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Reduplication as a word formation process in GÌDÌRÈ

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Abstract

The paper discussed Reduplication as a word formation process in Gidìrè. Gidìrè is one of the group of fourteen languages referred to as Ghana-Togo-Mountain (GTM) Languages. This Language is spoken in the Krachi East and Nkwanta South Districts in the Volta Region of Ghana. The language is also spoken in some parts of the Republic of Togo. The main objective of this paper was to investigate how words are derived in Gidìrè through reduplication. The instruments used in collecting data for the study were informal/unstructured/conversational interview and participant observation. Both primary and secondary data were used in the study. The technique used for analyzing data for this paper was based on the Item-and- Process (IP) model of the Structuralist's Approach to Morphology. The study revealed that verbs, adverbs and adjectives could be reduplicated to derive new words in the language. It was further revealed that verbal reduplication in the language normally involves complete/full reduplication. Another notable revelation made in the study is that verbs are mostly reduplicated to indicate the frequency and repetition of an action, activity or an event. Reduplication of adjectives and adverbs on the other hand involve both partial and complete/full reduplication. Additionally, it was noted that adjectives are reduplicated to mark intensity of the quality expressed by the adjective while reduplicated adverbs indicate excessiveness. It was also evident that most of the stems that go through partial reduplication undergo some morpho-phonological processes.

Keywords: Reduplication, Ghana-Togo-Mountain (GTM) Languages

1 Introduction

1.0 Background to the Study

1.1 Language Name and Genetic Classification

Gidìrè is one of the group of fourteen languages that are currently being referred to as the "Ghana-Togo-Mountain (GTM) Languages" (Williamson and Blench 2000) [25]. Prior to this name however, several opinions have been expressed on the classification of the language group. Ameka (2002) [3] noted that these languages were first seen as a group and referred to as "Togorestsprachen" by Struck (1912) [24]. This name, he noted, was first translated in English as "Togo Remnant languages" and later referred to as "Central-Togo Languages." Dakubu (1988:119) [7], citing the works of Heine (1968) [12] and Ring (1981) [20], noted that the Central -Togo Languages comprises languages such as Adele (Gìdirè), Buem (Lelemi), Bowili, Likpe, Logba, Avatime, Sele, Siwu, Ahlo, Kposo, Nyangbo, Tafi, Kebu and Animere.

Gidìrè is spoken in the Krachi East and the Nkwanta South Districts in the Volta Region of Ghana and in some parts of the Republic of Togo. The indigenous people call their language Gidìrè and they refer to themselves (speakers of the language) as Bèdìrè. However, because they live in multi-lingual communities, the other language groups with whom they live call the language Adele and they call the speakers of the language Adeles. Throughout this paper however, I will like to use Gidìrè and Bèdìrè because these are the names by which the indigenous people call their language and themselves respectively.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Gidìrè, is not studied in Ghanaian school as a Ghanaian Language. As a result, there is not enough data on the language. Though, "The Bible League" in collaboration with 'The Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literature and Bible Translation—GILLBT' has translated the New Testament of the Holy Bible and other Christian Literature from English Language into Gidìrè, they do not constitute much ground for linguistic study of the language.

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Kleiner, Leonhard and Adinyah have also conducted some linguistics study into some aspects of the language. There is still the need to add to what they have done in the language. This study will therefore add to the limited data on the language. It is for this reason that I want to explore “Reduplication as a word formation Processes in Gidirè.”

1.3 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following questions:

1. What types of words are derived through in Gidirè through reduplication?
2. What morpho-phonological processes take in the formation of new words in Gidirè through reduplication?

1.4 Objective

The paper intends to

1. Examine how words are derived in Gidirè through Reduplication.
2. Discuss the various forms of words derived in Gidirè through Reduplication
3. Identify and discuss the morpho-phonological processes involved in Reduplication in Gidirè.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

The Item-and-Arrangement (IA) and ‘Item-and-Process (IP) models of the Structuralists’ approach to morphology were chosen for this study. This approach, propounded by Hockett (1958) was adopted by several scholars such as Mark and Fudeman (2005), Mark and Kirsten (2005), and Spencer (1991)^[19] among others and has been proved to be very useful in Linguistics analysis. All these intellectuals agreed that the IA model is a linguistic theory that sought to provide techniques for decomposing words into their component morphemes.” The IP theory on the other hand has been described “as an approach to morphology in which complex words result from the operation of a process on simpler words. This approach was adopted for the study because it is best tool for analyzing data for the type of study conducted.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Overview of Reduplication

