

A DICTIONARY
OF THE
GBARI LANGUAGE

[D R A F T O N L Y]

[Prepared by the below named authors 1981-1993. Not tone-marked]

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GBARI GBADOGUN

Authors' Preface

This printout is being distributed in the Gbari area to everyone interested in the development of the Gbari language for cultural and educational purposes. The slogan and title on the front page is the name of the Gbari development association, Gbari Gbadogun, and shows that the effort to create a dictionary is supported by the community.

This dictionary is being developed for the Gbari community and we hope that those who are interested will take the opportunity to make constructive comment on the text. The more words that are included and the clearer the definitions the better. All ideas for improving the dictionary should be given to Musa Doma who will transmit them to Roger Blench for computer processing.

The computer will allow the creation of an English-Gbari section to help find the Gbari words -however, it is better to prepare this when the Gbari-English section is complete, otherwise both parts must be edited.

We are hoping to have *two* editions; an edition that can be sold outside Nigeria and a version printed in Nigeria. A locally printed version will be substantially cheaper than a book that has to be printed outside Nigeria and imported. That way, more people will be able to buy it.

We hope you enjoy reading this and that the existence of the dictionary will be the beginning of a move towards the creation of an accepted orthography. Once there is an accepted writing system, primers can be prepared making it easier to teach Gbari in the schools.

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Introduction

Gwari (Gbari and Gbagyi) is one of the major languages of central Nigeria, and the Gwari are one of the most widespread and numerous peoples, with settlements in Plateau, Kaduna, Niger, Kogi States and the Federal Capital Territory. A long time ago, in 1909, Major Edgar prepared a dictionary and grammatical notes on the Gbagyi dialect spoken at Kuta. Despite this, to date, little has been written about it from a modern linguistic point of view. The only major studies that exist are Hyman & Magaji (1970) and James (1990). James contains a valuable bibliography of publications in and about the language. Blench (1989) illustrates the place of Gbari in the Nupoid language family.

This is a printout of a draft lexicon of the Gbari dialect spoken near Kwali -Sumwakkpna. It also includes lexical items from closely related dialects, especially Zubakkpna, where these differ other than by a predictable sound-change. The feature of Gbari that is most perplexing when trying to establish a standard form is the immense variety in both words, sound-patterns and tone from one area to another. In this version of the lexicon, tones are marked only occasionally. The reason for this is that the words in the lexicon have been collected over a long period. At present, the tone is being checked so that the system of marking it will be consistent throughout. Unless a word is specifically marked it should be treated as unmarked.

This is intended for checking and comment only and should not be considered a finished document.

Structure of the Dictionary

The dictionary is divided into two parts; the Gbari-English and English-Gbari. The Gbari-English is the most complete and contains the examples of the words in use -any word you look up in the English-Gbari should be checked the other way round.

Apart from the main text there are a number of appendixes that explain certain things in more detail. These cover numbers, place-names, personal names, titles and also include some notes on Gbari society to help explain topics such as traditional marriage. The outline is as follows;

1. Introduction
2. Gbari-English
3. English-Gbari (not yet prepared)

Appendixes;

1. Names of the months
2. Notes on Gbari society
3. Names of Villages, Rivers and other Geographical features
4. Personal Names
5. Phonology and Grammar

Structure of individual entries

Each entry has the following order;

Gbari word	part of speech	Meaning
Example;		
abwaawyi	excl.	Good evening!

Gbari words are always in boldface.

Under the meaning, a common English meaning is given. However, where plants and animals are included, the Latin name is also included. The Latin name is always in *italics*. Other meanings of a word are listed below the first meaning. Where a word is used in an idiom it is marked 'id.' and the literal translation of the idiom is given. Examples of the word in use are given first in Gbari and then in a natural English translation.

Abbreviations

et.	etymologically
hum.	humorous
id.	idiom
lit.	literally
us.	usually

Etymology and Loan-words

Not every word in the language is native to Gbari; like English, Gbari has borrowed words from other languages. The sources of many words have not been identified; however, obvious loanwords from other languages are marked in the text. The following abbreviations are used;

B.	=Bokpna
E.	= English
F.	= Fulfulde
H.	= Hausa
N.	= Nupe
S.	= Sumwakpna
Sh.	=Shigokpna
Y.	= Yoruba
Z.	= Zubakpna

Etymologies are sometimes given, showing the parts that make up a word.

A Writing System for Gbari

The Gbari language has so far not been written. Gbagyi does have a writing system, but the two languages are not the same. Therefore, the system of writing should be based on the sounds of Gbari. It should be as logical as possible so that it will be easy to write. Finally, however, decisions on the writing system should be made by an orthography committee set up to discuss these problems. Only then will the writing system be adopted by the community.

Appendix 5 explains the main features of the Gbari sound system in more detail and suggests a justification for the present writing system. Fortunately, the sounds of Gbari can be represented fairly easily with the usual English alphabet. The only additional letters are hooked 'b' and 'd' i.e. ɓ and ɗ. These will be familiar to anyone who is used to Hausa; many typewriters in Northern Nigeria have these letters on the keyboard. If your typewriter does not have the hooked letters, then 'b' and 'd' can be used instead, as in Hausa.

The order of letters is; a, b, ɓ, d, ɗ, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u, v, y, z.

There are also the digraphs; gb, kp, ts and dz which are written with two letters in English but are in fact only one sound. Technically speaking, 'kp', 'gb', 'ts' etc. are distinct sounds -however, for those familiar with the principles of English alphabetisation it is probably safer to treat them as made up of two separate letters. So 'gb' will be found inside the letter 'g' rather than as a separate heading.

A number of words have tentative spellings only; a final decision on how to write them has not been made.

Tones

Like most Nigerian languages, Gbari is a tone language and every vowel can have one of five possible tones. There are three level tones and two glides, rising and falling. The glide tones are rare and they could be analysed as combinations of level tones. However, they seem to occur in isolation on some words which indicates that they must be treated as separate tonemes. The tones are shown as follows;

High	´
Mid	Unmarked
Low	`
Rising	^
Falling	˘

When words are different only in tone, they are listed in the order low, middle, high.

Parts of Speech

Like all languages, Gbari words can be classified according to the function they have in the sentence. These are known as 'parts of speech' -the most well-known types are nouns and verbs. The following table gives the abbreviations used in the dictionary with short explanations;

Abbreviation	Full form	Explanation
a.	Adjective	Describes a noun
adv.	Adverb	Qualifies a verb
aux.	Auxiliary	Added to a verb to modify it, like a tense-marker
conj.	Conjunction	A word used to join two or more nouns, verbs or clauses
dem.	Demonstrative	Words used to point out something. 'this', 'that' etc.
excl.	Exclamation	Greetings or expressions that do not form part of an ordinary sentence
int.	Interrogative	Question words
n.	Noun	Refers to things, objects etc.
num.	Numeral	Number
part.	Particle	Short words added to complete the sentence
p.n.	Proper Name	A name of a person or object; always capitalised
prep.	Preposition	A word positioning nouns or verbs in time or space
pron.	Pronoun	A word that stands for a noun
v.	Verb	Expresses action
v.i.	Intransitive Verb	A verb with no object
v.t.	Transitive verb	A verb with an object

Needless to say, these categories were developed to describe English grammar and not all Gbari words fit neatly into them. For example, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish verbs from adjectives. Only a clear grammatical description will help the reader understand the function of a word in a sentence. At that point, the assignment to a particular part of speech is somewhat arbitrary; what counts is consistency throughout.

PART 1. GBARI-ENGLISH DICTIONARY

Gbari	PoS	English Gloss
A.		
á	aux.	completed past marker
a'a	excl.	No! (<H.?)
abwawyi	excl.	Good evening!
a gna do gnu aba	v.p.	half Lit. they divide it into two pieces
aku	n.	parrot (H.?)
akuki	n.	Guinea-yam cultivar High-yielding variety, good for pounding
alefo	n.	Waterleaf (<H.) <i>Amaranthus</i> sp.
alikewali	n.	Affirmation or promise (<H.)
ampani	n.	Advantage (<H.)
anyi	n.	soup
arife	excl.	Good morning!
atalibe	n.	Guinea-yam cultivar Early-maturing variety, good for pounding
awari	n.	Fish <i>Gymnarchus niloticus</i>
awu	n.	rope
azeki	n.	Riches, wealth, affluence (<H.)
B.		
ba	v.	to count mu ba azango e, bwari hnyi n bo I am counting the people in our compound
babaruwa	n.	Tree (<H.) <i>Acacia nilotica</i>
babi	n.	question
bace	n.	Unstable person
badye	pron.	themselves ba sun nyadyi badye 'bwa they cook for themselves
badye	n.	mirror et. eba place + eye see
baga	n.	above the thigh
Baje	p.n.	Title corresponding to Hausa Barde. See Table of Titles
bakana	n.	Flat tray for drying locust-bean cakes (<H?) Also kapwe tasa
bakpnakpna	n.	secluded place, fenced-off area
bala	n.	bark from reeds used to make mats
bala	n.	ribs (no pl.)
bana	int.	Where?
banagun	n.	heat on the body
banagun'sa	n.	Hot season
Bandoko	p.n.	Stilt-walkers who come out in the day-time
bansa	n.	A general term for wide, flat fish such as the tilapia
banti	n.	Mouse

		Pygmy mouse <i>Mus musculus</i>
bantna	n.	typhoid or malaria
bantu	n.	Spirit of a person who has recently died. It wanders about and can be seen for up to forty days.
bantu 6e6e	n.	Loofah <i>Luffa cylindrica</i> lit. 'spirit's breast'
banzo	n.	refuse, rubbish
Basa	p.n.	Basa person or language
base	v.	to cool down et. ba + ese
basha	n.	Bird sp.
basna(sna)	n.	Pain, either emotional or physical. Has the sense of empathetic pain, i.e. shared with someone else.
basnisni	n.	swollen part of body
bashnishni	n.	Sloping land
bata	n.	Container used by old woman to store her tobacco (<N?)
batata	n.	Slippery ground
Bawa	p.n.	Dibo and related peoples and their languages
bawyedye	n.	vision, spiritual experience me dye'ba wye I had a vision lit. I saw a place
baya	v.	to cut with knife
baya	v.	to beg for
bàyiná	int.	Where?
bazeshin	n.	Sin, ritual error bazeshin is the breaking of a taboo or the commission of a mistake within traditional religion. It can be the sighting of a taboo animal at a certain time of day. bazeshin must be expiated via traditionally approved procedures. cf. 6epma
be	v.	to blow (musical instrument) nagberi be bantsa the hunter is blowing the flute to burp to calm down, take it easy
be	v.	to plant ma kamba be yelo I planted maize this year
bebe	adv.	first wa ɔ̄o kate bebe he entered the room first
becintsu	n.	hard-working person
bedami	n.	exculpated. Cleared of wrongdoing
bedo	v.	to be tired
bedyi	v.	to advance
benu	n.	A large, solitary, male patas monkey
bèrè	n.	voice wo bere da his voice is sweet throat
bere	n.	large number of things or people, multitude
bere	n.	seed
bere kafi	n.	Bird with a long neck
berere	a.	Filled to capacity
bese	v.	to blow
besna	n.	Sympathy
besnani	n.	sorrowful situation

bezamba	n.	Small grasshopper
bi	v.	to bury (person, yam)
bí	v.	to dig out (a planted seed)
		azu ba me kamba bi fwyu The guinea-fowl have dug out all the maize seeds I planted
bibishnare	n.	mole-cricket
bi..bo	v.	ask (question)
		ma bi yo bo bwari yina I asked him where the house was
bida	n.	Meat, animal when slaughtered
bingoi	n.	daughter brother's daughter
bírí	a.	small
birigi	n.	Net. Cast-net for fishing (<H.)
biro	n.	pen (<E.)
bma	v.	to fall into
bma	v.	to turn aside
		ma lo Dafa, n ga bma Kokpo I was going to Dafa, but I turned off to Koroko
bmà	v.	to open up (cavity in the soil) to form a hole
bmá..ya	v.	to snap to break in two
		ma biro bmáya my pen broke in two
bmabmae	a.	broken
bmabmi	n.	village square playground
bmada	n.	Happiness
bmadnubmadnu	n.	stink-ant
bmagna	n.	Grass sp. used for thatching
bmagnu(ti)	n.	Joking Playing
bmajakun	n.	Frog sp. Red and inedible.
bmare	a.	clear shiny
bmarebmare	a.	clear shiny
bmari	n.	Flank Side of body
bmari	n.	Tree sp.
bmasun	n.	assistance help
bmasun	v.	to assist to help
bmatu	v.	to fall across (a surface) to break across
bmésango	n.	Gamba grass <i>Andropogon gayanus</i>
bmetsu	n.	cockroach
bmi	v.	to redden, ewye abmi lit. 'eye has reddened' idiom. for 'matters are serious' to ripen
bmi	v.	to grill
bmi	v.	to brew (beer)

bmido	v.	to mix (fluids)
bmii	adv.	very fast
bmina	n.	Feather Wing
bmisna	n.	Grass sp.
bmisna	n.	Bird's nest
bmunu	n.	finger nail
bmya	v.	to radiate to flash (lightening)
bmya	v.	to make a roof
bmya	v.	to be good bmya dye a lo makata it is good to go to school to look good
bneko-bneko	n.	woodpecker
bnenu	n.	finger nail
bnutsni	n.	lash. ewye bnutsni eye-lash
bo	part.	placed at the end of the sentence to mark the place where you are
bo	v.	to rot
bodnadnu	n.	elbow
bodoe	a.	rotten, decayed remuri bodoe a rotten orange
bogun	n.	A medicine to counteract charms prepared by your enemies. Worn around the wrist wrapped in a rag. Cf. shiba cigbe
bokiti	n.	bucket (< E.)
Boku	n.	Masquerade. A masquerade dressed in a sack-like costume that comes out in the day-time. Rarely seen today.
boku	n.	house-rat
bonu	n.	cow-itch, vine used to tie guinea-corn bundles <i>Mucuna pruriens</i>
bonuko	n.	Musical instrument. A floating gourd upturned in a bowl of water, beaten with sticks during marriages.
bonuko	n.	Gourd used in preparation of sorghum beer
bori	n.	Grass species <i>Pennisetum pedicellatum</i>
bota	adv.	Downwards
boteku (Z.)	n.	giant rat (cf. eku)
botere	n.	Dirty gourd or plate
bozgingo	n.	thigh
bu	v.	to turn inside out ma bu ede I turned my cloth inside out
bu menti	v.p.	to spit
bubo	v.	to whistle
bubuì	a.	white
bubui	n.	mist
budiri	n.	Spine
bubure	n.	Mould burodi a kpwe bubure the bread is mouldy
budo	v.	to mix together dry substances
bufu	n.	sack (<H.)
buga	n.	Private parts
bugo	n.	rumen
bujugo	n.	house-fly
Bulolo	p.n.	Fulbe people and language (cf. Gowyi)
bunyigo	n.	she-goat

bure	v.	to cry out (women)
buri aca	n.	Calf of leg
butsi	v.	to run
butsi	n.	walking stick
butsu	n.	he-goat
butsugo	n.	Hunchback
buúrí	n.	Tree with edible fruit
bwa	v.	to get
bwaago	n.	toad
bwaaka (Z.)	n.	Thigh
Bwaawye	excl.	Sorry!
bwabwa	n.	Cultivated plant. A plant ca. 1m tall whose leaves are used for draw soup.
bwabwe	v.	to play abyake bwabwe the children are playing
bwada	n.	palm of hand sole of foot
bwada	n.	footwear
bwagma	n.	arm
bwala	v.	to relax
bwálabwála	a.	warm (liquid) nuwa bwálabwála warm water
bwalasa (Z.)	n.	young leaves
bwasa)		
bwalasa	n.	branch of tree
bwampmi	n.	Left hand, left-handed person
bwampmi	n.	Plant sp.
bwande	n.	Soup made from fresh cowpea leaves
bwandye	n.	Right hand, right-handed person
bwani	n.	finger
bwankonu	n.	a lazy person
bwankonu	n.	ankle
bwanta	n.	wide, flat calabash used for carrying yams
bwanyilagba	n.	thumb
bwapa	n.	shoulder
bwapa tsuwun	n.	shoulder blade
bwari	n.	house
bwasa (Z.)	n.	young leaves
bwasa	n.	Bag used to go to farm made from reed cf. Z. gunma
wasnidna	n.	wrist
bwatoi	n.	Lazy person
bwatsukoko	n.	armpit
bwazhigegeye	n.	Plant sp.
bwi	v.	to stir
bwi	v.	to be fined
bwi	v.	to lose
bwoko	n.	house-mouse
Bwokpna	n.	Gbari section living south of the River Bodna (Bobo)
bwolo	n.	Uncircumcised person
bwombwolo	n.	earthworm
bwori	n.	Fruit sp.
bwubwii	n.	Fly. A small biting fly found on the farms in the rainy season
bya	v.	to be good
bya	v.	to sprout, to burgeon, to put out green leaves
bya.. ena	v.	to blow a fire

byakayi	n.	child
bye	v.	to plant ma ewyi bye I planted guinea-corn
byibyi	v.	to be bad
byine(yi)	n.	body health
byingoyi	n.	girl
6		
6a	v.	to lend (but not money or guinea-corn) mi ga 6a he gada, mi lo efa ge Lend me your cutlass, I am going to the farm to borrow to beg for
6a	v.	to feel like doing something, to feel emotion for somebody, to have an interest in cewyi 6a mi I feel like eating rice
6a	pron.	they ba lo makata Liteni 'fe they go to school on Monday
6a	part.	a future marker corresponding to ga , but used when the subject is absent from the speakers.
6a	adv.	far, yonder 6a enya a far away place a zhi golo 6a ayaji kni lo they bring cola nut from faraway Yorubaland
6ala	n.	beehive
6ala	n.	leopard yango gazo 6ala ga dyi kapwi When the day finishes the leopard must eat crabs
6amunu	n.	Thought
6are	n.	cat
6are kwasa	n.	wild cat
6e	v.	to increase in volume nuwa 6e the river has risen
6e6e	n.	breast of a woman
6e6i	n.	Question
6e6i	v.	to ask a question
6edo	v.	to be mixed together (objects)
6epma	n.	Crime. A type of crime within the traditional community of a social rather than religious nature. Can be dealt with by fines. Contrast with bazeshin
6eri	n.	doctor -traditional seer soothsayer herbalist
6esari	n.	Worthless talk (esp. in joking relationships)
6atsin	n.	Proverb
6ewuzu	n.	Trivia
6ewyedyedye	n.	Something meant to attract attention
6eye	v.	to love, to like

