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Notes on the Yaaku Language (Kenya)*

by Bernd Heine

The intention to study the Yaaku language was inspired by Oswin Köhler during a visit together to Mukogodo Division, Laikipia District, in November 1968. Since then I paid ten more visits to the Yaaku-speaking area but could stay no longer than two to three days each time, due to teaching commitments at the University of Nairobi.

In April 1970, I was able to persuade Mr. Koisa Olelengai, a 45 years old mother tongue speaker of Yaaku, to accompany me to Nairobi and work with me there as a language informant. After only three weeks in Nairobi, Mr. Olelengai disappeared. Police investigations were carried out all over Kenya in order to trace him but without success. It is most likely that he became the victim of a crime in one of Nairobi's suburbs. A continuation of my Yaaku studies was made impossible by the fact that the Yaaku people blamed me for the disappearance of Mr. Olelengai and refused to assist me any longer. The following notes on the Yaaku and their language are therefore fragmentary. They are dedicated to Koisa Olelengai.

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Contents

1. Introduction

1.1. Notes on history. 1.2. Sociolinguistic notes.

2. Grammatical sketch

2.1. Phonology. 2.2. The sentence. 2.3. The noun. 2.4. The adverbial phrase. 2.5. The verb. 2.51. Basic patterns. 2.52. *me-* and *ke-*. 2.53. 'to be' and 'to have'. 2.54. Complex verbs. 2.55. Derivation. 2.6. The question.

3. Vocabulary

1. Introduction

The Yaaku are a small tribe inhabiting the eastern part of the Mukogodo Division, Laikipia District, about thirty miles north of Mount Kenya. The first account of their language came from Charles Hopley in 1910 when he published a list of words and short phrases (Hopley 1910). In 1963, Joseph Greenberg used Hopley's data to determine the genetic position of this language. His conclusion that Yaaku belongs to the Cushitic branch of the Afro-Asiatic family (Greenberg 1963) has been supported by Christopher Ehret (1971) and is confirmed by our own analysis.

The Yaaku, who number less than 200 people, have been variously referred to as Mogogodo, Mokogodo or Mukogodo. They call themselves *yakunte*, pl. *yaaku* and their language *sieku*. They are one of the five "Dorobo" groups inhabiting the Mukogodo Division which all depended on hunting and gathering before they turned to pastoralism in the course of the last decades.

Yaaku society is divided into fifteen exogamous clans (*ciherokte*, pl. *herokte*)¹. According to a survey we were able to carry out in 1969, these are:

Name	Number of circumcised members	Number of Yaaku-speaking members ²
(1) <i>mat'ungi</i>	approx. 10	3
(2) <i>leit'iko</i>	approx. 19	4
(3) <i>pardero</i>	13	3
(4) <i>losupoko</i>	7	6

¹ The mother's clan is called *ira'uhno*, pl. *irauhn'o'*.

² For more information on language knowledge see under 1.2.

Name	Number of circumcised members	Number of Yaaku-speaking members
(5) <i>pokisa</i>	6	1
(6) <i>lioini</i>	2	1
(7) <i>parmaq'u</i>	7	3
(8) <i>nantiri</i>	18	2
(9) <i>lemoil'e</i>	6	2
(10) <i>sai'ong (kar'aru)</i>	6	3
(11) <i>nukur</i>	6	2
(12) <i>liba</i>	5	3
(13) <i>lent'olla</i>	12	15
(14) <i>biyoti</i>	2	2
(15) <i>su'aanga</i>	1	1
Total	120	51

The chief always comes from *mat'ungi*. The 'clan' forms the largest descent group. Ownership of land is confined to it but the clan is not a residential unit.

In addition, there are three larger political units which are non-exogamous and consist of several clans each. They are *orond'i*, which includes clan (1) to (5), *sialo*, which includes (6) to (9), and *luno*, which consists of (10) to (12). The clans (13), (14), and (15) are not part of this system³.

The Yaaku have an age set system which resembles that of the Maasai but differs from it in a number of instances, e.g. in the almost total lack of ceremonial apparatus (Rosen 1968). The Yaaku age sets (*heri*) are in chronological order (in parentheses are the approximate dates of circumcision):

<i>nyankusi</i> (around 1850)	<i>meruturot (l'areto)</i> (1910)
<i>pel'es</i> (1865)	<i>tiyeki</i> (1925)
<i>marikun'i</i>	<i>mekuri</i> (1939—1945)
<i>talala (terito)</i> (1880)	<i>kimaniki</i> (1950—1955)
<i>m'erisho (nyankusi)</i> (1895)	<i>kishille</i> (1963)

Most of these names have been borrowed from Maasai.

³ David Rosen (1968) gives *ol doinyo lossos* as a fourth unit. According to my informants, *ol doinyo lossos* is the name of the people living near the mountain of the same name. They all belong to the *lent'olla* clan.

1.1. Notes on history⁴

Before the Maasai arrived on the Laikipia Plateau there are said to have lived three different peoples in the area surrounding the Mukogodo Forest. These groups are called Tatua, Larinkon, and Kirrimani by the Yaaku. The Larinkon and Tatua are referred to as "children of one mother" who lived in mud-walled houses dug into the slopes of hills and covered with grass, in which they also kept their cattle and goats. These houses must have been similar to the "tembes" of the Iraqw in Tanzania and the "Sirikwa holes" in the Kenyan Highlands. The Larinkon are said to have been of the same origin as the Tigania of Meru District.

The Kirrimani inhabited the territory east of the Mukogodo Forest, up to the rivers Ngare Ndare and Ewaso Ng'iro. They lived mainly on hunting but also kept goats⁵. When the Larinkon moved to the plains near the Kirrimani, the relations between the two groups were at first peaceful. Later on, the Larinkon desired the whole land. They defeated the Kirrimani, killing many of them. One part of the Kirrimani fled north and became the ancestors of the Rendille. Another part escaped to the Mukogodo Forest and founded the Yaaku nation⁶. The Yaaku usually insist that they are very closely related to the Rendille, who live some 70 miles north of them. This claim is not quite corroborated by linguistic findings. Although both Rendille and Yaaku are Cushitic languages, which, according to Greenberg even belong to the same subbranch of Cushitic (i.e. Eastern Cushitic), it is beyond doubt that the split between these two languages is rather old—at least 2000 years, but probably much more.

Neither the Tatua⁷ nor the Larinkon survived the military operations of the Maasai. The Tatua are said to have served the Maasai as

⁴ I am indebted to Alan Jacobs and Christoph Winter for many valuable comments and suggestions concerning Yaaku history. The mistakes are, of course, mine.

⁵ Some Yaaku claim that the Kirrimani had also some camels.

⁶ David Rosen (1968: 2), however, mentions a tribe called 'Ilkirimin' of whom he says: "Nowadays, Ilkonono are said to live in Samburu but in the past these blacksmiths are said to have been a tribe called Ilkirimin who lived in the forest with the Mukogodo but were driven away during a series of wars between the two."

⁷ It is possible, though, that the Dadog (Tatoga) or the Iraqw of Tanzania, or even both, are modern descendants of the Tatua (Alan Jacobs, personal communication).

well diggers before they were absorbed by them. The Larinkon seem to have resisted the Maasai until they were defeated decisively.

The Yaaku claim to be the original inhabitants of the Mukogodo Forest area. This is not contradicted by their present neighbours who are the Tikirri, Mumonyot, Lograla, and Ng'wesi.

The origin of the Tikirri is unknown. They are said to have come from the Narok area. Before they took over Maasai as their mother tongue they had a language of their own which, as some Yaaku claim, was a Kalenjin dialect⁸. They were always hunters and gatherers who lived in symbiosis with the Maasai. They were pushed to the Mukogodo area by the Laikipiak Maasai at the time when the *meruturot* were warriors. When the *tiyeki* age set had succeeded the *meruturot*, the Tikirri crossed river Ngare Ndare and entered Mukogodo.

The Mumonyot reached Mukogodo earlier than the Tikirri, Lograla, and Ng'wesi. They are said to have been cattle breeders formerly, and many Yaaku insist that the Mumonyot are dispersed Laikipiak Maasai and Samburu who had lost all their cattle in times of war and drought. When the Yaaku met them near Loloroi, they had no domestic animals. The Yaaku taught them to prepare arrow poison, beehives, and to find honey. The Mumonyot acquired cattle and goats later by selling ivory and rhino horns, and by herding goats for the Samburu.

The Lograla (Loogolala, Ilwaso) are said to have always been Maasai-speaking Dorobo. Originally, they lived at Naibor Keju near Maralal. They reached Mukogodo about the time when the *merisho* were warriors, and settled at Doinyo Rasasi where the Tikirri later became their neighbours. Up to now they keep a remarkable number of beehives.

The Ng'wesi originate from the eastern side of Mt. Kenya where there are still some of them left. They lived on hunting and honey gathering in the higher regions of Mt. Kenya. When they arrived in the Mukogodo area shortly before the *tiyeki* age set was circumcised they had no cattle. Their mother tongue was Meru which they gave up about 30 years ago in favour of Maasai. The Yaaku chief Silangei gave them land to settle in the area north of Timau, from where they were pushed up to the Katongaa River by European settlers.

⁸ Tikirri (Digiri) is also the Kamba name for former Kalenjin-speaking Dorobo in their area (Ch. Winter, personal communication).

Originally, the Yaaku inhabited Doinyo Lossos, Doinyo Sijeku, Kiapai, Olokuruki, Shurdika, and Moror Ekenyitinyin. They had no villages but lived in single homesteads which were mostly caves high up in the hills. There were no domestic animals—dogs were not kept because their barking might have attracted enemies.

At the time when the *m'erisho* age set were warriors the first European administrator came and settled near Isiolo. The then chief Mairoc, father of Silangei, gave him beeswax as tax fee. Remarkable changes occurred after the members of the *meruturot (l'areto)* age set were circumcised. The Yaaku began to leave the forest and to settle along its fringes. The first domestic animals were acquired by selling honey, wooden gourds and giraffe tails to the Samburu, their neighbours to the north. Giraffe tails, which Samburu women made into necklaces, were paid with one goat each. Furthermore, a lively trade with the Somali, who offered cattle in exchange of ivory and rhino horns, developed.

When the *mekuri* age set was circumcised the Yaaku had partly given up hunting and gathering in favour of a Maasai-type cattle economy.

1.2. Sociolinguistic notes

The recent history of the Yaaku provides an example of language replacement—a process that is presently nearing completion. In November/December 1969, sociolinguistic interviews were conducted near Doldol in the western part of Mukogodo Forest. Among the 119 persons interviewed the following patterns of language knowledge were found:

Languages known	Percentage of persons interviewed
Maasai only	64
Yaaku only	0
Maasai + Yaaku	21
Maasai + Swahili	8
Maasai + Swahili + Yaaku	7
Total	100

This table suggests that all Yaaku are Maasai-speaking, while there are no monolingual Yaaku. Only a small part of the populations knows Yaaku. The table below reveals which part this is:

Age	Percentage of Yaaku speakers		
	Male population	Female population	Total
0—15	0	0	0
16—39	6	17	10
40 and more	100	74	86
Total	29	27	28

A knowledge of Yaaku is virtually non-existent within the younger population. Language tests showed that those persons under 40 years who had claimed to speak Yaaku usually had only a very rudimentary competence in this language, their primary language being Maasai. Among the old people, on the other hand, Yaaku is generally spoken as primary language and mother tongue. The fact that only 74% of the old women declared to know Yaaku is due to the frequent occurrence of intermarriage between Maasai and Yaaku whereby Maasai women enter the Yaaku tribe without ever learning Yaaku.

About two generations ago the Yaaku decided to give up their language in favour of Maasai. The following reasons may be suggested:

(a) The Yaaku were surrounded by a Maasai-speaking population with whom they lived in symbiosis. It is likely that the Yaaku used Maasai as a lingua franca already prior to the time when their *kimaniki* age set gave up the use of the Yaaku language. The decision to replace their own language by Maasai is said to have been favoured by the low communicative yield of Yaaku which was spoken by less than one thousand persons.

(b) Since about 1930 the Yaaku acquired cattle and goats and began to change from their traditional hunting and gathering to cattle economy—a process which led to the almost overall adoption of Maasai social organization and culture. Language shift was felt to be a logical consequence of this process. The Yaaku language with its semantic emphasis on hunting was considered unfit for a cattle-breeding society.

(c) The Maasai look down upon the various Dorobo groups of whom they say: they live like animals. Although the Yaaku never adopted the Maasai value system in toto they have been strongly influenced by it. Since the Yaaku became aware of the advantages of cattle keeping they tended to range languages along a prestige scale where Maasai, the language of the wealthy cattle owners is on top whereas Yaaku, which is associated with the miserable existence of predatory

Yaaku thus differs from other Cushitic languages which usually place the verb in sentence-final position⁹:

<i>n'iini' naw'āxan damatu</i>	We see the woman.
(we see woman)	
<i>'iice' nhrepeta isi w'aa'</i>	I steal cows from him.
(I steal him cows)	
<i>'iice' nmuta ou ai</i>	I shall come out of the house.
(I come off house)	

There are, however, several optional permutations based on thematic distinctions. These permutations are:

(1) The direct object is placed sentence-initially, i.e. precedes the subject:

<i>damatu n'iini' naw'āxan</i>	We see a woman.
(woman we see)	
<i>mōqi damatuti aw'āxan</i>	The women see a man.
(man woman-pl. see)	
<i>w'aa' 'iice' nhrepa isi</i>	I steal cows from him.
(cows I steal him)	

(2) The verb is placed sentence-initially:

<i>naw'āxan n'iini' damatu</i>	We see the woman.
(see we woman)	
<i>aw'āxan damatuti mōqi</i>	The women see a man.
(see woman-pl man)	

(3) The verb is placed sentence-finally:

<i>'iice' isi w'aa' nhrepeta</i>	I steal cows from him.
(I him cows steal)	
<i>damatuti mōqi aw'āxan</i>	The women see a man.
(woman-pl man see)	

Yaaku has retained some remnants of its earlier word order when the object preceded the verb. There are some verbs left which have their object obligatorily in pre-verbal position, e.g. *sapare -kus-* 'to tell lies', or *itoria -ik-* 'to rule' ('to do ruling'):

<i>'iice' sapare kin'āa k'uso'</i>	I have told lies.
(I lies PERF tell)	
<i>isi itoria kai'ik</i>	He is ruling over me.
(he rule me do)	

⁹ Apart from Yaaku, the only other Cushitic language deviating from this pattern is Ma'a (Mbugu), a Southern Cushitic language spoken in the Usambara Mountains of Tanzania (see Heine 1974).

2.3. The noun

A noun can govern a number of dependent categories which are all placed behind it.

Depending on their gender and number features, nouns are divided into three classes: Masculine, Feminine, and Plural¹⁰.

2.31. Gender

Nominal gender is not marked overtly and can only be inferred from the dependent categories that accompany the noun. A number of nouns, i.e. most of those that contain [\pm SEX] in their semantic feature matrix, can be both Masculine and Feminine, depending on whether they refer to male or female beings. Most of these nouns denote animals, e.g. *kohen* 'dog' or *pee'e* 'buffalo', but there are also a few others like *c'aama* 'friend'.

The categories that distinguish gender and their respective agreement markers are:

	Masculine	Feminine	Plural
Possessive			
a. nominal	<i>c'i</i>	<i>t'i</i>	<i>k'ei</i>
b. pronominal	<i>ci-</i>	<i>ti-</i>	<i>xa-</i>
Adjective	<i>ci-, ke-</i>	<i>ti-</i>	<i>ke-</i>
Interrogative adjective	<i>c'e</i>	<i>t'e</i>	<i>se'lan</i>
Demonstrative			
a. Near	<i>ce</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>xa'a</i>
b. Far	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>sa'a</i>
c. Reference	<i>çuk</i>	<i>tuk</i>	<i>xa'au</i>
Relative	<i>ci</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ke</i>
Verb	<i>o</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>n</i>

2.32. Number

Nominal plural is usually derived from the singular by means of suffixes. The most common of these suffixes, which are very numerous, are:

<i>-ai:</i>	<i>dehmo</i>	pl. <i>dehm-ai</i>	cold
	<i>nuu</i>	pl. <i>nu'-ai</i>	dance
	<i>waxn'o</i>	pl. <i>waxn-ai</i>	fence
<i>-i:</i>	<i>heektan</i>	pl. <i>heektan-i</i>	paradise flycatcher
	<i>lehen</i>	pl. <i>lehen-i'</i>	fat
	<i>kuma</i>	pl. <i>kuma-i</i>	club

¹⁰ Gender is not distinguished in Plural.

-e:	<i>ségil</i>	pl. <i>ségil-'é'</i>	finger nail
	<i>gird'ám</i>	pl. <i>gird'ám-e</i>	dance
-n:	<i>koko</i>	pl. <i>koko-n</i>	fowl
	<i>rigo</i>	pl. <i>rigo-n</i>	gerenuk
-ndi:	<i>c'aáma</i>	pl. <i>c'aama-ndi</i>	friend
	<i>q'áro'</i>	pl. <i>q'aro-ndi</i>	gall
-no:	<i>pee'</i>	pl. <i>pee'-no'</i>	buffalo
	<i>ákú</i>	pl. <i>ákú-nó</i>	cloth, dress
	<i>íkú</i>	pl. <i>íkú-nó</i>	fire
-nin:	<i>nyabul</i>	pl. <i>nyabul-nin</i>	chin
-mo:	<i>kedil</i>	pl. <i>kedil-m'o'</i>	gate of cattle kraal.

A number of nouns, however, derive their singular from the plural by means of a singulative suffix, which in most cases is *-ni*. These nouns denote concepts that usually occur in groups.

<i>kit'é-ní</i>	pl. <i>kit'é</i>	bee
<i>hínsó-ní</i>	pl. <i>híns'ó'</i>	fly
<i>goo-to</i>	pl. <i>gób'</i>	goat.

