

# **Saafi: A Grammatical Sketch**

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## 1. Introduction

Saafi is a Niger-Congo language spoken in Senegal. It is an Atlantic language of a subset of Northern languages. It is in the group of Cangin languages and is closely related to Wolof, Noon, and several other languages. A simple internet search will show that there is currently little to no documentation on this language that is spoken by some 200,000 people.<sup>1</sup>

This grammatical sketch is compiled from data elicited from Adrien Pouille, a consultant. Adrien is a thirty-three year old male who was born in Thies, Senegal. He learned to speak Saafi at the age of six. His family communicates primarily in Wolof, but his paternal relatives are Saafi. Adrien also speaks English and French fluently. Adrien lived with his family near the city of Thies until coming to the U.S. in 2004.

The methodology I have adopted is primarily direct elicitation in individual sessions with the consultant.<sup>2</sup> I have also used aids such as photos to elicit data in a more natural setting. The consultant has also translated several passages and provided some of his own in the elicitation sessions.

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<sup>1</sup> Ethnologue.com

<sup>2</sup> Data from fellow classmates during classroom elicitation sessions such as also been used in this grammatical sketch. I want to thank everyone for their contribution.

## 2. Phonetics & Phonology

The Saafi language includes five vowels and twenty-eight consonants (both implosive and plosive).

### 2.1 Phonemic Inventory

#### 2.1.1 Consonants

There is evidence for twenty-eight consonant phonemes.

Table 1: Consonant Phonemes of Saafi

	bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	palatal	velar	pharyngeal	glottal
plosive	p      b		t      d	tç      dʒ	k      g		ʔ
implosive	ɓ		ɗ	ɟ			
nasal	m		n	ɲ	ŋ		
trill			r				
flap/tap			ɾ				
fricative		f	s		x	ħ	h
approximant	w			j			
glide							
prenasalized	<sup>m</sup> b		<sup>n</sup> d		<sup>ŋ</sup> g		

\*Where symbols appear in pairs, left—right represent voiceless—voiced consonants respectively

Many of the individual phonemes, however, have variants. For example, there are aspirated and unaspirated sounds of the same phoneme that are not contrastive (for

example, in the cases of /b/ and /p/). There is also a phenomenon that seems to occur quite frequently but is not dictated by its surroundings. This is the occurrence of unreleased word final voiced consonants. These voiced unreleased word final consonants are typically devoiced as well, more so by definition of being unreleased. The following are a number of examples, but this is a very regular happening.

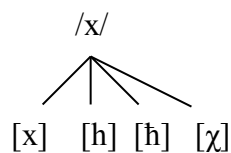
***voiced final consonants:***

*water* – [masub̚]                      *to be tired* – [jab̚]

***voiceless final consonants:***

*tree* – [kidik̚]                      *urine* – [sɔk̚]  
*to lock, shut* – [bat̚]                      *to cook* – [tik̚] –

Another occurrence worthy of pointing out is that of the phonemes /h/, /ħ/ and /x/ (and possibly /χ/). There is evidence to suggest that /h/, /ħ/ and /x/ (and possibly /χ/) are allophones of the phoneme /x/.



Essentially, these sounds are not contrastive so personal discretion, based on what one hears, can determine which allophone is chosen to transcribe within a particular word. To demonstrate, we can look at the word for ‘ten’ - [ˈdankiaχ]. This could be written as [ˈdankiax], [ˈdankiah], [ˈdankiah] or [ˈdankiaχ], (depending on what one hears –

considering these sounds are similar and often confused for each other) and the meaning would not change.

It is also necessary to include a discussion of the phoneme /tʃ/, which I usually transcribe as /c/. This voiceless alveo-palatal plosive and can often be mistaken for the voiceless alveolar affricate /tʃ/. It is, however, a plosive and its point of articulation differs from that of the voiceless alveolar affricate (which does not seem to occur in Saafi).

Prenasalized consonants are included in the phonemic inventory of consonants. There seem to be no restrictions on where they can transpire within a word. However, they seem to occur most commonly word initially, although there are words with medial positioning of prenasalized sounds. Usually only the prenasalized sound /<sup>n</sup>d/ occurs word medially. Below are examples of words with prenasalized sounds.

*sheep* – [ᵐbæɪ]      *corn, yellow* – [ᵐbɔxaʔ]      *hyena* – [ⁿgumu]

*door* – [janⁿdɛɾ]      *to thunder* – [inⁿdiⁿg]      *meat* – [ⁿda:wɛɪ]

#### 2.1.1.1 *Minimal Pairs*

Below is a table of some of the minimal pairs found in Saafi. I provide these examples to demonstrate the contrastive features between different phonemes.

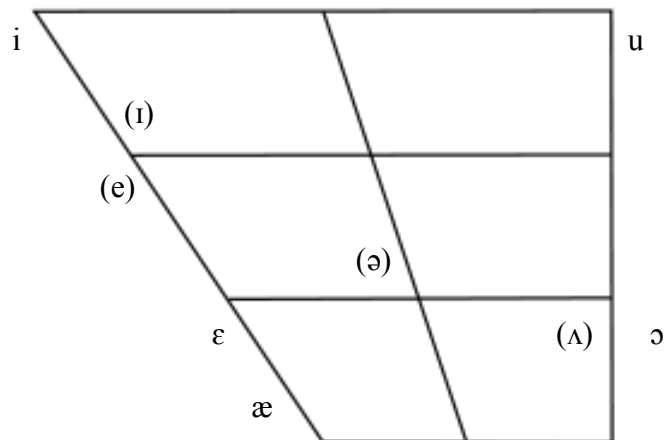
Table 2: Some Minimal Pairs in Saafi

/ɾ/-/r/	[ <sup>m</sup> bar] – shelter	[ <sup>m</sup> baɾ] – sheath	
/j/-/ʃ/	[jax] – hand	[fax] – go	
/x/-/r/	[ʃax] – go	[ʃar] – man	
/k/-/ʔ/	[bɔk] – mosquito	[bɔʔ] – person	
/ʋ/-/w/	[ʋa] – they	[wa] – it	
/k/-/s/	[ki:s] – year	[sis] – tooth	
/x/-/c/	[ <sup>m</sup> bex] – day	[ <sup>m</sup> bɛc] – to dance	
/x/-/p/	[nɛx] – to sleep	[nɛp] – anger	
/x/-/t/	[cɔx] – elephant	[cɔt ɿ] – to go	
/j/-/r/	[jak] –big	[rak] – to have	
/f/-/h/	[bɔf ɿ] – to sit down	[bɔh] – babab tree fruit	
/n/-/k/	[tin] – to walk	[tik ɿ] – to cook	
/s/-/t/	[sumuk] – to be happy	[tufuk] – to stop, stand still	
/x/-/b/-/k/	[jax] – hand	[jab ɿ] – to be tired	[jak] – big

### 2.1.2 Vowels

Saafi appears to have at least the following vowels.

Table 3: Vowels of Saafi



Parentheses indicate that a vowel might be an allophone of a phoneme. The sound /ɪ/ is most likely an allophone of the phoneme /i/; /ə/ and /e/ are most likely allophones of the phoneme /ɛ/; and /ʌ/ is probably an allophone of the phoneme /ɔ/. Vowel length can vary, and it can often signify semantic differences. There is evidence for at least two diphthongs - /ai/ as seen in the word for three – [kahai] and /ei/ as seen in the word for sand – [mɛɾɛi].

Two other interesting notes regarding vowels are as follows. Vowels seem to assimilate to surrounding nasal sounds become nasalized themselves. Below are a few examples. This is how these vowels are transcribed in the underlying form, but since vowel assimilation to nasals is such a common occurrence, it is not necessary to mark for this phenomenon constantly.

*they* – [bã]                      *to eat* – [ɲãm]                      *to drink* – [ãn]

Also, words beginning with a vowel seem to have a glottalized onset when spoken. This does not seem to have any sort of contrastive quality, however. More so, it seems to be a low level phonetic phenomenon. So, for example, the word for to drink could be transcribed as [ʔan], which is indicative of how words beginning with a vowel are often spoken.

## 2.2 Syllable Structure

Syllable structure in Saafi can be structured generally as (N)(C)V(V)(N)(C), where parentheses indicate optionality. Syllables followed by other syllables tend to have

the structure (C)(C)V(V) with no coda; consonants that come after a vowel tend to be part of the onset of the next syllable. For onsets and codas with two consonants, NC, it is always the case (according to the data I have elicited) that the two consonants are an obstruent preceded by a nasal. For syllables that contain only a vowel or two, there is always a glottal stop found at the beginning of that syllable (see the end of section 2.1.2 for further discussion). Vowels within syllables can either be a single simple vowel – V, a long vowel – V:, or two vowels – VV. Below is a table demonstrating different syllable types found in Saafi.

Table 4: Examples of Syllable Types

<i>syllable type</i>			<i>example</i>	<i>gloss</i>
<i>onset</i>	<i>nucleus</i>	<i>coda</i>		
ʔ	V:		ʔa:. rɛn	peanut
C	V		pɛ̃.	goat
C	VV		mɛ. rɛi	sand
NC	V		pæ. ndɔ. xɬʔ	chameleon
ʔ	V	C	ʔɔn.	to give
C	V	C	sis.	tooth
C	V	NC	mɛ. jɪŋ	I am
NC	V	C	<sup>n</sup> da. nkiax	ten
NC	V	NC	in. <sup>n</sup> diŋ	to thunder

Saafi seems to prefer a disyllabic word structure when possible. Vowel elimination often occurs in order to form a word with fewer syllables. The CVCVC structure is not preferred in Saafi. Below are multiple examples of this occurrence. Often original forms without the vowel elimination are acknowledged as grammatical, but the forms with the vowel elimination are the ones used in conversation. The following chart provides examples.



Table 5: Instances of Vowel Elimination to Achieve Optimal Syllable Structure

	<i>non-vowel elimination form (grammatical)</i>	<i>vowel elimination form (spoken)</i>
<i>the tree</i>	[kidiki]	[kidki]
<i>the water</i>	[masubmi]	[masmi]
<i>the chicken</i>	[pambifi]	[pamfi]
<i>the tongue</i>	[pɛdɛmi]	[pɛdmi]
<i>Im shaving myself</i>	[mi nenuki]	[mi nen <sup>n</sup> ki]
<i>that tree</i>	[kidikan]	[kidkan]

### 2.3 Stress

Saafi seems to prefer stress to be on the penultimate syllable of its words. Thus, in two syllable words, the stress occurs on the first syllable. The following words are examples.

*adolescent* - [cɛ.fɿ]

*animal* - [dɔ.pat]

*cow* - [i.nɔx]

*chicken* - [pǎ.mbi]

*bean* - [i.rak]

*millet plant* - [tɔ.hɔʔ]

*fish* - [cu.ru:n]

*peanut* - [a:.rɛn]

*rice* - [ma:lɔʔ]

When there are three syllables in a word, the stress falls on the second syllable – the penultimate syllable. Below are examples.

*child* - [kɔmaki]

*sky* - [<sup>n</sup>dɛr.<sup>n</sup>dɛr.i]

*chameleon* - [pæ.ndɔ.xɿʔ]

*day before yesterday* - [wi.sɛ.tba]

*relatives* - [bo.ʒa.ci]

*pencil* - [bɿ.ndɔ.xaʔ]

*brain* - [lib.cɔ.hah]

*hospital* - [pad.jo.xaʔ]

*market* - [tɔ.nɔ.xaʔ]

When a word contains four syllables, stress occurs on the third syllable – again, the penultimate syllable. There are not many words in Saafi with four syllables, but below are a few examples.

*teacher* - [bi.tsi.dɔ̃.ha]                      *my relative* - [bo.χa.niŋ.gɔ̃]  
*my animal* - [dɔ̃:pə.tiŋ.gɔ̃]                      *the chameleon* - [pɛn.dɛ.χa.ni]

Occasionally words with five syllables occur, and – again – stress occurs on the penultimate syllable, which happens to be the fourth syllable. This occurrence is rare as well, but below are some examples.

*place where one learns, teaches* - [bi.tsi.dɔ̃.ha:.na]                      *girl* - [kɔ̃.ma.ki.bl.tɪp]

All of these examples demonstrate that stress occurs on the penultimate syllable. For further discussion on stress-related issues, such as syllable structure, see section 2.2.

