

SELECTED PAPERS

From the

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION AND TRADITION

with a special interest in the Kalasha of the Hindu Kush valleys, Himalayas



Edited by:

Carol Everhard & Elizabeth Mela-Athanasopoulou

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SCHOOL OF ENGLISH, DEPARTMENT OF THEORETICAL & APPLIED LINGUISTICS
ARISTOTLE UNIVERSITY OF THESSALONIKI • THESSALONIKI, GREECE

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Table of Contents

Preface	7
Acknowledgements	9
 Part I. Plenary papers	
Elena Bashir	
<i>Kalasha: Past, present, and possible futures</i>	13
Nikolaus Himmelmann	
<i>On linguistic uses of language documentation</i>	37
Jan Heegård Petersen	
<i>Prescriptivity in fieldwork data – examples from Kalasha</i>	53
 Part II. Linguistic papers	
Arvita Abbi	
<i>Documenting Great Andamanese: Challenges and Solutions for a Dying Language</i>	65
Sergio Baldi	
<i>A Brief Sketch of Arabic Influence on Dagbani</i>	75
Greg Cooper	
<i>History is being written: Documenting, revitalizing and developing the Kalasha language</i>	85
Chloé Darmon	
<i>Collecting data in Xamtanga: A case of two-way transfer inside the Ethiopian linguistic area</i>	89
Pierpaolo di Carlo	
<i>Two clues of a former hindu Kush linguistic area</i>	101
Ekaterina Gruzdeva	
<i>Archival data and modern language documentation</i>	115
V. Kouï, I. Mouhika, G. Migdalia, Th. Papadopoulou	
<i>Documenting the Dialect of Smyrna – Comparison with Standard Greek</i>	129

Maria Koumarianou	
<i>Resisting the melting pot: aspects of the linguistic identity of the Maronite Community in Cyprus</i>	137
Δώρας Κυριαζής	
<i>Ιδεολογικές όψεις και πρακτικές της γλωσσικής περιθωριοποίησης</i>	149
Eleni Mariou	
<i>The symbolic importance of Pontian Greek</i>	167
Elizabeth Mela-Athanasopoulou	
<i>A morphophonological description of Kalasha as an Indo-Aryan language with Greek roots</i>	179
Ambika Regmi	
<i>Case marking in Kaiké</i>	201
Danraj Regmi	
<i>Developing orthography in Bhujel</i>	211
Matthias Weinreich	
<i>Language Shift in Northern Pakistan. The case of Domaaki and Pashto</i> .	221

Part III. Tradition and Culture papers

Pierpaolo di Carlo	
<i>Language Maintenance through Tradition Vitality</i>	235
Taleem Khan and Elizabeth Mela-Athanasopoulou	
<i>How many are we? A demographic survey on the Kalash of the Hindu Kush valleys, Himalayas</i>	247
Ana Kondic	
<i>Documenting Tradition in South Eastern Huastec, a Mayan Language from Mexico</i>	257
Myrsini Samaroudi and Daphne Economou	
<i>Online documentation and preservation in the 'grigo' speaking area of Magna Grecia (South Italy)</i>	269
Kizar Sarakat & Sherwali Bumhurdari	
<i>The wedding procedure in the Kalasha Valleys, Al'as'ing –</i>	279
Yasir Bazik	
<i>Our customs are Greek</i>	283

A Brief Sketch of Arabic Influence in Dagbani

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Dagbani belongs to the Western-Oti-Volta branch of the Gur languages,² which is part of the larger Niger-Congo language family (Olawsky 1996: 3). It is spoken in the Eastern part of the Northern Region of Ghana by 746,924 people according to the 2000 Ghana Population Census and in north-western Togo by more or less 150,000 people.³ Tamale and Yendi are the main towns in Ghana, where the largest communities are found.

There are no special names for dialects. But the main dialects, centred on Tamale in the West, and Yendi in the East, are generally accepted. The differences concern mainly details in pronunciation and vocabulary, while the structure of the language remains uniform throughout the area. The number of speakers is probably about equal for the two main dialects.

Historically the dialect of Yendi, the capital, was the standard, but nowadays the dialect of Tamale as the administrative and publishing centre is the standard.