Various Scholars have expressed several views on Reduplication as a word formation process in different languages. Among them, are following whose works inspired me to work on Reduplication as a word formation process in Gidirè. Bauer (1988: 4)^[5] defined morphology as “a term used not only for the study of the shapes of words, but also for the collection of units which are used in changing the forms of words” He noted further that “morphology is used for the sequence of rules which are postulated by the linguist to account for the changes in the shapes of words.” This, in a way, means any change in the shapes of words in a given language must be backed by rules and explanation as to how the change came about and the processes involved. Bauer (1998:25) further defined reduplication as “using some part of the base (which may be the entire base) more than once in the word.” He noted that reduplication is frequently used to indicate plurality, intensity and repetition. Discussing and explaining the processes through which new words are derived in Gidirè through reduplication, as this study seeks to do, is an attempt to determine how these rules work and as to

Matthews (1974:116)^[18] argued that “morphological processes are means of changing the stem to adjust its meaning to fit its syntactic and communicational contexts.” These processes, as identified by Matthews, include affixations (prefixation, suffixation, infixation and circumfixation), reduplication, compounding, and modification among others. This study is however limited to how words are derived in the language through reduplication. The other processes will not matter so much for us in this current study.

Huddleston (1984)^[13] agreed that morphological processes involve the processes through which new words are produced in a language through affixation. Both Matthews and Huddleston share similar idea that morphological processes involve the processes whereby new words are created or the stems of existing words are modified to suit its grammatical context in a given language.

Similarly, Beard (1998:44)^[6] held the view that “derivational morphology or word formation is so named because it usually results in the derivation of new word with new meaning.” He agreed that derivation refers to “any process which results in the creation of a new word.” He identified some of these derivational processes in English as affixation, compounding, reduplication, clipping, blending, and back formation among others. Though, all these processes are means of deriving words, this particular study will focus on only reduplication as a word formation process in Gidirè. Beard (1998:44)^[6] on his part, viewed reduplication as “a process of derivation which copies all or part of the phonological representation of a stem as an affix.” Sharing a similar view with Beard is Payne. According to Payne (1999:30), reduplication “is a process where a piece of a root (possibly the whole root) is repeated. He cited the following examples from Ilokano (Philippino) as shown in (2.1) below

2.1. a. Pingan ‘Dish’ Pingpingan ‘Dishes’

b. Talon ‘Field’ Taltalon ‘Fields’

Though, Payne did not mention it, a critical look at the duplicated words from the above examples indicate that reduplication is used to indicate plurality in the language. The type of reduplication seen here is partial reduplication because it only part of the stem that is reduplicated.

Katamba and Stonham (2006:181)^[14] argued that reduplication “is the process whereby an affix is realised by phonological material borrowed from the base.” They also agreed with Bauer (1998) that reduplication often indicates continuation, frequency or repetition of an event or an action. This repetition, they observed, may involve the same participant or different participants with examples from Twi as in (2.2)

2.2 Unreduplicated Reduplicated

a. wu “die” wuwu ‘die in numbers’

b. bu “bend/break” bubu ‘bend/break (many things)’

(Katamba and Stonham 2006: 181)^[14]

According to Fabb (1988), reduplication is ‘a repetition compound,’ because, in what he termed as ‘whole-word reduplication’ (in other words, full reduplication); he observed that each part of the resultant word corresponds to an independently attested word. He cited examples from

Tamil compound words which are generated through reduplication to back his claim as shown in (2.7) as follows:

- 2.3. a.** vantu ‘coming’ vantu-vantu ‘coming time and again’
b. viyāparam ‘business’ viyāparam-kiyāparam ‘business and such’

In example (2.3b) above, the second word is slightly modified where the first sound in the reduplicated form is changed from v- to k-.

Dolphyne (1988:124)^[8] observed that reduplication is “a type of compound formation which consists of the repetition of the whole or part of a stem.” By this definition, one will deduce that reduplication could be partial or complete. She observed that in Twi, verbal reduplication is used to mean repetition of action. She indicated that some reduplicated forms are a simple repetition of the stem as shown in (2.4) below.

