

## A SURVEY OF KRU DIALECTS<sup>1</sup>

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### 1. Introduction

In April and May of 1974 a linguistic survey of what has been called the Kru language was undertaken as a joint project by the Liberian Ministry of Education and The Institute for Liberian Languages. Our purposes were several: 1) to determine the number of Kru dialects and their locations, 2) to determine the nature of their interrelationships, and 3) to gain an understanding of the relationships between Kru and the languages adjacent to it.

Kru is an English term applied to a complex of clans and dialects which divide themselves linguistically into two major subunits: Klæ and Tajuosɔ̃. Although there may well be social and political reasons for grouping Klæ with Tajuosɔ̃, there is little linguistic justification for it; less so, in fact, than for grouping Tajuosɔ̃ with C&ɛpɛ, a dialect

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<sup>1</sup>We wish to thank the Reverend Augustus B. Marwieh of the Christian Nationals' Evangelism Commission in Sino County. His suggestions and insights form a valuable part of this paper and, in fact, underlie a good many of our conclusions. We are particularly indebted to the Honorable Bertha Azango of the Liberian Ministry of Education for her encouragement and generous support of this project. We are also grateful to the Reverend Augustus T. Monu and Miss Nancy Lightfoot of the United Methodist Church in Sasstown for their generous assistance during our visits there. In other areas as well we were warmly received and provided with every available amenity. In a sense then, this paper is a tribute to the spirit of cooperation and hospitality that is so evident among the Kru peoples, the Ministry of Education personnel, and the Christian organizations of Sino County.

<sup>2</sup>In this paper the term "clan" refers to the groups of people with which we worked. In some cases these groups are actually subdivisions within clans. The spellings for Klæ and Tejuosɔ̃ and for the Klæ and Tajuosɔ̃ clan names were provided by Reverend Marwieh and Reverend Monu and utilize the orthographic conventions established by the Kru Committee of the United Methodist Church. A complete list of names and alternate names with their official spellings is found in Appendix I.



Map 1. Location of Klæ and Tajuosõ within Liberia

of "Interior Grebo." (These relationships are discussed in detail in section 6.) Klae and Tajuosɔ̃ are actually the names used by Klae and Tajuosɔ̃ speakers to refer to these two subunits. For strictly linguistic purposes, we suggest that these terms be used in favor of the more general term Kru.

As a means of grouping languages and dialects, lexicostatistics has been viewed by some [Bergsland and Vogt 1962] as an unreliable shortcut from the comparative method. In the case of Klae and Tajuosɔ̃, the results of the word list comparisons are supported by our intelligibility findings, by native speakers' own concepts of linguistic relationships, and by the fact that these groupings and subgroupings form orderly geographic as well as linguistic units. (The correlation between the cognate percentage figures and intelligibility is discussed in section 3.)

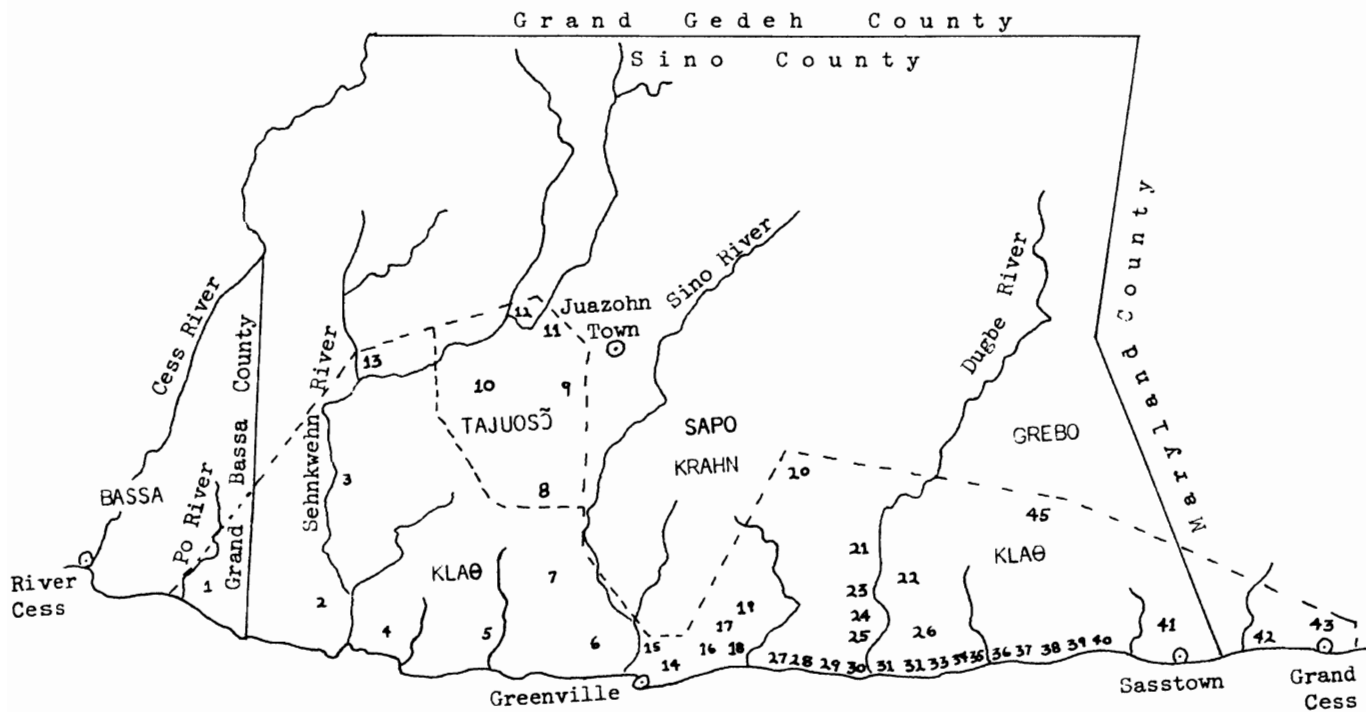
According to the 1962 census figures [Bureau of Statistics, Office of National Planning, Liberia 1964], the Kru population in Liberia is 80,813. Speakers of Klae occupy an approximately one hundred mile stretch of coastal territory between the Po River in Grand Bassa County and the town of Grand Cess in Maryland County. The Nifa clan forms an island of Klae among the Grebo in Maryland County. There is in addition a sizeable expatriate Klae population distributed among West Africa's major port cities. We made no attempt to obtain data from these colonies since their inhabitants originate from the seafaring clans in Liberia and are reported to be speaking the dialects of these clans. Gbeta, Seklee, Jlae, and Kabɔ, numbers 42, 43, 41, and 4 on Map 2, seem to be especially well represented in such ports as Freetown, Accra, and Lagos. Speakers of Tajuosɔ̃ live in an area centered about thirty miles north of Greenville. The lined area on Map 1 indicates the position of the entire Klae-Tajuosɔ̃ complex within Liberia. The approximate geographic locations of the individual clans are shown on Map 2.<sup>3</sup>

Westermann and Bryan [1952] classified Kru as a member of the "Isolated Language Group: KRU." Other Liberian languages belonging to this group

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<sup>3</sup>We are grateful to Mr. Samuel D. Glover of the Liberian Cartographic Service for providing us with the outline for this map.