### 3. Nouns

#### 3.1 Noun Structure & Noun Classes

Nouns are comprised of a single or multi syllabic root and a class marker. The class marker is only present in the definite form. (See section regarding forming the definite for further information.) There exist at least seven different noun classes. These different classes are marked as follows:

- /-m-/
- /-f-/
- /-n-/
- /-k-/
- /-r-/
- /-ḡ-/
- /-∅□□ (*null*)

Class affiliation appears to be arbitrary except for a few cases. Where class affiliation is not arbitrary, it seems as if though semantic meaning is the basis for determining to which class nouns belong.<sup>3</sup> The /-m-/ class might consist of liquids or masses that are not counted individually. The following words are provided as examples.

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<sup>3</sup> My personal data does not support evidence for the existence of the /-r-/ class or the /-ḡ-/ class, but as discussed in section 1, data from other classmates was used in the compilation of this grammatical sketch. That data has ample evidence to suggest the existence of these two classes.

Table 6: Nouns of the /-m-/ Class

	<i>indefinite</i>	<i>definite</i>
<i>water</i>	[masub <sup>ɿ</sup> ]	[mas- <b>m</b> -i]
<i>blood</i>	[ɲi:f]	[ɲi:f-i] or [ɲi:f- <b>m</b> -i]
<i>milk</i>	[mi:s]	[mi:s-i] or [mi:s- <b>m</b> -i]
<i>urine</i>	[sək <sup>ɿ</sup> ]	[sək-i] or [sək- <b>m</b> -i]
<i>sauce</i>	[mɪsɪp]	[mɪs- <b>m</b> -i] or [mɪsɪp- <b>m</b> -i]
<i>sand</i>	[mɛɾɛi]	[mɛɾɛi- <b>m</b> -i]
<i>dirt</i>	[pad]	[pad- <b>m</b> -i]
<i>ocean</i>	[ca <sup>w</sup> kmə]	[ca <sup>w</sup> k- <b>m</b> -i]
<i>salt</i>	[mida]	[mida:- <b>m</b> -i]

There seem to be very few nouns in the /-f-/ class. A few are listed below. There seems to be no link among these nouns; affiliation is arbitrary.

Table 7: Nouns of the /-f-/ Class

	<i>indefinite</i>	<i>definite</i>
<i>goat</i>	[pě]	[pě- <b>f</b> -i]
<i>dog</i>	[buɸi]	[buɸi- <b>f</b> -i]
<i>chicken</i>	[pǎmbi]	[pǎm- <b>f</b> -i] or [pǎmbi- <b>f</b> -i]
<i>hair</i>	[fin]	[fin- <b>f</b> -i]

Class affiliation with the /-n-/ class might have a phonological basis. All of the nouns belonging to the /-n-/ class end with a vowel or a vowel and a glottal consonant.

Below are examples.

Table 8: Nouns of the /-n-/ Class

	<i>indefinite</i>	<i>definite</i>
<i>rice</i>	[ma:lɔʔ]	[ma:l-n-i]
<i>chameleon</i>	[pændɔxʌʔ]	[pændɔxʌ-n-i]
<i>hyena</i>	[ <sup>n</sup> gumu]	[ <sup>n</sup> gumu-n-i]
<i>hour</i>	[uwatuh]	[uwatu-n-i]
<i>monkey</i>	[pa:ni]	[pa:ni-n-i]

The nouns found to belong to the /-k-/ class seem to be arbitrary too; there is no unifying theme. Below are examples.

Table 9: Nouns of the /-k-/ Class

	<i>indefinite</i>	<i>definite</i>
<i>book</i>	[ki:ʔat ]	[ki:ʔa-k-i]
<i>village, country</i>	[kur]	[kur-k-i]
<i>year</i>	[ki:s]	[ki:s-k-i]

The nouns of the null class might have once belonged to another class, but (as discussed above) Saafi seems to be moving in the direction of few or no class marking distinctions. The majority of the nouns fall under the null class. Null class affiliation is arbitrary. The following nouns are just a sample.

Table 10: Nouns of the Null (/ -∅ -/) Class

	<i>indefinite</i>	<i>definite</i>
<i>baby</i>	[kɔ:j]	[kɔ:j-i]
<i>animal</i>	[dɔpat]	[dɔpat-i]
<i>meat</i>	[ <sup>n</sup> da:wɛl]	[ <sup>n</sup> da:wɛl-i]
<i>seed</i>	[tisɔx]	[tisɔx-i]
<i>dancer</i>	[ <sup>m</sup> bɛcɔh]	[ <sup>m</sup> bɛcɔh-i]

Overall, it seems as if though class markers and class distinction are fading in Saafi. The null class contains the largest number of nouns, which suggests that this language is moving towards not marking its nouns at all, or at least moving to a system with fewer noun classes.

## 3.2 Inflectional Marking

### 3.2.1 Definiteness

The definite marker for nouns in Saafi is a simple suffix /-i/ added to the end of the root after the class marker. As discussed above with noun classes, the definite forms of nouns reveal the class to which the noun belongs. The indefinite forms of nouns do not have the class suffix or the definite marker /-i/. Irregularities commonly occur with the formation of the plural, but these are due to preferred syllable structure as discussed in section 2.2, syllable structure. These seeming irregularities are just the occurrence of vowel deletion in order to form the optimal disyllabic word structure that Saafi prefers. Refer to Tables 5-11 (pages \*\*) where the definite forms for each noun class are given to see this formation demonstrated. The formula for this formation is as follows, with a chart of examples.

**ROOT + NOUN CLASS MARKER + DEFINITE MARKER**

Table 11: Formation of Definite Nouns

	<i>indefinite</i>	<i>definite</i>
<i>baby</i>	[kɔ:j]	[kɔ:j-i]
<i>animal</i>	[dɔpat]	[dɔpat-i]
<i>meat</i>	[ <sup>n</sup> da:wɛl]	[ <sup>n</sup> da:wɛl-i]
<i>seed</i>	[tisɔx]	[tisɔx-i]
<i>dancer</i>	[ <sup>m</sup> bɛcɔh]	[ <sup>m</sup> bɛcɔh-i]
<i>book</i>	[ki:ʔat]	[ki:ʔa-k-i]
<i>village, country</i>	[kur]	[kur-k-i]
<i>year</i>	[ki:s]	[ki:s-k-i]
<i>rice</i>	[ma:lɔʔ]	[ma:l-n-i]
<i>rice</i>	[ma:lɔʔ]	[ma:l-n-i]
<i>hour</i>	[uwatuh]	[uwatu-n-i]
<i>monkey</i>	[pa:ni]	[pa:ni-n-i]

### 3.2.2 Formation of the Plural

Regular Saafi nouns can be made plural by adding the plural suffix /-c-/ along with the definite suffix /-i/ to the root. The formula spelled out is below.

#### **ROOT + PLURAL MARKER + DEFINITE MARKER**

Table 12: Formation of Plural Nouns

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
<i>man</i>	[ʃa:r]	[ʃa:r-c-i]
<i>animal</i>	[dɔpat]	[dɔpat-c-i]
<i>peanut</i>	[a:rɛn]	[a:rɛn-c-i]
<i>flower</i>	[tɔrɔr]	[tɔrɔr-c-i]

### 3.2.3 Demonstratives

Along with the marking of different noun classes, plural, indefinite, and definite, Saafi nouns can also be marked for deixis and demonstrative terms:

- Proximal demonstrative – This/These – objects near both speaker and listener – /-i:/ (see Table 13)
- Medial demonstrative – That/Those – objects near listener and far from speaker – /-ɛm/ (see Table 14)
- Distal (1) demonstrative – That/Those – objects equidistant from both speaker and listener – /-an/ (see Table 15)
- Distal (2) demonstrative – That/Those – objects far from or out of view of both speaker and listener – /-a/ (see Table 16)

Below are examples of how these different demonstratives are added to nouns. In all of the plural forms of each noun with the added demonstrative marker, the plural suffix /-c-/ is present as well.

Table 13: Formation of Nouns With the Proximal Demonstrative Suffix

	<i>definite</i> (‘the...’)	<i>proximal singular</i> (‘this...’)	<i>proximal plural</i> (‘these...’)
<i>tree</i>	[kidk-i]	[kid-k-i:]	[kidik-c-i:]
<i>mouse</i>	[cinga:p-i]	[cinga:p-i:]	[cinga:p-c-i:]
<i>hyena</i>	[ <sup>n</sup> gumu-n-i]	[ <sup>n</sup> gumu-n-i:]	[ <sup>n</sup> gumu-c-i:]
<i>chameleon</i>	[pændɔxɿ-n-i]	[pændɔxɿ-n-i:]	[pændɔxɿ-c-i:]
<i>bird</i>	[sɛl-i]	[sɛl-i:]	[sɛl-c-i:]
<i>sparrow</i>	[calɔx-i]	[calɔx-i:]	[calɔx-c-i:]



Table 14: Formation of Nouns With the Medial Demonstrative Suffix

	<i>definite</i> (‘the...’)	<i>medial singular</i> (‘that...’)	<i>medial plural</i> (‘those...’)
<i>person</i>	[bɔy-i]	[bɔy-ɛm]	[bɔy-c-ɛm]
<i>book</i>	[kiʔak-i]	[kiʔak-ɛm]	[kiʔak-c-ɛm]
<i>knife</i>	[zapl-i]	[zapl-ɛm]	[zapl-c-ɛm]
<i>water</i>	[mas-m-i]	[mas-m-ɛm]	[masub-c-ɛm]
<i>fish</i>	[curu:n-i]	[curu:n-ɛm]	[curu:n-c-ɛm]
<i>meat</i>	[ <sup>n</sup> da:wɛl-i]	[ <sup>n</sup> da:wɛl-ɛm]	[ <sup>n</sup> da:wɛl-c-ɛm]

Table 15: Formation of Nouns With the Distal (1) Demonstrative Suffix

	<i>definite</i> (‘the...’)	<i>distal (1) singular</i> (‘that...’)	<i>distal (2) plural</i> (‘those...’)
<i>tree</i>	[kidk-i]	[kid-k-an]	[kidk-c-an]
<i>mouse</i>	[cinga:n-i]	[cinga:n-an]	[cinga:n-c-an]
<i>hyena</i>	[ <sup>n</sup> gumu-n-i]	[ <sup>n</sup> gumu-n-an]	[ <sup>n</sup> gumu-c-an]
<i>chameleon</i>	[pændɔxʌʔ-n-i]	[pændɔxʌʔ-n-an]	[pændɔxʌʔ-c-an]
<i>bird</i>	[sɛl-i]	[sɛl-an]	[sɛl-c-an]
<i>sparrow</i>	[calɔx-i]	[calɔx-an]	[calɔx-c-an]

Table 16: Formation of Nouns With the Distal (2) Demonstrative Suffix

	<i>definite</i> (‘the...’)	<i>distal (2) singular</i> (‘that...’)	<i>distal (2) plural</i> (‘those...’)
<i>person</i>	[bɔy-i]	[bɔy-a]	[bɔy-c-a]
<i>book</i>	[kiʔak-i]	[kiʔa-k-a]	[kiʔak-c-a]
<i>knife</i>	[zapl-i]	[zapl-a]	[zapl-c-a]
<i>water</i>	[mas-m-i]	[mas-m-a]	[masub-c-a]
<i>fish</i>	[curu:n-i]	[curu:n-a]	[curu:n-c-a]
<i>meat</i>	[ <sup>n</sup> da:wɛl-i]	[ <sup>n</sup> da:wɛl-a]	[ <sup>n</sup> da:wɛl-c-a]

### 3.2.4 Possession

Possessive nouns in Saafi are formed in two different ways, depending on which set of possessives the noun takes. There are two sets of possessives that express both person and number of the possessor. (See tables below.) Most nouns seem to take possessives from Set 1. Nouns that form the possessive with Set 2 seem to display some sort of intimate relationship.

To form a possessive noun that takes on possessives from Set 1, the following formula is used.

**ROOT + NOUN CLASS MARKER + DEFINITE MARKER + -ŋ- + PER/N**

To form a possessive noun that takes on possessives from Set 2, the following formula is used.