- 2.4. a.** tu “dig” tutu “keep on digging”
b. bɔ “to break” bobɔ “break up/ hit repeatedly”
 (Dolphyne 1988:136)^[8]

She also noted that most reduplicated forms in Akan have complex structures as shown in 2.4 below:

- 2.4 a.** da “sleep” deda “put to sleep”
b. hwe “look at” hwehwe “search”
c. twam “wither” twintwam “wither”
 (Dolphyne 1988: 125)^[8]

She argued further that some reduplicated forms in Twi are used to indicate plurality of subjects and objects as shown in (2.4) below:

- 2.4a.** wu “die” wuwu “die-of several persons”
b. fre “call” frefre “call many people”
 (Dolphyne 1988: 136-137)^[8]

These observations made by Dolphyne (1988)^[8] about Akan reduplication are similar to those mentioned by Payne (1999), Bauer (1998), Katamba and Stonham (2006)^[14] and Fabb (1988) all of whom in one way or the other, agreed that reduplication could be used to indicate plurality, repetition, or frequency of an activity.

The examples here indicate instances of complete reduplication because in each case, the whole stem is repeated without any modification.

Ofori (2002) agreed with Dolphyne (1998) that reduplication is “a type of compound formation which consists of the repetition of the whole or part of the stem.” He also agreed that when part of the stem is repeated, it is known as partial reduplication. Complete/total reduplication, he noted, is realized when the whole stem is repeated. He cited examples of reduplication in Ewe as follows;

- 2.6. a.** xɔ “get” xɔxɔ “redemption”
b. dzo “fly” dzodzo “flying”
c. kle “shine” kekɛ “shining”
d. kplɔ “lead/sweep” kpɔkplɔ “leading/sweeping”
 (Ofori 2002:174)

Examples (2.6a & b) are instances of complete/full reduplication because the whole stem is repeated in the

reduplicated form. Examples (2.6c & d) may however be considered as partial reduplication because part of the stem in each example is copied and prefixed to the stem.

Dundaa (2008)^[10] noted that in Kaakyi, most reduplicated words are mere duplication of the basic word that, the meaning of a reduplicated word is extended to mean ‘excessiveness’ with the following examples to back his point.

- 2.7a.** biren ‘quick’ birenbiren ‘quick quick’
b. kyɔ ‘many’ kyɔkyɔ ‘very many’
c. kpaati ‘few’ kpaatikpaati ‘little by little’

Dundaa (2008:25)^[10]

Dorvlo (2008)^[9] observed that in Logba (Ikpana), adjectives are derived through reduplication. He noticed that the process could either be full reduplication of the stem of a noun or a partial reduplication of a property verb as shown in (2.8) below:

- 2.8. a.** u-bí ‘small boy’ bíbí ‘small’
b. bli ‘become black’ bíbí ‘black.’
 (Dorvlo 2008: 75)^[9]

Judging from what the various writers have said about the subject matter of reduplication and the examples provided to support their arguments, we can say that “reduplication is a derivational process through which part or the whole stem is repeated to derive a new word.” This study will explore Reduplication process in Gidírè to establish whether the characteristics associated with reduplication as identified by the aforementioned authorities are found in Gidírè also.

3.0 Methodology

3.1 Research Design

The type of research design adapted for the study is qualitative research and it based on the ethnographic approach. I chose this type of research because it enabled me to collect data primarily from the natural setting.

3.2 Method of Data Collection

Both primary and secondary data were used in the research work. The primary data was obtained from native speakers of the language through informal (unstructured) interview/ conversation. The secondary data on the other hand was elicited from the existing literature on Gidírè. Majority was obtained from Gidírè phonetic wordlist based on Kleiner (1989)^[15] and others from Adinyah (2008)^[1].

3.3 Population and Sampling

Gidírè is spoken in seven towns in the Nkwanta South and three in the Krachi East Districts making a total of ten towns. The data for the study was however collected in only four of these communities. One community in the Krachi East (Dormabin) and three in the Nkwanta South District. These towns are Nkwanta, (which is the Nkwanta South District capital and also doubles as the trade center for Bèdíré), Tutukpene, (the paramouncy of Bèdíré), and Dadiase (the spiritual town (spiritual centre) of Bèdíré). The towns were selected because of their significant influence on Bèdíré.

