

# THE DISTRIBUTION OF GUANG IN GHANA, AND A STATISTICAL PRE-TESTING ON TWENTY-FIVE IDIOLECTS

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Guang is a group of closely related languages spoken by people living mostly in Ghana – though there are small pockets in the Ivory Coast, Togo and Dahomey.

These people live in a crescent of small pockets: in and around Winneba on the coast 41 miles west of Accra; in the Akwapim Hills 35 miles north of Accra; around Anum and Wurepong on the left bank of the lower Volta; and the main body in a continuous block from Kete Krachi north east to Bita just over the Togo border and north of the west-east flow of the river Volta around Damongo and Bole almost as far as Bondoukou in the Ivory Coast.

The main block covers approximately the Northern Region of Ghana, which is the territory of the Gonja Kingdom. The word Gonja has been used in linguistics as synonymous with Nggbaayɛ. The immediate neighbours of the Gonja people to the north (but south of Wa) and to the west on the banks of the Volta live within the Gonja kingdom.

The 1960 Ghana census gives the following population figures:

Awutu	33,870
Efutu	21,160
Late	22,530
Cherepong	33,780
Anum	18,348
Nkonya	11,000
Krachi	14,140
Achode	3,170
Nchianburi and Nchumuna	13,500
Gonja	62,700
Other Guang	17,770

TOTAL 251,810

The GUANG languages form a part of the larger unit KWA of the NIGER-CONGO family, and are most closely related to Twi-Fante, Anyi-Baule and the Abidjan Lagoon languages, and more remotely related to Ga, Ewe Yocuba, Nupe, Igbo and Bini.

There are quite frequent brief references to these languages in the literature (see Bibliography) but relatively little is really useful – the most important work being by Westermann and Rapp, *LANGUAGES OF WEST AFRICA* by Westermann and Bryan refers to Guang on pp.81–82, 91, 92, while Goody sums up the whole field.

## 2. THE NGRANYE AND THE NNYAMASE

A. This section deals with rather interesting social and linguistic relations among the Gonja. My information as given here comes from my informant for his village, but I have

every reason to believe that it is true for the whole of the Gonja area. It explains many confusing references in the literature.

*nyamase*, 1-1-1-h (singular *kapamase*, 1-1-1-h) is the name of a people not of their language.

*nggbaye*, 1-1-h (singular *kagbaye*, 1-1-h) is the name both of a people and a language.

B. There are two kinds of *nyamase*:

(a) Those who speak the same language as the *nggbanye*. I shall call these *Nyamase-Gonja*. It is the custom that these *Nyamase-Gonja* should never be circumcised, neither can they become chief.

But they can become head of the Gonja *kight*, 1-h (which my informant calls 'ju-ju' when speaking English, however unfashionable this word might be in academic circles), and are then called *mbogwura*, 1-1-h-h (no plural). He is always a man and cannot be a Gur (see B(b)). Neither can he be *kagbanye*. He holds the *kight* and a sword which is only brought out once a year - his one big day in the year. He farms himself but after any hunt he and the chief must be given meat. *mbog*, 1-1 means *Twi* or southerner.

The *Nyamase-Gonja* may also be *tindana*, 1-h-h (no plural) - land priests. He is always a man and must be a *Nyamase-Gonja*. His job is to pray for rain. All land is village land so anyone can farm where he wants; therefore the *tindana* does not distribute plots of land.

(b) The other *Nyamase* speak a different language. These other languages are *Hanga*, *Vagala*, etc; that is Gur (see maps). I shall call these *Nyamase-Gur*. Like the first kind of *Nyamase* these may not become chief. They have either separate villages or live in *Nggbanye* villages. They like to call themselves *Nggbanye* but are not. You can always hear from their pronunciation that they are Gur speakers. The *Nggbanye* call them *Nyamase*. This second group too are not circumcised.

C. (1) The *Nggbanye* all speak the same language (EXACTLY the same language spoken by the *Nyamase-Gonja*) but there are slightly different pronunciations depending on where they come from. All of them have to be circumcised and no chief can be uncircumcised. All chiefs are *Nggbanye*.

(b) Status runs through the father. It doesn't matter whether your mother is *Kagbanye* or *Kanyamase-Gonja* or *Kanyamase-Gur*; if your father is *Kagbanye* - so are you, if he is *Kanyamase-Gonja* - so are you, if he is *Kanyamase-Gur* - so are you.

The chief's family is made up of (1) the chief, (2) his wives, (3) their children, (4) their grandchildren, (5) their descendants to perpetuity, (6) the chief's brother, (7) the chief's sister, (8) the chief's brother's children (not the chief's sister's children nor her husband), (9) the chief's brother's wife (if she is *Kagbanye*), (10) ALL direct descendants of former chiefs however long ago on the skin, even when born after the chief died, (11) the chief's father, (12) the chief's paternal grandfather, (13) the chief's mother and paternal grandfather only if already *biwurabi*, 1-h-h-h (the chief's wife's father and mother, brother and sister are not in the chief's family), (14) the chief's maternal grandparents - only if already *biwurabi*.

The chief's family as defined above are called *biwurabi*, 1-h-h-h (singular *awurabi*, 1-h-h-h) which means little chief. A woman can be *awurabi* but not a chief. You must be *awurabi* to be a chief. All *biwurabi* are *Nggbanye*. You may be *Kagbanye* but not *awurabi*.

D. In other words there are three classes (not mentioning details not relevant to the language question):

CLASS 1 Nggbanye

CLASS 2 (a) Nnyamase-Gonja on (b) dialect Gonja

CLASS 3 Nnyamase-Gur.

The Nnyamase-Gur are not found in those villages marked in the maps as pure Gonja.

In any given village one finds either Class 2a or 2b, unless a village is in the process of changing from Class 2b to 2a. Originally all villages will have had their dialect Gonja speakers (e.g. Ndimpo and Choruba still exist, mpɛtɛ, h-h-l has died). These would be Nnyamase-ndimpo, Nnyamase-choruba, etc. When the dialect has given way to Nggbanye, this being the prestige dialect, they (e.g. the Nnyamase-mpɛtɛ) become Nnyamase-Gonja.

Class 1 live throughout the Gonja kingdom in pure Gonja, dialect Gonja and Gur areas, in all villages except some new ones (e.g. Bambol ferry) and some very small ones.

E. Very few Nnyamase-Gur speak Nggbanye at all, but most like to consider themselves Nggbanye and say so to strangers (called *sfo*, h-l - singular, *bafo*, h-l - plural, in greetings).

Very few Nnyamase-Gonja speak Gur.

Very few Nggbanye speak Gur.

This makes communication between various groups often very difficult.

F. My informant's father is *sɛpɛnɔwura*, h-h-l-b-hl. *sɛpɛnɔ*, h-h-l is the name of a now destroyed village. The father used to live there, the informant never did. The father has never been chief of *busunu*, l-l-h, my informant's village.

My informant's mother is from the family of the late *busunuwura*, l-l-h-b-hl to die (1958). She is the daughter of one of his wives and himself.

### 3. NEW DATA

This paper offers:

A. New material on i) the distribution of the Guangs

ii) word lists for 25 idioloets.

B. i) A statistical pre-testing on the word lists.

ii) A suggested tightening up of presentation for lexico-statistical publications.

### 4. THE MAPS<sup>1</sup>

These have been reduced from 1:250,000 Ghana Survey maps. The place names in their local pronunciation, which I was able to take down with tones in narrow transcription, I have unfortunately not been able to add to the maps through lack of space.

### 5. TRANSCRIPTION

I have used for the word lists the Swedish 100-item Basic Vocabulary. My field notes are in a narrow phonetic transcription and make no attempt at a phonemic analysis.

Because of the restrictions imposed by the type available to this journal certain details have been lost in the process of preparing the lists for the press.

The conventions I have adopted are as follows:

<sup>1</sup> A companion to this article, 'Language Maps of the Guang-Speaking Areas of Ghana, Togo and Dabonrey' has been published as COLLECTED LANGUAGE NOTES NO. 7, copies of which may be obtained from the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana.

## VOWELS

1. Centralization of vowels is shown by underlining>.
2. æ represents a lowered, centralized primary cardinal three vowel.
3. ʌ represents an open, central, unrounded vowel.
4. ʀ represents a vocalic r.
5. ɨ represents a lowered, centralized, secondary cardinal eight vowel.
6. ɔ represents a retracted primary cardinal four vowel.

## CONSONANTS:

1. kp represents a voiceless egressive pulmonic labio-velar plosive.
2. gb represents a voiced egressive pulmonic labio-velar plosive.
3. tʃ represents a blade-alveolar affricate with an extensive place of articulation both at and somewhat behind the teeth-ridge and having as a result a noticeably higher oral resonance than the English tʃ, but lower than Russian palatalized ʃʃ'. The lips are quite spread.
5. dʒ is the voiced counterpart of tʃ.
6. ŋ and ɲ represent voiceless nasals.

## DIACRITICS

+ = closer, † = opener, - = retracted, + = fronted.

## TONES:

High tones will be represented by 'h', mid tones by 'm', low by 'l', low-high-low by 'hl', high to mid by 'hm', high to low by 'hl', mid to low by 'ml', low to mid by 'lm', low to high by 'lh' and mid to high by 'mh'.

The tones are placed after the word and tone bearing units are separated by hyphens in such a way that a monosyllable with a high to low fall ('hl') is distinguished from a two-syllable word with a high followed by a low ('h-l').

Otherwise as IPA.

## 6. FIELD PROCEDURE

My procedure has been, very briefly, a two-stage one which has taken me along all the main and secondary roads in the area, but along only some of the bush tracks.

I first stopped at frequent intervals along the roads asking very subjective questions such as:

'What language do you speak in this village?'

'Does everyone speak it?'

'If there are two languages spoken, is the division about 50-50, 60-40 or a large group against a small group?'

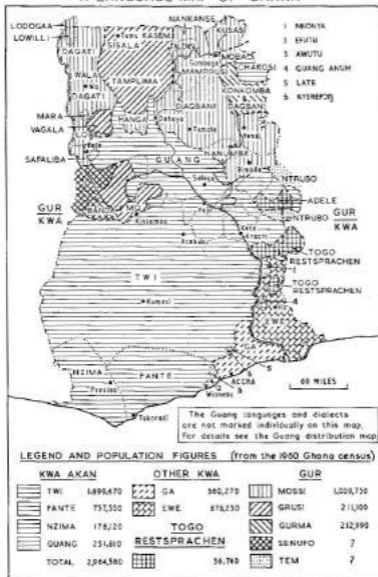
'No, I'm not interested in stool land or what you speak in the market or at school. What do you speak at home?'

'What do they speak along this road?' (I read off the map in all directions, add unmarked villages and mark moved villages.)

Old men and local traders I always found best, though a local born school teacher was always very useful if only as a translator.

The data thus obtained subjectively could be marked down on the map as a series of intersecting circles - village for village. I was astonished to find how information collected

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A LANGUAGE MAP OF GHANA





THE DISTRIBUTION OF GUANG IN GHANA

on the spot and from north, south, east and west corresponded so accurately - a credit to the old men's knowledge of their area.

This gave me something to work on - I knew where to go for recordings and transcriptions - for linguistic as opposed to subjective data. Sometimes I would have to visit several villages very close to each other. At other times I would visit a village only so that I could have data for points not more than about 30 miles from each other throughout the area.

The linguistic data so obtained corresponded very closely to the subjective data.

Below I give the latitude and longitude of the villages where I collected data.

LATITUDES AND LONGITUDES OF THE 25 IDIOLECTS

1. bohc, h-h	9°01'N	2°29'W
2. bohc, h-h	9°02'N	2°29'W
3. malue, l-l-l	8°41'N	2°17'W
4. busunu, l-l-h	9°08'N	1°31'W
5. dabja, l-h-h	9°32'N	1°20'W
6. b'upe, l-h furry	8°46'N	1°28'W
7. salago, l-l-l	8°35'N	0°32'W
8. kpemba, h-h	8°33'N	0°31'W
9. kpanda, h-l-l	8°27'N	0°01'W
10. jedy, l-l	8°14'N	0°38'W
11. banda bongwiesu, h-l-l-l-h	8°19'N	0°05'W
12. t'undru, l-l-h	8°09'N	0°09'W
13. nkatekwani, l-l-l-h	8°01'N	0°07'W
14. t'antax, l-h	7°45'N	0°02'E
15. koromasse, h-h-h-h-l	8°18'N	0°31'E
16. pagala nkwanu, l-l-h-l-l-h	8°12'N	0°52'E
17. bato, l-h	7°47'N	0°27'W
18. waropog, h-h-l	7°09'N	0°20'E
19. nkopa-t'umuru, l-h-h-l-l-h-l	7°06'N	0°19'E
20. anum, l-h	6°29'N	0°09'E
21. bozo, m-l	6°33'N	0°11'E
22. namankase anum, l-l-l-h-l-l-h	5°52'N	0°40'W
23. asesso, l-l-l-l-l	6°01'N	0°02'W
24. latt, m-l	5°57'N	0°04'W
25. obutu, l-h-h	5°31'N	0°31'W

I hope later to add lists for Efata, Ndrapo, Choruba, Kwame Danso (Nchumumo), Prang and the Dahomey dialects. All but the latter I have heard and talked about but not yet recorded. Nchumbulu is marked separately on the map. The villages where it is said to be spoken are remote along tracks quite impassable at the times I have been in the area. According to their neighbours they would seem to have a somewhat individual pronunciation at least.

## WORD LISTS Words 1-27. Villages 1-4

DIALECT 1 ɔ̀g̃baɛd̃ɔ̀to, h-h-l-l

English VILLAGE

2 ɔ̀g̃baɛd̃ɔ̀to, h-h-l-l

DIALECT 2

3 ɔ̀g̃baɛ, l-l-h

DIALECT 3

4 ɔ̀g̃baɛ, l-l-h

DIALECT 4

1 I	ma, h	ma, h	ma, h	ma, h
2 thou	fo, h	fo, h	fo, h	fo, h
3 we	ɔ̀pɛ, l-h	ɔ̀pɛ, l-h	ɔ̀pɛ, l-h	ɔ̀pɛ, l-h
4 this	keɛ, h-l	keɛ, h-l	keɛ, h-l	keɛ, h-l
5 that	kwamaa, l-h-l	komo, h-h	kromòr, h-h	kumɔ̀, h-l
6 who	wana, h-l	wana, h-l	wana, h-l	wana, h-h
7 what	mene, h-l	mene, h-l	mang, l-l	mene, h-h
8 (it) not	naɛna, h-l	monikomo, l-h-h-h	ʔ ɔ̀, h-l	naela, h-l
9 all	amɔ̀kɛ, h-h-h-l	amɔ̀kɛ, h-h-h-l	kɛkɛ, h-l	kɛkɛ, h-l
10 many	adamaa, l-l-h	adanta, l-l-h	dama, l-h	adamaa, l-l-h
11 one	kokole, h-h-l	kokole, h-h-l	kokole, h-h-l	ako, h-l
12 two	ɛɔ, l-h	ɔ̀pɛ, l-h	ɔ̀pɛ, l-h	ɔ̀pɛ, l-h
13 big	kabrɛrɛp, l-h-l	kogboɔɔɔɔ, l-l-m-m-m	b'ɔ̀g̃baɛ, h-l-l	kig̃ɔ̀g̃ɔ̀g̃ɔ̀, l-h-h-l
14 long	keɛnɛ, l-l-h	keɛnɛn, l-l-h	keɛnɛn, l-h	keɛnɛn, l-l-h
15 small	kofɛmbɛ, l-h-l	kafɛbi, l-h-l	fibi, h-l	kifɛbi, l-h-l
16 woman	eɛfo, l-h	eɛfo, l-h	eɛfo, l-h	eɛfo, l-h
17 man	ɔ̀pɛ, l-h	ɔ̀pɛ, l-h	ɔ̀pɛ, l-h	ɔ̀pɛ, l-h
18 person	ɛɛ, h-l	dɛmɛdi, l-l-h	ɛɛ, h-l	ɔ̀pɛ, l-h
19 fish	kerɛɛ, l-l	kerɛɛ, l-l	kerɛɛ, h-h-h-l	kerɛɛ, h-l
20 bird	kab'ibi, l-h-m	kab'ibi, l-h-l	kab'ibi, l-h-m	kib'ibi, l-h-l
21 dog	dɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, m-l	dɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, h-l	dɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, h-h	dɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, h-l
22 house	kimenbi, h-h-m	kimenbi, h-h-h-l	kimenbi, h-h-l	kimenbi, l-h-h-l-m
23 tree	kadibi, l-h-l	kadibi, l-h-l	keɛɛbi, l-h-l	keɛɛbi, l-h-m
24 seed	kuduso, h-h-h	kuduso, l-h-h	kuduso, l-h-h	keɛuso, l-h-h
25 leaf	kofenɛ, l-l-h	keɛnɛ, l-l-h	kofentan, l-l-h	keɛntɛn, l-h-h
26 root	keɛɛ, l-h-l	keɛɛ, h-h-l	keɛɛ, l-h-l	keɛɛ, h-h
27 bark	kodɔ̀fo, l-l-h	komo kamɛn, h-h-l-m	kodɔ̀fo, l-l-h	keɛɛbi bakɔ̀fo, l-h-h-m-m-l-l

