŋkà [kòmìákɔŋkà] n. first day of second funeral where the guinea corn is presented.

kòmìáŋnà [kòmìáŋnà] lit. malt-grind n. funeral activity which takes place on the second day of a second funeral where the malt is ground.

kòntì [kòntì] v. to be physically weak, due to sickness and/or old age • i kàá kòntì dì i wàá dènsì ii hògò. You will be weak if you do not exercise.


kòntòní [kòntònì] n. soup ingredient made out of baobab seeds, substitute for other non-available ingredients to make the soup thicker.

kònj [kònj] (var. gantaltgbòu) n. cobra synt: nùtìnà. pl. kònjà.

1kòjà [kòjà] v. to be thin, to become thin and skinny because of sickness • wòlílà gíláo òò kòjà. Sickness made him thin. tʃùsà àjmènà hàj ínù kòjà kíkànn nà. These days I am getting thin and skinny.

kòjà [kòjà] n. comb of a rooster.

kòŋkòŋ [kòŋkòŋ] ono. can or tin. (North. Ghsm).

kòŋkɔ̀ŋgì [kòŋkòŋgì] n. type of fish. pl. kòŋkɔ̀ŋgìsà.
kɔɔ (Mo. var. of kɔwa)
kɔpɔ [kɔpɔ] n. cup • tfiá dóá kɔpɔ nì. There is a fly in the cup. (ultm. English <cup). pl. kɔposa.
kɔpʊ [kɔ́pʊ̀] n. cup • tʃì̃̀ã̀ dʊ́á kɔ́pʊ̀ nì. There is a fly in the cup. (ultm. English <cup). pl. kɔposa.
kɔta [kɔtà] n. a measure unit for akpeteshie, approx. 3-4 oz • ñ tfiá jáwá pátààsè kɔtà tìén nà. My friend bought me a glass of akpeteshie. (ultm. English <quarter).
kɔwa [kɔwá] (Mo. var. kɔɔ) n. hundred. (Oti-Volta). pl. kɔosaa.
kɔwɪa [kɔwɪ̀á] n. soap. pl. kɔwisa.
kɔsɪ [kɔ̀sɪ̀] v. to be overgrown, to be thick • tì wá tìè à kùó dì kɔsì. Do not let weeds take over the farm.
kɔsakɪŋ [kɔ̀sákɪ́ŋ̀] n. bush thing. pl. kɔsakìna.
kɔsabele [kɔ̀sásélé wá bráà wàà dìá làgálàgá háñ̀. Bush animals do not come to the village any more.
kɔsabel [kɔ̀sásél] n. bush animal. pl. kɔsasele.
kɔsasũũ [kɔ̀sàsṹũ̀] n. bush guinea fowl. pl. kɔsasũũno.
kɔsakɪŋ [kɔ̀sákɪ́ŋ̀] n. bush thing. pl. kɔsakìna.
kɔsakɪŋ [kɔ̀sákɪ́ŋ̀] n. bush thing. pl. kɔsakìna.
kɔsakɪng [kɔ̀sákɪ̃̃g̀] n. bush thing. pl. kɔsakìna.
kumpii [kúmpíí] n. thorny spear grass. pl. kumpii.
kundîŋa [kùndîŋà] n. person with physical abnormalities who is cognitively normal • kùndîŋà ʊ̀ ʊ̀ lá. She gave birth to a deformed child. pl. kundîŋasa.
kuntunbʊa [kúntúnbʊ́à] n. bundles of grass for roofing, especially for the farm hut. pl. kuntunbʊasa.
kuŋkuksɪɛŋ [kúŋkùksɪ́ɛ́ŋ] n prop. uninhabited area south of Ducie’s sections Lobani and Zingbani.
1 kuŋkʊŋ [kùŋkùŋ́] n. brain. pl. kuŋ-kunno.
2 kuŋkʊŋ [kúŋkúŋ] n. highland.
kuŋsũŋ [kũ̀ ŋsũ̀ ŋ] cf: zɪɛzɪɛ n tough and resistant object, tough person. pl. kuŋsũŋ.
1 kuo [kùó] n. farm. pl. kuono.
2 kuo [kúó] n. roan antelope (Hippotragus equinus). pl. kuoto.
kuonihì [kùònìhì] n. person in charge of decisions over farm land. pl. kuonihìtɛa.
kuori (Mo. var. of kuoru)
kuoru [kùórù] (Mo. var. kuori) n. chief. pl. kuoruso.
kuorubanũ [kùórùbánũ] lit. chief-section nprop. section of Ducie.
kuosi [kùòsì] v. to stir, to mix • kùò-si à sigá dó à vii ní. Stir the beans in the pot.
kuosonuu [kùósɔnùù] lit. god-head n. sky.
kuosozima [kùósɔzɪmá] lit. god-know nprop. dog name.
kuotîna [kùòtìńà] n. farm owner.
kuotuto [kùòtútò] cf: tundaa; tuto n. farm mortar. pl. kuotutoso.
kurii [kúrìí] n. counting.
kuro [kùrò] v. to count • kpá mòlèbié wàà ŋ̩̀ kùrò. Bring the money for me to count. (Gonja < kàrɨ́gá).
kurungboŋ [kúrúŋgbόŋ] n. hunter rank of a person who has killed a human being. (Gonja).
kuruso [kùrúsò] n. trousers, Gh. Eng. pantaloons, hand-sewn piece which accompanies a smock.
1 kusi [kùsì] v. to be unable, do in vain • bà dógónĩŋ kusi. They chased me but were unable to catch me. ñ káá-lt à kùó kusi. I could not go to the farm.
2 kusi [kúsi] v. to steam, to cook something by letting steam pass over it
I like steamed cassava.

*Steam kuu* (var. *kuubummo*) *n.* Pel’s Fishing owl, type of bird (*Scotopelia peli*). *pl.* *kuuso.*

My children took a lot out of my pomade container.

*Grinding stone of 5-10 cm. diameter, used especially to grind charcoal or gun powder. *pl.* *kuŋkɔlbi.*

*To cut off a head, to top millet, gourd, rice or guinea corn, to harvest* • *bátɔ́n káá kʊ́mà mɪ̃̀ã́ nɪ́ kísìè rē.*

*To develop a community* • *námùŋ wà wāā kʊ́ɔ́rɪ jà tɔ́ʊ̀.*

*To perform a ceremony in connection with a fetish* • *ʊ̀ kàá kààlɪ̀ vʊ́gtɪ́ɪ́ ná pé rē àkà kʊ́ɔ́rɪ ʊ̀ ʊ̀ wɪ́ɛ́.*

*To be inactive or not energetic, to be weak from sickness* • *tí wá tíè ì biè kʊ̀lù.*

*Do not let your child be inactive. *à báǎl kàà wíjò, ìtwé ọ́ kʊ̀lù.*

The man is suffering, that is why he is weak.

*Sawla shrine.*

*thin, skinny or bony person.*

*to express dissatisfaction over a performance below standard* • *dzáhǐní wà kɪ̀nɛ̀ ɡòà, bá wọ́lẹ́ kōsọ̀.*

Jahini could not dance as expected, his colleagues expressed their dissatisfaction.

*To be different* • *ńń váá kʊ́rɑ̀ ụ̀ ń́ rà.*

My dog is different from your dog.
kʊrgmura [kɔrɔmbɔrɔ] n. fog.
kɔti [kɔtɪ] v. cf: tiisi; naarì 1 to skin, to cut an animal into pieces • làgálà-gà háñ nì ṇ kɔti à áá pèti. 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 • nù jìná kɔti à lùlí ré. My father ground the medicine.
kɔtɔra [kɔtóra] n. thick porridge made of maize dough.
kùu [kùu] v. 1 to tire, to be tired physically • ñ kùuówù. I am tired. 2 to wonder • à kùu ñ ná dì ò kàá wàá. I wonder if he will come. 3 to be upset • ñ kàá kùu åhù dì i vëtë ñù ω-ηmáhá hàìj. I will be upset if you refuse my advice. 4 to surprise, to be unexpected • à kàá kùu håkùrí ré dì uù bìè hàìj sòwá. Hakuri will be surprised to lose her daughter.
kùrì [kùrì] v. to snore • tí kùrìi ká ñ tfúó dùó. Do not snore so I can sleep.
kùrì [kùrì] v. to be almost rotten • bákùrí lòó nàmìlá tìŋ kùrìt-jó. Bakuri’s hartebeest meat is almost rotten.
kùrì [kùrì] v. to stink, almost getting rotten • à nàò dì sòwáɔ, áwìe ɔɔ nàmìlì kùrì. The cow died yesterday, therefore its meat stinks.
kùùsa [kùùsá] n. tiredness • ɔɔ kùù-sá tìŋ nà kptù kéjì. His tiredness killed him.
kʊsɔŋ [kʊsɔŋ] cf: kʊʃua cf: kʊ n. cold t.z., usually eaten in the morning.
kʊʃua [kʊʃua] lit. t.z.-lie cf: kʊ cf: kʊsɔŋ n. staple food left-overs for the morning. pl. kʊʃua.
kʊvi [kʊvi] n. t.z. stirring pot.
kʊzaa [kʊzàa] cf: tisie n. woven basket with guinea corn stalks. pl. kʊzaa.
kʊzaakpaɪɪ [kʊzaakpaɪɪ] cf: kʊzaalimmìi n. funeral event happening on the first day of the second funeral where the items left by the deceased are transferred to the heir.
kʊzaaɲinii (var. of kʊzaa)
kʊzaalimmìi [kʊzaa] n. funeral event where the family heads look at the items left by the deceased.
the hoe. 2 to mark the beginning or commencement of an action • à dòó kpá kàŋkàlànŋ kàŋ-
kàlànŋ. The python started crawling rapidly. 3 to marry (a woman) • ó kpáó rá. He married her.
kpa jug [kpá júg] lit. take weigh v. to respect • bà kpá júg tié bà kàràmá rá. They respect their teacher.
kpaa [kpáá] n. type of dance, performed by women only. pl. kpaa.
kpaakpuguŋ [kpáákpúgúŋ] n. type of stone. pl. kpaaakpugumo.
kpaakpuro [kpáákpúrò] n. tortoise. pl. kpaaakpuruso.
kpaambílu [kpààmbílíí] n. cooked yam. pl. kpaaambilie.
kpaamparri [kpààmpàrrí] n. portion of a yam farm. pl. kpaaamparee.
kpaanää [kpáánää] n. type of dance, formerly for warriors and hunters.
kpááŋ [kpááŋ] cf: pì n. yam. pl. kpááma.
kpááŋbááŋ [kpááŋbááŋ] n. very large yam. pl. kpááŋbááŋa.
kpááŋbênë [kpááŋbëñë] n. medium size yam. pl. kpááŋbëñëse.
kpááŋbëñë [kpááŋbëñë] n. old yam, remaining from last harvest. pl. kpááŋbëñëte.
kpááŋdùhó [kpááŋdùhó] cf: kpááŋ-
dùhu n. yam seedlings. pl. kpááŋ-
dùhosò.
kpááŋfòlí [kpááŋfòlí] n. new yam, harvested at an early stage. pl. kpááŋfòlië.
kpááŋhirèdáá [kpááŋhirèdáá] n. wooden stick used as tool for digging yams, replaced today by cutlass.
kpááŋlò [kpááŋlò] n. yam hut. pl. kpááŋlòwa.
kpāŋnudisä [kp₃ː́nniːdɪsə] n. soup in which grated water-yam was added for thickness.

kpāŋpeti [kp₃ː́ŋpetiː] n. outer skin or peel of yam. *pl. kpāŋpetiː.*

kpāŋpōō (var. of kpāŋtsōōgi)

kpāŋtsōōgi [kp₃ː́ŋtsɔːŋiː] (var. kpāŋpōō) n. spoiled yam. *pl. kpāŋtsoogee.*

kpāŋywoun [kp₃ː́ŋywouː] cf: kpāŋduho (Mo. var. kpǎŋwudō) n. yam seedlings, second product of the plant.


kpàǎssìi (var. of kpǎǎnsiː)

kpàasi [kpǎːsiː] v. 1 to nail, knock・kpàǎsì hēmbiː zīː nt. Knock the nail in the wall. 2 to warn・bà kpàǎsìn nà nī̀ bāːl wīː. They had warned me about my husband. (Waali <kpǎǎhē). *pl. kpàasasa.*

kpǎǎwōō (Mo. var. of kpǎǎngwou)

1kpàga [kpàːga] v. 1 to have, possess・wōsā kpàgá a bōːl lā. Wusa has the ball. 2 to catch, to grab・wōsā kpàgá a bōːl lā. Wusa caught the ball. bà kpàgá a ŋmīːr rā. They caught the thief. 3 to hold, to take・ō kpàgá kpàǎsà rā. He held the whip.


kpàgambii [kpàːga bǎmbiː] v. to have courage・kālā wà kpàgá bǎmbiː. Kala is not courageous.

kpàggahuor [kpàːgá hūːr] v. to take care of a guest or a stranger・náá wāá gīlā ī kpàgá hūːr. Poverty will not allow me to take care of guests.

kpàgakaali [kpàːgá kāːli] lit. have go・wāá i kāa bāːŋ jōː ī kpàgá kāːli i mībā kàːpētiː. It is him you shall marry and hold on until the end of your life.

kpàgal [kpǎːgal] n. tick, insect found mostly on animals (Ixodida). *pl. kpàgalaa.*

kpàgasii [kpǎːgaaː] pl.v. to catch (many)・ī kpàgāsî ā zālīː rā. I caught chickens.

kpàleŋ (var. of kpàleŋkpàleŋ)

kpàleŋkpàleŋ [kpǎːlɛŋkplɛŋ] (var. kpàleŋ) ideo. entirely・bà zōːō ā bāːl dīː ā ŋmīː ē mōlēbī mūŋ kpàːlɛŋkpàleŋ. They entered the man’s room and stole all his money.

kpàlīge [kpǎːlīɡe] (var. kpàliŋg) n. baldness.

kpàliŋg (var. of kpàlīge)


kpàmbra [kpǎːmbtə] n. linguist, chief’s spokesman. (Waali <kpàmbre).

1kpànnna [kpǎːnnə] n. lead, heavy grey metal. *pl. kpǎnnna.*


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kpantu [kpántíí] n. sickness with unknown cause where the patient becomes very thin.

kpanja [kpànjà] v. to freeze, to be cold • diùón tūgò à básál ò lií kuó, ò wà kpànjà. The rain beats the man on his way back from the farm, he came back freezing.


kpankpamba [kpàŋkpàmbá] n. type of cloth. pl. kpàŋkpàmbasà.

kpankpanj [kpàŋkpànj] cf: nòmà kpàŋ-kpànj. very hot.

kpankpànj [kpàŋkpànj] ideo. interrupting, energetic talk weak in content • i kpàgà nòaà kpàŋkpànj bà-gà. You talk too much (and the content is somehow weak) for nothing.

kpankpànjà [kpàŋkpànjà] ideo. type of texture, thoroughly wet from immersion in water • à diùón wààwà à kùòtíwíí tfgà nií kpà-tfàkpàtòò. It rained and the path to the farm was thoroughly wet.

kpe [kpé] v. to crack and remove a seed from a shell, especially for gourd seeds • à hàáñ kpé fòbíí àká tòñà disà zàà. The woman cracked the calabash seeds to prepare soup today.

kpege [kpégií] n. 1 to be strong, to be hard • à ròbàbàkòtì wà kpégií. The plastic bucket is not strong. à kàà kpégií à ɲúú nì òòà kùò kààli kùmásí ré. If he recovers, he will go to Kumasi.

kpakpi [kpàkpi] n. type of yam. pl. kpàkpiàsà.


kpàfàkpàfà [kpàfàkpàfà] ideo. type of texture, thoroughly wet from immersion in water • à diùón wààwà à kùòtíwíí tfgà nií kpà-tfàkpàfà. It rained and the path to the farm was thoroughly wet.

kpara [kpàrà] v. to be adjacent and similar to one another • kúù nì ò bòìètì kuó kpàrà dòñja nií. Kuri’s and his brother’s farm are beside one another.

kparaama [kpàrààmà] cf: dàga n. necessity • diùó tfgòòt jàà kpà-rààmà rà. To sleep is necessary. (Waali).

kpàsàdà [kpàsàdà] n. type of yam. pl. kpàsàdàsà.
usual and unexplainable, he takes burning charcoal and swallows it.

kperii [kpèríì] n. unusual and unexplainable • nìkpèríì wàà tùò dùsiè nì. People with unusual and unexplainable behaviours are not found in Ducie.

kperii [kpèríì] n. gizzard. pl. kperee.

kpesi [kpèsi] v. to break off a little of an extremity • kpèsi à dindáá dò. Break off the firewood to leave the burning part in the fire. kpèsi à pàrinóásà tà ká támà dò. Repair my hoe by cutting the weak end then lightly hammer it.

kpèrígi [kpérígi] pl.v. to break off • njènsà kpèrígi mòngò pàatságà à wà sùgùlí. Mensa broke off some mango leaves and brought them to boil. kpèrígi à záal émbélíi à wà ttè-bà. Break off the fowl’s wing and give it to them.

kpèsè [kpèse] v. to be expected, imagined, or likely to happen • nti-hé kúó káálií wá bi kpèse. Going to the farm for the elderly men is not as it was. nihákóllá dönjójáí kpé-sijáó. The menstruation of fertile women is regular. párú wá jàá wí- kpèsií. Farming is not something likely to happen without effort.

kpędzi [kpéti] v. cf: keti 1 to pick during harvesting when the plant has already been felled • kpéti nàmmíí wà tìẹ́j ì wási tìè. Pick a maize cob and give it to me to roast and eat. 2 to crack and break • à báál délà à kùr ní, óò kpétt. The man leaned on the chair and it broke.

kpibii [kpìbì] n. louse. pl. kpibii.

kpinitfuu [kpìnìtfúù] nprop. seventh month. (Waali <kpìnìtfúù).

kpinitfuumaàŋkuna [kpìnìtfúùmààŋ kúnà] nprop. sixth month. (Waali <kpinitfuumaàŋkuna).

1kpíema [kpìémá] cf: bìeri n. ego’s senior sibling. pl. kpíensa.

2kpíema [kpìémá] n. ego’s senior sister, or also used as a polite form of addressing a woman. pl. kpíensa.

kpiši [kpìsi] v. to sneeze • tìẹ́j tòwà ń dò ńmù mìbùsá ní à kpìsi. Give me tobacco to put in my nostrils to sneeze.

kpogo [kpògò] n. hard swelling of the cheek or the thigh. pl. kpo-goso.

kpogulo [kpògùló] n. dish made of soya beans. (Waali <kpogulo).

1kpolunjkpo [kpolunjkpoó] n. type of tree (Sterculia tragacantha). pl. kpolunjkpooso.


kponno [kpònnó] n. type of yam. pl. kponnosó.

kpoŋ [kpòŋ] nprop. Kpong village, abandoned settlement between Ducie and Motigu.


kpõŋkpõŋdaa [kpõŋkpõŋdáá] n. cassava plant.

kpõŋkpõŋhʊlɪɪ [kpõŋkpõŋhʊ̀ lɪ́ɪ̀] n. peeled and dried cassava. pl. kpõŋkpõŋhʊlɪɛ.

kpõŋkpõŋɲɪŋa [kpõŋkpõŋɲɪ́ŋá] n. lumps and particles in cassava flour that do not pass through a sieve, normally given to fowl.

kpõŋkpõŋpaatʃag [kpõŋkpõŋpaatʃag] n. cassava leaf. pl. kpõŋkpõŋpaatʃaga.


kpõŋkpõŋpettu [kpõŋkpõŋpettíí] n. cassava peel. pl. kpõŋkpõŋpettte.

kpõŋkpõŋpɔmma [kpõŋkpõŋpɔɔm má] n. white cassava.

kpõŋkpõŋsiama [kpõŋkpõŋsiamá] n. red cassava, bantʃe in Akan.


kpõŋkpõŋzʊʊl [kpõŋkpõŋzʊʊl] n. cassava tuber. pl. kpõŋkpõŋzʊʊla.

kpoŋo [kpõŋɔ] v. to be stained and very dirty • ʊ̀ ʊ̀ kùò tʊ́má tɪ́ɛ́ ʊ̀ ʊ̀ kɪ̀n-làrɛ́ kpõŋɔ. His farm work made his clothes stained and very dirty.

kpotokporogo [kpõtɔkporɔgɔ] n. buttress, log which supports a wall from collapsing. pl. kpotokporogoso.

kpuui [kpuui] n. spherical object. pl. kpulie.

kpuilikpuui [kpuilikpuui] n. fried ball made of ground nut paste. (Hausa <kulikuli). pl. kpulikpuulie.

kpułuo [kpułuŋɔ] n. to make an exit in a group • ̃̃̃̃ ̃̃̃̃ tɪ́ŋ kà té sʊ̄ʊ̄ màŋà kpułuŋɔ kéŋ̀, bà wà kɪ́n nāʊ̄. The mouse that came out first was not killed. pl. kpułunso.

kpuŋ [kpuŋ] n. body joint. pl. kpuŋyo.

kpuŋkpuļintflelese [kpuŋkpuļintflelese] cf: tfetflelese n. a person who has epilepsy.


kpuogi [kpuɔgi] n. protruded as a consequence of healing, bulge formed on a wounded area • ̃̃̃̃ à prɪ́ŋ dāá kpuɔgi ré. The mo-hagony has bulges. pl. kpuogię.

kputi [kputi] v. to demolish • mà kputi à dià háj zância. Demolish this house today.
kpọ [kpọ̀] v. 1 to kill • nàŋkpááŋ ká kpọ̀ nànsá à wà tèlè. A hunter went and killed meat and came back. à nibáálá bâlî kpọ̀ dàŋj rà. The two men killed each other. 2 to overtake or overwhelm, as with perceptual stimuli, to affect strongly • jîtsá kpọ́jèō. It is too salty. 3 to cut yam from its plant and leave the tuber in the ground for the second harvest • kpọ̀ kpááŋ dɔ̄ŋā rà. Cut the yam and leave it in the yam mound.


la (var. of ra)

laa [làà] v. 1 to take something from a source, to receive • làà ìì mòlìbì tòttì. Take your share of money. 2 to take a road or a direction • kùl-kpọ́n tiwì à è làà kàá ni wàà. I took the Kulkpong road to go to Wa. ü láa kùó ká wàà. I am going to the farm and will come back. 3 to answer, to respond to, to reply • ì kàá làà ìì jîrtì rà. I will attend to your call. 4 to agree with (collocate with nọà) • bà làà nọà nì. They agreed. 5 to yield well (for plants) • òò màá láàwọ̀. His guinea corn yielded well.

lādi [làà dí] lit. collect eat cpx.v. to believe • ì láà kùóso dùù. I believe in God. nàrà bánnì wà láà tòttìnà dì. Some people do not believe the landlord.

lādọ̀ [làà dọ̀] lit. collect put cf: bi-laadọ̀lì cpx.v. to adopt • ì làà bié dọ̀. I adopted a child. ìì màá-binìhààÀŋ bié, ìì kàá làà wà à dọ̀. I will adopt my sister’s child.

lāa sọ̀ [làà sọ̀] n. to be famous • zìŋ buóli mààlò knàsà màà nà dì. Zieng is famous for his singing performance in Ducie and Bulenga.

lābọ́kọ̀ [lààbọ̀kọ̀] (var. laaribọ́kọ̀) n. type of yam. pl. laabọ́kọ́sa.

laadimii [lààdìmíí] n. worries, disturbances • zìàn màà láàdìmíí wàà pèttì à ìì bisé hàá wà à lìì kàà wàà. The worries of Ziang’s mother will not stop until her children re-
laanfia

- turn from the bush. syn: nimisa

1. laanfia [láánfì́à] n. good health • bà kpága láánfì́à rā. They are in good health. ant: 1. wɪɪ (Hausa, ultm. Arabic < láfiyā̀ ‘health’).

2. laanfia [làánfì́à] n. pineapple.

laari [lààrì] v. cf: vɔwa; line 1 to wear, to dress, to put clothes on • lààrì ìì sì̀kùù kìná. Wear your school dress. 2 to rub, as in rubbing oil over t.z. for it not to harden • lɔ̀gà nʊ̀ gù à djà péntì rè. They will paint my house tomorrow. 4 to touch and feel, as a blind person feeling objects and people • njólómá kpá bà nésè dù lààrì nárà bārà. Blind people use their hands to feel other people.

laaribɔkɔ (var. of laabɔkɔ)

laasi [lààsí] v. to separate people fighting, to calm someone down • lààsí bè à jùòsó nì. Separate them from their fight.

1. laga [làgà] v. to hang, to suspend • à dʒʊ̀ ɔ́ŋ lágá à dáá bámbááŋ nì. The hamok is hanging from the middle of the trees. kpá ìì lágà làgà à djà nì. Hang your bag on the tree.

2. laga [làgà] v. to do fast, quickly • wàà làgà. Come now and fast. hì- rè à kpáámbá làgà à djà à lèt à kágà fənà. Dig the yams quickly, if not they will dry up. ant: soon

lagalaga [làgalàyà] ideo. quickly • làgalágà háń nì ò wàà bààñ. He came here just now.

lagale [làyálé] v. to taste for testing using the tip of the tongue • làà dọ́à làgálé ná. Taste the saltpetre and see.

lagami [là亚马] v. 1 to gather things or people together • jirā mà wóléè múnì jì má wá làgāmì jà sànjá. Call all your people to gather for a meeting. 2 to partner in dance • à bì-nihāάŋ ânì à binibáál kàà làgāmì gòà. The boy and the girl will dance together.

lagamù [làyámìí] n. meeting syn: mintiŋ.

lagasi [làyəsì] cf: lalaga pl.v. to be spotted, to be speckled, to put spots on, to apply at places • làgāsì à bàʔɔ̀rì. Apply the medicine on the swollen places. à bóɔ̀mánìní lágásì-gò. The leopard is spotted.

lagùngasi [làyìngąassī] n. type of climber. pl. lagünkəsə.

lal [lál] n. war. pl. lala.

1. lala [lálá] v. 1 to open • à lálà à diàną ná. She opened the door. ant: hara; 3 to wake up • à biè hà wà lálà à báàl dúo nì. The child has not yet woken the man up.

2. lala [lálá] v. to scratch, to be brushed off, to brush off with quick movements • à sigmáąnjùù làlágásá lá- lstjɔ̀ bāàń nì. The colour on the head of the Sigmaa was scratched.

lalaga [làlàgá] n. cf: lagasi 1 plumage, spot(s), mark on some-
thing • sùù lálagásá wáá kìn kù-rò. The colors of a guinea fowl cannot be counted. 2 spiritual weapon used to protect new farm. pl. lalasa.

lalasa [làlásá] n. infertile piece of land. pl. lalasa.


lalu [làlú] n. 1 corpse • tì bí wàà ọmà láli múh. Never fear a corpse again. 2 ancestor • dùsiè láléè kàà tìŋà ń ni rà. The ancestors of Ducie are guarding me. pl. latè.

lalwie [làlwíè] cf: nřhò; sulumbie n. orphan, person having no living parents.


langbe [lángbe] n. 1 Rufous Scrub Robin (Cercotrichas galactotes). 2 good singer. pl. langbesa; langbesa.

lænsi [lænsí] 1 pl.v. to gather bit by bit, to collect from place to place • à nárá kàà lánsùù. The people are gathering. lánsè à tóò níhiésá, bá wá làgàmí. Gather the village elders, they have to meet. 2 v. to scatter • lánsè à dìŋ tà. Put out the fire.

2lænsi [lànsì] v. to obstruct, to choke, to go the wrong way • à disá lánsèin nà. The soup caused me to choke (as it passed through the wrong tube, not the oesophagus).

lænzāŋ [lánzâŋ] n. outskirts of a village, outside and near a village • ń nàò tìì de à lánzâŋ ní. Your cow is at the outskirts of the village.

larekpakpare (var. of lalekekpare)

1lau [láó] n. farm hut. pl. lawa.

2lau (var. of lòó)

le (var. of ra)

lentì [lèntì] v. to lick • à váá kàà lènti ii kòò fálá. The dog is licking your t.z. bowl.

lensì [lènsí] v. to move back and forth one’s neck in dancing, seen especially in zungsa • zúngòà góár kàà lènsì bağènà. The dancer is moving his neck back and forth.

lerete [lèrétè] ideo. as in moving or running fast • ő tfójòò lèrétè. She ran fast.

lesi [lèsí] v. to chock, to prevent movement • lèsí ńí dèlèmbí tìn ń gátti. Chock your stove stone so it is properly high. kpà à bìtí lèssì à lóóli. Take a stone and prevent the car from moving.

leu [lèú] n. chamber pot for elderly or disabled people. pl. leuno.

leboá [lèbòá] n. saline soil. pl. leboaso.

ledaa [lèdáá] n. 1 mandible, lower jaw. 2 flintlock hammer. pl. ledaasa.
1lehe [lêhê] cf: girni n. entire cheek bone.  pl. lehesa.

2lehe [lêhê] n. wooden spoon.  pl. lehesa.

lei [lê] neg. not, negation with scope over nominals • à diëbié háy léi, háñ ná tìe i nàmiá tì́ŋ. It is not this cat, it is that cat that ate your meat. di kááli làgálàgá háy, di à léi i káá tìíŋ múŋ. Go right away, if not you will follow us.

lel [lê] cf: arîjana n. line of ancestors.

lelepoŋ [lêlîpôŋ] n. type of cricket, smaller than poŋ and found in the house. pl. lelepono.

lema [lêmà] v. 1 to be good or pleasant, Gh. Eng. to be sweet • ìńŋ màá tòŋá dîlémá râ. My mother cooks delicious soup. à kpâáŋ lémáó. The yam is sweet. 2 to be nice, to be good • ìì múr wà lêmà. Your story is not good.

lema na [lêmà nà] v. to taste • ðí lémá à dîsá râ nà. He tasted the soup.

lemana [lêmánà] n. food sample to taste and try. pl. lemanasa.

lêmî [lêmî] n. 1 good, nice, pleasant. 2 sweet

lemi [lémsî] cf: leŋ pl.v. to taste food from all the pots, to try to get as much as possible from many places • tìí lêmî à viíné múŋ disà-sá. Stop tasting the soup here and there from pot to pot.

1leŋ [lêŋ] n. enjoyment.  pl. leŋ.

2leŋ [lêŋ] cf: sungoro cf: lemsí n. long pole used to reach fruits in trees. pl. leŋ.

lênsí [lênsî] v. to crane the neck up • ò lênsí òò bâgênà rà ò ná. She cranes her neck to be able to see.

lerete [lërête] ideo. good taste, sweet enough • à dîsá márá dó lërête. The soup tastes good enough. ìì pîná wâá di kinlërêteśä. My father does not eat sweet stuff.

lestrîje [lërstrîjë] n. tradition, culture. pl. lêsírijësë.


lewalewa [lêwâlêwâ] ideo. thin, light and easily breakable • à fâlá dó lé-wâlêwâ. The calabash is thin.

lie [lî] (var. lie ni) 1 interrog. where • lî nî i kà kpâgôô. Where did you catch it? 2 n. part, segment of a whole • à bôóŋ lîe pî bà kâ tîîì? Which part of the goat did they give you?

lie ni (var. of lie)


liemi [liêmì] v. to suspend, to be suspended • piéŋ káá liêmi têêbûl nùú nì. The piece of cloth is hanging from the table. à móŋgonôŋ káá liêmì òò dàá nùú nì. The mango fruit is hanging down from its tree.

lieŋ [liêŋ] n. 1 type of climber. 2 fruit of the lieŋ. pl. lieŋ.
ligili [lígílí] v. to make repairs and restoration, like to seal the cracks of a building or mend a dress • à tílà lígílí à bié pátá rá. The tailor mended the child’s trousers. bùùrè sélèmèntè à wà lígílí ii zágá. Find cement and seal the cracks in your yard.

liile [liílé] v. to pour off carefully, separating the clean from the dirty • liílé à ní Bíà gílà à múró. Pour off the water and leave the rice there.

liiri [liírí] v. 1 to rub gently • liírí ii bié náà tìn, ò káà sóǹnóò. Rub you child’s leg, it will relieve the pain. 2 to pamper a child • tí wáà liírí ii bisé ká bá já nárà. Do not pamper your children, so that they can stand on their own.

liise [liíisé] n. thought. pl. liisese.

liisi [liíísí] v. 1 to remember, to remind • ó liísúù òò kàntfímá wíé wá. He reminded him of his debt. 2 to wish, to hope • kálá liíí-sí di ó tíí káà kállí wáà rá. Kala hopes that he will go to Wa tomorrow. 3 think • ñ liísíje dt dìárà ò dt wáà. I thought that he came yesterday.

lile [lìlè] v. to swallow • dòó kà lìlè hálá ò sóò ní. The python is swallowing eggs in front of me.

lime [lìmè] v. to be submerged, to sink • tiè à záhálá lìmè ní tí á márà biì. Let the eggs be submerged for them to cook well.

limmi [limmi] v. to peep at, to glance at • limmi à tókóró ná sükúù bisé. Peep at the school children through the window.

limpeu [limpèù] n. fan to blow fire, usually made out of kurogbàjọ. pl. limpeuso.

liñe [lińé] v. cf: vòwa; laarì 1 to dress up, to put clothes on • à nàŋkpáàŋ lińé òò tìntáàrà rá. The hunter is wearing his hunting smock. [oldfash]. 2 to cover and be concealed • ò lińé à dààsá pàtńgiú ní, já wáà kìn náò. He is concealed by the tree leaves, we cannot see him.

liiri [liírí] v. 1 to glide close to the ground • kàńśig wà liírí à záál ká ò wà kìn kpaágà. The eagle glided towards the fowl but could not catch it. 2 to come close but miss • màá-fàbíí wá liírí ùù pùù. A bullet came close but missed his head.

līrī [lìrī] v. cf: zóo 1 to go away, to go out • lií dèndíl ká kpá ǹnù dàńkpaìl wà tìń̃. Go outside and get my walking stick. 2 to leak out of
a broken container, to flow out • à viståmá káa l tô. The drinking pot is leaking. à pómpí káa líi níi râ. The water flows in the pipe. 3 to shine • wósá káa lîn kîtñán nâ. The sun is shining a lot. 4 to originate from • ô lô dûsèè rê. She is from Ducie.

immaŋa [lîmmâŋá] cf: locâ n. dry season. [Gu].

ísí [lîsí] v. cf: mutt cf: lugusi 1 to remove from somewhere, to take off or out • lýsi námìá tíy. Remove some meat and give it to me. lýsi à kpaântʃ̣̣g̣̣ tâ. Remove that spoiled yam. 2 to subtract • lýsi áliè à lii ânó nî. Subtract two from five. 3 to choose • bà káá kàâli sòglá râ àkà lýsi sànnásà. They will go to Sawla to choose their girlfriends.

lo (var. of ra)

lobanî [lôbânî] (var. luobanî) nprop. section of Ducie.

lobi [lôbi] n. Lobi people or language. pl. lóbise.

1 logo [lôgò] v. to be half-full, not containing all its capacity • à sînvî i kà kpaásè tîn tîy, ù lógó. The pot you gave me is not containing all its capacity. 2 logo [lôgò] n. prop to support a head-load when unaccompanied, to not have to lift it up again • bà ká tfû-ñà námìá bà wà mànâ lógó rô tiwî nî. As they carried the meat, on the way, they put their load at a height to rest. pl. logoso.

3 logo [lôgó] v. to be smooth, to make smooth • bà zî káa lógó à zàgá râ ânî sêlêméntê. They will then smooth the yard with cement.

logologobî [lôgôlôgôbî] n. stone used as a smoothing instrument when applying cement. pl. logologobra.

logumoanaase [lôyûmànàáàsê] n. square.

loguñ [lôguñ] 1 n. rib. 2 reln. side • wáá tfôà à fàlà lógûn nî. It lies on the side of the calabash. pl. logumo.

loguñbembel [lôgûmbêmêl] n. half side or part of something.

lolo [lôlô] (var. lôlôñlôñ) n. type of flower. pl. lôlôloso.

lôlôñlôñ (var. of lolo)

lomo [lômò] v. 1 to tie, to be knotted • ô lômû. It is tied up. ô wà màrá lômò. It is not tied well enough. ant: puro 2 to be in an early stage of pregnancy • ô lômò pèmes àltê. She is two-month pregnant.

lompo [lômpo] n. tax. (French < l’impôt ‘tax’).

lon [lôn] cf: fâl n. gourd, type of vine fruit (Lagenaria sp.).

lonbol [lômbôl] cf: bôl n. oval non-edible gourd, often turned into a container. pl. logoñbola.

lonkûrgû [lônkûrgû] n. small gourd, medicine container for a farmer or hunter. pl. logoñkûrgie.
loŋŋi [lónŋí] v. 1 to jump from branch to branch, from tree to tree • à gbǎ́ lóŋŋi dàąsā dì kááli. The monkey jumps from tree to tree and is going away. 2 to be contagious • tądàfiúúnè gèrègá káá lóŋŋ-ŋàùù. Measles is contagious.

loŋọ [lónò] n. hourglass-drum beaten with a curved stick. pl. loŋosọ.

loŋodoaa [lónódáá] n. curved drumming stick. pl. loŋodóaa.

loŋpoglii [lóŋpóɣəlíí] n. type of tree (Strychnos spinosa). pl. loŋpogłeekẹ.

loŋwie [lòòwìé] n. wooden flute. pl. loŋwise.

loori [lòòrì] v. to wither, to hang limp and lacking rigidity • dààsi mún nò lóórì gbàŋgbàŋ nì. All the trees wither during the season of harmattan.

looto [lòòtó] n. intestine. pl. loototo.

lootowie [lòòtòwìé] n. small intestine. pl. lootowise.


lor [lór] n. natural cavity in wood, holes for insects or animals. pl. lòrọ.


loroto [lòrótò] idē. very sweet, sugary • à tǔ dó lórótò rō. The tea is very sweet.

lotoremun [lòtórémuŋ] n. head of mandible, lower back extremity of the jaw bone. pl. lotoremunọ.

lọ [ló] v. to insult, to talk behind a person’s back • ū zimá dì i lọ ūŋ gàntál là. I know that you talked behind my back.

1loğa [lònà] 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. lo- gàsa.

2loğa [lònà] v. to claw, to scratch • lògà ọ̀ bromá tii̇ tìī ọ̀ sàngbènà kàà tòrìgi. Scratch his body, the craw-craw is itchy.

3loğa [lònà] v. cf: teŋe 1 to scoop • lògà kòọ́ tìēn. Take some 2 to cut, to cut the rotten part of a tuber, to cut a piece in order to give away • ū lògà gbèsà rā. I am cutting a chewing stick. lògà kpáán tìē ị bié. Cut a piece of yam for your child.

lɔgantàl [lògàntàl] cf: gantàl lọ̀ha n. backtalking.

lɔgịsị [lògịsị] pl.v. to scoop, to cut morsel • ụ́ lọgịstị bọttzenị ré. He scoops big morsels.


lọnj [lònjà] n. lawyer. (ultm. English)

lọnj [lònjà] (Mo. var. of lọnjà) (ultm. English < lorry). pl. lọnjà.

lọlọ [lòlọ] (Mo. var. of lọnjà) n. car, vehicle.

lọlọgbèrbi [lòlọgbèrbíí] n. car key. pl. lọlọgbèrbi.

lọlọlìmìla [lòlọlìmìlìmá] n. car driver. pl. lọlọlìmìlama.

lọlọmùnzùalùnzu [lòlọmùnzùalùn zuá] n. semi-trailer, articulated ve-
hicle, Gh. Eng. articulator. [old-fash].

lusara [lusàrã] n. car driver. pl. Lusàrãra.

lori (var. of lorì)

lósi [lòsi] cf: ndòma n. human ghost, a dead person is believed to return home after burial. Believed to be imported concept from Sisaala. pl. Lòsìe.


luvaal [luvàà] cf: buzóŋ n. widower.

luendil [luèndìl] (var. luhoendil) n. funeral ground. pl. Luendile.

lùdi [lúd] v. to make a hole in something • lùdì à kùbé. Make a hole in the coconut.

1lùgo [lùgo] v. 1 to bore a hole, to hollow out • dààsáárá lùgó dáá rà à sàà tìmpántìé. The carvers hollowed out a tree and carved talking drums. 2 to change one’s name • ùù lùgó òò sòm ná. He changed his name. 3 to withdraw one’s words • ñ lùgó ñì nòá rà. I withdrawn my words.

2lùgo [lùgò] n. 1 animal trail or tracks. 2 way of doing or process of something or someone • ò lùgó jàá báìì. Here is his way. bà hièn lù-go ré kéìj. That is the way they are related. pl. Lugooso.

lugusi [lugùsì] cf: lìsi pl.v. to remove items from a container • lùgùsi kpàámá à viì ní. Remove yams from the pot. lùgùsi kpà-am-bíliè kòzáá ní à tìëè. Remove the cooked yams from the basket and give them to him.

2lugusi [lugùsì] v. to rinse out mouth • jàá ñìì lùgùsi ìì nòá. Take some water and rinse your mouth.

3lugusi [lugùsì] v. 1 to be lumpy • à kàpàlá lùgùsijò. The fufu is lumpy. 2 to be different in a set, to be an outsider • ñ jàá nipùlùgùsìì rè zàgà tìŋì ñìì kàà zòó wàá nìì. I am an outsider at the house that I am staying in at Wa.

4lugusi [lugùsì] v. to throb, to vibrate, to pulsate, to have eye spasms • ìì pól kàà lùgùsì. Your vein pulsates. ñì ñì wà kòìì, ñìì nèndùl sìì jàá lùgùsùù. When I get tired, my right eye has spasms.

5lugusi [lugùsì] v. to cause someone’s laughter • lùgùsì à bìé ìì mò-mà. Make the child laugh.

luguso [lugùsó] pl.n. lumps in staple food.


lugbùapunŋ [lugbùápùŋ] n. armpit hair. pl. Lugbùapuna.

luháŋ [luháŋ] cf: hanzoŋ n. widow not yet ready to remarry due to funeral customs. pl. Luhaŋna.

1lùho [luhò] n. funeral. pl. Luhooso.

luhodendil (var. of ludendil)
luhokwori (var. of selekwori)
lulibii [luˈliːbiː] n. drug pill or capsule. pl. lulibii.
lulibummo [luˈliːbummo] n. local medicine, such as a concoction made from plants and trees.
lulibummojaar [luˈliːbummojaːr] cf: patʃakjaar n. healer, herbalist, or traditional doctor. pl. lulibummojaara.
lulii [luˈliː] n. medicine. pl. lulie.
lulisaọ [luˈliːsəo] n. powder or undissolved particles of medicinal agents, usually mixed with a liquid for oral administration.
lulo [luˈlo] v. to leak • à dìá káá lūlòō. The house is leaking. ñìní disíá múŋ nò à lúlò tà. All my soup leaked out.
lumo [luˈmo] cntr. lụŋ n. area situated at the back, furthest away from the entrance • hàámóná, má ká sânà láọ́ lúmọ́ nì. Children, you go and sit at the back of the hut.
lunọj [luˈnọj] lit. funeral-hot cf: lusinna n. first funeral, fast funeral, at a person’s death. pl. lusinna.
luŋ (cntrvar. lumo)
luŋo [luŋɔ] v. to be deep • à bọ̀ à lụŋọ. The hole is deep. má hìrè à bọ̀ á lụŋọ. You dig the hole so it is deep. ant: tisì
luo [luɔ] cf: tia; lọla n. pregnancy • bà kpágáší lùūnà wà They are pregnant. [Gù]. (Tampulma). pl. luona.
luali [luɔli] v. to pull out an item from liquid • hàáñá kàá kàáli kuò rò bá ká lūoli kpọ́kpọ́n. Women are going to farm, they will remove the cassava from water to dry it.
luilibii (var. of lobanii)
luore [luɔrɛ̀] v. to shed, pour forth, or fall off • à dàásá pààtʃágá múŋŋ luóré. All the leaves fell off.
lurigi [luˈriɡi] cf: luti v. to puncture many times, to make holes in something • dìnbpāpāresá lūrīɡi ñì jíná tā̀gātā rā. Sparks made holes in my father’s shirt.
luro [luˈro] n. scrotum or testicle. pl. luruso.
lurobii [luˈrobei] n. testicle. pl. lurobie.
luroʔɔrǐ [luˈroʔɔrì] n. orchitis.
lusinna [luˈsinna] lit. funeral-pito cf: lunọj n. last funeral, integrated funeral, or second funeral, usually referred to using the plural form lusinnasa as the celebration gath- ers one than lalit. pl. lusinnasa.
luti [lúti] cf: lurigi  v. to puncture, to make a hole in something • lú-tí nàːfìl kóŋkóŋ. Make a hole in the milk tin.

luto [lútó] n. root. pl. lutoso.

lʊga [lʊgà] v. 1 to forge and shape iron • lʊlʊlʊtá káá lʊgà prɛ́gà. A blacksmith is forging finger bells. 2 to struggle or strive, to be engaged with a problem or a task • lʊgà jà pɛ́tì jà tʊ́má làgá nì. Strive, so we can finish our work fast. 3 to wrestle • hàmɔ̃́wísè jàá lʊ́gà dèndíl nì rē. Children usually wrestle outside.

1lʊgɪɪ [lʊ́gɪ́ɪ̀] n. iron. pl. lʊgɛɛ.

2lʊgɪɪ [lʊ́gɪ́ɪ́] n. wrestling.


lʊla [lʊ́lǎ] cf: luo; tọa v. to bear, to bring forth, to give birth • kpàgà ɪ̀ɪ̀ báàŋ kààlɪ̀ ásɪ̀bɪ́tɪ̀ ʊ́ ká lʊ́ là. Take your wife to the hospital to give birth.

lʊlɪɪ [lʊ́lɪ́ɪ́] n. giving birth • ʊ̀ lʊ́lɪ́ɪ kpégéò àwɪ́ɛ́ ʊ̀ dɪ̀ pɛ́mà. Her delivery is hard that is why she groans. pl. lʊlìe.

lʊlota [lʊlötà] cntr. lọta n. blacksmith. pl. lʊlʊtasa.

lʊọñ [lʊ́ọ́ná] n. mane, hair on the neck of a mammal. pl. lʊọɔma.

lʊọŋ [lʊ́ọ́ná] cf: limmaŋa (Mo. var. lọŋa) n. dry season.

lʊọrɪ [lʊ́ọ́rɪ̀] v. to sneak, to move stealthily with agility • lʊ́ọ́rɪ ká ɲínè ná à wɔ́tʃɪ́mã́ɪ̃̀ kàà tʃʊ́á dùò rò. Sneak and check whether the watchman is asleep.


lʊsa [lʊ́sá] n. hunger • lʊ́sá kpágáŋ nà. I am hungry.

lʊta (cntrvar. lʊlota)

m

m (var. of n)

ma [mà] pro. second person plural pronoun • ɲ̩ sùmùū má ná pù-wéríí. I pray for you to succeed.

màa [màá] n. mother. pl. màāma.

màabie [màábìé] n. 1 brother or sister younger than ego. 2 cousin younger than ego, child of an aunt or uncle. pl. màābise.

màabiewaatelepusìn [màábìewaátè lɛ̀púsìn] lit. sibling-will.not-reach-meet.me n. type of snake syn: suọŋ-daaawie.

màābinibaal [màaabìnibàál] n. male cousin of female ego.


màābise [màábisë] cf: màabìnihààŋ n. maternal lineage.
mããbʊ̃ ʊ̃ ŋ mamaatʃi


maafá [máàfá] n. gun. (ultm. Arabic < midfaᶜ ‘gun, canon’).

maafabú [máàfábú] lit. gun-stone n. bullet. pl. mñaafabúna.


maafadɪgɪna [máàfádɪ̀gɪ́ná] lit. gun-ear n. flintlock frizzen.

maafadɪgɪnbʊa [máàfádɪ̀gɪ́nbʊ̀ á] lit. gun-ear-hole (var. dɪ́gɪnbʊa) n.

maafaluro [máàfálúrò] lit. gun-testicle n. gunpowder container.

maafamundaapɪ̃ã [máàfámùndàà pɪ̃̀ã́] lit. gun-back-stick-open n. gun baton, butt and stock of a gun. pl. mñaafamundaapɪ̃àna.

maafapeŋ [máàfápɛ̃] lit. gun-penis n. gun trigger.

maafatuo [máàfátúò] lit. gun-bow n. gun barrel.

máahɪ̀ [máàhɪ̀] n. cf: mañaawie
1 ego’s mother’s younger sister.
2 ego’s step-mother, if the woman is younger than the biological mother. pl. mñaahɪ̀ema.

maali [máàlì] v. to blister, to cause a blister to form on • à dìː j tógbóṣò ̀dó bárá mú́j máálì. The fire burned him and all his body blistered.


màasí [mààsí] v. 1 to be earlier or already, Gh. Eng. ever • i kà máási kààlì bèlèè di ̀dí wàà tùó. The time you went to Gurumbele, I was not there. 2 to be enough, in satisfactory state, to be right amount or size • à máástó këjì, tì bò̄ jò́lìì. It is okay like that, stop pouring. 3 to fit, to be worthy • mú̄ accessory. 4 to be equal, to make equal or even • níbúlúmmò mú́j wà màaśì dɔ́ŋá rà. Human beings are not equal. wòsá nì afíà bǐnsá màaśì dɔ́ŋá rà. Wusa is as old as Afia.

màataa [mààtòà] n. glue from the katfál tree, used in trapping birds.

mañaawie [mààwié] n. cf: màaàhɪ̀
1 ego’s mother’s younger sister.
2 ego’s step-mother, if the woman is younger than the biological mother. pl. mààwise.

màasí [mààsí] (Gu. var. of màasí)

màka [mààkà] n. Mecca • bákúríí nì hàtò̀n kà káàlì bá màkáàsà kà wàà à wà tìè bò bìisè tágà tàwé. Bakuri and Hatong went to Mecca, came back, and gave nice shirts to their children. pl. makàsa.

màamaatʃi [mààmàatʃì] cf: kaabaako
cf: kpere interj. expression of surprise. (Hausa < mààmåkì ‘surprise’).
mana [máná] n. elastic made out of tyre inner-tube. pl. manasa.

mandɔogú [mándoɔgíí] n. type of mouse. pl. mandɔoguee.


mandʊɔgɪɪ [mándʊ́ɔ́gɪ́í́] n. type of mouse. pl. mandʊɔgɛɛ.


mankir [mánkə̀rː] n. type of yam. pl. mankire.

maɲãɔ̃ [máɲã̀ɔ̃̀] n. dwarf goose (Crossarchus obscurus). pl. maɲãɔ̃sa.


1maŋa [màŋà] v. cf: tugo; tʃası 1 to beat, slap, strike, or hit • ʊ̀ máŋá dáá rá. He fought someone. bà máŋá dáá rá. They exchange blows. 2 to kick a football • ʊ̀ máŋá à bɔ́ɔ̀l dʊ́ tókóró ní. He kicked the ball in the window. 3 to cause a plant to change appearance, usually caused by drought stress • hɪ̀ɭ tʃɪ́ŋɪ̀ã̄, à mú-ró màŋà. Due to drought, the rice changed appearance.

2maŋa [máŋá] n. only • it mǎŋá kàá kìŋ wàà. Only you can come.


maŋsi [máŋsìí] n. groundnut. pl. maŋsa.

maŋsìjelii [máŋsìjélíì] n. groundnut flower. pl. maŋsìjelee.

maŋsi [máŋsì] v. (Gu. var. mag-sti) 1 to measure • mǎŋsi ɲù ɲìɲ-ìɲ tìeɲ. Measure my height for me. 2 to doubt, to wonder about • bà wà mǎŋsi dt ɲ wàà tùò dúsiè nì. They do not doubt that I'm not in Ducie.

1mara [márà] v. 1 to adhere, to append, to glue, to be fixed on • à fôtò márá à zìé nì. The picture is on the wall. 2 to be unable to say due to being silenced by others, being talked down • kípó nóá márá wïé, bà wò-leẹ ɲmá wïé diù. Kipo was unable to talk, his companions talked before and over him.

2mara [màrà] pv. to do well, to be properly done • ɔ wà márá jàà. He did not do well. à fôtò márá márá zìé nì rà. The picture is well fixed to the wall. ɔ márá tʃìnəá. It is standing well.

3mara [màrá] v. to destroy with fire • kààlɪ̀ kùó kà màrá píé pátʃɪ̄gɪ̄ dāā-sà. Go to the farm and burn the trees in the yam field.

4mara [màrá] n. to commit suicide • kípó zoó márá sòwà. Kipo killed himself. bà zoò màrásà à sòtì. They killed themselves. pl. mara.

maragi [máràgí] pl.v. to adhere, to be fixed on • tʃäsá kàá márágí à nàmpɔá nì. Flies are on the rotten meat. ɲìɲ jìmá kàá márágí kàrántíesá rá. My father is fixing the cutlass handles.

masi [màsì] pl.v. to beat • mài à kin-rinsá múŋ kpó. Beat all the tsetse
flies to death.

**matfeo** [mâtfeó] *num.* twenty. *pl. matfeowo.*

**mawa** [mâwâ] *pro.* second person plural emphatic pronoun • bà *lt*-si mawa râ, kà gilà mawâ. They choose you (people here), but left you (people there) (with gesture).

**mawaa** [mâwàá] *pro.* second person plural strong pronoun.

**meeli** [méélì] *n.* mile. (ultm. English).


**mɛŋ** [mɛ̀ŋ́] *n.* dew, mist. *pl. mɛŋŋɪ̃.*

1 to sieve by turning the container sideways • kpá à fâlá wà mɛŋŋɪ̃ ɲàmmɪ̃́ɪ̃́. Take the calabash and sieve the maize.

2 to balance from one side to another in walking • à hááŋ válá mɛ̄ŋŋɪ̃̄ à wāā. The woman walks balancing towards us.

**mɛrɛkɛtɛ** [mɛ́rɛ́kɛ́tɛ́] *n.* woven mat made of guinea corn stalks. *pl. mɛrɛketesa.*

**miidaa** [miidáá] *n.* space between the eyebrows. *pl. miidaasa.*

**miimi** [míími] *n.* shrub with pinkish flower bundles (*Bougainvillea glabra*). *pl. miimise.*

**miiri** [miírì] *v.* to dive, to swim under water • ziàŋ miírì níí à kpâgâ pìnęè. Ziang dived and caught fish.


**mintiŋ** [mîntîŋ] *n.* meeting *syn:* lagamî. *pl. minîntîse.*

**misi** [mísì] *v.* to whisper • ò mísì wîë dò ùù bìé dîgînà nî. He whispered into his child’s ear.

**misiri** (var. of *wûzaandìa*)


**mîbîwa** [mîbîwà] *lit.* guinea. corn-matured *n.* type of beetle (*Lucanidae* fam.). *pl. mîbîwaas.*

1 **mîî** [mîî] *n.* guinea corn, used in making porridge, t.z. and brewing *sîntîama* (*Sorghum*). *pl. mîî.*

2 **mîî** [mîî] *v.* to send out a current of air out of the nose to eject phlegm • mîî ìî mîîsà tà. Blow the phlegm out of your nose.

3 **mîî** [mîî] *n.* gun front sight. *pl. mîîna.*

**mîbîsa** [mîbîsà] *n.* 1 nostril. 2 life • íìn mîbîsà ìî birgì. May I live long! wósà tíí mîbîsà zè́néè. May God give you long life. *pl. mîbîsas.*

**mîfîtî** [mîfîtî] *n.* nasal congestion.

**mîjáli** [mîjálii] *n.* nose bleed, epistaxis, common for some in harmattan.

**mînî** [mînî] *v.* to betray • bákúríí mînîtí ìî óò ìíînà. Bakuri betrayed me by telling his father.

**mîsà** [mîsà] *n.* nose • mîî mîsà. Blow your nose. *pl. mîsasà.*
**mɪla (var. of mina)**

**mɪlimi** [mɪlimi] v. cf: sāā 1 to turn, to twist • ʊ̀ mɪlimi ŋɒ nē nē. She is twisting my arm. 2 to drive, to steer a vehicle • ŋɒ wāa kɪ̀n mɪlimi lồlt. I cannot drive a car.

**mɪlimui** [mɪlimiɪ] n. turning, driving • à pɔ́mpɪ̀mɪ́lɪ́mɪ́ɪ́ bɔ́mã́ʊ̃́. The pumping of the bore hole is tedious.

**mɪmbii** [mɪ́mbíí] n. guinea corn grain. pl. **mɪmbie**.

**mina** [mɪnà] v. (var. mɪla) 1 to attach • mɪnà à ŋmɛ́ŋ̀ ú kpégè. Attach the rope to make it strong. 2 to turn something around something else • làà άŋkɪ́tɪ̀ à mɪ̀lɪ́mɪ̀ à kɪ̀sɪ̀ɛ̀dáά. Take the handkerchief and put it around the handle of the knife. 3 to twine around something, to be twisted • tìe ìi bié kpàgà à kpáànsíí mɪ́nà dàά. Let your child twist the yam dial around the stick. 4 to cross fingers or legs • wàά ká sàŋà à kpàgà ʊ̀nà àáà mɪ́nà dɔ́ŋà. It is her sitting with the legs crossed.

1**mɪnḕa (var. of haglɪbie)

2**mɪnà [mɪnà] n. type of ant syn: haglɪbie. pl. **mɪnsa**.

**mɪnzɔga** [mɪnzɔ́gá] n. guinea corn chaff.

**mɪŋmɛnà [mɪ́ŋmɛ́ná] lit. guinea corn-okro cf: nammu n. maize. [Gu].

**mɪŋ** [mɪŋ] pro. first person singular strong pronoun • mɪŋ ná. I am the one.

**mɪsɪ [mɪsɪ] v. to sprinkle • bà mɪsɪ à bâά lûlî́i rē, ò sìi. They sprinkled medicine on the man, he recovered.

**mɪsɪama** [mɪsɪàmá] n. guinea corn, reddish type.

**molebii** [mʊlɛ́bii] n. money. (Oti-Volta < *libie* ‘cowrie’). pl. **molebie**.

**molebipɔmmà** [mʊlɛ́bɪ́pɔ́mʊmɪ́] n. cowrie.

**momuŋ** [mʊmʊŋ] n. appendicitis.

**mʊ̀ŋgo** [mʊ̀ŋgɔ] n. mango (Mangifera indica). (ultm. Tamil, via Portuguese). pl. **mʊ̀ŋgoso**.

**mʊ̀mʊ̀mʊ̀mʊ̀mʊ̀ (mʊ̀mʊ̀mʊ̀mʊ̀mʊ̀) n. type of fish. pl. mʊ̀mʊ̀mʊ̀mʊ̀mʊ̀**

1**mʊ́nà [mʊ́ná] v. to carry embers or fire • mʊ́nà dîŋ wàà. Carry the fire here.

2**mʊ́nà [mʊ́ná] v. to snatch, to find something dead or lost by someone, to take something found dead • ŋɪ̀ ŋɪ́nà mʊ́nà něŋtɪ̄ɪ̄ nɪ́ rā. My father snatched a dead elephant.

3**mʊ́nà [mʊ́ná] v. to be used to, to be familiar with • ŋɪ̀ mʊ́ná dě̀ndɪ́l sáŋĩ̀ĩ̀ nɪ́ rā. I am used to smoking cigarettes. ŋɪ̀ mʊ́ná dě̀ndɪ́l sáŋĩ̀ĩ̀ nɪ́ rā. I am used to sitting outside the house.

**mʊ̀nà [mʊ́ná] n. vulva, vagina. pl. mʊ̀nà.**

**mʊ̀ŋpʊŋ** [mʊ́ŋpʊ́ŋ] n. female pubic hair. pl. **mʊ̀ŋpʊ́ŋna**.


1mọsì [mọsí] v. 1 to plead with explanations and complaints • à hãáŋ wā mọsì dì ṣì wà kpágá sitmáà. The woman came and complained that she had no food.  syn: dibì 2 to mourn, to lament • à hãáñà dì mọsì à sọwúi wí tfòɔsá wà písi. The women were mourning the death until the morning.

2mọsì [mọsí] v. to make and start a fire • mọsì diŋ̀. Start a fire.

mọta [mọtá] n. behaviour resulting from one’s upbringing • dt ṣì bié mọtá káá wirè à lìí ṣì pé ré. My child’s good behaviour come from me.  pl. *mọtasa*.

mọtigii [mọtīgíí] n. 1 person from Motigu.  2 lect of Motigu.  pl. *mọtigee*.

mufu [mufú] interj. exclamation signalling surprise • mufú, bààŋ kτ ŋà tà bútìre bààñ ńì? Ah, what do you want in here?

muhiè [muhiè] n. tigernuts (*Cyperus esculentus*). (Akan <mbwe).

mul [mùl] n. food that has not been prepared correctly • kóμùl ṣì hààñ dì sàà. Yesterday my wife’s t.z. was badly cooked.

munii [mùníí] cf. tiwii n. road.  [Ka].

muno [mùnò] n. pair • nàtòmùnò á-tórò bákúrí kpágá. Bakuri has three pairs of sandals.  tìmปùmmùnò áliè dòá dúsiè ńì. Ducie has two pairs of talking drums.

1mụn [mụn] quant. all, everything • à zágásá mụn tìe à kùórù ró kpàámá fì. All the houses gave ten yams to the chief.  ńì zíríá sigmáà mūn ńó. I know everything about Sigmaa.

2mụn [mụn] 1 n. buttocks.  2 n. meaning • úú mụn ká jàà? What is its meaning?  3 refl. base, under • wàá tfòà à fàlá mūn ńì. It lies at the base of the calabash.  pl. *mụno*.


muŋtuolie [muŋtùòlìé] n. type of shrub.  pl. *muŋtuoloso*.

muŋtoos [muŋtòòs] n. saliva.  pl. *muŋtoşa*.

muŋzaŋ [muŋzaŋ] n. tail of fish or birds.  pl. *muŋzanna*.

muŋzeŋtììna [muŋzéŋtììnà] lit. back-big-owner n. type of squirrel synt: 1hele .

murisi [mùrísí] v. to stifle one’s laughter, laugh with restraint • à báàl sááři tfèlè, hàmónà dì mu- risì. The man slipped and fell, the children stifled their laughter.
muro [múró] n. rice. pl. muro.
murobii [mûrobbi] n. grain of rice. pl. murobie.

musi (var. of diebie)
mûsooro [mûsóóró] n. clove, food ingredient used for the taste and smell of porridge and soup (flower buds of Syzygium aromaticum). (Waali).
mûru [mûrú] v. to cover completely with a cloth • à hááŋ mûrû rì úu juu ìì lámbaráà ná. The woman covered her head with a veil. jàlàháànlà jà mûrû bà bárà múŋ̄tá tfà bà sîè. Muslim women cover their entire body except their face.
mû [mù] v. to take away virginity • iì bié mó ǹ̀ bìnìháàŋ. Your son took my daughter’s virginity.
mô [mó] adv. before • ñ dì siìmáà móá jáà kàáli tómá. Let me eat before we go to work. tʃìná kéŋ móá hà té kàáliì. Wait there, do not go yet.
mûga [mûgà] cf: dara v. to lie, to deceive • ǹ̀ sùkúù bié mógaà ìì láà mólébìé dì. My child, the one who goes to school, deceived me and used the money. [Gu].
mûgnôá [mûgonôá] n. shore, beach.
mûgos [mûgosì] v. to suck out a liquid • hàmôñà jàà mógosì móngò kà kpà à bié à jùò tâ. Children generally suck mangoes and throw away the seed.
mûl [mûl] n. ripe stage of a fruit, especially shea nuts and mangos • sûìmốlnâ lá. It is a ripe shea nut. sûìmốlónâ rá. It is ripe shea nuts. pl. mùla.

1môma [móma] v. 1 to laugh, to smile • ô kóɔrè siìmáà kâá móma. She is preparing the food while laughing. 2 to be opened and ripe (of Akee apples) • à tíí mómaò. The Akee apple is opened.

2môma [móma] n. laugther.
mômu [mómu] n. laughing.
mômòm [mómòm] n. prolapase of rectum.

1môra [móra] v. to stop water from spilling out while being carried • làà fàlá môra ǹ̀ nìì tíì à tí wàà tâì. Take a calabash (and put it in the basin) to avoid the water from spilling (while you carry the basin on your head).

2môra [móra] cf: sianu cf: mûra v. to tell a story • tèbín hàn nì ǹ̀ kâá môra móra wâ. Tonight I will tell stories.
môsáá [mósaâ] n prop. Musa, person’s name.
mosi [mósí] v. to rain gently • à dúóŋ wáá pétùì à káá mósì. The rain has eased off but it still falls lightly.

mùtì [mòtì] cf: lìsì v. to spit, to remove from mouth • đì í mòtí kpúlikpúlí tà. Spit the candy out.

n [n] (var. m, n) pro. first person singular pronoun • bàà jàááù dì í ìí tfé-lè. They are doing everything for me to fail.

1na [ná] v. 1 to see • ì ná dì òò wítkàgtè wírèò. I see that his behaviour are good. 2 to feel, to perceive • tágà à disá dì nà jìísá nàó-wàááí. Dip your finger and taste it to see. 3 to caution, to tell someone to avoid danger • ná, tì wàà káálì à jùò-síbáí. Exercise caution, do not go to the fighting ground.

2na (var. of nar)

3na (var. of ra)

nàá [nàá] n. 1 leg. . 2 process, way, manner • ò bùòlnàááá ré kérì. That is the way she sings. pl. nàááá.

nàábìbaambàng [nàábibáámbán] n. middle toe. pl. nàábibáambaíngsa.

nàábìbaambàngwie [nàábibááambánwie] n. fourth toe. pl. nàábibáambaíngwie.

nàábbì [nàábbì] n. toe. pl. nàábbie.

rat (Cryptomys zechi). pl. mutolsa.

nàábìkaŋkawal [nàábíkan'kàłowal] n. big toe. pl. nàábìkàŋkawala.

nàábbìwié [nàábbíwíè] n. little toe. pl. nàábbìwié.

nàábíziíí [nàábibìziííí] n. index toe. pl. nàábíziíííe.

nàágbàŋahòk [nàágbàŋahòk] n. tibia. pl. nàágbàŋahògo.

nàágbàŋzènè [nàágbàŋzènè] n. limping in a way to avoid the heel.

nàáháátá [nàáháátá] lit. leg-bitter n. state of a person when his or her soul has left syn: dunjfo .


nàájèlé [nàájélè] n. cracked and dried skin, usually on and around the heels.

nàákeñìjë [nàákeñìjë] n. hopping on one leg, usually due to pain on the other.
náakorbsá [náakòrbóá] n. hollow and bend of the knee.  pl. náakorbsá.

naakpaaga [náakpààgá] cf: kagal n. smallest farm space measurement. [oldfash]. pl. naakpaagasa.

náakpaazugo (var. of duu)

náakputi [náakpútí] n. leg amputated.

naal [náál] n. ego’s grandfather.  pl. naalma.

naalbìlìɛ [nàálbì́lì́ɛ̀] n. ego’s maternal or paternal great-grandfather • nìì náalbìlìɛ lì́tì düsié rè àkà sàŋá mòtìgù nì. My great-grandfather moved from Ducie to settle in Motigu.

náalomo [náálómó] n.náaloŋo, 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 náålúmé in Bulenga.

náaloŋo (var. of náalomo)

naaltulo [nááltùlō] n. ego’s great-grandfather of any rank.  pl. naaltulos.

náalumo [náálùmọ] n. heel.  pl. náalumoso.

náanasi [náanàsì] n. footprint.  pl. náanasté.

náanawɔsíi [náanàwɔ́síí] n. groin, pelvis.  pl. náanawɔsté.

náañi [náàñi] v. to be similar • ii nɛ̀pitíí háŋ̣ ànì nì nì kìì nááñi dɔ̀ŋá nì rà. Your ring and mine are similar.

náanuule (Gu. var. of annulie)

náàpegi [náàpɛ́gì] n. thigh.  pl. náàpegie.

náàptɛl [náàptɛ́l] n. foot.  pl. náàptɛ́lal.

náàptɛlɡantal [náàpɛ́lɡàntal] n. top of the foot.

náàptɛlpàtʃígi [náàpɛ́lpaṭʃígi] n. sole of the foot.


naasaara [nààsáárá] (var. nansaa-raa, naasaarpʊmma) n. Caucasian person, may also apply to non-Africans generally. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <nasaara ‘Nazarenes (Christians)’).  pl. naasaraasa.

naasaaarbal [nààsààrbáàl] n. white, Caucasian man.  pl. naasaaarbaala.


naasaargbesa [nààsààrgbésà] n. type of tree syn: naasaarda.

naasaarhããŋ [nààsààrhã́ã̀ŋ] n. white, Caucasian woman.  pl. naasaarhããna.

naasaarlulii [nààsààrlulíí] n. non-local medicine, such as pills and other packaged medicine.

naasaarpʊmma (var. of naasaara)

naasartaa [nààsàrttáá] n. foreign language, especially one spoken by non-African people.

naase [náàsè] num. four Enum of: naase.

nääsii [nààssii] n. prominence on the outer or inner side of the ankle. pl. nääsia.


nããsii [nã̀ã̀síí] n. prominence on the outer or inner side of the ankle. pl. nããsies.

naasɪ [var. of anaasɛ] nããtɪɪna [nã̀ã̀tɪ́ɪ́ná] cf: nɪɛra n. ego’s mother’s brother. pl. nããtɪɪnsa.

nããtɔʊ [nã̀ã̀tɔ́ʊ́] n. shoe, sandal. pl. nããtɔʊsa.

nããtɔʊkʊɔr [nã̀ã̀tɔ́ʊ̀ kʊ̀ ɔ́r] n. shoe-maker. pl. nããtɔʊkʊɔra.


nããtɔwa [nã̀ã̀tɔ́wá] n. pair of shoes.

nããtuto [nã̀ã̀tùtó] lit. leg-mortar n. elephantiasis of the leg.

nããtfɪg [nã̀ãttɪfɪ́g] n. claw. pl. nããtfɪge.

nããtfɪgɪɪ [nã̀ãttɪfɪ́ɡɪ́ɪ] n. calf. pl. nããtfɪgɛɛ.

nããtfūg [nã̀ãttɪfʊ́g] n. ankle. pl. nããtfʊgaṇa.

nääval [nààvá⃛] n. lit. leg-walk 1 circuit or route being walked • kàlá káált áfíá pé rè nääváł bɔ́ltè. Kala has been to Afia’s twice. 2 pace or stride. pl. nä vaisa.

nääwal [nààwál] n. any relatively large sore on the body. pl. nääwalla.

nahā [nàhá] n. ego’s grandmother. pl. nahāma.

nahābɪłe [nàhābɪlíɛ] n. ego’s great-grandmother.

nahī [nàhī́] (var. nehī) n. sense, practical wisdom ant: geni.

najeljiŋbielie [nájeljiŋbiéliɛ] cf: diŋtʃaŋdaa n. lantern which uses rolled cotton and shea oil. pl. najeljiŋbielisie.


nakelini [nàkelìnì] n. type of tree. pl. nakelimsa.

nakodol [nàkòdol] (var. nokodol) n. type of tree (Rhodognaphalon brevicuspe). pl. nakodolos.

nakunj [nàkuŋ̃] n. jathropha, type of plant (Jatropha curcas). pl. nakuj.

nàkpaazugo [nàkpaázʊgò] n. type of vulture syn: zaarhīñ (Gyps africanus; Necrosyrtes monachus). pl. nàkpaazugosī.


nàma [nàmə] v. 1 to press and smooth with a heated iron • nàma ǹǹ tàgàtà tìey. 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.
**namba** n. number. (ultm. English < *number*). pl. **nambasa**.

**nambera** n. cooked meat for sale at the market.

**namìá** (var. **namíê**). n. meat, flesh. pl. **nansa**.

**namìê** (var. of namìá). n. cooked meat for sale at the market.

**nampunìi** (var. **nampunwiíla**). n. muscle pain. My brother went hunting for meat.

**nampunìí** (var. of **nampuniiwííla**). n. pl. **nampaarií**. n. type of tree (*Ximenia americana*). pl. **naparapíre**.

**nar** (var. 2 **na**). n. person. pl. **nara**.

**nara** pl. n. people • tóó hàn nt bâ wàà kpò nárá. In this village they don’t kill people. nará há wà wāāwà, bà tiwií zìŋàà. The people have not come yet, their road is long.

**narabùù** lit. people-hole nprop. cave located north of Ducie.

**nasààŋ** cf: **nasata** n. joking partner, Gh. Eng. playmate,
person with whom one can violate some social rules and take belongings from. *pl. nasāāna.*

**nasata** [nâsātā] *cf. nasāṇy* *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 nasātā rā.* We are playmates.

**nasī** [nâsī] *v.* to step on something with a foot • *tī wā nāsī nū kin-willīt.* Do not step on my sore.

**nasɪɛ** [nâsī̀] *v.* thunder • *nâsī̀ hɔ̃̀sɪ̀ā̀.* The thunder booms.

**nasol** [nâsól] *n.* type of tree (*Grewia carpinifolia*). *pl. nasollo.*

**nãʊ̃** [nã̀ʊ̃̀] *cf.: nɔ̃ʊ̃* *n.* cow. *pl. nãʊ̃.*

**naʊpɪŋa** [nâʊ́pɪ̀ŋá] *n.* type of insect. *pl. naʊpɪŋəna.*

**nbuoɲɔ́̀** [m̩̀ búɔɲɔ̀] *n.* hunter rank of a person who has killed a buffalo. (Gonja).

**ne** (*var. of ra*)

**nebiɛtɪɪna** [nébiɛtɪ́ɪnā] *lit.* fingernail-owner *n.* leopard *synt: ɓɔɔmání; ŋuwietɪɪnā.*

**nebii** [nébii] *n.* finger. *pl. nebие.*

**nebiifɛtɪɪ** [nébiifɛ́tɪ̀ɪ̀] *n.* fingerprint. *pl. nebiifɛtɪɛ.*

**nebiifɛtɪɛ** [nébiifɛ́tɪ̀ɛ̀] *n.* fingerprint. *pl. nebiifɛtɪɛ.*

**nebikaŋkawal** (*var. of nebiukaŋkawal*)

**nebikaŋkawal** [nébikàŋkàwàl] (*var. nebiukaŋkawal*) *n.* thumb. *pl. nebiukaŋkawala.*

**nebikanjaŋkawalanpunii** [nébikàŋkà wàlnànpùnùïi] *lit.* thumb-flesh *n.* ball of the thumb (*Thenar eminence*).

**nebipɛtɪ** [nébipɛtɪ̀] *n.* fingernail. *pl. nebipetëte.*

**nebisunu** [nébìsùnù] *n.* little finger *syn: nebiwìe . pl. nebisunuso.*

**nebiwìe** [nébìwié] *n.* little finger *syn: nebisunu . pl. nebiwìe.*

**nebizeņiï** [nébìzènìï] *n.* middle finger *syn: bambaaŋnebii .

**nebìnìë** [nébìnìë] lit. hand-old *n.* experienced person. *pl. nebìnìë.*

**negōma** [négōmà] *n.* elbow. *pl. negōnsa.*

**negbāŋa** [négbāŋà] *n.* interior or crevice of an elbow. *pl. negbāŋṣa.*

**nekpeg** [nékpég] *cf.: siitìïnà* *n.* quality of someone who is never ready to help *ant: sɔŋtìïnà . pl. nekpege.*

**nekpegï** [nékpégì] *n.* biceps. *pl. nekpegeë.*

**nekpun** [nékpùn] *n.* any joint along the arm (finger, elbow, shoulder). *pl. nekpunò.*

**neŋ** [néŋ̀] *n.* arm, hand. *pl. nese.*

**neŋbakpagï** [némbàkpàgì] *n.* handle. *pl. neŋbakpagëe.*

**neŋgaltìïnà** [néŋgáltìnà] *lit.* arm-left-owner *n.* monkey *synt: ɓiì. gbiā .

**neŋgbiŋ** [néŋ ì ì ɓiì] *cf.: gbiŋ* *n.* wrist ring.

**neŋtìïnà** [néŋtì̄ɪ̄nā] lit. arm-owner *n.* elephant *synt: bọla; selzen .

**nepïél** [népìél] *n.* hand. *pl. nepïela.*
nepelgantal [népíélgàntàľ] n. back of the hand.

nepelpatʃɪgi [népélpàtʃígtí] cf: netisìŋ n. palm of the hand.

nepiti [népítí] n. finger ring. pl. nepitte.

nepol [népól] n. arm vein. pl. nepolo.

netisiŋ [nétísíŋ] cf: nepelpatʃɪgi n. lowest part of the inner surface of the hand. pl. netisìme.

netʃug [nétʃúg̀] n. wrist. pl. netʃuguna.


nehì (var. of nahié)

nigimi [nìgìmì] v. to disappear or vanish by magic, usually the effect of a special medicine • kòsànàŋ dògòìì nānpààŋ ū̀ niɡìmì. The buffalo chased the hunter, he vanished into thin air.

nigimii [nìgímìí] n. spiritual disappearance, possible only after taking a special medicine.

nigimìilùli [nìgìmìílùlíí] n. disappearance medicine, when one faces danger.

nikana (var. of nar)

1nì (var. of anì)

2nì [nì] postp. locative particle.

nì- [nì] classifier particle for human entity.
nëbën (var. of nizëŋ)
nidigimàŋa [nídígímáŋá] n. lonely person.

nìdìŋ [nìdìŋ] cf: ìdìŋ; kìndìŋ; wìdìŋ; bidìŋ (var. nìbudìŋ) n. truthful, helpful, generous, trustworthy, or faithful person • ìmì bìá-rì jáá nìdìŋ ná. My brother is a truthful person. pl. nìdùmà.

nìdìmà [nìdìmà] cf: lbsì cf: doma n. soul or spirit of a human being.

nìì [nìì] n. water. pl. nìtíta.

nìbìta [nìbìtà] n. bravery.

nìbùlùn [nìbùlùn] n. human being. pl. nìbùlúmò.

nìhà [nìhà] n. bitter water.

nìjìgùlo [nìjìjóyúló] n. water seller. pl. nìjìjóyuloso.

nìlùn [nìlùn] n. deep part of a body of water • nìlùn nè nèn nè, nìttisì̀ kò wáá nèn nè. Here is deep, here is shallow.

nìnòìlù [nìnò̀lìlù] n. drinking water, potable water.

nìnàggà [nìnàggà] n. sour and fermented water, from added substance, such as corn flour or tree extract.

nìnìgòsà (var. of nìnìgàsà)

nìnìgàsà [nìnìgàsà] n. thirst • nìnìgàsà kàpáì ná. I’m thirsty.

nìnìnùgùbàngbulìi [nìnìnùgùbàngbúlíí] (var. nìnìnùgùkàììì) n. Whirligig beetle, black beetle which swims on surface of water (Gyrinidae). pl. nìnìnùgùbàngbulìe.

nìnìnùgùkàìììri (var. of nìnìnùgùbàngbulìi) n. young girl. [Gu].

nìhë [nìhë] n. elder. pl. nìhëtìì.

nìhëlìŋ [nìhëlìŋ] n. tenure, time which a most senior fellow holds office as head of a group • nìhëlìŋ wà télé bákùrì àká à sówà. Bakuri never got tenure because he died too early.

nì [nì] n. water. pl. nìtíta.

nìbìta [nìbìtà] n. bravery.

nìbùlùn [nìbùlùn] n. human being. pl. nìbùlúmò.

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nìnìnùgùkàìììri (var. of nìnìnùgùbàngbulìi) n. drinking pot. pl. nìnìnùwàrììì.

nìpàlì [nìpàlá] n. running water, continuously flowing.
nɪpʊmma [nìpùmmá] n. 1 liquid coming out of a swelling which is lanced. 2 sap of a tree.
nisii [nìsìí] lit. water-eye n. bottom, deepest part of a river. pl. nisie.