Map 2. Approximate locations of Klæ and Tajuos̄ clans



- |        |         |          |            |          |           |           |           |           |
|--------|---------|----------|------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 Blio | 6 Jalæ  | 11 Sææ   | 16 Doo     | 21 Jede  | 26 Pete   | 31 Nymala | 36 Wesepo | 41 Jlae   |
| 2 Tolo | 7 Gbuu  | 12 Boo   | 17 Woli    | 22 Dreø  | 27 Wete   | 32 Weao   | 37 Dio    | 42 Gbeta  |
| 3 Duo  | 8 PIËË  | 13 Træ   | 18 Nyæ     | 23 Seo   | 28 Nigbi  | 33 Niwlo  | 38 Botba  | 43 Seklee |
| 4 Kabo | 9 Kãã   | 14 Wææ   | 19 Tatuc   | 24 Sitõõ | 29 JIufaa | 34 Kææ    | 39 Tale   | 44 Nifa   |
| 5 Jææ  | 10 Kulu | 11 Nyanu | 20 Kwæatuo | 25 Teææ  | 30 Nyea   | 35 Sobo   | 40 JIæpo  | 45 Bole   |

include Dey, Bassa, Kuwaa (Belle), Grebo, and Krahn.<sup>4</sup> Although he considers the relationship tentative, Joseph Greenberg [1966] has more recently included the KRU group as a sub-branch of the larger category KWA. KWA is, in turn, a branch of the Niger-Congo language family.

## 2. Method

2.1 Informants. All informants were native speakers of the dialects under investigation and, for the most part, informants were interviewed inside their respective dialect areas.

Informants who were chosen for the story elicitation part of the intelligibility test met the same qualifications as those chosen for word list elicitation. However, informants who were used for the response part of the intelligibility test met somewhat stricter qualifications. For the elicitation of responses, informants were sought who had had a minimum of contact with surrounding dialects but who, at the same time, were old enough to be fully competent in their own dialect. Therefore, these informants were between the ages of 15 and 25 and they had had no extended travel or living experience outside of their dialect areas. For both parts of the intelligibility test, it was not necessary that the informants know English. Due to time and/or distance limitations, informants who met all these qualifications were not always obtained.

2.2 Materials. Both reel-to-reel Sony 800B and cassette Sony TC-95A and Aiwa tape recorders were used to record the word lists and the narratives during the first part of the survey, and to play the narrative tape and record the narrative responses during the second part of the study.

Information sheets were supplied for the purpose of interviewing informants. These sheets contained questions concerning the informants' linguistic backgrounds, their attitudes towards other dialects, and their exposure to other dialects. In addition, the information sheets included questions concerning geographical boundaries of the dialects,

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<sup>4</sup>Krahn, Grebo, and Bassa, like Kru, are English cover terms for collections of dialects--the status of which will be discussed in a paper being prepared by John Duitsman and Frances Ingemann.

socio-political groupings of the dialects, and alternate names of the dialects.

The word list used in the study is a modified form of the Swadesh 200-word list as it appears in William Samarin's Field Linguistics [1967]. The Swadesh word list was altered both by omitting certain words and by adding more suitable words. A brief explanation of these changes is made here. For a more thorough discussion of general problems encountered in elicitation of word lists see Clark [1971].

Words which were omitted from the list for semantic reasons fall into three categories. Firstly, some words are non-existent in Klæ or occur as recent borrowings. These are yellow, green, flower, ice, snow and freeze. Secondly, two English words are sometimes contained in one word in Klæ, and in these cases, one of the English words was omitted. Two examples of this are the pairs stick and tree, and shoot and throw. Finally, some words were found to be difficult and time-consuming to elicit because they prompted a wide and inconsistent range of responses. These words include this, that, there, here, few, some, other, wide, narrow, correct, round, smooth, lake, brother, sister, clothing, cloud, rain, river, day, sleep, to live, to think, to stick, to hit, to pierce, to wipe, to turn, or, because, at and with.

Words were added to the list in several ways. It was found that Klæ and Tajuos̄ divide semantic components of some of the English words on the list into two separate Klæ words. In one case, old, Klæ and Tajuos̄ have two forms-- daka which is used with inanimate objects, and gbaka which is used with humans. Both Klæ forms were elicited. In other cases such as to sew, informants responded inconsistently by giving one of two or three related words. Thus, for the word to sew informants sometimes responded t̄bā (to sew) and sometimes p̄mā (to mend). In order to clear such confusion all related words were elicited. Therefore, to mend was elicited in addition to to sew; arm and palm in addition to hand; and weeds in addition to grass. Klæ adjectives were found to change form depending on whether they were in the attributive or stative form. In most cases, only one form was

elicited, but for the words **red** and **black** both forms were included. Finally, individual words which have been found useful by other comparativists were added; **hot** and **navel** were used by Ronald Long [1971]; **goat** and **town** were suggested by William Welmers [personal communication] and **forest** was used by Ingemann, Duitsman, and Doe [1972]. The final form of the word list used in this survey is found in Appendix II in both English and Klæ.

2.3 Procedure: word lists and intelligibility test. An interpreter was used to communicate with the informants whenever their knowledge of English was insufficient. At the beginning of each elicitation session, the basic procedure was explained to the informant and information for the interview sheet was obtained. The words were then elicited one by one and recorded both by writing them phonetically and by recording them on a tape recorder. At the end of the first part of the survey, the word lists for all the dialects were reviewed. A list of words which appeared as isolated or unusual forms were reelicited during the second part of the survey.

The intelligibility test used in this survey was devised by Frances Ingemann and used in a survey of the Krahn dialects of Liberia [Ingemann, Duitsman, and Doe:1972]. During the first part of the survey, narratives in each dialect were recorded. The narratives usually consisted of personal childhood experiences of the speakers. The informants were asked to speak in their natural manner and to avoid borrowed terms. Each narrative was then translated into English. At the end of the first part of the survey, a total of twelve narratives were chosen which we felt were representative of linguistic subgroups within Klæ and Tajuos̃. These narratives were edited to a length of 40 to 50 seconds and copied onto a single tape. Appendix III contains the English translation of a sample narrative from the Dreo dialect.

During the second part of the survey, the twelve narratives were played in the different dialect areas with the exceptions of Duo, Doo, Nyanu, and Nyæ, which were considered to be especially closely related to neighboring dialects. For each testing session, a suitable informant was found to take the intelligibility test and the procedure of the test

was explained to him either directly or through an interpreter. The stories were then played with pauses at natural breaks in the narratives. At each pause, the informant repeated in his own dialect the previously played portion of the narrative. The informant's interpretations were recorded on a second tape recorder. After all twelve narratives were played and retold in the informant's dialect, the responses of the informant were translated with the help of an English speaker.

### 3. Analysis and Results

3.1 Cognate percentage figures. More than forty clans and subdivisions of clans of Klao and Tajuos<sup>3</sup> were identified during this survey and word lists from thirty-eight of these were recorded. When two groups of people were reported to be speaking the same dialect, only one list was taken. When a group of people was reported to be speaking a different dialect or when there was some doubt regarding the relationship of a dialect with other dialects, a list was taken.

