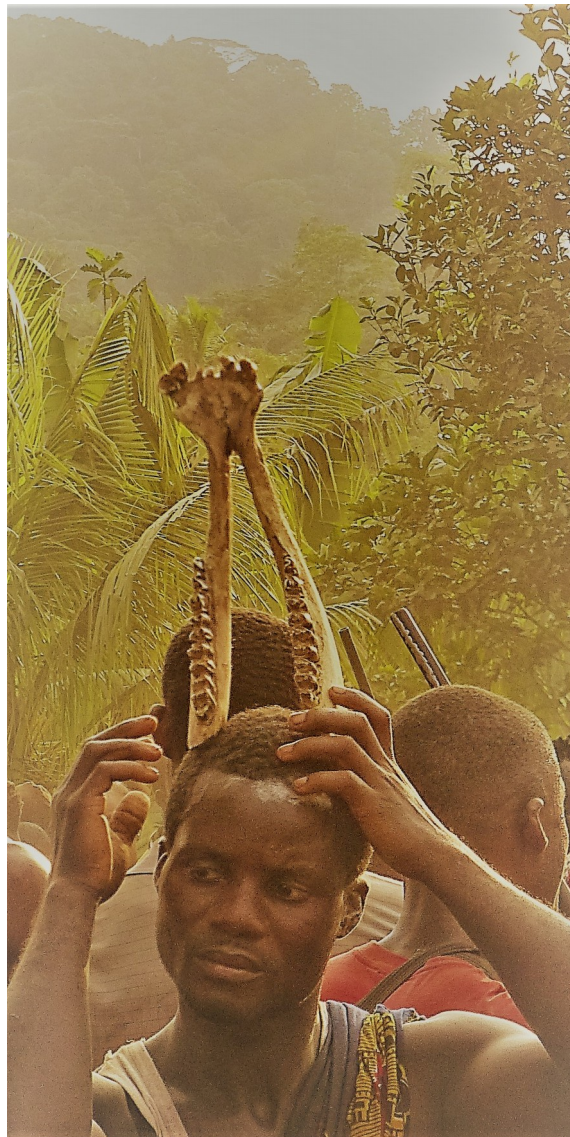


Grebo Mammal Names: Some Preliminary Data

by Adam Manvell



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Latest version maintained at www.adammanvell.info/notes.
Please use the contact page on this website for all comments and corrections

kọ blẽ yẹ dɔwo nã
pɛpɛ mō dɔwo n

“House rat says: anything is something”

A Jabo proverb told by a man called Kwię in Lower Nimiah in 1930 that was recorded by George Herzog with the assistance of Charles G. Blooah (Herzog & Blooah 1936: 112-3), who note “The house-rat was introduced into West Africa from Europe, thus the prefix **kɔ** which designates things of European origin.”

Front Cover: A jaw bone of **tui** (Forest Buffalo, *Syncerus caffer*) held aloft at a ceremonial war dance for a deceased man, Newaken, Trembo District, Grand Kru County, 28th January, 2017. Photo: Author.

Introduction

This note is inspired by a trial elicitation exercise of names for wild mammals that I conducted with a Sewo hunter in early 2017 and subsequent reflection on the likely degree of concordance of the results across the various Grebo dialects given the reported strength of dialect boundaries that prevailed at least in the recent past (McEvoy, 1976-1977). My thinking was partly informed by previous experience elsewhere in Liberia eliciting Maawe (Mano) bird names, a taxonomic group with more than twice the number of species representatives in the country. Though my Maawe data are not yet extensive enough to provide proof, I suspect¹ bird names are likely to show much local variation, albeit with name agreement around certain species. As I didn't know what to expect for mammal names, I decided to pull some comparative data together to muse this over. Before considering these data, an introduction to Liberian mammals, and more specifically those likely to be found, and more importantly named, in the Grebo speaking area is in order. This is preceded by a short introduction to the Grebo language(s) followed by details of the data sources. For completeness, names for domestic mammals can be found in Appendix 1.

An Overview of Liberian Mammal Diversity

Hans-Jürg Kuhn writing in 1965 stated that 125 species of wild mammals, excluding the Cetaceans (dolphins and whales) had been definitely recorded from Liberia, but he also predicted that with more research, the final number would be around 200 (Kuhn, 1965). As I am unaware of a comparable recent publication, it is helpful to take a closer look at Kuhn's check-list. Table 1 provides a breakdown of the mammal species listed according to the family names he used, some of which have now been superseded.

Table 1: Summary of Kuhn's 1965 Mammal Check-List For Liberia

Family	Common Family Name	No. Spp.
Potamogalidae*	Otter-shrews	1
Soricidae*	Shrews	10
Pteropodidae*	Fruit Bats	10
Emballonuridae*	Sac-winged or Sheath-tailed Bats	1
Nycteridae*	Slit-faced or Hollow-faced Bats	5
Rhinolophidae*	Horseshoe Bats	5
Vespertilionidae*	Vesper or Evening Bats	9
Molossidae*	Free-tailed Bats	2
Lorisidae	Lorises & Pottos	2
Cercopithecidae	Old World Monkeys	9
Pongidae	Great Apes	1
Manidae	Pangolins	3
Sciuridae*	Squirrels	9
Anomaluridae*	Anomalures or Scaly-tailed Squirrels	6

1 This suspicion in fact dates from my first foray into local bird names in Niger and subsequent comparison of the names I elicited with two other Hausa sources (Manvell, 2012).

Family	Common Family Name	No. Spp.
Muridae*	Murids (Rats & Mice)	17
Muscardinidae*	Dormice	3
Hystriidae	Old World Porcupines	2
Thryonomyidae	Cane Rats	1
Mustelidae	Otters & Ratel	3
Viverridae	Civets & Genets	10
Felidae	Felines	3
Elephantidae	Elephants	1
Procaviidae	Hyraxes	1
Trichechidae	Manatees	1
Suidae	Pigs	2
Hippopotamidae	Hippopotamuses	2
Tragulidae	Chevrotains	1
Bovidae	Cloven-hoofed Ruminants	11

Kuhn's list included three mammals which hadn't at the time been identified to the species level, two potential subspecies and one dubious record (the Patas Monkey). Removing this latter record, we can make a couple of useful observations on these 131 mammals.

(1) Nearly a quarter of the listed mammal species (24%) are bats (32 species)

As subsequent research on this mammalian group has increased this figure to at least 59 (Fahr, 2007), this percentage, depending on changes in other taxa, may well be larger. From an ethnobiological perspective, an interesting question is to what extent this bat diversity is reflected in local names. As many of these bats are only subtly differentiated and many people don't have the opportunity to regularly see many of them up close in good light, the likelihood of a large range of vernacular names is probably low. Among the few available studies of African mammal names I am aware of, bat names are limited (Levy-Luxereau (1972), Morris, (2000)). However, as Fleck *et al.* (2002) have pointed out, a lack of bat names does not mean people don't recognise differences between them. In their study in a Matse community in Amazonian Peru where the bat fauna was composed of at least 60 species and only one bat name existed, the descriptive phrases used by informants could nonetheless tentatively be associated with five species plus three genus level discriminations and four family level identifications.

(2) Almost 60% of Liberian mammal species are small

The visibility of a species is one factor that has been suggested by some ethnobiologists to have an important bearing on whether an animal is named: "Common sense demands the larger the organism in comparison to humans, the more likely that it will be recognized" (Berlin, 1992: 263 and see also Hunn, 1999 for an empirical examination). Though others argue that animal-naming is more/also tied up with specific cultural factors, the size factor is difficult to dismiss. As some zoologists use the kilogram threshold to differentiate between small and large mammals, I have employed this measure. The figure of almost 60% is derived by summing the totals of the families

with asterisks in Table 1 and thus includes two species² just over this weight. As there are today more bat and murid species on Kuhn's check-list, and one large mammal extinction nationally (the common hippopotamus) and many more at smaller spatial scales—events which don't necessarily lead to name loss—the true small mammal percentage figure is undoubtedly higher.

An Overview of the Grebo Language(s)

“The Grebo-speaking peoples constitute a unit whose culture contrasts in small ways with the other Kruan-speaking groups. But they form in no sense a social or political unit, and any name for the entire group must be understood to be a modern and imposed term.” (Kurtz, 1985: 3)

Some of the earliest linguistic work by Europeans and Americans in West Africa was conducted by the Presbyterian missionary John Leighton Wilson at the colony of Cape Palmas among the local population who identify as Glebo³. In the introduction to one of his earliest linguistic studies on what he already labels⁴ the Grebo language, published in 1838, he notes (with my emphasis):

“The tribes immediately in the rear of the Grebo country, as well as that of the other parts of the Grain Coast, speak a language that is evidently of common origin with the Mena. And it may be ascertained in the course of time, that all of what is called the Grain and Ivory Coast, was originally settled by the same race, though they may have reached the frontier at distant points and at different periods. Within these bounds the different dialects are almost without number. *If one of these however is carefully systematized and reduced to writing, it may serve as a common standard for all of them.* What one of them bears the strongest marks of the original, or would be the most suitable one for a common medium, cannot be determined without more knowledge of them generally than is possessed at present.”

The process of standardising the cluster of languages that have become known as Grebo has been an ongoing challenge for those concerned with developing local language literacy in an area with multiple dialects.

In 1972-3, Frances Ingemann and John Duitsman used the discredited Swadesh list method to compare cognates shared within 25 Grebo dialects (Ingemann & Duitsman 1976-1977). Following Swadesh's suggestion that where two dialects share 81% or more cognates they belong to the same language, they identified 11 languages. Cognisant of the weaknesses of this method, they devised a further test for mutual intelligibility and in conclusion identified seven dialect groups for developing a language policy.

Ingemann and Duitsman were conscious that their survey ignored related dialects in Côte d'Ivoire and shortly afterwards, Jim Laesch and Gary Oltoff used a Swadesh list method to compare five Liberian Grebo dialects (Webo, Glebo, Nyabo, Glolo⁵ and Chedepo) with two Tepo Krumen

2 *Anomalurus peli* (Pel's flying squirrel) and *Cricetomys emini* (Emin's pouched rat).

3 According to Martin (1968:2) this is the syncopated form of another term for themselves, Gedebo.

4 According to the Liberian History & Society bibliographies maintained by the late Sven Holsoe, Wilson produced a slightly earlier publication using a different spelling: *Elementary Book, for the Fishman or Graybo Language*. Cape Palmas, West Africa. Printed in Monrovia: At the Herald Office, December 1835 - James C. Minor, Printer. 12 Pp.

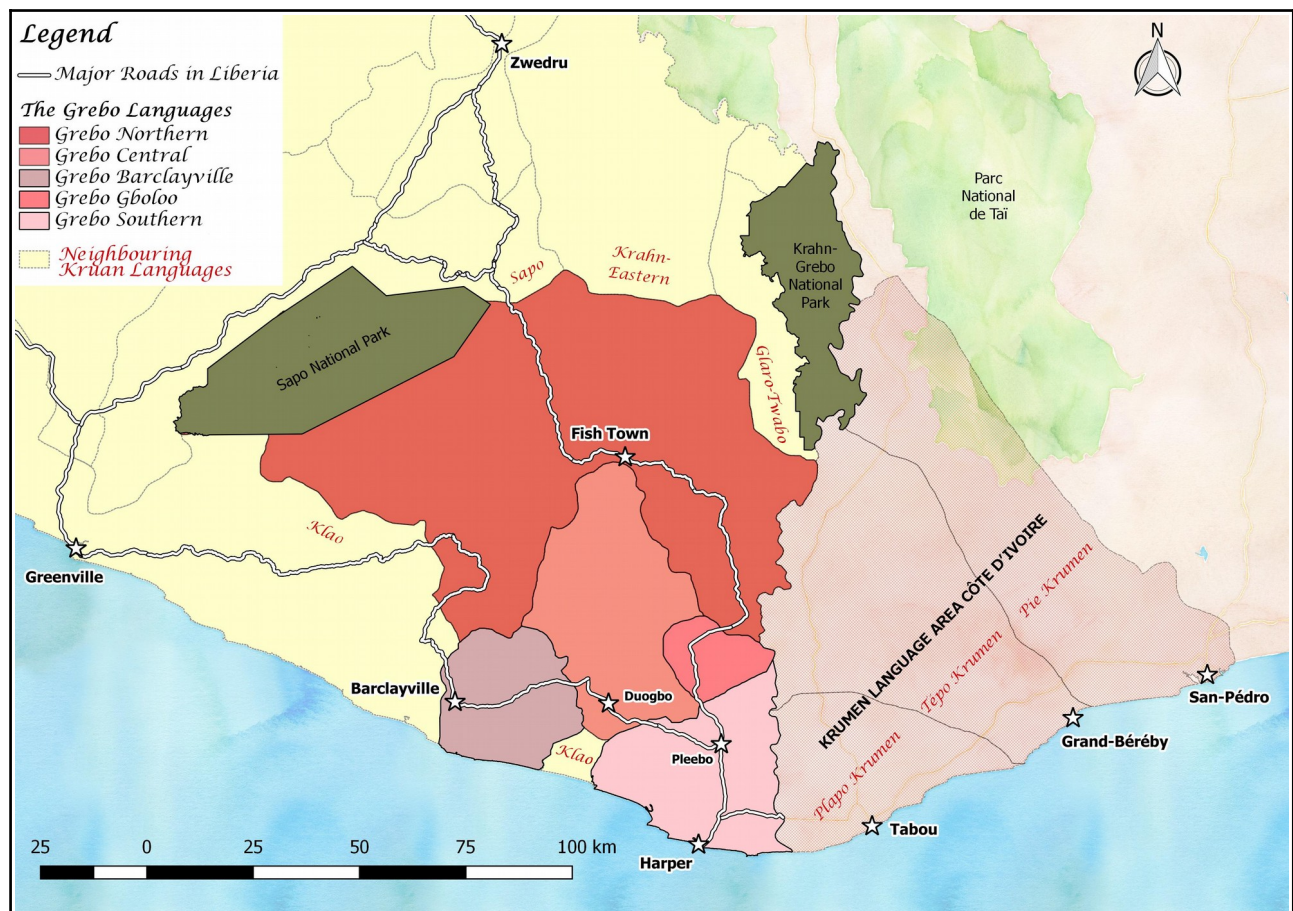
5 This isn't listed in Kurtz (1985:6-7) or Hasselbring & Johnson (2002) but spellings vary and there may be

dialects the other side of the Cavally river (Plapo and Tepo). Apart from the Webbo-Tepo comparison with 81% cognates, they found limited lexical correspondence but very similar grammatical systems (Laesch & Oltoff, unpublished manuscript 1978 as reported in Marchese, 1983:73).

