

Sociolinguistic Survey of the Awngi Language of Ethiopia

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1 Introduction and Acknowledgments

This report summarizes the results of a short survey of the “Awngi” language ([ʔa^wŋi], where [ʔawi] identifies the “Awi” group, and [-ŋi] is the suffix meaning “language”).¹

The survey trip was carried out by Charlotte and Klaus Wedekind in mid February 1995. This trip was the sequel to an earlier survey, where we had interviewed Haimanot Gebeyehu and recorded his Awngi data which were representative for the Mambuk area. However, we lost most of these data in an armed assault on the survey car (see S.L.L.E. Report 7. May 1994:1, 18).

The assistance of several administration officers at Chagni is gratefully acknowledged, in particular the very efficient help of the Administration Chairman himself, Ato Muluk'en Dessie (not an Awngi speaker), and Ato Fekadu Teshale who interpreted between Amharic and Awngi.

The word list (see section 6) is the result of a collective effort by a team of Awngi speakers. Their procedure was as follows: They came together to work in one of the offices of the administration compound, they informed themselves about the purpose of the interviews, discussed every entry of the word list separately, decided on the choice of the best Awngi correspondence, selected the best “fidel” spelling for Awngi consonants which have no equivalent in the “Amharic fidel” symbols, recorded their decisions, asked for the results to be translated into Amharic by Ato Fekadu, and in the end made a tape recording of the entire list.

Additional data, including some five hundred phrases and sentences which are not presented here, were provided by Fetene Ali Jember. He speaks Amharic in addition to his mother tongue, he has attended secondary school, and he was recommended to us by Ato Muluk'en. Fetene did in fact prove to be very helpful and showed a growing interest in the linguistic features of his own language.

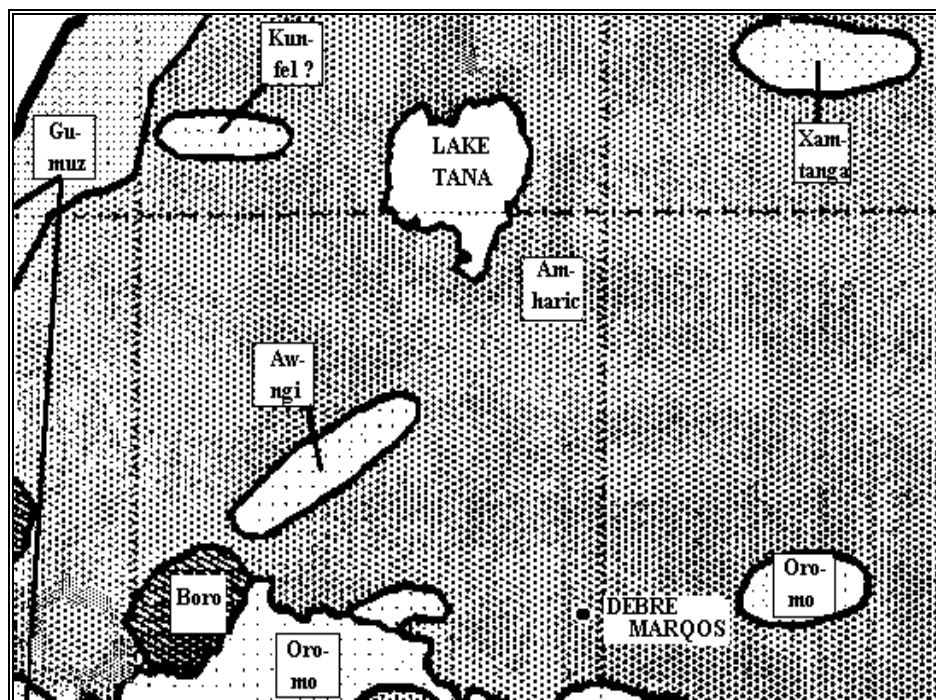
2 Ethnographic Information

The Awija ([awi-ja], with the suffix [-ja] ‘people’) live in Gojjam, west of the town Debre Markos, in the prosperous, graceful valleys of the region traditionally called “Agaw Midir” (Amh. ‘Agaw country’).

The area is known for its serene beauty and is the pride of the Awiya, the agricultural people who inhabit it. The administrative center of the Awngi-speaking area is Chagni, in the Gwangwa Wereda, Agaw Awi Zone. (See MAP.)

As far as population figures are concerned, in 1976 Bender estimated the number of Awngi speakers at fifty thousand (Bender 1976:6). Different estimates (in the following chart) were given to us by Ato Muluk'en Dessie, Chairman of the Chagni administrative center on Feb. 10, 1995. His estimates are based on the assumption that each Qebele (town or peasant association) has about one thousand members, a conservative figure. Thus, according to Ato Muluk'en, the distribution of Awngi speakers is as given in the following chart, with a total of about one hundred thousand and, as he said, “certainly not more.”

¹An earlier version of this report appeared as “A Survey of Awngi,” Survey of Little-known Languages of Ethiopia (S.L.L.E.). Linguistic Report 28. May 1998. Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies and Summer Institute of Linguistics.