ɓi	v.	to ask a question see also ɓeɓi
ɓila	n.	announcement of the death of someone old or important and a ceremony for the death
ɓona		to deny ma ɓona I denied (it)
ɓowulu	n.	Morally wrong action
ɓure	n.	Covering, shell
ɓwa	v.	to get
ɓwada	n.	palm
ɓwari	n.	compound
ɓwo	v.	to ingest any powdery substance (e.g. tobacco) to lick
ɓwi	v.	to incubate (eggs)
ɓwi	v.	to hide ɓare a ɓwi na dobwi keto lo the cat hid under the granary
ɓwulu	n.	Dust, dirt
ɓwure	n.	Dust (esp. after strong wind) gbmasa a ɓwure zhi ge the harmattan has brought in dust
ɓwutingba	n.	Someone who weeps all the time

C.

ca	v.	to lay (eggs)
caa	adv.	completely azo caa it is completely finished
caca	v.	to be clean
cace=caca[Z.]	n.	Crayfish, Prawn
cakpa	n.	Broom made from reeds or oil-palm fronds
cakpacakpa	adv.	dried-up, worn out
cagnari	n.	A cracked vessel that can still be useful
cagnari	n.	Fish sp. Tiger-fish <i>Hydrocynus vittatus</i>
catuya	n.	necklace
ce	v.	to throw
ce cimwa	v.p.	to drop a load of firewood
ce epa	v.p.	to urinate
ce etse	v.p.	to shoot an arrow
ce ewo	v.p.	to give money (to a dancer or musician who impresses you)
ce gidinga	v.p.	to fire a gun
ce kulu	v.p.	to encircle
ce manti	v.p.	to spit
cebitu	?	extra
cegnu	n.	Disease that affects the ribs
cegnu	v.	to go round s.t.
cego	n.	Thumb-ring used by archers
ceko	n.	soap
cembe	n.	Vine. Jumblebeads, cats' eyes. <i>Abrus precatorius</i>

cence	n.	Eleusine Finger-millet <i>Eleusine indica</i>
cengbe	n.	A large bird that flies fast and eats the maize
cere	n.	larger cereal pieces left behind when flour is sieved
cewo	v.	to price (s.t.) cf. sugbasa to do business
cewye	v.	to confuse
cewye	v.	to glance
cewyena	a.	Misbehaved disruptive, naughty ena cewyena the naughty goat
cewyi	n.	Rice. et. ece Hausa + ewyi guinea-corn
ceza	v.	to report s.o.
cezna	v.	to be abundant, to be in surplus
ceznu	v.	to move across
ci	v.	to put on the ground
ci	v.	to be in a certain position bwada ci a there are the shoes
cibana	n.	looking at something too attentively
ciciyi	n.	Person with a rash all over the body
Cido	n.	Dance for the Gbmunu Drum. Pottery drum used for this dance
cife	n.	hedgehog
cigbe	n.	medicine
cigu	n.	Mushroom. A type of mushroom that grows at the base of a rotting tree in the rainy season. Eaten with okra in soup.
cigwyi	n.	Piece of curved tree bark used for carrying glowing charcoal
cikna	n.	Thicket
cikanto	n.	V-shaped piece of wood used to support a pot of porridge
cikparegede	n.	phlegm
cimwa	n.	tree wood stick firewood
cimwa-ceta	n.	firewood store
cin	v.	to look for to seek
cin..bo	v.	to be able, 'can'
cinkpwe	n.	stool
ciri	a.	specifically
cisociso	adv.	dry, spongy and tasteless
cisociso	adv.	tangled up
citankasa	n.	ginger (<H.)
citapulu	n.	Type of paper
ciwye	n.	to look
ciya	v.	to throw away (cf. ya to lose) ma biro ma jin ciya I threw away my worn-out biro
ciyari	n.	Something thrown away
co	part.	Particle placed at end of sentence meaning however, though, nevertheless wo kpe nyanya m, wo kpe nyanya dyi, co he can't dance; he does know how to drum, though
coci	n.	Church (<E.) cf. duwa kate
cyampo	n.	Brain

D.

da	v.	to walk
da	v.	to be in favour of s.o. (of a court case)
da	v.	to be sweet biskit da the biscuit is sweet to be satisfying to be strong (alcohol, tobacco) to be potent
da	v.	to take (a certain direction) to follow (a direction)
da	v.	to soak in water
da	v.	to dab
da	v.	to say to speak
da	v.	to suck up ma da nuwa I am sucking up water
da'mi	v.p.	to apply oil (to a cut)
da egbe	v.p.	to call on the ancestors to take you back (a form of traditional suicide) et. 'give mouth' nyigbango wa wodye da egbe the old woman called on the ancestors
dabmisa	n.	dragon-fly
dabye	v.	to mumble to make an unintelligible speech (us. hum.)
dada	n.	meat (a word only used when talking to children)
dada	a.	Low cimwa hni yi dada the tree is low
dada (Z.)	n.	Father Father's brother
dagba 1.	n.	Elephant Guinea-yam cultivar. A large yam with a dark outer skin
dagba nuwa ni	n.	Hippopotamus
dagbari	n.	Senior brother cousin
dambei	n.	butterfly
dambei	n.	shadow
Dambei	p.n.	Masquerade
dami	v.	to dab on (esp. medicinal ointment)
dami	v.	to be kind
damusa	n.	leopard (H.!)
danda	n.	enjoyment
dandasa	n.	Time of one's life
dasun	v.	to rest nyigo dasun tu e rena the girl is resting on the mat
datsna	n.	Funny thing cf. etsna laughter
datu	v.	to follow to come after
dawye	v.	to become accustomed to
dazna	n.	walking
de(de)	v.	to be unexpected, ma dede ga wo.. I unexpectedly heard that.. to be a surprise

		wo 'tsu 'bo a dede mi His death was a surprise to me
de(de)	v.	to shake ma de bambo I shook the gourd-rattle to rumble
de	v.	to strike
de	v.	to commit robbery
de	conj.	and with (an implement) a kpna ego de zugo guri you build yam-heaps with a large hoe
de	adv.	again once more de lo to go again
de ze kpe	v.p.	to return to come back ma de ze kpe lo epi I returned home
deda	v.	to repeat, to say again
dedae	n.	Woman who brews beer
dede	dem.	that other
degwu	n.	pocket
dejnya	n.	clothes-washing
deki	n.	tailoring
dekii	n.	tailor
dekwo	n.	grinding of guinea-corn to make local beer
demizo	n.	Drunkard
deri	dem.	that one
di	v.	to sharpen to a point (e.g. pencil)
didii	a.	sharpenedsharpened
dna	v.	to fire (gun)
dna	v.	to sharpen tool blade etswa dna zugo the smith is sharpening the hoe-blade
dna(..ya)	v.	to step on to trample
dna	v.	to concern e dna he m it doesn't concern you
dna	v.	to require
dna	v.	to be inside (singular subject) pise dna ego the chicken is inside the coop
dna..dna	v.	to frighten to intimidate
dna..gna	v.	to fit (clothes) ede a dna me gna the cloth fits me
dna eko	v.p.	to hit s.o. with the fist
dna epmi	v.p.	to give s.o. a slap
dna'sa	v.p.	to load a net
dna'shin	v.p.	to wear on the waist
dna'sun	v.p.	to recover breath to grow healthy
dna'wye	v.p.	to look to look for to contemplate
dnabwa	v.	to make a signature
dnagbe	n.	River-bank
dnapa	n.	Fadama, naturally flooded area suitable for growing rice
dnari	n.	fearful person, coward

dnari	n.	Tree <i>Daniellia oliveri</i>
dnashyawun	n.	Pot for women to use in fetching water
dnasna	? ?	
dnati	v.	to live long
dnawe	excl.	Hurry up!
dnawe	n.	Cowardice
dnawun	n.	ant-hill
dnukpyi	n.	Leopard?
dnutsu	n.	Kusu Rufous Nile Rat <i>arvicanthus niloticus rufinus</i>
dnuwa	n.	Spirit in the form of a snake owned by possessor of sheri 'vision'. Children are fed to it and the owner's affairs then prosper.
do	v.	to shock (as an electric fish)
do egu	v.p.	to bark emwi do egu kpe geri the dog is barking at the stranger
do	v.	to cut stalks as in guinea-corn harvest
dobwi	n.	Anything mixed up
dobwi	n.	Granary -any type
dobwi keto	n.	A wall built around the base of a granary with openings to allow poultry to pass in and out
dodo	n.	Filthy place, especially near a bathroom
dodo	n.	mud
dodo	adv.	Possibly
dogbe	n.	Resemblance
dogo	n.	horse
dogo nadyi	n.	Large biting fly
dogu	v.	to bark (dog) emwi dogu the dog is barking
dokari	n.	junior brother mi dokari dna e Kaduna My junior brother is in Kaduna
doncigbya	n.	foul gutter, sewer, dirty place
donkiya	a.	Carefree attitude wo sun ebo donkiya You do things without thinking of the consequences we donkiya e You are carefree
dozhi	pron.	Another
du	v.	to beat, strike (s.o.)
du	v.	to enter
du	v.	to prepare soup with meat or fish
dudu	n.	Star-apple, <i>Chrysophylla albida</i> . Fruits eaten from February-April
dugba	n.	large hoe used for breaking yam-hills
dugo	n.	entrance-house to compound. A multi-purpose building for people to sit and chat. Men gather there in case of a death or other event.
duku	n.	Lute. A 2-stringed lute with a gourd body. The same as molu .
dukya	n.	Wealth, riches
dukari	n.	Rich person
dungu(lu)	n.	long, thin tubular gourd (<H. zunguru)
dunku	n.	sweet potato (<H.)

duruga	n.	Sesame, black, <i>Sesamum radiatum</i> . A type grown for its leaves; the seeds are not eaten.
duwa	n.	Prayer (usually Christian) (<H.)
duwa kate	n.	Church (cf. coci)
duya	v.	to pass through
dye	conj.	a conjunctive particle, so that, in order that
dye	v.	to be (only in certain contexts)
dye	v.	to see ma emwi wo dye I saw the dog
dye..wye	v.p.	to see (s.t.) ha wo dyewye? Did you see him? he dye mi epa wye m? Did you not see my book?
dyegwe	a.	genuine true good
dyi	v.	to beat (drum etc.)
dyin	v.	to make to do
dyinamari	n.	A half-door made of planks to allow goats to see inside a room but not enter it and tamper with foodstuff inside. lit. 'a thing which irritates'
dzun	v.	to boil to melt
dzun ebwi	v.p.	Dance. A type of dance done by both sexes.
dzungba	n.	frog. A type of frog that is caught and eaten. Caught in the river in the dry season and in pools in the wet. Roasted and cooked in soup
dzungbe	n.	Ant. A red or yellow biting ant that drives out all the earthworms from whatever place it inhabits
dzungo	n.	Wet season
dzungo	n.	Grave
dzungota	n.	Cemetery
dzunwu	n.	Clay pot used to store water
ɖ		
ɖari	n.	Tamarind, <i>Tamarindus indica</i> . An infusion is drunk against loss of energy on hot days
ɖo	v.	to exhaust, tire out ebo a me ɖo I am exhausted
ɖo	v.	to enter to get in ma ɖo mato lo Abuja ge I got in a taxi to go to Abuja
ɖori	n.	locust-bean tree <i>Parkia biglobosa</i>
ɖu	v.	to prepare soup
ɖu	v.	to beat (person or animal) emwi wa mi nyadyidi, mi ga wo ɖu the dog ate my food so I beat it
ɖu	v.	to thresh (guinea-corn) a ɖu ewyi they thresh the corn
ɖu ya	v.	to break ma shyawun ɖuya I broke the pot

ɖu ya	v.	to leak nuwa ɖuya e shyawun lo water is leaking from the pot
ɖyi	v.	to eat
ɖyi ena	v.p.	the fire burns
ɖyi eshni	v.p.	Dance. A type of dance performed by women involving movement of the waist. lit. 'east the waist'.
E.		
eba	n.	twin, usually in plural aba
eba	n.	Tree, the seeds are used to make soup <i>Irvingia gabonensis</i> .
eba	n.	Door. a type of door made from raffia midribs with a socket to make it swing freely. No longer in use
ebe	n.	pestle
ebe	n.	locust swarm
ebe	n.	knife
ebe	n.	compound wall or a wall between two buildings
ebe	n.	joke (cf. ma..ebe)
ebma	n.	Fish species. <i>Citharinus</i> spp.
ebmi	n.	hole in a tree
ebmì	n.	outdoors, outside
ebo	n.	calabash
ebu	n.	Bambara groundnut <i>Vigna subterranea</i>
ebu	n.	back of a person
ebwa	n.	hand
ebwa	n.	Fish sp. Elephant-snout fish <i>Mormyrus</i> spp
ebwa	n.	nose
ebwa	n.	Aluminium Container of metal Dish of metal
ebwa	n.	play, celebration
ebwabu	n.	Nostril
ebwi	n.	weeping
ebwo	n.	hole in the ground burrow
eɓa	n.	Husband
eɓe	n.	Seed kamba'ɓe maize seed generation of household
eɓəlena	int.	Why? he sun lo eɓəlena? Why did you do that?
eɓi	n.	child offspring young creature something incomplete wogma kpe ebi nyaawo fifty
eɓo	n.	situation action
eca	n.	fibre knotted and used to make masquerade costume

eca	n.	neck
eca	n.	socks
ece	n.	'dash', addition given when you buy something
Ece	n.	Hausa language or person
eci	n.	Egusi melon <i>Citrullus lanatus</i>
eci	n.	cough
ecni	n.	cattarrh
ecni	n.	nasal mucus snot
eda	n.	wasp sp.
eda	n.	matchet, cutlass
eda	n.	father father's brother sons of father's sister
eda	n.	Usual entrance for a bush-rat burrow (cf. ekpe)
ede	n.	cloth
ede bwadodo	n.	garment with long sleeves
ede cate	n.	rag
ede gbasanwu	n.	Rag
ede godo	n.	hand-woven clothes to protect wearer against cold
ede kase	n.	cloth hung across the body (such as a blanket)
ede kpwekpwe	n.	shirt, Blouse
ede sambo	n.	Small piece of cloth
ede sepwi	n.	clothes to protect wearer against cold
ede	n.	alcoholic drink, beer
edegu	n.	Pocket
edi	n.	vein, tendon, blood vessel
edna	n.	river
edna biri	n.	stream
edna gulo	n.	Sandbank in large river
edna	n.	Place where a community goes to fetch water and to wash clothes
edna	n.	fear
ednu	n.	antelope with striped back
edo	n.	electric-fish <i>Malapterus electricus</i>
edu	n.	hole made by mudfish or crab in the river-mud
edu	n.	Heart
edu	n.	Amount of money contributed to an association -also gandu
edu	n.	Hole in the river where fish congregate
edya	n.	blood
edyi	n.	warthog
edyi	n.	slime algae
edzu	n.	Land freshly cleared for agricultural purposes
edzun	n.	maggot larva grub
edzunkpokpo	n.	Larva. The larvae of an insect found in dry wood, louse
edzwan	n.	Fish. <i>Tilapia</i> sp.