1nìsọta [nìsótà] n. jaundice.

2nìsọta [nìsótá] n. puerperal or childbed fever.
nистaaŋ [nìsòtá] n. jaundice.

nìsɔnta [nìsɔ́ntà] n. puerperal or childbed fever.

nìkanɪka [nìkànì́kà] n. powered corn-mill. (Hausa, via Akan < nìkànì́kà).
nìmɪsà [nìmì́sà] n. worries or disturbances syn: laadimii.
nìɲagɛ [nìɲáɛ́] cf: nìhãsìì n. character of someone who easily gets angry. [Mo].
nìɲãʊ̃ [nìɲã́ʊ̃́] cf: lalɪwie; sulumbie n. someone having no living parents or relatives • nìɲãósá wá kpá-gá híɛmbá. Parentless people are those without living blood relatives. pl. nìɲãósa.

nìnj [nìnj] adv. like this, this, so • hín jáá nìnj. Did you do this? à gèr bárà dó nìnj kògòsòg. The lizard’s skin is rough like this. lié i kà tà-rà, káá jáá nìnj? From where are you getting your support to be boasting like this?
nìpʊmma (var. of nibupʊmma)
nìsiama (var. of nibusiama)
nìsɔ́nì [nìsɔ́nì́] n. menses syn: doŋọjai; tfagasi.
nìvìtæalì [nìvìtæålì] n. person who is rejected or sacked from a family or a work group. pl. nìvìtæalìe.
nìzọ́ [nìzọ́] (var. nìbuzọ́) n. weak person.
nìnōwajahoo [nìnōwajahóò] 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 [nökùń] n. type of tree. pl. nokun.
nìgàr [nìgàr] n. cattle pen, enclosure for confining livestock. pl. nìgara.
nìgàr [nìgàr] n. cowherd. pl. nìgbara.
nìlɔ́ [nìlɔ́] n. heifer, cow that has not given birth. pl. nìlɔ́lo.
nìmìbukutii [nìmìbùkùtíí] n. type of grinding stone, used for the last grinding stage of guinea corn flour.
nìmìbutiisi (var. of nìmìbutaarii)
nìna [nìnà] v. to bear fruit (one or many) • sùómó wá nìnà bìnà háy. The shea did not fruit this year.
nìnì [nìnì] n. cow that has given birth. pl. nìntīta.

1nọ́ [nọ́] n. 1 type of grinding stone for flour. 2 grinding activity area

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• nɔŋ ní ŋ di kááli. I am going to the grinding area. pl. nɔnna.

2 nɔŋ [nɔŋ] n. fruit. pl. nɔna.

nɔja [nɔŋj] v. 1 to love, to like • bì-lólá múj nɔŋj bà bisé ré. All parents love their children. 2 to carry on one’s back • ọ̀ wá birà à nɔŋj ùù bìé. She does not carry her child any more.

nɔŋbulunŋ [nɔmbúlnŋ] n. type of grinding stone for flour.

nɔŋbutiisii [nɔmbuíísíi] (var. nɔmbutiisii) n. type of grinding stone, used for the first grinding stage of guinea corn flour.

nɔŋbutiisii [nɔmbuíísíi] n. type of grinding stone, used for the first grinding stage of flour.


nuhõ (var. of nuhù)

nuhù [nuhú] (var. nuhõ) n. grandchild. pl. nuhũnié.

nuuí [nuuí] cf: āãnuuba n. suffering • à káá nũuí. You will suffer!

nɔã [nɔá] 1 n. mouth. 2 reln. entrance, orifice • ǹmẹ́nté síí bilé ùù kúó tíwíí zẹ̀j nɔá ní. Spider went to establish his farm by a main road. pl. nősà.

nɔá digímaŋa [nɔá̄ digímaŋá] lit. mouth one v. to agree • bá jáá nɔá digímaŋá à sùmìn dòŋá. They should agree and help each other.

nɔápɔ̀mmá [nɔápɔ́mmá] n. lack of reserve or control, of someone who cannot keep secrets, who cannot hold back • i kpáá nɔápɔ̀mmá rá. You exhibit no reserve. i jáá nɔápɔ̀mmátííná rá. You are someone who cannot keep secrets.

1 nɔátiiná [nɔátiíná] lit. mouth-owner n. dog synt: vaa .

2 nɔátiiná [nɔátiíná] n. indiscreet person, tattletale, or someone who cannot keep secret.

nɔátsɔər [nɔátsɔ́r] n. mouth mark, tribal or accidental scar. pl. nɔátsɔara.

nɔdigiŋamaŋa [nɔdigiŋamáná] lit. mouth-one n. cooperative group or society.

nɔgã [nɔgã] v. to grate, to grind, to chip into pieces • nɔgã kàpúšíè, ǹ wa kpáá nìŋá. Grate the kola nut, I have no teeth.

nɔgúl [nɔyúl] n. fleshy part and relative texture of the core or centre of a tuber or fruit, usually less hard than its surrounding layer. pl. nɔsúl.
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 ani-
mal to eat or grab a prey properly.
pl. nõhema.

nõhag [nõhık] n. thrush, contagious
disease caused by a fungus.

nõma [nõmå] v. cf: kpaŋkpaŋ 1 to
be hot, to burn by heat • tiè à nií
nõmå. Let the water be hot. 2 to be
active.

nõmanoma [nõmànõmå] lit. hot-
hot ideo. fast, in a hurry • jàa nõmã-
nõmå, já káali diá bárá tí bírîjè. Do
it fast so we go home before the
darkness.

nõmìì [nõmíí] n. hot.

nõnnøŋ n. (var. of nõŋ) 1. 2. 3 syn:
toora . 4.

nõŋ [nõŋ] (var. nõnnøŋ) v. to be hot
• niiniŋ nà. It is hot water. bënoŋ
wá kìn à sāná. It is not easy to sit at
a hot place.

nõør [nõôr] n. chaff.

nõra [nõrà] v. to be pierced by a
tiny device, like a splinter or nee-
dle • kìn nõrã òò nèbù. He got a
splinter in his finger.

nõtunii [nõtúníí] n. lip. pl. nõtunie.

1 nõö [nõò] cf: nõõløgosì n. shea but-
ter, oil, grease or fat. pl. nõõta.

2 nõö [nõò] v. 1 to hear, to listen •
t nõò à bâàl èò wîmáha ràa? Do
you hear the man talking? 2 to per-
ceive, to sense • à jiisá nõö à disá
ràa? Is the salt enough in the soup?

nõokpuogohêna [nõəkpuògòhênà]
lit. mouth-bulge-bowl n. type of in-
sult, describing the person as hav-
ning big lips. pl. nõokpuogohêna.

nõõløgosì [nõòlɔysì] cf: nõö
n. shea butter ball. pl. nõõlye-
sie.

nõõma [nõômá] n. scorpion. pl.
nõõnsa.

nõõmanièr [nõõmáníèr] lit.
scorpion-uncle cf: halìnguomì n.
type of millipede (Myriapoda).
pl. nõõmáníèrsá.

nõõmi [nõômi] v. to complain to
oneself • nõõmi wáá kin kòìrè à
wijé. Complaining to oneself cannot
solve the problems.

nõûsuo [nõûsùó] lit. mouth-curse cf:
sùó n. curse • nõûsùó tì tì tõmá
wáá káâlí sùù. It is because of the
curse that your work is not going
forward. pl. nõûsuo.

nõûttìi [nõûttìí] n. pomade, body
cream.

nõûzoløŋ [nõûzóøŋ] lit. mouth-enter-
back. area n. tongue. pl. nõûzoloma.

nõwa [ųwà] pro. first person singular
emphatic pronoun.
nj

jä [nâ] v. 1 to defecate • tôzén nî bà wàà nà bînà dêndîl nî. In big towns they do not defecate outside. 2 to lay eggs • nînsè kâá nà hálâ râ, kâ òówâ wà nà. Fish lay eggs, but this one does not. 3 to rust • nî sákîr nàjâò. My bicycle is rusty.

1nâ [nà] n. poverty.

2nâ [nà] v. 1 to be lacking, to be short of • gbîlô nà dîndàásá râ ò dîà nî. Gbolo is short of fire wood in her house. 2 to be poor • kùôrûsô wà nàâwâ. Chiefs are not poor. âànj kà nàâ wî? Who has no problem?

jâabí [nàábí] v. to expose, to reveal the guilt or wrongdoing of someone • bà nàábí ziàŋ nikánà báàn nî. Ziâng was exposed in the midst of people.

jàari [nààrî] cf: kôtî; tiisi v. to grind roughly by breaking slightly, only stage for malt and first stage for making flour • jààrî kômîlà tɔ̀ŋà sîj. Grind the malt for brewing.

jâasîi [nààsîî] n. unexpected, unanticipated and extraordinary • nûbûnâasîi jààt, i à gîlà sînPôhâ kà jàà jàltè. You are an extraordinary person, you left the drinking habit and became a Muslim. dúùòn di tînnà, pënpâsîi dîgî dr lâláô tà. The clouds were threatening, but an unexpected wind took them away.

jâdôa [nàdôà] n. garden egg, eggplant (Solanum melongena). pl. jâ-

desasa.

jâga [nàgâ] v. 1 to be sour • à dëá hây nàgâì. That soup ingredient is fermented. 2 to be harsh • à báál nàgâì. The man is harsh.

jâgami [nàyâmî] v. to ferment • ti tà kûbîi nàgâmî. Let the porridge ferment.

jâgâsî [nàyâsî] v. to heat a cut or wound using hot water or a hot cloth in order to protect from infection • nàgâsî hâkûrî nààbîi tfîzîìr tî wà kpâgô. Heat the wound on Hakuri’s toe so that it does not get infected.

jâgenpentîi [nàyèmpèntîî] n. hedgehog (Erinaceinae subfam.). pl. jâgenpentie.

jâgëë [nàgëè] n. 1 fermented liquid which can be produced by various plants and trees, but specifically nàgî • nàgî kpâgà nàgëë râ. The plant nàgî contains fermented liquid. 2 sour • wàálà kàá di nàgëë kû. The Waalas eat sour t.z.

jâgî [nàgî] n. anger.

jâgimbîi [nàyimbîî] n. 1 seed of nàgî. 2 type of snake syn: suon-daawie. pl. jâgimbie.

jâgîn [nàyîn] n. type of plant. pl. jâgîma.

jâî [nàî] n. rust.

jâkpâtê [nàkpâtê] cf: tɔǝbî n. grain
weevil (*Ferrisia virgata*). *pl. nya-kpate.*

*natali* [nàlsì] v. to shine by polishing or washing • à biè tìti nóò óò bà-tòn dì nàlsì. The child rubbed herself with oil; her skin is shining.

*namékasa* [nàmékàsà] n. scissors. (Gonja <makasi). *pl. namékasà.*

*nam mébi**i [nàm billé] n. maize seed. *pl. nam mibi.*

*nam mìda**a [nàm mlàdà] n. maize cob.

*nam mi** [nàm mì] cf: mìmjìna n. maize. *pl. nam mi.*

*nam mìpëtì** [nàm mlìpëtì] n. maize husk.

*nanògì** [nànòğì] n. child unable to manage without help in order to use his or her potential. *pl. nan ogè.*

*na**a [nàà] v. to eat staple food with meat only, without the soup • bà flì naàgà kòò rá hìlà päàlèòò nì. They used to eat t.z. and meat without soup in the Sisaala land.

*nañña* [nànnà] n. laterite, type of soil, rusty-red colouration, used on road or for mud floors and roofs.

1*nànnì** [nànnì] v. to be worse • à bàál gàràgà tìtì nànnìtìì. The man’s sickness is worse.

2*nànnì** [nànnì] v. to be about or hang out at a place for a reason • à biè kàá nànnìtìì nànnìtìì. The child hangs around the place where people eat meat.

*nànsì* [nànsì] v. to do something with joy and happiness • óò bàrù kàá pànsòò, óò kàá kàáìì tùòò kàá dì kàpàlà. He is excited, he will go to the farm and eat fufu.

*na**ju [nàju] cf: na**juwòlé**e interj. praise name and title for the clan na**juwòlé**e.

*na**juwòlé**e [nàjuwòlé] cf: na**ju prop. clan found in Gurumbele.


*nekè [nèkè] ideo. very little portion of something bigger • óò báàn dò këñ nekè. It is just so little.

*nepàan [népàan] n. worm which infests the stomach. *pl. nepaansì.*

*nee**si [nèìsì] v. to warm up moderately, like the heat of early morning sun or sitting beside a fire • à dìñ kàá nepèsì nà. The fire warms me up. à wòsá kàá nìësòò. The sun is warm moderately and not severe.

*neke** [nèkè] n. greedy and stingy behaviour.

*ne**sa [nezà] n. malnourished child, a child with a reduced growth rate. *pl. ne**sasà.*


*niìse [nìisè] v. to only see part of something while the rest is hidden • ó jììsè óò jììjà rá. He showed his teeth in a concealing way. sàpúhië ziìh jììsè óò bòà nòá nì. The tail of the pouched rat is appearing from the entrance of his hole.
piñe [ɲínè] v. 1 to take care of, to watch • màrà piñe ñò dàbágà di ñ wá kààlì. Take care of my garden while I am away. di piñe ñò kpàámá. Look after at my yams. 2 to depend on, to rely on • ñ piñe ñì sié nì. I depend on you.

piñe [ɲíné] n. fish.  pl. piỳse.

piinië [var. of piínì]

1 piinne [ɲínì]n. caretaker.  pl. piínìsé.

2 piinne [ɲínì] 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.


piìbine [var. of piinne]

piį [ɲiŋ] n. type of sore, usually on head, ears or lips.  pl. piį.

piįhal [ɲįhá]n. fish egg.  pl. piįha.

piįhog [ɲįhòg] n. fish bone.

piįʔɔrù [ɲięʔɔrì] n. dental abscess. Swollen jaw, painful tooth, with difficulty eating or chewing.

pi̊ma [pi̊mà] v. to show silent resentment, to make a face, to frown • o pi̊ma wìè di tìèg nà àkà pi̊mà. While he was speaking to me, he was frowning.

pi̊na [ɲìnà]n. father.  pl. pi̊nàma.

pi̊nàbìe [ɲínbìè] n. 1 ego’s father’s children of a different mother. 2 ego’s father’s brother’s children.  pl. pi̊nàbìse.

pi̊nàbìse [ɲi̊nbìsè] cf: pi̊nawölëe n. children of a paternal line.

pi̊nawölëe [ɲi̊nwölëè] cf: pi̊nàbìse pl.n. members of a paternal relation.

pi̊nìë [ɲi̊nìë] [var. pi̊nìë] interrog. how, what, why • pi̊nìë i hièsì kàà púgò kèjì? Why are you panting like this? pi̊nìë i ti pènà kà dò. How is your father? pi̊nìë ñ kà jàà? What did I do?

pi̊nànì [ɲi̊nàńì] n. ascaris, intestinal parasitic roundworm.  pl. pi̊nànsa.

pi̊nànà [ɲi̊nàńà] cf: patfìghàà n. wickedness, wicked and deliberate act towards someone • o kpàgá pi̊nàńà. He is wicked.  pl. pi̊nànàsa.

pi̊nì [ɲiń] n. tooth.  pl. pińa.

pi̊ndàa [ɲińdá] n. horn.  pl. pińdàasà.

pi̊nìhìë [ɲińhìè] n. 1 ego’s father’s senior brother. 2 ego’s step-father, if the man is older than the biological father.  pl. pińhìésà.

pińtielii [ɲıntıelì] n. back tooth, molar and premolar.  pl. pińtielii.

pińvää [ɲínvàà] n. canine tooth.  pl. pińvàasà.

pińwie [ɲínwìè] n. 1 ego’s father’s junior brother. 2 ego’s step-father, if the man is younger than the biological father.  pl. pińwise.


ɲɔ̃tɪ [ɲɔ̃tì] n. 1 any nut or bolt. 2 flintlock locking screw. (ultm. English <nut).


ɲʊbọ̀ [ɲúbọ̀] n. bad luck.

ɲʊdọ̀ [ɲúdọ̀] n. abused person, someone whose reputation has been discredited. pl. ɲʊdọ̀jo.


ɲukpaltìi [ɲúkpáltííi] n. head of animal without a neck. pl. ɲukpalee.

ɲupɛ́rɪ̀ɪ̀ [ɲúpɛ́rɪ́íí] cf: pɛra n. type of hairdressing. pl. ɲupɛ́rìe.

ɲupʊ́ŋ [ɲúpʊ́ń̩̀] n. head hair. pl. ɲu-pʊna.

ɲupʊ́ʊsà [ɲúpʊ́ʊ́sà] n. soft spot on an infant’s skull (Fontanelle). pl. ɲupʊ́ʊsasa.

ɲusʊ̀ŋ [ɲúsʊ̀ń̩̀] v. to have good luck • ə bìéɲúúsúmọ́ọ́, ọ̀ kà pàási ọ̀ tèé-stì. The child had good luck, he passed his test.

ɲuú [ɲúù] 1 n. head. 2 reln. top of • ọ̀ wọ́jọ́ dọ́à à bì́tήn ɲuú nì. Wojo is on top of the big rock. pl. ɲuuno.

ɲuudor [ɲúudó̀r] lit. head-put-agent n. hypocrite. pl. ɲuudora.

ɲuufugo [ɲúufúgò] n. frontal headache.

ɲuuní (var. of a ɲuú nì)

ɲuvọ̀wìi [ɲúvọ̀wíí] n. plaiting the hair, type of hairdressing.

ɲuweri [ɲúwèríí] n. success.

ɲuwietìina [ɲúwiéítííná] lit. head-small-owner n. leopard synt: bọc-manìi; nebietìna.

ɲuwila [ɲúwiílá] n. headache.


ɲō [ɲō] cf: jala v. to germinate, seen individually • ọ̀ wà ɲójéè. It did not germinate.

ɲōà [ɲōà] v. 1 to drink • ọ̀ ɲàá níí rá. I drank water. 2 to smoke • ọ̀ wàá ƙị́ɲ ɲùà ɲùàsá. I cannot smoke.

ɲōásà [ɲōásá] n. smoke.

ɲɔ́astí [ɲɔ́ástí] n. type of girl initiation ritual which upon completion allows young female to see a masquerade.

ɲog [ɲog] n. crocodile. pl. ɲọga.

ɲogí [ɲogíí] n. smoking away insects. pl. ɲogere.

ɲolọ̀ [ɲolό́n] n. blind • ɲólōmá ká nù wìẹ̀ kinkàn nà. Blind people can hear better (than others). synt: ɲubiriŋtííná pl. ɲolọ́ma.

ɲommi [ɲɔ́mɔ́mìi] cf: dosí v. to close one’s eyes in order not to be able to see • ɲɔ́mɔ́mìi ìì sié. Close your eyes.

ɲọnsí [ɲọ́nsí] v. to get lost, to lose sight of • ị́ kàrántì ɲọ́nsí kùò ị́ wì́i nì. Your cutlass got lost on the
farm road. òò váá pó̃stô. His dog is lost.

ηm

ηma [ŋmá] 1 v. to say, to speak • ︖ ŋmá di à báníe ní i kàá wàâ. He said that you might come. ʔ ŋmáji tiè ŋù hàànj dt ò tònjà nàmìâ. I told my wife to cook the meat. 2 pv. to want, desiderative mood particle that expresses an intention • ʔ ŋmá ŋ kàált dürèè tfâa. I want to go to Ducie tomorrow. ʔ ŋmá ʔ zìmâd. I want to know. ʔ ŋmá ŋ kàáli jàwâ. I want to go to the market.

ηmáŋu [ŋmáŋû] nprop. Mangu, person’s name, male or female, must precede Basîg or Hasîg synt: basîg; hasîg.

ηmaara [ŋmáarâ] n. type of bad spirit taking the form of light, seen only at night. (Waali ¬<ŋmáarâ ‘something that crosses’).


ŋmeda [ŋmedà] cf: gundaabii n. distaff, spindle for spinning cotton (with thread on).

1ŋmena [ŋmènà] v. 1 to cut • ʔ ŋmènà dáá râ. I cut a tree. ʔ à kàrántì ŋmènà ŋù nàá râ. The cutlass cut my leg. 2 to bite • dòô bànn ŋmènà à kpá jùô. A python just bit her and she fell. 3 to harvest, to dig out old yams planted • já kàáli kuò à ŋmènà kpáámâ. Let us to the farm and dig yams.

2ŋmena [ŋmènà] n. chisel. pl. ŋme-nasa.

3ŋmena [ŋmènà] v. to ignite • ŋmènà dìnj dó dàlibôa nì. Light a fire in the stove.

4ŋmena [ŋmènà] (var. aŋmena, ba-ŋmena) 1 interrog. how much, how many • ʔ aŋmènà ì kà kpà-gâsì? How many of them did you catch? 2 n. amount, a certain number • ʔ ŋmènà tòtií ʔ kàà bûúrê? How large of a share do you want?

1ŋmen [ŋmèn] n. okro. pl. ŋmena.

2ŋmen [ŋmèn] n. rope. pl. ŋmesa.

ŋmènholi [ŋmènhôli] n. dried okro. pl. ŋmènholee.

ŋmènsô [ŋmènsô] n. fresh okro.

ŋmèntel [ŋmèntël] 1 n. spider. 2 num. eight. pl. ŋmèntela.

ŋmîre [ŋmirë] v. to become furrowed or wrinkled due to ageing • à hàhtì sìé ŋmîréô. The old woman has a wrinkled face.

1ŋmīê [ŋmîë] v. to steal • à bië ŋmîëⁿ nà, ânjûûní ḥâ kâ kpâgu mölëbië. The child steals from me, so I do not have money.
ŋmɪẹ [ŋmɪẹ] n. theft • ŋmɪẹ wà wiré. Theft is not good. wàà nì ŋmɪẹ dòà kààlì dùsié. There are more thefts in Wa than in Dicie. pl. ŋmɪtę.

ŋmɪë [ŋmɪë] n. stealing • kòɔrí i mò- lèbíé dò i dzìfà nì, tóò hàn ŋmɪëí wá wiré. Put your money well in your pocket, the stealing in this town is bad.


ŋmìëri [ŋmìëri] v. to melt • à dó- bié ŋmìërí làgá nì. The hail melts fast. ŋmìërí nôò tiéŋ ü hàlá nà- mìá. Melt the butter for me to fry the meat.

ŋmìësí [ŋmìësí] v. to swear • ŋmìá- sì áá. I swear by the bushbuck.

ŋmìësìe [ŋmìësìe] n. oath, Gh. Eng. swear. pl. ŋmìësisìa.

ŋmìiri [ŋmìiri] v. to heal and close a laceration or a wound • i pëmpél tín ŋmìiríjé tɔò. Your sore has closed up.

ŋmọnàŋmọnà [ŋmọnàŋmọnà] ideo. type of visual percept, of dull colouration • bòsá dò ŋmọnà- ŋmọnà rá. The Puff adder skin is a patterning and mixing of ground colours (blackish, dark-brown, etc.).

ŋmọ̀ri [ŋmọ̀ri] v. to grumble, mut- ter discontentedly • à báál bisé káá ŋmọ̀ri wíé dià nì. The man’s children are grumbling in the house.

ŋmọ̀ri [ŋmọ̀ri] v. 1 to chew thoroughly leaving little • à váá káá ŋmọ̀ri à hógó ré. The dog is chewing on the bone. 2 to re- move or take more than expected or agreed upon • hàdígí káált i kuó àkà ŋmọ̀ri i lòpọ́ múń kààlì. A woman went to your farm and collected almost all your gourd containers away.

ŋ (var. of n)

O

oi [ʔóí] interj. expression of surprise, absence of expectation, or pain exclamation.

ol [ʔól] n. type of mouse. pl. olo.


ombul [ʔòmbúl] n. type of mouse. pl. ombulo.

onsiàn [ʔόnsiàn] n. type of mouse found in the bush. pl. onsiama.

ontolee [ʔóntóléè] n. type of mouse, smallest of all types. pl. ontolese.

onzasii [ʔόnsásii] n. type of mouse.
ŋgị [ʔγlɪ] cf: tẹsị cf: hogo v. to eject a particle from the throat, or having an urge to vomit because of it • nịnjọgb págá ịụ lịlịbọ ị di ọghị. A fish bone is stuck in my throat and I feel like vomiting.

ọla [ʔọlά] v. to decay, on its way to rot • bà kpá à tọ́h bịlọọ ọ́ọ ọlị. They kept the skin until it was nearly rotten.

ọma [ʔọmà] v. to fear, to be afraid • tí bí wáà ọmà lálí múị. Never fear a corpse again.

ọnsi [ʔọnsì] v. to scare, to threaten, to talk harshly • hámọgh wáà ọnsị nịhiętá. A child does not threaten elders.

ọngbiá [ʔọngbiá] n. fearfulness.


paani [páńi] v. to make loose, to become less tight, to open • paání à lọgá ụná ọdụ ọbụgbụ. Open the bag wider so I can look inside. máná ọ kpá vọvwà à dàásà, ụwị à buú yì pàání kęị. He used an elastic to tie the firewood, that is why the load is loose.

paani [páńi] v. to put the blame on someone • bà pàání nị ká nị wà jàá
They put the blame on me but I did not do anything. (Waali <paâñá ‘blame’).

paanôa [paânôá] n. most extensive labour, typically planned to be carried out early • ŋi tʃóɔsimpàânôá jáá báŋ. My early labour is right there.


paasi [pààsì] v. 1 to peel with a knife • pààsì kpáàñ sùgùlì já dì. Peel a yam and boil it so we can eat. pààsì à sàpûhié pûná múñ tâ. Peel off the hair of the rat. 2 to scoop out, like staple food from a pot to bowls • à kóó wá kàñà ù kàà pààsì hèn-sà ìtòrò. The t.z. is not abundant, I can scoop it up to three bowls. 3 to weed on surface without digging the soil • pààsì sìgá pààfìgìí. Weed the grass around the bean plants.

paasi [pààsì] v. to pass an exam • bàmûñ pààsì à téèsì rà. Everyone passed the examination. (ultm. English <pass).


paatfag [pààtfák] n. leaf. pl. paatfaga.

paatfakaara [pààtfàjjàárà] n. healer. pl. paatfakaarsa.

paatfaranôñ [pààtfàràñôñ] lit. take-barter-cow n. type of bird, very small, moves in group, can hatch up to 20 at a time. pl. paatfaranôñna.

pabîi [pàbîi] n. hoe blade. pl. pabie.

paga [pààɣá] v. to do intentionally, without a particular reason • ʧi pàà-gá viëò dì ù wàà kààlì dúseè zààñ. I intentionally refused to go to Ducie today.

pagbëti [pàgëtìí] cf: patìla n. small hoe. [Gu].

pakti [pàkì] n. park, field, football field • mòlìpàkì nì dúseè wà bò- lò. Mole national park and Ducie are not far from one another. (ultm. English <park).

pala [pàlà] v. to flow • à gɔ̀ŋ pàlà kàà-li tiìpùú rò. The river flows to the west.

pala [pàlà] n. fowl tick. pl. pala.

pama [pàmà] v. to load a gun, to cock • pàmà à mááfà tèèn. Load the gun for me.

panti [pàntì] v. to fall short of a target • ŋi nìnà kàà bùûrè màkà kààlì kà ò mòlèbié pântì. My father wishes to go to Mecca but his money is too short.

paŋ [pàŋ] n. molar. pl. paŋa.

paŋbànni [pàŋbànnì] lit. molar-section nprop. section of Ducie.

paŋʔorîi [pàŋʔoríí] n. gingivitis.

papata [pàpàtâ] n. farmer. pl. papatsa.

par [pàr] n. hoe. pl. para.

para [pàrà] v. to farm, to weed • tfâ-káléé káá pàrà kpáámà kìŋkàjìí. The Chakali people farm a lot of yam.
parage [pàrègè] v. to be dependent on someone else’s facilities, or share someone else’s belongings • ṭɛm̩̀ m̩̀ mã̀ã́bìé pàrágɛ́ ǹ̩ ǹ̩ǹ̩ hã́ã́ŋ ńị. My brother lives with me and my wife. òò binihaaḥ̩ pàrágɛ́ òò bi̩ lá dîndî̩á ńi. Her daughter shares the kitchen with her in-law.


parasa [pàrásá] pl.n. temporary farm workers.

parasi [pàrəsì] v. to crackle, noise made by burning charcoal or fire • à dîn̩ kâá pàràsì̩. The fire is crackling.

parata (var. of jarata)

parsumii [pàrɪsumìì] n. asking for help at the farm, gathering people for a farm work and thanking them with small remuneration.

pasti [pàsì] v. to shade by taking leaves or grass and putting them on yam mounds and weigh down with some soil • bà wà pásti ńi kpaáma, à júù ní à wà ńójëè̩. They did not shade my yam, therefore they did not germinate.


pata [pátá] n. trousers, pants, or underpants syn: pitɔɔ. pl. patasa.

pataasî [pàtəàsì] n. locally distilled alcoholic spirit. (ultm. Ga <ákpetéf̩ ‘to keep out of sight’).

pati [påtì] v. of a fowl flouncing around and fluttering after being slaughtered, or when it feels danger • à kîlí̩ káá tíù à zááñ pátió ò birà záá kááli. When the eagle was coming down, the hen jumped up and down and the eagle flew away. à záköríigíí pátiájè à wà zòò nàsá pàtʃígíí. The slaughtered fowl flapped the wings and came in between my legs.

patiisa [pàtííssà] n. curtain used to subdivide rooms. (ultm. English <partition).

patila [pàtíllà] cf: pagbɛ̀tu n. small hoe. pl. patilasa.


patʃakjaar [pàtʃájàár] cf: lulibumojaar n. traditional healer, herbalist. pl. patʃakjaara.

patʃígíbùmmò [pàtʃígíbùmmò] n. liar, person who is not truthful, not transparent, or secretive.

patʃígíhàà [pàtʃígíhàà] cf: njìďìña n. wickedness.

patʃi [pàtʃí] 1 n. abdomen, belly. 2 n. intrinsic properties that characterise someone • òò pàtʃígíí bírèò. He is not truthful and sincere. òò pàtʃígíí póltjàò. She is open and truthful. 3 reln. inside • wáá dòà à fàlá pàtʃígíí ńi. It is inside the calabash. pl. patʃígíee.

patʃígí gbanasa [pàtʃígí gbàñásà] lit. stomach noise n. colic pain.

patʃígíssùnnò [pàtʃígííssùnnò] n. ascite, accumulation of fluid in the ab-
dominal cavity caused by advanced liver disease or cirrhosis.

**patʃɪgɪpʊmma** [pàtʃɪ́gɪ́pʊ̀ mmá] *n.* generous, fair and plain person.

**patʃɪgɪtʊɔra** [pàtʃɪ́gɪ́tʊ̀ ɔ́rá] *n.* gratefulness, happy.

**patʃɪgɪtʃɔgsa** [pàtʃɪ́gtʃɔ̀ɣəsá] *n.* sadness, grief, depression.

**patʃɪgwɪɪla** [pàtʃɪ́gwɪ̀ɪ̀là] *n.* stomach ache. *pl.* patʃɪgwɪɪla.

**pawie** [pàwìé] *n.* small hoe used for weeding. *pl.* pawise.

**pazeŋ** [pàzèŋ́] *n.* big hoe used for ploughing. *pl.* pazene.

**pe** [pé] *n.* by someone’s or some thing’s location, end, side, place or limit • m̩̀ m̩̀ bìsé múŋ̀ nō tʃɔ́jɛ̀ɛ̄ kàà-kɪ̀lɪ̀ bà mầã̀ pé. All my children have run to their mother. à kàpʊ́sɪ̀ɛ̀ dʊ́á ùù pé nɪ̄. The kola nuts are by him.

1**pel** [pél̀] *n.* third and top layer of wooden beams in roofing structure.

2**pel** [pél] *n.* sexton, burial specialist who has been initiated to carry out the activities related to corpse manipulation. *pl.* pelle.


**peligi** [pèlìgí] *v.* 1 to separate from each other • bákúrí pelifi ɔó hàá-nà dɔ̀ŋɔ̀ ni rà, ɔó hàwì chain ḏɔ̀ dà wàâ nt. Bakuri separated his wives, the youngest lives in Wa now. 2 to unroll a mat or unfold blanket • peligi kɪnantúŋ bìlè à tʃɔ̀là. Unfold the blanket and lie down.

**pelor** [pèlɔ́r] *n.* lamb.

**pembal** [pèmbál] *n.* ram.

**pemballʊɔŋ** [pèmbállʊ́ɔ́ŋ] *lit.* male.sheep-neck.hair *n.* type of grass.

**pembelee** [pèmbélélé] *n.* ram lamb.

**peni** [pènì] *cf:* piesii *n.* ewe, a female sheep.

**penteŋ** [pèntɛ̄ŋ] *ideo.* clear, as in seeing or hearing • èná à báál lì̄ péntɛ̄ŋ. I saw the man clearly.


**peŋpʊŋ** [pèmpʊ́ŋ] *n.* male pubic hair. *pl.* peŋpouna.

**peomãã** [pèómã̀ã́] *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 • ɔí ní ɔí píná wà bì lágàmì, ù péré ù kùò rò. He and his father are no more together, he separated and he is now on his own.

**peti** [pètí] *v.* to finish, to stop • já péti jò. We are done. ìnnì pàturúìì kàà péttú. My petrol is finishing. à dúon há wà péti jè. The rain has not yet stopped.

**petro** [pétrò] *cf:* paturuu *n.* fuel. (*ultm.* English *<petrol*>).


**peuli** [pèúlí] *v.* to let an area become much larger and wider • já tiè à zùngòâ kil péuli. Let the dancing
floor be wider. péulí ì mìákúó ó ná kánà. Make your guinea corn farm much larger for you to get more.

**peupeu** [pèùpèù] cf: **pumma** (var. peopeo) ints. very white • pòmmá péúpèú. Very or pure white.

**peusi** [pèùsì] v. to winnow, separate grain from chaff using the wind only • à tómá jàá dì t péusi múró, zúló, mìá ànì nàmmìí. The work is that you should winnow rice, millet, guinea corn and maize.

**pewo** [pèwò] v. to blow with instrument to revive • kpá à limpèù à pèwò à dìŋ dʊ̀. Take the fan and blow on the fire.

**pe** [pè] v. to add to, to increase • já kùòrù bánìí péjɛ̀ɛ̀ à jàà bánìɛ̀ àlʊ̀ pé̀. Our chief’s section was added to make seven sections.

**pegsì** [pèvg̃sì] v. to split up, to crack, to cut open • pëgsì à kàpòsìè bárá báliè. Split the kola nut into two parts.

**pela** [pélá] v. to lean on with own support • ṃmíérà òì pèlá bákúrí zà ni à dìt pìgsúú. Yesterday thieves were leaning against Bakuri’s wall spying on him.

**pëma** [pëmà] n. to groan, to make sounds of effort or pain • kàlá ṃnì òsìó òì à òí òì pëmà, dt òò pòògá lft-wá. Kala’s father lies in the room and groans, he has a strangulated hernia.

**pempel** [pèmpèl] n. mark, wound, sore, or bite. **pl. pempela.**

**pempiamú** [pèmpìámu] n. fibrous meat. **pl. pempiamé.**

**pen** [pèn] n. pen. (ultm. English). **pl. pensa.**

1**pëna** [pèná] cf: **bòọgà** n. moon. **pl. pensa.**

2**pëna** [pènà] v. 1 to be wide • ìì dià-nóá wà pënà. Your door is not wide. 2 to be hollow • à gàngáànáá pâtī-gíí wá mârâ pënà. The inside of the drum is not hollowed enough.

**pënu** [pènìí] n. wide **ant: fòrr.**

**pènì** [pènì] cf: **pènì** n. farming period for sowing, between April and June.

pepeñà [pèpènà] cf: peñì n. farming period for sowing, between April and June.

**përa** [pèrà] cf: **jupëru** v. to weave rope or hair • tìɛ́ŋ bòk ṃ përa sìgmàá ṃmèj. Give me fiber to weave a mask rope.

**përegá** (var. of kokoluŋ)

**perekô** (var. of parakun)

**perete** [pèretè] n. dish, plate. (ultm. English < plate). **pl. peretesà.**

**pësi** [pèsi] v. to slap, smack, or zap • pësi kâlá tìèj. Draw the attention of Kala for me. zôngòrèé màrà ìì gântál nì, ṃ pësi tìèj. There is a mosquito on your back, I am going to zap it.
petdindagal [pëtë̃dïnˈdã̃ɣâl] n. layer in-between, as egg shell membrane and orange pith.

petti [pë̃ti] cf: daapetn n. bark, cover, outside, part that is protecting and covering the actual item. pl. pette.

pewa [pëwâ] v. to grill meat in order to dry or cook it • nàdïgî́ wá tiê nànpëwî. Some people do not eat smoked meat. pëwâ à āā nàmîã̃. Grill the bushbuck meat. syn: wiisi1

pewn [pëw̃n] n. smoking or grilling meat.

piel [piél] n. type of plant. pl. piel.

piesi [piësì] cf: peni n. sheep. pl. piesie.

pigsi [pigsi] v. to spy • ti válâ à pigsi à hàâŋ. Do not go and spy on the woman.

piii [pií] n. yam mound. pl. pie.

piili [piíli] v. to start • bi piíli. Start again. gbàŋgbàŋ kàá piili tọ́tfaàŋ gântâl nî. Harmattan will start after the tọ́tfaan season.


piipeleì [piìpèlè] n. small yam mound leaning against another yam mound, built for matching the piimílsa on the opposite line. pl. piìpelèsa.

pikiete [pìkiété] n. old yam field where the mounds are open and yams have been removed.

pile [pîle] v. to roof with grass or zinc • kɔsà ǹ kpà pilè à dîã. I covered the house with grass. (Oti-Volta).

pilinsii (var. of nààlomo)


pinti [pìnti] 1 pl.v. to pick up from the ground • pìnti tʃúónò tìɲ̄. Pick up shea nut seeds for me. pìnti mòlèbïé hâmà tìɲ̄. Pick up that money for me. 2 n. whole process of shea harvest, from the picking to the storage.

pipi [pìpì] ints. very early morning • diàrì tʃòɔsìn pipì ò dí lìi. Yesterday he left very early in the morning.

piregi [pìrègì] v. to take by surprise • ñ kà pìregùù dî ù kètì ñì dià-nòã. I took him by surprise while he was breaking my door to enter my room.

pisì [pìsì] v. to shake • pìsì dôŋò tà i nùù nì. Shake the dirt out of your hair. dì t wà pìsì bárá tôntô-má, bárá kàá bìrèì rɛ̃ kùò nì. If you do not shake up at work, you will not get the chance to complete the farm work.

piti [pìtì] v. to survive • à gérègît wàá pìtì. The sick person will not survive. syn: 2foti

pitieteo [pìtiétèò] n. Bearded barbet,
pitiiɲaŋa  [pìtìíɲàŋà]  n.  type of tree (Ficus sur).  pl.  pitiiɲaŋa.
pitiisolo  [pìtíísòlò]  n.  type of tree (Ficus conraui).  pl.  pitiiisolo.
pitʃɔŋ  [pìtʃɔ́ŋ̀]  n.  row or line of yam mounds.  pl.  pitʃɔnsa.
pɪ̃  [pɪ̃́]  v.  to be fed up with the same matter, or the same food • ʊ̀ ʊ̀ hã́ã́ŋ  pɪ̃́ʊ̃́ rā ànɪ́ ʊ̀ ʊ̀ sɪ̀ŋɲʊ̃̀hã́ nɪ́.  His wife is fed up with his drinking habit.
pɪ̃ã  [pɪ̃̀ã̀]  n.  to open slightly, or to hold down the eyelid •  pɪ̃̀ã̀ ìì síí à dɔ́ktà ná.  Pull the skin away from your eye for the doctor to see.  Kàlá  pɪ̃́ã́ ʊ̀ ʊ̀ nʊ̃̀ã̀ rá, ǹ̩ ná ʊ̀ ʊ̀ ɲɪ́ŋá.  Kala slightly opened the mouth and I saw his teeth.
pɪ̃ã́nɪ  [pì̃́ã́nɪ́]  v.  to open or make wide a little more within certain limits •  bà pɪ̃́ã́nɪ̀ dùsèè tíwīī rē.  They widen the Ducie road.  pɪ̃́ã́nɪ̀ ɪ̀ɪ̀ lɔ́gànʊ̃̀ã̄ ń̩ ná.  Open your bag a little more for me to see.  syn:  wɛga
pīsì (var. of pīsì)
pira [pìgà]  cf:  hala  v.  to fry with no other ingredients than oil and salt •  wà làà zìmbié háñy  pìgà já tiè.  Come and take this fowl meat and fry it for us to eat.
pigi [pìgii]  n.  frying •  zápìgée èlíè ì vóg dì dì.  My shrine takes two fried fowls.  pl.  pigee.
1pī [pì]  v.  to mark items or livestock • má pī má bār kòrà.  You should mark your share differently from each other.
2pī [pì]  v.  to soak items in water for a length of time •  kpà kìndóŋó dò nī tī á pī,  kà i dì tì gàást.  Take the dirty items and soak them, you will be washing them.
piri [pìgíi]  pl.v.  to make lines or marks, to mark a field or cut a face, to draw a line •  kuòrù bisé jàà pìgíi bà bárárá.  People from the chief’s family usually make marks on their body.  pìgíi à bié gríi àká dò lú- líi.  Cut the child’s cheek then apply medicine.
piri [pìlí]  v.  to tear carefully, to pull apart or into pieces •  pìlí kàdàáást tāmā tièn.  Tear a piece of paper for me.
pīla [pìlà]  v.  to hit down repeatedly, to compact by hitting •  jà fìì pīla sāl
lá. We used to compact our roof top by hitting repeatedly on its surface.

piña [pìnà] v. to be satisfied, with food or information, to be full • ṅ dì kōo kinkān nà, ṃ piñāò. I ate a lot of t.z., I am satisfied. ò wà nóóá piñà. He did not hear the information to his satisfaction.


pìŋísi [pìŋísi] pl.v. to be satisfied with food, to satisfy one’s appetite • à bóōnà pìŋísi ānì à sìmáá rà. The goats are satisfied with the food. à lùhò bār nàrá múŋ pìŋísìjì. All people at the funeral are satisfied.

pìra [pìrà] v. to injure or wound • dì i líi à dáānùù tfélè, i kàà pìráò. If you fall from the tree you will be injured.

pìraago [pìraa-gò] n. big needle for large size food sacks. pl. pìraago.


pìsa [pìsà] n. grass mat. pl. pìsa.

pìsi [pìsi] v. to scatter, disappear, or vanish, to spread or come out, e.g. day, season • námùŋ pìsi nñ sìí nt. People should disappear from my presence. pìsi à kpòŋkòŋ tā à bìì ní à hòlà. Spread the cassava on the rock to dry. tfòɔsì káà pì-sìo. Morning is breaking.

pìtì [pìtì] n. refers to a fowl used as blood sacrifice. [oldfash]. pl. pìtte.

1po [pɔ] v. cf: tòō 1 to insert, to plant, to transplant, to set upright in ground, to pierce • ń̩ pɔ́ dāā rā. I planted a tree. hɛ̀mbtí pɔ́ dāā nī́, fō-to lāgā. A picture hangs from a nail on a pole. 2 to aim at with a gun • làà mááfà pɔ̄ nā bą̊ tì̊ kì̊n jùò mā́fā 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 • pɔ́ à dɪ̀ànʊ̃̀ã́, bʊ̃́ʊ̃́ŋ nā ǹ̩ dɪ̀ búúrè kpágà. Keep the door, I want to catch a goat. bà bʊ̃́ʊ̃́ŋ dɪ́gɪ́ɪ́máŋá bà kpájɛ̀ɛ̀ pɔ́ bà tì̊ntɪ̀ŋ. They rely on the only goat they have. à bìé má-rā pɔ́ à góòl lō, àwíé bà wà kɪ̃́ŋ dì̊ bē. The child has protected the goal well so the others could not win.

2po [pɔ́] v. to make a sacrifice for twins to survive • bà pɔ́ dʒɪ́ɛ̀nsá rā. They sacrifice for the twins to survive.

pɔi [pɔ́i] n. planting • dā́ápɔ́i wḕrèo. Tree planting is good.

pɔla [pɔ̀lā] v. to be fat • ń̩ nì̃hĩ́ɛ̀t̃m̃á pɔ́là kāāl̃ñ. My senior is fatter than me.

pɔl̃ [pɔ́l̃] n. fat • ń̩ nih̃̃ ḕt̃m̃á p̃m̃á m̃̃ñ ̃ñá w̃̃w̃a. All those ten fat women came. ant: badaawise pl. pɔl̃e.


pɔnt̃i[ə] [pɔnt̃i] n. spleen.

pɔnt̃oraț̃i[ə] [pɔnt̃orəț̃i] n. type of gourd seed. pl. pɔnt̃oraț̃iása.


pɔt̃i [pɔt̃i] v. to damage a container or a head to its non-functioning, to crush-and-spoil • tī t̃̃ j̃ù̃ b̃̃a, à ñ̃p̃̃õɔ̃r̃ṽ̃ĩ̃ k̃̃á̃ p̃̃õt̃i. Stop throwing stones, the drinking water pot will be damaged. à l̃s̃̃l̃ĩ z̃ǐ̃ñ ũ j̃ũũ p̃̃õ-t̃i. The car crushed his head.

p̃reg̃a [p̃r̃eg̃a] n. iron castanets, finger bell. pl. p̃reg̃asa.

1p̃r̃i[ə] [p̃r̃i] n. type of Mahogany (Khaya senegalensis). pl. prima.

2p̃r̃i[ə] [p̃r̃i] n. type of fish. pl. prima.

1p̃u [p̃u] v. 1 to cover, as in covering a drum with a skin • ń̩ p̃u t̃̃ñ h̃̃ñ b̃̃ĩ̃t̃ĩ̃r̃á. I am going to cover my drum. 2 to lie on stomach • p̃u ĩ k̃ĩtf̃õa-l̃l̃ĩ ñi. Lie on your stomach in your bed.

2p̃u [p̃u] v. to drink water straight from stream • m̃a p̃u ñ̀b̃̀a ñ́ñí k̃á j̃á k̃ā̃l̃i. Drink from the stream then we go.

1p̃ugo [p̃ug̃o] v. to pant, to breathe rapidly in short gasps, as after exertion • ńĩñ ̃ĩ h̃ĩ̃s̃ĩ k̃à̃ p̃ūg̃o.
kéŋ̀? Why are you panting like this?

2pugo [pùgò] (var. puguli) v. to nurse seeds • hákúrí wàá pùgò tfímìáá bɪ̀ná háŋ̀. Hakuri will not nurse pepper seeds this year.

puguli (var. of pugo)

pul [púl] n. type of river grass. pl. pul.

pulisi [pùlìsì] v. to cool down, to dilute by pouring in cold water • pùlìsì nít tië iì báál sɔ̄. Cool down the hot water for your husband to bath.

pumii [pùmìí] n. 1 hiding • à nàŋ-kpàŋhɪ̃́ɛ̃̀ pùmìí ɲúúnɪ̀ géèmtʊ́mà wà kín kpágʊ́. Because of the hiding of the experienced hunter, the rangers could not catch him. 2 incubation • zál pùmìí há wà téle. The incubation period has not started yet. pl. pumie.

pumo [púmò] v. cf: sogoli 1 to hide by squatting or getting down to the ground • ɲá à bó̃mámíí rá á tùù pùmò. When I saw the leopard I hid. 2 to sit on eggs for incubation • à záál kàà pùmò ɔ̀ ɔ̀ hálá ní. The fowl sits on its eggs to hatch.

pumpuninna [pùmpùnììnà] n. stomach. pl. pumpuninasa.

puoli [pùòli] v. to be thin, to be watery • à kùbìì pùòli. The porridge is thin.

puoti [pùóti] v. 1 to report, to tell others about one’s situation, to let others know • ziëŋ kàáli à lágámìí bár rá à wà pùóti tië à tóó nárá múŋ̀. Zieng went to the meeting and came to report to the people of the community. 2 to confess witchcraft action • à báál pùótiò dí wàá kpó à bié. The man confessed that he killed the child.


pur [púr:] cf: hōŋ n. farmers’ and hunters’ bag, originally made out of skin, may refer to any bag syn: 1lɔga1. pl. puro.

puro [pùrö] v. to untie • ɔ̀ pùrö à bó̃n ná. She untied the goat. ant: vɔwa¹, lomo¹

purusi [pùrùsì] v. to mash, to pound lightly • pùrúsì kpááŋ dò váá óó dí. Mash some yams for the dog to eat.

pusi [pùsì] v. 1 to meet, to reach or to join someone • dí válà akà pùsúú. Walk and get to her. 2 to tell someone to keep an item or money given or returned politely by the giver, and owned and refused by the recipient • kàlá, pùsì à mòli bié tiì ɲà kà tfìmìí kéŋ̀. Kala, keep the money I lent you.

puuri [púúrí] v. to reduce in quantity or in height • à kòvúnì̀á múŋ nò pùúríjë. The rim of the t.z. pot has been reduced by being chipped over and over.
pʊ [pʊ] v. to spit • pʊ tà. Spit it out. i wàá kìn pʊ múntə̀ssə̀ ńn dìà nì. You cannot spit in my room.
pʊ̀ [pʊ́] v. to be rotten • bʊ̀ntì à nà- mìá, àwìôté lēt ọ̀ kàá pʊ̀. Share the meat, if not it will rot.
Pʊal [pʊ̀l] n. liver. pl. pʊalsa.
Pʊ́pʊ́ [pʊ́pʊ́] v. to be rotten • bʊ́ntì à nà-
mɪ̃̀ã́, àwɪ́ɛ́ lɛ́ɪ̀ ʊ̀ kàá pʊ́. Share the
meat, if not it will rot.
Pʊ̃ [pʊ̄] v. to be rotten • bʊ̀ntì à nà-

You cannot spit in my room.
Pʊ̃ ã [pʊ̄ã̀] v. to be rotten • bʊ̀ntì à nà-
mɪ̃̀ã́, àwɪ́ɛ́ lɛ́ɪ̀ ʊ̀ kàá pʊ́. Share the
meat, if not it will rot.
Pʊ́ à [pʊ́à] n. liver.
Pʊ̃pʊ̃pʊ̃ [pʊ̄pʊ̄pʊ̄] v. to be rotten • bʊ̀ntì à nà-
mɪ̃̀ã́, àwɪ́ɛ́ lɛ́ɪ̀ ʊ̀ kàá pʊ́. Share the
meat, if not it will rot.
Pʊ̃ɪ̃pʊ̃ɪ̃ [pʊ̄ɪ̄pʊ̄ɪ̄] v. to be rotten • bʊ̀ntì à nà-
mɪ̃̀ã́, àwɪ́ɛ́ lɛ́ɪ̀ ʊ̀ kàá pʊ́. Share the
meat, if not it will rot.
Pʊ̃ ɪ̃pʊ̃ ɪ̃ [pʊ̄ɪ̄pʊ̄ɪ̄] v. to be rotten • bʊ̀ntì à nà-
mɪ̃̀ã́, àwɪ́ɛ́ lɛ́ɪ̀ ʊ̀ kàá pʊ́. Share the
meat, if not it will rot.
Pʊ́là [pʊ́l] v. to be white • ǹǹ nã́nã́tɔ́wá wà bɪ̀ pʊ́là. My shoes are not white anymore. [Mo, Ka, Gu].
Pʊ́l̩ pʊ́l̩ [pʊ́l̩pʊ́l̩] v. to be white • ǹǹ nã́nã́tɔ́wá wà bɪ̀ pʊ́l̩pʊ́l̩. My shoes are not white anymore. [Mo, Ka, Gu].
Pʊ̃pʊ̃ ɪ̃pʊ̃ ɪ̃ [pʊ̄ɪ̄pʊ̄ɪ̄] v. to be rotten • bʊ̀ntì à nà-
mɪ̃̀ã́, àwɪ́ɛ́ lɛ́ɪ̀ ʊ̀ kàá pʊ́. Share the
meat, if not it will rot.
Pʊ̃ ɪ̃pʊ̃ ɪ̃ [pʊ̄ɪ̄pʊ̄ɪ̄] v. to be rotten • bʊ̀ntì à nà-
mɪ̃̀ã́, àwɪ́ɛ́ lɛ́ɪ̀ ʊ̀ kàá pʊ́. Share the
meat, if not it will rot.
Pʊ̃ ɪ̃pʊ̃ ɪ̃ [pʊ̄ɪ̄pʊ̄ɪ̄] v. to be rotten • bʊ̀ntì à nà-
mɪ̃̀ã́, àwɪ́ɛ́ lɛ́ɪ̀ ʊ̀ kàá pʊ́. Share the
meat, if not it will rot.
Pʊ́l̩ pʊ́l̩ [pʊ́l̩ pʊ́l̩] v. to be white • ǹǹ nã́nã́tɔ́wá wà bɪ̀ pʊ́l̩ pʊ́l̩. My shoes are not white anymore. [Mo, Ka, Gu].
Pʊ̃ ɪ̃pʊ̃ ɪ̃ [pʊ̄ɪ̄pʊ̄ɪ̄] v. to be rotten • bʊ̀ntì à nà-
mɪ̃̀ã́, àwɪ́ɛ́ lɛ́ɪ̀ ʊ̀ kàá pʊ́. Share the
meat, if not it will rot.
Pʊ̃ ɪ̃pʊ̃ ɪ̃ [pʊ̄ɪ̄pʊ̄ɪ̄] v. to be rotten • bʊ̀ntì à nà-
mɪ̃̀ã́, àwɪ́ɛ́ lɛ́ɪ̀ ʊ̀ kàá pʊ́. Share the
meat, if not it will rot.
Pʊ̃ ɪ̃pʊ̃ ɪ̃ [pʊ̄ɪ̄pʊ̄ɪ̄] v. to be rotten • bʊ̀ntì à nà-
mɪ̃̀ã́, àwɪ́ɛ́ lɛ́ɪ̀ ʊ̀ kàá pʊ́. Share the
meat, if not it will rot.
ra [ra] (var. re, ro, 3na, ne, no, la, lo, le, 1wo) foc. focus particle • wójó kpágá gérégá rá. Wojo has a sickness.
re (var. of ra)
ro (var. of ra)
róbagalán [róbàgàlàn] n. large plastic bottle, reused oil container typically used for fuel. (ultm. English < rubber gallon).
róbáraba [róbàrùbà] n. light, plastic covered motorbike. (Waali < róbáraba).

saa [sàà] v. to prepare or cook, Gh. Eng. stir, porridge, or t.z. • sàà kóò já dì. Prepare t.z. so we can eat.
1sàà [sàá] n. axe. pl. sààna.
2sàà [sàá] v. cf: milìmirì 1 to carve, to sharpen • à sàárá sàá tútò ró. The carver carved a mortar. 2 to drive a car or a motorbike, to row a boat • ì wà zìmà lọ̣̀šìlì sàáà. I do not know how to drive a car. 3 to build • bà tfì kàá sàá då rà. Tomorrow they will build a house.
saabii [sàábìì] n. shaggy rat (Dasymys (incomtus or rufulus)). pl. saabie.
sàádíili [sàádíilì] n. type of sharp hoe for carving. pl. sàádíilee.
sàágbulie [sàágbùlìé] n. type of hoe which functions as an axe to dig tree stumps or termites. pl. sàágbuluso.
saal [sàá] n. 1 building, may refer as well to a community as a whole, involving everyone • dùsiè sàáál mùnj nàà bà kàá pòmpì zòngòrò-só lùlìí. They will spray chemicals against mosquitoes in the whole of Ducie. mòtìgu sàáál mùnj wà kàáàlt nòdigìmànà tòmà. Not all the Motigu people attended the communal work. tòtìfà dtà sàáál tìí wà kpè-gè. The teacher’s building is not strong. 2. pl. saal.
sàáni [sàáñì] v. to play, to joke among nasàáñì, playmate • jà kàá kin sàáñì dònjà rà. We can joke with each other. dàábàáá báá kìn sàáñì tòfàkàlìí. The Dagaaba people are not playmates to the Chakali people.
sàári [sàárit] v. to slip, to be slippery • dùòjì wààwàó tìwìì dì sàárit. The rain came, the road is slippery.
sàási [sàástì] v. to grind in order to obtain paste, e.g. groundnut
sànsàńna

and shea • à bī̀ hāj wàá kìn sā- st nōò. This stone cannot grind to make paste.
sàatsɔŋ [sàatsɔŋ] n. adze, type of very sharp hoe used for carving the inside of a mortar or a drum.
sabāan [sabāán] n. flat house roof top. pl. sabaama.
safokala [safokala] nprop. shrine of Bulenga village.
sàga [sàga] v. cf: tʃua; suguli; tɔŋa 1 to sit on, to be on, to lie on top of • à bì́ ságà à kór ɲúú nì̄. The stone is on the bench. 2 to fall on, e.g. responsibility, blame • à sɔ̀mbɔ́ŋ kàá sàgà ɪ̀ɪ̀ nì̄. The blame will fall on you.
sal [sàl] n. flat roof. pl. salla.
saleŋgoŋo [saleŋgoŋo] n. type of praying mantis (Mantidae). pl. saleŋgoŋoso.
salnù [sálìn] n. gold. pl. salma.
saŋkara [sàŋkèrà] n. night synt: tebin; baratʃɔgɔ̀ . (Vagla, Tam-pulma < saŋkara ‘dead of night’).
sansanbie [sànsànbié] n. a child whose father cannot be identified due to the mother having several partners. pl. sansanbìse.
sansanduguliì [sànsàndùgùlíì] n. type of caterpillar. pl. sansanduguliìbùmìo.
sambalɲaŋa [sàmbalɲàŋá] n. type of grass (Rottboellia exaltata). pl. sambalɲaŋa.
samkpaŋtuluŋu [sàŋkpaŋtáuluŋú] n. type of hamerkop, type of bird (Scopus umbretta). pl. sàŋkpaŋtu- lũuso.
sampentie [sàmpéntìé] cf: jolo n. farming and gardening with raised beds. [Gu].
sampil [sàmpíl] n. wooden tool used to beat a surface in order to compact it. pl. sampìla.
sanduso (var. of digítuuo)
sankara [sàŋkèrà] n. night synt: tebin; baratʃɔgɔ̀ . (Vagla, Tam-pulma < saŋkara ‘dead of night’).
sansanbie [sànsànbié] n. a child whose father cannot be identified due to the mother having several partners. pl. sansanbìse.
sansanduguliì [sànsàndùgùlíì] n. type of caterpillar. pl. sansanduguliìbùmìo.
is no prostitution in Ducie. (Waali <sènsènná). pl. sansannasa.

sanziŋ [sàndíŋ] n. ladder. pl. sanzisa.


1sàna [sàná] v. 1 to sit • à báál sànj à kór ní. The man sat on the chair.
2 to settle • bà sànj mítìgù háglíí ní. They settled and lived in Motigu.

2sànj [sànà] n. time, period, moment, occasion • sànj tin ní, dùùsíi ní wié fi bómáá. In those days, water used to be hard to get by in Ducie. jàwà sànj tìjì, jà fi 3má nìëùsà wà. During our time, we feared the elders. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa <saa’a).

sànj lie (var. of sàna weŋ)

sàna weŋ [sènwest] (var. sàna lie) interrog. when • sènwest i kà wàà? When did you come?

sànjási [sànjáisi] lit. to sit many times v. in the process of taking a wife, to let the woman stay at the man’s house for a week • bàà sànjási à háńfúldtí rà. They are preparing the new wife.

sàngbàndugulee [sàngbàndúgúlèé] n. type of hamerkop, type of bird (Scopus umbretta). pl. sàngbàndugulese.

sàngbènà [sàngbènà] n. craw-craw.

sàngbèrema [sàngbèremà] n. yaws. (Waali <sangurima).

sàngbònj [sàngbòj] n. Purple Heron, type of bird (Ardea purpurea). pl. sàngbònnò.

sàŋkùmsòna [sàŋkùmsòná] cf: tolipaftag n. fresh leaves of young baobab which does not bear fruit. pl. sàŋkùmsònà.

sàŋkpàntúlúnj [sàŋkpaàntúlúnj] n. type of tree. pl. sàŋkpaàntúllumo.

sàŋkpànzìgìl [sàŋkpaànzìyìlː] n. beauty spot or mole. pl. sàŋkpànzìgìla.

sàŋpànmì [sàŋpànmì] n. cut of meat located at the back of a porcupine.

sàŋpòn [sàŋpòn] n. porcupine quills. pl. sàŋpùnù.

sàpete [sàpètè] n. ceiling of a traditional house. pl. sàpetese.


sàr [sàr] cf: kànúngulùmò n. gourd seed, not peeled. pl. sàra.

sàrabìì [sàrabìì] n. gourd seed, kernel. pl. sàrabìe.

sàsàar [sàsààr] n. 1 carver. 2 vehicle driver. pl. sàsàara.

sàsàbìì [sàsàbìì] n. type of grinding stone used in the making of shea butter. pl. sàsàbìa.

sàssò [sàssò] n. flour or powder.

sèl [sèl] n. animal. pl. sele.

sèlèkòòjì [sèlèkòòjì] cf: sìnwaasì (var. luhokòòjì) n. funeral event
taking place on the fourth day of a second funeral where animals are killed and meat is shared among relatives of the deceased.


selzen [sèzèn] lit. animal-big. pl. selzenèè.

sempambi [sènàmbì] cf: taogara n. chickenpox. (Gonja).

sensegelie [sènsègèliè] n. play activities for children including chasing, wrestling, singing, among others.

sewerée [sèwerèè] n. pure or unused • à nàmì̀ã̃́ wà jàā nàŋsèwèrèè, bà wà kɔ́rɪ̀ɡɪ̀ɛ̄. The meat cannot be consumed, it has not been slaughtered properly. wàà jáwà kɪ́nlàrɛ́ɛ́ mùŋ wà jàā kɪ́nsèwèrìsé. The clothings at the Wa market are all second-hand. pl. sewerese.

1sel [sèl] n. wood shaving. pl. sela.

2sel [sèl] n. herbal medicine for treating suspected leprosy. pl. sela.

sellì [sèlì] v. to reduce by sharpening, or cut with a razor • sèlì nèbìpèttì tììtì. Cut my fingernails.

sen şehii [sènjëbiì] n. second layer of roofing structure. pl. sehiebìe.


setta [sètìà] n. steering wheel of a car or handle bar of a bicycle or motorcycle. (ultm. English < steer).

sèw [sèw̃ò] n. death.

1sewa [sèwà] v. to write • nikànà wàá kìn sèwà. Many people cannot write. (ultm. Arabic < səfə 'paper').

2sewa [sèwà] n. talisman in the form of a waistband. pl. sewasa.

3sewa [sèwà] v. to hunt by searching in the bush • já kà sèwà bùùrɛ̀ ààrìè. Let us go and hunt grasscutters.

sibihali [siwihalìì] (var. sibihaalìì) n. fried bambara bean. pl. sibihaali.

sibii [siwii] (var. siwii) n. bambara bean (Vigna subterranea). pl. sibie.

sidi [sìdî] lit. eye-eat n. disrespect • tì ṣìná sidi wì̀ tì tì tì ṣìhêêsà. Do not talk with disrespect to elders.

sie [sìé] n. face. pl. sieše.

sie viigi [sìé viìgì] cpx.v. lit. eye turn 1 to faint • hàglìkìŋ dòmà mà̃n mà̃bìé, ò sìëviği. A snake bit my brother, he fainted. 2 to get lost • tòmá kàáli kùó, ò sìé kà viği. Toma went to the farm and got lost.

sielii [sielìì] n. perforated pot used for washing dawadawa seeds. pl. siele.

sierebile (var. of sierebile)


sige

1 sige [sigè] v. to mark • sigè à dáá ń̩ ñmēnà. Mark the wood for me to cut it.

2 sige [sigè] n. unsure • ń̩ jáá sigè rē à bisé wááít wë. I am not sure about the children’s coming.

sigi (var. of sigu)

sigií [sĭgīí] n. suffering, misery • ń̩ sigii gāâlió. My suffering is abundant. ñ̩ bâjoórâ tê ń̩ di dî sigii háî. Because of your laziness, I am suffering.

SIGI [SIGI] nprop. alternate language used in connection with funeral dirge and ancestors praise.

sige [SIGE] n. eye.

2 sii [sî] n. appearance, type, or sort • sii bâân kâ jââkâ? What type is it? gârwen sii i kâà búûrê à gâtà múñ ni? Which type of cloth do you like among all the cloths? pl. sie.

sii baraga [sîí bârágâ] n. inability to sleep • sii bârágâ kpâgân nà. I cannot sleep.

sii bire [sîí bírê] lit. eye black v. to be dizzy • ń̩ sîé kâà bírê dî ń̩ nôá nôásâ. I will be dizzy if I smoke.

sii bira [sîí bírâ] n. eyeball. pl. siibie.


sidi [sîídi] n. cedi, current Ghanaian currency, divided into 100 pesewas. (Akan < sedi ‘cowrie shell’).

siikoŋo [sîíkóŋò] n. eyebrow. pl. siikoŋso.

sii naara [sîínaárà] n. soothsayer syn: vuvuña.

sii naa [sîínaárá] n. knowledgeable person ant: geni. pl. siilallasa.

siinɔ [sîínɔ] n. tear. pl. siinutu.

siinɔmɔtɔnɔ [sîínɔmɔtiñɔ] lit. eye-hot-owner n. fearless and careless person, also a polite way to refer to a mad person. pl. siinɔmatɔmɔ.

siipnɔ [sîípɔnɔ] n. eyelash. pl. siipɔnɔ.

siipnɔwile [sîípɔnɔwilé] n. entropion, a condition in which the eyelid rotates inward, causing abrasions on the cornea of the eye.
siittuna [síítítùná] cf: nekpeg n. miserliness, stinginess • t jáá siittítùná rá ká ḋiri wá dọ kéj. You are stingy, unlike my brother. ant: nbuweeri

siiton [síiítòn] n. eyelid. pl. siittòna.
simisi [síimísi] v. to take pity on • t símísi i ni birgi ákà t wà zímá. I pitied you for a long time but you did not know.
sinahá [sínahá] n. extra-natural visual power.
singes [sínsígè] n. throat spasm • sínsígè ká jáá à bié. The child has throat spasms.
sinumme (var. of gbentagasi)
singeta [síngéta] n. type of yam. pl. singetasa.
sinsigirii [sínsígiírìí] n. type of hyena. pl. sinsigiree.
siri [síri] n. ready, looking forward to, anxious • ì jáá siri rè dì ì kááli

dùùsié. I’m anxious to go to Ducie. (Hausa <siri ‘ready’).
sisiana [síisaímá] lit. eye-red n. seriousness. pl. sisíansa.
siwihaali (var of sibihala)
siwi (var. of sibi)
siwiła [síwíílá] n. conjunctivitis.
sia [síá] (var. 1st) n. teasing, mocking, imitating in a way to make fun of someone • à báá lá káá úú bì-sé sìá rá. The man makes fun of his children. ì sìá tíé báá lá kpà-gàŋ. Your teasing makes me angry. ì sìá tñená jáá nárá sìé rá. My friend has been mocking people.
siá [síá] (var. 2nd) v. to respond to a call, to pay attention to • ò sìá-wóó. She responded. ì sìá òò jìírí tíí nà. I responded to his call.
sima [síímá] n. cf: bì; siari cf: tʃùtʃù 1 red • kty ká stáí műímûí, wáá wíí jáá kinsíamá. When something is very red, this thing is (called) red. 2 ripe (be) • mán-gosíamsá sú jáwá. There are many ripe mangoes at the market. ánssiá-má wà bì túó sàŋì háí. There is no more ripe ebony fruit at this time. pl. staínsa.
sani [sáíní] cf: mura v. to tell a proverb or story • tèbìn hàn nì ì káá siání stáínsá wà. Tonight I will tell proverbs.
saniá [sáíníá] n. proverb. pl. siánsá.
siari [síári] v. cf: bì; stama 1 to be red, reddish • à táálá stáirììóó. The
clouds have turned reddish. 2 to be ripe, e.g. paw-paw, pepper, mango, tomato, and *sinkplir* • tiè à tfélíé siáří. Let the tomatoes be ripe.

1s̄e (var. of sīa)

2s̄e [sìe] (var. nans̄ēl̄i) v. for fresh meat, to have a substandard quality, with no blood content, a lightweight and watery • sèlgáří́́íí nám̄l̄á káá s̄e. The meat of sick animal has a substandard quality. à nà̀ñám̄l̄á śié́wá. The cow meat has a substandard quality.

sīe (var. of sīā)

s̄eb̄i [s̄eb̄i] cf: embel n. butchered wing of a bird or a fowl. pl. s̄eb̄ie.

s̄ifra [s̀if̄r̄a] n. second month. (Waali < s̄if̄r̄á).

s̄ig [s̄ig] n. cowpea. pl. s̄iga.

s̄igera [s̄igə́r̄a] n. type of climber (Rhigilocarya racemifera). pl. s̄igerăsa.

s̄iggonggo [s̄igə̀ḡön̄gü̆] n. cooked bean with membrane, plucked early before harvest.

s̄igmaa [s̄iḡm̄á] cf: sigu n. funeral tradition deploying masquerade. pl. s̄igmaasa.

s̄igmaazimbie [s̄iḡm̄áaźimbĭ́] n. type of bird. pl. s̄igmaazimbise.

s̄igmawiĭli [s̄igm̄áwiĭ́l̄i] n. bull-roarer syn: dendiĭ̄̄̆h̄ë́; tebinsiḡm̄aa .

s̄igpaatʃаг [s̄iḡp̄àátʃák] n. fresh bean leaf syn: s̄ọ̆̄s̄ọ̆̄. pl. s̄igapaatʃaga.

s̄igp̄om̄ma [s̄iḡp̄ò́mm̄á] n. white bean.

s̄igsiama [s̄iḡsiá́m̄á] n. red bean.

s̄igb̄um̄mo [s̄iḡb̄úmm̄ò] n. black bean.

s̄ilt̄ [s̄ilt̄] v. to strip off fibrous bark • s̄ilt̄ b̄ó̄k wá tīŋ̄ ě́́ v̄ó̆̄w̄á kpá̆̄ṃá. Strip off some fiber for me to tie yams together.

s̄um̄a [s̄um̄á] cf: kindiĭ́lii n. food. (Waali). pl. s̄um̄̄s̄a.

s̄um̄aadĭ́a [s̄um̄áádĭ́á] n. food storage room.

s̄ila [s̄il̄á] v. to lay one’s head on something • s̄il̄á k̄à́p̄ú́t̄í ṇi. Lay your head on the pillow.

s̄îma [s̄im̄á] n. bamboo. pl. s̄im̄̄s̄a.

s̄um̄b̄̄t̄i [s̄um̄b̄́tí́] n. third day of second funeral where the ground malt is boiled.

s̄ina [s̄in̄á] v. to soak • kpá à ṃá̆̄ s̄in̄á. Take the guinea corn and soak it.

1s̄in̄log [s̄in̄l̄ó̆́g] n. location where men repair the ritual artefacts and dress for performing sigmaa • bí̆̄n̄á m̄ú̆́ŋ̄ b̄á j̄á k̄àá̆ s̄in̄l̄óg r̄á. Every year they go to the place where they make and repair the costumes.

2s̄in̄log [s̄in̄l̄ó̆́g] (Mo. var. s̄un̄l̄óg) n. vomit and bile • ò́w̄ò tīásé s̄in̄l̄óg r̄á. She is vomiting a yellowish substance.

s̄in̄l̄ò̆́̄́ [s̄in̄́l̄ó̆́́] n. fifth day of a second funeral.

s̄in̄t̄̄g (var. of t̄ag)
sɪntʊgʊ (var. of tʊgɪ)


sɪŋbɪlɪi [simbiili] n. fermented pito.

sɪŋbɔtɪɪ [sɪ̥ŋbɔ̄tɪ̄ɪ̄] n. first boiling of the malt in pito preparation.

sɪŋbʊl [sɪ̀mbʊ́l] cf: sɪŋsɪama; sɪŋhũor; sɪŋtʃaara n. remaining of sɪŋtʃaara, after a night in its container, much sweeter than other pitos.

sɪŋgiliŋgi [sɪ̀ngílìŋgí] n. crazy chick disease, also used to describe dizziness among human (Encephalomalacia).

sɪŋgbɛglɪŋ [sɪ́ŋgbɛ̀ɣəlɪ́ŋ̀] n. chameleon (Chamaeleonidae fam.). pl. sɪŋgbɛglɪŋsa.

sɪŋgbɛglɪŋnebie [sɪ́ŋgbɛ̀ɣəlɪ́ŋnébíé] lit. chameleon-fingers n. type of grass whose tip resembles the chameleon’s front legs. pl. sɪŋgbɛglɪŋnebie.

sɪŋhũor [sɪ̀nɡũ̀ ṓr] cf: sɪŋbʊl; sɪŋsɪama; sɪŋtʃaara n. pito served before fermentation.

sɪŋkpal [sɪŋkpàĺ] n. not wearing beads on the waist • ὧ kpágu sɪŋkpàĺ lâ. She does not wear beads on her waist.


sɪŋpʊmma [simpʊ́mmá] cf: kpɔř n. palm wine.

sɪŋsagāl [sɪ̥nsą́gáľ] n. 1 descending position among siblings • ὧ sɪ̥nsą́gáľ bútɔrɔ ją́ţ. After him, I am the third. 2 remaining • ὧ kpáń- dúgo tʃẹ́ túsù áńf sɪ̥nsą́gāl kâlá pé nì. I have a thousand and something yam seedlings left with Kala.

sɪŋsɪama [sɪ̥nsɪ̆́má] cf: sɪŋbʊl; sɪŋhũor; sɪŋtʃaara n. pito, local fermented drink brewed from guinea corn.

sɪŋtɔg [sɪ̥ntɔ́k] n. pito pot • ὧ bọ́čŋ̩ tʃiágt ni sɪ̥ntɔ́gsá múŋ nʊ. The goat broke all my drinking pots. pl. sɪ̥ntɔ́gsa.

sɪŋtʃaara [sɪ̥ntʃáárə] cf: sɪŋbʊl; sɪŋsɪama; sɪŋhũor n. pito sieved after boiling the malt.

sɪŋtʃau [sɪ̥ntʃáʊ́] n. type of tree (Lannea acida). pl. sɪŋtʃawa.

sɪ̥nvii [sinvi] n. drinking pot made out of clay syn: 2tɔŋ. pl. sɪ̥nviine.

1sɪ̥ñwaasí [sinwāasî] n. second boiling of the malt in pito preparation.

2sɪ̥ñwaasí [sɪ̥nˈwɑ̃ːsɪ] lit. drink-pour.libation cf: selekpʊr̩ n. fourth day of a second funeral.

sɪ̥ra [sɪ̥rə] v. 1 to assemble, to meet together • bámʊ́ŋ kááli wâá á kâ sɪ̥rə. They all went to Wa and met there. 2 to call for a confidential meeting • bâ sɪ̥rə á bıpɔ́lìí râ, ὧ hääbû́r râ. They called the young man for a confidential meet-
ing because of his habit of chasing women.

sisi [sisí] v. 1 to sharpen a blade • má ká sisí ńń kisié wá tí. You should go and sharpen my knife for me. 2 to wash by brushing, with sponges or brush • nihááná má wá kpá ńń kóvíí né sisí. Women should come and wash my t.z. pots.


sogoli [sọyòlì] v. cf: pumo 1 to hide, to conceal from view, to disappear or hide behind • nibáálá múy válà à bùūría, sọgoli. All the men are looking for you, hide. 2 to bury • bà hà wá sọgoli à lālī. They have not yet buried the corpse.


1 sol [sól] ideo. in the clear, to be without blame or debt • jà ká bitstí à wíè rá, tí ìíwáá sól. After our judgement, I was fully acquitted. jà nódìgimáápárií ní, hàmọntííí máá sól wá dí kàntií. In our farming group, only the youngest did not owe anything.

2 sol [sól] n. type of fish. pl. solo.

solibie [sólíbié] cf: haglibie n. type of ant. [Gu].

solisi [sólísí] v. to smooth • à kápẹntá sólisi à téebúl núú rò. The carpenter smoothens the top of the table.

solonṣolonj [sólónṣólónj] ideo. smooth • fún à núpójíí múy táká o dò sólónṣólónj. Shave all his hair so his head is smooth. ant: kọgọsọg

sontogo [sọntógo] n. base element for supporting and holding still a big clay water container. pl. sontogoso.

sosolì [sósolì] n. slippery place found in the bush and on roads during the rainy season.

sọ [sọ] v. to wash one’s body • i káá sọ nít ràà? Will you bath?

sọ duọnj [sọ dúọnj] lit. bath rain cf: duọnsọj v. to receive mystic protection against lightning • i sọ duọnj nọọ? Have you taken the lightning initiation?


sọgáli [sọyílfí] n. 1 person from Sawla. 2 lect of Sawla. pl. sọgálee.

sọgła [sọglá] nprop. Sawla, village situated between Tuosa and Motigu.

sọgbiari [sọgbíari] n. person who never attempted to dance. pl. sọgbiartisa.

sọkoro [sọkọró] n. type of tree (Clausena anisata). pl. sọkoroso.
sɔkɔsɪɪ [sɔkɔsɪ] n. defilement, unhygienic nature • kɔ̀tɔ̀ wáá dì sɔkɔsii sìímáá. Kotia does not eat unhygienic food. ŋiŋ wáá bùùrè sɔkɔsii hàáà sìtì. I do not want this woman’s unhygienic pito. (Waali <sɔkɔhɪɪ).

sɔmpɔrɛɛ [sɔmpɔ̀rɛ̀ɛ̀] n. type of frog. pl. sɔmpɔrɛse.


sonī [sɔn̩n̩] n. 1 fever, health condition as a result of cold weather. 2 malaria.

sɔnna [sɔnná] n. lover. pl. sɔnna.

sonfɔga [sɔntʃɔgá] lit. name-spoil n. defamation, the act of tarnishing somebody’s image.

sonfɔgatɪɪna [sɔntʃɔ̀gátɪ́ɪ́ná] n. defamer.

1sɔŋ [sɔŋ] n. (var. sɔsɔŋ) 1 cool, cold • niisɔŋ káá niinɔŋ i di bùùrè? Do you want cool or hot water? 2 fresh or wet • kùóɔrù kùó kpáámá wá bì kpàgà pààtʃàksɔ́ná. The yams at the chief’s farm do not have fresh leaves anymore. dààsɔ́ná wáá kìn móst dìŋ. Wet wood cannot catch fire. pl. sɔna.