## THE DISTRIBUTION OF GUANG IN GHANA

## WORD LISTS Words 28-54, Villages r-4

DIALECT r ɔgbɛndɔtɔ, h-h-l-l

English VILLAGES baɪk, h-h

	28 skin	29 flesh	30 blood	31 bone	32 grease	33 egg	34 horn	35 tail	36 feather	37 hair	38 head	39 ear	40 eye	41 nose	42 mouth	43 tooth	44 tongue	45 claw	46 foot	47 knee	48 hand	49 belly	50 neck	51 breast	52 heart	53 liver	54 drink		
	elo, l-h	abalɔ, h-h-l	ɔgbɔɔ, l-l-h	k'ɛba, h-l	ɔku, l-h	kɔfɔli, l-h-l	kɔlɔfɛ, h-h-l	kɔde, h-l	kɛrɛ, l-h	ɛnan, l-h	kumɔ, l-h	kɔzo, l-h	kɛnɔfi, l-l-h	kɛmuna, l-l-h	kano, h-l	kɔpi, h-h	kɔɔymɔɔɔ, l-l-h-l	akɔsi, h-h-h	kɔsɔdɔla, h-l-h-m	kɔmali, l-l-h-l	ɛno, h-l	ɛpɔ, l-l	kɔpo, h-h	kɔpɛpɛ, h-h-l	kukɔkɔmbi, l-l-h-h	kɔgbɛntɔfɛ, h-h-h-l	na, h		
	ɔgbɛndɔtɔ, h-h-l-l	bolɛ wɔra, h-h-l-l	kojɔwɔ, l-l-h-l	ɛbolɔ, h-h-l	ɔkɔɔɔ, l-l-h	kɔwɛfɛ, h-h-l	ɔarɔyɔ, h-h-h	kɔfɔli, l-h-l	kɔlɔfɛ, h-h-l	kɔdɔ, h-l	kɛrɛ, l-h	ɛnan, l-h	kumɔ, l-h	kɔzo, l-h	kɛnɔfi, l-l-h	kɛmuna, l-l-h	kano, h-l	kɔpi, h-h	kɔɔndɔyɔgɔ, l-l-h-l	akɔti, l-l-h	kɔja, h-h	kɔamɔli, l-l-h-l	ɛno, h-h	ɛpɔ, h-h	kɔborɔ, h-h	kɔgbɛnɛ, h-h-l	kɔkɔrɛmbi, l-l-h-h	kɔgbɛntɔfɛ, h-h-h-l	na, h
	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h	ɔgbɛpɛ, l-l-h

## WORD LISTS, Worlds 1-27, Villages 5-8

DAKAR 5 kagbana, 1-1-h  
English VILLAGES dabaja, 1-1-h

6 ngbana, 1-1-h  
b-upe, 1-h, ferry

7 ngbana, 1-1-h  
salaga, 1-1-1

8 ngbana, 1-1-h  
kpembawora, h-h-1-1

1 I	ma, h
2 flower	fo, h
3 we	ape, 1-h
4 this	kudere, h-1-1
5 that	kam3, h-h
6 who	wane, h-1
7 what	ngate, m-1
8 (is) not	p p, h-1
9 all	kuka, h-m
10 many	adanta, 1-1-h
11 one	kokogje, h-1-1
12 two	ape, 1-h
13 big	kogbengbro, h-h-1
14 long	kicesten, 1-1-h
15 small	kafinbu, 1-h-1
16 woman	etfe, 1-h
17 man	epae, 1-h
18 person	ngbena, h-h-1
19 fish	kyay2, 1-1-1
20 bird	kabujje, 1-h-m
21 dog	djant, h-1
22 house	kucisaba, 1-h-h-1
23 tree	kajja, 1-h-m
24 seed	koduro, 1-h-h
25 leaf	kafana, h-1-h
26 root	kakgi, 1-h-1
27 bark	kogfy, 1-h-1

ma, h	ma, h
fo, h	fo, h
ape, 1-h	ape, 1-h
kudere, h-1-1	kudere, h-1-1
kam3, h-h	kam3, h-h
wane, h-1	wane, h-1
ngate, m-1	ngate, m-1
p p, h-1	p p, h-1
kuka, h-m	kuka, h-m
adanta, 1-1-h	adanta, 1-1-h
kokogje, h-1-1	kokogje, h-1-1
ape, 1-h	ape, 1-h
kogbengbro, h-h-1	kogbengbro, h-h-1
kicesten, 1-1-h	kicesten, 1-1-h
kafinbu, 1-h-1	kafinbu, 1-h-1
etfe, 1-h	etfe, 1-h
epae, 1-h	epae, 1-h
ngbena, h-h-1	ngbena, h-h-1
kyay2, 1-1-1	kyay2, 1-1-1
kabujje, 1-h-m	kabujje, 1-h-m
djant, h-1	djant, h-1
kucisaba, 1-h-h-1	kucisaba, 1-1-1-1
kajja, 1-h-m	kajja, 1-h-1
koduro, 1-h-h	koduro, 1-h-h
kafana, h-1-h	kafana, 1-1-h
kakgi, 1-h-1	kakgi, 1-h-1
kogfy, 1-h-1	kogfy, 1-1-1

THE DISTRIBUTION OF GUANO IN GHANA

WORD LISTS. Words 28-54. Villages 5-8

DIALECT 5

6 gbagye, 1-4-b

7 gbagyeto, 1-4-b-b

8 gbagye, 1-1-b

English	village	28-54	5-8	5-8
28	skin	kwol, 1-b	kwol, 1-b	kwol, 1-b
29	flesh	ebad, 1-b-1	ebolag, 1-b-1	ebela, 1-b-1
30	blood	gakal, 1-1-b	gakag, 1-1-b	gaka, 1-1-b
31	bone	kub, 1-b	kub, 1-b	kwabi, 1-b-1
32	grease	gkw, 1-b	gkw, 1-b	gkw, 1-b
33	egg	kafyle, 1-b-1	kifyle, 1-b-1	koflic, 1-1-1
34	horn	kakfa, 1-b-1	kilambja, 1-b-1	kilambja, 1-b-1-1
35	tail	kada, 1-b	kdja, 1-b	kodu, 1-1
36	feather	kgax, 1-b	kgax, 1-b	kgax, 1-b
37	hair	emz, 1-b	emun, 1-b	emib, 1-b
38	head	kums, 1-b	kumu, 1-b	kumu, 1-b
39	ear	kpat, 1-b	kuso, 1-b	kosu, 1-b
40	eye	kanu, 1-1-1	kinjja, 1-1-b	kinjja, 1-1-b
41	nose	kamsa, 1-1-b	kimusa, 1-1-b	kimusa, 1-1-b
42	mouth	kang, 1-b	kang, 1-b	kosu, 1-b
43	tooth	kija, 1-b	kija, 1-b	kiji, 1-b
44	tongue	kodondolo, 1-1-b-m	kidnydyog, 1-1-b-1	kodondulo, 1-1-1-1
45	claw	akati, 1-b-m	akuti, 1-1-b	akuti, 1-1-b
46	foot	kjadola, 1-1-1-b	kija, 1-b-1-b	peja, 1-b
47	knave	kjamale, 1-1-b-1	kimuli, 1-1-b	kumali, 1-1-1
48	hand	eng, 1-b	eng, 1-b-m	eng, 1-b
49	belly	epun, 1-1	ekpun, 1-b	epun, 1-b
50	neck	koby, 1-b	koby, 1-b	koba, 1-b
51	breast	kynpo, 1-b-1	kynpo, 1-b-1	synpo, 1-b-1
52	heart	kakaliam, 1-1-1-m-1	kakarumbi, 1-1-b-b	kokorumbi, 1-1-b-b
53	liver	kekolyimbi, 1-1-b-h	kibifje, 1-b-1	kibirifje, 1-1-b-1
54	drink	na, 1-b	no, 1-b	n'u, ml

## WORD LISTS. Words 1-27. Villages 9-12.

name of 9 ngwuri, 1-1-1

English village kpatasi, 1-1-1

10 jedji, 1-1

jedji, 1-1

11 entfomboro, 1-1-1-1

lands bongwasu,  
1-1-1-1-1-1

12 pfumboro, 1-1-1-1

cf. (ued)u, 1-1-1

1	1	ma, h	ma, h	ma, h
2	thou	fo, h	fo, h	fo, h
3	we	ang, 1-1	ang, 1-1	ang, 1-1
4	this	kenano, 1-1-1-1	keno, 1-1	keno, 1-1
5	that	kibani-bano, 1-1-1-1	keno, 1-1	keno, 1-1
6	who	anomo, 1-1-1-1	anoe, 1-1-1	anoe, 1-1-1
7	what	manj, 1-1	nta, 1-1	emanc, 1-1-1
8	is (not)	aj aj, 1-1	nekasa, 1-1-1	andja, 1-1-1
9	all	amoxpans, 1-1-1-1	amokika, 1-1-1-1	pe, 1-1
10	many	kiberiberi, 1-1-1-1	babret, 1-1	afja, 1-1
11	see	kokotog, 1-1-1	kokoko, 1-1-1	kokoko, 1-1-1
12	two	apo, 1-1	apo, 1-1	apo, 1-1
13	big	kašala, 1-1-1	kibangbang, 1-1-1-1	kidabi, 1-1-1
14	long	kabšyre, 1-1-1-1	kor'ose, 1-1-1	kwese, 1-1-1
15	small	kopaja, 1-1-1	kadzundya, 1-1-1	kadzundya, 1-1-1-1
16	woman	afji, 1-1	afja, 1-1	afji, 1-1
17	man	apaj, 1-1	apare, 1-1-1	apare, 1-1-1
18	person	ng-masa, 1-1-1	jasa, 1-1-1	paipasa, 1-1-1-1
19	fish	akig, 1-1	akig, 1-1	kakudya, 1-1-1
20	bird	kabwiba, 1-1-1	kalambe, 1-1-1	kab'odji, 1-1-1
21	dog	djono, 1-1	djonyk5, 1-1-1	djono, 1-1
22	house	kamadawa, 1-1-1-1	kilabwa, 1-1-1	etapabo, 1-1-1
23	tree	oju, 1-1	kija, 1-1	kiji, 1-1
24	seed	oju kiba, 1-1-1-1	kifja, 1-1	kidji, 1-1
25	leaf	kifaj, 1-1-1-1	kafara, 1-1-1	kifra, 1-1-1
26	root	gij, 1-1	ig, 1-1	kg, 1-1
27	bank	kidyafw, 1-1-1	kidyafw, 1-1-1	kajowze, 1-1-1-1

THE DISTRIBUTION OF GUANG IN GHANA

WORD LISTS. Words 28-54. Villages 9-12.

HEADING 9 a gwuri, h-h-l  
English VILLAGE Kpandso, h-l-l

10 jidji, l-l  
jidji, l-l

11 enjamboro, l-l-h-l  
banda boggwiesu,  
l-l-l-l-h

12 njamborɔ, l-l-h-l  
ɛjundɔ, l-l-h

28 skin	kajwela, l-h-l-l	wɛrɛ, h-h	kajwara, l-l-h-l
29 flesh	kinu, l-h	kiedji, l-h-h	kjedzi, l-h-l
30 blood	ɲkalan, l-l-h	ɛboɔɔa, l-h-hm	ɲboɔɔa, h-h-l
31 bone	kujɛ, l-h	kibu, l-l-h	kɛbɔwi, l-l-h
32 grease	ɲfɛ, l-h	ɲfɛ, l-h	ɲfɛ, l-h
33 egg	kofolo, l-h-l	kakara, l-l-h	kokɔɔɛ, l-l-l
34 horn	kabɛhɛ, h-l-l	kilɔɔ, h-l	kɔɲʔara, l-l-h
35 uil	kɛbula, h-h-l	dʔi, h	kazɛ, l-h
36 feather	kɛs, l-hm	kɛs, l-h	asɛ, l-h
37 hair	ɛɲɛ, l-h-h	ifwɛ, l-h	ɛpɔwɛ, h-l
38 head	kumu, l-h	kunɔ, l-h	kogʔu, l-h
39 ear	koso, l-h	koso, l-h	kɛsɛbo, l-h-h
40 eye	kinɛ, l-h	kisidɔ, h-h-hm	kikazɔ, h-h-l
41 nose	ɲɲmasɔ, l-h	kagwɛnɛbidji, l-h-h-h-hm	masɛbo, h-h-h
42 mouth	kɛnɔ, h-h	kana, h-h	kano, h-h
43 tooth	kinɛ, h-h	kɲi, l-h	kibʔansɔ, h-l-l
44 trigate	kɛandale, l-l-h-l	dʔɛpɔ, h-hm	dʔɛpɔ, h-l
45 claw	kokɔɔ, l-l-hm	akɔɔ, l-l-m	kokɔɔ, h-h-l
46 foot	kɛapapa, l-l-h-l	kɛɔ, h-h	kɛapapa, h-h-h-l
47 knee	kumilɛ, l-h-l	kagwɛnɛ, l-h-h	kogʔuri, l-h-l
48 hand	kiba, l-h	kicɛra, l-h-l	kizare, l-h-h
49 belly	asɛ, l-l	kukpɛ, l-h	kame, h-h
50 neck	ɔhoɛ, l-h-h	kibɔr, h-m	kɛɔɔ, h-l
51 breast	kɲapɔ, h-h-l	kɲapɔ, h-h-l	kɲapɔ, h-h-l
52 heart	kɛkɛrombɛ, l-l-h-h	dʔɔ, l	dʔɔ, hm
53 liver	kigbatɛ, h-h-l	kibʔi, h-h	kikpɔ, h-h
54 drink	nu, h	nuɲ, h	nɔ, hm