efa	n.	farm
efanya	n.	Wild animal
efe	n.	date, day
efe	n.	tsetse fly species It lives in thick forest and bites human beings
efni	n.	A plant that grows in the bush and has edible tubers. These are gathered by old women who make them into a type of dumpling
efu	n.	lie ma dyi'fu I told a lie lit. I ate a lie
efya	n.	<i>Amaranthus</i> spp.
efya'kna	n.	<i>Amaranthus</i> sp. Spiny amaranth
ega	n.	bile
egan	n.	Fishing by draining a stream or river
egba	n.	Expertise, speciality. Often as suffix -gba
egba	n.	Person with no brother or sister
egba	n.	immature bean
egba	n.	Cat-like animal
egbe	n.	mouth
Egbe	p.n.	Dance. A type of dance accompanied by the lute, duku . For entertainment only at night.
egbeyi	n.	Moustache
egbna	n.	viper
egbna	n.	chain
egi	n.	elephant grass <i>Andropogon</i> spp.
egna	n.	Demarcation between two places
egna	n.	Weaver-bird.
egna nogbe	n.	Weaver-bird. Lit. 'male' but the black-headed weaver.
egna nyugwe	n.	Weaver-bird. Lit. 'female' but probably a different species
egni	n.	act of saving
egni	n.	pounded yam
egni	n.	vagina
egni	n.	eagle (Z. gnigo)
ego	n.	Fish sp. Bichir fish <i>Heterotis niloticus</i>
ego	n.	Yam-heap
ego	n.	pen for animal
egu	n.	Inheritance
egu	n.	Drumming. A type of ritual drumming for the bila ceremony using the sala drum. It is beaten in the evening and at about 5 a.m. every day for seven days. Originally only beaten for noted hunters when they killed a large animal it can now be beaten on request for payment. See appendix.
egu	n.	Sections of market for different commodities
egu	n.	fight mi yi kala mi sun egu ga m I have no strength to fight
egun	n.	Boil on body
egya	n.	blood
eja	n.	Rattle. 1. A circular metal plaque with jingling rings set round the circumference. Worn on the wrist by drummers. 2. Iron leg-rattles 3. Rattles made of small boxes made from palm leaves filled with seeds and strung together
eje	n.	Porridge or fufu made from guinea-corn, maize or yam

eje	n.	Tree. The date-sized fruits, yellow when ripe are eaten when they fall off the tree in June/July.
eji	n.	Fish-trap. A non-return valve-trap set in a fish fence
ejni	n.	greeting
ejya	n.	An accomplished singer. cf. jyanyikwe, nyibajya
eka	n.	small snail
Eka	n.	Masquerade. A masquerade that appears at night in December for entertainment.
eka	n.	ringworm
eka	n.	termite
eke	n.	antelope species
eki	n.	needle injection (for sickness) a eki tsun mi they gave me an injection
ekna	n.	thorn
ekna	n.	Dried scrapings of porridge left on the side of a pot
ekni	n.	ground, earth
ekni	n.	curse mi dada, wa ekni tu mi My father has cursed me
eko	n.	Fist
eko	n.	old age
eko	n.	shea-nut
ekpa	n.	Distance
ekpe	n.	Sickness. The symptoms are diarrhoea, swollen heels and stomach
ekpe	n.	Concealed exit to a bush-rat burrow (cf. eda)
ekpe	n.	White-throated francolin. Considered very destructive on farms as it digs up newly planted seeds.
ekpna	n.	outside
ekpnwi	n.	okra
ekpnwi	n.	abuse
eku	n.	next world -good or bad according to your life on earth
eku	n.	Rope made from raffia palm
eku	n.	giant rat
ekun	n.	War
ekun	n.	garden-egg. <i>Solanum</i> spp.
ekun enapiri	n.	garden-egg. Small, bitter, oval
ekun pompori	n.	garden-egg. Spherical
ekwo	n.	Kidneys
ekye	n.	Antelope sp.
ela	n.	Crack in a pot, gourd, or wall
ela	n.	Migration of people
elo	n.	antelope, large
elu	n.	convulsion
elu	n.	bird (general)
ema	n.	sorrel, roselle (H. yakuwa) <i>Hibiscus sabdariffa</i>
ema	n.	clod of soil
emi	n.	oil fat grease
emi	n.	stool, faeces
emi tsnitsni	n.	pomade (commercially produced) cf. migi
emi-labmi	n.	dysentery
emu	n.	dog

emu	n.	mud used to build house
emya	n.	string made of twisted hide or tendons, used for bow-strings and lacing for drums. motor-bike chain keke'mya bicycle chain
emyi	n.	dew
ena	n.	bush-lamp light electricity fire
ena manta	n.p.	flame
ena	n.	goat
ena	int.	where?
ena	n.	dream
ena	n.	swearing an oath on a shrine after a disagreement
enapa	n.	Goat-skin
ènú	n.	Husband
ènù	n.	salt
enya	n.	thing
enya	adv.	there
enya fifi	n.	Trousers Et. 'thing pulled up'
enya'sha(ri)	n.	A piece of scrap metal struck with a stick used as a musical instrument
enyi	n.	soup
enyi	n.	buttocks, hips
enyi	n.	warthog
enyi	n.	song
enyi	n.	flying-ant
enyi	adv.	here
epa	n.	book, paper
epa	n.	hide, skin
epa nyidne	n.	Loin-cloth Et. 'skin of buttocks'
èpá	n.	urine
epa	n.	venereal disease
epe	n.	tilapia
epi	n.	village
epi (Z.)	n.	house
epma	n.	Usefulness epa hni yi epma This book is useful
epmi	n.	razor-blade
epmi	n.	slap, blow
epo	n.	Twins
epu	n.	group (of people)
epwa	n.	Tiger-nut, <i>Cyperus esculentus</i>
epwi	n.	Fish Puffer-fish
epwi	n.	blackfly
epwi	n.	weevil
epwi	n.	handle of tool
epya	n.	month
	n.	moon
epya + numeral	n.	month (See Appendix 1)

epyawo	n.	Salary
epyi	n.	slap see epmi (above)
ere	n.	standard-wing nightjar
ere	n.	deceit profit cf. riba
ere	n.	sleep
ere	n.	size, diameter
ere	n.	fatness
eri	n.	habit, character
esa	n.	net. Used to carry pots etc.
esa	n.	time. Also as an affix -sa in compounds
ese	n.	wind, breeze, air cold cold (in head) good fortune (idiom) ese la ke he nu lit. the breeze has hit you i.e. you are enjoying life. see also seke
ese	n.	sitting down
esha	n.	a large river fish
eshi	n.	Black liquid from boiled locust-bean pods used for sealing floors
eshni	n.	giant cricket
eshni	n.	waist, hips
eshya	n.	Fish, large
eshya	n.	Bamboo cane Smoking-pipe Pole used to punt canoes made of bamboo
eshya	n.	Bell. Any struck metal that makes a noise. Also applied to ankle rattles.
eshya	n.	personal shrine within the house that protects the family
eshya	n.	sacrifice
esna	n.	Grass sp. used for thatching
esni	n.	Charm believed to increase the quality of food
esni	n.	Metal
esni	n.	trap esni a ezhe won a the hare has been caught in the trap
esni	n.	treetop ma gnu esni I climbed to the top of the tree
esnu	n.	breath, life, beating of lungs
esobeje	a.	aggressive
esu	n.	bee
esu	n.	honey
esu bala	n.	bee hive
esu namanama	n.	Swarm of bees that is lodged in a tree
esugo	adv.	Tomorrow
	adv.	Yesterday
eta	n.	Kick mi ga ce eta I fought with a kick
eta	n.	debt
ete	n.	Grass species A species of grass that is cut and mixed with mud to strengthen it for building purposes
ete	n.	Mulch for planting yam
ete	n.	Rubber Plastic Plastic container Catapult

eti	n.	Tree. Breadfruit. A very tall tree with large, lumpy, round, green fruits which appear in March/April. The seeds are cooked with rice.
eti	n.	wound sore. bujugo fa mi eti n the fly won't leave my sore alone
etna	n.	persuasion, deceit
etnasunyi	n.	Deceiver
eto	n.	Spear-grass <i>Imperata cylindrica</i>
eto	n.	Fashionable appearance
etsa	n.	Tribal mark
etse	n.	arrow
etsi	n.	Guinea-yam, (generic) <i>Dioscorea guineensis</i>
etsi	n.	cutting-grass cane-rat <i>Thryonomys swinderianus</i>
etsi	n.	running
etsin	n.	mancala, the board game played with 2 x 6 rows of holes dara, the game played with 5 x 6 rows of holes
etsin	n.	stories told to children at night
etsna	n.	laughter
etso	n.	path correct way (cf. wulu) e da'tso n it is not correct
etsu	n.	rat (general) house-rat
etsu	n.	death
etsu	n.	spitting cobra
etsu	n.	chief, ruler etsu wa fula knyari ku the chief is wearing a red cap
etsu munu	n.	Mushroom. A large, but rare mushroom, considered a delicacy. Found on old anthills. Anyone who sees it and cooks it may become a chief in future.
etsun	n.	smell odour stink
etsun	n.	Colobus monkey. <i>Colobus polykomos</i>
etswa	n.	Blacksmith
ewa	n.	snake (general)
ewye	n.	eye
ewye bnutsni	n.p.	eyelash
ewye gege	n.p.	deep-set eye
ewye kpokposun	n.p.	eye-bone
ewyi	n.	Guinea-corn.
ewyi ?	n.	Guinea-corn. Lit. 'two seeds'
ewyi buyibuyi	n.	Guinea-corn. White-seeded variety for eating
ewyi eyi atsantsi	n.	Guinea-corn. Lit. 'buffalo tail' -a variety grown for medical purposes
ewyi kuci	n.	Sweet sorghum, <i>Sorghum mellitiferum</i>
ewyi kyana	n.	Guinea-corn. Red-seeded variety for eating
ewo	n.	trade
ewo	n.	business
ewo	n.	money
ewo bere	n.	coin

ewo sunsun	n.	cowry
ewu	n.	Ululation, any sharp sound
ewu	n.	smoke
eya	n.	canoe
		boat
eya nwani		ship
eya knini	n.	train
		ma̋ do eya knini lo Zaria ge I entered a train to go to Zaria
eya shenzhi	n.	aeroplane
eya	n.	Buffalo
	n.	Bush-cow
	n.	<i>Syncerus caffer</i>
eya	n.	Mother
	n.	Mother's junior sisters
eye	n.	year
eye	n.	liver
eye	n.	name, title
eye	n.	River
		fast-flowing river that can flood suddenly. Any river passing near a village may be called eye
eyetso	adv.	last year
		next year
eyi	n.	hair
eyi	n.	call
eza	n.	speech,
		talk
		discussion
eza	n.	camwood
		Rubbed on the body of someone recovering from measles
eza	n.	person
		Someone
		eza dna kate o someone is in the room
ezabyibyi	n.	wicked person
eze	n.	axe for man used to harvest palm-fruits
eze	n.	tape-worm from animals
eze	n.	Hare,
		<i>Lepus crawshayi</i>
ezhi	n.	egg
ezhi	n.	village, town, city
ezhin	n.	suffering
ezhin	n.	swamp-grass and mat made from it
ezin	n.	oil-palm
ezin	n.	Black kite,
		<i>Milvus migrans</i>
ezna	n.	walking, travelling
eznugbeo	adv.	afterwards
ezo	n.	marks made on objects or animals to show ownership
ezo	n.	Cowpea.
		Black-eyed bean,
		<i>Vigna unguiculata</i>
ezu	n.	Guinea-fowl,
		<i>Numidia meleagris</i>
ezun	n.	clay

F.

fa!	excl.	Exclamation expressing feeling of relief
fa	v.	to take out wastefully (esp. shea-butter from a pot) he fa komi you are taking out the shea-butter wastefully
fa	v.	to stop doing (s.t.) fa ede pwo'bo ke ha lo gningo stop washing clothes and go to the market to leave alone to refrain to cease
fa efa	v.	to weed a farm
Faari!	excl.	Welcome from the farm!
faba	v.	to weed a particular place
fabubwi	n.	Plant sp.
face	n.	farm-tour
facugo	n.	owner of farm
fada	v.	To go out in the bush looking for animals
fafa	a.	convenient easy to carry out
fafa	n.	farm-weeding
fagabe	n.	Leader in group farming
fagba	n.	skirt
fagna	n.	Boundary between two farms yi tu fagna to de Mashe ye We have a common farm-boundary with Mashe
fago	n.	contract between farm-owner and labourers
fagui	n.	Person who guards a farm
fajiji	n.	Plant sp.
fajnu	n.	land-clearing prior to cultivation
fakpna	n.	Farmland by the river
falo	v.	to leave be
fanui	n.	Farmer
fari	n.	All the males on one compound who work on the same farm
fari	n.	Servant
fawun	n.	Farming
fanui	n.	Farmer
faza	n.	Hunting
fazei	n.	Hunter
febiyi	n.	unenthusiastic, apathetic person
febwagun	n.	Last day of something
fedege	adv.	any day whichever day
fedo	v.	to fuse to one another to stick together
fedozhi	v.	some other day
fefe	adv.	since many days
fefe	v.	to fuse to one another to stick together
fefefeo	adv.	every day
fegun (Z.)	n.	broom
fela	int.	which day?
femgwosa	n.	dawn ma laga ere o femgwosa e I got up at dawn
fenu	n.	Slave
feri	adv.	that day

ferisa	n.	dawn
fewun	n.	broom
fi	v.	to be inside (with plural subject) (cf. dna) N.B. notice that the subject is often singular as plurality is marked by the verb) etsu fi ebo the rats are in the hole
fi...ejni	v.p.	to greet ma zhi efa, he fi me ejin m I came back from the farm but you did not greet me
fi	v.	to wear (clothes that must be pulled on, as trousers, socks, shoes)
fiba	v.	to wrestle
fibaba	v.	to grope to explore with hands
fibedo	v.	to cause confusion
fibere	v.	to grow seeds???
finilo	n.	Hidden or undisclosed thing
fna	v.	to cause fear (ghosts do this) to make afraid
fna	v.	to whiten
fna	v.	to make a hole
fnado	v.	to join to tie to fuse together to entangle
fni	v.	to sweep
fnifnii	a.	compressed
fnina	a.	
fnu	v.	to flicker
fnu	v.	to shine (moon)
fnu	v.	to fly elu ta efnu the bird is flying
fnuna	n.	brightness
foma	n.	Fishing net -clap-net (<H.)
foto	n.	Picture (<E.) Drawing Photograph
fu	n.	to mix mud for building
fu	n.	to skin (animal)
fu	n.	to wash
fudī	n.	lying
fufu	n.	house-bat
fufu	n.	lungs
fufu	a.	cold
fula	n.	cap (<H.)
fula	n.	Ridge for crops in farm
fula	n.	Something light or weightless
fulu	n.	fonio, acca <i>Digitaria exilis</i>
fululu	?	especially myself
fumba	n.	shade
fumta	n.	winnowing tray
funre	n.	outer covering of most food crops
funte	n.	leaf charm

funu	n.	Chaff from cereal
fupa	v.	to skin an animal
furi	v.	liar
futuri	n.	Fresh leaves or plants
fuya	n.	to finish up ma ya fa, la fuya I have finished up on my farm
fuyari	v.	to peel off skin
fwazhi	v.	to allow to lie
fwyu	a.	all awyigbe, ba mi 'nya wyi fwyu the thieves stole all my properties
fya	v.	to go gently, softly
fyafya	adv.	secretly

G.