**ROOT + PER/N**

Table 17: Saafi Possessives Set 1 Person/# Suffixes

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
<i>1<sup>st</sup> person</i>	-gɔ	-bɔci
<i>2<sup>nd</sup> person</i>	-dɛ	-dɛ
<i>3<sup>rd</sup> person</i>	-dɛ	-bɛ

Table 18: Saafi Possessives Set 2 Person/# Suffixes

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
<i>1<sup>st</sup> person</i>	-dɔ	-dɛf/-bɔ
<i>2<sup>nd</sup> person</i>	-fu	-dɛ
<i>3<sup>rd</sup> person</i>	-cɛ	-bɛ

The word [bu:h] (dog) illustrates how a noun is formed with possessives from Set 1 and the word [ka:n] (house) with possessives from Set 2.

Table 19: Formation of Possessive Nouns from Both Sets 1 and 2

	<i>possessive noun dog with Set 1</i>	<i>possessive noun house with Set 2</i>
<i>my</i>	[bu-f-i-ŋ-gɔ]	[kan-ɔŋ]
<i>your</i>	[bu-f-i-ŋ-ɖɛ]	[kan-fu]
<i>his/her/its</i>	[bu-f-i-ŋ-ɖɛ]	[kan-cɛ]
<i>our</i>	[bu-f-i-ŋ-bɔci]	[kan-dif]
<i>your (plural)</i>	[bu-f-i-ŋ-ɖu]	[kan-ɖu]
<i>their</i>	[bu-f-i-ŋ-bɛ]	[kan-bɛ]

### 3.3 Derivational Marking

#### 3.3.1 Nouns Derived From Verbs

There are a number of nouns that are derived from verbs by adding the suffix /-ɔh/ to the to the infinitive form of the verb. This suffix is an agentive one, equivalent to the English suffix /-er/. Below is a table of examples.

Table 20: Nouns Derived From Verbs with the Suffix /-ɔh/

<i>gloss</i>	<i>verb (infinitive)</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>noun (indefinite)</i>
<i>dance</i>	[ <sup>m</sup> bɛc]	<i>dancer</i>	[ <sup>m</sup> bɛc-ɔh]
<i>cut</i>	[ʃɔp]	<i>cutter</i>	[ʃɔp-ɔh]
<i>lie</i>	[lɛ:]	<i>liar</i>	[lɛ:-ɔh]
<i>peddle, sell</i>	[tɔn]	<i>peddler, seller</i>	[tɔn-ɔh]
<i>drive</i>	[nupɪd]	<i>driver</i>	[nupɪd-ɔh]
<i>wrestle</i>	[lɛbɛr]	<i>wrestler</i>	[lɛbɛr-ɔh]
<i>sing</i>	[ʃɛ:k]	<i>singer</i>	[ʃɛ:k-ɔh]
<i>swim</i>	[jɛk]	<i>swimmer</i>	[jɛk-ɔh]
<i>cook</i>	[tik]	<i>(one who) cook</i>	[tik-ɔh]
<i>climb</i>	[rap]	<i>climber</i>	[rap-ɔh]

Adding the suffix /-ɔha/ to a verb root will create a noun, but in the sense that the verb becomes a noun that is a utensil or a place where the verb action occurs. The following table provides examples.

Table 21: Nouns Derived from Verbs with the Suffix /-ɔha/

<i>gloss</i>	<i>verb (infinitive)</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>noun (indefinite)</i>
<i>sweep</i>	[padʰ]	<i>broom</i>	[padʰ-ɔha]
<i>heal</i>	[paʃ]	<i>hospital</i>	[paʃ-ɔha]
<i>eat</i>	[nam]	<i>eating utensil; restaurant</i>	[nam-ɔha]
<i>teach</i>	[bitsip ʰ]	<i>teacher</i>	[bitsidʰ-ɔha]

### 3.4 Compound Nouns

Compound nouns seem to exist in Saafi, but my data suggests they are not very common. Below are three instances of compound nouns. Two are built from the word [kɔmaki] for ‘child’, and two use the word [ʃa:r] for ‘man’.

/kɔmaki/ (child) + /ʃa:r/ (man) = [kɔmakifʃa:r] (boy)

/kɔmaki/ (child) + /bItIp/ (woman) = [kɔmakibItIp] (girl)

/cac/ (grandparent) + /ʃa:r/ (man) = [cacʃar] (grandfather)

### 3.5 Noun Phrases

#### 3.5.1 Adjectives

Saafi noun phrases have nouns followed by adjectives and quantifiers. A simple noun phrase consisting of a noun and either one or several adjectives has its adjectives following the noun. Plurality and definiteness are marked on both the noun and the adjective. The formula is provided in the next paragraph, and below are examples of simple noun phrases.

*a new book* – [ki:ʔat ʔas]  
*book new*

*the new book* – [ki:ʔatki ʔasi]  
ki:ʔat - k - i ʔas -i  
*book-noun class-definite new-definite*

*a big green frog* – [mbɔb ʔ jak li:l]  
*frog big green*

*the big green frog* – [mbɔbi jak<sup>h</sup>i li:li]  
mbɔb - Ø -i jak<sup>h</sup> -i li:l -i  
*frog-noun class-definite big-definite green-definite*

For more complicated noun phrases including several adjectives and even quantifiers or numbers and demonstratives, the word order is as follows: noun, adjective(s), quantifier or number, demonstrative. There are certain cases where the quantifier and adjective(s) may switch positions, so the word order would be as follows: noun, quantifier or number, adjective(s), demonstrative. (The second example in the

following set, using the adjective hot, demonstrates this phenomenon.) Examples are as follows, preceded by the formulas.

**Formulas:**

*Singular noun phrase:*

**NOUN – CLASS – DEFINITE ADJ – DEFINITE DEMONSTRATIVE**

*Plural noun phrase:*

**NOUN – PL/DEF ADJ – PL/DEF QUANT – PL/DEF DEMONSTRATIVE (see example 1.)**

OR

**NOUN – PL/DEF QUANT – PL/DEF ADJ – PL/DEF DEMONSTRATIVE (see example 2.)**

**Examples:**

**1. my three good new cows –**

[inɔxci      cɪŋgɔ    asci            bahici            ka:haici]  
inɔx -c -i    cɪŋgɔ    as -c -i    bahi -c -i    ka:hai -c -i  
*cow-PL-DEF    my    new-PL-DEF    good-PL-DEF    three-PL-DEF*

**2. the two big hot fires –**

[kibici      kænækci      jakci            damici]  
kibi -c -i    kænæk-c -i    jak -c -i    dami -c -i  
*fire-PL-DEF    two-PL-DEF    big-PL-DEF    hot-PL-DEF*

### 3.5.2 Quantifiers

Quantified noun phrases usually have the word order of noun, quantifier, adjective. The formula is as follows:

**NOUN – QUANT – ADJ**

Most cases have the quantifier following the noun, acting similarly to an adjective. Numbers also act in this way as well (see section 3.7.1 for examples). However, the prefix /bi-/– translated as ‘some’ – deviates from this pattern. It occurs before the noun, so the order is quantifier, noun, adjective for a phrase containing ‘some’. This is evidence to suggest that this prefix might also have qualities of a definite marker. Below are examples of both regular quantifiers and the irregular ‘some’.

*each person* – [bɔʔ nu:ni]    *many people* – [bɔʔ laji]    *some girls* – [bi cɛfʌ]

Marking for the definite occurs on both the noun and the quantifier. The plural acts in the same way. The phrase ‘the many people’ serves as an example.

*many people* – [bɔʔ laji]                      *the many people* – [bɔʔci laici]

## 4. Verbs

### 4.1 Infinitival Forms

The infinitive form of verbs in Saafi is the most simple form. Suffixes are added on to this form to make imperatives, derived forms of verbs, and some conjugated forms. Prefixes are also added on to the simple infinitival form to conjugate some forms. These different forms will be discussed in the subsequent sections. Below is a table that gives multiple infinitival forms for some verbs that I elicited during sessions.

Table 22: Infinitival Forms of Verbs

<i>gloss</i>	<i>infinitival form</i>
eat	[nam]
drink	[an]
walk	[tin]
think	[lib̩]
lock, shut	[bat̩]
have	[rak]
buy	[rɔm]
sing	[fɛ:k]
listen	[sikduk̩]
learn	[zɔŋg]
share	[nɛn]
dance	[ <sup>m</sup> bɛc]
die	[kan]
hate	[saŋ]
cut	[fɔp̩]
swim	[jɛk]
wrestle	[lɛbɛr]
jump	[gɔŋg]
run	[nup̩]
refuse	[saŋ]
sit down	[bɔf̩]
cook	[tik̩]
rain	[tɔb̩]
want, like, love	[wad]
speak, talk	[wɔk̩]



## 4.2 Verb Types

Saafi seems to have different verb classifications that include stative verbs, activity verbs, and change of state verbs. The consultant acknowledged the existence of these categories, but they appear to be very fluid and with no defining features. With the data I have, there is no conclusive way to identify between different verb categories other than the following rough hypothesis. It seems as if though activity verbs and stative verbs take on different negation suffixes. Activity verbs take on the negation suffix /-u/, while stative verbs take on the negation suffix /-di/. Below are examples.

***activity verbs:***

***he does not dance*** – /a <sup>m</sup>bɛcu/

***he does not sing*** – /a ʃɛ:ku/

***stative verbs:***

***he does not hear*** – /a kera<sup>di</sup>/

***he does not know*** – /a inax<sup>di</sup>/

Another rough hypothesis formed in order to determine the difference between stative and activity verbs is that stative verbs are not allowed to take the present progressive form; this form is ungrammatical.<sup>4</sup> Below are examples.

# ***(ungrammatical) he is hating*** – /aji saŋ/

# ***(ungrammatical) he is liking*** – /aji wa<sup>di</sup>/

# ***(ungrammatical) he is knowing*** – /aji inax/

---

<sup>4</sup> The consultant acknowledged that these forms might be grammatical in some very limited and uncommon context. However, for the most part, these forms are never used.

### 4.3 Derived Verbs

Saafi has a number of verb suffixes that can be attached to basic verb roots that are both derivational and inflectional in manner. Some suffixes are agentive and can change the verb to a noun form (see section 3.3.1 Nouns Derived from Verbs, and Table 20). The suffix /-ɔha/ added onto a verb root will also create nouns (see section 3.3.1 Nouns Derived from Verbs, and Table 21) Some indicate a reversive action, some indicate reciprocal action, etc. Below is a chart of these different suffixes with provided examples.

Table 23: Verb Suffixes

<i>suffix</i>	<i>type</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>examples</i>
/ɔh/	instrumental	eat <b>with a knife</b>	/ɲamɔh ʒapil/
		cultivate <b>with a hoe</b>	/gurɔh gup/
	reciprocal	see <b>each other</b>	/hɔtɔh/
/is/	reversive	close → <b>open</b>	/rang ʔ → /rangis/
		take → <b>take back</b>	/bay/ → /bayis/
		come → <b>come back</b>	/hay/ → /hayis/
	repetitive	remove → remove <b>again</b>	/nis/ → /nisis/
		cultivate → <b>recultivate</b>	/gur/ → /guris/
		look at → look at <b>again</b>	/marak/ → /markis/
/sɔh/	pluractional [many actors performing one action OR (rarely) one actor performing an action multiple times]	cut → cut <b>into pieces</b>	/jɔp/ → /jɔpsɔh/
		have → have <b>many</b>	/rak/ → /raksɔh/
/uk/	reflexive	wash (someone else) → wash <b>oneself</b>	/bɔk/ → /bɔkuk/
		wrap (someone else) [with a loincloth] → wrap <b>oneself</b> [with a loincloth]	/kɛn/ → /kɛnuk/
		clean the teeth → clean <b>ones own</b> teeth	/huc/ → /hucuk/
/id/	causative	stand up → <b>cause to</b> stand up	/tufkid/
/u/	passive	to be born	/rimu/
	negation (for activity verbs)	he does not sing	/a <sup>m</sup> bɛcu/
		he does not dance	/a ʃɛ:ku/
/di/	negation (for stative verbs)	he does not know	/a inaxdi/
		he does not hear	/a keradi/

It is possible to add multiple suffixes to the verb root to form a quite complicated word. The suffix order for verbs is as follows (including only the suffixes for which I have been able to determine the order):

<b>ROOT</b>	<b>-is<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>-uk</b>	<b>-i[d]</b>	<b>-ɔh</b>	<b>-is<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>-i[d]</b>	<b>-sɔh</b>	<b>-i</b>
	reversive	reflexive	causative	instrumental	repetitive	benefactor	pluractional	perfective

For the suffix /-is/, there are two different meanings. The suffix /-is<sup>1</sup>/ indicates reversive action, while the suffix /-is<sup>2</sup>/ indicates repetitive action. These two suffixes can both attach simultaneously to a verb; one can look to the order in which they occur to differentiate between the two. The reversive /-is<sup>1</sup>/ occurs before the repetitive /-is<sup>2</sup>/.

