

Sociolinguistic Survey Report of the Male Language of Ethiopia

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1 A Survey of Male: Introduction

This report presents the findings from a survey which was carried out December 14–20, 1994, in Jinka in the Administrative Region no. 10 (Southern Omo Region, formerly the Province of Gamo Gofa) with the purpose of gathering information on the Male language.

The Male language is classified as a north Omotic language and spoken by approximately 20,000 people. The two purposes of the trip were:

- (1) to gather a word list, in order to identify the dialect/language, and prepare for comparisons, and
- (2) to gather sociolinguistic statements in order to assess the status of the language.

We went to Jinka where Male informants were comparatively easy to contact. However, the area where most Male live is further north; the center is located northwest of K'ak'o, a village halfway between K'ey Afer and Jinka.

Male informants were not difficult to find, but unfortunately we were not able to work with more than two female informants. The male informants had come from their home villages in order to continue their studies at the college in Jinka, and those who were married had to leave their wives in their home villages.

The tools employed in this research were: 320-item word lists, sociolinguistic questionnaires, and personal interaction.

1.1 Acknowledgments

- We are grateful for the active support of the Head of the Administrative Staff of the Zone.
- We were very fortunate to meet Ato Leon Abayneh who acted as interpreter for the whole time during our work in Jinka. He helped very much to make the trip successful and truly enjoyable!

¹An earlier version of this report appeared as “A survey of the Male language”, Survey of Little-known Languages of Ethiopia (S.L.L.E.). Linguistic Report 24, December 1994/January 1995. Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies and Summer Institute of Linguistics.

2 Sociolinguistic Information on Male

2.1 The Male villages and varieties

The interviewees were asked:

- (a) in which villages the Male language is being used in exactly the same way,
- (b) in which villages Male is spoken slightly different, but in a way that the mutual intelligibility between Male speakers is not affected, and
- (c) in which villages Male is spoken so differently that it is not understood any more by other Male speakers.

2.2 Conforming use of Male

According to the interviewees, Male is spoken in exactly the same way in these villages: Balla, Baraindo (Warendo), Bineta, Bushkoro (Boskoro), Dimobobo, Gera, Gongore (Gongodi, Konkote; though this village is far from the central Male region the language is not mixed with Amharic or other languages), Gudo (Gudoagekar), Kwebe (Koibe), Lemu (Lemugento), Mak'ana, Melasakaso, Tikopoko.

2.3 Divergent use of Male

Some interviewees (figures in brackets) mentioned the following villages as places where Male is spoken only slightly differently:

Baraindo (Warendo) (2 respondents), Dimobobo (1), K'ak'o (Banata, Bana, Bineta) (3), Gardula (1), Gofa (1), Gongode (2), Gudo (1), Kambabopo (1), Melasakazo (1), Maso (same as Melasakaso?) (1), Gera (1), Lemu (2), Senigal (1), Tikopoko (1), Ts'amai (1), Ufikare (1).

All interviewees said that Male varieties which they cannot understand do not exist. Male is spoken poorly, though, in Bushkoro (1 respondent), Gento (1), Gudo (2), Lemu (1), Melasakazo (1), and Tikopoko (1). The best or “purest” variety of Male is said to be spoken in Balla (stated by 50% of the respondents) and in Kwebe (39%). Balla is also considered the main center of the Male area.

3 Evaluation of Male Responses to the Sociolinguistic Questionnaires

On the basis of the questionnaires, the following summary statements can be made about sociolinguistic aspects of Male.

Table 1. Age and educational level of respondents

Age group	Sex		Education			Total
	M	F	No education	Literacy & Element.	High Sch.	
15–30	13	2	0	4	11	15
31–45	3	0	0	0	3	3
46–60	0	0	0	0	0	0
60+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	16	2	0	4	14	18
Percentage	89	11	0	22	78	100

Table 2. Native language of the respondent

Languages	Male	Total
Number	18	18
Percentage	100	100

Table 3. Language of the respondent's parents

	Father			Mother		
	Male	Aari	Total	Male	Aari	Total
Number	17	1	18	17	1	18
Percentage	94	6	100	94	6	100

Table 4. First language of the respondent's spouse and children

	Spouse*			Children:		Total
	Male	Aari	Total	Male		
Number	9	1	10	10		10
Percentage	90	10	100	100		100

* It should be noted that eight respondents are not married and have no children.

Comments on tables 2 – 4

Throughout three generations the use of Male as a native language is dominant. Passing on the mother tongue to the children seems to be the normal pattern within the families.