gá	part.	Standard maker of the future tense. Cf. 6a
ga	v.	to spread out cf. gamiba ma cewyi ga zhin é ekin 'o I spread the rice out on the floor
gaba	n.	lion
gabwa	n.	gourd for carrying loads
gada	n.	gerbil
gada	n.	cutlass, -also eda matchet
gadagba	n.	Drum. A large, barrel-shaped drum with two heads, beaten with a curved stick. Supported on the drummer's shoulder by a strap.
gadambo	n.	Variegated locust
gade	n.	Fish species. Smooth-skinned
Gade	n.	Gade person or language
gado	n.	bed (<H.)
gago	n.	Gathering of the chief with elders Meeting in general
gamiba	v.	to spread out cf. ga
gana kpekpe	n.	Bird sp.
ganadigidi	n.	Spider. Large, predatory, coral-coloured spider
gandi	n.	Tree (<H.) <i>Moringa oleifera</i>
gandu	n.	Tax, amount of money contributed to an association -also edu (<H.)
gari	n.	gari, cassava meal (<H.)
gazama	n.	Grass sp. (<H.) Also a personal name
-gba	suff.	Suffix indicating expertise or speciality
gba	v.	to revenge
gbaafu	n.	young man
gbaama	n.	plantain
gbada	n.	Joy, happiness
gbadugu	n.	Drug against leprosy taken on a weekly basis. Weekly markets
gbagada	adv.	for no reason, without cause wa mi dna epmi gbagada he gave me a slap for no reason
gbago	n.	Borassus-palm, <i>Borassus aethiopicum</i>
gbaguzu	n.	Guinea-yam cultivar

gbaji	n.	Axe used to harvest palm-fruit. Also called eze
gbakeke	n.	limping person
gbambo	n.	Bottle-gourd <i>Lagenaria siceraria</i> A bottle-gourd filled with seeds used as a rattle also gula
gbanga	n.	Borassus palm strips used to make door-covering mats
gbangbe	a.	Imaginary, pretend (e.g. when children play games) me da gbangbe My imaginary father
gbangya	n.	bean stew du gbangya dye a dyi eje ge prepare bean stew People sing; zadoge a bwa anyi wo du gbangya, if you can't get any other soup, make bean stew zadoge a bwa anyi wo du knando if you can't get any other soup, make locust bean sauce
gbangya	adv.	cheaply a knu gari gbangya they sell gari cheaply a. gari yi gbangya gari is cheap
gbankaci	n.	A type of sacrifice
gbantsa	n.	Flute. A notch-flute made from a guinea-corn stalk with two fingerholes played for some of the post-harvest masquerades.
gbantsi	n.	banana
gbantsi cita	n.	banana. Small, sweet cultivar
gbantsuku	n.	Unexpected catch
gbara	n.	Hyena
gbari	n.	Tree. Planted for shade in villages.
Gbari	n.	Gbari people and language
gbariza	n.	human being, Gbari person
gbasha	n.	see shego gbash
gbashawu	n.	measles
gbata	v.	to revenge
gbata	v.	to pay a debt
gbawun	n.	axe for women to cut firewood
gbædnu	n.	ground squirrel
gbædnu tsantsi	n.	Grass species. 'squirrel's tail'
gbé	v.	to cut (especially firewood) ma gbe cimwa I'm cutting wood
gbè	v.	to hunt
gbe	v.	to burn and hunt in a reserved area a gbe kase They hunted the reserved area
gbè(do)	v.	to resemble Ali gbèdo de wo magwe Ali resembles his sister
gbegbe	n.	Plant sp.
gbegberi	a.	empty ma lo mi lo to nuwon, ma ga gye shyawun vwye gbegberi I went to fetch water, but the pot was empty
gbegi	n.	baboon
gbegna	v.	to send off
gbegun	n.	A trumpet
gbeji	n.	Umbrella. A conical reed basket put over the head or a load in case of rain.
gbeki	n.	smallpox
gbelu	n.	Bird. ?Many-coloured bush-shrike

gbengudu	n.	Crab. Reddish type that is not eaten.
gbengulu	n.	Fish <i>Synodontis nigrita</i>
gbere	n.	to fall (rain)
gbere	n.	seed, stone (of fruit)
gbesna	n.	Pain on the mouth
gbésnáarì	n.	Leaf for washing calabash
gbetu	v.	to admonish
gbmaba	n.	Iron animal spring-trap et. mouth + two
Gbmandara	p.n.	Gwandara people and language
gbmango	n.	grass
gbmari	num.	one
gbmari	n.	cheek
gbmasisa	n.	Harmattan period
gbmena	n.	feather
gbmi	v.	to bring out, to take out, to come out of u gmi epa zhige e mato bring the book from the car wa gbmi e kati o he came out from the room
gbmi		to break even (in trading) etsi ma si, nya ma bmi I broke even on those yams I bought
Gbmunu	p.n.	One of the most important ceremonies and sacrifices. Carried out every few years in the rainy season, it involves dancing and wearing of exotic costumes by young men.
Gbmunu'nyi	p.n.	Songs sung for the Gbmunu ritual
gbogbo	adv.	mistakenly, probably ma sun gbogbo I acted mistakenly
gburaca	n.	calf of leg
gbusu	n.	hyena
gbwadnu	n.	squirrel
gbwago	n.	toad
gbwe	v.	cut in two
gbwegbwe	n.	groundnuts
gbwegbwe	n.	Tree.
gbwegi	n.	baboon
gbwi	v.	to be common, frequent taksi gbwi e Garki o Taxis are common in Garki
gbwi	v.	to be in trouble, to be friendless ma gbwi I am in trouble
gege	a.	Deep-set ewye gege deep-set eyes
geri	n.	Stranger Guest
gi	v.	to give gi mi'wo give me money
gi eshe	excl.	Leave it to God!
gi...'na	v.p.	to accelerate
gidigba	n.	bustle, scene of frenzied activity
gidigbo	n.	Sansa. An extremely large wooden box acting as a resonator for 3/4 plucked metal tongues. The player beats on the side of the box while playing.
gidigidi	adv.	frequently, often mi lo gnyingo gidigidi I go to market frequently
gidinga	n.	gun (<H.)

gidigidi	adv.	Frequently
gido	n.	witchweed <i>Striga senegalensis</i>
gigbe	v.	to ask around for s.t. mi pyise bwi, mi gigbe I lost my hen so I asked around for it.
gigi	n.	Bean. A type of long-podded brown bean that used to be planted at the foot of dead trees. They could be eaten, although they are now rarely cultivated. When somebody was cured of measles, they used to grind up the beans and rub them into the body of the patient. Yam-bean?
ginni	n.	mortar
gito	v.	to reduce strength wa wando gito He has weakened the trousers to loosen
giwyi	n.	Plant sp. [found in river]
gmaya	v.	to fall (inanimate objects) to break
gna	v.	to surpass to be excessive to be too much jagba a gna enyi hni there is too much pepper in the soup
gna	n.	to say to speak
gna	v.	to divide, to share out to distribute
gnabe	n.	person who leads in collective farmwork
gnabe	v.	to discriminate in a family group according to closeness of relationship
gnado	v.	to split
gnagbe	v.	to see off (visitor) to dismiss to say farewell
gnagna	v.	to be excessive
gnagnagna	a.	salty
gnagnagna	a.	painful tormenting disturbed
gnami	v.	to spread??
gnamignami	n.	mason-wasp, <i>Belenogaster griseus</i> Sacrifice during pregnancy necessary for those who have tampered with the wasp in their childhood. Failure to perform it means their newly born children will not survive.
gnamita	n.	place where pots are fired
gnana	n.	to be strong na gnana wo to be stronger than
gnapi	a.	too wide
gnari	n.	cheek
gnasnu	n.	to do to excess, to overdo to be unfair to
gnatipe	n.	Side of face Temple
gnaya	n.	wood used to fire pot

gnazabo	v.	to backbite, slander
gni	v.	to pull, to stretch
gnigne	v.	to stand up
gnigo (Z.)	n.	eagle (cf. S. egni)
gnyagunya	n.	Fish species
gnyagnya	n.	Mass of disorderly objects, mess ewyi zhi gnyagnya zha The sorghum is a mess
gnyi	v.	to draw water
gnyingo	n.	market
gnu	v.	to take effect (of hunger) miwun gun mi lo I am hungry to get an impulse to take hold of s.o. to come upon s.o.
gnu	v.	to make fit (as in tailoring)
gnu	v.	to climb
gnu	v.	to mount to go up to ascend
gnu	v.	to ride (horse)
gnudna	v.	to teach s.o. a lesson
gnudna	v.	to engage in s.t. in earnest
gnuri	n.	Handicapped person
go..dna..lo	v.	put s.t. inside go etsi hni dna mi lo Put this yam inside for me
godo	n.	Handwoven cloth used for bedsheet or wrapper
gogbe	v.	to accept to agree to assent
gogoi	n.	Tree with edible fruit
gokni	v.	to choose
gokni	v.	to climb on to
gokni	n.	Enclosure for goats and sheep
golo	n.	Action of going
golo	n.	cola-nut (<H.)
golo	n.	fishing-hook (<H.)
gomwa	n.	See gomwa
gomwa	n.	A basket made of river reeds used to carry clothes and useful items on a journey or to carry back maize and cowpeas from the farm.
gori	n.	Vine. It has small oval green fruits in June and grows by rivers. The flesh is pounded and cooked to make a draw soup.
Gowyi	p.n.	Fulbe people and language (cf. Bulolo)
goye	v.	to accept, to answer
goyezhini	n.	A person who turns around regularly while walking
gozhinyafi	n.	Plant. It is ca. 1m tall, planted in yam hills and with red and white seeds. The leaves are cut for soup.
gù	v.	to lock
gù	v.	to open to unscrew (bottle-top)
gudulu	n.	Beer. A strongly alcoholic type made from guinea-corn.
gugu	n.	Nut-grass <i>Cyperus rotundus</i> A weed of cultivation difficult to control

		Young corms eaten by children
gula	n.	bottle-gourd
gulo	n.	Sandbank in large river
gulu	n.	vulture (cf. H.)
		gulu nya do emi dyi ba? Do vultures drive away each other when eating faeces? Meaning -one should not blame another person for some vices one is also guilty of
gulu	n.	bark of tree
guma	n.	Sick person
guna	int.	how many?
		he yi ebwe guna na? How many calabashes do you have?
guna	n.	heat
		eba guna it is hot
gunbwa	v.	to be complete (for countable things)
gunje	n.	Non-violent madman
gunma	n.	Sickness
gunma (Z.)	n.	Bag used to go to farm, made from reeds (cf. Su. bwasa)
guri	n.	large hoe for making mounds (cf. zugo guri)
guri	n.	Tree
		Mahogany.
guya	n.	to open
		me da wa kpako guya My father opened the door
gwaagwa	n.	Guinea-yam cultivar.
		A dark-skinned variety that is high-yielding and good for pounding
gwo	v.	to receive
		to collect
gwo	v.	to grind (cereals)
		a gwo ewyi e inji lo they grind the guinea-corn at the mill
Gwodo	n.	A 'play' done by women
gwodo	n.	Something plentiful
gwoma	v.	to go round, to patrol
gwontsutsu	n.	Something unexpected
gyaazun	excl.	Calm down!
gyade	n.	Catfish
gyegye	n.	Gorge of a river
gyezunsa	n.	evening
H.		
habi	excl.	Good morning!
hankaka (Z.)	n.	Pied crow, (<H.)
		<i>Corvus albus</i> .
hawo?	excl.	appended to a question, did you hear?
he	pron.	you (singular)
hedye	pron.	yourself
hmmn!	excl.	sound used to indication reservation
hni	dem.	this
hni!	excl.	sound used to answer a call
hnya	dem.	that
I.		
inji	n.	grinding-mill (<E.)
inyakun	n.	drum made from a large clay pot used for Gbmunu ceremonies

iyala	n.	turtle
J.		
jaari	n.	children of one's sister
jagba	n.	chili-pepper
jagba kpabnena	n.	hot pepper
jagba kpeto	n.	sweet pepper
jagba kungbwe	n.	large, green pepper (H. tatasai)
jagba kyanri	n.	red pepper
jata	n.	gravel, stony sand
jebojebo	n.	spider
jebojebonwun	n.	spider-web
jeje munu	n.	Mushroom sp.
jekpe	n.	A type of drumming and singing performed for women. More modern than rere'nyi
jembari	n.	Wooden stick used to stir porridge
jenagun	n.	Fresh porridge
jenu	adv.	far in the bush ma lo jenu I went far in the bush
jeshyawun	n.	Clay pot used for cooking porridge
jewun	n.	Cereal porridge that has been made more than twelve hours
ji	v.	to uproot
jin	v.	to discuss to deliberate to arrange
jin..ba	v.p.	to repair
jiga	n.	Guinea-yam cultivar.
jigba	n.	Pap made from pounded rice or millet with sesame or melonseed
jiji	a.	black biro hni kpere yi jiji n the top of this biro is black
jin gbma	v.	to spoil mi katakpukpu a jin gbma My motor-cycle got spoilt
jnya	v.	ma ebwa jnya I cleaned my hand
jyanyikwe	n.	Accomplished singer
K.		
ka	v.	to write
ka	v.	to pluck (fruit)
ka	v.	to take down (hanging object)
ka	v.	to wait for
ka	v.	to batter to hack away at to hammer at
ka..ebo	v.p.	to cause trouble
ka...'na	v.p.	to start a motorbike
kaawe	v.	to be dry ekni kaawe dry soil
kadun	n.	yam Aerial yam <i>Dioscorea bulbifera</i>
kagu	v.	to retort

		to react
		to flare up in anger
kaka	v.	to block a passage
		to obstruct
		to get stuck
kaka	adv.	secretively
kaka	n.	Grandmother (<H.?)
kakae	n.	Written message
kaka(la)ka	adv.	hard (surface)
		ba hin wo kakaka this place feels hard
		ekni a wo kakaka the soil is dried out
kakasuwa	n.	Centipede -bites
kakeku (=kaka)	v.	to block a passage
		to obstruct
		to get stuck
kakpa	n.	foot
kakpe	n.	basket
kaku	n.	hippopotamus
kala	n.	cake made from cowpeas (<Y. akara?)
kala	n.	hemispherical gourd used to serve food
kala	n.	jaundice, hepatitis
kala	n.	strength
kalakala	adv.	forcefully
		wa wo zhige kalakala he brought him forcefully
kamba	n.	maize
kambulu	n.	pawpaw <i>Carica papaya</i> See also yako
kanwa	n.	potash (<H.)
kapa	n.	Edge
kapa	n.	Palm leaves
kapa	n.	Cowpea. A small variety
kapaca	n.	Pangolin ? white-bellied pangolin <i>Manis tricuspis</i>
kapela	n.	Mat made from borassus palm-leaves
kapu	n.	Plantation planted with fruit-trees or bananas
kapwe	n.	Basket. A general term but usually applied to a medium-sized basket used for storage and to wash melon-seeds.
kapwe tama	n.	Basket. A large basket used to carry maize and cowpeas from the farm.
kapwe tasa	n.	Wide, flat basketry tray, used to dry produce, such as locust-bean cakes. Also bakana
kápwi	n.	Orchard, garden, plantation esp. of bananas
kàpwí	n.	crab Greenish, edible type
kàpwí	n.	navel
kàpwíbugo	n.	Person with enlarged navel
kare	n.	adze used by woodcarvers
karengu	n.	An hourglass-drum with two heads, held beneath the arm and beaten with a hooked stick (<H.)
kari	n.	False locust tree, <i>Prosopis africana</i>
kari	n.	fishing-net (<H.?) A long, narrow fishing-net stretched between upright poles and placed across a stream.

karikpakpa	n.	Tree sp.
kari funre	n.	Soup made from the boiled seed of kari tree
kasakase	n.	light-headed cf. vugavuga
kase	n.	Reserved part of forest used for collective hunting at the end of the dry season. This practice has almost vanished because of Fulbe bush-burning
kashu	n.	Cashew nut (<E.)
kasnuri	n.	Person looking emaciated
kata	n.	hat of vegetable fibre
katakpukpu	n.	Motor-bike 'machine'
katambiri	n.	Tree sp. (<H.) <i>Gardenia</i> sp. The seeds are used as a cosmetic
kate	n.	bedroom
katempa	n.	wall of house
ke	conj.	while so that in order that
ke	v.	to remain
ke	v.	to be clever
ke	v.	to hit, strike, beat esp. by shooting or throwing
ke..ya	v.	to hammer at to strike (hard object)
ke..ya	v.	to leave out exclude
kebma	v.	to reduce (volume, length, intensity) to decrease (frequency) to lessen
kebo	v.	to allege (s.t. against s.b.)
keca	v.	to become lean as result of illness
keci	v.	to infect s.o. with a cough
keco	v.	to straighten out
kedna	v.	to remain inside
kedo	v.	to connect
kefa	v.	to loosen to unscrew
kegi	v.	to hand over ???
keke	n.	Bird. A type of kite
keke	n.	cleverness intelligence
kèkè	n.	wheel bicycle
kèkè bala	n.	bicycle wheel spoke et. 'wheel' + 'rib'
kekee	a.	intelligent
kekee	a.	knocked in
kela	v.	to inflict upon to crack
kena	v.	to take fire from a fireplace??
kepmi	v.	to slap
kepo	v.	to explode
kere	n.	antelope species
kesa	v.	to reduce width to narrow

keta	v.	to kick
kete	v.	to hit with an arrow
ketinkpi	n.	Fish species
keto	v.	to reduce amount of s.t.
ketu	v.	to leave remaining to reserve to be extra
kewo	v.	to reduce spread (of a liquid)
kewye	v.	to go ahead with
keyari	a.	hammered beaten flat
ki	v.	to sew to mend (clothes)
ki	v.	to build barrier to build dam
kigo	n.	Needle. A large needle used to sew sacks
kiki	a.	some any za kiki cin mato 'bo wo si Not everyone can buy a car
kiki	n.	jaw
kna	v.	to be bent
kna	v.	to fence aba kna 'fi they have fenced it
kna	v.	to fry in oil
kna	v.	to bring out, to go out (w. plural subject) yi kna let's go out
kna..tnutnu	v.	to send a message
knaknari	n.	Bad news
knaknayi	a.	Bent Crooked Crippled
knana	n.	lump in porridge
knando	n.	locust bean seed soup of these seeds soup is made by crushing the seeds, steaming them, and then cooking them with oil and spices
kni	v.	to choose, select
knini	n.	ground, earth
knu	v.	to sell
knu	v.	to be enough
knu	v.	to shake (object)
knùknù	n.	hill, mountain
knúknú		lump on skin
knungba	n.	dumb
knunu	n.	Tradition
knunu	n.	Log
knuri	n.	collection of yams, melons, firewood etc.
knuri	n.	socket joint a peg stuck into to the wall for hanging up objects
knyaknya (Z.)	a.	small
knyari	n.	red
knyi	v.	to plait knyi tugo to plait hair