2sɔŋ [sɔŋ] n. name. pl. sɔna.

sɔnbɔŋ [sɔmbɔ́ŋ] lit. name-bad n. reputation • gàáànà bisé ft láá sɔnbɔŋ nágiirià nì, bà dògòní bá tà. Ghanaians had a bad reputation in Nigeria, so they were deported.

sɔŋgiɛgi [sɔŋgiègíí] n. nickname. pl. sɔŋgiɛgie.

sɔŋtɪ́á [sɔntɪ́íná] n. generous and helpful person whose intention is to be known ant: nekpeg.


sɔrɔ [sɔr̩à] v. to leak with a narrow flow • nïí láá zíá sɔrɔ̀ à tʊ́ dìá. Some water leaked along the wall inside the house.

sɔrɔ [sɔrɔ́fí] n. type of frog.


sɔsɔŋ (var. of sɔŋ)

sɔta [sɔtã] n. 1 thorn. 2 type of tree. pl. sɔrasa.

sọ [sù] v. to be full, to fill • à fàlá sùjòō. The calabash is full.

sù hããŋ [sú hã́ã̀ŋ] v. to be inexperienced with men, to be a virgin • ŋiŋ bintháàŋ wá zìmá bààlsá, ү sù hà̄àn nà. My daughter doesn’t know men, she is still a virgin.

sug [sùg̩] n. type of tree (Grewia lasiodiscus). pl. suguno.

suglo [súgló] nprop. Suglo, person’s name.

suguli [sùgùlì] v. cf: saga; tʃɔa; tɔŋa 1 to cook by boiling • sùgùlì kpááŋ já dì. Boil yam for us to eat. 2 to be on • ŋin̩ ś i kà sùgùláá mààsè kέ̊ŋ? Why are you putting them on top of each other like this? hènáá
súgǘli téébûl ŋúú bâmbâán nt. A bowl is on the center of a table.


sulumbie [sùlumbié] cf: lalwie; nîŋã n. orphan. [Ka, Gu].

sumbol [sùmból] n. chimney, hole in the roof covered with a large flat stone. pl. sumboló.

summe tuu [sùmmè tùù] cpx.v. to be predisposed by God, requested to God • bìé vî́ɛ̀ lî́ɪ́ɪ́ jáá ǹǹ sùmmètúí ré. Not giving birth to a child is my destiny.

suŋgoro [sûŋgồro] cf: leŋ n. long pole with a hooked end designed to reach and catch dead branches and pull them down. pl. suŋgoroso.

suŋguru [sûŋgúrú] cf: tulor; binhâāŋ n. young girl who can get married and has never given birth. [Gu]. (Mande). pl. suŋgurunso.

suo [sùò] cf: nûssuo v. to curse, to invoke misfortune upon • dt i wàá jáá wî́wîré iî màá kàá sùò nàá tièî. If you do not do well your mother will curse you.


suoŋbeŋa [sùómbéŋà] n. type of tree, similar to the shea tree but without edible fruits. pl. suombeŋasa.

suoŋbigarîga [sùómbígârîgâ] n. kidney stones.

suoŋbiì [sùómbiì] lit. shea.nut-seed n. kidney. pl. suŋbiie.

suoŋdaawie [sùóndááwié] lit. shea.nut-stick-small n. type of snake syn: pagimbii²; màà-biewaatelepusiîn; dòhàà. pl. suŋdaawise.

surum [sùrû́m] cf: tʃerim n. silence, quietness • à tsó múŋ jáá sùrû́m. The village is silent. mà jáá sùrû́m. Be quiet. ant: tʃiàma¹ (Hausa < shirû ‘silence’).

susumma [sûsûmmà] n. beggar. pl. susummasa.

susummana [sûsûmmấnà] n. helper. pl. susummanasa.


sûûhal [sûûhấl] n. guinea fowl egg. pl. sûûhala.

suuter [sûûtˈeːr] n. leader. pl. suuterre.

sua [sɔ̀] n. relation of age mate • kî-pó wá jâá ŋ sɔ̀á. Kipo is not my age mate.

1 sôt [sɔ̀] v. to weave • kpâgàá sôt kàlɛ̀ŋ tièî. Kpaga wove a mat for you.

suāgi [sùàgì] v. to pound lightly, in order to remove hard shell from grain or nut • ɲì tʃúónó hóláó ŋ káá sùàgì. My shea nuts are dry enough to pound them.

suamanzìga [sùàmànzìgá] cf: aŋbu-luŋ n. fresh leaves of black berry, used in preparing a meal bearing the same name usually consumed in the morning.

suani (var. of suɔnì)

sōásɔ́r [sùàsɔ́r] cf: garsɔ́r n. weaver. pl. sōásɔ́rɔ́ra.

suawalìì [sùàwálì́ì́] n. person of in same age group. pl. suawalɛɛ.

sōō (var. of fɔ̀ōē)

sōgà [sògà] v. to court, to seek another person’s love or pay special attention to people to win their favour • ɲáó wáá kìn sògà hááɲ. Poor people cannot court women. bà já sògà hááñá rà, à ná háádiñ kpà. They court women in order to select the right one to marry. kàlà kàá bùùrè ɣmààŋɔ́ rà, kà ñ wà zímá háásɔ́gì. Kala loves Mangu, but he does not know how to court women. ðùséélèé kàá sògà dààbàŋtólúgú bà kàáli dàá-mùŋ. People from Ducie go to court the people of the shrine since they wish to go to the initiation.

sōguli [sògóli] v. to forget • ŋ sōgɔ́li ɲìnì mòlèbìí tà dìà nì. I forgot my money in the house.

sōl [sòl] n. cf: sommàa cf: soŋkulee

1 African locust bean tree, Gh. Eng. dawadawa tree (Parkia sp.). 2 porridge made out of the locust bean. pl. soñlìì.

solbìi [sòlbìí] n. dawadawa seed syn: tʃìi. pl. solbiie.

solɪmì [sòlɪmì] cf: sommì v. to beg. [Ka, Ti, Tu].

solnɔŋ [sòlnɔŋ] n. dawadawa fruit. pl. solnɔnɛ́.

solsɔ̀ [sisàò] n. 1 dawadawa flour. 2 yellowish.

soma [sòmà] v. to have luck • ɔ kááli ɔ kà làà ɔ mòlèbìí kà sòmà wà tìŋà ɔ nì, ɔ wà nàà. He went to collect his money but he was unlucky, so he did not get it.


sommì [sòmmì] v. cf: solìmì 1 to borrow • ɔ sòmmé ɪɲɲ pàr rà. He borrowed my hoe. 2 to help, to assist • báwàá sòmméjá sàà jà diá. They helped us to build our house. 3 to beg • wàà nì ɲìkàná kàá sòmmè. In Wa many people beg.


sunlɔ [Mo. var. of sìnłɔ̀]

sʊola [sʊɔlɑ] n. locally woven cotton cloth.  
pl. sʊɔlasa.

sʊɔni [sʊɔnɪ] v. (var. suani) 1 to be cold • à kpaάŋ sʊɔnɪjɔ. The yam is cold. 2 to be quiet, soft, low-toned or hushed • ymá à wíé di sʊɔn-ni. Speak with softer voice. 3 to be happy • m̩̀ m̩̀ bárá sʊɔnɪjɔ. I am happy. 4 to be slow • ǹ̩ sʊɔnɪjɔ à kɪ́ná sɛ́wɪ̄. I am slow in writing the things. ant: 2 laga

sʊɔra [sʊɔrɑ] n. scent or odor • à ɲí-ñéé sʊɔnɪ wá wērē. The scent of the fish is not good.

sʊɔrɪ [sʊɔrɪ] v. 1 to smell • ǹ̩ǹ̩ sʊɔrɪʊ̀ʊ̀ nʊ̃nʊ̀,ʊ̀ sʊɔnɪ wá wīrē. I smelled his mouth, its smell bad. 2 to emit an unpleasant odor, to stink • ɪ̀ɪ̀ námɪ̃ŋ tiŋ̀ kàà sʊɔrɪ kìì kìmpʊ̃ã́. Your meat stinks like something rotten. ant: 2 hʊlɪɪ

sʊɔsa [sʊɔsɑ] n. white bean leaf syn: sigpaatʃag.  
pl. sʊɔsasa.

sʊɔsanɪ̃ɪ̃ [sʊɔsɛ́nɪ̃ɪ̃] n. 1 stock of boiled bean leaves. 2 greenish colour. 3 Emerald snake (Gastropyxis smaragdina). [Gu].

sʊtɪ [sʊtɪ] pl.v. to die • jà náálmɔ tiŋ kà jùó bàábàátu, bàmʊŋ sùttjé kàá-li kà tfɔ̀á. Our grandfathers who fought Babatü, they all died and left us behind.

sʊʊ [sʊʊ] (var. 1sʊʊ) 1 n. front ant: 1gantαl. 2 n. precedent • ɪ sʊʊ tò-ma jàá bàlti wà. I have two siblings older than me. 3 reln. front • wáá tfɔ̀á à fàlá sʊʊ ni. It lies at the front of the calabash. pl. sʊʊsa.

1sʊʊ (var. of sʊʊ)

2sʊʊ [sʊʊ] v. to be quiet, to order for quietness, as used when a child is crying or when pacify a quarrel • tiɪ bʊʊlii, sʊʊ iì nɔ̀, nárá kàá tfɔ̀á dúo rò. Do not sing and be quiet, people are sleeping.

sʊwa [sʊwà] v. 1 to die • à nàŋkpãáŋɲʊ̃ nì à lúlíí ré àwɪ́ɛ́ ʊ̀ wà sʊwà. The hunter drank the medicine that is why he did not die. 2 to be ragged • à gār sʊwā. The cloth is ragged.

pl. sʊwakan-dikuroso.

1sʊwii [sʊwìí] n. dying • ʊ sʊwii bān nì, nárá ptìlt di wíti. As he was dying, people started crying.

2sʊwii [sʊwìí] n. corpse, not yet buried • jà kà hìrē sʊwii bɔ̃á. Let us go and dig the grave for the corpse. pl. sʊwii.

ʃʊ̃ ɛ̃ɛ̃ [ʃ̃ʊ̃́ɛ̃̀ɛ̃̀] (var. sʊ̃ ɛ̃ɛ̃) interj. exclamation expressing a disrespectful attitude towards what is being said and the one saying it. (Ghsm <ʃɪãã).
ta [tá] v. 1 to let free, let loose, leave, or abandon • kpá ŋŋ nény tà. Leave my hand (let me go). à bóóŋ tà úú bie rè. The goat abandoned its kids. 2 to initiate for burial specialization • bàà tà á báálă pél nì. They initiate the men for them to become burial specialists.

ta [tá] v. 2 to share a proverb • à nìīɜ̃̀ tá sìɛ̀nī̀ɛ̃̀. The elderly person shared proverbs.

ta v. 3 to exist • bààŋ́ tà? What is it? àŋ́ tà? Who is it?

ta [tá] v. 4 to agree in the act of departing or taking leave • já tá dɔ̄ŋā rā. We have agreed and left each other.

ta [tá] v. 5 to share a language. pl. taata.

taal [táal] n. cloud. pl. taala.

taal [tàal] v. to drench and overflow, to contain too much liquid as what is required • níí táalí iì múró ní, jàa níí bóró à káá màásè. There is too much water in your rice, take some out and it will be fine.


táaŋ̃̃ [tááŋ̃̃] nprop. Tangu, person’s name.

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táaŋ̃̃ [tááŋ̃̃] nprop. Tangu, person’s name.

1taarɪ [tààrɪ̀] v. 1 to rush at or towards • ʊ̀ táárɪ́jɛ́ kààlɪ̀ ʊ́ kàá māŋʊ̄ʊ̄ rā bà kpágʊ́ʊ́. He rushed to beat him but they held him. 2 to spin into a thread • ʊ̀ kàá táàrɪ̀ à gùnó ró. She will spin the cotton.

taarɪ [tààrɪ̀] v. 2 to creep • kàwáá bààŋ tààrɪ̀ kéŋ̀ . A pumpkin just crept like that. à fàlá táárɪ́ tèlè à dāā rā. The calabash creeps to the tree.

taarʊ́ [táárʊ́] n. at all times, always • táárʊ́ múnāā, ʊ́ jàa dòà dià ní bá-gábàgá. At all times I sit in the house doing nothing. ʊ̀ v álà dià- mű̀ n lá táárʊ́. She always passes in front of my door. pl. taarʊsa.

taavii [táávii] n. tobacco pipe. pl. taavise.

taga [tàyä] v. to dip or touch with a finger in order to taste • tàgà à disá di nă, à jìsá nìíwǎ? Dip a finger in the soup to see, is the salt enough?

tagla [tàylá] n. ground, soil, sand; earth syn: haglu. [oldfash].


takatʃuune [tàɣàtʃúúnè] n. measles. (Waali).

takta [tàɣətà] n. shirt. pl. taktasa.

tala [tàlā] v. to stretch, to hand up to • tàlā iì něį. Stretch your hand.

talala [tàlàlà] ideo. flat • à téébùl njúú dʊ́ kēŋ tàlàlà. The table top is flat.

talɪm [tàlɪ̥m] v. to move with difficulty because of pain or malformation • ṃ náŋá hàglɪíkìŋ dāā ʊ̀ tʃəà

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di tálími. I hit a snake with a stick, it was lying and moving with difficulty.

1 tama [támá] *cntr.* tanj *quant.* small, few • támá finii ō káá kaálọ̀. He will be leaving in a moment. támá ē fì tfélé. A little more and he would have fallen.

2 tama [támá] v. to hammer metal lightly • tómáá támà ɪ̀ɪ̀ kísìè-nóó. Toma hammered your knife.

tamãã [tàmã́ã̀] *n.* hope.

tambʊ [támbʊ́] *n.* absorbent cloth material used as nappy syn: čtāŋtāŋ. (Waali). pl. tambʊsa.

tamputie [tämpútié] *n.* malt that has been boiled, when strained results in snjṣaara.

tangarafʊ [tángàráfʊ̀ ] *n.* telegraph.

tantaanɪɪ ([var. tɪntaanɪɪ]) *n.* earthworm. pl. tantaanɪɛ.

tantama [tántàmā] *ideo.* a little, Gh. Eng. small-small • jáá tómá tántámá. Let us work a little bit. à bá-hfè wà bráá ná tántámá múj. The old man cannot see a little anymore. óò nōá nī̀ rà tántámá. He drinks water slowly.

tan (cntrvar. tama)

tankama [tàŋkámá] *n.* show-off, a person who makes a vain display of himself. (Hausa).

tapulsa [tàpùləsá] *n.* burnt wood or charcoal ash. pl. tapulsa.

tara [tàrà] v. 1 to support oneself in order to do something • liè i kà tà-
rà, káá jàá nin? From where are you getting your support to be boasting like this? 2 to stand firmly on feet. (Waali < tare).

tarage [tàrægɛ̀] *cf.* tatti *pl.v.* to pull continuously, to stretch • iì tàrágɛ̀ ṣẹ̀bín yé ré. You pulled my finger. à bóóñ wáá láá dì ŋ tàrágòó wàà dià. The goat does not want me to drag it home. à bóóñ wáá láá ŋ tàrágòó wàà dià. The goat does not accept me pulling it to the house.


tasazen [tàsàzèn] *lit.* bowl-big *n.* headpan, metal bowl or basin, used to carry construction material (e.g. sand, stones, etc) or water. pl. tasazene.

tatei (var. of têt̀ëi)

• tatti *cf.* tarage v. to pull, to stretch, to suck out • ŋù ŋínà dò ʊ̀mè́y bóóñ bágènà ní ŋ tatti wàà dià. My father put a rope around a goat’s neck, I pulled it to the house. tatti à pàtùrúú ǹkò̀rò pàtì́-gì̀ ní tiéý dò ṣì mó́tò nì. Suck out fuel from the drum for me to put in my motorbike. bèllléé tāá tiŋ ŋ já tátòó. The language of Gurumbele; it pulls (stretches, lengthens).


tawa [tàwà] *cf.* tɔṣi (var. 1 tawa) v. to
injection, to prick or pierce slightly • ǹ̩ wàá tǎwà à həmbǔ, ǹ̩ əmʒ.  I will not take the injection, it scares me.

te [té] v. to be early, to get up early • ɪ̀ téjòō. You are early.

I will not take the injection, it scares me.

tebin [tēbǐn] n. night, approx. 18:00 onward up to dawn • ɔ̀sá ʊ̀ báàl ʊ̀ tíŋ ɔ̀ tālā. Early the next morning the husband woke up the wife from sleep.

tebinsigmaa [tēbǐnσgmàá] n. night funeral performance, type of dirge usually associated with the bull-roarer  syn: sigmawiilí; dendihīẹsí .

tebintīna [tēbĩntīná] n. type of hyena  syn: baratʃɔgoʊ; sankara.


tele [télè] v. to reach, to arrive at destination •  já káálì sáŋà télèō. Let’s leave, the time has reached.

1tele [télè] v. to stand or lean against •  jà káálì tẹ̀lè ṣànà télèō. Take the sticks and make them lean on the wall. dàá télè kòzàà ʊ̀ I. A stick leans on a basket.

telegi [tèlegi] pl.v. to stand or lean against •  pàà à dàášà télègi à ʊ̀ kí. Take the sticks and make them lean on the wall. pàà à dàášà tǐŋ kà télègi à ʊ̀ kí kẹ̀ŋ lìí dè. Take off the sticks that are leaning on the wall.

temī [témīí] cf: tii (Gu. var. tfemī) n. type of army ant. pl. temiē.

tempilie [těmpiliε] cf: tuolie n. type of cooking pot. [Gu].

teye [tẹ́n] v. cf: lọ̀gà 1 to cut • tʃěn-si ré tẹ́nè ʊ̀ ʊ̀ ńáá. The zinc cut her foot. ǹ̩ tẹ́nè gbésà ńá. I am cutting off a chewing stick. 2 to take a picture • jìrà fòtòdráábà ʊ̀ wà tẹ́nèn fòtò. Call the photographer so he can come and take a picture of me. 3 to hinder, to stop • lúhọ ńi tfásìà à wà tẹ́nè ńi tiwii ńi wà káálì kúó. A funeral came up in Chasia, it hindered me from going to the farm.

tenjesi [tẹ́njesì] pl.v. to cut off many or into pieces, to form mud bricks for construction •  iì tẹ́njesì à nà-mìà ńàá. Did you cut the meat? bá hà wà tẹ́njesì à hàglíbìé p̣ẹ̀tì. They are not yet finish making the mud bricks.

tẹ́nten [tẹ́nten] n. single, alone, only • kpạ́n digímáŋá tẹ́nten ńi kpàgà. I have one yam only.

teo (var. of tou)

tesi [tésí] v. 1 to crack and remove shea nuts from the shell • tʃúonó ʊ̀ dì tésí. I am cracking and removing shea nuts. syn: tʃiagí [rare]. 2 to hatch •  ǹ̩ kí tésí ʊ̀ ʊ̀ há-lá. A guinea fowl cannot hatch its eggs.

tetenje [tẹ́tẹ́njesé] n. night blindness, believed to be due to vitamin deficiency.

teukaŋ [téùkán] n. warthog ivory. pl. teukanja.
tēhē (var. of tēhē)
tēhī [tēhē] (var. tēhē) n. oribi (Ourebia ourebi). pl. tehiša.
tekpagar (var. of tiekpagar)
tel [tël] n. page or sheet • lisî ii bûkù tēl digímänjá tīn. Remove a sheet from your book and give it to me. pl. tela.
tētē [tētē] (var. tateï) n. flintlock leather pad. pl. tatēna.
tie [tī] v. cf: tʃagamī 1 to chew, Gh. Eng. to chop meat • oô mâswiē tīn di à tîe nâmã. Her stepmother ate and chewed the meat. 2 to cheat or to swindle someone • iî hîlã tîn nè à mûlîbî bâbônti ni. My in-law cheated when money was shared.
tigiti [tigiti] n. ticket, in public transport or to register oneself as seller in a market. (ultm. English < ticket).
tigsi [tigisi] v. to gather, to group in a uniform way • duselëé tît kàá tigsi dônjá ra à kôxôre lûsinsnà. Tomorrow, the people of Ducie will gather and prepare the last funeral rites. summëŋ tigisi kpònkpònppà-tigá hâñ. Help me to group and arrange these cassava leaves.
3tii [tii] v. 1 to make a visible trace, such as a line or spot, to indicate a location • kà tii bâ tin já kàá sâà à dîá. Go mark where we will build the house. 2 to make a mark with medicine on body part or wall for protection • là à lûlû tii ii émbëlivìlìi. Take some medicine and mark you affected shoulder.
tijagî [tijâjî] n. type of bird. pl. tijágîne.
tiime [tiimê] v. to treat, to cure • ô tiîmê ūŋ gârágá rá. He cured my disease. (Waali < tiim ‘medicine’).
tiimûn [tiimûn] (var. wijalû) n. east. (Tampulma < tiene muñ ‘land bottom’).
tiene [tiīnê] v. to insist • nthëša ñmá à wîè pëtuû, kà bà hâmûnà háá tiînè à wûnmáhââa. The elders are finished with the matter but their children still insist.
tiïnuu [tiïnuû] (var. wîfëlii) n. west. (Tampulma < tiene nuu ‘land head’).
tiiri [tiiri] v. to manipulate and rub vigorously by pressing hard with one or more fingers and drag • wà tiiri nǹ nàatfg tìęŋ̊, ò kpéŋŋi̊ó. Come and rub my ankle, it is dislocated.


tiisaali [tìísàlì] n. 1 person from Tiisa. 2 lect of Tiisa. pl. tiisaalee.

tiise [tììsè] v. to help, to support • tıísěŋ já párà kùó. Help me cultivate a farm. hámà kà zì péjɛ̀ɛ̀ áwáá zì já tiisè háŋ. These (two fingers) are then added, and they come to support this one (finger).

tiisi [tíísí] cf: kʊtɪ; ɲaarɪ v. to grind, finer than ɲaarɪ but more rough than kʊtɪ • kà tìísí sàʊ́ wàà já sáá kʊ̄ʊ̄. Go grind some flour and come back so we can prepare t.z.


timpaanii [timpááníí] n. boiled bean cake dish made from bambara bean flour. (Hausa < tìbá:nì:).

timpannɔ [timpànnɔ] cf: timpanwal n. female talking drum, with the lowest pitch of the two. (partly Akan <atumpañ). pl. timpannuta.

timpanntii [timpántii] n. talking drum beaten with curved sticks. pl. timpantie.

timpanwal [tìmpánwàl] cf: timpan- nɔ n. male talking drum, with the highest pitch of the two. pl. timpanwala.


tinti [tinti] v. to nag, to put pressure on or remind somebody to his or her irritation • ò biári kàá tinti di ò póá sìŋ kinkán nà. His brother reminds him about his excessive drinking to his irritation.


tiŋ [tìn] n. spear. pl. time.

tisie [tìsiɛ] cf: kʊzaa n. woven basket with guinea corn stalks. [Ka, Tì, Tu].

titʃa (var. of tʃitʃa)

tiwi [tìwì] cf: munì n. road. pl. tiwie.

tiwiibaŋlɛŋgeregie [tìwííbàŋlɛ̄ŋgèrè giè] n. type of lizard. pl. tiwiibaŋlɛŋgeregise.

tiwiıtʃaraga [tìwíítʃárắgà] n. junction. pl. tiwiıtʃaragasa.

ti [tì] neg. not • tì káá̊lìì. Do not leave!

tià [tìà] n. cf: luo; lọlu 1 pregnancy • wàá dʊ́ʊ tìà. He impregnated her. 2 foetus. pl. tesa.

tiɛ [tìɛ] v. 1 to give, to deliver • kpá òò pár tiɛ. Give him his hoe. ǹ wà bì ǹmá wìímùŋ tìɛ ǹ̇ nì́ ǹí. I won’t tell anything to my father again. 2 to allow, to let • tiɛ à ní nómà. Let the water be hot.
tɪękpagar [tɪękpáɣář] (var. tɛ- tɪękpagar) n. pregnant woman. pl. tɪękapagara.

tɪęsi [tɪęsɪ] cf: ɔgɪlɪ v. to vomit • nàn- tʃʊ̀ má ì tìè à tɪ́ęsɪ́. It is bad meat you ate and vomited.

tɪęsɪɛ [tɪ́ęsɪ̀ɛ] n. vomit.

tɪgá [tɪגà] v. to rub hard by pressing on one place, to massage an area to relieve pain and encourage blood flow • tɪgá nìn tilé dō, bá fórán bí rá. Rub my forehead, I have been stoned. óɔ māá tɪgá à bìe tilé, āwɪ́èt ôɔ wà òó sàa. The mother massaged the child’s forehead so that it does not swallow.

tɪgɪmɪ [tɪ̀ɣɪ̆̀mɪ̀] (var. tɪrɪmɪ) v. to stamp on with feet • kɔ̀sānã́ɔ̃̀ kpá- gá nàŋkpāāŋ à tɪ ́gɪ́mɪ́ dʊ̄ hàglɪ́ɪ́ nɪ̄. The buffalo caught the hunter and stamped on him.

tɪglaa [tɪ́gəlāā] n. type of yam. pl. tɪglasa.

tɪɪna [tɪ̀ɪ̀ná] n. owner, person characterised by, or in possession of. pl. tʊma.


tɪl [tɪl] n. sap, resin, gum from tree-bark. pl. tɪla.

tɪla [tɪlá] quant. minute, extremely small, tiny measure of something • ń súmmé pàannée, à háάŋ bāάŋ lógóó tɪláá kẹ́j tìẹj. I begged for bread, the woman just gave me a little. tɪ̀ índítá tọ́ tìn nà tɪ́lāá kéj. I need just a bit of your cream.

tɪmpitie [tɪmpitíié] cf: tọnsi n. from kɔnnmā, guinea corn which has been cooked and brewed for sɪŋsɪama, Gh. Eng. pito.

tɪn [tɪná] v. to lower, to form rain-threatening cloud • sìi, jà zóó diá dúǒŋ kàà tɪnà. Raise up, we should go to the house because the clouds are forming rain. tė káálíí, dúǒŋ kàà tɪnǎō. Do not go, the rain is threatening.

tɪnǎō [tɪnàō] n. cloud state, gathering of clouds.

tɪntaann (var. of tантaann)

tɪntaaraa [tɪntáaráá] n. woven smock used for battles or hunting, fortified with protective medicine, believed to be bullet-proof. pl. tɪntaaraa.

tɪntin [tɪntin] n. 1 self • ń bìsè zé- nésíjéo bà kàà kìŋ pìnè bà tɪntinsá rá. The children are old enough to take care of themselves tì bìérí dì n nà kàntʃìmá rá, óɔ tɪntin nà dì búùrè dì ɔ wàà. Your brother owes me, I want him to come himself. 2 use to emphasise the person or thing being referred to • ń kìn tɪntin dóá ụù pé. The thing itself is with him. ẹ sìŋhááŋ tɪntin wàà tùọ. The woman in charge of the pito, she herself is not there. pl. tɪntinsa.

tɪŋ [tɪŋ] art. the • ń báál tɪŋ té lálá óɔ ńa háάŋ dì óɔ sì dúǒ nì. The husband
woke the wife up early.

1tiŋa [tîŋà] v. 1 to follow • dt káá-li làgálágá háŋ, dî à lèi i kàá tiŋà mûŋ. Go right away, if not you will follow us. 2 to obey • ziàŋ kàá tiŋà dààbântólúgú nì, ì sìí ní rë. Ziang is obeying the shrine Daabangtolugu, I witnessed it.

2tiŋa [tíŋà] cf: kàrifa n. responsibility • hìŋ tiŋà à kùò párì́ì. Your responsibility is the weeding of the farm. bà̄sìŋ tiŋà à vòg nììwáásiì. Libation is the responsibility of Batong. pl. tiŋasa.

tìngbehè́̂ɛ̀ [tìŋgbehè̂́ɛ́̀] n. type of rope trap made of warthog hair to trap birds feeding on pepper plant. pl. tìngbehè́̂sa.

tìrìmì (var. of tìgìmì)

tìsì [tìsì] v. to be shallow • à bòá wá tìsìjè, ù láŋóó. The hole is not shallow, it is deep. À gòŋ tìsìjè kìnkàn nà. The river is too shallow. ant: luŋó

tìtì [tìtì] v. to rub or massage with or without applying a liquid or oil • wà tìtì nì nì wìíwìí. Come and massage my lower back, it is pain−
ing.

tògo [tògó] n. smock with sleeves.

tògùnì [tògùní] (var. tònìnì) v. to squat • à dièbìè tògùnì kàáleŋ nì. The cat squats on the mat.


tòkòro [tòkòró] cf: diànàábàwà n. window. (Hausa <tågå, ta−
waro).

tòlibìì [tòlibúí] n. baobab seed. pl. tolìbìe.


tòlìg [tòlìg] n. quiver, portable case for holding arrows. pl. tolìgsa.


tònìnì (var. of togùnì)

tòno [tòńò] v. to take off, as a load on head or a pot off the fire • kpà−
gà nì nì já tòńò. Hold the water container with me so we can put it down.

tònsì [tònsì] v. cf: tìmpìté 1 to drip • à dúń kàá tònsì hàglìí nì. The rain is dripping on the ground. 2 to sieve by letting drip, like when placing the tìmpìté in a basket to gather the lighter ‘pito’ • à tìmp̄tìté kàá tònsùù. The malt is being sieved.

tòro [tòró] n. type of gecko. pl. tòroso.


tòtìì [tòtìí] n. share of a set or version of a story • ìì mòlìbíí tòtìí nìì tòtìí. Here is your share of money. bi̊̄si ìì tòtìí. Narrate your version of the story. pl. totìe.
tou [tóù] (var. teo) interj. exclamation expressing agreement or understanding, or a ritualised transition in a discourse • ŋ náo ọ kà láá dí téò à tʃágálɪ́jɛ́ dí ọ láá nọ̀ a ní rà. I heard him accepting with téò, it shows that he has agreed. (Hausa < tò).

tɔ [tɔ] v. cf: tʃige 1 to cover • kpá kîŋ tɔ kọŋkọŋ háj. Take this thing and cover that metal box. 2 to wear, to close a cloth on body • kpá gá-t tɔ. Take a cloth and cover yourself. 3 to close • tɔ ii sìé. Close your eyes. tʃɔ̀pʊ́sɪ́ tɪ́ŋ̀ ŋ̩̀ kàá tɔ̀ ǹ̩ǹ̩ sìé. The day of my death (lit. the day I will close my eyes). ʊ̀ tɔ́ à dɪ̀ànʊ̃̀ã́ rā. She closed the door. ant: 1lala 4 to imprison • bà tɔ́ m̩̀ m̩̀ mã̀ã́bìé dɪ̀à nɪ̄, dɪ́ nàmɪ̃̀ɛ̃́ ʊ̀ kpʊ́ géèm nī. They imprisoned my brother for poaching in the protected area. 5 to hoe to form yam mounds • ā báál tɔ́ ūù píé tɪ́ŋ mùŋ nō. The man has completed making his yam mounds. 6 to protect, as in God covering the whole world • kúósò tɔ́ dọ́rŋá mùŋ. God protects the whole world.

tɔbou [tɔbóù] lit. community-insufficient cf: bowo n. non-resident, people from a different community • tɔbóútʊ̄mà People from another community have stolen the chief of Ducie’s cow. tɔbóúnār wàá lɔ́gà stìmáá ɲūù. A non-resident does not scoop food from the central top of the bowl. pl. tɔbouso.

tɔhɪ̃ɛ̃ [tɔ́hɪ̃́ɛ̃̀] cf: dabuo n. old community, in terms of settlement prece-

tɔga [tɔ́g] n. ammunition pouch. pl. tɔgna.

tɔg [tɔ́g] cf: tʊgɪ (var. sɪntɔg) n. clay pot generally containing local beer syn: sɪŋvii . pl. tɔga.

tɔgama [tɔ́gɔ̆́mà] n. cf: dɔŋtɪɪna 1 namesake, someone who shares the same name as somebody else. 2 comrade, colleague, or fellow, someone who shares an activity with somebody else • ā pápátá káá kāāli diá ọká hṹũsì jìrã ọ̀ tɔgámà. The farmer goes home and shouts to alert his colleague. pl. tɔgamas.


tɔgɔlî [tɔ́gɔ́lî] v. to be loose, not tight • tì̄ ā ŋmɛ́ŋ tɔ́gɔ́lî. Let the rope be loose.

tɔgɔsî [tɔ́gɔ́sî] v. to burn, as hot food or drink burning the mouth • ā kùbí nómáǒ á káá tɔgɔsî ọ̀ nɔ̀ ā. The porridge is hot, it will burn your mouth.

tɔgɔmî [tɔ́gɔ́mî] v. to consider someone or some ideas • ŋ ŋmá wię ā tɔ́gɔmî. I was talking to her but she did not mind me.

tɔhĩ́ [tɔ́hĩ́] cf: dabuo n. old community, in terms of settlement prece-
töhë [töhë] n. midnight.

tɔ [tɔ] n. closing • à bie wá buúrè à diànòá tɔ, di wîliŋ dóa dé. The child does not like the door to be closed, he is sweating.

tɔltɔla [toltɔla] ideo. lukewarm • à nìí dò tɔltɔla, i wá bì púlisi. The water is lukewarm, you do not need to cool it with cold water.

tɔma [tɔmā] nprop. person’s name, names someone who obeys a tɔmî, acquired in one’s lifetime or from one’s father.

tɔmî [tɔmî] n. acquired reptile idol. pl. tɔmîa.

tɔmoso [tɔmósɔ] n. day before yesterday, or day after tomorrow.

tɔmoso gantabl [tɔmósɔ gantabl] n. phr. day after tomorrow or day before yesterday • tɔmósɔ gantabl kaá jãá á lâribá. The day after tomorrow is Wednesday. tɔmósɔ gantabl tin ni jãá àsìbìti. The day before yesterday was Saturday.


tɔna [tɔnâ] cf: saga; tfoa; suguli v. to cook food in water, to boil • à nãntɔnî kánáá. The boiled meat is abundant. tɔnâ kpááŋ ja dì. Cook yam so we can eat.

2tɔŋa [tɔŋâ] n. sickness related to a consequence of under-aged marriage • tãŋô há wâ télé hááŋ kpaágu, ká kpá hááŋ tɔŋâ kpaágu. Tangu was not mature enough to marry, he got married and he got the sickness.

tɔŋfeŋtidaa [tɔŋfentidáá] n. peg placed at the edge of an animal skin to stretch it in the drying process. pl. tɔŋfeŋtidaa.

tɔŋji [tɔŋįį] n. boiling, brewing • sîntɔŋįį bómá̃. Pito brewing is difficult.

tɔr [tɔr] n. skin disease of a dog, with hairless spots and rashes.

tɔrîgi [tɔrîgi] cf: tɔtí pl. v. to pluck, to pick fruits or beans • bâ káålî kósá bá ká tɔrîgi sîŋkplî. They went to the bush to pluck fruits. má káålî n kuó ká tɔrîgi máŋsá. Go to my farm and harvest the groundnuts.

tɔsî [tɔsî] cf: tawa pl. v. to pierce many times • òò kà zîóó à sôrísá, à tɔsî òò tãgàtâ mûn lûrìgûù. When he entered the thorns, they pierced all over his garment.

tɔta [tɔtá] n. cf: tîgbarîga 1 palm leaf fiber, used in making mat. 2 type of palm tree bearing non-edible fruit (Raphia). pl. tɔta.

1tɔtî [tɔtí] cf: tɔrîgi v. to pluck, to pick a fruit • tɔtí liéŋ tięŋ. Pick the vine’s fruit for me.

2tɔtî [tɔtí] v. to sprout, to come out (as leaves), to bud • tsàlisi jáwàsà álìi, ìì
Tòtòsà [tòtòsà] n. debate, misunderstanding, argumentation. ̀nòó à tòtòsà rà àkà à wà pèjèè. I heard the debate but I am not part of it.

Tòfàan [tòfààn] n. season spanning from September to November.

Tòfàanbùmò [tòfààmbùmmò] 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.

Tòfàànsìàma [tòfàànsìàmá] 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.

Tò [tò] cf: Bia n. settlement, village or community. pl. Tòsa.

Tòkpurgíi [tòkpúrgíí] n. tobacco container.

Tòopaatsàga [tòopaatsàyá] n. tobacco leaf.

Tòopatsíjíi [tòopatsíjíí] n. inside the village, within its inhabited limits.

Tòoposàl [tòopòsá] lit. community-liver n. prominent community member. pl. Tòoposàlsa.

Tòosà [tòosà] n. powdered tobacco, snuff.

Tòusí [tòúsí] n. 1 village’s centre, the busiest place of the village. 2 prominent community member.


1Tòwa (var. of Tawa)


Tòwie [tòwìè] n. small village. pl. Tòwíse.


Tufutufù [tòfùtòfù] ideo. lacking starch à kàpàlà dò tòfùtòfù, à wà zùgò. The fufu lacks starch, it is soft.

Tùgò [tùgò] v. cf: Mańà; Tòsì 1 to beat a person or an animal à bà tùgò dòńà. They fought each other. 2 to pound with sharp movements à òò tùgò kàpàlà rà. She pounds the fufu.

Tugòsi [tùgòsi] pl.v. to beat • à tìgòsi à biè ré. I beat the child (more than once, over a short period of time). Dìcmìbàntì wọ̀zòòrít níbáálá já tìgòsi kàpàlàsà rà. In those days at Jimbanti, men used to pound fufu.
tugul [túgúl] n. type of mouse.  
pl. tugulo.
tük [tuk] n. guinea fowl nest.  
pl. tukno.
tulaadi [túlààdí] n. perfume, body-oil, Gh. Eng. pomade. (Hausa < tůràrē).
tulor [tùlórː] n. cf: suŋguru;  
binihāāŋ 1 young girl who can get married and has never given birth.  
2 very beautiful girl, married or not.  
pl. tuloro.
tulorwie [tùlòrwìé] cf:  
binihããŋ;  
nihãwie n. young girl.
tundaa [tùndáá] cf:  
tundaaboro cf:  
tuto; kuotuto n. pestle, pounding stick.  
pl. tundaasa.
tundaaboro [tùndààbòrò] lit. pestel-portion cf:  
tundaa n. piece of pestle, various usage at home.  
pl. tundaaboruso.
tuntuolii (var. of tintuolii):
tuntuolissama [túntùɔlìstàmá] (var. tutukɔɔkɔɔ) n. Red-billed hornbill, type of bird (Tockus sp.).
1tuo [tùò] n. shooting bow.  
pl. toso.
2tuo [tùó] v. to not exist, to not be there • ʊ̀ wàà tùó. He is not there.
tuolie [tùólìè] cf: tempilie n. type of cooking pot.
tuosi [tuòsì] v. 1 to add an amount or items after a deal is closed • à jà-  
wàdîrè wà jàá tuòsì kînmùŋ. The sellers never add any amount or items.  
2 to pick or take fast • tfʒ kà tuòsì mòlèbié wàà. Run and go pick the money and come back.
tuusii [tuúsíi] cf:  
tuoso n. added amount of goods by a seller after a closed transaction, Gh. Eng. dash  
• ʊ̀ jɪ̀sá tuúsíi wàá lîsì. Her added amount of salt is insufficient.
pl. tuososo.
pl. tupuso.
turo [túró] v. 1 to move or rub back and forth by pressing on a hard surface • kpá ɪ̀ɪ̀ nàtáʊ́ t sûrò à sèlèmèntê, dónó lìì. Rub your shoe against the cement to remove the dirt.  
2 to go in and out a place over a certain period of time • m̀ m̀ mã̀ã́bìé bááŋ sìì, ʊ̀ ʊ̀ já bààŋ à t sûrò kùò rɔ́psì bì́ɪ́mûŋ̀ . Every day, immediately my brother gets up, he always go to the farm.
pl. tususo.
tuti [tútı] cf:  
zaga v. to push upwards or forwards, to shove • tútì à lɔ́ɔ́lɪ̀ ʊ́ sìì. Push the car for it to start.
tuto [tútó] cf: tundaa; kuotuto n. mortar.  
pl. tutoso.
tutosii [ˈtʊtʊsiː] n. centre of a mortar, around the smallest concentric ring.

tutukʊɔkʊɔ (var. of tuntuolisɪama) tutu [tuː] cf: zina v. to go down, to descend, to come low • Ṑ tʊu dìà rǎ. I went down to the house. kpá tʊu. Put it down.

tuubi [tuːbɪ] v. 1 to repent, to change from evil doing to a better lifestyle • kàlá tuubbìjō, ŋɔwá bìrǎ à ŋmì. Kala has repented, he does not steal any more. 2 to convert to one of the modern religions • à vʊ̃tɪ́ɪ́ná wàá kɪ̀n tuubbí tʃɛ́ɛ́tʃɪ̀ nɪ̀. The priest cannot convert to Christianity. (ultm. Arabic, via Hausa < tu-ubaa ‘change one’s religion’).

tũũbii [tũ̀ ũ̀ bíí] n. bee. pl. tũũbie.

tuuri [tuʊ̀rɪ] v. 1 to drag • hàglɪ́kɪ̀ná jáà tuuřì à kɪ̀ŋkpàgàsì̀. Snakes usually drag their prey. 2 to move like a snake, lateral undulation locomotion • à dọ́ ŋmà hú̃bìi, ŋmá hákúríí ŋmì̊ ő́jì mòlèbìi, Ṑ tʊ́ I said Hakuri stole my money and she denied. 2 to argue • hàmɔ́nà ànɪ́ nɪ́hɪ̃̀ɛ̃̀sá wàá kɪ̀n tʊ́ dòŋà. Children and elders cannot argue.

tʊa [tʊ̀] v. 1 to deny • Ṑ tʊ́ ێ tʃɛ́ɛ́tʃɪ̀ nɪ̀ Ṑ tʊ́. He denied your words. ŋɔ̀ pîná pîsọó dì Ṑ wà káá-li kùó, Ṑ tʊ́ nȅ́. His father asked him whether he went to the farm, he denied having been there. Ṑ ŋmájǎo kǎà tʊ̀. She is talking and denying. ŋ ŋmá hákúríí ŋmì̊ ő́jì mòlèbìi, Ṑ tʊ́ I said Hakuri stole my money and she denied. 2 to argue • hàmònà ăní nî̃hɛ̃́sá wàá kɪ̀n tʊ́ dòŋà. Children and elders cannot argue.

tʊ̃ ã [tʊ̃̀ ã́] (var. tʊ̃ ɔ̃) n. sheath, knife close-fitting case. pl. tʊ̃ ãna.


tʊgʊsɪ [tʊ́gʊ̆́sɪ́] v. to become weak, to become powerless • dʒèbùnì wà dì sɪ̀ɩí dì póŋà à tʊ́gʊ́sɪ́. Jebuni is always underfed, that is why he became weak.

tʊl [tʊl] cf: diŋtʊl n. flame. pl. tola.

tola [tʊlə] cf: pola cf: pʊmma v. to be white • sʊ̃hálá wàá tʊ̀-là. Guinea fowl eggs are not white.

tʊmà [tʊ́mà] v. to work • Ṑ wàá tʊ́mà tʊ́mà zǎaj. I will not work today.


tʊmà [tʊ́mà] pl.n. people.

tʊmà [tʊ́mà] v. to send someone • tʊ̀màn Ṑ kǎáli dû́sêé. Send me to
tumbabu

Ducie.

tumbabu [tômbâr] n. location where one usually works. pl. tumbabara.

tonttômâ [tônt tômâ] n. work badly done. pl. tonttômãsa.

tôô (var. of tôôô)

tôôô [tôôô] n. 1 person who loses at a game, competition, or challenge • djëbûnì jàà tôôôô à kûô bâ-pârî nì. Jebuni was the loser at the farm work. 2 weak person • süglô wàá kûnà lôgà, ô jàà tôôôô râ. Sugglo cannot wrestle because he is a weak person.


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tʃaagɪ\(\text{\textregistered}\) tʃaagɪ n. to charge an electric appliance • dūsèè nì jà wà kpágá dìŋ di tʃáágɪ jà fóòn. In Ducie we do not have electricity to charge our phones. (ultm. English < charge).
tʃaandɪrɪ n. \(\text{\textregistered}\) candle. \(\text{\textregistered}\) (ultm. English).
tʃããnɪ v. 1 to be bright, to shine • à dìà pátʃɪ̄gɪ̄ tʃã́ã́nɪ̃́ʊ̃́. The room is bright. \(\text{\textregistered}\) ant: doŋii 2 to be clean, to be pure • à nɔ̃̀ʔɪ̀ĺ tʃã́ã́nɪ̃́ʊ̃́. The cow milk is pure. \(\text{\textregistered}\) ant:
døŋo

1tʃaaŋtʃɪɪŋ cf: tʃɪnɪnɪ (Gu. var. tʃɪnɪnɪsá), tʃaŋtʃɪɛŋ 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. tʃaaŋtʃɪɪnsa.

2tʃaaŋtʃɪnsa n. acute, inflammatory, contagious disease.

1tʃaari [tʃáari] v. 1 to pour over, to pour down in a stream • à dúon̕̕ káá tʃáari r̕̕. The rain is pouring down. 2 to have diarrhoea • tʃɪŋ bi-wi̕̕ tʃi̕̕ káá tʃaari, di ŋ̕̕ wà jàwá lùl̕̕ tì̕̕. My youngest child will have diarrhoea if I do not buy medicine for her.

2tʃaari [tʃáari] n. diarrhoea (bacillary, in general).
tʃaasa [tʃáásə] n. comb. pl. tʃaasasa.
tʃaasadaa [tʃáásadáá] n. wooden comb. pl. tʃaasadaasa.

tʃaasánɪŋ [tʃáásánɪŋ] n. tooth of a comb. pl. tʃaasánɪŋa.

tʃaasi [tʃáási] v. to cry with loud voice, to shout strongly and suddenly, to exclaim • ò tʃáási di lôlí tʃì̕̕. He shouted at the car for it to stop. ò tʃáássùù di ŋ̕̕ di dì̕̕ dì̕̕. She is shouting that her house is burning.

1tʃaasi [tʃáási] v. 1 to comb • ŋ̕̕ wà kpá-gá nûpóóná ká à tʃáási. I do not have hair to comb. 2 to sweep, to clear out rubbish • tì̕̕ tʃáást bâ̕̕ dì̕̕ ŋ̕̕ nûná káá di kindùlì. Do not sweep the place when your father is eating.

2tʃaasi [tʃáási] v. to imitate, to mimic • tì̕̕ tʃáást à bá̕̕l̕̕ dì̕̕ vál̕̕ tʃé̕̕, gá̕̕ rã̕̕á káá jã̕̕ kẽ̕̕. Do not imitate the man’s walk, sickness made him so. \(\text{\textregistered}\) syn: dì̀̕̕a

tʃabarɪga [tʃábã̕̕ri̕̕gã̕̕] n. wickedness.

1tʃaga [tʃá̕̕gã̕̕] v. to face, be or go towards • kpá ii si̕̕ tʃágã witi̕̕-li̕̕. Face west. sà̕̕ à dtà̕̕ò̕̕ tʃágã dàazè̕̕ há̕̕. Build the door such that it faces this big tree. lì̕̕ tì̕̕ sò̕̕ ká tʃágã? Where are you going?

2tʃaga [tʃá̕̕gã̕̕] v. to produce a liquid through straining with sieve or filter, e.g. in making soap or in brewing local beer • tʃágã sintʃ̕̕ tʃáári̕̕ já̕̕ nɔ̕̕a. Strain the malt to make beer so we can drink.

3tʃaga [tʃá̕̕gã̕̕] n. type of basket made out of a gourd suspended from the roof by fibre. \(\text{\textregistered}\) (oldfash). pl. tʃì̕̕gã̕̕.
4 tfaga [tʃájá] v. to cause an increase in number, to grow and multiply • in pénìiizèŋ háŋ tʃágáó. My large sheep produces multiple lambs regularly. tɛŋèsi t tʃélée nùú nó, á tʃá-gá. Prune your tomatoes, they will shoot more branches.

5 tfaga [tʃájá] n. to support • ɲmɛ̀nà dáá wà tʃàgà gbélnã́ã́ tɪ́ŋ jà kàà sǎñá ò múŋ ní kéŋ̀. Cut a stick and come support the branch we sit under.

tʃagalì [tʃàɣə́lì̀] v. to teach, show, or indicate • bà fɪ̀ tʃágálìjá wā bán-tʃáʊ́hɪ̃́wɪ́ɪ́ kùò nī. They taught us how to trap at the farm. tʃágálì́ŋ ì kùò tíwīī. Show me the road to the farm. ò tʃágálì òò tìntì́n ná kiŋkáŋ́. He shows off too much.

tʃagamì [tʃàɣàmì̀] cf: tie v. to chew, to masticate • tʃàgàmì̀ à kpááŋ à lìlè. Masticate and swallow the yam.

1 tfagtfagasa. tʃagtfagasa [tʃájtfáyásá] n. 1 individual who washes the clothing of a diseased person. 2 person menstruating. pl. tʃagtfagasa.


1 tfakali [tʃákálìí] n. ethnically Chakali person. pl. tʃakalee.


tfal [tʃàl] (var. tfel) n. blood. pl. tfalla.

tfalasi [tʃàlásì] v. (var. tfelìsi) 1 to pay attention to, to keep track of, be careful • tʃalásì nòò ñ wà wì- wìrá. Pay attention and listen to the matter carefully. 2 to wait • bà tʃalá- lásóò bá nàt. They are waiting to see you.

tfalhọ̀ [tʃàlìhọ́sà] n. type of grasshopper. pl. tʃalìhọ́sà.

1 tfama (var. of tfema)

tfamìì [tʃàmìì] pl.n. boil, small abscesses. pl. tʃamììsà.

tfàn [tʃàŋ] n. fishing net. pl. tfanna.

tfànnì [tʃàŋŋi] v. to offer willingly • dì ò dì stìmàà òò wàà tʃànnì nàrà. When he is eating he offers reluctantly to people and hopes for a refusal. dì ò dì stìmàà òò jà tʃànnì nàrà. When he is eating he offers willingly to people.

1 tfànsì [tʃàŋsì] v. to catch or receive something with two hands • tʃàŋ-
si bóól à juò tién. Catch the ball and throw it to me. à bié tfánsí làà mòlèbíí ànì girimé ní. The child received the money with respect.

tfánsí [tfánsí] v. to be striped, typically on fabric • à tágàtà tfánsí á-bùlùnsò ànì ápùlùnsá rà. The shirt has black and white stripes.

tfánsí [tfánsí] v. to give birth to both male and female in one’s life, not at the same time • à hááŋ lʊ̄lā à tfánsù̀ʊ̀. The woman has given birth to both sexes.

tfántfìɛŋ (var. of tfànantfìnf) tfántfùl [tfántfùl] n. absorbent cloth material used as diaper syn: tambò . pl. tfántfùlò.

tfàp [tfáb] ideo. red-handed, in the act of committing a crime • bátòn kpágá ò ɲmiér tìn tfàp, ò sòmmi dì ò tò ò mùn nì. Baton finally caught his thief red-handed, he begged for his silence.


1tfàra [tfára] v. to straddle, to sit with a leg on each side of something • bááł sàŋšê tfàrà dáánáá nì. A man straddles a tree branch.

2tfàra (var. of tféra) tfàratfàra [tfàratfàra] (var. tfàratfàra) ideo. visual pattern of a heterogeneous design, like in the description of fabric or animal skin • bòsá dò tfàratfàrà. The snake has a certain skin pattern. pl. tfàratfàrasà.

1tfàrɛ [tfàrɛ] n. Western Wattled Cuckoo-Shrike, type of bird (Lobotos lobatus). pl. tfàrɛsa.

tfàrga [tfàrgà] n. intersection. pl. tfàrgasa.

tfàsí [tfásí] v. cf: maña; tugo (var. kàsi) 1 to knock, to slap • tfásí òò gàntàl ú sìí dùò nì. Slap his back to wake him up. 2 to pound in order to spread fibres and make soft, e.g. meat, tuber • tfásí kpòŋkpòŋ tà bù nì. Pound the cassava and leave it on a rock to dry. 3 to cough • òò fàlòtá tfàgàò, ò di tfásí. His lungs have deteriorated, he is coughing.


1tfàsì [tfàsì] n. cough.

2tfàsìli [tfàsìlí] n. 1 person from Chasia. 2 lect of Chasia. pl. tfàsìleè.

1tfàsìnzì [tfàsìnzì] lit. cough-big n. tuberculosis, deadly infectious disease.

1tfàt [tfàtí] n. type of guinea corn. pl. tfàtí.

1tfàtì [tfàtì] n. type of weaver bird (Ploceus gen.). pl. tfàtìfàwila.

1tfàw [tfàw] 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. tfàwnà.

2tfàw [tfàw] n. tongs, grasping device. pl. tfàwa.
tfawa (var. of tfewa)
tfel [tfél] n. tree gum. pl. tfel.
tfele [tfélè] v. 1 to fall • dt tfálást i kàá tfélè. Mind you don’t fall. 2 to be deflated • à hááŋ sákiri tfélè pàntfà. The woman’s bicycle wheel is deflated.
tfelesi nn [tfélè níí] lit. fall water (var. tfesi níí) v. to swim • ʊ̀ tfélè níí à gí góŋ. He swam across the river. ɒ jàá tfélèsi níí rá. She can swim.
tfeli [tfélií] cf: kalie n. tomato. pl. tfeliee.
tfelle [tfélèlè] n. 1 a person who breaks or disregards a law or a promise. 2 guilt. pl. tfellesese.
tfeme [tfémè] v. to meet • jàá tfêmè dórà kàlá dià nít. We are going to meet each other at Kala’s house.
tfemii [tfémíí] n. load-support, rag twisted and put on the head to support a load. pl. tfemiese.
tfemii (Gu. var. of temii)
tfensi [tfénsi] n. roofing zinc plate. pl. tfensise.
tferim [tférím] cf: surum iede. quietly • à hááŋ sáŋà tférím. The woman sat quietly.
tfesi [tfésí] (var. kesi) v. to sieve, to sift • tfésí sáò. Sift the flour.
tfesu [tfésù] interj. expression of surprise and unexpectedness.
tfeti (var. of keti)
tfèfèlese [tfétélésé] cf: kpuŋkulupuluṣọ; kpuŋkulupulintfèlese n. a person who has epilepsy • tfétélésé wáá tuò dúseè ni. No one is epileptic in Ducie.
tfewii [tféwíí] n. dowry. pl. tfewie.
tfe (var. of tfa)
tfè [tfè] interj. newness and attractiveness of an item • bákúríí jáwá gáfólíí tfè à tíë òó háán. Bakuri bought a brand new cloth to give to his wife. ò ká lisí mòlébié tfè bánsií ní. He went to the bank to withdraw new money. (Akan <tfòò).
tfel (var. of tfal)
tfèla [tfèlà] v. to reward for a performance • li tóó bi hááŋ tfèlíí hágásti. Go and dance, your wife will reward you with candies.
tfelintfìe [tfélíntfìí] n. type of grasshopper. pl. tfélintfìesë.
tfelisì (var. of tfalasi)
tfèma [tfèmá] (var. tfama) v. to stir and mash flour and water with hands to make a solid substance, Gh. Eng. smash • ò tfámá sół là. She smashed the dawadawa powder. làà kół tfèmá, já nọà. Take this t.z. and mash it so we can eat.
tfèna [tfèná] n. friend. pl. tfënsa.
tʃɛnɪtʃɛnɪ tʃiirikalɛŋgbʊgʊtɪ

1tʃɛra [tʃɛrà] n. waist. pl. tʃɛrəsə.
2tʃɛra [tʃɛ̀rə] (var. 2tʃara) v. to exchange, to trade for goods or services without the exchange of money •  njá námì̃̄ã̄ nʊ̃́ʊ̃́ dʊ́ tʃɛ̀nɪ̀tʃɛ̀nɪ̀. The cow fat is brownish-yellow.

1tʃɛrakɪŋ [tʃɛ́rákɪ́ŋ̀ ] n. waist beads. pl. tʃɛrakɪnə.
2tʃɛrɪgɪ [tʃɛ̀rɪ̀gɪ̀] v. to look different in appearance •  à kpã́ã́má tʃérɪ́gɪ́ dɔ́ŋá nɪ̄ rā. The yams are different in size.

1tʃetʃɛra [tʃɛ́tʃɛ́rà] cf: tʃitʃara n. bathroom. [Ka].
2tʃi [tʃi] cf: torí v. really, certainly, verbal which puts emphasis on the event, the event is a priority for the speaker and must happen •  Ḉ káá bàn tʃi tʊ́ŋíí rē. I will really beat you. Ḉ ɲmá wié dì tìè à biè ré, ká Ḉ wá tʃi jē dì nòó. I am talking to the child but he really does not want to listen. Ḉ káá tʃi kááloó. I will definitely go. káá káá tʃi wáá bààn nā. Kala will certainly come here.

tʃiesii (var. of kiesii)
tʃig [tʃɪg] n. fishing trap. pl. tʃige.
tʃige [tʃɪgɛ́] v. cf: tɔ 1 to cover, to trap under, to put on face down, to turn upside down, to be upside down •  ini tʃɪgɛ́ īn̩ pɪ́ŋtʃɪgɛ́. I am going to put on my hat. à vī tʃɪgɛ́ à dààkputíí ni. The pot is face down on the tree stump. 2 to inhabit •  jà bîrà à wà tʃɪgɛ́ dûûsèé. Let’s return to inhabit Ducie.

tʃigesi [tʃɪgɛ́si] pl.v. to turn, to cover many things •  tʊ̃́ p₁áá à hɛ́nsá à tʃɪ́gɛ́sùù. I am turning the bowls upside down.

1tʃii (var. of kii)

tʃiini (var. of kiini)
tʃiir [tʃiir] cf: kii (var. of kii) n. taboo, traditionalism. pl. tʃiiite.

tʃiiirikaleŋbogʊtɪ (Gu. var. of kaleŋbogʊtɪ)
tfimmehólì [tʃimmehólì] n. dried pepper. pl. tfimmehólì.
tfimmesaʊ [tʃimmèsàʊ] n. ground dried pepper.
tfimmesɔŋ [tʃimmèsɔ́ŋ] n. fresh pepper. pl. tfimmesɔna.

1 tfìnì [tʃìnì] n. type of climber (Ipomoea gen.). pl. tfìnìse.
2 tfìnì [tʃìnì] n. rash, itchy pimples usually situated on the head and neck. pl. tfìnìse.
tfìnìfèli [tʃintʃèli] n. piece of broken clay pot. pl. tfìnìfèle.
tfìnìsì [tʃìnìsì] v. to jump down • gbì̀à tfìnìsì tfùòmó ní. A monkey jumped down on a togo hare.
tfitfarabo [tʃitfàrabo] n. bathroom gutter.
tfitfasørì [tʃitʃasòrì] n. roof gutter. pl. tfitfasòrè.
tfitfi [tʃifì] ono. cockroach sound.
tfiusùù [tʃìusùù] nprop. tenth month. (Waali < tʃìusùù).

tfì [tʃi] pv. tomorrow • ì tʃì kàá mà-sì kpò à kirinsá rá. I will be beating and killing the tsetse flies tomorrow.

tfìà [tʃià] n. (var. tfìè) 1 type of fly usually found in houses. 2 gun sight. pl. tfìàsa.
tfìàbìi [tʃìàbìi] n. dawadawa seed. pl. tfìàbìe.
tfìàbùmmo [tʃìàbùmmo] n. flesh fly, big black fly which feeds on carcasses (Sarcophagidae fam.).
tfìàgr [tʃìàgì] v. to crack an object • kùò ní, dì hìǹtì tfìàgì fàlà bà kàá tfìàbìì rá. At the farm, if you break a calabash they will cane you. syn: tesì¹

tfìàmà [tʃìàmá] n. 1 noise • má tá tfìàmá. Stop the noise. ant: surum 2 quarrel • má gìlà mà tfìàmá tì. Stop your quarrel.

tfìàmì [tʃìàmi] v. to make a noise • tfìàmì báàn nì ká ǹ tì pùsìì. If you make noise, I will deal with you. i kà ǹ jì mi ǹ wà nòà àtì bà tfìàmì. I could not hear what you said, they were making noise.


tfìàpetu [tʃìàpettu] n. dawadawa seed shell. pl. tʃìàpete.

tfiàrè [tʃìàrè] v. to winnow, to blow the chaff away from the grain • má ká tfìàrè mìà, mìnzògá dúà à nì. Winnow the guinea corn, there is chaff in it.

tfìasi (var. of kìasi)
tfìàsiàma [tʃìàsiàmá] n. small red fly usually found around domestic animals.

	fìè (var. of tfìà)
tfìèmi (var. of kìèmi)
tʃiɛŋɪ [tʃiɛnɪ] (var. kɛnɪ) v. to crack, to break pot or cup into pieces • à bɔ̀ɔná tʃiɛŋɪ à vií bárá báliè. The goats have broken the cooking pots in two parts.

tʃiɛrɪ [tʃiɛrɪ] (var. kɪɛrɪ) v. to take leaves from branches for preparing food • tʃɪ́ɛ́rɪ́ kpõ̀ŋkpõ̀ŋpààtʃágá à tɔ̀ŋà dɪ̀sá. Take some cassava leaves and prepare a soup.

1 tʃogo [tʃɔɡo] v. to ignite, to light a torch or a light • tʃògò díŋ. Ignite the fire. tʃògò díŋ. Open your torch light.

2 tʃogo [tʃɔɡo] cf: tʃogosi v. to peck, to strike with beak • à zímbiè tʃogó mǐmbiè dígbii dígbii à di dí. The chick is pecking guinea corn grains one by one.

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tfonsi [tʃ'o'nsi] v. 1 to join • làà à ṅmèń tfonsi it kín nî. Take the rope and join it to yours. 2 to put in a row, or be in a straight line • tìè à dààsá tfonsi dɔ́ŋá nî. Let the sticks be in a row.

tfongolii [tʃ'o'ngolii] n. type of tree (Gardenia erubescens). pl. tfon-golee.

tfoori [tʃ'o'orì] v. to strain water to get impurity out • tìí gɔ́nnì́ à ɲʊ̀ã̀, ɪ̃̀ã́ bì́ ɔ̀rɪ̀ɪ̀ nì. Strain the river water then drink it, so guinea worms do not swell you up again.

tfoor tʃoisì [tʃ'o'isì] n. type of termite. pl. tʃoisìle.

tfosi [tʃ'o'sì] v. to scout, to search for someone or something going from place to place • à bááł tfosisjé à bùú-rè ìi hâàŋ, ìi há wá ẓì̄má bâtíŋ ì kà kâállìjé. The man is searching for his wife, he does not know where she has gone.

tfò [tʃˈɔ] v. 1 to run • tì tìé ìi vàà gîlà à bò́ná tʃ. Do not let your dog make the goats run. ò tʃ láà kàwà tîwì. She ran along the pumpkin road. 2 to flee • nùn háàŋ tʃ já dià nî. My wife fled from our house.

tfòbıl [tʃˈɔɓìl] cf: nàkpate n. type of termite. pl. tfòbiìla.

tfòbul [tʃˈɔbúl] (var. tfònuzen) n. termites that build giant mounds. pl. tfòbulo.

tføga [tʃˈɔgà] v. to spoil, to be spoiled, to destroy • mìn màábię tføgà mìn pár rà. My brother spoiled my hoe.

tføgò [tʃˈɔgàdó] n. rotten meat. pl. tføgòsa.

1tføgi [tʃˈɔgi] n. type of weevil (Curculionoidea). pl. tføgi.

2tføgi [tʃˈɔgì] n. credulous, naive, or easily imposed person • tføgì wàá kiŋ kấrāmì sùkùù. A credulous person cannot learn in school.

tføgàmi [tʃˈɔgàmì] v. to retrogress, to change to the worse • kàlá màá à-nt ð jìnà sówà, ð wìtì tføgàmì. The mother and father of Kala died, his condition has changed to the worse. mîm mò́lbiì tføgàmìjoò, ì wàá kiŋ bi jáwà pùpù. My money situation has changed to the worse, I cannot afford to buy a motorbike any longer.

tføgàsi [tʃˈɔgàsì] v. 1 to move an arm and hand up and down, especially to make a hole • mà tføgàsi bù́sá, já dùù. Make holes for us to sow. 2 to arrange in order, to organise • di hìn tføgàsà wêrè, à kpáàmá kàá zòò. If you arrange them well, the yams will all fit.

tføgbaa [tʃˈɔgbàa] n. appeasing gift as apology. pl. tføgbàasa.

tfò [tʃˈɔ] n. ramrod, stick used to press gunpowder in the barrel. pl. tfòįna.

tfokdaa [tʃˈɔkdaa] n.ibble, farm instrument with long shaft and spoon-shape extremity but no concavity. pl. tfokdaasa.

tfɔkànà [tʃˈɔkɔnà] n. large termite mound. pl. tfɔkànasa.
tfọnuzen (var. of tfọbul)
tfọpisi (var. of tfọsìn pisa)
tfọra [tfọrà] v. for plants, to sprout after cutting • tómá ká ọméná súọn sàã tútó, à súọn bí tfọrάọ. Toma cut the shea tree to make a mortar, it sprouted with shoots from the stump.
tfọrīgɪ [tfọrǐgt] v. to smash fresh tubers, intentionally or by accident • ụu bié tfọnjá à kpáámá à lìí kúó dtì wáá à tfelè, ámúŋ tfọrǐgt. His child carried the yams from farm and fell on his way back, they were all smashed.
tfọrīmɪ [tfọrīmɪ] n. to be unreliable, cannot be trusted • tí wá kpá mó-lèbìé dtì tié kàlá, ọ̀ọ tfọrīmǐjǎọ. Do not give money to Kala, he is unreliable.
tfọzǔr [tfọsǔr] n. infection. pl. tfọzǔra.
tfùgọ [tfùgò] v. 1 to shove, to push forward or along, or push rudely or roughly • à nǎnũ ti tfùgò ụu bié tá. The cow pushed her calf away. 2 to be deep and long • à námbùgò bọ̀ tiŋ tfùgò tùú. The hole of the aardvark is deep down.
tfùgosì [tfùgòsì] pl.v. to shove repeatedly • tí ti tfùgòsì ịmị bàmbúi kẹ̀j. Do not shove at my chest like this.
tfùtítfùi [tfùtítfùi] cf: siama ints. pure, complete, or very red • siàmá tfùtìtfùi. very or pure red.
tfùmọ [tfùmò] cf: furusi v. to take large sips, large quantities at once • hákùrì tfùmọ à kúbí múị. Hakuri drank all the porridge in large sips.
tfùmọ̀ntaowà [tfùmọ̀nààtòwà] lit. rabbit-shoes cf: tomo n. thorny and dried flower of the tree named tomo. pl. tfùmọ̀ntaowà.
tfùoŋ [tfùón] cf: suon n. shea nut seed. pl. tfùono.
tfùoŋbul [tfùòmbuł] n. liquid waste of shea butter making process.
tfùori [tfùɔrì] n. to strain liquid through sieve in making porridge.
tfùrugị [tfùru̩gɪ] pl.v. to pull out many with force • pèu tfùrugị ịn tfẹnsi hèmbìé. The wind pulled the roofing nails out.
tfùrutu [tfùrùtú] ints. very true, in accordance with facts • à wiŋmáhá bọ̀ n t à báál kpáágá wìdííŋ ná tfù-rùtú. Within the settling of their matter, the man was very right.
tfùti [tfùtí] v. to pull out, e.g. teeth, nail or horn, to pry out, to loosen, to uproot, to unearth • tfùtí hëmbì́ tìë. Pull out the nail and give it to me. ịnị nịn gígímánà tfùtíjè. One tooth of mine has been pulled out.
tfuur [tʃúːrː] ideo. very, exactly, identifying the exact identity of something • báníé láá dí dí tjàkàlì tàà tfúur jàá dùsiélíí. Some believe that the exact Chakali language is the one from Ducie.

tfuri [tʃù̃̃rǐː] 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 • tfùùrì à tii já nóà. 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 tfùùrì à zàgà ní. Drop them on the ground of the house.

tfurse [tʃúːsɛ] v. to suck in the liquid of a fruit • à bìé tfúúsé à lòmbùrò ró. The child sucked the juice from the orange.

1tfua [tʃùá] cf: saga; suguli; tɔŋa v. to lie down • ñ tfóáwááx. I’m lying down.

2tfua [tʃùá] lit. lie interj. shut up.

tfua duo [tʃùɔ dúɔ] lit. lie sleep v. to sleep • dià tómá kàà tfóá dúɔ rò. People in the house are sleeping.

tfuar [tʃʊ̃̀rɔ́r] n. line, may describe a pattern on an animal skin or a mark on someone’s face. pl. tfùøara.

tfol [tʃʊl] n. clay. pl. tfùul.

tfùøma [tʃʊmá] v. 1 to be bad • kpàáŋtfùømá l kpá t̀ëŋ. You gave me a bad yam. ant: were 2 to be ugly • à báál tfùømáá. The man is ugly. 3 to be lower than expectation, in terms of customs • à báá l tfùømáá. The man’s behaviours are not correct. pl. tfùønsa.

tfùønsa [tʃʊønɔsə] n. type of fish. pl. tfùønsa.

tfùønsa [tʃʊønsə] n. morning. pl. tfùønsa.

tfùøsin pìsa [tʃʊøsimpìsə] (var. tfùø-psi) n. phr. day break, early morning • tfùøsin pìsá háŋ ní à lùhò tê-léjé. This early morning, the funeral came to us.

tfùøri [tʃʊørí] v. to tear into pieces, or be torn, beyond possibilities of reparation • níŋ gátùlìí múŋ tfùø-rijé. My cloth is torn all over.

tfùøsi [tʃʊøsɪ] v. to tut, expressing disdain, to make an ingressive derogatory sound with the mouth, Gh. Eng. to paf • bà wà tfùøsì lòbisé, bà wà nɔŋá kéŋ. They do not make derogatory sound to Lobis, they do not like this.
u

u (var. of ʊ)

1ugo [ʔùgò] v. 1 to proliferate, to multiply • ɲù nášná úgóó. My cattle have multiplied. ì pìná ká stàri sì́ páří́ nì, ʊ̀ kpààmpàrèé ú-góó. Because my father is taking farming seriously, his yam farm has increased in size. syn: wasì 2 to swell, to expand • jáà nǐ̀ dò à gāà-ríí nì́ à úgò. Pour water in the gaarii for it to expand.

2ugo [ʔùgò] v. to bring up food purposefully, push up food from the stomach to the mouth • à váà úgó nà-máá tiè úù 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 • kpáān-

ʊ̀ʊ̀ tʊ́mà kó-dì já́ túgúú. Either he works or we beat him.

ʊɔlɪ (var. of ɔɔlɪ)

ʊtɪ [ʔʊ̀ tɪ̀] v. to knead by folding, mixing and working into a mass, especially fufu • ʊ́ tɪ̀ à kàpálà jà dì. Knead the fufu so we can eat.

ʊʊwa [ʊówá] pro. third person singular emphatic pronoun.

ʊʊwa [ʊówá] pro. third person singular emphatic pronoun.

vaa [váa] n. dog synt: ¹nōāòtna. pl. vasa.

vāā [váā] v. to be beyond one’s power • ástbhìtì kàntʃfìmá vāā ńń
fɔ̀ŋá nɪ̀ rā. The hospital bill is beyond my capacity.


vaŋper [vààŋpɛ̀] n. shoulder blade. pl. vaŋpɛta.

vaari [vààrɪ́] v. to do something abruptly • ʊ̀ kpá à tɔ́n nà váári téé-bùl ɲùú nī. He put the book down on the table abruptly.

vaasi [vààsɪ̀] v. to rinse • nàmɪ̀ã́ tʃélé hàglɪ́ɪɪ́ nɪ̄ ǹ̩ zòrò vààs̀ɪ nɪ́ɪ́. The meat fell on the ground; I picked it up and rinsed it.

vaan [vágáŋ] n. rabies.

vala [vàlà] v. to walk, to travel • nihááná válá kààli sàglá lú-hò. Women walked to the funeral in Sawla.

valor [válò́r] n. female puppy.

vanii [vánɪ̄ɪ̄] n. bitch, female dog.

vara [várá] v. to castrate • ǹ̩ kàá várá ǹ̩̩ váwál lá. I will castrate my male dog. (Waali < vara ‘castrate’).

vatie (var. of batiò̂)

vawal [váwál] n. male dog.

vawalee [váwáléè] n. male puppy.

vawie [váwìé] n. puppy. pl. vawise.

vesi [vèsì] v. to grow a little in height • ǹ̩̩ kàá wàá nà à bié dt ʊ̀ ʊ̀ bi vé-sì. When I came to see the child, he had grown a bit.

vetti [vèttì] n. mud. pl. vettì.

vige [vígè] v. to skim out, to move or push away obstacles • vigè níídònọ́ tá, kà dòò. Skim the debris from the water and draw some out. bákúríí vigé à bisé tã. Bakuri pushed the children away in order to pass.

vii [vìì] n. cooking pot (type of). pl. viine.

viibagena [vììbàɣəná] n. neck of a container.

viigi [vììɡì] v. 1 to swing around • nìbáálá kàá vìigì tébín-sigmàá. Men will swing the bull-roarer. 2 to shake head from side to side • à tɔ́ɔ́tì̄ɪ̄tì́vìì pè vììɡì ʊ̀ ʊ̀ ʊ̀ ʊ̀. The landlord refused and shook his head.

viisama [vììsìàmà] n. type of water container made out of reddish clay. pl. viisansa.

viisugulii [vììsùɡulùíí] n. type of cooking pot which forms a stack when put together. pl. viisugulee.

vil [vì́l] cf: kalò̃ŋ n. a well, a deep hole into the earth to obtain water. pl. ville.

vilimi [vììlìmì] v. to spin round and round • pìnì ǹ̩̩ sàkírnàá nà, ʊ̀ ʊ̀ mà-rà à vìlìmìì? Look at my bicycle tire, is it turning well?

viwo [vìwò] n. 1 to wag • à váá kàá vìwò ʊ̀ zìì në. The dog is wagging his tail. 2 to suffer from erectile dysfunction • kàlá zìì wàà vìwò. Kala suffers from erectile dysfunction.

via (var. of viè)

viè [vìè] v. (var. via) 1 to refuse, to reject, to neglect • bà viè dì bá
wá tòmá já tòmá. They refused to come to do our work. 2 to abandon • à hààn vié ìù bisé tà. The woman abandoned her children.

viéhega [viéhiéga] cf: viéhegie interj. title and praise name for the viéhega clan.

viéhegie [viéhiégié] cf: viéhega nprop. clan found in Gurumbele.

vién [vién] pv. other, in addition • kúórù zágá dígí vién dòà lólólibànní nt. The chief has another house in the Looli section. vién kàáli à hàààn pé. Return to the woman. nárà bá-tòrò viéŋ wàà. Three persons came in addition. kálá kàá vién di. Kala will eat in addition to what he has eaten already.

viéra [viérá] n. dirt, rubbish. pl. vié-ra.

viéri [viéri] v. to miscarry • nì hàààn ná sigmààsá wá ò wá dì lúlíí, à viéri tà. My wife saw the masks and she did not take the medicine, she had a miscarriage.

viéntʃiá [viéntʃiá] lit. refuse-know-tomorrow n. ungrateful.

vinnnni [vinnnni] ideo. long and thin • à tántàánní dó kèn vinnnní ní. The earthworm is long and thin.

vira [virà] 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 lísi óò náá viré ìù bié múŋ̄. Bakuri hit the child’s buttock with his foot. làà táájà virá zìmbiè tìŋ. Take the catapult and shoot the bird for me.

visi [visí] v. to pull with a quick or strong movement, to pull away with force • vísi à píííííí, ò dìù. Pull in the fish, it is eating the bait. vísi à bìé wà lìì dìì ní, dìì kàá dìù. Pull the child out of the room, or else the fire will burn him.


vitti [vitti] pl.v. to prance, to spring forward on the hind legs, to kick the legs • bá vôwà à píííííí ò dì vitti nàáasá. They tied the sheep and it was kicking, thrashing about.

vongolìi [vongolìi] n. hollow percussion wood instrument made resonant through one or more slits in it. pl. vongolie.

votìi [votìi] n. election. (ultm. English <vote ‘vote’).

vóg [vóg] n. south.


vogtimunpeu [vogťimůnpeu] lit. south-east-wind n. south-east wind.

vólónvólón [vólónvólón] ideo. smooth and slippery, even, or flat surface • à diápáťígí dó vólónvólón káált à zágá. The floor of the room is smoother than the cement in the yard.

voti [voti] pl.v. 1 to tie • kpá záá-lié voti à dáá ní. Tie the fowls to
the tree. 2 to braid • niháánâ vóti bá juúú nó. The women braid their hair.

vówa [vώwə] v. cf: líje; laari 1 to tie, to attach, to wind around • ó vówa à bóóon ná. She tied up the goat. bóóon tín ká wá vówa, má kpágásáá wáà. The goats are not tied, you catch them and bring them. ant: puro 2 to braid hair with thin plastic thread • báà vówa juúú ró à dáámun ní. They are braiding hair under the tree. 3 to wear, as a cloth attached around the waist • kpá gáá vówa tì tfa-rá. Wear a cloth around your waist.

1vúugi [vúúgí] v. to stir • jáà sáà vúugi níí ní já péáà. Fetch some flour and stir it in the water for us to drink.

2vúugi [vúúgí] v. to be rude and impolite • nàátínná biniháán tín vúugi jó, ó záa mí nihiéssá rá kíi ó sôá. My uncle’s daughter is rude, she greets elders like her agemates.

1vüg [vʊg] n. shrine. pl. vüga.

2vüg [vʊg] n. prediction made using a shrine • à vüg jáá dì i káá sùwàò tómòsò. The prediction is that you will die the day after tomorrow.

vüga [vʊgà] cf: piási v. to soothsay, to divine • làà mólëbíí ká vüga tìñ, nóòmá dì dômàñ. Take some money and soothsay for me, a scor-
pion bit me yesterday.

vogjóŋ [vʊgjóŋ] 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. pl. vogjoso.

vogníhíì [vʊgáníhíì] (var. fawietíína) n. the most elderly person at a shrine event, member of the lodge, who can take responsibility in case the leader is absent.

vogtíina [vʊvótííná] n. a single person who owns a shrine, whose ownership is passed on by patrilineal inheritance. pl. vogtıimá.


vóosi [vʊósi] v. to release pus at intervals • bá tfa-wá ní náá rá, ó dt vóósi. They operated my leg, it has an intermittent flow of pus.

vota [vʊtá] n. prophecy, blessing or curse which can be uncovered by soothsaying • kà láíí i vóta súnnáá-rá pé ní. Go and remove your curse with the soothsayer.

vüuri [vʊürí] v. to arrange, to decide, to make a plan or agreement • jáà vüúrëë já válà tʃiá. We are arranging to travel tomorrow.

wa [wa] cf: waa (var. waa) pv. not • ɔ wà di gbàsìàmá, ɔ kír ré. He does not eat monkey, he taboos it. ã dàá-nɔ́ŋ ká ñmá ɔò stàrì ɔò há wà stà-rìjè. The fruit wants to be ripe but is not yet ripe. sigà déŋǐí wàá tjò-gàá. Preserving the cow peas will not let them go bad.

2wa [wa] cf: ka pv. ingressive particle, conveys the process from the starting point of an event • já kpàgà dàà dìgìí rá já jìrú ŋììmbúlùnj ì tò wà nòñà à wàá bìì à nòñ jáá bírèù.

3wa (cntrvar. wara)

1waa [wàá] nprop. Wa town.

2waa [wàà] cf: baa v. to come • ɲu wàáwàá. I am coming. ìgàlàgà hàá ì ní ì wàá. He came just now. ɲ wàáwàá. I arrived.

3waa [wàá] pro. third person singular strong pronoun • wáá hàìí. He is older than me.

4waa [wàá] cf: wa pv. will not • hàìíì ìrìì wàá tà ì zìì mà nà-hìí. Forcing a child will not make him clever. ì gérètíí wàá pìì. The sick person will not survive.

5waa (var. of wa)

waal [wàá] n. Waala, person from Wa. pl. waala.

waaliŋzan [wálíŋzàn] n. type of tree. pl. waaliŋzansa.

waaln [wànlíí] n. language of Wa town and surroundings.

waapele [wààpèlè] nprop. former settlement between Ducie and Katua.

1waasi [wáásì] v. 1 to state of liquid reaching the boiling point • wáásì nìì ì kòórè tìì. Boil some water, I am going to make tea. 2 to be angry • ɔò bårà kàá wàást. He is angry.