## WORD LISTS, Wueda 1-27, Villages 13-16,

English	VILLAGE	13 kraŋa, 1-4 gkacekwan, 1-1-4	14 kraŋa, 1-4 tŋantak, 1-4	15 atfode, 1-4 koromace, 1-4-4-4-4	16 apanga, 1-4-4 pogaŋo pkwanta, 1-4-4-4-4
1 I		me, h	me, h	me, h	me, h
2 stool		fo, h	fo, h	fo, h	fo, h
3 we		art, 1-4	ale, 1-4	aŋe, 1-4	apɪ, 1-4
4 this		ase, 1-4	ase, 1-4	foade, 1-4-4	afɪ, 1-4
5 that		mo, 1-4	aco, 1-4	foade fa, 1-4-4-4	abemo, 1-4-4
6 who		ŋa, 1-4	ŋa, 1-4	ŋame, 1-4	ane, 1-4
7 what		ne, h	ŋe, 1-4	meawora, 1-4-4-4	mens, 1-4
8 (is) not		ŋemo, 1-4	dabi, 1-4	enɔŋgana, 1-4-4-4	sedɔŋake, 1-4-4-4
9 all		pe, h	pe, ml	meɔŋgowa, 1-4-4-4	apigboŋg, 1-4-4
10 many		kytjɔŋ, 1-4-4	bebrez, m-ml	mameɔŋe'u, 1-4-4-4-4	seŋɔ, 1-4
11 one		akɔnko, 1-4-4	akoroko, 1-4-4	majɔŋɔ, 1-4	akolɔŋ, 1-4-4
12 two		apɔr, 1-4	apɔ, 1-4	mamapɔ, 1-4-4	eyɔ, 1-4
13 big		o-ke, 1-4-4	dele, 1-4-4	akjere, 1-4-4-4	esjɔ, 1-4
14 long		awasi, 1-4-4	awasi, 1-4-4	ebogata, 1-4-4-4	obogozel, 1-4-4-4
15 small		kedɔŋdɔŋ, 1-4-4	kedɔŋdɔŋ, 1-4-4	piŋeŋ, 1-4-4	obupɪ, 1-4-4
16 woman		ɔŋɪ, 1-4	ɔŋɪ, 1-4	ɔŋɪ, 1-4-4	ɔŋɪ, 1-4
17 man		ɔŋme, 1-4-4	ɔŋme, 1-4-4	ɔŋɔ, 1-4	ɔŋɔ, 1-4
18 person		ɔŋpɔze, m-1-4	ɔŋpɔze, m-1-4	ɔŋpɔze, 1-4-4	ɔŋpɔze, 1-4-4
19 fish		kakɔŋɪ, 1-4-4	kakandɔŋ, 1-4-4	ɔkɪ, 1-4-4	ɔkɔŋ, m-m
20 bird		keb-ɔŋɪ, 1-4-4	keb-ɔŋɪ, 1-4-4	gab-wɪ, 1-4-4	gab-wɪ, 1-4-4
21 dog		ɔŋoro, 1-4	ɔŋoro, ml-1	ɔŋoro, m-1	ɔkpare, 1-4-4
22 house		kibwe, 1-4-4	kob-wɪ, 1-4-4	gab-wɪ, 1-4-4	gamurambɪ, 1-4-4-4
23 tree		oŋɪ, 1-4	oŋɪ, 1-4	oŋɪ, 1-4-4	oŋɪ, 1-4
24 seed		oŋɪ kudɔŋ, 1-4-4-4	kodɔŋ, 1-4-4	oŋɪ pɔl, 1-4-4-4	oŋɪ pɔl, 1-4-4-4
25 leaf		kifɔta, 1-4-4	kafɔta, 1-4-4	atfɔ, 1-4	afara, 1-4-4
26 root		ɔkake, 1-4-4	ɔkake, 1-4-4	woj-wɔŋɔŋ, 1-4-4-4	ɔkɔŋ, 1-4-4
27 bark		oŋɪ kidɔŋfo, 1-4-4-4	kedɔŋfo, 1-4-4-4	oŋɪ adɔŋfo, 1-4-4-4	oŋɪ adɔŋfo, 1-4-4-4

## WORD LISTS, Words 28-54, Villages 13-16.

DIALLECT	13 krafa, 1-b	14 krafa, 1-b	15 afode, 1-1-b	16 aɔngga, 1-1-b-1-b
English	VILLAGE	ɲkaskwan, 1-1-1-b	koromɔsiɔ, 1-1-b-1-b-1-b	pagala ɲkwanta, 1-1-b-1-b-1-b
28	skin	koɲɔrɔdɔ, 1-b-1-b	koɲɔrɔdɔ, m-m-1-b	gɔwɔpɔ, 1-m-m
29	flesh	konɔ, 1-b	konɔmɔdɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɛnɔ, 1-b
30	blood	mɔdɔ, 1-b	m'ɔdɔ, m-m	ɲkɔlɔ, 1-1-b
31	bone	kekɔn, 1-1-b	kakɔn, m-m-1-m	gɔr, 1-b
32	grease	ɲfɔ, 1-b	ɲfɔ, 1-b	ɲfɔ, 1-b
33	egg	kibɔ, 1-b-1	kɔfɔrɔ, 1-b-1	gabɔli, 1-b-1
34	horn	kab'ɛ, 1-b-1	kɔbɔrɔ, 1-b-1	ɛnɔ, 1-b
35	tail	ɔdu, 1-b	ɔdu, 1-b	ɔdɔ, 1-b
36	feather	kɛtɔ, 1-b-m	kɛtɔ, 1-b-m	ɛzɔ, 1-m
37	hair	ɔɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɛmɔ, 1-b
38	head	ɲɲɔ, 1-b	kumɔ, 1-b	garnɔ, 1-b
39	ear	kɔsɔ, 1-b	kɔsɔ, 1-b	gɔsɔ, 1-b
40	eye	ɲɲɛsɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɛsɔdɔ, 1-b-1-b-1	ɲɲɛli, 1-b-1
41	nose	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔmɔ, 1-b
42	mouth	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	gɔnɔ, m-m
43	tooth	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b
44	tongue	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b
45	claw	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	gɔnɔ, m-m
46	foot	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b
47	knee	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b
48	hand	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b
49	bully	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b
50	neck	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b
51	breast	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b
52	heart	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b
53	liver	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b
54	drink	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b	ɲɲɔnɔ, 1-b-1-b



## WORD LISTS, Words 28-54. Villages 17-20.

DIALECT 17 ɣɛmɛnɔ, l-l-b-l

English VILLAGE

18 ɣkɔɣɔ, l-l-b

wɔrɔpɔɣ, h-b-l

19 ɣkɔɣɔ, l-b-b

ɣkɔɣɔ-ɣɛmɛnɔ, l-b-b-l-l-b-l  
(ɔhɛnkɔ, l-l-b)

20 ɣuɔɣ, h-hm

anum, l-b

28 skin	ɣwɔɣ, l-b-b	ɣwɔɣ, l-m-b	ɣɔɣɔ, l-l-m	ɣhɔsɔm, l-l-h
29 flesh	ɔbɔbɔ, l-b-l	ɣɛ, l-m	ɣɛ, l-m	ɔnɪ, l-b
30 blood	mɛɣɔ, h-b	ɔbɛɣɔ, h-b-l	ɔbɛɣɔ, h-m-l	ɔwɔtɔ, h-h-m-l
31 bone	ɛkɔɔɔ, h-b-h	ɛwɔ, l-b	ɛwɔ, l-b	bo, hm
32 grease	ɣɔ, h-b	ɔbɔbɔ, l-l-b	ɛɣɔ, h-m	ɣkɔɔ, l-b
33 egg	ɛkɔɔɪ, l-l-hm	h-mɔ, h-l	h-mɔɔ, l-l	hɔɣɔ, h-l
34 horn	ɔbrɔ, h-l	ɔkɣɔ, h-l	ɛsɛjɛɪ, l-l-l-m	ɔsɛɪ, h-h-m
35 tail	ɔdɔ, h-l	ɔtɔ, l-b	ɔdɔ, l-b	ɣɛɔ, h-hm
36 feather	ɛtɔ, l-m-l	ɔtɔ, h-l	ɔtɔ, l-l	ɔɔɔ, h-l
37 hair	ɪmɪnɪ, h-b-h	ɪmɪ, h-b	ɪmɪ, h-b	mɪɔnɪ, h-b-h
38 head	ɛɣɔ, l-b	ɪmɔ, h-b	ɛmɔ, h-b	ɣwɔ, l-h
39 ear	ɔɔ, l-b	ɔsɔ, l-b	ɛsɔ, h-m	ɣsɔ, l-b
40 eye	ɣwɔɣ, l-b-b	ɣ'ɔbɪ, l-b-l	ɪbɪ, l-b-h	ɔbɪ, h-b-l
41 nose	ɛɣwɔɔ, l-b-h	ɣɣ'ɔɔɔ, l-l-b	ɣɣ'ɔɔɔ, l-l-b	ɣwɔ, l-b
42 mouth	ɪɛtɔ, h-l	ɔɔɔ, l-b	ɔɔɔ, m-b	ɔɔɔ, l-b
43 tooth	ɔɣɔ, h-l	ɪtɔ, l-b	ɪnɪ, l-b	ɔbɪ, h-b-l
44 tongue	ɣɔɔɔɔ, l-b-l	ɔɔɔɔɔ, l-b-l	ɛɔɔɔɔ, m-l-l	ɔwɔ, l-b
45 claw	ɣwɔɔɔ, l-l-hm	ɣwɔɔɔ, h-l-l	ɔwɔɔɔ, l-l-l	ɔnɔɔ, h-l
46 foot	ɛɣɔ, h-m-l	ɣɔbɪ, l-l	ɣɔbɪ, m-l-l	ɔnɔɔ, l-m-l
47 knee	ɛɣwɔnɪ, l-l-m	ɣɣ'ɔɔɔ, l-b-hm	ɛkɣ'ɔɔɔ, m-l-l-l	ɣnɔɣɔnɪ, m-m-l
48 hand	ɛɣɔ, l-b-m-l	ɛbɔ, h-m-l	ɛbɪ, m-l	ɔbɪ, l-m
49 belly	ɔmɔ, h-l	ɣɣɔ, m-l	ɣɣɔ, h-b	ɔmɔ, l-l
50 neck	ɛkɔɔɔ, h-b-l	ɔbɔɣɪ, l-l-m	ɔbɔɣɪ, l-b-l	ɛk'ɔ, h-hm
51 breast	ɛɣɔbɔ, h-b-l	ɣɣɔpɔ, l-b-hm	ɣɣɔpɔ, l-l	ɔɔɔ, l-hm
52 heart	ɔdɔɣ, h-l	ɛkɔɔɔ, h-b-l	ɛkɔɔɔ, h-b-hm	ɔɔɔmɔ, l-l-b
53 liver	ɛkɔɔ, h-l	ɛkɔɔɔ, l-b	ɛkɔɔɔ, l-b	ɣkɔkɔ, l-b-l
54 drink	ɔ'ɔ, hm	ɔ'ɔ, m-l	ɔ'ɔ, hm	ɔ'ɔ, h

## WORD LISTS, Words 1-27, Villages 21-24.

English	VILLAGE	21 g'aaŋ, h- sasankaso anum, 1-1-1-h-1-1-h	22 g'aaŋ, h sasankaso anum, 1-1-1-h-1-1-h	23 t'jerp'pəŋ, h-b-1 asotesso, 1-1-1-h-1	24 lats'e, m-1 lats'e, m-1
1	me, h	m'e, h	m'e, h	m'e, h	m'e, h
2	wo, h	wor, h	wor, h	wo, h	wo, h
3	ene, 1-h	e-ne, 1-h	e-ne, 1-h	anev, 1-h	ene, 1-h
4	m'ə, m	m'ə, h	m'ə, h	m'ə, m	mo, h
5	m'amo, m-1	m'amə, h-1	m'amə, h-1	m'o, m	neš, 1-m
6	ane, 1-m	ane, 1-h-m	ane, 1-h-m	aneŋ, 1-h-m	eneŋ, 1-h-m
7	mene, 1-1	m'e-ne, h-1	m'e-ne, h-1	m'ene, 1-1	ne, 1
8	debt, 1-m	bel, h	bel, h	pe, h	bebece, h-h-m
9	kacra, m-1	kacra, h-h	kacra, h-h	pe, h-m	pe, h
10	beb're, m-m	beb're, 1-1	beb're, 1-1	beb'ce, m-m	pe, h
11	ako, 1-h	ako, 1-h	ako, 1-h	ako, 1-h-m	ko, h-m
12	pa, 1-h	p'a, h	p'a, h	pa, 1-m	pa, h
13	k'pomo, m-1	k'pomo, h-1	k'pomo, h-1	k'pomp'e, h-1-1	k'pomp'e, h-m-1
14	teute, h-m-m	teute, m-m	teute, m-m	teute, h-m-m	teute, 1-h-h
15	pebi, m-m	dudubu, 1-1-h	dudubu, 1-1-h	dodobi, 1-1-h	esetubi, 1-1-1-h
16	af'e, 1-m	af'e, 1-h	af'e, 1-h	af'e, 1-m	af'e, 1-h
17	ape, 1-m	e-pe, 1-h	e-pe, 1-h	ape, 1-m	ape, 1-h-h
18	eg'e, m-1	ev'e, h-1	ev'e, h-1	toš, m-1	saš, 1-1
19	of'u da uni, 1-h-1-h	koba, m-1	koba, m-1	kob'1, m-1	nə, h
20	abob, 1-h-1	abob'1, 1-h-1	abob'1, 1-h-1	abob'1, 1-h-m	abob'1, 1-h-m
21	akramag, 1-h-h	akramag, 1-h-h	akramag, 1-h-h	g'b'as, m	akramə, 1-h-h
22	eb'je, h-b-m	eb'je, m-b-1	eb'je, m-b-1	eb'je, m-m-b-1	eb'je, h-b-1
23	aji, m-h-m	aji, 1-h-m	aji, 1-h-m	aji, 1-h-m	aji, h-m
24	ajebi, 1-h-h-m-m	ebi, h-h-m	ebi, h-h-m	eb'1, m-m	ebi, h-m
25	ing'e, h-h-m	ing'e, h-1	ing'e, h-1	fi'ab'1, h-1-1	fi'ab'e, h-1-1
26	zaru, m-h-h	zaru, m-h-h	zaru, m-h-h	za, m-m	ja, h-m
27	aji p'bre, 1-h-m-m-h	aji p'bre, h-h-m	aji p'bre, h-h-m	aji ab're, 1-h-m-1-1-m	aji juof're, h-h-1-1-1