Below is an example.

*uncover oneself again* – /ʔulisukis/

ʔul	- is	- uk	- is
root	REV	RFLX	REP
	suffix	suffix	suffix

My data supports the ability to add up to four suffixes to a verb root. The following sentence demonstrates the addition of four suffixes onto the verb root and confirms the order of the verb structure:

*he fed the children for me again* – [a ɲamidisii sɔh kɔmakci]

Here is the verb [ɲamidisii] broken down with the suffixes visible and labeled:

<b>ɲam</b>	<b>-id</b>	<b>-is</b>	<b>-i[d]</b>	<b>-i</b>
root	causative	repetitive	benefactor	perfective

It is possible to add more suffixes to a verb, but the consultant recognizes that such a complex form would rarely if ever be used in speech.

#### 4.4 Imperatives

Imperative verb forms in Saafi are easily formed. An added suffix of /-a/ to the verb root forms a singular imperative. The addition of the suffix /-at<sup>h</sup>/ to the verb root forms a plural imperative. Below is a chart with examples.

Table 24: Formation of Singular and Plural Imperatives

<i>gloss</i>	<i>infinitive</i>	<i>singular imperative</i>	<i>plural imperative</i>
eat!	[ɲam]	[ɲam-a]	[ɲam-at <sup>h</sup> ]
shut!	[ʃat]	[ʃat-a]	[ʃat-at <sup>h</sup> ]
drink!	[an]	[an-a]	[an-at <sup>h</sup> ]
run!	[nup]	[nup-a]	[nup-at <sup>h</sup> ]
think!	[lib]	[lib-a]	[lib-at <sup>h</sup> ]
walk!	[tin]	[tin-a]	[tin-at <sup>h</sup> ]
give!	[ʔɔn]	[ʔɔn-a]	[ʔɔn-at <sup>h</sup> ]
sleep!	[nɛx]	[nɛx-a]	[nɛx-at <sup>h</sup> ]
jump!	[gɔŋg]	[gɔŋg-a]	[gɔŋg-at <sup>h</sup> ]
tie!	[tɔk]	[tɔk-a]	[tɔk-at <sup>h</sup> ]
learn!	[ʒaŋg]	[ʒaŋg-a]	[ʒaŋg-at <sup>h</sup> ]

To form an imperative with a singular direct object ‘it’, it is necessary to add the suffix /-a:/ to the verb root. To form a plural imperative with a direct object, add the suffix /-a:ta/ to the verb root. Below are provided examples.

Table 25: Imperatives with a Singular Direct Object

<i>gloss</i>	<i>infinitive</i>	<i>singular imperative with direct object</i>	<i>plural imperative with direct object</i>
eat it!	[ɲam]	[ɲam-a:]	[ɲam-a:ta]
shut it!	[ɓat ʔ]	[ɓat-a:]	[ɓat-a:ta]
drink it!	[an]	[an-a:]	[an-a:ta]
think it!	[lib ʔ]	[lib-a:]	[lib-a:ta]
give it!	[ʔɔn]	[ʔɔn-a:]	[ʔɔn-a:ta]
tie it!	[tɔk ʔ]	[tɔk-a:]	[tɔk-a:ta]
learn it!	[zɔŋg]	[zɔŋg-a:]	[zɔŋg-a:ta]
close it!	[raŋg]	[raŋg-a:]	[raŋg-a:ta]
open it!	[raŋgis]	[raŋgis-a:]	[raŋgis-a:ta]
cover it!	[ʔumb ʔ]	[ʔumb-a:]	[raŋgis-a:ta]
uncover it!	[ʔumbis]	[ʔumbis-a:]	[ʔumbis-a:ta]

To form an imperative with a plural direct object ‘them’, it is necessary to add the prefix /ba-/ to the verb root. To form a plural imperative with a direct object, add the suffix /-ba/ to the plural imperative form. Below are provided examples.

Table 26: Imperatives with a Plural Direct Object (*that is a human*)

<i>gloss</i>	<i>infinitive</i>	<i>singular imperative with direct object</i>	<i>plural imperative with direct object</i>
eat them!	[ɲam]	[ba-ɲam]	[ɲam-at-ba]
shut them!	[ɓat ʔ]	[ba-ɓat ʔ]	[ɓat-at-ba]
drink them!	[an]	[ba-ʔan]	[an-at-ba]
think them!	[lib ʔ]	[ba-lib ʔ]	[nup-at-ba]
give them!	[ʔɔn]	[ba-ʔɔn]	[lib-at-ba]
tie them!	[tɔk ʔ]	[ba-tɔk ʔ]	[tin-at-ba]
learn them!	[zɔŋg]	[ba-zɔŋg]	[ʔɔn-at-ba]
close them!	[raŋg]	[ba-raŋg]	[nɛx-at-ba]
open them!	[raŋgis]	[ba-raŋgis]	[gɔŋg-at-ba]
cover them!	[ʔumb ʔ]	[ba-ʔumb]	[tɔk-at-ba]
uncover them!	[ʔumbis]	[ba-ʔumbis]	[zɔŋg-at-ba]

Table 27: Imperatives with a Plural Direct Object (*that is not a human*)

<i>gloss</i>	<i>infinitive</i>	<i>singular imperative with direct object</i>	<i>plural imperative with direct object</i>
eat them!	[ɲam]	[ <b>ɓa</b> -ɲam]	[ɲam- <b>at-ca</b> /-ci/- <b>ini:</b> ]
shut them!	[ɓat ʔ]	[ <b>ɓa</b> -ɓat ʔ]	[ɓat- <b>at-ca</b> /-ci/- <b>ini:</b> ]
drink them!	[an]	[ <b>ɓa</b> -ʔan]	[an- <b>at-ca</b> /-ci/- <b>ini:</b> ]
think them!	[lib ʔ]	[ <b>ɓa</b> -lib ʔ]	[nup- <b>at-ca</b> /-ci/- <b>ini:</b> ]
give them!	[ʔɔn]	[ <b>ɓa</b> -ʔɔn]	[lib- <b>at-ca</b> /-ci/- <b>ini:</b> ]
tie them!	[tɔk ʔ]	[ <b>ɓa</b> -tɔk ʔ]	[tin- <b>at-ca</b> /-ci/- <b>ini:</b> ]
learn them!	[zɔŋg]	[ <b>ɓa</b> -zɔŋg]	[ʔɔn- <b>at-ca</b> /-ci/- <b>ini:</b> ]
close them!	[raŋg]	[ <b>ɓa</b> -raŋg]	[nɛx- <b>at-ca</b> /-ci/- <b>ini:</b> ]
open them!	[raŋgis]	[ <b>ɓa</b> -raŋgis]	[gɔŋg- <b>at-ca</b> /-ci/- <b>ini:</b> ]
cover them!	[ʔumb ʔ]	[ <b>ɓa</b> -ʔumb]	[tɔk- <b>at-ca</b> /-ci/- <b>ini:</b> ]
uncover them!	[ʔumbis]	[ <b>ɓa</b> -ʔumbis]	[zɔŋg- <b>at-ca</b> /-ci/- <b>ini:</b> ]

To form an imperative with an indirect object, add the suffix /-dɛ/ for him/her/it to the end of the singular imperative direct object form. To form an imperative with an indirect object along with a direct object, add the infix /-dɔ-/ (for to me) or /-dɛ-/ (for to him/her/it) and then the suffix /-wa/ (for it) or the suffix /-ini:/ (for this). Below are a few examples with the verb give.

*give to me* - /ʔɔna:-dɔ/

*give it to me* - /ʔɔna:-dɔ-wa/

*give this to me* - /ʔɔna:-dɔ-ini:/

*give to him/her/it* - /ʔɔna:-dɛ/

*give it to him/her/it* - /ʔɔna:-dɛ-wa/

*give this to him/her/it* - /ʔɔna:-dɛ-ini:/

To form a negative imperative, a word occurs before the verb root. For singular negative imperatives the word /kana/ occurs, and /kanat ʔ/ occurs along with a prefix /ki-/ attached to the verb root for plural negative imperatives. The structure is as follows with an example using the verb eat.

***without direct objects:***

***singular*** – /kana/ + verb infinitive

***plural*** – /kanat ʔ/ + ki-verb infinitive

***examples:***

***don't eat (singular)*** - /kana ɲam/

***don't eat (plural)*** - /kanat ʔ kiɲam/

The imperative negation structure with direct objects with examples is as follows:

***with direct objects:***

***singular*** – /kana:/ + object + verb infinitive

***plural*** – /kanat ʔ/ + object + verb infinitive

***examples:***

***don't eat it (singular)*** – /kana: ɲam/

***don't eat it (plural)*** – /kanat ʔ deɲam/

***don't eat them (singular)*** – /kana: ɓaɲam/

***don't eat them (plural)*** – /kanat ʔ ɓaɲam/



## 4.5 Conjugated Forms and Verb Tenses

### 4.5.1 Subject Pronouns

Below are the subject pronouns used with verbs.

<i>I</i> – /mi/	<i>we</i> – /ʃuci/
<i>you</i> – /fu/	<i>you plural</i> – /du/
<i>he/she/it</i> – /a/	<i>they</i> – /ʃa/

Below are the present progressive subject pronouns.

<i>I</i> – /miji:/	<i>we</i> – /ʃucibi:/
<i>you</i> – /fuji:/	<i>you plural</i> – /dubi:/
<i>he/she/it</i> – /aji:/	<i>they</i> – /ʃadi:/

### 4.5.2 Present Constructions

The present is formed by adding pronoun prefixes to the verb root. Examples are as follows.

Table 28: Conjugation of ‘to be’ in the Present

<i>to be (location)</i> – [jing]			
<i>singular</i>		<i>plural</i>	
<i>I</i>	[mi-jing]	<i>we</i>	[ʃuci-ʃing]
<i>you</i>	[fu-jing]	<i>you plural</i>	[du-ʃing]
<i>he, she, it</i>	[a-jing]	<i>they</i>	[ʃa-ʃing]

### 4.5.3 Past Constructions

The following table illustrates the conjugation of a verb in the recent past (possibly the imperfect tense). It is necessary to add the pronoun prefixes to the verb root, as well as the suffix /-i/ or /-id/. The /d/ only occurs in the suffix if the verb correlates to an animal or an inanimate object.

Table 29: Conjugation of ‘to stop’ in the Recent Past

<i>to stop (cease activity) – [fad ʔ]</i>			
<i>singular</i>		<i>plural</i>	
<i>I</i>	[mi-fad-i(d)]	<i>we</i>	[ʔuci-fad-i(d)]
<i>you</i>	[fu-fad-i(d)]	<i>you plural</i>	[dʉ-fad-i(d)]
<i>he, she, it</i>	[a-fad-i(d)]	<i>they</i>	[ʔa-fad-i(d)]

The following table illustrates the conjugation of a verb in the completed past tense. It is necessary to add the pronoun prefixes as well as the suffix /-a/ to the verb root.

Table 30: Conjugation of ‘to stop’ in the Completed Past

<i>to stop (cease activity) – [fad ʔ]</i>			
<i>singular</i>		<i>plural</i>	
<i>I</i>	[mi-fad-a]	<i>we</i>	[ʔuci-fad-a]
<i>you</i>	[fu-fad-a]	<i>you plural</i>	[dʉ-fad-a]
<i>he, she, it</i>	[a-fad-a]	<i>they</i>	[ʔa-fad-a]

The conjugation of a verb in the remote past is formed in the same manner. Add the pronoun prefixes and the suffix /-ɛn/. Below are examples.

Table 31: Conjugation of ‘to stop’ in the Remote Past

<i>to stop (cease activity) – [fad ʔ]</i>			
<i>singular</i>		<i>plural</i>	
<i>I</i>	[mi-fad-ɛn]	<i>we</i>	[ʔuci-fad-ɛn]
<i>you</i>	[fu-fad-ɛn]	<i>you plural</i>	[dʉ-fad-ɛn]
<i>he, she, it</i>	[a-fad-ɛn]	<i>they</i>	[ʔa-fad-ɛn]

To form the narrative past, add the pronoun prefixes as seen above as well as the suffix /-e/. In the table below are examples.