2waasi [wàásì] v. to pour libation, to communicate with the shrine • jáà nìì wàást ìì vòòg. Fetch water and pour libation on your shrine.

waasíwìe [wàásíwìé] n. issues concerning a clan, clan rights and related performances in times of funerals, and taboos • waasíwìe bàà jáà. They are doing their clan performance. pl. waasíwìe.


walánjzan [wálánzàn] n. type of tree. pl. waínjansana.

war [wà́r] n. cold weather.

wara [wàrà] cntr. 3wa dem. specific, certain, particular, very • à tòò hàìí wàtá, ɲ wà zììmà ɔò wìì. This particular book, I do not know about it. ɲ dià kìnà jáà hàìí màìì, kà kà-lìí hàìí wà ɲ dià kìn lèì. All those items are mine, but this mat is not my belonging.

wasí [wàsì] v. to reproduce, to breed, to multiply by producing a generation of offspring • ììì bòòò tìì wássí-jòó. My goat has reproduced many offspring. syn: 1ugo

wegimi [wègî̀mì] v. to be wild, to be untamed • tì gɪ́lá à súúnó wé-gími. Do not let the guinea fowls be wild.

weŋ [wèŋ́] interrog. which • kpã̀ã̀ŋ wèŋ́ ká nɪ̄ŋ̀ ? Which type of yam is this? lùlí wèmé iì kàà búúrè ɪ̀ jáwā? Which drugs you want to buy? sèŋwèŋ́ ɪ̀ kàá wàà? When will you return? pl. weme.

were [wèrè] v. to be good, to be handsome, to be beautiful • i gà-rá hâj wéréú. Your cloth is beautiful. à báál wéré kɪ̀nkán nà. The man is handsome. ant: tfọma

weti [wètì] v. 1 to be independent, being able to live and judge on his or her own • tiè iì bié wètì. Let your child do things and reason on its own. 2 to be active and competent • à biè wèttjó ànì sáákɪ̀r zénìì né. The child is competent in bicycle riding.

wega [wègà] v. to open up slightly, to widen • wègà ìì lógánòã ŋá ìì àwà pàtfígúi. Open your pocket for me to look inside. wègà à tiwíí lógún nìì dìjá válà dé. Create a gutter for the water to pass by the road. syn: ptànì


wieme [wìèmé] n. bohor reedbuck, type of antelope. pl. wiense.
wire [wɪrɛ] v. 1 to undress • já wɪrɛ já kɪ́ná rá āká válá gó dúusé múŋ nââvâl bítorò. We undressed then walked around Ducie three times. 2 to remove the skin of an animal, to shave a head • wɪrɛ à píésí tɔ́ŋ wàà. Remove the skin of the sheep and come. 3 to moult, as when a snake cast off its skin • bɪ̀ná múŋ hàglɪ́ɪ́ já wɪrɛō. Every year snakes moult.

wisi [wísí] v. to shake up and down as in winnowing.

wiwilii [wìwílíí] n. type of bird, large in size with shiny black feathers. pl. wiwilie.

wi- [wí] cf: wí (var. wɔ, wʊ-) classifier particle for abstract entity.

widînŋ [wìdínŋ] cf: dùŋ; nìdìnŋ; kìndinŋ; bidìnŋ n. truth. pl. widîmána.

widîntînà [widíntínà] n. loyal and committed person.

1wî [wí] v. to be ill, to be sick • ô wàà wî. She is not sick. ant: 1laafnìa


wîlî [wílî] n. sickness • bàáŋ wîlî ká kpàãtî? What sickness do you have? pl. wîlîa.

wîlîli [wílîlí] n. quality of being injured or ill • ìi nebiwîlîi ká jáá áwèŋ? Which fingers are those injured? pl. wîlîle.

wîjaalî [wíjáalî] n. duty, moral obligation and activities that must be carried out • siimákóóritî jáá hâáŋ wîjáalî̀ rà. Food preparation is a woman duty.

wîjålî [var. of tiimuŋ] wîkpâgnî [wókpàãgtî] n. behaviour or deeds. pl. wîkpâgien.

wîkpegegîinitionî [wókpégèlégîíí] n. difficulty. pl. wîkpegegei.

wîl [wíl] n. mark on body made by incision or paint. pl. wîlî.

wîlîgî [wîlîgî] v. to dismantle • à lɔ́ɔ́lɪ̀kʊ́ɔ́rá wîlîgî à lɔ́ɔ́lî ìndìgì rë. The mechanic dismantled the car’s engine.

1wîlî [wílíí] n. star. pl. wîlîe.

2wîlî [wílîíí] n. tortoise. [Mo, Ka, Tu, Tî]. pl. wîlîe.

wîlîô [wílíó] (var. wîlîwî) n. kob (Kobus kob). pl. wîlîsa.

wîllânj [wílláŋ] n. simple, light, trivial matter • wîllàámá Any simple matters happening and my child gets angry. pl. wîllaama.

wîlâ [wílâ] (var. of wîlî) wîmùn [wîmùn] quant. anything, everything • wîmùn wàà tûó ù kàá jááò kùsì. There is nothing I cannot do. wîmùn nô ôó zîmá. She knows everything.

wînjmahâ [wɔ́njmaháà] n. word, speech. pl. wînjmahâása.

wînjmâlagâmîë [wînjmâlagâmîë] n. dictionary.

wîsî (Mo. var. of wûsà) wîtfelii (var. of tiipuu)
1. wo (var. of ra)
2. wo [wó] v. 1 to produce and harvest the second yam, after the first has been cut off the plant • dí i wá híré îi kpáámá à wáà wó. If you do not dig your yams, they will not produce seedlings. 2 to excel at one’s occupation • à néést wójọ̀ ànti hémби́ tówíí ní. The nurse excels at giving injections.

wojo [wọjọ́] nprop. Wojo, person’s name.

wondzomo [wọndzómọ̀] n. person who performs male circumcision. (Hausa, ultm. Arabic < wanzaami).

woŋ [wọ́nj] cf: diginbirinse cf: diginbirinsetuna n. deaf person or mute person, or both. pl. wonno.

woŋli [wọ́nlí] v. to act boastfully • kàlá fì jà wọŋli dó jà ní rà súkùù ní. Kala used to boast at school.

woo [wọ́ʊ] v. to be empty, to be vacant • à kàrànjbiè dígií wá wààwá òò bàsàn̄tì tʃòà wóó. One student did not come, his place is vacant.

woori [wọ́riri] v. to hoot at someone, especially of derision or contempt • dí i wá ɲmì̀ tʃ̀ bà kàá wọɔ́rìí. If you steal they will hoot at you.

wosi [wọ́sì] v. to bark • à váà kàá wósoò. The dog is barking.

wọ [wọ́] n. second yam harvest. pl. wọto.

wọ (var. of w-)

wọgàdì [wọ́yádì] n. time. (Hausa, ultm. Arabic < wokaci).

wọlee [wọ́lǐ́] n. type of fish. pl. wọ́leśa.

wọlī [wọ́lǐ́] n. 1 group of people considered colleagues or age mates • tèbìn nì, ṇ̣ n ṭ̣ s̀àwàlẹ̀ ká vấlà. At night me and my colleagues hang out. 2 blood related people forming a clan • tʃíá gà́nvwọnlẹ́ tʃí kàá sànà à bọ́ntì bâlúkò̀rẹ̀ nàmì̀à rà. Tomorrow the Gan clan will share their funeral meat. 3 ego’s inferior, staff • bàmùŋ jàá kù̀rùwọ́lẹ̀ wá. Everyone is under a chief. ʔ t̀élè jà̀sā ǎliè dì ʔ wọ́lẹ́ wá ʔ ɓ t nà́j tùmà bàr ní. It is two weeks now that my staff has not seen me at work. pl. wọ́lee.

wọ́li [wọ́lì] v. to skim off, to shake, to bring refuse to top • wọ́lì à hàá-sá mú́ỵ à mì́á ní. Skim off the chaff from the guinea corn.

wọra [wọ́rà] v. to strip, to come off, to shell (maize) • tʃíá jà tʃí kàá wọ́rā à nà mí́ mì́ỵ. Tomorrow we will shell all the maize.

wọsakuolo [wọ́síkùółọ̀] cf: iko (Mo. var. wọ́sìkuole) nprop. clan found in Sawla, Motigu, Tiisa, Tuosa, and Gurumbele.

wọsàlẹ́lọ́ [wọ́silé́lẹ́] cf: iłe nprop. clan found in Motigu.
wɔsasiile [wɔsisiile] cf: isi nprop. clan found in Sawla, Motigu and Gurumbele.

wɔsatʃaala [wɔsitʃaalá] cf: itfa nprop. clan found in Ducie and Gurumbele.

wɔsatʃii [wɔsidi] (var. wɔsikii) n. taboo inherited by clan affiliation. pl. wɔsatʃiite.

wɔsawɪɪla [wɔsisiila] cf: iwa nprop. clan found in Sawla and Tuosa.

1wɔsi [wɔsi] v. to roast, to cook with dry heat in ashes, sand or over fire • ii bié wɔst kpáάŋ pɛtuu. Your child finished roasting the yam. ðŋmá dì ñɛ kpɔst à súú áká wɔsi tìëë. She said I should singe off the guinea fowl and roast it for her.

wɔsi (var. of wɔsatʃii)

wɔsikuole (Mo. var. of wɔsakuolo)

wɔsina [wɔsinà] n. type of yam. pl. wɔ sina.

wɔsirwijaalii [wɔsirwijalii] n. clan funeral performance, includes duties like marks on a corpse, ways to handle a corpse, or accepting offerings. pl. wɔsirwijaalie.


wusi [wúsí] v. to throb, to ache • bié ñmá dì ñúù ñúú kàà wùısı ñúù ñí. The child said that he felt a throbbing in his head.

wuuli [wúuli] v. to cook partially • wúuli à nàmíá bìë, já tʃí tòñà. Cook the meat partially, tomorrow we will boil it.

wɔ- (var. of wi-)

wɔhāá [wɔháá] lit. sun-bitter n. afternoon, approx. between 12 p.m. and 3 p.m.

wojali [wɔjàli] n. east.

wɔra [wɔrā] v. to thresh maize, or remove soil from a tuber • nàmùnà kàa kìŋ wɔrà nàmmìë. Everyone can thresh maize. wɔrà kpáâmá hàglíí tà. Remove the sand from the yams.

woriyi [wɔrīgi] v. to collapse, to make collapse • à zàmpàragi wɔrùgîj. The resting area collapsed. bòònà wɔrìgi ñ hàglìbìé tà. Goats scattered my heap of bricks.

wɔsa [wɔsá] n. cf: kuoso (Mo. var. wisi) 1 god. 2 sun. 3 clan. pl. wɔsasa.

wɔtfelii [wɔtfelii] n. west.


wɔzanhiíë [wɔzanhiíë] n. leader of any modern religion activities. pl. wɔzanhiíësa.
Wózórí [wózórí] *n.* day • wózó-ri wéŋ lóśí káá wáá? On which day comes the car? à wózórí ń wáá tũwò nǐ. That day I was not there. wózórí wéŋ i ká líi dúšéé wáá wáá? On what day did you leave Ducie to come to Wa?

**Z**

zaa [zàà] *v.* to fly • záárá hámà záá di gó já tòó. These birds are flying over our village.

zaa paari [zàà pààrì] *v.* to nag, to excessively remind, to constantly bring back a matter • gbóló máá záá dì pààrìŋ ò tféndʒì wìé. Gbóló’s mother keeps nagging me about her change.

zaajaga [záàjá gà] *n.* tiny bird with light weight, seen flying from tree to tree. *pl.* zaajagasa.

zaalí [zààlì] *v.* to float • à ɲíŋsʊ̀ wì́lì nìì ɲúú nìì. The dead fish floats on the water.

zaamí [zààmì] *v.* 1 to greet • ñì záá-mìí rà. I am greeting you. 2 to pray • ñì záámi kúòsò rò dì ò wáá záàŋ. I pray to God that he comes today.

zaanj [zàànj] *(Mo. var. zílān)* *n.* today • i káá tóì́má tìé à kúórù rò záàŋ káá tʃiì? Will you work for the chief today or tomorrow?

zaanjgberi (var. of kuudìgínsa)


zaasì [zààsì] *pl.v.* to jump • sóm-pòrèśáá záási à wáá. The frogs are jumping towards us.

zaawí [zààwí] *v.* to work or decorate with leather • ziàŋ zááwí ûû kísìè rè. Ziang decorated his knife with leather.

zaaza [zààzáá] *ideo.* up standing, upright • ñìm bié káá tʃìtiá záàzáá rá, ðò há wá válà. My child is standing upright, but cannot walk yet. (partly Oti-Volta < za).


2*zaga* [zààgà] *v.* to be furious • dʒè-bùnì pàà ñìì bié zómó, ñìì bárá zágà. Jebuni insulted my son, I was furious.

3*zaga* [zààgà] *v.* cf. *tuti* 1 to push, to shove • má ká zágà à lóśí û sìí. You go and push the car for it to start. 2 to blow, of breeze or wind • pè-lèŋ káá zágà. We are experiencing a good breeze.


1*zagàlt* [zààgàlt] *v.* to be worn out • tóìmá bié kínlàrì zágàlìjìjì. The clothes of Toma’s child are worn out.
2zagali [zάγαλι] v. to shake in order to empty, or to dust • zάγαλτ à tάγατά, à bǔmbór li. Shake the shirt to remove the dust.

zagan [zάγαν] n. leper. pl. zagan.

zagansa [zάγαςά] n. leprosy. pl. zangansa.

zagasì [zάγαςì] v. 1 to press down and support oneself when standing up • à níhì̃ɛ̃̂ zάgάsì́ à kóɾ sìì. The elder supported himself on the chair to stand up. 2 to shake for fruits to fall • kά zάgάsì́ sūń. Go and shake the shea tree for the fruits to fall.

zagatì [zάγατì̀] v. to be holey, tattered, or damaged • hɪ̀ŋ gɪ́lá à kάdáásì̀ zάgάtì́ kéŋ̀ . It is you who made the paper to be so damaged. ḏà lɛ̀ŋ zάgάtìjáʊ́, jàwà áfɔ̄lɪ̄ɪ̄. Your mat is tattered, buy a new one.

zahal [zάχάλ] n. hen egg. pl. zahala.

zahalbapʊmma [zάχάλbάpʊmma] n. egg white.

zahalbasɪama [zάχάλbάsɪ̀àmá] n. egg yolk.


zakʊʊl [zάkʊʊ́l] lit. fowl.t.z. cf: zɪmɪ̃ɪ̃ n. chicken, fowl. pl. zalęe.

zamba [zάmɓá] cf: dawarɛ n. spitefulness, plotting, action against the benefit or prosperity of someone. (Hausa <zamba). pl. zamba.

zaŋparagi [zάŋpάrągί] cf: zaŋ (var. gբɛlmuŋ) n. covered wooden platform used as a resting area. pl. zamparagie.

zantere [zάntɛ̀rɛ̀] n. type of grass that germinates in early July.

zantɔ [zάntɔ̀] n. basket used as fish trap in shallow water. pl. zantɔga.

zanzig [zάńzíg] n. type of plant. pl. zanziga.

zaŋ [zάŋ] n. cf: zamparagi 1 wooden platform erected as a rest area. 2 nest. pl. ząńa.

zaŋguoŋmuŋsulisu [zάŋgʊˈʊŋ-mʊŋsulisù] n. type of grasshopper.


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

zaŋsì [zάŋsì] v. to clear land, in preparation for new farm • ɪjŋ bʊ̀rɛ pápάtsá kά zάŋsì̄ kʊ́ o tέɛ̃̂ bǐná hàŋ. I need farmers to clear the land for a new farm this year.

zaŋʃagalń [zάŋʃågålń] n. hall, common room where visitors are received syn: lumbu.

zapega [zάpɛgά] n. outer part of a house, outside a house and its yard • wɔsā gό zάpɛgásά, ő kά kpágå zάąl. Wusa went at the outskirt of
the house to catch a fowl. *pl. zapugasa.*

**zapuo** [zápūó] n. hen, adult female fowl. *pl. zapuusos.*

**zapuwie** [zápúwié] n. pullet, young female chicken.

**zazehëë** [zázehëë] n. roofing pillar, supporting dolo. *pl. zazehësas.*

**zene** [zènè] v. to be big, to be large
- *wọsá zéné káált bá.* Wusa is the biggest among them. *sàŋkóáŋ kùò wá zéné, úù kùó jàá wìewìë rë.* Sankuang’s farm is not big, it is very small.

**zenii** [zéníí] n. big. *pl. zenies.*

**zenj** [zènj] n. big ant:
- *1 boro. pl. zennies.*

**zenjsi** [zènsí] cf: *duunjusi* v. to limp in a way to avoid the heel
- *òò náá tìíŋ gílá òò zénsí.* His leg makes him limp.

**zepegor** [zèpégʷór̀ː] n. type of hyena
- *syn: badaarɛ.*

**zesà** [zèsá] n. type of gecko (Hemicentrus). *pl. zesases.*

**zigili** [zigìlí] v. to shake, to shiver
- *wàŕ tìíŋ òò dì zìgìlí.* The cold weather makes him shiver.

**ziige** [zigíé] v. to make shake
- *pèú káá zìgìé dàáśá.* The wind makes the trees shake.

**zimbal** [zimbál] n. cock, adult male fowl. *pl. zimbala.*

**zimbie** [zimbìé] n. cf: *zaar 1 any small bird. 2 chick of the fowl. pl. zimbises.*

**zimbimunzonzoa** [zimbímùnzòà lònzòà] n. pin-tailed wydah, type of bird (Vidua macroura).

**ziŋ** [zìŋ] n. tail of mammals. *pl. zisès.*

**zi [zi] 1 pv. expected outcome, finally
- *bà zi lááwáò dì bà káá káá-lòò.* They finally agreed that they will go. 2 adv. after, then
- *dì gbàmbègàn wá péti àwèŋ zì jà kà wàà?* When harmattan finishes, which season follows?

**zià** (var. of *zië*)

**zië** [zië] (var. of *zià*) n. wall. *pl. ziësas.*

**ziëŋ** [zíëŋ] n. 1 spiritual protection after homicide
- *ùù zìëŋ nà.* She washed her spiritual action away, so she is now clean. 2 snake venom. *pl. zìëng.*

**ziezië** [ziézië] cf: *küjșùŋ* ideo. light weight and weak, for person or crop
- *bìñá hâíŋ ì kàáá dò zìë-zA.* This year my yam plants are weak and poor.

**zigà** v. to be protruded, to bulge out or project from its surroundings, to have one’s skin made tough and thick through use
- *ìnì nẹpíé̄là zìgàò. My palms are hard through working. à jàrèbàá̄ tìlí zìgàò.* Muslim men have a circle of callused skin on their forehead, a prayer bump.

**zigiti** [zigiti] v. to learn, to study
- *bà
We learned English from them.

We have bushy hair, to have hair grown beyond normal • ɨŋ bùú-rè i jà kà fènà ii pùù dì ṣì hà wà ți-wá. I want you to shave your head before it becomes bushy.

I want you to shave your head before it becomes bushy.

The woman’s oranges are wrinkled.

The stirring stick is covered with t.z.

My senior brother has not yet confirmed his issues.

Kala is not a discreet person.

Discretion is good.

Kala is not a discreet person.

Discretion is good.

She knows how to hide.

My senior brother has not yet confirmed his issues.

Discretion is good.

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My senior brother has not yet confirmed his issues.

Discretion is good.
ziŋ̃ɪɪ [ziŋ̃ɪɪ] (var. ʒiŋ̃ɪ) n. length, height • à dɔ́ɔ ziŋ̃ɪɪ jàá mìtásà ànnà-sè rà. The length of the python is four meters. pl. ziŋ̃ɪe.

zisà [zisá] n. slender-tailed squirrel, squirrel which lives on trees (Protoxerus aubinnii). pl. zisasa.


ゾミ [ゾミ] n. slender-tailed squirrel, squirrel which lives on trees (Protoxerus aubinnii). pl. zisasa.

ゾミィ [ゾミィ] n. person who wishes and acts for the downfall of somebody else. pl. zomise.

ゾン [ゾン] n. insult. pl. zomo.

ゾンビィ [ゾンビィ] n. specific insult or mockery, usually targeting appearances • à hàáhà zònbi múŋ nàá jàá grî́źènĕ. They mock the woman with her big cheek. pl. zonbie.

ゾングォリ [ゾングォリ] n. mosquito. pl. zongoruso.

ゾロ [ゾロ] v. to pick someone or something up from the ground, or as in providing transportation, to raise, to lift or pick up something • à bìè zóró ʊ̀ ʊ̀ ɲi̊ná sàgà mòtò nì. The child picked up his father on his motorbike. zóró à sìitmàà lìì dèndíl. Pick up the food and send it outside.

ゾゴシエ [ゾゴシエ] n. maize silk. pl. zogsiema.

ゾギ [ゾギ] n. elongated carved log drum, beaten with curved stick. pl. zugunso.

ゾグウン [ゾグウン] n. elongated carved log drum, beaten with curved stick. pl. zugunso.

ゾグウ [ゾグウ] n. type of dance for women and men, not specific to a particular event. pl. zungo.

ゾゴ [ゾゴ] v. to be thick, stiff but flexible • à kàpálà zúgóú. The fufu is well pounded and starchy. 2 to be slow • gbòló zúgó kɪ́nkàn nà, ò wà písì bârâ dì jàá wĩ̄. Gbolo is very slow, she does not get on with things.

ゾゴウミ [ゾゴウミ] v. 1 to not receive good care and suffering the consequences • làltwisé káá zúgúmí. Orphans are not receiving good care. 2 to be stunted, to stop, slow down, or hinder the growth or development of • ì̩ káá ti̊é i zúgúmí. I will hinder your development.

ゾル [ゾル] cf: kɔlɪɪ n. millet, used in making porridge and t.z.. pl. zulo.

ゾングゥン [ゾングゥン] n. elongated carved log drum, beaten with curved stick. pl. zungunso.

ゾングゥ [ゾングゥ] n. type of dance for women and men, not specific to a particular event. pl. zungo.

ゾウ [ゾウ] n. the biggest part of a
share • l totii jaa zuu. Your share is the biggest share.

**zua** (var. of **ulzua**)

**zōā** [zōâ] (var. zōō) n. waterbuck, type of antelope (*Kobus ellipsiprymnus*). **pl. zōāta.**

**zogsii** [zōysíí] n. type of tree. **pl. zogsie.**

**zogusi** [zōgɔst] v. to shrink, to become small by sickness, implies unattractive thinness, as with undernourishment • à zál kàà wììō iì wà ná oò kà zōgɔsìjèè? The fowl is sick, haven’t you seen it has shrunk?

**zōō** (var. of zōā)

**zùmì** [zòmì] v. for leaves, to be dehydrated, have spots and be wrinkled • à múró pààtságá zòmìó. The rice plant is dehydrated.

**zōu** [zōō] v. cf: lìì 1 to enter, to go inside • di zōō. Come in! à kùòrū zòó dià mújìŋ nò à làà kpáámbì fì fì. From each house the chief took 10 yams. 2 to live somewhere and not necessarily be a native of that place • kùmááshi o di zōō. He lives in Kumasi.

3 to join, to cooperate • nìtámá káá zòó kóółì̀ lágalágalá háj. Few people join the shrine Kuollii these days. já zòó dẹ́nà à pẹ̀jì biná háj. Let us cooperate and do the first weeding this year.

**zōō** [zōō] n. laziness, lack of courage, or dullness originating from depression, unhappiness or illness • zàájì n bárá dò zōō. Today I am lazy and lack courage. **pl. zōō.**

**zuodônà** [zuoudônà] 1 n. work relation or process, when each works for the other in turn • já kàá zuodônà à tó pié wò biná háj. We will come together to raise yam mounds this year. 2 pl.n. neighbours or people one stays with.

**zuul** [zòul] n. tuber. **pl. zuola.**

**zuuni** [zòoní] (var. *tʊʊnî*) v. to pout, to protrude the lips in an expression of displeasure • à sùkúù bisé wàá kin zuuni nòá dò tʃìtʃà nì. The students cannot pout at a teacher. tí tóóní ì nòá dò ì ní kéj. Do not protrude your mouth at me like that.
Part III

English-Chakali reversal index
aardvark nanbugo *n.
abandon *ta₁ v.; *vie₂ v.
abdomen *patʃiŋ₁ *n.
able *kɪn v.; kpege₂ v.
abound gaali₂ v.
abrasion (branch) *daasiiga₁ *n.
abruptly (do) *vaar₁ v.; vɪɛ₂ v.
abdomen *patʃɪgɪɪ₁ *n.
able *kɪn v.; kpege₂ v.
abound gaali₂ v.
abscess *tʃamɪnɪ̃ã *pl.n.
absolutely not *fio *ideo.
abstract entity *wɪ-.
abundant *kana v.
abused (person) *ɲudoŋ *n.
Accra *akraa *nprop.
ache *wusi v.
Achilles tendon *nããpol *n.
acquire wealth *buure₂ v.
acre *eeka *n.
across (be) *kaga v.
act proudly *dʒɪgɪsɪ v.
active *nʊ̃ *ma₂ v.; *weti₂ v.
add *pɛ v.; tuosi₁ v.
add (condiment) *gbaanɪ v.
added amount *tuosii *n.; *tuoso *n.
additional *viẹŋ *pv.
adhere *mara₁ v.; maragi *pl.v.
adhere to a religion *doa₂ v.
adherent (be) *kpara v.
adjust *gbiasɪ₁ *pl.v.
adjuster *kalɛŋbileŋẽẽ *n.
adopt *laa *dɔ *cpx.v.
alms 

alms sɛrɛkə n.
alone teŋteŋ n.
already baanj pv.; foo3 v.; maasɪ1 v.
also gba quant.
always taarʊ n.
amaranths (vegetable) aʃɛfʊ n.
ammunition pouch tɔg n.
amount ɲɛmɛna2 n.; zuu n.
ancestor faal n.; laalɪ2 n.
ancestors (line) lel n.
ancient faa n.
and a conn.; aka conn.; an1 conn.; ka1 conn.
anger baang n.; ɲagɪ n.
angry (be) waasɪ2 v.
animal sel n.
animal skin tɔŋ1 n.
ankle nããsii n.; nããtʃʊg n.
ankle-rattles (pair) tʃɪ̃ɪ̃ŋ n.
announce hẽsi v.
announcer hẽhẽse n.
annoyed (be) hããsii2 n.
answer laa3 v.
ant (type of) daanuukpọŋkpolo n.; gogo n.; gogosiaman n.; guurii n.; haglɪbie n.; haglibisansa n.; mɪnɪ n.; solibie n.; temi n.; tii n.
antelope (type of) ææ n.; kuo n.; wieme n.; zɔɑ n.
anus munputii n.
anxious siri n.
anyone namuŋ quant.
anything wimuŋ quant.
appear gaŋi v.
appearance sii n.
append mara1 v.
appendicitis momuŋ n.
appetite hĩɛra n.
apply tiri v.
argue tʊa2 v.
argument hakila n.
arm neŋ n.
arm joint nekpun n.
arm ring kana n.
armpit lugbɔa n.
armpit hair lugbɔapuŋ n.
arrange duas pl.v.; tʃɔgsɪ2 v.; vuuri v.
arrow hɛn n.
arthritis gaŋabulo n.
articulated vehicle ɓọlimunzualunzu a n.
as kii1 conn.; kii2 v.
as well ko adv.
ascaris ɲuŋaŋ n.
ascite patʃɪgɪɪsunno n.
ash fuful n.; tapulsa n.
ash (type of) fɔɑ n.
Ashanti (person) kɔmbɔŋa n.
ask pias1 v.
ask (for forgiveness) dibi v.
asking (farm help) parişimii n.
asleep duo n.
asphalt kotaal n.
asassin bug hamɔnanãʊ n.
assemble sira1 v.
assist in crossing water duori v.
asthma hiësipugo n.
at (be) dɔa v.
at all times taaru n.
atlas vertebra bagënsorii n.
attach mìna v.; vɔwa v.
attempt to catch gbarmi v.

baboon fɔɔ n.
baby bìfòla n.
bachelor buzọn n.
back gantal n.; gantal reln.; haboo n.
back (part of) kaŋa n.; kaŋa n.
back area lumo n.
backtalk gantal lɔha n.
backtalking lɔgantal n.
backwards bira v.
bad bọn n.; hìi interj.; tʃɔma v.
bad (be) bɔma v.
bad (person) nìbubọn n.
Badiga (person’s name) badiga nprop.
bag bʊtɪa n.; pur n.
bag (type of) lọgà n.
Bakuri (person’s name) bakuri nprop.
balance deŋsi1 v.
bald headed ŋukpaltìna n.
baldness kpalìgɛ n.; ŋukpal n.
baby bɪn n.
basket (type of) kʊzaa n.; tisie n.; tʃaga n.
ball (groundnut) kpuškpuš n.
baby bìfòla n.
bachelor buzọn n.
back gantal n.; gantal reln.; haboo n.
back (part of) kaŋa n.; kaŋa n.
back area lumo n.
backtalk gantal lɔha n.
backtalking lɔgantal n.
backwards bira v.
bad bọn n.; hìi interj.; tʃɔma1 v.
bad (be) bɔma1 v.
bad (person) nìbubọn n.
Badiga (person’s name) badiga nprop.
ball (pumpkin seed paste) kan-
tʃanłumono n.
baby bìfòla n.
bachelor buzọn n.
back gantal n.; gantal reln.; haboo n.
back (part of) kaŋa n.; kaŋa n.
back area lumo n.
backtalk gantal lɔha n.
backtalking lɔgantal n.
backwards bira v.
bad bọn n.; hìi interj.; tʃɔma1 v.
bad (be) bɔma1 v.
bad (person) nìbubọn n.
Badiga (person’s name) badiga nprop.
ball (pumpkin seed paste) kpa-
tʃanłumono n.
baby bìfòla n.
bachelor buzọn n.
back gantal n.; gantal reln.; haboo n.
back (part of) kaŋa n.; kaŋa n.
back area lumo n.
backtalk gantal lɔha n.
backtalking lɔgantal n.
backwards bira v.
bad bọn n.; hìi interj.; tʃɔma1 v.
bad (be) bɔma1 v.
bad (person) nìbubọn n.
Badiga (person’s name) badiga nprop.
ball (pumpkin seed paste) kan-
tʃanłumono n.
baby bìfòla n.
bachelor buzọn n.
back gantal n.; gantal reln.; haboo n.
back (part of) kaŋa n.; kaŋa n.
back area lumo n.
backtalk gantal lɔha n.
backtalking lɔgantal n.
backwards bira v.
bad bọn n.; hìi interj.; tʃɔma1 v.
bad (be) bɔma1 v.
bad (person) nìbubọn n.
Badiga (person’s name) badiga nprop.
bat (type of) dandafulëe n.; filinfintú n.; zinzapureë n.; ziŋ n.
bath sɔ v.
bathroom tfetfēra n.; tfifara n.
baton (gun) maafamundaaapī n.
battery baattrībī n.
Bayong (person’s name) bajon nprop.
be duŋ3 v.; jaa1 v.
be about ḋaŋŋi v.
be on sāga1 v.
beach mugnā n.
beadless (be) s觥pˠal n.
beam (wood) daaluhii n.
bean (black) sǐgp UIWindow n.
bean (type of) gbɛna n.; sǐggoŋgo n.
bean (white) sǐgpʊmma n.
bean cake kansii n.
bear (foetus) lʊla v.
bear fruit nɔna v.
bear (type of) bɪɪzimii n.; bʊzaal n.; daakʊ̃ ã n.; daakʊ̃ ãjalɛɛ n.; daaŋmɛnkoŋkoŋ n.
betray mɪ̃ɪ̃nɪ v.
better (be) bɔ v.
between (be) faarɪ v.
beyond (be) vāā v.
Bible baabʊl n.
biceps nekpeɣi n.
bicycle saakɪr n.
big kana v.; zene v.; zenii n.; zenj n.
bile kʊrɪmɪ n.
bilharzia fɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃tʃoro1 n.
billy goat bʊʊŋbal n.
bird zaar n.
bird (small) zimbie1 n.
bird (type of) bendīr n.; bʊzimii n.; bʊzaal n.; daakʊ̃ ã n.; daakʊ̃ ãjalɛɛ n.; daakʊ̃ ãwoŋ n.; daaŋmɛnkoŋkoŋ n.
biscuit bisiketi n.
bitch vanɪɪ n.
bite dʊma v.; dʊmɪɪ n.; dʊnsi pl.v.; ɲmɛna2 v.; pempel n.
bite (attempt) gagatɪ v.
bitter (be) hããsɪ v.
bitterness hããsii1 n.
black bumbo n.; don Bergen.2 n.
black (be) gbulo v.
black (person) nɪbubummo n.
Black plum aŋbuluŋ n.
Black thorn sɔbummo n.
blacksmith lʊlʊta n.
blade bileedi n.
blame paanɪ v.
blame (without) sol ideo.
blanch foro v.
blanket kuntuŋ n.
bless kisi v.
blind ɲubirinšima n.; ɲukun n.
blink kamsɪ v.
blink (eye) dʊst3 v.
blister maali v.
blood tfal n.
blood relationship hɪ̃na n.
bloom jele v.
blooming jelii n.
blow fuuri v.; hʊ̃ v.; pewo v.; zaga2 v.
blow nose mɪ̃ɪ̃ v.
blue bluu n.
blunt gbulo v.
boast foro v.
boastful taŋkama n.
boastfully (act) woŋli v.
boat kokolun n.
body bara n.
body joint kpuŋ n.
bohor reedbuck wieme n.
boil tfammiā pl.n.; waasɪ v.
boiling tɔŋɪɪ n.
bolt nɔt₁ n.
bone hog n.
book tɔŋ₂ n.
bore lugo₁ v.
boredom haamu n.
borehole pɔmprigii n.
borrow summi₁ v.
bother dama v.
bottle kɔlbaa n.; pirtwaa n.
bottom (river) nnsii n.
business tɔŋ₂ n.
bore lugo₁ v.
boredom haamu n.
borehole pɔmprigii n.
borrow summi₁ v.
bother dama v.
bottle kɔlbaa n.; pirtwaa n.
bottom (river) nnsii n.
business tɔŋ₂ n.
bore lugo₁ v.
boredom haamu n.
borehole pɔmprigii n.
borrow summi₁ v.
bother dama v.
bottle kɔlbaa n.; pirtwaa n.
bottom (river) nnsii n.
business tɔŋ₂ n.
bore lugo₁ v.
boredom haamu n.
borehole pɔmprigii n.
borrow summi₁ v.
bother dama v.
break off kpesi v.; kperigii pثل. v.
breast ɪ n.
breathe hiési₂ v.
breathe with difficulty kiirï v.
breed wasi v.
breeze peleŋ n.
brewing tɔŋ n.
bridge kodorogo n.
bright tjānni₁ v.
brightness batʃaan n.
bring kpa wa cpx. v.
bring out kiini₁ v.
bring up food ugo v.
broken (be) fɔɔm n.; kagoli₂ v.
broken part baketi n.
broken piece of gourd fakɛla n.
broken pot (piece) ʧsintfeli n.
broom kimpigii n.; ʧää n.
brother (senior) biirï n.
brother’s wife (junior) hāwie₁ n.
bruised (be) fɔrīgii v.
bucket bakti n.
bud fii v.
buffalo kɔsanã n.
build sāa₃ v.
building saali n.
bulb (light) bʊɔna n.
Bulenga (lect of) bulenji₁ n.
Bulenga (person from) bulenji₂ n.
bulge out ziga v.
bulges kpuogii n.
bull nɔwal n.
bullet maafabii n.
bullroarer dentilhēsi n.; sigmawiili n.
burial specialist pel n.
burn fuū v.; taqoasi v.
burning fuūi n.
burnt slightly (be) baari v.
burp garisi v.
burst jala1 v.
bury sogoli2 v.; ūū v.
bush kọsa1 n.
bush animal kọsasel n.
bush cat (type of) amonọ n.
bush dog (type of) bele n.; bọwali n.
bush guinea fowl kọsasūū n.
bushbuck āā n.
bushy hair (have) zīī v.
but ka2 conn.
butcher nanjogul n.
butterfly pẹpẹgīmpẹ n.
buttock muŋkaan n.
buttocks muŋ1 n.
buttress kpokporogoro n.
butt crack muŋṭi n.
buy jọsọ pl.v.; jọwa v.
by pe n.
by force (do) fāাঁ1 v.
calculator kĩŋkurokọrī n.
calf nāatʃiŋu n.; nọwii n.
calf (bull) nọwalee n.
call jira v.; jirịgị pl.v.; sịra2 v.
calling jirị n.
camel ɲọgma n.
camp (farm) bugumunj n.
camphor kafuura n.
can kin v.; kọŋkọŋ ono.
cancel dọsi2 v.
candle taandiri n.
candy (type of) hagasi n.
cane fiębi2 v.
cane-rat aarı n.
cannabis wii n.
capsule lulibii n.
car lọọi n.; turunjaa n.
care (guest) kpaga huor v.
care (not receive) zugumi1 v.
careful (be) tʃalas1 v.
carefully bōēībōē ideo.
careless (be) faasi v.
careless (person) siinomatina n.
carelessness faasi n.
caretaker ɲinne n.
carpenter kapenta n.
carry baasi v.; kọlo v.; nọna2 v.; tʃọŋa v.; ulo v.
carry (fire) moña v.
caruncle simọŋ n.
carve sāā1 v.
carver daasāār n.; sāsaaar1 n.
cassava kpọŋkpọŋ n.
cassava (dried) kpõŋkpõŋhulün n.; kpõŋkpõŋte n.
cassava (red) kpõŋkpõŋtsiama n.
cassava (white) kpõŋkpõŋtʊʊmma n.
cassava flour lumps kpõŋkpõŋtʊʊŋma n.
cassava peel kpõŋkpõŋpɛtɪɪ n.
cassava plant kpõŋkpõŋdaa n.
cassava tuber kpõŋkpõŋzʊʊl n.
castrate vara v.
cat diebie n.; dʒɛbalaŋ n.
catapult taja n.
catarrh kabirime n.
catch kpaga v.; kpagasɪ pl.v.; tʃaŋsɪ v.
catch breath sigisi v.
caterpillar (type of) sansandugulii n.; sansanduguliibummo n.; sansanduguliihɔhɔla n.; sansanduguliinɪɛr n.; taantuni n.
cattle pen nɔ̃gar 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 na3 v.
cave bɪɪbʊɔ n.
cave name narabʊɔ nprop.
cavity (wood) lor n.
cedi siidi n.
ceiling sapete n.
celebration (type of) binõãŋsɪŋ n.
cement selemente n.
centipede (type of) dokeg n.
cerebro-spinal meningitis kaŋgbeli n.
certain wara dem.
certainly tʊrɪ v.; tʃi v.
chaff hāasa n.; ɲɔr n.
chaff (guinea corn) mɪnzɔga n.
chaff (rice) murpɛtɪɪ n.
chair kor n.
Chakali (ethnically) tʃakalɪɪ n.
Chakali (language) tʃakalɪɪ n.
chameleon sɪŋgbɛglɪŋ n.
change bɪrgɪ v.
change (direction) bɪɛgɪ v.
change (money) tʃeŋdʒi n.
change appearance (plant) maŋa v.
change name lugo2 v.
character dʒogo n.
character (type of) nhāsn n.; ɲɪɲagɛ n.; zomie n.
charcoal (piece) hɔl n.
charcoal (small pieces of) dandafulii n.
charcoal fire diŋhala n.
charge tʃaagɪ n.
chase dʊgʊnɪ v.
Chasia (lect of) tʃasɪlɪɪ n.
Chasia (person from) tʃasɪlɪɪ 1 n.
Chasia village tʃasa nprop.
chasing women hābuura n.
cheat fulumi v.; tie2 v.
cheating funfulunɪ n.
cheek gímmi n.; lëheε n.

chest bambii1 n.

chest hair bambiiρiŋ n.

chest pains bambii̅̃eraga n.; bambi-
wíla n.

chest problem bâŋṣiŋ n.

cheek cloth (cover) gátiɔɔlɪɪ n.

corset n.; lɛhɛɛ n.

chest bambii1 n.

chest hair bambiiρiŋ n.

chest pains bambii̅̃eraga n.; bambi-
wíla n.

chest problem bâŋṣiŋ n.

chest hair bambiiρiŋ n.

chest pains bambii̅̃eraga n.; bambi-
wíla n.

chest problem bâŋṣiŋ n.

chest hair bambiiρiŋ n.

chest pains bambii̅̃eraga n.; bambi-
wíla n.

chest problem bâŋṣiŋ n.

chest hair bambiiρiŋ n.

chest pains bambii̅̃eraga n.; bambi-
wíla n.

chest problem bâŋṣiŋ n.

chest hair bambiiρiŋ n.

chest pains bambii̅̃eraga n.; bambi-
wíla n.

chest problem bâŋṣiŋ n.

chest hair bambiiρiŋ n.

chest pains bambii̅̃eraga n.; bambi-
wíla n.

chest problem bâŋṣiŋ n.

chest hair bambiiρiŋ n.

chest pains bambii̅̃eraga n.; bambi-
wíla n.

chest problem bâŋṣiŋ n.

chest hair bambiiρiŋ n.

chest pains bambii̅̃eraga n.; bambi-
wíla n.

chest problem bâŋṣiŋ n.

chest hair bambiiρiŋ n.

chest pains bambii̅̃eraga n.; bambi-
wíla n.

chest problem bâŋṣiŋ n.

chest hair bambiiρiŋ n.

chest pains bambii̅̃eraga n.; bambi-
wíla n.

chest problem bâŋṣiŋ n.

chest hair bambiiρiŋ n.

chest pains bambii̅̃eraga n.; bambi-
wíla n.

chest problem bâŋṣiŋ n.
cloth (type of) fʊ̃ʊ̃ n.; gapɔmma n.; gbagala n.; kɔbĩnĩ n.; kpankpamba n.; sʊɔla n.; tambɔ n.; tʃaŋtʃul n.
clothing (piece) kɪnlarɪɪ n.
cloud taal n.
cloud state gããnɪgããnɪ ideo.; tɪnãʊ̃ n.
clove mũsooro n.
clothing (piece) kɪnlarɪɪ n.
clown taal n.
clown state gããnɪgããnɪ ideo.; tɪnãʊ̃ n.
clove mũsooro n.
clothing (piece) kɪnlarɪɪ n.
clothing (type of) hogulbummo n.; hogulpʊmma n.
clothing sound tʃitʃi ono.
combed tʃaasa n.; tʃaasɪ v.
combed (rooster) kɔŋa n.
combed (wooden) tʃaasadaa n.
come baa v.; waa v.
cooked (be) bɪi₁ v.
cooking place dała₁ n.
cooking pot (type of) dansane  n.;
templie  n.; tuolie  n.; vi₁ n.; viisug- ulii n.
cool sɔŋ₁ n.
cool down pulisi  v.
cooperate zʊʊ₃ v.
cooperative group nʊdɪgɪmə₁ n.
core (central) daa₃ n.
corpse lalɪɪ₁ n.; sʊwɪn n.
corpse uniform kasɪma n.
cotton guno n.
cotton thread guŋmɛn n.
cough tʃasɪ₁ v.; tʃasɪɛ n.
count kuro v.
counting kurii n.
courage kpaga bambii v.
court kɔɔtɪ n.; sʊga v.
courtyard zaga n.
cousin ɲɪnabie₂ n.
cousin (female) māabīnhaan n.
cousin (male) māabinbaal n.
cousin (younger) māabie₂ n.
cover liṅe₂ v.; muuri v.; pu₁ v.; tɔ₁ v.; tʃige₁ v.; tʃigesi pl.v.
cover partially gaali₁ v.
cow nāo n.; nɔnɨi n.; nɔn n.
coward ɔŋgbìar n.
cowherd nɔgbar n.
cowpea sig n.
cowpea aphid pupuree n.
cowrie molebipomma n.
crack kpeti₂ v.; tʃagri v.; tʃiɛnji v.
crack and remove kpe v.
cracked skin nāājeleɛ n.
crackle parasɛ v.
crane leŋsi v.
craving hiɪra n.
craw-craw sangbëna n.
crawl gbaani v.
cream (body) nʊʊttiti n.
create grave bɛga v.
creature (supernatural) gʊmə₂ n.
credulous tʃɔɡɪn n.
creep taarɪ v.
cricket poŋ n.
cricket (type of) lelepoŋ n.
cripple gberi n.
crippled (be) gbera v.
crocodile pʊg n.
crooked (be) fuɔmi v.; golemi v.; gorɔ₁ v.
cross gi v.; kaga v.; mna₄ v.
crow jele v.
crowd mʊo v.
crowded gbiŋgbiŋ ideo.
crush-and-spoil pɔti v.
cry tʃaasi v.
cry out hɔsɪ₁ v.
cup bonso n.; kɔpu n.
cure kpege₂ v.; tiime v.
curse kaabri v.; nuwusu n.; suɔ v.
curtain patiisa n.
curved (be) gorɔ₁ v.
cut bafɔrīgi n.; fiɛri v.; gtti v.; kɔtiri v.; kpɔ3 v.; lɔgaa v.; ɲmena v.; tenje v.; tenje pl.v.
cut (power, network) gtti2 v.
cut off head (plant) kɔma v.
cut throat kɔrɪgi v.
cutlass karantie n.
cystitis fíniflforo2 n.
d deaf (person) dígimbirinsetiɪma n.; won n.
deafness dígimbirinse n.
deadth seto n.
debate tɔtʊɔsa n.
debt kantʃima n.
debt (without) sol ideo.
decay ɔla v.
deceive dara v.; mʊga v.
decide ʋʊʊri v.
decrease (swelling) ʋʊʊli v.
deads wɪkpagiɪ n.
dead luŋo v.
dead and long tʃugɔ2 v.
defamation sɔntʃɔga n.
defamer sɔntʃɔgatinya n.
defeat kola3 v.
defecate nai1 v.
defilement sɔkɔsii n.
deflated (be) tʃele2 v.
defomed (person) kundɪŋa n.; nɪbukperii2 n.
defhydrated (plant) zoɔmii v.
delay birgi v.
demolish kputi v.

demonstrate bigisi v.
dense (be) gboŋa v.
dent fɔɔmi v.
dental abscess niniəriri n.
deny tua1 v.
depend on fāā2 v.; jalasi2 v.; jiine2 v.
dependent parage v.
depressed patʃfgɔgsa n.
dependent paragɛ v.
depressed (be) bɔma5 v.
difficulty wikpegelegii n.
dig daari v.; hire v.
digging hirii n.
dilute pulisi v.
dirge (type of) dendilsigmama n.; nāalomog2 n.; tebinsigmama n.
dirt donj1 n.
dirtiness donji n.
dirty (be) donj2 v.
disappear nigimi v.; pisị v.
disappearance (spiritual) nigimii n.
discouraged bajʊɔra n.
discourse manner kpəŋkpəŋ ideo.
discreeet (person) zmkpaganɔatiına n.
discretion zmkpaganɔā n.
discussion (place) bşimmaalı n.
disdain (express) tfawsi v.
disease ʒɛrga n.; ʒérga n.
disease (type of) sīŋgiliŋgini n.
dish perete n.
dishonest (be) gorog2 v.
dismantle wiliği v.
disrespect sidi n.
dissolve mʊʊri v.
distaff gundaabii n.; ɲmedaa n.
disturb dama v.
disturbances laadimii n.; ɲimisa n.
dive miiri v.
divide bonti v.; po v.
dizziness sīŋgiliŋgini n.
dizzy (be) sii bire v.
do dr comp.; ja v.
doctor dokta n.
dog nōätima n.; vaa n.
dog (female) vānn n.
dog (male) vawal n.
dog name andjañawie nprop.; jasañaboëi nprop.; kuosozima nprop.; nǒōwajahoo nprop.
Doga doga nprop.
donkey kaakumo n.; kogumie n.
door dianū n.
dormant barege v.
doubt maçis2 v.
dowager’s hump bagentfugul n.
dowry tfewii n.
drag tuuri1 v.
dragonfly annulie n.
drain belege n.
draw close tuuri v.
draw milk from fää3 v.
dream diese n.; diesi1 v.
drench taali v.
dress laari1 v.; lije1 v.
drink pōā1 v.
drink (hot) tii n.
drink from stream pu v.
drink preparation (step) sibotii n.; sibwaasii n.
drip toşi1 v.
drive mlimli2 v.; sää2 v.
driver draaba n.; säsaaar2 n.
driver (car) lɔɔɔlmilma n.; lɔɔɔlsāar n.
driving mlimli n.
drop kpa ta2 cpx.v.; tʃuuri2 v.
drop inadvertently foti2 v.
drought hil n.
rum (type of) bafragugu n.; bmtira n.; bmtirawie n.; bmtiraʃen n.; gaŋgaña n.; kokorowie n.; lojo n.; timpannah n.; timpantii n.; timpanwal n.; tʃuʃug n.; zuŋgu n.
rum rattles bmtiratʃĩĩŋ n.
drummer kʃтанαanana n.
drumming stick lʊŋoaa n.
drunk bugo2 v.; diesi v.
dry bera v.; hula v.
dry season (period within) wilisana n.
dry up hĩisi v.
drying hulii n.
Ducie (lect of) duseli2 n.
Ducie (person from) duseli1 n.
Ducie village dusie n.
duck biã n.; gbagba n.
duiker (red-flanked) tɛsima n.
dull gbul n.
dullness zōo n.
dust belege v.; bɔmbûr n.
dusty (be) bora v.
dusty weather korumbûra n.
duty wriahli n.
dying sɔɔii n.
dysentery duksa n.
each other doŋa recp.
ear

ear digina n.
earache digimwili n.
earlier (be) maasi1 v.
earl te v.
earl stage fonjón ideo.
earl stage of pregnancy (be in) lomo2 v.
earl hagla n.; hagli n.; tagla n.
earlworm tantaan n.
east tiimuŋ n.; wʊjalɪ n.
eat di1 v.; fuosi v.
eat (without soup) ḋanja v.
ebony tree anĩ n.
edge tfintʃeven n.
edge (cloth) garnō n.
educated (person) karatʃi n.
eeel (type of) digili n.
effort baharaga n.
egg hal n.
egg (guinea fowl) sūuhal n.
egg (hen) zahal n.
egg white zahalbaṇ̃omma n.
egg yolk zahalbaṇ̃ama n.
eggplant nadusa n.
eight ƞmẹntel2 num.
eighteen fidiŋmẹntel num.
eighth month andzeliŋdзе nprop.
eject out ɔɡirl v.
elsastic mana n.
elbow negọma n.
elbow (interior) negbaña n.
elder nihɪ n.
election votii n.
electricity din2 n.
elephant bọla n.; džigela n.; neŋtuna n.; selzen n.
elephant trunk bọlakaŋ n.
elephantiasis of the leg nātuto n.
eleven fidiŋ n num.
eleventh month donjumakuna nprop.
empty woo v.
enclose go v.
enclosed (location) bagorii1 n.
end pe n.
endow with power bọma4 v.
enemy don n.
engine indzi n.
enjoyment leŋ n.
enough maasi2 v.
enskinned (be) di2 v.
enter zu1 v.
entertain daŋŋi sie cpx.v.
entertainment siidaŋŋa n.
tenhsiasm baharaga n.
tenhusiastic hɪ̃ɛ v.
tenirely kpaleŋkpaŋ ideo.
entrance nō规模最大 retn.
entrance of a spiritual location dugunọọ n.
tenthrop siipọŋwile n.
enumeration k珺kuruŋgie n.
epidemic baleo n.
epilepsy kpuŋkpluŋso n.
epileptic (person) kpuŋkpluŋtiŋfe-
lese n.; tfetfelese n.
equal jaa₂ v.; maasɪ v.
erase dʊsɪ₂ v.
erectile dysfunction viwo₂ n.
erode muɔrɪ v.
escape fuosi v.
escort tʊ v.
essence bii₂ n.
essence (of someone) patʃɪgsi₂ n.
etnic division balɔs₁ n.
even maasɪ v.; vɔlɔŋvɔlɔŋ ideo.
evening daduŋ n.; dtana n.
everyone namuŋ quant.
everything wɪmuŋ quant.
evil sitaani n.
exactly tʃuur ideo.
examination tɛɛsɪ n.
exceed gala₂ v.; gara₃ v.; kaali₂ v.
excel wo₂ v.
exchange tʃɛra v.
excited basɔna n.
exclamation (type of) abba interj.;
mufu interj.

fabric (piece) pɪɛŋ n.
face sie n.; tfaga v.
fail bɪ₁ v.
fail to attend bɪ₂ v.
fail to thrive kere n.
faint buro v.; sie viigi₁ cpx.v.
fair patʃɡpronoma n.
fair-skinned (person) nibutʃɑn n.
fairy

faithful bidim n.
faithful (be) degini v.
fall tsele v.
fall off luore v.
fall on saga v.
fall short panti v.
false accusation djonkoho n.
family diatūma n.
family relationship hiëna n.
famous (be) laa sōn n.
fan limpeu n.
far bolo v.
far place babuolii n.
farm kuo n.; para v.; pepi v.
farm (period) dzefe n.; pepeja n.
farm (state) dzefebumbo n.;
dzefepomma n.; gaha n.; kalṇaaga n.; koko n.; kolp n.
farm preparation gbege n.; kontii n.;
zaŋsa n.
farm rest area (type of) gbogulmunj n.
farmer papata n.
fast laga v.; nomanoma ideo;
nouno4 n.
fast (movement) lerete ideo.
fat nōo n.; poli n.
fat (be) pola v.
father juna n.
Father faara n.
father’s junior brother jinjwie n.
father’s senior brother jinhië n.
flesh (scooped ball)
food (type of) fʊʊra n.; gaarii n.; kaara n.; kpogulo n.; swamanziga n.; timpaani n.
food left-overs kʊʊtʃʊa n.
food preparation (incorrect) mul n.
food storage room sɪɪmaadɪa n.
fool fugusi1 v.; gɛnɪɪ n.
fool (be) gɛna v.
foolishness gɛnna n.
foot nããpɪɛl n.
foot (sole of) nããpɪɛlpatʃɪgɪɪ n.
foot (top of) nããpɪɛlgantal n.
footprint nããnasɪɪ n.
forbid kii v.
force fɪra v.; fɪrɪɪ n.
forehead tile n.
forest kɔr n.
forge lʊga1 v.
forget sʊgʊlɪ v.
forgive gɪla tɪɛ cpx.v.
form bilesi pl.v.
four anaasɛ num.; naasɛ num.
fourteen fidanaasɛ num.
fourth month dambakokoroko nprop.
front sʊʊ1 n.; sʊʊ3 reln.
front sight (gun) mɪ̃ɪ̃ n.
fruit daanɔ̃ŋ n.; nɔŋ n.
fruit (dawadawa) sʊlnɔŋ n.
fruit (type of) goŋonɔŋ n.; lien2 n.
fry hala v.; pɪga v.
frying halɪɪ n.; pɪgɪɪ n.
fuel paturuu n.; petro n.
fufu kapala n.
full biriŋ n.; piŋa v.; piŋɪsɪ pl.v.
full (be) su v.
funeral luho n.
funeral (first) lunʊŋ n.
funeral (last) lusɪnna n.
funeral event (type of) bʊɔtɔɪ n.; hʊɔrakaalɪɪ n.; kʊmɪkpaɪ n.; kʊmɪjiŋarɪ n.; kʊzaakpaɪ n.; kʊzaalimmii n.; selekreɪn n.; sigmaa n.; sɪmbɔtɪ n.; sɪmɲʊ̃ ãɪ̃ n.; sɪŋwaasɪɪ n.; wɔsɪwɪjaalɪɪ n.
funeral ground ludendil n.
furious (be) zaga v.

G

gaiety balalla n.

Gallbladder kpʊrɪɪ n.
game (type of) bombo n.; dara n.; seŋsegelie n.
game reserve geem nprop.
garden dabaga n.; gaadin n.
garden egg baga n.; dara n.; karo n.
gather lagam1 v.; laŋsi1 pl.v.; tigsi v.
gather close go v.
gather together gama v.; guro v.
Gbolo (person’s name) gbolo nprop.
gear hʊ̃ ŋ n.
gecko (type of) toro n.; zesa n.
generous patʃɪgɪpʊmma n.; sɔŋtɪɪna n.
genet (type of) tʊɔnɪ̃ã n.
gentility bʊnʊ̃ ã n.
germinate jala2 v.; ɲʊ̃ v.
gesture bigise n.
get by force fɔsɪ v.
get lost sie viigi2 cpx.v.
ghost ɫɔsɪ n.
gift (type of) tjɔgttaa n.
ginger kokoduro n.
gingivitis paŋʔɔrɪɪ n.
girl bimhāañə n.
girl (beautiful) tulor2 n.
girl (mature) tulor1 n.
girl (mature, young) suŋguru n.
girl (young) niŋ̃awie n.; tulorwie n.
give tɪɛ1 v.
give birth lola v.
give birth (history) tjəŋst v.
give way biagэ v.
giving birth lɔh n.
glance (furtive) siłɛr n.
glance at limmi v.
glide (close) lɛrɪ1 v.
glue mara1 v.
glue (type of) maataa n.
go ka pv.; kaalɪ1 v.
go away lɪ1 v.
go down tuu v.
go in and out turo2 v.
go over gala1 v.
go up zma2 v.
goal gool n.
goat bʊðn n.
goat (young) bʊðnbi n.
god wʊsa1 n.
God (supreme) kuoso n.
goitre bagɛnapʊɔgɪɪ n.
gold salɪŋ n.
Gonja (person) zabaga n.
gonorrhoea baabaasɔ n.
good lɛmɪɪ1 n.
good (be) lɛma1 v.; were v.
gourd fala n.
gourd (type of) bɔɔl2 n.; fabummo n.; fapʊmma n.; fataga n.; fawie n.; fazeŋ n.; gbentaga n.; kpʊrgɪɪ n.; loŋ n.; loŋbɔl n.; loŋkpʊrgɪɪ n.
gourd ladle daazʊʊna2 n.
gourd node faʔul n.
gourd seed (type of) fobii pl.n.; pon-tɔrɔtɔfɪ n.
gourd stem falanėŋ n.
government gɔmɔnantɪ n.
governor gɔmɪna n.
grab kpaga₂ v.; tʃɛwa₁ v.
grab firmly gurugi₁ v.
grab hold faamɪ₁ v.
grain (guinea corn) mɪ̃ɪ̃ n.
grain weevil ɲakpatɛ n.
grandchild nuhǔ n.
grandfather naal n.
grandmother nahã n.
grass kɔsa₂ n.
grass (type of) fiel n.; fɔgɔl₁ n.; golii n.; ƙɔρul n.; pemballuŋ n.; pul n.; sambalkuso n.; sambalŋa n.; sɪŋgbegliŋnebie n.; zantɛrɛɛ n.
grass bundles kuntunbʊa n.
grasscutter aarɪɪ n.
grasshopper (type of) hɔ̃ʊ̃ n.; kɔkɔlɪkɔ n.; kpekpe n.; tʃalɪhɔ̃ʊ̃ n.; tʃɛlɪntʃɪɛ n.; zaŋguoŋmuŋsulisu n.

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habit (drinking) heal

habit (drinking) sɛŋwɔhã n.
habitually jaa pv.
hail dobii n.
hair pɔŋ1 n.
hairdressing (type of) ɲupɛrɪɪ n.; ɲu-vɔwɪɪ n.
half kamboro n.
half asleep daari v.
half of a bird kie n.
half side loguŋbɛmbɛl n.
half-full logo v.
half-sibling jumabie1 n.
hall lumbu n.; zaŋtʃagalɪŋ n.
hallucination gagamɪ n.
ham nāakorbu’a n.
hamerkop samkpanʃulụnu n.; saŋ-baŋdugulee n.
hammer hamba n.
hammer (lightly) tama v.
hammock dʒwɔn n.
hand neŋ n.; nepɪɛl n.
hand (back of) nepɪɛlgantal n.
hand (palm of) nepɪɛlpatʃɪgɪɪ n.; netisiŋ n.
hand up tala v.
handkerchief aŋkɪtɪ n.
handle neŋbakpagi n.
hang laga v.
hang limp loorí v.
happiness balalla n.

happy baswɔna n.; patʃɪɡtwɔra n.
happy (be) sɔnɔnɔ3 v.
harassment fini n.
hard kpege1 v.; kpegi n.
hardship ɲʊnnɔŋ3 n.
harmattan gbɑŋbaŋ n.
harmonize gbias1 pl.v.
harsh (be) ɲaga2 v.
hartebest lɔɔ n.
harvest aari v.; kọma v.; ɲmena3 v.
harvest (shea) pinti2 n.
harvest second yam wo1 v.
Hasik (person’s name) hasɪɡ nprop.
hasten poleme v.
hat ɲintʃige n.
hatch tesi2 v.
hate hā v.
Hausa zangbiɛra nprop.
have kʊgawɔ1 v.
Hayong (person’s name) hajoŋ nprop.
he ɔ pro.; ɔwawa pro.; waa pro.
he-goat bʊʊŋbal n.
head ɲuu1 n.
head hair ɲuŋwɔŋ n.
head of animal ɲukpulii n.
headache ɲuwɪɪla n.
headache (frontal) ɲuufugɔ n.
headgear tʃiime n.
headpan tasazıŋ n.
heal ɲɯmɪrɪ v.
healer lulummojaar n.; paatfakjaara n.; patfakjaar n.

health (good) laanfia n.

hear nõõv1 v.

heart begii n.

heat nʊma1 v.

heat a wound ɲagasɪ v.

heaven arɪdʒana n.

heavy jugii n.

hedgehog ɲagenpentii n.

heel nããlumo n.

heifer nɔ̃lor n.

height zɪŋɪɪ n.

help summɪ2 v.; tiise v.

helper susummana n.

helpful sɔŋtɪɪna n.

helpless child ɲanʊgɪɪ n.

hen zapuo n.

hen (bush) bʊzaal n.

henna dʒabelaŋ n.

herbalist paatfakjaar n.

herd gbaa v.

herder gbaar n.

here baan v.

hernia pʊɔga n.

hide pumo1 v.; sogoli1 v.

hiding pumii1 n.

high (be) gati v.

highland kunʃkuŋ n.

hill gradient gimii n.

hinder teŋe3 v.

hinge (door) lɛura n.

hip tʃerboa n.

hippopotamus bunõho n.

hire ha v.

hit gogo v.; jaga1 v.; jagası pl.v.; vira v.

hit down repeatedly pila v.

doe par n.

hoe (type of) pagbeti n.; patrila n.;

pawie n.; pazeŋ n.; säädiili n.; säägbulie n.; sääʃoŋ n.

hoe blade pabii n.

hold kogo v.; kpaga3 v.; tʃewa1 v.

hold on kpaga kaalrı cpx.v.

doe buɔ1 n.

doe (grave) buabie n.

doe zagati v.

hollow (be) pɛna2 v.

hollow behind the collarbone bagenboa n.

homer dendilsaŋana n.

honest (be) degi3 v.

honest (person) nibupomma n.;

nibuweri n.

honey tšo n.

hooked (be) goro1 v.

hoot at woori v.

hope liisi2 v.; tamaa n.

hopping (one leg) nääkelijnke n.

horn ɲɪŋdaa n.

horn flute kabıl n.

horse kɪnzɪnɪɪ n.

hospital asibtti1 n.

hot numa1 v.; numi n.; noŋ v.

hot (be) boma3 v.
hot (feeling) nʊnnʊŋ1 n.
hour gbeliŋ n.
house da n.
how ṣuńti̱e interrog.
how many ṣuṁe₁ interrog.
how much ṣuṁe₁ interrog.
human being nɪbụluŋ n.
human entity particle ni-
hump gʊma₁ n.
hunchback gʊmatɪɪna n.
hundred kɔwa num.
hunger lʊsa n.
hunt kpääŋ1 v.; ṣewa v.

i

idol (type of) tɔɔmi n.
if dʒ1 conn.
if so amĩœ conn.
ignite ṣuṁe v.; tʃogo v.
ill wɪ v.
illegitimate child sansanbie n.
imam limaan n.
imitate dị n.; tʃaasɪ v.
imitating sɪa n.
immediately baan ṣv.
imperfective dʒ1 ṣv.
impotent hambara n.
imprison tɔ₄ ṣv.
improper kọlọmbol n.
in (be) dʒa₁ ṣv.
in line jɔrɔtɔ ideo.
in spite of aŋ a muŋ adv.phr.
in that case amĩœ conn.
in vain baga adv.
in-law hila n.
in-law (brother) datʃibaal n.
in-law (brother, sister) datʃie n.
in-law (father) hilihaal n.
in-law (mother) hilihাণ n.
in-law (sister) datʃihাণ n.
inability gbeti v.
inability to sleep sii baraga n.
inactive (be) kọže ṣv.
incline keŋe ṣv.
increase pẹ ṣv.
increase in weight dusi ṣv.
icubation (hen) pumii₂ n.
independent (be) weti₁ v.
indicate tʃagali v.
indiscreet (person) nōātima n.
inevitably hur n.
inexpensive haraha n.
inexperienced (with men) su ħānŋ v.
infection tʃɔzʊʊ n.
inferior wɔlɪɪ n.
inexpensive haraha n.
infection tʃɔzʊʊ n.
injection (type of) baɲʊ̃ ãluro n.; batɪ̃ʊ̃ n.; daadugo n.; dunlatuo n.; ise₁ n.; kuukuu n.; naɔrŋa n.; nɔrŋa n.; peomāa n.; tʃaaŋtʃɪɪŋ n.; tʃɪnɪnɪ n.; tʃɔgɪɪ n.
insert pɔ₁ v.; tōō₁ v.

_j_
jathropha nakunŋ n.
jaundice nɪsɔta n.
jaw ēgla n.

inserted (be) tōō₁ v.
inside patʃigui reln.
inside the village tɔɔpatʃigu n.
insincerity đʊnkafuuri n.
insist tiine v.
insufficient (be) bowo v.
insult la v.; zoŋ n.; zoŋbii n.
insult (type of) nʊʊkpuogohena n.; ʃʊ̃ ɛ̃ɛ̃ interj.
intentionally (do) paga v.
interest (someone) dun ḳu n.
interruptive wɪzʊʊ n.
intersection tʃarga n.

Islam jarɪɪ n.
issue wɪ n.
it ʊ pro.; ʊʊwa pro.; waa pro.
itch tʊrɪgɪ v.
item (necessary) bɔŋbɔwa n.
ivory bɔləŋ n.

jebuni (person’s name) dʒebuni
jewellery (type of) kpaga n.
jewellery (type of) nprop.
join pus1i v.; tʃons1i v.; ʒʊʊ3 v.
joke sään v.
joking partner nasāŋ n.
joy (do with) naŋsvi v.

jump loŋŋi v.; zaasi pl.v.
jump (fowl) pati v.
jump down tʃinisi v.
junction tiwiitʃaraga n.
junior hamɔŋ n.
just baŋ pv.

Kala (person’s name) kala1 nprop.
Kandia village kandɪa2 nprop.
kapok koŋ n.
Katua (lect of) katʊɔlɪɪ2 n.
Katua (person from) katʊɔlɪɪ1 n.
Katua village katʊɔ nprop.
keep kpaga kaalɪ cpx.v.; pɔ3 v.
keep (tell to) pus1i2 v.
keep from falling kogo v.
keep long birgi v.
kenkey daakʊnʊ n.
kerosene karansiin n.
kettle buuta n.
key gborobii n.; safibii n.
key (car) lɔɔlɪgbɛrbɪɪ n.
kick maŋa2 v.
kidney suŋbii n.
kidney stones suŋbīgariga n.
kidney stones suŋbīgariga n.
kneecap nāahūswie n.
kneel gbinti v.
knife kisie n.
knock jaga1 v.; kpaas1i v.; tʃas1i v.
knock bark off pomo v.
know zima v.
knowledge naŋzima n.
knowledgeable siilalla n.; zimna n.
kob wilu n.
kola nut guori n.; kaposie n.
Kole (person’s name) kole nprop.
Kpong village kpoŋ nprop.
labour (extensive) paanōā n.
lack naa1 v.
ladder sanzung n.
lamb pelor n.
lamb (ram) pembelee n.
lament mɔst2 v.
lamp dintina n.; diŋtʃāŋ n.
landlord dratima n.; tindaana n.; tɔutina n.
lane façbaaŋ n.
language taa n.
language (foreign) naasartaan n.
lantern dintina n.; diŋtʃããŋ n.
lantern (type of) najɛliŋgbielie n.
lantern holder diŋtʃããŋdaa n.
lantern oil karansiin n.
large badaazenie n.; zene v.
large (make) peuli v.
last birgi v.
lateral goitre bagɛnapʊɔgɪɪ n.
laterite nāŋja n.
laugh mʊma1 v.
laughing mʊmɪɪ n.
laughter mʊma n.
 laughter (stifled) murisi v.
law beŋ n.
lawyer lɔja n.
lay eggs ɲa2 v.
lay head on sɪla v.
laziness bawɪɪha2 n.; zʊ̃ ʊ̃ n.
laziness (dog) bɛʊ n.
lazy bajʊɔra n.
lazy (be) jaari v.
lead gara3 v.; kpānna n.
leader suuter n.
leaf paatʃag n.
leaf (baobab) sāŋkumsɔna n.; toli-paatʃag n.
leaf (bean) sɪgpaatʃag n.
leaf (black berry) soamanziga n.
leaf (cassava) kpɔŋkpɔŋpaatʃag n.
leaf (onion) gaabu n.
leaf (tobacco) tɔʊpaatʃaga n.
leaf (type of) bɪel n.
leaf (white bean) sʊɔsa n.
 leak li2 v.; lulo v.; sɔra v.
lean against tele v.; telegi pl.v.
lean back jala1 v.
lean on pela v.
learn ziɡɪtɪ v.
leave gɪla2 v.; ta1 v.
left gal2 reln.
left (side) gal1 n.
left-over (fufu) kapalasɔŋ n.
leg nāā1 n.
leg (amputated) nāākputi n.
leg (front) vaan n.
leg (hind) hiī n.
lend tʃɪma v.
length ziŋɪɪ n.
leopard bʊɔmanɪɪ n.; nebietɪɪna n.; ɲuwietɪɪna n.
leper zagan n.
leprosy zagansa n.
less (make) fɔgɔst1 v.
let gɪla1 v.; tɪɛ2 v.
let free ta1 v.
lethargic (be) kʊɔlɛ v.
level buti v.
liar patʃigibummo n.
lick lenti v.
lie dara v.; hɛŋsi v.; _mo_ ga v.; tʃoa v.
lie across garav v.; kagaale v.
lie on stomach pu v.
lie on top sagav v.
life mɪɪbʊn
lifestyle ɗɪn
lift arm hããv
light ɗɪn; ʃʊɡa
lightning initiation ɗuoŋsɔɪ
like kii; kii v.; ɲɔŋa v.
like that ƙeŋ adv.
like this ɲɪŋ adv.
limb badaa n.
limp duŋusi v.; ɭɛnsi v.
limping nāāgbọrọjẹ n.
line tʃʊar n.
lines (make) ɭʊi pl.v.
linguist kpambia n.
liniment tree pontii n.
lion dʒɛtɪ n.; ɲużeŋtɪɪna n.
lip nāstunii n.
liquid (of sore) ɗɪpʊmma n.
liquid (type of) ɗon n.
listen nɔ̃di v.
little finii ints.; ɲegeke ɭɛd; tantama ɭɛd.
live ɗʊsən n.
liver ɲu
lizard (type of) dʒɛdʒɛrɪ n.; gagatin n.; ɣer n.; ɭɛgɛra n.; ɭegeta n.; gbagago n.; tiwiibalẹŋgregie n.
load bōŋ n.
load (gun) pama v.
load-support ʤemii n.
Lobi lobi n.
location (type of) bagorii n.; bagorii n.; bintuk n.; bọntọnọa n.; daamụ n.; ɗudụ n.; gbọgọ n.; laŋan ɭa n.; ɭiŋ ɭa n.; ɭaŋẹ ɭa n.
lock hara v.
luck (type of) ɭmahô n.
log daakputi n.; ɗolo n.
log part daabii n.
lonely (person) ɲidigmana n.
long (be) ɭiŋa v.
long and thin wimimmi ɭedm.
look at fimii v.
look different tʃerigii v.
look to buure4 v.
loose paani v.
loose (be) ɭọla v.; ɭọgo v.
loose (make) folo v.
lose sight of ɲʊŋsɪ v.
lose weight fuori2 v.
loser (person) ɭuɭe1 n.
loss bɔna n.
lost (get) ɲʊŋsɪ v.
louse kpibii n.
love buure3 v.; ɲeŋa v.
lower ɭoŋna n.
low land falŋ n.
low-toned (be) sʊɔnii v.
lower tma v.
lower back fōó n.
lower than expectation tfuma₃ v.
loyal (person) w込んだn.
luck suma v.
luck (bad) ṅubọŋ n.
luck (have) Ṽusuŋ v.
lukewarm tɔlatɔla ideo.
lumps luguso pl.n.
lumpy (be) lugusi₁ v.

maize mィィmena n.; ɲammị n.
maize cob ɲammidaa n.
maize husk ɲammipeti n.
maize silk Ṽgsieŋ n.
maize tassel fagọl₂ n.
make kʊɔrɪ₁ v.
make hole ludi v.
make love buure₃ v.
make soft bugọ₁ v.
malaria sɔntे₂ n.
man Ṽaal₁ n.
man (handsome) binaŋ n.
man male pubic hair peŋpọŋ n.
malnourished child Ṽeša n.
malt tamputie n.
malt (guinea corn) kɔmịa n.
man baal₁ n.; níbaal n.
man (old) bahịe n.
man (young) bijọlị n.
manager (farm) kuonịhịe n.

mandible (head) lotoremuŋ n.
mane kọŋ n.
mango mọŋgo n.
Mangu (person’s name) ɲmáaŋo
manhood baalị n.
manipulate tiiri v.
manner náa₂ n.
many ɲikaŋ quant.
mark dāána n.; pẹmpel n.; pǐi v.; sige v.; tií₁ v.; tií₂ v.; wíl n.
mark (animal) dāánn₁ v.
mark (mouth) nọátfuar n.
market jọwa n.
marks (make) puni pl.v.
marry jọʊ v.; kpα₃ v.; paa₂ pl.v.
mash purusi v.; tʃema v.
mason meesin n.
masquerade (funeral) sigmaa n.
master dziga v.
masticate tʃagamị v.
mat kaleŋ n.; kintʃɔaln n.
matt (door) dʒaana n.
matt (grass) písa n.
matches mankisi n.
maternal lineage māábise n.
matter wín n.
matter (trivial) willaŋ n.
mattress kintʃɔaln n.
mature dʒɪga v.
maybe a bɔnī̃ɛ̃ nì adv.phr.
meal kɪndiilii n.
meaning mʊn2 n.
measles takatʃuune n.
measure maŋs1 v.
measurement (farm) gala n.; kagal n.; kogulii n.; naakpaaga n.
meat námţā n.; nanguruŋ n.
meat (boiled) nantɔŋɪɪ n.
meat (forbidden) bulumbunti n.
meat (porcupine) saŋɲammɪɪ n.
meat (raw) nãnhuor n.
meat (type of) naŋfɛŋta n.
meat for sale nambɛra n.
Mecca maka n.
medical powder lulisaʊ n.
medicine lulii n.
medicine (type of) aṣibtti2 n.; birisitɔ̀ n.; bokorɔ́ra n.; gbaraga2 nproc.; lulibummo n.; naasaarlulii n.; nigimiilulii n.; sel n.
meet tʃẽme v.
meeting lagamɪɪ n.; mintiŋ n.
melt ɲmɛri v.
members of a paternal relation ɲi-nawɔ̀le pl.n.
membrane pɛtɪndagal n.
menses dokɔŋak n.; ɲisɔn n.
menstruate tʃagasi2 v.
menstruating (person) tʃagtʃagasa2 n.
message hɛse n.
metal (type of) daŋ ē n.
metamorphose birg12 v.
metre mita n.
middle bambaŋ1 n.; bambaŋ2 reln.; galŋa reln.
midnight tɔhɪ́ɛ n.
mile meeli n.
mill fiebi v.; nikanika n.
millet zul n.
millet ergot (fungi) disease nangwɔŋ n.
millipede (type of) haliŋguomii n.; nɔdɔmanki n.
mimic tʃaası v.
minute minti n.; tla quant.
miscarry viɛri v.
miserliness siituna n.
miserly sigi n.
miss out gara v.
mist meŋ n.
mistake (make) poti n.; tulemi v.
mistake (to do by) tulemi v.
mix buu v.; kuosi v.
mixture of kinds dʒaabırɪdʒa n.
mocking sia n.
mocking relation nasata n.
molar paŋ n.
mole saŋkpanzigil n.
mollusc (type of) kpânna n.
Monday atanĩ̃ɛ̃ n.
money molebii n.
mongoose (type of) maɲãɔ̃ n.; maɲãɔ̃tuogu n.; watʃɛhɛɛ n.
morning tʃʊɔsa n.; tʃʊɔsɪn pɪsa n. phr.
morsel bɔtɪɪ n.
mortar tuto n.
mortar (centre) tutosii n.
mortar (farm) kuotuto n.
mosque wʊzaandɪa n.
mosquito zoŋgoree n.
mother mãã n.
mother (new) hasʊɔŋ n.
mother’s brother nãátiname n.; nĩɛra n.
mother’s senior sister māahiıtɛ1 n.
mother’s younger sister māawie1 n.
Motigu (lect of) mɔtigii2 n.
Motigu (person from) mɔtigii1 n.
motion (manner) felfel ideo.
motorbike pupu n.
motorbike (type of) robaruwa n.
mould mɔ v.
moult wire3 v.
mound (form) tɔ5 v.
mourn mɔst2 v.
mouse (type of) dagboŋo n.; guaree n.; mandʊɔgni n.; ol n.; ombul n.; onσaŋ n.; ontolee n.; onzasii n.; tugul n.
mouth nɔā1 n.
moves kiige v.; vige v.
moves (up and down) tʃɔgsɪ1 v.
moves (wawily) tuuri2 v.
moves neck lenși v.
moves over tɔsɪ v.
moves with difficulty talım v.
much kiŋkaŋ quant.
mud vetɪɪ n.
mud (bank) hĩhĩ n.
mud block haglɪbii n.
multi-storey building disugulii n.
multiply tʃaga v.; ugo1 v.
mumps tʃaaŋtʃɪnsa n.
murder kpʊ1 v.
murderer nibükpor n.
Musa (person’s name) musaa nprop.
muscle pain nampuniiwula n.
Muslim jariɛ n.
must foo2 conn.
mute (person) wʊn n.
n

nag tindi v.; zaa paari v.
nail kpaas1 v.
nail (metal) hembii n.
naïve (person) tʃɔgɪ n.
naked bakpal n.
name sɔŋ n.
namesake tɔgama1 n.
narrate binsi v.
narrow fɔrni n.
narrow (be) fɔrɔ2 v.
nasal congestion mɪfɔtʊ n.
nausea (have) hogo v.
navel ul n.
near dʊgʊlɪ v.
necessary (be) daga v.
necessity kparaama n.
neck bagɛna n.
neck of a container viibagɛna n.
needle (type of) nɪ̃ɛ̃sa n.; pɪraago n.
neem tree naasaarsɪŋtʃaʊ n.
negative action dawarɛ n.
negligent (be) faasi v.
neighbours zʊʊdɔŋa pl.n.
nest zan2 n.
nest (guinea fowl) tuk n.
ever dance (person) sɔgbirɔ n.
new fɔlɪ n.; ʃɔŋfɔŋ ideo.
newness tʃēi interj.
nice (be) lema2 v.
nickname sɔŋgɪɛgɪ n.
night baratʃɔgɔʊ n.; sankara n.; tebin n.
night blindness tetɛnse n.
nine dɪɡutu2 num.
nineteen fidiğiutu2 num.
ninth month sɔnkarɛ nprop.
nipple ɪlnō n.
no at interj.
nod gusi v.
noise gbanṣa n.; tʃiɪma1 n.
nose bleed mɪŋjalī n.
nosetril mɪbʊa1 n.
not lei neg.; tɪ neg.; wa pv.
nothing baga adv.
notice kola2 v.
number namba n.
numbness dadā n.
nurse nɛesɪ n.
nurse seeds pugo v.
nut ɲɔtɪ1 n.
nut (half) banpeɡ n.
oath ɲmĩ̃ɛ̃sɪɛ n.
obedient bido n.
obey ɲaba 2 v.
obligatorily baan ρv.
obstruct ɲaŋsi v.
odor ɲwọra n.
offer willingly tʃaŋŋi v.
offering dọc n.
offspring kɪnduho n.
oil nọọ n.
okay e̱̱ interj.; maasɪ₂ v.; tou interj.
okro ɲmeŋ n.
okro (dried) ɲmeŋholi n.
okro (fresh) ɲmeŋson n.
old bina v.
old (be) hĪ̃sɪ₁ v.
omit gara v.
on ní postp.
on (be) dọsa₁ v.; suguli₂ v.
one dieke num.; digimanja₁ num.
onion albasa n.
only maŋa n.; teŋteŋ n.
open lala₁ v.; muma₂ v.; paani v.; pǐa n.
open mouth hāa₁ v.
operate tʃewa₂ v.

opportunity (lost) ɲaŋgaarʊʊ n.
opposite wile n.
or kaa conn.; ko conn.
orange lumburo n.
orchitis luroʔɔrɪ n.
oribi tɛhī n.
originate lʊt n.
orphan lalîwie n.; sulumbie n.
other veŋ ɲv.
otitis digĩnli n.
outlaw tʃelle₁ n.
outside gantal n.; pɛti n.
outsider (be) lugusɪ₂ v.
outsskirts ɲaŋzaŋ n.
oval shape bɔɔl₁ n.
over (be) gaali₁ v.
over-abundant (be) gbugo v.
over-prune gbɔnti v.
overcome kpege₂ v.
overgrown (be) kɔsi v.
overtake kpů₂ v.
own way pere n.
owner tina n.
owner (farm) kuotina n.
owner (shrine) vʊgtina n.

pace nãaavl₂ n.
paddler katiere n.

pain (be in) gana₁ v.
pain (body) bawī̃ha₁ n.
paint laarī₃ v.
pair muno n.
pair (be in) kpara v.
palaver wɪ̃n.
palm tree (type of) abɛ n.; benie n.; kpʊr n.; tɔta² n.
palm wine sɪŋpʊmma n.
pamper jɪɛsɪ v.; liiri² v.
pangolin maŋgbɪŋ n.
pant pugo v.
pantaloons kuruso n.
pants pata n.
papaya kɔglaabʊl n.
paper kadaasɪ n.; piipa n.; tɔŋ³ n.
parasitic plant (type of) swakandikuro n.
parentless mŋāo n.
parents bilʊlla pl.n.
park pakɪ n.
part lie₂ n.
particular wara dem.
partner lagami₂ v.
party paati n.
pass gaasɪ v.; paasi v.
pass centre bɛga v.
past fr pv.
pastor pasita n.
path (type of) fʊɔra n.
patience kaŋeti n.
paw-paw kɔglaabʊl n.
pay bo v.
pay attention to tfalasi₁ v.
peck tfogo v.; tfogosi pl.v.
peel fʊntɪ v.; paasi₁ v.
peep at limmi v.
peg (type of) tɔŋeŋtidaa n.
pelvis nāānawɛsɪ n.
pen kelembi n.; pen n.
pendant kmliemii n.
penis pen n.
people nara pl.n.; tʊma pl.n.; wɔln₁ n.; wɔln₂ n.
pepper kilimie n.; tʃimmāā n.
pepper (dried) tʃimmehʊlɪɪ n.
pepper (fresh) tʃimmesɔŋ n.
pepper (ground dried) tʃimmesaʊ n.
perceive na₂ v.; nʊ̃ ʊ̃ 2 v.
percussion instrument (type of) nāālomo₁ n.; prɛga n.; tʃɪ̃ɪ̃ŋ n.
perform (poorly) kʊɔsɪ v.
perform ceremony kʊɔrɪ⁵ v.
perfume tulaadi n.
perhaps a bɔnī̃ɛ̃ n adv.phr.
period saŋa n.
period (menstrual) tʃagasɪɪ n.
permit gɪla₁ v.
person nar n.
person (type of) jinne n.
person (weak) tɔɔkɛɛ₂ n.
perspiration wilin n.
perspire jala₁ v.
pestle tundaab n.
pestle (piece) tundaaboro n.
phlegm kaasibii n.
pick gbiasɪ₂ pl.v.; keti₂ v.; kpɛtɪ v.
pick (fruit) kørā v.
pick fast tuosi₂ v.
pick out tuasí v.
pick up pinti₁ pl.v.; zoro v.
pickaxe gànggalari n.; pìnjavaast n.
picture foto n.
pierce pɔ₁ v.; tawa v.; tɔsi pl.v.
pierced (be) nʊra v.
pick (fruit) kpʊra.
pick (fruit) v.
pick out tʊsi v.
pick up pinti₁ pl.v.; zoro v.
pickaxe gànggalari n.; pìnjavaast n.
picture foto n.
pierce pɔ₁ v.; tawa v.; tɔsi pl.v.
pierced (be) nʊra v.
pick (fruit) kpʊra.
pick (fruit) v.
pick out tʊsi v.
pick up pinti₁ pl.v.; zoro v.
pickaxe gànggalari n.; pìnjavaast n.
picture foto n.
pierce pɔ₁ v.; tawa v.; tɔsi pl.v.
pierced (be) nʊra v.
plant (type of) dʒɔrə n.; gɔŋ₂ n.; gberegilegii n.; gbentagasì n.; kiesi-munluo n.; ɲagĩ n.; piel n.; zanziŋ n.
plant product (type of) gurba n.
plantain bɔrdía n.
planting pɔi n.
plaster faarì₁ v.
plate pɛrɛte n.
play dɔɔga n.; dɔɔgi v.; sããni v.
playmate nasããŋ n.
playmate relation nasata n.
plead mɔs₁ v.
plesant lemɪ₁ n.
plenty kana v.
plotting zamba n.
plough buti v.
pluck gbi₃₁ pl.v.; tɔrǐ pl.v.; tɔtì v.
plug fʊtɪ v.
plumage lala₁ n.
pocket dʒɪfa n.
pointed polapola ideo.
pointless bagabaga ideo.
poison bɛrəa n.
pole leŋ n.; sungoro n.
police poruso n.
polish belɛgɛ v.
pomade nʊʊttiti n.; tulaadi n.
pound gbɛtara n.; nutaaŋ n.
poor (be) ɲãã₂ v.
poor (person) ɲãʊ n.
porcupine (type of) saŋ n.
porridge kubii n.
porridge (type of) dʒɛbɛrɛ n.; kagbaama n.; kutɔra n.; sul n.
porter bɔntɔɔnà n.; kajajo n.
portion boro n.
portion (unwashed) kɑlɛŋtʃɪa n.
pot (type of) kʊvii n.; leu n.; nɪɪɲʊarvii n.; sielii n.; sɪŋtɔg n.; snʊvii n.; tɔg n.; tɔgì n.
potassium nitrate dʊɔ n.; kãʊ̃ n.
pouch (type of) lɔga n.
pouched rat sapuhĩẽ n.
pound fɪɛbɪ v.; sʊagɪ v.; tugo v.; tʃasɪ v.
pound (currency) pɔŋ n.
pound lightly purusi v.
pour tʃuuri v.
pour all bɪtɪ v.
pour down tʃaarɪ v.
pour libation waasi v.
pour off liile v.
pour some jolo v.
pout zɔsɔnì v.
poverty njāa n.
powder saʊ n.
powder (cosmetic) puɔda n.
power dabaara n.
powerless (become) tɔgʊsì v.
praise ii v.
praise name danta n.; iko interj.; isi interj.; ito interj.; tjej interj.; tle interj.; tʃa interj.; tʃe interj.; nɑŋu interj.; viɛhɛga interj.
prance vitì pl.v.
pray zaami2 v.
praying mantis (type of) sáleŋgoŋo n.
precede bumọ v.
precedent sʊʊ 2 n.
prediction vɔ g n.
predisposed (be) summe tuu cpx.v.
pregnancy luu n.; tia 1 n.
pregnant woman trekpagar n.
prepare kɔɔrɪ2 v.
prepare (new wife) saŋasì v.
prepare skin fɔ v.
press enst v.; fɛrɪgɪ pl.v.; fɛrɪgɪ 3 v.; fɛtɪ 1 v.
press out fɑɑ 4 v.
press together fɔmə v.
prey kɪmkpagasì n.
price jogulo n.
price (high) jogulibɔŋ n.
price (low) haraha n.
price (moderate) jogulilɛŋ n.
price (reduce) alɪbaraka n.
prick tawa v.; tʃugosi pl.v.
prison haradɪa n.
problem nʊnnʊŋ 3 n.; tʊɔra n.
process lugo 2 n.; nάa 2 n.
produce liquid tʃaɡa v.
professional zɪmna n.
profit tɔna n.
prolapse of rectum mʊmʊŋ n.
proliferate ugo 1 v.
prop logo n.
proper dɔn n.
properly (do) mara pv.
prophecy vọta n.
prostitution sansanna n.
protect kisi v.; pɔ3 v.; ɗ3 v.
protect (against lightning) sɔ duoŋ v.
protection kogii n.
protruded (be) ziga v.
proud basucona n.; foro v.
prove gila zima cpix.v.
proverb sianíã n.
proverb (share) ta v.
purerpeller fever mısọta n.
pull tarage pl.v.; tati v.; visi v.
pull out tfurugi pl.v.; tfuti v.
pull out (from liquid) luoli v.
pullet zapuwie n.
pulsate lugusi v.
pump (water) pompi n.
pumpkin plant kawaa n.
punch tfugosi pl.v.

q

quarrel tfiama2 n.
quarter kọta n.
quench dɔsi1 v.
quick nʊnnʊŋ4 n.
quickly laga v.; lagalaga ideo.

r

rabbit tfuomo n.
rabies gaŋ n.; vagan n.
race batʃoaln n.
radio walanse n.
rag garzagatî n.
ragged sọwa2 v.
rain

rain resistant

rain duŋ n.

rain gently mosi v.

rainbow dokagal n.

rainwater doniɪ n.

raise leŋsi v.; sii1 v.

raise body deŋsi2 v.

raised bed jolo n.; sampentie n.

ram pembal n.

ramrod tʃɔ̃ɪ̃ n.

rape gurugi2 v.

rapid nʊnnʊŋ4 n.

rash tʃi v.

rat (type of) motul n.; saabii n.

ravage dugo v.

raw huor n.

reach biɛsi v.; tele v.

read karɪmi v.

reading karɪmɪ n.

ready siri n.

real dim n.; tmtin2 n.

really tori v.; tʃi v.

rear diesi1 v.

rebuke hɔsi3 v.

receive laa1 v.

reclusive (person) ɗɪgɲiɛnɔðra n.

red siama1 n.; siari1 v.

red (person) nibuşima n.

red bean sɪgsiama n.