Sue Hasselbring and Eric Johnson (2002) conducted the most up-to-date survey of Grebo dialects and languages and suggest four dialect groups. This arrangement is somewhat similar to the five Grebo languages, made up of 25 dialects, used in Ethnologue's classification (Lewis *et al.* 2016), which are shown in Map 1 below.

Map 1: Location of the Grebo-Language Area according to the Ethnologue Classification

Source: (Lewis *et al.* 2016)



To further illustrate the socio-linguistic complexity in the area, Map 2 below shows the location of 50⁶ *dako* (sometimes translated as tribe) that Grebo-speakers typically self-identify to, though I have some reservations that it is complete⁷. Behind the neat mapping of languages/dialects and *dako*, is a far more messy social reality: historically people haven't moved en-mass at the same time along the same pathways and adopted/adapted their way of speaking uniformly. Two papers by Frederick McEvoy (1976-77 & 1977) are well worth reading to understand the social factors underlying ethnic identities and dialects in the region, though it should be born in mind that much has changed since these papers were written.

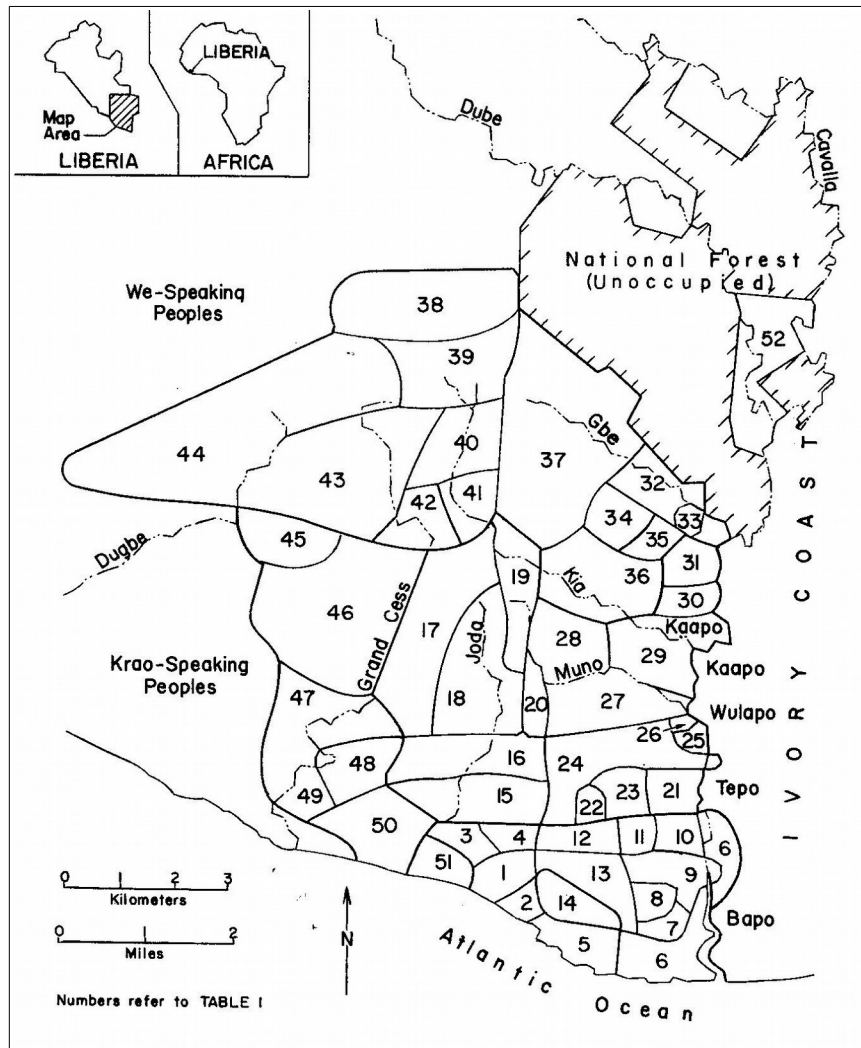
undocumented differences between a *dako*'s own name(s) and those given to them by other people.

6 Though the map actually shows 52, two of these, Nifau (#51) and Glaro (#52) are non-Grebo.

7 These are based on discussions in an unlisted, 2-3 town *dako* called Neewinyenklo, southwest of Karluken, which seems to have been lumped with other *dako* in this map which may be partly influenced by administrative divisions.

Map 2: Location of the Grebo-Speaking Dako

Source: Kurtz (1985: Map 1). See Appendix 2 for Key to Numbers



Ethnologue (Lewis *et al.* 2016) cite a 2001 source indicating 387,000 speakers of all Grebo languages in Liberia. The last national census in 2008 found that 348,758 people identified as Grebo—though of course this doesn't mean they can speak one its languages/dialects—making it the third largest ethnic group in Liberia after first Kpelle and then Bassa (LISGIS, 2009). Unfortunately I have not found any geographical analysis of the ethnic affiliation census data, but I suspect an interesting percentage reside outside of the four counties that incorporate their 'homeland': Maryland, River Gee, Grand Kru and Sinoe.

By emphasising the complexity of the Grebo-speaking peoples in the above brief overview, my hope is that reader will understand how modest the assembled mammal name data are. To put these data in contexts, the various sources will now be examined.

Background to the 5+1 Data Sources

(1) Payne, J. (1860) *A Dictionary of the Grebo Language*

The Rev. John Payne (1815-1874), a Virginian missionary of the Episcopal Church, arrived in Cape Palmas in July 1837 and left in May 1869 having become the first Missionary Bishop to Cape Palmas and Parts Adjacent in 1850. His mission station was at Cavalla not far from the mouth of the river of the same name, nine miles east of Cape Palmas (Fox, 1869 and Anon. 1884). During his long sojourn he made several excursions into more distant Grebo-speaking lands visiting missionary outposts and opening new ones. Perhaps his furthest trip inland was to Nitie Lu, the capital of the Webó (*dako* #29 on Map 2) in 1857 to establish the Bohlen Station (*ibid.*). He also crossed the Cavalla river into territory that had yet to become Côte d'Ivoire, to visit stations at Tabou (see Map 1) and Rockbookah. Thus by the time he wrote his dictionary, he had been exposed to several Grebo languages and dialects, as well as Krumen, but he makes no distinction regarding the origins of his entries. In the introduction he simply notes:

“The following collection of words has been made during a connection of twenty-two years with the Episcopal Mission at Cape Palmas. Its publication has been delayed partly by a press of duties which left comparatively little time for such work, and partly from the conviction that a good degree of familiarity with a language is essential to any reliable vocabulary of it. It is still incomplete; but so far as it goes it may be relied upon as correct.

The system of orthography adopted, is that recommended by Pickering for reducing the Indian languages to writing⁸. It was inaugurated by the Rev. J. L. Wilson, late of the A. B. C. F. M, [American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions] who during his residence at Cape Palmas, devoted considerable attention to reducing the Grebo dialect to writing. The diacritical marks used do not accurately designate all the vowel sounds in the language. But it was deemed inexpedient further to encumber the words; especially as there are many shades of sound and intonation, only to be apprehended in a thorough acquaintance with the spoken language.”

As a source of mammal names, Payne's dictionary is unique despite the uncertainties of his dialect/language sources. Over 150 years ago, it is fair enough to assume that both the human and mammal populations they named, were different to what they are today. Human populations have moved and presumably their dialects/languages have continued to evolve. Mammal populations have also presumably changed, with some species now more common than previously and others rarer and locally extinct. Hunting methods in particular have changed in this time period, with firearms and cable snares replacing bows and arrows, traps made of vegetal materials and communal hunts with consequences for mammalian encounters.

8 Wilson used the script George Pickering had developed to write the Cherokee language.

(2) Innes, G. (1967) *A Grebo-English Dictionary*.

Gordon Innes (1924-2003) was appointed Lecturer in West African Languages at SOAS in 1953 and taught there until 1984 when he departed as Emeritus Professor. This dictionary is based on a sole source as he acknowledges in the introduction:

“The material for the present dictionary was collected in the course of work which I did on Grebo in London with an informant, Mr. J. Y. Dennis, who was a Research Assistant at the School of Oriental and African Studies from 1955 to 1957. The dictionary is based entirely on Mr. Dennis's speech; all words listed are in current use, except those marked 'obsolescent', which are familiar to Mr. Dennis in the speech of people of an older generation, but which he himself and others of his generation do not use. The present work incorporates all those entries in Payne's dictionary which Mr. Dennis was able to identify.

I have followed the orthography of Bishop Auer, whose hymn-book of 1873 has been widely used and which in large measure established the written form of the language. The main points of difference from Auer are the use here of the three letters η , ϵ and ɔ .”

Hasselbring & Johnson (2002:12) state Innes worked in the Glebo dialect though this not revealed in either his dictionary or an earlier publication outlining the structure of Grebo (Innes, 1966).

(3) Anon (2005) *Grebo-English Dictionary: Klèpo Win'i Kene Sàsae Chnēde*.

The background to this 102 page work are a little obscure. I was gifted a spiral-bound copy in 2010 by Sebastian Quayee, a Grebo specialist with LIBTRALO (the Liberian Translation & Literacy Organization) who helped me transcribe Jedebo Grebo names for some non-timber forest products. It is dedicated to the memory of Rev. James Doe Young, head translator for the Grebo Translation Committee, who initiated Bible translation in the E Je dialect group (Hasselbring & Johnson, 2002:12). Jim Laesch, who was involved in this translation work, believes this dictionary to be in the E Je dialect (pers. comm., 27 Nov. 2017) and it is perhaps a re-issue of an earlier 130 page work cited by Hasselbring & Johnson: Necollin, Colne, and Joan Meyers (1998) *Grebo-English Dictionary*, First Edition. Monrovia: LIBTRALO.

Assuming this work is based on the E Je dialect group, this falls under Ethnologue's Northern Grebo shown in Map 1. More specifically, the E Je group is made up of the following six dialects which can be localised to their *dako* areas on Map 2 using the numbers in parenthesis:

- Chedepo (39)
- Gbepo a.k.a the Gbeypo group (40, 41 & 43)
- Jlepo a.k.a Jedebo and Jedepo (44)
- Klepo aka. Kelipo (38)
- Palipo (37)
- Tienpo (43)

(4) Flesher, K. M (2013) "Mammals in a Farm/Forest Mosaic in South-eastern Liberia."

Kevin Flesher is a Brazilian biologist who conducted a mammal survey in a 20,000 ha site just east of Fishtown (see Map 1) for a potential agroforestry project in July 2012. He published his findings in the *West African Journal of Applied Ecology* and includes in his Table 1 list of medium and large mammals recorded, Grebo names alongside their Latin binomials, and official English and Liberian English names. He qualifies his Grebo names with the note they are as “best as I could transliterate” and it is perhaps helpful to note that his Brazilian Portuguese background may have influenced his transcriptions. I contacted him about the source of his names to which he replied:

“I collected the names from the hunters while conducting the interviews. 9 of the 10 hunters I worked with were from the villages listed on the map (Kor Town, Peloken, Konken and Woffiken). I worked with a Liberian translator who was from Monrovia, but had lived near Harper for several years and had worked with the Grebo in the study area. I asked each person for the local name and then asked the translator to confirm the pronunciation. With this I wrote down the name for each animal as I heard it.” (pers. comm., 22 Nov. 2017)

His informants would appear to be from two *dako*, Palipo (#37 in Map 2), which is in the E-Je dialect group, and Sabo (#36), which are both in Ethnologue’s Northern Grebo shown in Map 1. Some similarity in names with those in the preceding, probably E-Je dictionary, is therefore likely.

(5) Exploratory Sewo (Trembo) Data

In anticipation of a participatory wildlife survey which never came to fruition in Trembo District, Grand Kru county, I tested the elicitation of mammal names from photographs. The exercise took place at Doubo (see Map 1) on the 25th and 26th March 2017 with a hunter who had been born in the town in 1968 and had also hunted in his career far beyond the local area. The local Grebo dialect is called Sewo, or Trembo by outsiders, and comes under Ethnologue’s Central Grebo language classification (see Map 1). To elicit names I relied mainly on a set of colour photographs of medium and large mammals called the *Liberian Wildlife Atlas* which was compiled by Reg Hoyt while he was at the Philadelphia Zoo. Unfortunately many of the images are in unnatural looking zoo enclosures. I used a couple of supplementary images for missing species. At the second session the informant was asked to say the names previously elicited in both their singular and plural forms and these were recorded. In turn these names were kindly transcribed for me using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) by Nyanatee Sayon, a LIBTRALO Klao specialist, a closely related language (see Map 1), but they lack tonal marks.

(6) Caspary H. U., Koné I. Prouot C. & de Pauw, M. (2001) *La Chasse et la Filière Viande de Brousse dans l’Espace Taï, Côte d’Ivoire.*

By way of comparison, I have included some Krumen names collected during a bushmeat survey around the Taï National Park in 1998-99 and thus presumably Pie Krumen (See Map 1). The only background details to these names, which appear in Annexe 2 (p. 183-184), is found on page 59 where it is explained that during a pilot phase local names were elicited with the aid of colour photographs and cross-checked with descriptions of them. Due to the nature of the survey, only the principle hunted mammals are listed.