Table 5. Languages within the family
(spoken by father, mother, husband/wife, siblings)
father speaks:

Language	Male only	Aari*	Gofa*	Amharic	Total
Number	10	4	4	1	19
Percentage	53	21	21	5	100

* It was stated that the command of Gofa is very good and the command of Aari is rather poor.

mother speaks:

Languages	Male only	Male	Gofa*	Amharic	Total
Number	15	1	1	1	18
Percentage	83	5.5	5.5	5.5	100

* It was stated that the command of Gofa is rather poor.

parents speak with each other:

Language	Male	Total
Number	18	18
Percentage	100	100

brothers and sisters speak:

Language	Male	Male/Amharic	Total
Number	10	8	18
Percentage	55	44	100

spouses speak:

Languages	Male only	Male/ Amh.*	Gofa*	Amharic*/Ari*	Total
Number	3	4	2	2	11
Percentage	27	36	18	18	99

* The respondents stated that the command of Gofa and Aari was rather good and the command of Amharic fair.

Comments on table 5

This table shows to what extent the family members have some command of languages other than the mother tongue. When asked about the actual language use in the family, all respondents stated that they did speak Male most

often with their fathers, mothers, and siblings. The same applies to all of the married respondents as far as communication with wives and children are concerned, with the exception of one respondent who says he only speaks Amharic with one of his children.

Table 6. Language use of their own children*

Languages	Male only	Male/Amharic	Male/Amh./Aari	Total
Numbers	4	5	1	10
Percentage	40	50	10	100

* It should be noted that eight respondents have no children.

Comments on table 6

Within the family, Male is still used predominantly. Although Amharic does not play an unimportant role, Male seems to remain the language prevalently spoken within the family.

Table 7. Languages used with friends

Languages	Male	Aari	Amharic	Total
Number	18	1	1	20
Percentage	90	5	5	100

Table 8. Languages used in the village

Languages	Male	Amharic	Total
Number	17	1	18
Percentage	94	6	100

Table 9. Languages used with the elders of the village

Languages	Male only	Total
Number	18	18
Percentage	100	100

Comment on tables 7 – 9

Male is spoken, almost without exception, when communicating with friends or others in the village. This reflects the outstanding importance of the mother tongue for the Male people.

Table 10. Languages used in town (Jinka) at the market

Languages	Amharic	Amh./Male	Gofe	Amh./Male/Aari	Total
Number	14	2	1	1	18
Percentage	78	11	5.5	5.5	100

at the clinic

Languages	Amharic	Amh./Male	Male	Total
Number	14	2	2	18
Percentage	78	11	11	100

with the administrators of the district

Languages	Amharic	Amh./Male	Male	Amh./Male/Aari	Total
Number	11	1	5	1	18
Percentage	61	5.5	28	5.5	100

Comments on table 10

In town (i.e., in Jinka), Amharic is being used predominantly.

4 Other Aspects of Male Language Use

- The language of religious issues is Male. Only one respondent said that in some special areas the announcements in the churches are held in the Male language plus the Aari language.
- When counting, 56% of the respondents use Male, 28% use Male and Amharic, and 16% use Amharic only.
- 72% of the respondents said they dream in Male, 22% said they dream in Male and Amharic, and another 6% said they only dream in Amharic.

4.1 Language attitude and vitality

The attitude towards one's own language seems to be ambivalent. While the majority (72%) is convinced that the Male language will still be spoken by future generations, some respondents think that the Male people might switch to Amharic, especially in areas where the population is mixed.

Two respondents stated that in two generations' time, Male will not be spoken any more. One interviewee reasoned that for education it is good to switch to Amharic but not for the maintenance of the Male culture. Half of the respondents said that young Male speak Male less and less; the other half would not support this statement.

4.2 Cultural change

Only 22% answered that the Male people are not in a process of a change that would affect both customs and culture; the majority claimed that the Male people are in a slow process of change. For evidence, it was pointed out that young men are gradually changing their clothing habits as well as their language.

4.3 Development of the language

Despite the rather pessimistic assessment of the vitality of the language, all interviewees expressed a high interest in the development of the Male language. When eventual publications in Male were mentioned, various areas of interest were considered for Male books and magazines; in fact, they cover a wide range: Agriculture, Bible, Dictionary (English–Male), Geography, Health, History of the Male people, Songbooks, Spiritual books, Stories and Textbooks were mentioned.

61% of the interviewees declared they would be willing to attend literacy classes, but 33% would not, partly because they felt they were too old or they felt it would be like going backwards. One respondent said he would only go if the teaching was in Latin script.