Most names of ethnic groups are of this type, e.g.

<i>yaku-nte</i>	pl. <i>yaku</i>	Yaaku person
<i>lógráa-nta</i>	pl. <i>lógráálá</i>	Lograla (Gwaso) person
<i>toróbó-ni</i>	pl. <i>tor'óbo</i>	Dorobo person
<i>nyési-óni</i>	pl. <i>nyési</i>	Ng'wesi person.

Changes of tone, vowels and of glottal stop are another means of nominal number distinction:

<i>c'aau</i>	pl. <i>c'ááu'</i>	feather
<i>daai</i>	pl. <i>dáái</i>	fire-stick
<i>t'a'ara</i>	pl. <i>t'á'ara'</i>	dikdik
<i>l'óúdo'</i>	pl. <i>l'ooúdo</i>	coccyx
<i>lipé'</i>	pl. <i>li'pe</i>	donkey
<i>moc'o</i>	pl. <i>múc'a'</i>	bone.

2.33. Dependent categories

Categories depending on the noun are the possessive, adjective, numeral, demonstrative, interrogative, and relative. All, except the numerals from two onwards, agree with the governing noun in gender and number.

<i>şóú t'ini'in w'ehetu té</i> (knife small one this)	this one small knife
<i>damatú t'érn wéhétú</i> (woman big one)	one big woman

<i>yíé' ke'in'ini xá'a</i> (people big these)	these big people
<i>kéd'én c'i'í céin</i> (tree my big)	my big tree
<i>damatú t'i'í t'ini'in</i> (woman my small)	my small wife.

2.331. Possessive

a. Nominal possessive

The nominal possessive follows the governing noun and is preceded by an agreement marker which is *c'í* for Masculine, *t'í* for Feminine, and *k'ei* for Plural:

<i>ai t'í yíe'</i> (house of man)	the house of the man
<i>lósóyo t'í yíe'</i> (child of man)	the child of the man
<i>kédén c'í yie'</i> (tree of man)	the tree of the man
<i>waa c'í d'ámatu</i> (cow of woman)	the woman's cow
<i>lósóyo k'ei dámatu</i> (child-pl of woman)	the children of the woman
<i>şóúno k'ei yie'</i> (knife-pl of man)	knives of the man.

b. Pronominal possessive

It follows the noun immediately and precedes all other nominal qualifiers. The pronominal possessive has an agreement prefix which is *çí-* for Masculine, *t'í-* for Feminine, and *xá-* for Plural. Singular and Plural have slightly different series of possessive pronouns which are:

	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st sg.	-í	-'í	1st pl. -ní	-'ání
2nd	-kí	-'ájí	2nd -knín	-'áknín
3rd	-sí	-'ásí	3rd -hnín	-'áhnín

Ex.				
<i>kéd'én çí-'í</i>	my tree	<i>damatu t'í-'í</i>	my wife	
<i>kéd'én çí-kí</i>	your tree	<i>damatu t'í-kí</i>	your wife	
<i>kéd'én çí-sí</i>	his tree	<i>damatu t'í-sí</i>	his wife	
<i>kéd'én çí-ní</i>	our tree	<i>damatu t'í-ní</i>	our wife	
<i>kéd'én çí-knín</i>	your(pl) tree	<i>damatu t'í-knín</i>	your(pl) wife	
<i>kéd'én çí-hnín</i>	their tree	<i>damatu t'í-hnín</i>	their wife	

<i>ké'ém'é xà-'i</i>	my trees
<i>ké'ém'é xà-'àjì</i>	your trees
<i>ké'ém'é xà-'àsi</i>	his trees
<i>ké'ém'é xà-'àni</i>	our trees
<i>ké'ém'é xà-'àknin</i>	your(pl) trees
<i>ké'ém'é xà-'àhnin</i>	their trees.

2.332. Adjective

The adjective follows the pronominal possessive and precedes all other nominal qualifiers. It has an agreement prefix which is *ci-* for Masculine, *ti-* for Feminine, and *ke-* for Plural. *ci-* and *ti-* lose their vowel if followed by another vowel.

Ex. *kéd'én c-èin* a big tree, *damatú t-èin* a big woman.

Common adjectives are:

<i>-ein</i>	pl. <i>-in'ini'</i>	big
<i>-ni'in</i>	pl. <i>nya'áini'</i>	small
<i>-t'er</i>	pl. <i>-t'ére'</i>	bad
<i>-'εko</i>	pl. <i>-'éékan</i>	good

Ex. *kéd'én ci-'εko* a good tree, *ké'émé ke-t'ére'* bad trees.

2.333. Numeral

Numerals follow the adjective and precede the demonstrative. They do not distinguish gender except for the numeral 'one' which is *wehe* or *wehet* if governed by masculine nouns and *wehetu* with feminine nouns, e.g.

kéd'én wehe(t) one tree (masc.), *damatú wehetu* one woman (femin.).

The following is said to be a complete list of Yaaku numerals. All informants claimed that counting does not go beyond twenty.

1 <i>wehe(t), wehetu</i>	11 <i>qapon η w'éhe</i>
2 <i>c'ε</i>	12 <i>qapon n c'ε</i>
3 <i>xaat</i>	13 <i>qapon η xáat</i>
4 <i>çwen'</i>	14 <i>qapon ñ çwén</i>
5 <i>xoopi</i>	15 <i>qapon η xoopi</i>
6 <i>ilé</i>	16 <i>qapon n lé</i>
7 <i>tisibo'</i>	17 <i>qapon n tisibo'</i>
8 <i>siite'</i>	18 <i>qapon n siite'</i>
9 <i>saakal</i>	19 <i>qapon n s'aakal</i>
10 <i>qapon</i>	20 <i>te'ta'</i>
	21 <i>te'ta' η w'éhe</i>

Ex. *ké'émé xoopi* five trees, *yie' qapon ñ çwén* fourteen people.

Ordinal numerals are treated as adjectives: they take the prefixes *ci-* for Masculine and *ti-* for Feminine. Apart from the numeral 'first' which is *mitehe* all ordinals are identical with the cardinal numerals.

Ex. *kéd'én ci mitehe* the first tree
kéd'én ci c'ε the second tree
kéd'én ci x'áat the third tree.

2.334. Demonstrative

Of all nominal qualifiers, demonstratives are usually placed last. There are three distinct categories:

	Masculine	Feminine	Plural	
a. Near	<i>çé</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>xa'a</i>	this
b. Far	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>sa'a</i>	that
c. Reference	<i>çuk</i>	<i>tuk</i>	<i>xa'au</i>	that (referred to earlier)

Ex. *damatú té* this woman, *damatúti sa'a* those women.

There is a nominal form of the demonstrative which is used when the governing noun is deleted. It differs from the demonstrative adjective in that the vowel of the singular form is doubled. The plural forms do not change:

	Masculine	Feminine	Plural	
a. Near	<i>çee</i>	<i>tec</i>	<i>xa'a</i>	this one
b. Far	<i>see</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>sa'a</i>	that one
c. Reference	<i>çuuk</i>	<i>tuuk</i>	<i>xa'au</i>	that one (referred to)

Ex. *çee ale'ε* this one (e.g. man) comes, *naw'áxe' tee* I see this one (e.g. woman).

2.335. Interrogative

Only one interrogative adjective has been found. It is the interrogative 'which?' and has the following gender-sensitive forms:

Masculine *c'é*, Feminine *t'é*, Plural *se'lán*.

Ex. *yie' c'é* which man?, *damatu t'é* which woman?,
damatuti se'lán which women?

2.336. Relative clause

A noun can also govern a relative clause which is introduced by a relative particle *ci* for Masculine, *ti* for Feminine, and *ke* for Plural¹¹.

¹¹ *ke* is replaced by *ke* if the following syllable has an open vowel (see 2.12 (2)).

Ex. <i>naw'ǎxe' yie' ci deeto</i>	I see a man who eats.
<i>naw'ǎxe' damatu ti xáná'à</i>	I see a woman who goes (away).
<i>naw'ǎxe' damatúti ke deélan</i>	I see women who eat.

2.34. Pronouns

The place of the noun can be taken by one of the following isolated pronouns:

1st sg.	'iíçe' ('iíçi', íí')	I
2nd	'aáčuk ('áaçu', áá)	you
3rd	ísí	he, she, it
1st pl.	n'iíni'	we
2nd	átín	you (pl)
3rd	ísín	they

These pronouns are used both as subject and object. As the finite verb of Yaaku has an obligatory expression of person (2.511), the use of isolated pronouns is, with one exception, optional:

<i>n'iíni' na-xaini nairóbi'</i>	'We went to Nairobi.
(we we-go Nairobi)	
or <i>na-xaini nairóbi'</i>	
<i>damatú a-i-wáxát 'iíçe'</i>	The woman saw me.
(woman she-me-see me)	
or <i>damatú a-i-wáxát</i>	

The use of the isolated pronoun is obligatory if it is a third person object pronoun:

<i>damatú a-wáxát ísí</i>	The woman sees him/her.
(woman she-see him)	
('iíçe') <i>na-q'ái' ísín</i>	I killed them.
((I) I-kill them)	

2.4. The adverbial phrase

It consists of an adposition and a noun. The adposition is either a preposition followed by the feminine possessive marker *ti* or a postposition. The following adpositions are used both as postpositions and prepositions:

dil in, inside, *hraqai* on, on top of, *suu* in the mid of, *dipéré* under.

Ex. <i>kédén dil</i>	or <i>dil ti k'éden</i>	in the tree
<i>ái hraqài</i>	or <i>hraqái ti ài</i>	on the house
<i>ái suù</i>	or <i>suu ti ài</i>	in the mid of the house
<i>kédén dipéré</i>	or <i>dip'ére ti k'edèn</i>	under the tree.

The adpositions *lé*¹² 'to' and *bɔɔ* 'outside' are used as prepositions only, whereas *dápa* 'at, near' occurs only as postposition:

<i>ísí axani lé tí d'ámatũ</i>	he went to the woman
'iíçe' <i>ɣxana lé tí-si</i>	I go to him
<i>bɔɔ ti ai</i>	outside the house
<i>bɔɔ ti l'aata</i>	outside the kraal
<i>ai dápa</i>	at, near the house
<i>kédén dápa</i>	at, near the tree.

Whereas the above adpositions can be called semi-nominals some of which also occur as nouns, there are other adpositions which are genuine prepositions:

'*n*' with, together with, *eh* with, by means of, *ou* from, out of.

Ex. 'iíçe' <i>nmaala 'n' ááčuk</i>	I agree with you.
(I I-agree with you)	
'iíçe' <i>n'eka ékto' eh kij'iko'</i>	I eat with a spoon.
(I I-eat food with spoon)	
'iíçe' <i>nap'ón kui eh iku</i>	I burn the thing with fire.
(I I-burn thing with fire)	
'iíçe' <i>nale'ε óú w'aa'</i>	I am coming from the cows.
(I I-come from cattle)	
<i>ísí mutei ou ai</i>	He comes out of the house.
(he come-out from house)	

eh and *ou* can be placed optionally in front of the verb:

'iíçe' <i>n-eh-'eka ékto' kij'iko'</i>	I eat with a spoon.
'iíçe' <i>na-h-pó'ón kui iku</i> ¹³	I burn the thing with fire.
<i>ísí ou-mutei ai</i>	He comes out of the house.

Both *eh* and *ou* occur in the following sentence, where *ou* is a preposition and *eh* precedes the verb:

<i>ísín a-h-ge'eno' ou sɔɔ</i> ¹³	'They are frightened of the rain.
(they they-with scared from rain)	

2.5. The verb

The Yaaku verb has the following structure:

(Neg)	Tense/	+	Subject	(Object	+	Verb	+	Subject
	Aspect		Prefix	Prefix)		Stem		Suffix

¹² This preposition is derived from the noun *lé* 'place'.

¹³ *eh* is shortened to *h* if preceded by a vowel.

Ex. *ŋ-éñé-n-éq-ón* I did not drink
 (Neg-Tense-I-drink-I)
a-ini-wáxát she sees us.
 (she-us-see-she)

2.51. Basic patterns

2.511. Personal pronouns

Whereas the isolated and possessive pronouns distinguish between six persons only (2.331; 2.34), there are more distinctions made in the verbal pronoun. The verbal pronouns of Yaaku are:

	Subject	Direct Object	Direct Object in word-initial position
1st sg.	<i>n---</i>	<i>-i---</i>	<i>ei---</i>
2nd	<i>a---t</i>	<i>-ku---</i>	<i>oku---</i>
3rd masc.	<i>(a)---</i>	<i>--- ísí</i>	<i>--- ísí</i>
fem.	<i>(a)---t</i>	<i>--- ísí</i>	<i>--- ísí</i>
1st pl.	<i>n---n</i>	<i>-ini---</i>	<i>eini---</i>
2nd	<i>a---tn</i>	<i>-kni---</i>	<i>okni---</i>
3rd	<i>(a)---n</i>	<i>--- ísín</i>	<i>--- ísín</i>
Indefinite	<i>tí---</i>		

The indirect object pronoun differs from the direct object pronoun in having a prefixed syllable *si-*:

1st sg.	<i>-sei---</i>	1st pl.	<i>-seini---</i>
2nd	<i>-suku---</i>	2nd	<i>-sukni---</i>
3rd	<i>-si--- ísí</i>	3rd	<i>-si--- ísín</i>

The form of the subject pronoun varies remarkably depending on the verb stem and the tenses.

Ex. Subject pronoun

<i>n-'éq-a</i>	I am drinking	<i>n-'éq-ón</i>	we are drinking
<i>á-'éq-ót</i>	you are drinking	<i>a-'éq-ótán</i>	you (pl.) are drinking
<i>'éq-oi</i>	he is drinking	<i>'ec-an</i>	they are drinking.
<i>'éq-oi</i>	she is drinking		

Direct object pronoun

<i>a-i-wáxát</i>	she sees me	<i>a-ini-wáxát</i>	she sees us
<i>a-ku-wáxát</i>	she sees you	<i>a-kni-wáxát</i>	she sees you (pl.)
<i>a-wáxát ísí</i>	she sees him	<i>a-wáxát ísín</i>	she sees them.

Indirect object pronoun

<i>a-sei-erek't'áa yie'</i>	you (will) send me somebody
<i>n-suku-erek't'áa yie'</i>	I send you somebody
<i>n-si-erek't'áa ísí yie'</i>	I send him somebody
<i>a-seini-erek't'áa yie'</i>	you send us somebody
<i>n-sukni-erek't'áa yie'</i>	I send you (pl.) somebody
<i>n-si-erek't'áa ísín yie'</i>	I send them somebody.

The indirect object pronoun usually functions as a benefactive, e.g. *a-i-j'úito* you throw (some- BUT *a-sei-j'úito* you throw thing) at me (something) for me.

If the object pronoun refers to the same person as the subject pronoun then the reflexive prefix *-si-* is used:

<i>na-si-w'áxe'</i>	I see myself	<i>na-si-wáxán</i>	we see ourselves
<i>a-si-w'áxát</i>	you see yourself	<i>a-si-wáxín</i>	you (pl) see yourselves
<i>a-si-wáx'é'</i>	he sees himself	<i>a-si-wáxán</i>	they see themselves.

The reflexive prefix is identical with the third person indirect object prefix. The two are distinguished in that the indirect object prefix usually implies the presence of the benefactive suffix *---'á-* (see 2.5523), cf. *n-si-j'úia* I throw it BUT *n-si-j'ú'áa* I throw for myself.

2.512. Tense and aspect

The tense/aspect system of Yaaku is divided into an indefinite and a definite aspect. They are distinguished in the following way:

a. The verbal subject pronouns are:

	Definite aspect	Indefinite aspect
1st person	<i>na-</i>	<i>n-</i>
2nd person	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>
3rd person	<i>a-</i>	<i>o</i>

b. There are different sets of verbal suffixes for the two aspects. It seems hardly possible to generalize on the shape of these suffixes as almost every verb has a set of its own. The following are examples of such sets:

Indefinite aspect	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1st sg.	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>
2nd	<i>-it</i>	<i>-u(t)</i>	<i>-ot</i>	<i>-i(t)</i>	<i>-a(t)</i>
3rd masc.	<i>-ei</i>	<i>-ui</i>	<i>-oi</i>	<i>-ei</i>	<i>-ai'</i>
fem.	<i>-it</i>	<i>-u(t)</i>	<i>-ot</i>	<i>-i(t)</i>	<i>-a(t)</i>
1st pl.	<i>-in</i>	<i>-un</i>	<i>-on</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>-an</i>
2nd	<i>-an</i>	<i>-tan</i>	<i>-olan</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>-lan</i>
3rd	<i>-can</i>	<i>-can</i>	<i>-can</i>	<i>-can</i>	<i>-an</i>

Definite aspect	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1st sg.	-o	-i	-e'	-i'	-e'
2nd	-ito	-ti	-e'	-it	-at
3rd masc.	-o	-i	-e'	-i'	-e'
fem.	-ito	-ti	-ot	-i(t)	-at
1st pl.	-ino	-in	-on	-in	-an
2nd	-ino	-tin	-otin	-in	-tin
3rd	-ino	-in	-on	-in	-an

In the definite aspect, the first person singular and the third person singular Masculine are identical, and so are the first person plural and the third person plural. Identity usually exists between the second person singular and the third person singular Feminine, too, both in the indefinite and the definite aspect.

There are six tense/aspect forms in Yaaku of which two are indefinite and four definite:

Indefinite	I	Indefinite Present	o---
aspect:	II	Future	ke---
Definite	III	Definite Present	o---
aspect:	IV	Past	aa---
	V	Past Progressive	maa---
	VI	Perfect	na---

V is probably composed of a progressive element *me-* and the past tense marker *aa-* (see 2.521).

There is a comitative feature of time associated with the indefinite/definite distinction: indefinite tenses have the feature [— PAST], whereas definite tenses and aspects have [— FUTURE].