Data Presentation

In the following pages I present the data assembled from the 5+1 sources in as uniform and clear form as possible, respecting the following conventions:

Classificatory Ordering:

I follow Kuhn's 1965 checklist order of families and species but for completeness also include Cetaceans at the end. For simplicity I have also lumped the six bat families under their order.

Name Presentation:

- The names are copied as in the original with any accompanying diacritics, tone guides—see the pronunciation guides given for each of the three dictionary sources in Appendix 3—and descriptions.
- Names are presented in the table format shown below, which is ordered on the logic that Innes follows Payne because he updated Payne's work, Flesher follows Anon because of the E Je dialect overlap, Sewo then follows with finally the comparative Krumen data from Caspary.
- The table format is shown without a grey top row when concerned with non-specific data.
- A new row is made for each name given by a source.
- Any additional I provide to justify why I have include a name under a certain species is provided after the original description within square brackets.
- The abbreviations *pl.* for plural and *s. & p* for both the same in singular and plural form are used for the Payne and Innes entries. Otherwise for the Anon. and Sewo entries, plural forms follow the singular form.
- Any additional naming data from minor sources is noted underneath the respective table.
- The most frequently used minor source refers to Jabo names from Herzog & Blooah, (1936) which is abbreviated to H&B followed by the relevant page number. The Jabo refers to the people of *dako* #1 in Map 2.

Standard English Name	Latin Name	Liberian Names
Payne		
Innes		
Anon		
Flesher		
Sewo		
Krumen		

Assembled Data on Wild Mammal Names

Soricidae (Shrews)

Payne	<i>sagna-budu</i> , <i>pl. sagna-budi</i> : A species of rat which feeds on ordure, and smaller rats and fruits. It has a long nose, and emits a disagreeable odor. [There are several contradictory elements in this description, but on the basis of the morphological and olfactory aspects, a shrew would seem most likely. Though a potential candidate is the commensal African Giant Shrew (<i>Crocidura olivieri</i>) it is perhaps worth bearing in mind that the Guerzé (Kpelle) in Guinea are said to have noted the Climbing Shrew (<i>Sylvisorex megalura</i>) consuming mice (Leger, 1975:62). Though vertebrate carnivory is known within this family, a study of many potential shrew species in Taï National Park, found they only ate invertebrates (Churchfield et al. 2004)]
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Chiroptera (Bats)

Payne	<i>būtēnē</i> , <i>pl. būtēne</i> : A species of bat, measuring from two to three feet from tip to tip of the wings. [The Hammer-headed Fruit-bat (<i>Hypsignathus monstrosus</i>) as the largest bat found in Liberia may be a candidate species. It's loud, monotonous calls could prove useful in eliciting names]
	<i>nyīneā</i> , S. & P. : small species of bat.
	<i>penh</i> : Species of bat.
Innes	<i>gbeteno</i> 333 <i>pl. gbetene</i> 333: Bat (general name).
	<i>pōēnepōē</i> 32132: a bat
Anon	<i>panpo</i> , <i>panpe</i> : bat (general category)
	<i>kūpè</i> , <i>kūpèa</i> : bat (animal) [The example phrase given perhaps implies this name may refer to vocal species]
Krumen	<i>powo taro</i> : [Whether this is a general or specific name is unknown]

To the above rather impressive diversity of names given what was said about this group above, can be added Kurtz's (1985) record that the food taboo of the Pepo of Wepo (*dako* #26 in Map 1) is *gbuta*, a black bat.

Lorisidae (Lorises & Pottos)

Demidoff's Galago		<i>Galagoides demidoff</i>	
Innes	<i>gbosũ</i> 3-221 <i>pl. gbosũẽ</i> 3-221: a small animal resembling a squirrel but with big eyes		
Anon	<i>baǎwùun, baǎwiin</i> : bushbaby		
Flesher	<i>slacheh</i>		
Sewo	<i>təno, tanea</i>		

Potto		<i>Perodicticus potto</i>	Softly Softly
Payne	<i>gibatənha, S. & p.</i> a small species of monkey, little larger than a squirrel, very large eyes, slow and stealthy in its movements.		
Innes	<i>těã</i> 44: A monkey which is noted for its grip; abstemiousness. Also <i>gyimi tẽã</i> 44 44 [This animal has a legendary grip across Liberia]		
	<i>gyimetẽã</i> 3344 <i>pl. gyimetẽ</i> 334: small monkey with large eyes [Also means puny child. I suspect that, as implied above, this is a contracted binomial with the first word referring to the potto's fingers: <i>gyiẽ mea</i> 3-23 33 <i>pl. gyiẽ me</i> 3- 23 3 = fingertip]		
Anon	<i>təan, tèn</i> : softly softly, potto		
Flesher	<i>sofre sofre</i> [presumably this is a variant of the Liberian English, softly softly]		
Sewo	<i>tean, teen</i>		
Krumen	<i>gbahi towa</i>		

Cercopithecidae (Old World Monkeys)

As some of the names below highlight, careful attention needs to be paid to which names apply to which species by working through their key identification features. For future work, use of recordings of their vocalisations may be useful. It is interesting that though there seems to be a fair amount of name accordance at the species level, there is also a general category for this group (first table), but whether it encompasses all primates in local taxonomies remains to be seen. Perhaps the reality of typically brief glimpses requires this generic term, at least for the lay person?

Generic Names for Monkeys

Payne	<i>yide</i> , <i>pl. yida</i> : generic term for monkey
Innes	<i>yide</i> 22 <i>pl. yida</i> 22: monkey (general name)
Anon	<i>jle</i> , <i>jlea</i> , <i>jle</i> : monkey (general category)

Another generic name from Innes for a monkey in a different context is **gyako** 41 *n.* pet monkey; name often given to a pet monkey.

Unidentified Monkey Species

Payne	<i>ko-ofu</i> , <i>pl. ko-ofi</i> : A species of monkey, middle size.
	<i>twěnh</i> , <i>pl. twanh</i> : a species of monkey. [Possibly Campbell's given Flesher's name]
Innes	<i>gle</i> 2: a monkey. The name gedebo (syncopated to glebo) is said to be derived from <i>gle</i> ; tradition relates that as the Grebo sailed up the coast from the area of the present Ivory Coast, where they reached the sea during their migration from the interior, they compared the progress of their canoes from wave to wave with the swinging of this monkey from branch to branch.

To the above can be added the Jabo names: **ble** “a very sluggish monkey” and **gləwə** “a small monkey. He is always seen with his mate” (H&B: 254 & 102). Also Kurtz (1985: 67) lists **toadro** a red-headed monkey, as a taboo food of the Tutuapo Clan in Polupo.

Lesser Spot-nosed Guenon	<i>Cercopithecus petaurista</i>	White nose
Anon	<i>taduě</i> , <i>taduă</i>	
Flesher	<i>taloueh</i>	
Sewo	<i>talowe</i> , <i>talowa</i>	
Krumen	<i>nouwo méhao towai</i>	

Campbell's Monkey	<i>Cercopithecus campbelli</i>	Big Jaw; Lion monkey
Flesher	<i>touen</i>	
Sewo	<i>kalowe</i> , <i>kalowa</i>	
Krumen	<i>towai djrowo</i>	

Diana Monkey		<i>Cercopithecus diana</i>	Colored Monkey; Doctor; King Monkey
Payne	<i>too-wudě</i> pl. <i>too-wude</i> : large-sized monkey, black back, red sides, white underneath, black tail. [N.B: <i>wudě</i> = chest]		
Flesher	<i>kreh</i>		
Krumen	<i>glé</i>		

To the above can be added the Jabo name: **d5 beɔ**: “Probably *Cercopithecus ignita* [synonym *C. diana*] a very noisy and aggressive monkey” (H&B: 101).

Sooty Mangabey		<i>Cercocebus atys</i>	Jacko; Ground Monkey
Payne	<i>katwi</i> , pl. <i>katwanh</i> : Species of monkey, small, blue color.		
Innes	<i>katui</i> 233 11 pl. <i>katua</i> 233, <i>katuia</i> 2333: A very small monkey [This is not the smallest Liberian monkey and is in fact probably the second largest after the Black & White Colobus, however the colouration in Payne's entry and it's similarity to Flesher's name suggests that the name may refer to this species]		
Anon	<i>klè</i> , <i>klòà</i> : grey monkey [Ascribed to this species because of the colouration]		
Flesher	<i>katneh</i>		
Sewo	<i>kpan-kwɛ</i> , <i>kpan-kwe</i>		
Krumen	<i>karouwé</i>		

To the above can be added the Jabo name: **kɛ dɔɛ**: “A large monkey often seen by hunters in the tree. When they go after him, he drops clear to the ground and runs as soon as they see him” (H&B: 102).

Olive Colobus		<i>Procolobus verus</i>	Four Finger; Swamp Monkey
Flesher	<i>tabaoo</i>		
Sewo	<i>tole</i> , <i>tolea</i> [Quite possibly confused with species below]		
Krumen	<i>tchaho</i>		

Bay Colobus		<i>Procolobus badius</i>	Red Monkey
Anon	<i>katùe</i> , <i>katùà</i> : red monkey. [Note similarity with names for the Sooty Mangabey, which is grey rather than red] <i>tò</i> , <i>tùo</i> red monkey, red colobus monkey		
Flesher	<i>tuleh</i>		
Sewo	<i>kle</i> , <i>kla</i> [The image of this species elicited first the name <i>tole</i> , which is consistent with two names above, but then later said this name]		
Krumen	<i>tolé</i>		

Western Black & White Colobus	<i>Colobus polykomos</i>	Black Monkey; Lion Monkey
Payne	<i>plě</i> pl. <i>plěda</i> : a species of monkey, long black tail, white at the end	
Innes	<i>plē</i> 3-2 pl. <i>pla</i> 3-2: black monkey with soft hair. <i>plē kɔ</i> : the skin of this monkey which is worn by the high priest and his wife. To stop a war the high priest lays his black monkey skin between the opposing sides.	
Flesher	<i>pleh</i>	
Sewo	<i>pleh, pla</i>	
Krumen	<i>plai</i>	

Pongidae (Great Apes)

Chimpanzee	<i>Pan troglodytes</i>	Baboon
Payne	<i>kpanhma-wěnh</i> , pl. <i>kpanhma-wa</i> : a species of baboon, larger than the chimpanzee, black color. The prefix “ <i>kpanhma</i> ,” derived from “ <i>kpanh</i> ,” to have fortitude; as no beating or other ill treatment can extort a cry from this species.	
	<i>tuawe</i> , pl. <i>tuawa</i> : chimpanzee	
	<i>wě</i> pl. <i>wàbo</i> : chimpanzee	
Innes	<i>tibawε</i> 324 pl. <i>tibawa</i> 324	
	<i>wε</i> 4 pl. <i>wa</i> 4	
Anon	<i>wè, wà</i>	
Flesher	<i>weh</i>	
Sewo	<i>kwε, kwa</i>	
Krumen	<i>bouw</i>	

I have included Payne’s binomial *kpanhma-wěnh* in the above despite his dismissal of it as a chimpanzee, not only because there is no larger ape in the Upper Guinea forests, but also because it draws attention to the likelihood that this intriguing human-like species has led to a more nuanced vocabulary for it than a singular name. Interestingly in both Mende and Kpelle there are separate names for what is termed ‘gorilla’ (Migeod, 1913 and Leidenfrost & McKay, 2007): could these names refer to solitary individuals? It is also worth asking whether Payne’s *tuawe* and Inne’s *tibawε* are converted binomials referencing certain types of chimpanzees. In this regard potential beliefs in shape-shifted chimpanzees should not be overlooked—see for example for Sousa *et al.* (2017) for around the Cantanhez National Park in Guinea Bissau where they are differentiated from harmless ‘clean’, bush chimps and Richards (2000) for the complex politics around chimp narratives in Sierra Leone.

Manidae (Pangolins)

Giant Ground Pangolin		<i>Smutsia gigantea</i>	Big Anteater
Payne	<i>swě pl. sowa</i> : species of ant-eater, three to four feet long; when disturbed, it rolls itself up into a hole.		
Innes	<i>soε 32 pl. soa 32</i> : Scaly ant-eater		
Anon	<i>sòε, sòà</i>		
Flesher	<i>soeh</i>		
Sewo	<i>hoeh, hoa</i>		
Krumen	<i>owè</i>		

Long-tailed Pangolin		<i>Uromanis tetradactyla</i>	Small Anteater
Anon	<i>sèpenyaa, sèpenyee</i> : anteater, small pangolin		
Flesher	<i>semeyan</i>		
Sewo	<i>hebenya, hebenyi</i>		
Krumen	<i>obègna</i>		

Tree Pangolin		<i>Phataginus tricuspis</i>	Small Anteater?
Sewo	<i>kpe, kpeh</i> : “can move in day” [The tree pangolin is known to be nocturnal unlike the day hunting long-tailed pangolin, so there seems some confusion here, but as there is some agreement among the names above, this is assumed to be an error, which requires checking]		

Recording a Sewo name distinction between the two smaller pangolins is noteworthy as Urs Rahm (1956: 356) remarked, using the former Latin names of these species: “It is interesting that the natives of different tribes of the Ivory Coast do not distinguish in their language between *Manis tricuspis* and *Manis longicaudatus*”

Sciuridae (Squirrels)

Payne	<i>bosuwa</i> , <i>pl. bosuwe</i> : a small animal of the squirrel kind.	
	<i>grîbâ</i> <i>pl. grîbâe</i> : grey squirrel.	
Innes	<i>glebɔ</i> 33 <i>pl. gleboε</i> 333: squirrel that lives in the bush.	
	<i>gya</i> 4 <i>pl. gye</i> 4: squirrel which lives near human habitation.	
Anon	<i>chèà</i> , <i>chèè</i>	
	<i>fònfa</i> , <i>fènfe</i> [Curiously this name also means centipede]	
	<i>klèbɔ</i> , <i>klègbε</i> : squirrel	
Flesher	<i>kriboh</i>	
Sewo	<i>bɔ</i> , <i>boeh</i>	NB: The three names elicited perhaps exclude the common Striped Ground Squirrel (<i>Xerus erythropus</i>), sometimes called ‘Salute’ in Liberian English, which was said to be absent locally.
	<i>cha</i> , <i>chie</i> : said to 'talk'.	
	<i>klebɔ</i> , <i>kleboeh</i>	
Krumen	<i>glowô</i>	

To above can be added, the Jabo squirrel name *ja* for which they “the chattering of the squirrel (probably *Anomalures*) by which it is detected when people hunt is supposed to be its laughter.” (H&B: 110). I have included it above rather than below because of its similarity to the Sewo name and its reported vocalisations.