Dagbani is one of the six Ghanaian languages used for official publications and for broadcasting. There is an officially approved alphabet by the Bureau of Ghana Languages.⁵ Dagbani has 10 short vowels, but *ə* is very restricted⁶

² The name *Dagbani* is used by English speakers, the speakers call themselves *Dagbamba* (English *Dagomba*). They call their territory *Dagbong* (English *Dagbon*).

³ K. K. Nusu and J. G. Christaller were the first to use the term 'Gur'. The term is based on the fact that the syllable 'gur' occurs in names such as Gurma, Guren, Guresha, Gurema, Guri, Liguri and Guruba. Delafosse (1911) appears to have been the first to use the term Voltaic (in French *Voltaïque*), see Bendor-Samuel (1971: 141).

⁴ It is one of the languages officially recognized by the Ghanaian government, thus it is taught in schools (Olawsky 1996: 2).

⁵ The *Nanumbas* who number about 79,000 (according to the 2000 Ghana Population Census) can be considered a recent breakaway group of *Dagombas*. They speak a dialect of *Dagbani* which differs from the other two dialects mainly in pronunciation.

⁶ The *Language Guide (Dagbani Version)* gives at p. 6 the following letters: a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z. Strangely there are listed q and x, which do not occur in *Dagbani*, while *o* vowel and *γ*, *ŋ* and *ʒ* consonants are missing.

⁷ In *Dagbani* the contrast between *i* and *ɜ* is neutralized in some environments, notably, in the environment where *ə* alone occurs, and utterance finally, where *i* alone appears (see Bendor-Samuel 1971: 153, note 23).

and 9 long vowels. All Dagbani vowels occur doubled, except ə. Consonant clusters do not occur at all in many Gur languages and, where they are found, they are limited to a very small number of consonants and, in most instances, occur frequently. Dagbani is an exception to this and though only a restricted number of consonants are involved in clusters such consonant clusters occur frequently.

"The detailed history of Islam in the Volta region seems tangled and difficult to follow, but the broad sweep of it is simple. It came first as a small wave of the tide of Islam that swept the Mali empire. It became firmly established as a result of a second, more powerful wave that came from Hausaland and Borno", as Professor Hiskett (1984: 120) affirms in his book: *The Development of Islam in West Africa*, where he goes on to say: "Dagomba is the most southerly, Mamprusi the central and Wagadugu the most northerly of the three major Mossi kingdoms that lie in the Volta Basin. The first two, Dagomba and Mamprusi, were the creation of mounted invaders from the north. These invaders set up centralised states where previously there had been family-and-clan-group people whose only authority was that of their Earth priests.

This conquest by mounted invaders may have taken place as early as the 7/13 century, although the kingdom of Dagomba, like the other Mossi kingdoms, seems to have emerged as a distinct entity only in the 9/15 century. Na Gbewa, or Na Bawa, is remembered as the founder of both Dagomba and Mamprusi. Tradition says his sons quarrelled and broke apart, thus creating the two separate kingdoms of Dagomba and Mamprusi.

Islam is traditionally said to have been introduced into Dagomba by the chief Na Zangina, c. 1111/1700, although his successor returned to the traditional cult. There may have been Muslims resident in Dagomba during the 11/17 century, or perhaps earlier. Some were probably linked to the Dyula scholarly community in Timbuktu and had arrived at Dagomba as a result of Dyula trading activities. Others may have been *sakpare* from Gonja, or people from the independent Muslim community of Larabanga. The early Dyula Muslim Community in Dagomba was represented by the *yarnas*, a Mande word applied to the leaders of Dyula Muslim communities.

Later, the Islam of the *yarnas* was challenged by that of the Hausa and Borno *imāms*, prayer leaders who also give guidance in the proper observance of Islam. Their presence was due to the expansion of trade with Hausaland and Borno that had begun to develop even before the end of the 10/16 century. They were usually more learned and more strict than the *yarnas*. They represented a new trend in Islam in the Volta region, less tolerant of mixing than that of the Dyulas. This was especially so after the triumphant *jihād* in Hausaland of 1219/1804 to 1227/1812." (Hiskett 1984: 121-122).