3.5. Data Analysis Procedure

The Item-and Arrangement (IA) and the Item-and-Process (IP) models of the Strucuralist’s approach to morphology

mentioned earlier were adopted for this study. Data for this work is presented alongside discussion of the processes involved in compounding formation in Gidírè. (That is, the data will be presented and followed by a discussion which aims at describing and explaining the processes involved in the data presented.)

4.0 Presentation of Findings

The study revealed that in Gidírè, verbs, adjectives and adverbs could be reduplicated to derive new words in the language. These forms of reduplication are discussed below with appropriate examples.

4.1 Verbal Reduplication in Gidírè

From the data collected, it was revealed that in Gidírè, verbal reduplication is achieved by repeating the whole base without modification to any part of the stem. The reduplicated form is made up of two parts, with each part being identical as shown in 4.1.1 below.

4.1.1. Verb stems Reduplicated form

- a. tiba tibatiba
“to beat” “to beat continuously”
- b. tikya tikyatikya
“to step on something” “to step on something repeatedly”
- c. seba sebaseba
“to cut” “to cut something repeatedly”
- d. kpenti kpentikpentí
“to shake something” “to shake something repeatedly”
- e. kpa kpakpa
“to sweep” “to sweep repeatedly”
- f. tana tanatana
“to open” “to open several times”
- g. tunla tunlatunla
“to push” “to push repeatedly”
- h. lila lilalila
“to ask” “to ask repeatedly”

It is observed from the above examples that in Gidírè, some verbs are mostly reduplicated to indicate frequency and repetition of the action, just as Katamba and Stonham (2006)^[14] and Dolphyne (1988)^[8] noted.

Some reduplicated forms in the language could mean performing the action on the same person/thing repeatedly or performing the action on several people/things. In other words, the reduplicated form indicates that the repetition of the action or event affects different participants while the stem indicates that the action or event affects one person. In (4.1.2) below, we will notice that the reduplicated form mean that the action or event affects different people/entities.

4.1.2. Verb stem Reduplicated form

- a. wolo wolowolo
“to kill one person” “to kill more than one person”
- b. ku kuku
“to die” “to die in numbers”
- c. kpali kpalikpali
“to slap one person” “to slap several people”
- d. se sese
“to buy one thing” “to buy several things”
- e. sila silasila
“to break one thing” “to break many things”
- f. kpele kpelekpele

“to call one person” “call many people”

g. to toto

“to collect from one person” “to collect from many people”

In example (4.1.3) below, we consider examples of some of these stems and their respective reduplicated forms in sentences to illustrate what I mean by the repetition involving different participants or plurality.

(4.1.3) Verb stem Reduplicated form

- a. Aku e wolo egbebi fɔ. Aku e wolowolo begbebi fɔ.
“Aku killed the goat” “Aku killed several goats”
- b. Èkorɔkɔ fɔ e ku Bèkorɔkɔ fɔ be kuku
“The fowl died.” “The fowls died in numbers”
- c. Afua e kpali ebi fɔ Afua e kpalikpali bebi fɔ
“Afua slapped the child” “Afua slapped the children”

In (4.1.3a) above, we realize that Aku killed only one goat when the stem wolo ‘kill’ is used. However, when the verb is reduplicated to derive wolowolo, the meaning we derive from the sentence is that several goats were killed ‘killing goats repeatedly.’ Similarly, in (4.1.3b), one fowl is seen to have died when ku ‘die’ is used but when the verb is reduplicated to kuku; the indication is that several fowls died. Then in c, kpali is used to indicate that Afua slapped one child while the reduplicated form kpalikpali indicates that she slapped several children.

A general observation made about verbal reduplication in the language is that, the reduplicated form is made up of two parts, each of which is identical to the verb stem as we see in kpali “slap” which is reduplicated to derive kpalikpali “slap repeatedly” and sila “break” which is reduplicated to derive silasila “break many things/break repeatedly” among others. In fact, all verbal reduplication in Gidírè involves complete/full reduplication.

4.2 Reduplication of Adjectives

Adjectives are also reduplicated to derive new words in the language. Most of the reduplicated adjectives mark intensity of the quality expressed by the adjective. Reduplication of some adjectives involves full/complete reduplication (repeating the whole stem without any modification) as shown in (4.2.1) below.