Each word list was compared with every other word list by counting the number of cognates for every possible pair of lists. Two words with the same or similar meanings were considered to be cognate when they resembled each other phonetically, when they exhibited regular sound changes, or when they were identical. Percentages of cognates were then calculated for each pair of lists. These scores are entered in Table 1; boxes enclose the major groupings and subgroupings of dialects.

The most basic linguistic division exists between the five dialects comprising Tajuos<sup>3</sup> (Boo, Səə, Kulu, Kā<sup>3</sup>, and Plē<sup>3</sup>) and those comprising Klao (Tatu<sup>3</sup> through Sekle<sup>3</sup> in Table 1). Cognate percentages fall between 89 and 97 percent within Tajuos<sup>3</sup> and between 85 and 99 percent within Klao. However, cognate percentages between Tajuos<sup>3</sup> and Klao do not rise above 80 percent and, in the case of the peripheral Tajuos<sup>3</sup> dialect Boo, they drop as low as 67 percent.

Within Klao there are four main subgroups and one peripheral subgroup. While these subgroups are based on cognate percentage figures, we also found them to be geographic units:



	Boo	Seoe	Kulu	Kãã	Plëë	Trœ	Tatue	Kweatuo	Blio	Tolo	Duo	Jae	Gbuu	Woli	Wëe	Jale	Nyanu	Doo	Jede	Dreo	Nyae	Seo	Sit3ë	Pete	Tee	Nymala	Wëe	Nyaa	Dio	Tale	Kabo	Jlepe	Botba	Jlae	Gbeta	Nifa	Bole	Seklee		
Boo	X	92	89	89	89	79	73	72	73	72	72	72	73	71	70	72	72	70	70	71	71	70	70	69	70	69	69	69	70	69	69	67	68	68	69	68	69	68		
Seoe	92	X	94	95	96	82	76	75	78	78	78	78	78	73	72	76	77	77	74	75	75	74	74	74	74	74	74	74	73	74	73	73	71	71	72	72	71	71		
Kulu	89	94	X	97	96	83	78	77	78	77	77	77	79	76	75	76	77	76	76	76	77	76	76	75	75	74	75	75	74	74	73	73	73	73	73	73	73	71	71	
Kãã	89	95	97	X	94	82	78	77	78	78	77	77	78	77	75	77	77	76	76	76	77	76	76	76	75	75	75	75	74	74	74	74	72	72	73	73	73	71	71	
Plëë	89	96	96	94	X	85	79	78	79	80	79	79	80	77	76	79	79	79	78	79	78	77	78	77	77	77	77	77	76	76	75	75	74	74	74	75	75	72	72	
Trœ	79	82	83	82	85	X	84	81	85	85	85	85	85	82	81	84	84	83	83	84	83	83	83	82	82	82	82	82	82	82	81	82	79	79	80	81	81	77	77	
Tatue	73	76	78	78	79	84	X	95	86	88	86	88	87	92	93	86	93	91	91	91	90	91	91	90	90	89	89	88	90	89	89	88	88	89	87	87	88	85	85	
Kweatuo	72	75	77	77	78	81	95	X	87	87	87	87	87	90	93	87	90	90	92	93	91	91	91	90	91	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	88	89	90	86	86	
Blio	73	78	78	78	79	85	86	87	X	98	98	97	96	89	90	92	92	93	92	93	92	93	93	93	93	92	91	91	92	92	92	91	91	89	88	89	90	86	86	
Tolo	72	78	77	78	80	85	88	87	98	X	99	98	98	89	91	94	93	94	93	94	93	94	94	94	94	94	93	93	93	92	93	93	92	92	90	90	91	91	87	87
Duo	72	78	77	77	79	85	86	87	98	99	X	98	97	89	91	93	92	93	92	94	92	93	93	92	93	92	92	92	91	92	92	91	91	89	89	90	90	87	87	
Jae	72	78	77	77	79	85	88	87	97	98	98	X	99	91	92	94	94	95	92	93	93	93	93	92	93	92	92	92	92	92	93	92	92	90	91	90	91	88	88	
Gbuu	73	78	79	78	80	85	87	87	96	98	97	99	X	90	91	95	94	95	92	93	93	93	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	92	91	92	90	90	90	89	87	87	
Woli	71	73	76	77	77	82	90	90	89	89	89	91	90	X	95	94	94	95	93	94	94	94	93	94	94	94	93	91	90	90	90	91	92	91	89	89	89	88	88	
Wëe	70	72	75	75	76	81	93	93	90	91	91	92	91	95	X	92	96	95	98	94	94	94	95	92	93	93	92	91	90	90	90	91	92	91	89	89	88	87	87	
Jale	72	76	76	77	79	84	86	89	92	94	93	94	95	94	92	X	94	96	92	94	93	94	93	93	94	93	93	93	93	91	91	91	91	93	91	89	90	87	87	
Nyanu	72	77	77	77	79	84	93	90	92	93	92	94	94	96	94	96	X	97	94	96	95	95	96	94	96	95	95	94	93	92	93	91	93	92	90	91	87	87		
Doo	70	77	76	76	79	83	91	90	93	94	93	95	95	95	95	96	97	X	95	97	96	96	98	95	96	97	97	95	95	94	93	94	95	94	92	92	93	90	90	
Jede	70	74	76	76	78	83	91	92	92	93	92	92	93	92	94	95	94	95	X	97	96	96	96	97	96	96	95	95	96	95	95	96	95	94	94	94	90	90	90	
Dreo	71	75	76	76	79	84	91	93	93	94	93	93	94	94	96	97	97	97	97	X	97	98	99	97	98	97	97	95	94	95	94	95	95	95	93	93	95	90	90	
Nyae	71	75	77	77	78	83	90	91	92	93	92	93	93	94	94	93	95	96	96	97	97	97	95	96	96	96	94	93	94	93	94	94	93	92	92	92	88	88		
Seo	70	74	76	76	77	83	91	91	93	94	93	93	93	94	94	94	95	96	96	98	97	97	99	97	98	97	97	93	94	94	94	94	95	94	93	93	94	88	88	
Sit3ë	70	74	76	76	78	83	91	91	93	94	92	93	93	95	95	94	96	98	96	99	97	99	X	97	98	98	97	95	94	94	93	94	96	95	93	93	94	90	90	
Pete	69	74	75	75	77	82	90	90	93	94	93	92	92	94	93	93	94	95	97	97	95	97	97	X	97	95	96	95	94	94	93	95	95	94	93	93	94	89	89	
Tee	70	74	75	75	77	82	90	91	93	94	93	93	92	94	93	93	96	96	96	98	96	98	98	97	X	96	96	96	95	96	94	95	96	95	93	94	95	89	89	
Nymala	69	74	74	75	77	82	89	90	92	93	92	93	92	94	93	94	95	97	96	97	96	97	98	95	96	X	98	95	95	95	95	95	96	95	93	93	93	90	90	
Wëe	69	74	75	75	77	82	89	90	91	93	92	93	92	93	95	92	93	95	97	95	97	96	97	97	96	96	X	96	94	96	95	95	97	95	94	94	93	93		
Nyaa	69	74	74	75	76	82	88	90	91	93	92	92	92	91	91	93	94	95	95	95	94	95	95	95	96	95	96	X	96	96	95	96	97	96	94	96	93	91		
Dio	70	73	74	74	76	82	90	90	92	92	91	92	92	90	90	91	93	95	96	94	93	94	94	94	95	95	94	96	X	96	96	95	97	97	96	95	95	92		
Tale	69	74	75	75	76	82	89	90	92	93	92	93	92	90	91	92	94	95	95	94	94	94	94	94	96	95	96	96	X	96	98	X	97	97	96	96	94	92		
Kabo	69	73	74	74	75	82	89	90	92	93	92	93	92	90	90	91	93	93	95	94	93	94	93	94	95	95	95	95	97	97	99	X	97	97	96	96	94	92		
Jlepe	70	73	74	74	75	81	88	90	91	92	91	92	91	91	91	91	91	91	94	96	95	94	94	94	95	95	95	95	96	97	97	97	X	98	96	96	96	92		
Botba	69	73	74	74	76	82	88	90	91	92	91	92	92	92	92	93	93	93	95	96	95	94	95	95	96	96	96	97	97	98	97	98	X	99	98	96	94			
Jlae	67	71	72	72	74	79	89	90	89	90	89	90	91	91	91	92	94	95	95	93	94	95	94	95	94	95	95	95	96	96	96	96	99	X	97	97	95			
Gbeta	68	71	73	72	74	79	87	88	88	90	89	90	89	89	89	90	92	94	93	92	93	93	93	93	93	93	94	94	95	96	96	96	96	98	97	X	99	94		
Nifa	68	72	73	73	74	80	87	89	89	91	90	91	90	89	89	90	92	94	93	92	93	93	93	94	93	94	94	96	95	96	96	96	98	97	99	X	94	95		
Bole	69	72	73	73	75	81	88	90	90	91	90	89	89	88	88	90	91	92	94	95	92	94	94	94	94	95	93	94	93	95	94	96	96	95	94	94	X	91		
Seklee	68	71	71	71	72	77	85	86	86	87	87	88	87	88	87	87	87																							