MAP: Awngi - with neighboring (Amharic, Boro) and related (Xamta) languages

Administrative region (Wereda)	Distribution of Awngi speakers	Peasant Associations	Population estimates	Awngi speakers estimates
Gwangwa (Chagni)	mainly Awngi	67	67,000	43,000
Kosobera	mainly	30	30,000	20,000
Damot	mainly	5–10	5–10,000	<10,000
Dibati	partly	30	30,000	2,000
Mambuk	partly	63	63,000	30,000
Total		185–190	<200,000	<100,000

CHART: Distribution of Awngi speakers

3 A Sociolinguistic Profile of Awngi Monolinguals

To sketch the profile of the “typical Awngi monolingual,” five Awngi speakers—one female and four males—were interviewed on Feb. 11, 1995. The selection of these informants was random apart from one condition: that they should be monolingual Awngi speakers.

Since Awngi monolinguals are numerous, it was no problem to find, within a few minutes, several persons at the market who would fit this description, and of the persons selected, five were also willing to sit down for an interview (involving an Amharic interpreter, of course). We found that some of them did know a few phrases of Amharic but just sufficient to perform minor routine transactions at the market. The informants’ names, ages, and places of residence are as follows: W/o Innat Gwade (50 yrs.) from Sigade, Ato Berhanu Tekle (40) and Alemina Tekle (30), both from Chajimkwa, Simena Mesfin (32) and Imbiale Alemayehu (35), both from Dogere.

The informants and their family background have many traits in common: All of them are farmers, all are orthodox Christians and have not gone to school. They were born in Gwangwa and have not lived outside the Awngi area for more than a few days or weeks. With one exception, the parents and all siblings of these interviewees also are monolinguals: It was found that among all of the ten parents and all siblings and spouses, only one (the father of Semena) knows another language in addition to Awngi: Amharic. Of the children, only W/o Innat's children speak and write Amharic, because they go to school. Typically, children in villages will not pick up other languages (such as Amharic) before they go to school.

Generation	Relationships	Monolinguals
I	Parents	90 %
II	Spouses, Sibs	100 %
III	Children	90 %

The informants consider Awngi “the most useful language around this area,” and they consider the Gwangwa dialect a “good” kind of Awngi. The same dialect, they said, was also spoken around the villages of Beleye and Zigen. For an outsider, they said, this area would be the best to learn “good” Awngi. When asked about “poor” varieties of Awngi, they said the kind of “Agaw” which was spoken in Wollo province, around Sekota, was “poor”. With this response it became obvious that the Amharic use of the term “Agaw” had created some confusion: The “Agaw” of Sekota is, of course, Xamta-nga, which is not a dialect of Awngi, but an entirely different language. There is a slight dialect difference with the Awngi of Mambuk (cf. S.L.L.E. Report, 5–8) which consists in the higher frequency of -i suffixes, and a different distribution of recent loans, but this was either not perceived as different, or the difference was not thought worth mentioning.

Apart from a few encounters at the clinic or at the major market, there are no occasions where knowledge of Amharic would be useful or required. At the administration offices, Awngi speakers will use an interpreter. In all everyday situations, however, such as with elders, at work, in offices, in dreams, in prayers, when excited, when counting money, only Awngi is used.

Views about the use of Awngi and about social interaction with non-Awngi speakers were characterized as follows: All informants said that old people would “not be happy” if their youngsters would use languages other than Awngi at home. They said they would not object to a young person marrying a non-Awngi person, since young people were free to choose whom they like, but they would not consider this very appropriate either. Such marriages were rare in any case and only with Amharas. Social interaction during markets, church festivals, and other festivals was limited to Awngi areas. The informants knew of no acquaintances who had given up their own language, and they did not expect their language to disappear. They had, however, a suspicion that the use of Awngi was decreasing; and as one said, “certainly no new speakers are being added.”

Concerning various additional functions of the Awngi language, the informants said that in the schools of the Awngi area, it would be good if teachers would translate from Amharic into Awngi to help Awngi children understand. Awngi books and radio programs would be welcome, not instead of, but in addition to Amharic. They said if there were courses on how to read and write Awngi, they would attend and send their children to these courses; and they wished that Agaw were included in the normal curriculum.

As far as conscious efforts to develop or revive Awngi are concerned: if there are such efforts, they certainly were less conspicuous to us than they were in other areas of Ethiopia. It is true that there exists a little museum at Kosobera (East of Chagni), dedicated to the history and culture of Awngi; but as far as the language is concerned, its development does not seem to be a real issue, and it attracts little conscious attention by its rural speakers or its urban administrators. Why was there comparatively very little in terms of Awngi development or revival at a time when some other groups were buzzing with such activities?

The explanation is paradoxical but obvious: On the one hand, in Gojjam, Amharic is too obviously the language of wider communication and accepted in this role, so why develop Awngi in addition? On the other hand, Awngi is too strong and too much alive to need any support or revival, so why revive it?