Anomaluridae (Anomalures: Scaly-tailed Squirrels)

Payne	<i>pe</i>
Sewo	<i>pue, pua</i>
Krumen	<i>péhé</i>

To the above can be added what is a probably a Tépo Krumen term (*poê*) recorded by the ‘Kru’ at Grabo just over the Cavally river for an unidentified ‘grand anomalure noir’ specimen that was then lost (Dekeyser, 1954:124).

Muridae (Murids: Rats & Mice)

The Muridae excludes two families whose members nonetheless bear enough similarities to share English names, the dormice (Muscardinidae) and cane rats (Thryonomyidae). To what extent members of these families (and perhaps others) are related in Grebo taxonomies remains to be seen.

Payne	<i>plěnh</i> , <i>pl. plenh</i> : generic name of rat
	<i>ba-plěnh</i> , <i>pl. ba-plenh</i> : a reddish rat, living chiefly in the woods.
	<i>hwanh-plěnh</i> , <i>pl. hwanh-plenh</i> : the largest species of woodrat. [NB: <i>hwanh</i> = “guinea-pig” or cane rat]
	<i>jâ</i> , <i>pl. jâe</i> : sort of marsh rat. [Possibly a swamp-rat, <i>Malacomys</i> spp.]
	<i>tedi-tyo s & p</i> : the common mouse
Innes	<i>plē</i> 4 <i>pl. plē</i> 4: generic name of rat.
	<i>baplē</i> 23 <i>pl. baplē</i> 23: a reddish coloured rat.
	<i>ba plē</i> 2 3: rat with yellow and brown stripes on the back.
	<i>hwā plē</i> 2-1 3 <i>pl. hwa plē</i> 2-1 3: a large bush rat.
	<i>kobo plē</i> 21 3, <i>pl. kobo plē</i> 21 3: House rat. [Presumably the Black rat (<i>Rattus rattus</i>) but potentially also the Brown rat (<i>R. norvegicus</i>), N.B <i>kobo</i> = white man, civilised]
	<i>tedē</i> 3-24 <i>pl. tedi</i> 3-24: a striped mouse
	<i>tidikyō</i> 334 <i>pl. tidikyōa</i> . 3344: a mouse with grey back and white underside
Anon	<i>bòboncǎ</i> , <i>bòboneǎ</i> : rat.
	<i>bǔtù</i> , <i>bǔtì</i> : A kind of rat that eats other rats. [This could potentially be a shrew as partly similar to Payne’s <i>sagna-budu</i> in sound and vertebrate carnivory—see Soricidae above]
	<i>du</i> , <i>duo</i> : mouse

To above can be the Jabo name *ba plē* which is translated using a North American rodent reference with the note “the gopher has the habit of nibbling its tail which is quite short” (H&B: 111). Kurtz (1985: 64-68) provides the names of four ‘rats’ which are specific taboos for certain people: *tede* (for a Nokwe sib), *baakpo* (for a Polupo sib) and *takpacho* and *baplo* (for two Upper Tienpo sibs).

Emin’s Giant Rat	<i>Cricetomys emini</i>	Oppossum
Payne	<i>tǎba-du</i> <i>pl. tâba-du</i> : large species of rat.	
Innes	<i>tabadu</i> 3-233 <i>pl. tabadi</i> 3-233: a large rodent.	
Flesher	<i>tabadu</i>	
Sewo	<i>tabadu</i> [not transcribed]	
Krumen	<i>tawadou</i>	

To above can be added the Jabo names *du* or *dawa-du* which is “about two feet long according to the natives, and is eaten, like many species of rat” and that is has “a very long tail which makes it almost impossible for him to pass by anywhere with touching something with it” (H&B: 112).

Muscardinidae (Dormice)

Innes	<i>gbatɔ</i> 44 pl. <i>gbatoɛ</i> 444: an animal well known for its habit of spending much of the time asleep; a person who sleeps a great deal. <i>ɔ de dida gbatɔ</i> 1 2 12 44 (lit. ‘His mother ate <i>gbatɔ</i> ’) (of a child) he sleeps a lot. [I suspect this name refers to this family because at temperatures below 16°C, the Common African Dormouse (<i>Graphirus murinus</i>), one of the three species found in Liberia, is known to become lethargic and torpid, which is an ancestral characteristic of the Dormouse family Happold, (1987)]
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Hystricidae (Old World Porcupines)

Brush-tailed Porcupine	<i>Atherurus africanus</i>	Small Porcupine
Payne	<i>toba</i> , S. & p: species of porcupine, differing from the ordinary one by having shorter quills and longer tail.	
Innes	<i>toba</i> 44 pl. <i>tobe</i> 44: a porcupine with short quills and a long tail.	
Anon	<i>tnɔ, tne</i>	
Flesher	<i>trenh</i>	
Sewo	<i>sen, sin</i>	
Krumen	<i>tro</i>	

Crested Porcupine	<i>Hystrix cistata</i>	Big or Giant Porcupine
Payne	<i>pllu, pl. plli</i> : porcupine	
Innes	<i>pudo</i> 32 pl. <i>pudi</i> 32: porcupine	
Anon	<i>plè, plòà</i>	
Flesher	<i>plaey</i>	
Sewo	<i>ple, pla</i>	

Thryonomyidae (Cane Rats)

Greater Cane Rat	<i>Thryonomys swinderianus</i>	Groundhog
Payne	<i>hwanh, pl. hwenh</i> : guinea-pig	
Innes	<i>hwã</i> 4 pl. <i>hwẽ</i> 4: Guinea pig	
Anon	<i>wàn, wèn</i>	
Flesher	<i>uwenh</i>	
Sewo	<i>kwan, kwen</i>	
Krumen	<i>bouan</i>	

To above can be added, the Jabo name *gõã* “a small rodent that lives on the tender rice crops” and “whenever it gets into the field, takes to thickest of it and eats the best part of the crop” (H&B:111).

Mustelidae (Otters & Ratel)

Ratel	<i>Mellivora capensis</i>	Bear
Payne	<i>kwanh</i> , pl. <i>kwenh</i> : an animal about the size of a goat, reddish color, thick skin impervious to musket shot, armed with long and sharp claws. [Though not known to have a reddish colour, it could potentially appear so after burrowing in laterite soils]	
Innes	<i>kwã</i> 4 pl. <i>kwẽ</i> 4 <i>kwã gbudo</i> 4 43 the male: animal resembling a bear	
Anon	<i>kòkōwè</i> , <i>kòkōwà</i>	
Sewo	<i>kuin</i> , <i>kua</i>	
Krumen	<i>gbé</i>	

To the above can be added *kuowe* ‘black bear’ which is a taboo of the Nyeagba sib of the Kleo (*dako* No. 27 in Map 2) (Kurtz, 1985: 65).

Otter sp. (Spotted-necked and Cape Clawless)	<i>Lutra maculicollis</i> and <i>Aonyx capensis</i>	Water Dog; Beaver
Payne	<i>pade</i> : species of furred animal, much valued.	
Innes	<i>pade</i> 33 pl. <i>padea</i> 333: a fresh-water amphibious animal that preys on crabs.	
Flesher	<i>pareh</i>	
Sewo	<i>paleh</i> , <i>palea</i>	
Krumen	<i>pario</i>	

Payne’s remark that the otter is much valued is intriguing. Perhaps the pelt was considered excellent for certain purposes? To give some context, in 1862 an otter skin pouch “manufactured by the natives from the raw material” was among the Liberian articles sent to the International Exhibition in London (Ralston, 1862). Is it just a high quality hide? Perhaps hinting at a more specific social association, albeit in a different ethnic context, it is interesting to note that a ‘collar’ of a leading Gola warrior collected by the Swizz zoologist, Johann Büttikofer on one of his expeditions (either 1879-1882 or 1886-1887), was partly made of otter skin (Dop & Robinson 2012: 643-44).

Viverridae (Civets & Genets)

Since Kuhn's checklist, a third species of genet has been described (Gaubert, 2003) and this has been recorded in the Grebo-speaking area, the Bourlon's Genet (*Genetta bourloni*). Whether the three genets are discriminated with different Grebo names remains to be seen: it has been noted that genets are "probably the most complicated carnivoran taxon in terms of species boundaries assessment" (Gaubert *et al.* 2008). Interestingly however Fleisher records two distinct names for unspecified genets.

By way of a methodological note, I have recently learnt that the validity of the same names I elicited from separate photos of a genet and palm civet could be tested by using a recording of the characteristic nocturnal vocalisations of the latter (Greengrass, 2013).

Genet	<i>Genetta sp</i>	Bush or Wild Cat
Fleisher	<i>topi</i>	
	<i>kolapanbeh</i>	
Anon	<i>sòkbe</i> : genet, bush cat	
Sewo	<i>maaku, maakui</i> [N.B. same name elicited for Two-spotted Palm Civet]	

African Civet	<i>Civettictis civetta</i>	Raccoon
Innes	<i>buibi</i> 221 <i>pl. buibia</i> 2211: A dark brown animal with an unpleasant smell.	
Fleisher	<i>bueh</i>	
Anon	<i>bubuě, bubuõ</i>	
Sewo	<i>bui, bua</i>	
Krumen	<i>bowé</i>	

Two-spotted Palm Civet*	<i>Nandinia binotata</i>	Tree Coon
Fleisher	<i>maun</i>	
Sewo	<i>maaku, maakui</i> [N.B.same name elicited for Genet]	

*The formal English name is rather misleading as Rosevear (1974: 230) points out: it has a multitude of spots and though they spend much of their lives in trees, it's use of palms is infrequent.

West African Linsang/Oyan	<i>Poiana leightoni</i>	
Sewo	<i>tebe, tebea</i>	

Herpestidae (Mongoose)

Formerly included in the Viverridae

A number of names cover the five species found in Liberia, but how specific they are—something which may vary between speakers—requires probing their differentiating features. A case in point is the notoriety of some for poultry raiding, a behaviour noted by Büttikofer in western Liberia for the two *Herpestes* species (Dop & Robinson 2012: 723), which differ considerably in size.

Payne	<i>běwâ</i> S & pl.: a grey animal with white spots, larger than a cat, feeds on crabs, palm nuts, etc. [Tentative ascription to this family though none can really be described as spotted. Note the similarity to Flesher's name for the Marsh mongoose which fits with a crab-eating habit of that species]
Innes	<i>bewɔ</i> 21 pl. <i>bewɛ</i> 21: a grey animal with white spots, larger than a cat.
Anon	<i>běo</i> , <i>běe</i> : mongoose
	<i>chèawoon</i> , <i>chèaween</i> : mongoose, fox
	<i>totögbe</i> , <i>totögbea</i> : mongoose, fox [Innes gives <i>toto</i> 33 as an idiomatic expression for fairly hot: see Payne's name for the Slender mongoose below]
Sewo	<i>ben-on</i> , <i>ben-en</i> : elicited from images of both the Marsh and Slender Mongoose
Krumen	<i>sagla</i> : a generic name

Marsh Mongoose	<i>Atilax paludinosus</i>	Bush Dog; Fox
Flesher	<i>beol</i>	

Slender Mongoose	<i>Herpestes sanguineus</i>	Chicken Rogue
Payne	<i>pwikle-bwĩ</i> : an animal about the size of a cat, reddish color, lives chiefly on fowl. [Ascribed to this species on colour but the larger Egyptian Mongoose (<i>H. ichneumon</i>) is also a candidate. NB <i>pwikle</i> = great heat, and <i>bwĩ</i> = the adjective small. Innes gives <i>kpekle</i> 23 as a noun with an obsolescent meaning of intense heat but a contemporary meaning of “a burning sensation in the anus due to the eating of highly seasoned food” though the example he gives suggests it can also be used in the sense of trouble.]	
Innes	<i>kpedewe</i> 143 pl. <i>kpedewi</i> 143: a reddish-brown animal which lives near villages and prays on chickens.	
Flesher	<i>belechon</i>	

Cusimanse	<i>Crossarchus obscurus</i>	
Payne	<i>zahn-bulu</i> : musk-rat [Considered this species because the American muskrat likewise lives in social groups and because Innes rendering is similar to Flesher's]	
Innes	<i>sāklābudu</i> 2214 pl. <i>sāklābudia</i> 22144. Also <i>sāklā</i> 22-1 pl. <i>sāklē</i> 22-1. Musk-rat	
Flesher	<i>sacrah</i>	
Sewo	<i>ekle</i> , <i>ekleh</i>	

Felidae (Felines)

Three felines are found in Liberia, the leopard, golden cat and serval. Though a continental-scale map of the distribution of the latter suggest it is confined to northwest Liberia (Kingdon & Hoffmann, 2013) and therefore far from the Grebo language area, Kuhn (1965) shows the location of a serval obtained at Bashman Kulu (Bestman Town) in Sinoe county by the Harvard University Expedition in 1926. As this is much closer, the possibility that it was part of the fauna in the Grebo lands at least in the past should not be ignored in considering the various unidentified putative feline names shown in the first table below. Also worth considering are the contrasting grey and red pelages of the golden cat, which have been found together near the Cavally river (Pocock, 1907), as perhaps these attract different names. Unfortunately three unhelpful mammal loan names further cloud identifications (lion, tiger and most strangely wolf).