knyi	v.	to take (only part of something for countable objects) to choose
knyi..be	v.	to add to (countable objects) knyi etsi be ego he added some yams to the pile
knyinu (Z.)	n.	chameleon
knyinyi	n.	chameleon Belief. It is a bad sign to meet a chameleon facing one directly
ko	a.	straight direct
	adv.	directly
ko	v.	to mature, be ready to pluck (fruits)
ko	v.	to be old Ibrahim ma ko Ibrahim is old
ko	v.	to grind into a paste (pepper, beans)
ko	v.	to crawl (children only) ebi ko the child is crawling on the ground
koci	n.	adultery
koknuna (Z.)	n.	duiker
koko	n.	pap, maize or guinea-corn, mixed with millet
koko	n.	cocoyam <i>Colocasia esculenta</i> Belief. Cocoyams are planted out at the back of the house. It is believed that in a hailstorm, the hailstones will fall on the cocoyam leaves and protect the inhabitants of the compound.
kokomi	n.	woman after giving birth
kokumyi	n.	duiker (grey)
kokwe	a.	old (people and objects) aza kokwe the older generation
kombwa	n.	Ripe shea-fruit
komi	n.	Shea-butter
koni	v.	to sing
kongo ashryari	n.	A hooked wooden stick used to beat the gadagba and kalangu drums
konkota	n.	louse (<H.)
koolo	n.	Beer-like drink but not alcoholic. Made from guinea-corn and very sweet.
koreshin	v.	to awaken
kori	n.	Shea-butter tree, <i>Vitellaria paradoxa</i>
kori	n.	wooden spoon
koshya	n.	metal spoon
koto	n.	lymph nodes on the pubic area
koto	n.	hemispherical gourd used by women to drink beer
kpá	v.	to share (meat, guinea-corn in the head) to divide into small quantities
kpa	v.	to rear young animals
kpabnena	n.	Bird. Edible
kpaci	n.	crop residues stalk of any cereal other than sorghum
kpaci	n.	Boastful person
kpaci	n.	coughing
kpa..eci	v.	to cough
kpage	n.	Circumcised penis
kpage	n.	Fish-trap. A conical valveless fish-trap used when the river is going down.
kpage tente	n.	Wasp. A yellow wasp that lives in mango trees. They can sting strongly and prevent the plucking of the fruit. They make nests of rolled-up leaves

kpago	n.	Giant African land snail
kpago	n.	back of the head
kpago	n.	two hundred
kpagodu	n.	Medicine for cough
kpagodu	n.	Snail-shell
kpagu=kpaku[Z.]	n.	tortoise
kpahedyedo	n.	Decoration
kpàkí	v.	to persist ma gna wo lolo n, wa kpaki lalo I said he should not go, but he persisted in going
kpako	n.	door, carved, wooden
kpaku	n.	Type of oracle that detects liars or thieves. A rope is passed from person to person and it tangles in thands of the guilty one
kpakpa	n.	calabash spoon
kpakpa	n.	penis
kpakpalugudu	n.	hernia
kpakpatali	n.	an impotent man
kpankpa	n.	Lima bean. <i>Phaseolus lunatus</i> Climbs a trellis. Harvested in December. A common short form for lakpankpa (q.v.)
kpanma	n.	River-shell
kpanya	v.	to rear (animals)
kpári	n.	<i>Terminalia</i> spp. (=baushe? H.)
kpásù	n.	Confusion
kpato	n.	calabash spoon Also kpakpa
kpawun	n.	Door-covering
kpe	v.	to know
kpe	v.	to wear cloth
kpe	v.	to be on (s.t.) (with plural subject) akpa kpe e tebu lo the books are on the table
kpe	v.	to add to wogma kpe ebi nyaawo Fifty
kpe egbo'ye	n.p.	Intellect
kpeda	n.	compound
Kpeku	n.	Masquerade that can appear at funerals in place of Nago . More common among the Gade people.
kpekpe	n.	stalk of guinea-corn
kpere	v.	to hang on top of a tree
kpere	n.	cover of dish or pot, top of a pen
kpetekpete	n.	Small objects, young creatures
Kpeto	p.n.	Ebira people (< H. Koto)
kpeye	n.	Knowing
kpikipiri	n.	Unripe fruit, roasted yam
kpma	v.	to take all of something (countable objects)
kpmari	n.	Blacksmith's tongs, pliers
kpmi	v.	to fold
kpna	v.	to collect kpna ede zhige bring in your cloth
kpna..ego	v.	to heap up (yam-heaps)
kpna	n.	seven
kpna	n.	eight
kpna	n.	Cook-pot of cast iron with three legs

kpnamkpna	n.	diarrhoea vomit cholera
kpnamkpna(na)	n.	millipede
kpnyanyi	n.	nine
kpniu	n.	sheep
kpnowi	n.	six
kpnuwba	n.	ear
kpokposun	n.	Bone in phrases. cf. ewye kpokposun
Kpoto	p.n.	Ebira person or language (<Koto)
kpwekpwe	n.	Senegal coucal, <i>Centropus senegalensis</i>
ku	v.	to wear cap
ku	v.	take, gather, collect (for plural inanimate objects) ku bokiti zhige bring some buckets
ku	v.	to pick up
ku..ya	v.	to pack away to clear away
ku nyiga	v.	to bite emwi wa nyiga ku mi the dog bit me
kubi aso	n.	Creeper. A twining creeper found in the bush that is transplanted into the compound. It is the medicine for kupaso , a stomach problem 'like constipation' most common in children.
kubwa	v.	to clap hands
kuci	n.	masquerade, shrine
kuci	n.	sugar-cane
kuci kpekpe	n.	stalk of guinea-corn
kuci nubo	n.p.	Sickness. Caused by a masquerade. Incurable, it causes swollen stomachs in older people.
kuci'nya	n.	A large drum used for the performances of the kuci masquerade
kuci'nyi	n.	Song. A type of song to accompany a sacrifice, usually sung throughout the night
kucilu	n.	Bird, possibly the Senegal wood-hoopoe. It is a pest on farms, eating pepper-plants, but is not harmed because of its connection with shrines.
kucindori	n.	Praying mantis Et. kuci -masquerade + do -shock
kucu	v.	to stuff in (object into container, etc.)
kudo	n.	Collision
kudu	n.	star (cf. Fulfulde?)
kudu	n.	firefly
kudukudu	adv.	secretly and rapidly
kuku	n.	knee
kuku pasa	n.p.	knee cap piece of gourd used to serve porridge
kuku	n.	ankle
kulu	n.	oyster
kululu	a.	round, circular
kumba	n.	edible melon. There are two types, a small traditional one and a modern variety introduced in this century.
kumtini	n.	to gather dew when walking in the bush
kuna	n.	to set fire to

kundo	n.	A drink made from pulverised guinea-corn and spice. Corresponds to Hausa kunnu
kungbiri	a.	A whole
kungbwi	a.	Small
kunti	n.	stump of a tree origin root source
kupaso	n.	Disease. A stomach complaint common in children. Et. contraction of kubi aso (q.v.)
kureshin	v.	to wake up ma kureshin labmelabme I woke up early in the morning
kurya	n.	antelope
kusu	n.	pig
kusu'go	n.	pig-pen
kuta	n.	stone
kuti	n.	forest
kutungbari	n.	Tree sp.
kutunku	n.	Dwarf
kuya	n.	Squatting position apology appeasement
kuyari	a.	packed away
kuyi	n.	orphan??
kwala	n.	Baobab, <i>Adansonia digitata</i>
kwalanta	n.	coconut
kwankwa	n.	Hammer (especially used to sharpen hoe-blades)
kwankware	n.	gecko
kwari nabutsi	n.	small, biting insect et. 'Kwali scorpion'
kwàsákwàsá	n.	Pied crow
kwoge	n.	Tree sp.
kya	v.	to chop (with cleaver, axe) esp. meat to beat mercilessly idiom.
kyaku	a.	open, something practical
kyikyikiri	a.	all
L.		
la	v.	to take to lift from the ground to harvest mi la atsi I am harvesting yams to hit to become spoilt (of children)
la	v.	initial verb prefixing an order or instruction la gi wo give him (it) la lo ɓɔla you should go to the funeral ceremony
là		to open (book but not door etc.) Musa wa ekpa la Musa opened the book la ekpa dye yi dye foto wye Open the book so we can see the pictures to unwrap

		la ede wowe unwrap the new cloth to break open to open at the edge to break open new crop heads
		mi la gbegbe I broke open the groundnut shell to move (emotionally?)
la..ya	v.	to let go, leave off
la ewye dna	v.p.	to hurry up Et. take + eye + to be inside
		la ewye dna ha lo hurry up and go
la tnubwa dna	v.p.	to listen
la taki	v.p.	to drum praise-names nyingbaja wa etsu la taki the drummer praised the chief
laari	n.	henna. (<H.) Used by women to stain their hands and feet
laba	v.	to hit to throw down to dash against
labme	a.	bad (also nabne) nyadi labme bad food
labmelabme	adv.	early in the morning
labmisa	n.	morning
lada	n.	reward (<H.)
ladae	a.	tasteless insipid bland
ladaeladae	a.	tasteless insipid bland
ladalada	adv.	danglingly, in a dangling manner
ladna	v.	to insert to include to take and put inside to engage (gears, engine)
laga	n.	Style of drumming for the eka dance
laga	v.	to get up ma laga e cimpwe 'o I got up from the stool
laga..ere	v.p.	to get up (from sleep)
lagba	n.	Tree with edible fruit
lagbangbyi (Z.)	n.	Tree Wild custard-apple <i>Annona senegalensis</i>
lagbe	v.	to open the mouth
laka	n.	underside, underneath, bottom of object
lakni	n.	Taboo, forbidden action
Lako	p.n.	Woman who is a member of Gbmunu group, who cooks for the men.
lakpankpa	n.	Food. A type of bean paste or moinmoin made from cowpeas and boiled in leaves
lakwo	n.	Child born prematurely
lala	n.	Darling. mi lala ado my darling has arrived
lala'nyi	n.	A rhythm or tune used to dance gadagba music. The melody changes according to fashion
lamwa	n.	Whistle. A wooden whistle used for the Boku masquerade.
lari	n.	migrant -someone who has moved his home

lase	n.	lizard
lase	n.	someone lying helplessly
layaci	v.	to pass the night
lo	v.	to untie
lò	v.	to untie
lo	part.	mo lo kinu ya fefefe o I untie the sheep every day a locative marker indicating place. Always at the end of the sentence. ci a kate lo it's in the room
lo	v.	to go
lo..ge		to go to a place with something mi gá lo Kaduna ge I am going to Kaduna (with something)
loge!	v.	an order to tell someone to shut up or to shout down someone who says something out of turn (only used in imperative form)
logologo	a.	smooth
longo	n.	cassava, (<H.) <i>Manihot esculenta</i>
lube	n.	Floor-beater
lugba	n.	noise
lugbalugba	a.	weak
lugu	n.	flour of any type
lugwe	v.	to be bigger than emu lugwe the bigger dog (of two)
luko	n.	duck
luko	n.	dove
lukpa	n.	pigeon Belief. A bad sign if seen in bush far from home
lukpe	n.	main road
luku	n.	yellow powder inside pods of locust tree
lulu	n.	Stew made from boiled herbs
lulu	v.	to be bitter golo lulu the cola-nut is bitter
luma	n.	bush-pig
lumberi	n.	locust. Large or plague type.
luwo	v.	to strike, beat

M.

-m	part.	Negative particle that goes at the end of a sentence
mà	pron.	1st person pronoun used to mark future tense
má	pron.	1st person pronoun used to mark past tense
ma	v.	to sulk
	v.	to become sour
ma	v.	to give birth to deliver to hatch (egg)
ma..ebe	v.p.	to say something lightly, to crack a joke lo ma me ebe m don't crack a joke like that with me
maagoi	n.	female children born to one's mother, stepmother or mother's sister
maama	a.	all
maamii	n.	male children born to one's stepmother and her sisters.
maari	a.	good
maarimaari	a.	good. Reduplicated form only used with plural subjects apyise maarimaari good chickens

magna	n.	Wrist-guard used by archers with a knife attached
Maiwa	p.n.	Masquerade. Appears in the rainy season and performs magical tricks
Maja	p.n.	Title The traditional title of the leader of the women in a village, who organizes them for dancing and collective work.
makata	n.	School (<H.)
malo	n.	Mallam (<H.)
mangoro	n.	Mango (<H.)
mangoi	n.	Sister (also emphatic mangori) first cousins (female)
mantare	n.	house-swallow. Swallows were believed to come to the aid of villagers during war, by pecking at the eyes of enemy attackers.
manzeri	n.	Spindle for spinning cotton (<H.)
manzeyi	n.	Beard
mare	v.	to turn out of your path
màrí	n.	Irritating behaviour he 6e dyin màrí You irritate me
mari	n.	brother first cousins (male)
masalaci	n.	Mosque (<H.)
mashamasha	a.	sour nunu wo mashamasha the yoghurt tastes sour
mashya	n.	quietness la mashya! Keep quiet!
Mate	n.	Gbagyi or Gwarin-Ngege people and language
matema	n.	Plant with spiky seeds that stick to other things
mato	n.	Motor vehicle
mato kungbwi	n.	Car
matsna	v.	to laugh
mawyi	n.	Millet. Long-season bulrush millet (H. gero)
mawyi kuci	n.	Sweet-stemmed millet
mba	num.	two
meme	n.	<i>Strychnos spinosa</i>
menta	n.	tongue
menti	n.	saliva
mesa	n.	medical operation
meyá	n.	intestine
mi	adj.	my
mi	v.	to build
mi	v.	to swallow mà mi cigbe I will take the medicine
mi	v.	to fell to cut down (cf. miya) ma mi cimwa I felled the tree
mici	v.	to put s.t. on its side I'a mici're lie it flat on the ground
migi	n.	pomade (commercially produced) cf. emi tsnitsni
mimi	n.	Tree. A tree with a hard-shelled yellow, edible fruit
mimi	adv.	inside Musa 6o gnyingo mimi Musa is right inside the market
mishe	n.	Christianity (< E. mission?)
misheza	n.	Christian

mishyawu	n.	Pot. Clay pot for shea-oil
miwun	n.	Hunger miwun gnu mi lit. hunger catches me -I am hungry
miya	v.	to collapse (persons) to topple over (trees) cf. zekin
molu	n.	Lute. (<H.) A 2-stringed lute with a gourd body. Also doku .
mukeesa	n.	Dry season
mula	n.	marriage
mulaba	n.	bridegroom
mulabwa	n.	marriage celebration
mulanyigo	n.	bridegroom
mula pedai	n.	best lady
mungala	n.	Grasshopper. A green grasshopper that poisons animals which eat it.
munge	n.	palm-wine
munja	n.	sand
munu	n.	mushroom
musulumi	n.	Muslim (<H.) cf. salaza
mutsege	n.	mosquito
mwa	v.	to be enough, to be sufficient a mwa mi I am satisfied
mwa	v.	to be big to grow knuknu mwa a big hill ewyi mwa the guinea-corn grows
mware	v.	to become fat
mwari	n.	Horn. A transversely blown antelope or buffalo horn, used for signals or to accompany group-farming.
mwi	v.	to measure
mwi	v.	to lend (where the exact amount will be returned) (cf. ba) mu mwi Naira wogma kpe ebi nyaawo Lend me fifty Naira
mwi(..bo)	v.	to assume to imagine to think ma mwi ha a lo Nubwi n I assumed you had gone to Abuja
mya	v.	to smell
myaetsun	v.	to smell s.t.
myentsna	n.	Zither. A 16-stringed raft-zither, made from guinea-corn stalks, with a spherical gourd resonator tied under the table and a nail inserted into the resonator to act as a rattle. Played at night.
myesa	n.	man male (but see also nugbe) boy
myesan	n.	kitchen
myeya	n.	intestine
myezinyi	n.	wasp
myezinyi bala	n.	wasp-nest
myi	v.	to build to mould (pot)
myi	pron.	I/me
myidye	pron.	myself

N.