Western Klæ: Blio, Tolo, Duo, Jae, and Gbuu (1, 2, 3, 5, and 7 in Map 2)

West Central Klæ: Woli, Wæ, Jalæ, Nyanu, and Doo (17, 14, 6, 15, and 16 in Map 2)

Central Klæ: Doo, Jede, Dreo, Nyæ, Seo, Sit<sup>3</sup>õ, Pete, Teæ, Nymala, and Wete (16, 21, 22, 18, 23, 24, 26, 25, 31, and 27 in Map 2)

Eastern Klæ: Wete, Nyæa, Dio, Tale, Kabo, Jlepo, Botba, Jlae, Gbeta, Nifa, Bole, and Sekleo (27, 30, 37, 39, 4, 40, 38, 41, 42, 44, 45 and 43 in Map 2)

Tatuε and Kwætuo

Cognate percentage figures within Western Klæ fall between 96 and 99 percent; those within West Central Klæ fall between 92 and 97 percent; and those within Eastern Klæ score between 94 and 99 percent cognate with the exception of Bole and Sekleo which are peripheral members whose scores drop as low as 91 percent. Two dialects of Eastern Klæ, Gbeta and Nifa, are particularly closely related (99 percent). This high percentage figure supports the migratory history of the Nifa clan which originally came from Gbeta and which is now located at the far eastern end of the Klæ dialects (44 on Map 2). The same migratory pattern explains why Kabo, located on the Western Klæ coastline, is more closely related to the central dialects of Eastern Klæ (96-99 percent) than it is to the dialects of Western Klæ (92-93 percent). The Kabo people migrated from the Eastern Klæ coastal area and may still be considered part of the larger unit Jlo. Jlo also includes Tale (39), Wesepo (36), Sobo (35), and Kæ (34).

Finally, Kwætuo and Tatuε, which are spoken in an area north of the Central Klæ group, form a unit which is peripheral to the entire Klæ group. Those two dialects are closely related to each other (95 percent) but they do not score above 93 percent with any of the other Klæ dialects and cannot be included as members of any of the above subgroups.

The dialects of Klæ can be divided into the above subgroups on the basis of higher percentage scores within each group. They can be further divided into smaller units with even higher percentage scores. However, the boundaries of all these subgroups are neither rigid nor mutually exclusive, and, in fact, they frequently overlap. Thus, Wete is both a

member of the Central and Eastern subgroups, and Doo is a member of both the West Central and Central subgroups. Allowing for a possible two percent error margin in the calculation of any of the percentages, one should not view these dialects as separate clusters but rather as members on the continuum of all Klæ speakers.

3.2 Intelligibility test. Narratives from twelve dialects which are representative of Klæ and Tajuos were selected for testing mutual intelligibility. These twelve narratives were played in 33 of the 38 areas we worked in excluding Duo, Doo, Nyanu, Sitō, and Nyæ. We felt that little additional information would be obtained by including these five dialects in the testing procedures because of their close relationships with neighboring dialects.

After the 33 informants each retold the 12 narratives in their respective dialects, the contents of these interpretations were compared with the original narratives and rated on a scale ranging from complete comprehension to failure to understand anything. The number of mistakes that each informant made during his interpretations was counted and evaluated using this six point scale:

- (1) 1. Understood the dialect completely and made no mistakes
2. Made one or two mistakes
3. Made three or four mistakes
4. Understood the basic story only
5. Understood only isolated sentences and fragments of sentences
6. Understood nothing

These results are entered in Table 2. In order to maintain some degree of objectivity in evaluating the interpretations, the following guidelines were used to score the number of mistakes each informant made:

- (2) 1. Single words were counted as one-half of a mistake; a missing phrase or sentence was counted as one mistake. Not more than one full mistake was counted per sentence.
2. When the total number of mistakes added up to an odd half, the half was eliminated in figuring the final score.
3. Errors involving pronouns were not counted as mistakes.

4. Errors involving tense or aspect were not counted as mistakes.
5. Rephrasings with no change in meaning were not counted as mistakes.
6. Additions were not counted as mistakes.
7. Recurrances of a mistake (such as a misunderstood word) were not counted.
8. Errors in sentences containing a proper name were not counted as mistakes.

As might be expected, the results of the intelligibility test generally support the conclusions of the cognate percentage analysis. They also provide interesting insights into the influence of non-linguistic factors such as economic organization and geographic location on Klæ-Tajuos̃ dialect interrelationships. Those dialects which are grouped together on the basis of mutual intelligibility scores in Table 2 coincide with those dialects which are grouped together on the basis of cognate percentage figures in Table 1. The results show that two way intelligibility within each subgroup is high (rating from 1, understood completely, to 3, made three or four mistakes) with the exception of the peripheral dialects Bole and Sekle within the Eastern Klæ subgroup.

Scores between the Tajuos̃ and the Klæ dialects demonstrate one-way intelligibility. That is, the representative dialect of Tajuos̃ (Kulu) is very difficult for most Klæ speakers to understand and Klæ informants scored mostly between 5, understood only isolated sentences and fragments of sentences, to 6, understood nothing. On the other hand, the central Klæ dialects (with the exception of Bole, Sekle and Tatuε) are not difficult for the Tajuos̃ informants to understand. Tajuos̃ informants scored highly (between 1 and 3) on these Central Klæ dialects. This one way intelligibility phenomenon has also been identified among dialects of Guere in the Ivory Coast [Duitsman, Campbell, and Kwejige 1972] and among the Krahn dialects of Liberia [Ingemann, Duitsman, Doe 1972]. Part of the explanation may lie in the fact that the large and commercially important Klæ towns and cities which are located in the Klæ coastal area attract and exert influence on Tajuos̃ speakers from the interior dialect areas.