As far as oral tradition is concerned, the Dagbon ('Dagomba') state has received most attention, although it should be noted that the traditions of the

Wasi states, Mamprugu ('Mamprusi'), Nanum ('Nanumba') and Dagbon ultimately merge and refer to common ancestors and movements. Early European references to Dagbon traditions include Ferguson's reports of 1892-6, but it was only in the 1920s that serious collection of traditions began. Rattray (1932) worked in the north between 1928 and 1930 and collected versions of Dagbon history and political organization, apparently from the Ya-Na's elders. It is worth noting that Rattray's field notes on the North are available in London.⁷

The Arabic words which found their way into Dagbani did not arrive directly, but through other languages, mainly Hausa. On the basis of words I was able to collect at the beginning of my study on Dagbani, I will try to give a sketch of the phonology of the Arabic loans in Dagbani:⁸

AR /ʔ/ > DA Ø:

AR *ʔabadan* 'for ever' > DA *abada* 'eternity'; AR *ʔal-ʔarbāʔā* 'Wednesday' > DA *Alaaba*;

AR *ʔad-duʔā* 'prayer' > DA *adua*. Sometimes AR /ʔ/ > DA Ø for the loan arrived not directly, but through other languages, mainly Hausa: AR *ʔal-ʔadān* 'call to prayer' > (KA *ladān* 'muezzin' > HA *làadān/làadaani* >) DA *landani* 'muezzin'; AR *ʔal-ʔimām* 'imam' > (KA *limān* > HA *līmān* >) DA *limama*;

AR /b/ > DA /b/:¹⁰

AR *ʔal-baraka* 'blessing' > (HA *àlbarkàa* >) DA *alibarka*; AR *tauba* 'repentance' > DA *tuuba*; AR *ʔan-nabīy* 'prophet' > DA *anabi*; AR *ḍanb* 'sin, crime' > DA *samba* 'calumniator'. Sometimes AR /b/ > DA /f/ because the loan arrived through other languages: AR *ʔal-kitāb* 'book' > (HA *littaafii* >) DA *litaafi*;

AR /t/ > DA /t/:¹²

AR *tib*... 'tabacco' > DA *tabaa*; AR *ʔal-kitāb* 'book' > DA *litaafi*; AR *ʔas-sabt* 'Saturday' > DA *Asibiri*;

AR /t/ > DA /t/:¹³

7. Field notes on Nankani, Nana, and Dagomba, Dagaba, 1928-30, Ms. 1093, Royal Anthropological Institute of G.B. and Northern Ireland Library.
8. In this section all quotations for Arabic are from Wehr's dictionary and for Dagbani from sources indicated in the final list or from my informant, Mahmoud Adam, if not differently stated. The abbreviations employed here are: AR(abic), DA(gbani), HA(usa), KA(nuri), SO(nghay). For Hausa, all quotations are in the transcription common to Hausaists, but the /r/ is unmarked, being always rolled in loans. More data in my *Dictionnaire etc.* (Baldi 2008).
9. It is a voiced labial, see Bateson (1967: 4).
10. It is a plosive labial, see Olawsky (1996: 4).
11. It is an unvoiced dental, see Bateson (1967: 4).
12. It is a plosive alveolar, see Olawsky (1996: 4).
13. It is an unvoiced interdental, see Bateson (1967: 4).

AR *?at-talātā?* 'Tuesday' > DA *Atalaata*; AR *?al-?itnain* 'Monday' > DA *Atani*. But AR */t/* > DA */š/*, for Dagbani phonological reasons (front vowels): AR *waṭīqa* 'document, paper' > DA *washiika* 'letter';

AR */j/*¹⁴ > DA */z/*:¹⁵

AR *jam*^c 'gathering' > DA *jamii* 'society'; AR *?al-ʿajab* 'astonishment' > DA *alahaziba* 'amazement'; AR *ʿEajj* 'pilgrimage to Mecca' (> HA *haji/hajji*) > DA *hazi*; But AR */j/* > DA *Ø* for a SO/HA intermediary: AR *ʿEajjām* 'barber' > (Tuareg *wa-aʿEažžam* > SO *wànzâm* > KA *wanzâm* 'barbering' > HA *wàn-zaamii* 'barber' >) DA *wanzam*;