na	v.	to go limp, to become inactive (humans and animals only)
na	v.	to dream ma ena na esugo I had a dream yesterday
na	v.	deny ma wo efu na I denied his lie see also bona
nabne	a.	bad (also labme)
nabo	n.	denial
nabo	v.	to refuse ma ewo nabo I refused the money
na'go	n.	goat-pen
nabitsi	n.	scorpion
nabitsi gevun	n.	scorpion. Large type found in east of Gbari country
nagagba	n.	crocodile
nagberi	n.	hunter
nagna	n.	volunteer -a plant that grows spontaneously from seed sown the previous year.
Nago	n.	Masquerade. Also called Weya
nago	n.	cow
nago'fe	n.	tsetse-fly that worries cattle
nagolu	n.	cattle-egret Et. ena cow + elu bird
nagotso	n.	Cattle-trail
nagwi	n.	Something hot, generally food or water
Naila	n.	Naira (unit of currency)
nakakpa	n.	crocodile
above!	see	
nakpa	n.	monkey (general)
nakpa kpyanri	n.	patas monkey
nakpalagun	n.	A tall, slightly buttressed tree with a smooth trunk. Et. 'Monkey doesn't climb it' 2. Belief. Monkeys swear oaths at this tree
namanama	n.	Plant. Green plant with a triangular leaf that irritates the skin
namanama	n.	Larva. the larva of an insect that irritates the skin
namberi	n.	grasshopper (=lumberi) cf. also eshin
nange	n.	Animal like a squirrel
nantolo	n.	Dull person
napeye	n.	Roasted food
napwi	n.	Burnt firewood
Nasara	n.	European (<F?)
nasara lemu	n.	pineapple (?)
nasara'fya	n.	<i>Amaranthus</i> sp. Introduced potherb.
nasara gbeki	n.	chicken-pox
nasara'ma	n.	Waterleaf Et. White man's sorrel
nasara'zhi	n.	Rabbit.
nasha	n.	Water-monitor
nashna	n.	Instrument used by blacksmiths to burn charcoal
nshni	n.	Tree that has recently flowered
nasna	n.	? for lighting fire
nateye	n.	Fire-fetcher, especially in farm
natse	n.	Poison

natse	n.	fire-place, hearth
natwi	n.	Something boiled
natwyna	n.	Something used for boiling
nawun	n.	aunt Father's sister
nca	num.	three
ndye	part.	if
nigun (Z.)	n.	forehead
nitata	n.	draw-soup
nini	adv.	today
nkpno	num.	five
nkwa	excl.	Hallo! Greeting at night when most people are asleep
nnda	n.	Guinea-yam. A small yam cultivar that grows deep in the ground
nmyi	num.	four
nu	v.	to farm
nu	v.	to fire (pots) e.g. nu shyawun
nu⁺ or nù	v.	to be full
nù	v.	to scorch (leaves when making traditional medicine) e.g. nù funte
nubo	n.	belly, stomach
nubobiya	n.	Anger.lit. 'spoilt stomach'
nubotsugo	n.	Pregnant woman
nubwi	n.	Shelter, any structure without proper walls
nufa	n.	farming
nufu	n.	sesame
nugba	n.	Private farm
nugbe	n.	male (of animals)
nugu (Z.)	n.	son
nugwapun	n.	Fish. <i>Tilapia</i> sp.
nuka	n.	head-pad
nunwuri	n.	Fiancé
nuwa	n.	water, stream
nuwa fuya	n.	Loofah <i>Luffa cylindrica</i> . Used for bathing
nuwari	n.	Vision or spiritual experience, especially associated with those who work with canoes
nuwu	n.	son brother's son
nuwun	n.	father's sister
nuwuri	n.	emphatic form of nuwu
nwa	v.	to be catching (of a disease) to catch nwa pyise zhige bring the chicken
nwabwa	v.	to take care of, to tend
nwawye	v.	to take note, to remark
nya	v.	to chase (s.t.) to pursue to follow
nya	v.	to dance ba nya gadagba they are dancing gadagba
nyabi	v.	to ruin

		to spoil	
Nyabolo	p.n.	Generic term for peoples other than Gbari and Hausa	
nyafi	n.	food (general)	
nyadyidyi	n.	food	
nya 'nya	v.p.	to dance (without named dance)	
nya yina	int.	What?	
		Commonly shortened to nyana (q.v.)	
nyakai	n.	Writer or secretary	
nyakiyi	n.	Tailor	
nyakpe	n.	Domestic animal	
nyakun	n.	Drum made from a pot with a single skin. Especially associated with the Gunu festival.	
nyalogo	n.	Fish. A scaleless fish.	
nyambi	n.	Load	
nyana	int.	What?	
		He sun nyana? What are you doing?	
nyando	n.	Roasting oven for shea-nuts and crops built in the centre of a woman's room. Not very common nowadays	
nyankei	n.	violent madman	
nyanya	n.	dancing	
nyanya	pron.	anything	
nyanyanya	pron.	everything	
nyapina	n.	abscess on the body	
nyasere	n.	Shade of a tree	
nyasha	n.	Iron	
		Metal	
		Zinc roof	
nyatugopa	n.	headtie	
nyavwevwe	n.	Insect	
nyi	v.	to lick	
		emwi nyi mu ebwa the dog is licking my hand	
nyi	v.	to dig	
nyibajya	n.	Expert drummer	
nyibo	n.	anus	
nyibo	n.	gap due to loss of teeth	
nyibori	n.	gap-toothed person	n. anus
nyiga	n.	tooth	
nyigatsugo	n.	Person with protruding teeth	
nyigbango	n.	Old woman	
nyigbei	n.	Tree	
		Wild custard-apple	
		<i>Annona senegalensis</i>	
nyigbmi	n.	piles (infection)	
nyigo	n.	Wife	
	n.	Female	
nyigosunsun	n.	Fiancée. A woman who is affianced must always go for the harvest in her proposed husband's house.	
nyigotsugo	n.	Married man	
nyigoyi	n.	Female (of animals)	
nyigoza	n.	Woman	
		Girl	
nyikpwekpwe	n.	Chin	
nyingbaja	n.	drummer	

nyini	n.	Fruit. A fruit the size of a lumpy lemon, ripe in March. It has many seeds inside which can be sucked for the tasty flesh.
nyipata	n.	A flat raffia sheet with a cord attached rolled up and tied. Used to store new clothes or money.
Nyipe	n.	Nupe people and language
nyiwun	n.	forehead
nyiwun	n.	beer-pot Pot with a round body and narrow neck
nyizhe	n.	World
O.		
'o	part.	for wo . Sentence final particle e.g. ma laga e cimpwe 'o I got up from the stool
oko	n.	old age
oku	excl.	Hallo! (<F.?)
oku	n.	young leaf of river-reed
P.		
pa	v.	to tie up (with rope)
pacenkpe	n.	drain culvert water outlet from bathroom
Pada	p.n.	Title. A traditional Gbari title.
palapala	adv.	quickly nyadi azo palapala the food finished quickly
panpa	n.	ant (generic)
panpa knyari	n.	Ant. A very small red ant that gets in sugar and is hard to get out
panpa wuri	n.	Ant. A small black ant that seeks out sugar
pari	n.	pliers, tongs
pári	n.	Tree sp. 'like <i>Isobertinia</i> '
pata	n.	skin
pata	n.	flattened half-gourd for men to drink beer
pate	a.	slow
pawyi (gyabo)	n.	tree-squirrel
pe	v.	to surpass emu mwa pe bare the dog is bigger than the cat
pèná	v.	to roast
pepa	n.	Guinea-yam cultivar
pesangba	n.	Cock
pete	adv.	slowly wo da pete he walked slowly
piri	n.	genet
pi	v.	to set a trap ma eshni pi I set a trap
pì	v.	to wring out to squeeze mi pi remuri I squeezed [the juice] from the organge
pidori	n.	co-wife
pigo	n.	Head of extended family group Contraction of pitsugo (q.v.)
pisankpe	n.	roof of building

pítà	n.	leg
pítà bokpa	n.	heel of foot
pítà bwani	n.	toe
pitsugo	n.	Head of extended family group et. epi compound + etsu chief + ego ?
pitula	n.	bush-lamp (<H.)
pmá	v.	to sin, to commit a crime
pma	v.	to fix in place a circular ring while thatching or fencing
pmà	v.	to stamp on to step on to trample
pmi	v.	to twist to braid twine to turn ma pmi tugwo I turned my head
pmibma	v.	to turn upside down
pminya	v.	to make a noise with a pmunu squeaker
pmunu	n.	Grass sp. Tall grass with <i>Pennistenum</i> type heads Squeaker. A children's sound-producer made from a grass-stem internode slit longitudinally and acting as a single reed instrument.
potokun	n.	Owl
putu	n.	Sesame? Has virtually disappeared. Used for soup
putu	n.	Mat used for sleeping
pwo	v.	to wash clothes to be or to make wet shego a mi pwo the rain has made me wet
pyankpa	n.	back yard
pyanubo	n.	Secret inner chamber of house the shrine was kept. Et. epi house + nubo stomach
pyatnaca	n.	Guinea-corn cultivar. An early-maturing cultivar named after the month in which it ripens. 'Eighth month'
pyiri	n.	genet
pyiri	n.	testes
pyisankpe	n.	Roof of house
pyise	n.	Hen
pyise	n.	chicken 1. Used for sacrifices 2. Proverb. At sunset the hen does not reserve any food for its chicks. Meaning -in a competitive environment/situation no consideration is given to blood relations [!].
pyisego	n.	henhouse
pyitse	n.	Adolescent
R.		
re	v.	to sharpen ma gbangun re, mi lo gbe cimwa ge I sharpened my axe to cut down the tree.
re (Z)	v.	to be tired a mi re I am tired
re..ere	v.p.	to sleep
rere	v.	to sleep
remuri	n.	orange (<H.)

rena	n.	mat (any type)
rere'nyi	n.	The type of songs sung at funerals of old people by women, especially wives of the man's family [but not his own wives]. The words of these songs are always fixed over time.
ri	v.	to become clean (as a result of washing) to be drenched shego a mi ri the rain has drenched me
riba	n.	profit (<H.)
ridiwo	n.	radio (<E.) record-player cassette-recorder
rifé	adv.	until dawn
rifu	n.	plaited straw ring placed atop yam hills to cool the soil and act as mulch
rije	n.	Sickle (<H?)
rikici	n.	trouble problem
rimi	n.	silk-cotton tree, (<H.) <i>Ceiba pentandra</i>
ripasa	n.	onion (<H.)
riwyi	v.	to postpone to cancel mi Nubwi lo'fo a riwyi I postponed going to Abuja
S.		
sa	v.	to cut to slice to bite (only used for dogs) emwi wa me sa the dog bit me
sa	v.	to split (firewood)
sa	v.	to recover (from illness)
sa	v.	to be on heat (dog) emwi wa sa The dog is on heat
saari	a.	poor, wretched
sagaga	adv.	late etsu wa azhi gago sagaga the chief came late to the meeting
Sagba	n.	Title Traditional title of a man who liaises between the chief and the men of the Azagobi society.
sala	n.	Praying (usually Muslim) (<H.)
sala	n.	Drum. Very large barrel-drum similar to gadagba
salaza	n.	Muslim (cf. Musulumi)
salena	int.	When? He lo tnutnu'ba salena? When do you go to the office?
samba	n.	Drum. Rectangular frame-drum (Y.?)
sari	n.	Tree sp. Bark used to poison fish
sashinya	n.	chair, stool
satikalaba	n.	Grass species
sawyi	n.	Millet. Short-season bulrush millet (H. dauro)
saya	v.	to tear ma epa saya I tore the book
se	pron.	you (plural)
se	v.	to dehusk cereals by pounding. Cf. tsu

		mi nyigo se ewyi my wife is dehusking the guinea-corn
sebyisebyi	adv.	hiccuppingly
sedye	pron.	yourself
seena	n.	pride
seke	n.	enjoyment cf. danda. he da seke bota you say you are enjoying life
Sekya	p.n.	Title of the leader of the youths in a village (<H. Sarkin yara)
shabo	n.	ladder
shanji	n.	cloud
shari	n.	stick
she	v.	to carve (wood) a she ginni de kere you use an adze to carve a mortar
she	v.	to peel (uncooked tuber) nyigo za etsi she the woman peeled the yam
shebei	n.	Enemy
shego	n.	rain
shego gbakori	n.	cloud
shego gbasha	n.	rain showers, drizzle
shego mana	n.	rainbow
shegogba	n.	lightening, thunder
shengeri	n.	Fish sp. <i>Labeo senegalensis</i>
shengozhi (Z./Sh.)	n.	sky
shenzhi	n.	sky
shere	n.	Hoe. Oval, medium-sized hoe used to make ridges
sheri	n.	witch or wizard Type of spiritual experience
shewo	n.	fish (generic)
shi	v.	to hate
shiba cigbe (Z.)	n.	A medicine against the charms of enemies. cf. Sumwakpna bogun
shibe	n.	Enemy Rival in pursuit of a woman cf. also shiri
Shigokpna	n.	Gbari section living along the River Shigo (=Gurara) Their main towns are Izom, Gawo, Lambata and Bonu
shigu	n.	Hot temper
shigu	n.	Strong taste, especially acidic
shika	n.	penknife (?<H. aska)
shikwuya-knu	n.	Kersting's groundnut <i>Macrotyloma geocarpa</i> Grown especially by the Basa people.
shiri	n.	Enemy Rival in pursuit of a woman cf. also shibe
shishi	n.	hatred
shní	v.	to take something from the top of something else
shní	v.	to come down from a tree or high place
shnya sunyi	n.p.	traditional believer
Shyaba	p.n.	Title (<N.?) A traditional Gbari title for the official second to the chief and responsible for announcements.

shyado	v.	to exchange ya epa shyado let us exchange books
shyama	n.	Water-yam, <i>Dioscorea alata</i> Not suitable for pounding
shyampa	n.	Fingerlings
shyapa	n.	Pot. Small pot for cooking soup
shyapango	n.	Pot. Clay pot formerly used for bathing.
si	n.	to buy
simboyi	n.	dish[any metal plate]
sna	v.	to hurt, to pain
snago	n.	locally made bicarbonate from ashes used to make soap
sni	v.	to drink ma nuwa sni I drank the water to smoke ma sni eshya I smoked a pipe
sni	v.	to swell up
snibwanyi	n.	ring of any type
snye	v.	to feel sorry
sori	n.	Tree <i>Isobertinia doka</i>
suba	n.	Guinea-yam cultivar. Yam preferred for eating. Smooth, dark skin
suke	n.	frog, edible
Sumwakpna	n.	Gbari section living along the River Sumwa (=Usuma) Their main towns are Dafa, Gwagwalada, Kwali and Kyankpa
sun	v.	to do to make
sun egu	v.p.	to fight
sun eshya	v.p.	to sacrifice
sun tnutnu	v.p.	to work
sun nyadyi	v.p.	to cook
sunsun	n.	pity (used with wo)
sunsunsun	n.	quiet person
sunsunya biri	n.	Tree sp. Rough-bark
sunya	n.	Frog. Striped frog. Not eaten
susun	n.	poor person
T.		
tá	v.	to stretch (rope etc.)
tá	v.	to contribute
tá	v.	to chew
ta	v.	to kick
ta..efun	n.p.	flying
Taazhin	p.n.	A shrine for the whole village -kept at the entrance of the village. Performances can occur at any time. A small round house only accessible to the elders
tabwa	n.	alkaline mixture

tafa	n.	tobacco (<H.)
tagbe	n.	chewing
tagbo	n.	to smother
ta(m)kpa	n.	workshop for grind-stones with mortars
taki	n.	praise-name or epithet (<H.)
taknukpa	n.	galago
talugo	n.	frog. Smooth-skinned, not eaten
tambwi	n.	Leaking container
Tampe	n.	Masquerade. A masquerade with a sack-like dress and a long cape that appears during the day.
tantaki	adv.	Free of charge
tari	n.	bow
tari	n.	debtor
tatangiri	n.	Plant used as broom <i>Sida acuta</i>
tawunri	n.	Tree (cf. H. kalgo)
tazhin	v.	no matter, notwithstanding (idiom) ko o tazhin, ma lo n No matter what, I won't go
te	v.	to cut into pieces ma bida te I chopped up the meat
te	v.	to block up ma ebo te I blocked the hole
Tebeya	p.n.	Personal Name. 'Forget your affront against me'
tebu	n.	table (<E.)
tegui	n.	leper
temkpe	a.	short (person, dress etc.)
tere	n.	Dirt
tete	n.	gum A type of gum made from the water left after boiling locust-bean pods and used to seal small holes in basketry
teya	v.	to 'shunt'
teze	n.	Stibnite. antimony used to decorate the face (H. tozali?)
ti..ebwi	v.	to cry ebi wa tibwi rife ge the baby cried all night
tibwi	v.	to cry to weep
tida	n.	Summit of hill etc.
tigwu	n.	Wound on thumb or leg
tinyari	n.	Wound that will not heal
tisa	n.	Filter for beer made from woven grass. Now rare
tiwu	n.	to ululate
tiya	v.	to cut off
tna	v.	to rub
tna	v.	to be without
tnatna	n.	cricket
tnawobwa	n.	to plead
tnawunri	n.	Young palm fronds used to prepare thatching grass
tnu	v.	to pick (groundnuts, etc.)
tnu (Sh.)	v.	to send cf. kna
tnubwa	n.	ear
tnubwadnaya	n.	ear-ring

tsubwagbagbayi	n.	deaf
tnutnu	n.	Refuse heap, rubbish dump
tnutnu	n.	work message
tnutnuba	n.	Office, workplace
to	v.	to be dressed well he to, he lo zhe gana? Where are you going, dressed so fine?
to	v.	to fetch to nuwa! fetch water!
to..be	v.	to add to (uncountable things) to nuwa be e shnyawu o add water to the pot
to(bwa)	v.	to touch
tolotolo	n.	turkey (<H.)
tori	n.	Fashion-conscious person
towo	v.	to taste la enyi towo ndye enu a wo ni taste the soup and see if the salt is enough
tgsaku	n.	python
tsangba	n.	bow and arrow
tsantsi	n.	tail of animal
tsengba	n.	quiver for arrows
tseta	n.	Tail-fin of fish
tsni	n.	to be black to be dirty Musa a dna tsni Musa looks very dirty
tsni	v.	to rub
tsnitsni	n.	anything rubbed on the skin
tsna	v.	to shake
tsongo	n.	night
tsu	v.	to die
tsu	v.	to pound [yams, sesame etc. but <u>not</u> cereals. Cf. se] mi nyigo tsu nufu my wife is pounding beniseed
tsuki	v.	to get injection
tsukpa	n.	sore
tsukpada	n.	Large wound
tsula	n.	Cakes made from fermented locust seeds (H. dandawa)
tsula funte	n.	Fruit. Small, spherical, grows in clusters of 2-4.
tsumwa	n.	Spice used in local medicines
tsun	v.	to smell ede hni wo tsun bya n This beer smells bad
tsun	v.	to meet Musa ga tsun mi e Nubwi Musa will meet me in Abuja
tsun	v.	to prick ekna tsun mi a thorn pricked me to inject ma wa bantna, a ga eki tsun mi I was sick with malaria so they gave me an injection
tsunwu	n.	bone
tsunmya	n.	odour, smell
tsuntsun	a.	too close (to the present) efe dye a tsuntsun The date is too close
tsutsu	n.	bitterleaf, (H. shiwaka) <i>Vernonia amygdalina</i>
tsuwala	n.	Cheetah?
tswa	v.	to forge

tswaago	n.	smithy
tswaagomi	n.	shards of metal that fly off when a blacksmith hammers
Tswadu	p.n.	Title. Corresponds to Hausa Madaki Traditional title of the man who stands second to the chief (<N.?)
tswangbe (Z.)	n.	hornbill
tswangbelu	n.	Bird sp. It has a long beak
Tswashe	n.	God Et. etsu chief + shengo sky
Tswashengo (Z./Sh.)	n.	God
tu	v.	to vomit
tu	v.	to be on (s.t.) (with singular subject) ɓare tu e pisankpe lo the cat is on the roof to ride ma katakpukpu tu lo Abuja ge I rode my motor-bike to Abuja
tu	v.	to become blunt
tubwa	v.	to thumb-print a document (in lieu of signature cf. dnabwa)
tugbe	n.	warning (et. tu + egbe)
tugo	n.	head
tugo ɓure	n.p.	skull
tugo lakpalakpa	n.p.	tadpole
tugoyi	n.	hair on head
tukpa	n.	Catfish. <i>Synodontis</i> spp.
tulu	n.	Epiphyte (any type)
tungu	n.	ash
tupa	n.	epilepsy
twa	v.	to loosen
V.		
vi	v.	to follow (?<H. ɓi)
vugavuga	a.	light-headed, unable to stand up wo mi vugavuga I feel light-headed
vugovugo	n.	Wasp sp. It builds communal nests in trees
W.		
wa	v.	to catch
wando	n.	Trousers (<H.) Also enya fifi
wáribà	n.	man who chases women and is favoured by them
wasa	n.	plant sp. Used to cure snake-bite
wazhigege	n.	Three-striped mouse <i>Hybomys trivirgatus</i>
Weya	n.	Masquerade. Also Nago (q.v. for details)
wnu	v.	to gather
wó	v.	to hear
wo	v.	to be hot to shine (sun)
wo	v.	to feel ha wo na? How do you feel?