Table 2. Scores for Mutual Intelligibility Test

	Test Dialects													Sex	Age	Informant Information
	Kulu	Trɔɛ	Tatue	Duo	Jae	Gbuu	Dreo	Nymala	Tale	Jlae	Seklee	Bole				
Boo	2	1	4	2	2	3	1	3	1	3	5	4	F	25		
Sɔɔe	1	2	4	2	3	1	2	3	3	4	5	5	M	14		
Kulu	1	2	3	2	2	2	1	3	2	3	4	4	M	18	five months in Monrovia	
Kae	2	4	4	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	4	4	M	16		
Plɛe	1	2	3	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	4	3	M	15		
Trɔɛ	2	2	4	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	4	4	M	14		
Tatue	5	4	2	2	2	2	1	3	4	3	3	3	M	26		
Kwɔatuo	5	3	3	3	2	5	1	2	2	2	4	3	M	13		
Blio	5	3	4	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	4	4	M	15		
Tolo	5	3	4	1	3	3	1	2	2	3	5	4	M	13	three years in Kabo three years in Kabo	
Jae	4	3	3	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	4	4	M	15		
Gbuu	2	3	4	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	4	3	M	15		
Woli	5	4	3	2	3	4	2	2	2	2	4	4	M	15		
Wɛe	5	3	2	2	2	2	1	3	1	2	3	4	M	14		
Jale	2	4	4	1	2	2	1	2	3	2	4	4	F	21		
Jede	6	4	4	3	2	4	2	2	2	3	4	3	M	15		
Dreo	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	3	M	15	nine months in Monrovia	
Seo	5	4	4	1	2	3	1	2	2	1	2	3	M	17		
Pete	5	3	3	3	2	3	1	2	1	1	3	3	M	21	four years in Greenville	
Teae	6	6	6	2	4	4	2	2	3	4	5	6	M	24		
Nymala	6	5	6	5	5	5	2	2	2	5	5	5	M	16		
Wete	5	3	3	2	3	3	1	2	1	2	3	4	M	35		
Nyɛa	6	4	4	3	4	4	2	2	2	2	3	3	M	17		
Dio	6	5	6	2	4	6	1	2	1	1	2	3	M	20		
Tale	6	6	6	3	3	4	1	2	2	1	2	4	M	18		
Kabo	6	4	5	4	3	3	3	3	2	2	4	4	F	13		
Jlɛpe	6	4	6	2	4	6	1	1	2	1	2	4	M	27		
Botba	6	5	5	2	5	6	1	2	1	1	2	3	M	15		
Jlae	6	5	5	3	4	5	1	2	2	1	2	3	F	18		
Gbeta	5	4	4	3	2	5	2	2	2	2	2	4	M	19	six months in Monrovia	
Nifa	5	5	4	5	4	5	2	2	1	1	2	4	M	17		
Bole	5	4	4	2	4	5	1	3	1	2	2	1	M	17		
Seklee	6	6	6	4	5	5	1	2	2	2	2	5	M	20		
	4.3	3.6	4.0	2.2	2.8	3.2	1.4	2.1	1.8	2.1	3.1	3.6			Average Score for Each Test Dialect	

The overall average intelligibility of each of the twelve dialects for the thirty-four dialects of Klæ and Tajuosõ is presented at the bottom of Table 2. These results indicate that the most difficult dialect to understand is the Tajuosõ dialect, Kulu, which received an average of 4.3 on the intelligibility scale. Other dialects which are difficult to understand include the transitional dialect Trœ, and the peripheral dialects Tatuε and Bole which averaged 3.6, 4.0, and 3.6 respectively. The overall easiest dialect to understand is Dreo, a member of the central subgroup of Klæ which received an average score of 1.4 on the scale of intelligibility. The other representative dialects of West Central, Central and Eastern Klæ (Duo through Jlaε in Table 2) are understood with little or no difficulty and received scores of between 1.8 and 3.2 on the intelligibility scale.

It was mentioned earlier in this section that the intelligibility scores provide some interesting insights into the influence of non-linguistic factors on the interrelationships of the dialects. The most striking example of non-linguistic influence is that of the Klæ commercial centers on the interior Tajuosõ speakers. The Tajuosõ dialects are not closely related to the Klæ dialects (averaging 76 percent cognate) and Klæ speakers generally cannot understand much Tajuosõ. However, Tajuosõ people travel to the Klæ commercial centers and are frequently in contact with Klæ dialects. These Tajuosõ-Klæ contacts are usually limited to the Klæ speaking areas. Hence, the Tajuosõ people have become adept at understanding the Klæ dialects while the Klæ speakers cannot understand Tajuosõ.

Another example of this type of influence on mutual intelligibility lies within the Central and Eastern Klæ subgroups. Sekleε, which is linguistically a peripheral dialect of Eastern Klæ, is not difficult for speakers of Eastern Klæ dialects to understand. This is probably because Sekleε is spoken in the large and historically influential town of Grand Cess which serves as a trading center for surrounding clans. Similarly, the intelligibility scores show that the other seaside dialects of Nymala, Tale, and Jlaε are easy to understand for interior

people, but speakers of these seaside dialects have little reason to travel to the interior areas and they, in fact, scored much lower on most interior dialects than they did on the other seaside dialects.

Geographical location accounted for three distinctive patterns in the intelligibility scores. Firstly, Kabɔ, (4 on Map 2) which is linguistically more closely related to the Eastern Klæ group than to any of the other Klæ subgroups, was the only eastern dialect to have difficulty understanding Sekleɔ. This is most likely due to the fact that the Kabɔ people live at the western end of the Klæ coast and they do not have the opportunity to travel to the Sekleɔ speaking areas. Secondly, although the Klæ informants in general had great difficulty understanding Tajuosɔ̃, informants from three Klæ dialects (Dreo (22), Gbuu (7), and Jalɔ (6)) scored well on the Tajuosɔ̃ intelligibility test. The Dreo informant who had scored highly on all the tests had lived in Monrovia for nine months, and for this reason his score was probably not representative of a native speaker of his dialect. On the other hand, Gbuu and Jalɔ are located closer to Tajuosɔ̃ and opportunities for frequent contact between these two Klæ dialects and Tajuosɔ̃ may have caused higher mutual intelligibility between them. Not only did Gbuu and Jalɔ score highly on the Tajuosɔ̃ intelligibility test but Tajuosɔ̃ informants also understood Gbuu more easily than they understood many other Klæ dialects. There is also some indication that Jæ speakers who also live in an area bordering on Tajuosɔ̃ can understand Tajuosɔ̃. Unfortunately, the Jæ informant who scored 4 on the Tajuosɔ̃ intelligibility test came from the southern area of Jæ and had attended school for three years in the Kabɔ town of Baffu Bay. It is likely that a Jæ speaker living in a northern area of Jæ would be able to understand Tajuosɔ̃. Thirdly, the Trɔɔ informant scored highly both on the Tajuosɔ̃ and the Central Klæ intelligibility tests thereby giving further evidence of Trɔɔ's transitional relationship between Tajuosɔ̃ and Klæ. However, Trɔɔ (13) is situated to the west of the Tajuosɔ̃ area and to the north of Western Klæ and was generally better understood by informants from these two groups than by informants from the other dialect subgroups.