## WORD LISTS. Words 1-27. Villages 25-28.

NUMBER 25 awatu, 1-3-h

English VILLAGE obutu, 1-3-h

1	me, h	26	ngbɔpɛ, 1-1-h	27	katjɔroba, 1-3-h-h	28	ɔfɛmɔru, 1-1-h-1
2	ɔwo, 1-1		dzɛmɔŋɔ, 3-1-m		serape, 1-1-m		prag, h
3	ane, 1-1		ɾ'47'W, 9°05'N		ɾ'29'W, 9°02'N		ɾ'53'W, 7°59'N
4	ɛ-ɔɔ, 3-m						
5	ɛ-ɔɔ, 3-m						
6	ɛnɛ, 1-m						
7	maxɔ, 1-m-1						
8	(a) not						
9	all						
10	nazy						
11	ore						
12	two						
13	big						
14	long						
15	small						
16	woman						
17	man						
18	person						
19	fish						
20	bird						
21	dog						
22	house						
23	tree						
24	reed						
25	leaf						
26	root						
27	back						
		ma, h	ma, h	ma, h	ma, h	me, h	
		fo, h	fo, h	fo, h	fo, h	fo, h	
		ape, 1-1	ape, 1-1	ape, 1-1	ape, 1-1	ane, 1-1	
		kide, 1-1	kide, 1-1	kide, 1-1	kide, 1-1	ɛnɛ, 1-1-1	
		komɔ, 1-1	komɔ, 1-1	komɔ, 1-1	komɔ, 1-1	ɛmɔ, 1-1	
		wana, 1-1	wana, 1-1	wana, 1-1	wana, 1-1	anɔt, 1-1-1-m	
		manɛ, 1-1	manɛ, 1-1	manɛ, 1-1	manɛ, 1-1	ɟɛn, 1-1	
		manɛkomo, 1-3-h-h	manɛkomo, 1-3-h-h	manɛkomo, 1-3-h-h	manɛkomo, 1-3-h-h	ɟɛmɔ, 1-1	
		amɔ, 1-1	amɔ, 1-1	amɔ, 1-1	amɔ, 1-1	ɛmɔkiko, 1-1-h-1	
		adama, 1-1-1-1	adama, 1-1-1-1	adama, 1-1-1-1	adama, 1-1-1-1	ɛbɔrɛ, 1-1-m	
		kokogwɔle, 1-1-1-1	kokogwɔle, 1-1-1-1	kokogwɔle, 1-1-1-1	kokogwɔle, 1-1-1-1	konkɔ, 1-1	
		apo, 1-1	apo, 1-1	apo, 1-1	apo, 1-1	ɟɔɔ, 1-1	
		kugbɔɟi, 1-1-1	kugbɔɟi, 1-1-1	kugbɔɟi, 1-1-1	kugbɔɟi, 1-1-1	kɛɛtako, 1-1-1-1	
		kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-m	kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-m	kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-m	kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-m	tɛnɛnɛ, 1-1-1	
		kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-1	kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-1	kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-1	kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-1	ɛkɔtobi, 1-1-m-1-m	
		ɛɟɟ, 1-1	ɛɟɟ, 1-1	ɛɟɟ, 1-1	ɛɟɟ, 1-1	ɛɟɛ, 1-1	
		apɛn, 1-1	apɛn, 1-1	apɛn, 1-1	apɛn, 1-1	ɛɟɛt, 1-1-1	
		ɛɛɛ, 1-1	ɛɛɛ, 1-1	ɛɛɛ, 1-1	ɛɛɛ, 1-1	sɛɛɛ, 1-1	
		kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-1	kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-1	kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-1	kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-1	afɛɟɟɟ, 1-1-1	
		kabɔɟɟɟ, 1-1-1	kabɔɟɟɟ, 1-1-1	kabɔɟɟɟ, 1-1-1	kabɔɟɟɟ, 1-1-1	abɔɛ, 1-1-m	
		ɟɟɟɟ, 1-1	ɟɟɟɟ, 1-1	ɟɟɟɟ, 1-1	ɟɟɟɟ, 1-1	ɟɟɟɟ, 1-1	
		kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-1	kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-1	kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-1	kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-1	ɛɟɟɟɟ, 1-1	
		kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-1	kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-1	kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-1	kɛɛɟɛt, 1-1-1	ɟɟɟɟ, 1-1	
		aduso, 1-1-1	aduso, 1-1-1	aduso, 1-1-1	aduso, 1-1-1	ɟɟɟɟɟ, 1-1-1	
		ɟɟɟɟɟ, 1-1-m	ɟɟɟɟɟ, 1-1-m	ɟɟɟɟɟ, 1-1-m	ɟɟɟɟɟ, 1-1-m	afɛɛɛ, 1-1	
		kalɟɟ, 1-1-1	kalɟɟ, 1-1-1	kalɟɟ, 1-1-1	kalɟɟ, 1-1-1	afɛɛɛ, 1-1	
		afɛɛɛ, 1-1-1	afɛɛɛ, 1-1-1	afɛɛɛ, 1-1-1	afɛɛɛ, 1-1-1	ɟɟɟɟɟ, 1-1-1	

## WORD LISTS, Words 28-54. Villages 25-28.

DIACRYT 25  
English village obutu, l-b-h

26 ngbana, l-l-h  
damagbo, h-h-m  
1°47'W, 9°05'N

27 ka(ɔ)roba, l-b-b-h  
serape, h-l-m  
2°29'W, 9°02'N

28 ntɔmuru, l-l-b-l  
pɔpɔ, h  
0°53'W, 7°59'N

28 skin	ɔsɔrɔ, l-b-h	kwɔf, l-h	wɔl, h	ɔwɔk, l-b-l
29 flesh	emɔ̄, l-h	abɛ̄ŋ, h-b-l	baɔɔ, h-h	ɛ̄tɛ, l-h
30 blood	ɔkara, l-l-h-m	ɔkɛ̄lɛ, l-l-h	ɔpɔka, l-l-h	ɔmɔdɔ, h-h-l
31 bone	awuɛ, h-h-m	kuɔɔ, h-l	kuwɔ, h-h	abɔf, l-h
32 grass	ɛtara, l-l-m	ɔfɔ, h-l	ɔkɔfɔ, l-h-h	ɔfɔ, h-l
33 egg	afandɔ, l-b-l	kuɔfɔ, l-l-h	kuɔfɔ, l-h-h	ɛbɔɔ, l-h-h
34 horn	atɔ, l-h	kuɔkɔ, h-b-l	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɔɔɔ, h-l
35 tail	ɔdɔ, h-l	kuɔɔ, h-b	kuɔkɔ, h-h-m	ɔwɔ, h
36 feather	atanta, h-h-l	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛtɛ, l-h
37 hair	ɛbɔɔ, l-h-h	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛpɔkɔ, h-l-l
38 head	natɔ, l-h	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɔpɔ, h-l
39 ear	asubɔ, l-h-h	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛɔɔ, h-l
40 eye	asubɔ, h-h-l	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛɔɔ, h-l
41 nose	ɔpɔɔ, l-b-h	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛɔɔ, h-l
42 mouth	ani, h-l	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛɔɔ, h-l
43 tooth	ɛnana, l-h-l	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛɔɔ, h-l
44 tongue	ɛdɔɔ, h-h-l	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛɔɔ, h-l
45 claw	ɛnani, l-h-h	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛɔɔ, h-l
46 foot	ɛnani, l-h-h	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛɔɔ, h-l
47 knee	ɛnani, l-h-h	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛɔɔ, h-l
48 hand	ɛbɔɔ, l-h-h	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛɔɔ, h-l
49 belly	ɛbɔɔ, h-h	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛɔɔ, h-l
50 neck	ɛbɔɔ, h-l	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛɔɔ, h-l
51 breast	ɛbɔɔ, h-h	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛɔɔ, h-l
52 heart	ɛbɔɔ, h-h	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛɔɔ, h-l
53 liver	ɛbɔɔ, l-l-h-m	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛɔɔ, h-l
54 drink	nɔ, h	kuɔɔ, h-h	kuɔkɔ, h-h	ɛɔɔ, h-l

## WORD LISTS. Words 1-27. Villages 29-31.

English	VILLAGE	8°09'N, 2°22'W	30 ɛʃɛmbɛlɔ̄. 1-h-m	31 bazantɛ, 1-1-h-m
	dampɔfɛ, 1-1-h-h	okɔ̄fɔ, 1-1-m	fodo, 1-m-1 or ɛmɛrɛ, h-h-m	
	8°09'N, 2°22'W	8°19'N, 2°38'E	9°33'N, 1°22'E	
1	me, h	mɔ̄, h		me, h
2	fuɔ̄, h-1	fo, m		fuɔ̄, h-m
3	ani, 1-1	ani, 1-h		ajɛr, 1-m
4	no-dɛ, 1-h	ɛr ɛfɛɔ, 1-h-1-m-1		boɔr, h-1
5	ɛwɛɛfɛno, 1-1-h-1-1	ɛr ɛnɔ̄ɔ, 1-h-1-m		boɛnabakalɔ, h-h-1-1-m
6	ɛmɛzɛnɛ, 1-h-h-1	ɛsɛ, 1-h-m		anɛr, 1-h
7	noɛnɛ, 1-m-1	moɛnɔ, 1-h-m		moɛr, 1-h
8	(ɔ̄) ɛnɔ̄	ɛwɛ, 1-h-1		man-ɛɛr-ɛjɛ, h-h-1-m
9	ɛll	apɛɔ, 1-h-h		ɛm, m-h
10	many	ɛsɛɛmɛzɛnɛ, 1-1-h-1-1-1		koɔfɔ, 1-h
11	one	koɔ, 1-h-1		ɛkɔ̄ɛɛm, 1-h-h
12	two	ɛɔ, 1-h		apɔ, 1-h
13	big	ɛfɛɛɛɛɛ, 1-1-h-1		ɛk, 1-h-m
14	long	ɛwɛɛɛɛɛ, 1-1-h		koɛɛɛɛɛ, 1-h-m
15	small	ɛwɛfɛɛ, 1-1-h-h		o-kɛɛɛ, 1-h-h
16	woman	ɛjɛ, h-m-1		ɛɛfɛɛ, 1-h-h
17	man	ɛnɛɛ, h-1		ɛjɛm, 1-h
18	person	ɛnɛ, h-1		ɛko, 1-h
19	fish	kaɛɛɛ, 1-1-h		ɛkɛɛɛɛɛ, 1-1-h-h
20	bird	kaɛwɛɛ, 1-h-m		kaɛwɛɛ, 1-h-1
21	dog	kaɛɛɛɛɛ, 1-h-h		kpɛɛɛ, h-m
22	louse	uwɛɛɛ, 1-h-h		afɛɛɛɛɛ-ɛɛɛɛɛ, 1-h-h-h-m
23	tree	ɛ, h		kuɛɛ, h-m
24	wood	ɛɛɛɛɛ, h-1-1		kuɛɛɛɛɛ, 1-h-h-m-m
25	leaf	ɛjɛnɛ, 1-h-h		kuɛɛɛɛɛ, 1-h-h-m-m
26	root	maɛɛɛ, 1-h		ɛnɛɛɛ, h-1
27	back	kaɛɛɛɛɛ, h-h-1		kuɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ, h-h-1-m-1

## WORD LISTS, Words 28-54. Villages 29-31.

English	DISTRICT	VILLAGE	29	30	31
28 skin	dampo, b-m	8°09'N, 2°22'W	kompoŋŋe, l-l-h-b	ɔ̄mbɔ̄ŋɔ̄, l-h-m	bazantŋe, l-l-h-m
29 flesh				ekɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h-m	fɔ̄ɔ̄, kɔ̄ɔ̄-l or sɔ̄mɛɛɛ, h-h-m
30 blood				8°19'N, 2°38'E	9°33'N, 1°22'E
31 bone					
32 grass					
33 egg					
34 hen					
35 tail					
36 feather					
37 hair					
38 head					
39 ear					
40 eye					
41 nose					
42 mouth					
43 tooth					
44 tongue					
45 claw					
46 foot					
47 knee					
48 hand					
49 belly					
50 neck					
51 breast					
52 heart					
53 liver					
54 drink					
			korɔ̄ɔ̄, l-l-h	wɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h	kajura, l-h-l
			bolɛ, h-l	kijɛ, l-h-m	enɔ̄m, l-h
			ŋkɔ̄ɔ̄, l-m-l	mɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h-l	sɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h
			uwu, l-h	kubowɛ, l-l-h-m	ɔ̄wɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h-l
			fut, h-l	ŋɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h	ŋkɔ̄, l-h
			kɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-l-h-m	kɔ̄kɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h-m-bl	ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h-m
			ŋfa, h-l	kilag, h-l	ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h
			modɔ̄, l-h	kɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h	ɔ̄ɔ̄m, m-h-m
			kɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-l	kite, l-h-m	ifɔ̄m, l-h
			ŋwɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-l-h-h	ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h-l	ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄m, h-h
			ŋwa, l-h-m	kɔ̄wɔ̄, l-h	ɔ̄ɔ̄wɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h-h
			sɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h	kɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h-m	kɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h
			ɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h	kɔ̄kɔ̄ɔ̄, h-l-m-l	ɔ̄ɔ̄mɔ̄ɔ̄, l-l-m-h-l
			kajwɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h-h	ŋɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h-h	ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄m, l-h
			kɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h	kɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h	kɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h-m
			ɔ̄ɔ̄, h	kɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h-l	dijɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h-l
			ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h-m	ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, h-l	mɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h-m
			ŋkɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-l-h	kɔ̄kɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, h-l	wɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h-m
			ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h	kɔ̄ɔ̄, h-l	ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h-l
			kɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h	kumɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h-l	ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h-m
			kɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h	kɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h-l	kɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h-h
			kɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h	kɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h	ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h-l
			kɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h	kɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h	kubɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h-l
			ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h-h	kɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h-l	ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h-l-m
			kɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, m-m-m	kɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h-m	ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h-m
			ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h	kɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, h-h	ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, l-h-h
			ɔ̄ɔ̄, h	ɔ̄ɔ̄, m	ɔ̄ɔ̄, m

## WORD LISTS Words 55-81. Villages 1-4

English VILLAGE	1 gbandjito, h-h-l-l boča, h-h	2 gbandjito, h-h-l-l bode wera, h-h-l-l	3 gbandj, l-l-h malae, l-l-l	4 gbandj, l-l-h busunu, l-l-h
55 eat	dji, h	dji, h	dji, h	dji, h
56 bite	ɔ'ŋ, h	dū, m-l	dū, m-l	dūg, ɔ
57 see	kamɔ, l-h	kani, l-h	kani, l-h	wu, h
58 hear	nu, h	nu, h	nu, h	nɛ, h
59 know	pɛ, h	p'ɔ, l	p'ɔ, l	p'ɔ, l
60 sleep	dese, l-h	dese, l-h	dese, l-h	di, h
61 die	wu, h	wu, h	wu, h	wu, h
62 kill	mɔ, h	mɔ, l	mɔ, l	mɛ, l
63 swim	la, h	la, l	la, l	la, l
64 fly	ferigi, l-l-h	ferigi, l-l-h	ferigi, l-l-h	ferigi, h-h-h
65 walk	nete, l-h	nete, l-h	nete, l-h	nete, l-h
66 come	ba, h	ba, h	ba, h	ba, h
67 lie down	dese, l-h	dese, l-h	dese, l-h	dese, l-h
68 sit down	tjona, l-h	tjona, l-h	tjona, l-h	tjona, l-h
69 stand up	le, l-h	nunito, l-h-h	le, l-h	le, l-h
70 give	sa, h	sa, l	sa, h	sa, h
71 say	kage, l-h	kage, l-h	kage, l-h	kage, l-h
72 sun	epɛji, l-l-h	epɛji, l-l-h	epɛji, l-l-h	epɛji, l-l-h
73 moon	kafɛ, l-h	kofɔ, l-h	kofɔ, l-h	kofɛ, l-h
74 star	kikpɛtɛbe, l-l-h-l	kikpɛtɛbe, l-l-h-l	kikpɛtɛbe, l-l-h-l	kikpɛtɛbe, l-l-h-l
75 water	ɔ'ŋ, l-h	ɔ'ŋ, l-h	ɔ'ŋ, l-h	ɔ'ŋ, l-h
76 rain	boze, l-l	boze, m-l	boze, m-l	boze, m-l
77 stone	kɔdɛmbu, h-l-h	kɔdɛmbu, l-l-h	kɔdɛmbu, l-l-h	kɔdɛmbu, h-l-h
78 sand	asasar, h-h-l	asasar, m-l	asasar, m-l	asɛfer, h-h-l
79 earth	asasar, h-h-l	asasar, m-l	asasar, m-l	asasar, m-l
80 cloud	awolopa, l-l-h-l	awolopa, l-l-h-l	awolopa, l-l-h-l	awolopa, l-l-h-l
81 smoke	edisi, l-l-l	edisi, l-l-l	edisi, l-l-l	edɛfɛ, l-l-h-l