Table 32: Conjugation of ‘to stop’ in the Narrative Past

<i>to stop (cease activity) – [fad ]</i>			
<i>singular</i>		<i>plural</i>	
<i>I</i>	[mi-fad-e]	<i>we</i>	[buci-fad-e]
<i>you</i>	[fu-fad-e]	<i>you plural</i>	[dû-fad-e]
<i>he, she, it</i>	[a-fad-e]	<i>they</i>	[ba-fad-e]

#### 4.5.4 Future Constructions

To conjugate verbs in the near future (as in ‘he will know’), the following formula is used. The word /hajj/ is used here to form the future. This word is a grammaticized form of the verb /haj/ (‘to come/go’) that is not marked for deixis. The suffix /-e/ is added onto the verb root as a future marker. An example follows.

**pronoun prefix + /hajj/ + verb – e**

*he will know – /a hajj inahe/*

To conjugate verbs in the perfect future (as in ‘he will have known’), the following formula is used. The word /haiki/ is used here again, as well as the future suffix /-e/. An example follows.

**pronoun prefix + /haiki/ + verb – e**

*he will have known – /a haiki inahe/*

#### 4.5.5 Progressive Constructions

Progressive forms are marked with the item /aji/. This form notates that the person is in the process of doing whatever action. The formula with several examples are as follows.

**/aji/ + verb conjugated**

***he is sitting* – /aji m̩bɔf/**

***he is dying* – /aji kan/**

There is another progressive structure as well, but one for which I have limited data. This progressive structure indicates a habitually occurring action. Another grammaticized version of the verb /haj/ ('to come/go') that is unmarked for deixis is used here. That word is /aŋg/. The example I have for this structure is as follows. It indicates that she is cooking the chicken *as she always does*, as opposed to simply meaning she is cooking the chicken *right now* (as the forms above imply). In this form, she might not actually be cooking it in the moment, but she is planning on cooking it as she always does.

***she is cooking the chicken* - /a tik aŋg a tik pamfi/**

#### 4.5.6 Negation Constructions

As discussed in sections 4.2 and 4.3, negation can be indicated by adding a suffix to a verb. Activity verbs take the negation suffix /-u/ while stative verbs take the negation

suffix /-di/. See the above mentioned sections for further discussion on this topic. Below are examples.

***activity verbs:***

***he does not dance*** – /a <sup>m</sup>bɛcu/

***he does not sing*** – /a ʃɛ:ku/

***stative verbs:***

***he does not hear*** – /a keraɗi/

***he does not know*** – /a inaxɗi/

## 5. Syntax

### 5.1 Basic Sentence Structure

The general word order for sentences in Saafi is subject, verb, object. There are different variations on this order, which will be highlighted below. The first variation consists of a subject, verb, direct object and indirect object.

#### **SVO<sub>I</sub>O<sub>D</sub>**

*Ndela cooked food for the children.*

Ndela tikdɪ kɔmakci jam  
S V O<sub>I</sub> O<sub>D</sub>

The second variation contains a subject, verb, direct object, and an oblique object (an object of a preposition).

#### **SVO<sub>D</sub>O<sub>O</sub>**

*He hit Ndela with a stick.*

a laβɔhi Ndela (na) <sup>n</sup>dɔɔf  
S V O<sub>D</sub> O<sub>O</sub>

Another variation consists of a subject and an auxiliary verb.

#### **SAuxV**

*The big ones will cultivate.*

ci jakakci haj ki guri  
PRO ADJ AUX T<sup>5</sup> V

---

<sup>5</sup> The /ki/ here might be a tense marker. There seem to be multiple /ki/s found throughout elicitation sessions, though. There is not sufficient data to determine what these are and how they act.

Yet another variation consists of a subject, auxiliary verb, indirect object, verb, and direct object.

**SAuxO<sub>I</sub>VO<sub>D</sub>**

*The small ones will serve them water.*

ci finci haj ki ca ɔni masuɓ  
 PRO ADJ AUX T O<sub>Ipro</sub> V O<sub>D</sub>

Another phenomenon regarding sentence structure in Saafi is that of the topic-comment structure. This occurs often in narratives and stories. The topic-comment structure is best explained through an example: “those people, they...”. ‘Those people’ refer to the topic portion of the phrase, while ‘they...’ refers to the comment portion. Below are several more examples.

1.

diski kurki nik

wa rakid kac na atɔx

*The place where the village is located,*

*it has hills and a valley.*

**TOPIC**

**COMMENT**

2.

taŋgɔci

ca rakid kac na atɔx

*The hills,*

*they have laterite pebbles and rocks.*

**TOPIC**

**COMMENT**

3.

dɔpatci jen

ca rake ɓedkɔh

*All the animals,*

*they had an invitation.*

**TOPIC**

**COMMENT**

## 6. Miscellaneous

### 6.1 Various Particles

There are a number of small particles in Saafi that need to be identified. Firstly, the conjunction ‘and’ in Saafi is /na/. This is an invariable form item that is used in multiple contexts.

Here I illustrate some of the question words in Saafi and a few examples of their uses. Question words can either attach as a suffix to nouns or can act as separate words within a question.

*who* – /ɛba/

*when* – /kidah/

*what* – /yei/

*which* – /windeh/

*where* – /(a)<sup>n</sup>dɛh/<sup>6</sup>

*why* – /jetax

#### *Examples:*

*which girl* – /cafʌ-windɛh/

*where is the dog?* – /ɓufɪndɛh?/

*when is the dance?* – /<sup>m</sup>bɪlɪm kidah?/

*why is the dog barking?* – /jetax buhfi bawera?/

*who is yelling?* – /ɛba lɛhukaŋ?/

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<sup>6</sup> The parenthetical (a) here indicates two different forms. /a<sup>n</sup>dɛh/ is used in front of a question, whereas /<sup>n</sup>dɛh/ is used as an attached suffix to a word.



## 6.2 Numbers

Numbers in Saafi are formed on a scale five. Numbers one through five have their own words, and from there on the numbers compound. Below is a list of the numbers I have elicited.

<i>one</i>	–	[ˈji:nɔ]
<i>two</i>	–	[kʰænʰæk]
<i>three</i>	–	[ˈka;hai]
<i>four</i>	–	[ˈnikis]
<i>five</i>	–	[ˈjatus:]
<i>six</i>	–	[jatus na ji:nɔʔ]
<i>seven</i>	–	[jatus na kʰænʰæk]
<i>eight</i>	–	[jatus na kahai]
<i>nine</i>	–	[jatus na nikis]
<i>ten</i>	–	[ <sup>n</sup> dankiaχ]
<i>eleven</i>	–	[ <sup>n</sup> dankiaχ na ji:nɔʔ]
<i>twenty</i>	–	[ <sup>n</sup> dankiaχ kʰænʰæk]
<i>thirty</i>	–	[ <sup>n</sup> dankiaχ kahai]
<i>forty</i>	–	[ <sup>n</sup> dankiaχ nikis]
<i>one hundred</i>	–	[tɛmɛr]
<i>two hundred</i>	–	[tɛmɛr kænæk]
<i>one hundred twelve</i>	–	[ <sup>n</sup> dankɛχ kænæk na kænæk]

## 6.3 Days of the Week

Below is a list of the days of the week as found in Saafi.

<i>Monday</i>	–	[tɔc]
<i>Tuesday</i>	–	[la:tɪr]
<i>Wednesday</i>	–	[da:ba]
<i>Thursday</i>	–	[hɛmɪs]
<i>Friday</i>	–	[ʒuma]
<i>Saturday</i>	–	[gaow]
<i>Sunday</i>	–	[dibɔr]

## 6.4 In Depth Analysis

### 6.4.1 Three Nouns

I look in depth at the meanings of three different nouns here. I have chosen to look into the meanings of the words for city, a traditional dance, and a community plowing of the fields.

[tæxcʌ] is the metaphorical word used to refer generally to a city. However, this word actually directly translates into ‘skyscrapers’ or ‘buildings’. There is no specific word for city; one must be specific and name a city’s name. [tæxcʌ] is simply a metaphorical reference.

[<sup>m</sup>bɪlɪm ] is a noun that refers to a specific traditional dance. This dance is performed at weddings and naming ceremonies, and other like ceremonies. It is also related to the verb [<sup>m</sup>bɛc], which is a traditional sport or game for those that speak Saafi.<sup>7</sup>

[masɔh] is a deverbal noun formed from the verb [mas]. This verb refers to group work to plow fields. During this event, everyone brings food and sings while working to help their neighbors while plowing fields. [masɔh] refers to the people involved and participating in this event.

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<sup>7</sup> Other traditional sports or games include: [jɛk] (to swim); [ʃɛ:k] (to sing); and [leber] (to wrestle).

#### 6.4.2 Three Verbs

I analyze here three different verbs in depth. The verbs I have chosen are closely related. I have chosen three different verbs for 'to go': [fax], [cət ʔ], and [k<sup>h</sup>aʔ]. [fax] is used when there is more chance of seeing the person getting ready to go, or if he actually is getting ready to go. [cət ʔ] is used when there is certainty of the person already being there (wherever he is going). It is also used to indicate habitual action. [k<sup>h</sup>aʔ] is used when the going is happening at the moment. [cət ʔ] and [k<sup>h</sup>aʔ] and more similarly related. Below are illustrative examples.

***He goes to the hospital [he is already there].*** –  
[a cət ʔpadjoxaʔ]

***He goes to the hospital [he is already there OR he is getting ready to go; there is more chance of seeing him getting ready to go].*** –  
[a fax padjoxaʔ]

***I go to the market [habitual action].*** –  
[cətan cət tənɔxaʔ]  
#(ungrammatical) [faxan fax tənɔxaʔ]

***I go to the market/I am going to the market [happening right now].*** –  
[k<sup>h</sup>adaŋ k<sup>h</sup>aʔ tənɔxaʔ]

## 6.5 Analyzed Text Segment

**məw laji titar**  
king very boastful  
A Very Boastful King

**dəbɡan wa rak-ən məw laji titar**  
once upon a time it have-RMTPST king very boastful  
Once upon a time there was a very boastful king.

**a wad- ε rak bitf nu inax-nε a- rak-dī ala- ɡaŋ**  
he want-PST have-INF woman that know-?? she-has-NEG NEG-scar/blemish  
He wanted to have a woman to know with no blemishes.

**bi kur-εε wa kitad-ε bitf manda pəbə ba yaab-a**  
some village-POSS it search-PST woman like until they tire-PST  
His village searched for a woman like that until they tired.

**rak- a məbex naar- iŋɡ məw-∅-i cət-a nəy- a ʔga xulba**  
have-PST day Moor-POSS king-CL-DEF go-PST fetch water-PST river  
One day the Moor of the king went to fetch water from the river.

**a teland-ən cəfa mədi**  
he found-RMTPST girl beautiful  
He found a beautiful girl.

**a nup-a kan wəy-a məw-∅-i in-i: a xət**  
he ran-PST house tell-PST king-CL-DEF thing-DEF he see-INF  
He ran to the house to tell the king the thing he saw.

**məw-∅- i wəsa-nε cəfa-n- εm a fax haŋɡ-təke**  
king-CL-DEF say- RMTPST girl-CL-MDEM he go-INF FUT-marry  
The king said that he would marry that girl.

**wi kilək- ∅-i wəs rakis-a məbex naar-iŋɡ cətis-a xulba**  
when wedding-CL-DEF pass-INF have again-PST day Moor-POSS return-PST river  
When the wedding passed there was another day that his Moor returned to the river.

**a hət-a bitbiŋɡ məw-∅- i bəysukəhed-a məbam**  
he see-PST wife-POSS king-CL-DEF transform-PST donkey  
He saw the king's wife transformed into a donkey.

**a nupis- a kan wɔjis- a mɛw-Ø-i**  
he run again-PST home tell again-PST king-CL-DEF  
He ran home again to tell the king.

**wi jɛm masɔh- a in- ɛm a fɛjus- a**  
when he witness-PST thing-MDEM he intrigue-PST  
When he witnessed that thing he was intrigued.