Payne	<i>gikllě</i> , S & pl.: an animal like the leopard in appearance and habits, about the size of the common dog.
	<i>pade-gu</i> , pl. <i>pade-gui</i> : lion. [NB <i>pade</i> = otter]
	<i>bubwi</i> , pl. <i>bubwe</i> : a spotted animal, size of a dog.
Innes	<i>padegu</i> 333 pl. <i>padegui</i> 3333: 'wolf' [Previously described by Payne as a feline, a lion]
	<i>gyimagbe</i> 333: an animal resembling a wolf
Anon	<i>sà, sè</i> : lion

Leopard	<i>Panthera pardus</i>	Leopard
Payne	<i>gi pl.gia</i> : leopard, tiger	
Innes	<i>gyi</i> 3-2 pl. <i>gyia</i> 32: lion, leopard, tiger	
Anon	<i>chì, chĩa</i>	
Flesher	<i>tchi</i>	
Sewo	<i>jii, jia</i>	
Krumen	<i>gui</i>	

African Golden Cat	<i>Profelis aurata</i>	Tiger Cat*
Anon	<i>sanknă, sankně</i> : wild cat [name also means mat, splint]	
Flesher	<i>sukleh</i>	
Sewo	<i>kla panwe, kla panwea</i> [I strongly suspect this binomial can be analysed as 'bush cat': Payne gives <i>pombwe pl. pombwi</i> for cat which is rendered by Innes as <i>păgbe</i> 33 pl. <i>păgbi</i> 33. Whilst neither of these dictionaries have an entry linking <i>kla</i> to bush/wild, previous research I have done on non-timber forest products around Sapo NP, which included a Jedebo (<i>dako</i> # 44 in Map 2) town and Sapo ones which use a closely related Kruan language, the modifier <i>kla</i> or <i>kra</i> was often met, e.g. in translations for bush pepper, bush kola, bush plum etc.]	

* Johnston (1906: 702) says this is the term of the Americo-Liberians, but it may now be dated.

Elephantidae (Elephants)

Forest Elephant		<i>Loxodonta cyclotis</i>	Elephant
Payne	<i>dowě pl. dowa</i> : elephant.		
Innes	<i>doε</i> 22: Colloquial name		
	<i>too doε</i> 3-2-3 22: Regarded as more 'correct' form		
Anon	<i>doε, doa</i>		
Sewo	<i>dwe, dwa</i>		
Krumen	<i>doè</i>		

Procaviidae (Hyraxes)

Regrettably I didn't elicit the name for this acoustically familiar mammal, but I suspect the names here are onomatopoeic, as has been noted in its name in four Kwa languages from eastern Côte d'Ivoire (Attié, Agni, Baoulé & Ebrié) by Urs Rahm (1969:70).

Western Tree Hyrax		<i>Dendrohyrax dorsalis</i>	Tree Bear
Flesher	<i>weah</i>		
Krumen	<i>weya</i>		

Trichechidae (Manatees)

Familiarity with this species, which is endangered and possibly even extinct in the Grebo-speaking lands, is restricted to the mouth of the Cavally river, though its reputation may make it known more widely.

West African Manatee		<i>Trichechus senegalensis</i>	
Payne	<i>Nihudiye</i> , <i>S. & p.</i> fresh water mammal, eight to ten feet long, dark color, head resembling that of a hog, body like a fish, very thick skin. It is amphibious. [This is clearly a construct from <i>ni</i> = water. Perhaps the second part is derived from <i>Hudi-yi</i> , <i>p. hudida-yi</i> , to hide from one's presence?]		
Innes	<i>ni hudie</i> 2- 1 333 <i>pl. ni hudii</i> 2- 1 333 an amphibious animal. [Curiously <i>hudie</i> 333 <i>pl. hudii</i> 333 is said to be a sea fish]		

Suidae (Pigs)

Unfortunately none of the three dictionary sources have specific entries for the two wild pig species found in Liberia, which are well known crop pests and commonly hunted. I have however included their entries for the more general terms pig and hog in the first table, as these may be useful. In the related Krahn language (Tchien dialect), all pigs are called :*bee*’ to which the prefix ‘*kwi* meaning ‘something originating from outside the country’ can be added to refer specifically to domesticated pigs, ‘*kwi-bee*’ (Sauder & Wright 2000)—and the same occurs in the Western Mande language Kpelle’s *boi* for all pigs and *kwii boi* for the domesticate (Leidenfrost & McKay, 2007). The same may apply in Grebo. Given the uncertain origins of dwarf West African pig breeds (Blench, 2000) it is interesting that none of these names appear to be borrowed from the Portuguese term *porco*.

In terms of the name differentiation between the two hog species recorded by Flesher and Caspary, it is worth noting that I pressed my Sewo informant on this and though he recognised there was a black one, which wasn’t found locally, and a red one which was, he insisted they had the same name. This distinction, or lack of, requires further investigation.

Names for Pig/Hog	
Payne	<i>botyu</i> , pl. <i>botye</i> : hog <i>boya-beyâ</i> , pl. <i>boya-be</i> : a boar. <i>boya-kba</i> , pl. <i>boya-kbe</i> : a sow.
Innes	<i>bokyô</i> 23 pl. <i>bokyia</i> 233, <i>bokye</i> 23: pig <i>boya</i> , as in <i>boya beo</i> 23 33 pl. <i>boya bee</i> 23 33: boar <i>boya kpa</i> 23 1 pl. <i>boya kpe</i> 23 1: sow
Anon	<i>bocho</i> , <i>boche</i> : pig

Red River Hog		<i>Potamochoerus porcus</i>	Red Hog
Flesher	<i>bauchu</i>		
Sewo	<i>gbeo</i> , <i>gbee</i> [name used for both wild pigs]		
Krumen	<i>gbéhai</i>		

Giant Forest Hog		<i>Hylochoerus meinertzhageni</i>	Black Hog
Flesher	<i>buleh</i>		
Sewo	<i>gbeo</i> , <i>gbee</i> [name used for both wild pigs]		
Krumen	<i>gboro</i>		

Hippopotamidae (Hippopotamuses)

Pygmy Hippopotamus	<i>Choeropsis liberiensis</i>	Hippo
Payne	<i>nogmēanh</i> , pl. <i>negmaie</i> : hippopotamus	
Innes	<i>neɲmɛ</i> 2-14 pl. <i>neɲmɛa</i> 2-144	
Anon	<i>nŭgmɛ̀</i> , <i>nŭgmà</i> : hippopotamus	
Flesher	<i>nueh</i>	
Sewo	<i>nugmɛ</i> , <i>nugma</i>	
Krumen	<i>nouhin</i>	

Tragulidae (Chevrotains)

Though resembling some of the duikers, and perhaps included with them in local taxonomies, as the Liberian English name hints, there are several key morphological differences that set them apart in a family of their own. One of these may be potentially useful in unravelling the uncertain identity of the antelope called *duɛ* or *gbɔ duɛ* in three Jabo proverbs recorded at Nimiah, Garraway Clan in 1930 (H&B: 108-110), which the authors suggest could be the chevrotain—though one shouldn't assume the name is only applied to one species—namely the absence of horns. In both Liberia and the wider region it should be noted that the wise and cunning hare or rabbit of folktales is in fact neither, but either this species or the Royal Antelope (Johnston, 1906: 727 & 743)—see over.

Water Chevrotain	<i>Hyemoschus aquaticus</i>	Water Deer
Payne	<i>bŭrlĩ</i> : antelope. [Included here on the basis of Innes's elaboration below]	
	<i>ĩ</i> S. and p. contraction of <i>bŭrlĩ</i> : antelope.	
Innes	<i>le</i> 2-1 pl. <i>li</i> 2- 1 Also <i>gbɔɔle</i> 3-242-1 pl. <i>gbɔɔli</i> 3-242-1: A spotted antelope. [The only other spotted 'antelope' is the considerably larger bushbuck, which both Payne & Innes have names with good descriptions for]	
Flesher	<i>toawn</i>	
Sewo	<i>tɔ</i> , <i>tɔa</i> [NB Johnston, (1906: 727) gives <i>tū</i> as the name for this species in the “Kru tongues”]	
Krumen	<i>nélo</i>	

Bovidae (Cloven-hoofed Ruminants)

Payne and Innes provide several names which cannot be assigned. As noted above, their folkloric 'gazelle', known as the king of animals, may be the Royal Antelope or/and Water Chevrotain.

Payne	<i>bŭnanh</i> , <i>S. and p.</i> : the gazelle, called by natives <i>king of animals</i> . [Of passing interest in relation to this name is, <i>kiŭ-neblo</i> , <i>pl kiŭ-neble</i> : an insect of the locust kind, found chiefly under ground. It makes a chirping noise. It is also called, from its ingenious habits of building and storing, " <i>bŭnan-ăh-nyŭne</i> " or "gazelle's wife," being on this account deemed a fit companion for the prudent king of animals]
	<i>kwrě</i> <i>pl. kwra</i> : wild animal of dull color, somewhat smaller than a sheep, short legs and horns.
	<i>twinh</i> , <i>pl. twanh</i> : black antelope, very large, receding horns. [Despite description perhaps the Bush Cow given similarity to all names given]
Innes	<i>gbana</i> 41 <i>pl. gbane</i> 41: small creature resembling the gazelle, which is a character in many Grebo folktales.
	<i>kode</i> 22 <i>pl. kodea</i> 222: an animal, smaller than a sheep, with horns. [Possibly Maxwell's duiker as <i>kolai</i> in Kroumen]

Maxwell's Duiker		<i>Philantomba maxwellii</i>	Blue Tongue; Falling Tonga (Foolish Tonga)
Anon	<i>kwle, kwlea</i>		
Flesher	<i>giseh</i>		
Sewo	<i>kwle, kwla</i>		
Krumen	<i>kolai</i>		

It should be noted that a lack of naming distinction between the following two duikers has been observed around Taï National Park (Caspery et al. 2001: 59).

Bay Duiker		<i>Cephalophus dorsalis</i>	Red-Back deer
Flesher	<i>baleh</i>		
Sewo	<i>baleh, balea</i> [N.B. same name elicited for Ogilby's duiker]		
Krumen	<i>baya</i>		

Ogilby's Duiker		<i>Cephalophus ogilbyi</i>	Black Back; Wide-ear Deer; Red Tongue
Anon	<i>jbe, jba</i>		
Flesher	<i>gireh</i>		
Sewo	<i>baleh, balea</i> [N.B. same name elicited for Bay duiker]		

Black duiker		<i>Cephalophus niger</i>	Bush Goat; Black Deer
Payne	<i>nyanh pl. nyenh</i> : wild goat		
Innes	<i>nya</i> 4 <i>pl. nye</i> 4: wild goat		
Anon	<i>nyaă, nyeě</i>		
Flesher	<i>nyah</i>		
Sewo	<i>nya, nyeh</i>		
Krumen	<i>gna djrowo</i>		

Zebra Duiker		<i>Cephalophus zebra</i>	Mountain Deer; Marking Deer
Anon	<i>nme, nmea</i>		
Flesher	<i>neneh</i>		
Sewo	<i>ne, nea</i>		
Krumen	<i>mrain</i>		

Jentink's Duiker		<i>Cephalophus jentinki</i>	White Antelope
Flesher	<i>inhanweh</i>		
Sewo	<i>bida, bida</i> [Given the distinct difference of this name, it requires re-checking]		
Krumen	<i>gnanranwè</i>		

Yellow-backed duiker		<i>Cephalophus silvicultor</i>	Black Antelope
Payne	<i>nyebwe pl. nyebwi</i> : a large black antelope, size of a bullock, with receding horns [I have ascribed this name to this the largest duiker, on the basis of the stated colour. However, it is only a little larger than the two-tone Jentink's.]		
	<i>nyenhwi pl. nyenhbwi</i> : a large black antelope		
Innes	<i>nyebe</i> 43 <i>pl. nyebe</i> 43. Also <i>lu hla nyebe</i> 2 1 43: An antelope [The secondary name is potentially interesting given the conspicuous yellow patch of hair on its back: <i>lu</i> 2-1 = head and <i>lu hwinyae</i> 2-1 333 hair of the head]		
Flesher	<i>buruinyanweh</i> [note the similarity of the latter part of this name to Flesher's name for Jentink's Duiker, which suggests it may in fact be a binomial]		
Sewo	<i>nyawe, nyawea</i>		

Bushbuck		<i>Tragelaphus scriptus</i>	Red Deer
Payne	<i>gne</i> S. & p: very large antelope, size of a horse, horns two feet long, red color with white stripes down the back.		
Innes	<i>ηε</i> 3-2 pl. <i>ηα</i> 3-2: A big antelope with red and white stripes.		
Anon	<i>dlě, dloǎ</i> [also the name for month of May]		
Flesher	<i>dreeh</i>		
Sewo	<i>due, due</i>		
Krumen	<i>doé</i>		

Bongo		<i>Tragelaphus eurycerus</i>	Elk Deer
Anon	<i>kèn, kèan</i>		
Flesher	<i>keah</i>		
Sewo	<i>ken, kan</i>		
Krumen	<i>gué</i>		

To the above can perhaps be added the ‘Half-Grebo’ name (i.e. from either the Palipo, Sabo and Webbo lands: *dako* 37, 36 & 29 in Map 2) *bɔ*, which they note is also the name of the fourth male age grade, that of the elders (Schwab 1948: 89), though it is somewhat anomalous with the above.