AR */ʕ/*¹⁶ > DA */h/*:¹⁷

AR *ʕarām* 'forbidden, unlawful' > DA *haramu*; AR *ʕāl* 'condition, state; status' > DA *halli* 'good behaviour'; AR *?al-ʕaʕad* 'Sunday' > DA *Alahari*. But AR */ʕ/* > DA *Ø*, sometimes via other languages: AR *ʕalwā* 'sweet' > (HA *?àleewàa* >) DA *aleewa*; AR *raʕema* 'sympathy' > DA *rama*; AR *?al-qamʕ* 'wheat' > (HA *?àlkamàa/* SO *àlkámà*) > DA *alkama*; AR *?al-lauʕ* 'slate, board' > (SO *wàlàhā* 'planchette pour écrire' >) DA *walga*;

AR */k/*¹⁸ > DA */h/*:

AR *kufba* 'Friday sermon' > (HA *hus'ubàa/hudubàa* >) DA *huduba*; AR *kair* 'benefit, advantage; welfare' > DA *alhairi*; AR *maḵlūq* 'a human being' > DA *mahludi*. But AR */k/* > DA *Ø* via other languages: AR *kasāra* 'loss' > (HA *hà-saaràa/?àsaaràa* >) DA *ashaara*; AR *?al-ḵamīs* 'Thursday' > (HA *?àlhāmīs* >) DA *Alaamiisi*;

AR */d/*¹⁹ > DA */d/*:²⁰

AR *dalīl* 'sign' > DA *daliri* 'reason'; AR *?abadan* 'for ever' > DA *abada* 'eternity'; AR *ādam* 'Adam' > DA *Ibun Adam* 'mankind'. But AR */d/*²¹ > DA */l/* or */r/*²² in: AR *midfa*^c 'gun, cannon' > DA *malfa* 'fusil'; AR *?al-ʕaʕad* 'Sunday' > DA *Alahari*;

14. It is a voiced palatal, see Bateson (1967: 4).

15. It is a fricative alveolar, see Olawsky (1996: 4).

16. It is an unvoiced pharyngeal, see Bateson (1967: 4).

17. "These two consonants [ʕ/ and /h/] are restricted in their distribution and probably not originally derived from Proto-Gur; instead they may have been adopted from languages like Twi, Hausa, Arabic or English (which are typical contact languages from which Dagbani has borrowed a number of lexical items). In addition, /r/ and /h/ are found as allophones of /d/ and /s/, respectively, in Dagbani, as in other Gur languages." (Olawsky 1996:4).

18. It is an unvoiced velar, see Bateson (1967: 4).

19. It is a voiced dental, see Bateson (1967: 4).

20. It is a plosive alveolar, see Olawsky (1996: 4).

21. It is a lateral alveolar, see Olawsky (1996: 4).

22. See note 17.

AR /d/²³ > DA /d/:

AR *ʔal-ʔadān* 'call to prayer' > DA *landani* 'muezzin'. But AR /d/²⁴ > DA /s/ in: AR *ḍanb* 'sin, crime' > DA *samba* 'calomniateur'; AR *ḍunūb* pl 'sin' > DA *zunubi*;

AR /r/ > DA /r/:

AR *raʕma* 'sympathy' > DA *rama*; AR *ʕarām* 'forbidden, unlawful' > DA *harāma*; AR *sutur* pl of *sītār* 'veil, screen; covering; pretext, excuse' > DA *sutara* 'Stoff (habit, étoffe)'; But AR /r/ > DA Ø in: AR *ʔal-ʔarbāʕāʔ* 'Wednesday' > DA *Alaaba*; AR *ʔar-rizq* 'blessing (of God)' > (HA *ʔazzikii/ʔarzikii* 'good luck' >) DA *arzichi* 'wealth in goods'; AR *ʕifr* 'perfume' > DA *tulali*; AR *qarfas* 'paper' > DA *takada* 'Brief (lettre)';

AR /r/ > DA /l/:

AR *rakūba* 'mount, female riding camel' > (HA *ràakumii* 'camel' >) DA *laa-kumi* 'camel'; AR *ʔas-sirr* 'secret' > (HA *ʔàsiirii* >) DA *ashili*;

AR /z/²⁶ > DA /z/:

AR *zakāh* 'alms tax' > (HA *zàkaa* >) DA *zaka* 'alms related to Islamic customs'; AR *zināʔ* 'adultery, fornication' > (HA *zinaa* >) DA *zina*; AR *ʕizb* '60th part of the Koran' > (HA *ʔizifi* >) DA *izibi*;

AR /s/²⁷ > DA /s/:²⁸

AR *salām* 'greeting' > (HA *sàlaamàa* >) DA *salama* 'seek permission to enter room'; AR *kalsa* [It. *calza*] 'stocking' > DA *kursi* pl of *kurugu* 'pantalon, sar-moel'; AR *ʔal-ḵamīs* 'Thursday' > DA *Alaamiisi*. But AR /s/ > DA Ø in: AR *qarfas* 'paper' > (HA *takàrdaa/takàddaa* >) DA *takada* 'Brief (lettre)';

AR /š/²⁹ > DA /š/:³⁰

AR *šakk* 'doubt' > (HA *šakkàa* >) DA *shakka* 'doubt; hesitation'; AR *šahīd* 'witness' > (HA *šaahidii/šaydàa* >) DA *shahira*; AR *ʔal-ʕišāʔ* 'evening; evening prayer' > (HA *lišāa* 'period from darkness till towards midnight' >) DA *lishadi*;

AR /·/ ³¹ > DA /s/:³²

AR *·adaqa* 'alms' > (HA *sadakàa* >) DA *sara*; AR *mu-ʔiba* 'misfortune' > (HA *màsiifàa* >) DA *masiibo* 'danger'; AR *na-r* 'victory' > (HA *nasaràa* >) DA *na-sara* 'luck';

23. It is a voiced interdental, see Bateson (1967: 4).

24. It is a fricative alveolar, see Olawsky (1996: 4).

25. See note 21.

26. It is a voiced dental, see Bateson (1967: 4).

27. It is an unvoiced dental, see Bateson (1967: 4).

28. It is a fricative alveolar (Olawsky 1996: 4).

29. It is an unvoiced palatal, see Bateson (1967: 4).

30. In Dagbani writing the use of <sh> for /š/ is common, but it functions as an allophone of /s/, see Olawsky (1996: 5).

31. It is an unvoiced dental, see Bateson (1967: 4).

32. It is a fricative alveolar, see Olawsky (1996: 4).

AR /,/³³ > DA /l/:

AR *?al-qā*, in 'judge' > (HA *?àlk'aalii/?àlkaalii* >) DA *alkali/alkaya*; AR *far*, 'religious duty' > (HA *farlùu* >) DA *farilu*;

AR /f/³⁴ > DA /t/:

AR *fammāʿE* 'high-aspiring' > (HA *tàmmahàa/s'ammaanii* 'expectation' >) DA *tammaha* 'expectation'; AR *šaiḥān* 'satan, devil' > (HA *šàys'ân* >) DA *shetani*; AR *ʿifr* 'perfume' > DA *tulali*;

AR /,/³⁵ > DA /z/:

AR *?a,,hār* pl of *uhr* 'midday prayer' > (HA *?àzahàr* >) DA *azafari*; AR *wāʿ*, 'admonition; sermon' > (HA *waʿàzii* 'admonition' >) DA *waazu* 'sermon';

AR /ʿ/³⁶ > DA Ø:

AR *ʿalāma* 'sign' > (HA *àlaamàa* >) DA *alama*; AR *?al-ʿāda* 'commission' > (HA *làʿadàa* >) DA *laara* 'reward in the hereafter, like marks'; AR *?al-jumʿa* 'Friday' > DA *Alizimma*; AR *?ad-duʿāʿ* 'prayer' > DA *adua*; AR *naḥʿ* 'advantage, profit' > (HA *?āmḥāanii/?ānḥāanii* >) DA *anfaani* 'utility';

AR /.../³⁷ > DA /g/³⁸:

AR *...aib* 'absence; the invisible; divine secret' > DA *gaibi*; AR *bala...a v* 'to reach puberty' > (HA *bàlagà v* >) DA *balaga* 'maturity'; AR *ma...rib* 'prayer at sunset' > (HA *màgàribàa/màngàribàa* 'prayer at sunset' >) DA *magaribi*;

AR /f/³⁹ > DA /f/⁴⁰:

AR *fātiʿEa* 'first chapter of the Koran' > (HA *faatihàa* >) DA *faatihā*; AR *faqr* 'poor' > (SO *àlfūkàarì* 'poor' >) DA *fara* 'poverty'; AR *tafsīr* 'commentary (esp. one on the Koran)' > DA *tafsiru*, cf. Fulfulde *tafsru*; AR *munāfiq* 'hypocrite' > (HA *munaafūkii* >) DA *munaḥichi*. But AR /f/ > DA /h/ in: AR *?al-kafam* (834a) 'shroud' > DA *kahaṇa* 'linceul', probably for its position among two /a/;

AR /q/⁴¹ > DA /k/⁴²:

AR *?al-qalam* 'pen' > DA *alkalam*; AR *ʿaql* 'intelligence' > (HA *hankàlii* >) DA *haṇkali* 'mind, intelligence'; AR *waṭīqa* 'document, paper' > DA *washiika* 'letter'. But AR /q/⁴³ > DA /ɣ/ or Ø in: AR *ʿadaqa* 'alms' > (HA *sadakàa* >)

33. It is a voiced dental, see Bateson (1967: 4).

34. It is an unvoiced dental, see Bateson (1967: 4).

35. It is a voiced dental, see Bateson (1967: 4).

36. It is a voiced pharyngeal, see Bateson (1967: 4).

37. It is a voiced velar, see Bateson (1967: 4).

38. It is a plosive velar glottal, see Olawsky (1996: 4).

39. It is an unvoiced labial, see Bateson (1967: 4).

40. It is a fricative alveolar, see Olawsky (1996: 4).

41. It is an unvoiced uvular, see Bateson (1967: 4).

42. It is a plosive velar glottal, see Olawsky (1996: 4).

43. See Olawsky (1996: 16): "After vowels, /g/ is realized as the (voiced) velar fricative [ɣ]. This is the only position where [ɣ] is found".

DA *sara*; AR *miqa*⁴⁴ 'scissors' > DA *maȳsi*; AR *faqīr* 'poor' > (SO *àlfūkàari* 'poor' >) DA *fara* 'poverty'; AR *ʔal-faqīh* 'legist, expert of *fiqh*' > (SO *àlfā* 'marabout, lettré, imam' >) DA *afa* '(Muslim) priest'; AR *qarfas* 'paper' > (HA *takārdāa/takāddāa* >) DA *takada* 'Brief (lettre)';
AR *āpa* (575a) 'window' > HA *taagāa*; cf. DA *takor*, Akan *takro*;

AR /k/⁴⁴ > DA /k/:

AR *kaʔEl* 'antimony; kohl, a preparation of pulverized antimony used for darkening (the edges of) the eyelids' > DA *chilo* 'cosmeticum'; AR *ʔal-kafan* 'shroud' > DA *kahāja* 'linceul'; AR *rakʔa* 'bending of the torso from an upright position' > (HA *rakaʔāa* >) DA *rakaa*; AR *malāʔika* pl of *malʔak* 'angel' > DA *malaaiika*; AR *širk* 'idolatry' > DA *shirku* 'an unreligious act, blasphemy'; AR *šakk* 'doubt' > (HA *šakkāa* >) DA *shakka* 'doubt; hesitation'. But AR /k/ > DA Ø via some intermediaries: AR *rukn* 'support; corner; basic element' > DA *beresine* 'notable (Notabler)'; AR *ʔal-kitāb* 'book' > (HA *littaafii* >) DA *litaafi*;

AR /l/ >⁴⁵ DA /l/:

AR *laimun* 'lime' > (HA *lèemoo* >) DA *leemu*; AR *ʔal-balāʔ* 'misfortune, plague' > DA *balaai*; AR *maklūq* 'a human being' > DA *mahludi*; AR *kalwa* 'privacy, solitude; seclusion, isolation, retirement; hermitage' > (HA *halwāa* 'being hermit; illegal cessation of cohabitation pending divorce' >) DA *halwa* 'seclude oneself for meditation'; AR *salām* 'greeting' > (HA *sālaamāa* >) DA *salama* 'seek permission to enter room'; AR *mulk* 'rule, reign' > (HA *mulki* 'rule, government' >) DA *mulki*; AR *halaka* v 'to perish; to die; to be destroyed' > (HA *halikaa* 'to destroy' >) DA *halaka* 'to punish severely'; But AR /l/ > DA /r/ or Ø in: AR *dalīl* 'sign' > DA *daliri* 'reason'; AR *kalsa* [It. *calza*] 'stocking' > DA *kursi* pl of *kurugu* 'pantalons, sarrouel'; AR *ʔal-baʔal* 'onion' > (HA *ʔal-busaʔa*⁴⁶ >) DA *albasa*;