**a rak- a misik**  
he have-PST pain  
He had pain (he was upset).

**a dʒɛkɔh-a bitɓa kurk-a**  
he chase-PST wife-?? town-DEF  
He chased that woman from the town.

### **Abbreviations:**

PST – past  
RMTPST – remote past  
INF – infinitive  
NEG – negation  
POSS – possessive  
CL – noun class  
DEF – definite  
MDEM – medial demonstrative  
FUT – future  
?? – unknown

*[source: Adrien Pouille]*

## 7. Lexicon

### SAAFI-ENGLISH

<i>a</i>	<i>PRO</i> , it, [for persons, animals]
<i>ajing</i>	<i>PRO</i> , he/she/it is
<i>am</i>	<i>V</i> , to hold
<i>amsoh</i>	<i>V</i> , to introduce, bring people together
<i>an</i>	<i>V</i> , to drink
<i>an</i>	<i>V</i> , to drink
<i>andeh</i>	<i>ADV</i> , where
<i>anehi</i>	<i>ADJ</i> , asleep
<i>aren</i>	<i>N</i> , peanut
<i>as</i>	<i>ADJ</i> , new
<i>ba</i>	<i>PRO</i> , they [for persons, animals, objects]
<i>bab</i>	<i>N</i> , morning, early
<i>bab</i>	<i>N</i> , father
<i>bagh</i>	<i>ADJ</i> , good
<i>bap</i>	<i>Vintr</i> , to nurse at the breast
<i>bapi</i>	<i>Vtrans</i> , to nurse
<i>bat</i>	<i>V</i> , to lock, shut
<i>bay</i>	<i>V</i> , to take
<i>bayees</i>	<i>V</i> , to take back
<i>bekoh</i>	<i>N</i> , political rally
<i>bindoghah</i>	<i>N</i> , pencil
<i>bitif</i>	<i>N</i> , woman
<i>bitip</i>	<i>N</i> , old woman
<i>bitsidoh</i>	<i>N</i> , student
<i>bitsidohana</i>	<i>N</i> , place where one learns, teaches
<i>bitsip</i>	<i>V</i> , to teach, cause to learn
<i>bitsogha</i>	<i>N</i> , teacher
<i>bo</i>	<i>N</i> , person
<i>bof</i>	<i>V</i> , to sit down
<i>boh</i>	<i>N</i> , babab tree fruit
<i>bok</i>	<i>N</i> , mosquito
<i>bok</i>	<i>V</i> , to wash (someone else)
<i>bokuk</i>	<i>V</i> , to take a shower (yourself)
<i>boyi habiwa</i>	<i>N</i> , creator, ('the person who made it')
<i>buh</i>	<i>N</i> , dog
<i>bulo</i>	<i>COLOR</i> , blue
<i>chefe</i>	<i>N</i> , adolescent
<i>daba</i>	<i>N</i> , Wednesday
<i>deebor</i>	<i>N</i> , Sunday

<i>dem</i>	<i>N,</i>	bat
<i>dopat</i>	<i>N,</i>	animal
<i>dumutal</i>	<i>COLOR,</i>	gray
<i>dyok</i>	<i>V,</i>	to need, (+ ki-VERB)
<i>eba</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	who
<i>eenagh</i>	<i>V,</i>	to know
<i>eenee</i>	<i>PRO,</i>	this
<i>eenogh</i>	<i>N,</i>	cow
<i>fah</i>	<i>V,</i>	to stop (cease activity)
<i>fan</i>	<i>N,</i>	body
<i>feen</i>	<i>N,</i>	hair
<i>gaow</i>	<i>N,</i>	Saturday
<i>ghaf</i>	<i>N,</i>	head
<i>ghas</i>	<i>N,</i>	eye
<i>ghot</i>	<i>V,</i>	to see
<i>gin</i>	<i>N,</i>	traditional ceremony – family reunion with authentic food
<i>gom</i>	<i>N,</i>	time
<i>gong</i>	<i>V,</i>	to jump
<i>gur</i>	<i>V,</i>	to cultivate
<i>gurees</i>	<i>V,</i>	to recultivate
<i>guroh</i>	<i>N,</i>	cultivator
<i>habeed</i>	<i>V,</i>	to create
<i>hay</i>	<i>V,</i>	to come
<i>hayees</i>	<i>V,</i>	to come back
<i>hemis</i>	<i>N,</i>	Thursday
<i>herow</i>	<i>N,</i>	cat
<i>hudee</i>	<i>N,</i>	darkness
<i>hutch</i>	<i>V,</i>	to clean the teeth
<i>hutchuk</i>	<i>V,</i>	to clean one's own teeth
<i>hutchukis</i>	<i>V,</i>	to clean one's teeth again
<i>inding</i>	<i>V,</i>	to thunder
<i>irak</i>	<i>N,</i>	bean (like garbanzo bean)
<i>jabin</i>	<i>N,</i>	month
<i>jang</i>	<i>V,</i>	to learn
<i>japil</i>	<i>N,</i>	knife
<i>japni</i>	<i>N,</i>	(the) moon
<i>jeer</i>	<i>V,</i>	to be sick
<i>jingda</i>	<i>PRO,</i>	your
<i>juma</i>	<i>N,</i>	Friday
<i>kaan</i>	<i>N,</i>	house
<i>kahai</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	three
<i>kal</i>	<i>V,</i>	to hunt
<i>kalsook</i>	<i>N,</i>	small hunter (play, pretend) (one doesn't go as far into the forest and is still hunting smaller game)

<i>kalsukoh</i>	<i>N,</i>	hunter
<i>kan</i>	<i>N,</i>	heart
<i>kan</i>	<i>V,</i>	to die
<i>kanak</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	two
<i>ken</i>	<i>V,</i>	to wrap (another person) in a loincloth
<i>kenuk</i>	<i>V,</i>	to wrap (oneself) in a loincloth
<i>kha</i>	<i>V,</i>	to go, (happening at the moment)
<i>kidah</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	when
<i>kidik</i>	<i>N,</i>	tree, medicine
<i>kim</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	tomorrow
<i>kim</i>	<i>V,</i>	to ask, (to ask for a favor, to ask for help, to ask God)
<i>kis</i>	<i>N,</i>	year
<i>kiyat</i>	<i>N,</i>	book
<i>komaki</i>	<i>N,</i>	child
<i>komakibitip</i>	<i>N</i>	girl
<i>komakiyar</i>	<i>N,</i>	boy
<i>kooy</i>	<i>N,</i>	baby
<i>kum</i>	<i>N,</i>	bee
<i>kur</i>	<i>N,</i>	village, country
<i>kuruk</i>	<i>V,</i>	to wake up, to stand up, get up
<i>kut</i>	<i>N,</i>	leg
<i>lagh</i>	<i>N,</i>	African river, backwater
<i>laman</i>	<i>N,</i>	chief
<i>latir</i>	<i>N,</i>	Tuesday
<i>le</i>	<i>V,</i>	to lie
<i>leber</i>	<i>V,</i>	to wrestle
<i>leberoh</i>	<i>N,</i>	wrestler
<i>leberuk</i>	<i>V,</i>	play wrestle
<i>leeb</i>	<i>V,</i>	to think
<i>legi</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	now
<i>leoh</i>	<i>N,</i>	liar
<i>liber</i>	<i>N,</i>	book
<i>libohah</i>	<i>N,</i>	brain
<i>lili</i>	<i>COLOR,</i>	green
<i>maloh</i>	<i>N,</i>	rice
<i>marak</i>	<i>V,</i>	to look at
<i>markees</i>	<i>V,</i>	to look at again
<i>mas</i>	<i>V,</i>	group work to plow fields (everyone brings food and sings while working to help out neighbors while plowing fields)
<i>masoh</i>	<i>N,</i>	the people involved in [mas]
<i>masoh</i>	<i>V,</i>	to witness
<i>masup</i>	<i>N,</i>	water
<i>mbal</i>	<i>N,</i>	sheep
<i>mbamhuh</i>	<i>N,</i>	pig



<i>mbar</i>	<i>N,</i>	shelter
<i>mbarr</i>	<i>N,</i>	sheath
<i>mbegh</i>	<i>N,</i>	day
<i>mbegh hayees</i>	<i>N,</i>	week ('this day comes back')
<i>mbetch</i>	<i>V,</i>	to dance
<i>mbetchoh</i>	<i>N,</i>	dancer
<i>mbilim</i>	<i>N,</i>	traditional dance
<i>mbob</i>	<i>N,</i>	frog
<i>mbohah</i>	<i>COLOR,</i>	yellow, corn
	<i>N,</i>	
<i>me-ow</i>	<i>N,</i>	king
<i>mees</i>	<i>N,</i>	milk
<i>merey</i>	<i>N,</i>	sand
<i>mida</i>	<i>N,</i>	salt
<i>minit</i>	<i>N,</i>	minute, [borrowed from French]
<i>misip</i>	<i>N,</i>	sauce
<i>na</i>	<i>CONJ,</i>	and
<i>nadankegh na yino</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	eleven
<i>ñam</i>	<i>V,</i>	to eat
<i>ñam</i>	<i>N,</i>	food
<i>ñamoha</i>	<i>N,</i>	eating utensil, place where you eat (restaurant)
<i>nan</i>	<i>V,</i>	to forget
<i>nandakegh kanak na kanak</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	one hundred twelve
<i>nandees</i>	<i>V,</i>	to remember
<i>nanees</i>	<i>V,</i>	to forget again
<i>nankegh kanak</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	twenty
<i>nanseedoh</i>	<i>V,</i>	to remind someone
<i>naow</i>	<i>V,</i>	to wash
<i>nawghi</i>	<i>N,</i>	sun
<i>ndangal</i>	<i>N,</i>	scorpion
<i>ndankegh</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	ten
<i>ndankegh kahai</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	thirty
<i>ndankegh nikis</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	forty
<i>ndawel</i>	<i>N,</i>	meat
<i>ndeh</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	where
<i>ndernderi</i>	<i>N,</i>	sky
<i>ndima</i>	<i>N,</i>	pagne
<i>nebi</i>	<i>V,</i>	to be angry
<i>nees</i>	<i>V,</i>	to remove
<i>neesees</i>	<i>V,</i>	to remove again
<i>neesuk</i>	<i>V,</i>	to come out
<i>negh</i>	<i>V,</i>	to sleep
<i>nek</i>	<i>N,</i>	millet porridge
<i>nen</i>	<i>V,</i>	to share
<i>nep</i>	<i>N,</i>	anger
<i>ngalah</i>	<i>N,</i>	drink during Muslim holidays

<i>ngumu</i>	<i>N,</i>	hyena
<i>nguri</i>	<i>N,</i>	government
<i>ñif</i>	<i>N,</i>	blood
<i>nikis</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	four
<i>ñiñogh</i>	<i>N,</i>	ant
<i>noop</i>	<i>V,</i>	to run
<i>nunee</i>	<i>QUANT,</i>	each
<i>nupdoh</i>	<i>N,</i>	driver
<i>nupi</i>	<i>V,</i>	to drive
<i>on</i>	<i>V,</i>	to give
<i>oranj</i>	<i>COLOR,</i>	orange
<i>pad</i>	<i>N,</i>	dirt
<i>pad</i>	<i>V,</i>	to sweep
<i>padoha</i>	<i>N,</i>	broom
<i>padyoghah</i>	<i>N,</i>	hospital
<i>paj</i>	<i>V,</i>	to heal
<i>pajoh</i>	<i>N,</i>	healer
<i>pajoha</i>	<i>N,</i>	hospital
<i>pambi</i>	<i>N,</i>	chicken
<i>pandoha</i>	<i>N,</i>	chameleon
<i>panee</i>	<i>N,</i>	monkey
<i>panees</i>	<i>N,</i>	horse
<i>pangook</i>	<i>V,</i>	to work
<i>pawel</i>	<i>V,</i>	to storm
<i>pe</i>	<i>N,</i>	goat
<i>pedem</i>	<i>N,</i>	tongue
<i>ponees</i>	<i>V,</i>	to refold
<i>pum</i>	<i>N,</i>	apple, [borrowed from French]
<i>pumbiter</i>	<i>N,</i>	potato, [borrowed from French]
<i>rak</i>	<i>V,</i>	to have
<i>raksoh</i>	<i>V,</i>	to have many
<i>rang</i>	<i>V,</i>	to shut, close
<i>rangees</i>	<i>V,</i>	to open
<i>rangeesee</i>	<i>V,</i>	to cause something to open
<i>rangoo</i>	<i>V,</i>	to shut someone in
<i>rangsook</i>	<i>V,</i>	to open itself
<i>rangsookis</i>	<i>V,</i>	to open itself again
<i>rap</i>	<i>V,</i>	to climb, go up
<i>rapoh</i>	<i>N,</i>	climber
<i>reemoo</i>	<i>V,</i>	to be born
<i>reh</i>	<i>N,</i>	rainy season
<i>roghadg</i>	<i>ADJ,</i>	short
<i>rom</i>	<i>V,</i>	to buy
<i>romees</i>	<i>V,</i>	to buy for someone
<i>rumin</i>	<i>COLOR,</i>	red
<i>sang</i>	<i>V,</i>	to refuse