4.2.1. Stem Reduplicated form

- a. pɪ pɪpɪ
“small” “very small”
- b. bɛɛ bɛɛbɛɛ
“little” “little by little”
- c. gɪsɔ gɪsɔgɪsɔ
“many” “very many”
- d. kperen kperenkperen
“different” “differently”

These types of reduplication exhibit the same characteristics as those of verbal reduplication. That is, they involve complete reduplication just like verbal reduplication.

Some reduplicated forms however undergo some modifications. Mostly, the vowel prefix in the base form is replaced with another vowel with a difference in meaning of the reduplicated form. This type of reduplication may be considered as partial reduplication in the language because it is only part of the stem is modified and prefixed to the stem to derive the reduplicated part as shown in (4.2.2) below.

(4.2.2) Stem Reduplicated form.

- a. ʊdɪrɛ adɪrɛdɪrɛ

- “big one” “big ones”
 b. siya usisiya
 “red” “red one”
 c. diya vidiya
 “black” “black one”
 d. kpara kpokpara
 “good” “best”
 e. kpen kpikpen
 “bad” “worse”

The reduplicated forms in the above examples have complex structure just like the observation made by Dolphyne (1988) [8] about some reduplicated forms in Twi having complex structure. In (4.2.2a) for instance, the first syllable of the stem *vɔɔre* “big” is modified in the reduplicated form to derive *adɔɔre* “big ones.” This means that the prefix *v-* in *vɔɔre* is replaced by *a-* while the stem is repeated to derive *adɔɔre*. The “*a-*” that replaces *v-* carries plural meaning. It indicates that the noun to which the reduplicated adjective is attached is plural nouns. This type of reduplication therefore indicates plurality. In *b* and *c* where the base forms *siya* and *diya* become *usisiya* and *vidiya* respectively, the first syllable of the stem is modified by taking the prefix *v-* and copied to the original stem to derive the reduplicated forms of the respective adjective. In *d*, the medial vowel *-a-* in *kpara* is replaced by *-v-* as we see in *kpokpara* “best.” This phenomenon of modifying the reduplicated form of the stem is peculiar to partial reduplication as we have seen from the examples above.

4.3 Reduplication of Adverbs

Few adverbs in the language may be reduplicated to derive other adverbs. When adverbs are reduplicated, the reduplicated form indicates “excessiveness” of the idea being expressed. Some of these reduplicated adverbs involve complete/full reduplication as shown in (4.3.1) below

4.3.1 Stem Reduplicated form

- a. *bilen*_{ADV} *bilenbilen*_{ADV}
 “quick” “quickly”
 b. *diyɛɛ*_{ADV} *diyɛɛdiyɛɛ*_{ADV}
 “slow” “slowly”
 c. *okere* *okerekere*
 “edge” “sideways”
 d. *diki* *dikidiki*
 “one” “one by one”

From the above examples, you will notice that both (5.15a & b) involve complete reduplication. This is because in each of them, the whole stem; *bilen* and *diyɛɛ* are reduplicated to derive *bilenbilen* and *diyɛɛdiyɛɛ* respectively. Few reduplicated adverbs involve partial reduplication as shown in (4.3.2) below.

4.3.2 Stem Reduplicated form

- a. *gekpa*_{ADV} *gekpakpa*_{ADV}
 “for ever” “for ever and ever”
 b. *nkele*_{ADV} *nkenkele*_{ADV}
 “now” “immediately”
 c. *gepe* *gepepe*
 “well” “very well”
 d. *siyɛɛ* *sisiyɛɛ*
 “far” “very far”

- e. *gbagba* *gbagbaagba*
 “oneself” “personally”

It will be noted from (4.3.2a) above that it is only the second syllable–*kpa* of the stem *gekpa* that is copied and suffixed to the stem to derive the reduplicated form of the adverb *gekpakpa*. Similarly in (4.3.2b) the first syllable *-nke* of the stem *nkenle* ‘now’ is copied and suffixed to the stem to derive the reduplicated form of *gekpa* “now” *nkenkele* ‘immediately.’ Then in (5.16c) the second syllable *-pe* of the stem *gepe* “well” is copied and suffixed to the stem to derive *gepepe* “very well.” Other examples could be explained in the same way. This is an indication that reduplication of adverbs includes both partial and complete reduplication.