Only 17% said they would not send their children to literacy classes (if there were such); 67% said they would.

5 Conclusions on the Male Survey

The statistics of this small scale survey is far from convincing. The tentative and preliminary results would need to be supplemented by follow-up questions. However, the results of this survey do allow for some insights into sociolinguistic aspects of the Male language such as, for instance, the aspect of mono- vs. multilingualism, language use and language attitude, and language vitality. These results shall be summarized briefly.

Largely, the responses seem to confirm that the Male people will continue to pass on their mother tongue to their children. Inter-marriages with other groups occur only rarely. The majority of the respondents' siblings are monolinguals, and as far as the daily life in the village is concerned, including communication at the market, at the administrative office, with friends or with elders, Male remains the most important language by far.

The results which have been presented above show that the development of the language into a written form would be considered a worthwhile project by most Male people.

6 The S.L.L.E. 320-Item Word Lists of Male and Koorete

Informant: Aseffa Gebeju, Place: Jinka, Date: December 16, 1994, Transcription: R. S.

English gloss	Male
<i>all</i>	320a 'bija
<i>and</i>	320g
<i>animal</i>	129 'boʔo
<i>ant</i>	137 ʔaŋ'ko
<i>arrow</i>	251 'ʔa:za
<i>ashes</i>	205 bi'dinsi
<i>ask, she asks</i>	118 ʔo'tseni
<i>at</i>	320h 'seka
<i>axe</i>	051 herga, kalta
<i>back</i>	032 'zul:i
<i>bad</i>	257 'purta
<i>banana</i>	182 'muzu
<i>bark, it barks</i>	179 'ʔmateni
<i>bark, of tree</i>	052, 178 'k'u:ri
<i>basket</i>	056 susigatso'nai
<i>bat</i>	135 pa'gati
<i>bathe, he bathes</i>	304 mas'teni
<i>bear, she bears a child</i>	113 ʃo'eni
<i>beard, see chin</i>	018 'bu:tʃ'i
<i>beehive</i>	144 ʔi'tnsi

<i>belly</i>	029	'gobi
<i>big</i>	265	'pu:pi, dɛ:pi
<i>bird</i>	152	'kaɸi
<i>bite, verb</i>	181	dai'jeni
<i>black</i>	242	'karts'i
<i>blood</i>	046	'sugutsi
<i>blow, he blows</i>	007	ku'zeni
<i>bone</i>	044	mɛ'getsɪ
<i>bow, see arrow</i>	250	'k'o:si
<i>breast</i>	028	'ɸansi
<i>bridge</i>	230	'zoka
<i>brother</i>	120	'ʔiʃo
<i>brown</i>	246	ha'barsa
<i>buffalo</i>	171	'meni
<i>burn, it burns</i>	200	mi'ts'eni
<i>bush</i>	048	'toʃa
<i>buttocks</i>	033	di'gitʃi
<i>buy, he buys</i>	217	'ʃaŋk'e
<i>canoe</i>	229	'was'unap mkogɔŋgi
<i>cat</i>	174	'wu:ri, ba'wo
<i>chicken</i>	151	'koida
<i>chief</i>	126	dain'jatsi, 'ʃu:matsi
<i>child</i>	119	'naji
<i>chin</i>	017	'baŋgala
<i>claw</i>	153	'ts'uŋgutsi
<i>clay</i>	211	'ʔoti
<i>clothing</i>	296	'maʔo, ʔa'ɸila
<i>cloud</i>	222	'ʃa:ri
<i>cold, adjective</i>	202a, 233	'ʃime
<i>cold, of air, weather</i>	202b	'ts'i:s
<i>come, it comes</i>	180	mo'keni
<i>cook, she cooks the food</i>	081	ka'tseni
<i>cough, he coughs</i>	088	ʔoʃi'teni