2.5121. Affirmative tenses and aspects

I Indefinite Present

It expresses actions that take place or may take place presently or in the near future.

<i>η-waxá</i>	I see	<i>n-d'eeta</i>	I eat
<i>a-waxát</i>	you see	<i>a-d'eeti</i>	you eat
<i>waxai'</i>	he sees	<i>d'éetei</i>	he eats
<i>waxat</i>	she sees	<i>d'éèti(t)</i>	she eats
<i>η-waxan</i>	we see	<i>n-d'eetin</i>	we eat
<i>a-waxtan</i>	you (pl) see	<i>a-d'eitan</i>	you(pl) eat
<i>waxan</i>	they see	<i>d'écán</i>	they eat

<i>n-'éqa</i>	I drink
<i>á-'éqot</i>	you drink
<i>'éqoi</i>	he drinks
<i>n-'éqón</i>	we drink
<i>a-'éqótán</i>	you(pl) drink
<i>'ecan</i>	they drink.

II Future

<i>kéη-w'áxa</i>	I shall see	<i>kén-d'éeta</i>	I shall eat
<i>ká-w'áxat</i>	you will see	<i>ká-d'éeti</i>	you will eat
<i>ké-w'áxai</i>	he will see	<i>ké-d'éetei</i>	he will eat
<i>ké-w'áxa(t)</i>	she will see	<i>ké-d'éeti(t)</i>	she will eat
<i>kéη-w'áxan</i>	we shall see	<i>kén-d'éetin</i>	we shall eat
<i>ká-w'áxtan</i>	you(pl) will see	<i>ká-d'éitan</i>	you(pl) will eat
<i>ké-w'áxan</i>	they will see	<i>ké-d'écán</i>	they will eat.

III Definite Present

It is used if the speaker has no doubt that the action described takes or took place.

<i>na-w'áxe'</i>	I see	<i>na-d'eéli'</i>	I eat
<i>a-wáxát</i>	you see	<i>a-d'eéti'</i>	you eat
<i>a-w'áxe'</i>	he sees	<i>a-d'eéli'</i>	he eats
<i>a-w'áxát</i>	she sees	<i>a-d'eéli(t)'</i>	she eats
<i>na-wáxán</i>	we see	<i>na-d'eélin</i>	we eat
<i>a-waxtin</i>	you (pl) see	<i>a-d'eetin</i>	you(pl) eat
<i>a-waxan</i>	they see	<i>a-d'eetin</i>	they eat

<i>na-'éce'</i>	I drink
<i>a-'éce'</i>	you drink
<i>a-'éce'</i>	he drinks
<i>a-'éqót</i>	she drinks
<i>na-'éqon</i>	we drink
<i>a-'éqótin</i>	you(pl) drink
<i>a-'éqon</i>	they drink.

IV Past

<i>aáná-wáxe'</i>	I saw	<i>aáná-d'eéli'</i>	I ate
<i>aa-wáxát</i>	you saw	<i>aa-d'eéti'</i>	you ate
<i>aa-wáxe'</i>	he saw	<i>aa-d'eéli'</i>	he ate
<i>aa-wáxát</i>	she saw	<i>aa-d'eéti'</i>	she ate
<i>aáná-wáxan</i>	we saw	<i>aáná-d'eélin</i>	we ate
<i>aa-wáxtin</i>	you(pl) saw	<i>aa-d'eélin</i>	you(pl) ate
<i>aa-wáxan</i>	they saw	<i>aa-d'eélin</i>	they ate

<i>aáná-'éce'</i>	I drank
<i>aa-'éce'</i>	you drank
<i>aa-'éce'</i>	he drank
<i>aa-'éqót</i>	she drank
<i>aáná-'éqón</i>	we drank
<i>aa-'éqotín</i>	you(pl) drank
<i>aa-'éqon</i>	they drank

V Past Progressive

<i>mínda-w'áxe'</i>	I was seeing	<i>min'aa-d'eéti'</i>	I was eating
<i>mádá-w'áxat</i>	you were seeing	<i>maá-deéti</i>	you were eating
<i>mádá-w'áxe'</i>	he was seeing	<i>maá-deeti</i>	he was eating
<i>mádá-w'áxát</i>	she was seeing	<i>min'áa-deétin</i>	we were eating
<i>mínda-w'áxàn</i>	we were seeing	<i>máá-d'eetin</i>	you(pl) were eating
<i>mádá-w'axtin</i>	you(pl) were seeing		
<i>mádá-w'axan</i>	they were seeing	<i>máá-d'eetin</i>	they were eating.

VI Perfect

<i>náa-wáxe'</i>	I have seen	<i>náa-d'eéti'</i>	I have eaten
<i>na-wáxá(t)</i>	you have seen	<i>ná-d'eéti</i>	you have eaten
<i>ná-wáxe'</i>	he has seen	<i>ná-d'eéti'</i>	he has eaten
<i>ná-wáxát</i>	she has seen	<i>ná-d'eéti</i>	she has eaten
<i>náa-wáxán</i>	we have seen	<i>náa-d'eétin</i>	we have eaten
<i>ná-wáxtin</i>	you(pl) have seen	<i>ná-d'eétin</i>	you(pl) have eaten
<i>ná-wáxan</i>	they have seen	<i>ná-d'eetin</i>	they have eaten.

2.5122. Negative tenses and aspects

The negative marker is *ne-* for all tenses and aspects except the Perfect which has *n'ala*.

Indefinite and definite aspects are again distinguished by means of verbal subject prefixes and suffixes. The prefixes are the same as for the affirmative tenses and aspects. But there are different sets of suffixes which seem to be identical for most, if not all, verbs. They are:

	Indefinite aspect	Definite aspect
1st sg.	---e	---n
2nd	---(t)e	---n
3rd masc.	---e	---n
fem.	---(t)e	---n
1st pl.	---ni	---nen
2nd	---ten	---nen
3rd	---en	---nen

There are few distinctions of person in these suffixes. Only in the plural of the indefinite aspect is person regularly distinguished. The definite aspect is characterized by the presence of a consonant *n* which is preceded, and sometimes also followed, by a vowel. The quality of these vowels is probably predictable from the shape of the verb root, but the examples available are too few to allow for a generalization.

There are fewer negative tenses and aspects than affirmative. Those are:

Indefinite aspect:	I Indefinite Present	<i>σ---</i>
	II Definite Present	<i>ne---</i>
	III Past	<i>a---</i>
	IV Perfect	<i>σ---</i>

The vowel *e* of both the negative marker *ne-* and the Definite Present marker *ne-* is replaced by *a* if the following verbal prefix contains *a*.

I Indefinite Present

<i>nen-waxe</i>	I do not see	<i>nen-ecé</i>	I do not drink
<i>na-waxe</i>	you do not see	<i>na-eqote</i>	you do not drink
<i>ne-waxe</i>	he, she does not see	<i>ne-ecé</i>	he does not drink
<i>nen-waxni</i>	we do not see	<i>ne-eqote</i>	she does not drink
<i>na-waxten</i>	you(pl) do not see	<i>nen-eqoni</i>	we do not drink
<i>ne-waxen</i>	they do not see	<i>na-eqoten</i>	you(pl) do not drink
		<i>ne-ecen</i>	they do not drink.

II Definite Present

<i>nenen-wáxàn</i>	I do not see
<i>nána-wáxàn</i>	you do not see
<i>nene-wáxàn</i>	he, she does not see
<i>nenen-wáxnèn</i>	we do not see
<i>nána-wáxnèn</i>	you(pl) do not see
<i>nene-wáxnèn</i>	they do not see
<i>nenen-éqòn</i>	I do not drink
<i>nána-éqòn</i>	you do not drink
<i>nene-éqòn</i>	he, she does not drink
<i>nenen-éqónen</i>	we do not drink
<i>nána-éqónen</i>	you(pl) do not drink
<i>nene-éqónen</i>	they do not drink.

III Past

<i>ɣááná-wáxàn</i>	I did not see
<i>ɣáa-wáxàn</i>	you did not see
<i>ɣáa-wáxàn</i>	he, she did not see
<i>ɣááná-wáxnèn</i>	we did not see
<i>ɣáa-wáxnèn</i>	you(pl) did not see
<i>ɣáa-wáxnèn</i>	they did not see.

IV Perfect

<i>n'ala-waxan</i>	I have not seen
<i>n'ala-waxan</i>	you have not seen
<i>n'ala-waxan</i>	he, she has not seen
<i>n'ala-w'áxnèn</i>	we have not seen
<i>n'ala-w'áxnèn</i>	you(pl) have not seen
<i>n'ala-w'áxnèn</i>	they have not seen.

If different persons are to be distinguished, then the isolated pronouns are prefixed, e.g.

<i>'iíçe' n'ala-égon</i>	I have not drunk
<i>ísi n'ala-waxan</i>	he, she has not seen.

2.513. Imperative

The imperative form of the second person singular is usually identical with that of the verb stem. In some cases, however, a vowel *-i* is suffixed:

<i>-deet-</i>	to eat	:	<i>deet</i>	eat!
<i>-eq-</i>	to drink	:	<i>éq</i>	drink!
<i>-le'ε-</i>	to come	:	<i>lé'ε</i>	come!
but: <i>-xan-</i>	to go	:	<i>xán-i</i>	go!
<i>-ek¹⁴</i>	to eat	:	<i>ec-i</i>	eat!

The second person plural imperative is derived from this form by means of an ending *-o*, or *-n* if the singular ends in *-i*:

<i>deet-o</i>	eat(pl)!	<i>xání-n</i>	go(pl)!
<i>éq-o</i>	drink(pl)!	<i>eci-n</i>	eat(pl)!

The verb *-le'ε-* has, together with a number of other verbs, an irregular plural: *lé'ε* come(pl)!

There is a first person plural imperative which differs from the second person plural form only in having a prefix *n-*:

¹⁴ *-ek-* differs from the synonymous verb *-deet-* in that it requires an obligatory object.

<i>n-deet-o</i>	let us eat!
<i>n-'éq-o</i>	let us drink!
<i>n-ec-in¹⁴</i>	... let us eat!

2.52. *me-* and *ke-*

If the verb is preceded by constituents other than the subject, then it takes a prefix *me-* or *ke-*. Such pre-verbal constituents may be conjunctions, interrogative words, or object nouns.

The vowel of these prefixes may become *ε*, *a*, *i*, or disappear altogether, depending on the phonological environment.

2.521. *me-*

The presence of *me-* usually implies a progressive action. *me-* is obligatorily used when the sentence is introduced by either *kémó* 'why?' or *nte* '(at the time) when'.

<i>kémó (ísi) me-le'ε</i>	why is he coming?
<i>nte mi-n-le'ε</i>	when I am coming
<i>nte m-a-le'ε-to</i>	when you are coming
<i>nte me-le'ε</i>	when he is coming
<i>nte me-le'ε-to</i>	when she is coming
<i>nte mi-n-le'ε-no</i>	when we are coming
<i>nte m-a-le'ε-tíno'</i>	when you (pl) are coming
<i>nte me-le'ε-no'</i>	when they are coming.

Past <i>kémó (ísi) me-ε-le'ε</i>	Why was he coming?
<i>nte me-ε-n-le'ε</i>	when I was coming
<i>nte m-a-a-le'ε-to</i>	when you were coming
<i>nte me-ε le'ε</i>	when he was coming
<i>nte me-ε-le'ε-to</i>	when she was coming
<i>nte me-ε-n-le'ε-no</i>	when we were coming
<i>nte m-a-a-le'ε-tíno'</i>	when you (pl) were coming
<i>nte me-ε le'ε-no'</i>	when they were coming.

The Past marker *aa-* seems to be reduced to *-ε¹⁵*.

Perfect <i>kémó (ísi) me-ne-le'ε</i>	Why has he been coming?
<i>nte me-ne-n-le'ε</i>	when I have been coming
<i>nte ma-n-a-le'ε-to</i>	when you have been coming
<i>nte me-ne-le'ε</i>	when he has been coming
<i>nte me-ne-le'ε-to</i>	when she has been coming

¹⁵ *me-* does, however, also occur with the full form of the Past in the Past Progressive (see 2.512.).

<i>nle me-ne-n-le'ε-no</i>	when we have been coming
<i>nle ma-n-a-le'ε-tino'</i>	when you(pl) have been coming
<i>nle me-ne-le'ε-no'</i>	when they have been coming.

The verbal subject prefixes show that all tenses and aspects are in the indefinite aspect. Apart from these three there do not seem to exist other tenses or aspects.

Instead of being prefixed to the verb, *me-* can also introduce a subordinate clause:

<i>n'ini' na-xaini nairobi' me isin le'eno</i>	(we we-go Nairobi me they come)
We go to Nairobi while they are coming.	
<i>n'ini' na-xaini nairobi' ma 'aáčuk d'eéti(t)</i>	(we we-go Nairobi me you eat)
We go to Nairobi while you are eating.	

2.522. *ke-*

ke- is used i.a. if interrogative words like *iyó* 'who?', *(di)nyoh* 'what?' and *selé* 'where?' occur, or if the object obligatorily precedes the verb.

<i>iyó ka-a-lé'ε</i>	Who was coming?
<i>isi dinyoh ka-a-wax</i>	What did he see?
<i>isi selé ka-a-xanye'</i>	Where did he go?
<i>isi itoria ká-a-'ik damatúti</i>	He ruled over women.
(he rule he-made women)	

The *ke-* form seems to be used with all tenses and aspects except the Future, which itself has a prefix *ke-*.

Indefinite Present

<i>sapare ké-η-kúsáá</i>	I tell lies
<i>sapare k-á-kúhtáá</i>	you tell lies
<i>sapare ké-kúsáá</i>	he tells lies
<i>sapare ké-kúhtáá</i>	she tells lies
<i>sapare ké-η-kúhnáá</i>	we tell lies
<i>sapare k-á-kúhtáno'</i>	you(pl) tell lies
<i>sapare ké-kúsáno'</i>	they tell lies.

Definite Present

<i>sapare ki-na-k'úso'</i>	I tell lies
<i>sapare k-á-k'úhto'</i>	you tell lies
<i>sapare k-á-k'úso'</i>	he tells lies
<i>sapare k-á-k'úhto'</i>	she tells lies

<i>sapareki-na-k'úhno'</i>	we tell lies
<i>sapare k-á-k'úht'ino'</i>	you(pl) tell lies
<i>sapare k-á-k'úhno'</i>	they tell lies.

Past

<i>sapare k-aá-ná-k'úso'</i>	I told lies
<i>sapare k-áá-kúhto'</i>	you told lies
<i>sapare k-áá-kúso'</i>	he told lies
<i>sapare k-áá-kúhto'</i>	she told lies
<i>sapare k-aá-ná-k'úhno'</i>	we told lies
<i>sapare k-áá-kúht'ino'</i>	you(pl) told lies
<i>sapare k-áá-kúhno'</i>	they told lies.

Past Progressive

<i>sapare ki-mi-ná-á-k'úso'</i>	I was telling lies
<i>sapare ki-má-á-k'úhto'</i>	you were telling lies
<i>sapare ki-má-á-k'úso'</i>	he was telling lies
<i>sapare ki-má-á-k'úhto'</i>	she was telling lies
<i>sapare ki-mi-ná-á-k'úhno'</i>	we were telling lies
<i>sapare ki-má-á-kúht'ino'</i>	you(pl) were telling lies
<i>sapare ki-má-á-k'úhno'</i>	they were telling lies.

Perfect

<i>sapare ki-n'á-a-k'úso'</i>	I have told lies
<i>sapare ki-ná-á-k'úhto'</i>	you have told lies
<i>sapare ki-ná-á-k'úso'</i>	he has told lies
<i>sapare ki-n'á-a-k'úhno'</i>	we have told lies
<i>sapare ki-ná-á-kúht'ino'</i>	you(pl) have told lies
<i>sapare ki-ná-á-k'úhno'</i>	they have told lies.

In the negative, *ke-* is deleted and the verb forms are indistinguishable from the other verb conjugation patterns:

<i>sapare ηé-η-kuséé</i>	I do not tell lies
<i>sapare ηé-ne-η-kúsino</i>	I do not tell lies
<i>sapare ηááná-kúsino</i>	I did not tell lies
<i>sapare n'á-lá-kúsino</i>	I have not told lies.

2.523. Narrative

A narrative is formed by placing *ke-* and the subject prefix in sentence-initial position rather than immediately in front of the verb:

<i>ke-ti le'ε</i>	and somebody came
<i>ke-n ('iíqe') xani'</i>	and I go
<i>k-a ('aáčuk) xante'</i>	and you go

<i>ke (isi) xanyi'</i>	and he goes
<i>ke (isi) xante'</i>	and she goes
<i>ke-n (n'iini') xaine'</i>	and we go
<i>k-a (átin) xantin</i>	and you(pl) go
<i>ke (isin) xanyin</i>	and they go.

2.53. 'to be' and 'to have'

2.531. 'to be'

The copula 'to be' is *ke*:

<i>kéd'én kè c'èin</i>	The tree is big.
<i>ké'ème' ke 'in'ini'</i>	The trees are big.
<i>isi ke çou</i>	It is a knife.
<i>n'iini' ke yaaku</i>	We are Yaaku.