5.1. Summary of Findings Gidirè

From the study, it was revealed that verbs, adjectives and adverbs are the major word classes that are reduplicated to derive new words in Gidirè. It was also evident that mostly, verbal reduplication in Gidirè involved a repetition of the whole stem (complete/full reduplication) as shown in (5.1) below:

5.1 Stem Reduplicated

- a. *tu* *tutu*
 ‘to pierce’ ‘to pierce continuously’
 b. *kula* *kulakula*
 ‘to gather’ ‘to gather a lot of things’
 c. *kunla* *kunlakunla*
 ‘to push’ ‘to push repeatedly’
 d. *kya* *kyakya*
 ‘to touch’ ‘to touch repeatedly’
 e. *kpele* *kpelekpele*
 ‘to call’ ‘to call repeatedly’

In all the examples ((5.1) above, the reduplicated form is a repetition of the whole stem. The examples also indicate a repetition of an action. Another notable feature identified in the study about Gidirè reduplication is that, depending upon the context in which it is used, the reduplicated verbs could mean the agent performing the action repeatedly on the same affected or on different recipient. For instance, when *kpele* ‘to call’ is reduplicated to derive *kpelekpele*, the reduplicated form could mean calling somebody repeatedly or calling several people. Similarly, when *kya* ‘to touch’ is reduplicated to derive *kyakya*, the reduplicated form could be understood as touching the same thing repeatedly or touching several things.

The study further revealed that part of the stem can be reduplicated to derive a new word. This is what Beard (1998) [6] and Ofori (2002) and some of the other writers referred to as ‘partial reduplication.’ In partial reduplication, part of the stem is modified and mostly prefixed to the stem to derive the reduplicated form of the word as exemplified in (5.2) below.

5.2 stem reduplicated form

- a. *nkele* *nkenkele*
 ‘now’ ‘immediately’
 b. *kpen* *kpikpen*
 ‘bad’ ‘worse’
 c. *fon* *ɔfufon*
 ‘new’ ‘new one’
 d. *kuba* *ɔkukuba*

‘old’ ‘old one’

The examples here illustrate partial reduplication. This is because in (5.2a), the first syllable nke- of the stem nkele is copied and prefixed to the stem nkele ‘now’ to derive nkenkele ‘immediately.’ In (5.2b), the vowel in the stem is modified as kpen “bad” changes to kpin- while the nasal sound -n is elided leaving kpi- which is then prefixed to the original stem kpen to derive the reduplicated form kpikpen “worse.” In (5.2c), the first syllable fo- of the stem fon is modified with the vowel “o” changed to ‘u’ to derive fu-. This is then prefixed with v- to derive vfu- which is eventually prefixed to the stem fon ‘new’ to derive vufon ‘new one.’ Similarly, in d, we note that the first syllable ku- of the stem kuba is copied and prefixed by v- to derive vku-. This is then prefixed to the original stem kuba to derive vkukuba ‘new one.’ The v- that is prefixed to the reduplicated form carries a meaning as a determiner; signifying that the adjective is singular. When v- is replaced by ‘a-’ in a reduplicated form, it indicate plurality as shown in (5.3) below.

5.3a. fon ‘new’ vufon ‘new one’ afufon ‘new ones’

d. kuba ‘old’ vkukuba ‘old one’ akukuba ‘old ones’

Reduplication as a word formation process in the language (Gidírè) conforms to the rule of vowel harmony because the type of vowel in the stem determines the type of vowel to be found in reduplicated form.

5.2. Conclusion

The study discussed reduplication as a derivational process in Gidírè. From the evidence deduced from the study, one can say that verbal reduplication in the language normally involves complete/full reduplication. Verbs are mostly reduplicated in Gidírè to indicate the frequency and repetition of an action, activity or an event. Reduplication of adjectives and adverbs on the other hand involve both partial and complete/full reduplication. It was also noted that adjectives are reduplicated to mark intensity of the quality expressed by the adjective while adverbs are reduplicated to indicate excessiveness.

5.3. Recommendations and suggestions

This study concentrated solely on reduplication as the derivational process in Gidírè. Future study will focus on other derivational and inflectional processes in the language.

Abbreviation

1. +ATR	Advanced Tongue Root
2. -ATR	Unadvanced Tongue Root
3. GTM Languages	Ghana-Togo Mountain Languages
4. ADJ	Adjective
5. N	Noun
6. V	Verb
7. IP	Item-and- Arrangement
8. IA	Item-and-Process

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