Red thorn ʂɔsɪama n.

red-handed tʃap ideo.

reduce puuri v.

reduce by sharpening səllɪ v.

refuse viɛ1 v.

regularly jaa pv.

rehearse guɔsɪ v.

reject viɛ1 v.

rejected (person) nvietaali n.

relation (biological) lɔl n.

relative hiŋ n.

release pus vuɔsɪ v.

relocate sii2 v.

reluctance daraga n.

rely on dɛla v.; jalaʃi2 v.

remain tʃa v.

remaining smʃagal2 n.

remember liisi1 v.

remind tinti v.

remote (place) bagori2 n.

remove bolo v.; lɪsɪ v.; lugusi pl.; wɪɔsɪ2 v.; wire2 v.; wʊra v.

remove (shea nut) tesi1 v.

remove part of a whole fɪɛrɪ v.

repair kʊɔrɪ3 v.; ligili v.

repair leakage fʊtɪ v.

repeatedly tuuti ideo.

repent tuub1 v.

reply laa3 v.

reply to greetings awoo interj.

report puoti1 v.

reproduce wasɪ v.

reputation ʂʊbɔŋ n.

resent ɲɪma v.

reserve (lack of) nɔɦɔʊroma n.

reservoir dampɔ n.

resistant kʊŋsʊŋ n.
respect n.; kpa jug v.; kpa su v.
respect (with) bʊɲɛ n.
respectfulness hɪ̃ɪ̃sa n.
respond sɪ̃ã v.
respond to laa3 v.
responsibility karɪfa n.; tiŋa n.
rest hiẽsi1 v.
rest area zamparagɪɪ n.; zaŋ1 n.
resting area daamuŋ1 n.
restore ligili v.
retaliation kaɲaaga n.
retrogress tfɔgɔmɪ v.
return bɪra v.
reward tʃɛla v.
rewind guti v.
rheumatism batʃaste n.
rib kugdaabii n.; loguŋ1 n.
rib cage kugso n.
rice muro n.
rice (grain) murobii n.
rich bundaana n.
ride on zina1 v.
right dul2 reln.; maasɪ2 v.
right (side) dul1 n.
ring neŋbiŋ n.; nepitru n.
ringworm kawaadadag n.
rinse lugusi v.; vaasɪ v.
ripe (be) bɪi2 v.; hiẽsi2 v.; sɪama2 n.; sartɪ2 v.
ripe (stage) mʊl n.
ripe (under-) ganagana ideo.
rise jala3 v.
rival (woman) handoŋ n.
river gɔŋ1 n.
river (big) mʊg n.
river (large) gɔŋzenŋ n.
river (long) gɔŋzenŋi1 n.
river bank gɔŋnɔa n.
river path gɔŋbɔ n.
road birindiy n.; munii n.; tiwii n.
roam guugi v.
roast wiisi1 v.; wɔsɪ v.
rock jegisi pl.v.
roll bilinsi v.
roll up guti v.
roof juo2 v.; pile v.
roof top sabaan n.
roofing beam dolo n.; pel n.; seŋebii n.
room (back) dilumo n.
room-mates zʊʊdɔŋa pl.n.
root luto n.
root (tree) daaluto n.
rope ɳmeŋ n.
rope (make) kala v.
rope (type of) ɡeŋe n.
rotten pɔ̃a v.
rotten (almost) kʊʊrɪ v.
rotten meat tfɔgɔdɔ n.
rough kɔɡɔsɔɡ ideo.
rough (be) fɔn a n.
round go v.
route nääval1 n.
row sāa2 v.
rub biligi v.; fɔgɔlri v.; laari2 v.; liiri1 v.; nama2 v.; tiga v.; ttri v.; tuɔ1 v.
rub along faari2 v.
rubbish viɛra n.
rude (be) vuugi v.
rude (child) bipɔa n.

S

sacrifice po v.
sadness patʃɪgtʃɔgsa n.
saline soil leboa n.
saliva munʃuɔ n.
salt jisa n.
salt (grain) jibii n.
saltpetre dɔc n.; kāo n.
same digmaŋa3 n.
sample lemana n.
sand hagla n.; hagli n.; tagla n.
sandal nāatɔu n.
sandals (type of) nāatɔosmŋרגisga n.
sap nɪpʊmma2 n.; t₁ n.
satisfied (be) pɪnɔsi pl.v.
satisfy pɪnã a v.
Saturday asibiti n.
Sawla sɔgla nprop.
Sawla (lect of) sɔgili2 n.
Sawla (person from) sɔgilin1 n.
say ɲmã1 v.
say (unable) mara2 v.
scaud foro v.
scaut ɔnsi v.

run tʃɔl v.
rush gime v.; poleme v.
rush at gbʊʊrti v.; taari1 v.
rush at in anger (to) iiri v.
rust ɲã3 v.; ɲã1 n.

scatter bɪtɪ v.; jaari v.; laŋsi2 v.; pɪsi v.
scattered gatɡatɪ ideo.
scent sʊɔra n.
school sukuu n.
scissors ɲamekasa n.
scoop loga1 v.; logis1 pl.v.; paasi2 v.
scorpion nʊʊma n.
scout tʃosi v.
scrape against faari2 v.
scrape off fiise1 v.
scrapper bel1 n.
scratch fɔrɪgɪ v.; lala v.; loga v.
scrotum luro n.
sculpt mɔ v.
sea mʊg n.
search buure4 v.
season tɔtʃaŋ n.; tɔtʃaŋbummo n.; tɔtʃaŋsiama n.
season (dry) limmaŋa n.; lʊɔŋa n.
season (rainy) jʊʊ n.
seat kor n.
second month sɪfra n.
secretive patʃɪgibummo n.
section banu n.; bar1 n.
section of Ducie gbɔŋwɔlɛɛ nprop.; kuorubanɪ nprop.; lobanɪ nprop.; paŋbanɪ nprop.; zɪŋbanɪ nprop.

security guard wɔtʃɪmãɪ n.

see na₁ v.

see (part) niise v.

seed biï n.; daanɔ̃ŋ n.

seed (Afzelia) holbii n.

seed (Akee tree) tibii n.

seed (baobab) tolibii n.

seed (dawadawa) sʊlbii n.; tʃɪ̃ãbii n.

seed (gourd) sar n.; sarabii n.

seed (half) banpɛg n.

seed (maize) ɲammɪbii n.

seed (shea nut) tʃuoŋ n.

seed (type of) ɲagɪmbii n.

seed shell (Afzelia) holnɔŋpɛtɪɪ n.

seed shell (dawadawa) tʃɪ̃ãpɛtɪɪ n.

seedling duho n.

seek buure₄ v.

seem dʊ₂ v.

seep out bulo v.

seize fɔsɪ v.

self tɪntɪn n.

self-denial daamɩ n.

self-sufficient (not be) pɔɔɡɩ v.

sell joguli v.

seller jawadiir n.

selling jogulii n.

semi-trailer ɛlɪmʊnąlʊŋzua n.

send tʊma v.

send (someone) hele v.

senior sibling kpɛţma n.

sense nahiɛ n.; nõõ̃₂ v.

separate laasi v.; peliɡɪ₁ v.

seriousness sistama n.

set fire ʈɔga v.

set in a direction degini₁ v.

set up roofing structure dewa v.

settle saŋa₂ v.

settlement bia n.; saal₁ n.; tɔɔ n.

settlement (deserted) dabuo n.

seven alõpe num.; lope num.

seventeen fidalõpe num.

seventh month kpinitfuu nprop.

sew ɔra v.

sewing machine tiila n.

sexton pel n.

shadə basɔŋ n.

shade (yam mounds) ɲast v.

shake jege v.; jegiši pl.v.; pisi v.; wisi v.; zagal v.; zagasɩ₂ v.; zigilii v.

shake (make) ziige v.

shake head viiɡi₂ v.

shake up jeriši v.

shallow trisi v.

shape bilesi pl.v.

share parage v.; totii n.; zuu n.

sharp (be) di₃ v.

sharpen kola v.; sisɩ v.

shave fɔna v.; wire² v.

shaving knife fʊŋ n.

she ʊ pro.; ʊʊwa pro.; waa pro.
shea butter nünd n.
shea nut seed tʃuŋ n.
shea tree suŋ n.
sheath tɔa n.
shed luore v.
sheep penn n.; piesii n.
sheet tel n.
shell wɔra v.
shell (palm nut) kokobeg n.
shelling sulee n.
shine liŋ v.; palsi v.; tʃãaŋ v.
shirt takta n.
shiver zigilii v.
shoe nããtɔʊ n.
shoemaker nããtɔʊkʊɔr n.
shoes (pair) nããtɔwa n.
shop sɪtɔɔ n.
shore mʊgnʊ̃ ã n.
short boro v.
shoulder embɛlɪ n.
shoulder blade vaŋper n.
shoulder joint embɛltsugul n.
shout gbieli v.; hɔsɪ v.; hũũsi v.; tʃaasi v.; uori v.
shove tʃugo v.
shovel sɔbʊl n.
show tʃagali v.
show-off tɔŋkama n.
shrine vʊg n.
shrine (Buge) kala nprop.
shrine (Bulenga) safokala nprop.
shrine (Gbanwale) gbaraga nprop.

shrine (Gurumbele) daabãŋtolugu nprop.
shrine (Holumuni) dɔɡa nprop.
shrine (Motigu) hɔntʃele nprop.; liegu nprop.
shrine (Sawla) kʊɔlɪ nprop.
shrun zʊgʊsi v.
shrub (type of) gagti n.; mii m n.; mʊŋtuolie n.
shut up tʃʊa interj.
shyness hĩsã n.
sibling (younger) määbie n.
sick wɪ v.; wɪlɪ n.
sick (be) gɛrɛgɛ v.
sick (person) dʃɛrɛ n.; gɛrɛgɛ n.
sickness banom n.; dʃɛrɛgɛ n.; gɛrɛgɛ n.; wɪlɪ n.
sickness (type of) kpantɪ n.; tɔŋa n.
sidelogu2 reln.; pe n.
sieve dʃɛrɛ n.; mɛŋŋɪ v.; tɔŋsi v.; tʃesi v.
sift tʃesi v.
sifter dʃɛrɛ n.
sight (gun) tʃiã v.
sign to come kamsɪ v.
signing bigise n.
Sigu language sigu nprop.
silence surum n.
silo buu n.
similar (be) kpara v.; nääni v.
sincere (person) nɪbupʊmma n.; nɪbuweri n.
sing buoli v.
singe off kpɔsɪ v.
singer buolbuolo n.
singer (good) langbe₂ n.
single teŋteŋ n.
sip furusi₁ pl.v.; tʃumo v.
Sisaala (person) hɔli n.
sister (senior) kpɪɛma n.
sit dela v.; pumo₂ v.; saga₁ v.; saŋa₁ v.
site bar₁ n.
sitting place basaŋɪɪ n.
six aloro num.; loro num.
six pence tɔgɔfa n.
sixteen fidaloro num.
sixth month kpinitʃuumakuna nprop.
skim vige v.
skim off wɔɔli v.
skin batɔŋ n.; kʊtɪ₁ v.
skin disease (dog) tɔr n.
sink (type of) gbol n.
skip gara v.
sky kuosoɲuu n.
sky appearance dʒinedʒine₁ ideo.
slam into hɪ̃ɪ̃ v.
slap maŋa₁ v.; pɛsɪ v.; tʃasɪ₁ v.
slaughter kɔrɪgɪ v.
slave joŋ n.
slave (shrine) vʊgjoŋ n.
sleep tfɔa duo v.
sleeping place batʃualɪ n.
sleeping room ditʃualɪ n.
slip foosi v.; saari v.
slip of tongue (do) foti₁ v.
slippery place sosolii n.
slit drum vɔŋgolii n.
slow suɔnɪ v.
slow (be) zugo₂ v.
slowly bɔ̃ɛbɔ̀ɛt ideo.
smack pesɪ v.
small tama quant.; wie n.
smash (tuber) tfɔrgi v.
smear faarɪ v.
smeared zɪlɪmbɪl n.
smell sōā n.; suɔrɪ₁ v.
smile mʊma₁ v.
smoke ɲʊ̃ã₂ v.; ɲʊ̃ãsa n.
smoking away ɲʊgɪɪ n.
smooth logo v.; solisi v.; solonṣolon ideo.; vɔlɔŋvɔlɔŋ ideo.
smock (type of) dansatʃi n.; dansatʃi-wie n.; tmtaaraa n.; togo n.
smoke ɲʊ̃ã₂ v.; ɲʊ̃ãsa n.
smoking away ɲʊgɪɪ n.
smooth logo v.; solisi v.; solonṣolon ideo.; vɔlɔŋvɔlɔŋ ideo.
snail gɔlɛwɪɛgʊ n.
snake haglɪkɪŋ n.
snake (type of) aŋaā n.; bɔsa n.; brige n.; ƅɔdaa n.; ɗɔhǎa n.; dɔkpeni n.; ɗɔŋmeŋ n.; ɗɔŋmeŋbummo n.; ɗɔŋmeŋsiama n.; ɗɔŋwie n.; dɔː n.; dɔːgal n.; kɔŋ n.; māabiewaatelepşi n.; nɪgsta n.; nutina n.; nɪgǐ́mbii₂ n.; sɔmpɔrlilese n.; suong-daaawie n.; sɔosanfì₃ n.
snake skin (moulted) wir n.
snatch mɔna v.
sneak kɔrɪ v.
sneeze kpɪsɪ v.  
sniff in furusi₂ v.  
snore kʊɔrɪ v.  
snuff tɔusau n.  
so be it ame interj.  
soak pɪ v.; sma v.  
soak soil gbɛra v.  
soap kɔwɪa n.  
soft jɔgɔsɪ₁ v.  
soft spot ɲupʊʊsa n.  
soften buti v.  
soil hagla n.; haglɪ n.; tagla n.  
soil (type of) haglɪbummo n.; haglɪnʊgʊl n.; haglɪtʃãã n.  
soldier sodʒa n.  
solid kpegi n.  
solve jʊgil n.  
some banɪ̃ɛ̃ quant.  
someone dɪgɪmaŋa₂ num.; dʒagala n.  
song buol n.  
song track buolnāa n.  
soothsay pɪasɪ₂ v.; vʊga v.  
soothsayer siinaara n.; vʊvʊta n.  
sore kɪnwɪlɪɪ n.; nããwal n.; ɲiŋ n.; pɛmpɛl n.  
sort sii n.  
soul dʊma n.; nɪdʊma n.  
soul (lacking) dʊŋtʃɔ n.; nããhããta n.  
sound (alert) wilie n.  
sound (type of) dmɪ n.; footuo n.; kpāŋnudisa n.

soup ingredient ɗʒumburo n.; föl₂ n.; kɔntɔŋ n.  
sour ɲageɛ₂ n.  
sour (be) ɲaga₁ v.  
south vʊg n.  
south-east wind vʊgtimunʃpeu n.  
sow dũu v.  
soya bean bɛŋkpalɛ n.  
space (little) dɪra v.  
space between the eyebrows miidaa n.  
spark (fire) diŋpapaʃe n.  
spasm (throat) sinsige n.  
speak ɲma₁ v.  
spear tiŋ n.  
spear grass kumpii n.  
species balaʃ₂ n.  
specific wara dem.  
speckled lagasɪ pl.v.  
speech ɲmɪmahā n.  
spendthrift ʃɔga₂ n.  
spherical object kpulii n.  
spider ɲmɛntɛl₁ n.  
spider (type of) mɔntuosoʃi n.  
spill bɪtɪ v.  
spin taarɪ₂ v.; vilimi v.  
spindle gundaabii n.; ŋmɛdaa n.  
spine gantabahgang n.  
spirit (type of) jʊʃsa n.; ɲmaara n.  
spiritual leader (type of) limaan n.; vʊgnihiel n.; wʊzanihiel n.  
spiritual protection zien₁ n.  
spiritual weapon lalaga₂ n.  
spit mʊtɪ v.; pʊ v.; tʃi v.
spitefulness zamba n.
spleen pɔntɔhɛ n.
split up pɛgsi v.
spoil tʃɔɡa v.
spoiled (child) bipÔâ n.
sponge gbera n.
spoon daazɔona1 n.; tʃokoli n.
spoon (wooden) leheɛ n.
spot baan2 n.; laalaga1 n.
spotted lagasì pl.v.
sponge gbɛra n.
spoon daazʊʊn1 n.; tʃokoli n.
spot baan2 n.; laalaga1 n.
spotted lagasì pl.v.
spring bulugo n.
sprinkle mɪsì v.
sprout jala1 v.; jala2 v.; sii2 n.; tɔtì v.; tʃɔra v.
spy pigsi v.
square logumoanaase n.
squashed (be) pɔntì v.
squat toguni v.
squeeze ɛnsì v.
squirrel (type of) hele n.; munjeɛtìna n.; zìsa n.
stable gar n.
stage (chick life) bugo v.
stagger genɛne v.
stained kpoŋo v.
stalk kɔlìn1 n.
stammer bomsi v.
stamp tigimì v.
stand tara2 v.; tʃɪŋa v.
stand against tele v.; telegi pl.v.
staple food kɔl n.; kɔɔ n.
star wìli n.
starch (lacking) tufutufu ideo.
stare fìli2 v.
start kpa2 v.; piili v.
station tiisa n.
stay long birgi v.
steal ɛmìì v.
stealing ɛmììì n.
steam kusi v.
steam (trap) wiisi2 v.
steer sââ2 v.
steering setra n.
stem kɔlìn1 n.
step on nasì v.
step-father ɛmìhǐɛ2 n.; ɛmìwie2 n.
step-mother mââhìɛ2 n.; mââwie2 n.
sternum bambileo n.
stick (forked) daatʃaraga n.
still ha pv.; haalì conn.
sting (bee) tʊ̃ fìiıl n.
stinger (bee) fìl n.
stinginess siìtìna n.
stingy nekpeɡ n.
stink kʊɔRI v.; sʊɔRI2 v.
stinky pɔ̃pɔ̃ ideo.
stir fega v.; kuosi v.; tʃema v.; vuugi v.
stirring-stick fega n.
stock (bean leaves) sʊɔsanìì1 n.
stock (gun) maafadaa n.
stomach pumpunima n.
stomach ache patṣigwina n.
stone bi n.; bɔi n.
stone (big) bizeŋ  n.
stone (flat) bital n.
stone (small) briwie n.
stone (smooth) logologob n.

strip off suli v.
striped (be) tʃaŋṣi v.
strive lɔga₂ v.
strong kpege₁ v.
strong (person) fəŋatima n.
struggle lɔga₂ v.
stubborn child biviɛ n.; biviɛli n.
stubbornness ṭukpeg n.
stuck fɔra₁ v.
student karaŋbie n.
study zgiṭi v.
stump (tree) daakputii₂ n.; daa-

substandard (meat) sɪɛ v.
subtract lɪsɪ₂ v.
success ṭuweri n.
suck in  tʃuuse v.
suck out mɔɡosí v.; tati v.
suddenly baan pv.
suffering āānuuba n.; nuui n.; sigii n.
sugar sikiri n.
sugar cane kakan55 n.
Suglo (person’s name) suglo nprop.
suicide daasiiga₂ n.
suicide (commit) mara n.
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tax lompoon n.
teach tfagali v.
teacher karma n.; tsitsa n.
tear kiasi v.; puli v.; siini n.; tfuriri v.
teasing sii n.
telegraph tangaqafu n.
telephone foon n.
telephone line foonmep n.
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Thursday alamosa n.
tibia nāgbanjahog n.
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ticket tigit n.
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tie in packages fata v.
tigernuts muhīe n.
tight tiri v.
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Tiisa (lect of) tiisaali n.
Tiisa (person from) tiisaali n.
Tiisa village tiisaa nprop.
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tiny tila quant.
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tobacco twa n.
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today zaan n.
toe nābii n.
toe (big) nābikanjkalaw n.
toe (fourth) nābibaambaanji n.
toe (index) nābizaanji n.
toe (little) nābiwien n.
toe (middle) nābibaambaanj n.
Togo hare tʃuomo n.
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Toma (person’s name) tɔma nprop.
tomato kalie n.; teli n.
tomorrow tʃi Pl.; tʃi n.
tongs tʃao n.
tongue nūzulun n.
too gba quant.; ko adv.
tool (type of) sampil n.
tool (yam digging) kpānjhiredaa n.
tooth ɲi n.
tooth (back) ɲitili n.
tooth (canine) ɲiwa n.
tooth of a comb tʃaasanji n.
toothache kaka n.
top of ɲu Pl. reln.
tortoise kpaakpuro n.; wili n.
totality biri n.
touch biligi v.; baasiri v.; laari v.
tough künsi n.
towards (be) tʃaga v.
town tɔze n.
tracks lugon Pl.
trade di jawaa v.
trade for tʃera v.
trader jawadiir n.
tradition lesiri n.
trail kpaa n.
trail (animal) lugon n.
traitor dite n.
transform birgi₂ v.
trap baŋʃɔ s.; hɪwa₁ v.; tfige₁ v.
trap (big) baŋʃɔɔzen n.
trap (type of) baŋʃɔɔwie n.; hɪo n.; tɔnbiẹẹ n.; zantɔ n.
tray (wood) filii n.
treat tiime v.
tree daa₁ n.
tree (bitter) daaḥaa n.
tree (type of) alakade n.; anĩ n.; aŋbuluŋ n.; badʒɔbaga n.; bel₂ n.; beŋ n.; bɪbɔg n.; bomboso n.; bɔg₁ n.; bulo n.; daašiama n.; daaša n.; duonkiir n.; fufegẹ n.; fusul n.; goŋo n.; goŋtɔga n.; gbɛl n.; gbῐkʊl n.; gbʊn n.; hambag n.; hol₁ n.; kaakie n.; katʃal n.; koŋ n.; kuolie n.; kʊrʊg-baŋ n.; kpoluŋkpoo n.; loŋpoglii n.; naašaardaa n.; naašaargbɛsa n.; naašaarsɪŋtʃaʊ n.; naakɛlɪŋ n.; nakodol n.; nakpagtɪi n.; napara-pɪrɪi n.; nasol n.; nokun n.; paamǎ n.; pitiiŋa n.; pitisiolo n.; poŋ-poglii n.; poŋpogo n.; ɪrɪ h.; saŋk-paŋtulun n.; sɪŋkpli n.; sɪŋtʃaʊ n.; sɪsia n.; sokie n.; sʊmbumo n.; sʊkoro n.; sʊsiama n.; sʊta₂ n.; sug n.; suon n.; suonbɛn a n.; tii n.; tolii n.; tomo n.; tʃonjoglii n.; waaliŋzana n.; walaŋzana n.; zahulii n.; zʊgsts n.
tree hole daalor n.
tree scar daakpuogii n.
tree trunk bambii₂ n.
tribe balʊʊ₁ n.
trigger (gun) maafapeŋ n.
twin Ḟɛndɔŋ n.
twine around mma₃ v.
twins Ḟɛnsa n.
twist ḋɪɛn v.; mɪmɪ v.
twisted (be) mma₃ v.
two alɪɛ num.; ɲɛwã num.
two Ghana Pesewas bɔɔtɔa₂ num.
type feriɡi₂ pl.v.; iri n.; sii n.
tyre kوبا n.
t.z. kul n.; kọs n.
t.z. (cold) kọsọŋ n.

ugly tʃʊma₂ v.
ulcer (type of) kaŋkabulo n.
umbilical cord ulzʊa n.
able (be) gbɛtɪ v.; kusi v.
able to take (be) bire v.
unavoidably hur n.
unbeliever kaafr n.
unbend degini₁ v.
under mʊŋ₃ reln.
under-sized (be) kere n.
undergarment bɔɔbɪ n.
derパンts pata n.; prɪtɔɔ n.
undigested (be) gere v.
undress wire₁ v.
uneven (be) kegeme v.
unexpected náаsii n.
unexpectedness ʧesu interj.
fold degini₂ v.
ungrateful vɪɛzɪtʃa n.
unhealthy (be) kɔlɔlɔ ideo.
unhygienic (person) donɔtʊnta n.
unhygienic nature sɔkɔsɪ n.
unknowingly dzaa adv.

unless foo₁ conn.
unmarried (woman) hanzoŋ n.
unreliable (be) tʃɔrɪm n.
unripe gal n.; hema₂ n.
unroll peligi₂ v.
unset jɔɡɔsɪ₂ v.
unsure sige n.
untamed wegimi v.
untie puro v.
untrusty (person) nɪbukamboro n.
unused seweree n.
unusual kperii n.
unusual (be) kpere v.
unwillingness daraga n.
up zaaza ideo.
upon this de ni adv.phr.
uproot tʃurugi pl.v.; tʃuti v.
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urine fɪ̃ɪ̃nɪ̃ n.
used to mɔna v.
usually jaa pv.
uterine fibroids mɔŋsugo n.
vacant woo v.
vagina mɔŋ n.
Vagla person vɔgla n.
valley falɪŋbʊa n.
valuable (be) jugo₂ v.
vanish nigimi v.; prsi v.; sogoli₁ v.
vehicle lɔɔlɪ n.
veil lambaraga n.
vein pol n.
vein (arm) nepol n.
venom (snake) zien₂ n.
version totii n.
very tʃuur ideo.; wara dem.
very (black) jiriti ints.
very (cold) jululu ints.
very (early) pipi ints.
very (hot) kpaŋkpaŋ ints.
very (red) tʃuıtʃuũ ints.
very (true) tʃurutu ints.
very (white) jarata ints.; peupeu ints.
village tɔʊ n.
village (small) tɔwie n.
village’s centre tɔʊsii₁ n.
virginity (take) mɔ v.
virus (cassava) kpɔŋkpɔŋpaatʃak-tʃɔgʊ n.
visual pattern ʃarafʃara ideo.
visual perception (type of) bʊs-abosə ideo.; dʒinedʒine₂ ideo.; dʒu-modʒumo ideo.; gbeni₂ n.; hɔlahɔla ideo.; ileʔile ideo.; ɔkɔlakɔlako ideo.; sʊɔsanɪ₁ 2 n.; tʃɛnɪtʃɛnɪ ideo.
visual power (extra-natural) sinahã n.
vomit tɪɛsɪ v.; tɪɛsɪɛ n.; ugo v.
vomit (bile) sɪnlɔg n.
voracious hɪ̃ɛ̃r v.
vulture (type) nákpaazugo n.
vulture (type) zaarhì̃ n.
vulva mɔŋ n.
Wa (language) waalɪɪ n.
Wa town waa nprop.
Waala (person from Wa) waal n.
wag viwo₁ n.
waist tʃɛra n.
waxist beaks tʃɛrakn n.
wait tʃalasɪ₂ v.
wake up lala₂ v.
walk vala v.
walk (way of) mɛŋŋi₂ v.
walk stealthily dɔsɪ v.
walking stick dankpala n.
wall zì̃ɛ n.
want buure₁ v.; ɛmɔ₂ pv.
war lal n.
warm up guɔsɪ v.
warm up moderately ṭẹẹsí v.
warn kpaasti₂ v.
warthog teu n.
warthog ivory teukanŋ n.
wash belege v.; sama v.; sist₂ v.; tʃagasti₁ pl.v.
washer (person) tʃagtsagasa₁ n.
wasp (type of) kaleŋbogutí n.; kiriŋ n.; tʃiriŋ n.; voloŋvuɔ n.
wasp’s nest kirisaal n.
waste (type of) tʃuoŋbul n.
watch ɲine₁ v.
water nɪɪ n.
water (bitter) nɪɪhã n.
water (deep) nɪɪluŋ n.
water (high flow) pʊlpʊl ideo.
water (lock) hɪ̃hɪ̃ɪ̃ n.
water (potable) nɪɪnʊ̃ әlɪɪ n.
water (running) nɪɪpala n.
water (sour) nɪɪɲagan n.
water pot boŋ n.; bugulie n.
water sachet prawata n.
water seller njogulo n.
water source pol n.
water-yam kpāŋnɪɪ n.; sieribile n.
waterbuck zʊ̃ ә n.
way lugo₂ n.; nāa₂ ә n.
we ja pro.; jawa pro.; jawaa pro.
weak jʊɔrɪ v.; kɔnti v.; ziezie ideo.; әŋŋ n.
weak (be) bieli v.; kʊɔlɛ v.
weak (become) tʊgʊsɪ v.
weak (person) nizɔŋ n.
wear laari₁ v.; ʃɔ₂ v.; ʃʊɔ₁ v.; woɔa₃ v.
weather (cold) war n.
weather (type of) zuu n.
weave pɛra v.; sọā v.
weaver garső̃ɔ r n.; sọāsọɔr n.
weaver’s workshop kʊɔrɛɛ n.
Wednesday alarba n.
weed gana₂ v.; paasti₃ v.; para v.
weep wii v.
weevil tʃɔgɪɪ n.
weigh jugo₁ v.
weight fɛtɪ₂ v.
welcome ansa₁ interj.
well kəlŋ n.; vil n.
well (do) mara pv.
west tiŋnuu n.; wʊtʃelii n.
wt səɔn5 v.
what baɑŋ interrog.; ɲɪnɪ̃ɛ̃ interrog.
wheel tʃetʃe n.
when di₂ conn.; saŋa weŋ interrog.
where lie₁ interrog.
where about kaa interrog.
which weŋ interrog.
while di conn.
whip fɪɛbɪ₂ v.; kpaasa n.
whip (palm leaf) tʃagbarɪga n.
whirlwind kaleŋvilime n.
whisper misi v.
whistle fuoli v.; fuolo n.
white pʊmma n.
white (be) pula v.; tula v.
White thorn *sɔpʊmma* n.
white-tailed mongoose *bilii* n.
who *anj* interrog.
whole *birin* n.; *kimbin* n.
why *ɲin* interrog.
wickedness *ɲanja* n.; *patʃigihaa* n.; *tʃabariga* n.
wide *peni* n.
wide (be) *pəna*1 v.
wide (make) *peuli* v.; *piini* v.; *wega* v.
widow *luhään* n.
widower *buzoŋ* n.; *lubaal* n.
wife (most recent) *hãwie*2 n.
wife (most recent) *hãwie*2 n.
widower *buzoŋ* n.; *lubaal* n.
wife *hãŋ*3 n.
wife *hãŋ*3 n.
woman *hãŋ*1 n.; *nɪhãŋ* n.
woman (fertile) *nɪhãlʊlla* n.
woman (old) *hähī* n.
why *ɲin* interrog.
whole *biriŋ* n.; *kɪnbirɪŋ* n.
why *ɲin* interrog.
whole *biriŋ* n.; *kɪnbirɪŋ* n.
wide *peni* n.
wide (be) *pəna*1 v.
wide (make) *peuli* v.; *piini* v.; *wega* v.
widow *luhään* n.
widower *buzoŋ* n.; *lubaal* n.
wife (most recent) *hãwie*2 n.
widow *luhään* n.
widower *buzoŋ* n.; *lubaal* n.
wife (most recent) *hãwie*2 n.
widower *buzoŋ* n.; *lubaal* n.
wife *hãŋ*3 n.
wife *hãŋ*3 n.
woman *hãŋ*1 n.; *nɪhãŋ* n.
woman (fertile) *nɪhãlʊlla* n.
woman (old) *hähī* n.
why *ɲin* interrog.
whole *biriŋ* n.; *kɪnbirɪŋ* n.
wide *peni* n.
wide (be) *pəna*1 v.
wide (make) *peuli* v.; *piini* v.; *wega* v.
widow *luhään* n.
widower *buzoŋ* n.; *lubaal* n.
wife (most recent) *hãwie*2 n.
widow *luhään* n.
widower *buzoŋ* n.; *lubaal* n.
wife (most recent) *hãwie*2 n.
widower *buzoŋ* n.; *lubaal* n.
wife *hãŋ*3 n.
wife *hãŋ*3 n.
woman *hãŋ*1 n.; *nɪhãŋ* n.
woman (fertile) *nɪhãlʊlla* n.
woman (old) *hähī* n.
why *ɲin* interrog.
whole *biriŋ* n.; *kɪnbirɪŋ* n.
wide *peni* n.
wide (be) *pəna*1 v.
wide (make) *peuli* v.; *piini* v.; *wega* v.
widow *luhään* n.
widower *buzoŋ* n.; *lubaal* n.
wife (most recent) *hãwie*2 n.
widow *luhään* n.
widower *buzoŋ* n.; *lubaal* n.
wife (most recent) *hãwie*2 n.
widower *buzoŋ* n.; *lubaal* n.
wife *hãŋ*3 n.
wife *hãŋ*3 n.
woman *hãŋ*1 n.; *nɪhãŋ* n.
woman (fertile) *nɪhãlʊlla* n.
woman (old) *hähī* n.
why *ɲin* interrog.
whole *biriŋ* n.; *kɪnbirɪŋ* n.
wide *peni* n.
wide (be) *pəna*1 v.
wide (make) *peuli* v.; *piini* v.; *wega* v.
widow *luhään* n.
widower *buzoŋ* n.; *lubaal* n.
wife (most recent) *hãwie*2 n.
widow *luhään* n.
widower *buzoŋ* n.; *lubaal* n.
wife (most recent) *hãwie*2 n.
widower *buzoŋ* n.; *lubaal* n.
wife *hãŋ*3 n.
wife *hãŋ*3 n.
woman *hãŋ*1 n.; *nɪhãŋ* n.
woman (fertile) *nɪhãlʊlla* n.
woman (old) *hähī* n.
why *ɲin* interrog.
whole *biriŋ* n.; *kɪnbirɪŋ* n.
yam kpääŋ n.; pii n.
yam (big) kpääŋbääŋ n.
yam (boiled) kpääŋbuso n.
yam (cooked) kpaambilip n.
yam (medium) kpääŋbeŋe n.
yam (new) kpääŋfoli n.
yam (old) kpääŋbimbi n.
yam (spoiled) kpääŋtʃɔgĩĩ n.
yam (type of) beso n.; bukpääŋ n.; fɛrió n.; gutugu n.; kpamamuro n.; kpasadʒɔ n.; kponno n.; laabɔkɔ n.; mankir n.; singeta n.; tịglaa n.; wọsina n.
yam farm (portion) kpaamparĩ n.
yam field (state) pikiete n.
yam flesh kpääŋugul n.
yam harvest wou n.
yam hut kpääŋlaʊ n.
yam mound pii n.
yam mound (part) piimn̩sa n.
yam mound (small) piipeleɛ n.
yam mound row pitaŋ n.
yam outer skin kpääŋpeti n.
yam seedlings kpääŋduho n.; kpääŋ-wou n.
yam stem kpäänsii n.
yawn hääsi v.
yaws sangberema n.
year bına n.
yeast bura n.
yellow fever zagoaf̩ n.
yellowish sọlsaọ̀2 n.
yes ɛɛ interj.
yesterday ɗi ṗv.; diare n.
yet Haunted ći conn.
yield laa5 v.
you hịŋ pro.; ị pro.; ịwa pro.
you (pl.) ma pro.; mawa pro.; mawaa pro.
young hɛma1 n.; wie n.
zine plate tʃensit 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. [kʰæʔ] ‘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.
Grammatical outlines

2 Segmental phonemes inventory

This section introduces the segmental phonemes of Chakali and their contrasts by determining the phonetic properties in minimal contexts of speech sound patterns, when possible. Near-minimal pairs appear, yet the majority of the evidence provided is based on minimal pairs. The vowels are examined first, followed by the consonants.

2.1 Vowels

Chakali is treated as a language with nine underlying vowels and eleven surface vowels. They are presented in Figure 1 in vowel diagrams. The surface vowels [a] and [ə] are discussed at the end of this section.

![Vowel Phonemes and Surface Vowels in Chakali](image)

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>cli. example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PoS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEIGHT</td>
<td>zíŋ</td>
<td>tail</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>záŋ</td>
<td>rest area</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pítí</td>
<td>survive</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pétí</td>
<td>finish</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO</td>
<td>gbiŋ</td>
<td>bracelet</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gbóŋ</td>
<td>type of tree</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kísì</td>
<td>pray</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kùsì</td>
<td>unable</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATR</td>
<td>níŋ̄</td>
<td>sore</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>níŋ̄</td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>di</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>di</td>
<td>if</td>
<td>conn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.2 Near-close near-front unrounded i.

The vowel [ɪ] is front, unrounded, high, and lax.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>cli. example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PoS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEIGHT</td>
<td>písì</td>
<td>scatter</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pésí</td>
<td>slap</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>híːlː</td>
<td>witch</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hál</td>
<td>egg</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO</td>
<td>tísì</td>
<td>shallow (be)</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tósí</td>
<td>move over</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tʃíŋá</td>
<td>stand</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tʃʊŋá</td>
<td>carry load</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATR</td>
<td>fì</td>
<td>would</td>
<td>pv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fí</td>
<td>ten</td>
<td>num</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zíŋ̄</td>
<td>bat</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zíŋ̄</td>
<td>tail</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.3 Close-mid front unrounded e.

The vowel [e] is front, unrounded, mid, and tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>cli. example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PoS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEIGHT</td>
<td>bèlè</td>
<td>type of bush dog</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bilè</td>
<td>put down</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>péŋ</td>
<td>penis</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pàŋ</td>
<td>molar</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO</td>
<td>zèŋ</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zóŋ</td>
<td>insult</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pèl</td>
<td>roofing beam</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pól</td>
<td>vein</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATR</td>
<td>bèŋ</td>
<td>law</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bɛ́ŋ</td>
<td>type of tree</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.4 Open-mid front unrounded ɛ.

The vowel [ɛ] is front, unrounded, mid, and lax.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>cli. example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PoS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEIGHT</td>
<td>tfèrà</td>
<td>barter</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tfàrà</td>
<td>straddle</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pélà</td>
<td>lean on</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pilà</td>
<td>hit down repeatedly</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO</td>
<td>mèŋ</td>
<td>dew</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>móŋ</td>
<td>vagina</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pɛ́</td>
<td>add</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pɔ̀</td>
<td>protect</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATR</td>
<td>sɛ́l:</td>
<td>animal</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sɛ́l</td>
<td>wood shaving</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.5 Close-mid back rounded o.

The vowel [o] is back, rounded, mid, and tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>cli. example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PoS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEIGHT</td>
<td>ṭół</td>
<td>type of mouse</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ṭúl</td>
<td>navel</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hół</td>
<td>type of tree</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hál</td>
<td>egg</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO</td>
<td>bóŋ</td>
<td>big water pot</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bèŋ</td>
<td>law</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pół</td>
<td>pond</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pél</td>
<td>roofing support</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATR</td>
<td>kóŋ</td>
<td>Kapok tree</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kɔ́ŋ</td>
<td>cobra</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hół</td>
<td>type of tree</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hɔ́l</td>
<td>charcoal</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.6 Open-mid back rounded ɔ.

The vowel [ɔ] is back, rounded, mid, and lax.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>cli. example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PoS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEIGHT</td>
<td>pɔ̀</td>
<td>protect</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pό</td>
<td>spit</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kɔ́lá</td>
<td>sharpen</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kàlà</td>
<td>rope</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO</td>
<td>móŋ</td>
<td>vagina</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mɛ̀ŋ́</td>
<td>mist</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pɔ̀là</td>
<td>fat</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pɛ́lá</td>
<td>lean on</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATR</td>
<td>pɔ̀</td>
<td>protect</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pó</td>
<td>collect</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kɔ́ŋ</td>
<td>cobra</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kɔ́ŋ</td>
<td>type of tree</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Grammatical outlines

2.1.7 Close back rounded u.

The vowel [u] is back, rounded, high, and tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>cli. example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PoS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEIGHT</td>
<td>pú</td>
<td>lie on stomach</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pó</td>
<td>collect</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>súl</td>
<td>mud fish</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sàl</td>
<td>flat roof</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO</td>
<td>búú</td>
<td>silo</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bìi</td>
<td>seed</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kùsì</td>
<td>unable</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kísi</td>
<td>pray</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATR</td>
<td>zúl</td>
<td>millet</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zòól</td>
<td>tuber</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pú</td>
<td>cover</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pó</td>
<td>spit</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.8 Near-close near back rounded ʊ.

The vowel [ʊ] is back, rounded, high, and lax.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>cli. example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PoS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEIGHT</td>
<td>vóg</td>
<td>shrine</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vòg</td>
<td>south</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kòlá</td>
<td>give birth</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lálá</td>
<td>open</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO</td>
<td>mósì</td>
<td>rain</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mísì</td>
<td>sprinkle</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bòlà</td>
<td>tasteless</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bílà</td>
<td>try to solve</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATR</td>
<td>tfóórí</td>
<td>torn</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tfùùrí</td>
<td>pour</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zòól</td>
<td>tuber</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zúl</td>
<td>millet</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2 Segmental phonemes inventory

2.1.9 Open front unrounded a.

The vowel [a] is unrounded and low.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>cli. example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PoS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>gàř</td>
<td>cloth</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gèř</td>
<td>lizard</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ε</td>
<td>màrà</td>
<td>farm</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pèrà</td>
<td>weave</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>zàŋ</td>
<td>rest area</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zìŋ</td>
<td>tail</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>tàtì</td>
<td>stretch</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tìtì</td>
<td>rub</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>hàl</td>
<td>egg</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hòl</td>
<td>type of tree</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>pàlå</td>
<td>flow</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pòlà</td>
<td>be fat</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>páŋ</td>
<td>molar</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pùŋ</td>
<td>feather</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ü</td>
<td>bǎr</td>
<td>chance</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bòr</td>
<td>dust</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When considering Rowland & Rowland (1965); Crouch & Smiles (1966); Bergman, Gray & Gray (1969); Toupin (1995); Crouch & Herbert (2003), the Chakali vowel phoneme inventory appears to match one of the two posited types of phonemic inventories found in other Southwestern Grusi (SWG) languages.¹ In Rowland & Rowland (1965: 15) the chart of Sisaala phonemes gives one [Low,

¹ ‘Phonemic’ is used in its broad sense. Since phonology has diverse theoretical orientations, an inventory of phonemes does not mean much unless the features making those phonemes are expressed in the model. Thus in the phonological descriptions of the five SWG languages cited (i.e. Sisaala, Vagla, Tampulma, Pasale, and Dég), 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.
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central vowel /a/ and one [mid, open, central] vowel /ʌ/. Crouch & Smiles (1966: 17) provides the same symbols /a/ and /ʌ/ for Vagla, the former for a [low, open, central] vowel and the latter for a [low, close, central] one. In Crouch & Herbert (2003: 3), the same symbols /a/ and /ʌ/ are found for Dɛg. For them /a/ represents a [low, –atr, central] vowel and /ʌ/ a [low, +atr, central] vowel.2 The phoneme inventories of Toupin (1995: 16) and Bergman, Gray & Gray (1969: 21) do not report the distinction. The former identifies the contrast phonetically and claims that [a] and [ʌ] occur in free variation. In fact, Toupin provides the reader with [a] and [ʌ] in exactly the same environment: the word for ‘hoe’ and ‘back’ are both transcribed with [a] and [ʌ] (Toupin 1995: 26). He postulates one [low] phoneme (i.e. /a/) in the inventory (Toupin 1995: 16).

The phoneme inventories of Toupin (1995: 16) and Bergman, Gray & Gray (1969: 21) do not report the distinction. The former identifies the contrast phonetically and claims that [a] and [ʌ] occur in free variation. In fact, Toupin provides the reader with [a] and [ʌ] in exactly the same environment: the word for ‘hoe’ and ‘back’ are both transcribed with [a] and [ʌ] (Toupin 1995: 26). He postulates one [low] phoneme (i.e. /a/) in the inventory (Toupin 1995: 16).

Figure 2: 9- vs. 10-vowel inventory in some Southwestern 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, o} and {ɪ, ɛ, ʊ, ɔ} contain high and non-high vowels, and as a rule, vowels agree in ATR value within the stem domain. Typically the vowel /a/ co-occurs with –ATR vowels within monomorphemic words.3 The topic is discussed in detail in Section 4.2, but for now let us say that a monomorphemic word cannot carry two vowels of different ATR sets,

2 Modesta Kanjiti, a Dɛg speaker, and I reviewed in April 2009 the words given as evidence for the contrast /a/ and /ʌ/ in Crouch & Herbert (2003: 20–21). Despite Crouch & Herbert’s assertion, Mme. Kanjiti could not confirm that /a/ and /ʌ/ were different sounds based on the word list provided. This contrast needs to be verified, although dialect difference could account for this.

3 This is common among 9-vowel inventory according to Casali (2008: 528). However, some English loans violate that statement, e.g. sigaari ‘cigarette’, ṭẹékà ‘acre’, sódżà ‘soldier’, and mítà ‘meter’.

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that is, \([\text{\textipa{kupe}}]\) is possible (it means ‘seven’) but \(*[\text{\textipa{lepe}}], *[\text{\textipa{lepe}}] *[\text{\textipa{lope}}] and *[\text{\textipa{lope}}]\) are ungrammatical strings.

Apart from the nine vowels presented above, the surface vowels \([\text{\textipa{a}}]\) and \([\text{\textipa{ə}}]\) can be heard; \([\text{\textipa{a}}]\) is perceived as if it was produced with the tongue further back in the mouth compared to \([\text{\textipa{a}}]\). In addition, the vowel \([\text{\textipa{a}}]\) is often found following the \(-\text{ATR}\) vowels (i.e. \(\text{i, e, ɔ, ʊ}\)). Despite the fact that vowel harmony predicts a ‘lax version’ of \(/a/\) in some environments (Section 4.2), a distinction between \([\text{\textipa{a}}]\) and \([\text{\textipa{a}}]\) 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 \([\text{\textipa{ə}}]\) 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 \([\text{\textipa{a}}]\) and \([\text{\textipa{ə}}]\) are treated as phonetic vowels, only \([\text{\textipa{ə}}]\) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>[+ATR, +HI, –LO, –RO]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ɪ)</td>
<td>[+ATR, +HI, –LO, –RO]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>+ATR, –HI, –LO, –RO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ɛ)</td>
<td>[–ATR, –HI, –LO, –RO]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>+ATR, –HI, –LO, +RO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ɔ)</td>
<td>[–ATR, –HI, –LO, +RO]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>+ATR, +HI, –LO, +RO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ʊ)</td>
<td>[–ATR, +HI, –LO, +RO]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>[–ATR, –HI, +LO, –RO]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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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 fáà ‘ancient’ / fâå ‘do by force’, fɪ ‘preverb particle’ / fíí ‘type of fish’, zòò ‘enter’ / zòö ‘laziness’ and tûû ‘go down’ / tūū ‘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. nā̀ ‘lack’ and nā ‘defecate’, zān ‘rest area’ and zàáŋ ‘today’, and wāsì ‘reproduce’ and wāasì ‘pour libation’. The following sections present evidence for two types of vowel-vowel sequence in the language.
### Table 2: Nasal vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>cli. example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PoS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ě</td>
<td>hēhēsē</td>
<td>announcer</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sāpūhīē</td>
<td>pouched rat</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kālēŋ-bilēŋēē</td>
<td>adjuster</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī</td>
<td>hēŋ</td>
<td>arrow</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tfēi</td>
<td>attractiveness</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ṉēsā</td>
<td>malnourished child</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ĭ̃i</td>
<td>hind leg</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mīi</td>
<td>gun front sight</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zāyāфīi</td>
<td>yellow fever</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĭ̃i</td>
<td>f̃īi</td>
<td>type of fish</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f̃ī</td>
<td>urinate</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p̃ī</td>
<td>be fed up</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō̃</td>
<td>mōŋgō</td>
<td>mango (ultm. Eng.)</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kpōŋkpōŋ</td>
<td>cassava</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō̃</td>
<td>nāō</td>
<td>cow</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>àŋō</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>num</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hōō</td>
<td>type of grasshopper</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū̃</td>
<td>dūū</td>
<td>sow</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sūū</td>
<td>guinea fowl</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fūū</td>
<td>burn</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū̃</td>
<td>bōōŋŋ</td>
<td>goat</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dōō</td>
<td>type of snake</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kōō</td>
<td>to be tired</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā̃</td>
<td>ţāā</td>
<td>bushbuck</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bāā</td>
<td>type of monitor lizard</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sāā</td>
<td>carve</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Grammatical outlines

Table 3: Vowel duration. Abbreviation: cli = Chakali, Gloss = English gloss, σ = syllable type, PoS = part of speech, and V-duration = mean of vowel duration for six speakers in milliseconds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cli.</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PoS</th>
<th>σ</th>
<th>V-duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tá</td>
<td>abandon v</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td></td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tàá</td>
<td>language n</td>
<td>CVV</td>
<td>227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpà</td>
<td>take</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpáá</td>
<td>type of dance</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>CVV</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mà</td>
<td>2.pl.w</td>
<td>pro</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màá</td>
<td>mother n</td>
<td>CVV</td>
<td>202</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná</td>
<td>see</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàá</td>
<td>leg</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>CVV</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.11.2 V_{i}V_{i} vowel sequences. A V_{i}V_{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_{i}V_{i} sequence.

The V_{i}V_{i} sequences can also surface nasalized, except for the front mid vowels: only one sequence [ẽẽ] (i.e. kálɛ́ŋbɪ́lèŋẽ́ẽ̀ ‘adjuster’) and one [ɛ̃ɛ̃] (i.e. interjection ɛ̃̀ɛ̃́ɛ̃́ ‘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
   mɪ̃jɪ → mɪ́ ‘guinea corn’, pl. mɪ́á (CLASS 4, Section 3.2.1.4)
   lehɛ́ɛ → lɛ́hɛ́ɛ́ ‘cheek’, pl. lɛ́hɛ́sá (CLASS 1, Section 3.2.1.1)

b. V_{i}V_{i} - no morpheme boundary intervenes
   jnuu ‘head’, pl. jnuúnọ (CLASS 5, Section 3.2.1.5)
   bóóŋ ‘goat’, pl. bóóná (CLASS 3, Section 3.2.1.3)
## 2 Segmental phonemes inventory

### Table 4: $V_iV_i$ sequence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$V_iV_i$</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PoS</th>
<th>$V_iV_i$</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PoS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aa</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td></td>
<td>váá</td>
<td>draw milk from</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táá</td>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>náá</td>
<td>poverty</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táá</td>
<td>language</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>sáá</td>
<td>axe</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bááŋ</td>
<td>temper</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>tjáá</td>
<td>broom</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wáá</td>
<td>sick (be)</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>fníf</td>
<td>harassment</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?àrít</td>
<td>grasscutter</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>míf</td>
<td>guinea corn</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nít</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>fí</td>
<td>urinate</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bít</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>tjííŋ</td>
<td>ankle-rattles</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eé</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lèhée</td>
<td>cheek</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>bóóból</td>
<td>undergarment</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sámpótëë</td>
<td>type of frog</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>lsólí</td>
<td>car</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wátféhëë</td>
<td>type of mongoose</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>bósíl</td>
<td>type of shape</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?álëëfô</td>
<td>type of leaf</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fòösì</td>
<td>inflate</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>bóōŋ</td>
<td>goat</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jòóë</td>
<td>rainy season</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>dóó</td>
<td>African rock python</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jòóë</td>
<td>marry</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>fóó</td>
<td>lower back</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjóóřì</td>
<td>torn</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>nóbó</td>
<td>shea butter</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bëbbùë</td>
<td>chest</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>?íí</td>
<td>push</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piësìë</td>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>húí</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>interj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pííë</td>
<td>yam mound</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>míí</td>
<td>gun front sight</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiísíë</td>
<td>grind roughly</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>záyáfùí</td>
<td>yellow fever</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dëmbélëë</td>
<td>fowl house</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>tʃòòřì</td>
<td>strain</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zànzápúëë</td>
<td>type of bat</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>lóótó</td>
<td>intestine</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zôngórëë</td>
<td>mosquito</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>músóóró</td>
<td>clove</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>téébûëë</td>
<td>table (ultm. Eng.)</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>kpóŋûlóò</td>
<td>soya bean dish</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ùùë</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bùùë</td>
<td>silo</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>sùùë</td>
<td>guinea fowl</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puúřìë</td>
<td>reduce</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>tûúë</td>
<td>honey</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuúë</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>?ùùë</td>
<td>bury</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tùùë</td>
<td>go down</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>dùùë</td>
<td>sow</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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2.1.11.3 \( V_iV_j \) vowel sequences. A \( V_iV_j \) vowel sequence identifies a sequence of two vowels of different quality without intervening consonants or vowels. Most of the sequences in the data involve the set of high vowels \{i, u, ɪ, ʊ\} as first vowel.\(^4\)

Similar to the \( V_iV_i \) vowel sequences, the \( V_iV_j \) sequences in Table 5 may be the result of two underlying structures; one with a morpheme boundary intervening and the other without such a boundary. They are shown in (2). It includes both underlying structures, and among them, examples of words formed with the nominaliser suffix \([-+[\text{HI}}, -\text{RO}])\, \text{e.g.} \ tó v. ‘cover’ \(\rightarrow\) tóí n. ‘covering’, and the verbal assertive suffix \([-+[\text{HI}}, +\text{RO}])\, \text{e.g.} jélé v. ‘bloom’ \(\rightarrow\) jéléó v. ‘bloom.pfv.foc’ (Sections 3.2.2.2 and 5.3). These two productive morphological mechanisms are responsible for the prevalence of \( V_iV_j \) sequences, of which \( V_j \) is a high front vowel or a high rounded one. Their surface forms depend on phonotactics, which is the topic of Section 3.

(2)

a. \( V_i ]V_j \): a morpheme boundary intervenes
   \( tóji \rightarrow tóí ‘covering’ \) (see class 4, Section 3.2.1.4)
   \( jele]u \rightarrow jéléó ‘bloom.pfv.foc’ \) (see Section 4.1.4)
   \( bi]e \rightarrow bié ‘child’, bisé pl., \) (see class 1, Section 3.2.1.1)

b. \( V_iV_j \): no morpheme boundary intervenes
   \( dòâ ] ‘be in/at/on’
   \( tfaó] ‘type of termite’ \)

The \( V_iV_j \) vowel sequences are summarized in Figure 3. Each vowel diagram displays possible vowel-to-vowel transitions. For the first two diagrams, i.e. (a) and (b), the transitions are arranged according to the first vowel on the basis of their atr value. The third diagram displays the transitions in which the vowel /a/ is the first vowel.

\(^4\) An alternative would be to treat them as the set of glide consonants \{j, w\}. As a matter of fact, the notion of ‘suspect sequences’ was coined by GILLBT/GIL fieldworkers when faced with transcription involving the segments \{i, u, ɪ, ʊ\} (Bergman, Gray & Gray 1969: 4, Toupin 1995: 8, among others). “‘Suspect’ is an old SIL heuristic term for phonetic sounds which may have different phonemic function in different languages” (T. Naden, p.c.). Some tokens of \( V_iV_j \) vowel sequences would then be treated as suspect sequences under their analyses. For instance, \( bie ‘child’, \) a monosyllabic word, would be represented as \( bije \), a disyllabic word (see also Kedrebéogo 1997: 100). Correspondingly, ‘arrow’ could be transcribed as \( tuo, t²o \) or \( tuwo \). My decision is purely based on the impression of consultants who do not favour a syllable break. Further, unlike Deg, Chakali consonants do not have corresponding labialized phonemes. In Crouch & Herbert (2003: 2), 13 of the 22 phonemes have a labialized counterpart. I also perceive the labialized consonants of Deg (see footnote 2).
Table 5: $V_iV_j$ sequence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$V_iV_j$</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PoS</th>
<th>$V_iV_j$</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PoS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʊi</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ui</td>
<td>exclamation</td>
<td>ideo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bʊ̀ɪ́</td>
<td>spitting</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>sʊ̀</td>
<td>being full</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sʊ́rài</td>
<td>odor</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>bʊ́ʊ́l</td>
<td>song</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lʊ́nŋ</td>
<td>animal chest hair</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>tʊ̀ø̮̃</td>
<td>bow</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʊə̆</td>
<td>lie</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>ɪĕ</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʊ̆</td>
<td>poor quality meat</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ʊ̆̊ɪ̆́</td>
<td>totally not</td>
<td>interj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʊ̆</td>
<td>collect contribution</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>ʊ̆̊ɪ̆́</td>
<td>interj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʊ̆</td>
<td>kʊ̆́ʊ̆́</td>
<td>kʊ̆́ʊ̆́</td>
<td>cashew (ultm. Eng.)</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɪ̆</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>iə̆</td>
<td>interj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɪ̆</td>
<td>vomit</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>fĕ́l</td>
<td>type of grass</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʊ̆</td>
<td>door hinge</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ʊ̆̊ĕ́</td>
<td>wind</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʊ̆</td>
<td>death</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ʊ̆̊ĕ́</td>
<td>warthog</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛ̆</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>neg</td>
<td>ɛ̆̊ĕ́</td>
<td>twenty</td>
<td>num</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛ̆</td>
<td>stubborn child</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɛ̆̊ĕ́</td>
<td>calamity</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ̆</td>
<td>planting</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɔ̆̊ĕ́</td>
<td>surprise</td>
<td>interj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ̆</td>
<td>covering</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɔ̆̊ĕ́</td>
<td>interj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ̆̊</td>
<td>hartebeest</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɔ̆̊ĕ́</td>
<td>o.k. (ultm. Hausa)</td>
<td>interj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ̆̊</td>
<td>settlement</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɔ̆̊ĕ́</td>
<td>yam harvest</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ̆̊</td>
<td>hut</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɔ̆̊ĕ́</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>interj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ̆̊</td>
<td>type of termite</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɔ̆̊ĕ́</td>
<td>rusty</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 {ʊa, ʊɔ, ɪɛ, ɪa, ɔɪ, uo, ie, eu, aʊ}, the remaining ones being very rare or unattested. For instance, the [ei] and [aɛ] sequences never occur, the [ɛa] sequence occurs only once (and ṭàtànè̀à ‘Monday’ is ultimately of Hausa origin), and the sequence [aɔ], which occurs in mánàè ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labial-dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Postalv.</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Labial-velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td>p b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>k g</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>kp gb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>f v</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>(ɣ)</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>tf dʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>ηm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>l r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>w (ɥ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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], [ʧ], [k̑p] and [g̑b]. The affricates [dʒ] and [ʧ] have two sequential parts, while labiovelars [k̑p] and [g̑b] have two parts which overlap temporally.5

2.2.1.1 Bilabial plosives. The bilabial plosives can occur in word-initial and -medial positions, although, in many cases, when they are found in word-medial positions, they are onsets of a non-initial stem. This position can be problematic,

---

5 For the remainder, the linking diacritic over the labial-velars is not used, since there are just a few ambiguous contexts and these are accounted for by the syllabification procedures presented in Section 3.1.
Grammatical outlines

since one cannot always treat words as compounds in the synchronic sense. For instance, álùpè ‘seven’ is treated in Section 3.6.1 as monomorphemic, however, it is obvious that taken from a Proto-SWG perspective it is not. Bilabial plosives can also be found in borrowed words’ medial positions, e.g. kàpèntà (ultm. Eng.) ‘carpenter’ and kàpálà (Waali) ‘type of staple food’. Neither the voiceless nor the voiced bilabial plosive are attested word-finally. Table 7 provides examples of contrast between /p/ and /b/ for the voice opposition.

Table 7: Bilabial plosives

(a) Voiceless bilabial plosive

| pάŋ | molar | n |
| pèrà | weave | v |
| pilè | cover with | v |
| púl | type of river grass | n |
| kúmpíí | thorny spear grass | n |
| àlùpè | seven | num |
| kàpèntà | carpenter (ultm. Eng.) | n |
| kàpálà | staple food, Gh. Eng. fufú | n |

(b) Voiced bilabial plosive

| bάŋ | here | adv |
| bèrà | dry | qual |
| bilè | put | v |
| búl | type of tree | n |
| ?àbè | palm tree (Akan) | n |
| ftèbì | whip | v |
| hámbák | type of tree | n |
2.2.1.2 Alveolar plosives. The alveolar plosives can occur in word-initial and -medial positions. Similar to the bilabial plosives, the voiceless and the voiced alveolar plosives are not attested word-finally.\(^6\) When it occurs in word-medial position, [d] is found only at the onset of a non-initial stem of polymorphemic words or in loans, whereas [t] does not have such a restriction. Examples of such loans are síídì ‘cedi’, kùòdú ‘banana’, and bòrdìá ‘plaintain’ for words of Akan origin, and gàádin ‘garden’, biléédi ‘blade’, and pózdà ‘powder’ for words of English origin. An example of occurrences in onset of non-initial stem of polymorphemic words is fi-dr-anaase [fidànáásè] ‘fourteen’ (Section 3.6.1), nín-dáá ‘horn’, and nt-dómá ‘spirit’. Examples kàndìá ‘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. intervocically 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Voiceless alveolar plosive</th>
<th>(b) Voiced alveolar plosive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>té early adv</td>
<td>dé there adv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiŋ spearhead n</td>
<td>diŋ fire n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóŋ book n</td>
<td>dɔŋ enemy n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>túō bow n</td>
<td>dùō sleep v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóŋ Má work n</td>
<td>dɔŋmá soul n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàŋjìti patience n (Hausa)</td>
<td>siídì cedi n (Akan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kètì break v</td>
<td>lè-dáá lower jaw n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sôtá thorn n</td>
<td>kàndìá Kandia propn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The segment [r] can surface when [t] is expected. For instance, the plural form of the word gèr ‘lizard’ is gètè ‘lizards’ and the plural form of the word sôtá ‘thorn’ is sòrásá. The underlying segmental representation /get/ may be given for the lexeme ‘lizard’.

---

\(^6\) On one of the field trips, I was given a dog and called it [táát]. People in Ducie would repeat its name and call the dog [tàáttá]. The way they pronounced the name suggests that alveolar plosives are disallowed in word-final position.
Grammatical outlines

Rule 1 is postulated, which turns a /t/ into [r] in word-final position and in weak syllables (see Section 3.1.2).\(^7\)

**Rule 1** Lenition
An alveolar stop changes into a trill in word-final position or in word-medial onset.

\[
[\text{alveolar, obstruent}] \rightarrow r / _ \# \text{ or } CV._V.CV
\]

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. \(bùtèr\) - \(bùtètè\) ‘turtle(s)’ and \(tʃiː\) - \(tʃiːtè\) ‘taboo(s)’. Examples of minimal pairs involving a [r]-[t] contrast are \(pàrà\) ‘farm’ - \(pátà\) ‘trousers’, \(lùró\) ‘scrotum’ - \(lùtò\) ‘root’, and \(tʃàtì\) ‘diarrhoea’ - \(tʃàtì\) ‘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 is 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/.\(^8\) Since the notion of weak syllable has not been justified, Rule 2 partially accounts for the spirantization of velar plosives.

**Rule 2** Spirantization
The velar obstruents /k/ and /g/ change into [ɣ] when they occur between vowels in a weak syllable.

\[
[\text{velar, obstruent}] \rightarrow \gamma / V. _ V \text{ or } _ . C
\]

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 \(kpégí\) ‘hard’ and \(sígi\) ‘misery’, must be taken into account.\(^9\)

---

\(^7\) Since the voiced alveolar plosive never occurs in word-medial position, there may be another rule involved which devoice the /d/ in \(gètè\) ‘lizards’. In fact, by omitting [−VOICED], Rule 1 captures /d/ as well. Notice that Rule 1 undergenerates in some instances, e.g. \(bùtèr\) ‘turtle’, \(bùtètè\) ‘turtles’ *burete.

\(^8\) For simplicity, I use [g] throughout instead of the IPA symbol for the voiced velar plosive [ɡ].

\(^9\) In Môoré and Koromfe /g/ is spirantised medially except when adjacent to a [+ATR, +HI] vowel (John Rennison, p.c.). Chakali \(hóyú\) ‘cockroach’ and \(nànjóyú\) ‘butcher’ are clear spirantization cases.
2 Segmental phonemes inventory

Table 9: Velar plosives and fricative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Voiceless velar plosive</th>
<th>(b) Voiced velar plosive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kààsì clear throat v</td>
<td>gáásf pass v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kòŋ cobra</td>
<td>gón type of plant n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kòti fine grinding v</td>
<td>gòtí roll v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>háktlá cognition n</td>
<td>bégíí heart n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàkà toothache n</td>
<td>kúgsó rib cage n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tük type of nest n</td>
<td>hóg bone n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pààtʃák leaf n</td>
<td>vóg small god n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Velar fricative

/kpaga/ [kpàɣà] have v
/dɔga/ [dɔɣà] Doga propn
/tʃaktʃak/ [tʃáɣətʃák] tattoo ono
/tig-si/ [tíɣĭ́sì] gather v
/hogul/ [hóɣú] 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 nɔ́ʔɔ́rɔ́ŋ ‘type of tree’ and fáláʔúl ‘calabash node’. Table 10 provides examples of word-initial and (stem-initial) word-medial positions.

Table 10: Glottal plosive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>?àbé palm tree (Akan) n</th>
<th>?áá bushbuck n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ilè type of colour ideo</td>
<td>?ilè type of colour ideo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bàʔɔ̀rɪ́ɪ̀ swelling n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɔ́ʔɔ́rɔ́ŋ type of tree n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(a) Voiceless labial-velar plosive</th>
<th>(b) Voiced labial-velar plosive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kpà</td>
<td>take v</td>
<td>gbà also quant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpáá</td>
<td>type of dance n</td>
<td>gbáà control animal v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpòŋ́</td>
<td>location propn</td>
<td>gbóŋ́ type of tree n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Contrast with /k/ and /p/</td>
<td>kpòŋ́ location propn</td>
<td>gbár watcher n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>köŋ</td>
<td>Kapok n</td>
<td>gár stable n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpísì</td>
<td>sneeze v</td>
<td>gbéníí pink qual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>písì</td>
<td>scatter n</td>
<td>gólní fool n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpò</td>
<td>kill v</td>
<td>gbówńà dense v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pò</td>
<td>spit v</td>
<td>bówńà bend v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Contrast with /g/ and /b/</td>
<td>kpò kill v</td>
<td>gbàr watcher n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ʃɪ̃́ã̀ã̀ ‘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. tʃiír ~ kiir ‘taboo’, tʃimmaá ~ kimmaá ‘pepper’, tʃìŋé ~ kìŋé ‘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: tʃògò ‘ignite’ vs. kògò ‘hold’, tʃʊ́l̀ ‘clay’ vs. kʊ́l ‘type of staple food’, tʃàɣà ‘to face’ vs. kàɣà ‘to choke’, among others.10

10 It could be that the lexemes involved in these minimal pairs underwent semantic change and
2 Segmental phonemes inventory

Table 12: Affricates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Voiceless affricate</th>
<th>(b) Voiced affricate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʃɔʊŋ</td>
<td>type of fish n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃáásá</td>
<td>comb n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃã́nɪ́</td>
<td>shine v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kátʃál</td>
<td>type of tree n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pààtʃák</td>
<td>leaf n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2 Fricatives

The four fricatives /f/, /v/, /s/, and /z/ are distinguished by their place of articulation and by their voicing.

2.2.2.1 Labio-dental fricatives. In general, the segments /f/ and /v/ have the same distribution: they can occur in word-initial and -medial positions, but never in a final position, and they both can precede any vowel. They contrast exclusively on the feature voice. This is shown in Table 13. Contrasts with alveolar fricatives are given in Table 14 of Section 2.2.2.2.

Table 13: Labio-dental fricatives

| fàà | ancient time n |
| váà | dog n |
| fáá | do by force v |
| vàà | be beyond v |
| fáárí | be between v |
| vàárí | do abruptly v |

2.2.2.2 Alveolar fricatives. The alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/ can occur in word-initial and -medial positions, but never word-finally. The glottal stricture is the only property which differentiates the alveolar and labio-dental fricatives. Overall, the voiceless alveolar fricative is more frequent than the voiced one. In word-medial positions, the voiceless alveolar fricative acts mainly as the onset of a phonological change, but originated from a single source. Vagla data suggest that a conditioning of front vowel is not unique to Chakali (see footnote 17). Looking at the form/meaning of cognates in other related languages would be revealing.
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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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Alveolar fricatives</th>
<th>(b) Contrast with /f/ and /v/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sì̀ɛ́ imitating</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zìɛ́ wall</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɔ̀ŋ n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zìŋ weakling</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɔ̀ʊ front</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zɔ̀ʊ enter</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pɪ̀sá grass mat</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʊ́zàà basket</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃàsɪ́ɛ̀ cough disease</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zíɛ́zié light weight</td>
<td>ideo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sàaddons</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fàaddons do by force v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zìaddons wall</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zìaddons wall</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vìaddons refuse</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìì Bambara bean</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vìi cooking pot</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ?ángùm ‘monkey’s scream’, the adverbial tférirm ‘quietly’, the noun sùrùm ‘silence’ (ultm. Hausa), and géèm ‘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/ → dɔ́ŋ́ sg. dɔ́má pl. ‘enemy’ and /dɔn/ → dɔ́ŋ̀ sg. dɔ́ŋà 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Bilabial nasal</th>
<th>(b) Contrast with a /b/ and /ŋm/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m̀áá</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mó</td>
<td>work clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mür:</td>
<td>story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōmá</td>
<td>soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̥mè̂́</td>
<td>blind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kim-bọ́ŋ̆</td>
<td>bad thing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-bàfùlànàán ‘fifth month’ (Waali), limàán ‘imam, prayer-leader’ (Arabic), méésin ‘mason’ (Eng.), ʔólű̀pléǹ ‘airplane’ (Eng.), pɛ̀n ‘pen’ (Eng.), and gáádìn ‘garden’ (Eng.). In Table 16, the alveolar nasal is found in word-final positions in nòkùṉ and sàbáán. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Alveolar nasal</th>
<th>(b) Contrast with a /l/ and /r/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nààl</td>
<td>grand-father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kànà</td>
<td>arm ring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zùpònà</td>
<td>millet crazy top disease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nòkùṉ</td>
<td>type of tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sàbáán</td>
<td>roof top</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. sámbáļpàŋá ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Palatal nasal</th>
<th>Contrast with a /n/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Palatal nasal</td>
<td>(b) Contrast with a /n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲàá</td>
<td>poverty n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲínè</td>
<td>look v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲínà</td>
<td>father n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲòá</td>
<td>smoke v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲéŋáñ̃</td>
<td>worm n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?àŋáñ̃</td>
<td>type of snake n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəŋé</td>
<td>respect with (Waali) n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Velar nasal</th>
<th>Contrast with a /n/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Velar nasal</td>
<td>(b) Contrast with a /n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bọŋá</td>
<td>bend v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dọŋá</td>
<td>people n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pìnà</td>
<td>be satisfied v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóŋstàŋ</td>
<td>red dove n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋméŋ</td>
<td>okro n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kùŋkùŋ</td>
<td>brain n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
medial and -final positions. In Table 17(b), [n] and [ŋ] show contrast in word-medial positions.