Instead of *ke*, two series of pronoun-sensitive copula forms are optionally used, which are:

	A	B		A	B
1st sg.	<i>kon</i>	<i>kon</i>	1st pl.	<i>kon</i>	<i>konku</i>
2nd	<i>kau</i>	<i>ke</i>	2nd	<i>kau</i>	<i>kaku</i>
3rd	<i>ke</i>	<i>ke</i>	3rd	<i>ke</i>	<i>keke</i>

A is used if the copula is followed by a noun or a numeral whereas B has been found only with following adjective:

A	<i>'içe' kon yakunte</i>	I am Yaaku
	<i>'aáčuk kau yakunte</i>	you are Yaaku
	<i>isi ke yakunte</i>	he, she is Yaaku
	<i>n'iini' kon yaaku</i>	we are Yaaku
	<i>átin kau yaaku</i>	you(pl) are Yaaku
	<i>isin ke yaaku</i>	they are Yaaku.
B	<i>'içe' kónic'èin</i>	I am big
	<i>'aáčuk káu c'èin</i>	you are big
	<i>isi ké c'èin</i>	he, she is big
	<i>n'iini' konku in'ini'</i>	we are big
	<i>átin kákú in'ini'</i>	you(pl) are big
	<i>isin keke in'ini'</i>	they are big
	<i>átin káu/ké qapon</i>	you(pl) are five
	<i>'içe' kóη/ké wéhè</i>	I am one, I am alone
	<i>n'iini' konku/ke m'oóje'</i>	we are many.

The negative copula series are:

	A	B		A	B
1st sg.	<i>hón</i>	<i>hón</i>	1st pl.	<i>hón</i>	<i>hónku</i>
2nd	<i>háú</i>	<i>háú</i>	2nd	<i>háú</i>	<i>háku</i>
3rd	<i>hó</i>	<i>hó</i>	3rd	<i>hó</i>	<i>hóku</i>

<i>isi hó yie'</i>	He is not a man.
<i>'aáčuk háú c'èin</i>	You are not big.
<i>isin hóku l'ere'</i>	They are not bad.

All these forms refer to the Indefinite Present. There is one more tense and one aspect, which are Past and Perfect, respectively.

The Past is formed by adding an infix *-a-* which, depending on its environment, can become *-o-* or zero:

<i>'içe' koon l'óyo'</i>	I was a child
<i>'aáčuk kaau l'óyo'</i>	you were a child
<i>isi kee l'óyo'</i>	he was a child
<i>n'iini' koon l'óyoni</i>	we were children
<i>átin káu l'óyoni</i>	you(pl) were children
<i>isin kee l'óyoni</i>	they were children.

The Perfect is characterized by an infix *-na-* which changes to *-no-* and *-n-*, respectively, under the same conditions as the Past tense marker *-a-*:

<i>'içe' konon l'óyo'</i>	I have been a child
<i>'aáčuk kanau l'óyo'</i>	you have been a child
<i>isi kene l'óyo'</i>	he, she has been a child
<i>n'iini' konón l'óyoni</i>	we have been children
<i>átin kanáu l'óyoni</i>	you(pl) have been children
<i>isin kene l'óyoni</i>	they have been children.

All the above conjugation patterns denote the indefinite aspect only. The definite aspect is derived by adding a suffix *-u*.

Present	<i>'içe' konu l'óyoi'</i>	I am a child
	<i>'aáčuk kau l'óyoi'</i>	you are a child
	<i>isi kou l'óyoi'</i>	he is a child
	<i>n'iini' konu lóyón'ide'</i>	we are children
	<i>átin kau lóyón'ide'</i>	you(pl) are children
	<i>isin kou lóyón'ide'</i>	they are children.

Past	'iíçe' koonu l'óoyi'	I was a child
	'aáčuk kaau l'óoyi'	you were a child
	ísi koou l'óoyi'	he, she was a child.
	etc.	
Perfect	'iíçe' kononu l'óoyi'	I have been a child
	'aáčuk kanau l'óoyi'	you have been a child
	ísi konou l'óoyi'	he, she has been a child.
	etc.	

The noun following the copula has a suffix *-i* in the Singular and *-de'* in the Plural. It is not known why this obligatory suffix is used in the definite aspect.

2.532. Comparison

The comparative is formed by means of copula sentences plus an adverbial phrase which is governed by the preposition *ou* 'from':

<i>ísi ké c'én ou 'íi'</i>	He is bigger than I.
(he is big from I)	
<i>damatúti keke 'in'ini' ou l'óoyi'</i>	Women are bigger than children.
(woman-pl are big from child-pl)	
<i>kéd'én ké c'én ou ai</i>	The tree is bigger than the house.
(tree is big from house)	

Superlatives are formed by adding the intensifier *inon* 'very' to the adjective:

<i>ísi ke c'én inon</i>	He is the biggest.
(he is big very)	

2.533. 'to be somewhere'

The verb *-gwé'ε-*, preceded by the locative preposition *ou* is used in order to form the locative copula. Only Present, Past and Perfect seem to occur:

Present	<i>onu/nou gwé'ε nairóbi'</i>	I am in Nairobi
	<i>au gwé'ε(t) nairóbi'</i>	you are in Nairobi
	<i>ou gwé'ei nairóbi'</i>	he is in Nairobi
	<i>ou gwé'ε(t) nairóbi'</i>	she is in Nairobi
	<i>onu/nou gwé'en nairóbi'</i>	we are in Nairobi
	<i>au gwé'etan nairóbi'</i>	you(pl) are in Nairobi
	<i>ou gwé'en nairóbi'</i>	they are in Nairobi.

Past	<i>oon'ú gwé'ε nairóbi'</i>	I was in Nairobi
	<i>aaú gwé'ε(t) nairóbi'</i>	you were in Nairobi
	<i>'ooú gwé'ε nairóbi'</i>	he was in Nairobi
	<i>'ooú gwé'ε(t) nairóbi'</i>	she was in Nairobi.
	etc.	
Perfect	<i>onon'ú gwé'ε nairóbi'</i>	I have been in Nairobi
	<i>an'aú gwé'ε(t) nairóbi'</i>	you have been in Nairobi
	<i>on'óú gwé'εi nairóbi'</i>	he has been in Nairobi
	<i>on'óú gwé'ε(t) nairóbi'</i>	she has been in Nairobi.
	etc.	

3.534. 'to have'

'to have' is expressed by means of the verb *-lo'o* which differs from other verbs in that it does not distinguish personal suffixes. The plural suffix is for both indefinite and definite aspect *-ni*. Past and Perfect markers are *ee-* and *ene-* rather than *aa-* and *na-*, respectively.

Indefinite Present	<i>n-l'ó'o' w'aa'</i>	I have cattle
	<i>-al'ó'o' w'aa'</i>	you have cattle
	<i>l'ó'o' w'aa'</i>	he, she has cattle
	<i>n-lo'óni' w'aa'</i>	we have cattle
	<i>a-lo'óni' w'aa'</i>	you(pl) have cattle
	<i>lo'óni' w'aa'</i>	they have cattle.
Definite Present	<i>na-lo'o' w'aa'</i>	I have cattle
	<i>a-lo'o' w'aa'</i>	you have cattle
	<i>a-lo'o' w'aa'</i>	he, she has cattle
	<i>na-lo'óni' w'aa'</i>	we have cattle.
	etc.	
Past	<i>één-ló'o' w'aa'</i>	I had cattle
	<i>áá-ló'o' w'aa'</i>	you had cattle
	<i>éé-ló'o' w'aa'</i>	he, she had cattle
	<i>één-ló'óni' w'aa'</i>	we had cattle.
	etc.	
Perfect	<i>enén-ló'o' w'aa'</i>	I have had cattle
	<i>aná-ló'o' w'aa'</i>	you have had cattle
	<i>ené-ló'o' w'aa'</i>	he, she has had cattle
	<i>enén-ló'óni' w'aa'</i>	we have had cattle.

Future	<i>kén-l'ó'o' w'aa'</i>	I shall have cattle
	<i>ká-l'ó'o' w'aa'</i>	you will have cattle
	<i>ké-l'ó'o' w'aa'</i>	he, she will have cattle
	<i>kén-ló'óni' w'aa'</i>	we shall have cattle.
	etc.	

The negative of 'to have' is either formed by means of the invariable word *kélói* 'have/has not' or by the verb *-l'eel'* - which occurs only in the Indefinite Present.

<i>damatú kélói lóyoni</i>	The woman has no children.
<i>'iice' kélói w'aa'</i>	I have no cattle.
<i>n-l'eel'a w'áa'</i>	I have, had, will not have cattle
<i>a-l'eel'e w'áa'</i>	you have, had, will not have cattle
<i>t'eel'ei w'áa'</i>	he has, had, will not have cattle
<i>t'eel'e w'áa'</i>	she has, had, will not have cattle
<i>n-l'eel'in w'áa'</i>	we have, had, will not have cattle
<i>a-l'eel'án w'áa'</i>	you (pl) have, had, will not have cattle
<i>t'eel'an w'áa'</i>	they have, had, will not have cattle.

2.54. Complex verbs

If a verb governs another verb then there are two alternative constructions: either the governed verb is placed behind the governing verb in what may be called an auxiliary-infinitive construction:

<i>n-jeej-á pon</i>	I want to sleep
<i>η-xan-á pon</i>	I go to sleep.

The ending of the "infinitive" is usually zero, *-ei*, or *-ai* but other suffixes also occur:

<i>η-xana éq</i>	I go to drink
<i>η-xana jí-ei</i>	I go to throw
<i>η-xana p'áaq-ei</i>	I go to break
<i>η-xana k'úsa-ei</i>	I go for a short call
<i>η-xana w'áx-ai</i>	I go to see.

-ei and *-ai* can be optionally replaced by *-di*, e.g.

<i>η-xaná w'áx-di</i>	I go to see
<i>η-xana p'áaq-di</i>	I go to break
<i>η-xana k'úsa-di</i>	I go for a short call
<i>η-xaná q'ái-di</i>	I go to kill.

Alternatively, both verbs receive the full set of inflexional affixes and are connected by *k'ó*:

<i>n-jeej-a</i>	<i>k'ó m-pom-í</i>	I want to sleep
<i>a-jeej-it</i>	<i>ko 'á-pon-ti</i>	you want to sleep
<i>jeej-i</i>	<i>k'ó pom-i</i>	he wants to sleep
<i>jeej-it</i>	<i>k'ó pon-ti</i>	she wants to sleep
<i>n-jeej-in</i>	<i>k'ó m-poin-i</i>	we want to sleep
<i>a-jee'-lán</i>	<i>ko a-pon-tin</i>	you(pl) want to sleep
<i>jee'-an</i>	<i>ko pony-in</i>	they want to sleep.

2.55. Derivation

2.551. Verbal nouns

Nouns are derived from verbs by means of the suffix *-to'*:

<i>-xanum-</i>	to go habitually	: <i>xan'ún-to'</i>	going habitually, a walk
<i>-ek-</i>	to eat	: <i>ék-to'</i>	food
<i>-wax-</i>	to see	: <i>wáx-to'</i>	seeing, a view.

2.552. Verbal extensions

2.5521. Causative

Causatives are formed by suffixing *---s-* to the verb root:

<i>-çaq-</i>	to be full	: <i>-çaq-s-</i>	to fill
<i>-wax-</i>	to see	: <i>-wax-s-</i>	to show
<i>-deet-</i>	to eat	: <i>-dee-s-</i>	to feed (e.g. cattle)
<i>-εεk-</i>	to recover	: <i>-εεk-s-</i>	to cure. (one's health)

2.5522. Venitive

A suffix *---'á-* (*---o* in the definite aspect) is used to express that the action takes place in direction toward the speaker or the place specified by the speech context, rather than away from the speaker:

<i>-xan-</i>	to go	: <i>-xan-'á-</i>	to come (back)
<i>-pelkis-</i>	to take away	: <i>-pelkis-'á-</i>	to bring here
<i>-maat'-</i>	to sell	: <i>-maat'-'á-</i>	to buy.

2.5523. Benefactive

Exactly the same suffix *---'á-* (*---o* in the definite aspect) has the function of a benefactive case, expressing that the action is done in favour of somebody:

<i>-qai-</i>	to kill	: <i>-qai-'á-</i>	to kill for somebody
<i>-doort-</i>	to look at	: <i>-doort-'á-</i>	to look at for somebody.

2.5524. Intransitive

Sometimes there appears a suffix ---*m*- which renders a transitive verb intransitive, e.g.

-*paaq*- to break (tr.) : -*paaq-m*- to break (intr.).

2.5525. Habitual

An habitual aspect is formed by partially or totally reduplicating the verb stem. Partial reduplication can involve either the first part or the last part of the stem.

Partial reduplication

- <i>siik</i> -	to pull	:	- <i>si-sik</i> -	to pull habitually
- <i>eilis</i> -	to precede	:	- <i>eil-itis</i> -	to precede habitually
- <i>εeks</i> -	to prepare	:	- <i>ek-εeks</i> -	to prepare habitually
- <i>pom</i> -	to sleep	:	- <i>pom-am</i> -	to sleep habitually
- <i>mut</i> -	to go out	:	- <i>mut-at</i> -	to go out habitually
- <i>qat'</i> -	to cut	:	- <i>qat'-et</i> -	to cut habitually.

Total reduplication

- <i>xan</i> -	to go	:	- <i>xana-xan</i> -	to go habitually
- <i>wax</i> -	to see	:	- <i>waxa-wax</i> -	to see habitually
- <i>deet</i> -	to eat	:	- <i>deeta-deet</i> -	to eat habitually
- <i>qai</i> -	to kill	:	- <i>qai-a-qai</i> -	to kill habitually
- <i>tir</i> -	to push	:	- <i>tira-tir</i> -	to push habitually
- <i>maal</i> -	to like	:	- <i>mala-mal</i> -	to like habitually
- <i>pom</i> -	to sleep	:	- <i>poma-pom</i> -	to sleep habitually
- <i>tu'</i> -	to hit	:	- <i>tu'-tu'</i> -	to hit habitually.

Some verbs suffix an optional ---*t*- the function of which is unclear:

- <i>waxa-wax</i> -	or	- <i>waxa-wax-t</i> -	to see habitually
- <i>tira-tir</i> -	or	- <i>tira-tir-t</i> -	to push habitually
- <i>mala-mal</i> -	or	- <i>mal'a-mal-t</i> -	to like habitually.

2.6. The question

Various types of questions have been discussed in the preceding sections (2.335; 2.521; 2.522). We have seen that the interrogative adjective follows its governing noun, and that words like *kémó* 'why?', *selé* 'where?', and (*di*)*nysh* 'what?' usually precede the verb.

Sentence questions are distinguished from statements only by a rising tone and stress on the last syllable, e.g.

<i>isi ale'e</i>	he is coming	:	<i>isi ale'É</i>	is he coming?
<i>damatú ale'éto</i>	the woman	:	<i>damatú ale'ét'ó</i>	is the woman coming?

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(to be concluded)

Buchbesprechungen

Hetzron, R., *The Verbal System of Southern Agaw*. University of California Publications. Near Eastern Studies 12. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969. X + 123 S.

Seit den 80er Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts, als L. Reinisch einen beachtlichen Vorstoß zur Erforschung der sogenannten Agaw-Sprachen, einer aus eng miteinander verwandten Sprachen bestehenden Gruppe der kuschitischen Sprachen Nordost-Afrikas, unternahm, sind nur wenige weitere Beiträge auf diesem Gebiet erschienen. Und doch handelt es sich nicht nur um Sprachen eines eigentümlichen Typus, auf deren Bedeutung für die hamitischsemitische Sprachforschung bereits in den älteren, genannten, Quellen hingewiesen ist, sondern auch um die Substrate, die den in Äthiopien eingedrungenen semitischen Sprachen, vor allem dem Amharischen und dem Tigrinya, zu Grunde liegen und somit für die Äthiopisten besonders aufschlußreich sind. Es ist daher sehr zu begrüßen, daß Herr Hetzron mit modernen Methoden einen bis jetzt offensichtlich noch recht unvollkommen bekannten Teil dieser Gruppe, den südlichsten, das Awiya (ein ungeeigneter Ausdruck, den der Verfasser durch Southern Agaw, also Süd-Agaw, ersetzt), unter die Lupe nimmt und mit Erfahrungen, die auf 1965/66 in Äthiopien gemachten Feldstudien beruhen, in die vielen Ecken hineinleuchtet, die das morphologische Gebäude dieser Sprache aufweist.

Es ist in diesem Rahmen nicht möglich, die Arbeit Hetzrons in allen Einzelheiten zu würdigen. Ich möchte daher nur einige Probleme

Among the correlates of gender in proto-Bade were different demonstratives whose reflexes are seen in the GB linkers *-n-* for masculine and *-tk-* for feminine. The proto-Bade **n(V)* masculine demonstrative conditioned a change *V---> -aa-* when added to a noun ending in a vowel. The reflexes of this rule are seen in GB masculine nouns which end in a vowel when possessive pronouns are suffixed, and in WB in masculine nouns which have *-aa-* before nunation.

WB has retained the "proto-gender" for most nouns, although because of the development of nunation, the way gender is marked differs from that of proto-Bade. GB retains lexical forms for nouns much more like that for reconstructed proto-Bade, but the GB gender system has now largely been transformed into one of phonological classes, viz. nouns ending in a consonant or diphthong are masculine, nouns ending in a plain vowel are usually feminine. There are a few nouns with final vowels which are masculine, however. Most refer to body parts, so we may be observing the development of a new means of marking inalienable possession.

A special feature of WB is the development of nunation, a suffix *-n* used on most nouns when indefiniteness is to be indicated. It has been hypothesized that nunation developed from the above reconstructed definite masculine morpheme **n(V)* whose semantic functions weakened, allowing it to be extended to all nouns regardless of gender or number.

The use of nunation must be an innovation in WB rather than an ancient feature lost in other dialects. This is seen in the fact that the presence of nunation neutralizes a number of phonological distinctions found in the lexical forms of nouns in other dialects: (1) Medial in words, and hence before nunation, there is no contrast among high vowels, yet in other dialects nouns may end in *-i* or *-u*, which do contrast in word final position; moreover, nouns may end in consonants in other dialects, but in WB, such nouns show an epenthetic high vowel before nunation; hence, the presence of nunation neutralizes a potential three way contrast found in other dialects, viz. that between nouns ending in *-i*, *-u*, or a consonant. (2) A large number of masculine nouns in WB have long *-aa-* before nunation; such nouns correspond to nouns ending in any of the vowels *-i*, *-u*, or *-a* in other dialects. (3) All nouns with nunation have final high tone (or falling tone — cf. fn. 4) while the lexical final tone of nouns in other dialects may be high or low.