<i>count, he counts the bananas</i>	184	pai'deni
<i>cow</i>	148	'baj
<i>crocodile</i>	169	gurguro
<i>crooked</i>	262	'wo:bo
<i>cup</i>	084	'ʔuʃki, ma'koia
<i>cut, he cuts the meat</i>	074	'tikeni
<i>dances, he dances</i>	010	kər'geni
<i>dew</i>	227	'ʔolke
<i>die, he dies</i>	093	'haiteni
<i>dig, he digs</i>	062	bɔ'keni
<i>dirty, of clothing</i>	299	'bu:ra
<i>dog</i>	176	'kani
<i>donkey</i>	149	'hari
<i>door, see also gate</i>	189	'kara
<i>down</i>	284	'lika
<i>drink, he drinks</i>	083	ma'koja, ʔuʃ'keni
<i>drum</i>	011	dar'be
<i>dry, of clothing</i>	298	'melezi
<i>dull</i>	249	'tuno
<i>dust</i>	213	si'lali
<i>ear</i>	004	'waizi
<i>earth, ground</i>	209	'sar
<i>eat, he eats</i>	082	mo'eni
<i>egg</i>	078	'bul:a
<i>eight</i>	103	'sali
<i>elbow</i>	035	'wada, 'k'as:o
<i>empty</i>	302	'guri
<i>enter, he enters the house</i>	191	gɛ'leni
<i>exit, he exits the house</i>	192	kɪs'keni
<i>eye</i>	022	'ʔa:pi
<i>eyebrow</i>	021	'ji:pe

<i>fall, he falls down</i>	092	'lɔ:men
<i>farm, field</i>	057	'go:ʃi
<i>fat, grease</i>	077	'ma:li, 'mo:rɛsi
<i>father</i>	115	'ʔado
<i>fear</i>	170	'gʷitso
<i>feather</i>	155	ga'ʰɸani
<i>fence</i>	318	'dɪrsi, 'ditsi
<i>few</i>	282	'dʰaka
<i>fight, he fights</i>	256	'ʔoltɛni
<i>finger nail</i>	041	ts'ʷŋ'gʷtsi
<i>fire</i>	199	'tami
<i>fish</i>	162	'molo
<i>fishnet</i>	162	moloar'koija, gatsuna'susi
<i>five</i>	100	'dɔŋgo
<i>flower</i>	069	'buni
<i>fly, insect</i>	139	wu's'ali
<i>fly, it flies</i>	156	beraneni, be
<i>fool</i>	095	'ʔe:ja
<i>foot</i>	036	'toki
<i>forearm</i>	040	'k'as:o, 'wada
<i>forehead</i>	003	ba'lit:i
<i>four</i>	099	ʔo'i'do
<i>frog</i>	165	faŋ'ko
<i>fruit</i>	070	'ʔa:ʰi
<i>full</i>	303	'kumotsi
<i>fur</i>	130	boʔogafani
<i>garbage</i>	300	
<i>gate, see also door</i>	319	'weititsi, 'kara
<i>give, he gives it to me</i>	076	'ʔmgeni
<i>go</i>	320b	ʔa:'dɛne, den'deni
<i>goat</i>	146	'va:ri
<i>God</i>	127	ts'o:si

<i>gold</i>	214	'wərk'e
<i>good</i>	258	'kɔ̃ʃi
<i>gourd</i>	085	'gusi
<i>grass</i>	066	'dambai
<i>grave</i>	094	'du:fi
<i>green</i>	244	'ts'ɔ̃lʔe
<i>guts</i>	031	gobo'ba:zi
<i>hair of head</i>	001	to:ki 'gami
<i>hand</i>	039	'kutʃi
<i>hard</i>	279	'dodi
<i>harvest, noun</i>	059	mɛ'kaĩts
<i>he</i>	310	'ʔɪzi, 'ʔɪza
<i>head</i>	002	'to:ki
<i>hear, he hears</i>	005	wai'zeni
<i>heart</i>	045	'saza, 'ʔina
<i>heavy</i>	269	'de:tsi
<i>here</i>	293	'haika
<i>hide, he hides the egg</i>	079	ʔa'ts'eni
<i>hit, he hits the donkey</i>	150	ber'keni
<i>hoe</i>	061	'balaʃa
<i>hold, he holds the bananas</i>	186	ʔar'keni
<i>honey</i>	145	'ʔɛ:si
<i>honeybee</i>	143	'matsi
<i>horn</i>	147	gu'rani
<i>hot, of water</i>	201, 234	'ʔoidi
<i>house</i>	188	'mari, 'ke:tsi
<i>how?</i>	294	'weiti
<i>hundred</i>	107	's'ɛ:ta
<i>hungry, he is hungry</i>	080	nai'deni
<i>hunt, he hunts</i>	132	ke'meni
<i>hunter</i>	131	ke'maja
<i>hyena</i>	175	'gudri