AR /m/ >⁴⁷ DA /m/ >⁴⁸:

AR *muslim* 'Muslim' > (HA *mūsūlmii* >) DA *musulinsi*; AR *misk* 'musk' > (HA *miskii* >) DA *miski* 'musk; perfume'; AR *mulk* 'rule, reign' > (HA *mulki* 'rule, government' >) DA *mulki*; AR *ʔammā* 'but' > (HA *ʔammaa* >) DA *amaa*; AR *ʔal-qalam* 'pen' > DA *alkalami*. But in one case the original AR /m/ became doubled and in another the doubled AR /m/ > DA /n/ >⁴⁹ in: AR *ʔīmān* 'faith, belief' > DA *immani*; AR *ʔumma* 'nation, people' > DA *al-unna*;

44. It is an unvoiced palatal, see Bateson (1967: 4).

45. It is a sonant lateral, see Bateson (1967: 4).

46. Abraham (1962: 19a) gives it as an Arabic loan. I doubt this for phonetical reasons.

47. It is a sonant labial, see Bateson (1967: 4).

48. It is nasal labial, see Olawsky (1966: 4).

49. It is a nasal alveolar, see Olawsky (1966: 4).

AR /n/⁵⁰ > DA /n/:

AR *na'am* 'yes' > (HA *nà'am* >) DA *na'am*; AR *dunyā* 'world' > DA *duniya*;
 AR *ʔabadan* 'for ever' > DA *abada* 'eternity'; AR *ʔal-jinn* 'jinn, demons' >
 DA *alizini* '(good or bad) spirits';

AR /h/⁵¹ > DA /h/:

AR *šahīd* 'witness' > (HA *šaahidii/šaydàa* >) DA *shahira*; AR *ʔa,,hār* pl of
 „uhr 'midday prayer' > (HA *ʔàzahār* >) DA *azafari*; AR *wahla* 'fright, terror'
 > (HA *wàhalàa* 'trouble' >) DA *wahala* 'suffering'; AR *ʔal-faqīh* 'legist, expert
 of *fiqh*' > DA *afa* '(Muslim) priest';

AR /w/⁵² > DA /w/⁵³:

AR *wahla* 'fright, terror' > (HA *wàhalàa* 'trouble' >) DA *wahala* 'suffering';
 AR *ʔealwā* 'sweet' > (HA *ʔàleewàa* >) DA *aleewa*; AR *šāwara* III v 'to ask
 advice' > (HA *šaawaràa* 'advice' >) DA *saawara* 'permission';

AR /y/⁵⁴ > DA /y/⁵⁵:

AR *yahūd* 'Jew' > (HA *bàyahuudii* >) DA *Yehudia*, pl. *Yehudia-nima*; AR *ʔāya*
 'verse (esp. of Koran)' > (HA *ʔaayàa* >) DA *aaya*; AR *dunyā* 'world' > DA
duniya. But AR /y/ > DA Ø in: AR *ʔal-ʔāfiya* '(good) health' > DA *alaafee*
 'health'; AR *ʔan-nabīy* 'prophet' > DA *anabi*; AR *ʔan-nīya* 'intention' > DA
ania 'Fleiss (assiduité, activité)';

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50. It is a sonant dental, see Bateson (1967: 4).

51. It is an unvoiced glottal, see Bateson (1967: 4).

52. It is a sonant labial, see Bateson (1967: 4).

53. As in English way.

54. It is a sonant palatal, see Bateson (1967: 4).

55. As in English yes.

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2. Current perspectives

All these endeavours at surveying, analysing, describing and documenting the language could lead to a deceptive impression that those aspects of Kalasha

These are important works, however, space does not permit me to review or reference them all here. I only refer specifically to works relevant to the topic of this article, and mention to the Kalasha language.