## WORD LISTS Words 82-100. Villages 1-4

DIALECT 1 ggbandyto, h-h-1-1

English VILLAGE

2 ggbandyto, h-h-1-1

bole woa, h-h-1-1

3 ggbape, 1-1-h

malue, 1-1-1

4 ggbape, 1-1-h

bosunu, 1-1-h

82 fire	edz, 1-h	edz, 1-h	e-dz, 1-h	edz, 1-h
83 ash	asano, h-h-1	asano, h-h-1	asano, h-h-1	asano, h-h-1
84 burn	tfo, h	tfo, hm	tfo, h	tfo, h
85 path	ekpa, 1-h	ekpa, 1-h	ekpa, 1-h	ekpa, 1-h
86 mountain	kibe, 1-h	kibe, 1-h	kibe, 1-h	kibe, 1-h
87 red	popo, h-1	kipapo, h-h-1	popo, h-1	kipapo, h-h-1
88 green	etjapo, h-h-1	kotiribombé, 1-1-h-h-1-on	e-djapo, h-h-1	kotiribombé, 1-1-h-h-1-on
89 yellow	kakotfo, h-h-1-1	soje, h-h	kakotfo, m-m-m-m-1	kakotfo, h-h-1-1-m
90 white	fofofo, 1-1-1	kafafé, h-h-1	fofo, 1-1	fofofo, h-h-h-m
91 black	lembé, 1-1	kilembé, h-h-1	lembé, h-1	kilembé, 1-h-1
92 night	kapeso, h-h-1	kapt, h-h	kapeso, h-h-m	kapt, h-h
93 hot	tusi, 1-h	kibotji, 1-h-h-h	tusi, 1-h	tusi, h-h
94 cold	wusi, 1-h	kuwji, 1-h-h	wusi, 1-h	wuji, h-h
95 full	bofo, 1-h	kobolo, 1-h-h	bofo, 1-h	bofo, 1-1
96 new	popo, h-1	kopopo, h-h-1	popo, m-1	kipopo, h-h-h-m
97 good	ala, 1-h	kwalaga, 1-1-h-1	wale, 1-h	ala, 1-1-h
98 mound	kukulabi, h-h-h-1	kilema, 1-1-h-h	kukulabi, h-h-h-h-1	kikogbo, 1-1-h-h
99 dry	wé, h	kowé, h-1	wé, 1-m	wé, h
100 name	katere, 1-h-1	katere, 1-h-1	katere, 1-h-1	katere, 1-h-1

## WORD LISTS, Words 55-81, Villages 5-8.

## SUBJECT 5 kagbaga, 1-1-b

## English vll:az dabojo, 1-b-2

	6 gbagbe, 1-1-h b'upe, 1-b ferry	7 gbagbe, 1-1-h-h zabaga, 1-1-1	8 gbagbe, 1-1-b kpembuora, 1-1-1-1
55 eat	dʒi, h	dʒi, h	dʒi, h
56 bite	dʒ, h	dʒ, l	dʒ, m
57 see	kɛni, 1-b	wu, h	kɛni, 1-b
58 hear	nu, h	n'u, h	nu, h
59 know	p'in, h	p'in, h	p'i, h-m
60 sleep	dɪ, h	dɪ, h	dɪ, 1-b
61 die	wu, h	wu, h	wu, h
62 kill	mɔ, l	mɔ, l	mɔ, l
63 swim	la, h	la, h	la, h-h
64 fly	furɔŋ, 1-1-b	furɔŋ, 1-1-h	furɔŋ, 1-1-b
65 walk	nɔtɔ, 1-b	nɔtɔ, 1-b	nɔtɔ, 1-b
66 come	ba, l	ba, l	ba, h
67 lie down	dɛsɛ, 1-b	dɛsɛ, 1-h	dɛsɛ, 1-b
68 sit down	tʃama, 1-b	tʃama, 1-h	tʃama, 1-h
69 stand up	lɪ, 1-b	lɪ, 1-b	lɪ, 1-b
70 give	soma, 1-b	sɔ, h	soma, h
71 say	ɔpa, 1-1-1	kapa, m-h	kapa, 1-b
72 sun	ɛpɛŋ, 1-1-b	ɛpɛŋ, 1-1-h	ɛpɛŋ, 1-1-b
73 moon	kɔfɔ, 1-b	kɔfɔ, 1-b	kɔfɔ, 1-b
74 star	kɛfɛkɛpɛ, 1-1-h-1	kɛfɛkɛpɛ, 1-1-h-m	kɛfɛkɛpɛ, 1-1-b-1
75 water	nʃu, 1-b	nʃu, 1-b	nʃu, 1-b
76 rain	bɔrɛ, 1-1	bɔrɛ, h-m	bɔrɛ, h-m-1
77 stone	kudɔmbu, 1-1-b	kudɔmbu, 1-1-h	kudɔmbu, 1-1-b
78 sand	sɔsɔ, h-h-1	sɔfɔr, 1-h-1	sɔfɔr, h-h-1
79 earth	kazwɔle, 1-1-b-1	kazwɔle, 1-1-h-m	tare, h-h
80 cloud	awolapa, 1-b-b-1	awolpa, 1-b-1	awolapa, 1-b-1-1
81 smoke	edɪ, 1-b-1	edɪ, 1-b-1	edɪ, 1-b-1





## WORD LISTS. Words 82-100. Villages 9-12.

DIALSIC 9 nɔwuri, h-h-l

English VILLAGE kpanɔsɛ, h-h-l

so jedɔ, l-l

jedɔ, l-l

11 ɛntɔmbɔrɔ, l-l-h-l

bands bɔngwɛsɛsɛ,

h-l-l-l-l-h

12 ɛtɔmbɔrɔ, l-l-h-l

tɔnduri, l-l-h

82 fire	fɔɔɔg, h-l	dɔg, h	lekpa, h-hm
83 ash	ɔsɔ, h-l	ɔsɔ, h-h	ɔsɔ, h-l
84 burn	fɔdɔ, l-h	tɔwɛ, h	tɔwɛ, hm
85 path	kɔsɔpɔɔ, l-h-hm	kpa, h	ɔtɔ, hm-l
86 mountain	kibɛ, l-h	kɛbɛ, l-h	kɛbɛ, l-h
87 red	kɔpɔg, h-h-l	kɔpɛ, h-h-h	kɔkɔpɛ, h-h-l
88 green	kɔfɛɛbɔmbɔɔ, l-l-h-l-m-m	kibɔgɔɔ, l-l-h	kɔfɔdɔ, h-h-l
89 yellow	kɔkɔdɔrɔ kɔɔɔpɛ, h-h-h-h-h-l	kɔbɔbɔfɔfɔ, l-l-l-h-l-l-m	kɔbɔbɔɔ, h-h-l
90 white	kɔfɔfɔɔ, h-h-h-l	kɔfɔfɔrɛ, h-h-hm-m	kɔfɔfɔrɛ, h-h-h-l
91 black	kɔfɛmbɔrɛ, h-h-h-l	kɔdɔdɔ, l-h-hm	kɔtɔntɔ, h-h-l
92 night	kɔdɔgɔmbɔg, l-l-h	kɔfɛ, h-h	kɔpɛ, h-h
93 hoe	kɔbɔwɔdɔ, l-l-h	kɔdɔgɛ, h-h	kɔrɔbɔwɔdɔ, h-h-l-l
94 cold	kɔjɔfɛ, l-h-h	kɔjɛrɛ, l-h-h	ɛfɔfɛ, h-l
95 full	kɔbɔɔ, l-h-h	kɔbɔ, l-h	kɔrɔbɔrɛ, h-h-l-l
96 new	kɔpɔpɔwɛ, h-h-l	kɔpɔpɛ, h-h-l	kɔpɔpɔ, h-h-l-l
97 good	kɔbɔrɔg, l-l-h	kɔkɔkɔpɛ, h-h-l	kɔrɔbɔwɛ, h-h-l-l
98 round	kɔkɔkɔfɛ, h-h-h-h	kɔrɔkɔfɛ, l-l-h	kɔrɔkɔrɛ, l-l-l-l
99 dry	kɔwɔɔfɛ, l-h-l	wɔrɛ, h-l	kɔkɔwɔrɛ, h-h-l-l
100 name	kɔtɛ, l-m	kɔtɛ, h-l	kɔpɛrɛ, l-h-h

## WORD LISTS, Words 55-81. Villages 13-16.

English	VILLAGE	14	15	16
		krasji, 1-h	afode, 1-1-h	apaga, 1-1-h
		skatekwan, 1-1-1-h	kornnase, 1-1-1-h-1-h	pagala gwanta, 1-1-1-1-1-h
55 eat	dji, 1-h	dji, m	pefada, 1-1-1	edja, m-1
56 bite	d0, 1	d0, m	medjima, 1-1-m	edja, 1-1
57 see	pu, m	pu, m	fomentewu, 1-1-1-m	pegi, 1-1
58 hear	nu, 1-h	nu, m	fomentfu, 1-1-1-1	pu, 1-1-h
59 know	ni, 1-h	pu, m	pu, 1-1-1	bi, m
60 sleep	de, m	de, h	wade, 1-1	pede, m-1
61 die	wu, m	wu, m	owu, 1-1	owu, 1-1
62 kill	nu, m	nu, m	man'om'u, 1-1-1	namo, 1-1-h
63 swim	peste, 1-1-h	peste, 1-1	pefatele, 1-1-1-1	pef pfo, 1-1-1-m
64 fly	faki, 1-1	faki, 1-1	gakwoso, 1-1-1-h	amali, 1-1-m-m-m
65 walk	nate, 1-1	nate, 1-1	na, 1-h	pa, 1-1
66 come	be, m	be, m	ba, 1-h	mba, 1-1
67 lie down	de, m	efinde, m-1	pefatfole, 1-1-1-1	ade, m-1
68 sit down	efore, 1-1	efentfere, 1-1-h	nafina, 1-1-m	pa, 1-1
69 stand up	koso, 1-1	koso igre, 1-1-1-1-1	najile, 1-1-m-m	pef, 1-m
70 give	te, 1	tawo, 1-1-1	rawamo, 1-1-1	di, 1
71 say	dyere, 1-1	dyere, 1-m	tayre, 1-1	nteni, 1-1-m
72 sun	afwe, 1-1-h	afwe, 1-1-m	owu, 1-1	owu, 1-1
73 moon	afore, 1-1-h	afore, 1-1-h-m	brawo, 1-1-h-m	boso, 1-1-h-m
74 star	kafkpedje, 1-1-1-1	kafkpedje, 1-1-1-h-m-1	gogakpwebi, 1-1-1-h-m-1	gakpebi, 1-1-1
75 water	peju, 1-1	peju, 1-1	peju, 1-1	peju, 1-1
76 rain	pan'ap0, 1-1	pe-gpog, 1-1	pan'ap'afada, 1-1-1-1	panmag, 1-1
77 smoke	kibu, 1-1	kibu, 1-1	gob'u, 1-1	gib'u, 1-1
78 mud	kim'ika, 1-1-1	kerepa, 1-1-m	ete, 1-1	igasi, 1-1-h-m-1
79 earth	ese, 1-1	ware, 1-1-1	gasinkpa, 1-1-1-h	gasinkpa, 1-1-h
80 cloud	kiwore, 1-1-1	awure, 1-1-1	gobants, 1-1-h-m-1	owji, 1-1
81 smoke	pest, 1-1-1	pest, 1-1	edjasi, 1-1-1	edjasi, 1-1-1

WORD LISTS. Words 80-100. Villages 13-16.		14	15	16
English	VILLAGE	kratzf, 1-4 tfancas, 1-4	afode, 1-4 koromase, 2-4-4-4	apanga, 1-4 pagala pkwanta, 1-4-4-4
82 fire	dakpa, 1-1	dakpa, m-1	adga, h-h	adga, h-h
83 ash	gas, 1-1	gas, m-m	gas, h-h	gas, m-m
84 burn	tfwe, m1	tfwe, m1	m'afoodga, h-h-1	pts, h-m
85 path	akpas, 1-4	akpa, 1-4	ndocikpa, 1-1-1-1	gakpabwe, 1-4-4-m
86 mountain	kibe, 1-4	kabi, 1-4	gibi, 1-4	gibi, 1-4
87 red	apasa, h-h-1	apasa, m-m-1	epikere, 1-1-1-4	epatal, h-h-m
88 green	kifatabwe, 1-4-1-1	kafita bob*, 1-m-m-1-m-1	ebibari, 1-4-1-1	epobwal, m-m1
89 yellow	bwatz tfwa, h-h-1-m	kafita bob*, 1-m-1-m-1	tfasamf, 1-4-4-1	efufu, h-h-1
90 white	afofori, h-h-1-1	af'uf'uri, m-m-m-1	efufufu, 1-1-1-4-4	efufuf, h-h-1
91 black	obibi, h-h-1	obibi, h-h-1	ebibari, 1-4-1-1	ibibaf, h-h-1
92 night	kajaso, h-h-1	kajaso, h-h-1	gas, m-m	gas, h-h
93 hot	ebodje, 1-1-4	dje-dje, 1-4	ebodja, 1-1-4	ebodja, m-m-4
94 cold	ebujeri, 1-4-4-4	ojiri, 1-4-4	ojul, 1-4-4	lejje, 1-4-4
95 full	abe, 1-4	abura, h-h-m	ebotia, 1-4-4-4	jab'af, 1-4
96 new	apoyee, 1-4-1	apuy*, h-h-1	elapoyee, 1-4-4-1	afafaf, h-h-1
97 good	ebwars, h-1-m	leb'ars, h-1-m	ebars, 1-1-4	elidense, 1-1-4-4-4
98 round	korukuru, h-h-h-1	kurukuri, 1-1-1-m	ebakakolokoli, 1-1-4-4-4-4-4-4	elialekole, 1-1-4-4-4-4
99 dry	awara, h-1-1	awuri, m-m-1	swala, h-m-1	jawaf, 1-1-1
100 name	koyene, 1-4-4	koyene, 1-m-m	gipog, 1-4	gopog, 1-4

## WORD LISTS. Words 55-81. Villages 17-20.

DISTRICT 17 ɲɛfomuna, 1-1-1-1

18 ɲkɔpa, 1-1-1-1  
warapɔɔ, 1-1-119 ɲkɔpa, 1-1-1-1  
ɲkɔpa-ɛɛ|umuru,  
1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1  
(afɛnkro, 1-1-1-1)20 guap, 1-1-1-1  
anum, 1-1-1

55 eat	dʒi, h	dʒi, h	dʒi, 1
56 bite	d'ɔɔ, hm	dɔ, hl	dɔ, 1
57 see	kɛ, 1	kɛ, h	tʃɛ, 1
58 hear	nu, nd	n'ɔ, h	ka, 1
59 know	ɔpi, h-1	bɛ, h	ni, 1
60 sleep	dɛɛɛ, 1-1	kɛɛɛ, m-m-1	dɛ, hm
61 die	wu, h	wu, ni	ɔwu, hm-nd
62 kill	mɔm, nd	m'ɔ, h	mɔ, 1
63 swim	fɛrɛ, 1-1	pɛtɛ, m-1	x'ɔɛɛ, 1-1
64 fly	fɔɔɔ, 1-1	fulɔ, h-m	fɔɔɔɔ, 1-1-1
65 walk	nɛɛɛ, 1-1	nɛɛɛɛ, h-h	ɲɛ, 1-1
66 come	bɛ, h	bɛ, 1	bɛ, 1
67 lie down	dɛɛɛɛ, 1-1-1	kɛɛɛɛɛ, 1-1-1	dɛɛ, 1
68 sit-down	tʃɛɛɛɛɛ, 1-1-1-1	tʃɛɛɛɛ, h-1-1	tʃɛɛɛɛɛ, 1-1-1
69 stand up	kɔɔɛɛɛɛ, 1-1-1-1	kɔɔɛɛɛ, h-1-1	kɔɔɛɛ, 1-1
70 give	ɔɔ, m-1	pɔbɛ, h-1	ɛɛ, 1
71 say	bɛɛ, 1-m	bɛɛ, h-h	tʃɛ, 1-m-1
72 sun	ɔwu, h-h	ɔwi, 1-1	ɛwi, m-m-1
73 moon	ɔfɛrɛ, 1-1-1	ɔ-ɛfɛrɛ, 1-1-1	ɛfɛɛɛɛ, 1-1-1-1
74 star	tʃɛkɔbɛ, 1-1-1	ɔ-ɛfɛrɛ kɔrɔbɛ, 1-1-1-1-1	ɛwɛɛɛ, 1-1-1-1
75 water	ɲɛɲɛ, 1-1	ɲɛɲɛ, 1-1	ɲɛɲɛ, 1-1-1
76 rain	ɲɛɲɛɔ, 1-1	ɲɛɲɛɔ, h-1	ɲɛɲɛ, 1-1
77 stone	ɲɛɛɛ, 1-1	ɲɛɛɛ, 1-1	bɛɛ, hm
78 sand	ɛɛɛ, 1-1	ɛɛɛ, h-1	ɛɛɛɛɛ, 1-1-1
79 earth	ɔɔbɛɛɛ, 1-1-1-1	ɔɔɔɔɛ, 1-1-1-1	ɛɛɛ, 1-1
80 cloud	ɛbɛɛɛ, 1-1-1-1	ɔɔɲɛɛɛɛ, h-1-1	mɔɔɛɛɛɛɛ, 1-1-1
81 smoke	ɔɔɲɛɛɛ, 1-1-1	ɔɔɲɛɛɛ, 1-1-1-1	ɲɛɲɛɛɛ, h-1-1