4 Classification of Awngi Within Agaw (Central Cushitic)

Bender (1971:174) uses the following lexicostatistics to support the classification of his set of four “Central Cushitic” languages:

Bender 1971	Awngi	Xamtanga	Qimant	Bilen
Bilen	37	45	48	-
Qimant	36	43	-	-
Xamta	32	-	-	-

Based on Hetzron (1976), Sasse (1987) subclassifies Central Cushitic (Agaw) as follows:

Central Cushitic (Agaw)	
North	Bilin
West	Kemant and others
East	Chamir, Chamtanga*
South	Awngi, Kunfel

Based on morphological criteria, Appleyard suggests several successive split-offs in the branches descending from “Proto-Agaw” (Appleyard 1988:581, 590, labels N E added, K.W.) and chooses four languages to represent them: Awngi, Kemant, Xamtanga, and Bilin.

Proto-Agaw			
	(East)	(North)	Awngi
		Kemant	
Bilin	Xamtanga		

Based on phonological criteria, Appleyard had previously given an “Internal Classification of the Agaw languages” (1984:60), where more labels were given in a similar tree.

Proto-Agaw					
	(W-E)	(W-E-N)		Southern*	
		Northern			
Western	Eastern*				
Kemant, Qara, etc.	Xamir*	Xamta	Bilin	Kunfāl ?	Awngi

4.1 A note on Southern and Eastern Agaw

South Agaw and East Agaw have traditionally been subdivided and viewed as groups of languages rather than languages. This may, however, have to be revised.

Of the Southern Agaw, or Southern Central Cushitic branch, Awngi seems to be the only survivor. Awngi dialects are not worth mentioning—see section 3. On Kunfāl see also publications forthcoming from Zelealem Leyew—who is at home in the Kunfāl area.

Likewise, Eastern Agaw with Chamir, Chamtanga, or Xamir, Xamta(nga) may just be one language. In a survey carried out recently, we encountered different varieties of Xamta-nga or Xīmt'anga, which is the language of the Xīmār people or Xīmra area, but no additional dialect or language that might have been identified as Chamir, Xamin, Chamin, Khamir or the like. Sasse still lists all of these names, but with some reservation, and some reservation certainly is in order (Sasse 1987:81). Wag / Xīmra is an area which has been inaccessible because of many years of war, and even in early 1995 communication still was somewhat difficult. This is the reason why apart from Mengistu Amberber's two theses, no first-hand information was available for many years. (S.L.L.E. survey report. January 1995:1–2).

5 Morphological Notes

5.1 Morphological specifics of Awngi

Among the Agaw languages, Awngi has the most distinctive morphology. This finding is the result of Appleyard's morphological comparisons which he undertook in order to complement phonological and especially lexical comparisons which are, according to him, "perhaps not the best."

According to these comparisons, Awngi is the only "Agaw" language where "the gender of a noun can [...] be regularly deduced from its citation form." In Awngi, masculine nouns end in a consonant followed by -i, -e, -u, while feminine nouns end in -a (1988:584). On the one hand, Appleyard considers Awngi the most innovative Agaw language and exceptional insofar as it has regular plurals (1988:585), since the "heterogeneous [Agaw] system of noun plural marking" is "largely simplified" (1988:597). On the other hand, Awngi is considered "archaic" as far as its verb system is concerned (1988:587), since it does not have "the demonstrable innovations shared by the other [Agaw] languages."

5.2 Awngi Case

With reference to Hetzron's analysis (Hetzron 1978), Sasse (1987:91) remarks that Awngi has the largest set of case suffixes found in any Cushitic language, namely twelve. The S.L.L.E. survey data have not specifically been selected for the analysis of case, but we can confirm six of these twelve cases, and a few data would suggest that [-i] also functions as an "instrumental" suffix. In the data of the following chart, we have instances of nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, ablative, locative and, possibly, instrumental.

To some extent, however, the analysis of case may be a matter of personal taste and linguistic preconditioning. Decisions in the case of ambiguous data, e.g., postposition vs. suffix, single vs. multiple suffixation, single vs. multiple function, case vs. adverbial suffix, are not always based on the linguistic object alone: Interestingly, the richest set of cases in a Cushitic language discovered so far (Kambata) is that described by Mirja Saksa, a linguist whose mother tongue is Finnish.

Hetzron/Sasse: Awngi Case		S.L.L.E. morphology data 1995	
-i	nominative	ɪʃ:-i	meat -SUBJ
-iw, -t	genitive M, F	ɪŋu-wɪ	he -of
-is	dative	ɑlək-is	chief -for
-e	accusative	ɪʃ-e	meat -OBJ
-a	translative		
-ides	ablative	sɑ:t'ɪn-das	box -out-of
-ida	locative	bɪ't:-ida	ground -on
-ita	comparative		
-ili	comitative		
-isho	directional		
-jas	invocative		
-na	adverbial		
		kaɾ-i	knife -INSTR?