Royal Antelope		<i>Neotragus pygmaeus</i>	Rabbit
Sewo	<i>nogmeh, nogma</i>		
Krumen	<i>nan</i>		

Probably symptomatic of the aforementioned conflation of the above species with the chevrotain, it is interesting to note that Flesher doesn't give a local name but states “Status and distribution unclear due to confusion about this species during the interviews” which then has a footnote adding “Only two of the hunters described an animal that sounded like the royal antelope, so I have included it as possibly occurring there.”

Forest Buffalo		<i>Syncerus caffer</i>	Buffalo; Bush cow
Innes	<i>tui</i> 32 pl. <i>tua</i> 32: bush-cow, buffalo		
Anon	<i>tùnwe, tùnwa</i>		
Flesher	<i>tuweh</i>		
Sewo	<i>tui, tua</i>		
Krumen	<i>toué</i>		

To the above can be added the curious Jabo names, *ñã* and *ñẽ wẹ*, which are rather distinct from all of the above (H&B: 33 & 107-8).

Cetacea (Whales & Dolphins)

Whale spp.	
Payne	<i>tude</i> , pl. <i>tidi</i>
	<i>idu-dowě</i> pl. <i>idu-dowa</i> : Sea-elephant, largest species of whale known. <i>dowě</i> = elephant
Innes	<i>tudu</i> 44 pl. <i>tudia</i> 444
	<i>yudutudu</i> 2144 <i>yidu tudu</i> 21 44 given under <i>yidu</i> = sea. [Sea whale?]
Anon	<i>jbodoě</i> , <i>jbodoă</i> : whale, big fish

Dolphin spp.	
Payne	<i>idu-wisi</i> : Porpoise. [There are no porpoises in West Africa] <i>idu</i> = sea
Innes	<i>yidu wise</i> 21 44: porpoise. <i>yidu</i> = sea

Down the coast at Buchanan, Kru fishermen (who speak the closely related Klao), call dolphins in English at least “sea monkeys” and I suspect the *wisi/wise* above may have parallels, but neither dictionaries have relevant entries.

Unidentified Mammal Names

As the reader will no doubt have noticed, some of the entries in the two oldest dictionaries are rather difficult to decipher and at times even misleading. I have been unable to deduce with any certainty the following names.

Innes	<i>bejwa</i> 21 <i>pl. bejwe</i> 21: a small animal slightly larger than a guinea-pig. Possibly a mongoose given similarities in names there.
Payne	<i>gima</i> , S & <i>pl.</i> : a small furred animal, yellow color, short legs, and ears like a cat; amphibious.
Innes	<i>gyima</i> 33 <i>pl. gyime</i> 33: a small, furry amphibious animal with short legs and ears like a cat. The above is something of a mystery and bar the yellow colour, which Innes does not repeat, I would be tempted to guess the Nimba Otter-shrew (<i>Micropotamogale lamottei</i>) the sole Liberian representative of the Potamogalida. There are however no records from the Grebo-speaking areas, but there are isolated records from Putu, which isn't too far away—just over the road from the north-eastern corner of Sapo NP, see Map 1 (Decher <i>et al.</i> 2016).
Payne	<i>tebe</i> : an animal somewhat smaller than a cat.
Innes	<i>tebe</i> 44 <i>pl. tebea</i> 444: a small animal. The similarity of the above names to the Sewo name I elicited for the African Linsang is worth recalling.

Finally it is worth mentioning this entry in Innes:

kpodaa 333 a large rodent; a mythical animal which is a character in many Grebo folktales.

By Way of Analysis

This note was inspired by an interest in the extent of mammal naming differences across the various Grebo dialects. The assembled data do not permit a thorough analysis of this question in part because the dialect/language origin of a couple of the major sources is unclear but more importantly because a complete set of names drawn from the five sources is not available for all mammal species. Furthermore, given the paucity of names for the small mammals (c. 1kg or less), which account for almost 60% of Liberian mammal species, the subset of names available covers mainly the medium to large mammals (henceforth M&L mammals).

Before looking at name similarity in the more complete sets, the high degree of accordance between scientifically recognised M&L mammal species and Grebo names is worth highlighting. In a few cases a distinction between similar species may not be commonly known or may be known but not recognised in separate names. For example, I found no distinction between the names given for Bay and Ogilby's duikers (*Cephalophus dorsalis* and *C. ogilbyi*), which has also been noted around Tai National Park (Caspery et al. 2001: 59), though Flesher did and may have been able to probe more thoroughly. I also encountered a lack of distinction between the two forest hogs (*Potamochoerus porcus* and *Hylochoerus meinertzhageni*), which again was not recorded by Flesher but a similar conflation has been noted among the Ombo of Maniéma province, Democratic Republic of Congo (Ankei, 1986). No name distinction appears to have been recorded for the two otter species (*Lutra maculicollis* and *Aonyx capensis*) but again more probing might be revealing: it has been recorded among both the Ombo and Sangala in DRC where there are also two sympatric otter species (*ibid.*). Mention has been made of the identification challenges among the cryptic genets so a lack of name distinction is perhaps to be expected there. Likewise, though data are insufficient, I suspect some of the names for the mongooses will turn out to encompass more than one species.

To my reading, and giving some latitude for phonetic differences and variations in transcription, the following names for 18-19 mammals from three or more of the sources, with evidence for ascription to the species, show a good degree of similarity. To consider the similarity in a larger perspective, Krumen names are square bracketed at the end.

Potto: *těã/těan, tēen/tean, teen* [gbahi towa]

Western Black & White Colobus: *plě, plěda:/plɛ, pla/pleh/pleh, pla* [plai]

Lesser Spot-nosed Guenon: *taduě, taduã/taloueh/talowe, talowa* [nouwo méhao towai]

Chimpanzee: *wě, wàbo/wɛ, wa/wɛ, wà/weh/kwɛ, kwa* [bouw]

Giant Ground Pangolin: *swě, sowa/soɛ, soa/sòɛ, sòà/soeh/hoeh, hoa* [owè]

Emin's Giant Rat: *tăba-du, tâba-du/tabadu, tabadi/tabadu/tabadu* [tawadou]

Crested Porcupine: *pllu, plli/pudo, pudi/plè, plòà/plaey/ple, pla* [no Krumen name]

Greater Cane Rat: *hwanh, hwenh/hwã, hwě/wàn, wèn/uwenh/kwan, kwen* [bouan]

Ratel: *kwanh, kwenh/kwã, kwě/kòkòwè, kòkòwà/kuin, kua* [gbé]

Otter spp. (Spotted-necked and Cape Clawless): *pade/pade, padea/pareh/paleh, palea* [pario]

African Civet: *buibi, buibia/bueh/bubuě, bubuõ/bui, bua* [bowé]

Leopard: *gi, gia/gyi, gyia/chì, chĩa/tchi/jii, jia* [gui]

Forest Elephant: *dowě, dowa/doɛ/doɛ, doa/dwɛ, dwa* [doè]

Pygmy Hippo: *nogměanh, negmaie/nerjme, nerjmea/nũgmè, nũgmà/nueh/nugme, nugma* [nouhin]

Black Duiker: *nyanh, nyenh/nya, nye/nyaă, nyeě/nyah/nya, nyeh* [gna djrowo]

Zebra Duiker: *nme, nmea/neneh/ne, nea* [mrain]

Bongo: *kèn, kèan/keah/ken, kan* [gué]

Forest Buffalo: *tui, tua/tùnwe, tùnwa/tuweh/tui, tua* [toué]

Barring Emin's Giant Rat, which despite generally weighing just over 1kg I have considered small, the names above cover 16-17 M&L mammals. With a total of 51 species in this category, which for the most part are still extant in the Grebo-speaking lands, though not uniformly, there is clearly more work to be done to determine if the remainder have similar names. Perhaps the only indication of dissimilarity in the few assembled names for those remaining, is for Demidoff's Galago, which weighing less than 100g should really be excluded from the M&L category. Of the names above it is interesting to note that only three Krumen names appear distinct (for the Potto, Lesser Spot-nosed Guenon and Chimpanzee). Data from other neighbouring languages would be useful to make further comparisons.

Beyond Names: Towards a Grebo Ethno-mammology

An improved understanding of mammal names only scratches the surface of the diverse meanings, uses and interactions Grebo-speakers have with these animals. What I'd like to do in this final section is offer some threads from the modest literature on the Grebo which should be considered in any attempt to write an ethno-mammology. In the African context, Brian Morris's (1998) *The Power of Animals: An Ethnography*, which is focussed on Malawi, I think sets the bar for any such endeavour.

A good starting point for an ethno-mammology are the species commensal with humans, in order to get a grasp of lay mammal knowledge. I have made a few remarks above about gaining a better understanding of mammals within their local taxonomies and this is an important line of enquiry as there isn't, as far as I can see from the dictionaries, a Grebo equivalent to the word mammal. Furthermore I would suspect that bats, which make up 25% of Liberian mammalian species might be considered apart.⁹ I'd certainly encourage any lexicographer to record as much paralinguistic information as possible when names are elicited as what first comes to mind when somebody thinks about a mammal can be quite revealing (see Hill, 2006 for examples from a different linguistic context). To get some idea about the social construction of lay mammal knowledge it is instructive to look at a remarkable set of Jabo proverbs collected at Nimiah in 1930 by George Herzog with the assistance of Charles G. Blooah, a local man who had been a part-time student at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago (Herzog & Blooah 1936). Though not pretending to be complete, which given the dynamic process of proverb formation is impossible, it is by far the largest collection from Liberia. The book helpfully divides the 416 proverbs into thematic categories. The list below counts the primary subject of the 55¹⁰ mammal proverbs¹¹, following their order of appearance (on pages 85-120).

Dog	13	gləwɔ (Monkey)	1	ba plē (Murid)	1
Cow	3	Leopard	5	dawa-du (Emin's Giant Rat?)	2
Goat	2	ji'kle (Mongoose sp.)	1	kɔ blē (House rat)	2
Sheep	4	Elephant	2	blē (Rat)	3
Monkey (General)	1	Buffalo	1	pā (Bat)	1
Chimpanzee	1	due/gbɔ due (Antelope?)	3	ci ɔ mlē (Trickster*)	4
dɔ beɔ (Monkey)	1	ja (Squirrel)	1		
kɛ dɛ (Monkey)	1	gɔã (Cane Rat)	2		

*Trickster is footnoted as probably a mythical animal, although some informants claimed it was real.

9 Bats are often classified with birds, for example among the Hausa (Levy-Luxereau, 1972: 243) and widely in Zambia (Morris, 2000:143).

10 There are actually 56, but one refers only to the general category *mlī* which is translated as beasts.

11 The other animal categories are: Invertebrates (19 proverbs), Fish (7), Amphibians & Reptiles (17) and birds (30).

Proverbs about non-domesticated mammals (33/29 with or without Trickster) out-number the domesticated ones (22) and include a good number concerned with smaller commensal mammals. A further source of proverbs may add to the above but has not been consulted (Anon, 1974).

Beyond proverbs, other expressions of folklore are an interesting source of information about how people think about certain mammals. In this regard, mention has already been made about the ambiguous identity of a wise and cunning character said to be common in many folktales in Liberia (and beyond); the Royal Antelope, Chevrotain, both or mythical? A sociologically informed approach to such tales would certainly be more useful than the all too frequent detached rendition of them in detail-less collections e.g. Pinney, (1973). For a Liberian counterpoint, Lancy (1996) provides some excellent background to how Kpelle children learn culture through arts such as storytelling. A good example of the need for accompanying detail with folklore is demonstrated in an article by the French anthropologist Bohumil Holas who in 1948 undertook an expedition¹² in eastern Liberia with the zoologist Pierre Louis Dekeyser. In several villages along their itinerary, one of which was Yōke/York a Grebo speaking community beside the Cavally river (Dediyo *dako*, No. 25 on Map 2), he came across wall drawings of Mami Wata inspired figures which he linked to the legend of a woman transforming into a manatee (Holas, 1949). Unfortunately his interpretations underplay the role of established local mobility strategies which may have imported the Mami Wata legend and iconography and blended them with local beliefs in water spirits¹³. Ultimately folklore is dynamic, diverse and experienced differently within populations¹⁴. To what extent mammals feature today in proverbs, sayings, superstitions¹⁵, stories, drawings, music and dance is unknown. I suspect however that some of the themes interwoven around mammal characters will have references to past expressions and others will have adapted to inspirations of the contemporary setting.

How people think about mammals relates to how they see them in their world view and useful insights can be gained from examining human-animal boundaries. In neighbouring Sapo country, I have heard of the ability of ‘red deer’ (bushbuck) to turn in to humans and *vice versa*. Likewise over the border in Côte d’Ivoire, Holas (1980:81) notes that Bapo Krumen hunters made preparatory sacrifices called *wowola* to protect themselves against the posthumous vengeance of their victims. Whilst I am unaware of any documentation of such conceptions among Grebo speakers, Innes offers a term suggestive of a perception of communication across this boundary: *bli ηae* 2 33 the “power which some people are believed to have of making animals obey them” though whether this extends only to cows (*bli*) should be checked.