## WORD LISTS. Words 82-100. Villages 17-20

DZANU 17 ɲɛʒamɔ, l-l-h-l

English VILLAGE

18 ɲkɔɲa, l-h-h  
wɔropɔg, h-h-l19 ɲkɔɲa, l-h-h  
ɲkɔɲa-ɲtʃumuru,  
l-h-h-l-l-h-l  
(ahenkro, l-h-h)20 guɲg, h-h-m  
anum, l-h

82 fire	ɔdʒa, h-h	odʒa, l-h	edʒa, h-h-m
83 ash	ɲɔ, h-l	ɲɔɔ, l-h-h	ɲɔɔ, h-l
84 burn	wɔ, m	ɲɔ, m	ɔɔ, l
85 path	ɔkpa, l-h	ɔkpa, l-h	ɔkpa, l-h
86 mountain	ɛbɔ, l-h-h	ɛbɔ, m-m	ɛbɔ, l-h
87 red	ɔkoko, h-h-l	ɛbɔ, m-m	ɛɛ, l
88 green	ɛfɛ bobo, l-h-l-l	ɛbɔ, m-m	ɛfɛbɔbɔ, l-l-h-l
89 yellow	krɛbɛmfo, l-h-h-l	ɛyɛ: ɛkɛpɛ, l-h-h-l-l	akɛnɛyɛ, l-h-l-m
90 white	ɔfɛfɛri, l-h-l-l	forɔg, h-h-h	fɛɛ, l-m
91 black	ɔgɛtɔg, l-h-l	bɛ, l, h-h-m	tɔ, l
92 night	ɲɲi, h-h	ɔyɛ, m-l	ɲɲi, h-h-m
93 box	dʒɛɲa, h-l	ɲɛ, h-h	ɲɛɛ, l-h
94 cold	ɲaridɛi, h-h-h-l	bɛ, h-h	ɛwɔli, l-h-h
95 full	ɛbɔ, l-h	bɔ, l-h	bɔ, h
96 new	ɛfufɛ, l-h-l	ɲɔpɔɛ, h-h-l	ɛɛ, h-l
97 good	ɛgɔwɛɛ, h-h-h	ɲɛɛ, l-h	ɛgɔɛ, l-h-l
98 round	korokoro, h-h-h-l	korɔkɔg, h-h-h-h	korokoro, h-h-h-h-l
99 dry	ɛwɛ, h-l-l	ɲwɛ, h-h-l	wɛ, h-h
100 name	ɛɲɛ, l-h-h	ɛɛ, l-h	ɲɛ, l-h

## WORD LISTS. Words 55-81, Villages 21-24.

DIALLECT 21 gurg, h-hm

English VILLAGE

32 gurg, h  
mamankaze anam,  
l-l-h-l-h23 tforepɔŋ, h-h-l  
asasaze, l-l-l-h-l24 lare, m-l  
lare, m-l

55 eat	dʒi, mi	dʒi, mi	dʒi, l
56 bite	dɪ, mi	dɪ, hm	dɪ, l
57 see	tʃe, mi	tʃe, hm	tʃe, l
58 hear	ka, l	ka, hm	ka, l
59 know	ni, hm	ni, hm	ni, l
60 sleep	dɛ, hm	dɛ, mh	dɛ, h
61 die	wu, mi	wu, mh	owu, l-h
62 kill	mʔ, mi	mʔ, mi	mʔ, m-l
63 swim	bije, hm-en	b'e, h	big, h-h
64 fly	foratʃi, l-m-m	foratʃi, l-l-h	foratʃi, l-l-h
65 walk	pa, m-mi	pa, hm	pa, l
66 cooee	be, mi	be, hm	be, m
67 lie down	dada, hm-l	dɛ, hm	kreʒute, l-h-l
68 sit down	tʃinɛ, l-mi	tʃinɛ, l-hm-m	tʃinɛ, l-h-m
69 stand up	kɔso, l-h	jelt, l-h	oso, l-h
70 give	ne, mi	ne, l	ne, l
71 say	kɛ, mi	je, l	tʃe, l-mi
72 sun	e-wi, hm-l	e-wi, m-l	owa, h-hm
73 moon	afitɛ, m-b-m	afitɛ, l-l-l	ofene, h-l-l
74 star	ewebi, m-mi-l	ewebi, l-hm-l	m'ebi, h-m
75 water	ɔʃu, l-h	ɔʃu, l-h	ɔʃu, l-h
76 rain	ɔʃu ewotʃi, l-h-h-l-l	ɔʃu ewotʃi, l-h-m-l-l	ɔʃu, l-h
77 stone	bʔ, hm	bʔ, hm	bu, hm
78 sand	apuwɛ, l-l-l-h	efufo, l-h-h	ep'ɔʃɛ, l-l-h
79 earth	asaz, l-l-h	asaze, l-l-h	asaze, l-l-h
80 cloud	omɔnkum, m-h-m	maruka, l-h-l	omɔngokɔ, l-h-h-l
81 snake	adʒes, m-b-l	adʒes, l-h-l	edʒes'u, h-h-m

## WORD LISTS. Words 82-100. Villages 21-24.

English	VILLAGE	21 guag, h-hm bozo, m-l	22 g'ag, h asaman'kwe anum, l-l-l-h-l-l-h	23 tjeropó, h-b-l asaseto, l-l-l-h-l	24 laze, m-l laze, m-l
82 fire	adje, m-m	adje, m-m	adje, m-m	aje, m-hm	odje, h-l
83 ash	ogé, m-h-m	ogé, h-l	ogé, m-hm	ogé, m-hm	ogé, h-l
84 barn	esé, m-l-l	esé, l	esé, l	keze, m-m	f'ute, l-m
85 path	akpe, l-m	akpe, l-m	akpe, l-m	akpe, l-h	okp'we, l-h
86 mountain	bo, h	ebó, l-h	ebó, l-h	bo, h	b'w, h
87 rod	logi, m-l	logi, l	logi, l	logi, m-l	abé, h-l
88 green	iqubobó, m-m-h-l	iq'obobó, l-l-h-l	iq'obobó, l-l-h-l	fitieb' shabomomo, h-l-l-l-l-h-h	fitiebi'bobó, h-l-l-l-l
89 yellow	akre nufwa, l-h-hm-m	akre net'ifre, l-h-l-l-h	akre net'ifre, l-h-l-l-h	akoko srade, l-h-l-h-m	f'etebworesé, h-l-l-m-l-l
90 white	fiar, h-m	fiar, h-h	fiar, h-h	fiar, m-m	ofoforo, m-m-l-l
91 black	té, m-l	tó, hm	tó, hm	eté, m-l	obibi, h-h-l
92 night	api, m-h-m	api, h-l	api, h-l	api, m-m	ajje, h-m
93 loc	etfe, m-l	t'fe, h	t'fe, h	t'fe, m-l	zetesé, h-h-l
94 cold	awé, l-m-m	woró'udu, h-h-h-h	woró'udu, h-h-h-h	q'iridé'udu, m-m-m-m-l	q'irid'ody, h-h-m-m
95 full	ebé, m-l-l	bé, h	bé, h	bé, h	obó, l-h
96 new	ak'w, h-m	ak'w, m-h-l	ak'w, m-h-l	ak'w, h-l	ox'w, h-l
97 good	ak'waf, l-m-m	bafo, m-h-l	bafo, m-h-l	bafo, m-l	bafo, h-hm
98 round	kurukurwa, l-m-m-m-m	korokorowá, h-h-h-h-h	korokorowá, h-h-h-h-h	kurukurwa, m-m-m-m-m	korokorwa, h-h-h-l
99 dry	awé, hm-m-m	awore-sé, h-h-l-l	awore-sé, h-h-l-l	wore, hm-m	o'woresé, l-h-h-l
100 name	q'ig, l-m	q'ig, l-h	q'ig, l-h	q'ig, m-h	q'ig, m-m

## WORD LISTS. Words 55-81. Villages 25-28.

DESIGNER 25 SWUTU, I-I-H

English VILLAGE obutu, I-I-H

26 28baga, I-I-H

clamzago, h-l-m

27 katfereba, I-I-H-H

serupe, h-l-m

28 ntSomuru, I-I-H-H

prag, h

55 eat	diadtra, I-I-H-I	dji, h	dgi, h	28 ntSomuru, I-I-H-H	prag, h
56 bite	d0, I	d0, h	d0, h	27 katfereba, I-I-H-H	serupe, h-l-m
57 see	hzi, h	keni, I-h	kudi, I-h	26 28baga, I-I-H	clamzago, h-l-m
58 hear	z0, I	nu, h	nu, h	28 0°53'W, 7°59'N	
59 know	pinesta, h-l-I	p'in, I	piji, h		
60 sleep	de, I-m	di, h	dese, I-h		
61 die	wu, I	wu, h	wu, h		
62 kill	alamo, I-h-h	nu, h	m'a, h		
63 swim	bix 0tju, h-l-I	la, h	lifuu, I-h		
64 fly	pi, I	furrigi, I-I-H	furu, h-h-h		
65 walk	na, I	nste, I-h	nade, I-h		
66 come	ba, I	ba, I	ba, h		
67 lie down	kdse, I-h	dese, I-h	dese, I-h		
68 sit down	cfuase, I-h-m-m	cfama, I-h	cfama, I-h		
69 stand up	derese, h-h-m	ju, I-h	jule, I-h		
70 give	anemai, h-h-m	sa, h	sa, I		
71 say	ja, I	kaqs, I-h	ka, h		
72 see	ewi, h-h-m	apeju, I-h-h	kapeju, I-h-h		
73 moon	olami, I-h-h	kofot, I-h	kifot, I-h-h		
74 star	e-g'axi, h-h-m-I	ketfak'obe, I-h-h-I	ketfawadji, I-I-h-h		
75 water	0tju, I-h	0tju, I-h	nu, I-h		
76 rain	0be-dji, I-h-m-I	bare, m-l-I	puqs, h-I		
77 stone	ampi, I-h-m	kidzamba, I-h-h	kubwi, I-h		
78 sand	ap'ia, I-h-h-m	soar, h-I	esot'er, h-h-I		
79 earth	asata, I-h-I	kosawole, I-I-h-I	kaxi, I-h		
80 cloud	adoca, h-h-I	awolapa, I-h-h-I	soso, I-h		
81 smoke	0woto, h-h-I	aditi, I-h-I	edesi, I-h-h-h		

## WORD LISTS, Words 82-100, Villages 25-28.

English	VILLAGE	25	26	27	28
		newutu, 1-1-1 obate, 1-1-1	ngbaya, 1-1-1 damogbo, 1-1-1 1° 47' W, 9° 05' N	kafroba, 1-1-1-1 korpe, 1-1-1 2° 29' W, 9° 02' N	efemeru, 1-1-1-1 prag, 1 0° 55' W, 7° 59' N
82 fire		edga, 1-1	ada, 1-1	dea, 1-1	dya, 1
83 ash		q5, 1-1	gamo, 1-1-1	nsae, 1-1-1	gsare, 1-1-1
84 burn		1, 1	efja, 1-1	tf, 1	tfw, 1
85 path		enamijepabi, 1-1-1-1-1	akpa, 1-1	kpa, 1	kpa, 1
86 mountain		pkanka, 1-1-1	kibe, 1-1	kebet, 1-1-1	stapa, 1-1-1
87 red		kakoko, 1-1-1	kepepe, 1-1-1	kipepe, 1-1-1	stako, 1-1-1
88 green		afaz:bb, 1-1-1-1-1	kifurubomb, 1-1-1-1-1	kubur', 1-1-1	afabobo, 1-1-1-1
89 yellow		ekaw tora, 1-1-1-1-1	karjanyufu, 1-1-1-1-1	kojanyfa, 1-1-1-1	kiabamab, 1-1-1-1-1
90 white		efufuri, 1-1-1-1	kuiefal, 1-1-1	kufufel, 1-1-1	ifafulo, 1-1-1-1
91 black		t2, 1	kulembir, 1-1-1	kibibir, 1-1-1	etontop, 1-1-1
92 night		aninta, 1-1-1	kajaso, 1-1-1	kajaso, 1-1-1	epi, 1-1-1
93 loc		heheho, 1-1-1	eyei, 1-1-1	kabandee, 1-1-1-1	dya, 1
94 cold		yiriyirigiri, 1-1-1-1-1	wasi, 1-1	awo, 1-1	yululu, 1-1-1
95 full		obo, 1-1	awulapo, 1-1-1-1	ebis, 1-1-1	stabo, 1-1-1
96 new		obo, 1-1	kopepe, 1-1-1	kopop, 1-1-1	zapo, 1-1-1
97 good		ebod, 1-1-1	kabab, 1-1-1	esjar, 1-1-1	ewit, 1-1-1
98 round		kokorowaz, 1-1-1-1	ackelei, 1-1-1	kokoale, 1-1-1-1	kolakola, 1-1-1-1
99 dry		efigle, 1-1-1	gwet, 1-1	wol, 1	ewole, 1-1-1
100 name		k'ada, 1-1-1	ketara, 1-1-1	kejay, 1-1	etc, 1-1

## WORD LIST 5, Words 55-81, Villages 29-31.

DISTRICT 29 dompo, h-m

English VILLAGE 20mpoljō, l-l-h-h

8°09'N, 2°22'W

30 tʃɔmbɔlɔ, l-l-h-h

okofa, l-h-h

8°19'N, 2°38'E

31 bazantʃe, l-l-h-h

fofo, h-m-l or ssmere, h-h-m

9°33'N, 1°22'E

55 eat	dʒi, h	dʒi, h-m
56 bite	dum, h	dū, h-m
57 see	kʌndɛ, l-h	kafɛ, h-m
58 hear	na, h	na, h-m
59 know	oɣɛ, h-h	ʒɛ, h-h-m
60 sleep	dabɛ, h-h	dɛ, m-l
61 die	ewu, l-h	wu, h-m
62 kill	moc-moc, h-l	mɔ, l
63 swim	etɔɣ, l-h	kpotev, l-h
64 fly	akadho, l-h-l	kooso, l-h
65 walk	enar, h-l	na, m-l
66 come	ba, h	ba, m-l
67 lie down	edɛho, l-h-l	dɛ, m-l
68 sit down	ɛʃɛna, l-h-l	tʃina, l-h
69 stand up	ɛli, l-h-l	kooso, l-h
70 give	hɔr, h	sam, h-m
71 say	ʒono, h-l	kaɣ, h-m
72 sun	pɔ, h	ouwe, h-m-h-m
73 moon	fɛle, h-l	kofofo, l-h-h
74 ear	kakpɛʃɛ, l-h-h	dʒɛdɛbɛli, l-h-h-h-h
75 water	ɔv, l-h-m	tʃɔm, l-h
76 rain	bʌrɛbɛ, l-l-h-m	ʒokon, l-h
77 stone	ɔwt, h-m	dubuɔli, l-h-l
78 sand	piɛ, l-h	kapɛza, l-h-m
79 earth	kahɛle, l-l-h	ɛsɛ, l-h
80 blood	ɔvɛv, h-l	ɛokom-ɔvɛv, l-l-h-h-h
81 smoke	dɛstɛ, l-l-h	ɛdʒim, l-h-m