4. Phonological Notes

The information contained in the following phonological sketches was gleaned for the most part, from our hastily transcribed word lists and must be considered tentative.

4.1 Word shape, syllable patterns. Our lists consist primarily of one and two syllable words. Three and four syllable words are less common and usually involve compounding or reduplication. The following syllable patterns have been noted: V, VV, CV, CVV, CCV, CCVV.

4.2 Consonants.

## (3) Klæe-Tajuos̄ Consonant Chart

		bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	alveo-palatal	velar	labio-velar	
obstruents	vl	p	f	t	c	k	kp*	k <sup>w</sup>
	vd	b		d	j		gb	
sibilants	vl			s				
	vd							
lateral	vd			l				
nasals	vd	m		n	ny		ŋm*	
semi-vowels	vd	w				y*		

(\* non-occurring in Tajuos̄)

The Klæe and Tajuos̄ consonant inventories are alike except for the fact that Tajuos̄ appears to have no /kp/, /ŋm/, or /y/. Where /ŋm/ occurs in Klæe, /gb/ occurs in Tajuos̄. The absence of /kp/ and /y/ may be due to the brevity of our lists.

The distributional characteristics of Klæe and Tajuos̄ consonants are those typically found among the consonant systems of other languages belonging to the KRU language group. Consonant clusters involving /l/ and



/b/ as the second member, for example, also occur in Bassa, Dey, Krahn, and Grebo. The non-phonemic transitional vowel occurring within such clusters is also common. The quality of that vowel is determined by the features of the surrounding consonants and the following vowel: /dba/, [dɒba], 'kill,' /dbə ε/, [d<sup>e</sup>bɛ ε], 'kill it.' When asked to repeat such words for the second or third time, informants will usually produce an exaggerated, carefully pronounced form in which the quality of the transitional element becomes identical with that of the following vowel: [daba], 'kill', [dɛbɛ ε], 'kill it.' The absence of word initial /l/ and of syllable final consonants is also typical of these languages.

#### 4.3. Vowels.

##### (4) Kɫə-Tajuos̃ Vowel Chart

	front	central	back
high	i (ɪ)		u (ʊ) <sup>5</sup>
mid	e		o
		<u>ɛ</u>	<u>ɔ</u>
low	ɛ	a	ɔ

Among the most interesting aspects of the Kɫə and Tajuos̃ phonologies are the vowel systems. Both vowel systems, like those of Krahn and Grebo, contain two sets of vowels: one utilizing the standard features of the above charts and another utilizing these same features plus an additional one we shall call constriction. It has been stated by Rev. Marwih (who has had considerable linguistic training) and others that the constricted vowels, which we have written as ɛ and ɔ, are produced with the tongue root in a retracted position (ɛ and ɔ are represented in the Kɫə literacy materials as ə and e respectively.) Our most successful

<sup>5</sup>Our Tajuos̃ lists, including the one provided by Rev. Marwih, include two additional vowels ɪ and ʊ. At this point, the phonemic status of these is uncertain.

attempts to reproduce these vowels ourselves did involve moving the tongue root back. But at the same time we also found ourselves tightening pharyngeal muscles to produce the acceptable constricted effect. Perhaps the pharyngeal activity is merely a secondary result produced by drawing the tongue root back.

Ladefoged's cine-radiology studies have clearly demonstrated the importance of tongue root position in Igbo. He states: "The most striking difference between the vowels in the two sets is that in each case the body of the tongue is more retracted for the vowels of set 2" [1968:39]. His statement appears to fit the Klæe-Tajuos̄ situation. A statement in an earlier paragraph, however, does not seem appropriate: "I find it difficult to hear an auditory property which I can clearly assign as a distinguishing parameter of the two sets in any of these languages" [1968:38]. The constricted quality of the ɛ and ɔ set in Klæe-Tajuos̄ is clearly audible.

According to Nancy Lightfoot [personal communication], vowel length and nasalization are phonemic. We have examples of all nine Tajuos̄ vowels nasalized but we are missing nasalized /ɛ̃/ from Klæe. Lightfoot has, however, found numerous examples of words containing /ɛ̃/ but no examples of nasalized /ɔ̃/.

4.4. Tone. In regards to tone, our transcriptions are impressionistic and bear signs of undue influences from our previous language study. Some words with mid tones which are cognate with high tone words in Krahn, for example, were initially written with high tone. (Tajuos̄ tū, 'tree', was initially transcribed with high tone, t<sup>ú</sup>. 'Tree' in Krahn is t<sup>ú</sup>.)

Phonetically, there are three level tones and, in most dialects, at least one rising and at least one falling tone. As in Krahn, there is an amazing amount of tonal interaction between syllables. Most of this interaction can be explained in terms of tones which are realized in their effects upon the tones of syllables following the syllables that they are associated with. While observing this phenomenon in Krahn, Gene Bunkowske applied the term post-associative to such tones. Since the word associative is already in use by linguists in grammatically defined contexts, William Welmers [personal communication] suggested calling them

post-associated tones. For a thorough discussion of Klæ tones (Jlæ dialect) consult Nancy Lightfoot's Tones on Kru Monosyllables [1973].

#### 5. Phonological Correspondences

The following is a list of non-identical phonological correspondences occurring between Tajuos̄ and Klæ. The Tajuos̄ examples are from our Sæ list; unless otherwise stated, the Klæ examples are from Tale.

(5)	<u>English</u>	<u>Tajuos̄</u>	<u>Klæ</u>
gb - ŋm	'mend'	gbāā	ŋmà
k <sup>w</sup> - k	'belly'	k <sup>w</sup> lĕ	klī'
	'left'	k <sup>w</sup> enā	kĕnā
m - b	'snake'	smĕ	sōbĕ
m - p	'worm'	sōōmō	sōpō
c - j	'fog'	clù	jlū'
	'pull'	clì	jlì
a - ε	'fire'	nā	nĕ
	'die'	māā	mĕ'
o - a	'feather'	nónú	nānū
	'wing'	póbŭ	pápū

Some of the correspondences occurring within Klæ are listed below.