5.3 Numbers

1, one person	la'χu, ɪmpɪl a'qi
2, two persons	'la[:]ŋ[:]a, la'ŋa a'æi
3	'ʃu:χa:, 'ʃu:ga:
4	'se:d:za
5	'a:ŋk ^w a
6	wa:lta
7	la'ŋ[:]ata

8	so'χata
9	'se:sta
10	'tsɪk:a
13	'tsik:-ra 'ʃu:χa
20	la'ŋari
27	la'ŋar-na-la'ŋata
30	ʃuχatsika

40	tsi:tsi:ts[ɪ]'ka
58	aŋk ^w atsɪka-so'χata
80	su'χretits'ka
100	leχa [li:ga]
150	leχa-'aŋkwatsɪka
200	laŋa-leχa

6 Three Awngi Word Lists

6.1 Agaw proto-phonemes and Awngi transcription

6.1.1 Consonants

The following chart gives the proto-Agaw consonants, based on Appleyard (1984:58) and Sasse (1987:85). The consonant in brackets, [p], is found only with Sasse (1987:85). Consonants underlined (like dz) are found only with Appleyard. The set of segments found in our Awngi data differs mainly in the velar back fricatives, and the glottalized s'. Normally, ejectives of loan words will be deglottalized, as has already been observed by other linguists.

Bilabial	Dental, etc.	Velar	Labio-velar	Uvular	Labio-uvular
[p]	t	k	k ^w	q	q ^w
b	d	g	g ^w		
	ts*				
	<u>dz</u>				
m	n	ŋ	ŋ ^w		
<u>f</u>	s	x	x ^w		
	z				
	<u>ʒ</u>				
	r			<u>ɣ</u>	<u>ɣ^w</u>
	l				
Semi-Vowels	j*		w		

*c =IPA ts, y =IPA j

6.1.2 Vowels

As the proto-Agaw vowel set, Appleyard (1988:64) lists the peripheral vowels i, e, a, and u, plus the central(ized) vowels ĩ and ä.*

Unlike the rest of the Ethiopian languages, Agaw languages do not have a strong set of mid vowels: [e, o] are rare or nonexistent. (See, for instance, Wedekind 1989 and Mengistu Amberber on Xamtanga). Thus Awngi lacks [o], but it does have the front mid vowel [e]—which is, however, quite infrequent.

Front	Central	Back
i	ɨ/ɨ̄	u
e	ə*/ä	
	ɑ	

*With regard to the symbols for central(ized) vowels of Ethiopian languages, it has become customary to employ [ə] where reference is made to phonetically high central(ized) vowels. This is unfortunate, since it has been the cause of some confusion. In IPA, high central(ized) vowels should be represented as [ɨ], [ɨ̄], or [ɨ̄̄]. (See IPA of 1989, where the schwa [ə]—which phonetically is close to [ä]—stands for the mid central vowel).

6.2 Word List: S.L.L.E. 1995, Appleyard 1984, Bender 1971²

Gloss	No.	IPA S.L.L.E. Data 1995	Appleyard 1984	Swadesh-Bender List 1971
<i>all</i>	320	wɔːl:a	-	001 wul:a
<i>and</i>	320	-ta	-	-
<i>animal</i>	129	ka:nab'zi:	-	-
<i>ant</i>	137	'ɨŋi:	-	-
<i>arrow</i>	251	la:ŋɣ, la:ŋqɣ	-	-
<i>ashes</i>	205	wu'si:	-	002 wusi
<i>ask</i>	118	ka:'siɣ ^w a	-	-
<i>axe</i>	051	mi'ka:j	-	-
<i>back</i>	032	ɨŋ'gir	angir R	-
<i>bad</i>	257	di'ki:	-	-
<i>banana</i>	182	'mu:zi:	-	-
<i>bark N</i>	052	pa:q	-	003 qap
<i>bark V</i>	178	be'fuɣ ^w a	-	-
<i>basket</i>	056	kitʃ	-	-
<i>bat</i>	135	xɑ:r 'tʃaya	-	-
<i>bathe</i>	304	'qu:'siɣ ^w a	-	-

²The column “Awngi Team Chagni Administration 1995” has been deleted because of font complications.

<i>bear child</i>	113	ka:man'tiχ ^w a	-	-	-
<i>beard</i>	018	sidi'di:	-	-	-
<i>beehive</i>	144	ʔaŋ'ki:mi:	-	-	-
<i>belly</i>	029	'gusgi:	-	004	guzig
<i>big</i>	265	dɔŋgu'ri: [dɔŋgu'li]	-	005	wodel
<i>bird</i>	152	'tʃa:ya:	-	006	tʃaya
<i>bite V</i>	181	ʔiŋ'ɔy ^w a	-	007	in-iŋ
<i>black</i>	242	s[']ar'ki:	-	008	tsarki
<i>blood</i>	046	bi'ri:	bəri	009	biri
<i>blow V</i>	007	k ^w a ^j 'tsiχwa	-	-	-
<i>bone</i>	044	ŋa:s'	ŋats	010	ŋats
<i>bow N</i>	250	dɛ:'gan[i]	-	-	-
<i>breast</i>	028	'a:ŋg ^w i	ang ^w	011	ang ^w
<i>bridge</i>	230	da:nb, da:mb	-	-	-
<i>brother</i>	120	'ni:ts[e], ni:tʃ[e]	sén	-	-
<i>buffalo</i>	171	'ʔini:	-	-	-
<i>burn</i>	200	dɪŋustɪχ ^w a	-	012	dɪŋust-
<i>bush</i>	048	gɪps'i:	-	-	-
<i>buttocks</i>	033	'tiŋɔ	-	-	-
<i>buy</i>	217	'dʒə:y ^w a	dʒew- ɔdʒep	-	-
<i>canoe</i>	229	dʒɛl'βa	-	-	-
<i>cat</i>	174	ʔaŋgu'tʃa:	-	-	-
<i>chicken</i>	151	'du:ri:	dúri	-	-
<i>chief</i>	126	ki'ma[:]nti:	-	-	-
<i>child</i>	119	dʒɛ:r	-	-	-
<i>chin</i>	017	'k ^w ə:tʃk ^w ətʃ	-	-	-
<i>claw</i>	153	jə:ŋg	-	013	tʃɛfɪr
<i>clothing</i>	296	si:	-	-	-
<i>cloud</i>	222	gɔŋ'kini:, wɔl	dám:ini	014	dum:ini
<i>cold</i>	202	ʔiy'mi:	-	015	iyumi
<i>cold A</i>	202	'xa:xi'tsi:	-	015	-
<i>come</i>	180	ʔin'tuya	-nt-	016	ant-