## WORD LISTS. Words 82-100. Villages 29-31.

English	VILLAGE	8°09'N, 2°25'W	30 tɔ́mbɔ̀bɔ̀, 1-1-m òkɔ̀fɔ̀, 1-1-m 8°19'N, 2°38'E	31 baxɔ̀ntɔ̀, 1-1-m fɔ̀dɔ̀, 1-m-1 or semere, 1-1-m 9°33'N, 1°22'E
82 fire	des, 1-1		lokpa, 1-1-m	ɔ̀dɔ̀, 1-1-m
83 ash	nɔ̀nt, 1-1-1		nɔ̀, m-m	axɔ̀m, 1-1
84 burn	tɔ̀rmo, 1-1		tɔ̀r, 1-m	ɔ̀tɔ̀, 1-1-m
85 path	kpa, 1-m		ɔ̀kpa, 1-1	kakpa-ɔ̀tes, 1-1-1-m-1
86 mountain	beje, 1-1		kafɔ̀, 1-1-1	debole, 1-1-m-m
87 red	pepepe, 1-1-1		kupape, 1-1-1	mpɔ̀mɔ̀, 1-1-m-m
88 green	flɔ̀si, 1-1-m		afɔ̀ntɔ̀jɔ̀, 1-1-1-m	gbowu, m-m
89 yellow	peperɔ̀, 1-1-1		dyɔ̀ntɔ̀jɔ̀, 1-1-1-m	zɔ̀dɔ̀dɔ̀, 1-1-1-1
90 white	fufɔ̀jɔ̀, 1-1-1		kufufɔ̀, 1-1-1-1	ɔ̀fulɔ̀, 1-1-1
91 black	bibi, 1-1-1		kodɔ̀mbɔ̀, 1-1-m	mbimɔ̀, 1-1-m-1
92 night	kɔ̀zɔ̀bi, 1-1-1		kape, 1-1	kajɔ̀, 1-1-m
93 hot	ewɔ̀tes, 1-1-m-1		ɔ̀kɔ̀dɔ̀, 1-1-1-1	kɔ̀ɔ̀pɔ̀, 1-1-1
94 cold	ewɔ̀jɔ̀, 1-1-1		ojuji, 1-1-1	ojuɔ̀, 1-1-1
95 full	ɔ̀jɔ̀mɔ̀, 1-1-1		ɔ̀gɔ̀gɔ̀, 1-1-1	ɔ̀gɔ̀bɔ̀, 1-m-m-1-m
96 new	ɔ̀pɔ̀pɔ̀, 1-1-1		kɔ̀pɔ̀pɔ̀, 1-1-1	ɔ̀pɔ̀ɔ̀, 1-1-m-1
97 good	ɔ̀fɔ̀wɔ̀, 1-1-1		day, 1	ɔ̀dam, 1-1
98 round	manakpɔ̀te, 1-1-1-1		keɔ̀teɔ̀, 1-1-1	kufukufu, 1-1-1-1
99 dry	ewɔ̀fo, 1-1-1-m		ɔ̀wɔ̀di, 1-1-1	ɔ̀wɔ̀lɔ̀, 1-1-1-1
100 name	jeɔ̀, 1-1		kaɔ̀te, 1-1	dɔ̀pɔ̀ndɔ̀, 1-1-1

## 7. THE ANALYSIS - METHOD

I feel obliged, prior to the statistical work-out, to refer to each word list as representing an idiolect. The use of words like 'language' and 'dialect' at this stage would have been confusing. As the data was taken from one person only from each village - a person whom I took, again by subjective questioning, to be representative of his language community - it seemed appropriate to refer to each word list as an idiolect and to refer only to 'languages' and 'dialects' after the statistical work-out. So, for instance, idiolects 1-8 came to be considered as one dialect in the final analysis.

I went idiolect by idiolect through the 100 word lists and marked off, using different colours, those words which had some significant element in common from idiolect to idiolect. It is true that I have not made a morphemic analysis of any of these idiolects as yet, but I was familiar enough with them to detect common affixes and compound words. It would be dangerous to call these 'roots' at present, but they will doubtless correspond closely to the roots as these are exposed.

At present suffice to call them 'common elements'.

There were two reasons for doing this: (1) to facilitate a comparative study of the idiolects by isolating the comparable items, and (2) to make clear what I considered to be 'look-alikes'. This springs from my dissatisfaction with many 'look-alike' studies which often seem very subjective, with no way of checking the writer's premises. This is especially unfortunate as it is so easy to isolate these 'common elements' and so show readers on what the figures are really based.

So Table A on page 65 shows how many items out of 100 each idiolect has in common with each other idiolect on the basis of 'common elements'.

Table B on page 66 gives a general breakdown of these figures, while Chart C on page 67 is a stylized geographical chart showing all correlations of 65 or over out of 100.

It is at this point that one of the most interesting features of the study emerges. It will be seen that *basa* correlates at a very high level with no other idiolect, but correlates at a fairly high level with almost all the others. This feature is shared by no other idiolect; the others showing intercorrelations which correspond closely to what one might expect from the geographical spread.

This conclusion - that *basa* is to some degree central to the group was reached alone and purely linguistically. Only afterwards did I find that Professor Ivor Wilks of the University of Ghana, Institute of African Studies had come to similar conclusions on historical grounds. He has kindly contributed the following paragraph to this paper.

'*Basa* falls within the historical kingdom of "Boorom", the capital of which was Dwae (Guan), some 18 miles to the west. The confusion of "Boorom" with Brong, the name given to the Twi-speaking areas further west, around Takyanan and Nkoranza, led earlier writers to assume, wrongly, that Brong, like Boorom, was a Guan-speaking district.

Although the *Basa*/Dwae region remains to this day a Guan-speaking one, as early as 1817 it was noted by T. E. Bowdich that Twi was already widely spoken there. There can be little doubt that, as a result of the centralising policies of the Ashanti kings from the 18th century onwards, Guan had been rapidly giving way to Twi in the region between Kumasi and Boorom. In other words, although *Basa* is now geographically on the fringes of the Guan-speaking areas, until two or three centuries ago it was probably central within a large Guan-speaking region extending much further to the south.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF GUANG IN GHANA

300 consecutive pairs showing how many words each dialect in the horizontal row has in common with each dialect in the vertical column; the words listed taken from the Swadesh 100-item basic vocabulary.

TABLE A

	DIALECT																								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
	boke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h	beke, h-h
1	86	95	97	92	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94
2	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88
3	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90
4	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92
5	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94
6	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96
7	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98
8	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
9	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
10	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
11	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
12	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
13	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
14	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
15	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
16	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
17	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
18	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
19	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
20	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
21	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
22	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
23	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
24	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
25	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99

TABLE B  
APPENDIX TO TABLE A

agghanye	all inter-correlations between 83 and 95	- 28
awuta	all inter-correlations between 35 and 49	- 17
awutu	all inter-correlations between 50 and 60	- 5
awutu	all inter-correlations between 61 and 63	- 2
the rest	all inter-correlations below 50	- 9
the rest	all inter-correlations between 50 and 64	- 191
the rest	all inter-correlations between 65 and 93	- 48
		—
Total		- 300

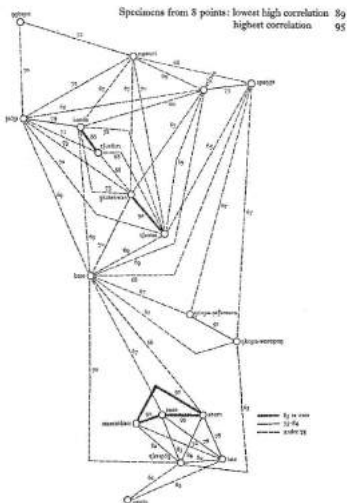
The present distribution of Guan dialects in Ghana, in a broad semi-circle following the Black Volta and the Volta, has often been taken as indicative of a movement of Guan-speaking people into Ghana along these rivers. It is doubtful whether this hypothesis can be sustained. The semi-circular effect probably marks no more than the limits of Ashanti linguistic influence; that is, it marks the expanding frontier of Twi, the retreating frontier of Guan. If this is so, then the linguistically central position of Busea, noted by Mr. Painter, becomes more understandable in the light of its former geographically central position. There is clearly need for detailed studies of Asante dialects (and place-names) in areas around Kumasi, e.g. Kwabre, where it is known that pre-Ashanti populations were incorporated into the Ashanti state: it is possible that Guan elements would be identifiable in such dialects.

### 8. THE 'COMMON ELEMENTS'

[1]	1. ma, me, mo, me	2. —	3. —	4. —
[2]	1. fo, wo	2. —	3. —	4. —
3	1. fa, fa, na, ni, no	2. ri, lo	3. jo	4. —
4	1. mo, ma, ma, mo, mwɔ	2. te, de, de	3. re, li	4. ne, no 5. to
5	1. me, mo, mo, ma, mwa, mɔ, mwɔ	2. na, na, no, ne	3. de, de	4. to 5. ala
6	1. na, nse	2. ne, ne, na, noe, nɛ	3. emɔ, mo, ma	4. ka
7	1. ne, ne, na	2. me, ma	3. nta, nta, nto, nto	4. —
8	1. N	2. dɛbi, beɪ, dɛbi, be	3. a]	4. o
9	1. pa, pe, piɛ	2. ka, ki	3. mofɛ, mofɛ	4. nɛ 5. kpɛnɛ, *gbɛnɛ 6. kana 7. anɛfɔ
10	1. damata, dɛnta, damata, demeta	2. sɛfɔ, tɛwɔ, tɛfɛfɔ, etɛfɔ	3. babre, birbir, bebe, bebe:	4. mɛmɛpɛwɛ, pi 5. a]sɛ 6. sɛsɛ

CHART C

A stylized geographical chart showing all correlations of 65 or over out of 100 among the 25 Guang idiolects.



## COMMON ELEMENTS

- [11] 1. ko, kwo, kɔ, ku, 2. — 3. — 4. —  
ky, kɔ, kɛ, kwɔ
- [12] 1. no, ɲo, ŋu, ɲo, 2. — 3. — 4. —  
ɲɔ
- 13 1. bwenbwen, gbog 2. dabi 3. lala, lɛlɛ, lala 4. zekjore  
bon, bwɛgbwɛ,  
gbɛgbɛ,  
gbɛgbwɛ,  
biɛbiɛ, bɛgbɛ,  
kpɛkpɛ,  
kpɛkpɛ,  
kpɛkpɛ,  
kpo, gbo
- 14 1. tentɛ, tentin, 2. swe, swi, se, 3. ebogata 4. lampat  
tenten, tantɔ,  
tɛtɛn, tɛtɛɲ,  
tɛtɛɲ, tɛtɛ,  
tɛtɛ
- 15 1. fɛl, bɛ, bɛ, pɛ 2. dʒɛndʒɛ, dʒandʒɛ 3. kakakɛ,  
tukuridi, kekedi 4. pɛɲ, piɛ
- [16] 1. ɛɛfɛ, ɛfɛ, ɛfɛ, 2. — 3. — 4. —  
ɔfɛ, ɔfɛ, ɔfɛ,  
afɛ, ɔfɛ, afɛ,  
ɔfɛ, ɔfɛ
- [17] 1. ɲɔ, ɲin, ɲan, 2. — 3. — 4. —  
ɲan, ɲɛ, ɲin,  
ɲɛ, ɲɛ, ɲin,  
ɲɛ, ɲɛ, ɲɛ, ɲɛ,  
ɲɛ, ɲin, hɛnɛ
- [18] 1. sa, sɛ, sɛ, sɛ 2. dɛmodi 3. — 4. —
- 19 1. rɔtɔ, rɔtɔ, 2. kin, kin, kin, 3. nɔ, mɔ 4. kɛmɛti, kɛmɛti  
rɔyɔtɔ, rɔtɔ, kɛɲi, kɛn, kɛ,  
rɔyɛtɛ kɛɲ
- [20] 1. bwi, buj, bwi, 2. — 3. — 4. —  
bwi, gbwɛ, bwe,  
bwi, gbwi, bi,  
bɛ, bɛ
- 21 1. dʒɔnɔ, dʒɔnɛ, 2. ɔkramɛ, 3. kpɔrɛ 4. tʒɛ, kʒɛ,  
dʒɔnɛ, dʒɔkɛ, okramɛ, ɔkramɛ, gbwɛ  
dʒɔnɔ, dʒɔnɛ 5. oputi
- [22] 1. bi, bi, bi, be, ba, 2. okɔrɛ 3. — 4. —  
gba, bwi, bo,  
bɛtɛ, bwi

THE DISTRIBUTION OF GUANG IN GHANA

(23) 1. bi, bi	2. ji, ji, ju	3. —	4.
24 1. dji, dji, tje	2. bi, bi, bij	3. duso, dulto, dusa	4. —
(25) 1. fantā, fantā, fantag, fanta, fora, fra, facc, fita, fada, fairo, fita, ez, fata	2. thā, inhi, qhi	3. —	4. —
26 1. lgi, lgg, legi, lgi, lq, lq, liq, liq, li	2. laike, la	3. tʃun, tuq, tun	4. ɪɪ, ɪɪ 5. kpa
27 1. fwo, fo, fwe, fwe, ful, fui, fwu, fo	2. igbo	3. kajowore	4. ejibioyei 5. komo kamin
(28) 1. el, wɪ, wɛ, wɔ, wɔ, wɔl, wɔl, wɔl, wɔl, wor, wor, qer, jɔr, jɔr, jɔr, jɔl	2. nɪm, nɪm	3. —	4. —
29 1. baā, baḡ, blaḡ, baḡ, bala	2. edzi, jedzi	3. nu, nɔ, num, nɔ, ni, ni, no, nɔ	4. bobo, bubo 5. ije
30 1. gkala, gkāl, gkalag, gkala, gkara	2. bodza, modza, budza, modza, mwodza	3. xoto, xoto, hoto	4. —
31 1. wu	2. bu, bu, bo, bow	3. wi, wi	4. kasa, kasa 5. kuja, gu
32 1. ŋfɔ, ŋfɔ, ŋfɔ, ofɔ, mfɔ, ŋfɔ, ŋfɔ, ŋfɔ, ŋfɔ	2. gkɔ, gku	3. etora	4. urade 5. boroyo
33 1. folc, filc, folc, fyil, fule, file, fyic, forc	2. kara, kari, kots, kots	3. bwale, bali	4. bwono, bwono, bōno, bono, boono, bono, fonɔ, fanɔ 5. besi
34 1. fe, fɛ, be, mbja, be, bua, bri, brc, bala, bra, bare, bele, bele, bore	2. si, si, si	3. laq	4. tʃware 5. ɔɔpwe 6. aɔ
35 1. do, du, dwu, ɔwi, dɔ, dɔ	2. te	3. bula	4. gekɔ
[36] 1. ce, te, tje, tɔ, ta	2. —	3. —	4. —
(37) 1. fi, fui, pwi	2. meɔ, mah, min, mi, min, ma, mag, mi, mi, miani, mijoni, mijoni, jimi, pene, hōni	3. —	4. —
(38) 1. mɔ, mu, ŋu, ŋwu, ŋu, mɔ, wu, wu	2. nɪrɪ	3. —	4. —
(39) 1. so, sɔ, sue, sje, se, so, sɔ, sɔ, su	2. —	3. —	4. —