Attendant on nunation, then, is the neutralization of a number of distinctions found in other dialects. To contend that nunation was a proto-Bade feature would require us to assume that dialects other than WB have stripped their nouns of nunation, then supplied them with final tone and vowel distinctions which did not previously exist. Such a development is highly unlikely.

References

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Notes on the Yaaku Language (Kenya)

by Bernd Heine

(concluded)

3. Vocabulary

Abbreviations:

Maa = loanword from Maasai	pl. = Plural
Swa = loanword from Swahili	tr = transitive verb
m = Masculine	it = intransitive verb
f = Feminine	

aard-vark <i>naiçer'épan</i> pl. <i>naiçere-pani</i> f (Maa)	add <i>-siteisis-</i> (tr); Ex. <i>asiteisisit ánto'</i> 'you should add water'
aard-wolf <i>warwarsan</i> pl. <i>warwar-sani</i> f (Maa)	afraid, be — of <i>-jih-</i> (tr)
able, be — (1) <i>-kes-</i> (tr); (2) <i>-sa'a</i> (tr)	again <i>intí c'é</i>
above <i>hragai</i>	age set <i>herei</i> pl. <i>herei</i> or <i>herém'o'</i> m
abuse (1) <i>-sees-</i> (tr); (2) <i>-çuub-</i>	agree <i>-maal-</i> ; Ex. <i>nmaala n'ááçuk</i>
accompany <i>-serensis-</i> (tr)	'I agree with you'
acquire <i>-te-</i> (tr)	all <i>tuktuk</i>
Adam's apple <i>moc'o tí ke'e</i> pl. <i>muc'a' kei ke'e</i> f (= "bone of throat")	angry, be — <i>-ñc''e'nota</i>
	animal, carnivorous — <i>arapei</i> pl. <i>arab'io'</i>

animal, wild herbivorous — ' <i>hán</i> pl. 'éhnéndí	aunt (younger mother-sister) <i>néné t'ini'in</i> f (= "small mother")
animal, insectivorous — <i>parkóbó</i> pl. <i>parkoboni</i> m	awake - <i>c'ey'a-</i>
answer - <i>koons-</i> (tr)	axe <i>hékói</i> pl. <i>hékóiy'a'</i>
ant, black — (ponerinae) <i>lois'úsu'</i> pl. <i>loisusuni</i> m (Maa)	baboon <i>tit'ari</i> pl. <i>tit'ar</i> m and f
ant, driver or safari — (dory- linae) <i>t'ór'ó'te</i> pl. <i>t'ór'ó't'éi</i> f	back <i>tóló</i> pl. <i>tóló</i>
ant-bear <i>qat'úa</i> pl. <i>qatu'ani</i> f	bad - <i>t'er</i> pl. - <i>t'ére'</i> (adj)
ants, flying — <i>ye'eiy'é'èi</i> f (sg. only)	bag, honey — ' <i>eqma'</i> pl. <i>eqmány'ó'</i> f
antelope spec. (red, white but- tocks) <i>erer</i> pl. <i>erermai</i> f	bamboo <i>té'áni</i> pl. <i>t'éán</i> m (Maa)
antelope spec. (black, lives in forest) <i>mo'inyku'</i> pl. <i>moinykoni</i> f (Maa)	Bao game <i>t'otoi</i> pl. <i>t'óto'</i> f (Maa)
antelope spec. (white tail, lives in forest) <i>kiponi</i> pl. <i>kipon</i> m	barbet <i>lud'idi</i> pl. <i>ludiidioni</i> m (Maa)
arm <i>t'éké</i> pl. <i>t'éhkéi</i> m	bark of tree <i>cé'nó</i> pl. <i>cé'nén</i> f
arm, upper — <i>p'óoyu'</i> pl. <i>poymin</i> f	bark of <i>at'o</i> tree <i>sisin</i> pl. <i>sihman</i> f
armpit <i>qolq'ola'</i> pl. <i>qolqolaimo</i> f	bathe - <i>t'oqt-</i> (it)
arrive - <i>xoos-</i> (tr)	be, somewhere - <i>ou-gwe'é;</i> Ex. <i>isi</i> <i>ou-gwe'ei t'aal</i> 'he is here'
arrow <i>lax</i> pl. <i>lax</i> f	bead <i>sir'irim</i> pl. <i>siririmini</i> m
arrow (used for practising, with- out iron point) <i>makit</i> pl. <i>makit-</i> <i>nin</i> m	beans, big red — <i>n'óono</i> (no pl.) f
arrow (for shooting human be- ings) <i>kigeret</i> pl. <i>kig'ereti</i> m	beans, small, black, with white spot <i>ntorokó'</i> (no pl.) f
arrow, single-barbed — <i>kéç'éian</i> pl. <i>keçeiani</i> f	bear, children - <i>del-</i> (tr)
arrow (with oval point) <i>r'arankai</i> pl. <i>r'arankani</i> f	beard <i>múnyéi</i> pl. <i>múny'ó'</i> m (Maa)
ashes <i>hroon</i> pl. <i>hr'oómé'</i> m	bed <i>daan</i> pl. <i>da'áme'</i> m
ask - <i>luke'tit-</i> (tr)	bee <i>kit'éní</i> pl. <i>kít'é</i> m
ask for - <i>'ehsom-</i> (tr)	bee, carpenter — <i>túúni</i> pl. <i>tuun</i> m
aunt (father-sister) <i>ánáçaapa</i> f (Maa)	bee, leafcutter — <i>çombaxxi</i> pl. <i>çombaxxin'i</i> m
aunt (elder mother-sister) <i>néné</i> <i>t'étn</i> f (= "big mother")	bee-eater <i>goigui</i> pl. <i>goiguinin</i> f
	beehive gen. <i>meren</i> pl. <i>mer'ényko'</i> m
	beehive with three openings <i>nukal'ése'</i> pl. <i>nukalesini</i> f
	beehive with three openings and long endings <i>neret'áá</i> pl. <i>neret-</i> <i>t'aani</i> f

beehive, bent — <i>koh</i> pl. <i>kosen</i> m	bitter - <i>heidoo</i> pl. - <i>heid'úan</i> (adj)
beehive with small rectangular openings <i>sak'ama'</i> pl. <i>saka-</i> <i>mani</i> f	black - <i>kumpu'</i> pl. - <i>kump'é'</i> (adj)
beehive, opening of — <i>mee' ci</i> <i>meren</i> m (= "mouth of bee- hive")	blood <i>sógó, sog'o</i> (no pl.)
beehive, wood surrounding open- ing of <i>sak'ama'</i> — <i>lojote</i> pl. <i>loj'ótái</i> f	blow, to — (human beings) - <i>kusá-</i> <i>pahan</i>
beer (1) <i>s'ika'</i> pl. <i>sákmái</i> m; (2) <i>naiçu</i> f (Maa)	body (of man or animal) <i>naxap</i> pl. <i>naxap</i> m
beeswax <i>çooçoni</i> pl. <i>ç'ooço'</i> m	boil, to — (water) - <i>tuups-</i> ('ánto')
beetle (buprestidae) <i>kirnoi</i> pl. <i>k'irno'</i> m	bone <i>moc'o</i> pl. <i>múc'á'</i> f
beetle, lady bird — (coccinel- lidae) <i>il tí t'ééso'</i> pl. ' <i>illa kei</i> <i>t'ééso'</i> f (= "sun-eye")	bones between neck and skull <i>mujilai</i> pl. <i>mujilaimo</i> m
beetle (scarabaeidae, with one or two horns) <i>lomuncu</i> pl. <i>lomun-</i> <i>cuni</i> m (Maa)	bongo (1) <i>p'ooqa'</i> pl. <i>p'ooqandi</i> f; (2) <i>p'ooqa tí q'éé'</i> f (= "bongo of forest")
beetle (scarabaeidae, without horns) <i>túúni</i> pl. <i>tuun</i> m	bow <i>paxa</i> pl. <i>pax'ána'</i> f
beg, to — sbdy - <i>es-</i> (tr); Ex. <i>isi</i> <i>aieso kui</i> 'he begs me for some- thing'	boy <i>kutéi</i> pl. <i>kúcó'</i> m
beg, — for sth - <i>'ehsom-</i> behind <i>rosomai</i> (adv)	brain <i>hreehe'</i> pl. <i>hrehher</i> f
belly <i>iré</i> pl. <i>iréhm'ó'</i> m	branch <i>kól</i> pl. <i>k'ólle'</i> m
belt <i>misa'</i> pl. <i>mihnín</i> m	brass <i>qot'on</i> pl. <i>qot'óne'</i> m
bewitch - <i>der-</i> (tr)	break - <i>ny'ers-</i> (tr)
big - <i>ein</i> pl. - <i>in'ini</i> (adj)	break (trees, bones, etc.) - <i>paaq-</i> (tr)
bile <i>q'áro'</i> pl. <i>q'arondi</i> f	break (of trees, bones, etc.) - <i>paaqm-</i> (it); Ex. <i>kédén paaqmi</i> 'the tree breaks'
bird <i>légéi</i> pl. <i>lég(i)jo'</i> m	break (by striking, hitting) - <i>nyirs-</i> (tr), - <i>nyir-</i> (it); Ex. <i>isi</i> <i>a-nyirih qaa</i> 'he breaks the gourd'; <i>qáá a-ny'iri'</i> 'the gourd breaks'
bird (ploceidae family, estrildinae subfamily) <i>mantitile</i> pl. <i>manti-</i> <i>t'ilmái</i> f	break (by throwing stones, etc.) - <i>bke's-</i> (tr)
bird, small spec.s of — (gen.) <i>ýg'áiu</i> pl. <i>ýgái</i> f	breast gen. <i>édu'</i> pl. <i>édúmin</i> m
bite - <i>qau-</i> (tr)	breath <i>pahan</i> pl. <i>páhm'é'</i> m
	breathe in - <i>e's-</i> <i>nesi</i>
	breathe out - <i>kusá-</i> <i>nesi</i>
	breathe - <i>ik-</i> ' <i>éana</i> (Maa)
	bring - <i>hle'éé'</i> (tr)
	brother (same father or same mother) <i>t'ei</i> pl. <i>t'ééyo'</i> m

- buffalo** *pee'e* pl. *pee'éno'* m and f
build, to — (a house) -*tuk-* (ai)
build, to — (a wall, fence) -*wax-*
not- (tr)
bulbul (nightingale) *naunkor'ic'o'*
 pl. *naunkor'ic'ai* f
bull (1) *lain'óni* pl. *lainok* m (Maa);
 (2) *erden* pl. *'érde'* m
bunch (of grapes) *loqon* pl. *loqo-*
man f
burn -*eh-po'om-* (tr); Ex. *isi a-h-*
p'ón ai iku 'he burns the
 house with fire'
bury -*deps-* (tr); Ex. *isi ad'épih*
 'he is burying'
bushbaby *nampáaru* pl. *nam-*
p'aármai f
bustard *kúbú* pl. *kúbún* m (Maa)
butterfly *riparípinte* pl. *riparíp'ai*
 f
buttock *tuli* pl. *túl't'* m (Maa)
buy -*maat'a-*
buzzard *legei ci* 'ingai m

calf *rehe'* pl. *réhso'* m
call (1) -*qeyem-* (tr); (2) -*gei-* (tr)
camel *l'aúr* pl. *l'aurnin* m (Maa)
carry (with arms) -*seren-* (tr); Ex.
isi asérén l'óyop' 'he is carrying
 a child'
castrate *t'agelema -ik-* (Maa)
catch -*inc'am-* (tr)
caterpillar *'intoni* pl. *'into'* m
caterpillar spec., (big, white) —
lar'úkái pl. *lar'úká* m (Maa)
cattle *wáá(t)* pl. *wáá'* m and f
cave (1) *k'eebni* pl. *kebnon* f;
 (2) *k'eémní* pl. *k'eémnó'* f
centipede *kol'opá'* pl. *kolopan'i* f
chain *múnyúri* pl. *múnyúr* m

chameleon *qóçç* pl. *qóççoi* m
charcoal *t'ééhó* pl. *t'ééhái* f
chase -*ari-* (tr)
chat, cliff- *ñkil'ai'* pl. *ñkiluain'in*
 f
cheat -*seis-* (tr); Ex. *isi aiseih*
 'he cheats me'
cheek *el* pl. *elm'ó'* m
chest *çouu* pl. *çooai* f
chew -*c'aqau-* (tr)
chief *kúba'* pl. *kúb'ai'* m (Maa)
child, small — *l'óyop'* pl. *l'óyoni* f
child (who is able to walk)
 (1) *h'éle'* (pl. only); (2) *karai*
 pl. *kár'a'* f (Maa)
chin *nyabul* pl. *nyabulnin* m
choose -*doort'a-* (tr)
circle, to — (of birds) -*waar-* (it)
circumcise -*ari-* (tr)
clan *cíhérokte* pl. *herokte* m
clan, mother's — *ira'úhnói* pl.
ira'úhn'ó' m
claw *ségil* pl. *ségil'é'* m
clean -*sax-* (tr)
cliff-chat *ñkilu'ai'* pl. *ñkiluain'in* f
climb -*yaap-* (tr)
close -*deps-* (tr)
cloth *ákú* pl. *ákúnó* m
cloud, white — *ure* pl. *urendi* m
cloudless, to be — (of sky) -*çee'-*
 (it)
club *kuma* pl. *kumai* f
coccyx *l'óúdó'* pl. *l'óúdo* m
coil (bracelet) *qot'on* pl. *qot'óne'* m
cold *dehmo* pl. *dehmai* f
collect -*siteisis-* (tr)
comb *k'isilet* pl. *kisileti* f (Maa)
come (1) -*le'e* (it); (2) -*xan'a-* (it)
 cf. 'to go'
come out -*mut-* (ou)

- command** -*serensis-* (tr)
convalesce -*εεk'á-*
converse *lo'kei -ek-* cf. 'news'
cook, to — -*om- ékto'*
corpse (of a young person, ani-
 mal) *menányani* pl. *menány'a'* m
 (Maa)
corpse (of an old person, animal)
kim'áita' pl. *kimaitani* m (Maa)
coucal, white-browed — *lube* pl.
lubenen f (Maa)
cough -*qope'e* (tr)
count, to — -*lookau-*
country *té'en* pl. *té'em'ó'* f
courser, Temminck's — *kónc'óra'*
 (= pl.), *koncorai* (= sg.) f
cover -*deps-* (tr)
cow *wáá(t)* pl. *wáá'* f
crested crane *yaali* pl. *yaalini* m
crocodile *kiny'áñ* pl. *kinyaynin* m
 (Maa)
cross -*naak-* (tr); Ex. *isi anaaci'*
 'he crosses'
crow *xariaqa* pl. *xaariaq* m
cry, to — (1) -*uuh-*; (2) -*soo'-*
cultivate -*c'eh-* (tr)
curse, to — (so that the cursed
 person dies) -*çub-* (tr)
custom 'óto' pl. *ótén* f
cut -*qat'* (tr); Ex. *isi aqál'é'*
 'he is cutting'
cut in (1) -*yel'e's-* (tr) (of meat);
 (2) -*gem-* (tr) (of wood)

dance -*qeel-* (*nuu'*) (tr)
dance (1) *nuu'* pl. *nu'ai* f;
 (2) *gird'am* pl. *gird'áme* m cf.
 'play'
danger *jehmo* pl. *jehmo* f
darkness 'áún (no pl.) f

daughter *it'a'* pl. *aure'* f
dawn (before 7.00 a.m.) *púú* (no
 pl.) m
day, daytime *kúrp'é'* pl. *kurpendi*
 f
daylight *t'éésó'* f
debt *peso* pl. *pesas* f
deceive (1) -*ekeis-*; (2) -*seis-* (tr)
deed *sá'* pl. *sá'a'* (*sá'i'*)
defend -*aimá-* (tr)
descend (from tree) -*kerá-* (ou)
descend -*heek-*
descent *hec'ímú'* (no pl.) m
despise -*herid'-* (tr)
destroy -*t'aras-* (tr)
destroyed, be — -*t'arat-* (it)
dew *leei* pl. *leeim'ó'*, *leeinin* m
die (1) -*kehe*; (2) -*kup-*
difference *d'e'en* (no pl.) m
dig -*c'eh-* (tr)
dikdik *t'a'ara* pl. *t'ára'* m
dikdik, small red spec. *baxbax* pl.
baxb'áio' m; see 'suni'
diminish -*paaq-* (tr)
dirt *d'úrug* pl. *durgig* m
disaster 'óto' *tit'er* pl. *oten ket'ère'*
 f (= "bad matter")
discuss -*eom-* (tr)
disease *lu'ton* pl. *lu'ton* f
dispense with -*meá-* (tr)
divide -*kis-* (tr)
do (1) -*ik-* (tr); (2) -*sa'-* (tr)
do habitually -*saasa't-* (tr)
doctor *qaote* pl. *qauu* m
dog *kohen* pl. *kwehman* m + f
donkey *lips'* pl. *li'pe* m
door *isimee'* pl. *isimeendi* f
door of cattle *kraal kedil* pl.
kedilm'o' f
dove *puk'uri* pl. *pukur* m