<i>I</i>	308	'ta:ni
<i>jump, he jumps</i>	316	ʔu'leli
<i>kill, the snake kills</i>	160	wo'deni
<i>the rat</i>		
<i>knee</i>	034	'go:ʃi
<i>knife</i>	247	ʔa'ɸar
<i>know</i>	320c	ʔe'reni
<i>lake</i>	235	'de:watsi
<i>laugh, he laughs</i>	086	'mi:tseni
<i>leaf</i>	054	ʔilaʃi
<i>left, right side</i>	275	'ʃaula
<i>leopard</i>	173	'wɔrba, 'ma:ki
<i>lie, he lies down</i>	305	'laheni
<i>light, not heavy</i>	270	'poʔi
<i>lightning</i>	225	ze'ritsi
<i>lip</i>	012	mo'suri
<i>listen, see also hear</i>	177	wai'zeni
<i>liver</i>	047	'maizi
<i>long</i>	263	'ʔodosi
<i>louse</i>	136	'ts'əguts
<i>machete, see knife</i>	060	'ts'oritsi
<i>maize</i>	064	gum'butsu
<i>make, he makes a stool</i>	194	ma'deni
<i>man</i>	108	'ʔasi
<i>many</i>	281	'merge
<i>market</i>	219	'bo:ka
<i>marry, the man m. the woman</i>	111	ʔe'keni
<i>meat</i>	073	'ʔaʃki
<i>money</i>	216	'mi:ʃe
<i>monkey</i>	172	'ti:ti
<i>moon</i>	238	ʔa'geni
<i>mother</i>	117	'ʔmdo

<i>mountain</i>	220	'ɖuka
<i>mouth</i>	006	'ɖaŋka
<i>mud</i>	210	'tɔrɓo, ɖo'kale
<i>name</i>	128	'sunki
<i>narrow</i>	260	'kuni
<i>navel</i>	030	'gulʔe:
<i>neck, nape of neck</i>	026	'bak'ana
<i>nest</i>	157	kaɸe'mari
<i>new</i>	272	'ʔaki
<i>night</i>	237	'wa:nte
<i>nine</i>	104	't'azuba
<i>no, see none</i>	278	ja'ditowasi, 'ʔeijʔe
<i>none, there is not</i>	274	'petetaʔo
<i>nose</i>	019	'siedfi
<i>old, not new</i>	271	'ts'imi
<i>one</i>	096	'ʔi'pete
<i>other</i>	320d	'ʔe'rene
<i>path, see also way</i>	187	gi'itsi
<i>pig</i>	133	gu'dunsi
<i>plant, he plants the seed</i>	063	'tukeni
<i>pot</i>	198	'ʔoti
<i>pour, he pours water</i>	301	du'ʔeni
<i>pull, he pulls</i>	315	go'tʃeni
<i>push, he pushes</i>	314	'hidʔeni
<i>rain</i>	233	'ʔirzi
<i>rainbow</i>	224	'ʒal:u
<i>rat</i>	159	'ʔisi
<i>red</i>	243	'zok'ε
<i>rest, he rests</i>	123	hau'senə, ʃam'penə
<i>right, right side</i>	276	mi'zaki
<i>ripe</i>	071	ka'ts'ea
<i>river</i>	228	'ʔorzi
<i>road, see also path</i>	317	

<i>root</i>	053	's'abi
<i>rope</i>	055	'susi
<i>rotten</i>	072	wo'ʔea
<i>run, he runs</i>	122	baʃ'keni
<i>saliva</i>	015	tʃ'utʃi
<i>salt</i>	197	'sɔ:gə
<i>sand</i>	212	'ma:ʃala
<i>sandals</i>	037	'dursi
<i>say, he says</i>	116	gɛ'ʔeni
<i>scorpion</i>	161	'kɔrnu
<i>scratch, he scratches himself</i>	320e	'watʃ'ɛnə
<i>see, he sees</i>	023	za'gɛni
<i>seed</i>	058	'zɛrtʃi
<i>sell, he sells</i>	218	ʃɛn'tsɛni
<i>seven</i>	102	'laŋkai
<i>sew, he sews</i>	168	si'keni
<i>sharp, sharp edge</i>	248	ʔats'ɛ'bazi
<i>shield</i>	254	gi'tɛma
<i>short</i>	264	'k'amitsi
<i>shoulder</i>	027	'gɛ:tɛ
<i>sick, he is sick</i>	091	har'gɪntɛni
<i>silver</i>	215	'bira
<i>sing, he sings</i>	009	'zam:urɛni
<i>sister</i>	124	'miʃo
<i>sit, he sits</i>	195	dɛ'ʔeni
<i>six</i>	101	'laxo
<i>skin</i>	042	'zɛɖi, 'ʔilʔi
<i>sky</i>	236	'tʃ'ɛrɪntʃi
<i>sleep, he sleeps</i>	307	'lahɛni, gɪn'ʔɛnɛ
<i>small</i>	266	ɖaka, ʃai
<i>smell, she smells the flower</i>	020	sawk'i'sɛni
<i>smoke, of fire</i>	204	'ts'ubi
<i>smooth, see soft</i>	208	'ʃi:tʃi
<i>snake</i>	158	'ʃo:ʃi