## COMMON ELEMENTS

(40) 1. ʃi, si, ze, zɛ	2. kato	3. —	4. —
(41) 1. muna, muna, muro, mero, mela, ɣwano, ɣwane, ɣma, mɛno, mone, ɣwan, ɣwa, ɣwt, ɣwa	2. hoaso	3. —	4. —
(42) 1. no, no	2. letu	3. —	4. —
43 1. ni, ni, ni, ni, ni, ni	2. bwano, bwano	3. woso, woso	4. —
(44) 1. dyn, don, dua, don, don, don, dag, dag, dan, nan, non, non	2. dɛɣu, dɛɣu	3. —	4. —
45 1. ku, ko, ko	2. ɣwari, wɔre, wore, wale, wali, wolo, xwolo, xab, xara, xra	3. urebɛ	4. adeto
(46) 1. ja, a, a	2. na	3. —	4. —
47 1. mull, mule, mola, mwuli, mwali, ɣwani, ɣwani, ɣwari, mali, ɣwani, ɣwani, unɔ, wuni, ɣwani, hwuni, huni	2. kwante, konte	3. saakɔ	4. —
48 1. no, no	2. sara, sɣri, sara, sare, sore	3. ba, bi, be	4. —
49 1. pu, pun, kpun	2. me, me, ni, me, mɛ	3. to	4. kpwi, pwi, pu 5. ohɔ
50 1. po, bo, ba, bwa, bole	2. ekwa	3. kone, kona, konti	4. boji 5. asyɛ, asyɛ 6. dohwɛ
51 1. nipo, nepo, nipo, nipo, nabo, nipo, nepo, naba, nipo, nɔpo	2. axo, aho, xɔ, axo, hoɔ	3. gbane	4. —
52 1. kufambi, karembi, kolambi, karembi, korumbi, korumbi, karembi	2. deɣ, dɛɣ, dɛ, dɔ, tu	3. adame	4. konɔ, kaiɔ 5. gesɛɣ 6. kumu, kamɔ 7. ɛpi 8. epa

THE DISTRIBUTION OF GUANG IN GHANA

53	1. gbaritʃe, buritʃe, bɛtʃe, gbaracʃe, birɛtʃe, bwi, gbatʃe	2. ekpo, akpo, akpɔ, kpako, kpakpo	3. foro	4. ebotsale 5. gbentakorebi 6. kakalumbi 7. akalo
[54]	1. nu, nɔ, nɔw, nuɔ	2. —	3. —	4. —
[55]	1. dʒi, di, dʒi	2. —	3. —	4. —
(56)	1. dʒu, dɔ, dʒɔ, dɔ, du, dɔw, dɔn, dɛ	2. wo	3. —	4. —
57	1. wu, gwu	2. konɔ, kani, kɛnɔ, ke, keni, keni, kɛl, tʃe, tʃo, tʃi	3. ha	4. dere
58	1. nu, nɔ, nuɔ, nɔw	2. ka	3. tɔ	4. —
59	1. pʃin, pʃin, pɛn	2. pe, bi, be, bɛ	3. pi, pi, pɔ, ne, gwu, ni, ni	4. hɔ 5. ɔmensa
[60]	1. de, di, dɛ, dɛ	2. —	3. —	4. —
[61]	1. wu	2. —	3. —	4. —
[62]	1. mo, mwɔ, mɔ, mo, mo, mwɔ	2. —	3. —	4. —
63	1. la, le, lɛ	2. tɔw, te, ti	3. re	4. tolɛ, tɔl 5. bʃe, bʃe, bie, bja
64	1. furɔɔ, forɔɔ, furɔɔ, furɔɔ, firi, forɔɔ, fol, forɔ, fuki, fuli, forɔɔ, furɔɔl, furɔɔl, forɔɔl	2. kwɔso	3. ɔmail	4. pɛ
[65]	1. nɛɛ, nite, nɛɛ, nare, nare, nari, nate, no, nate	2. —	3. —	4. —
[66]	1. ba, bɔ, be, be	2. —	3. —	4. —
67	1. di, di, de, dɛ	2. ɔɛɛɛɛɛɛ	3. kɔɛɛɛɛ	4. kɔɔɔ
(68)	1. tʃɛnɛ, tʃina, tʃina, tʃena, tʃana, tʃenɔ, tʃɛnɛ, tʃera, sɛ, tʃa, tʃɛnɛ	2. ɔɛ	3. —	4. —
69	1. jɛ, ɔ, jɛ, jɛ, jɛ, jɛ, jɛ	2. kɔso, kɔso, kɔso, kɔso, ɔso, ɛɛ	3. nɛnɛ	4. —
70	1. sɛ, sa, sɔ, sɔ, swa, so, swa, so	2. nɛ, ne	3. ha	4. —
71	1. tɔ, tɔw, tɔw, tɔɔ	2. bre, bele	3. tʃa, tʃo, ja, ɔ, ɔɛ, jɛ	4. kɔɔ, kɔɔ, kɔɔ 5. dʒɛ, dʒɛ 6. nɛnɛ 7. kɛ

## COMMON ELEMENTS

72	1. tʃowɛ, tʃowɛ	2. owu, owi, owi, ewi, ewi, awi	3. epeɲi, epeɲi, əpɲɲɪ	4. —
73	1. fɔl, fɔl, fɔw, fɔl, fɪ, fɪrɪ, fɔrɔ, fɛrɪ, fɪrɪ, fɔwɔr, fɔrɔ	2. bɔwɔsɔ, bɔsɔ	3. ɔbɔwɔ	4. ofɔnɔ, ɔfɛtɪ, ɔfɔnɔ, ɔfɛntɛ, ɔfɛntɛ 5. ɔsɔrɔ 6. ɔfɛrɔ 7. ɔlɔmɪ
(74)	1. kpeɲɛ, tʃekpe, kpeɲɪ, tʃekpɔ, tʃekpɔ, tʃɛkpe, tʃɛkpe, tʃekpɔ, tʃɛkpe, dʒɛkpe, kpe, kpa, kpɛ	2. webi, ewi, owu, ewi, webɪ	3. —	4. —
[75]	1. ɲɛfɔ, ɲɛfɔ, ɲɛfɔ, ɲɛfɔ, ɲɛfɔ	2. —	3. —	4. —
76	1. bɔrɛ, bɔrɛ, bɔrɪ, bɔwɛrɛ, bɔwɛrɛ, bɔlɔlɔ	2. ɲambo, ɲaɲkɔ, ɲaɲpɔɲ, ɲaɲbɔɲ, ɲaɲmɔɲ, ɲaɲpɔɲ, ɲaɲpɔ	3. ɛwɔtʃɪ, ɛwɔtʃɪ	4. ɲɛfɔ, ɲɛfɔ, dʒɔ
(77)	1. bu, gbu, bwi, bwi, gbwi	2. ɛmpɪ	3. —	4. —
78	1. sɛ, sɛ, sɛ, sɪ, sɪ, sɛ, sɛ, sɛ	2. ɛnɔɔ, ɛnɔwɔ, ɛnɔwɔ, ɛnɔwɔ, ɛnɔwɔ	3. mɔwɛkɛ	4. ɛfufu
79	1. sɛ, sɛ, sɛ, sɛ, sɔɔ, sɪ, sɔ, sɔ	2. tɔrɛ	3. dʒɛ	4. ɛtɛtɛ
80	1. wɔl, wɔl, wɔl, wɔl, wɔr, wɔr, wɔr, ɔlɪ	2. mɔrɔkɔm, mɔnkum, mɔrɔkɔ, mɔnɔnkɔ	3. ɛbɔlɛ	4. ɔtɔtɔ 5. bɔtɔtɔ 6. dʒɪndʒɪ 7. ɛgbɔwɛ 8. ɔdɔtɔ
81	1. dɪ, dɪ, dʒɪ, dʒɛ, dʒɛ, ɲɛ, ɲɛ, ɲɛ	2. bɔrɛ	3. ɛu	4. wɔsɔ
82	1. kpa, kpe	2. ɛɛ, ɛɛ	3. dʒɛ, dʒɛ, dʒɛ, ɲɛ, dʒɛ	4. fɔbɪɲ
[83]	1. sɔ, sɔ, sɔ, sɔ, sɔɔ, sɛ, sɛ	2. —	3. —	4. —
84	1. tʃɔ, tʃɔ, tʃwɔ, tʃwɛ	2. ɛɔ, ɛɔ	3. ɛɛ	4. dʒɪ, dʒɛ 5. wɔ 6. ɲɔ 7. kɔtɛ 8. sʒɔtɛ 9. ɲɔ

THE DISTRIBUTION OF GUANG IN GHANA

85	1. kpa, kpo, kpeɛ, kpe, pa	2. tɔ	3.—	4.—
86	1. be, bu, bi, gbo, bo	2. pira	3. ŋkenke	4.—
87	1. papɛ, papɛ, pepɛ, pipɛ, kɛkɛpɛ, pɛpɛ, ɛpɛ, pɛpɛ, kpɛpɛ, papɛ, pɛpɛ, pɛɛɛɛ, pɛbɛ, pɛpɛ	2. akoko, kɛɛ	3. bɛɛ	4.—
88	1. bɛmbɛ, bɛmbɛn, bambɛ, bɛmbɛ, bobo, bombo, bobɛɛ, pɛbɛɛ, bobɛɛ, bobɛɛ, bɔbɔ, bobo, bobɔ, bamo, bɔ	2. dɛɛdɛ, dɛɛdɛ	3. fetɛɛ, fitɛɛ, fitɛ, fotɛɛ, fitɛɛ, fɛɛ, fite, fɛɛ, foɛɛ, fite, fitɛɛ, fetɛɛ	4. tɛpɛɛ, dɛɛpɛɛ, bibori 5. lembɛɛ
89	1. fu, fwa, fo, fɔ, fɛɛ	2. bwa, bwɛ	3. kɛɛ, kapo	4. nohɛ 5. koko, koka 6. sɛɛɛ 7. wɛɛɛɛ 8. elɛɛɛɛɛ
(90)	1. fɛfɛ, fɛfɛ, fifɛ, fufɛ, fufɛ, fɛfɛ, fufɛ, fɛfɛ, fufɛ	2. fututu, fototo, fitaɛ	3.—	4.—
91	1. lembɛ, lembɛ, lɛmbɛ, lɛmbɛ	2. bibi, bibi, bibi, bibi	3. tɛntɛɛ, tɛntɛ, tɛɛ, tɛ	4. dɛɛdɛ, dɛɛdɛ
(92)	1. ŋɛ, ŋɛ, ŋɛ, ŋɛ, ŋɛ	2. dɛɛbɛɛ	3.—	4.—
93	1. tɛɛɛ, tɛɛɛ, tɛɛɛ, tɛɛɛ, tɛɛɛ, tɛɛɛ, tɛɛɛ	2. dɛɛ, dɛɛ	3. bo, bɛ, bwɛ, bu, gbo	4. tɛɛ, tɛɛ, tɛɛ 5. pɛɛpɛ 6. bɛ 7. hɛhɛhɛ
94	1. wɛɛ, wɛɛ, wɛɛ, wɛɛ, wɛɛ	2. qiri, qiɛ, jɛɛ, jɛɛ, jɛɛ, jɛɛ, jɛɛ, wɛɛ, wɛɛ, wɛɛ	3. fɛɛ	4. lui 5. owo
(95)	1. bɛbɛ, bɛbɛ, bɛbɛ, bɛbɛ, bɛbɛ, bɛbɛ, bɛbɛ, bɛbɛ, bɛbɛ, bɛbɛ, bɛbɛ	2. bo, bo, bɔ, bɔ	3.—	4.—
96	1. pup, pap, pob, pap, pap, pap	2. fɛbɛ, fufɛɛ	3. wɛ, ɛɛ, ɛɛ, xwɛ, hwe, xɛɛ, hɛ	4.—

## COMMON ELEMENTS

97	1. lala, lola, lola, lola	2. wali, wole, wala, wari, wari, bairi, bora, bwale, bwale, bale, bale	3. kost, kwaf	4. tabodaj, boraj 5. kpekpe 6. eladjanse
(98)	1. kukul, kolokol, kokol, kokol, keleko, korokor, korukor, kurukur, klikli, kalukakug, kokoro, kokoro	2. lelemu	3. —	4. —
[99]	1. wol, wol, wil, wol, wul, war, wor, war, wor, wur, uqi	2. —	3. —	4. —
100	1. tare, tere, tere, tire, te	2. pine, pare, jene, piŋ, piŋ, pa, nɔ, nɔ, pine	3. da	4. —

Words with only one column of common elements	19	marked [ ]
Words with only two columns of common elements	21	marked ( )
Words with three or more columns of common elements	60	unmarked
Total words	100	

## 9. MIGRATION

Some 40 miles or so north-east of Accra lies the South Akim Abuakwa area to which there has been considerable migration, well dated and studied, mostly since the end of last century, on account of the good cocoa farming which has been found there.

According to Dr. John Hunter (see Bibliography) 22% of the migrant farmers in the Suhum area are of Guanig origin and the whole area is dotted with Cherpong, Late, Anum and even Krachi speaking people.

Dr. Hunter says: 'The growth of Twi is interesting since in the survey area, those for whom Twi is a first language do not constitute a majority. . . Nevertheless this pidgin Twi is a lingua franca of the area.'

## 10. THE VOLTA LAKE

Soon after Easter 1964 the gates were closed at the new Akosombo Dam and the waters above it began to rise. Eventually there will be a man-made lake along the Volta and its tributaries over 200 miles long, and near Kete Krachi about 30 miles wide.

The Guanigs will be the most affected by this. Between the Ndrapo and Yeji, in the upper reaches, the lake will be several miles wide and without a ferry, effectively cutting off the people on either side from each other; and, farther down-stream the Krachis, living at the confluence of the Volta, Seno and Oti, will lose over half their land and be cut into five separate pieces separated by large stretches of water.

## THE DISTRIBUTION OF GUANG IN GHANA

Most will be rehoused into two large Volta River Project towns. Ketsi Krachi itself will be rebuilt as one of them. It is interesting to speculate on a linguistic project which could make use of such an unprecedented event.

### II. A RECLASSIFICATION

LANGUAGE GROUP	LANGUAGE/DIALECT CLUSTER	DIALECT
Akan	1. Twi-Fante	—
	2. Anyi-Baule	—
	3. North Guang	1. Gonja 2. Chocuba 3. Ndimpo 4. Yeji 5. Prang 6. Nawuri 7. Achode 8. Anyanga 9. Nchimbaru 10. Nchumana 11. Krachi
	4. Nkonya Guang	1. Nkonya
	5. Hill Guang	1. Anum 2. Cherepong 3. Late
	6. Coastal Guang	1. Awutu 2. Efutu
	7. Dabomey Guang	1. Bazantche 2. Tschumbali

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Abbreviations are as follows:

- B The Balme Library, University of Ghana.  
 II The Humboldt University, East Berlin.  
 S The Senate House Library, University of London.  
 BM The British Museum Reading Room, London.  
 SOAS The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

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## POSTSCRIPT, NOVEMBER 1966

This article first saw light at a seminar at the University of Ghana in June, 1964. There are a number of details in interpretation which I would now make, but the data and main conclusions remain unchanged – and so shall the text. Publications have a habit of being behind research.

In particular the reader will note that there are word lists for not 25 but 31 idioms. Numbers 26–31 are more recent additions and are not commented upon in the older text.

Bibliographically I should now mention:

- 1) my 'Gaany – towards a historical perspective', a paper for the Fifth West African Languages Congress, Accra, 1965.
- 2) my 'The high tone verbal phrase in Gonja', a paper for the Sixtieth Congrès Des Langues Guées Africaines, Yaoundé, 1965.
- 3) my 'Gaany and West African historical reconstruction', *GHANA NOTES AND QUERIES*, 1966.
- 4) my two papers referred to in the footnote to section 4 of this article.
- 5) JOHN STEWART'S COMPARATIVE AFRICAN WORD LISTS NO. 2, 'Aweza, Larteh, Ninsya and Krachi with glosses in English and Twi', Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, 1966.