- dragon fly *ye'eiy'é'ei* (no pl.) f
 draw, — water *-irpá-ánto'*
 dream, to — *-eh-c'eitita*
 dress *ákú* pl. *ákúnó* m
 dress, to — oneself *-si-deps-ákúnó*
 drink *-eq-* (tr)
 drive (cattle, car) *-heis-* (tr); Ex. *ísi ah'éi waa* 'he drives a cow'
 drunk, be — *-hrum-* (tr)
 dry *-c'ee'an* pl. *-c'ee'ání'* (adj)
 duck *qəŋqəlei* pl. *qəŋq'ólmai* m
 dung of cow *çáánu'* pl. *çánun* f
 dust *tíri* pl. *tíri* f
- eagle, crowned — *sakiri* pl. *sakirin'i* m
 eagle, tawny — *məgrə* pl. *məgrən'i* m (Maa)
 eagle, Verreaux's — *legei* ci *deékmai* pl. *legjo' kei deékmai* m
 ear *t'oq'óro* pl. *t'oq'órmái* f
 ear-drops *m'airenai* pl. *máir'éna'* m (Maa)
 ear-plug, wooden — (1) *ŋkulalé* f (Maa); (2) *kédén* ci *t'oq'óro* m (= "ear stick")
 ease, to — oneself *j'oosŋ -xan-*
 eat (1) *-d'eet-* (tr); (2) *-ek-* (tr); (3) *-emus-*
 egg (1) *bolb'ólí'* pl. *bolbol* m; (2) *mayái* (Swa)
 eland *kén'étia* pl. *kenetiani* m
 elephant *sog'ómèl* pl. *sógomeidi* m
 elephant, female — *nehé ti sog'ómèl* pl. *nehéh ké sog'ómeidi* f
 elephant, male — *sakat* pl. *sakinin* m
 emerge *-mut-ou*
 enclosure *l'aata* pl. *luaa, luat* f
- end *ah'eélétə* pl. *ahéel'inno'* f
 enemy *pórté* pl. *pórrí* m
 enter *-lox-* (tr)
 entrance *lóxdé* pl. *lóxdé* m
 equal (in length) *-xóisin, -xóis'íde'* (adj)
 equal (to) *-eeko' eh* pl. *-eékan eh* (adj)
 evening (4.00 to 6.30 p.m.) *mé'éri'* pl. *mé'éri'* f
 excrements (human) *joon(i)* pl. *jonan* m
 excrements of big animals *ç'aano'* pl. *çánón* f
 excrements of small animals, e.g. goats, sheep *kubur(i)* pl. *kuburin* m
 exhale *-kusá-nesi*
 explain (1) *-keis-* (tr); (2) *-kehsis-* (tr)
 extract, to — (teeth) *-kusá-* (tr); Ex. *ísi akuso injeni* 'he extracts a tooth'
 eye *il* pl. *íla', ílla'* f
 eyebrow *heréban* pl. *herébo'* m
- face *ilád'uk* pl. *iladúme, iladúk-mái* f
 face, part of — (between eye and ear) *c'əpə* pl. *c'əpəp* m; cf. 'temple'
 fail *-l'aras-* (tr)
 fall, to — *-eh-c'uq'á-*; Ex. *ísi ahc'úq'é'* 'he falls'
 far away *-seke'* pl. *-sek'é'de'* (adj)
 fast, to go — (1) *-erer-*; (2) *-hebi-som-*
 fat *lehen* pl. *lehéni'* m
 fat, boiled — of cow *ŋərnə* pl. *ŋ'ərnai* f (Maa)

- fat *-dee'eu'* pl. *-dee'éúde'* (adj)
 fat, be, become — *-ke'pey'*
 father, (my) — *paá(çí'í)*
 fear *-jih-* (tr)
 feather *c'ááu* pl. *c'ááu', c'ááwai* m
 fence *waxn'o'* pl. *waxnai* f
 fever *arma* pl. *armanin* m
 fierce *-seego* pl. *-s'éégan* (adj)
 figtree *ŋabóli* m (Maa)
 fight *qaiqai* f
 fill *-çaqə-* (tr)
 find *-ley-* (tr)
 finger *qópé* pl. *qópé'* m
 fingernail *ségil* pl. *ségil'é'* m
 finish *-pe's-* (tr); *-pe'a-* (it)
 fire *ikú* pl. *ikúnó* f
 fireplace *ikud'ápa* f (= "at the fire")
 fire-stick *daai* pl. *daai'* m
 firewood *ké'ém'é'* pl. (= "trees")
 firewood (small sticks) *pilc'éhen* pl. *pilc'é* m
 fiscal *koç'oor* pl. *koç'oornin* m
 fish *siŋkirri* pl. *siŋkir* m (Maa)
 flea *pédélai* pl. *pédéla* m
 flour *kurum'a* pl. *kurum'án* f (Maa)
 flourish *-qaaq-* (it)
 flower (of tree) *wá'á* pl. *wá'sé* m
 flute *saramb'íla'* pl. *sarambilani* f
 fly *hínsóní* pl. *híns'ó'* m
 flycatcher, red-winged paradise— *sidail'éekwai* pl. *sidailéekw'áni'* f
 flycatcher, paradise — *heektan* pl. *heektani* m
 flycatcher, South African black— *dondonai* pl. *dondoyaimo* m
 foam *oçób'ú'* pl. *oçóbai* f
 follow *-paqtá-* (tr)

- food *éktó'* pl. *éktái* f
 food, made of grinded meat and fat *saap* pl. *sapapi* m
 foot *dáp* pl. *dáp'í'* f
 forbid *-ai-* (tr)
 force, — sby *taaraki -ou-ik-* (tr)
 forearm *tokle'* pl. *tokl'éla'* f
 forest *booho* pl. *b'óóhai* m
 forget *-ça'nat-* (tr)
 fowl *kəks* pl. *kəkon* f
 fowl, small spec. *keresure* pl. *keresurendi* f (Maa)
 fox, bat-eared — *sir'o* pl. *sir'on* f (Maa)
 francolin *c'ertakuli* pl. *c'ertakúlái* f
 friend (1) *c'aáma'* pl. *c'aamandi* f; (2) *daari* pl. *daarindi* m + f
 friend (term used in animal fables) *apáy'éyo'* pl. *apáy'éyo'* m + f
 frighten (1) *-ge'esis-* (eh); (2) *-re'sis-* (tr)
 frightened, be — *-ge'été(eh)* (ou)
 frog *qəqənte* pl. *qəq'óntai* f
 fruit *euromi* pl. *'éúro'* m
 full, be — *-çaq-* (tr)
- gall *q'áro'* pl. *q'arondi* f
 gate of kraal *kedil* pl. *kedilm'ó'* f
 gather *-sitéisis-* (tr)
 gazelle, Grant's — *wargas* pl. *wargas'in* f (Maa)
 gazelle, Thomson's — *kəp'éra'* pl. *kəperani* f (Maa)
 genitals, male — *til'íngu* pl. *til'íngái* f
 gerbil (tatera vicina) *ŋk'ótro'* pl. *ŋkooironi* f
 gerenuk (litocranius walleri) *rigo* pl. *rigon* f

- get (1) *-tey-* (tr); (2) *te-*
 get up *-qah-*; Ex. *isi aqáh'áú* 'he
 got up'
 giraffe *çanitúgérí* pl. *çáñkérin* m
 giraffe, male — *orpei* pl. *orpeen* m
 gird, to — (of men) *-hretet-* (*aku*)
 gird, to — (of women) *-hidet-*
 (*aku*)
 girl *it'a'* pl. *áúre'* f
 give *-ise'e* (tr)
 glad, be — *-eh-c'ooq-* (it)
 glue *-t'a'pais-* (tr)
 gnaw *-axoose* (tr)
 gnu *weñk'át* pl. *iñkat'i* m (Maa)
 go *-xan-* (tr)
 go away (1) *-qah-* (*ou*); (2) *-ye't-*
 (*ou*) (it)
 go down *-heek-*
 go fast (1) *-erer-*; (2) *-hebisom-*
 go habitually *-xanum-*
 go out *-mut-*
 go together *-si-paqt-* (it); Ex. *n'iini'*
nsipaqtin nairóbi 'we shall go
 together to Nairobi'
 goat *qooto* pl. *qóó'* m + f
 goat, female (which has given
 birth) *qoo' nehe* pl. *qoo néhé* f
 (= "mother-goat")
 goat, female (which has not yet
 given birth) *supin* pl. *sup'ini* f
 goat, castrated male — *kolleh* pl.
kollehen m
 goat, young — *kurúma* pl. *kuru-*
mani m
 go-away-bird, white-bellied
qaáq'áiu pl. *qaáq'áíái* f
 god *yéccéeri'* m
 god of rain *saxo* m
 gonorrhoea *ilb'ái* pl. *ilb'áa* m (Maa)
 good *-eeko* pl. *-'éékan* (adj)
- good-bye! *áyás'ére*; *s'ére* (Maa)
 gourd, wooden — *killip* pl. *kil-*
lipin m
 gourd (calabash) *qaa* pl. *qáúna'*,
qápná' m
 grandfather (my) *aakúç'i'* m
 grandmother (1) *koó-* f; (2) *kooko*
 pl. *nihkooko* f; (3) *óókun* pl.
ookuno f
 grass *ihlemi* pl. *'ihle'* m
 grasshopper *targ'ééti* pl. *targ'ééti* f
 (Maa)
 grave *kuráréi* pl. *kurárén* f (Maa)
 great see big
 green *-qaradou'* pl. *-qard'óúde'*
 (adj)
 greet *-c'isis-* (tr)
 greetings *aic'íéi* pl. *aic'íéitin* 'how
 do you do?' (see 'to awake');
éy'óu (reply)
 grind (1) *-tou'-* (tr); (2) *-saap-*
 (tr) 'to grind to flour'
 groan, to — *igoro -ik-* (Maa)
 ground *te'en* (no pl.) f
 grow *-ey'áá* (it)
 grow fat *-ke'pey'*
 grow thin *-c'ee'*
 grudge, to — *ilapa -ik-* (Maa)
 guard, to — *torripo -ik-* (tr) (Maa);
 Ex. *isi torripo a'íci'* ai 'he is
 guarding the house'
 guide *-yehe* (tr)
 guinea fowl *c'ertakuli(h)* pl. *c'er-*
takul'ai f
 guinea fowl, vulturine — *serai'o* pl.
serai'on f
 guts *irehm'ó'* (pl.) cf. 'belly'
 guts of big herbivores (e.g. ele-
 phant, rhino, zebra, etc.) *ilgó-*
róri pl. *ilgóror* m (Maa)

- hair *risini* pl. *risin* m
 hair of tail (e.g. elephant, giraffe,
 cow) *lenywai* pl. *lenyok* m
 (Maa)
 halt *-cee'-* (it)
 hand, palm of — *kinne'* pl.
ki'nei f
 handbag, women's — *serán* pl.
serámón f
 handle *k'idoyoi* pl. *k'idoyo* m
 (Maa) cf. 'tail'
 happiness (1) *nedai* f (Maa);
 (2) *nedá'* f (Maa)
 happy, be — (1) *teyede -ik-*; (2)
yéd'á' -lo'o' (= "to have joy")
 hare *kit'ojo* pl. *kit'ojai* f (Maa)
 hartebeeste, Lichtenstein's —
kondi pl. *kondi'* m (Maa)
 hasten *-erers-* (tr)
 hate *-herid'-* (tr)
 have *-lo'o'* (tr)
 head *miteh* pl. *mihten* m
 heal *-eeks-* (tr)
 hear *-dec-*, *-dek-* (tr); Ex. *isi*
adékéi oko 'he hears words'
 heart *ic'é'é* pl. *ic'é'm'ó'* m
 heavy *-esin* pl. *-es'inne'* (adj)
 heel *kimba'* pl. *kimb'ányó'* f
 heifer *tawo* pl. *tawa* f (Maa)
 herd *-des'e* (tr)
 here *taal*
 hide (of smaller animals like
 gazelles, goats) *el* pl. *ell'e'* m
 hide gen. *hréké* pl. *hrékt'ó'* f
 hide, to — oneself *-seh-*
 hide, — somebody *-c'aq-* (tr)
 hill *qee* pl. *q'éé'* m
 hinder *-es-*, *-et-* (tr); Ex. *isi aiété*
'iíçe' 'he hinders me'
- hippo *turruk'á'* pl. *turrukani* f
 (Maa)
 hit (with stick) *-lokol-* (tr) 'to hit
 once'; *-tu'* 'to hit repeatedly'
 hit (until blood comes out) *-le's-*
 (tr)
 hoe *çémp'él'* pl. *çémpéi* m (Swa)
 hold *-inc'am-* (tr)
 hole *kéri'* pl. *ker'imma'* m
 honey gen. *s'íká'* pl. *sákmái* m
 see 'beer'
 honey, yellow — *d'íko'* (no pl.) f
 honey, purified — *el'él* pl. *el'éla'* m
 honey-badger *koiri* pl. *koir'intai* f
 honey-bag *éqma* pl. *éqmány'o'* f
 honeycomb *áç'ágnu* pl. *aç'ágnái* f
 honey-guide, greater — *ino* pl.
inondi f
 honey-guide, scaly-throated —
tik'ámpu pl. *tik'ámpai* f
 hoopoe, African — *çip'd'* pl.
çipainin m (Maa)
 horn *mailog* pl. *mailogi* f
 hornbill, crowned — *eitihe'mei*
 pl. *niheitihe'mei* f
 hornbill, ground — *muntut* pl.
muntuti m (Maa)
 hornbill, von der Decken's —
qotiqté pl. *qotiqté'ótái* f
 horse *barta* pl. *bartan* f (Maa)
 hot *-tuupo* pl. *-t'uúpan* (adj)
 house *ai*, *ái* pl. *áiyó* m
 how many? (*ke*) *-ma'ta'* (adj)
 hump *lege* pl. *leget'a'* m
 hunger *luma* pl. *lumandi* f
 hungry, be — *-l'o'o'* *luma* (= "have
 hunger")
 hunt *-saag-* (tr); *-eh-saag-* *t'oor*
 'to hunt with spear'; *-eh-saaglax*
 'to hunt with bow and arrow'

- hunting, to go** — (i.e. to look for game) *yorore-xan-*
hunting up (of game) *yorore* (no pl.) f
hunting dog *pirginte* pl. *pirig* m
hurt, — somebody *-sehsehs-* (tr)
husband *pay'an* pl. *payani* m (Maa)
hyena *se'eka* pl. *seekaim'o* m
hyrax *deeku* pl. *deekmai* f

ibis *qonqplei* pl. *qonq'olmai* m
identical *-(eh)-'eeko'* pl. *-(eh)-eekan* (adj)
ignorant, be — of *-ça'no'* (tr)
ill, be — *-lu'-* (tr), Ex. *'iice' nalú'i'* 'I am ill'
immediately *x'áútéte*
impala (antelope) *tarawet* pl. *taraw'éti* f (Maa)
imperial *nyábúl* pl. *nyábúlnín* m
incisors, lower — *nyihoi* pl. *nyiho'* m
increase (1) *-siteisis-*; (2) *təpənai'* *-ik-* (tr) (Maa)
infant *lósyo'* pl. *lósyoní* f
inform, — about *-keis-*, *-kehshis-* (tr)
inhale *-e's-* *nesi*
inherit *-te-* (tr); Ex. *isi at'ti' w'aa'* 'he inherits cattle'
injure *-sehsehs-* (tr)
insult *-s'ees-* (tr); Ex. *isi ais'eesi'* 'iice' 'he insults me'
intercourse, have sexual — (1) *-emus-* (tr); (2) *-ek-*; see 'to eat'; Ex. *isi aemusa dámatu* or *isi aeci dámatu* 'he has intercourse with the woman'
iron *senje* pl. *senjai* f
itch, feel — *-hej-*
ivory *injeni ci sog'omei* pl. *inje'* *kě sog'omeidi* (= "tooth of elephant")
jackal *barié* pl. *bariak* f (Maa)
jealous, be — *-hinas-* (tr)
jittery *-nep'éi* pl. *-nép'éide'* (adj)
jump, to — *-yaap-*; *-yapit-* 'to jump repeatedly'
jump over *-tib-* (ou)

kick *-diit-* (tr)
kill *-q'ai-* (tr)
kite, European black — *t'il'álu* pl. *t'il'álmái* f
klipspringer *p'eec'ei* pl. *p'éec'o'* m
knag *k'oo'u* pl. *k'uú'ai* f
knee (1) *loipurukuçi* pl. *loipurú-kuç* m; (2) *kono* pl. *koyai* f (Maa)
knife *çóú* pl. *ç'ouino'*, *çoun'o'* f
knot, to — something *-pe'-* (tr)
know *-qεeno'* (tr)
knowledge *deke* pl. *dehk'eimo'* f
kraal, cattle — *l'aata* pl. *lu'aata, luaa* f
kudu *kutit'ók'óro* pl. *koiket'ok'-orm'ai* f (= "thing with big ears")

lack *-as-* (tr)
lamb *kúrúma* pl. *kurumani* m
language *ókó* pl. *ókónó* m; Ex. *ókó ci yaaku* 'Yaaku language'
lark *ýg'áiu* pl. *'ýgái* f
larva of bee *hri'mon* pl. *hri'm'o'* m
laugh, to — *-qas-* (ou); Ex. *'iice' nauqasi d'ámatu* 'I laugh about the woman'
lay eggs *-jeej-* *bólbol*