Before considering the specialised mammal knowledge of hunters, it is useful to raise the question of another potential social group with distinct mammal knowledge, though they may turn out to be

- 12 The collaboration in this expedition had the potential for some interesting ethno-zoological enquiries but little was realised from it—see Bondaz 2015 for background—though some Grebo mammal names could be unearthed in the diaries and papers of the authors which are held at the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris (for Holas) and l’IFAN-CAD at Dakar (for Dekeyser) (pers comm. Julien Bondaz, 27 September 2018).
- 13 Van Stipriaan (2003: 324 & 329) identifies three developments which contributed to a process of creolization, standardization and growth in the popularity of Mami Wata: 1. Kru migrants [a term which embraces Grebo and Krumen speakers: see Martin 1968, McEvoy 1971 and Behrens 1974) working on European ships with mermaid figureheads and hearing stories about mermaids, sirens, water-nymphs and other supernatural water creatures. 2. From 1887, the diffusion of a German-made etching of a female Samoan snake charmer 3. Urbanisation.
- 14 In Herzog & Bloah (1938: 262) a comparison is made between their Jabo proverbs and the 194 Kru proverbs recorded ex-situ by Melville Herskovits from Sie Tagbwæ, who grew up until he was 18 in Sikrëkpø (Grand Cess)—see Merskovits & Ta'gbwe (1930)—about 20 miles from Nimiah. Only one Jabo mammal proverb concerning a dog is considered identical (# 135) and one concerning a leopard (#155) is classed practically identical or very similar. Inspirations from the surrounding mammal world for proverbs etc. may differ despite faunistic similarities.
- 15 De Coutouly (1922) lists various types of animal encounters that are considered auspicious among the Krumen of Côte d’Ivoire including 15 wild mammals, and it would be interesting to know whether similar superstitions exist, or have existed, among the Grebo—one of these however concerns a species not recorded in Liberia, the aardvark.

one and the same, namely practitioners of zootherapies. Though I have been told of lay therapeutic uses of spiders, birds and reptiles among the neighbouring Sapo, I have not heard of any mammal uses in this regard. One potential source of information may however be useful, but being in Dutch, is inaccessible to me, Corry Gerrits's doctoral thesis which has the translated title, "Conceptions, Explanations and Treatment of Some Illnesses among the Grebo in Fishtown, Liberia" (Gerrits, 1981).

Any examination of the specialised mammal knowledge of hunters needs to firstly describe them in their social setting and a typology of hunters would certainly be useful: not every man with a gun is necessarily considered a hunter. In this regards understanding how hunters acquire their skills is useful. Whilst there is little indication that there are any Grebo hunter guilds (Kurtz, 1985:40), there may still be less overt forms of solidarity among them. Secondly, a close look at changes in hunting practises is essential. I have hinted above when situating John Payne's epoch some of the changes that have occurred. The demise of collective hunting I think is especially important in shifting the wider relationships between people and mammals and two descriptions of it among the Grebo are useful to consult: Herzog & Bloah (1938: 87-88) for a Jabo example and Holas (1952: 399-400) who describes what he calls a 'ritual' wild hog hunt among the Plapo of Barclayville (*dako* #47 on Map 2) on the 10th March, 1948 which he says was organised by the male Bɔ or Gbɔ society, which is more accurately an age grade (Kurtz, 97-113). Another important change in technique, at least in some areas, is the use of one mammal, the dog, to catch others: this was not used by the Jabo in 1930 though existed among the neighbouring Kru (Herzog & Bloah, 1938:87) and Reeves & Davis (2008:19) mention how Mano and Gio migrants laid off by the Firestone plantation at Pleebo in the early 1940s, taught the Gedebo (*dako* # 27 in Map 2) how to hunt with dogs.

The change in hunting tools from arrows, spears, nets and muzzle-loaders to the shotgun so prevalent today may not have changed game tracking skills too much—though the advent of modern lamps used in night hunting may have—but increased success rates. Off-take rates are likely to vary considerably between gun-owners/users but I feel the preoccupation with the bushmeat question has done a general disservice to understanding the full range of mammal capture techniques. Whilst the increasing importance of largely urban bushmeat demand has undoubtedly lead to increasing commercial hunting and associated hunting based livelihoods, there is still an important amount of subsistence hunting in the background. An important part of this hidden meat harvest probably concerns small mammals which are largely invisible in the bushmeat literature. Part of a Grebo child's education about mammals in the rural setting will come from hunting and cooking such animals. Women as well as girls may participate in capturing these mammals. For the old, infirm and poor they may be a significant source of protein. It should also not be overlooked that seasonal bushmeat hunger is starting to be recognised in the Congo Basin (Dounias & Ichikawa 2017) and Innes cites the word *soamo* which may be useful in this regard since it means "a craving for meat or fish."

Understanding meat consumption should be an important part of a good ethno-mammology and an interesting starting point is to consider to what extent the word meat in Grebo is synonymous with animals.¹⁶ Only the anonymous 2005 dictionary says they are with *nmi*, *nmia*, *soa* given meaning meat and animal, though there is a suggestion in Innes as he gives *mle*, *mune* for animal and *kyēde*

16 This is the case not only in Liberian English, but also in Hausa (*nama*) and according to Morris (2000) throughout Zambia (*nyama*). The similarity in the Hausa and Zambian words is no coincidence: see Morris (2000: 107-8) for a discussion of Hermann Baumann's (1950) *Nyama, die Rachemacht* (Nyama, The Power of Revenge) a comparative survey of the concept of nyama in Sub-Saharan Africa. Baumann apparently found that it was one of the most widely distributed of Bantu words, signifying not only game animals generally, especially the larger 'power' mammals, but also expressing notions that implied a sense of 'vital force' or 'power' inherent in the blood of the mammal or in a substance.

mle fat meat. Who eats what meat is, or perhaps was more in the past, socially defined. In their three day sojourn in 'Half-Grebo' (a term used to describe the people living behind the Glebo the expedition crossed Palipo, Sabo and Webbo lands: *dako* 37, 36 & 29 in Map 2) in 1928, Mr. and Mrs Schwab recorded the following game rights (Schwab 1948: 88-9):

"In Half-Grebo the male "bush goat" (*Cephalophus niger*) belongs to the **Gofa** or upper warriors' class. Any member of the clan who kills one must give it to the local organization. The Gofa is free to give to men of other social groups pieces of the right fore leg and the hind legs only. The females of this species may be eaten by anyone.

To the fourth social group of the men, the elders, who have taken the name of the **bo** antelope (*Bongo boocereus eurycerus*) as their group name, all of these animals belong. The **Bo** members, like the warriors, are free to give away pieces cut from the right fore leg and the hind legs."

"Large animals frequently belong to the whole town. Such animals are called "town meat" in Half-Grebo....the town meat includes the leopard [footnote "Actually leopard is "country meat" in which the whole clan shares"], forest buffalo, hog, large antelopes not belonging to the social groups, and the pygmy hippopotamus. The town chief is responsible for a just division of it. These lists may be incomplete....

In Half-Grebo the town meat, and any other large animal to which no special group can lay claim, is taken to the town's medicine near the palaver house and there hacked up on a plank of buttress root, as already noted. The hunter takes his share and divides the rest. Smaller game he takes to his own hut and there cuts it up and divides it.

Other Customs Regarding the Division of Meat. The Half-Grebo hunter reserves for himself the chine with tail attached....hers [the hunter's wife or wives] is the head"

Though McEvoy (1971: 361, footnote 2) suggests these 'rights' and rituals still existed in his Sabo study area (*dako* # 34, Map 2) in 1966-68, their current status is unknown. At the smaller mammal scale, McEvoy (1973: 252, footnote 48) adds an interesting Sabo marriage transfer custom. The **newurawona** ("cold water palm kernels"), a gift the suitor is obliged to offer after acceptance of the "engagement token" by the girl's descent group, is made up of three parts including a **tabadu** (Emin's Gat Rat) "which had been caught, killed, cut open and cleaned without having damaged either the skin or the heart of the animal". The **newurawona** gift was said to symbolize¹⁷ the esteem with which the suitor regarded both the girl and her **tua** (patrilineal clan).

Certain meat proscriptions still exist today in the form of specific taboos within patrilineal clans (**kwa** or **tua**). Kurtz (1985: 64-69) provides an incomplete listing of these from which I have reproduced the mammal elements in Appendix 4. Of the 39 instances of proscribed mammals, half are for the leopard. Thus if the leopard is/was widely a "town animal" in the Grebo lands, quite a few people could/would have been unable to eat it. Among the other mammals listed, it is curious when compared with similar data for the Mano of Yamein (Zetterström, 1976: 76-78), that

17 It is perhaps interesting that Payne lists **tâba-du** as a hyphenated binomial since one Grebo verb to marry is **du** though this may be purely coincidental.

domesticated animals are infrequent (one sheep and three dog records). Small mammals also feature in this list with two bats and four 'rats' which are all unspecified.

To conclude, as I hope the few paragraphs above have shown, there is some very fertile research ground to be explored in going beyond simple Grebo mammal names. Given the partial evidence presented for a good correspondence between Grebo and scientific names for M&L mammals, a potential way forward is to re-orientate typical zoological research¹⁸ and look to explore community led mammal inventories (giving special attention to the small ones) with a purposeful effort to establish inter-generational dialogue and above all, evoke pride and sharing in the riches of the Grebo dialects and languages.

18 For example, wouldn't it be nice to have some participatory camera trapping in and around settlements and farmlands rather than the deeper forests where they are so often laid?

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Appendix 1:
Grebo Domestic Mammal Names

Source:	Payne (1860)	Innes (1967)	Anon (2005)
Cat	pombwe pl. pombwi	pāgbę 33 pl. pāgbi 33 pāgbę 3: obsolescent pōsi 4-14 pl. pōsia 4-144 pō wę 3 3 pl. pō wi 3 3 puębę 333 pl. puębi 333	Not found
Cow	bllikba pl. bllēbe	bli kpa 2 2-1	blī, bliā
[bullock/bull]	blli pl. bllē	bli 2 pl. bla 2 [and cow]	blibeō, bliabeē
Dog	kbwīnh pl. kbwinh	gbę 3-2 pl. gbi 3-2	gbè, gbùo
Donkey/Ass	kāsera pl. kāsere	kaseda 133 pl. kasede 133	jakāsè, jakāsèa*
Goat	wùdi pl. wùda	wudi 22 pl. wuda 22	wli, wlia
[billy goat]	-	fābeo 433 pl. fābee 433	fànka, fànke
[nanny goat]	-	-	bòklo, gbèkle
Horse	kobo-soo pl. kobsoya so·o pl. soeya [also name for a lizard]**	sōo 22 pl. sōya 22	sòko, sòkwe
Camel***	kāmlē pl. kāmle (Eng.)	gbu ke sōo 3-2 2 33	Not found
Pig	botyu, pl. botye: hog boya-beyâ, pl. boya-be: a boar. boya-kba, pl. boya-kbe: a sow.	bōkyo 23 pl. bōkyia 233, bōkye 23: pig boya, as in boya beo 23 33 pl. boya beē 23 33: boar boya kpa 23 1 pl. boya kpe 23 1: sow	bocho, boche: pig
Sheep	blāblē pl. blāble	blabe 21 pl. blabe 21	blablē, blableā
Cattle	wùdibàde	wudubade 1143 pl. wudubade 1143 [cattle, animal, (<i>general name</i>)]	wnùde, wnùoa

* This is presumably derived from the English term for a male donkey or ass, jackass.

**In the first English-Grebo dictionary, the anonymous author, who is undoubtedly John Leighton Wilson, notes that *kobosoa*, which was the more commonly used name for horse than *soh*, means “the white man’s lizard” adding “& no doubt is thus named, from the resemblance between them.” (Anon, 1839: 35).

***I have doubts whether a camel has ever been to the Grebo speaking lands so don’t understand the inclusion of this name, though it may relate to Christian teaching.

Appendix 2:
Key to Map 2 from Kurtz 1985, Map 1, Table 1

N.B. Holas = Holas, B. (1952) *Mission dans l'Est libérien* (P.-L. Dekeyser, B. Holas, 1948) *Résultats démographiques, ethnologiques et anthropométriques*. Mémoires de l'IFAN 14. Dakar: IFAN.

Tribal Group Name	Map #	“Tribe” (Dako)	Alternative <i>Dako</i> names
Jao	1	Bolukwen	Garraway; Garawe; Jao
	2	Nihwiyekwen	Nemeah; Half Garewe
	3	Pedekwen	Patey
	4	Jenoyakwen	Genoyah
Glebo	5	Klimewe	Kudemowe; Kuniewe
	6	Nyimewe	Nyomowe; Nyamawe
Nyabo (Nyaabo: Holas)	7	Sedebo	Sidike (Pedebo included in #7)
	8	Traasiebo	Transebo; Gidibe; Traasiyebo
	9	Jidetabo	Gedetarbo; Dyere Tabo (Holas)
	10	Gbolobo (Holas)	Gborlobo
	11	Plibo	Pleebo; Plidibo
	12	Bolobo	Gbolobo
	13	Klebo	Kedebo
	14	Wiebo	Wrebo
Sewo (Seo)	15	Lower Trembo	Watiken; Wotiken
	16	Upper Trembo	Sodoken; Sorroke
Gulo		Borobo	Barrobo; Guloo
	17	Wuyya (Holas)	Whuyah
	18	Wulebo (Holas)	Wreboken
	19	Nyoke (Holas)	Nyanke
	20	Doolu	Dorrobo; Dowlu (Holas)
	21	Jedaro	Yederabo; Yirrabo; Dyirelo (Holas); Jedekoloo
	22	Nihwiyewlo	Pokpake clan
	23	Nyao	Nearrobo (?); Nyambo (?)
	24	Tuwoo	Tuobo; Twow (Holas)
	25	Dediyo	Dedebo; Deryow (Holas); Dideyabo; Deliyio
	26	Gbeyeo	Part of Dedebo Clan
	27	Kleo	Gedebo; Gelebo; Klewo (Holas)
	28	Nyenewo (Holas)	Nyembo; Nyenebo; Nyineo; Yineo
	29	Wepo	Webbo; Wepo or Webo (Holas)
	30	Jitukwe	Getu
	31	Diyabo	Diabo; Deabo; Diyeo
		Kaapo	

Tribal Group Name	Map #	“Tribe” (Dako)	Alternative <i>Dako</i> names
Nokwe	32	Nokwe	Kittabo; Kiteabo; Ketibo; Keluu
	33	Kayitebo	
	34	Sao	Sarbo; Sabo
	35	Nyitiabo	Nyentiabo; Nyiteao
	36	Tuobo	Tuabo; Tuwoobo
	37	Polupo	Pallipo; Palipo
Bowo (Holas)	38	Kelipo	Killepo; Kilepo; Kilebo (Holas)
Mena (Holas)	39	Chedepo	Tyelepo (Holas); Chelipo; Chedapo
Gbeypo (Bweypo: Holas)	40	Seyipo (Holas)	Sayepa; Seyeepo
	41	Sawelken	Slieake
	42	Nyenaawe (Holas)	Drugbo Clan
	43	Tienpo	Tyiempo (Holas)
	44	Jidepo	Jadopoh
	45	Fopo	Forpo
	46	Bua	Buah; Boa; Buau
Kplio (Plewo: Holas) (Plapo: Official)	47	Gbalapo	Gbalakpor; Gbalakpo
	48	Flenapo (Holas)	Flennokpo; Flenepo
		Twopo (Holas)	Topor
		Swe	Suehn
	49	Wokpe	Workpe; Wokpwe; Wa’pepo (Holas)
	50	Kwalo	Waddarbo; Wejilabo; Gwalo; Wedebo
Klao-speaking	51	Nifau	Nivao; Kpo River Kru; Nifu
We (Kran)-speaking	52	Glaro	Glarro; Gborra (Census); Glalo; Clagulo

Appendix 3:
Pronunciation Guidance

(1) Payne, J. (1860) *A Dictionary of the Grebo Language*

Payne gives the following guidance:

Sound of Vowels		Diphthongs	
Symbol	As in the Pronunciation of	Symbol	As in the Pronunciation of
a	father	ai	<i>i</i> in pine
ă	hat	au	<i>ow</i> in now
â	all	iu	<i>u</i> in pure
e	they	Sound of Consonants	
ě	met	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> g always hard as in <i>go</i>, y is used as a consonant as in <i>yard</i> ch is pronounced as in church, bw, gm, gmw, hml, kb, kbw, kp, kpw, mw, and ny, are combinations which have no representatives in English 	
i	ravine		
ĩ	pin		
o	no		
õ	not		
u	rule	Nasals	
ũ	but	Hm and hn at the beginning of words, and nh at the end, represent the nasal sound	

(2) Innes, G. (1967) *A Grebo-English Dictionary*.