		to taste
wo	v.	to beat someone with a stick
wo	v.	to extract from liquid (water, oil)
		ma kala wo I took out the bean-cake [from the oil]
wo	pron.	he she it
wo kawu	v.p.	to be dry ede awo kawu the cloth is dry
wodye	pron.	himself herself itself
wogaba	num.	twelve
wogaca	num.	thirty
wogagbma	num.	eleven
wogema	num.	forty
wona	int.	How? he wo na? How do you feel? How much? [money]
woshi	num.	twenty
woshya	v.	to feel to pain ebe a ka mi, ebwa ma woshya ge A knife cut me, hurting my finger
wowe	a.	new
wozasunsun	v.	kindness to another person wo wozasunsun he is kind to other people
wu	v.	to kill nagberi á nakpa wu the hunter killed a monkey to anaesthetise likita wa wo kakpa wu de eki ke kpe e mesa the doctor anaesthetised my leg before operating on it.
wulu	a.	morally wrong
wun	v.	to possess
wuncece	n.	Cotton ready for spinning
wunfu	n.	Cotton wool
wurere	n.	Ululation, sharp sound
wuri	a.	small
wya!, wyi!, wyua!	excl.	Expression of annoyance or despair
wyangba	n.	Exudate from the eye caused by disease or malnutrition
wyango	n.	sun day
wyangosa	n.	afternoon
wyebwa	adv.	forward, in front lo wyebwa go forward! katakpukpu shi emi bwari wyebwa the motorbike is front of the house
wyebi	n.	wickedness
wyegma	n.	Affection
wyekoko	n.	shelled cob of maize
wyeknu	n.	agama lizard
wyeniwyeni	adv.	in a hurry he yi wyeniwyeni? Are you in a hurry?
wyenpe	n.	sweat
wyesungo	n.	sweat-fly
wyenuwa	n.	Tears
wyi	v.	to steal

wyigbe	n.	thief
wycere	n.	Gritty pieces of guinea-corn chaff. Used as a food and stuck to winnowing trays in decorative patterns
wyire	n.	Woman's waist ring, thread with beads, charms etc.
wyishango	n.	skink (H. kulba)
wyisni	n.	guinea-corn heads after the seeds are removed
wyitango	n.	hawk
wiyiacane	n.	day after tomorrow or day before yesterday.
wyizosa	n.	sunset
wyowyo	n.	cold
		nuwa wo wyowyo the water is [feels] cold

Y.

ya	v.	to lose
		ma ewo ya I lost some money
ya	v.	to let go, leave off cf. la..ya
ya	v.	to begin
		ba ya ewyi do they began to thresh the guinea-corn
yaatugopa	n.	headtie
yaci(re)	v.	to lie down
yaga	n.	Alligator pepper <i>Aframomum melegueta</i>
yagbegbere	n.	tree-root
yago(r)i	n.	uncle Mother's brother
yagwe	n.	Mother's senior sister
Yaji	p.n.	Yoruba language or person
yakna	n.	Rope made from twisted palm fronds and used to climb palm trees
yako	n.	pawpaw <i>Carica papaya</i> See also kambulu
yangbade	n.	Guinea-yam cultivar Early maturing
yari	n.	Underskirt A wraparound cloth with ties used by women beneath the wrapper
yashi(se)	v.	to sit down
		ma yashise e rena I sat down on the mat
yashi kuya	v.p.	to squat
ye	v.	to like to want to need to adore
yedobo	v.	to love one another
yence	n.	Semen
yekna (Z.)	v.	to gather
yekun	n.	agama lizard
yelo	adv.	this year
yi	pron.	we/us
yi	v.	to tighten
		ma fewun yi I tightened the cord around the brush
yi	v.	to call (someone)
yi.n	v.	to be
		Musa yi za jiji n Musa is dark-skinned

		komputa hin yi Roja 'nya n This computer belongs to Roger
yidye	pron.	ourselves
Yigbe	p.n.	Igbo person or language
yigobwe	n.	Large hemispherical gourd for ground cereals
yina	int.	Where?
		Musa bwari e yina? Where is Musa's house?
yisayisa	n.	forceful anti-peristalsis
Z.		
za-	n.	Person. Short for eza -usually found in compound nouns
zabangi	n.	Horse-bean. Used as a musical instrument by girls
zabwada	n.	Guinea-yam cultivar. It had yellowish flesh and was broken into multiple tubers on one head. Now very rare.
zade	n.	robber
		azade a gna beri Robbers are numerous
zado	pron.	Another person, somebody else pl. azado means 'everybody else'
zadogbe	n.	resemblance
zadogei	pron.	anybody
zadugo	n.	brother sister sibling
zagate	n.	Poor man
zagbagba	n.	dwarf
zagi	n.	Guinea-yam cultivar. The head of the yam has thorns -it yields up to 8-10 yams in a cluster. Suitable for pounding
zagni	n.	saviour
zagobi	n.	An association of males responsible for the preparation and burial of corpses. Usually in plural form azagobi .
zagodei	pron.	Anyone zagodei Bi mi'bo, a gna ma lo ezhin If anyone asks for me, tell them I have gone away
zagwe	n.	Address of respect for elders or wealthy people
zamango	n.	ancestors
zamatariya	n.	Unpredictable person
zamwi	v.	to forget ma he eye zamwi I forgot your name
zana	n.	Beer. Made from guinea-corn and very sweet
zanbe	n.	Partner
zance	n.	Commoner without relations zance tsu 6a dna ede 6a? Does the corpse of a commoner require clothes? Refers to a person who does not care about fine living
zasaari	n.	Wretched person
zatsu	n.	corpse
zawulu	n.	Person committing morally wrong actions
zawun	n.	Government official Authority. Usually refers to Government Et. 'person who serves'

		zawun ga be wo ba gwo gandun nini The authorities will come and collect tax today.
zaza(za)	n.	Everyone Someone
ze	v.	zazaza lo 'fa everybody went to the farm to become
ze ekni	v.p.	wa ze minista, wo ke kpe nyanya eya m He became a minister, although he knew nothing to fall over
zeba	n.	A type of vision. Either sex, not inherited.
zeze	adv.	nyigo za hnaya yi zeba e They steal the things that a woman has quickly
zezetsu	n.	zeze, ezhi nuwa yi quickly, bring water guinea-pig
zha	v.	to be there (further away) cf. zhi
zha	v.	to drag nagberi a zha kurya the hunter dragged the antelope
zhi	v.	to be there (close by) cf. zha zhi dna ya zha it is further away
zhi	v.	to come zhi ma zadogo go and get my brother
zhigbezhigbe	a.	sweet kuci wo zhigbezhigbe sugar-cane tastes sweet
zhige	v.	to bring (persons) to get (somebody)
zhni	v.	to return
zhyange	n.	Friendship between a man and an unmarried woman or girl, sometimes leading to marriage.
ziya	v.	to pour
zna	v.	to be around If applied to a person it has a pejorative implication, as roaming around with nothing to do.
znagoti	n.	human being
znigba	n.	palm kernel
znigbami	n.	palm kernel oil
znimama	n.	unripe palm fruits harvested only for their seeds
zniri	n.	oddly-shaped palm-fruit
znu	v.	to cut ma kuci znu I cut some sugar-cane
znucya	v.	to cut the throat to slaughter Musa á kinu zuncya Musa slaughtered the sheep
zo	v.	to finish ewyi azo a dobwi o the guinea-corn is finished in the granary
zogo	n.	threshold
	n.	road
	n.	mat used to cover doorway
Zozo	p.n.	Personal name. The meaning is something like 'difficult' and is given to a child born when the parents are having a hard time. Also as Nizazo and Azozo .
Zubakpna	n.	Gbari section living near Zuba
zugo	n.	Hoe
zugo guri	n.	Hoe. A large hoe for building yam-heaps
zugo kunti	n.	Hoe. A small hoe for weeding

zugo yagwe	n.	Hoe. Oval-bladed Also shere
zungbe	n.	Place you have left behind and no longer have any influence
zungbebwa	n.	Back, behind
zunya	n.	fruit-bat
zunyaki	n.	Donkey (<H.)
zunye	n.	Shame

APPENDIX 1

MONTHS OF THE YEAR IN GBARI

Gbari has one of the most unusual systems of numbering the months of the year so far recorded for African languages. This appendix is intended to explain the system as far as we understand it.

Essentially, the months are numbered as if they referred to lunar months. However, only months which form part of the farming and harvest cycle are actually numbered. For unknown reasons the numeration starts at three rather than one. Although apparently tied to the moon, since moon and month are the same word, months are in fact given attributes relating to environmental conditions or the progression of the farming year. As a consequence, months do not have a fixed length and farmers can disagree about which month is current.

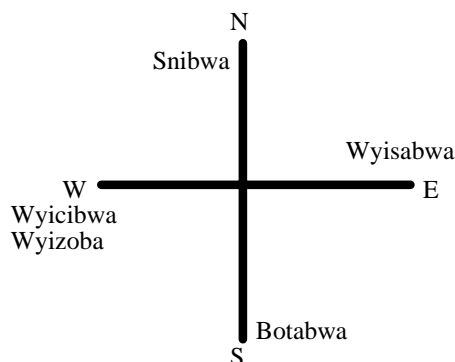
Most strikingly, months that fall outside the farming year are not numbered or counted and so have no names.

The following table shows the names of the months, the number, the condition attributed to it and the approximate English equivalent.

No	Name	Gloss	Attribute	Equivalent
1	epyaca	third month	when the first rain falls	April/May
2	epyani	fourth month	?	May/June
3	epyatnu	fifth month	when the satikalaba grass heads	June/July
4	epyaknuwi	sixth month	when the gbødnu tsantsi grass heads	July/August
5	epyatnaaba	seventh month	time of thunderstorms	October
6	epyatnaaca	eighth month	children come out to dance in the moonlight	October/November
7	epyatnaani	ninth month	harvesting of guinea-corn	November
8	epyapyawo	tenth month	bringing home guinea-corn	December

A note on directions

The Cardinal Points



APPENDIX 2

NOTES ON GBARI SOCIETY

Marriage

A fiancé, **nunwuri**, traditionally has to make an agreement with the parents of the girl virtually from childhood. He must visit and greet her parents every four days and work on her father's farm for one month a year for 4-5 years. He must also run errands for the prospective parents-in-law when the need arises. When the girl is mature, the boy may come and sleep with her clandestinely. If she gets pregnant quickly, then the marriage will be hurried, as her father pays a penalty of a goat to the chief of the village if she gives birth to an illegitimate child.

SYSTEM OF TITLES

As among other peoples of the region, such as the Nupe, the Gbari have elaborate system of titles. Many of these are borrowed from other languages, such as Hausa and Nupe and their pronunciation has been changed to conform to the Gbari sound-system. The following table gives some of the main titles, their equivalent in the language (if any) from which they are drawn and the attributes of the title-holder.

Gbari Title	Source (if Any)	Rank or Attribute
Gwoma		

APPENDIX 3.

Names of Bokpna Villages

Gbari Name	Other Name	Etymology	Local Government Council
Bwago	Bugago		
Daapa	Dafara		
Dnapa	-		
Ere	Ille		
Gbanfa	Gbanfa		
Gbede	Gbede		
Kigbe	Kigbe		
Kpaku	Kwaku		
Kpeta	Kwaita		
Nitse	Yanche		
Pace	Pache		
Redna	Leda		
Yambabwi	Yanbabu		
Yevu	Yebu		

Names of Shigokpna Villages

Name	Other Name	Etymology	Local Government Council
Bini	Izom		
Bonu	Bonu		
Gawun	Gawu		
Kpagoti	Kwakuti		
Lambata	Lambata		
Tnufa	Tufa		

Names of Sumwakpna Villages

Name	Other Name	Etymology	Local Government Council
Bako	Bako		
Bonugo	Bongo	Place of the bonu vine	
Bwolo	Bolo		
Ceceyi	Chachayi		
Dabi	Dabi		
Dadu	Adadu		
Dafa			
Dagiri	Dogri		
Daka	Daka		
Dapa	Dafa		
Dnago			
Eba	Yaba		
Edo	Chibiri		
Egya Dobmita	Ija Pada		
Egya Miko	Ija Sarki		
Gbedoji	Gbedoji		
Gumbo	Gumbo		
Guri	Tungan Tofa		
Kamkpa Bobo jya	Kilankwa II		
Kamkpa Etsu pi	Kilankwa I		
Kango	Kango		
Kiknu	Chikuku		
Kiyi	Kiyi		
Kokpo	Koroko		
Kwari	Kwali		
Lanto	Lanto		
Lukodna	Lukoda		
Nubwi	Abuja	Shelter, shack	
Pasari	Pasali		
Piri	Piri	Genet	
Pyati	Peti		
Reri	Leleyi		
Sabo	Sabo		
Shadna	Shada		
Tampe	Ija Tampe		
Tukuruwa	Tukuruwa		
Tunga	Tunga		
Wyangozhi	Yangoji		

Names of Zubakpna Villages

Gbari Name	Other Name	Etymology	Local Government Council
Dadabiri	Dadabili		
Dobi	Dobi		
Dodo	Unguwar Dodo		
Dukpa	Dukwa		
Ebwa	Ibwa		
Edo	Ido		
Eka	Rafin Zurfi		
Gbagadna	Gwagwalada		
Gbago	Gwako		
Gbenciya	-		
Gbesan	-		
Giri	Giri		
Gopata	Gurfata		
Gosa	-		
Kaidwa	Kaida		
Knuknu	Tsauni		
Kutunku	Kutunku		
Paago	Paikon Kore		
Papi	-		
Pete	Pete		
Tnarita	Tungan Maje		
Toge	Toge		
Wumi	Wumi		
Wuna	Wuna		

Names of Rivers

Name	Hausa Name	Location
Bodna		
Fwadna		Passes through Farakuti to Wako
Usumwa		

APPENDIX 4.

Personal Names

Name	Male/Female	Etymology
Abuyegye		
Ayebo		
Babya		An attractive place
Bakpna		A secluded place
Batsashe		
Be-Ebofe		
Bwanwaba		
Ciyari		A child born to parents who have lost several children previously
Dabogna		
Dadowyo		
Damaabi		
Damaabi		
Damaye		
Dasheni		
Dazani		
Dede		Unexpected evil or good
Demwa		
Deze		Someone believed to be a reincarnation
Dnagna		
Dnari		
Dnawo		
Dodo		
Doperi		
Gbegniya		
Gbegun		
Gbewuba		
Gbogbo		
Gimbo		
Gishye	both	Given to God. A name for a child born after several children have died
Gnamsun		Someone who has been maltreated within the community
Kabonda		
Knado		
Maarena		
Ndori		
Shaagi		
Shaama		
Shaanabo		
Shaasun		
Shaawo		
Shaayebo		
Shamabo		
Shamaye		
Shegibo		
Shesubo		
Sungoye		
Teboya		
Tnada		Child whose father died before he was born

Tsumbo
 Yebani
 Zabeye-
 Bwabo
 Zegibwa
 Zobeye
 Zolo

APPENDIX 5

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF GBARI-SUMWAKPNA

1. The Classification of Gbari

The Gwari lects are Niger-Congo languages and are usually classified as part of the Nupoid group which is part of Benue-Congo (cf. Blench, 1989). The Nupoid group consists of Nupe and related languages, Gwari, Gade and Ebira. These four subgroups are broadly co-ordinate with one another, although Nupe and Gwari are evidently more closely related to one another than to Ebira and Gade. Gwari is a highly complex nexus of interwoven lects, usually divided into two major branches, Gbagyi and Gbari, referred to together by their Hausa name, Gwari.