2.2.3.5 Labial-velar nasal. The labial-velar nasal /ŋm/ is one of the four doubly-articulated segments in the language. It occurs in both word-initial and word-medial positions, as shown in Table 19(a), but never in a word-final position. Table 19(b) displays minimal pairs involving the labial-velar nasal in opposition with the other nasals. A single near-minimal pair with a palatal nasal is identified, but no minimal pair involving the labial-velar and the velar nasal is found. The labial-velar nasal mainly occurs in word-initial position, whereas the velar nasal occurs in word-final position. All SWG languages of Ghana have been reported with a phonemic contrast between a labial-velar and a velar nasal (Crouch & Smiles 1966; Bergman, Gray & Gray 1969; Toupin 1995; Crouch & Herbert 2003). Even though the labial-velar nasal is sometimes perceived as slightly palatalized when followed by a non-high front vowel, e.g. ɲmëná ‘chisel’, it is not rendered in the transcription.

Table 19: Labial-velar nasal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Labial-velar nasal</th>
<th>(b) Contrast with /m/, /ɲ/, and /n/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ŋmá</td>
<td>tell v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋmédàà</td>
<td>thread holder n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋméŋtél</td>
<td>eight num</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋmířr</td>
<td>thief n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dʊŋmēř</td>
<td>type of snake n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋmônàŋmônà</td>
<td>type of colour iede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋmá</td>
<td>say v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>má</td>
<td>you 2.pl.wk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>já</td>
<td>defecate v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná</td>
<td>see v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>měř</td>
<td>okro n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. kǎlòŋ ‘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.
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. gà́r ‘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. [rː]. 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 rɔ́bà ‘rubber’ in rɔ́bàkàtásà ‘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. /príŋ/ ‘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. tʃárɪ̀ ‘diarrhoea’ and tʃáti ‘type of guinea corn’, pàrà ‘farm’ and pátá ‘trousers’, lúró ‘scrotum’ and lútò ‘root’.11

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11 Another piece of evidence would be the alveolar flap as the realization of a /t/ in a weak syllable, e.g. (sg/pl) sɔ́tá/sɔ́rásá.
Minimal pairs involving the alveolar rhotic and alveolar lateral approximant are given in Table 21(b).\footnote{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.}

Table 21: Alveolar trill

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Alveolar trill</th>
<th>(b) Contrast with /l/ and /d/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pàrà farm n</td>
<td>fòrò blanch v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kùòrí built v</td>
<td>fòlò make loose v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?àrft grass cutter n</td>
<td>hàrà lock v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gríí cheek n</td>
<td>hàlà fry v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gáː stable n</td>
<td>bílí gi rub v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gèː lizard n</td>
<td>bírǐ̀ gi delay v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóː bench n</td>
<td>kùóːrù chief n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpóː palm tree n</td>
<td>kùóːdú banana n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.\footnote{Whether /w/ and /j/ occur word-finally results from one’s decision about syllable structure. Is [aʊ] phonologically /aʊ/ or /aw/? This question will not be resolved without a finer phonological model.} There are a few words which are transcribed with superscript [ʷ] (e.g. bʷɔ́ŋ ‘difficult’ and zàkʷʊ́ʊ́l ‘beetle’), representing a labialized consonant, but there are no definite regularities. When it occurs, it is in front of a round vowel.\footnote{As mentioned in footnote 4, Deg is claimed to have an inventory of 13 phonemic labialized consonants (Crouch & Herbert 2003: 2).} In Table 22(b) examples are offered which set in opposition the voiced labio-velar approximant and the palatal approximant.\footnote{In field notes I transcribed [ɥ] a highly aspirated and palatalized version of /w/ found before high front vowels, e.g. ɥìì ‘weep’ and ɥɪ́ɪ́ ‘matter’. This sound needs further investigation because I did not perceive it consistently in that environment. It is transcribed throughout with w.}
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Table 22: Voiced labio-velar approximant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Voiced labio-velar approximant</th>
<th>(b) Contrast with /j/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wáá  he, she, it 3.sg.st.</td>
<td>wáá  Wa town propn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wíí  matter n</td>
<td>jáà  fetch v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wóŋ  deaf person n</td>
<td>wáá  come v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fɔ́wà  wrap v</td>
<td>jáà  we, our 1.pl.wk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jówà  market n</td>
<td>tówà  inject v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pèwò  blow v</td>
<td>tájà  catapult (ultm. Eng.) n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Contrast with /j/

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Palatal approximant</th>
<th>(b) Contrast with /w/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>júò  fight, quarrel n</td>
<td>jáà  fetch v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tájà  catapult (ultm. Eng.) n</td>
<td>wáá  he, she, it 3.sg.st.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bàjúòrà  lazy qual</td>
<td>jóŋ  slave n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ìjèlài  clan name propn</td>
<td>wóŋ  deaf n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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Table 24: Glottal approximant

(a) Glottal approximant (b) Contrasts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Glottal approximant</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>há</td>
<td>hire v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hɔ́l</td>
<td>piece of charcoal n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hìrè</td>
<td>dig v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàhà</td>
<td>ego’s grand-mother n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lúhò</td>
<td>funeral n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lèhëè</td>
<td>wooden spoon n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hɔ́l</td>
<td>fry v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vàlà</td>
<td>walk v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fàlá</td>
<td>calabash n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hìëŋ</td>
<td>relative n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zëŋ</td>
<td>snake venum n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hɔ́l</td>
<td>type of tree n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sólː</td>
<td>clearly adv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ɔ́l</td>
<td>type of mouse n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.6 Summary

The consonants of Chakali were introduced and the majority were presented in a pairwise fashion to highlight specific contrasts. In Table 25, the consonantal phonemes are arranged according to their place and manner of articulation. Among them, the surface consonant [ɣ] is derived from underlying phonemes, i.e. /g/ or /k/. Due to the limited scope of the present section, the phonological features making up the consonant phonemes were not introduced. They will be presented along the way when necessary.16

Table 25: Phonetic and phonemic consonants in Chakali

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labial-velar</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Postalv.</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Labial-velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td>p b</td>
<td></td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>k g</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>kp gb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>f v</td>
<td></td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>(γ)</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>tj dʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m n</td>
<td></td>
<td>ɲ η</td>
<td>ηm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>l r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>w (ʊ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16 In order to maintain neatness, the label ‘Liquid’ was given to laterals, approximants and trills.
Grammatical outlines

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.\footnote{Software written and maintained by Rod Casali (version 1_0_0_180 http://casali.canil.ca/).} 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).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(3)} & \quad \text{Phonetically grounded sonority scale for consonants (Parker 2002: 236)} \\
& \text{laterals} > \text{trills} > \text{nasals} > /h/ > \text{voiced fricatives} > \text{voiced stops} > \text{voiceless fricatives} > \text{voiceless stops} > \text{affricates}
\end{align*}
\]

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).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(4)} & \quad \text{a. } \text{*mb} \\
& \quad \text{.ʔe.mbe.li. ‘shoulder’ (.ʔem.be.li.)} \\
\text{b. } \text{*yl} \\
& \quad \text{.ha.ylt.bie. ‘type of ants’ (.hag.lt.bie.)} \\
\text{c. } \text{*yj} \\
& \quad \text{.pa.tfj.yjaj.ra. ‘healer’ (.pa.tfj.ja.ra.)}
\end{align*}
\]

The forms in parentheses following the glosses in (4) are correctly syllabified. The forms preceding the glosses are clusters that either satisfy (i.e. yl, yj) or do not satisfy (i.e. mb) the sonority requirement, but are nonetheless not correctly syllabified. To remedy this problem, *mb, *yl, and *yj become \textit{ad hoc} constraints on onset clusters. This leaves us with a few attested $C_1C_2$ sequences in (5), which will be discussed below.
3 Phonotactics

(5) \( C_1 = \text{sonorant} \quad C_2 = \text{trill} \)

\.priŋ. ‘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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable type</th>
<th>Word-initial</th>
<th>Word-medial</th>
<th>Word-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>1528</td>
<td>1184</td>
<td>1483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVV</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVVC</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVVV</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVV</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The low-frequency syllable types of Table 26 need explanation. The syllabic nasal has a few tokens, e.g. the various surface forms of the first person singular pronoun, the word \(.m.bu.o.nó. \) ‘hunter’s rank’ (borrowed from Gonja), and the name of one of my consultants, Fuseini Mba Zien, whose second name originally means ‘my father’ (in several Oti-Volta languages and beyond) and is syllabified \([.m.ba.]\). Adding to these examples, there are contexts in which a nasal makes the syllable peak following an onset consonant. For instance, when involved in some compounds, the stem /bagena/ ‘neck’ yields \([.ba.gn.]\), as in \(.ba.gn.p\circ.gn. \) ‘lateral goiter’, \(.ba.gn.busa. \) ‘hollow behind the collarbone’, and \(.ba.gn.tf\circ.gul. \) ‘dowager’s hump’.
**Grammatical outlines**

Table 27: Tokens for each syllable type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable type</th>
<th>Instantiation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PoS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>.pa.tʃi.ɡu.</td>
<td>abdomen</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.ɡbɛ.ˌtə.ra.</td>
<td>pond</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.ʔo. ma.</td>
<td>fear</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV&lt;sub&gt;α&lt;/sub&gt; V&lt;sub&gt;α&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>.bā.ā.</td>
<td>type of lizard</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.ʔa. le. ʃo.</td>
<td>type of leaf</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.sn. ma.</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV&lt;sub&gt;α&lt;/sub&gt; V&lt;sub&gt;β&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>.dra. tri. na.</td>
<td>landlord</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.ba. juo. ra.</td>
<td>lazy</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.tuo. ndā.</td>
<td>type of genet</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>.ʔem. be.lu.</td>
<td>wing</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.gā. lan. zu.</td>
<td>mad person</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.nā. pa.</td>
<td>Achilles tendon</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVVC</td>
<td>.baal.</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.bōoŋ.</td>
<td>goat</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.tfiir.</td>
<td>taboo</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>.i.</td>
<td>you, your 2.sg.wk.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.a.</td>
<td>the</td>
<td>art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>.ŋ.</td>
<td>I, my</td>
<td>1.sg.wk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.m. buo. ŋo.</td>
<td>hunter’s rank (Gonja)</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC</td>
<td>.prɪŋ.</td>
<td>type of Mahogany</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV</td>
<td>.bri. ge.</td>
<td>type of snake</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVV</td>
<td>.draa. ba</td>
<td>driver (ultm. English)</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVVV</td>
<td>.bō ē. bō ē.</td>
<td>carefully</td>
<td>iedo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.ŋmī ŋī.</td>
<td>stealing</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.paau.</td>
<td>collect.roc</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.paau.</td>
<td>collect.3.sg</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.fiāā.</td>
<td>insult</td>
<td>interj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [Cʷ], a sequence
that could be read as [Cw] by the syllabification procedure, i.e. bʷɔ́ŋ̀ 'bad' and zákʷʊ́ʊ́l 'beetle grub'. That leaves us with one instance of the syllable type CCVC, i.e. [prɪŋ.], 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/ɪ 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
   \[
   \begin{array}{c}
   \sigma \\
   \mu \\
   N \\
   \end{array}
   \]

   b. light
   \[
   \begin{array}{c}
   \sigma \\
   \mu \\
   a \\
   \end{array}
   \]

   c. light
   \[
   \begin{array}{c}
   \sigma \\
   \mu \\
   \end{array}
   \]

   d. light
   \[
   \begin{array}{c}
   \sigma \\
   \mu \\
   \end{array}
   \]

   e. heavy
   \[
   \begin{array}{c}
   \sigma \\
   \mu \\
   k \\
   \end{array}
   \]

   f. heavy
   \[
   \begin{array}{c}
   \sigma \\
   \mu \\
   s \\
   \end{array}
   \]
The syllable structure in (6a) is found in many verbs and function words (e.g. postposition *nɪ*, 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 *t* ‘you, yours’ and *e* ‘he, she, it, his, her, its’. Vowel coalescence (i.e. when two consecutive vowels fuse into a long one) suggests that these pronouns are not CV-syllables with glottal plosives in onset positions (see Section 3.2.1). A syllabic nasal constitutes a light syllable (6c): apart from their segmental content, structure (6b) and (6c) are identical, that is, they are also both syllable structures of singular pronouns. Another light syllable is the one in (6d). The choice of treating a CVC sequence as light comes from a certain division in the consonants, that is, those which are perceived with a tone and those which are not. Thus both (6d) and (6f) can represent the structure of a CVC sequence, but only the latter contains a moraic coda.\(^{18}\)

The heavy syllables are those with two moras. The structure in (6e) represents any vowel sequence, e.g. *sàá* ‘axe’ or *kùó* ‘farm’, and the one in (6f) a sequence in which the final consonant projects a mora, e.g. *sàř* ‘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 *báål* ‘male’: other examples are *hùór* ‘raw’, *vàáŋ* ‘front leg’, among others. Although not attested in a single morpheme (except perhaps in the ideophone *bọ̀́bọ̀́̀* ‘slowly’ and the interjection *fáá* ‘insult’), the CVVV syllable types are treated as trimoraic. The words in (7b) ‘collect.nmlz’ and (7c) ‘collect.foc’ are made from the verbal CVV stem *laa* ‘collect’. In these examples, CVVV syllables arise from the suffixation of nominal and assertive morphology, (7b) and (7c) respectively. As presented in Sections 3.3.1 and 4.3.1, cliticized pronouns in object positions also create CVVV syllables.

\(^{18}\) A reviewer pointed out that tonological generalizations are much better evidence concerning the moraic status of coda consonants. There are many suggestions for further research, but studies of tone and intonation are urgently needed for the languages of the area. For instance, questions relevant to moraic coda consonants are how to properly account for consonants which are found to bear tones and how to treat contour tones on CVC words. This distinction between (6d) and (6f) would need to be spelt out carefully in a phonological study.
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 *bìé* ‘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. [ā]), 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 [ɣ] (see Sections 2.2.1.2 and 2.2.1.3).
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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. kpå̀n-nì̃́ [yam-water] ‘water yam’
- b. gón-náá [river-leg] ‘branch of a river’
- c. bà-lál-là [body-open-NMLZ] ‘happiness’

\[(10)\] Opaque
- a. kúmmi ‘fist’
- b. páŋŋì́ ‘be worse’
- c. tʃímmã̀ ‘pepper’

Example (9) shows a consonant cluster in fully transparent polymorphemic lexical items, while (10) in morphologically opaque ones.\(^{19}\)

3.2 Sandhi

In this section, some morphophonological processes are introduced. First, the processes occurring within the word are presented, then the processes occurring at word boundaries.

3.2.1 Internal sandhi

Internal sandhi refers to insertions, deletions, or modifications of sounds at morpheme boundaries within the word.

3.2.1.1 Nasal place assimilation. In words composed of more than one stem, a nasal ending the first stem assimilates the place feature of the following consonantal segment. In this manner, the bilabial [m] surfaces when the first consonant of the second stem is labial, the velar [ŋ] when it is velar and the alveolar [n] elsewhere. Yet, in front of [h], the underlying velar nasal stays unchanged. The same process takes place when a stem and a noun class suffix are combined,

\(^{19}\) Despite being infrequent in Chakali \(n = 19, l = 6, m = 54, ñ 8\), “the verb páŋŋì́ ‘be worse’ is a Vagla verb with normal-for-Vagla form” (T. Naden, p.c.).
e.g. /gʊm/ (cl.3), gʊmá sg and gʊnsá 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stems</th>
<th>Literal meaning</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PoS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kɪn-bɔŋ</td>
<td>thing-bad</td>
<td>kɪ̀mbɔ́ŋ</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loŋ-bɔla</td>
<td>calabash-oval</td>
<td>lómbɔl</td>
<td>calabash type</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɔŋ-buluŋ</td>
<td>stone-black</td>
<td>nɔ̀mbulùŋ</td>
<td>grinding stone type</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɪŋ-tʃaʊ</td>
<td>drink-termite</td>
<td>sɪ́ntʃáʊ́</td>
<td>type of tree</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɪŋ-pʊmma</td>
<td>drink-white</td>
<td>simpʊ̀mmá</td>
<td>palm wine</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɪŋ-sɪama</td>
<td>drink-red</td>
<td>sɪ̀nsɪ̀àmá</td>
<td>fermented pito</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galaŋa-zʊʊ-r</td>
<td>madness-enter-agent</td>
<td>gálânzʊ̀r</td>
<td>mad person</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

\[
C[+\text{nasal}] \rightarrow [\alpha \text{place}] / _ C [\alpha \text{place}]
\]

### 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/jɛ 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 Ṻ ‘she’ of the predicate kpé. Because of ATR-harmony (Section 4.2), the perfective suffix -je/-jɛ agrees in ATR with the stem vowel and is rendered -je (perfective negative form kpéjɛ). In the affirmative, when assertive suffix -u/-ʊ
Table 29: *kpé* ‘crack and remove’ (c&r)

(a) Positive

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FUT</strong></td>
<td>Ṽ káá <em>kpé</em> ‘She will c&amp;r’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IPFV</strong></td>
<td>ṼṼ <em>kpéū</em> ‘She is c-&amp;r-ing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PFV</strong></td>
<td>Ṽ <em>kpéjòō</em> ‘She c-&amp;r-ed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IMP</strong></td>
<td><em>kpé</em> ‘C&amp;r!’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Negative

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ṽ wàá <em>kpè</em> ‘She will not c&amp;r’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṽ wàà <em>kpé</em> ‘She is not c-&amp;r-ing’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṽ wà <em>kpéjè</em> ‘She did not c-&amp;r-ed’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>té <em>kpéi</em> ‘Don’t c&amp;r!’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

follows -je, the two vowels coalesce, the assertive suffix is lowered and the two surface as [oo]. A process similar to (11) accounts for the negative and positive perfective forms.

(11) \( kpe-j[–HI,–RO] \rightarrow αATR \rightarrow kpe-je \rightarrow kpeje–[+HI,+RO] \rightarrow kpejoo \)

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 in shown in (12).

(12) \( kpe–[+HI,+RO] \rightarrow αATR \rightarrow kpeu \)

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.\(^{20}\) The process is shown in (13).

(13) a. \( sanja–[–HI,–RO] \rightarrow αATR \rightarrow αNASAL \rightarrow saŋ(ə)jë(ɨ)–[+HI,+RO] \rightarrow saŋ(ə)jëōō \)

b. \( sanja–[+HI,+RO] \rightarrow αATR \rightarrow αNASAL \rightarrow saŋōō \)

In this environment, the vowels are automatically nasalized, even when the approximant of the perfective suffix intervenes. Rule 5 attempts to capture the process.

\(^{20}\) The interplay of vowel coalescence and length is not yet fully understood. This is reflected in the current state of the orthography.
**Rule 5**  N-harmony  
A non-nasal vowel assimilates the nasal feature of a nasal segment, with or without an intervening consonant.

\[ V \rightarrow [+\text{NASAL}] / [+\text{NASAL}] C_0 _{-} \]

**3.2.1.3 Vowel epenthesis and vowel reduction.** Vowel epenthesis refers to the insertion of a vowel in specific phonological contexts. First, the pronunciation of loan words is treated.\(^{21}\) Second, the occurrences of the surface vowel \([ə]\) are regarded as either cases of vowel epenthesis or the reduction of underlying vowels in specific environments.

One should be careful in assuming that the insertion of \([ə]\) is phonologically-driven. Take the case of loan words, particularly those ultimately coming from English. It is not clear whether the presence of \([ə]\) in the Chakali word form \([bəluu]\) ‘blue’ is an example of vowel epenthesis, i.e. \(\langle bluu \rangle\), or perhaps a case of vowel reduction, i.e. \(\langle buluu \rangle\). 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 neighboring 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 \(tərādʒà\) ‘trouser’ and \(báátərbɪ́i\) ‘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 \(táátə̀\) (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. \(\text{.taa.ta.}\). In general, it seems that vowel epenthesis in loan words should be treated case by case. Nonetheless there are good reasons to believe that Chakali uses vowel epenthesis as a common strategy to allow the syllabification of some phonological sequences (see Section 3.1.2).

**Rule 6** Vowel reduction  
A vowel changes into a schwa in a weak syllable.

\[ V \rightarrow ə / CV.C _{-} .CV \]

\(^{21}\) On loan nouns in particular, see Section 3.2.6. Section 3.1.2 touches upon a similar topic.
Rule 7 Vowel epenthesis
A schwa is inserted between a coda consonant and an onset consonant.
∅ → ə / VC. _ .CV

In addition to its presence in loan words, the vowel [ə] is found in cases of vowel reduction and vowel epenthesis conditioned by the position of certain segments and syllabification procedures. A vowel reduction takes place when a vowel occurs in a weak syllable (Section 3.1.2). Also, as mentioned above, vowel epenthesis can create proper sequences for syllabification. In Table 30, the first three examples are cases of vowel reduction, whereas the four at the bottom of the table are cases of vowel epenthesis. Rules 6 and 7 account for the observed phenomena.²²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying form</th>
<th>Phonetic form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bugulie</td>
<td>.bù.ɣə̀.líè.</td>
<td>big water pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bifola</td>
<td>bìfə̀ lá</td>
<td>baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mankir</td>
<td>.mán.kə̀rː.</td>
<td>type of yam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epenthesis</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manṣa</td>
<td>.má.ŋə́.sá.</td>
<td>groundnuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tfɔrbɔa</td>
<td>.tʃɛ́.rə̀.bɔá.</td>
<td>hip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tfɔgtʃag</td>
<td>.tʃá.ɣə́.tʃák.</td>
<td>tattoo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 mánkɔr: ‘type of yam’ is not consistent with the three others and its realization can only be explained by the presence of the trill in coda position, which may cause a vowel to lose the exclusive control of the nucleus of the syllable. However, in Chakali most of the yam names are borrowed.²³

This section gave an overview of why and how the surface vowel [ə] appears, and further established that whenever two stems meet to form a word, if the first

²² Rule 7 overgenerates: an improvement would say that the less sonorant the flanking consonants are, the more likely the schwa is perceived.

²³ The tone melody HL on disyllabic words is rare and typical of English loan words, but, obviously, no yam appellations come from English.
ends with a consonant and the second begins with a consonant, i.e. \(VC_i][C_jV\), the vowel \([a]\) is inserted between the two consonants. After syllabification the last consonant of the first morpheme becomes onset of a syllable and the vowel \([a]\) functions as the nucleus of that syllable, i.e. \(V][C_i][a][C_jV\).

3.2.2 External sandhi

External sandhi refers to processes found at word boundaries. Two cases of assimilation are presented.

3.2.2.1 Nasal place assimilation. Nasal place assimilation at word boundaries occurs in the environment where the subject pronoun 1.sg.wk ‘I’ immediately precedes a verbal lexeme. The 1.sg.wk pronoun is represented by \(/N/\) in (14).

\[(14)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & /N/wb \text{ kaal} \text{suku } \text{foc/} \rightarrow [\text{ŋ̩̀ káálì } \text{sùkúù } \text{rō}] \text{ ‘I go to school’} \\
\text{b. } & /N/wb \text{ buure-3.sg } \text{foc/} \rightarrow [\text{m̩̀ búúrúú } \text{rō}] \text{ ‘I love it’} \\
\text{c. } & /N/wb \text{ sɔ } \text{nī } \text{foc/} \rightarrow [\text{ǹ sɔ́ nī́ } \text{rā}] \text{ ‘I’m bathing’}
\end{align*}
\]

Moreover, the same nasal place assimilation occurs in an environment where the possessive pronoun immediately precedes a nominal lexeme. As in (14) \(/N/\) stands for the first person singular possessive pronoun in (15). Rule 4 of Section 3.2.1.1 describes both word-internal and -external nasal place assimilation.\(^{24}\)

\[(15)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & /N/wb \text{ gar/} \rightarrow [\text{ŋ̩̀ gà́r}] \text{ ‘My cloth’} \\
\text{b. } & /N/wb \text{ par/} \rightarrow [\text{m̩̀ pár}] \text{ ‘My hoe’} \\
\text{c. } & /N/wb \text{ ?ul/} \rightarrow [\text{ǹ̩̂ úl}] \text{ ‘My navel’}
\end{align*}
\]

3.2.2.2 Focus particle’s place assimilation and vowel harmony. Focus encodes assertive information and has different forms in the language (Section 5.3). One of the forms is a focus particle which always follows a noun phrase. This particle is glossed as foc and represented as \(/RV/\), in which R is an abstract consonant (the surface default is \([r]\)) and V a vowel. The possible patterns responsible for the form of the focus particle are listed in (16).\(^{25}\)

\[(16)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{V}[-\text{ATR}] \text{ C}[-\text{LAT}, -\text{NAS}] \text{ } /w/ \text{ } /RV/ \rightarrow [\text{ra}] \\
\text{par ra } \text{ ‘hoe foc’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{24}\) The possessive pronouns are sometimes lengthened (Section 3.3.5).

\(^{25}\) Note that this is not a case of syntactic gemination since no underlying segments are doubled.
Grammatical outlines

b. \( V[-\text{atr}]\ C[+\text{lat}] \) \(\text{til la} \ '\text{gum foc}'\)

c. \( V[-\text{atr}]\ C[+\text{nas}] \) \(\text{tn na} \ '\text{skin foc}'\)

d. \( V[+\text{atr}+\text{ro}]\ C[-\text{lat, -nas}] \) \(\text{hog ro} \ '\text{bone foc}'\)

e. \( V[+\text{atr}+\text{ro}]\ C[+\text{lat}] \) \(\text{pul lo} \ '\text{river foc}'\)

f. \( V[+\text{atr}+\text{ro}]\ C[+\text{nas}] \) \(\text{lon no} \ '\text{calabash foc}'\)

g. \( V[+\text{atr}–\text{ro}]\ C[-\text{lat, -nas}] \) \(\text{ger re} \ '\text{lizard foc}'\)

h. \( V[+\text{atr}–\text{o}]\ C[+\text{lat}] \) \(\text{bil le} \ '\text{grave foc}'\)

i. \( V[+\text{atr}–\text{ro}]\ C[+\text{nas}] \) \(\text{nen ne} \ '\text{arm foc}'\)

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 tââ râ ‘the language foc’, à pîí ré ‘the yam mound foc’, and â kpólíŋkpôô 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 ŋmɛ́ná ‘okro’, ŋmɛ́ná ‘to cut’ and ŋmɛ̀ná ‘chisel’. The same can be said about tonal melodies at the phrasal level. Thus, the sentences ǹ̩ dí kʊ́ʊ́ rá ‘I am eating t.z.’ and ǹ̩ dí kʊ̄ʊ̄ rā ‘I ate t.z.’ are composed of the same sequence of segments (except the length of the pronoun in subject function), but it is mainly the tonal melody which distinguishes the former utterance from the latter. Minimal examples involving intonation are shown in Section 4.1.4.3.

Table 31 displays the tonal melodies of the singular noun category. These are words uttered in isolation, so the tones are cut off from contextual influences. The subtables are divided according to the moraic content of the syllable. The logical possibilities are accommodated with an example.

Based on the evidence of nominal paradigms, two tones are suggested, i.e. high (H) and low (L). They are transcribed on segments with an acute and a grave accent, respectively. Since tones are assigned to moras, light syllables can get a single tone, i.e. H or L. The heavy syllables may get high (H) or low (L), or either one of the contour tones, i.e. falling (HL) or rising (LH). A mid tone is often perceived, but no contrast is found at the lexical level. Provisionally, the mid tone is said to be a derived tone, that is, a raised low tone or a lowered high tone. On rare occasions I perceived a falling tone on the last vowel of a word, e.g. bùgùnsô ‘stupidity’.

Vagla, Deg, Tampulma, Sisaala, and Pasaale are all described with two tones (Rowland & Rowland 1965; Crouch & Smiles 1966; Bergman, Gray & Gray 1969; Toupin 1995; Crouch & Herbert 2003) One finds in this literature descriptions of two-tone systems and a considerable number of tone rules. I am not going to delve in that area in detail, but among them, a downstep rule lowers a high tone (i.e. ꜜ H) when a low tone intervenes between two high tones, e.g. dʊ̃́ʊ̃̀ (sg. HL), dʊ̃́ sá (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; underlingly though, the tones are either high or low. This gradual pitch fall may result in a low tone at the beginning of a phrase being as high as a high tone at the end of the phrase. Example (17) illustrates the phenomenon. While the first line shows how the tones are perceived, the second line provides the lexical tones normally associated with each of the words.26

---

26 There is an important level of analysis lacking in this description in that there are no tone rules to account for phrasal and lexical intonations, so example (17) must be interpreted with vigilance.
Grammatical outlines

Table 31: Tonal patterns of singular nouns

(a) One light syllable CVC: non-moraic coda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>hóg</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>vóg</td>
<td>small god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>bóg</td>
<td>type of tree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) One heavy syllable CVC: moraic coda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>kórː</td>
<td>seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>sëlː</td>
<td>dawadawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HL</td>
<td>fól</td>
<td>type of climber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH</td>
<td>pól</td>
<td>pond</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) One heavy syllable CVVC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>fiél</td>
<td>type of grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>tʃə̀rː</td>
<td>line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HL</td>
<td>bàːlː</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH</td>
<td>vàːnː</td>
<td>front leg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) One heavy syllable CVV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>fíːl</td>
<td>type of grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>tʃʊːrː</td>
<td>line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HL</td>
<td>báːlː</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH</td>
<td>vàːŋ</td>
<td>front leg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) Two light syllables CVCV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>bínːáː</td>
<td>excrement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>bɔːlːː</td>
<td>elephant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HL</td>
<td>góŋːóː</td>
<td>type of tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH</td>
<td>bínːáː</td>
<td>year</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(f) One heavy CVC: non-moraic coda, one light

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>tʃéːlːː</td>
<td>outlaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>kpàːnːː</td>
<td>lead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HL</td>
<td>dàntːː</td>
<td>clan title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH</td>
<td>kùksːóː</td>
<td>ribs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(g) One light CV, one heavy CVC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>búːzóːŋː</td>
<td>bachelor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HL</td>
<td>bòːzːalːː</td>
<td>type of bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH</td>
<td>kátːfːigː</td>
<td>type of bird</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(h) One heavy CVV, one light CV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HHH</td>
<td>díːsːéː</td>
<td>dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHL</td>
<td>kpáːsːáː</td>
<td>whip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHL</td>
<td>kúːrːʊː</td>
<td>chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHH</td>
<td>tùːsːóː</td>
<td>added amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LLH</td>
<td>fùːlːóː</td>
<td>whistle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LLL</td>
<td>bɔːːɡːáː</td>
<td>moon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(i) Three light syllables CVCVCV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HHH</td>
<td>káːsːmáː</td>
<td>corpse uniform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHL</td>
<td>bélːéːgː</td>
<td>drain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHL</td>
<td>dùːlːúːgː</td>
<td>type of bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LLH</td>
<td>gɛːrːɛːɡː</td>
<td>sickness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LLL</td>
<td>díːɡːnːaː</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LLH</td>
<td>tʃíːrːbːóː</td>
<td>gun firing pin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHH</td>
<td>?áːmːnːoː</td>
<td>type of bush cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLL</td>
<td>dóːkːpːéːnːiː</td>
<td>Royal python</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 [v̏]. 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

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### 4.2 Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is a process in which all the vowels in a particular domain come to share one or more phonological feature(s). This agreement is triggered in specific phonological domains and has a particular direction which is often treated as the spreading of one or more vowel feature(s). In Section 2.1, evidence was provided for the establishment of nine underlying vowels with five –atr and four +atr vowels. This type of vowel inventory has been referred to as a five-height (5Ht) system (Casali 2003b: 308), in which the feature ATR is contrastive within both the +hi and [–hi, –lo] vowels (see Table 1). Dakubu (1997: 81–82) and Casali (2003b: 312) maintain that it is the most common inventory among Gur and Kwa languages.

In Section 2.1.9, the –ATR specification of the low vowel at the phonemic level was assumed on the basis of its behavior with the set of –ATR vowels. In fact, the realization of the low vowel in vowel harmony suggests that the set of vowels specified as –ATR contains the low vowel. To illustrate the properties of vowel harmony, let us consider how they function in monosyllabic noun roots. Consider the data in Table 32.

Chakali is a language with noun classes (see Section 3.2.1). A class is defined as a pair of singular and plural suffixes associated with a particular root. Table 32 shows that only three vowels can occur in the plural suffix position, i.e. [a], [e], and [o]. The distribution is such that when the suffixes occur after a stem containing any member of the set {ɪ, ɛ, ə, ʊ, a}, they are realized as –a. The plural suffix vowel –e is realized when the root features are [+ATR, –RO], whereas the
Grammatical outlines

Table 32: Vowel harmony in nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root vowel feature</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+ATR, -HI, -LO, -RO]</td>
<td>sel</td>
<td>sélː</td>
<td>sélé</td>
<td>animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+ATR, +HI, -LO, -RO]</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>bíː</td>
<td>bié</td>
<td>seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+ATR, -LO, -RO]</td>
<td>kie</td>
<td>kié</td>
<td>kiété</td>
<td>half of a bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+ATR, -HI, -LO, +RO]</td>
<td>hol</td>
<td>hól</td>
<td>hóló</td>
<td>type of tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+ATR, -LO, +RO]</td>
<td>buo</td>
<td>búó</td>
<td>búósó</td>
<td>funeral item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-ATR, +HI, -RO]</td>
<td>bɛl</td>
<td>bèːl</td>
<td>bèllá</td>
<td>type of tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-ATR, +HI, -LO, -RO]</td>
<td>ñʊg</td>
<td>ñóg</td>
<td>ñógá</td>
<td>crocodile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-ATR, -HI, -LO, +RO]</td>
<td>hɔl</td>
<td>hɔːl</td>
<td>hɔ́lá</td>
<td>piece of charcoal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-ATR, -LO, +RO]</td>
<td>bʊɔ</td>
<td>bʊɔ́</td>
<td>bʊɔ́sá</td>
<td>hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-ATR, +LO]</td>
<td>vaa</td>
<td>váá</td>
<td>vásá</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-ATR, +LO]</td>
<td>baal</td>
<td>bāal</td>
<td>báalá</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

\[-V_{nc} \rightarrow [ \beta \text{RO, +ATR, -HI}] / [ \beta \text{RO, +ATR}] C_0 _\]

Rule 10 Noun classes realization (2)
A noun class suffix vowel becomes -a if the preceding stem vowel is i, e, o or a.

\[-V_{nc} \rightarrow +\text{LO} / -\text{ATR} C_0 _\]

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.
4 Suprasegmentals

Rule 11 ATR harmony
A vowel suffix agrees with the ATR value of the preceding stem/word vowel (domains: noun classes, verbal suffixes, focus marker).

\[ V \rightarrow [\alpha_{\text{ATR}}] / [\alpha_{\text{ATR}}] C_0 \_ \]

Rule 12 RO harmony
A vowel suffix agree with the RO value of the preceding stem/word vowel (domains: noun classes, verbal suffixes, focus marker).

\[ V \rightarrow [\alpha_{\text{RO}}] / [\alpha_{\text{RO}}] C_0 \_ \]

Up to the present, the data suggest that the low vowel is excluded from co-occurring with +ATR vowels. So the prediction seems to be that if a word contains a +ATR vowel, either the low vowel /a/ cannot be realized and is thus changed by (one of) the above rules, or the low vowel is banned altogether from the underlying form. Caution is necessary, however, since complex stem nouns (Section 3.2.3) are attested containing both low vowels and +ATR vowels, e.g. pàzèŋ (par-zèŋ, 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. dààrí ‘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 nì 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 màŋkísí júú nì rò/rè.
    ART match RELN POSTP FOC
    ‘on the top of the matchbox’

b. à pùl nì rò/rè.
    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
vowel of the postposition itself acquires the relevant vowel features of the preceding word. The fact that either \textit{ro} or \textit{re} can surface as focus marker shows that i) the \textit{ro} feature may be controlled by a non-adjacent word, and/or ii) \( +\text{ATR} \) may be a vowel feature of the postposition.\(^{27}\) Because it is more reduced, the quality of the high front vowel is difficult to hear at normal speech rate in that position, thus the distinction between the \( -\text{ATR} \) and \( +\text{ATR} \) versions is not always reflected in the transcription of the postposition.

\(^{27}\) A more extreme case is found in example (71c).
Grammar outline

1 Introduction

This chapter provides a broad outline of the grammar and introduces those aspects needed to understand the formations of words and sentences found in the dictionary. Further, it acts as a preliminary grammar of the language, which is and will always be essential for future description and analysis since it sets forth claims to be confirmed, rejected, challenged, or improved. First, the common clause structure, the main elements of syntax and clause coordination and subordination are presented. Then, elements of the nominal domain are introduced, followed by the elements of the verbal domain. Finally, aspects of grammatical pragmatics and selected language usage phenomena are examined. The work is descriptive and employs theory grounded in traditional grammar, but influenced by recent work in linguistic typology. When necessary, the relevant theoretical assumptions are introduced and the relevant literature provided. Recall that the full list of glossing tags is available on page xiv and the glossing convention is discussed in Section 2.3.

2 Clause

A clause is a grammatical unit that can express a proposition. A clause which can stand as a complete utterance is an independent clause. When a grammatically correct clause cannot stand on its own, it is dependent on a main clause. Three sorts of speech act are presented in this section: the statement, the question, and the command. The former is by default encoded in a declarative clause (Section 2.1), and the latter two are usually encoded in interrogative clauses (Section 2.2), imperative clauses (Section 2.3), and exclamative clauses (Section 2.4) respectively. Constructions are treated as clause-types; constructions are formal and semantic frames which are conventionalized and display both compositional and non-compositional characteristics. In this section the components of the common independent clauses and constructions encountered are presented. In Section 2.5, clause coordination and subordination are introduced. Section 2.6
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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) $s|A + P \pm O (\pm AJC)$

(2) a. $S + P$
   b. $A + P + O$
   c. $S + P + AJC$
   d. $A + P + O + AJC$

The predicate ($p$) is represented by a verbal syntactic constituent ($v$) whereas the arguments ($s$, $A$, $o$) are represented by nominal syntactic constituents ($n$). The adjunct constituent ($AJC$) may consist of words or phrases referring to time, location, manner of action, etc. (see Section 5 on adjunct types). An argument may be seen as core or peripheral. The core argument of an intransitive clause is realized in the subject position ($s$), which precedes the predicate.

(3) a. àfía díjöö.
   \[\begin{array}{ccc}
   S & P & n \\
   n & v & FOC
   \end{array}\]
   ‘Afia ate.’

b. àfía díjöö kĩŋkáŋ.
   \[\begin{array}{ccc}
   S & P & AJC \\
   n & v & FOC qual
   \end{array}\]
   ‘Afia ate a lot.’

c. àfía dí sílmáá rā.
   \[\begin{array}{ccc}
   A & P & O \\
   n & v & n & FOC
   \end{array}\]
   ‘Afia ate food.’

d. àfía dí sílmáá kĩŋkáŋ nà.
   \[\begin{array}{ccc}
   A & P & O & AJC \\
   n & v & n & qual & FOC
   \end{array}\]
   ‘Afia ate food a lot.’

The core arguments of a transitive clause are realized in the subject ($A$) and object ($o$), the former preceding and the latter following the predicate in their canonical positions. These characteristics are illustrated in (3).^{1}

^{1} Focus ($foc$) may be integrated into the verb or coded in a focus particle, among others. Section 3.2.2.2 presents the various forms $foc$ can take.
Grammatical relations are primarily determined by constituent order. Thus, the subject and object functions are not morphologically marked, except that the subject pronouns in s and a positions can have strong or weak forms (see Section 3.3.1). This is extraneous to the marking of grammatical functions but pertinent to the emphasis put on an event’s participant. A peripheral argument consists of a constituent foreign to the core predication, that is, an argument which is not part of the core participant(s) typically associated with a predicate. As peripheral argument, an adjunct (AJC) may be realized by a single word or a phrase. Reference to space, manner, and time are the typical denotations of peripheral arguments. Adjuncts will be briefly discussed here; details are offered in Sections 2.6 and 5.

Adjuncts are optional with respect to the main predication and can be added to both intransitive and transitive clauses, as shown in (4a), as well as (3b) and (3c) above (see Sections 2.1.6, 2.6.4, and 2.6.3 for discussions on the postposition).

(4) a. Manner expression in intransitive clause

\[ \text{PSG} \text{ drink IDEO POSTP} \]
‘He drank quickly.’

b. Manner expression in transitive clause

\[ \text{PSG} \text{ drink ART water IDEO POSTP} \]
‘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 tiwizég nôž nî ‘by a main road’ in (5) should be treated as an oblique object.
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(5)  A + P + O + E
     ęmęntel sìi    à    bilè    ò    kùò    tiwizéñ    nòå    nìì
     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 *tìɛ* ‘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  tìɛ́    àfìí    à  lóɔlì.
     A    P    Oₐ    Eₜₐ
     K.  give    A.  ART    car
     'Kala gave Afia the car.'

     b.  kàlá  tìɛ́    ò    à  lóɔlì.
     A    P    Oₐ    Eₜₐ
     K.  give    3SG    ART    car
     'Kala gave her the car.'

     c.  *  Kala  tìɛ̀  a  lɔɔlì  Afia.

     d.  *  Kala  tìɛ̀  ò  Afia.

The assumption is that the verb *tìɛ* ‘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  lóɔrí    ò    tìɛ̀    àfìí.
     A    P    Oₜ    P    Oₐ
     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
    bɔ̀là jàá kòsàsèl lè
    elephant IDENT bush.animal FOC
    ‘The/An elephant is a bush animal.’

b. Ordinary categorization
    wʊ̀ sá jàá pàpátá rá
    W. IDENT farmer FOC
    ‘Wusa is a farmer.’

c. Identity
    i. wʊ̀ sá jàá à tɔ́ɔ́tɪ̄ɪ̄nā
       W. IDENT ART landlord
       ‘Wusa is the landlord.’
    ii. wʊ̀ sá jàá à báàl tɪŋ kà sàŋ̃ɛ̀ kɛ́ŋ̃
       W. IDENT ART man ART EGR sit.PFV DXM
       ‘Wusa is the man sitting like this.’
    iii. à báàl tɪŋ kà sàŋ̃ɛ̀ kɛ́ŋ̃ jàá wʊ̀ sá
        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
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for the generic categorization where the order is always [hyponym jaa hyperonym]. So, the sentences pápátá rá jāā wősá ‘farmer foc is Wusa’ and à tóó tínā jāā wősá ‘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 dʊa. An example is provided in (9).

(9) à báál dʊ́ɔ́ à dɪ̀à nɪ̄.
    ART man be.at ART house POSTP
    ‘The man is at/in the house.’

The existential predicate dʊa 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 dʊa and the postposition nɪ, e.g. à dʊ́á jā́rɪ́ɪ́ nɪ̄ ‘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 mɔ̀lɛ́bíí dʊ́á dɛ̄.
    ART money be.at DEM
    ‘There is money (available).’

b. à mɔ̀lɛ́bíí dʊ̀ā dɛ́ nɪ̄
    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).
Wojo is sick.

The verb *dʊ́á* 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. ʊ̀ dʊ́á dɪ̀à ni.
    3SG be.at house POSTP
     ‘She is in the house.’

    b. ʊ̀ wáá tʊ̀ dɪ̀à ni.
    3SG NEG be.at house POSTP
     ‘She is not in the house.’

    c. *ʊ tuo dɪa ni
    d. *ʊ waa dʊ́a dɪa ni

2.1.3 Possessive clause

A possessive clause expresses a relation between a possessor and a possessed. It consists of the verb *kpaga* ‘have’, and two nominal expressions acting as subject and object; the former being the possessor (PSOR) of the relation, while the latter being the possessed (PSED).

(13)  kàlá kpágá nã̀ɔ̃̀ 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 bīě*, and someone can ‘have’ a senior brother, i.e. *ʊ̀ kpágá bìěrì*. 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. hɪ̃̀ɪ̃̀sáá kpágá à hááŋ ƙìŋkáŋ.
    shame have ART woman much
    ‘The woman was ashamed …’ [CB 034]
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b. lösá kpágáŋ nà.
hunger have.1.SG FOC
‘I am hungry.’
c. níŋ:ksá kpágáŋ nà
thirst have.1.SG FOC
‘I am thirsty.’
d. gårágá kpágáŋ nà
sickness have.1.SG FOC
‘I am sick.’

Some characteristics ascribed to animate entities are expressed by the relational term tına ‘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. ó jáá sísíámə-tɪ́ɪ́ná.
3.SG IDENT seriousness-owner
PSOR PSED
‘He is serious’
b. ó kpágá sıstámə 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. áŋ kín ká jàà kín háŋ?
Q.who thing IFVFV IDENT thing DEM
‘Whose thing is this thing.’
b. ŋ kín ná.
1SG thing FOC
‘It is mine.’
Correspondingly the manner deictics $kéŋ$ and $nɪŋ$ are also found in non-verbal clauses. For instance, $kéŋ né$ means ‘That is it!’ but the same string is more often heard as $kéŋ nɛ̀ɛ̀ ‘Is that so/it?’ i.e. constructed as a polar question (see Section 2.2.2 on polar questions, and Section 5.1 on $kéŋ$ and $nɪŋ$).

Finally, a speaker may utter $mɪ̀n 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.

\[
(18) \quad à \ kirinsá \ m̀ tsetse.fly.pl \ màsì kpò àká dògònt tá.
\]

\[\text{ART tsetse.fly.PL 1SG beat kill CONN chase let.free} \]

\[\quad [v \ v] [v \ v] \]

‘I beat and killed the tsetse flies, and drove them away.’ [CB 023]
Together, the verbs *masɪ* 'beat' and *kpʊ* 'kill' in (18) constitute a single event. The same can be said about the verbs *dogom* '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 *masɪ, kpʊ* and *dogom* share the reference of the nominal *a kirinsa* 'the tsetse flies' as their Theme argument and *ŋ* 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)  

\[ \begin{align*}  
    & a. \quad ̣\text{i} \text{ tfi kǎά \text{ māsǐ kpō à kirinsá rá.}} \\
    & \quad \text{1.SG CRAS FUT.PROG beat kill ART tsetse.fly.PL FOC} \\
    & \quad \text{‘I will be beating and killing the tsetse flies tomorrow.’} \\
    & b. \quad ̣\text{i} \text{ há māsǐ kpō à kirinsá rá.} \\
    & \quad \text{1.SG MOD beat kill ART tsetse.fly.PL FOC} \\
    & \quad \text{‘I am still beating and killing the tsetse flies.’} \\
    & c. \quad ̣\text{i} \text{ wà māsǐ kpō à kirinsá.} \\
    & \quad \text{1.SG NEG beat kill ART tsetse.fly.PL} \\
    & \quad \text{‘I did not beat and kill the tsetse flies.’} 
\end{align*} \]

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 *fọtọ* 'picture' and are not contiguous. The transitive verb *tawa* 'pierce' takes *fọtọ* as its object, and similarly *lāgā* takes *fọtọ* as its subject. A representation of object-subject sharing (or switch sharing) appears under the free translation in (20).

(20)  

\[ \begin{align*}  
    & \text{Object-subject sharing} \\
    & \quad \text{hèmbí táwá fọtọ lāgā dāά ní.} \\
    & \quad \text{nail pierce picture hang wood POSTP} \\
    & \quad \text{‘A picture hangs from a nail on a wooden pole.’} \\
    & \text{fọtọ} < x_i > \\
    & \text{tawa} \langle A = y, o = x_i \rangle \\
    & \text{lāgā} \langle A = x_i, o = z \rangle 
\end{align*} \]
Subject-subject and object-object sharing are more common than object-subject sharing. In (21), the nominal expression a kɪ́rɪ́nsa is the shared object of three verbs, i.e. m̩, k̩ and dʊgʊnɪ, and similarly the pronoun m̩ is the shared subject for the same three verbs. However, only m̩ and k̩ make up the SVC.

(21) Subject-subject and Object-object sharing

à kɪ́rɪ́nsá m̩ màsɪ kp̩ àká dʊgʊnɪ tá.
ART tsetse.fly.pl 1.SG beat kill CONN chase let.free

‘I beat and killed the tsetse flies, and drove them away.

m̩ < x̧,

kɪ́rɪ́nsa < y̧,

m̩ <A= x̧, o= y̧,

dʊgʊnɪ <A= x̧, o = y̧,

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. ø sii kààlt nà.

3.sg rise go see
v₁ v₂ v₃

‘She stood, went, and saw (it).’

b. ø brá tʊù tfɔ̱ kààlì.

3.sg turn go.down run go
v₁ v₂ v₃ v₄

‘She returned down and ran away’ (from a tree top or hill)

A manipulative serial verb construction (Ameka & 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.
Grammatical outlines

(23)  Manipulative serial verb construction

\[
\text{kàlà kpá à lɔ́ɔ́lɪ́ / ŏ tìè áfiá.}
\]

K.  take ART car / 3.SG give A.

\[
\text{v v}
\]

'Kala gave the car/it to Afia.'

Frequent collocations of the type presented in (23) are \text{kpa wa}, lit. take come, 'bring', \text{kpa kaah}, lit. take go, 'send', \text{kpa pe}, lit. take add, 'add', \text{kpa ta}, lit. take let free, 'remove', \text{kpa bile}, lit. take put, 'put (on)' and \text{kpa dọ}, lit. take put, 'put (in)'. The two verbs may or may not be contiguous; usually the Theme argument of the verb \text{kpa} 'take' is found between the two verbs.

Finally, some multi-verb clauses are not SVCs. There are a few verbs which bear a relation to the main predication and contribute aspects of the phase of execution or scope of an event.\(^2\) For instance, a terminative construction describes an event coming to an end or reaching a termination, and a relinquishment construction describes an event whose result is the release or abandonment of someone or something. The verbs \text{peti} 'finish' and \text{ta} 'abandon' in (24a) and (24c), together with a non-stative predication, determine each construction.

(24)  a.  Terminative construction

\[
\text{làɣálàɣá hán ni ŋ kòtì à ʔã́ã́ bétí.}
\]

IDEO DEM POSTP 1.SG skin ART bushbuck finish

\[
v v
\]

'I just finished skinning the bushbuck.'

b.  \text{ię péti à tómá rá.}

1.SG finish ART work FOC

'I have finished the work.'

c.  Relinquishment construction

\[
\text{kpá ŋ nèŋ tà.}
\]

take 1.SG hand let.free

\[
v v
\]

'Let me go!'

d.  \text{à bọ̀ọ̀ŋ tà ŏ ŏ bìè rē.}

ART goat abandon 3.SG.POSS child FOC

'The goat abandoned its kids.'

\(^2\) These verbs are similar to what Bonvini (1988: 108) calls auxiliant.
The examples in (24a) and (24c), which may be called phasal constructions, 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. ʊ̀ búúré kísīē bâyâ (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. sɔ̀ɔrɛ̀ à dɪ́sà nà (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 ɲuu ni ‘on the table’ functions as oblique object of the main predicate. The last line is a free translation which captures the general meaning of the situation. It is accompanied by a reference to the illustration which the first line describes.4

3 The analysis of the progressive and prospective in Ewe and Dangme in Ameka & Dakubu (2008) influences the way I approach and name the phenomenon.
4 Subscribing to the typology of locative predicates proposed in Ameka & Levinson (2007), the illustrations of the four stimuli created by the Language and Cognition Group at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (Bowerman & Pederson 1993; Ameka, De Witte & Wilkins 1999; Meira & Levinson 2001a,b) were used in chapter 7 of Brindle (2011) to provide a description of the means by which Chakali encodes spatial meaning. The results are compared with Gurere data (Oti-Volta) in Brindle & Atintono (2012).
Grammatical outlines

(25) [à gár] [ságá] [à tēēbûl nùù ni].
\[ ART \quad \text{cloth} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{ART \ table \ reln \ postp} \]
\[ \text{figure} \quad \text{trm} \quad \text{ground} + \text{trm} \]
‘The cloth is on the table.’ [PSPV 4]

In (25), the spatial relation is expressed via topological relation markers: the main predicate \textit{saga} ‘be on’ or ‘sit’ and the relational nominal predicate \textit{nùù} ‘top of’. The main predicate \textit{saga} denotes a stative event which localizes the figure with respect to the ground. The relational nominal predicate \textit{nùù} designates the search domain and depends on the reference entity of the ground (i.e. \textit{tēēbûl}). The postposition \textit{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 \textit{kaalî} ‘exceed, surpass’, whose two arguments are the objects compared. 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 \textit{comparee}, i.e. the objective of comparison, whereas the one in object position is the \textit{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 \textit{kaalî} 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

\begin{verbatim}
a. wōsáá  zǐŋá  kà芦́  áfiá.
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
W.  grow  surpass A.
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
[n]_{comparee} [v]_{scale} v [n]_{standard}
\end{verbatim}
‘Wusa is taller than Afia.’

Brindle et al. (2005) presents a Lexical-Functional Grammar account of the comparative construction in Gĩ, a language also exhibiting an exceed- or surpass-comparative.

\[5\]
b. \( w\oslash{s}\á b\atf\odl\á k\odal\á k\alá b\atf\odl\á \).  
\[ \text{running surpass K. running} \]
\[ [n \, n] \quad v \quad [n \, n] \]

‘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
\[ w\oslash{s}\á j\áá n\dh\ë\ á\distinct \, \ntí. \]
\[ \text{W. ident old A. postp} \]
\[ [n]_{\text{comparee}} \quad v \quad [v]_{\text{scale}} \quad [n]_{\text{standard}} \]

‘Wusa is older than Afia.’

The same two strategies are used to express a superlative degree: surpassing or being superior to all others is explicitly expressed by the pronoun \( b\a \) ‘they, them’. This is shown in (28).

(28) Superlative construction
a. \( w\oslash{s}\á z\in\á k\al\lá b\á. \)
\[ \text{W. grow surpass 3PL} \]
\[ v \quad v \]

‘Wusa is the tallest.’

b. \( w\oslash{s}\á j\áá n\dh\ë\ b\á \ntí. \)
\[ \text{W. ident old 3PL postp} \]
‘Wusa is the oldest.’

A comparison of equality (i.e. \( X \text{ is same as } Y \)) consists of a subject phrase containing both objects to be compared joined by the connective \( (a)n\r \) followed by the scale, the verb \( m\odl\ast \) ‘equal, enough, ever’ and the reciprocal word \( d\h\r\j \) ‘each other’ (see Section 3.3.6 on reciprocity and reflexivity). This is shown in (29).

(29) Comparison of equality construction
\[ w\oslash{s}\á n\í \quad \á\distinct b\ins\á m\odl\ast d\h\r\j \, \r\á. \]
\[ \text{W. conn A. year equal recip foc} \]
‘Wusa is as old as Afia.’
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Finally, the verb ɓó in (30) is a comparative transitive verb which can be translated with the English comparative adjective and preposition 'better than'.

(30) zàāŋ tóṁá bó diàrè tin tóṁá.

today work better than yesterday ART work

'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 ƙín 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 ƙín is glossed ABI to refer to ‘ability’.

(31) Ability-Possibility construction

a. ɗ wà ƙín wàà.
3.SG NEG ABI come

‘He is not able to come.’

b. i kàá ƙín kàáloó.
2.SG FUT ABI go.FOC

‘You may go.’

c. n̩ kàá ƙín wàʊ̌ tfiā?
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), ƙín may take inflectional morphology, in this case the perfective suffix (Section 4.1.4.1).

(32) a. A: ɗ wà ƙín wāā?
3.SG NEG able come

‘Couldn’t he come?’ (declarative: ɗ wà ƙín wàà.)
b. B: êêê, ò wà kînjê 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 abonîëni in clause initial position. The expression is transcribed into a single word but may come from a-banî-ë-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. àbônîëni dòñ kàá wàò.
   perhaps rain FUT come.FOC

'Perhaps it is going to rain.'

b. àbônîëni ò di wàáwáò.
   perhaps 3.SG HEST come.PFV.FOC

'Perhaps he came yesterday.'

In some contexts, a speaker may prefer to use a cognitive verb in a phrase like n̩ lisie ‘I think (…)’ or the phrase a kʊ̃ ŋ na, lit. it tires me foc, ‘I wonder (…)’ as an alternative to the dubitative construction.

2.1.8.2 Desiderative

As an independent verb ŋma means ‘say’. The same verb can also function in a construction [NP ŋma [NP VP]] conveying a desiderative mood, corresponding to the English modal expression ‘want to’.

(34) ñ ŋmá [ñ kàáli dùsèè tʃià].
   1SG say 1SG go  D. tomorrow

'I want to go to Ducie tomorrow.'

Notice that the high tone on the 1SG pronoun subject of kàáli ‘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)aj ‘who’ replaces the subject constituent of the clause. The inventory of interrogative words/phrases can be found in Section 3.3.4.

(35)  
a. bąąŋ kəḷə kəḷ jāʔ?
  q.what 3.SG IPFV do
  ‘What is Kala doing?’

b. ąąŋ kāʔ wāā bą̄ŋ?
  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 aj ‘who’ appears in the object position following the transitive verb maŋa ‘beat’ and is slightly lengthened.

(36)  
a. zı̀ɛ̀n kə mənə ąŋ̃ʔ?
  Z. egr beat q.who
  ‘Zien beat who?’

b. ąŋ̃ zı̀ɛ̀n kə mənə?
  q.who Z. egr beat
  ‘Who did Zien beat?’

2.2.2 Polar question

A polar question is characterized by an interrogative intonation, consisting primarily of an extra-low tone at the end of the utterance (see Section 4.1). Additionally, lengthening of the penultimate vocalic segment takes place. The properties differentiating an assertive clause from a polar question are illustrated in (37). The extra-low tone is represented with a double grave accent (i.e.”).

(37)  
a. ʊ̀ 3.5G wāāŋ.  
  come.ipfv.foC
  ‘He is coming.’

b. ʊ̀ 3.5G wāāō̏.  
  come.ipfv.q
  ‘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.
2 Clause

(38) a. Speaker
   \[ t \text{ wàà kààlî́.} \]
   2SG NEG go.Q
   ‘Aren’t you going?’

b. Addressee
   êêê.
   yes
   ‘No’ (lit. Yes, I am not going)

A negative polar interrogative in English usually asks about the positive proposition, i.e. with ‘Aren’t you going?’, the speaker presupposes that the addressee is going, while in Chakali it questions the negative proposition, i.e. with \[ i \text{ wàà kààlî́.} \], 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
   \[ fùùrì à dìŋ dòsì. \]
   blow ART fire quench
   ‘Blow on this flame (to extinguish it).’

b. Inclusive
   \[ tì̀ ğà mùŋ làyàmè kààlì́ tọ̀tttìná pé. \]
   give IPL 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 \( dt \). Some consultants believe that omitting the particle may be perceived as rude. The particle \( dt \) can also implicate that performing
Grammatical outlines

the action is requested by someone else than the speaker.\(^6\) In addressing a command to a group, the second person plural subject pronoun usually appears in its canonical subject position, but it may be absent if the speaker believes that the context allows a single interpretation.\(^7\)

\[(40)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \ (dì) \ \text{wàà.} \quad & \text{c. } & \ máá \ wàà. \\
& \text{COMP come} & & \text{2PL come} \\
& \text{‘Come!’} & & \text{‘Come!’} \\
\text{b. } & \ dì \ \text{wáá.} \quad & \text{d. } & \ dì \ máá \ wàà. \\
& \text{COMP come} & & \text{COMP 2PL come} \\
& \text{‘Come!’ (keep coming! or follow me!)} & & \text{‘Come!’ (requested by someone else than speaker)}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \(tìɛ\) ‘give’.

\[(41)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{Optative} \\
& \text{tìɛ \ ɪn \ mìbòà \ bírgi.} \\
& \text{give 1SG.POSS life delay} \\
& \text{‘Let me live long!’} \\
\text{b. } & \text{Hortative} \\
& \text{tìɛ \ ’à \ hàà \ píílé.} \\
& \text{give ART dance start} \\
& \text{‘Let the dance begin!’}
\end{align*}
\]

A prohibitive clause consists of a negated proposition conveying an imperative (or hortative) mood. It is marked by the negative particle \(tì/te\) ‘not’ (glossed \textsc{neg.imp}) occurring in clause initial position.

\[(42)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{té \ kááliú, dòóNy kàà \ wàà.} \\
\text{NEG.IMP go \ rain IPFV come.FOC} \\
\text{‘Don’t go, rain is coming.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{6}\) It is not known whether these ‘\(dì\)-strategies’ give rise to multiple interpretations.

\(^{7}\) If A asks ‘What does he want?’, B may reply \(dì \ mà \ dì \ wàà\) ‘That you (pl) should be coming’. In this case the first \(dì\) heads a clause which introduces indirect speech and the second is an imperfective particle, the latter being covered in Section 4.1.4.4.
The prohibitive also involves a high front vowel suffixed to its verb. The quality of the vowel, i.e. -ɪ/-i, is determined by the quality of the verbal stem.

(43)  a. gó.  
circle 'Move in a circle around.'  
b. té góìí.  
NEG.IMP circle 'Don’t move in a circle around.'

c. kpó.  
kill 'Kill.'
d. tí kpótt.  
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. kòɔrì à sìimáà.  
make ART food 'Make the food.'

b. té kòɔrì sìimáà  
NEG make food 'Do not make food.'

(c. tìí kòɔrìí.  
NEG.IMP make 'Do not make (food).'</n

(d. tìí kòɔrì à sìimáà.  
NEG.IMP make ART food 'Do not make the food.'

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. bèlèè tìí mùŋ nè kéŋ wòòò.  
G. ART meaning FOC DXM INTERJ

'That is the meaning of Gurumbele!' [BH 016]
Grammatical outlines

b. döö nú kpárá rá wōōō.
python head double FOC INTERJ
‘Python is double-headed!’ [PY 074]

After offering a chronicle of the history of his village and the reason why it has its name, the speaker uttered (45a) to intensify his stance in the presence of other community members. In (45b), the narrator of the folktale wants to mark the surprising fact that the African rock python is equipped with extraordinary visual power.

(46) a. ò kà bány wà zú dià, ò bàŋ hàmá ðí èhēhē.
3SG IPFV just come enter room 3SG just say COMP INTERJ
‘When he entered the room, she said: “yes!”’ [PY 008]

b. ðí ñábbá!, ðí ñò bàmbíí nár wàáwááó.
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 èhēhē, 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 èhē, ñabba, and woo are not specific to Chakali: they are Ghanaianism, i.e. words found in most, if not all, languages of Ghana, and surely beyond (see Section 5.6.1 for interjections).

2.5 Clause coordination and subordination

A relation between two clauses is signaled with or without an overt marker, and various structures and morphemes are used to relate clauses. Two relations are discussed below: coordination and subordination.

2.5.1 Coordination

The distribution of four clausal connectives which are used in coordinating clauses is presented: these are a, ka, aka and di.8

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8 See McGill, Fembeti & Toupin (1999: 143–149) for an account of similar clausal connectives in Pasaale.
2.5.1.1 Connective \textit{a} The connective \textit{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 \textit{a}. This phenomenon is often referred to as ‘clause chaining’.\footnote{The last sentence of example (47) can be analysed as a coordination by clause apposition.}

\begin{verbatim}(47) diàrè tiŋ ŋ dì kááli bèlè rà, à [jàwà nàmìè], à [kpá wàà diá], à [wà tài ŋ hàày], à [ŋŋá tài ŋ hàày] dì come home CONN come give my wife CONN say give my wife COMP òó tòŋà. ò tòŋà jà dì. 3SG cook 3SG cook 1PL eat
\end{verbatim}

‘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 \textit{ka} and \textit{aka} Generalizing from the examples available, for both the connectives \textit{ka} and \textit{aka} ‘and’, either (i) the subject of the clause preceding the connective is inferred in the second clause, i.e. as for the connective \textit{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.

\begin{verbatim}(48) [ŋmɛ́ŋtɛ́ láá nóò ní] ká [ŋmá dì óó wá nóò ní] spider collect mouth POSTP CONN say COMP 3SG come drink water
\end{verbatim}

‘(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]

\begin{verbatim}(49) a. [di i wàà pàrá] ká [kirimá wà dòmíí] CONN 2SG INGR farm CONN tstse.fly.PL INGR bite.2SG
\end{verbatim}

‘When you are doing the weeding and tsetse flies bite you (...)’ [CB 003]
Grammatical outlines

b. [dí námùŋ tí bí wàà jírà kĩŋkũrũgíé ŋměntél sọ́ŋ] àká [i comp anyone neg itr inr call enumeration eight name conn 2sg jírà kẹ́j]
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) óʼwà ŋměntél já kũrọ àká bútì
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 sù bárá mṹ.] ká [důó tiŋ ŋmá dí kindígií důó à meat fill place all conn python art say comp something is art dià ni]
house postp

‘Meat was all over the place. Then, Python said: “there is something in the room”’. [PY 069]

(52) [à bìpɔ̀lì́ i sìì tʃǐŋá] àká [ŋmá, ámũ̃ɛ̃́ ɪ́ 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 \textit{ka} and \textit{aka}, but no firm conclusions can be drawn.

(53) a. \textit{kàlá káálɪ̀ jàwá ká jàwà mùrò rō}.  
K. go market \text{conn} bought rice \text{ foc}  
'Kala went to the market and bought rice.'

b. \textit{kàlá káált jàwá àká ptèst bûlèŋà túsà}.  
K. go market \text{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 \textit{aka} connects less-integrated clauses.

(54) a. \textit{ʊ̀ zòó diá ká dì siìmáá rā}.  
3SG enter house \text{conn} eat food \text{ foc}  
'She entered the house and ate the food.' (expected)

b. \textit{ʊ̀ zòó diá àká vrà siìmáá rā}.  
3SG enter house \text{conn} knock food \text{ foc}  
'She entered the house and knocked the food over.' (unexpected)

c. \textit{ʊ̀ zòó diá ká vrà siìmáá rā}.  
3SG enter house \text{conn} knock food \text{ 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).

2.5.1.3 \textbf{Connective di}  
The clausal connective \textit{di} ‘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

\footnote{The connectives \textit{aŋ} and \textit{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  kààlí di  wá.
     Q  3SG go  CONN come
     ‘Where is he coming from?’ (lit. where he left and come)
   b.  kpá  siímá háŋ̀  di  káálí.
     take food  DEM CONN go
     ‘Take this food away! (lit. take this food and go)

2.5.2 Subordination

The morpheme tìŋ is mainly used as a determiner in noun phrases (see Section 3.1.2). However, there are instances where the discourse following tìŋ must be treated as subordinated and related to the noun phrase of which tìŋ is part. One may argue that the morpheme tìŋ can function as a relativizer.

(56)  kúrò  [[píé tìŋ]NP  ò_i kà tó à kùò ní kéŋ̀]NP
     count yam.mound.PL ART  3SG EGR COVER ART farm POSTP DXM
     ttèê_i
     give.3SG
     ‘(Spider_i asked Buffalo to) count for him_i the yam mounds which he_i covered at the farm.’ [LB 006]

In (56), the phrase ò kà tó à kùò ní kéŋ̀ is (i) in apposition to the noun phrase píé tìŋ, and (ii) in a subordination relation with the noun phrase píé tìŋ. The low tone kà frequently appears in subordinated clauses with tìŋ (see example 178b in Section 4.2.1). In a conditional construction like the one in (57a), the subordinate clause is headed by the particle dt, whereas the main clause follows the subordinated clause.

(57)  a.  dì  ñ  fi  tú  kààlí dë, bà  kàá tégúù nò.
     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.  dt  i  ziŋ wá  zìŋ hà, i  wàà  kíŋ gáálì  diŋ nì.
     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. ṭ wááwáó ḛnáámùŋ dí ṭ wííò. 3SG come.PFV.FOC COMP 3SG sick.FOC
    'He came in spite of his illness.'

b. ṅ wá kpágá sákìr, ḛpúúní ṭ dí váłá nâásá. 1SG NEG have bicycle FOC 1SG IPFV walk leg.PL
    'I don’t have a bicycle, therefore I am walking.'

The subordinate clause of a concessive construction is introduced by the expression aní amuŋ [ànáámùŋ] (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 aɲuu nì [aɲúúnì] or a wìɛ [awìɛ] (lit. the-head-on and the-matter) respectively, ‘therefore’ or ‘because’. Examples are shown in (58).

2.5.2.1 Complementizer dì

Example (59) shows that the complementizer dì introduces indirect speech.

(59) kùórù bìnihāãŋ ɲmá dì "ɛ̃̂ɛ̃́ɛ̃́ɛ̃́ɛ̃́". 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. ɲma (tìɛ) ‘say (give)’, tʃagalì ‘teach, show, indicate’, hẽsi ‘announce’, etc. This is shown in (60) with hẽsi ‘announce’.

(60) tɔ́ʊ́ ɔ̀sá morning pìsì, ṭ wáá tìŋ té lálá à ḛááŋ dì scatter 3SG.POSS husband ART early wake.up ART wife COMP ṭ sìí dúò 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]
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b. ṵò káálí (dì) űò ká nò́̀̀ ńń.  
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 dì introduces the goal. In the latter case, however, consultants say that the complementizer dì 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 bùúrè nìì rà jà nò́̀̀.  
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

[tfɔ̀ɔsá pisì] à bipɔ̀lī kpá ṵò pár
AJC S P O
morning scatter ART young.man take 3SG.POSS hoe 
‘The following day the young man took his hoe along ...’ [CB 005]

In Section 2.1.7, the dubitative construction was identified with the expression àbɔ̀̃́nì́nì ‘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.
2 Clause

(65) a. Temporal
[tämä finî] ò fì sòwá.
few little 3SG MOD die
‘A little longer and she would have died.’
b. Evidential
[wídîń ná] dî ò náó râ.
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 *wîdîŋ 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. [àwòžòrí dîgî] kòsàńáã válá
the.day one buffalo walked
‘One day a buffalo walked (and greeted the spider) (…)’. [LB 005
b. [dènî], [sàńå dîgî] à hâáñ já páà à bâál zòmò
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 kààlt ò pé rè [tðpîsî bît-mûń].
1SG HAB go 3SG end FOC day.break itr-all
‘I visit him every day.’
d. [làyâlàyá hâñ ni] ñ kòtt à ?âá péti.
ideo.fast DEM POSTP 1SG 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, *àwòžòrí* is translated into ‘that day’ in (66a), but the forms *wùsa* ‘sun’ and *zùr* ‘enter’ are perceptible. The phrase *làyâlàyá*
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háǹ nɪ̀ in (66d) literally means ‘now.now this on’ (ideo dem postp), but ‘only a moment ago’ is a better translation. Similarly, dení, analysed as the spatial demonstrative de and the potposition nɪ 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) dénì rè, oò háآن tịŋ ɲmá ɗí “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 sàá bóêibòêì.
   COMP drive IDEO.carefully
   ‘Drive carefully.’

b. dì ɲmà bóêibòêì.
   COMP talk IDEO.slowly
   ‘Talk slowly.’

c. o tfójë kààlì félél.
   3SG run.PFV go IDEO.lightly
   ‘She ran away lightly (manner of movement, as a light weight entity).’

d. ɲ kàà wáá dì à háآن sàna tférìm.
   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 tférìm 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. kaŋkalan ‘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 kpà kàŋkàlàn kàŋkàlàn kàŋkàlàn.
   \[\text{CONN just take IDEO.rapidly}\]
   '(She was after the python) but (he) started to crawl away like a shot.’
   (PY-137)

b. kà bààŋ kpà láyáláyá láyáláyá.
   \[\text{CONN just take IDEO.quickly}\]
   '(She) started to (walk) quickly.’

The manner adverbial *kɪŋkāŋ* ‘abundantly’, which is composed of the classifier *kɪn* 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 *kɪŋkàŋ* follows a verb and a nominalized verb respectively. However, in (70c), *kɪŋkàŋ* does not function as a manner adverbial but as a quantifier.

(70) a. gbìá i jàáři jé kɪŋkāŋ nà (...) monkey you unable.PFV DXM FOC
   'Monkey, you are so incompetent, (…).’ [LB 016]

b. dúó tʃʊ̄ɔ̄i kɪŋkāŋ wà wíré.
   asleep lie.NMLZ DXM NEG good
   'Sleeping too much is not good.’

c. kùórù kùò tìŋ kà kpágá kir’é kɪŋkāŋ, dé re jà chief ART REL have tsetse.fly.PL QUANT.many DXL DXL FOC 1PL kààlt
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 *nɪ* (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 *nɪ* mainly appears in sentences expressing localization, the postposition can also be found when there is no reference to space.
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For instance, in Section 2.6.2, the connective *deni* (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-bɔnì-ぬ* ‘maybe, perhaps’, *a-nuu-ぬ* ‘therefore’, *buŋbuŋ-ぬ* ‘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. *bàáŋ t í ft kàà sòágt [tʃʊ̀ ɔ̀sá tím ní].*
   Q 2PL PST EGR crush morning ART POSTP
   ‘What were you crushing this morning?’

b. *ʊ̀ psa ɲʊ́ã́ drink [làɣálàɣá ní].*
   PSG drink IDEO.fast POSTP
   ‘He drinks quickly.’

c. *à kúórù ɲmá dí ó bàáŋ káá sii [ intimidated rē.]
   ART chief say COMP 3SG.POSS temper EGR raise 1SG POSTP FOC
   ‘The chief told me that he was very angry with me.’

The examples in (71) illustrate some of the non-spatial uses of the oblique phrase headed by *nì*. 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 *nì* 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 *nì* is present irrespective of the locative verb involved or whether 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 *nì*, e.g. *tò* ‘cover’, *kpaga* ‘have’ and *su* ‘fill’, and (ii) some situations are described using an intransitive clause, e.g. *à bónso tʃíégìjō* ‘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 *dɔa NP nì*.\(^\text{11}\)

\(^{11}\) 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 *dɔa*.
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 *nɪ*. 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 lexicemic 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
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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. \( \text{kàlù jàwà pìèŋ nà.} \)
   Kala buy mat foc
   ‘Kala bought a mat.’

b. \( \text{dzètì kìm-bòn nà.} \)
   lion.sg clf-dangerous.sg foc
   ‘A lion is dangerous.’

In (73), the noun phrase \( pìèŋ \) describes any mat and is interpreted as a novelty in the addressee’s knowledge of Kala, while \( dzètì \) describes the entire class of lions.

(74) a. \( \text{pìèsì dìgì ì bùkù jògùlò.} \)
   ask one art book price
   ‘Ask someone the price of the book.’

b. \( \text{nàdìgìì bùmò zòò ii dià hàì kà bà kpá tìëì.} \)
   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 \( dìgìì \) ‘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).
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(75) pro = NP
   ʊ̀ sůwáọ́.
   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 ʊ and the noun māā (pro + N = NP).

(76) pro + N = NP
   ʊ̀ māā ɲmá dì “őı̋”.
   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-bīi, hoe-seed) ‘hoe blade’ is the head in the three possessive noun phrases sůgló pàbīī ‘Suglo’s hoe blade’, sůgló ɲinā pàbīī ‘Suglo’s father’s hoe blade’, and sůgló ɲinā bīeri 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. [[[[sůgló]NP [ɲinā]N]NP [bīeri]N]NP [pàbīī]N]. Section 3.2.3 discussed complex stem nouns.

3.1.2.1 Articles a and țiŋ There are two articles in Chakali: à (glossed art1) and țiŋ (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 jówá à pięŋ 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
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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 *tiŋ* (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 *tiŋ* appears when the speaker knows that the addressee will be able to identify the referent of the noun phrase. In that sense, the referent is familiar.\(^{12}\) When *tiŋ* 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 *tiŋ* belongs near the end of the noun phrase. The article *à* in (78) is optional.

(78) \((a+)\mathrm{N} + \mathrm{tiŋ} = \mathrm{NP}\)

\begin{align*}
\text{kàlá jàwá} & \quad [à \quad \text{ptén tiŋ}]_{NP} \text{ nà.} \\
\text{Kala buy ART1 mat ART2 FOC} \\
\text{‘Kala bought the MAT.’}
\end{align*}

Consider the slight meaning difference between (79a) and (79b).

(79) a. \(\text{qinho} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{píná} \quad \text{kà} \quad \text{dó.}\)  
\(\text{Q.how 2SG.POSS father EGR be}\)  
‘How is your father?’

b. \(\text{qinho} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{píná} \quad \text{tìŋ} \quad \text{kà} \quad \text{dó.}\)  
\(\text{Q.how 2SG.POSS father ART2 EGR be}\)  
‘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 *tiŋ* 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 *qinho* ‘how’, for details.

\(^{12}\) In the givenness hierarchy of Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski (1993: 278), the status *familiar* is reached when “the addressee is able to uniquely identify the intended referent because he already has a representation of it in memory.”
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The two articles *a* and *tɪŋ* are not in complementary distribution. The article *tɪŋ* may occur following the head of a possessive noun phrase, although it is not attested following a weak pronoun. When the articles *a* and *tɪŋ* 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 *tɪŋ* are attested in Grusi. For example Bonvini (1988: 180) writes that Kasem *tɪm* “sert à thematiser ce qui est déjà connu” (i.e. used to bring up what is already known). Chakali *tɪŋ* 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) \[ [[\text{LEXEME}]_{stem} - \text{[NOUN CLASS]}]_n \]

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...
Grammatical outlines

& Naden (1998); Tchagbalé (2007). In this section and in Section 3.10.1, it is suggested that an eroded form of this “reflection” is still observable in Chakali. Brindle (2009) claims that in Chakali inflectional class (i.e. noun class) and agreement class (i.e. gender) should be distinguished and analysed as separate phenomena at a synchronic level.

The identification of noun classes is based on non-syntagmatic evidence; noun class is a type of inflectional affix, independent of agreement phenomena, where the values of number and class are exposed. In Chakali, as in all other SWG languages,¹³ the values are exposed by suffixes: number refers to either singular or plural, and class can be regarded as phonological and/or semantic features encoded in the lexemes for the selection of the proper pair of singular and plural suffixes. This will be considered in Section 3.2.1.8.

Table 1: The five most frequent noun classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CL.1</th>
<th>CL.2</th>
<th>CL.3</th>
<th>CL.4</th>
<th>CL.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SING</td>
<td>-V</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-V</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLUR</td>
<td>-sV</td>
<td>-sV</td>
<td>-V</td>
<td>-V</td>
<td>-nV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One method used to identify the noun classes of a language appears in Rowland (1966: 23). The author writes that “[t]he nouns in Sissala may be assigned to groups on the basis of the suffixes for singular and plural”. According to this definition, there are nine noun classes, of which four are rare. A synopsis is displayed in Table 1, and each of them is discussed below.¹⁴

---

¹³ Crouch & Naden (1998: 136) state that “[i]n Vagla most traces of this [noun-class system where paired singular/plural noun affixes correlate with concording pronouns and other items] system have been lost. The morphological declensions of nominal pluralization have not yielded to a clear analysis”. Even though the authors do not attempt to allot nouns into classes, Marjorie Crouch’s field notes (1963, Ghana Institute for Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT)) present seven classes. Nominal classifications are proposed for other SWG languages (number of classes for each language in parenthesis): Sisaala of Funsi in Rowland (1966) (2), Sisaala-Pasaale in McGill, Fembeti & Toupin (1999) (5) and Isaalo in Moran (2006) (4). The number of classes is of course determined by the linguist’s analysis.