The consonants are written with the following letters and digraphs:
p b t d k g kp gb ky gy hm m hn n ny ŋ ŋm hl f s h hw w ŋw y.

Notes:

ky and gy are palatal plosives

ny is a velar nasal

hm, hn, hl, hw are the voiceless correlates of m, n, l, w respectively

ŋm is a voiced labio-velar nasal

ŋw is a voiced nasal semi-vowel

l has a nasal variant which occurs in syncopated forms (see p. 3) like:

flā [flā] < fona wood-boring insect

klē [klē] < kene wickerwork basket

h and hw have each a nasal variant which occurs before nasal vowels:

hō [hō] shark

hwāō [hwāō] shoulder

The oral vowels are written with the following letters:

i e ɛ a ɔ o ɒ u

Notes:

e and ɛ are both half-close front vowels, o and ɒ are both half-close back vowels. In the terminology used by Sapir⁵ to describe comparable pairs of vowels in Gweabo, ɛ and ɒ are 'muffled' vowels, e and o are 'bright' vowels.

There are no nasal correlates of ɛ and ɒ, but there are nasal correlates of the seven other oral vowels.

Nasality

Nasal vowels are marked where necessary by a tilde: pĩ 'cook'. Where the phonetic context permits only a nasal vowel, nasality of the vowel is not marked. There are two such contexts:

1. Following a nasal consonant (hm, m, hn, n, ŋ, ŋm, ŋw, ny):
mu [mũ] go
2. In CVCV words where C₂ is nasal; V₁ and V₂ are both nasal:
fona [fõnã] wood-boring insect
pina [pĩnã] cooked cf. pĩ cook

Vowel Sequences

Phonetically long vowels are regarded as sequences of like vowels and are written with a double letter:

muu door

In a sequence of two vowels, both are oral or both are nasal, except that ɛ and ɒ may follow a nasal vowel:

hĩɛ	paint for	cf. hĩ	paint
pĩɛ	cook for	cf. pĩ	cook

Tone

Four tone levels are distinguished. The tone of each headword is shown immediately after it; the system of tone marking is by numerals, as follows:

High tone is marked by 1	kẽ 1	chief
High-mid tone is marked by 2	bĩ 2	beat
Low-mid tone is marked by 3	ya 3	bring
Low tone is marked by 4	pũ 4	swell

Gliding tones are marked by a combination of two (or, rarely, three) numerals: hu 3-2 throw.

Some examples of the tone marking of longer words are:

yiba 21	face	pobɔ 3-23	owl
bɔde 22-1	swamp	gbudɔmu 333	box.

Each letter which is used in Grebo words represents one sound and only one sound each time it occurs. Examples are given below to show the sound used for each of the vowels and tones. A bigger chart that includes all the letters and syllables can be found at the back of this book.

Vowel	Grebo Word	English Meaning
a	na	fire
e	ně	water
i	ti	trees
o	jbǒ	sea
u	jũ	child
ɛ	tee	good
ɔ	nyno	woman

Tone	Grebo Word	English Meaning
ˊ	sǎn	two
ˋ	a	you
ˊˋ	h	we
ˊˊˊ	hèn	four

There are different kinds of words that are used together to make sentences and paragraphs. We can divide these different words into groups which are called grammatical categories or **parts of speech**. The part of speech of each word in this dictionary is given next to it using the following abbreviations.

- adj* = adjective (used to modify or limit nouns)
- adv* = adverb (used to modify or limit verbs)
- conj* = conjunction (connects phrases or sentences)
- idiom* = (a unique/special way of saying something in Grebo)
- interj* = interjection (expresses an exclamation or emotion)
- n* = noun (a person, place or thing)
- pp* = postposition (similar to prepositions in English)
- pro* = pronoun (used in place of nouns or noun phrases)
- v* = verb (expresses an action or state of being)

Throughout this dictionary **singular** and **plural** forms of the nouns and adjectives and the **non-continuous** and **continuous** and **participle** forms of the verbs are given.

Syllable Chart

Grebo words are made out of parts called syllables. A syllable can be made with one or more letters. Below is a list of syllables that Grebo uses to make words. When you know these syllables you will be able to read most Grebo words. Many words only have one syllable.

a	ǎ	à	ba	bǎ	bà	cha	chǎ	chà	da	dǎ	dà
e	ě	è	be	bě	bè	che	chě	chè	de	dě	dè
i	ĩ	ì	bi	bĩ	bì	chi	chĩ	chì	di	dĩ	dì
o	ǒ	ò	bo	bǒ	bò	cho	chǒ	chò	do	dǒ	dò
u	ũ	ù	bu	bũ	bù	chu	chũ	chù	du	dũ	dù
e	ě	è	be	bě	bè	che	chě	chè	de	dě	dè
o	ǒ	ò	bo	bǒ	bò	cho	chǒ	chò	do	dǒ	dò

fa	fǎ	fà	gba	gbǎ	gbà	ha	hǎ	hà	ja	jǎ	jà
fe	fě	fè	gbe	gbě	gbè	he	hě	hè	je	jě	jè
fi	fĩ	fì	gbí	gbĩ	gbì	hi	hĩ	hì	ji	jĩ	jì
fo	fǒ	fò	gbo	gbǒ	gbò	ho	hǒ	hò	jo	jǒ	jò
fu	fũ	fù	gbu	gbũ	gbù	hu	hũ	hù	ju	jũ	jù
fe	fě	fè	gbe	gbě	gbè	he	hě	hè	je	jě	jè
fo	fǒ	fò	gbo	gbǒ	gbò	ho	hǒ	hò	jo	jǒ	jò

ka	kǎ	kà	kan	kǎn	kàn	kpa	kpǎ	kpà	kwa	kwǎ	kwà
ke	kě	kè	ken	kěn	kèn	kpe	kpě	kpè	kwe	kwě	kwè
ki	kĩ	kì	kin	kĩn	kìn	kpi	kpĩ	kpi	kwi	kwĩ	kwi
ko	kǒ	kò	kon	kǒn	kòn	kpo	kpǒ	kpò	kwo	kwǒ	kwò
ku	kũ	kù	kun	kũn	kùn	kpu	kpũ	kpù	kwu	kwũ	kwù
ke	kě	kè	ken	kěn	kèn	kpe	kpě	kpè	kwe	kwě	kwè
ko	kǒ	kò	kon	kǒn	kòn	kpo	kpǒ	kpò	kwo	kwǒ	kwò

la	lǎ	là	ma	mǎ	mà	na	nǎ	nà	ngma	ngmǎ	ngmà
le	lě	lè	me	mě	mè	ne	ně	nè	ngme	ngmě	ngmè
li	lĩ	lì	mi	mĩ	mì	ni	nĩ	nì	ngmi	ngmĩ	ngmì
lo	lǒ	lò	mo	mǒ	mò	no	nǒ	nò	ngmo	ngmǒ	ngmò
lu	lũ	lù	mu	mũ	mù	nu	nũ	nù	ngmu	ngmũ	ngmù
le	lě	lè	me	mě	mè	ne	ně	nè	ngme	ngmě	ngmè
lo	lǒ	lò	mo	mǒ	mò	no	nǒ	nò	ngmo	ngmǒ	ngmò

nya nyǎ nyà	pa pǎ pà	pan pǎn pàn	sa sǎ sà
nye nyě nyè	pe pě pè	pen pěn pèn	se sě sè
nyi nyĩ nyì	pi pǐ pì	pín pǐn pìn	sí sǐ sì
nyo nyǒ nyò	po pǒ pò	pon pǒn pòn	so sǒ sò
nyu nyũ nyù	pu pǔ pù	pun pǔn pùn	su sǔ sù
nye nyě nyè	pe pě pè	pen pěn pèn	se sě sè
nyo nyǒ nyò	po pǒ pò	pon pǒn pòn	so sǒ sò

san sǎn sà	ta tǎ tà	tan tǎn tàn	wa wǎ wà
sen sĕn sèn	te tĕ tè	ten tĕn tèn	we wĕ wè
sín sĭn sìn	tí tĭ tì	tín tĭn tìn	wí wĭ wì
son sǒn sòn	to tǒ tò	ton tǒn tòn	wo wǒ wò
sun sŭn sùn	tu tŭ tù	tun tŭn tùn	wu wŭ wù
sen sĕn sèn	te tĕ tè	ten tĕn tèn	we wĕ wè
son sǒn sòn	to tǒ tò	ton tǒn tòn	wo wǒ wò

Some words have a vowel sound such as (a e i o u e o) that is pronounced fast, therefore it is not written. Below are some examples.

plĕ	kwĭlĕ	nmo	nmi	dlĕ	dbǎ
klee	jlĕ	ngmna	jĭlenymi	blĕ	jleĕ
klĕ	kwĭǎ	snǎ	nymo	blò	jĭ
jlĕ	kwĭĕ	snŭ	nyno	chlĕ	chnè
plo	jĭŭ	jbǒ	gbĭǎ	kmǒ	chnu
dbo	dbŭ	kna	kwne	tlǎla	pnè

The tone(s) on Grebo words are always written the same way. Sometimes the tone on a word spreads to the following word so that the tone on the following word is pronounced differently. Still the spelling of the following word is always the same. For example:

1. In the sentence "Ĕ miĕ chĕ mǒ", the low tone on 'chĕ' spreads to 'mǒ' so that 'mǒ' is pronounced 'mò'. However, it is still written as 'mǒ'.

2. In the sentence "Āa bĭl bĕ kou", the low tone on 'bĭl' spreads to 'bĕ' so that 'bĕ' is pronounced 'bè'. However, it is still written as 'bĕ'.

3. In the phrase 'sǒn nene', the tone on 'sǒn' spreads to 'nene'.

English has similar spelling rules. For example, even though the 's' on the word 'dogs' sounds like a 'z', it is written as an 's'. English speakers know when to pronounce the 's' as 'z' (as in 'dogs') or as 's' (as in 'cats').

Appendix 4: Mammal Taboo Data from Kurtz (1985: 64-69)

Tribe (<i>dako</i>)	Sib/ Patrilineal Clan	Taboo	English Name Given
Jedaro	Geduo	-	Leopard
	Taebo	-	Leopard
	Tuabo	-	Dog
Jidepo	Kponkpon made of 5 groups:		
	<i>Group 1:</i> Chliwrokon	-	Leopard
	<i>Group 2:</i> Tieblikon	-	Leopard
	<i>Group 3:</i> Kplokon	-	Leopard & sheep
	<i>Group 4:</i> Swanchipo	-	Leopard
	<i>Group 5:</i> Chenchipo	-	Leopard
Kleo	Tenpo	-	Leopard
	Nyeagba	kuowe	black bear [Ratel]
Kwalo	Dukon	-	Leopard
	Panipo	-	Leopard
Nokwe	Kwebwe	-	Leopard
		tede	rat
	Sagbapwe	-	Dog
		pateo	"beaver" [Otter]
Nyabo	Habo	-	Leopard
Nyao	Hnenayidabo	-	Deer
Polupo	Mandiapo	baakpo	Rat
	Tigbakwin	gba	Dog
	Tutuapo	tooadro	monkey (red head) [unclear what this is]
	Tutuwokwin	chee	Leopard
Sao	Naonwo	-	Bear-like animal
	Truwonyo	-	Bat
Upper Tienpo	Baleo	wee	Bamboo (chimpanzee)
	Gbaluoo	-	Leopard
	Gbatao (Gbeteo)	wee	Bamboo (chimpanzee)
	Gbeo	-	Liver of deer
	Gbopo	takpacho	rat
	Mblimokwo	baplo	rat
	“	sa	Lion [?]
	Nyapo	-	Leopard
	Swochipo	-	Leopard
Lower Tienpo	Funwino	-	Leopard
	Gbejeo	wee	Bamboo (chimpanzee)
	Pleo	sa	Lion [?]
Wepo	Pepo	gbuta	black bat
	Yehonopo	ge	leopard