<i>cook</i>	081	ʔindzi:s'e:χ ^w a	tsuq-\tsúq-		-
<i>cough V</i>	088	[i]wi:r'tiχ ^w a	-		-
<i>count</i>	184	'tʃe:fχ ^w a	-		-
<i>cow</i>	148	ʔi'l ^w a:	əllwa		-
<i>crocodile</i>	169	ʔa'z: ^w a:	-		-
<i>crooked</i>	262	gu:ba:'li:	-		-
<i>cup</i>	084	ta:ni'ki:	-		-
<i>cut</i>	074	'k[ʲ]e[ʔ]wa	-		-
<i>dance V</i>	010	dʒi'm:ox ^w a	-		-
<i>dew</i>	227	tʃa:ŋ'q ^w i:	-		-
<i>die</i>	093	'kirχ ^w a	kət-\kər	017	kir-
<i>dig</i>	062	'giʃoχ ^w a	geʃ		-
<i>dirty</i>	299	'tsa:mi:	-		-
<i>dog</i>	176	gi'ʃeɣ \ gi'ʃeŋ	gséŋ	018	gseŋ
<i>donkey</i>	149	dɪy[^w]a:'ri:	dəy ^w arí		-
<i>door</i>	189	siɡa:'ri:	-		-
<i>down</i>	284	ku:'kra:, ku:'xra:	-		-
<i>drink</i>	083	'ziq:χ ^w a	zəq-\zəq	019	ziq-
<i>drum</i>	011	ki:ri'wi:	-		-
<i>dry A</i>	298	'ka:gi:	-	020	kagi
<i>dull</i>	249	dud'mi:	-		-
<i>dust</i>	213	t[ʃ]i'tri:	-		-
<i>ear</i>	004	ʔiŋk ^w a:'hei	-	021	inkoyi
<i>earth</i>	209	bɪ'ti:	bə́tí		-
<i>eat</i>	082	't[s]o:χ ^w a	ɣ ^w -\ɣú	022	ɣu-ŋ
<i>egg</i>	078	ʔiŋku'lali	-	023	ink ^w lal
<i>eight</i>	103	sə'a:yata	sóyéta		-
<i>elbow</i>	035	kir'ŋi:	-		-
<i>empty</i>	302	na:'ɣisi:, na:'χɪfi:	-		-
<i>enter</i>	191	'tu:ɣa	t ^w -tú		-
<i>exit V</i>	192	'fu:ɣa	f-\fí		-
<i>eye</i>	022	ʔil:, 'il:i:	ól:	024	il:
<i>eyebrow</i>	021	s'imir'k ^w i:	-		-

<i>fall V</i>	092	ʔit:ox[^w]a	-		-
<i>farm N</i>	057	ʔir'ʃi:	-		-
<i>fat N</i>	077	sa:χ ^w i:	-	025	mori
<i>father</i>	115	ta:β'li:	-	026	tabli
<i>fear</i>	170	dʒi'fint	-		-
<i>feather</i>	155	mi'k ^w i:, mə'k ^w i:	-		-
<i>fence</i>	318	'ətsi:, 'itsi:	-		-
<i>few</i>	282	[t]si'li:	-		-
<i>fight V</i>	256	sɛb'toŋɔ, ʃɛβ'tiŋχ ^w a	-		-
<i>ingernail</i>	041	[j]i:ŋg	-		-
<i>fire</i>	199	le:g[i:]	leg ?	027	leg
<i>fish</i>	162	'a:si:	asi	028	asi
<i>fish, fish- net</i>	162b	ʔa:si:, ma'raβi:	-	X	-
<i>five</i>	100	'ʔa:ŋk ^w a	ánk ^w a		-
<i>flower</i>	069	'ʔa:βi:'βi:	-		-
<i>fly N</i>	139	's'ins'a	tsəntsá	029	tsintsa
<i>fly V</i>	156	bir:'nuɣ ^w a	-		-
<i>foot</i>	036	'lik:u	lək ^w	030	lik ^w
<i>forearm</i>	040	kir'ŋi:	-		-
<i>forehead</i>	003	ʔil:a:f	-		-
<i>four</i>	099	'se:d:za	sedza		-
<i>frog</i>	165	'gɔra:	-		-
<i>fruit</i>	070	ku:'pi:	-		-
<i>full</i>	303	wa:'yi:, wa'χi	-		-
<i>garbage</i>	300	're:βa'ti ^w	-		-
<i>gate</i>	319	ʔaβ'dʒili	-		-
<i>give</i>	076	'ʔi:χ ^w a:	nay CR	031	ij-
<i>go</i>	320	ka:'siχ ^w a	fej-\fet	032	kas-
<i>goat</i>	146	fɪ'j:ali:	-		-
<i>God</i>	127	di'βa:n	-		-
<i>gold</i>	214	'wɛrk'i:	-		-