(6)	<u>English</u>	<u>Other Klæ dialects</u>	<u>Jlæ</u>	<u>Bole</u>	<u>Dio</u>
k - ?	'in'	klī	?īlī	?é é	?ili
	'wet'	mākā	mā?ā	mākā	mā?ā
	'leaf'	kōkū	?ú?ū	kōkūī	?ó?ū
	'old'	dāká	dá?á	dā?á	dáká

	<u>English</u>	<u>Other Klæ dialects</u> <sup>6</sup>	<u>Nyæa, Dio, Tale, JIæpæ, Botba, Kabɔ, JIæ, Nifa, Gbeta, Seklæ</u>	
b - l	'sea'	jbō (Nyanu)	jōlō (Nyæa)	
	'snake'	sĕbĕ (Nyanu)	sĕlĕ (Nyæa)	
m - n	'hot'	smū (Teæ)	snū (Nyæa)	
	'sharp'	námá (Teæ)	náná (Nyæa)	
	<u>English</u>	<u>Other Klæ dialects</u>	<u>Seklæ</u>	
db, dl - l	'rope'	dbu (Teæ)	lú	
		dūlú (Nyæa)		
	'kill'	dbá (Teæ)	lá	
		dlá (Nyæa)		
	<u>English</u>	<u>Other Klæ dialects</u>	<u>Bole</u>	<u>Tatuɛ</u>
i - ɛ	'in'	klī	ʔélé	kwĕlé
	'water'	nī'	né	nĕ

## 6. Extended Dialect Relationships

From our conversations with Rev. Marwieh prior to the survey we received our first glimpses into the complexities enshrouded within the name "Kru." He reported that Tajuosɔ was "quite distinct" from the rest of Kru and that Jedepæ and Cædæpæ, two "interior Grebo" dialects, seemed to him to be "a part of Kru."

At that time we interpreted the first statement to mean that Kru was divided into several dialectal subgroups, one of which was Tajuosɔ. The second statement was a mystery: Why should a Kru man consider "interior Grebo" to be part of Kru? As the word lists were compared and as the results of the mutual intelligibility tests were calculated, the meaning

<sup>6</sup>Several of the Central Klæ dialects contain examples of both of the above types of forms. Nymala, for example, has 'm' in the word for blood, nyma, and 'n' in the word for hot, snu. The Nymala word for sea is jlo. Their word for snake is sbĕ.

of Rev. Marwih's statements became clear. Tajuos̄ did emerge as distinct from Klæ--not as a distinct dialect as we had originally suspected, but as a separate language. For determining whether two dialects are from the same or separate languages, William Welmers [personal communication] uses mutual intelligibility as a rule of thumb. That is, if two people can understand each other when conversing, they are speaking the same language or dialects of the same language; if they cannot, then they are speaking different languages. (He has observed that there are, of course, countless borderline cases.) Since only one way intelligibility occurs between Tajuos̄ and Klæ, they are, by this criterion, separate languages. (The Tajuos̄ speakers were able to understand most of the Central Klæ dialects during the intelligibility test, but the Klæ speakers rarely understood more than occasional isolated sentences and phrases of Tajuos̄.)

M. Swadesh [1954] uses 81 percent cognate as a cutoff figure. If two lists are above 81 percent cognate, he considers them to be from the same language; if they are 81 percent or below 81 percent cognate he considers them to be from different languages. Tajuos̄ and Klæ were found to have an average of 76 percent of the words on our lists in common--well below Swadesh's cutoff point.

After comparing both Klæ and Tajuos̄ with contiguous dialects of Grebo, Bassa, and Krahn, (see (7) below) the reasoning behind Rev. Marwih's opinion of Interior Grebo became apparent; Interior Grebo was found to be 81 percent cognate with Tajuos̄. If Tajuos̄, which averages 76 percent cognate with the Klæ dialects, is called Kru, Interior Grebo should, he reasoned, be included as well--especially since the Tajuos̄ people are said to have migrated from the C&lcpe Grebo area.

The comparisons between Klæ, Tajuos̄, and Sapo Krahn were also revealing: Klæ was found to be about as closely related to Sapo Krahn as it is to Tajuos̄ (78 percent with Sapo versus 76 percent with Tajuos̄). Tajuos̄ on the other hand, scored only 74 percent with Sapo. Klæ and Tajuos̄ scored about the same when compared with River Cess Bassa (Dbowēī), 77 and 75 percent respectively.

(7)

River Ce  
(Dbowēī)

Sapo Kra  
(Sikō)

Interior  
(Jedepe)

On the l  
tuitions, th  
fication for  
among the Bē  
including Tē  
grouping Ta,

It is de  
in only one  
The intelli,  
Central Klā  
who were be  
identical t  
formants be  
But they ha  
therefore,  
Although a  
still neede

The Uni  
in Tale (39

one; Tale will likely serve for all of Klā. The possible exceptions are Tatuē, Kwəatuo, and Trō. Again, a systematic test of Klā materials should precede larger scale literacy programs in these areas.

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<sup>7</sup>Nancy Lightfoot, William Jlopeh, and Sampson Tiklo are those principally involved there. Tale is twelve miles west of Sasstown and the residence of Rev. Monu, United Methodist Literacy Director.

lternate spellings  
 nd names in use by  
 hose who do not  
 peak Klæ or Tajuos̄

---

oe  
 haw

yahn, Nyarn  
 lahn  
 'roh  
 artweh  
 uatoe  
 ock Cess  
 'otoe

arsue  
 utaw  
 'olee, Wadee  
 or, Worh, Wah  
 arleh, Murraysville,  
 Snow Country  
 yannue  
 ue, Blubara, Blue  
 Barrica  
 adae, Jedei, Jidi  
 Jeadae  
 reoh

ayoh  
 eethun  
 atae  
 wah, Toah  
 ana Krue, Nana Kana  
 ettra, Seta Kru  
 uohn Point, Nyua  
 ioh  
 efu, Nifu, Nifo, Niff  
 abor, Sanquin

ERRATUM

Page 99 last word, second to last  
 line from bottom of table should  
 read Niffo.

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<sup>1</sup>For the recommended spellings of Klæ and Tajuos̄ we are grateful to Mr. J. Lawrence F. Sawyerr, Director of the Liberian Cartographic Service. The linguistic diversity among these clans points to the need for linguists to specify which clans' speech they are studying. It is hoped that this list will aid them in coordinating their efforts.

Jlɛpo	Betu	Jlepo	
Botba	Botra	Botba	Botrah, Potrah
Jlae		Jlao	Sasstown, Gastown
Gbeta		Gbeta	Picnicess, Pickininni Cess, Pickininny
Nifa	Nifae	Nifa	Nivaa, Po River, Kpo River
Bolɛ		Bolo	
Seklee		Sekle	Seklakpo, Grand Cess