- leaf (of tree)** *'eçeni* pl. *éç'i'* m
leak *-depa'ami* (tr); Ex. *killip aád'épa'ami 'ánto'* 'the gourd lost water'
leave, to — *-qah* (ou)
leave, to — somebody *-kihm-* (tr)
ledge *k'irte* pl. *k'irtai* f
left hand *t'eke ci oqoinin* (= "arm of women")
leg *míjí* pl. *míjnén* f
leopard *çe'pen* pl. *ç'é'pe'* m + f
liana *ke'ke'* pl. *ke'k'éi'* f
lick *-ent'-* (tr)
lid for closing beehive *imni* pl. *'imno'* f
lid, wooden — of gourd *ino* pl. *inondi* m
lid, leather — (of quivers, snuff boxes, etc.) *xaate* pl. *x'aatai* f
lie (n) *sapare* pl. *sapariáa* f
lie, to tell — (1) *sapare -teleeli*; (2) *sapare -kus'a-*
lie down *-suntit-*
lightning *kiwayata* pl. *kiwayat* f
like, to — *-maal-* (tr)
limping *-p'aaqa'* pl. *-paaq'ándi* (adj)
lion *sunqai* pl. *sunq'aímo'* m
lip *n'óót'o* pl. *n'ót'él'* f
listen *-dekeset-* (tr)
little (1) *-dein* pl. *-d'éini'* (adj); (2) *-ni'in* pl. *-nya'áini'* (adj)
live, to — *-ge's,* *-gwe's*
liver *ahman* pl. *ahm'ánin* f
lizard *b'ósqótan* pl. *bósqótaimo* m
load *sitei* pl. *sit'éa'* m
locusts *'ámáten* (no pl.) m; Ex. *'ámáten címok* 'many locusts'
loin *móx'ó'* pl. *moxóndi* m
lonely, be — *liyo'* *-tei* (Maa)

long *-naad'úi'* pl. *-naad'úide'* (adj)
long ago (1) *hraak, hrag*; (2) *áp'á* (Maa)
look at *-doort-* (tr)
lost, get — (of human beings) *-peel-* (ou); Ex. *'iice' naupe'eeli' daar* 'I got lost on the road'
lost, get — (of animals) *-me'e* (ou)
louse *laçiyoi* pl. *l'açe* f (Maa)
lungs *busab'usi'* pl. *busabus* m

maggot *korçjei* pl. *kor'çj* m
maggot (occurring in rivers) *maasu* pl. *m'aásai* m
maize *ilpáéki* pl. *ilpá'ék* m (Maa)
malaria *tuupon* (no pl.) m
man (male) *məççi,* *məççi* pl. *maççio* m
man, old — *hroh* pl. *hrohmin* m
many *-mok* pl. *-m'ooje'* (adj)
marmot, big spec. — *çurgupe'i* *çurgup* m
marmot, small spec. — *kiç'ou* pl. *kiç'ou'* m
marrow *ç'é'én* pl. *çó'm'é'* m
marry *eyamá -ik-* (Maa)
Masai *çipeit'é* pl. *çípéi* m
matter *'óto'* pl. *ótén* f
meat *y'é'ei* pl. *y'á'áú'* f
meat (from hump) *çox* pl. *çoxe'* m
medicine *kédèn* pl. *ké'm'é'*, *ké'm'é'* m; cf. 'tree'
meet *-sitsin* (it)
meeting, public — *eei* pl. *ééy'é'* m
mention *-qei-* (tr)
milk *-deeks-* (tr)
milk *ata'*
mistake, make a — *-he'pses-* (tr)
money *rupiya'* pl. *rupiyani* f

- mongoose, black tipped and lion-tailed *simenkor* pl. *simenkori* m (Maa)
- mongoose, white-tailed — *pilles* pl. *pillesnen* f
- monkey gen. *tit'ari* pl. *tit'ar* m
- monkey, colobus — *k'orxi* pl. *k'orxi* m
- monkey, vervet — *d'e'ere* pl. *d'i'tre* m
- month *l'ee'* pl. *l'ee'in* m
- moon *l'ee'* m
- moon, full — *l'ee' ci gorgorsi'* m
- morning (6.00—9.00 a.m.) *puu* pl. *puuhnin* m
- mosquito *hinsoni* pl. *hins'c'* m; cf. 'fly'
- mother *neene* pl. *neene* f
- mother (other than one's own) *neheh* pl. *nihn'éhé* f
- mother (of animals) *neheh* pl. *neheh* f
- mountain *qee* pl. *q'ée'* m
- mouse *peipei* pl. *peipeinin* m
- mousebird *kás'óro* pl. *kasoron'i* m (Maa)
- mouth *mee'* pl. *mé'e* m
- much *mok*
- mud *sórdó* pl. *s'órdai* f; cf. 'swamp'
- mushroom *hosen* pl. *qohman* f
- name *d'ii'* pl. *dic'e'* m
- nape of neck *pidín* pl. *pidín* f (Maa)
- navel *hénd'éro* pl. *hend'órmái* f
- neck *tóc'óno* pl. *tóc'ónén* f
- needle *iri'* pl. *irim'á'* m
- news *lók'e'* pl. *lókéi* m
- nice *-eeko* pl. *-eékan* (adj)
- night *áún* (no pl.) f
- nightjar *hraapáq'áinu* pl. *hraapa-qáínái* f
- nighttime *'áún* f
- no *η'inin*
- noise *ailemilém* m (Maa)
- nose *n'úka'* pl. *nuk'áco'* m
- notch *-gem-* (tr)
- notch (n) *qat'ó* m
- now *x'áútéte*
- nurse *-lu'sis-* (tr)
- ocre, red — *hreko'* pl. *hrék'óí* m (Maa)
- old *-sirgin* pl. *-sir'ágde'* (adj)
- old (of male persons) *-hrohi'* pl. *-hrohmin* (adj)
- open *pa'tai*
- open (1) *-qaaq-* (tr); (2) *-pu'-* (tr)
- order *-serensis-* (tr)
- oriole *'oolsan* pl. *ools'áni'* m
- oryx *kep'ósorog* pl. *kep'osorogi* m
- ostrich *sídái* pl. *sídá'* f
- overflow, to — *-ker* (eh)
- owl *lukuk* pl. *lukuknin* f
- owned by somebody *-p'oor* pl. *-p'oor* (adj)
- owner *c'illo'* pl. *kiló'n'é'* m
- ox *hórpá* pl. *hórp'á'* m
- oxpecker *lari'ai* pl. *lari'a* m (Maa)
- pack up *-serentit-* (tr)
- pain *-sehsehe* (tr)
- palate *denke* pl. *denkéhm'ó'* m
- palm of hand *kinne'* pl. *ki'nei* f
- palm tree *parw'ái* pl. *parw'á* m (Maa)
- part, to — *-ye'ta óú íla* (= "to go away from eye")

- partridge, stone — *x'aaru* pl. *x'aarmai* f
- pass *-seur-* (tr); Ex. *isi as'éuréú ai* 'he passes the house'
- pasture *'ihle'* (pl.)
- path *daar* pl. *d'aári'* m
- pay *-koot-* (tr)
- peel *-cee's* (tr); cf. 'to be cloudless'
- peep at *-yo'yo'-* (ou); Ex. *'içe' nouyo'yo'a isi* 'I peep at him'
- peg *c'ehmon* pl. *c'éhm'ó'* m
- pelvic bones *korna'* pl. *kornány'ó'* m
- penis *xoxorm'óro* pl. *xoxorm'órái* m
- person *yie'* pl. *yie'* m
- phlegm *arma* pl. *arm'ánin* m
- pick up *-soks-* (tr)
- pierce *-tek(e)l-* (tr); Ex. *isi atékél t'ók'óro* 'he pierces his ear'
- pig, bush — *goie* pl. *goio'* m
- pigeon *púkúri* pl. *pukur* m
- pigeon, rock — *laiso* pl. *nihlaiso* f
- pinch *-gun'us-* (tr)
- place *lé* pl. *lénén, lén* f
- plain *hoyata* pl. *hoyat* f (Maa)
- plant (caesalpinia trothae) *gir-g'iri'* pl. *girgirini* m
- plant, calabash — *qat'am'ihte* pl. *qat'amíhtái* f
- plant (euphorbia candelabra) *çengeriçu* pl. *çengeriç* f
- plant (euphorbia kibweziensis) *emen* pl. *'émno'* m
- plant, aloe (aloe ciliaris) *pórsioç* pl. *pórsioçnen* m
- plant (aneilema aequinoctiale) *naititíyai* pl. *naititíya* f
- plant (kigelia aethiopica) *tá-x'áidin* pl. *tax'aide'* m
- plant (aloe oryheidensis) *erji* pl. *'érji'* m
- plant (cassia didymobotrya) *sen'éto'* pl. *sen'éto'* m (Maa)
- plant, to — *-ke'e* (tr)
- plaster *-çaans-* (tr)
- play (or dance) *gird'am* pl. *gird'áme* m
- play, to — *-kwe'es-* (eh); Ex. *isi ahkwe'esi totoi* 'he is playing the bao game'
- plover, three-banded — *h'g'áiu* pl. *'h'g'ái* f
- pluck, to — (fruit) *-kusá-* (éur'o')
- plug *-deps-* (tr)
- poison *mor'íjóí* pl. *morijoimo* m
- pole *loomi* pl. *lóm* m (Maa)
- poor person *mísik'i* pl. *mísikino* m + f (Swa ?)
- porcupine *lehpú* pl. *lehpai* f
- possess *-lo'o'* (tr)
- post, wooden — (in a house) *tirtan* pl. *tirt'áné'* f
- pot (of clay) *duuru* pl. *durúmá'* f
- potto (peridicticus potto) *deehr* pl. *d'eehri'* m
- pound *-tuu'-* (tr)
- pour in (1) *-poq-* (ou); (2) *-wak-* (ou)
- pray *-is-* (tr); Ex. *ih* 'pray!'
- precede *-eitis-* (tr)
- precipice *h'éero'* pl. *héro'* f
- pregnant *-r'ausi'* pl. *-raus'ide'* (adj)
- prepare *-esks-* (tr)
- prevent *-es-* (tr)
- puffadder *turüpa'* pl. *turupani* f
- pull *-siik-* (tr)
- pull out *-gu'á-* (tr)

punish (by striking with stick)	repeat, to — - <i>ec'</i> - (<i>ou</i>)
<i>schaks-</i> (tr)	rest, to — - <i>sel-</i>
purse <i>-ari-</i> (tr)	return (1) - <i>ec'</i> - (<i>it</i>); (2) - <i>e's'á-</i> (tr)
push <i>-tiir-</i> (tr)	'to return something'
put down <i>-ponsis-</i> (tr)	rhinoceros ' <i>orɛ'</i> pl. <i>orɛ'en</i> m
put on clothes <i>-sideps- aku</i>	rhinoceros, female — <i>s'ácó</i> pl.
put out fire <i>-qai- iku</i> (= "to kill fire")	<i>s'ácónin</i> f
put somewhere <i>-wak-</i> (<i>ou</i>) (tr)	rhinoceros, male — <i>puria'</i> pl.
put up <i>-kes'e</i> (tr)	<i>puria'in</i> m
quail <i>gél'emi</i> pl. <i>gelemini</i> m (Maa)	rib <i>balan</i> pl. <i>balana</i> f
quail, button — <i>ng'áíu</i> pl. ' <i>ngái</i> f	rich person (1) <i>laimiri</i> pl. <i>laimer</i>
quarrel, to — <i>-hetmin</i> (<i>n</i>)	m; (2) <i>karsis</i> pl. <i>karsisi'</i> m
quiet, be — <i>-qap-</i>	(Maa)
quill <i>karar'ái</i> pl. <i>karara</i> f (Maa)	right hand <i>t'eke cí máqaió</i>
quiver <i>hrɔɔx</i> pl. <i>hr'oxon</i> f	(= "arm of men")
	ripen <i>-het-</i>
rain <i>sɔɔɔ</i> pl. <i>sɔɔɔɔ</i> m	river <i>nəqɔi</i> pl. <i>nəqɔiyá'</i> m
rainworm <i>turmomóqónte</i> pl. <i>turmo-</i>	road <i>daar</i> pl. <i>d'aári'</i> m
<i>moqóntái</i> f	roast, to — (meat) - <i>po'om-</i>
rat, Mole — <i>loikojo'</i> pl. <i>loikojon'i</i>	(<i>y'á'au'</i>)
m (Maa)	robber <i>çilinte</i> pl. <i>çilin</i> m
rat, thicket or rock — <i>gusinji</i> pl.	rock (big) <i>h'éérɔ'</i> pl. <i>h'éérɔr</i> f
<i>gusinji</i> m	rock, flat — <i>lu'te</i> pl. <i>lu'tendi</i> f
rat spec. (very small) <i>k'oíró'</i> pl.	root <i>tanái</i> pl. <i>tána</i> f
<i>koironi</i> f	rope (twisted) <i>anyu</i> pl. <i>any'ú'</i> f
raw (unripe) <i>ké''éé'</i> (adj, in-	rope, made of bark <i>hece</i> pl. <i>hec'e'</i>
variable)	m
razor <i>héérɔ'</i> pl. <i>héérɔr</i> f	rope, made of skin <i>misa'</i> pl.
reach <i>-xɔɔs-</i> (tr)	<i>mihnin</i> m
receive <i>-inc'am-</i> (tr)	rot, to — <i>-kup-</i>
recover (one's health) <i>-ɛek'á-</i> (tr)	round <i>-gorgorsi'</i> pl. <i>-gorgors'ide'</i>
red <i>-lwe'en</i> pl. <i>-lwe'éní'</i> (adj)	(adj)
refuse <i>-naq-</i> (tr)	rub <i>-suugs-</i> (tr)
remember <i>-teá-</i> (<i>eh</i>); Ex. <i>nahteó</i>	rule (n) <i>kitoria</i> (no pl.) f (Maa)
<i>óto</i> 'I remember the matter'	run (away) <i>-re'e</i> (<i>it</i>); Ex. <i>ísí</i>
remnants of meat <i>ilput'óti</i> pl.	<i>are'e l'ónugwe'e</i> 'he runs to
<i>ilput'ót</i> m	where I live'
remove (1) <i>-soks-</i> (tr); (2) <i>-tigins'-</i>	saliva <i>endo</i> pl. <i>end'ohmen</i> f
(tr)	salt (bought in shops) <i>c'úmbi</i> (Swa)

salt (taken from the soil) <i>bol-</i>	shower <i>kakwai</i> f (Maa)
<i>y'éí</i> pl. <i>b'ólyó</i> (Maa)	shrike <i>koç'oor</i> pl. <i>koç'oornin</i> m
salt, soda — <i>makat</i> pl. <i>makatí</i> f	shrike, bush — <i>ladókáçi'</i> pl.
(Maa)	<i>ladókaçinin</i> m
sand (1) <i>sinyai</i> m (Maa); (2)	shut <i>-deps-</i> (tr)
<i>tehei</i> (no pl.) f	sick, be — <i>-qai-</i> (<i>le</i>) (<i>it</i>)
sandal <i>nam'úke'</i> pl. <i>nam'úka'</i> f	sickness <i>lu'ton</i> pl. <i>lu'ton</i> f; deadly
(Maa)	sickness: <i>kehna'</i> pl. <i>kehna'</i> f
satisfied, be — with <i>-puur-</i> (tr)	side <i>kaaro'</i> pl. <i>kaaro'</i> f
saved, be — <i>-mutei</i>	sift <i>-t'ɔɔb-</i> (tr)
scar <i>k'iporoi</i> pl. <i>k'iporo</i> f	silent, be — <i>-qap-</i>
scorch <i>-çeh-</i> (tr)	similar <i>-d'é'en</i> (adj, only pl.)
scratch <i>-xaat-</i> (tr)	sinew (of arm, leg) <i>t'eebe</i> pl.
search <i>-doortá-</i> (tr)	<i>t'eeb'éb</i> f
see <i>-wax-</i> (tr)	sinew (of neck) <i>morji'</i> pl. <i>morjei</i> f
seize <i>-inc'am-</i> (tr)	sing, to — <i>-qeel-</i> (<i>nuu'</i>)
sell <i>-maat'-</i> (tr)	single (somebody having neither
send <i>-erek-</i> (tr)	parents nor spouse) <i>-toopon</i> pl.
serval (1) <i>warwars'an</i> pl. <i>war-</i>	<i>-toop'óne'</i> (adj)
<i>wars'áne</i> m; (2) <i>barie</i> pl. <i>bariak</i>	sisal <i>'alko</i> pl. <i>'álko'</i> m
f (Maa)	sister <i>t'ou</i> pl. <i>t'ouyo'</i> f
sew <i>-girgir-</i> (tr)	sit, to — (on a stool) <i>-kopehm-</i>
shadow <i>óm'ó'</i> pl. <i>omondi</i> m	(<i>ou l'úrika'</i>)
shame <i>dau</i> (no pl.) m; Ex. <i>damatū</i>	skewer <i>jipet</i> pl. <i>jipéta'</i> m (Maa)
<i>d'au lo'o'</i> 'the woman is	skin <i>hreke</i> pl. <i>hrékt'ó'</i> f
ashamed' ('has shame')	skin (of big game like elephant,
shank <i>xɔc'ot</i> pl. <i>xɔc'onen</i> f	giraffe etc.) <i>qomo</i> pl. <i>qomondi</i> m
share (with) <i>-kis-</i> (<i>ní</i>) (tr)	skull <i>muc'o ti mitch</i> f (= "bone of
shave <i>-kus-</i> (tr)	head")
sheep <i>apur</i> pl. <i>apurin</i> m + f	sky, blue of — <i>oromoc'o</i> pl. <i>oro-</i>
shelter, to — (oneself) <i>-t'uq-</i> (<i>eh</i>)	<i>m'óc'ái</i> f
shield <i>lɔŋ'ɔ'</i> pl. <i>lɔŋɔndi</i> f	slaughter <i>-saq-</i> (tr)
shift <i>-pelk-</i> (<i>it</i>); <i>-pelkis-</i> (tr)	sleep <i>-pom-</i> (<i>it</i>)
shoe <i>nam'úke'</i> pl. <i>nam'úka'</i> f	slowly <i>ul'úme'</i>
(Maa)	small (1) <i>-dein</i> pl. <i>-d'éini'</i> (adj);
short <i>-het'o'</i> pl. <i>-heil'oq'áide'</i> (adj)	(2) <i>-ni'in</i> pl. <i>-nya'áini'</i> (adj)
shoot (with bow, spear) <i>-irqat-</i> (tr)	smell <i>-kelset-</i> (tr)
shoulder <i>kehpen</i> pl. <i>kehp'é'</i> m	smoke <i>ise</i> pl. <i>ises, isehnen</i> m
shout, to — <i>-uuh-</i>	snail <i>c'ɔɔc'e</i> pl. <i>c'ɔɔc'e'</i> m
show <i>-waxsis-</i> (tr); cf. 'to see'	snail-shell <i>çuyei</i> pl. <i>çuyeinin</i> m