<i>good</i>	258	gu:d	-	033	gud
<i>gourd</i>	085	'kiβ	-		-
<i>grass</i>	066	kra:'ri:	-	034	siqwi
<i>grave</i>	094	'di ^w [t]si:	-		-
<i>green</i>	244	χas'a, 's'igi'ri:	-		-
<i>guts</i>	031	gus'ga:χa	-		-
<i>hair of head</i>	001	ηar'i ^w tsitsi'fi:	-	035	tsitsifi
<i>hand</i>	039	ta:f	laηa R	036	taf
<i>hard</i>	279	ʔa'li'ni:	-		-
<i>harvest N</i>	059	'sabsi:	-		-
<i>head</i>	002	ηa:'ri	ηarí	037	ηari
<i>hear</i>	005	ih'q ^w a:x ^w a	-	038	inkoy-
<i>heart</i>	045	ʃe ^w	-	039	ifew
<i>heavy</i>	269	ʔiz[u]'k ^w i	-		-
<i>here</i>	293	ʔinda	-		-
<i>hide V</i>	079	be:fsuχ ^w a	-		-
<i>hit</i>	150	'ta:sχ ^w a	-		-
<i>hoe</i>	061	'ga:su	-		-
<i>hold</i>	186	ʔi'm:iχ ^w a	-		-
<i>honey</i>	145	'ηargi:	tsəyarí		-
<i>honeybee</i>	143	s'iy'a:'ra:	suyara CR \ tsəyarí		-
<i>horn</i>	147	'dʒe:ndʒ	-	040	dʒendʒ
<i>hot</i>	201	ʔihk ^w i:'ni:	-		-
<i>house</i>	188	ηən, ηəη	ηən		-
<i>how?</i>	294	'wa:tiηij'ʔə	-		-
<i>hundred</i>	107	li:γ	liy		-
<i>hungry</i>	080	mirki'tuχ ^w a	-		-
<i>hunt V</i>	132	ka:'tʃuχ ^w a	-		-
<i>hunter</i>	131	ka:tʃan'ti	-		-
<i>hyena</i>	175	ʔi'γ ^w i:	-		-
<i>I</i>	308	'ʔa:ni:	-	041	an

<i>jump</i>	316	kuŋ'guχa	-		-
<i>kill</i>	160	'ku:ya:	k ^w -kú	042	ku-ŋ
<i>knee</i>	034	gir'ib	górób	043	[j]aq-
<i>knife</i>	247	ka:'ri:	-		-
<i>know</i>	320	ja'kuχ ^w a	-	044	gulvi
<i>lake</i>	235	tam'pi:	-		-
<i>laugh</i>	086	ʔiχ ^w a'χiχ ^w a	əyoγt-		-
<i>leaf</i>	054	χa:'tsi:	γutsi	045	γutsi
<i>left A</i>	275	[t]saŋga'ya: [t]saŋga'χa:	tsangéyá		-
<i>leopard</i>	173	s'a:ŋiγ, s'a:niχ	-		-
<i>lie V</i>	305	gidimstiχ ^w a	-		-
<i>light A</i>	270	sa'sar	-	x	-
<i>light N</i>	270	baŋ'gri	-		-
<i>lightning</i>	225	mila'yi:	-		-
<i>lip</i>	012	gi:n'ti:	-		-
<i>listen</i>	177	ʔiŋ'k ^w a:χ ^w a	-		-
<i>liver</i>	047	d ^w a'lat	-	046	gub:et
<i>long</i>	263	ligisi'mi: [ligiʃi'mi]	-	047	lig:isimi
<i>louse</i>	136	'i:nti:	-	048	jinti
<i>machete</i>	060	ʔmətʃid	-		-
<i>maize</i>	064	ʃu:m'bi:	-		-
<i>make</i>	194	ʔinsi'χ ^w i:	-		-
<i>man</i>	108	ʔa:'q:i	-	049	aʃi
<i>many</i>	281	min'tʃi:	-	050	méntʃ
<i>market</i>	219	ge:'βal	-		-
<i>marry a woman</i>	111	mi:'s'iχ ^w a	-		-
<i>meat</i>	073	ʔi'ʃ:i:	-	051	iʃ:i
<i>money</i>	216	'ma:tʃəq ^w i:	-		-
<i>monkey</i>	172	dza:'gri:	-		-
<i>moon</i>	238	ʔar'fa	-	052	arfa
<i>mother</i>	117	tʃ ^w a:	tʃ ^w á		-