¹⁴ Some scholars treat each singular type as a class, and each plural type as a class. In their terminology a nominal declension is a singular/plural marker pairing, which corresponds to a noun class in this work.
3.2.1.1 Class 1  Class 1 allows a variety of stems: CV, CVC, CVVCV, and CVCV are possible. It gathers the nouns whose singular is formed by a single vowel suffix -V and plural by a light syllable -sV.

Table 2: Class 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cl.1</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>váà</td>
<td>vá’sá</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.1</td>
<td>pɛn</td>
<td>pɛná</td>
<td>pɛnsá</td>
<td>moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.1</td>
<td>gun</td>
<td>gùnó</td>
<td>gùnsó</td>
<td>cotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.1</td>
<td>tʃuom</td>
<td>tʃuómó</td>
<td>tʃuònsó</td>
<td>Togo hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.1</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>bié</td>
<td>bisé</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.1</td>
<td>gbi ekì</td>
<td>gbièkìè</td>
<td>gbièkísé</td>
<td>type of bird</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) \(-(CV)_{nc} \rightarrow [ \beta\text{RO}, +\text{ATR}, –\text{HI}] / [ \beta\text{RO}, +\text{ATR}] C^* _\_ 
A noun class suffix vowel becomes +ATR if preceded by a +ATR stem vowel, and shares the same value for the feature RO as the one specified on the preceding (stem) vowel. A noun class suffix is always –HI.

(b) \-(CV)_{nc} \rightarrow +\text{LO} / –\text{ATR} C^* _\_ 
A noun class suffix vowel becomes +LO if the preceding stem vowel is either i, e, o, u, 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. /kɪrɪma/ vs. /kɪrm/ 'tsetse
Table 3: Class 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cl.2</td>
<td>daa</td>
<td>dáá</td>
<td>dààsá</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.2</td>
<td>bolá</td>
<td>bólà</td>
<td>bólásá</td>
<td>elephant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.2</td>
<td>kuoru</td>
<td>kúórù</td>
<td>kúòrùsó</td>
<td>chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.2</td>
<td>tomo</td>
<td>tômó</td>
<td>tômósó</td>
<td>type of tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.2</td>
<td>bele</td>
<td>bèlè</td>
<td>bèlèsé</td>
<td>type of bush dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.2</td>
<td>tíi</td>
<td>tíi</td>
<td>tíisé</td>
<td>type of tree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Pending class 1 or 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dúdo</td>
<td>dós à</td>
<td>African rock python</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirimá</td>
<td>kirinsá</td>
<td>tsetse fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>léhélé</td>
<td>léhèsá</td>
<td>cheek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tíi</td>
<td>tíisé</td>
<td>type of tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bié</td>
<td>bisé</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

fly’? Addressing the first question, consider the first pair of words of Table 4, i.e. dúdo and dósà. On the one hand, if dúdo 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 dúdo, a deletion rule which reduces the length of the vowel, i.e. /dúdo-sa/ → [dós à], must be stated. Such a decision would assign a stem /dúdo/ to class 2. The decision taken here is to respect the rule in (81), which is empirically supported, and assume an ad hoc deletion rule. This deletion rule, which may be driven by general prosody or phonological structure, will not be considered here. The word pairs in Table 4 are assigned the following classes: ‘African rock python’ is in class 2 and the last stem vowel is deleted in the plural, ‘tsetse fly’ is in class 1 and its stem is /kirim/, and ‘cheek’ is in class 2 and the last stem vowel is deleted in the plural. Finally, the final vowel of the stem /tíi/ is deleted in the plural, and a vowel is added to the stem of /bi/ in the singular.
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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, η, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cl.3</td>
<td>ṅɔn</td>
<td>ńɔŋ</td>
<td>ńáŋa</td>
<td>fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.3</td>
<td>hāān</td>
<td>hāâŋ</td>
<td>hāánła</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.3</td>
<td>pʊŋ</td>
<td>pʊŋ</td>
<td>pʊŋá</td>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.3</td>
<td>nar</td>
<td>när</td>
<td>nará</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.3</td>
<td>?ol</td>
<td>ʔol</td>
<td>ʔóló</td>
<td>type of mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.3</td>
<td>butet</td>
<td>bútérː</td>
<td>butété</td>
<td>turtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.3</td>
<td>sel</td>
<td>sélː</td>
<td>sélé</td>
<td>animal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1.4 Class 4  As shown in Table 6, the major characteristic of class 4 is that all the stems are analysed as having a final syllable consisting of a [+hi, -ro] vowel. In class 4, a vowel is added to the stem on both the singular and the plural, i.e. V][# > V]-V#. The suffix vowel of the singular is always an exact copy of the stem vowel. If the stem vowel is [+atr], the plural suffix vowel is -e, and if the stem vowel is [-atr], the plural suffix vowel -a. This low vowel is then raised due to the height of the stem vowel. In normal speech, one can perceive either -a or -ɛ in that position. A similar noun class is found in other SWG and Western Oti-Volta languages (see Section 3.2.1.10).

Class 4 also includes nominalized verbal lexemes. In Section 3.2.2.2, it is observed that one way to make a noun from a verbal lexeme is to suffix a high-front vowel to the verbal stem. For instance, the verbal lexeme ẓin may be translated as ‘drive’, ‘ride’ or ‘climb’. The suffix -[+hi, -ro] can be added to the verbal lexeme ẓin making it nominal, i.e. ẓinziṅi ‘horse’, lit. thing-riding. Consequently, the plural of ẓinziṅi ‘horse’ is ẓinziṅiė. The sequences -ie and -e of class 4 often coalesce and may be perceived as -ee and -ɛɛ respectively, e.g. ʄɛ́ɛ́/ʄɛ́ɛ́ (sg/pl) ‘air potato’.

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Table 6: Class 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cl.4</td>
<td>begi</td>
<td>bégíí</td>
<td>bégíé</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.4</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>sií</td>
<td>sié</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.4</td>
<td>fili</td>
<td>filíí</td>
<td>filié</td>
<td>bearing tray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.4</td>
<td>br</td>
<td>bítí</td>
<td>bítá</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.4</td>
<td>wí</td>
<td>wíí</td>
<td>wíé</td>
<td>matter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.4</td>
<td>wílt</td>
<td>wílíí</td>
<td>wílíé</td>
<td>star</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -[JV] if the coda consonant of the stem is l -/[NASAL]V/nc > -/[LATERAL]V/nc /[LATERAL] _

Table 7: Class 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cl.5</td>
<td>zin</td>
<td>zíj</td>
<td>zínná</td>
<td>type of bat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.5</td>
<td>hōn</td>
<td>hōj</td>
<td>hōnná</td>
<td>farmer or hunter gear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.5</td>
<td>kuo</td>
<td>kúó</td>
<td>kúónò</td>
<td>farm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.5</td>
<td>j̃uu</td>
<td>j̃ùù</td>
<td>j̃ùùñò</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.5</td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>víí</td>
<td>vííné</td>
<td>type of cooking pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.5</td>
<td>din</td>
<td>díñ</td>
<td>dínné</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.5</td>
<td>pel</td>
<td>pél</td>
<td>pélié</td>
<td>burial specialist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3 Nominal

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. $C[+\text{nasal}] > \eta / _ #$
   
   \begin{array}{l}
   /\text{hāān-O}/ > [\text{hāān}] \text{ ‘female’ cl.3sg} \\
   /\text{hã-an-Ø}/ > \text{ ‘female’ cl.3sg}
   \end{array}

b. $/m/ > n / \_ C [-\text{labial}, -\text{velar}]$
   
   \begin{array}{l}
   /\text{tʃuom-sV}/ > [\text{tʃu-nsó}] \text{ ‘Togo hares’ cl.1pl} \\
   /\text{tʃuom-sV}/ > [\text{tʃu-nsó}] \text{ ‘Togo hares’ cl.1pl}
   \end{array}

c. $/\eta/ > n / \_ C [-\text{labial}, -\text{velar}]$
   
   \begin{array}{l}
   /\text{kɔlʊ̃ ŋ-sV}/ > [\text{kɔlʊ̃ nsa}] \text{ ‘wells’ cl.2pl} \\
   /\text{kɔlʊ̃ ŋ-sV}/ > [\text{kɔlʊ̃ nsa}] \text{ ‘wells’ cl.2pl}
   \end{array}

The rule in (83a) says that any nasal consonant occurring word finally becomes $[\eta]$. The rule in (83b) changes a bilabial nasal into an alveolar when it precedes a non-labial and non-velar consonant segment. The rule in (83c) changes a velar nasal into an alveolar in the same environment.

3.2.1.7 Generalization and summary  While the method proposed suggests that one should look for pairs of forms, the present classification treats phonologically empty suffixes as “exponents”. What counts as a noun class is the paradigm determined by the inflectional pattern of the lexeme. The five most frequent pairs were presented in Tables 2 to 7 and the exponents are gathered in Table 8.15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8: The five most frequent noun classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLUR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15 The percentage is based on a list of 978 singular/plural pairs (02/10/10). The five classes in Table 8 make up 88% of the nouns which are assigned a class in the lexicon.
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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) Ø/Ø, Ø/ta, Ø/ma and η/sV are included in the classification. Examples are given in Table 9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cl.6</td>
<td>dʒɪɛnsa</td>
<td>dʒɪɛ̀nsá</td>
<td>dʒɪɛ̀nsá</td>
<td>twin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.6</td>
<td>kàpʊsìɛ</td>
<td>kàpʊsì̀ɛ̀</td>
<td>kàpʊsì̀ɛ̀</td>
<td>kola nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.6</td>
<td>kpìbìi</td>
<td>kpìbìi</td>
<td>kpìbìi</td>
<td>louse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.7</td>
<td>kuo</td>
<td>kúó</td>
<td>kúó tô</td>
<td>roan antelope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.7</td>
<td>kie</td>
<td>kıé</td>
<td>kıé tô</td>
<td>half of a bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.7</td>
<td>fɔ̃ʊ̃</td>
<td>fɔ̃́ʊ̃̀</td>
<td>fɔ́tá</td>
<td>baboon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.8</td>
<td>naal</td>
<td>náál</td>
<td>náálPubMed</td>
<td>grand-father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.8</td>
<td>ŋnà</td>
<td>ŋnà</td>
<td>ŋnáPubMed</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.8</td>
<td>h̃ɛ̃ŋ</td>
<td>h̃ɛ̃́ŋ</td>
<td>h̃ɛ̃́mPubMed</td>
<td>relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.9</td>
<td>jʊ̂</td>
<td>jʊ̂</td>
<td>jʊ̂</td>
<td>slave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.9</td>
<td>zì</td>
<td>zì</td>
<td>zì</td>
<td>tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.9</td>
<td>ŋmɛ</td>
<td>ŋmɛ́</td>
<td>ŋmPubMed</td>
<td>rope</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) pómmá/pólônsá ‘white’ and bùmmó/bùlùnsó ‘black’ do not have comparable pairs and do not fit the noun classes described above. One would expect *pómmasas to be the plural form for ‘white’ (also *tùnám for tí já/tó má ‘owner’). Other examples are the pairs tfé/tésá ‘foetus’ and
Table 10: Less productive noun classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CL.6</th>
<th>CL.7</th>
<th>CL.8</th>
<th>CL.9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SING</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLUR</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-tV</td>
<td>-mV</td>
<td>-sV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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...
Grammatical outlines

[conc] and abstract (inanimate) [abst]. Brindle (2008b) shows that the noun classes do not encode any of these distinctions. Such distinctions may have been expected given the nominal classification of other Gur languages. For instance in Dagaare, a Western Oti-Volta language in contact with Chakali, Bodomo (1994: 124) presents the Class 2 (V/ba) as “unique in that it is the only class that has exclusively [+human] nouns in it”. From a diachronic point of view, this could suggest that Chakali has dropped all animacy distinctions in the noun class system while preserving one distinction in agreement (see Section 3.10.1).

Secondly, languages related to Chakali, e.g. geographically and genetically, have or had noun class systems whose classifications were based, at least partially, on semantic criteria (Naden 1982). To my knowledge, the most conservative system today within Grusi is Tem (see “identification sémantique” in Tchagbalé 2007). When and how the speakers of Chakali classified nouns based on semantic criteria is impossible to know, but traces can be detected in the less productive noun classes, that is class 6, 7, 8, and 9 (see Table 10). Some members of class 6 consist of nouns with mass or abstract denotations, e.g. rice, louse, struggle, profit, etc. Recall that number has no exponent in class 6. Class 7 also contains mass and abstract nouns, e.g. oil, honey, water, and taboo, but also bush animals such as bushbuck, waterbuck, baboon, roan antelope, and hartebeest. Class 7 represents approximately 2% of the noun sample (see Table 10) and mass/abstract nouns and bush animals each represent 30% of class 7 membership. Class 8 is likely to be the class where kinship and human classification terms were assigned, as mother, father, and ‘owner of’ are among remnant members of that class. Finally, a common trait of class 9 may be ‘elongated things’, since words referring to rope, arm, tail, and ladder are members. Yet, only eight nouns are assigned to class 9. Despite the arbitrary nature of the semantic assignment of class 9, Manessy (1975: 94) maintains that there are Oti-Volta languages which show relics of the Proto Oti-Volta class *ŋu- “u-”, which is itself a remnant of Proto-Gur class 3 according to Miehe & Winkelmann (2007: 11), and that this class contains “les noms du bâton, du pilon, du balai, de la corde, de la peau et du chemin”. Although these nouns seem to denote ‘elongated things’, Manessy claims that they cannot contribute to an hypothesis. Generally, however, the fact that members of classes 6, 7, 8, and 9 are similarly clustered in other languages suggests that these classes are remnants of a more productive semantic assignment system. Beside semantic domains, the simple empirical fact that homonyms are allotted different classes excludes a purely phonologically-based assignment. There is no way a speaker can correctly pluralize the stems kuo (cl.5) ‘farm’ and kuo (cl.9) ‘type
3 Nominal

of antelope’ based entirely on their (segmental) phonological shape.\textsuperscript{16} It seems that apart from phonological and semantic features, combinatorial features on lexical units are necessary to account for noun class assignment.

3.2.1.9 Tone patterns of noun classes In spite of variations, nouns have recurrent tonal melodies and representative examples are presented in Table 11. The general tendency for nouns is for the singular and plural forms to display the same tonal melody. For instance, a HL melody may be associated with both the singular and the plural, e.g. zíŋ̀/zísè ‘tail’ (cl.9) and lʊ́/lʊ́là ‘biological relation’ (cl.3). These cases are tonally regular. Another common pattern is when a singular noun displays a H melody, but the plural a LH melody, e.g. dáá/dàásá ‘tree’ (cl.2). While it seems that the plural suffix -sV depresses a preceding H, it does not do so in class 9 nouns. The majority of class 4 nouns in the data available are high tone irrespective of the number of moras and they are all tonally regular. An exception is the LHL melody, of which a dozen or so pairs are attested, e.g. tfítríí/tfítréé ‘type of wasp’ and lʊ́gíí/lʊ́gɛ́ɛ̀ ‘iron’. Some cases involving singular CVC words with moraic coda exhibit the deletion of a low tone; zíŋ̀/zί́nná ‘bat’ (cl.5), gɛ́/gɛ́tɛ́ ‘lizard’ (cl.3), and sà́/sá́lá ‘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’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 Miehe & Winkelmann (2007); the latter being for the most part an update and synthesis of Manessy’s work (Manessy 1969a,b; 1975; 1979; 1982; 1999). Needless to say, the following statements are first impressions.

\textsuperscript{16} I put segmental in parenthesis since homonyms with the same tonal melody belonging to two different classes have not yet been found. The pair pól/póló (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 tí́i/tíísè (cl.2) ‘type of tree’ and tí́i/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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>Tone melody SG</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Tone melody PL</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tone melody SG</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tone melody PL</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tone melody SG</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tone melody PL</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.1</td>
<td>HL vâà</td>
<td>HLH vá'sá</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LH gúño</td>
<td>LH gunsó</td>
<td>cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HL tfíniè</td>
<td>HL tfinisè</td>
<td>type of climber</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L diginà</td>
<td>LH diginsé</td>
<td>ear</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.2</td>
<td>H sié</td>
<td>LH sièsé</td>
<td>face</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L bôlà</td>
<td>LH bôlasá</td>
<td>elephant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LH tômò</td>
<td>LH tômòsó</td>
<td>type of tree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LH jùó</td>
<td>LH jùòsó</td>
<td>quarrel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HL kánà</td>
<td>HLH kánàsá</td>
<td>arm ring</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.3</td>
<td>H hóg</td>
<td>H hógó</td>
<td>bone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HL hâàŋ</td>
<td>HL hâänà</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LH gèr</td>
<td>H gété</td>
<td>lizard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LH pààtjàk</td>
<td>LH pààtjàgá</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.4</td>
<td>H sií</td>
<td>H sié</td>
<td>appearance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H tfíí</td>
<td>H tfíá</td>
<td>dawadawa seed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LHL ààrìi</td>
<td>LHL ààrìè</td>
<td>grasscutter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.5</td>
<td>H víí</td>
<td>H vííné</td>
<td>cooking pot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LH bèŋ</td>
<td>H bënné</td>
<td>law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LH sà́l</td>
<td>H sállá</td>
<td>flat roof</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HL tfàlè</td>
<td>LH tfàllá</td>
<td>blood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HL pèl</td>
<td>H pëllé</td>
<td>burial specialist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Field notes on neighbouring languages, supported with unpublished material produced by GILLBT’s staff, 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

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17 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 Tampulma.
Nominal markers in Vagla are -zi, -ni and -ri. The pattern found in Chakali class 4 is similar to the one found in Vagla, e.g. (sg/pl) bàmpírí/bàmpíré ‘chest’, hūbí/hūbé ‘bee’ and gingimí/gingímé ‘hill’. In Dɛg, the most frequent plural markers are mid-vowel suffixes, often rounded, and the -rV, -nV and -lV suffixes, with which the vowel harmonizes in roundness and ATR with the stem vowel. Both Vagla and 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.18

The noun classes of Tampulma and Pasaale correspond more to those of Chakali. Tampulma has at least the following class suffix pairs (sg/pl): Ø/-V, -i/-e, Ø/-nV, Ø/-sV, -V/-sV, -hV/-sV and Ø/-tV. Tampulma displays similar harmony rules to those found in Chakali. Apart from the singular suffix -hV, all the noun class suffixes in Tampulma are manifested in Chakali. Correspondingly, Pasaale reveals pairs and harmony rules similar to those of Chakali and Tampulma.19

It is important to keep in mind that the analysis in Manessy (1969a,b) is based on a very limited set of SWG data, most of the data being extracted from Bendor-Samuel (1965). He often stresses the tentative nature of his claims and sets forth more than one hypothesis on several occasions. Based on a comparison of word forms and meanings, Chakali plural suffix of class 8 -mV may be treated as a descendant of the Proto-Grusi Class *B1A (Manessy 1969b: 32), class 9 -ŋ as a descendant of the Proto-Grusi Class *NE (Manessy 1969b: 37, 41), class 1 -V as a descendant of the Proto-Grusi Class *K1A (Manessy 1969b: 39), classes 1, 2, and 9 -sV as descendants of the Proto-Grusi Class *SE (Manessy 1969b: 39) and class 7 -tV as a descendant of the Proto-Grusi Class *TE/O (Manessy 1969b: 43). The vowel suffixes of class 1 and 4 may also descend from the Proto-Grusi Class *YA (Manessy 1969b: 34). In consulting Miehe & Winkelmann (2007: 7–22), Chakali’s most frequent plural suffix -sV, found in class 1, 2, and 9, would seem to correspond to Proto-Gur Class 13 *-sə, the plural suffix of class 5 -nV to Proto-Gur Class

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18 These singular/plural pairings are extracted from the Vagla and Dɛg lexicons (fn. 17) and are not exhaustive.

19 As mentioned in footnote 13, the number of noun classes is determined by the linguist’s analysis. McGill, Fembeti & Toupin (1999: 5–12) is a good example of the consequence of analyzing noun classes differently. For instance, McGill, Fembeti & Toupin (1999: 7) postulate a subclass (sg/pl) -l/-lA for word pairs like baal/baala ‘man’, gul/gulo ‘group’, miibol/miibolo ‘nostril’ and mɔl/mɔlɔ ‘stalk’. If these words were part of the Chakali data, they would have been allotted to class 2 (-Ø/-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 *-tʊ and class 8 -mV to Proto-Gur Class 2 *-ba. The singular suffix *-ŋ would correspond to Proto-Gur Class 3 *-ŋʊ.

Needless to say, these observations deserve further investigation. Even though there is literature to support the reconstruction of the Gur classes, little can be done in the SWG area unless descriptions of nominal classifications in the languages Winyé, Vagla, Tampulma, Phuie, Deg, Siti/Kyitu, and the dialects of Sisaala are made available. A synthesis of these descriptions could be compared to “better-documented” nominal classifications of Grusi languages such as Kasem (Northern Grusi, Awedoba 1979; Bonvini 1988; Awedoba 2003), Lyélé (Northern Grusi, Delplanque 1979), Lama (Eastern Grusi, Aritiba 1987; Ourso 1989), Kabiýé (Eastern Grusi, Tchagbalé 2007), Chala (Eastern Grusi, Kleinewillinghöfer 2000) and Tem (Eastern Grusi, Tchagbalé 1972; 2007), to evaluate the Proto-Grusi noun class suffixes of Manessy (1969b) and Proto-Gur of Miehe & Winkelmann (2007), and to reconstruct the nominal classifications of SWG languages.

3.2.2 Atomic stem nouns

The notion of stem in the present context refers to the host of a noun class suffix or the host of a nominaliser, i.e. the element which conveys the lexical meaning and to which affixes attach. A stem can be either irreducible or reducible morphologically: they are referred to as atomic and complex stem respectively. Complex stems are presented in Section 3.2.3. An atomic stem is always a nominal or a verbal lexeme. A verbal lexeme may either be of the type “process” or “state” (Sections 3.2.2.2 and 3.2.2.3). Three types of nominalization formation (i.e. nominalisers) are attested: suffixation, prefixation, and reduplication.

3.2.2.1 Nominal stem A nominal stem denotes a class of entities. Nouns composed by the combination of a nominal stem and a noun class affix are the most common. A nominal stem has the potential to be juxtaposed with various noun class affixes, yielding forms with different meanings. For instance, the lexeme baal is associated with the general meaning ‘male’. In a context where the lexeme is used in the singular, baal can mean either ‘a man’ or ‘a husband’. Given the same context but used in the plural, the lexeme baal is disambiguated by the plural suffix it takes; báálá ‘men’ (cl.3) and bàálsá ‘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.
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’ → 3SG eat.PFV.FOC ‘he ate’
(b) /kpeg/ ‘hard’ → 3SG hard.PFV.FOC ‘he is strong’
(c) /sɪama/ ‘red’ → 3SG red.PFV.FOC ‘it is red’
(d) /bi/ ‘child’ → 3SG bio

The grammatical sentences in (84) show that di and kpeg are verbal, whereas stama 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 stama 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 reduction – 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 maŋa ‘to beat’ vs. km- maŋana ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sem. value</th>
<th>Verb. process stem</th>
<th>NMLZ</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agent of X</td>
<td>gʊ̀ ɔ̀ 'dance'</td>
<td>-/r/</td>
<td>góér 'dancer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent of X</td>
<td>kpó 'kill'</td>
<td>-/r/</td>
<td>kpóórə 'killer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent of X</td>
<td>búól 'sing'</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
<td>búól búóló 'singer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent of X</td>
<td>sùmmè 'help'</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
<td>súsummá 'helper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action of X</td>
<td>gʊ̀ ɔ̀ 'dance'</td>
<td>-/ [+HI, -BK]/</td>
<td>góójī 'dancing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action of X</td>
<td>kpó 'kill'</td>
<td>-/ [+HI, -BK]/</td>
<td>kpöff 'killing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action of X</td>
<td>búól 'sing'</td>
<td>-/ [+HI, -BK]/</td>
<td>búólī 'singing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action of X</td>
<td>sùmmè 'help'</td>
<td>-/ [+HI, -BK]/</td>
<td>sûmmi 'helping'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The single vowel suffix (cl.3) whose surface form depends on harmony rules.20 Another verbal nominalization process conveying ‘agent of X’ is reduplication. The evidence suggests that only the first syllable is reduplicated.

The second nominalization process is interpreted as ‘action of X’ or ‘process of X’ and consists of the suffixation of a high front vowel to the verbal stem.21 The surface form of the vowel depends on the quality of the stem vowel and ATR-harmony (Section 4.2). Consider example (85).

(85) Ṽ píllë wáíí rá.
  u piile wa-r-r 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

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20 One language consultant had a problem retrieving the plural of some agent nouns. He often repeated the singular entry for the plural. I interpret this as either a situation where agent nouns do not show differences in the singular and plural (cl. 6), or different sg/pl forms exist but he could not retrieve them. The pair kpura/kpurasa ‘killer(s)’ is unusual. The word sâsaar means ‘woodcarver’ and not ‘car driver’ even though sâa can mean both ‘carve’ and ‘drive vehicle’. People usually use ḥôlsââr, or the English word doravè, which is common all over Ghana, to refer to any driver of a vehicle.

21 The nominalization ‘the process X’ is often not distinguishable from ‘the result of a process X’. Does ‘dancing’ refer to ‘the process of dance’, ‘the result of the process of dance’ or both?
noun class 4; their singular suffix is a copy of the nmlz vowel, and their plural suffix is the low vowel \( a \), raised to a mid height, e.g. \textit{permi/perre} ‘weaving(s)’ (< \textit{pera} ‘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 \textit{kpeg} has a general meaning which can be translated into English as ‘hard’ and ‘strong’. The expression \textit{kpégii} in \textit{a teebul kpegii dzo de} ‘The hard table is there’ functions as qualifier in the noun phrase \textit{a teebul kpegii}, lit. ‘the table hard’.

(86) Verbal state stem \textit{kpeg} ‘hard’ in complex stem nouns

- (a) \textit{nuúbékpég} < head-hard ‘stubbornness’
- (b) \textit{nêkpeg} < arm-hard ‘stingy’
- (c) \textit{dààkpeg} < wood-hard ‘strong wood’

Examples are provided in (86) using \textit{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) \textit{nëbii} ‘finger’
\textit{ne-bi-i} [arm-seed]
\textit{NS + NS + CL.3SG}
Grammatical outlines

b. *pàtfigibúmmò ‘liar’
   *patfigi-bummo-Ø [stomach-black]
   NS + NS (+ CL.1SG)

c. *ŋmɛ́ŋhʊ̀ lɪ́ɪ̀ ‘dried okro’
   *ŋmɛŋ-hʊl-ɪ-ɪ [okro-dry]
   NS + SS + NMLZ + CL.4.SG

d. *jàwàdir̄ ‘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 *hʊl ‘dry’ follows a nominal stem, and in (87d) both stems are of the type verbal process. In these stem appositions, it is the noun class suffix of the rightmost stem which appears. Further, stems are lexemes, as opposed to nouns or verbs. This is readily apparent in (87a) and (87b), in which the leftmost stems *ne and *patfigi would appear as *nenj and *patfigi if they were full-fledged nouns. Thus, although complex stem nouns contain more than one stem, there is only one noun class associated with the noun and it is always the noun class associated with the rightmost stem. This was mentioned in Section 3.2.1.8 to support the claim that semantic criteria in noun class assignment may be non-existent.

If stems are treated as lexemes, there is still a problem in accounting for the “reduced” form of some lexemes when they occur in stem appositions. That is, the first stem of a complex stem noun is often reduced to a single syllable in the case of a polysyllabic lexeme, or a monosyllabic lexeme of the type CVV is reduced to CV. For example, *lúhọ̀ and *lúhọsó 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 *lúsìnnà, lit. funeral-drink, and not *luhosìnnà. 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 *sììpʊ́ŋ* ‘eyelash’, *lit.* eye-hair, is a kind of hair and not a kind of eye. And *ʔɪ̀lnʊ̃̀ã̀* ‘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. *siipʊ́ŋ*/*siipóná* (cl.3) and *ʔɪ̀lnʊ̃̀ã̀*/*ʔɪ̀lnʊ̃̀ã̀sá* (cl.2). As mentioned earlier, either X or Y in a complex noun XY can be complex. The word *népɪ́ɛ́lpátʃɪ́gɪ́ɪ́* ‘palm of the hand’ is an example of two completive modifications. It consists of a complex stem *népel* ‘hand’, which is composed of *ne* ‘arm’ and *pɪɛl* ‘flat’, and the atomic stem *patʃɪgɪ* ‘stomach’, yielding in turn ‘flat of arm’ and then ‘inside of flat of arm’.

3.2.3.2 Qualitative modification  A qualitative modification in a complex stem noun is the same as the syntactic modification noun-modifier. The difference lies in the formal status of the elements: when the relation is held at a syntactic level, the elements are words, whereas at the morphological level they are stems. As mentioned earlier, either X or Y in a complex noun XY can be complex. For instance, the word *nebiwie* consists of the combination of *ne* ‘arm’ (cl.9) and *bi* ‘seed’ (cl.4), then the combination of *nebi* ‘finger’ and *wi* ‘small’. The noun class of *wi* ‘small’ is cl.1, so the singular and plural forms for the word ‘little finger’ are *nébíwìé* and *nébíwìsé* 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 *påfįgįbůmmò* ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Stems</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lex. type</td>
<td>Function</td>
<td>Semantic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS-NS</td>
<td>M-H</td>
<td>WHOLE-PART</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS-SS</td>
<td>M-H</td>
<td>WHOLE-PART</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS-NS</td>
<td>M-H</td>
<td>WHOLE-PART</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS-NS</td>
<td>H-M</td>
<td>THING-CHARAC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS-NS</td>
<td>H-M</td>
<td>THING-CHARAC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PS-NS</td>
<td>H-M</td>
<td>PURPOSE-THING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

lar case the complex stem noun may be seen as involving the abstract senses of patʃɪgɪ and bummo, that is ‘essence’ and ‘subtle, restrained’ respectively, making patʃɪgɪbummo a qualitative modification which can be formulated literally as ‘subtle/restrained essence’, i.e. a property applicable to humans. Thus, the stem patʃɪgɪ 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 dugó ‘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 lt, lit. ‘take let.free take leave’. Another example is sówàkándikúro ‘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 sówà ká ķí 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 ŋwábipē, lit. ŋ wa bt pe ‘I-not-again-add’. Since two successive husbands died early, she used to say that she will never marry again. For that reason people call her ŋwábtpe.

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 bt 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 nɪɪ/nɪɪta ‘female’ are used as (88) illustrates.

(88)  a. bɔlǝ- wál-Ø / bɔlǝ- wál-á
    elephant-male-sg / elephant-male-pl (cl.3)
  b. bɔlǝ- nɪɪ-Ø / bɔlǝ- nɪɪ-tá
    elephant-female-sg / elephant-female-pl (cl.7)

The language employs two strategies to express the distinction between the adult animal and its young, which is called here ‘maturity’. The first is to simply add the morpheme -bi ‘child’ to the head, e.g. bɔlǝ-bie/bɔlǝ-bise ‘young elephant(s)’. In the second strategy both the sex and maturity distinctions are conveyed by the morpheme. This is shown in Table 14.

22 Yet kpatakpari is the word for ‘hunting trap’ in Gonja (Rytz n.d.).
Grammatical outlines

Table 14: Morphemes encoding maturity and sex of animate entities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YOUNG</td>
<td>-w(a</td>
<td>e)lee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADULT</td>
<td>-wal</td>
<td>-nɪɪ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. bô̄mbál ‘male goat’. One can also observe a difference in form between the word pièsii ‘sheep’, pèmbál ‘male sheep’ and pènī ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Generic</th>
<th>Adult</th>
<th>Young</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fowl</td>
<td>zál</td>
<td>zím'bál</td>
<td>zápúó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>pièsii</td>
<td>pèmbál</td>
<td>pènī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goat</td>
<td>bô̄n̄</td>
<td>bô̄mbál</td>
<td>bô̄ntı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pouched rat</td>
<td>sàpúhïè</td>
<td>sàpúwál</td>
<td>sàpúnī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>váà</td>
<td>váwál</td>
<td>vánīi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>dièbié</td>
<td>dièbòwál</td>
<td>dièbònīi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cow</td>
<td>nân̄</td>
<td>n̄wál</td>
<td>n̄nīi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elephant</td>
<td>bòlà</td>
<td>bòlwál</td>
<td>bòlònīi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.4.2 Native or Inhabitant of  To express ‘I am from X’, where ‘be from X’ refers to the place where someone was born and/or the place where someone lives, the verb lìì is used, e.g. sỳylá ń lìì ‘I am from Sawla’. Expressions with the meaning ‘native of X’ or ‘inhabitant of X’ can be noun words referring to this same idea, that is ‘being from X’. Table 16 shows that the suffixes -(l)u(ł)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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chakali</td>
<td>tʃákáltt</td>
<td>tʃákálɛɛ</td>
<td>Katua</td>
<td>kátósɔltt</td>
<td>kátósɔlɛɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motigu</td>
<td>mòtígiú</td>
<td>mòtígió</td>
<td>Tiisa</td>
<td>tíisɔlî</td>
<td>tíisɔlá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ducie</td>
<td>dùsélíî</td>
<td>dùsélɛɛ</td>
<td>Chasia</td>
<td>tfásɔltt</td>
<td>tfásɔlɛɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulenga</td>
<td>bùlęŋjàîî</td>
<td>bùlęŋjàɛɛ</td>
<td>Wa</td>
<td>wàállîî</td>
<td>wàállà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurumbele</td>
<td>grʊ̀ mbɛ̀lɪ́lîí</td>
<td>grʊ̀ mbɛ̀lɪ́lɛ́ɛ</td>
<td>Tuosa</td>
<td>tòɔsɔlîî</td>
<td>tòɔsɔlá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
tòmà & (v) \quad \text{‘work’} \leftrightarrow tómà (n) \quad \text{‘work’} \\
gòà & (v) \quad \text{‘dance’} \leftrightarrow göá (n) \quad \text{‘dance’} \\
jòwà & (v) \quad \text{‘buy’} \leftrightarrow jòwà (n) \quad \text{‘market’} \\
mòmà & (v) \quad \text{‘laugh’} \leftrightarrow mòmà (n) \quad \text{‘laughter’} \\
gòrò & (v) \quad \text{‘circle’} \leftrightarrow görò (n) \quad \text{‘bent’}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
sòɔsɔ́r / sòɔsɔ́rá (\text{cl.3}) & \quad \text{‘weaver(s)’} \\
\leftarrow sɔà (v) & \quad \text{‘weave’} \\
lúlíbùmùjář / lúlíbùmùjářá (\text{cl.3}) & \quad \text{‘healer(s)’} \\
\leftarrow lulibummo (n) & \quad \text{‘medicine’} + ja (v) \quad \text{‘do’}
\end{align*}
\]
Grammatical outlines

b. A verb stem gets partially reduplicated to express agent-denoting nominalization.
   súsúmmá / súsúmmásá (cl.2) ‘helper(s)’
   ← súmmé (v) ‘help’
   sásááár / sásááráá (cl.3) ‘carver(s)’
   ← sâá (v) ‘carve’

Event nominalization
A verb stem takes the suffix -/[+HI, -BK]/ to express event-denoting nominalization.
   lʊ́lɪ́ɪ́ / lʊ́lɪ́ɛ́ (cl.4) ‘giving birth’
   ← lʊla (v) ‘give birth’
   kpégíí / 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 kwɔrɛ ‘make’ to the noun denoting the product, e.g. nããtɔʊ̀ kʊɔ́rə (cl.1) ‘shoemaker(s)’ < nããtɔ (n) ‘shoe’ + kwɔrɛ (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 dɔ̀lbɪ́ɪ́, one village named mòtìgú, only one shrine named dàbàŋtʊ́lʊ́gʊ́, etc. Nevertheless more than one person can have the same name, and the same applies to a lesser extent to villages. For instance, sɔ̀ɣlá ‘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 tʃàkàlsɔ̀ɣlá ‘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 Spɛ́ntà ‘inspector’, Dɔ́ktà ‘doctor’, Títʃà ‘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 (sígú). 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 dààbàŋtólúgú.

Because of their pragmatic function, proper nouns are rarely observed in a plural form, but some contexts may allow this. In (92), the proper name Gbolo takes the plural marker -sV.23

(92) gbòlò-só bá-ŋmènáá ká dòà dùsèè ní.
gbolo.(g.b)-PL g.b-Q.many egr exist Ducie POSTP
‘How many Gbolos are there in Ducie?’

Finally, circumlocution is a common process found in names of people and dogs (e.g. the example of nwabipe, lit. n wa bi pe ‘I-not-again-add’, was given in Section 3.2.3.3). A few examples of dog names are given in (93).

(93) Dog names

a. jàsàŋábòëtì ‘Let’s keep peace’
ja-sanja-bòëtì [we-sit-slowly]

---

23 The context of (92) makes sense when one understands that the name ‘Gbolo’ has a particular meaning. It is understood that when a couple has a fertility problem, it is common to travel to the community of Mankuma and to consult their shrine. If the woman gets pregnant after the visit, they must return to Mankuma to appease the shrine. Subsequently, the child must be named ‘Gbolo’ and automatically acquires the Red Patas monkey as totem.
Grammatical outlines

b. ǹnʊ̃̀ã́wàjàhóò ‘I will not open my mouth again’
   ǹ-ǹőa-wa-ja-hoo [my-mouth-not-do-hoo]
c.  kùósòzíná ‘God knows’
   kuoso-zma [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: bɔlùù ‘blue’, pásibiti ‘hospital’, dɔktà ‘doctor’, bɔlùù ‘balloon’, bèlènti ‘belt’, tɔràdzà ‘trouser’, dëti ‘date’, mìntì ‘minute’, dżànsè ‘type of dance’, kàpëntà ‘carpenter’, kɔlpətɛ ‘coal pot’, kɔtà ‘quarter’, lɔlì ‘lorry (any four-wheel vehicle)’, sàkɔ̀ ‘bicycle’, pèn ‘pen’, sùkùù ‘school’, tʃittà ‘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 *díérá* ‘sieve’, *díumbúro* ‘type of medicine’, *gbágbá* ‘duck’, *kókódúró* ‘ginger’, *kàpálà* ‘fufu’, *kóó* ‘mixture of sodium carbonate’, *nààsáárá* (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 Deg, use similar expressions (Naden 1996: 60): *ʔàtànî́ɛ̃̀* ‘Monday’, *ʔàtàláátà* ‘Tuesday’, *ʔàlàrbá* ‘Wednesday’, *ʔàlàmósà* ‘Thursday’, *ʔàridzíma* ‘Friday’, *ʔàstfbtt* ‘Saturday’, and *ʔàlàháádì* ‘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 *díimbéntó* is celebrated and is considered the first month.24 The lunar months are: *díimbèntó* ‘first month (1)’, *sífrà* ‘second month (2)’, *díumbá* ‘third month (3)’, *díumbá-fúlanáán* ‘fourth month (4)’, *díumbákókórikó* ‘fifth month (5)’, *kþíntʃúmààŋkùnà* ‘sixth month (6)’, *kþíntʃú* ‘seventh month (7)’, *ʔàndʒèlîndʒé* ‘eighth month (8)’, *sóŋkàrè* ‘ninth month (9)’, *tínsúŋú* ‘tenth month (10)’, *díúmààŋkùnà* ‘eleventh month (11)’ and *díú* ‘twelth 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 *jnuu* 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 *fóó* ‘lower back’, among others, cannot convey spatial meanings. Table 17 displays the body parts found in the data which convey spatial meaning.25

---

24 Dagbani *buɣum* and Waali *díimbents* are both treated as first month by the speakers of these languages.

25 The body part term *gàntàľ* ‘back’ is from the Ducie lect and corresponds to *hàbòá* in the Motigu, Gurumbele, Katua, Tiisa, and Tuosa lects.
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Table 17: Spatial nominal relations and body part nouns: similar forms and different, but related, meanings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Projection</th>
<th>Spatial relation</th>
<th>PoS: reln</th>
<th>Body parts</th>
<th>PoS: n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intrinsic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>nuu (x,y)</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>nuu (x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTAINMENT</td>
<td>patfigu(x,y)</td>
<td>stomach</td>
<td>patfigu (x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIDE</td>
<td>logun(x,y)</td>
<td>rib</td>
<td>logun (x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOUTH</td>
<td>nodı̊ (x,y)</td>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>nōdå (x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BASE/UNDER</td>
<td>muj (x,y)</td>
<td>arse</td>
<td>muj (x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDDLE</td>
<td>bambaaŋ(x,y)</td>
<td>chest box</td>
<td>bambaaŋ (x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEFT</td>
<td>nengal(x,y)</td>
<td>left hand</td>
<td>nengal (x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIGHT</td>
<td>nendul(x,y)</td>
<td>right hand</td>
<td>nendul (x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BACK</td>
<td>gantal(x,y)</td>
<td>dorsum</td>
<td>gantal (x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRONT</td>
<td>soo (x,y)</td>
<td>front</td>
<td>soo (x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
    \[[N_1\cdot N_2]_{NP}\] where \(N_2 = \) body part, e.g. báál nuu ‘a man’s head’

b. Spatial nominal phrase
    \[[N_1\cdot N_2]_{NP}\] where \(N_2 = \) spatial relation, e.g. téébùl nuu ‘top of the table’

Even though the two corresponding nominal structures may cause ambiguities, the interpretation is generally disclosed by the meaning of the nominal preceding the \(N_2\) in (94). The term \(nuu\), for instance, can only mean ‘top of’ in a phrase in which it follows another nominal and refers to a projected location of \(N_1\)’s referent. In (94a), even though \(nuu\) immediately follows a nominal, it would not normally refer to the projected location ‘on the top’ but only to the man’s head. Nevertheless, despite any attempts to identify structural characteristics which may contribute to the disambiguation of a phrase involving a body part term, ambiguities may still arise.

Another aspect of body part terms is their different function in morphological and syntactic structure. While a relational noun is a syntactic word, body part
terms may also function as morphemes in compound nouns to express a specific part-whole relationship or a conventionalized metaphor (Heine 1997: 141). Whereas the distinction may be formally and semantically hard to distinguish, the number of body part terms which can be the stem in a compound noun is larger than those functioning as relational nouns. Some examples are shown in Table 18.

Table 18: Body part terms in compound nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body part term</th>
<th>Compound noun</th>
<th>Morph. gloss</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>tʃo-ꜜsii</td>
<td>village-eye</td>
<td>village’s center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kpáạn-sií</td>
<td>yam-eye</td>
<td>yam stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>níi-síí</td>
<td>water-eye</td>
<td>deepest area of a river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>náá-síí</td>
<td>leg-eye</td>
<td>ankle bump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>gɔ́ŋ-ŋóá</td>
<td>river-mouth</td>
<td>river bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʔíl-ndoá</td>
<td>breast-mouth</td>
<td>nipple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>diá-ndoá</td>
<td>house-mouth</td>
<td>door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg</td>
<td>gɔ́n-‘náá</td>
<td>river-leg</td>
<td>split of a river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dáá-ꜜnáá</td>
<td>tree-leg</td>
<td>branch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>kʊósọ-ɲúù</td>
<td>god-head</td>
<td>sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tii-ɲúù</td>
<td>land-head</td>
<td>(etym) west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arse</td>
<td>tii-múŋ</td>
<td>land-arse</td>
<td>(etym) east</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>vii-báyáňá</td>
<td>pot-neck</td>
<td>neck of a container</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>testicle</td>
<td>mááfà-lúró</td>
<td>gun-testicle</td>
<td>gun powder container</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penis</td>
<td>mááfà-péŋ</td>
<td>gun-penis</td>
<td>gun trigger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>mááfà-dìgná</td>
<td>gun-ear</td>
<td>flintlock frizzen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>fàlá-néŋ̀</td>
<td>calabash-arm</td>
<td>calabash stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navel</td>
<td>fà-ʔúl</td>
<td>calabash-navel</td>
<td>calabash node</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>píí-mísà</td>
<td>yam mound-nose</td>
<td>part of a yam mound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>tʃo-póól</td>
<td>village-liver</td>
<td>important community member</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ignoring for the moment the structure in which they are involved, there seem to be two types of spatial interpretation accessible with body part terms. And there also seems to be a gray zone between the two.26 The first interpretation

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26 This gray zone may receive a diachronic interpretation. In Ameka (2007: 1072), the postpositions in Sekpélé are seen as evolving “from body part and environment terms” and have a similar, but not identical, function as those of Chakali relational nouns. For instance, Sekpélé’s postpositions “cannot be modified” nor can they vary “with respect to number marking”.

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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 fàłásá ságá à kóró núnó 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 nūuno 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 *korɲuuno. Secondly, deciding whether or not the ‘top of’ is indeed in contact with or detached from the bench is not conclusive. To describe a situation where several balls are under several tables, one may use the sentence in (96), in which case it cannot be argued that under of the table is a physical part of the table.27

(96) à bòlsā dōā à tēbūlsō pātʃìtē nī.
    ART ball.PL be.at ART table.PL RELN.PL POSTP
    ‘The balls are under the tables.’

---

27 One may argue that it is indeed a part of the table, identical to the interior space of a container.
Another aspect of relational nouns and oblique phrases in general is that they are structurally very rigid, that is, they are not easily extracted or preposed. The sentences in (97a) and (97b) are nevertheless acceptable.

\[(97)\]

a. à téébùl nùú nì, à fàlá sàgà.
   'On top of the table, the calabash sits.'

b. téébùl lò, à fàlá ságá Ṽ nùú nì.
   'Table, the calabash sits on top of it.' (lit. 'sits on its head')

c. * teebul lo, a fala saga nuu ni.

d. * Ṽ nuu ni, a fala saga teebul.

e. * nuu ni, a fala saga teebul.

The sentence in (97b) is acceptable but odd. It shows that the nominal complement of the relational noun *nùu* can be uttered at the beginning of the sentence while the possessive pronoun Ṽ 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.

\[(98)\]  
\[\left[\left[[a \, dí]\, N_{P} \, nuu\right]_{RelP} \, nì\right]_{PP} \, 'on \, the \, roof \, of \, the \, house'\]

In (98), the relational noun *nùu* is within the complement phrase of the postposition *nì*. 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.
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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’, gantali ‘dorso’, mun ‘arse’, nōā ‘mouth’, sōs ‘front’, bambaaj ‘chest box’ and juu ‘head’ are relational nouns. Relational nouns are nouns which lack the referential power of the default interpretation of body part term (i.e. interpreted in isolation), and which take a complement which must obligatorily be filled by an entity capable of projecting a spatial environment.

3.3 Pronouns and pro-forms

A pronoun is a type of pro-form. The difference between pronouns and pro-forms depends on whether they can be anaphors of nominal arguments. In this section, the personal, impersonal, demonstrative, and possessive pronouns are introduced, followed by the expressions used to convey reciprocity and reflexivity. In Section 5.1, the adverbial pro-forms are introduced.

3.3.1 Personal pronouns

Table 19 gives an overview of the personal pronoun forms.

| Pronoun  | Weak (wk) s|A and O | Strong (st) s|A | Emphatic (EMPH) s|A |
|----------|-----------|--------|-------------|-----------------|
| Gram. function | 1sg      | 2sg     | 3sg         | 1pl             | 2pl | 3pl.Ga | 3pl.Gb |
|           | n̩mɪ́ŋ n̩wà | ɪ hɪ́ŋ ɪ́ɪ́wà | ʊ wáá ʊ́ʊ́wà | ja jáwáá jáwà    | ma máwáá máwà | a áwáá áwà | ba báwáá báwà |

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. ő́ dí kōō rā.  
3SG.EMPH eat t.z. FOC  
'She ate t.z.'

b. wáá dí kōō (*ra).  
3SG.ST eat t.z. FOC  
'she ate t.z.'

c. ő́wá dí kōō rā.  
3SG.EMPH eat t.z. FOC  
'it is her who ate t.z.'

d. wáá m̩ māŋā (*ra).  
3SG.ST 1SG beat FOC  
'HIM, I beat.'

e. ő́wá m̩ māŋóó rā.  
3SG.EMPH 1SG beat.3SG FOC  
'it is HIM who I beat.'

f. *(ő/waa) m̩ māŋoo 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. 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. mîŋ jàwàà kînzíńíi.
        1SG.st buy horse
        ‘I bought a horse.’
 b. *mîŋ jawa kînzíńí ra.
 c. ŋi wà jáwá kînzíńíi.
        1SG.wk NEG buy horse
        ‘I did not buy a horse.’
 d. *mîŋ wa jawa kînzíńí.
 e. ŋi pëti jó.
        1SG.wk terminate.PFV.FOC
        ‘I finished.’
 f. *mîŋ petijo.
 g. mîŋ pëti jé.
        1SG.st terminate.PFV
        ‘I finished.’
 h. *mîŋ 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 máá sójó kém.
        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
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 ʊ instead of the impersonal pronoun a would be unacceptable.

The language does not have a passive construction as one finds in English, for example. Nonetheless, an argument can be demoted by placing it in object position, here as o-clitic (see Section 4.3.1). This is shown in (102).

(102) ká à nàmìá? bà tìéú 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. hánì 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.
    t  jáá hánì nā?
    2SG do DEM.SG FOC
    ‘You did THIS?’
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(105) How the fingers cooperate when they scoop t.z. from a bowl.

hàmàā ká zt péjèè à zt já wà tiisè háŋ̀.

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 háŋ̀ (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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Meaning requested</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bàáŋ́</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>non-animate entity, event</td>
<td>106a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áŋ̄</td>
<td>who</td>
<td>animate entity</td>
<td>106b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lié̌</td>
<td>where</td>
<td>location</td>
<td>106c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mìnì̌</td>
<td>why/how</td>
<td>condition, reason</td>
<td>106d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ba/a)wèŋ́</td>
<td>which</td>
<td>entity, event</td>
<td>106e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ba/a):hidden</td>
<td>(how) much/many</td>
<td>entity, event</td>
<td>106f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáŋ(a)-wèŋ́</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>106g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(106) a. bàáŋ́ i kàà jàà?

q.what 2SG EGR do

‘What are you doing?’
b. àŋ́ i kà ná à tśö ńi?
q.who 2sg egr see art village postp
‘Whom did you see in the village?’

c. lié ní dì tʃʊ̀lìí kà dò̀?  
q. where postp comp sleeping.room egr exist
‘Where is the room for sleeping?’

d. pínč i jà kà jάáö?
q. how 2sg hab egr do.3sg.o
‘How do you do it?’

e. áwèŋ́ i kà kpàɣà?
q. which 2sg egr catch
‘Which one did you catch?’

f. àŋmèná i kà kpàɣàsì?
q. many 2sg egr catch.pv
‘How many of them did you catch? (non-human reference)’

g. sáŋáwèŋ́ i kà wáá?
q. when 2sg egr come
‘When are you coming?’

When the question word lie ‘where’ is followed by the locative postposition
ńi, a request for a particular location is expressed. This question word can also be
followed by the noun pe ‘end’ in which case it should be interpreted as ‘where-
towards’ or ‘where-by’, e.g. lié pé i kà válà? ‘Where did you go by?’. Another
form used to request information on a location is ká(á). This form is neither
specific to Chakali nor to location per se: Waali uses it for the same purpose and
the form is even used to request other types of information. For instance, káá
tómà? 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 námíá? bà tiéú 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 wεŋ and ńme-
na, roughly corresponding to English ‘which’ and ‘how much/many’, must be
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prefixed by either a- or ba- reflecting a distinction between non-human and human entities respectively (see Section 3.10.1). The expression saŋa-wen in (106g) is literally translated as ‘time which’. The question word baŋ can be used together with wə to correspond to English ‘why’, i.e. bááŋ wíí ká wàà i di wíi? ‘Why are you crying?’ The expression baŋ wə is equivalent to English ‘what matter’.

3.3.5 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns are displayed in Table 21.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gram. function</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG.POSS</td>
<td>n(ː)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG.POSS</td>
<td>t(ː)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.POSS</td>
<td>v(ː)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.POSS</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL.POSS</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL.A.POSS</td>
<td>a(ː)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL.B.POSS</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 kúórù ηmá dt ʋɔ hááŋ tsojëc.  
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 Nominal

3.3.6 Reciprocity and reflexivity

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns do not exist in Chakali. Instead, reciprocity and reflexivity are encoded in the nominals *dọŋa* 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 *nibáálá bálíɛ̀ kpó dọŋá wá.*
   ART men two kill recp foc
   ‘The two men killed each other.’

   b. jà *kàá kpó dọŋá wá.*
   1pl fut kill recp foc
   ‘We will kill each other.’

   c. à *hàmówisè káá júó dọŋá rá.*
   ART children egr fight recp foc
   ‘The children are fighting against one another.’

(110) a. à *báál kpó ò tɪntɪŋ.*
   ART man kill 3sg.poss refl.sg
   ‘The man killed himself.’

   b. jà *kàá kpó jà tɪntɪnsá wá.*
   1pl fut kill 1pl.poss refl.pl foc
   ‘We shall kill ourselves.’

   c. à *bìé kpá kísìé dō òò tɪntɪŋ dáŋíí.*
   ART child take knife put 3sg.poss refl.sg wound
   ‘The child wounded himself with his knife.’

3.4 Qualifiers

Qualifiers are treated as part of the nominal domain. They display singular/plural pairs, as nouns do. Examples are presented in (111).29

(111) a. *stámá / stánsá* (cl.1) ‘red’

   b. *bọ́ŋ́ / bọmá* (cl.3) ‘bad’

   c. *dí́ŋ́ / dí́má* (cl.3) ‘true, real’

29 Qualifiers are marked as *n.* in the dictionary since they are treated as nominal lexemes.
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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-pəlǐt
   ART woman-fat.cl.4.sg
   ‘The fat woman’

   b. à há-pəltɛ
   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. pəlǐ/pəlĩ (qual) ‘fat’ ← pəlã (v) ‘fat (be)’. Examples are provided in (113).

(113)  a. jɪ̀rə ‘call’ > jɪ́rɪ́ ‘calling’

   b. lʊ̀ là ‘give birth’ > lʊ́lɪ́ ‘giving birth’

   c. sʊ̀ wə ‘die’ > sʊ́wɪ́ ‘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) /nom/ ‘hot’

   a. nɪ̀mʊŋ ná.
      nɪ̀-nʊŋ na
      water-hot FOC
      ‘It is HOT WATER.’

   b. à nɪ̀t nɔmāö.
      a nɪ̀ numa-u
      ART water hot-pfv.foc
      ‘The water is HOT.’

   c. à nɪ̀i nɔmɨi dɔá dɛ nʊ́.
      [a nɪ̀ numa-1-I]NP dɔa de ni
      ART water hot-nmlz-cl.4 exist dxl postp
      ‘The hot water is there.’
In (114a) the stem *nom* ‘hot’ is part of the complex stem noun *niìnôję́* ‘water-hot’ (see Section 3.2.3). In this morphological configuration, a qualitative modification is established between the stem *nom* and the stem *nu*. In (114b), *nom* functions as a verbal predicate in the intransitive clause, and the definite noun phrase *a nu* ‘the water’ occupies the argument position. In (114c) the stem *nom* is nominalized and the singular of noun class 4 is suffixed. The word *nömii* may be translated as ‘the result of heat’. It is treated as a qualifier since *nu* ‘water’ is (the head of) the argument of the predicate, and *dọa* is a predicate which needs one core argument. Since *nom* can function neither as main predicate nor as head noun of the argument phrase, and since *nom* is understood to be a property of the entity and not of the event, then *nom* 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. ̀abúmmò ‘black’

b. ̀apólápola ‘pointed, sharp’

c. ̀witézímii ‘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. *gåánígááni* ‘cloud state’, *adžinèdžinè* ‘yellowish-brown’, *tùfùtùfù* ‘smooth and soft’. Reduplication characterises the form of this type of qualifiers. When a reduplicated qualifier occurs in attributive function, i.e. following the head noun, it takes the prefix *a-* as well.³⁰ The word in (115c) is segmented as [[THEME-V]-NMLZ]-CL.4. The verbal stem *zim* ‘know’ sees its theme argument incorporated, i.e. *wie-zim* ‘matters-know’, a structure which is in turn nominalized by what is called event-nominalization in Section 3.2.4.4.

There are limitations on the number of qualifiers allowed within a noun phrase. Noun phrases with more than three qualifiers are often rejected by language

³⁰ Although the prefix *a-* on qualifiers tends to disappear in normal speech. The prefix *a-* is unacceptable in (115c).
consultants in elicitation sessions. The language simply employs other strategies to stack properties. In fact noun phrases with two qualifiers are rarely found in the texts collected. The linear order of qualifiers within the noun phrase are provided in Section 3.11.

Chakali has phrasal expressions which correspond to monomorphemic adjectives in some other languages. These expressions have the characteristic of being metaphorical; their lexemic denotations may be seen as secondary, and phrasal denotations as non-compositional. For instance, a speaker must say ō kpáyá bambaíi, 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 bambil-tíná, lit. ‘owner of heart’. Other examples are síi-nómà-tíná, lit. ‘eye-hot-owner’, ‘wild, violent person’ and síi-tíná, 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 ō jáá sistámátíná, lit. she is eye-red-owner (si-sima-tiina), ‘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. ásiámà tʃʊ̃́ɪ̃́tʃʊ̃́ɪ̃́ ‘very/pure red’
        b. ábúmmò jírití ‘very/pure black’
        c. ápɔ́mmá píópió ‘very/pure white’
        d. sʊ́ɔ́nì júllulú ‘very cold’
        e. nómà kpánkpán ‘very hot’

The intensifier ideophones tʃʊ̃́ɪ̃́tʃʊ̃́ɪ̃́, jírití, píópió, júllulú, and kpánkpán 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’, *bánité* ‘some’ and *tàmá* ‘few, some’ constitute the monomorphemic quantifiers. The former can be expanded with a nominal prefix. For instance, in *ba-muŋ* ‘hum-all’ and *wɪ-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 *bánité* ‘some’ is invariable: *anɪɛ*, *abanɪɛ* and *babanɪɛ* are unacceptable words. The same can be said for the word *tàmá* ‘few’, which stays unchanged even when it modifies nouns of different semantic classes.

The expression *kiŋkáŋ* ‘a lot, many’ is made out of the classifier *kiŋ-* 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 *kiŋ-* is prefixed to it. Other evidence for its verbal status is the utterance *à kánã́ʊ̃́* ‘they are many’ compared to *à jáá tàmá* ‘they are few’. In the former, *kana* is the main verb of an intransitive perfective clause, while in the latter, *tama* is the complement of the verb *jaa* in an identificational construction (Section 2.1.1). Other plurimorphemic (or complex) quantifiers are based on the suffixation the morpheme -*lɛɪ* ‘not’. The expression *wɪ-muŋ-lɛɪ* (lit. *abst-all-not*) and *kiŋ-muŋ-lɛɪ* (lit. *conc-all-not*) both correspond to the English word ‘nothing’ (Section 3.10.2 on negation).

(117)  

àŋmɛ̀nà máŋá tʃájɛ́.  

amount only  remain.PFV

‘Only a few are left.’

The meaning ‘a few’ can be conveyed by the word *aŋmɛna* ‘how much/many’, which was introduced in Section 3.3.4 as an interrogative word. Example (117) suggest that the word *aŋmɛna* can also be used in a non-interrogative way, co-occurring here with *maŋa* ‘only’, in which case it is interpreted as ‘amount’ or ‘a certain number’. Another way to express ‘(a) few’ is to duplicate the numeral *dɪgɪɪ* ‘one’, e.g. *dɪgɪɪ-dɪgɪɪ* ra ‘there are just a few of them’. The examples in (118) show that the numeral *dɪgɪɪ* ‘one’ can participate in the denotations of both total and partial quantities.

(118)  

a. *mùŋ* ‘all’ (total collective)  
b. *dɪgɪɪ mùŋ* ‘each’ (total distributive)  
c. *dɪgɪɪ dɪgɪɪ* ‘some, few’ (partial distributive)
The word gàlìŋgà ‘waist’ or ‘middle’ can also carry quantification. In (119), the word is equivalent to bàkànà (< bar-kaŋ, lit. part-abound), and means ‘most’.

(119) à kpáánmá gàlìŋgà/bàkànà tʃájë́ à láó ni.
    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. (120a)-(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. 1sg gbà màŋá 1sg.poss 1sg.POSS child 1sg.POSS child FOC
    ‘I beat my child too.’ (lit. I too/as well/also beat my child)
  b. 1sg gbà lét màŋá 1sg.poss 1sg.POSS child
    ‘I do not beat my child.’ (lit. I am numbered with those known who refrain from beating their child)
  c. *gba màŋa a bie re
  d. *màŋa gba a bie re
  e. *màŋa a bie gba re
  f. *màŋa a bie re gba

3.6 Numerals

3.6.1 Atomic and complex numerals

Following Greenberg (1978: 263), I assume that the simplest lexicalisation of a number is called a numeral atom, whereas a complex numeral is an expression in which one can infer at least one arithmetical function. A numeral atom can stand alone or can be combined with another numeral, either atomic or complex,
to form a complex numeral. Atoms are treated as those forms which are not decomposable morpho-syntactically at a synchronic level. Table 22 displays the twelve atoms of the numeral system.

Table 22: Atomic numerals from 1 to 8, 10, 20, 100, and 1000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chakali</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Chakali</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dɪ́gɪ́máŋá</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>àlʊ ̀ pɛ̀</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>álɪë</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>ŋmɛ́ŋtɛ́l</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>átòrò</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>fĩ</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ànáásɛ̀</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>mâtʃéó</td>
<td>twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>àpɔ̀</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>kɔ̀wá (pl. kɔ̀sá)</td>
<td>hundred(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>álɔ̀rò</td>
<td>six</td>
<td>tòsɔ̀ (pl. tòsà)</td>
<td>thousand(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The term for ‘one’ is expressed as dɪ́gɪ́máŋá, but dɪ́gɪ́ alone can also be used. In general, the meaning associated with the morpheme máŋá is ‘only’, e.g. bahiɛ̃ maŋa n̩ na old.man-only-I-saw ‘I saw only an old man’. The number 8 is designated with ŋmɛ́ŋtɛ́l, 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 descendents. I believe that higher numerals in the linguistic area where Chakali is spoken have two origins: one is Oti-Volta and the other is Gonja. The forms for 100 and 1000 in Vagla and Deg are similar to Gonja’s forms with the same denotation, i.e. Gonja kɪ̀làfá ‘100’ and kɪ́g͡bɪ́ŋ ‘1000’. Similar form-denotation can be found in other North Guang languages (e.g. Krache, Kplang, Nawuri, Dwang, and Chumburung) and lafa is found in many other Kwa languages, as well as non-Kwa languages, e.g. Kabiye (Eastern Grusi) (Chan 2009). Borrowing is supported by the claim that the Vaglas and Degas were where they are today before the arrival of the Gonjas (Goody 1954: 12-13; Rattray 1932a: 516), and the fact that they, but mostly the Vaglas, are still in contact with the former conquerer, the Gonjas. 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 *dɪ́gɪ́tūō* expresses the number 9. It is the only expression associated with subtraction. The subtrahend is the expression *digr* ‘one’. In *dɪ́gɪ́tūō*, 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 *sàndōsó* (or *sandʊsə* in Tuosa and Katua). This expression is used by some individuals in Ducie, Tuosa, and Katua, all of them from the most senior generation. One language consultant associates *sàndōsó* 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 [fi₁₀-d(ɪ)-X₁₋₉].

The criterion employed for the distinction between augend and addend is that an augend is serialized, that is, it is the expression which is constant in a sub-
Table 23: Complex numerals from 11 to 19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chakali</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fídìtígíí</td>
<td>eleven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fídááliè</td>
<td>twelve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fídáátorò</td>
<td>thirteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fídàánásè</td>
<td>fourteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fidànò</td>
<td>fifteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fídáñòrò</td>
<td>sixteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fidalòpè</td>
<td>seventeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fidinìméntèl</td>
<td>eighteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fididígítíúò</td>
<td>nineteen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

progression. This expression is called the base. In the progression from eleven to nineteen shown in Table 23, the augend is $f$ and the addends are the expressions for one to nine. Given the above definition of a base, the expression $f$ is the base in complex numerals from 11 to 19. The operator for addition is $d$ and its vowel surfaces only when the following word starts with a consonant (i.e. fídìnìméntèl ‘18’, but fídànáásè ‘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 anı 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, mätzéó ànáásè [20 times 4] results in the product ‘eighty’. All numeral phrases from 20 to 99 use mafèo ‘20’ in their formation. In case (ii), the particle anı 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 mätzéó ànáásè ànì́ àlì̀ɛ̀ [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 anı 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 mafèo ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21-29</td>
<td>atom <em>ani</em> atom</td>
<td>20 + (1 through 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>atom <em>ani</em> atom</td>
<td>20 + 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-39</td>
<td>atom <em>ani</em> complex</td>
<td>20 + (11 through 19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>atom atom</td>
<td>20 × 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-49</td>
<td>atom atom <em>ani</em> atom</td>
<td>20 × 2 + (1 through 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>atom atom <em>ani</em> atom</td>
<td>20 × 2 + 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-59</td>
<td>atom atom <em>ani</em> complex</td>
<td>20 × 2 + (11 through 19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>atom atom</td>
<td>20 × 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-69</td>
<td>atom atom <em>ani</em> atom</td>
<td>20 × 3 + (1 through 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>atom atom <em>ani</em> atom</td>
<td>20 × 3 + 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71-79</td>
<td>atom atom <em>ani</em> complex</td>
<td>20 × 3 + (11 through 19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>atom atom</td>
<td>20 × 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-89</td>
<td>atom atom <em>ani</em> atom</td>
<td>20 × 4 + (1 through 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>atom atom <em>ani</em> atom</td>
<td>20 × 4 + 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91-99</td>
<td>atom atom <em>ani</em> complex</td>
<td>20 × 4 + (11 through 19)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 25: General structure of complex numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Argument</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Restriction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(y) x tuo</td>
<td>subtraction</td>
<td>y = 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x <em>ani</em> y</td>
<td>addition</td>
<td>x &gt; y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x <em>di</em> y</td>
<td>addition</td>
<td>x = 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y = 1-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xy</td>
<td>multiplication</td>
<td>x = 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y = 2, 3, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xy</td>
<td>multiplication</td>
<td>x = 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y = 2-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xy</td>
<td>multiplication</td>
<td>x = 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y = 2-999, 1000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As mentioned earlier, in subtraction the minuend \( y \) is covert. The only case of subtraction is the numeral \( \text{dɪ́gɪ́tūō} \) ‘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 \( d \) is used only for the sum of 10 and numbers between 1 and 9. The form \( \text{anɪ́} \) 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 \( \text{tʊsʊ} \) ‘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 \( \text{tʊsʊ tʊsʊ} \) [1000 \cdot 1000] ‘million’ was common, but became archaic even before the change of currency in July 2007. Examples of numerals are presented in (121).

\[
(121) \quad \begin{align*}
\text{a. } \text{màtʃéó ànáásè ànɪ́ àltè.} & \quad \text{twenty four and two} \\
& \quad \text{‘82’} \\
\text{b. } \text{kɔ́wá ànɪ́ màtʃéó ànɪ́ dɪ́gímánà.} & \quad \text{hundred and twenty and one} \\
& \quad \text{‘121’} \\
\text{c. } \text{kɔ́sá átòrò ànɪ́ màtʃéó ànáásè ànɪ́ fídāāɲɔ̃́.} & \quad \text{hundreds three and twenty four and fifteen} \\
& \quad \text{‘395’} \\
\text{d. } \text{kɔ́sá áɲɔ̃́ ànɪ́ dɪ́gímánà.} & \quad \text{hundreds five and one} \\
& \quad \text{‘501’} \\
\text{e. } \text{tʊsʊ ànɪ́ kɔ́sá álɪ̀ ànɪ́ màtʃéó ànɪ́ áɲɔ̃́.} & \quad \text{thousand and hundreds two and twenty and five} \\
& \quad \text{‘1225’} \\
\text{f. } \text{tʊŝà màtʃéó ànɪ́ dɪ́gímánà ànɪ́ kɔ́sá áltè ànɪ́ màtʃéó ànɪ́ ànj̃́.} & \quad \text{thousands twenty and one and hundreds two and twenty and} \\
& \quad \text{fídǐdǐg̃í} \\
& \quad \text{eleven} \\
& \quad \text{‘21231’}
\end{align*}
\]
Grammatical outlines

In summary, the numeral system of Chakali is decimal (base-10) and vigesimal (base-20) and the base-20 operates throughout the formation of 20 to 99. In Comrie (2008), numeral systems similar to the one described here are called hybrid vigesimal-decimal.

3.6.2 Numerals as modifiers

To a certain extent, Chakali offers a rigid word order within the noun phrase (Section 3.8). The heading of (122) offers an overview of the linear order of elements in a noun phrase containing a numeral. The data shows that the numeral occurs following the head and the qualifier(s) and precedes the demonstrative and the quantifier.\(^{31}\)

(122) ART/POSS HEAD QUAL\(_1\) QUAL\(_2\) NUM QUANT DEM FOC/NEG

a. à niháán-á múŋ wááwáó.
   ART woman-PL QUANT.all come.PRFFOC
   ‘All women came.’

b. à niháán-á fí múŋ wááwáó.
   ART woman-PL NUM QUANT.all come.PRFFOC
   ‘All ten women came.’

c. à nihápölëë fí múŋ wááwáó.
   ART woman-QUAL NUM QUANT.all come.PRFFOC
   ‘All ten fat women came.’

d. õ nihápólómá pölëë bálíé múŋ wááwáó.
   POSS woman-QUAL NUM QUANT.all come.PRFFOC
   ‘Both his two fat blind wives came.’

e. à nihápölëë fí hán múŋ wááwáó.
   ART woman-QUAL NUM DEM QUANT.all come.PRFFOC
   ‘Those all ten fat women came.’

f. à nihápölëë fí múŋ l̥et wááwá.
   ART woman-QUAL NUM QUANT.all NEG come.PRFF
   ‘Not all ten fat women came.’

g. à nihápölëë fí hán múŋ l̥et wááwá.
   ART woman-QUAL NUM DEM QUANT.all NEG come.PRFF
   ‘Not all those ten fat women came.’

\(^{31}\) Note that the noun phrases in (122) and (161) were collected in an elicitation session. They were elicited in subject position of the sentence frame X wááwáó/wááwá ‘X has come’.

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3 Nominal

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-HUM=$Ga$</th>
<th>+HUM=$Gb$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples display gender agreement between the numeral *a-nasɛ* ‘four’ and the nouns *bʊ̃́ʊ̃̀nà* ‘goats’ in (123a), *vííné* ‘cooking pots’ in (123b), *tàátá* ‘languages’ in (123c) and *bìsé* ‘children’ in (123d). Again, the only numerals that agree in gender with the noun they modify are *álìɛ̀* ‘two’, *átòrò* ‘three’, *ànáásɛ̀* ‘four’, *àŋɔ́* ‘five’, *álòrò* ‘six’, and *àlʊ̀ pɛ̀* ‘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 animates, concrete inanimates 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. *ŋ̩̀ kpágá bʊ̃́ʊ̃́-ná á-náásɛ̀ rā.*
   1SG have goat($Ga$)-PL 3PL.$Ga$-four FOC
   ‘I have four goats.’

b. *ŋ̩̀ kpágá víi-né á-náásɛ̀ rā.*
   1SG have pot($Ga$)-PL 3PL.$Ga$-four FOC
   ‘I have four cooking pots.’

c. *ŋ̩̀ nmá táá-tá á-náásɛ̀ rā.*
   1SG speak language($Ga$)-PL 3PL.$Ga$-four FOC
   ‘I speak four languages.’
d. ŋ̩̀ kpágá bi-sé bà-náásè rā.
   1sg have child(gb)-pl 3pl.gb-four foc
   ‘I have four children.’

e. ŋ̩̀ kpágá víi-né ñmẹ̀ntél rā / digitūò rō (*aŋmẹ̀ntel/*adigituò).
   1sg have pot(ga)-pl eight foc nine foc
   ‘I have eight/nine cooking pots.’

f. ŋ̩̀ kpágá bi-sé ñmẹ̀ntél rā / digitūò rō (*baŋmẹ̀ntel/*badigituò).
   1sg have child(gb)-pl eight foc nine foc
   ‘I have eight/nine children.’

g. ŋ̩̀ kpágá víi-né fidánáásè rā.
   1sg have pot(ga)-pl fourteen
   ‘I have fourteen cooking pots.’

h. ŋ̩̀ kpágá bi-sé fidibànáásè 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 [fi10-d(t)-[X1-9]atom]complex and not [fid(t)X]atom, agreement has access to the atoms X2-7 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 X2-7 within the expressions referring to the numbers 12-17.

3.6.3 Enumeration

Chakali has enumerative forms. These are numerals with a purely sequential order characteristic and are used when one wishes to count without any referential source or to count off items one by one.

(124) dièkèè, jëwáá, tòrö, náàsè, jó, lôrò, lôpë, ñmẹ̀ntél, digitūò (...)
   one two three four five six seven eight nine
   ‘One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, (...)’
3 Nominal

Basically, the difference between the forms in (124) and the forms in Table 22 are: (i) a specific enumerative use, (ii) the tendency to lengthen the last vowel,\(^{32}\) (iii) the numerals expressing two, three, four, five, six, and seven do not usually display the agreement prefix, and (iv) the forms for ‘one’ and ‘two’ differ to a greater extent. The rest of the enumerative numerals, i.e. eight, nine, ten, etc., correspond entirely to those shown in Table 22. In (125), an excerpt of a folk tale displays the enumerative use of numerals.

(125) \( gbáá \ pílí \ dièkèè, \ nèwáá, \ tòròò, \ náásè, \ pò, \ lòrò, \ lòpè, \ ànt \ háň(545,405),(667,453)(548,406),(666,453) \ à. \)

\[ \text{gbáá} \ pílí \ dièkèè, \ nèwáá, \ tòròò, \ náásè, \ pò, \ lòrò, \ lòpè, \ ànt \ háň(545,405),(667,453)(548,406),(666,453) \ à. \]

Monkey starts one two three four five six seven CONN DEM ÌSG kà \ sáňéé níń, \ digitūo, \ fi. \)

\[ \text{EGR} \ \ \text{sit} \ \ \text{DXM} \ nine \ ten \]

‘The monkey started to count: one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, the one I’m sitting on, nine, ten.’ \[\text{[CB 013]}\]

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) \( nií-tá \ álì-\-lìè \ Ë̂ \ dí \ tièbá \ digi-\-digi. \)

\[ \text{nií-tá} \ \ \text{álì-\-lìè} \ Ë̂ \ \ \text{dí} \ \ \text{tièbá} \ \ \text{digi-\-digi}. \]

\text{water-\-PL} \ \ \text{two-\-two} \ \ \text{1SG} \ \ \text{HEST} \ \ \text{give.3PL.\-GB} \ \ \text{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. \( à \ kùóðù \ zóó \ zágá \ mún \ nò \ à \ làà \ kpáámá \ fi-fi. \)

\[ \text{a} \ \ \text{à} \ \ \text{kùóðù} \ \ \text{zóó} \ \ \text{zágá} \ \ \text{mún} \ \ \text{nò} \ \ \text{à} \ \ \text{làà} \ \ \text{kpáámá} \ \ \text{fi-fi}. \]

\text{ART} \ \ \text{chief} \ \ \text{enter} \ \ \text{compound.SG} \ \ \text{all} \ \ \text{FOC} \ \ \text{CONN} \ \ \text{collect} \ \ \text{yam.PL} \ \ \text{ten-ten} \)

‘From each house the chief takes 10 yams.’

b. \( à \ zágá \ mún \ tíe \ à \ kùóðù \ rò \ kpáámá \ fi-fi. \)

\[ \text{b} \ \ \text{à} \ \ \text{zágá} \ \ \text{mún} \ \ \text{tíe} \ \ \text{à} \ \ \text{kùóðù} \ \ \text{rò} \ \ \text{kpáámá} \ \ \text{fi-fi}. \]

\text{ART} \ \ \text{compound} \ \ \text{all} \ \ \text{give} \ \ \text{ART} \ \ \text{chief} \ \ \text{FOC} \ \ \text{yam.PL} \ \ \text{ten-ten} \)

‘Each house gives 10 yams to the chief.’

\[^{32}\text{I also perceived lengthening in Waali, Dgr and Vagla for the corresponding enumerative sequence.}\]
Grammatical outlines

c. à zágá múŋ té à kúórù rō kpáámá fi.
   ART compound all give ART chief FOC yam.PL ten
   ‘All the houses (the village) give 10 yams to the chief.’

In (127b) and (127c), the sources of the giving event are kept constant. The reading in which ten yams per house are being collected by the chief is accessible only if the numeral fi ‘ten’ is reduplicated (i.e. fifi).

(128) a. tíë à gár nóá zènè à náśná jáá zóó álié-lië.
   give ART fence mouth big ART cow.PL do enter two-two
   ‘Make the door large enough since the cows often enter two by two.’

b. à tíí báníë jáá átò-tòrò wò, à báníë jáá
   ART akee.apple some IDENT three-three FOC ART some IDENT
   áná-náásë.
   four-four
   ‘Akee apples (have) sometimes three (seeds), sometimes four (seeds).’

The reduplication of the numeral álë ‘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 tíë ‘Akee apple’ (Blighia sapida) can reveal sometimes three and sometimes four seeds.

3.6.5 Frequency

When the morpheme br (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 válà gö dúsèë múŋ nàvál
   1PL undress 1PL.POSS thing FOC CONN walk cross Ducie QUANT.all circuit
   bt-tòrò.
   itr-num
   ‘We undress then walk around Ducie three times.’

The meaning of br-num corresponds to English ‘times’. Example (129) illustrates a case where the morpheme br is prefixed to the numeral stem toro ‘three’ and translates into ‘three times’.

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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: ń̩ gílá à pár rá pié àtòrò tin gàntál 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 àtòrò tin gàntál 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 sínsgal is frequently used in combination with a numeral to express a non-specific amount. For example tósọ nī sínsgál can be translated into English as ‘thousand and something’. In addition, the word sínsgal can be combined with a numeral to identify sibling ranks. In (131) sínsgal is understood as ‘follower(s)’.

(131) Sibling relationship
a. ó sínsgál bàtòrò jáá-ń̩.
3SG.POSS follower three IDENT-1SG
‘After him/her, I’m the third.’
b. ń̩ gàntál tómá jáá bàliè wà.
1SG.POSS back owners IDENT two FOC
‘I have two siblings younger than me.’
c. ń̩ sôó tómá jáá bàliè wà.
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 n̩ jaa digumə̀ nà tìma, 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.
Grammatical outlines

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 bàtfóálií nì ù ná àliè rà
   ART race POSTP 1SG see two FOC
   ‘At the race, I arrived second.’

b. míŋ dijèè
   1SG.ST eat.PFV
   ‘I arrived first.’ or ‘I won.’

c. míŋ nì té sòó, t sàyà
   1SG.ST postp early front 2SG be.on
   ‘I arrived first, you followed.’

Finally, the word búmbúŋ is translated into the non-numeric English idiom ‘at first’ and refers to a past state, its beginning or origin.