<i>sang</i>	<i>V,</i>	to hate
<i>sang</i>	<i>N,</i>	hate
<i>satch</i>	<i>N,</i>	millet couscous
<i>sed</i>	<i>V,</i>	to clean
<i>seefaduk</i>	<i>V,</i>	to be thirsty
<i>sees</i>	<i>N,</i>	tooth
<i>sel</i>	<i>N,</i>	bird
<i>seykee</i>	<i>N,</i>	the harvest season
<i>sikduk</i>	<i>V,</i>	to listen
<i>sok</i>	<i>N,</i>	urine
<i>sok</i>	<i>V,</i>	to sow
<i>soom</i>	<i>ADJ,</i>	happy
<i>sumuk</i>	<i>V,</i>	to be happy
<i>sumuk</i>	<i>V,</i>	to be happy
<i>susus</i>	<i>COLOR,</i>	black
<i>tamdoh</i>	<i>N,</i>	sibling
<i>tamdoh bitip yin</i>	<i>N,</i>	younger sister
<i>tamdoh yakak</i>	<i>N,</i>	older sibling
<i>tamdoh yar yin</i>	<i>N,</i>	younger brother
<i>tamdoh yin</i>	<i>N,</i>	younger sibling
<i>tatchau</i>	<i>N,</i>	skyscrapers, buildings, [to refer to a city, must refer to it by its name; there is no one word for ‘city’]
<i>tchakma</i>	<i>N,</i>	ocean
<i>tchalogh</i>	<i>N,</i>	sparrow
<i>tchatch yar</i>	<i>N,</i>	grandfather
<i>tchingañ</i>	<i>N,</i>	mouse
<i>tchogh</i>	<i>N,</i>	elephant
<i>tchot</i>	<i>V,</i>	to go, (certainty of the person already being there)
<i>tchurun</i>	<i>N,</i>	fish
<i>teek</i>	<i>V,</i>	to cook
<i>teekoh</i>	<i>N,</i>	(a) cook
<i>teen</i>	<i>V,</i>	to walk
<i>tefese</i>	<i>V,</i>	the beach
<i>temer</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	one hundred
<i>temer kanak</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	two hundred
<i>tisogh</i>	<i>N,</i>	seed
<i>tob</i>	<i>V,</i>	to rain
<i>toh</i>	<i>V,</i>	to tie
<i>toho</i>	<i>N,</i>	millet plant
<i>tokees</i>	<i>V,</i>	to untie
<i>ton</i>	<i>V,</i>	to peddle, sell
<i>tonoghah</i>	<i>N,</i>	market
<i>tonoh</i>	<i>N,</i>	peddler, seller
<i>toofook</i>	<i>V,</i>	to stop, stand still (when walking away)

<i>toror</i>	<i>N,</i>	flower
<i>tutch</i>	<i>N,</i>	Monday
<i>ul</i>	<i>V,</i>	to cover with a blanket
<i>ulis</i>	<i>V,</i>	to uncover OR to cover again
<i>ulisukis</i>	<i>V,</i>	to uncover oneself again
<i>uluk</i>	<i>V,</i>	to cover oneself
<i>ulukis</i>	<i>V,</i>	to uncover oneself
<i>ulukis</i>	<i>V,</i>	to cover oneself again
<i>umb</i>	<i>V,</i>	to cover
<i>umbees</i>	<i>V,</i>	to uncover
<i>un</i>	<i>V,</i>	to broil
<i>ut</i>	<i>V,</i>	to grill
<i>uwatuh</i>	<i>N,</i>	hour, [borrowed from Wolof]
<i>wa</i>	<i>PRO,</i>	it, [for objects]
<i>wad</i>	<i>V,</i>	to want, like, love (like=want=love [even in relationships] – can mean ‘need’, but only in the sense that one wants to; not in the sense that it’s absolutely essential)
<i>warga</i>	<i>V,</i>	tea
<i>watba</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	yesterday
<i>wati</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	today
<i>wee</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	when
<i>weel or weer</i>	<i>V,</i>	to turn around
<i>weendeh</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	which
<i>weesetba</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	day before yesterday
<i>wei</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	what
<i>werta</i>	<i>COLOR,</i>	green
<i>wingbotchi</i>	<i>PRO,</i>	our
<i>wiolet</i>	<i>COLOR,</i>	purple
<i>wiruk</i>	<i>V,</i>	to go back
<i>wok</i>	<i>V,</i>	to speak, talk
<i>yab</i>	<i>V,</i>	to be tired
<i>yab</i>	<i>V,</i>	to be tired
<i>yagh</i>	<i>N,</i>	hand
<i>yagh</i>	<i>V,</i>	to go, (more chance of seeing the person getting ready to go, or he’s getting ready to go)
<i>yak</i>	<i>ADJ,</i>	big
<i>yak or mañ</i>	<i>ADJ,</i>	old
<i>yander</i>	<i>N,</i>	door
<i>yano</i>	<i>COLOR,</i>	white
<i>yar</i>	<i>N,</i>	man
<i>yatus</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	five
<i>yatus na kahai</i>	<i>NUMBER</i>	eight
<i>yatus na kanak</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	seven
<i>yatus na nikis</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	nine

<i>yatus na yino</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	six
<i>ye-ek</i>	<i>V,</i>	to sing
<i>yeba</i>	<i>PRO,</i>	who
<i>yei</i>	<i>PRO,</i>	what
<i>yek</i>	<i>V,</i>	to stand
<i>yek</i>	<i>V,</i>	to swim
<i>yekoh</i>	<i>N,</i>	singer
<i>yekoh</i>	<i>N,</i>	swimmer
<i>yetagh</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	why
<i>ying</i>	<i>V,</i>	to be (location)
<i>yingde</i>	<i>PRO,</i>	his/her/its
<i>yingo</i>	<i>PRO,</i>	my
<i>yino</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	one
<i>yinogh</i>	<i>V,</i>	to unite
<i>yogh</i>	<i>V,</i>	to taste
<i>yool</i>	<i>N,</i>	hoe
<i>yop</i>	<i>V,</i>	to cut
<i>yopoh</i>	<i>N,</i>	cutter
<i>yopsoh</i>	<i>V,</i>	to cut into pieces
<i>yuk ma</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	last year
<i>yukee</i>	<i>N,</i>	the dry season
<i>yunuk</i>	<i>V,</i>	to wake up, to wake up from sleeping

## ENGLISH-SAAFI

<i>adolescent</i>	<i>N,</i>	chefe
<i>African river, backwater</i>	<i>N,</i>	lagh
<i>and</i>	<i>CONJ,</i>	na
<i>anger</i>	<i>N,</i>	nep
<i>animal</i>	<i>N,</i>	dopat
<i>ant</i>	<i>N,</i>	ñiñogh
<i>apple, [borrowed from French]</i>	<i>N,</i>	pum
<i>asleep</i>	<i>ADJ,</i>	anehi
<i>babab tree fruit</i>	<i>N,</i>	boh
<i>baby</i>	<i>N,</i>	kooy
<i>bat</i>	<i>N,</i>	dem
<i>bean (like garbanzo bean)</i>	<i>N,</i>	irak
<i>bee</i>	<i>N,</i>	kum
<i>big</i>	<i>ADJ,</i>	yak
<i>bird</i>	<i>N,</i>	sel
<i>black</i>	<i>COLOR,</i>	susus
<i>blood</i>	<i>N,</i>	ñif

<i>blue</i>	<i>COLOR,</i>	bulo
<i>body</i>	<i>N,</i>	fan
<i>book</i>	<i>N,</i>	kiyat
<i>book</i>	<i>N,</i>	liber
<i>boy</i>	<i>N,</i>	komakiyar
<i>brain</i>	<i>N,</i>	libohah
<i>broom</i>	<i>N,</i>	padoha
<i>cat</i>	<i>N,</i>	herow
<i>chameleon</i>	<i>N,</i>	pandoha
<i>chicken</i>	<i>N,</i>	pambi
<i>chief</i>	<i>N,</i>	laman
<i>child</i>	<i>N,</i>	komaki
<i>climber</i>	<i>N,</i>	rapoh
<i>cook (a)</i>	<i>N,</i>	teekoh
<i>cow</i>	<i>N,</i>	eenogh
<i>creator, ('the person who made it')</i>	<i>N,</i>	boyi habiwa
<i>cultivator</i>	<i>N,</i>	guroh
<i>cutter</i>	<i>N,</i>	yopoh
<i>dancer</i>	<i>N,</i>	mbetchoh
<i>darkness</i>	<i>N,</i>	hudee
<i>day</i>	<i>N,</i>	mbegh
<i>day before yesterday</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	weesetba
<i>dirt</i>	<i>N,</i>	pad
<i>dog</i>	<i>N,</i>	buh
<i>door</i>	<i>N,</i>	yander
<i>drink during Muslim holidays</i>	<i>N,</i>	ngalah
<i>driver</i>	<i>N,</i>	nupdoh
<i>each</i>	<i>QUANT,</i>	nunee
<i>eating utensil, place where you eat (restaurant)</i>	<i>N,</i>	ñamoha
<i>eight</i>	<i>NUMBER</i>	yatus na kahai
<i>elephant</i>	<i>N,</i>	tchogh
<i>eleven</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	nadankegh na yino
<i>eye</i>	<i>N,</i>	ghas
<i>father</i>	<i>N,</i>	bab
<i>fish</i>	<i>N,</i>	tchurun
<i>five</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	yatus
<i>flower</i>	<i>N,</i>	toror
<i>food</i>	<i>N,</i>	ñam
<i>forty</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	ndankegh nikis
<i>four</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	nikis
<i>Friday</i>	<i>N,</i>	juma
<i>frog</i>	<i>N,</i>	mbob
<i>girl</i>	<i>N</i>	komakibitip

<b>goat</b>	<i>N,</i>	pe
<b>good</b>	<i>ADJ,</i>	bagh
<b>government</b>	<i>N,</i>	nguri
<b>grandfather</b>	<i>N,</i>	tchatch yar
<b>gray</b>	<i>COLOR,</i>	dumutal
<b>green</b>	<i>COLOR,</i>	lili
<b>green</b>	<i>COLOR,</i>	werta
<b>group work to plow fields (everyone brings food and sings while working to help out neighbors while plowing fields)</b>	<i>V,</i>	mas
<b>hair</b>	<i>N,</i>	feen
<b>hand</b>	<i>N,</i>	yagh
<b>happy</b>	<i>ADJ,</i>	soom
<b>hate</b>	<i>N,</i>	sang
<b>he/she/it is</b>	<i>PRO,</i>	ajing
<b>head</b>	<i>N,</i>	ghaf
<b>healer</b>	<i>N,</i>	pajoh
<b>heart</b>	<i>N,</i>	kan
<b>his/her/its</b>	<i>PRO,</i>	yingde
<b>hoe</b>	<i>N,</i>	yool
<b>horse</b>	<i>N,</i>	panees
<b>hospital</b>	<i>N,</i>	padyoghah
<b>hospital</b>	<i>N,</i>	pajoha
<b>hour, [borrowed from Wolof]</b>	<i>N,</i>	uwatuh
<b>house</b>	<i>N,</i>	kaan
<b>hunter</b>	<i>N,</i>	kalsukoh
<b>hyena</b>	<i>N,</i>	ngumu
<b>it, [for objects]</b>	<i>PRO,</i>	wa
<b>it, [for persons, animals]</b>	<i>PRO,</i>	a
<b>king</b>	<i>N,</i>	me-ow
<b>knife</b>	<i>N,</i>	japil
<b>last year</b>	<i>ADV,</i>	yuk ma
<b>leg</b>	<i>N,</i>	kut
<b>liar</b>	<i>N,</i>	leoh
<b>man</b>	<i>N,</i>	yar
<b>market</b>	<i>N,</i>	tonoghah
<b>meat</b>	<i>N,</i>	ndawel
<b>milk</b>	<i>N,</i>	mees
<b>millet couscous</b>	<i>N,</i>	satch
<b>millet plant</b>	<i>N,</i>	toho
<b>millet porridge</b>	<i>N,</i>	nek
<b>minute, [borrowed from French]</b>	<i>N,</i>	minit