<i>mountain</i>	220	k ^h ən	-	053	kan
<i>mouth</i>	006	xim'bi:	γəmbí	054	γimbi
<i>mud</i>	210	tʃəqi:	-		-
<i>name</i>	128	'sɪmi:	ʃuŋi CR	055	sɪm
<i>narrow</i>	260	s'ɪβa:β	-		-
<i>navel</i>	030	gurian ^j χe ^j	-		-
<i>neck</i>	026	gur'gum, gur'gim	-	056	gurgim
<i>nest</i>	157	'tʃa:γa:ŋ'na	-		-
<i>new</i>	272	?iskɑ'wi:	-	057	iskawi
<i>night</i>	237	?ara'βa	γar	058	γar
<i>nine</i>	104	'se:sta	-		-
<i>no</i>	278	'i:lɑ	-		-
<i>none</i>	274	?imp'la ^w la	-		-
<i>nose</i>	019	sɑ:n	ŋəmbí (see “mouth”)	060	is:an
<i>old</i>	271	wili'dzi:	-		-
<i>one</i>	096	la'χu:	-	061	layu
<i>other</i>	320	li'wi:	əl:íw	062	il:w
<i>path</i>	187	lik:uda:'da	-		-
<i>pig</i>	133	gir'mi:	-		-
<i>plant V</i>	063	t ^j ə'kaɫχ ^w a	-		-
<i>pot</i>	198	'giβa:'tʃi:	-		-
<i>pour</i>	301	'du:γa	-		-
<i>pull</i>	315	gu'suχ[^w]a \ gu'suγ ^w a	-		-
<i>push</i>	314	tɪŋ'kiχ ^w a	-		-
<i>rain</i>	223	?i'ri:	-		-
<i>rainbow</i>	224	'marjam 'duŋga	-	063	iri
<i>rat</i>	159	'ji:n[i]s'i:	-		-
<i>red</i>	243	'dim:i:	-	064	dɪm:i
<i>right A</i>	276	'le:wa	léwá		-
<i>ripe</i>	071	?in'dzi:ni:	-		-
<i>river</i>	228	bin:	-		-

<i>road</i>	317	dɑ:'di:	-	065	dad
<i>root</i>	053	'sir[i]	-	066	sir
<i>rope</i>	055	g[ʰ]e'məd	-		-
<i>rotten</i>	072	bɪ'saq:	-		-
<i>run</i>	122	gi:'ŋuχ ^w a	-		-
<i>saliva</i>	015	bis'qi:	-		-
<i>salt</i>	197	tʃi'wi:	tʃi'wi		-
<i>sand</i>	212	χibtʃa'tʃi: [aʃa'wi:]	-	067	γibtsi
<i>sandals</i>	037	'ni:s'ili: tʃa:'m:i:	-		-
<i>say</i>	116	'zik ^w a:	-	068	n-
<i>scorpion</i>	161	'kɛ:ma	-		-
<i>scratch</i>	320	xuq'tuχ ^w a	-		-
<i>see</i>	023	ka:n'tuχ ^w a	-	069	kant-
<i>seed</i>	058	ze:r	-	070	zer
<i>sell</i>	218	'wə'ɣ ^w a	-		-
<i>seven</i>	102	'laŋ:ata	-		-
<i>sew</i>	168	'sahuχ ^w a:	-		-
<i>sharp</i>	248	ʔafu'ni:	-		-
<i>shield</i>	254	ga:'ʃ:i:	-		-
<i>short</i>	264	de:n'daŋ	-		-
<i>shoulder</i>	027	ma:q	-		-
<i>sick</i>	091	'kondas'tiχ[^w]a	-		-
<i>silver</i>	215	'bir:i:	-		-
<i>sing</i>	009	'a:k:ak:anəʒ ^w a	-		-
<i>sister</i>	124	ŋi:'tʃidʒa	séná		-
<i>sit</i>	195	ʔindʒ'kəχ[^w]a	-	071	ɪŋdʒku-
<i>six</i>	101	'wa:lta	wólta		-
<i>skin</i>	042	ʔa: ⁱ	-	072	aj
<i>sky</i>	236	dɪ'βa:n ʔa'fa	-		-
<i>sleep V</i>	307	'χura:	-	073	γur-
<i>small</i>	266	[t]sɪ'li:	-	074	tsili
<i>smell V</i>	020	χa:'risχ ^w a	γar-		-