- snake *mərɔɔ* pl. *mərɔɔ* m
sneeze, to — *nuka* -j'í'í'e'
snore, to — *-x'oors-*
snuff *naisugí* pl. *naisugái* f (Maa)
snuff-box *ketil* pl. *ket'ílmó* m
soda-salt (chewed together with tobacco) *makat* pl. *makatí* f (Maa)
soft *-arin* pl. *-ar'ínne'* (adj)
soil *tiri* f
some *-uk* (adj)
son (not yet circumcised) *kutei* pl. *kúc'ó* m
song *nuu* pl. *nu'ai* f; cf. 'dance'
sore *kipor'óí* pl. *kipor'o* f (Maa)
sore, get a — *-te-* *kipor'oi*
soul *ic'é'e* pl. *ic'é'm'o* m
soup *ç'uupi* pl. *ç'uupindi* m
speak *-oko-* (tr); Ex. 'içe' *nahókóú* *ísí* 'I talk to him'
spear *tóór* pl. *tóóri* m
spear (for elephant and rhinoceros hunt) *púnát* pl. *pún'áti* m
spider *ilkéd'i* pl. *ilkédin* m (Maa)
spill *-t'os-* (tr); Ex. *ísí at'ósi* 'ánto' 'he spilt water'; *ánto at'óhmin* 'the water is spilt'
spit, to — *-t'os-* *endo*
spoon *merçe* pl. *merç'éno* m (Maa)
spotted *-maár'ái* pl. *-maárán'idé* (adj)
spread *-ups-* (tr)
spurfowl *c'ertakuli* pl. *c'ertakúlái* f
squirrel, bush — *adasantari* pl. *adasantareni* f
squirrel, side-striped ground — *parkobo* pl. *parkoboni* m
star *hinsoni* pl. *hins'o* m; cf. 'fly, mosquito'
- starling, glossy — *sirpol'éí* pl. *sirpoleni* f
starling, red-wing and chestnut-wing — *lqóc'ó* pl. *lqóc'oni* f
stay, to — *-kopphem-*
stay, to — (for some time) *-ouhrak'á-*
stay, to — somewhere *-tin-*
stay, to — together with somebody *-si-doké'e* (it); *-doké'e* (tr)
steal *-hrepet-* (tr)
steppe *po* pl. *po'e* m
sterile *-tápés* pl. *-tapes'ide* (Maa)
sterile person, animal *tápés* pl. *tápési* f (Maa)
stick *sirpi* pl. *sirpen* f
still *-qaps-* (tr)
sting *-qau-* (tr)
stingy *-heidoo* pl. *-heid'úán* (adj)
stinky *-kupin* pl. *-kup'énne'* (adj)
stir *-x'óors-* (tr)
stomach *áci* pl. *acinen* m
stone *tépú* pl. *tépía* f
stone, small — *keheri* pl. *keh'érmái* m
stool *l'úrika* pl. *lurikau* m (Maa)
stool, used as neck-rest *ηkoçolol*, *koçolol* pl. *koçol'olmai* f
stoop, to — *-kum-*
stop *-cee-* (it); *-is-* (tr)
stork *kos'ar* pl. *kós'ári* m
story *natin'i* pl. *nat'inai* (Maa) f
straight *-suntit'o* pl. *-sunt'itán* (adj)
straight, be — *suntit-* (it)
straighten *-suntis-* (tr)
strangle *-ud-* (tr)
strength *q'asimu* (no pl.) f
stretch, to — a skin *-kee'e hreke*
string (twisted) *anyu* pl. *any'u* f

- string of bow *t'ooso* pl. *t'o'ósén* f
strong *-qasin* pl. *-qas'ínne'* (adj)
stumble, to — (in speech) *idana-ik-* (Maa)
stump (of tree) *kr'úhnu* pl. *krühnai* f
suck *-nuuk-* (tr)
suffocate *-ud-* (tr)
sun *t'ééso* f
suni (nesotragus moschatus) *bax-bax cí q'éé* pl. *baxb'áío* *kei q'éé* m
surpass *-naak-* (tr)
swallow *-goi-* (tr)
swallow *warlei* pl. *warli* m
swamp *soorɔ* pl. *s'órdai* f
swarm of bees *mu* pl. *musi* f
sweat *-sin-* (it)
sweat *sin* pl. *s'ine* m
sweet *-çen* pl. *-ç'éme'* (adj)
swell *-jant-* (tr); Ex. *ire aijáxat* 'my stomach swells'
swift *warlei* pl. *warli* m
sword *lálém* pl. *lalamá* f (Maa)
tail *k'idon'óí* pl. *k'idónó* m (Maa)
take out *-kusá-* (tr)
tattoo *ilk'igeroto* pl. *ilkiger'ót* m (Maa)
teach *-çeel-* (tr)
tear *ilm'ámu* pl. *ilmámai* f
tease, to — (1) *-eh-hegum-*; (2) *-eh-hegum'á-*
tell *-eh-leel-* (tr)
temple *c'ɔpɔ* pl. *c'ɔpɔp* m
termite *riiri* pl. *r'iirmai* f (Maa)
thank you! *aç'é* (Maa)
there *ásé* (very far); *sool* (not so far)
thick *-dee'su* pl. *-dee'éúde'* (adj)
- thief *çilinte* pl. *çilin* m
thigh *'ikut* pl. *'ikutet* m
thin *-nya'ain* pl. *-nya'a'áni'* (adj)
thin, become — *-c'ee'* (it)
thing *kui* pl. *koi* f
thirst *eço* f
thong *misa'* pl. *mihnin* m
thorn *gohlo* pl. *gohlei* f
thorn-tree *perd'éó* pl. *perd'éwái* f
thread, to — (beads) *-sir-* (*sir-irim*)
throat *k'é'e* pl. *k'é'pap* f
throb *-jaqs-* (it); Ex. *eijaqsit* '(my heart) throbs'
throw *-jii-* (tr)
throw, — with spear *-eh-tuk-* (tr); Ex. 'içe' *nehtuka ísí toor* 'I shall throw a spear on him'
thunder *ndárátá* f (Maa)
tick *çeepli* pl. *çeeplon* f
tie *-hed-* (tr)
time *in* pl. *in* f; Ex. *in tí w'éhetu* 'the first time,' *in tí c'é* 'the second time'
tire, — somebody *-gere'esis-* (tr)
tired, be — *-gere'e* (it)
tobacco *kumpahau* pl. *kump'áhái* f (Maa)
today *ance*
toe *qópé cí mij'i* pl. *qópé' kei miji* (= "finger of leg")
tomorrow *iméhéí*
tongs *hramet* pl. *hram'éta* m
tongue *ere* pl. *er'épa* m
tooth *'injeni* pl. 'injé' m
tooth, back — *'aágu* pl. *aagüm'e'* f
top *hraqai* pl. *hraq'aio* f
tortoise *q'ópe* pl. *qope'nin* m
track *laapi* pl. *laapindi* m
trade *m'aát'in* (pl.) m

trail <i>laapi</i> pl. <i>laapindi</i> m	olea (chrysophylla) <i>qanin</i> pl. <i>q'áno'</i> m
tree <i>kédén</i> , <i>kéd'én</i> pl. <i>ké'émé'</i> m	(maba abyssinica) <i>qaac'ei</i> pl. <i>qaac'o'</i> m
tree spec.	cape chest nut (calodendrum capense) <i>sansuri</i> pl. <i>sansurini</i> m
dormouse (graphiurus murinus) <i>namp'ááru</i> pl. <i>namp'aármái</i> f; cf. 'bushbaby'	(teclea simplicifolia) <i>t'éhéçu</i> pl. <i>teheç</i> f
(erythrina abyssinica) <i>loponi</i> pl. <i>lópón</i> m (Maa)	manilkara <i>ampi</i> pl. <i>ampindi</i> m
(cussonia holstii, used for carving gourds) <i>poori</i> pl. <i>pooria'</i> m	vagueria <i>komoçi</i> pl. <i>kom'oç</i> m
croton (megalocropus) <i>péht'éyu</i> pl. <i>péhtei</i> f	(name unknown, its bark is used for drilling fire) <i>at'o</i> pl. <i>at'ondi</i> f
eriobotrya (japonica loouat) <i>maasu</i> pl. <i>m'aásai</i> f	tremble <i>-eh-t'ohm-</i> (it)
elaeodendron (SP, NR, keniense) <i>kéd'éékumpu'</i> pl. <i>kedee-k'úmpái</i> m (= "black tree")	trogon, Narina's — <i>tumakíçú</i> pl. <i>tumakíçuni</i> f
(markhamia hildebrandtii) <i>lok'illepoi</i> pl. <i>lokillepon'i</i> m (Maa)	trouble <i>t'érme'</i> (no pl.) f
(dondonea viscosa) <i>keturai</i> pl. <i>két'úra'</i> m (Maa)	try <i>-tatau-</i> (tr)
(erythrina burttii) <i>gor'óóçi</i> pl. <i>gor'óoç</i> m (Maa)	tsetse flies <i>t'egeso</i> (no pl.) f
(dombeya retundifolia) <i>p'axani</i> pl. <i>p'axan</i> m	turaco <i>keiwa</i> pl. <i>keiwan</i> f (Maa)
(ficus hochstetteri) <i>ndadaii</i> pl. <i>ndadaimo</i> m	turn round (1) <i>-liplips-</i> (tr); (2) <i>-kelkels-</i> (tr)
acacia (moniliformis) <i>munym'únyi'</i> pl. <i>munymuny</i> m	turtle <i>park'ilèi</i> pl. <i>parkileni</i> m
(cassia singuineana) <i>sen'étoi</i> pl. <i>sen'éto'</i> m	twirl <i>-heer-</i> (tr)
(artocarpus heterophyllus) <i>k'aanço</i> pl. <i>k'aánçai</i> f	twist <i>-mir(i)mirs-</i> (tr)
(acokanthera schimperi) <i>ment'ele'e</i> pl. <i>ment'élé'</i> m	udder <i>nyawa</i> pl. <i>nyawandi</i> f (Maa)
logwood (haematoxylon campechianum) <i>móg'ótan</i> pl. <i>mogotan'i</i> m	ulcer <i>dole</i> pl. <i>dóléhmó'</i> m
	uncle (mother-brother) <i>apu</i> pl. <i>ap'uçe'</i> m
	undress, to — oneself <i>-kus-ákuno</i>
	untie (e.g. rope) <i>-koot-</i> (tr)
	uproot <i>-gu'-</i> (tr)
	urinate <i>-kusay-</i>
	urine <i>kusa'</i> pl. <i>kusasei</i> f
	uvula <i>kil'ími'</i> pl. <i>kilimini</i> m
	vagina <i>saq'ar</i> pl. <i>s'aqrar</i> f
	vein <i>nyony</i> pl. <i>nyonyo</i> f (Maa)

vervet monkey <i>de'ere</i> pl. <i>de'ere'</i> m	weigh <i>-tataw-</i> (tr)
very <i>wait'i</i> ; (i) <i>nnon</i>	well <i>eel</i> pl. <i>eleli</i> m
vessel of wood <i>in'éhente</i> pl. <i>ine-h'éntài</i> f	wet <i>-c'oqon</i> pl. <i>-c'oq'óne'</i> (adj)
village <i>laata</i> pl. <i>luaa</i> f	what ? (di) <i>nyoh</i>
violent <i>-sego</i> pl. <i>-ségan</i> (adj)	when (conj). <i>nte</i>
viper, rhinoceros horned — <i>turüp'a'</i> pl. <i>turupani</i> f	where ? <i>nyka</i>
voice <i>ókó</i> pl. <i>ókónó</i> m	whimper, to — <i>-saaso'-</i>
vomit, to — <i>-siksik-</i>	whisper, to — <i>hemeh'éntai</i> (no inflexion); Ex. <i>n'íini'</i> <i>hemeh'éntai</i> 'we are whispering'
vulture <i>joknen</i> pl. <i>jookneni</i> f	whistle <i>saramb'íla'</i> pl. <i>sarambilani</i> f
vulture, Egyptian — <i>kil'éruá</i> pl. <i>kil'eruani</i> m	whistle, to — <i>-ot'et-</i> (ou)
	white <i>-pokeny'ei'</i> pl. <i>-pokenye'ide'</i> (adj)
	white-eye <i>t'eem'áyu</i> pl. <i>t'eemáyái</i> f
wait <i>-c'épá-</i> (tr)	whittle <i>-çit-</i> (tr)
wake up <i>-qahaussis-</i> (tr)	why ? <i>kémó</i>
walking-stick <i>sirpi</i> pl. <i>sirpen</i> f	wide <i>-baha'</i> pl. <i>-b'áháde'</i> (adj)
war <i>qaiqai</i> f	wife (1) <i>damat'ú</i> pl. <i>damat'úti</i> f; (2) <i>óqói</i> pl. <i>oqoinin</i> f
warm, to — oneself <i>-mi'it-</i>	wild boar, black — <i>q'oye</i> pl. <i>q'óyo'</i> m
warrior <i>nyromin</i> pl. <i>nyron</i> m	win <i>-kes-</i> (tr)
warthog <i>bitir</i> pl. <i>bitiro</i> m (Maa)	wind (1) <i>leuma</i> pl. <i>lemuan</i> m; (2) <i>dehmo</i> pl. <i>dehmai</i> f; cf. 'cold'
wash — something <i>-t'oq-</i> (tr)	wipe <i>-sax-</i> (tr)
wasp, cuckoo (chrysididae) <i>t'eykelei</i> pl. <i>t'eykel'eímo'</i> m	wise <i>-dehken</i> pl. <i>-dehk'énde'</i> (adj)
wasp, spider-hunting — (pompilidae) <i>xamat'ani</i> pl. <i>xam'ál'á'</i> m	witch <i>dérman</i> pl. <i>dermányó'</i> m
water <i>antoni</i> pl. <i>ánt'ó'</i> m	woman (cf. wife) (1) <i>damat'ú</i> pl. <i>damat'úti</i> f; (2) <i>óqói</i> pl. <i>oqoinin</i> f
water, rain — (dropping from huts) <i>pilel'éhente</i> pl. <i>pilel'éhéntai</i> f	wood (for lighting fire) <i>ts'em'é'</i> pl. <i>ts'em'é'</i> f
water, rain — (dropping from trees) <i>leei</i> pl. <i>l'eémo'</i> , <i>leeinin</i> m	woodpecker <i>gingilei</i> pl. <i>ging'ílmo'</i> m
waterbuck (1) <i>nyalagute</i> pl. <i>nyalaguteni</i> f; (2) <i>moiyk'o'</i> pl. <i>moiykoni</i> f (Maa)	word <i>ókó</i> pl. <i>ókónó</i> m; see 'language'
water-hole <i>k'éri'</i> pl. <i>ker'ímá'</i> m	work, to — <i>-sa'-'óto'</i>
weapon <i>neret</i> pl. <i>narét'á'</i> f (Maa)	wound, — oneself <i>-le'-</i> (it)
weep <i>-soo'-</i>	wound — somebody <i>-le's-</i> (tr)

Yaaku <i>yakunte</i> pl. <i>yaaku</i> m + f	zebra, Burchell's — <i>loitiko</i> pl.
yawn, to — <i>-pa'at-</i>	<i>loitúk'óíçi</i> m (Maa)
year <i>lăr'f'</i> pl. <i>lar'ín</i> m (Maa)	zebra, Grevy's — <i>kaŋka</i> pl. <i>kaŋ-</i>
yes <i>iín</i>	<i>kani</i> m (Maa)
yesterday <i>xa'álin</i> (to'o)	zorilla (African polecat) <i>kuny'óri'</i>
yesterday, day before — <i>álsé to'o</i>	pl. <i>kunyornin</i> f

Weitere Ewelieder

Bearbeitet und übersetzt

von Paul Wiegräbe

Diese Auswahl von Liedern der Ewe in Ghana und Süd-Togo ist eine Ergänzung zu den in „Afrika und Übersee“ Band XXXVII und XXXVIII erschienenen. In einer Besprechung jener Lieder schrieb damals Diedrich Westermann: „... Was den afrikanischen Dichter beschäftigt ist wesentlich seine eigene Person, sein persönliches Schicksal und zwar vorwiegend in einer pessimistischen Haltung. Er beklagt sich selbst, sein Unglück, seine Verlassenheit, die Unzuverlässigkeit seiner Freunde und die Aussicht, bald dem Tode, dem König der Schrecken, verfallen zu sein, nicht selten in einer gewissen Selbstbemitleidung ... Diese egocentrische und eher negative Einstellung zum Leben herrscht nicht ausschließlich, doch vorwiegend“. (Mitteilungen der Norddeutschen Mission. 1954, Nr. 11/12).

Das gilt besonders von Akpalu, einem der in der oben erwähnten Sammlung bereits vorkommenden Sänger, dem ich schon 1929 in Ho, weit von seiner Heimat Anyako entfernt, in einigen seiner Lieder begegnete und den ich im März 1973 in seinem Heimatort als fast blinden Greis persönlich kennenlernen durfte. Er war inzwischen ein in Ghana weit berühmter Mann geworden, dessen Stimme man auch im Radio hören konnte. Dabei war er aber doch, soweit ich das feststellen konnte, der arme Schlucker geblieben, als den er sich so oft in seinen Liedern darstellt, der um seines Singens willen allerlei Anfeindungen zu erdulden hatte, aber es einfach nicht lassen konnte. Von ihm galt, was man wohl von Sängern sagt: „Das Lied ist auf ihn gefallen, hat ihn in Besitz genommen“.

Am 7. Oktober 1974 ist Akpalu gestorben und ehrenvoll begraben worden. „Deine Augen hätten hierherkommen müssen!“ schrieb mir ein Afrikaner, der dabei war. „Selbst Könige werden nicht so bestattet“.