<i>sneeze, he sneezes</i>	090	'hidɪʃkeni
<i>soft</i>	280	'ʃi:tsi
<i>spear</i>	252	'ʔɔrtsi
<i>spider</i>	140	'ʃaŋgil
<i>spit, he spits</i>	089	ts'uteni
<i>stand, he stands</i>	196	ʔɛ'keni
<i>star</i>	239	'ʒogo, wu't s'atsi
<i>steal, he steals the meat</i>	075	wɔ:k'eni
<i>stick</i>	206	'kɔl:ɔ
<i>stone</i>	207	'ʃutsi
<i>stool</i>	193	'ʔoita
<i>straight</i>	261	'pizi
<i>sun</i>	240	'ʔabi
<i>sweat</i>	016	ts'o'gatsi
<i>sweep, she sweeps the house</i>	190	pi'tseni
<i>swim, it swims</i>	163	'wajz, s'u'beni
<i>tail</i>	134	ʔuŋki
<i>take, he takes the bananas</i>	185	ʔɛ'keni
<i>teach, she teaches the child</i>	125	ʔɛr'zeni
<i>tear, of eye</i>	025	'ʔabi'tsi
<i>ten</i>	105	't'apo
<i>termite</i>	141	'raʔi
<i>termite hill</i>	142	'du:ni
<i>that</i>	286	'jeja
<i>they</i>	313	'ʔe:ato
<i>thick</i>	267	ʔan'deri
<i>thigh</i>	038	'gobas:i
<i>thin</i>	268	'gu:tsi
<i>think, he thinks</i>	109	ma'leni
<i>this</i>	285	'haja
<i>thorn</i>	049	ʔaniŋgitsi
<i>thread</i>	166	'kire

<i>three</i>	098	'haitso
<i>throw, he throws the spear</i>	253	du'eni, 'kereni
<i>thunder</i>	226	gu'gunsɪ
<i>tie, he ties the thread</i>	167	tu'teni
<i>tobacco</i>	065	'ma:ti
<i>tongue</i>	014	'ʔmɔrsɪ
<i>tooth</i>	013	'ʔatʃi
<i>tree</i>	050	'mɪtsi
<i>twenty</i>	106	la'matami
<i>two</i>	097	lam'ʔo
<i>up</i>	283	'lɛka, 'tur:ɔ
<i>vomit, he vomits</i>	087	ʔer'zɛŋɪ
<i>walk, he walks</i>	121	toki'na:ɗeni
<i>want, he wants bananas</i>	183	koi'eni
<i>war</i>	255	'ʔɔlzi
<i>warm, see hot</i>	320f	tana'ne:na
<i>water</i>	231	'wa:tsi
<i>we</i>	311	'nu:ni
<i>wedding</i>	112	ʔɛɸi
<i>weed, the weed</i>	068	'ho:ri
<i>weep, he weeps</i>	024	je'keni
<i>well, of water</i>	232	ʔɔlk'a'watsi
<i>wet, of clothing</i>	297	'woʔe
<i>what?</i>	289	'ʔaigo
<i>when?</i>	290	'ʔaido
<i>where?</i>	292	'ʔaŋka, 'wo:ka
<i>whistle, he whistles</i>	008	'suruŋk'eni
<i>white</i>	241	'bore
<i>who?</i>	287	'ʔonʔa
<i>whose?</i>	288	'ʔo:ro
<i>why?</i>	295	'ʔaibəro
<i>wide</i>	259	'dalgi

<i>wife, see also woman</i>	114	'matso
<i>wind</i>	221	zi'bare
<i>wing</i>	154	'gaʃ:i
<i>woman, see also wife</i>	110	'la:le
<i>worm</i>	138	'zani
<i>yawn, he yawns</i>	306	ʃama'teni
<i>yellow</i>	245	ts'its'e'buni
<i>yes</i>	277	'hio
<i>yesterday</i>	291	zi'gino, hinoga'rasi
<i>you PL</i>	312	'ʔmsi
<i>you SG</i>	309	'ne:ni