<i>smoke N</i>	204	tə'ʃi:	-	075	tɪʃa
<i>smooth</i>	208	lɛslɑ's:i:	-		-
<i>snake</i>	158	'mu[:]ri:	múri	076	muri
<i>sneeze</i>	090	ʔatɪʃ'tiχ ^w a	-		-
<i>soft</i>	280	lɛslɑ's:i:	-		-
<i>spear</i>	252	wɑ'ram	-		-
<i>spider</i>	140	ʃe:'rant	-		-
<i>spit</i>	089	in'tif'niχ ^w a	-		-
<i>stand</i>	196	te:'ri:γ ^w a	-	077	tir-
<i>star</i>	239	'bewa	-	078	bewa
<i>steal</i>	075	dɑ:'dɑχ ^w a	-		-
<i>stick</i>	206	gɪmb	-		-
<i>stone</i>	207	'kɑrɲi	kárɔŋ	079	kariŋ
<i>stool</i>	193	'dɪŋk ^w a'li:	-		-
<i>straight</i>	261	fɪnfɪ'na:	-		-
<i>sun</i>	240	ʔawa	-	080	awa
<i>sweat</i>	016	sis'qi:	sásqí		-
<i>sweep</i>	190	[t]se'ray ^w a [t]se'rag ^w a	-		-
<i>swim</i>	163	bam'buya:	-	081	bamb-
<i>tail</i>	134	tsi'ma:r	-	082	tsimar
<i>take</i>	185	'kɑ:sχ ^w a	tsak-\tsaj		-
<i>teach</i>	125	kintsiχ ^w a	-		-
<i>tear N</i>	025	si:n'ti:	-		-
<i>ten</i>	105	'tsɪk:a	tsək:a		-
<i>termite</i>	141	s ^w a:s'a:	-		-
<i>termite hill</i>	142	's ^w a:s'a 'ɲina	-		-
<i>that</i>	286	'ʔɑ:ni:	-		-
<i>they</i>	313	ɲɑ:dʒi	ɲádʒi		-
<i>thick</i>	267	bu:'dzi:	-		-
<i>thigh</i>	038	zɑ:m'pal	-		-
<i>thin</i>	268	ʔin'[t]su:	-	083	intsu

<i>think</i>	109	ʔa's:αβəχ ^w a:	-		-
<i>this</i>	285	ʔi'n[:]i:	-	084	in
<i>thorn</i>	049	ʔa:'ŋu:	-		-
<i>thread</i>	166	ki'r:i:	-		-
<i>three</i>	098	'ʃu:χa:	ʃuɣa	085	ʃuɣa
<i>throw</i>	253	tsiχ ^w iχ ^w a	-		-
<i>tie V</i>	167	ʔins'iwisti'χ ^w a: \\ɣa	-		-
<i>tobacco</i>	065	go:r'fu:	-		-
<i>tongue</i>	014	tsa:ŋ	lanq	087	tsaŋ
<i>tooth</i>	013	ʔi'r'k ^w i:	ər'k ^w i	088	ir'k ^w i
<i>tree</i>	050	ka:'ni:	kani	089	kani
<i>twenty</i>	106	la'ŋ:arŋa	-		-
<i>two</i>	097	'laŋ:a	láŋa	090	laŋa
<i>up</i>	283	'dʒa:la	-		-
<i>vomit</i>	087	tʃa:ʃalχ ^w a	-		-
<i>walk</i>	121	li'kusin	-		-
<i>want</i>	183	'fa ^j χ ^w a	-		-
<i>war</i>	255	wa'ram	-		-
<i>warm A</i>	320	ʔiŋk ^w ini:	-	091	inkwani
<i>water</i>	231	ʔa:'hu:	ayɥ	092	ayɥ
<i>we</i>	311	'no:dʒi:	-	093	in:ódʒi
<i>wedding</i>	112	xa:s:	-		-
<i>weed N</i>	068	ʔa'ri:mi:	-		-
<i>weep</i>	024	ʔi's:iχ ^w a	-		-
<i>well N</i>	232	ʔa:'li:	-		-
<i>wet A</i>	297	sa'ɣaŋ, s ^w a'ɣaŋ	-	094	soɣen
<i>what?</i>	289	'wa:[n]ta	wó[t]	095	dar(ma)
<i>when?</i>	290	'wa:ni:	-		-
<i>where?</i>	292	'wa:da	-		-
<i>whistle</i>	008	ʃiŋk ^w is'tiχ ^w a	-		-
<i>white</i>	241	fut'ʃi:	-	096	fut'ʃi
<i>who?</i>	287	ʔa ^j	aj	097	aji

<i>whose?</i>	288	ʔa'w:i:	-		-
<i>why?</i>	295	ʔinda:r'ta	-		-
<i>wide</i>	259	i'san	-		-
<i>wife</i>	114	χu'na:	-		-
<i>wind</i>	221	ni'fa:si:	-		-
<i>wing</i>	154	mi'k ^w i:, mə'k ^w i:	-		-
<i>woman</i>	110	χə:'na:	γuna	098	γuna
<i>worm</i>	138	'fi:fri:	xəʃa		-
<i>yawn</i>	306	'ka:kas'tiχ ^w a	-		-
<i>yellow</i>	245	'miʃ:a 's'igi'ri:	-		-
<i>yes</i>	277	'i:ŋ[g]a	-		-
<i>yesterday</i>	291	ʔa'ɪŋa	-		-
<i>you pl.</i>	312	ʔin'to:dzi:	-	099	intodzi
<i>you sg. m</i>	309	[i]'ni:	ɔnt	086	int

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