No analysis has ever been published showing that Gwari forms a single group, but this is usually assumed from the lexicostatistic data. In a wide-ranging comparison within Nupoid, Blench (1989) gave a figure of 73% cognacy between Gbagyi and Gbari, while James (1990) calculated that the maximum distance between Gwari lects was 67%. It should be noted, however, that this is very similar to the cognate figures with neighbouring languages such as Kupa and Kakanda. Despite this, Gwari probably does form a unit; for example, the prefixed pluralisation marker for nouns, **a-** seems to occur throughout the group, in contrast to the Nupe group.

The division into two major subgroups, the Gbagyi and the Gbari, is supported by the lexicostatistics (cf. James, 1990). However, some of the lects spoken between Zungeru and Minna¹ seem to show lexical innovations common to both groups. Crozier and Blench (in press) have therefore noted these lects as a tentative third subgroup. Rosenthal (p.c.) has noted that oral traditions in this region seem to suggest that these lects result from a migration of Gbagyi speakers into a Gbari area in the precolonial era. Hence the speech shows features of both subgroups. Clearly this is an area that requires further research.

Gbagyi are the dominant group, both numerically and politically, and this has had a number of consequences. Where speakers want to emphasise the similarity of the two peoples, they tend to assimilate differences of lexicon and pronunciation. However, where there is antagonism, speakers sometimes intentionally adopt slightly *outré* phonology to emphasise their distinctness. This has spilled over into informal writing systems, and some orthographic suggestions seem to underline the differences by adopting different conventions.

2. Phonology

The phonology of Gbari was first described by Hyman (1971) for the Gbagyi of Kuta and later by James (1990) for the ensemble of Gwari lects. The broad picture appears to be very similar throughout the group. However, one of the most complex features of Gwari are the range of allophones attributable to a single

¹These people are often referred to as Gwarin Nkwa, after a common greeting. In some senses, however, this is misleading, as Nkwa! is widespread through the Gwari area and does not therefore define a group.

phoneme within the consonant system. These can sometimes develop into phonemic oppositions and these must be specified for individual lects. The discussion below focusses on the particular lect, Sumwakpna, studied in detail.

The analysis of the phonology is divided into consonants, vowels and tones.

Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar	Labial-velar	Glottal
PLAIN								
Plosive	p b		t d		c j	k g	kp gb	
Nasal	m		n			[ŋ]		
Trill			[r]					
Fricative		f (v)	s z	ʃ ʒ				h
Approximant					y		w	
Lateral Approximant			l					
Implosive	ɓ		ɗ					

Generally speaking, s~ʃ and z~ʒ are not contrastive, with [s], [z] before back vowels and [ʃ], [ʒ] before front vowels. However, the contrast can exist before a central vowel or where the following vowel is nasalized. Thus;

shĩ take from	sĩ drink
shari stick	sari tree species

For this reason they must be set up as separate phonemes.

The affricates [ts] and [dz] only occur as allophones of the palatal affricates /c/ and /j/;

[dz] is only heard before back close vowels;

Thus;	jagba	pepper
	jin	to discuss
but;	dzungb	frog
	a	
	edzun	larva

In a single case [dz] occurs labialised before a central vowel /a/ in the word **edzwan**, fish sp. This is certainly not contrastive with the ordinary palatal affricate.

The labiodental fricative /v/ is rare and only occurs in initial position. E.g.
wasp sp. **vugovugo**.

It is also the rather idiosyncratic result of a Hausa loan;

Hausa bi	Gbari vi	follow!
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Laterals

Phonetically, Gbari has an ordinary lateral [l] and an alveopalatal approximant [ɭ]. Individual speakers clearly distinguish the two sounds in their own speech. The rule determining the realisation of [ɭ] and [l] in initial position is usually that [l] is pronounced before central and back vowels and [ɭ] before front vowels. Initial /r/ is rare and some of the words with this feature are Hausa loan-words.

Although the same rule applies in non-initial position, variability between speakers is more marked. For example, in /**kambulu**/ 'pawpaw' there appears to be free variation between [l] and [ɭ]. Hyman and Magaji (1970) suggested that this type of variability may be linked to speakers' familiarity with the Hausa sound-system where there are three distinct lateral phonemes.

Another problem of laterals is the relation between /l/ and /n/. These two can clearly be set up as independent phonemes, as the simple CV verbs with these initial contrasts demonstrate. However, there exist a number of doublets in the language which are recognised by speakers which suggest these are in free variation in some contexts. For example;

grasshopper	namberi	lumberi
bad	nabne	labme

Hyman and Magaji (1970) also mention this phenomenon in relation to the adaptation of Hausa loanwords and it may be that this is caused by some sort of interference.

Tone-bearing nasals forming an independent syllable are so far only recorded in initial position, e.g;

nkwa!	Hallo!
nnda	Type of yam
nca	three

The presence of the implosives /ɓ/ and /ɗ/ is most striking as these are not otherwise found in the Nupoid group. They usually correspond to the ordinary plosive forms suggesting that consonant merger has taken place -although presumably it must have occurred independently in all other branches.

Nasals and Nasalization

The single most difficult problem for the analysis of Gbari and for its orthography is the representation of nasals. Hyman and Magaji (1971) analysed the situation for Gbagyi of Kuta. At a surface level, almost all consonants appear to have a feature of +nasal as a release. In other words, post-nasal releases are as common as a prosodic feature such palatalization and greatly add to the phonemic inventory.

An alternative interpretation is that the vowels are nasalised as in the Nupe group, but that the nasalisation has spread leftwards. One argument for this interpretation is the variability between speakers. One speaker may consistently articulate a nasal consonantal release, whereas another will sometimes nasalise the vowel. James (1990) also mentions this, giving the example of 'ear' as realised either [knúb^wà] or [kūb^wa]

Intermediate forms such as CN[̃] - **kpnã** also occur, but there is no reason to consider these distinctive.

Nasalization of a vowel is realised as a bilabial nasal when the C₂ is either /b/ or /w/. Thus;

cimwa	'tree'	<i>but</i>	cinkpwe	'stool'	and
gbambo	'gourd'	<i>but</i>	bantu	'spirit'	

In some cases the nasalisation has to be analysed as affecting the consonants in both directions. For example;

Gbmandara	Gwandara people
gbmango	grass
knando	locust bean seed

Why this process is apparently only sporadic remains to be discovered; in many other parallel cases C₁ or C₂ are not affected. For example;

gbanga	borassus palm strips
gbambo	gourd
gnado	to split
kpnaba	seven

This would seem to present an *a priori* case for setting up prenasalised segments as independent phonemes (see below) -the only reason for not doing this is the absence of a convincing minimal pair.

In the case of most other initial consonants nasalisation can only spread leftwards.

dnapa	flood-land
tnada	person whose father is dead
znagoti	human being

The problem of ŋ

ŋ occurs phonetically wherever a nasal precedes /g/, /gb/, /k/ or /kp/. These can be analysed as yet another allophone of the underlying nasalisation on the vowel.

Prenasalized segments

James (1990) considers the problem of words with the structure CVNVCV. Where N is a bilabial or a velar, it is problematic to analyse these simply as nasalization of the preceding vowel. Two other solutions are syllables with a final nasal consonant and positing a series of prenasalised consonants. Broadly speaking, the argument against prenasalised segments is that they would only occur in a restricted position, i.e. C₂, C₃ etc. The only convincing counter-example appear to be the rather unusual word for a yam cultivar, **nnda**, where there is no preceding vowel. For the present, therefore, it will be assumed that words such as /**tseŋgba**/ are best analysed as CVNVCV.

Vowels

There are five underlying vowels;

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close-Mid		e	o
Open		a	

Centralisation of vowels after initial stops

One of the problems of the vowel system is the presence of a regularly-heard central vowel [ə] in words such as **bəda** 'meat', **pəri** 'genet' or **kəki** 'jaw'. This always occurs in intervocalic position in the V₁ slot, and most commonly with reduplicated words. This may surface as a higher central vowel [ɪ] in some speakers. In the case of reduplicated words the central vowel is usually an allophone of /i/ and it has been provisionally transcribed that way here, although probably the status of this in words like **bəda** can only be determined from external cognates.

This seems to vary from speaker to speaker and is here treated as an allophone of /i/ since there is no clear case of contrastive lexical items.

Like Nupe, Gbari has some clear examples of a long central vowel /aa/. These do not occur contrastively on CV words and for the present are treated as having arisen from morpheme boundaries. Examples;

Bwaawye!	Sorry!
bwaago	toad

Tones

The tone system of southern Gbari closely resembles both Gbagyi and Northern Gbari. There are three level tones and two glides, rising and falling. These latter are rare and they could be analysed as combinations of level tones. However, they seem to occur in isolation on some words which indicates that they must be treated as separate tonemes.

Orthography

As will be evident from the above discussion, developing a consistent orthography is extremely problematic. A truly phonemic orthography would be contrary to speakers' intuitions about possible spellings. For example, [dz] could always be written **j**. However, English literacy conventions make it difficult to persuade speakers to write **ejun** for **edzun**. Similarly, [r] and [l] constitute a single phoneme, but speakers insist on writing both. The orthography of the dictionary makes some compromises with this system for the moment. However, this system is dissatisfying and begs the question as to why some phonetic distinctions should be marked and others not. For example, the velar fricative [ɣ] is clearly heard in words such as **yiɣi**, a type of bean. However, there are no clear cases of contrast with /g/ and therefore no clear case for setting it up as a separate phoneme. So the present orthography is a compromise and should definitely be regarded as under discussion.

3. Word Structure

Nouns

Noun stems are synchronically either VCV, CVCV or CVCV(C)V. In many triconsonantal stems C₃ has weakened to a glide or disappeared. Longer forms are usually either loan-words or compounds.

VCV	awu	rope
	ebo	calabash
	oko	old age
CVCV	bala	ribs
	nubo	stomach
	tupa	epilepsy

VCVCV	egbeyi iyala	moustache turtle
CVCVV	bubui dedae	mist female brewer
CVCVCV	bwalasa finilo gudulu	tree-branch hidden object type of beer

The /a/ pluralisation prefix means that all noun formulae beginning with a consonant have a corresponding form with a vowel-prefix.

Only open or close-mid front vowels occur word-initially, with a few exceptions such as /**oku**/ 'river-reed'. The preponderance of /e/ in the initial slot suggests an unproductive prefix that became generalised at an early stage.

Longer nouns are formed either by compounding or by reduplication.

Reduplicated CVCV//CVCV forms

bmadnubmadnu	n.	stink-ant
bmakobmako	n.	woodpecker

Verbs

Verbs are most commonly CV but can be CVCV or CVCVCV.

Adjectives

Adjectives appear to be various, morphologically. Simple, unanalysable adjectives are often CVCV

labme bad

There are also ideophonic types, usually reduplicated.

logologo smooth

3. Grammar

This is not the place to publish a full grammatical description of Gbari. These notes are intended to introduce the main topics in the syntax, especially as they relate to understanding particles and other lexical items.

The following table shows the main parts of speech as they are used in the present description.

Full form	Abbreviation
Adjective	a.
Adverb	adv.
Auxiliary	aux.
Conjunction	conj.
Demonstrative	dem.
Exclamation	excl.
Interrogative	int.
Noun	n.
Numeral	num.
Particle	part.
Proper Name	p.n.
Preposition	prep.
Pronoun	pron.
Verb	v.
Intransitive Verb	v.i.
Transitive verb	v.t.

The following table provides a working definition of the parts of speech

Part of Speech	Explanation
Adjective	Describes a noun
Adverb	Qualifies a verb
Auxiliary	Added to a verb to modify it, such as a tense-marker
Conjunction	A word used to join two or more nouns, verbs or clauses
Demonstrative	Words used to point out something. 'this', 'that' etc.
Exclamation	Greetings or expressions that do not form part of an ordinary sentence
Interrogative	Question words
Noun	Refers to things, objects etc.
Numeral	Number
Particle	Short words added to complete the sentence
Preposition	A word positioning or expressing relations of nouns or verbs in time or space
Pronoun	A word that stands for a noun
Verb	Expresses action
Intransitive Verb	A verb with no object
Transitive verb	A verb with an object

These are set out in alphabetical order for the purposes of reference, but they are treated below in order of importance (if that makes sense).

Possessives

There are no special forms for the possessives. The appropriate pronoun is inserted with the word for 'thing'.

epa hni yi mi nya n
 book this is me thing not
 `This is not my book'

emwi hni yi Musa nya n
 Dog this is Musa thing poss.
 'This dog belongs to Musa'

Optional repetition of the pronoun with a plural subject

amwi hni yi ba Musa nya n
 dogs these are they Musa thing poss.
 these dogs belong to Musa

Conditionals

ndye aBulolo gá dfo 'fa, a gá sun rikici
 If Fulbe will enter farm it will make trouble
 If the Fulbe enter the farms there will be trouble

The Verb Phrase

Tense

There are two particles that mark the future tense according to whether the subject of the noun is present.

gá is used when there is no indication of the location of the subject

ǂá is used when the subject is not present

Future	nyigo gá tsu nufu	the woman will pound sesame
	wo ǂa tsun mi eki	he (not present) will inject me
Present	nyigo tsu nufu	the woman is pounding sesame
Completed Past	nyigo á nufu tsú	the woman pounded sesame

Some of the longer forms may be 'split verbs' i.e. those that bracket a noun or object. These seem to be common throughout Nupoid and probably originally derive from verb + noun sequences.

Examples of 'split' verbs

Verb	Gloss	Example
knyi..ǂe	to add to (countable objects)	knyi etsi ǂe ego he added some yams to the pile
dye..wye	to see (s.t.)	he dye mi epa wye m? Did you not see my book?

Plurality in Verbs

Some of the most common verbs have different forms according to whether the subject is singular or plural. This is discussed also above in relation to nouns without marked plurals. Examples;

Gloss	Singular	Plural	Governing
to be in	dna	fi	Subject
to take	la	ku	Object
to add to	tu	kpe	Object
to bring out	bmi	kna	Subject

Examples in use;

bmi/kna

u bmi epa zhige e mato

bring the book out of the car

yi kna

let's go out

Serial Verbs

I'a mici're lie it flat on the ground**Adjectives**

Adjectives usually follow the verb;

pata logologo smooth skin**Adverbs**

Adverbs usually are placed at the end of the sentence;

wa do kate bebe

he entered the room first

Ideophonic adverbs

Some can be derived from the reduplication of a related verb. So;

fya to go gently, softly**fyafya** secretly**Numerals**

Numerals in Gbari always go after the nouns they qualify. There is no trace of agreement -nonetheless, their phonological shape is unusual as the lower numerals are prefixed by syllabic nasals.

Ordinals**Cardinals**

gbmari	one	first	bebe
mba	two	second	baɓari
nca	three	third	cari
nnyi	four	fourth	nyiri
ntnu or gnuaatnu	five	fifth	tnuri
tnunwi	six	etc.	tnunwiri
tnaba	seven		tnabari
tnaca	eight		tnacari
tnanyi	nine		tnanyiri

A Dictionary of the Gbari Language		Trial Edition	Roger Blench and Musa Doma
nyaawo	ten		wori
wogagbma	eleven		Above tenth not used
wogaba	twelve		
wogaaca	thirteen		
woshi	twenty		
wogaaca	thirty		
wogma	forty		
wogma tu ebi gbmari	forty one		
wogma kpe ebi mba	forty two		
wogma kpe ebi woshi	sixty		
wogmaaba	eighty		
wogmaaba kpe ebi woshi	hundred		
wogmaaca	hundred and twenty		
wogmaani	hundred and sixty		
kpago	two hundred		
kpago aba	four hundred		
kpago atnu	one thousand		

The numerals can be reduplicated but they have no special form '**gbmari-gbmari**' one-one

4. Variation between Dialects

Some Zubakpna Greetings

Hajingezun Good evening!

Hazowyi Good evening!

bwalasa (Z. bwasa) 1.

cace=caca[Z.]

egni (Z. gnigo)

knyinyi (Z. knyinu)

nyikna (Z.) fish

One distinctive phonological change that occurs between the two dialects is the weakening of g→w. For example

Gloss	Z.	S.
broom	fegun	fewun
son	nugun	nuwu

Strangely, this is not a regular rule; /g/ in Sumwakpna can also correspond to /k/ in Zubakpna. For example;

Gloss	Z.	S.
tortoise	kpaku	kpagu
agama lizard	wyeknu	wyegnu