(133) búmbúŋ nì ù fì wàà nǒá sǐŋ̀.
   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 lóbānɪ̄ 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 (lūśīnnà), 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 *tʃɔ̀pɪ̀sì āliè* 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 *tʃɔ̀pɪ̀sì āliè* ‘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 lɔlā fidāltē*, 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)  
\[ kòsá \ átòrò \ ànì \ mātʃéō \ āliè \ ànì \ ānì \ fì. \]  
\[ \text{hundred.pl three and twenty two and ten} \]  
‘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. Secondly, the Chakali word denoting ‘bag’ is *bʊ̀ ɔ̀tɪ́à* (pl. *bʊ̀ ɔ̀tɪ̀sá*, etym. *bʊɔ-tɪa* ‘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.

(135) a.  
\[ bɔśtìà \ mātʃéō \ átòrò \ ànì \ fì \ dì \ àɲɔ̃́. \]  
\[ \text{bag twenty three and ten and five} \]  
‘15,000’ (for three yam tubers)

---

33. The term *old and new* were especially used in the period of transition. The redenomination of July 2007 is the second in the cedis history. The cedi was introduced by Kwame N’krumah in 1965, replacing the British West African pound (2.4 cedis = 1 pound), but lasted only two years. Thus, the first redenomination actually occurred in 1967.

34. The prices are those recorded at the market in Ducie in February 2008.
Grammatical outlines

b.  ṃbɔttia tòsò.
   bag  thousand
   ‘200,000’ (for a bag of groundnuts)

c.  ṃbɔttia kɔ̀sá  ǎliè.
   bag  hundred two
   ‘40,000’ (for a basin of dried cassava)

d.  ṃbɔttia kɔ̀sá  ǹmɛ́ntél.
   bag  hundred eight
   ‘160,000’ (for a bag of dried cassava)

e.  ṃbɔttia màtʃeó  ànáàstè  ànt  ì́.
   bag  twenty four  and ten
   ‘18,000’ (for a bowl of rice)

f.  ṃbɔttia tòsò  ànì  kɔ̀sá  ànì́.
   bag  thousand and hundred five
   ‘300,000’ (for a bag of rice)

In (135) the word ɓoɔtia initiates each expression. Since the expressions refer solely to the amount of money, it is clear that the word ɓoɔtia does not have the meaning ‘bag’ but that the meaning of a numeral, i.e. 200 can be inferred. The distinction between ɓoɔtia₁ (=bag) and ɓoɔtia₂ (=200) is supported by the following observations: On some occasions where ɓoɔtia is used, the word cannot refer to ‘bag’ since there are no potential referents available. In the position it occupies in (135) ɓoɔtia is usually not pluralized, which is obligatory for a modified noun. Further, the word kómbòrò ‘half’ can modify ɓoɔtia₁ to mean ‘half a bag’ (i.e. maize, groundnuts, etc), but the expression ɓɔttia kómbòrò cannot mean ‘100 cedis’ in the language. 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, ɓoɔtia₂ is often not pronounced. One can use the utterance tòsò ‘thousand’ to refer to the price of a bag of groundnuts, that is an amount of two

35 This claim was recently challenged by one of my consultants who recalls his mother using ɓoɔtia kómbòrò to mean ‘100 cedis’. Compare this with English where one can say half a grand to mean 500 dollars. The reason why ɓoɔtia kómbòrò 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. The distinguishing characteristic of \textit{bʊɔtɪa} is that it is a common noun and refers to ‘bag’ and that \textit{bʊɔtɪa} 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. \textit{haŋ/hama} (SG/PL).

\begin{verbatim}(136) Priest talking to the shrine, holding a kola nut above it má láá [kàpòsìè háŋ] N P ká já mòsè tiè wíi tiŋ 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.’
\end{verbatim}

Demonstrative modifiers are mostly used in spatial deixis, but they do not encode a proximal/distal distinction. Further, when a speaker uses \textit{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.

\begin{verbatim}(137) dt ó nóó dt [tʃakàlt tɔsá háŋ múŋ] N P, dt biisáá jáá COMP 3SG hear COMP Chakali villages dem quant.all comp Biisa ident níhië, bàńíë ká bi ñmá dt sòylá jáá níhië. 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)
\end{verbatim}

\footnote{While a synchronic account of a sense distinction for the form \textit{bʊɔtɪa} 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 \textit{bʊɔtɪa}, and its equivalent, is found to be widespread in West Africa. The lexical item being discussed here is in Yoruba \textit{ʔàkpó}, Baatonum \textit{bʊɔrʊ}, Hausa \textit{kàtàkù}, Dagbani \textit{kpaliŋa}, Dagaare \textit{kʊəra}, Dagaa (Nandom dialect) \textit{vuəra}, Sisaala \textit{bɔ́tɔ́} and Waali \textit{bʊɔra}. Whether the word is polysemous in all these languages as it is in Chakali, I do not know. Akan and Gâ had something similar but seem to have lost the reference to currency: a study of the words \textit{bɔ́tɔ́} and \textit{kotoko/kotoko} is needed.}

\footnote{The plural form of \textit{tɔ́} ‘village’ in Katua is \textit{tɔ́i}. 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.}
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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. [tfɔ̀sà háŋ̀]ₜₚ ni ɲŋ dí kõò rā. morning DEM POSTP 1SG eat t.z. FOC ‘This morning I ate t.z.’
    b. [nára báliè háŋ̀]ₜₚ nà sèwîjè à mó̀r. person two DEM FOC write ART story ‘THESE TWO MEN WROTE THE STORY.’
    c. làà [mósà záál háŋ̀ tìŋ]ₜₚ. 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 lɛ̀ ‘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
    [á dièbîsè hámà]ₜₚ lë́, [hâmà]ₜₚ rā. ART cats DEM.PL NEG DEM.PL FOC ‘Not these cats, THESE CATS.’

In (139), lɛ̀ ‘not’ negates the noun phrase a dièbîsè 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. mòlibì lè́t kàà tìè nárà tòɔrā. money NEG IPFV give people problem ‘It is not money that gives people problems.’
    b. mòlibì wàà tìè nárà tòɔrā. 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/kàláá kpáágá bòŋé.
   3SG.ST/K.FOC have  respect
   'He/Kala has respect for others'

b. ṣ/kàlá kpáágá bòŋé  rá.
   3SG/K. has  respect FOC
   'He/Kala has respect for others.'

c. wáá/bèléé kpáágá záál.
   3SG.ST/bush.dog.FOC catch  fowl
   'It/Bush dog catches fowls.'

d. ṣ/bèlè kpáágá 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 [n̩], when the preceding and following phonological material is vocalic. A coordination of two indefinite noun phrases is displayed in (142).

(142) váá ání 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.
Grammatical outlines

(143) bʊ̃́ʊ̃́ŋ, váà ̀ànì́ ̀dìèbìè káá ̀válà́.
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) n̩ kpayá tàytà zěn nē ̀ànì́ (tàytà) âbūmм̀ò́.
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 ábūmм̀ò ̀ànì́ ápòmmá 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 > /n̩ anñ ma/ [ǹnì́mā]
‘I and you (pl)’

1sg conn 3pl.a > /n̩ anñ a/ [ǹnánàà]
‘I and they (–hum)’

3sg conn 2pl > /ɔ anñ ma/ [ɔnì́mā]
‘she and you (pl)’

3sg conn 3pl.b > /ɔ anñ ba/ [ɔnì́bà]
‘she and they (+hum)’

b. Unacceptable

2pl conn 1sg > */ma anñ n̩/

3pl.g.a conn 1sg > */a anñ n̩/

2pl conn 3sg > */ma anñ ɔ/

3pl.g.b conn 3sg > */ba anñ ɔ/
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 \( anɪ \) 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) \( /ɔ \ anɪ \ ɔ/ \) 3SG CONN 3SG \( > [ɔnʊnʊ] \) ‘she and she’
\( /ɔ \ anɪ \ ɪ/ \) 3SG CONN 2SG \( > [ɔnɪnɪ] \) ‘she and you’
\( /n \ anɪ \ ɔ/ \) 1SG CONN 3SG \( > [nɪnʊnɪ] \) ‘I and she’
\( /n \ anɪ \ ɪ/ \) 1SG CONN 2SG \( > [nɪnɪnɪ] \) ‘I and you’
\( /ɪ \ anɪ \ n̩/ \) 2SG CONN 1SG \( > *[ɪn(V)nɪn] \)

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 \( n(V)nɪn \). 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WK CONN WK</td>
<td>ʊnʊnʊ</td>
<td>ʊnʊnɪ</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WK CONN WK</td>
<td>ʊnʊnʊ</td>
<td>ʊnɪnʊ</td>
<td>ɲnʊnɪ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WK CONN ST</td>
<td>ʊnɪrwa</td>
<td>ʊnɪnɪnɪ</td>
<td>ʊnɪmɪnɪ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST CONN WK</td>
<td>wɑnʊnʊ</td>
<td>hɪnnʊnʊ</td>
<td>mɪnɪnʊmɪnɪ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST CONN ST</td>
<td>wɑnɪrwa</td>
<td>wɑnɪhɪnɪ</td>
<td>wɑnɪmɪnɪ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Section 4.2.3.2, the temporal nominal \textit{diare} ‘yesterday’ and \textit{tfia} ‘tomorrow’ are said to have preverbs counterparts in a three-interval tense subsystem. The temporal nominal \textit{zaaŋ} (or \textit{zilɑŋ}) expresses ‘today’, and \textit{tomosû} can express either ‘the day before yesterday’ or ‘the day after tomorrow’, yet neither have a corresponding preverb. Thus \textit{diare} ‘yesterday’, \textit{tfia} ‘tomorrow’, and \textit{zaaŋ} ‘today’, which typically function as adjunct and can be disjunctively connected by the nominal connective \( anɪ \), as in (148), are treated as nominals.
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(148) ɗìàrè, zílàn àní tfiá műŋ jáá digimáŋərá.  
yesterday today conn tomorrow quant.all ident one foc  
‘Yesterday, today, and tomorrow are all the same.’

3.9.1.1 Apposition

(149) kùórù biniháàŋ n̄má tíè [ò n̄n̄á kùórù]ₙₚ dí à báàł párá  
chief young.girl say give 3sg.poss father chief that art man farm  
à kúó pëtıũ (...)  
art farm finish.foc  
‘The daughter told her father the chief that the young man had finished weaving the farm (...)’ [CB 014]

There is another conjunction-type of nominal coordination. The noun phrase ü jīına kuoru ‘her father chief’ in (149) is treated as two noun phrases in apposition. In this case, apposition is represented as [[ü jīına]ₙₚ [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. ɨ buúrè tí rè káá kőfi?  
2sg want tea foc conn coffee  
‘Do you want tea or coffee?’

b. ɨ buúrè tí rè káá kőfi rà ɨ dë buúrè?  
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) ɨ káá tómà tíè à kùórù ró zàáŋ káá tfiá?  
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 Nominal

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 follows: (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 \textsc{gender} \( a \) or \( b \) (Brindle 2008b; 2009). The values for the feature \textsc{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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{váá} & \quad \text{måå} \quad \text{sówá.} \quad \text{ã́má} \quad \text{dì} \quad \text{ò} \quad \text{tʃèná} \quad \text{mùúlù} \quad \text{mùúmùú} \quad \text{dì} \\
\text{dog.sg} & \quad \text{mother.sg} \quad \text{die} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{said} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{his} \quad \text{friend} \quad \text{bird’s} \quad \text{name} \\
\text{bá} & \quad \text{kááli} \quad \text{ò} \quad \text{måå} \quad \text{lùhò.} \\
\text{3PL.GB} & \quad \text{go} \quad \text{his} \quad \text{mother} \quad \text{funeral}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The Dog’s mother died. Dog asks his friend Bird (\textit{Ardea purpurea}) to
Grammatical outlines

Table 28: Gender in Chakali

(a) Criteria for gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>Criteria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>residuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>things that are categorized as human</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Gender in weak and strong third-person pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Grammatical function</th>
<th>WK</th>
<th>ST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3sg.</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>waa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.Ga</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>awaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.Gb</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>bawaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Agreement prefix forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-HUM=Ga</th>
<th>+HUM=Gb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 níbaálá ‘men’ and bɔ̀làsá ‘elephants’. The form âmùŋ 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.
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 $G(ENDER)\alpha$ and $G(ENDER)\beta$ 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).

Example (155) displays agreement between the numeral $\text{á-náásɛ́} ‘four’$ and the nouns $\text{bôðnà (\text{cl.3}) ‘goats’}$, $\text{tàátà (\text{cl.7}) ‘languages’}$, $\text{viinɛ́ (\text{cl.5}) ‘cooking pots’}$ and $\text{bisɛ́ (\text{cl.1}) ‘children’}$. The numerals that agree in gender with the noun they modify are $\text{á-liɛ́ ‘two’, á-tɔrɔ ‘three’, á-náásɛ́ ‘four’, á-nɔ ‘five’, á-lɔrɔ ‘six’ and á-lɔpɛ́ ‘seven’}$. 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 ($\text{anim in (155a), abst in (155b), conc in (155c) vs. hum in (155d)}$). Clearly, as shown below, noun class membership is not reflected in agreement ($\text{tàátà (cl.7) ‘languages’ triggers Ga in (155b) and bisɛ́ (cl.1) ‘children’ triggersGb in (155d)}$).
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(155) Domain: Numeral + Noun

a. ǹ̩ǹ̩ kpáɣá bό̌n-á à-náásè rā.
    1SG have goat(GA)-PL 3PL.GA-four FOC
    ‘I have four goats.’

b. ǹ̩ǹ̩ ɲmá tάà-tά à-náásè rā.
    1SG speak language(GA)-PL 3PL.GA-four FOC
    ‘I speak four languages.’

c. ǹ̩ǹ̩ kpáɣá víí-né à-náásè rā.
    1SG have cooking.pot(GA)-PL 3PL.GA-four FOC
    ‘I have four cooking pots.’

d. ǹ̩ǹ̩ kpáɣá bi-sé ɓá-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)nɪ, the targets display consistently ṣb when one of the conjuncts is human-denoting. In (156a) the noun phrase a baal ‘the man’ and the noun phrase ṣ kakumuso ‘his donkeys’ unite to form the noun phrase acting as controller. The noun phrase a baal nɪ ṣ kakumuso ‘the man and his donkeys’ triggers ṣb 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 ṣb if any of the conjuncts is specified as ṣb. No test has been applied to verify whether the alignment of the conjunct noun phrases affects gender resolution.

(156) Domain: Coordinate structure with nɪ

a. [ȃ bááł ni ọ̀ ƙààkúmọ̀-sọ̀]NP váláà káàlí tǎmàlè rā.
    ART man CONN 3SG.POSS donkey-PL walk go Tamale FOC
    ‘The man and his donkeys walked to TAMALE.’

b. bà kóówáó.
    3PL.GB tire.PFV.FOC
    ‘They are tired.’

c. bà-mùŋ nààsá tfógáó.
    3.PL.GB all feet.PL spoil.PFV.FOC
    ‘They all had painful feet.’ (lit. the feet of all.of.them)
d. bà nààsá tfɔ́ɡáó.
   3PL.Poss.Gb feet.PL spoil.PFV.FOC
   ‘Their feet were hurting them.’

e. bà jáá bà-ɲɔ̃́ nɪ̀-bɔ́má rá.
   3PL.Gb IDENT 3.PL.Gb-five PL HUM-dangerous.PL FOC
   ‘They were five altogether.’

f. Resolution Rule: When unlike gender values are conjoined (i.e. gender a and gender b), the coordinate noun phrase determines gender b (i.e. Ga + Ga = Ga, Ga + Gb = Gb, Gb + Ga = Gb and Gb + Gb = Gb).

Examples (152) to (156) demonstrate how one can analyse the humaness 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. dzètì kim-bón ná.
    lion.SG ANIM-dangerous.SG FOC
    ‘A lion is DANGEROUS.’ (generic reading)
b. dzètisá kim-bómá rá.
    lion.PL CONC;ANIM-dangerous.PL FOC
    ‘The lions are DANGEROUS.’ (individual reading)
c. ḡi biɛrésá ni-bômá rá.
    POSS.1SG brother.PL HUM-dangerous.PL FOC
    ‘My brothers are DANGEROUS.’
d. bà jáá ni-bômá rá.
    3PL.Gb IDENT HUM-dangerous.PL FOC
    ‘They are DANGEROUS.’ (human participants)
e. à jáá kim-bómá rá.
    3PL.Ga IDENT CONC;ANIM-dangerous.PL FOC
    ‘They are DANGEROUS.’ (non-human, non-abstract participants)
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 /bɔm/ ‘bad’ is determined by the number value of the first noun phrase. Irrespective of the animacy encoded in the referent, a singular noun phrase triggers the form [bɔŋ] while a plural triggers [bɔma] (i.e. cl.3, Section 3.2.1.3). The number agreement is illustrated in (157a) and (157b). 38

Properties do not appear as freestanding words in identificational constructions. To say ‘the lion is dangerous’, the grammar has to combine the predicate with a nominal classifier (or dummy substantive) that will license a noun, i.e. lit. ‘lion is thing-dangerous’, where thing stands for the slots where animacy is encoded. This is represented in (158).

(158) [[thing<sub>animacy</sub>-property] FOC]

There are three dummy substantives in (157): m̥-, w̥-, and km̥-. Each of them has a fully fledged noun counterpart; it can be pluralized, precede a demonstrative, etc. Those forms are km̥/kma (cl.3) ‘thing’, nar/nara (cl.3) ‘person’ and w̥/wae (cl.4) ‘matter, palaver, problem, etc.’. Table 29 provides the three possible distinctions.

Since there are form and sense compatibilities between the inflecting noun pairs and the forms of the expressions preceding the qualitative predicate, a com-

38 Notice that the nominalized verbal lexemes in (157f) and (157g) each triggers a different form for /bɔm/. The form tfigisii ‘turning’ is analysed as a nominalized pluractional verb (see Section 4.3.2).
Table 29: Classifiers and Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Animacy</th>
<th>Noun class</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nɪ-/na-</td>
<td>[HUM]</td>
<td>Class 3</td>
<td>nár</td>
<td>nárá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wɪ-</td>
<td>[ABST]</td>
<td>Class 4</td>
<td>wíí</td>
<td>wíé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɪn-</td>
<td>[CONC;ANIM]</td>
<td>Class 3</td>
<td>kɪ́n</td>
<td>kɪ́nà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

nominal radical form for each is identified; kɪn- [CONC;ANIM] ‘concrete, non-human, non-abstract’, nɪ- [HUM] ‘person, human being’ and wɪ- [ABST] ‘non-concrete, non-person’ are the three classifiers.

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-mṳ́ŋ-lɛ́i
      HUM-all-not
      ‘no one’

b. wɪ́-mʊŋ-lɛ́i
   ABST-all-not
   ‘nothing’

c. kɪ́n-mʊŋ-lɛ́i
   CONC;ANIM-all-not
   ‘nothing’

39 The classifier and the semantic information encoded in the head of the first noun phrase reflects one major analytical criterion for classifier systems (Dixon 1986; Corbett 1991; Grinevald 2000).
Grammatical outlines

(160)  

a.  
\[ nì-dìgì \]
HUM-one
‘someone’

b.  
\[ wí-dìgì \]
ABST-one
‘something’

c.  
\[ ktn-dìgì \]
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.\footnote{In (161) ‘woman’ may also be interpreted as ‘wife’.

\[ (161) \text{ART/POSS HEAD QUAL NUM QUANT DEM QUANT ART FOC/NEG} \]

\[ a. \ i \ wāśwāō \ ‘you came’ \]
\[ \text{HEAD} \]

\[ b. \ hāāŋ \ wāśwāō \ ‘a woman came’ \]
\[ \text{HEAD} \]

\[ c. \ à \ hāāŋ \ wāśwāō \ ‘the woman came’ \]
\[ \text{ART1 HEAD} \]
3 Nominal

d. à hấñ tìn wãáwãó 'the woman came'
   ART1 HEAD ART2

e. ṣ̀̀ hấñ wãáwãó 'his woman came'
   POSS HEAD

f. ṣ̀̀ hấñ tìn wãáwãó 'his woman came'
   POSS HEAD ART2

g. hámâ múŋ wãáwãó 'all these came'
   HEAD QUANT.all

h. nihááná hámâ múŋ wãáwãó 'all these women came'
   HEAD DEM QUANT.all

i. hấñ háŋ wãáwãó 'this woman came'
   HEAD DEM

j. nihááná múŋ wãáwãó 'all women came'
   HEAD QUANT.all

k. nihákáná wãáwãó 'many women came'
   HEAD-QUANT

l. nárâ bátòrò wãáwãó ‘three persons came’
   HEAD NUM

m. à nihááná półè bálìè wãáwãó ‘the two fat women came’
   ART1 HEAD QUAL NUM

n. à nihááná bálìè hámâ wãáwãó ‘these two women came’
   ART1 HEAD NUM DEM

o. à nihápólè káná wãáwãó ‘many fat women came’
   ART1 HEAD QUAL QUAL NUM

p. à nihápólè nólònkáná wãáwãó ‘many fat blind women came’
   ART1 HEAD QUAL QUAL QUANT.many

q. à nihápólè nólònkáná hámâ wãáwãó ‘these many fat blind women came’
   ART1 HEAD-QUAL QUAL-QUANT.many DEM

r. à nihápólè nólómá fi bânê wãáwãó ‘some of the ten fat blind women came’
   ART1 HEAD-QUAL QUAL NUM QUANT.some
Grammatical outlines

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 \textit{tɪŋ}). 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 \textit{verbal}.

\begin{equation}
(162) \quad \text{AJC} \pm \text{S}\|A + \text{P} \pm \text{O} \pm \text{AJC}
\end{equation}

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 \textit{stative} lexeme and the \textit{active} lexeme were both shown to take part in nominalization processes. The verbal stem in (163) must be instantiated with a verbal lexeme.

\begin{equation}
(163) \quad \text{[[preverb]}_{\text{EVG}} \ [\text{[stem]-[suffix]}]_{\text{verb}}]_{\text{VG}}
\end{equation}

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). 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, ɛ, i, ɪ}) in the nucleus of their last syllable. The data suggests that ATR-harmony is operative, but not RO-harmony, in these three environments, e.g. fùòli ‘whistle’. There is no restriction on vowel quality for the monosyllabic or bisyllabic verbs and both harmonies are operative.

Table 30 presents verbs which are classified based on their syllable structures and tonal melodies. Despite the various attested melodies, instances of low tone CV verbs, CVV verbs other than low tone, and rising or falling CVCV, CVCCV, and CVVCV verbs are marginal.

Typically, CV verbs have a high melody, while CVV verbs are a low one. The mid tone (M) is not contrastive. Only a handful of minimal pairs can be found in the dictionary, e.g. pɔ́ ‘protect’ and pɔ́ ‘plant’.

41 The term and notion are inspired from analyses of the verbal system of Gà (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable type</th>
<th>Tonal melody</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>pó</td>
<td>plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
<td>só</td>
<td>wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVV</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>pàà</td>
<td>take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
<td>kíí</td>
<td>forbid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LH</td>
<td>wòó</td>
<td>vacant (be)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HL</td>
<td>gbáà</td>
<td>herd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCV</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>kúló</td>
<td>tilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
<td>bìlè</td>
<td>put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HL</td>
<td>lúlò</td>
<td>leak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HM</td>
<td>pílè</td>
<td>cover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCCV</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>bóntí</td>
<td>divide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
<td>kámsí</td>
<td>blink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
<td>sùmmè</td>
<td>beg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
<td>zènsi</td>
<td>limp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVVCV</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>píli</td>
<td>start</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
<td>tìásí</td>
<td>vomit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
<td>kààli</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
<td>bùòlì</td>
<td>sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCVCV</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>zágálí</td>
<td>shake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
<td>vilímí</td>
<td>spin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
<td>hàrigí</td>
<td>try</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
<td>dōgònì</td>
<td>chase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 dọa (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 kpaga ‘have’ is
treated as a verbal state lexeme as well (see possessive clause in Section 2.1.3). A qualitative verbal state lexeme establishes a relation between an entity and a quality. Examples are given in (164).

(164) Qualitative verbal state lexeme
   bòró ‘short’ > à dáá bóróó ‘The tree is short.’
   gòrò ‘curved’ > à dáá góróó ‘The wood is curved.’
   jógósí ‘soft’ > à bié bátiŋ jógósijóō ‘The baby’s skin is soft.’

Similarly, a quantitative verbal state lexeme establishes a relation between an entity and a quantity. Yet, in (165), the subject of maasi is the impersonal pronoun a which refers to a situation and not an individual. The verb hîë ‘age’ or ‘old’ is a quantitative verbal state lexeme since it measures objective maturity between two individuals, i.e. mîŋ hîë-t, lit. 1sg.st age-2sg.wk, ‘I am older than you’.

(165) Quantitative verbal state lexeme
   kánà ‘abundant’ > bá kánáò ‘They are plenty (people).’
   mààst ‘enough’ > à màásìjò ‘It is sufficient.’
   hîë ‘age’ > mîŋ hîë ‘I am older than you’

Cognitive verbs such as liise ‘think’, kōō ‘wonder, kisi ‘wish’, tfii ‘hate’, etc. are also treated as verbal state lexemes.

Verbal process lexemes denote non-stative events. They are often partitioned along the (lexical) aspectual distinctions of Vendler (1957), i.e. activities, achievements, accomplishments. Such verbal categories did not formally emerge, so I am not in a position to categorize the verbal process lexemes at this point in the research (but see Bonvini 1988: 51 for a thorough description of a Grusi verbal system), although Section 4.3 suggests that there is a system of verbal derivation that uses verbal process lexemes which needs to be uncovered. Thus, verbs which express that the participant(s) is actively doing something, undergoes a process, performs an action, etc. all fall within the set of verbal process lexemes.

4.1.3 Complex verb

A complex verb is composed of more than one verbal lexeme. For instance, when laa ‘take’ and di ‘eat’ are brought together in a SVC (Section 2.1.5), they denote separate taking and eating event. A complex verb denotes a single event.

(166) a. ń lāá kúòsò diūū.
   1sg take G. eat.FOC
   ‘I believe in God.’
Grammatical outlines

b. ṃ láá bié dór<br>1sg take child put.foc<br>‘I adopted a child.’

The sequences laa+di ‘believe’ and laa+dó ‘adopt’ are non-compositional, and less literal. Also, unlike complex stem nouns, but like SVCs, the elements which compose a complex verb must not necessarily be contiguous, as (166) shows. Other examples, among others, are zimá síí, lit. know raise, ‘understand’, kpá tā, lit. take abandon, ‘drop’ or ‘stop’, and gilá zimá, 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). 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. kpó ‘Kill’, tíí kpóí ‘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).

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42 Dagbani is described as a language where the “inflectional system for verbs is relatively poor” (Olawsky 1999: 96). It has an imperfective suffix -di (Olawsky 1999: 97) and an imperative suffix -ma/mi (Olawsky 1999: 101). Bodomo (1997: 81) writes that Dagaare has four verb forms: a dictionary form, a perfective aspectual form, a perfective intransitive aspectual form and an imperfective aspectual form. Also for Dagaare, Saanchi (2003) talks about four forms: perfective A and B, and Imperfective A and B.

43 The presence of a schwa (ə) in a CVCəCV surface form, as in (167c), is explained in Sections 3.2.1.3 and 3.1.2.
Perfective intransitive construction

a. *Verbal process:* $s + p$
   \[ \text{àfiá diáóó.} \]
   A. \[ \text{di-j[-LO, -HI, -RO]-[+HI,+RO]} \]
   ‘Afia ate.’

b. \[ \text{àfiá wá diá.} \]
   ‘Afia didn’t eat.’

c. *Verbal state:* $s + p$
   \[ \text{à dáá télejóó.} \]
   \[ \text{AR} \text{t daa tele-j[-LO, -HI, -RO]-[+HI,+RO]} \]
   ‘The stick leans.’

d. \[ \text{à dáá wá télojé.} \]
   ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix /-jE/</th>
<th>Suffix /-wA/</th>
<th>No suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>CVV</td>
<td>CVCV(^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCV(^1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*
   \[ \text{po > àfiá wá pójé ‘Afia didn’t divide’} \]
   \[ \text{pɔ > àfiá wá pɔjé ‘Afia didn’t plant’} \]
   \[ \text{pu > àfiá wá pújé ‘Afia didn’t cover’} \]
   \[ \text{pʊ > àfiá wá pʊjɛ̄ ‘Afia didn’t spit’} \]
   \[ \text{kpe > àfiá wá kpéjé ‘Afia didn’t crack and remove’} \]
   \[ \text{kpa > àfiá wá kpájé ‘Afia didn’t take’} \]
b. **CVV**

\[
\begin{align*}
tuu & > \text{áfiá wá tūūwō} \ '\text{Afia didn’t go down}' \\
tie & > \text{áfiá wá tiēwō} \ '\text{Afia didn’t chew}' \\
sii & > \text{áfiá wá sīwō} \ '\text{Afia didn’t raise}' \\
jʊʊ & > \text{áfiá wá jʊ̄wā} \ '\text{Afia didn’t marry}' \\
tɪɛ & > \text{áfiá wá tɪ̄ɛ̄wā} \ '\text{Afia didn’t give}' \\
wɪɪ & > \text{áfiá wá wɪ̄ɪ̄wā} \ '\text{Afia is not ill}'
\end{align*}
\]

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 \(+\text{ATR}\), the vowel of the suffix is \(+\text{RO}\), and if the vowel of a CVV stem is \(-\text{ATR}\), the vowel of the suffix is \(-\text{RO}\).

\(-/wA/> \alpha_{\text{RO suffix}} / \alpha_{\text{ATR stem}}\)

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 \([+\text{RO}, +\text{ATR}]-\text{counterpart of } [a]\).

Predicting which of set CVCV\(^1\) or set CVCV\(^2\) in Table 31 a stem falls has proven unsuccessful. Provisionally, I suggest that a CVCV stem must be stored with such an information. One piece of evidence supporting this claim comes from the minimal pair \(tèlè \ ‘\text{reach}’\) and \(télé \ ‘\text{lean against}’:\) the former displays CVCV\(^2\) (i.e. tele-\(jE\)), whereas the latter displays CVCV\(^1\) (i.e. tele-\(Ø\)). The data shows that a CVCV stem with round vowels is less likely to behave like a CVCV\(^1\) stem, yet \(púmó \ ‘\text{hatch}’\) is a counter-example, i.e. \(a \text{ zal wa pumaje} \ ‘\text{the fowl didn’t hatch}’. \)

The CVCCV, CVVCV, and CVCVCCV stems have not been investigated, but \(kaa\)li \ ‘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.

\([\text{[(verb stem)\[\-+[\text{HI, +RO}]]_{\text{verb in focus}}\]}\)

(169)
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
       ūkàá kpá ‘She will take’
       ūò kpáò ‘She is taking/takes.’

       b. Negative
       ĕ wâá kpá ‘She will not take’
       ëò wâá kpá ‘She is not taking/does not take.’

       c. *kalaa kpaò Kala is taking/takes.’
       d. *waa kpaò ‘she is taking/takes.’
       e. *v kpaò a bn ‘She is taking/takes the stone.’
       f. *ūò waa kpaò ‘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. kâlá dijòó.
       Kala eat.PFV.FOC
       ‘Kala ate.’

       b. kâlá di siimáá râ.
       Kala eat.PFV food FOC
       ‘Kala ate food.’

       c. ūò buólùù.
       PSG sing.IPFV.FOC
       ‘He is SINGING.’
Grammatical outlines

d. ʊ̀ ʊ̀ bʊ̀ʊlù  bʊ̀ʊl lô.
    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(object) 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. ̀̀ bʊ̀ bʊ̀ kâá hɪrèū ‘the hole is being dug’
    b. ‘a bʊ̀ʊŋ kaa mɑŋãʊ̄ ‘the goat is being beaten’ → bàà mɑnà ̀ bʊ̃̃ʊ̃̀ŋ nà
    c. ‘a dɑa kaa zɪnãʊ̄ ‘the tree is being climbed’ → bàà zɪnà ̀ dɑ́á rà

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. ñ̃̃ di kʊ̄ʊ̄ râ
       ‘I ate t.z.’
    b. ñ̃̃ pó dâá râ
       ‘I planted a tree.’
    c. ñ̃̃ tʃï̃̃ gè vîi rë
       ‘I turned a pot.’
    d. ñ̃̃ l̃̃ mɒ̃̀ tʊ̃̃̀ŋ nà
       ‘I tied a goat.’
    e. ñ̃̃ mɔ́nâ dï̃̃ nê
       ‘I carried fire.’

(174) Transitive imperfective
    a. ñ̃̃̃ di kʊ̄ʊ̄ râ
       ‘I am eating t.z.’
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)  

\begin{verbatim}
(175)  

a.  

I  

tenêsi a namĩã raa?

2SG cut.PV ART meat FOC

‘Did you cut the meat (into pieces)?’

b.  

I  

tenêsi a namĩã raa?

2SG cut.PV ART meat FOC

‘Are you cutting the meat (into pieces)?’

c.  

I  

kaa tenêsi a namĩã raa?

2SG IPFV.FUT cut.PV ART meat FOC

‘Will you (be) cut(ting) the meat (into pieces)?’
\end{verbatim}
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 *dɪ* 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  
\[sɪ́gá \ (rά) \ ḥ ḏɪ \ ṯi̱ē.\]
\[\text{bean (FOC) 3.SG IPFV chew}\]
‘It is BEANS he is chewing.’

b. Perfective  
\[stɡá (rά) \ ḥ ṯi̱ē.\]
\[\text{bean (FOC) 3.SG chew}\]
‘It is BEANS he chewed.’

c. Imperfective  
\[wā̀ (rά) \ ḥ ḏɪ \ ḵá̱ḻi.\]
\[\text{Wa (FOC) 3.SG IPFV go}\]
‘It is to WA that he is going.’

d. Perfective  
\[wā̀ (rά) \ ḥ ḵā̱ḻ̱.\]
\[\text{Wa (FOC) 3.SG go}\]
‘It is to WA that he went.’

The position of *dɪ* 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 *dɪ* may be treated as a preverb constrained to occur with a preposed non-subject constituent and an imperfective aspect.44

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44 I do not treat topicalization in this work, although the left-dislocation strategy in (176) is the only one I know to exist.
4.1.4.5 Subjunctive In Section 2.1.8.2 the preverbal *ŋma* is said to convey a desiderative mood, corresponding to the English modal expression ‘want to’, in a construction [NP *ŋma* [NP VP]]. The embedded clause is said to be in the subjunctive mood, which is singled out by its high tone on the subject pronoun and the non-actuality and potentiality of the event. In the examples (177a) and (177b) a subjunctive is interpreted because it involves clauses expressing a future hypothetical time and realization. In all these cases, the clauses of which the high tone pronoun is the subject seem to depend on and complement a more central event.

(177) a. ṭ̀ 3. sg. kááli ṭ̀ ká dì mɔ̀tìgú jàwà.
   3.sg. go 3.sg ipfv eat M. market
   ‘She is going to trade at the Motigu market.’ (*lit. eat-market, ‘trade’)

b. żɔ̀ 3. sg. m̀ m̀ 1. sg. mã̀ã̀ 3. sg. kpá 3. sg. kpá 3. sg. t.z. fàlá tìéí, í
   enter 1.sg mother end 3.sg take 1.sg POSS t.z. bowl give.2sg 2sg
ekííni.
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 Gâ 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 kaalɪ ‘go’ and waa ‘come’.45 Table 32 shows that kaalɪ ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>σ</th>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>waa ‘come’</td>
<td>CVV</td>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>ō wááwáó</td>
<td>ō wà wááwá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>ōō wááō</td>
<td>ō wà wáá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘she came’</td>
<td>‘she didn’t come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘she is coming’</td>
<td>‘she is not coming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaalɪ ‘go’</td>
<td>CVVCV</td>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>ō káálijó</td>
<td>ō wà káálíjé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>ōō kááłóó</td>
<td>ō wà káálí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘she went’</td>
<td>‘she didn’t go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘she is going’</td>
<td>‘she is not going’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka(a)</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>*ʊ kaó</td>
<td>*ʊ wa kajɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>*ʊ kau</td>
<td>*ʊ wa ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the verbs kaalɪ ‘go’ and waa ‘come’ occur in a SVC, they surface as ka and wa respectively. In (178), both ka and wa take part in a two-verb SVC in which they are first in the sequence.

45 A discussion on some aspects of grammaticalization of ‘come’ and ‘go’ can be read in Bourdin (1992). In the literature, egressive is also known as itive (i.e. away from the speakers, ‘thither’) and ingressive is known as ventive (i.e. towards the speakers, ‘hither’).
4 Verbal

(178) a. gbáà bààŋ té kà sàŋá à pié (...) monkey quickly early go sit ART yam.mound.PL

\[[pv \; pv]_{EVG \; v} \; v]_{VP} (...)\]

‘Monkey quickly went and sat on the (eighth) yam mounds (...’ [LB 012]

b. ŋmɛ́ŋtɛ́‖ làà nɔ̃á ní kà ŋmá dí óó wá nɔ̃á ní. spider collect mouth POSTP CONN say COMP 3SG come drink water

v v

‘(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]

Because they derive from deictic verbs (historically or synchronically), the preverbs have the potential to indicate non-spatial ‘event movement’ to or from a deictic centre. This phenomenon is not uncommon cross-linguistically. Nicolle (2007: 62) maintains that when a movement verb becomes a tense marker, it may be reduced to a verbal affix and its meaning can develop “into meaning relating temporal relations between events and reference times”. In Chakali, the preverb ka(a) contributes temporal information to an expression. Consider in (179) the distribution and contribution of ka(a) to the clauses headed by the verbs kpe ‘crack a shell and remove a seed from it’ (henceforth ‘c&r’) and mara ‘attach’.46

(179) a. ō kàá kpē ‘She will c&r’

ōō kpēū ‘She is c-&r-ing/c-s&r-s’

ō kpējòō ‘She c-&r-ed’

kpē ‘C&r!’

b. ō kàá mārā ‘She will attach’

ōō márāù ‘She is attaching/attaches’

ō márijō ‘She attached’

mārā ‘Attach’

When the preverb particle kaa is uttered with a rising pitch it situates the event in the future. The preverb particle kaa can also be used to express that an event is ongoing at the moment of speech, which I call the present progressive. However, when it is used to describe what is happening now, kaa can only appear when

46 In Gurene (Western Oti-Volta), it is the ingressive particle which has a similar role. The ingressive is commonly used before the verb, and can, among other things, express future tense (see Dakubu 2007: 59).
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the subject is not a pronoun and its tone melody differs from that of the future tense. These contrasts are given in (180).

(180) ो kàá mārā ‘She will attach’
ोो māráʊ̄ ‘She is attaching’
wôsá kàá mārā ‘Wusa will attach’
wôsá káá máráʊ̄ ‘Wusa is attaching’
*wôsá márāʊ̄ ‘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 biligī ोो nàál kinkán nà.
   ART child IPFV touch POSS.3SG grand.father many FOC
   ‘The child touches his grand-father.’

b. à biè háŋ káá biligī ोो 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 biie (LH) ‘child’ and the demonstrative haŋ (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) ηméntēl ηmā dt, kősānā, tšōttīnā ηmā dt, námūŋ wā jirā
   spider say COMP buffalo land.owner say COMP anyone INGR call
   ηméntēl sōŋ, bā kpāyōo wāā bā kpō.
   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]
Finally, the example in (183) intends to show that some elders of Ducie and Gurumbele use ta instead of ka(a), as a variant of the preverb.\footnote{I gathered that (i) ta is not a different preverb (Gurene is said to have a preverb ta signifying intentional action (M. E. K. Dakubu, p. c.)), and (ii) ta can be heard in Ducie and Gurumbele from people of the oldest generation, but somebody suggested to me that ta is the common form in Motigu (Mba Zien, p. c.). The distinction is in need of further research.}

(183) Priest talking to the shrine, holding a kola nut above it má láá kàposié 2pl take kola.nut

\begin{parsetitle}{Priest talking to the shrine, holding a kola nut above it}

háŋджá jà mósé tté wítt tinj bà tà/kàà búúrè

DEM Conn 1pl plead give matter art 3pl.b egr want

‘Take this kola nut, we implore you to give them what they desire.’
\end{parsetitle}

Unfortunately, since the relation between tense, aspect, and tonal melody is not well-understood at this stage of research, the egressive ka and the ingressive wa are broadly glossed as egr and ingr respectively, but can also be associated with composite glosses such as ipfv.fut or ipfv.pres in cases where a distinction is clear.

### 4.2.2 Negation preverb

There are three different particles of negation in the language: the forms leí and tt were discussed in Sections 2.3 and 3.8 respectively. The negative preverb particle wa(a) precedes the verb and is used in the verbal group (in non-imperative mood). The same form is found in both main and dependent clauses.

(184)\footnote{i gathered that (i) ta is not a different preverb (Gurene is said to have a preverb ta signifying intentional action (M. E. K. Dakubu, p. c.)), and (ii) ta can be heard in Ducie and Gurumbele from people of the oldest generation, but somebody suggested to me that ta is the common form in Motigu (Mba Zien, p. c.). The distinction is in need of further research.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. ò wàá pè.</td>
<td>3sg neg add</td>
<td>‘She will not add.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. òò wàá pè.</td>
<td>3sg neg add</td>
<td>‘She is not adding.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. ò wà péjé.</td>
<td>3sg neg add</td>
<td>‘She didn’t add.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples in (184) show that a tonal quality on the negation particle and following verb distinguishes between the present progressive and the future, as the preverb kaa does (see example 180). The length of the negation particle can also function as a cue.
Grammatical outlines

(185)  

\( \text{a. } \text{námùŋ wà ná-ũ.} \)  
\( \text{clf.all NEG see-1.sg} \)  

‘Nobody saw me.’ (lit. everyone not see me)

\( \text{b. } \text{nì wà námùŋ.} \)  
\( \text{1.sg NEG see clf.all} \)  

‘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)  

\( \text{a. } \text{ʊ̀ wà wá dì.} \)  
\( \text{3sg NEG come eat} \)  

‘She did not come to eat.’

\( \text{b. } \text{ʊ̀ wàá wà dì.} \)  
\( \text{3sg NEG come eat} \)  

‘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)  

\( \text{a. Positive} \)  
\( \text{ʊ̀ káa m ārā ‘She will attach’} \)  
\( \text{ʊ̀ ʊ̀ márāō ‘She is attaching/attaches’} \)  
\( \text{ʊ̀ márijō ‘She attached’} \)

\( \text{b. Negative} \)  
\( \text{ʊ̀ wáa m ārā ‘She will not attach’} \)  
\( \text{ʊ̀ ʊ̀ wáa m ārā ‘She is not attaching/does not attach’} \)  
\( \text{ʊ̀ wà márijē ‘She did not attach’} \)

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 $f_{1}$  The preverb $f_{1}$ is identified with two different but interrelated meanings. First, as (188) shows, the preverb $f_{1}$ (glossed pst) is a neutral past tense particle (i.e. as opposed to the specific $d_{1}$ 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. $\overset{3}{U} \overset{3}{j} \overset{1}{a} \overset{3}{n} \overset{1}{n} t\overset{1}{s}t\overset{1}{f} \overset{1}{f} \overset{1}{a} r\overset{1}{a}$.  
   3SG IDENT 3SG.POSS teacher FOC
   'He is my teacher.'

   b. $\overset{3}{U} \overset{3}{f} \overset{1}{1} \overset{1}{1} \overset{1}{j} \overset{1}{a} \overset{1}{a} \overset{1}{n} \overset{1}{n} t\overset{1}{s}t\overset{1}{f} \overset{1}{f} \overset{1}{a} r\overset{1}{a}$.  
   3SG PST IDENT 3SG.POSS teacher FOC
   'He was my teacher.'

Secondly, the preverb $f_{1}$ (glossed mod) can have deontic meaning.

(189)  a. $\overset{3}{U} \overset{3}{f} \overset{1}{1} \overset{1}{f} \overset{1}{1} \overset{1}{j} \overset{1}{a} \overset{1}{a} \overset{1}{n} \overset{1}{n} t\overset{1}{s}t\overset{1}{f} \overset{1}{f} \overset{1}{a} r\overset{1}{a}$.  
   3SG MOD IDENT 3SG.POSS teacher FOC
   'He should have been my teacher.'

   b. $\overset{3}{U} \overset{3}{f} \overset{1}{1} \overset{1}{f} \overset{1}{1} \overset{1}{w} \overset{1}{a} \overset{1}{a} \overset{1}{j} \overset{1}{a} \overset{1}{a} \overset{1}{n} \overset{1}{n} t\overset{1}{s}t\overset{1}{f} \overset{1}{f} \overset{1}{a} r\overset{1}{a}$.  
   3SG MOD NEG IDENT 3SG.POSS teacher
   'He should not have been my teacher.'

   c. $\overset{3}{U} \overset{3}{f} \overset{1}{1} \overset{1}{f} \overset{1}{1} \overset{1}{j} \overset{1}{a} \overset{1}{a} \overset{1}{n} \overset{1}{n} t\overset{1}{s}t\overset{1}{f} \overset{1}{f} \overset{1}{a} r\overset{1}{a}$ 'He was my teacher.'

   d. $\overset{3}{U} \overset{3}{f} \overset{1}{1} \overset{1}{f} \overset{1}{1} \overset{1}{w} \overset{1}{a} \overset{1}{a} \overset{1}{j} \overset{1}{a} \overset{1}{a} \overset{1}{n} \overset{1}{n} t\overset{1}{s}t\overset{1}{f} \overset{1}{f} \overset{1}{a} r\overset{1}{a}$ 'He was not my teacher.'

In (189), the presence of the preverb $f_{1}$ 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 $f_{1}$ 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. $\overset{1}{n} \overset{1}{n} \overset{1}{b} \overset{1}{b} \overset{1}{a} \overset{1}{f} \overset{1}{i} \overset{1}{r} \overset{1}{i}$.  
   1SG.POSS life MOD delay
   'May I live long!'
Finally, the preverb $fi$ 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 $dɪ$ (glossed *hest*) refers to the day preceding the speech time. It has the temporal nominal counterpart $dɪ̀àrɛ̀ ‘yesterday’.

(191) $(dɪ̀àrɛ̀ tɪ̀n) \overset{3}{{nɪ́ \overset{3}{{nɪ́}}} tʃɛ̀ná \overset{3}{{tʃɛ̀ná}}} \overset{3}{{dɪ́}}{{wāāwā}} (dɪ̀àrɛ̀ tɪ̀n)$.  
(yesterday) 3SG CONN 3SG.POSS friend HEST come.PFV (yesterday)  
‘He arrived with his friend yesterday.’

In (191), the phrase $diare \ tìn ‘yesterday’$ 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?  
$\overset{1}{{n̩ \overset{1}{{tʃɪ́}}} \overset{1}{{kàá}} \overset{1}{{tɒm̩à}}} tʃɛ̀ná \overset{1}{{dɪ́}}{{rā}} \overset{1}{{zāān̩}}, \overset{1}{{n̩ \overset{1}{{kàá}}} h̩ɛ̃̀sʊ̀ ʊ̄.}$  
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 $tʃi$ (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 $tʃi$ is $tʃɪ̃̀ã́ ‘tomorrow’$. 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 $dɪ$ is homophonous with the (ex-situ subject) imperfective particle $dɪ$ 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  
\[ \text{sɪ́gá (rá) ᵃ dì tìē.} \]
\[ \text{bean (FOC) 3.SG IPFV chew} \]
\[ \text{’It is BEANS he is chewing.’} \]
b. Perfective/Past  
\[ \text{sɪ́gá (rá) ᵃ tìē.} \]
\[ \text{bean (FOC) 3.SG chew} \]
\[ \text{’It is BEANS he chewed.’} \]
c. Hesternal past  
\[ \text{sɪ́gá (rá) ᵃ dì tìē.} \]
\[ \text{bean (FOC) 3.SG HEST chew} \]
\[ \text{’It is BEANS he chewed yesterday.’} \]
d. Hesternal past progressive  
\[ \text{sɪ́gá (ra) ᵃ dìí tìē.} \]
\[ \text{bean (FOC) 3.SG HEST chew} \]
\[ \text{’It is BEANS he was chewing yesterday.’} \]
e. Future (progressive)  
\[ \text{sɪ́gá (rá) ᵃ kàá tìē.} \]
\[ \text{bean (FOC) 3.SG FUT chew} \]
\[ \text{’It is BEANS he will be chewing / will chew.’} \]
f. Crastinal future (progressive)  
\[ \text{sɪ́gá (rá) ᵃ tfí kàá tìē.} \]
\[ \text{bean (FOC) 3.SG CRAS FUT chew} \]
\[ \text{’It is BEANS he will be chewing / will chew tomorrow.’} \]

A specific tonal melody associated with the sequence \( dt \ tìē \) 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 \( *dt \ dì, \text{ lit. HEST IPFV} \). The example in (193f) shows that the crastinal tense particle and the egressive particle signaling future can co-occur. Inserting the imperfective particle \( dt \) 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.
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4.2.3.3 te Lacking a corresponding verb to capture its meaning, the verb te is glossed with the English adverb ‘early’. Even though it is attested as main verb, te can function as a preverb and it is indeed more common to find it in that function.

(194) a. i téjòô.
   2SG early.FOC
   ‘You are early.’

b. gbáá bààŋ té kà sáŋá à pié
   monkey quickly early go sit
   ‘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 zí The preverb zí is marginal in the corpus.48

(195) a. A father is giving a sequence of tasks to his son
tómá á zéé móâ ká kà tômá kúó âká zí kà tômâ à
   work ART wall before conn go work farm conn after go work ART
   gár
   cattle.fence

   ‘First repair the wall, then go and farm, then repair the cattle fence.’

48 There is a formally similar particle, ze (glossed exp), which is still not understood: (i) it occurs after the noun phrase, and (ii) its meaning corresponds to ‘expected (by both the speaker and the addressee, or only by the speaker)’. It informs that the referent of the noun phrase was anticipated before the utterance time (or relative time) by the speaker and addressee (or only the speaker). Consider the following example:

   (i) bà zé wāwāô.
   3PL.B EXP come.pfv
   ‘They (the expected people) have come.’
b. kàài̊lì dìá ká zì kàài̊lì 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 \(mōō\) ‘before’ and \(zt\) ‘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 \textit{mod}) is primarily modal and is usually translated into English ‘must’, ‘immediately’, ‘quickly’ or ‘just’.

(196) a. kùóːrù \(η̄ːmá\ dì̊ \ η̄ kàá bàâŋ bó bōōná fí rē.\)  
chief say COMP 1SG FUT MOD pay goat.PL ten FOC  
‘The chief says that I must pay him ten goats.’

b. iître kàá bàâŋ 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 kpā \(ɔ̀ːɔ̥\) něŋ à sàgà \(ɔ̀ːɔ̥\ n̂ dí \ ð̄ bàâŋ té  
(…) CONN take 3SG.POSS arm CONN be.on 3SG POSTP CONN 3SG MOD early  
\(pv\ \ pv\)  
bère̥gí dőō  
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. ō ztmá d̄t jà kàá η̄má ō̄ w̄t̄e̥ r̄á ō̄ bàâŋ tfuō  
3SG know COMP 1PL FUT talk 3SG.POSS matter FOC 3SG MOD lie  
dùò.  
sleep  
‘He knew that we would talk about him, so he quickly slept.’
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b.  kàwàá  bààŋ tàrì  kééééŋ ...
pumpkin just creep DXM
‘A pumpkin just crept like that …’

c.  à  kùò  ní  ò  bààŋ  jírúú  kéŋ  née  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  jáà  dînjîlêlê.
fire just IDENT flame
‘The fire suddenly became flame.’

Finally, the preverb baàŋ 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  bì  The examples in (199) show that the preverb particle bì expresses iterative iteration, but also the single repetition of an event, and follows the negation particle.

(199)  a.  ò  bì  kòɔrɛ̀  sàà  òò  diá  rá.
3SG ITR make build 3SG.POSS house FOC
‘He rebuilt his hut.’

b.  à  bitfèlìi  bì  sììù.
ART child.fall ITR raise.FOC
‘The fallen child gets up again.’

c.  ò  wà  bì  tùō.
3.SG NEG ITR be.at
‘She is no longer here.’

Unlike other preverbs, bì may also appear within noun phrases to express frequency time. This is shown in (200) (see Section 3.6.5).

(200)  ñì  jáà  káàli  ùù  pé  rè  tføpisì  bìì  mùùŋ.
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* ([bə́rə]) is a motion verb which conveys a change of direction.

(201) a. *brà à káált.*
   return CONN go
   ‘Go back.’ (Hearer coming towards speaker, speaker asks addressee to turn and go back.)

b. *brà àká tfāò.*
   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) ʊ̀ 3sg *brá* again tʊ̀ mà work à art tʊ́má work tɪ́ŋ art kà egr wà neg wíré well kēŋ̀.
   ‘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 *bɪ* 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) *tfāpisi bī-mūŋ̀ òò jāà jāāō.*
   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. *kālà já tūgōsī bīsē ré.*
   K. HAB beat.PL child.PL FOC
   ‘Kala beat children.’ (He used to do it.)
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b. kàlà jáà túgósì 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 haalî (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 hàá dìùù.
   3.SG MOD eat.FOC
   ‘He is still eating.’

b. ò hà wà dììjë.
   3.SG MOD NEG eat.PFV
   ‘He has not eaten yet.’

c. bà jíné òò gèrègá rà àká òò hàá wïì.
   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 hà wà wáà bààŋ múŋ k. all
   3.SG MOD NEG come DEM QUANT.all
   ‘He does not come here (ever).’

e. ò hà wà wááwá.
   3.SG MOD NEG come.PFV
   ‘He has not come yet.’

f. m̀ bùúré mòlèbié birgi háált ì hà wà nàà.
   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 zín The verbs tuu and zína are motion expressions making reference to two opposite paths.

(206) a. ǹ̩̀ zí́nà sàl lá mí páá tʃúònò.

    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. ǹ tùú dtà 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 zína respectively.

(207) a. zí́ná tʃɔ́ à kááli.

    go.up run conn go

    ‘Go up, run, and leave’ (*Run upwardly and go)

b. tùù tʃɔ́ à kááli.

    go.down run conn go

    ‘Go down, run, and leave’ (*Run downwardly and go)

The verbal morphemes tuu and zín 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
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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. wósá t'éí ná < wósá t'é-η na ‘Wusa gave-1sg foc’). For that reason the incorporated object index is referred to as the o-clitic. Given the constraints governing the appearance of the perfective intransitive suffix and the assertive suffix, it is obvious that the o-clitic cannot coexist with any of them. Table 33 shows that the ATR-harmony operates in the domain produced by the o-clitic merging with a CV or CVV stem, but may or may not affect the plural pronouns, as Tables 33(b) and 33(c) display.\(^{49}\)

The form of the focus particle is determined by the preceding material (i.e. the phonological word verb+o-clitic) and the harmony rules introduced in Section 3.2.2.2. Table 33(d) should be seen as displaying various renditions, i.e. with and without ATR-harmony or RO-harmony. I did perceive rounding throughout in conversations (i.e. wósá pómá râ > wósá pómô wô ‘Wusa divided you.pl’), but I was unable to get a consultant produce it in an elicitation session.

A CVCV stem differs from a CV or CVV stem by exhibiting vowel apocope and/or vowel coalescence. Table 34 provides paradigms for kpaga ‘catch’ and gorō ‘(go in) circle’.

The schwas (ə) in kpaɣəja and gorəja are perceived as fronted, and the ones in kpayəma and gorəma as rounded. Although this is certainly due to the following consonant, they are so weak that they can only be heard when they are carefully pronounced (see Section 3.1.2). The paradigm in Table 34(b) can also be uttered in the plural as gôrøjé rē (1pl), gôrémá râ (2pl), gôrâá râ (3pl.-h), and gôrēbâ râ (3pl.+h). The focus particle wa is a variant of ra. Some consultants agree that these forms are in free variation, yet the wa form coexists only with the plural in the paradigms elicited. Nonetheless, such paradigm elicitations are particularly subject to unnaturalness.\(^{50}\)

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\(^{49}\) The question mark following the third person plural non-human examples flags a grammatical but infelicitous example.

\(^{50}\) I personally believe that the alteration is determined by some kind of sandhi, not number. As to why wa appears only in the plural, a scenario may be that (i) first, I install a routine by starting with the 1.sg me and ending with the 3.pl them, (ii) in the process of eliciting, the passage from third singular to first plural triggers a different verb shape, i.e. CVCVV/CVCN to CVCVCV, and (iii) although formally identical to the verb forms of the singular, the reason why wa follows the third plural non-human could be explained by psychological habituation.
Table 33: Incorporated object index on CV(V) stems

(a) tie ‘give’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-ń nā</td>
<td>‘Wusa gave ME’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-í rā</td>
<td>‘Wusa gave YOU’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-ú rā</td>
<td>‘Wusa gave HER’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-já rā</td>
<td>‘Wusa gave US’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-má rā</td>
<td>‘Wusa gave YOU’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-á rā</td>
<td>‘Wusa gave THEM’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-bá rā</td>
<td>‘Wusa gave THEM’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) tie ‘swindle’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-ń nē</td>
<td>‘Wusa swindled ME’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-í rē</td>
<td>‘Wusa swindled YOU’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-ú rō</td>
<td>‘Wusa swindled HER’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-jā rā</td>
<td>‘Wusa swindled US’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-má rā</td>
<td>‘Wusa swindled YOU’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-á rā</td>
<td>‘Wusa swindled THEM’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-bá rā</td>
<td>‘Wusa swindled THEM’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) tie ‘swindle’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-jé rē</td>
<td>‘Wusa swindled US’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-mé rē</td>
<td>‘Wusa swindled YOU’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-é rē</td>
<td>‘Wusa swindled THEM’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá tíé-bé rē</td>
<td>‘Wusa swindled THEM’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) po ‘divide’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wősá pó-jé rē</td>
<td>‘Wusa divided US’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá pó-mó rō</td>
<td>‘Wusa divided YOU’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá pó-á rā</td>
<td>‘Wusa divided THEM’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wősá pó-bé rē</td>
<td>‘Wusa divided THEM’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.2 Pluractional suffixes

A pluractional verb is defined as a verb which can (i) express the repetition of an event, (ii) subcategorize for a plural object and/or plural subject, and/or (iii) be marked by the pluractional suffix -sI, a derivative suffix whose vowel quality is
Table 34: Incorporated object index on CVCV stems

(a) kpaga ‘catch’

wọsá kpáγź ná ‘Wusa caught ME’
wọsá kpáγí rá ‘Wusa caught YOU’
wọsá kpáγóó rá ‘Wusa caught HER’
wọsá kpáγjá wá ‘Wusa caught US’
wọsá kpáγmá wá ‘Wusa caught YOU’
wọsá kpáγáá wá ‘Wusa caught THEM’
wọsá kpáγbá wá ‘Wusa caught THEM’

(b) goro ‘(go in) circle’

wọsá góγnó ‘Wusa circled ME’
wọsá góγrē ‘Wusa circled YOU’
wọsá góγú rō ‘Wusa circled HER’
wọsá góγjá wá/rá ‘Wusa circled US’
wọsá góγmá wá/rá ‘Wusa circled YOU’
wọsá góγáá wá/rá ‘Wusa circled THEM’
wọsá góγbá wá/rá ‘Wusa circled THEM’

always high and front and whose ATR value is determined by the stem vowel(s).

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. ṣí téngé à nàmíŋ 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. ṣí téngé-sí à nàmíŋ rā.
   1SG cut-PV ART meat FOC
   ‘I cut the meat into pieces.’

51 An exposition of the ‘plural verbs’ in Vagla can be found in Blench (2003). Dakubu, Atintono & Nsoh (2007: viii) calls a similar morpheme ‘iterative’ (i.e. Gurene -ɛ). Among the West African languages, it is the pluractional verbs in Hausa which have received most attention (see José 2008).
In (208b), the formal distinction on the verb ‘cut’, compared to (208a), causes the event to be interpreted as one which involves the repetition of the ‘same’ sub-event. The word 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. ñ tfígè à hēnā rá.  
1SG turn ART bowl.SG FOC  
‘I turn (upside down) the bowl.’  
b. ñ tfígè-sī à hēnsā rá.  
1SG turn-PV ART bowl.PL FOC  
‘I turn (upside down) the bowls (one after the other).’  
c. (?) ñ tfígè-si a hēnà 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 tfígesi ‘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. ñ tūgō à bìè ré.  
1SG beat ART child.SG FOC  
‘I beat the child.’  
b. ñ tūgō-sī à bisé ré.  
1SG beat-PV ART child.PL FOC  
‘I beat the children.’  
c. ñ tūgō-si à bìè ré.  
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.
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(211) a. ñ̀ kpágá à zál là.
    1SG caught ART chicken.SG FOC
    ‘I caught a chicken.’

b. ñ̀ kpágá-sì à zálié là.
    1SG caught-PV ART chicken.PL FOC
    ‘I caught chickens (i.e. in repeated actions).’

c. ñ̀ kpágá à zálié là.
    1SG caught ART chicken.PL FOC
    ‘I caught chickens (i.e. in one move).’

d. (?) ñ kpaga-sɪ 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 kpaga₁ is related to ‘catch’, and not to the possessive sense of the verbal state lexeme kpaga₂ ‘have’.\(^{52}\) Beside -sI/, the suffix -gE/ may also turn a verbal process lexeme into a pluractional verb, e.g. tɔtɔ ‘pluck’ > tɔrəgɛ ‘pluck iteratively’ and keti ‘break’ > kerigi ‘break iteratively’.

(212) a. kà kpá zál háŋ̀ tà.
    go take.PL fowl.SG DEM let.free
    ‘Go and take this fowl away.’

b. kà pάá zálié hámà tà.
    go take.PL fowl.PL DEM.PL let.free
    ‘Go and take these fowls away.’

Finally, a pluractional verb must not necessarily display the suffixation pattern described above. This is confirmed by the pair kp/a/paa ‘take’ in (212).

4.3.3 Possible derivational suffixes

Dakubu (2009b: 37) and Bonvini (1988: 69) identify some derivational suffixes in Gurene and Kasem respectively, but write that their signification is hard to

---

\(^{52}\) Though I like to treat dʊasɪ as a counterexample. The pluractional verb dʊasɪ ‘be in a row’ may be derived from the existential predicate dʊa ‘be on/at/in’. For instance, the verbs telɛ ‘lean’ and tɛlege ‘lean’ are determined by the number value (SG/PL) of the subject. If more examples like these arise, pluractional would then loose its literal signification.
establish. However, their descriptions indicate that derivational suffixes mainly encode aspectual distinctions.

As mentioned in Section 4.1.1, about 90% of the verbs are monosyllabic or bisyllabic, and only the consonants *m*, *t*, *s*, *n*, *l*, and *g* are found in onset position word-medially in trisyllabic verbs. This situation could suggest that 10% of the verbs in the current lexicon are the product of verbal derivation, and that the consonants found in onset position word-medially in trisyllabic verbs are part of derivational suffixes.

(213)  

a. ṃ  wɔrị̀ ã  hàylibié ré.  
  3SG scatter ART block.PL FOC  
  ‘He scattered the mud blocks.’ (they were piled and packed)

b. ṃ  wɔrà ã  hàylibíí 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-gV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wɔrà (v)</td>
<td>‘move, shift’ &gt; wɔrị (v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tàrà (v)</td>
<td>‘support’ &gt; tàràng (v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brà (v)</td>
<td>‘return’ &gt; bɛ̀rɛ̀g (v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðàgà (v)</td>
<td>‘be sour’ &gt; ðàgàm (v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vil (n)</td>
<td>‘well’ &gt; vilim (v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mìlì (v)</td>
<td>‘turn round’ &gt; mìlîm (v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàgà (v)</td>
<td>‘choke’ &gt; kàgàlê (v)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The example provided in (213a) and Table 35 presents some indications that *m*, *l*, and *g*, i.e. CVCV{*m*, *l*, *g*} V, are involved in some kinds of derivation, although the next step would be to determine their exact meaning.\(^{53}\)

\(^{53}\) The verb pair *go* ‘round’ and *goro* ‘(go in) circle’ is manifestly a derivation as well, i.e. CV > CV-rV.
5 Grammatical pragmatics and language usage

In this section are presented aspects of the grammar which do not naturally fit within the distinction *clause, verbal* or *nominal* and “which involve encoded conventions correlating between specific linguistic expressions and extra-grammatical concepts” (Ariel 2010: 256). Sections 5.1 and 5.2 present adverbial deixis particles, Section 5.3 offers an overview of what has been stated on *focus*, and the remaining covers selected pieces of language usage and everyday communication.

5.1 Manner deictics

Chakali has a two-term exophoric system of manner deixis (Koenig 2012); the expressions *keŋ* and *nɪŋ* are treated as two manner deictics (glossed DXM). Manner is a cover term since the content dimension appears to cover degree and quality as well. Consider the examples in (214).

(214) a. *kén nè bà jà jàà.*
    DXM FOC 3PL.H+ HAB do
    ‘That’s the way to do it. (manner)’

b. *hàylīktî ꌍéné mààsì nɪ́n nà.*
    snake long equal DXM FOC
    ‘The snake was that/this big. (degree)’

c. *kàlá mààsì́ nɪ́ŋ.*
    K. equal.NMLZ DXM
    ‘Kala is like that. (quality) [of size]’

d. *kàlá dōnna kēŋ.*
    K. type DXM
    ‘Kala is like that. (quality) [of nature]’

The expressions *keŋ* and *nɪŋ* are very frequent and bring to mind the English ‘like this/that’, that is, an expression which refers to something extralinguistic yet in the context of the utterance. In that sense they can be treated as pro-forms. Example (215) illustrates this point.

(215) a. *bàáŋ q̃ʊ̃̃ã̀sá káá egr sìì bā́ŋ nɪ̀ nɪ̀ŋ?*
    Q smoke EGR rise DEM POSTP DXM
    ‘What smoke is rising here like this?’ [PY 059]
b. bàáng káá jáā kêŋ?
   Q. what EGR do DXM
   ‘What is doing like that?’ (Reaction to a sound coming from inside a pot)

The meaning difference between nìŋ and keŋ 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: nìŋ nā bāaabà ŋmā?
   DXM FOC B. say
   ‘Is this what Baaba said?’

b. B: ëëë kénThe né ò ŋmā.
   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 kòŋ à ŋmènà dìíŋ!
   take kapok CONN ignite fire
   ‘Take some kapok and start a fire!’

b. B: pìnìè bá já kà ŋmènà?
   Q 3PL do EGR ignite
   ‘How does one ignite?’

c. A: ŋmènà níŋ!
   ignite DXM
   ‘Ignite like this!’

d. A: tfíá dìi i tfí wááwá ŋmènà kéŋ.
   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 bā já ŋmènà, lit. like.that they do ignite, ‘that is how one ignites’. 
Grammatical outlines

(218) nɪŋ lɛ̀ɪ́ 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.54

(219) ǹ̩ kááloó kéŋ̀.
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 nèé could be roughly translated as 'Is that so?', kén nè has a similar function to the English tag-question 'Isn't it?', but kēēèŋ or kén ꜜ 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 bááŋ̀ 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 bááŋ̀.
come dxl
'Come dxl'

54 Something identical to the translation of (219) may be heard in all over the country, in both the Ghanaian languages and Ghanaian English.
b. ő dóá dé (mt).
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, bááŋ 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. The first encodes focal information in a particle which always follows a nominal, i.e. ra and variants. Its phonological shape is determined by the preceding phonological material (see Sections 3.2.2.2 and 3.8). The second, which was called the assertive suffix, takes the form of vowel features which are suffixed onto the verb (see Sections 4.1.4.1 and 4.3). It was claimed that the assertive suffix surfaces only if (i) none of the other constituents in the clause are in focus, (ii) the clause does not include propositional negation, and (iii) the clause is intransitive. The second criterion (ii) is applicable to the particle ra as well: thus focal information can only exist in affirmative clauses, negation automatically prevents information from being in focus. In (221), the examples illustrate how the focal information is encoded when the object (221a), the subject (221b) and the predicate (221c) are considered the most important piece of information.

55 The terminology employed in the literature is probably the result of complex and still obscure phenomena. For instance, for the post-verbal particle la in Dagaare, Bodomo (1997) uses the term ‘factitive’ and ‘affirmative’ particle interchangeably, Dakubu (2005) uses ‘(broad- and narrow-)focus’ and glosses it either as AFF or FOC, and Saanchi (2003) uses post-verbal particle and glosses it as AFF. 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).
Grammatical outlines

(221) a. Focus on object: What has the man chewed?
   à báál tíê stígá rá.
   ART man chew bean FOC
   ‘The man chewed BEANS.’
   kàlá tíê sígá rá.
   K. chew bean FOC
   ‘Kala chewed BEANS.’

b. Focus on subject: Who has chewed the beans?
   à báál là tíê sígá.
   ART man FOC chew bean
   ‘THE MAN chewed beans.’
   kàláá tíê sígá.
   K. chew bean
   ‘KALA chewed beans.’

c. Focus on predicate: What happened?
   à báál tiéwóó.
   ART man chew.PFV.FOC
   ‘The man CHEWED.’

The focus particle does not differentiate between grammatical functions and some times appears to be optional. Also, the assertive suffix is quite rare in narratives. Blass (1990: 94) is the only author to my knowledge who identifies the presence of evidentiality – hearsay, more precisely – in Gur languages. According to her the morpheme re in Sissala refers to reported or inferred information. This raise the question as to what extent the focus particle and the assertive suffix provide evidential information.56

Also, a third way to encode focus is the lengthening and emphasis of vocalic material. The issue remains far from clear and stands in need of more information.

(222) a. à bɔ̀là tìn dì kòsá rá.
   ART1 elephant ART2 eat.PFV grass FOC
   ‘The elephant ate GRASS.’

---

56 A promising avenue to follow in the study of focus would be the recent work of Anne Schwarz who looks at the phenomenon from a perspective of encoding a thetic vs. categorical distinction.
b. à bɔ̀là tɪ̀ńː dí kɔ̀sá.  
   ART1 elephant ART2 eat.PFV grass  
   'the elephant ate grass.'

c. *à bɔ̀là tɪ̀ńː dí kɔ̀sá rá.

d. kàlá káá hɪ̃́ɛ̃́rʊ̄.  
   K. ipfv voracious.foc.  
   'Kala is a voracious meat eater.'

e. káláá káá hɪ̃́ɛ̃́rɪ̄.  
   K.foc ipfv voracious.  
   'KALA is a voracious meat eater.'

f. *káláá káá hɪ̃́ɛ̃́rʊ̄.  

Example (222) shows that since only one constituent can be focused, the lengthening of and special intonation on kàlá and tɪ̀n 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 tfāā ‘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 the first column. The substitutes are usually complex stem nouns with a transparent descriptive meaning. Most of them use the stem tɪ́ɪ́ná ‘owner of’, e.g. něŋ-tɪ̄ɪ̄ná, lit. arm|hand-owner.of, ‘elephant’, the one with a big arm. The stem tɪ́ɪ́ná ‘owner of’ can be characterized as a noun with an incomplete semantics which normally requires to be in an associative construction with another noun (i.e. person characterised by, owner of, or responsible for) and always appear following the ‘possessed’ stem.57

57 Mampruli daana, Hausa mai, and Arabic dhū seem to correspond to the meaning of Chakali
Grammatical outlines

Table 36: Taboo synonyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Avoided word</th>
<th>Substitute word</th>
<th>Literal meaning</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bɔ̀là sé-zèŋ́</td>
<td>animal-big</td>
<td>‘elephant’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bɔ̀là nén-tinnitus</td>
<td>arm</td>
<td>hand-owner</td>
<td>(trunk&gt;) ‘elephant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzèti nú-zèŋ-tinnitus</td>
<td>head-big-owner</td>
<td>‘lion’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bósmán tí nú-wié-tinnitus</td>
<td>head-small-owner</td>
<td>‘leopard’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vàà nɔ̃-tínà</td>
<td>mouth-owner</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɔ́ŋ ní-tínà</td>
<td>water-owner</td>
<td>‘cobra’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gblá nén-gál-tínà</td>
<td>arm</td>
<td>hand-left-owner</td>
<td>‘monkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hèlé múŋ-zí-ntínà</td>
<td>back-big-owner</td>
<td>‘type of squirrel’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tèbùỹ bára-tʃɔ́gɔ́ʊ́</td>
<td>place-spoil.pfv.foc</td>
<td>‘night’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nólónỹ nú-bí̄n-tínà</td>
<td>head-full-owner</td>
<td>‘blind’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>búmmò dóŋ</td>
<td>dirt</td>
<td>‘black’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5 Ideophones and iconic strategies

Ideophones typically suggest the description of an abstract property or the manner in which an event unfolds. The majority of ideophones function like qualifiers or intensifiers (Section 3.4.1) or adjunct adverbials (Section 5). In Chakali ideophones tend to appear at the right periphery of the sentence and with a low tone. Examples are provided in (223).59

(223) a. à diŋ káá diù gàltìgàltìgàlì/pèpèpè.  
   ART fire pfv eat ÌDEO  
   ‘The fire is burning at an increasing rate.’

b. à dɔ̀ č̱ sì̀ jáá wɔ̀rwɔ̀rwɔ̀r.  
   ART python eye IDENT ÌDEO  
   ‘The python’s eyes are glittery.’

c. à dáánŋ̃ márá bìjo̥ o̥ ligèligèligè.  
   ART tree.fruit well ripe.pfv ÌDEO  
   ‘The fruit is perfectly ripe.’


59 The translations into English in (223) were not tested for consistency across many speakers.
d. à sibíé wàà màrá biì à dò niŋ wùròwùròwùrò.
   ART beans NEG well ripe CONN be DXM IDEF
   ‘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 púpú ‘motorbike’, tʃétʃé ‘bicycle’, tʃɔ̀kɔ̃́ɪ̃́ tʃɔ̀kɔ̃́ɪ̃́ ‘sound of a guinea fowl’, kɨrɨ ‘sound of running’, pã̀ ‘sound of an eruption caused by lighting a fire’, gbàgbà ‘duck’,⁶₀ and kpókókpókókpókó ‘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) káwáá sii tàrì kééééééééy, àkà dòá bà diànóá ni.
   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 extent in time of the event, i.e. the pumpkin grew until it reached the door.⁶¹

Reduplication of one or two syllables is the general structural shape of ideophones and onomatopoeias. A large set of visual perception expressions can be treated as ideophonic expressions (Section 3.4), all of which are reduplicated expressions.

(225) Visual perception expressions and non-attested stems
   a. (km|a)-hɔlahɔla [áhɔ̀làhɔ̀là] *hɔla
   b. (km|a)-ahɔhɔla [áhɔ̀hɔ̀là] *hɔla
   c. (km|a)-busabusa [ábùsàbùsà] *busa
   d. (km|a)-dʒumodʒumo [ádʒùmòdʒùmò] *dʒumo
   e. (km|a)-bʊɔbʊɔná [ábʊ̀ ɔ́nábʊ̀ ɔ́ná] *bʊɔná
   f. (km|a)-ʔileʔile [áʔìlèʔìlè] *ʔile

Assuming that reduplication is a morphological process in which the root or stem is repeated (fully or partially), then it is questionable whether one can treat most of the naming data as reduplication. It is obvious from the examples in

⁶₀ The word for ‘duck’ is probably borrowed from Waali. I was told that the bird was introduced recently. It was hard to find one in the villages visited.
⁶¹ An equivalent meaning may be expressed in some varieties of Gh. Eng. with the adverbial expression ãããã, as in ‘Today I worked ãããã, 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, then some greetings and idioms are presented.

Table 37: Selected interjections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔàɪ́</td>
<td>express denial or refusal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔɛ̃ɛ̃</td>
<td>express affirmation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɡááfʊ̆̀rà</td>
<td>express excuse when interrupting or disturbing (from Hausa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóù</td>
<td>express agreement or understanding (from Hausa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔàmé</td>
<td>so be it (etym. Amen?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔóí</td>
<td>express surprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fió</td>
<td>express strong denial or refusal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔànsà</td>
<td>1) greet hospitably, welcome, 2) accept and thank (from Gonja)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔɪ́ɪ̄́</td>
<td>express disappreciation of an action carried out by someone else</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔàwó</td>
<td>reply to greetings, a sign of appraisal of the interlocutor’s concerns (from Gonja)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔabbà</td>
<td>express a reaction to an unpalatable proposition, with disagreement and unexpectedness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃ̃ʊ̃́ɛ̃̀ɛ̃̀</td>
<td>express a disrespectful attitude towards what is being said and the one saying it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since they are conventionalized and idiomatic, the translations of formulaic language in Table 37 are rough approximations. The dictionary offers various

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The etymology of ʔàmè has not been confirmed and ɡááfʊ̆̀rà is ultimately Hausa. The word ʃ̃ʊ̃́ɛ̃̀ɛ̃̀ is equivalent to the function associated with the action of tfuuse in Chakali (tʃʊʊrɪ in Dagaare, tʃʊʊhɛ 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. *ɪtfà* ‘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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker A</th>
<th>Followed by either speaker A or B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morning</td>
<td>ánsùmôô</td>
<td><em>ɪ siwôô ‘You stood?’</em>, <em>ɪ̄ dì tšàwôô ‘And your lying?’</em>, <em>ɪ bàtšôâlû wîrôô ‘You sleeping place was good?’</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afternoon</td>
<td>ántérerë</td>
<td><em>ɪ̄ wìsì téllë ‘Has the sun reached you?’</em>, <em>ɪ̄ dìá ‘And your house?’</em>, <em>ɪ̄ bìsé múŋ ‘And all your children?’</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening</td>
<td><em>ɪ dòànàà</em></td>
<td>*ɪ̄ dòzn téllë ‘Your evening has reached’, <em>ɪ̄ kûò ‘And your farm?’</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second singular plural *ma* is added, i.e. *ánsùmôô ↔ mäánsùmôô*, 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 *v/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 *ɪ̄ dìá ‘(how is) your house?’*, ʔánsà ‘welcome, thanks’ and many others is the multifunctional expression ʔàwô, 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 ăsùmò, but prefer something like ăánsùûmôôô. Other ritualized expressions often used are: *tʃɔ̄pɪ̄sɪ́ ālìɛ̀ lit. morning two, ‘long time no see’* (Section 3.6.7); ɓámûŋ kôrëñ *lit. all.+Hum extent (unknown origin), ‘how are all your people?’*, ̀àní mà wôzôòřî tîñ, *lit. and your day, used after any bad event which happened to someone, e.g. referring to a funeral day, when the
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speaker has not seen the addressee since that day, among other expressions.

5.6.2 Idioms

An idiom is a composite expression which does not convey the literal meaning of the composition of its parts. Common among many African languages is a strategy by which abstract nominals are expressed in idiomatic compounds. These compounds are made of stems whose meanings are disassociated from their ordinary usage.

Some examples have already been provided in Section 3.4. In Chakali, words identifying mental states and habits/behaviors are often idiomatic, e.g. siínò-mátínà (sii-noma-tına, lit. eye-hot-owner) ‘wild’ or nōâpōmma (nōa-pōmma, lit. mouth-white) ‘unreserved’. Even though the expression siínōmátínnà 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 nōā digimaña in (226), lit. do-mouth-one, is also treated as an idiomatic expression.

(226) bà jáá nōā digímaŋá à sùmmè dōŋà.
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 use in a non-literal sense.

5.7 Clicks

Naden (1989: 151) writes that clicks\(^{63}\) may be heard in the Gur-speaking area to mean an affirmative ‘yes’, or ‘I’m listening’. This also occurs in the villages where I stayed, but I noticed that one click usually means ‘yes’, ‘I understand’ or ‘I agree’, whereas two clicks mean the opposite. The click is palatal and produced with the lips closed.

\(^{63}\) A click may be roughly defined as the release of a pocket of air enclosed between two points of contact in the mouth. The air is rarefied by a sucking action of the tongue (see Ladefoged 1993).
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