## APPENDIX II

Klae Word List (Tale dialect)<sup>1</sup>

1. 'one'	dɔ̀	31. 'thin'	pɛ̀pɛ̀
2. 'two'	sɛ̀	32. 'long'	tnɔ̀
3. 'three'	tãã	33. 'short'	kɛ̀ã
4. 'four'	nyĩɛ̀	34. 'far'	tnɔ̀
5. 'five'	mũ̀	35. 'near'	kwãɛ̀
6. 'six'	ɲmĩɛ̀ dɔ̀	36. 'good'	nmɔ̀ jɛ̀
7. 'seven'	ɲmĩɛ̀ sɔ̀	37. 'bad'	nynĩ jɛ̀
8. 'eight'	ɲmĩɛ̀ tã	38. 'old' (table)	dãkã
9. 'nine'	sɛ̀pãã dɔ̀	39. 'old' (man)	kpãlã
10. 'ten'	pũ̀	40. 'new'	dɛ̀dɛ̀
11. 'twenty'	wɛ̀	41. 'dry'	mãnyã
12. 'hundred'	wɛ̀ mũ̀	42. 'wet'	mãkã
13. 'count'	sɛ̀	43. 'hot'	snũ̀
14. 'I'	mɔ̀	44. 'cold'	wɛ̀lɛ̀
15. 'you' sg.	mɔ̀	45. 'warm'	kpɔ̀tɔ̀
16. 'you' pl.	sã	46. 'full'	jĩdĩ
17. 'he'	ɔ̀	47. 'sharp'	nmã
18. 'they'	ĩ	48. 'dull'	sũ̀
19. 'we'	ã mɔ̀ã	49. 'heavy'	kũũkwã
20. 'who?'	nyɔ̀	50. 'left'	kɛ̀nã
21. 'what?'	dɛ̀bɛ̀	51. 'right'	dɛ̀dã
22. 'when?'	tɛ̀bɛ̀	52. 'rotten'	sɛ̀
23. 'where?'	tãbɛ̀	53. 'straight'	sɛ̀dɛ̀
24. 'how?'	kãbɛ̀	54. 'black' at.	jlɛ̀ kpɔ̀kpɔ̀
25. 'not'	sɛ̀	55. 'black' st.	slũ̀
26. 'all'	mũ̀	56. 'white' st.	plɔ̀
27. 'many'	fɛ̀fɛ̀	57. 'red' at.	cɛ̀lɔ̀
28. 'small'	dɛ̀gbɛ̀	58. 'red' st.	flɔ̀
29. 'big'	bɔ̀ã	59. 'person'	nyɔ̀
30. 'thick'	kpɔ̀klɔ̀	60. 'man'	nĩmɛ̀jũ̀

<sup>1</sup>This transcription, which follows the orthographic conventions established by the Kru Committee of the United Methodist Church, was provided by Nancy Lightfoot. Nasalization is unmarked after nasals. The restricted vowels ɛ and ɔ are represented by ə and ɐ.



61.	'woman'	nynɔ̄	111.	'navel'	pútù
62.	'child'	jēgbé	112.	'guts'	mɔ̄ē'
63.	'husband'	nyɔ̄	113.	'breast'	nyītī
64.	'wife'	nynɔ̄	114.	'heart'	wlō'
65.	'father'	mí'	115.	'liver'	pɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄'
66.	'mother'	dé'	116.	'rope'	dlū', dbū'
67.	'name'	nynē	117.	'salt'	tɔ̄'
68.	'fish'	né	118.	'spear'	dí'
69.	'bird'	nūrjme	119.	'sun'	jlō'
70.	'snake'	slē	120.	'moon'	cō'
71.	'worm'	sɔ̄pò	121.	'star'	jātnē'
72.	'animal'	nmē	122.	'fog/dew'	jlū'
73.	'dog'	gbé	123.	'water'	nī'
74.	'louse'	né	124.	'wind'	pōpɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄
75.	'forest'	kwlā	125.	'stone/boulder'	sɔ̄gbé
76.	'tree'	tū	126.	'sand'	pēsɔ̄ɔ̄
77.	'leaf'	wē	127.	'earth/ground'	blō'
78.	'seed'	jɔ̄'	128.	'dust'	pūpūf
79.	'fruit'	būi	129.	'fire'	nē
80.	'root'	snɔ̄'	130.	'smoke'	snɔ̄'
81.	'bark'	kō	131.	'ashes'	pūpnū
82.	'grass'	kwlē	132.	'road'	wí'
83.	'weeds'	pītí	133.	'mountain'	tlo
84.	'skin'	kū	134.	'sea'	jlō'
85.	'flesh/meat'	sōā	135.	'night'	māté
86.	'bone'	kpā'	136.	'year'	sē
87.	'blood'	nynɔ̄	137.	'cook' v.	pī
88.	'grease/fat'	cnā'	138.	'eat' v.	dī
89.	'egg'	nyē'	139.	'drink' v.	nā'
90.	'horn'	nmō'	140.	'suck' v.	nā'
91.	'tail'	wē	141.	'bite' v.	nnū
92.	'wing'	pāpū	142.	'see' v.	jē'
93.	'feather'	nānū	143.	'hear' v.	wō'
94.	'head'	dlō', dbō'	144.	'smell' v.	wēnē
95.	'hair'	nūi'	145.	'know' v.	jēpō
96.	'ear'	nɔ̄kū	146.	'stand' v.	nynāā' tī
97.	'eye'	jí	147.	'sit' v.	kō' tī
98.	'nose'	mnā'	148.	'lie down' v.	pē' tī
99.	'mouth'	wō	149.	'die' v.	mē'
100.	'tooth'	nyé	150.	'kill' v.	dlā', dbā'
101.	'tongue'	mē	151.	'walk' v.	nā'
102.	'neck'	pnū'	152.	'come' v.	jī
103.	'back'	kē	153.	'swim' v.	dlū', dbū
104.	'foot'	bɔ̄pò	154.	'fly' v.	wā
105.	'leg'	bō	155.	'give' v.	nyi
106.	'knee'	kūlú	156.	'call' v.	dā'
107.	'hand'	kōbā'	157.	'laugh' v.	cēā'
108.	'nail'	kɔ̄nɔ̄'	158.	'spit' v.	pō tɔ̄tɔ̄
109.	'arm'	sō	159.	'vomit' v.	wlā
110.	'belly'	klī'	160.	'blow' v.	pō pɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄

161.	'breathe' v.	fɔ̄'	178.	'throw' v.	pɔ̄
162.	'fear' v.	fānō'	179.	'work' v.	nū kək̄wà
163.	'swell' v.	pū'	180.	'hold' v.	kpō tī
164.	'cut' v.	cē'	181.	'take' v.	dū'
165.	'split' v.	kè'	182.	'pull' v.	ji'
166.	'squeeze/wring' v.	pnī'	183.	'push' v.	tū'
167.	'scratch' v.	snā'	184.	'wipe' v.	snā'nyā
168.	'dig' v.	blū'	185.	'wash' v.	swā'
169.	'dance' v.	jē'	186.	'tie' v.	mwā' nē'
170.	'sing' v.	blē'	187.	'float' v.	sōpō
171.	'play' v.	sōsné'	188.	'flow/pass' v.	sī'
172.	'fall' v.	kpā'tī'	189.	'burn' v.	wā'
173.	'fight' v.	fɔ̄'	190.	'and'	táé'
174.	'sew' v.	tlà'	191.	'in'	klī'
175.	'mend' v.	ɲmà'	192.	'dirty'	mnū'
176.	'stab' v.	nynā'	193.	'town'	klɔ̄'
177.	'hunt' v.	mū kwlā'	194.	'goat'	bɔ̄klɔ̄'

## APPENDIX III

## English Translation of Dreo Narrative

by Kofa Brown

When I was a small boy, I was sitting on a country bench. I was crying and calling my mother. My mother should have come but she didn't want to come. I was angry with her so I threw myself down. When my mother heard my crying she came and started to beat me. While my mother was beating me, my father came out from the house. He asked my mother, "What has this child done to cause him to be crying?" My mother said, "He threw himself down on the ground and that is why I am beating him." My father said, "No, the child called you twice and you didn't answer and that is why he threw himself down. For this reason you start beating the child?" My father turned on his wife and started beating her.

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