<b>Monday</b>	<i>N,</i>	tutch
<b>monkey</b>	<i>N,</i>	panee
<b>month</b>	<i>N,</i>	jabin
<b>moon (the)</b>	<i>N,</i>	japni
<b>morning, early</b>	<i>N,</i>	bab
<b>mosquito</b>	<i>N,</i>	bok
<b>mouse</b>	<i>N,</i>	tchingañ
<b>my</b>	<i>PRO,</i>	yingo
<b>new</b>	<i>ADJ,</i>	as
<b>nine</b>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	yatus na nikis
<b>now</b>	<i>ADV,</i>	legi
<b>ocean</b>	<i>N,</i>	tchakma
<b>old</b>	<i>ADJ,</i>	yak or mañ
<b>old woman</b>	<i>N,</i>	bitip
<b>older sibling</b>	<i>N,</i>	tamdoh yakak
<b>one</b>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	yino
<b>one hundred</b>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	temer
<b>one hundred twelve</b>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	nandakegh kanak na kanak
<b>orange</b>	<i>COLOR,</i>	oranj
<b>our</b>	<i>PRO,</i>	wingbotchi
<b>pagne</b>	<i>N,</i>	ndima
<b>peanut</b>	<i>N,</i>	aren
<b>peddler, seller</b>	<i>N,</i>	tonoh
<b>pencil</b>	<i>N,</i>	bindoghah
<b>person</b>	<i>N,</i>	bo
<b>pig</b>	<i>N,</i>	mbamhuh
<b>place where one learns, teaches</b>	<i>N,</i>	bitsidohana
<b>play wrestle</b>	<i>V,</i>	leberuk
<b>political rally</b>	<i>N,</i>	bekoh
<b>potato, [borrowed from French]</b>	<i>N,</i>	pumbiter
<b>purple</b>	<i>COLOR,</i>	wiolet
<b>rainy season</b>	<i>N,</i>	reh
<b>red</b>	<i>COLOR,</i>	rumin
<b>rice</b>	<i>N,</i>	maloh
<b>salt</b>	<i>N,</i>	mida
<b>sand</b>	<i>N,</i>	merey
<b>Saturday</b>	<i>N,</i>	gaow
<b>sauce</b>	<i>N,</i>	misip
<b>scorpion</b>	<i>N,</i>	ndangal
<b>seed</b>	<i>N,</i>	tisogh
<b>seven</b>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	yatus na kanak
<b>sheath</b>	<i>N,</i>	mbarr
<b>sheep</b>	<i>N,</i>	mbal
<b>shelter</b>	<i>N,</i>	mbar



<i>short</i>	ADJ,	roghadg
<i>sibling</i>	N,	tamdoh
<i>singer</i>	N,	yekoh
<i>six</i>	NUMBER,	yatus na yino
<i>sky</i>	N,	ndernderi
<i>skyscrapers, buildings, [to refer to a city, must refer to it by its name; there is no one word for 'city']</i>	N,	tatchau
<i>small hunter (play, pretend) (one doesn't go as far into the forest and is still hunting smaller game)</i>	N,	kalsook
<i>sparrow</i>	N,	tchalogh
<i>student</i>	N,	bitsidoh
<i>sun</i>	N,	nawghi
<i>Sunday</i>	N,	deebor
<i>swimmer</i>	N,	yekoh
<i>tea</i>	V,	warga
<i>teacher</i>	N,	bitsogha
<i>ten</i>	NUMBER,	ndankegh
<i>the beach</i>	V,	tefese
<i>the dry season</i>	N,	yukee
<i>the harvest season</i>	N,	seykee
<i>the people involved in [mas]</i>	N,	masoh
<i>they [for persons, animals, objects]</i>	PRO,	ba
<i>thirty</i>	NUMBER,	ndankegh kahai
<i>this</i>	PRO,	eenee
<i>three</i>	NUMBER,	kahai
<i>Thursday</i>	N,	hemis
<i>time</i>	N,	gom
<i>to ask, (to ask for a favor, to ask for help, to ask God)</i>	V,	kim
<i>to be (location)</i>	V,	ying
<i>to be angry</i>	V,	nebi
<i>to be born</i>	V,	reemoo
<i>to be happy</i>	V,	sumuk
<i>to be happy</i>	V,	sumuk
<i>to be sick</i>	V,	jeer
<i>to be thirsty</i>	V,	seefaduk
<i>to be tired</i>	V,	yab
<i>to be tired</i>	V,	yab

<i>to broil</i>	V, un
<i>to buy</i>	V, rom
<i>to buy for someone</i>	V, romee
<i>to cause something to open</i>	V, rangeesee
<i>to clean</i>	V, sed
<i>to clean one's own teeth</i>	V, hutchuk
<i>to clean one's teeth again</i>	V, hutchukis
<i>to clean the teeth</i>	V, hutch
<i>to climb, go up</i>	V, rap
<i>to come</i>	V, hay
<i>to come back</i>	V, hayees
<i>to come out</i>	V, neesuk
<i>to cook</i>	V, teek
<i>to cover</i>	V, umb
<i>to cover oneself</i>	V, uluk
<i>to cover oneself again</i>	V, ulukis
<i>to cover with a blanket</i>	V, ul
<i>to create</i>	V, habeed
<i>to cultivate</i>	V, gur
<i>to cut</i>	V, yop
<i>to cut into pieces</i>	V, yopsoh
<i>to dance</i>	V, mbetch
<i>to die</i>	V, kan
<i>to drink</i>	V, an
<i>to drink</i>	V, an
<i>to drive</i>	V, nupi
<i>to eat</i>	V, ñam
<i>to forget</i>	V, nan
<i>to forget again</i>	V, nanees
<i>to give</i>	V, on
<i>to go</i>	V, wiruk
<i>back</i>	
<i>to go, (certainty of the person already being there)</i>	V, tchot
<i>to go, (happening at the moment)</i>	V, kha
<i>to go, (more chance of seeing the person getting ready to go, or he's getting ready to go)</i>	V, yagh
<i>to grill</i>	V, ut
<i>to hate</i>	V, sang
<i>to have</i>	V, rak
<i>to have many</i>	V, raksoh

<i>to heal</i>	<i>V,</i>	paj
<i>to hold</i>	<i>V,</i>	am
<i>to hunt</i>	<i>V,</i>	kal
<i>to introduce, bring people together</i>	<i>V,</i>	amsoh
<i>to jump</i>	<i>V,</i>	gong
<i>to know</i>	<i>V,</i>	eenagh
<i>to learn</i>	<i>V,</i>	jang
<i>to lie</i>	<i>V,</i>	le
<i>to listen</i>	<i>V,</i>	sikduk
<i>to lock, shut</i>	<i>V,</i>	bat
<i>to look at</i>	<i>V,</i>	marak
<i>to look at again</i>	<i>V,</i>	markees
<i>to need, (+ ki-VERB)</i>	<i>V,</i>	dyok
<i>to nurse</i>	<i>Vtrans,</i>	bapi
<i>to nurse at the breast</i>	<i>Vintr,</i>	bap
<i>to open</i>	<i>V,</i>	rangees
<i>to open itself</i>	<i>V,</i>	rangsook
<i>to open itself again</i>	<i>V,</i>	rangsookis
<i>to peddle, sell</i>	<i>V,</i>	ton
<i>to rain</i>	<i>V,</i>	tob
<i>to recultivate</i>	<i>V,</i>	gurees
<i>to refold</i>	<i>V,</i>	ponees
<i>to refuse</i>	<i>V,</i>	sang
<i>to remember</i>	<i>V,</i>	nandees
<i>to remind someone</i>	<i>V,</i>	nanseedoh
<i>to remove</i>	<i>V,</i>	nees
<i>to remove again</i>	<i>V,</i>	neesees
<i>to run</i>	<i>V,</i>	noop
<i>to see</i>	<i>V,</i>	ghot
<i>to share</i>	<i>V,</i>	nen
<i>to shut someone in</i>	<i>V,</i>	rangoos
<i>to shut, close</i>	<i>V,</i>	rang
<i>to sing</i>	<i>V,</i>	ye-ek
<i>to sit down</i>	<i>V,</i>	bof
<i>to sleep</i>	<i>V,</i>	negh
<i>to sow</i>	<i>V,</i>	sok
<i>to speak, talk</i>	<i>V,</i>	wok
<i>to stand</i>	<i>V,</i>	yek
<i>to stop (cease activity)</i>	<i>V,</i>	fah
<i>to stop, stand still (when walking away)</i>	<i>V,</i>	toofook
<i>to storm</i>	<i>V,</i>	pawel
<i>to sweep</i>	<i>V,</i>	pad
<i>to swim</i>	<i>V,</i>	yek
<i>to take</i>	<i>V,</i>	bay

<i>to take a shower (yourself)</i>	V, bokuk
<i>to take back</i>	V, bayees
<i>to taste</i>	V, yogh
<i>to teach, cause to learn</i>	V, bitsip
<i>to think</i>	V, leeb
<i>to thunder</i>	V, inding
<i>to tie</i>	V, toh
<i>to turn around</i>	V, weel or weer
<i>to uncover</i>	V, umbees
<i>to uncover oneself</i>	V, ulukis
<i>to uncover oneself again</i>	V, ulisukis
<i>to uncover OR to cover again</i>	V, ulis
<i>to unite</i>	V, yinogh
<i>to untie</i>	V, tokees
<i>to wake up, to stand up, get up</i>	V, kuruk
<i>to wake up, to wake up from sleeping</i>	V, yunuk
<i>to walk</i>	V, teen
<i>to want, like, love (like=want=love [even in relationships] – can mean ‘need’, but only in the sense that one wants to; not in the sense that it’s absolutely essential)</i>	V, wad
<i>to wash</i>	V, naow
<i>to wash (someone else)</i>	V, bok
<i>to witness</i>	V, masoh
<i>to work</i>	V, pangook
<i>to wrap (another person) in a loincloth</i>	V, ken
<i>to wrap (oneself) in a loincloth</i>	V, kenuk
<i>to wrestle</i>	V, leber
<i>today</i>	ADV, wati
<i>tomorrow</i>	ADV, kim
<i>tongue</i>	N, pedem
<i>tooth</i>	N, sees
<i>traditional ceremony – family reunion with authentic food</i>	N, gin
<i>traditional dance</i>	N, mbilim
<i>tree, medicine</i>	N, kidik
<i>Tuesday</i>	N, latir

<i>twenty</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	nankegh kanak
<i>two</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	kanak
<i>two hundred</i>	<i>NUMBER,</i>	temer kanak
<i>urine</i>	<i>N,</i>	sok
<i>village, country</i>	<i>N,</i>	kur
<i>water</i>	<i>N,</i>	masuk
<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>N,</i>	daba
<i>week ('this day comes back')</i>	<i>N,</i>	mbegh hayees
<i>what</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	wei
<i>what</i>	<i>PRO,</i>	yey
<i>when</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	kidah
<i>when</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	wee
<i>where</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	andeh
<i>where</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	ndeh
<i>which</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	weendeh
<i>white</i>	<i>COLOR,</i>	yano
<i>who</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	eba
<i>who</i>	<i>PRO,</i>	yeba
<i>why</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	yetagh
<i>woman</i>	<i>N,</i>	bitif
<i>wrestler</i>	<i>N,</i>	leberoh
<i>year</i>	<i>N,</i>	kis
<i>yellow, corn</i>	<i>COLOR, N,</i>	mbohah
<i>yesterday</i>	<i>ADV,</i>	watba
<i>younger brother</i>	<i>N,</i>	tamdoh yar yin
<i>younger sibling</i>	<i>N,</i>	tamdoh yin
<i>younger sister</i>	<i>N,</i>	tamdoh bitip yin
<i>your</i>	<i>PRO,</i>	jingda